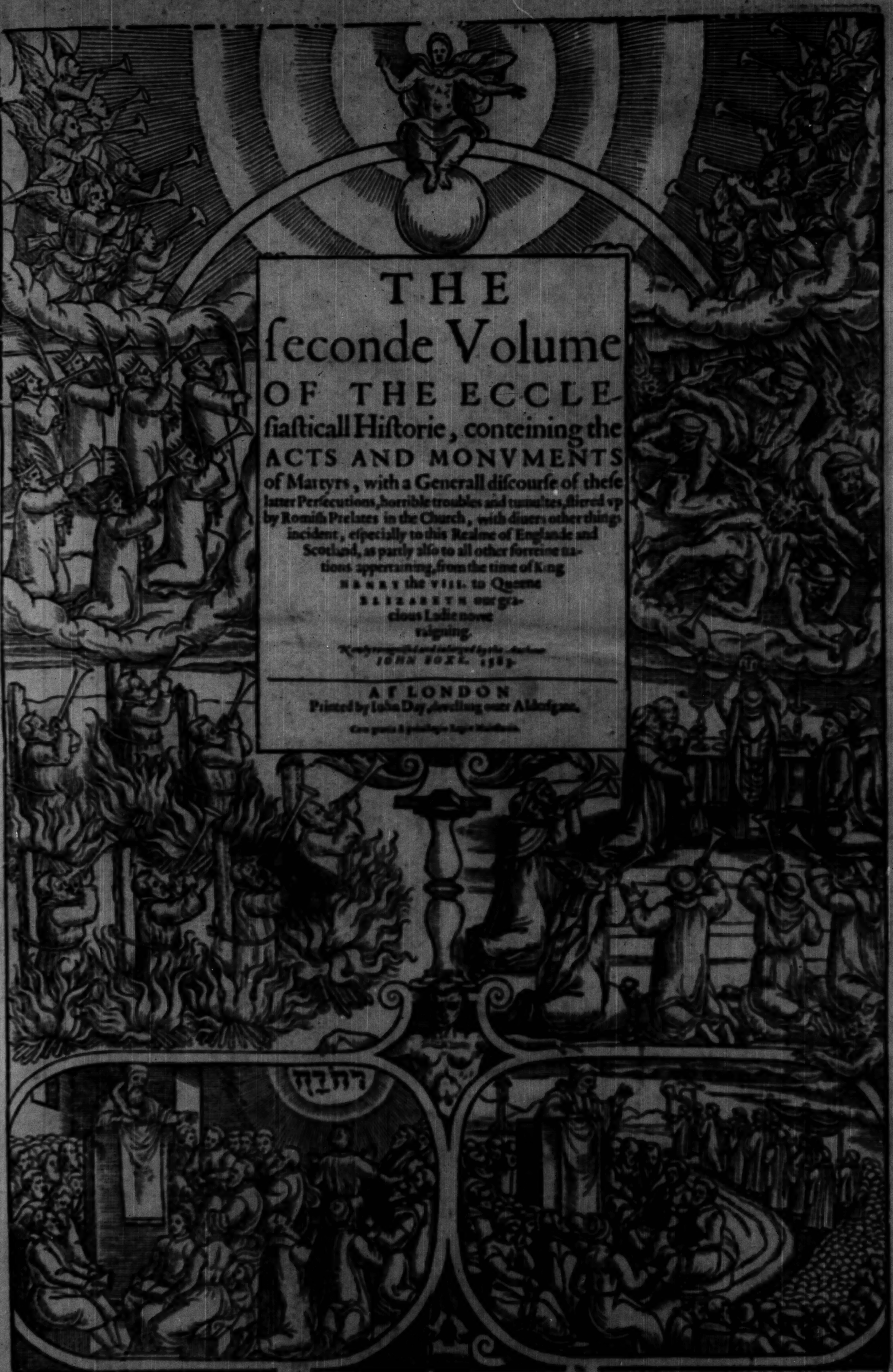


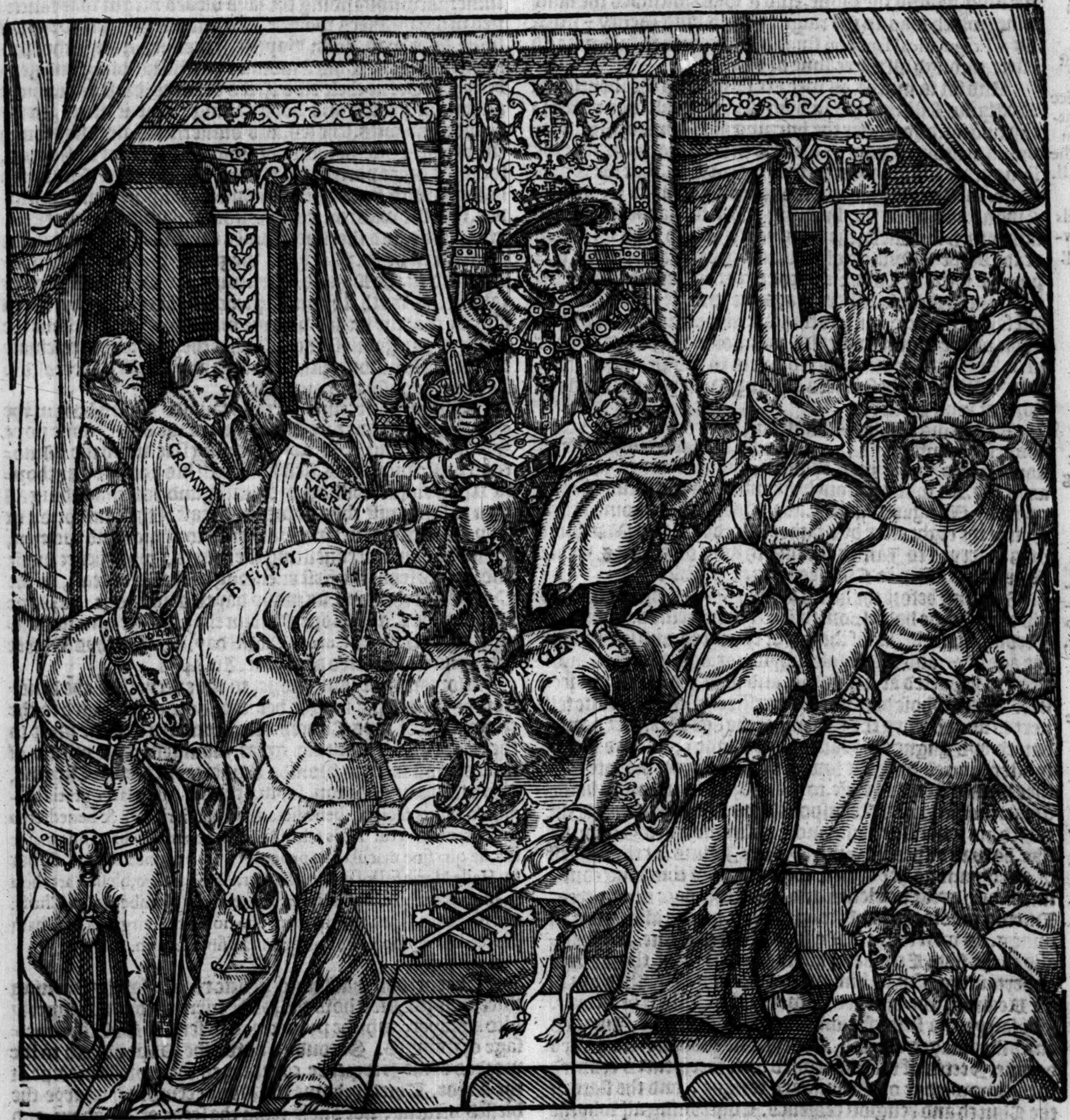
THE ſeconde Volume OF THE ECCLEſiaſticall Hiſtorie, conteining the ACTS AND MONVMENTS of Martyrs, with a Generall diſcourſe of theſe latter Perſecutions, horrible troubles and tumultes, ſtirred vp by Romiſh Prelates in the Church, with diuers other thinges incident, eſpecially to this Realme of Englande and Scotland, as partly alſo to all other forreine nations appertaining, from the time of King HENRY the VIII. to Queene ELIZABETH our gracious Ladie nowe raigning.

Newly recognised and inlarged by the Author
JOHN FOXE. 1583.

AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.

Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiae Maieſtatis.

Here folovveth the ſecond Volume
AND THE VII. BOOKE, BEGINNING WITH THE REIGNE OF KING HENRYE THE EIGHT.



{Anno. 1509.}

As touching the ciuil ſtate and adminiſtration of the Common wealth, and likewiſe of the ſtate of the Churche, vnder the raign of king Henry 7. how he entred firſt in poſſeſſion of yͤ crowne: how the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were in hym conioyned through marriage with Elizabeth the eldeſt daughter to King Edwarde 4. by the prudent counſail of John Morton then Biſhop of Ely, after Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Cardinall: howe long the ſayd King reigned, and what perſecution was in his time for lacke of ſearche and knowledge of Gods word, both in the dioceſſe of Lincolne vnder biſhop Smith (who was erector of the houſe of Braſen noſe in Oxforde) as alſo in the dioceſſe of Couentrie, and other places moe: and further, what puniſhment and alteration God commonly ſendeth vpon cities and realmes publique for neglecting the ſafety of his flocke, ſufficiently in the former booke hath bene alredy ſpecified: wherin many things more amply might haue ben added, incidēt in the raigne of this Prince, which we haue for breuitie pretermitted. For hee that ſtudieth to comprehend in ſtory all things, which the common courſe & vſe of life may offer to the wryter, may ſooner finde matter to occupye himſelfe, then to profite other. Otherwiſe I myght haue inferred mention of the ſeditious tumult of Perkin werbecke, wyth his retinue, Anno 1494. alſo of Blackheath field by the Blackeſmith, An. 1496. I myght alſo haue recited the glorious commendation of Georgius Lilius in his Latine Chronicle teſtifying of King Henrie 7. howe hee ſent three ſolemne Oratours to Pope Julius 2. to yeelde his obedience to the ſea of Rome. An. 1506. and likewiſe howe Pope Alexander 9. Pius 3. and Julius 2. ſent to the ſayde king Henry 7. three ſundrie famous Am-

Notes ſummarely collected and repeated of things done in the tyme of K. Henry the ſeueth.

Perkin Werbeck which fained himſelf to be K. Edwards ſonne.

Blacke heathe fielde.

Ex Maſſeo lib. 20.

* Pragmatica ſanctio, was a practiſing, or a determination of a certaine parliament in Fraunce againſt the Biſhop of Rome, in defēce of certaine matters of religion concluded in the coūcel of Baſill.

baſſadours whith tree ſwordes, and three cappes of maintenance, electing and admitting hym to be the chiefe defendor of the faith. The commendation of which facte, howe glorious it is in the eyes of Georgius Lilius, and Fabian, that I leaue to them. This I ſuppoſe, that when Kyng Henry ſent to Pope Iulius three Orators, wyth obedience, if he had ſent him thre thouſand harquebuziers to furniſh his fielde againſt the French king fighting at Rauenna, hee had pleaſed pope Iulius much better. If Georgius Lilius had bene diſpoſed to illuſtrate his ſtory with notes, this had bene more worthy the noting, howe Ludouike 12. French king calling his Parliament, moued this queſtion againſt Pope Iulius: whether a Pope might inuade any Prince by warlike force, wythout cauſe, and whether the prince might withdraw hys obedience from that Pope, or not? And it was concluded in the ſame Parliament wyth the king, againſt the Pope. Alſo it was concluded the ſame time (which was in the raigne of this king Henry 7). that the * Pragmatical ſanction ſhould be receiued in ful force and effect, through all the realme of Fraunce.

A note of Gods plagues folowing the burning of his people.

And for ſo muche as wee are fallen into the mention of Georgius Lilius, this in hym is to be found not vnworthy noting, howe after the burning of Thomas Norice, aboue mentioned, pag. 775. at the citie of Norwich, that the ſame yeare followed ſuch a fire in Norwich, that the whole Citie, well neare, was therewith conſumed. Ex Geor. Lilio. Like as alſo after the burning of the foreſayde good aged father in Smithfield, the ſame yeare (which was 1500.) we reade in the Chronicle of Fabian a great plague to fall vpon the Citie of London, to the great deſtruction of the inhabitantes therof. wherein agayne is to be noted (as is aforeſayd) that according to the ſtate of the church, the diſpoſition of the common wealth commonly is guided, eyther to be wyth aduerſitie afflicted, or els in proſperitie to flouriſh. But after theſe notes of King Henry 7. nowe to the ſtorie of king Henry 8.

The children & offſpring of king Henry. 7.

Lady Margaret maried to king Iames 4. of Scotland. Lady Margaret maried to the K. of Caſtile.

This king Henry 7. finiſhing his courſe in the yeare aboueſayd, which was 1509. had by Elizabeth hys wife aboue named, foure men children, and of women children as many. Of whome 3. onely ſuruiued: to wit, prince Henry, Lady Margarete, and Lady Mary. Of whome King Henry the eight after hys father ſucceded. Lady Margaret was marryed to Iames the fourth king of Scottes. Ladie Mary was affied to Charles king of Caſtile.

Prince Arthur maried to Lady Katherine daughter to the Spaniſhe king. The death of Prince Arthur. K. Henry marieth Lady Katherine his brothers wyfe.

Blind diſpēſatiōs of the Pope.

Not long before the death of king Henry, prince Arthur his elder ſonne had eſpouſed Lady Katherine daughter to Ferdinandus, being of the age of 15. yeares, and ſhee about the age of 17. and ſhortly after hys mariage, wythin 5. monethes, departed at Ludlowe, and was buried at worceſter. After whoſe deceaſe the ſucceſſion of the Crowne fell next to king Henry the 8. being of the age of 18. yeres, who entred hys raigne the yeare of our Lorde 1509. and ſhortly after maried with the foreſayde Katherine, his late brother Prince Arthurs wife, to the end, that her dowry being great, ſhoulde not be tranſported out of the lande. In the which his marriage being more politique, then Scripture like, he was diſpenſed wyth by pope Iulius, at the requeſt of Ferdinandus her father. The raigne of this king continued with great noblenes and fame, the ſpace of 38. yeres. During whoſe time and raigne was greate alteration of things, as well to the ciuile ſtate of the Realme, as eſpecially to the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall, and matters of the Church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolyſhed out of the Realme, the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome, Idolatrye and ſuperſtition ſomewhat repreſſed, Images and pilgrimages defaced, Abbeys and monaſteries pulled downe, Sectes of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgare tongue, and the ſtate of the Church and religion redreſſed. Concerning all whyche things, in the proceſſe of thys volume heere folowing, wee will endeuour (Chriſte willing) particularly and in order to diſcourſe: after that firſt we ſhall comprehende a fewe matters, which within the beginning of hys raigne are to be noted and collected. where, leauing of to write of Empſon and Dudley, who in the time of king Henry 7. being great doers in executing the penall lawes ouer the people at that time, and purchaſing thereby more malyce then lands, with that whych they had gotten, were ſhortly after the entring of this king beheaded, the one a Knight, the other an Eſquier: leauing alſo to intermeddle wͭ hys wars, triumphes, and other temporal affaires, we meane in this volume principally to beſtowe our trauaile in declaration of matters concerning moſte chiefly the ſtate of the Church and of religion, as well in this Church of England, as alſo of the whole Church of Rome.

Wherein firſt commeth to our handes a turbulent tragedie, and a fierce contention, which long before had troubled the Churche, and nowe thys preſent yeare 1509. was renewed afreſh betweene two certaine orders of begging friers, to wit, the Dominike friers, and the Franciſcanes, about the Conception of the virgine Marye, the mother of Chriſte.

Franciſcane Friers.

Dominicke Fryers.

A troublous diſſention in the Church for the conception of the Virgin Mary.

Whether the Virgin Mary was conceaued without originall ſinne.

The Franciſcanes were they, which did holde of S. Fraunces, & followed the rule of his teſtament commonly called Gray friers, or Minorites. Their opiniō was this: that the virgine Mary preuented by the grace of the holy Ghoſt was ſo ſanctified, that ſhee was neuer ſubiecte one moment in her conception, to Original ſinne. The Dominike Friers were they, which holding of Dominike, were commonly called Blacke friers, or preaching friers. Theyr opinion was, that the virgine Mary was conceiued, as all other children of Adam be: ſo that thys priuiledge onely belongeth to Chriſte, to be conceiued wythout Originall ſinne: notwithſtanding the ſayd bleſſed virgin was ſanctified in her mothers wombe, and purged from her Original ſinne, ſo as was Iohn Baptiſt, Ieremie, or any other priuileged perſon. This friuolous queſtiō kindling and gendring betweene theſe two ſectes of friers, braſt out in ſuche a flame of partes and ſides taking, that it occupyed the heades and wits, ſcholes, and vniuerſities almoſt through the whole Church, ſome holding one parte wyth Scotus, ſome the other parte with Thom. Aquine. The Minorites holding with Scotus their maiſter, diſputed and concluded, that ſhe was conceiued without al ſpot or note of Original ſinne, and therupon cauſed the feaſt and ſeruice of the conception of S. Mary the virgine to be celebrate and ſolemniſed in the Church. Contrary, the Dominike Friers taking ſide wyth Aquinas, preached that it was hereſie to affirme that the bleſſed virgine was conceiued without the guilte of Originall ſinne: and that they which did celebrate the feaſt of her Conception, or ſayd any Maſſes thereof, did ſinne greeuouſly and mortally.

A new foūd feaſt of the conception of the virgin Mary.

In the meane time as thys fantaſie waxed hote in the church, the one ſide preaching againſt the other, came pope Sixtus 4. Anno 1476. who ioyning ſide wyth the Minorites or Franciſcanes, firſt ſent forth his decree by authoritie Apoſtolique, willing, ordaining, and commaunding all men to ſolemniſe thys new found feaſt of the conception in holy Church for euermore: offering to al men and women, which deuoutly frequenting the church, wold heare maſſe and ſeruice from the firſt euenſong of the ſayde feaſt, to the Octaues of the ſame, as many dayes of pardone, as Pope Urbane the 4. and Pope Martin the 5. did graunt for hearing the ſeruice of Corpus Chriſti day. &c. and thys Decree was geuen and dated at Rome. An. 1476.

A new Aue Maria of the Popes making.

The Pope addeth to the wordes of the ſcripture.

Moreouer the ſame Pope, to the entent that the deuotion of the people myght bee the more encouraged to the celebration of thys Conception, hee added a clauſe more to the Aue Maria, graunting great indulgence and releaſe of ſinnes to all ſuch as woulde inuocate the bleſſed Virgine, wyth the ſame addition, ſaying thus: Aue Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Ieſus Chriſtus, & benedicta ſit Anna mater tua de qua ſine macula, tua proceſſit caro virginea. Amen. That is, Haile Marie full of grace, the Lord is with thee, bleſſed art thou among women, & bleſſed is the fruite of thy wombe, Ieſus Chriſt: and bleſſed is Anna thy mother, of whome thy virgines fleſh hath proceeded wythout blot of originall ſinne. Amen.

3. abſurdities to be noted in this decree of the pope.

Rom. 5.

Rom. 6.

Wherin thou maiſt note (gentle reader) for thy learning three things: Firſt how the Pope turneth that vnproperly into a prayer, whiche properly was ſent of God for a meſſage or tidinges. Secondly, howe the Pope addeth to the wordes of the Scripture, contrary to the expreſſe precept of the Lorde. Thirdly, howe the Pope exempteth Marye the bleſſed virgine, not onely from the ſeede of Abraham and Adam, but alſo frō the condition of a mortall creature. For if there be in her no originall ſinne, then ſhe beareth not the Image of Adam, neither doth ſhee deſcende of that ſeede, of whoſe ſede euil proceedeth vpon al men and women to cōdemnation, as S. Paul doth teach. Rom. 5. wherfore if ſhe deſcende of that ſeede, then the infection of Originall euill muſt neceſſarily proceede vnto her. If ſhe deſcend not thereof, then commeth ſhe not of the ſeede of Abraham, nor of the ſeede of Dauid. &c. Againe, ſeeing that death is the effect and ſtipende of ſinne, by the doctrine of S. Paule. Roma. 6. then had her fleſh iniurye by the lawe (as Chriſte hym ſelfe had) to ſuffer the malediction and puniſhment of death, and ſo ſhould neuer haue died, if originall ſinne had no place in her. &c. But to returne vnto our ſtorie: Thys conſtitution of the Pope being ſet forth for the conception of the bleſſed virgin, which was the yeare of our Lorde 1476. it was not long after, but the ſayde Pope Sixtus perceiuing that the Dominike friers with their complices wold not conforme

them

The tenour of the popes Bull for the conception of the virgin to be without original ſinne.

themſelues hereunto, directed forth by the authority Apoſtolicall, a Bul, in effect as foloweth.

Sane cum ſancta Romana eccleſia de intemeratæ ſemperque virginis.&c **In Engliſh.** Whereas the holy Churche of Rome hath ordained a ſpeciall and proper ſeruice for the publique ſolemniſing of the feaſt of the conception of the bleſſed virgin Mary: certaine orders of the Blacke friers in their publique ſermons to the people in diuers places, haue not ceſed hitherto to preach and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirme the ſayd glorious virgine to haue bene conceiued without originall ſinne, be heretiques: and they which celebrate the ſeruice of the ſayde her conception, or do heare the ſermons of them which do ſo affirme, doe ſinne grieuouſly: alſo not contented herewith, doe wryte and ſet foorth bookes moreouer, mainteining their aſſertions, to the great offence and ruine of godly mindes: We therfore to preuent and wythſtand ſuch preſumptuous and peruers aſſertions, which haue riſen, and more heereafter may ariſe by ſuche opinions and preachings aforeſaid, in the mindes of the faithfull: by the authority Apoſtolical, do condemne, and reproue the ſame, and by the motion, knowledge and authority aforeſayd, decree and ordeyne, that the preachers of Gods word, and all other perſones of what ſtate, degree, order, or condition ſoeuer they be, which ſhall preſume to dare affirme or preach to the people theſe foreſayde opinions and aſſertions to be true, or ſhall reade, holde, or maintaine any ſuche bookes for true, hauing before intelligence hereof, ſhal incurre thereby the ſentence of excommunication: from whyche they ſhall not be abſolued otherwiſe then by the biſhop of Rome, except onely in the time of death. Thys Bull being dated the yere of our Lord. 1483, gaue no litle heart and encouragement to the gray Friers Franciſcanes, which defended the pure conception of the holy virgin, againſt the blacke Dominicke friers, with theyr confederates, holding the contrary ſide. By the vigour of which Bull, the Gray order had got ſuch a conqueſt of the Blacke garde of the Dominikes, that the ſayd Dominikes were compelled at length for a perpetuall memoriall of the triumph, both to geue to the glorious virgine euery night an Antheme in praiſe of her Conception, and alſo to ſubſcribe vnto their doctrine: In which doctrine theſe, wyth diuers other poyntes bee conteined.

Ex Iod. Clitoueo de puritate cõceptionis. Lib. 2.

1 That bleſſed Mary the virgine ſuffered the griefes and aduerſities of this life, not for any neceſſity inflicted for puniſhment of Originall ſinne: but onely becauſe ſhe would conforme her ſelfe to the imitation of Chriſt.

Filthy abſurdities in the Popes doctrine.

2 That the ſayde virgin, as ſhe was not obliged to anye puniſhmente due for ſinne, as neither was Chriſte her ſonne: ſo ſhe had no neede of remiſſion of ſinnes, but in ſteed thereof had the diuine preſeruation of Gods helpe, keeping her from all ſinne: which grace only ſhe needed, and alſo had it.

How the virgin Mary was ſubiect to death after the friers opinions

3 Item, that where the body of the virgin Mary was ſubiect to death, and died: this is to be vnderſtand to come not for any penaltie due for ſinne, but either for imitation and cõformitie vnto Chriſt, or els for the natural conſtitution of her body being elemental, as were ẏ bodies of our firſt parents: who if they had not taſted of the forbidden fruit, ſhould haue bene preſerued from death, not by nature, but by grace & ſtrength of other fruits and meates in Paradiſe. which meates, becauſe Mary had not, but did eate our cõmon meates, therfore ſhe died, and not for any neceſſitie of Originall ſinne. Clitouæus lib. 2. cap. 2.

4 The vniuerſall propoſition of S. Paule, which ſayth that the Scripture hath concluded all men vnder ſinne, is to be vnderſtand thus, as ſpeaking of all them which be not exempted by the ſpeciall priuiledge of God, as is the bleſſed virgin Mary.

5 If iuſtification be taken for reconciliation of him that was vnrighteous before, and now is made righteous: thẽ the bleſſed virgin is to be taken, not for iuſtified by Chriſt, but iuſt from her beginning by preſeruation.

6 If a ſauiour be taken for him, which ſaueth men fallen into perdition & condemnation, ſo is not Chriſt ſauior of Mary, but is her ſaueour only in this reſpect, for ſuſteining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

7 Neither did the virgine Mary geue thankes to God, nor ought ſo to doe, for expiation of her ſinnes, but for her conſeruation from caſe of ſinning.

Good ſtuffe

8 Neither did ſhe pray to God at any time for remiſſion of her ſinnes, but onely for remiſſion of other mens ſinnes ſhe praied many times, and counted their ſinnes for hers.

9 If the bleſſed virgine had deceaſſed before the Paſſion of her ſonne, God would haue repoſed her ſoule not in the place among the Patriarkes, or among the iuſt, but in the ſame moſt pleaſaunt place of Paradiſe, where Adam and Eue was, before they tranſgreſſed.

These were the doting dreames and phantaſies of the Franciſcans & of other papiſts, commonly then holden in the ſchooles, wrytten in their bookes, preached in theyr ſermons, taught in churches, * and ſet forth in pictures. So that the people was taught nothing els almoſt in the pulpits all this while, but how the virgine Mary was cõceiued immaculate, and holy wythout Originall ſinne, and how they ought to call to her for helpe, whome they wyth ſpecial termes do cal the way of mercy: the mother of grace: the louer of pietie: the comforter of mankind; the continuall interceſſour for the ſaluation of the faithfull; and an aduocate to the king her ſonne, which neuer ceaſſeth, &c. Verba Papæ Sixti in Decret. And althoughe the greateſt number of the ſcholedoctours were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombardus, Thom. Aquine, Bernandus, Bonauentura, and other: yet theſe new papiſts ſhifted of their obiections with friuolous diſtinctiõs and blinde euaſions, as thus: Petrus Lombardus, they ſayd, is not receiued nor holdẽ in the ſchooles, as touching thys article, but is reiected: Clitoueus lib. 2. cap. 15.

*The gray friers had made a picture of Ioachim & Anna kiſſing by the which kiſſe Anna was conceiued with Mary. Ex Rob. Lycio; Minorita.

Idolatry to the bleſſed virgin.

Bernardus in Epiſt. ad Lugdunenſ. although hee ſeemeth to deny the conception of the bleſſed virgin to be voyd of Originall ſinne, ſaying that ſhe could not be holy when ſhee was not, and liued not: to this they anſwere, that all be it ſhe was yet in eſſence, not yet ſhee was holy in her conception, and before her conception in the diuine preſence of God, which had choſen & preelected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord.

Obiections popiſhly ſoluted.

Againe where Bernard doeth argue, that ſhe was not without original ſinne conceiued, becauſe ſhe was not cõceiued by the holy Ghoſt, to this they aunſwere: That the holy Ghoſt may worke two wayes in conception: eyther without company of man, and ſo was Chriſt only conceiued: or els with company and help of man, and thus was the bleſſed virgin conceiued. Clit. lib. 2. cap. 14.

Bonauentura (ſay they) was an holy father, but hee ſpake then after the cuſtome and maner of his time, when as the ſolemnitie and puritie of this conception was not yet decreed nor receiued by the publique cõſent and authority of the church, now ſeing the authority of the church of Rome hath eſtabliſhed the ſame, it oughte not to be contraried, nor can, wythout daungerous diſobedience. In all mens actions, diligent reſpect of time muſt be had. That whych bindeth not at one time, afterward the ſame by law being ratified, may binde at an other. Ibid.

Popiſh beliefe and doctrine goeth by time.

Finally for the number and multitude on the contrary ſide, thus they anſwer for themſelues, as we nowe in theſe our daies likewiſe in defence of the truth may wel anſwere againſt the Pope and all his popiſh Friers, turning their owne weapons againſt them ſelues: Multitude, ſay they, ought not to moue vs. Victorie conſiſteth not in number and heapes, but in fortitude and hearts of ſouldiours: yea rather fortitude and ſtomacke commeth from heauen, and not of man. Iudas Machabeus wyth a little handfull, ouerthrewe the great armye of Antiochus. Strong Sampſon wyth a poore Aſſes bone ſlew a thouſand Philiſtines. Dauid had no more but a ſeely ſling, & a few ſtones, and with theſe ſtroke downe terrible Goliath the Gyaunt, &c. Lib. eod. cap. 13.

Verity cõſiſteth not in number of voyces, Nor victory in multitude of ſoldiers.

With theſe and ſuch other like reaſons, the gray Franciſcans voided their aduerſaries, defending the cõception of the virgine Mary to be vnblemiſhed, and pure from all contagion of Originall ſinne. Contrariwyſe the Blacke gard of the Dominike friers, for theyr partes were not all mute, but laide luſtily from them agayne, hauyng greate authorities, and alſo the Scripture on theyr ſide. But yet the other hauing the ſea Apoſtolicall wͭ them, had the better hande, and in fine gate the victorye triumphantly ouer the other, to the high exaltation of theyr order. For Pope Sixtus (as I ſayd) by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, after hee had decreed the cõception day of the virgin perpetually to be ſanctified, and alſo with his terrible Bull had condẽned for heretiques al them which withſtoode the ſame: the Dominicke Friers wyth authoritie oppreſſed, were dryuen to two incõueniences, the one was, to kepe ſilence, the other was, to geue place to their aduerſaries the Franciſcanes. All be it where the mouthe durſte not ſpeake, yet the heart would worke: and though the tongue were tied, yet theyr good will was ready by all meanes poſſible to maintaine their quarel, and their eſtimation.

The Popes ſide ſtronger thẽ the ſcripture.

{ Anno. 1509. }
Ex Caſparo Peucero Chron. lib. 5, Ex Sebaſt. Munſter. Coſmog. Lib. 3.

Whereupon it happened the ſame yeare of our Lorde 1509. after this diſſention betwene the Dominike Friers, & the Franciſcanes, that certaine of the Dominickes thinking by ſubtile ſleight to worke in the peoples heades, that which they durſt not atchieue with opẽ preaching, deuiſed a certaine Image of the Virgine, ſo artificially wroughte, that the Friers by priuie gins made it to ſtirre, & to make geſtures, to lament, to complaine, to weepe, to grone, & to geue anſwers to them that aſked: in ſomuch that the peo-

4 Friers burned at Berne.

ple therwith were brought in a maruelous perſwaſion, til at length the fraude being eſpied, the Friers were taken, condemned, and burned at Berne, the yere aboue mentioned. 1509. Ex Peucer. Sebaſt. Munſtero, Carione, & alijs. In the Centuries of Iohn Bale, I finde their names to be Ioannes Vetter, Franciſcus Vliſcus, Stephanus Bolizhorſt, and Henricus Steinegger.

In the ſtorie of Ioh. Stumſius, this ſtory aforeſayde doth partly appeare: but in the Regiſters and Recordes of the Citie of Berne, the order and circumſtance therof is more fully expreſſed and ſet forth both in meter and proſe, and is thus declared.

Ex Hiſtor. Fernenſi conſcripta vulgari et latino ſermone.

In the Citye of Berne there were certaine Dominike friers, to the nūber chiefly of 4. principall doers, and cheftaines of that Order, who had inueigled a certaine ſimple poore frier, who had newly planted himſelfe in the cloiſter: whome the foreſayd Friers had ſo infatuated wyth ſundry ſuperſtitions, & fained apparitions of S. Maria, S. Barbara, and S. Catherina, and wͭ their inchauntments, and imprinting moreouer in hym the woundes of S. Fraunces, that he beleeued plainely, that the Virgine Mary had appeared to hym, and had offered to hym a red hoſt conſecrated, with the bloud alſo of Chriſt myraculous: whych bleſſed virgin alſo had ſent him to the ſenatours of Berne, with inſtructions, declaring vnto them, from the mouth of the virgine, yͤ ſhe was conceiued in ſinne, & that the Franciſcane friers were not to be credited nor ſuffered in the city, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreouer that they ſhuld reſort to a certaine image there of yͤ virgine Mary (whych image the Friers by engines had made to ſweat) & ſhould do their worſhip, & make their oblations to the ſame. &c.

This fained deuiſe was not ſo ſoone forged by the Friers, but it was aſſone beleued of the people: ſo that a great while the red coloured hoſt was takē vndoubtedly for the true body and bloud of Chriſt, and certain coloured drops therof ſent abroad to diuers noble perſonages and eſtates for a great relique, and that not wythout great recōpence. Thus the deceiued people in great number came flocking to the image, and to the red hoſt, and coloured bloud, with manifolde giftes and oblations. In briefe, the Dominike friers ſo had wrought the matter, and had ſo ſwept all the fatte to their owne beardes, from the order of the Franciſcanes, that all the almes came to their boxe. The Franciſcanes ſeeing their eſtimation to decay, and their kitchen to waxe colde, and their panches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, & being not ignorant or vnacquainted with ſuche counterfaited doings (for as the Prouerbe ſayeth. It is il halting before a creeple) eftſoones eſpied theyr craftye iuggling, and detected theyr fraudulent myracles. Wherupon the 4. chiefe captaines aboue named were apprehended, and put to the fire: of whom the Prouinciall of that order was one.

And thus much touching the beginning & ende of this tumultuous and popiſh tragedy: wherin euidently it may appeare to the Reader, howe neither theſe turbulent friers could agree among themſelues, and yet in what friuolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let theſe ridiculous friers paſſe, wͭ their trifling phantaſies, moſt worthy to be derided of all wiſe men: in the meane time this is to be lamented, to beholde the miſerable times of the Churche, in which the deuil kept the minds of Chriſtes people ſo attētiue and occupied in ſuch frierly toyes, that nothing els almoſt was taught or heard in the church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the virgin Mary. But of our iuſtification by faith, of grace and the promiſes of God in Chriſt, of the ſtrength of the law, of the horrour of ſinne, of difference betwene the lawe and the Goſpel, of the true liberty of conſcience. &c. no mētion or very litle was heard. Wherefore in this ſo blinde time of darknes, it was muche needefull and requiſite, that the Lord of his mercy ſhoulde looke vpon his churche, & ſend downe hys gratious reformation, which alſo he did. For ſhortly vpon the ſame, thorowe the gratious excitation of God, came Martine Luther, of whome the order of ſtory nowe requireth that we ſhould and will intreat (Chriſt willingly) after the ſtorie of Richard Hunne, and a fewe other things premiſed, for the better opening of the ſtorie to folowe.

Friers neither can agree with themſelues nor yet do diſagree but in vaine trifles.

The miſerable blindnes of the time conſidered.

Anno. 1510.

Pope Iulius plaieth the warrior.

Anno. 1512.

The Pope ouercome in Battaile

Mention was made ſufficiently before of the doings of Pope Iulius, and of hys warlike affaires, for the whych he was condemned, and not vniuſtly in the coūcell of Turone in Fraunce, Anno 1510. and yet all thys coulde not aſſwage the furious affection of this pope, but the ſame yere he inuaded the Citie of Mutina and Mirandula in Italie, and tooke them by force of warre. Which Pope Iulius not long after, in the yeare of our Lorde 1512. refuſing peace offered by Maximilian the Emperour, was encountered by Lewes the French king, about Rauenna, vpon Eaſter day, where he was vanquiſhed, and had of his army ſlaine to the number of xvj. thouſande. Ex Chron. Carion. And the yere next folowing. Anno 1513. this Apoſtolical warriour, which had reſigned his keyes vnto the riuer of Tybris before, made an end together both of fighting, and liuing, after he had raigned and fought x. yeeres. After whome ſucceded next in the ſea of Rome, Pope Leo the 10. About the compaſſe of which time, great mutatiōs and ſtirres began to worke, as well in ſtates temporall, as eſpecially in the ſtate of the Church.

Anno. 1513.

The death of Pope Iulius.

Pope Leo, x

The ſtate & ſucceſſion of Princes.

Pope Leo 10. in Rome.	An. 1513.	reigned.	9.
Charles 5. Emperour in Germanie.	An. 1519.		39.
Fraunces K. of France.	An. 1515.		32.
Henry 8. K. of England.	An. 1509.		38.
James 5. K. of Scotlād.	An. 1514.		

In the time of which Pope, Emperour, and kinges of England, and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turnes of religion were wrought into the Churche, by the mighty operation of Gods hand in Italy, Fraunce, Germanie, Englande, and all Europe, ſuche as haue not bene ſeene (although muche groned for) many hundreth yeares before: as in further diſcourſe of this hiſtorie (Chriſte willing) more manifeſtly ſhall appeare.

But before wee come to theſe alterations, taking the time as it lieth before vs, wee will firſt ſpeake of Richarde Hunne, and certaine other godly minded perſons heere in Englande afflicted for the worde of Chriſtes Goſpell in great multitude, as they be found and taken out of the Regiſters of Fitziames Biſhop of London, by the faithfull helpe and induſtry of R. Carket citizen of London.

The hiſtorie of diuers good men and women, perſecuted for religion in the Citie and Dioces of the Biſhop of London, briefly extracted out of the Regiſters of Richard Fitziames.

Ex Regiſtro Fitziames.

AMongeſt and beſides the great number of the faithful martyrs and profeſſours of Chriſte, that conſtantly in the ſtrength of the holy Ghoſt, gaue their liues for the teſtimonie of his truthe, I finde recorded in the Regiſter of London, betwene the yeares of our Lorde. 1509. and 1527. the names of diuers other perſons both men and women: who in the fulnes of that darke and myſtie times of ignoraunce, had alſo ſome portion of Gods good ſpirite whiche induced them to the knowledge of his trueth and Goſpel, and were diuerſly troubled, perſecuted, and impriſoned for the ſame: notwithſtanding by the proud, cruell and bloudy rage of the Catholique ſeat, and through the weaknes and frailtie of their owne nature (not then fully ſtrengthned in God) it was againe in them, for the time, ſuppreſſed and kept vnder, as appeareth by their ſeueral abiuratiōs made before Richard Fitziames then biſhop of London (in hys time a moſt cruell perſecutor of Chriſtes church) or els before his vicar general deputed for yͤ ſame. And for aſmuch as many of the aduerſaries of Gods trueth, haue of late dayes diſdainefully and braggingly cried out, and made demaunds in their publique aſſemblies and yet do, aſking where this our church and religion was wythin theſe 50. or 60. yeares: I haue thought it not altogether vaine, ſomewhat to ſtop ſuch lying crakers, both by mentioning theyr names, and likewyſe opening ſome of the chiefe and principal matters, for which they wer ſo vnmercifully afflicted and moleſted, thereby to geue to vnderſtand, as wel the continuaunce and conſent of the true church of Chriſte in that age, touching the chiefe poynts of our faith, though not in like perfection of knowledge and cōſtancie in all: as alſo by the way, ſomething to touch what fond and friuolous matters the ignoraunt Prelates ſhamed not in that time of blindneſſe to obiect againſt the poore & ſimple people, accounting them as heynous and great offences, yea, ſuch as deſerued death both of body and ſoule. But leaſt I ſhauld ſeeme too prolixe and tedious heerein, I will nowe briefly proceede wyth the ſtorie, and firſt begin wyth theyr names, whych are theſe.

The profeſſiō of the Proteſtantes no new doctrine.

Anno. 1510.

Ioanne Baker.
William Pottyer.
Iohn Forge.
Thomas Goodred.
Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.
Thomas Forge.
Alyce Forge.
Iohn Forge, theyr ſon.
William Couper.
Lewes Iohn.
Ioanne Iohn.
Ihon Webbe, alias Baker.

Anno. 1512.

Iohn Houſhold.
Robert Raſcal.

Anno. 1517.

Elizabeth Stanford.
George Browne.

Anno. 1518.

Iohn Wykes.
Richard Butler.

Anno. 1521 — Anno. 1522.
Iohn Caluerton.
Iohn Woodroſe.
Richard Woolman.
Roger Hyllyar.
Anno. 1521.
Alyce Couper.
Anno. 1523.
Thomas Auſtye.
Ioanne Auſtye.
Thomas Graunt.
Iohn Garter.
Anno. 1526.
Chriſtofer Rauins.
Dioniſe Rauins.
Anno. 1527.
Thomas Vincent.
Richard Butler.
Iohn Samme.
William Kyng.
Robert Durdant.
Henry Woolman.
Edmond Spilman.
Iohn Higges, aliâs Noke, aliâs Iohnſonne.
Henry Chambers.
Iohn Hynggyns.
Thomas Egleſton.

Here foloweth the particular examination of all theſe heere aboue named.

To theſe were diuers and ſundry particular Articles, (beſides the common and generall ſort accuſtomably vſed in ſuch caſes) priuately obiected, euen ſuch as they were then accuſed of either by their curate, or other their neighbours. And becauſe I thinke it ſomewhat ſuperfluous to make any large recitall of all and euery part of their ſeuerall proceſſe: I minde therefore briefly only to touch ſo many of their articles as may be ſufficient to induce the Chriſtian Reader to iudge the ſooner of the reſt: being (I aſſure you) of no greater importance, then theſe that folow: Except that ſometime they were charged moſt ſlanderouſly with horrible and blaſphemous lies, againſt the maieſtie and truth of God, which as they vtterly denied, ſo doo I now for this preſent keepe ſecret in ſilence, as well for breuities ſake, as alſo ſomewhat to colour & hide the ſhameles practiſes of that lieng generation. But to our purpoſe.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitziames.

Ioanne Baker.

The chiefeſt obiection againſt Ioanne Baker, was, that ſhe would not only her ſelfe not reuerence ẏ Crucifixe: but had alſo perſwaded a frend of hers lieng at the point of death, not to put any truſt or cõfidẽce in the Crucifixe, but in God which is in heauen, who only worketh all the myracles that be done, and not the dead Images, that be but ſtockes and ſtones: and therefore ſhe was ſory, that euer ſhe had gone ſo often on Pilgrimage to S. Sauiour and other Idols. Alſo, that ſhe did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to geue pardons, & that Lady Yong (who was not long before that time burned, died a true martyr of God, and therefore ſhe wiſhed of God, that ſhe her ſelfe might do no worſe then the ſaid Lady Yong had done.

Agaynſt worſhipping of the crucifixe or croſſe. Teſtimonie for the Lady yong Mart.

William Pottier. Falſe ſlaunder of the aduerſaries.

Vnto william Pottyer, beſides diuers other falſe and ſlanderous articles (as that he ſhould denie the benefite and effect of Chriſtes paſſion) it was alſo alleged that he ſhould affirme, that there were ſixe Gods. The firſt three was the holy Trinitie, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The fourth was a prieſts concubine beeing kept in his chamber. The fift was the Deuill. And the ſixt that thing that a man ſetteth his mind moſt vpon.

Anſwere.

The firſt part of this Article he vtterly denied, confeſſing moſt firmely and truely the bleſſed Trinitie to be only one God in one vnitie of Deitie: as to the other three he anſwered, that a Prieſt delighting in his concubine, made her as his God Likewiſe a wicked perſon perſiſting in his ſinne without repentaunce, made the Deuill his God. And laſtly he graunted, that hee once hearing of certaine men, whiche by the ſinging and chattering of birdes, would ſeeke to knowe what things were to come, eyther to themſelues or others, ſayd that thoſe men eſteemed their birds as Gods: and otherwiſe he ſpake not.

T. Godred. Tho. Walker. Tho. Forge. &c.

Amongſt the manifold and ſeuerall articles obiected againſt Thomas Godred, Thomas walker, Thomas Forge, Alyce Forge his wife, Iohn Forge their ſonne, Iohn Caluerton, Iohn woodroſe, Richard woolman, and Roger Hilliar (As that they ſhould ſpeake againſt Pilgrimages, praieng vnto Saints, and ſuch like, this principally was propounded, that they all denied the carnall and corporall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the altar: and further, had concealed, and conſented vnto their teachers and inſtructers of that doctrine, and had not according vnto ẏ lawes of the Church, accuſed and preſented them vnto the Biſhop or Ordinary. Alſo great and heinous diſpleaſure was conceiued againſt Richard wolman, for that he tearmed the Church of Paules, a houſe of theeues: affirming that Prieſts, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons there, were not liberall geuers vnto the poore (as they ought) but rather takers away from them, what they could get.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation and corporall preſence.

Tho. Auſty. Ioan Auſty. &c.

Likewiſe, as Thomas Auſtye, Ioanne Auſtye hys wife, Thomas Graunt, Iohn Garters, Chriſtofer Rauins, Dioniſe Rauins his ſiſter, Thomas Vincent, Lewes Iohn, Ioan Iohn his wife, & Iohn webbe, were of one felowſhip and profeſſion of faith, with diuers of ẏ laſt before recited: ſo were they alſo almoſt all apprehended about one time, & chiefly burdened with one opinion of the Sacrament. which declareth euidently, that notwithſtandyng the darke ignoraunce of thoſe corrupted tymes, yet God did euer in mercy opẽ the eyes of ſome, to behold the manifeſt truth, euen in thoſe thinges, whereof the Papiſtes make now greateſt vaunt and bragge of longeſt continuaunce. Furthermore many of them were charged to haue ſpoken agaynſt Pilgrimages: & to haue read and vſe certaine Engliſh bookes, repugnyng the fayth of the Romiſh Church: as the foure Euangeliſtes, wickleffes wicket, a booke of the x. commaundementes of almightie God, the Reuelation of S. Iohn, the Epiſtles of Paule & Iames, with other like, which thoſe holy ones could neuer abide, & good cauſe why: for as darkenes could neuer agree with light, no more cã ignoraunce, the mainteiner of that kingdome, with the true knowledge of Chriſt and his Goſpel.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiatiõ, & corporall preſence.

Agaynſt holy dayes.

It was further particularly obiected agaynſt Ioanne Iohn, the wife of Lewes Iohn, that (beſides the premiſſes) ſhe learned and mainteined, that God commaunded no holy dayes to bee kept, but onely the Sabboth day, and therefore ſhe would keepe none but it, nor no faſtyng dayes affirmyng, that to faſt from ſinne was the true faſt. Moreouer, that ſhe had deſpiſed the Pope, his Pardons, and Pilgrimages: In ſomuch that when any poore body aſked his almes of her in the worſhip of the Lady of walſingham, ſhe would ſtraight aunſwere in contempt of the Pilgrimage: the Lady of walſingham helpe thee. And if ſhe gaue any thyng vnto him, ſhe would then ſay: Take this in the worſhyp of our Lady in heauen, and let the other goe. which declareth that for lacke of better inſtructiõ and knowledge, ſhe yet ignorauntly attributed too much honour to the true Saintes of God departed: though otherwiſe ſhe did abhorre the idolatrous worſhippyng of the dead Images. By which example, as alſo by many others (for ſhortneſſe ſake, at this preſent omitted) I haue iuſt occaſion to cõdemne the wilfull ſubtilitie of thoſe, that in this bright ſhinyng light of Gods truth, would yet vnder colour of godly remembraunce, ſtill mainteyne the hauyng of Images in the Church, craftely excuſing their idolatrous kneelyng and prayng vnto them, by affirming that they neuer worſhypped the dead Images, but the thynges that the Images did repreſent. But if that were their onely doctrine and cauſe of hauyng of them, why the would their predeceſſours ſo cruelly compell theſe poore ſimple people thus openly in their recantations to abiure and reuoke their ſpeakyng agaynſt the groſſe adoration of the outward Images onely, and not againſt the thing repreſented: which many of them, (as appeareth partly by this exãple) in their ignoraunt ſimplicitie, confeſſed might be worſhipped. Howbeit, God be thanked (who euer in his mercy continue it) their coulourable and hypocriticall excuſes can not now take ſuch place in the hartes of the elect of God, as they haue done heretofore, eſpecially ſeyng the word of God doth ſo manifeſtly forbid as wel the worſhyppyng of them, as alſo the makyng or hauing of them, for order of Religion.

Againſt pilgrimage, and adoration of images

William Couper and his wife

It was alledged againſt williã Couper and Alice Couper his wife, that they had ſpoken againſt Pilgrimages, & worſhyppyng of Images: but chiefly the woman, who hauyng her childe on a tyme hurt by fallyng into a pyt or ditche, and earneſtly perſwaded by ſome of her ignoraunt neighbours, to go on Pilgrimage to S. Laurẽce for helpe for her child, ſayd that neither S. Laurence, nor any other S. could helpe her child, & therfore none ought to goe on Pilgrimage to any Image made with mãs hãd, but oneto vnto almightie God: for Pilgrimages were nothyng worth, ſauing to make the Prieſtes rich. Vid. plura inferius.

Againſt inuocation of dead Images.

Iohn Houſhold &c.

Vnto Iohn Houſhold, Robert Raſcall, and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the Article againſt the Sacrament of the altar was obiected, as alſo that they had ſpoken agaynſt praying to Saintes, & had deſpiſed the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, and others of his Clergy. But eſpecially Iohn Houſhold was charged to haue called thẽ Antichriſtes and whoremongers, and the Pope him ſelfe a ſtrong ſtrumpet, and a common baude vnto the world, who with his Pardõs had drowned in blindnes all Chriſtian Realmes, and that for money.

Againſt trãſubſtantiation and authoritie of the Pope.

George Brown.

Alſo among diuers other ordinary Articles propounded agaynſt George Browne, theſe were cõſited very heynous & hereticall: Firſt, that he had ſayd, that he knew no cauſe why the Croſſe ſhould be worſhipped, ſeyng that the ſame was an hurt & payne vnto our Sauiour Chriſt in the tyme of his Paſſion, and not any eaſe or pleaſure, alledging for example, that if he had had a frend hanged or drowned, he would euer after haue loued that gallowes, or water, (by the which his frend dyed) rather worſe for that, thẽ better. An other obiection was, that he had erro-

Againſt adoration of the croſſe.

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Againſt immoderate riches of the popes clergy

neouſly, obſtinately, and maliciouſly ſaid (for ſo are theyr words) that the Church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched ſomewhat the quicke, and therefore no maruell though they counted it erroneous and malicious: for take away their gaine, and farewell their religion. They alſo charged him to haue refuſed holy water to be caſt about his chamber, and likewiſe to haue ſpoken againſt prieſts, with other vaine matters.

Iohn Wikes.

THe greateſt matter wherewith they burdened Iohn Wikes, was that he had often and of long time kept company with diuers perſons ſuſpected of hereſie (as they termed them) and had receiued them into his houſe, and there did ſuffer and heare them ſundry times reade erroneous and hereticall bookes, cõtrary to the faith of the Romiſh Church, and did alſo himſelfe conſent vnto their doctrine, and had many times ſecretly conueyed them from the taking of ſuch as were appointed to apprehend them.

Ioh. Southacke. Rich Butler. &c Vide inferius. Againſt the real preſence.

LIke as the greateſt number of thoſe before mentioned: ſo were alſo Iohn Southake, Richard Butler, Iohn Samme, William King, Robert Durdant, and Henrye Woolmã, eſpecially charged with ſpeaking words againſt the real preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo againſt Images, and the reſt of the ſeauen Sacraments. Howbeit, they burdened the laſt v. perſons with the reading of certaine Engliſh hereticall bookes, accounting moſt blaſphemouſly the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, writtẽ by the 4. Euangeliſts, to be of that number, as appeareth euidently by the 8. article obiected by Tho. Benet Doctour of lawe, and Chancelour and vicare generall vnto Rich. Fitziames then Biſh. of London, againſt the ſayd Rich. Butler. The very words of which article (for a more declaration of truth) I haue thought good heere to inſert: which are theſe.

Reading of Engliſhe bookes.

Alſo we obiect to you, that diuers times, and eſpecially vpon a certaine night, about the ſpace of three yeares laſt paſt, in Robert Durdantes houſe of Yuer court neare vnto Stanes, you erroneouſly and damnably read in a great booke of hereſie of the ſayd Robert Durdants, all that ſame night, certaine chapters of the Euangeliſts in Engliſh, conteining in them diuers erroneous and damnable opinions and concluſions of hereſie, in the preſence of the ſayde Robert Durdant, Iohn Butler, Robert Carder, Ienkin Butler, William King, and diuers other ſuſpect perſons of hereſie then being preſent, and hearing your ſayd erroneous lectours and opinions.

Of theſe men ſee more hereafter in the table following.

To the ſame effect and purpoſe tended the tenour of ſome of the Articles propounded againſt the other foure. Whereby (as alſo by others like before ſpecified) we may eaſily iudge what reuerence they which yet will be counted the true and onely Churche of Chriſt, did beare to the word and Goſpell of Chriſt: who ſhamed not to blaſpheme the ſame with moſt horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions, and concluſions of hereſie. But why ſhould we marueI thereat, ſeeing the holy Ghoſt in ſundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter daies there ſhould come ſuch proud and curſed ſpeakers, which ſhal ſpeake lies through hypocriſy, and haue their conſciences marked with an hot yron? Let vs therefore now thanke our heauenly father for reuealing them vnto vs, and let vs alſo pray him, that of his free mercies in his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus, he would (if it be to his glory) eyther turne and mollifie all ſuch harts, or elſe (for the peace and quietnes of his Church) he woulde in his righteous iudgement take them from vs.

The death of Richard Fitziames biſhop of London. Cuthbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London.

About this time Richard Fitziames ended his life. After whoſe death, Cutbert Tunſtall (afterwards Byſhop of Durham) ſucceeded in the Sea and Biſhoprike of London: who ſoone vpon his firſt entrie into the roome, minding to follow rightly the foteſteps of his predeceſſour, cauſed Edmund Spilman prieſt, Henry Chambers, Iohn Higgins, and Thomas Egleſtone, to be apprehended, and ſo to be examined vpon ſundry like Articles, as before are expreſſed, and in the end, either for feare of his crueltie, and the rigour of death, or elſe through hope of his flattering promiſes (ſuch was their weakeneſſe) he compelled them to abiure and renounce their true profeſſed faith touching the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud: which was, that Chriſtes corpall body was not in the ſacrament, but in heauen, and that the Sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body it ſelfe.

The reall preſence denied.

MOreouer, about the ſame time there were certaine articles obiected againſt Iohn Hig, aliâs Noke, aliâs Iohnſon, by the ſaide Biſhops vicar generall. Amongſt which were theſe: Firſt, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawfull for a tẽporall mã to haue two wiues at once, as for a prieſt to haue two benefices. Alſo that he had in hys cuſtody a booke of the foure Euangeliſtes in Engliſh, and did often reade therein: and that he fauoured the doctrines & opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his litle finger, then all ẏ doctours in England in their whole bodies: and that all the Prieſtes in the Church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewiſe it was alledged agaynſt him, that he had denied Purgatory, and had ſayd, that while he were alyue he would do as much for him ſelfe as he could, for after his death he thought that prayer & almes deedes could little helpe him.

Againſt a prieſt to haue two benefices.

Teſtimony touching M. Luther

These and ſuch like matters were they, wherewith theſe poore and ſimple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heynous heretickes excommunicated, empriſoned, and at laſt compelled to recant: and ſome of them in vtter ſhame and reproch (beſides the ordinary bearyng of fagots before the Croſſe in proceſſiõ, or els at a Sermon) were enioyned for penaunce (as they termed it) as well to appeare once euery yeare before their ordinary, as alſo to weare the ſigne of a fagot painted vpon their ſleeues or other part of their outward garment, and that during their liues, or ſo often and long as it pleaſed their ordinary to appoint. By which long rigorous and open puniſhing of them, they ment (as it ſhould ſeeme) vtterly to terrifie and keepe backe all others from the true knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt and his Goſpell. But the Lord be euermore prayſed, what effect their wicked purpoſes therein haue takẽ, theſe our moſt lightſome dayes of Gods glorious Goſpel do moſt ioyfully declare.

The maner of popiſh penaunce.

The troubles of Helene Heyer, and Robert Barkeway.

THere were alſo troubled beſide theſe, certaine others more ſimple and ignoraunt: who hauyng but a very ſmal ſmake or taſt of the truth, did yet at the firſt (as it may ſeeme) gladly conſent vnto the ſame: but beyng apprehended, they quickly agayne yelded, and therfore had onely aſſigned them for their penaunce, the bearyng of a litle cãdle before the Croſſe, without any further opẽ abiuryng or recantyng. Amongeſt which I finde two eſpecially: the one, a woman called Elene Heyer, to whom it was obiected that ſhe had neither confeſſed her ſelfe vnto the Prieſt, nor yet receiued the Sacrament of the altar by the ſpace of 4. yeares, and notwithſtandyng had yearely eaten fleſhe at Eaſter, and after, as well as others that had receiued the ſame, contrary to the vſuall maner and conuerſation of all other Chriſtian people.

The other was a mã named Robert Berkeway who (beſides moſt wicked blaſphemies agaynſt God, whiche he vtterly denyed) was charged to haue ſpoken heynous wordes againſt the Popes holy and bleſſed Martyr Thomas Becket, callyng him micher and theefe, for that hee wrought by craftes and imaginations.

Thus haue I (as briefly as I could) ſummarely collected the principall Articles obiected agaynſt theſe weake, infirme, and earthy veſſels. Not minding hereby to excuſe or condẽne them in theſe their fearefull falles and daungerous defectiõs: but leauyng them vnto the vnmeaſurable rich mercies of the Lord, I thought onely to make manifeſt the vnſaciable bloudy crueltie of ẏ Popes kingdome, agaynſt the Goſpell and true Church of Chriſt, nothyng mitigatyng their enuious rage, no not agaynſt the very ſimple idiotes, and that ſometyme in moſt friuolous and irreligious caſes. But now leauyng to ſay any further herein, I will (by Gods grace) go forthward with other ſomewhat ſerious matters.

¶The death and Martyrdome of William Swetyng, and Iohn Brewſter.

wil. Sweting, Iohn Brewſter Martirs.

IN ſearchyng and peruſing of the Regiſter, for the collection of the names & Articles before recited, I finde that within the compaſſe of the ſame yeares, there were alſo ſome others, who after they had once ſhewed themſelues as frayle & vnconſtant as the reſt (beyng either therewith pricked in conſcience, or otherwiſe zelouſly ouercome with the manifeſt truth of Gods moſt ſacred word) became yet agayn as earneſt profeſſours of Chriſt, as euer they were before, and for the ſame profeſſion were the ſecõd tyme apprehẽded, examined, condemned, and in the end were moſt cruelly burned. Of the which number were, Williã Swetyng, and Iohn Brewſter, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the xviij. day of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1511. the chiefeſt caſe of religion alledged agaynſt them in their Articles, was their fayth cõcernyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud. Which becauſe it differed from the abſurde, groſſe, and Caparniticall opiniõ of the new Scholemẽ, was counted as moſt heynous hereſie. There were other thyngs beſides obiected agaynſt them: as the reading of certaine forbidden bookes, and accompanying with ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected of hereſie. But one great and heynous offence counted amongeſt the reſt, was their putting & leauing of the payntyng fagots, which they were at their firſt abiuryng, enioyned to weare, as

Againſt trãſubſtantiatiõ & corporall preſẽce in the Sacrament.

badges,

The cruell rigor of the Catholike clergy againſt the profeſſours of the Goſpell.

badges, during their lyues, or ſo long as it ſhould pleaſe their Ordinary to appoynt, and not to leaue them off, vpō paine of relaps, vntill they were diſpenſed withall for the ſame. The breach of this iniunction was eſteemed to be of no ſmall weight, and yet the matter well & throughly conſidered, it ſeemeth by their cōfeſſions, they were both thereunto by neceſſitie enforced. For the one, named Sweting, being for feare of the Biſhops cruelty cōſtrained to wander the countreys to get his poore liuing, came at length vnto Colcheſter, where by the parſon of the pariſh of Mary Magdalen, he was prouoked to be ẏ holy water clarke, and in that conſideration had that infamous badge firſt taken away from him. The other (which was Brewſter) leaft off his, at the commandement of the Controller of the Earle of Oxfordes houſe: who hiring the poore man to labour in the Earles houſhold buſines, woulde not ſuffer him, working there, to weare that counterfait cogniſaunce any longer: ſo that (as I ſaid) neceſſity of liuing ſeemeth to compell both of them at the firſt to breake that iniunction: and therfore if charitie had borne as great ſway in ẏ harts of the Popes Clergy, as did crueltie, this trifle would not haue bene ſo heinouſly taken, as to be brought againſt thē for an article and cauſe of condemnation to death. But where tirannie once taketh place, as well all godly loue, as alſo all humane reaſon & duties are quite forgotten. Well, to be ſhort, what for ẏ cauſes before recited, as alſo for that they had once already abiured, and yet (as they terme it) fel againe into relaps, they were both (as you haue hearde) in the ende burned together in Smithfielde: althoughe the ſame parties (as the Regiſter recordeth) did againe before their death, fearefully forſake their former reuiued cōſtancie, and ſubmitting themſelues vnto the diſcipline of the Romiſh Church, craued abſolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, becauſe many of the Regiſters notes & records in ſuch caſes may rightly be doubted of, and ſo called into queſtiō, I refer the certaine knowledge hereof vnto the Lord (who is the trier of all truthes) and the external iudgemēt vnto the godly and diſcrete reader: Not forgetting yet by the way (if that the report ſhoulde be true) vpon ſo iuſt an occaſion to charge that catholique clergy & their wicked lawes, with a more ſhameles tirannie & vncharitable cruelty thē before. For if they nothing ſtay their bloudy malice towards ſuch as ſo willingly ſubmit themſelues vnto their mercies: what fauour may the faithfull and conſtant profeſſours of Chriſt looke for at their hāds? I might here alſo aſke of them how they folow the pitiful and louing admonitiō, (or rather precept) of our Sauiour Chriſt (whoſe true and only Church they ſo ſtoutly bragge to be) who in the 17. chapt. of S. Luke, ſayth: Though thy brother ſinne againſt thee ſeuen times in a day, and ſeuen times in a day turne to thee, ſaieng, It repenteth me: thou ſhalt forgiue him. But what go I about to allure them vnto the folowing of the rule and counſaile of him, vnto whoſe worde and Goſpell they ſeeme moſt open and vtter enemies? wherefore, not purpoſing to ſtay any longer thereupon, I will leaue thē vnto the righteous reuengemēt of the Lord, whereunto let vs now heere adioine the ſtory of one Iohn Browne, a good Martir of the Lord burnt at Aſhford, about this fourth yeare of King Henry the eight, whoſe ſtory heereunder foloweth.

Submiſſion would not be taken of the charitable catholikes.

No mercy in the popes Church.

¶ Iohn Browne father to Richard Browne, which Richard was in priſon in Canterbury, and ſhould haue bene burned with two more beſides himſelfe, the next day after the death of Queene Mary, but by the proclaiming of Queene Elizabeth, they eſcaped.

Ioh. Brown burned in Aſheforde about the 4. yeare of king Henry 8.

The occaſion of the firſt trouble of this Iohn Browne, was by a prieſt ſitting in Graueſend barge. I. Brown being ẏ ſame time in the barge, came & ſate hard by hym, whereupon after certain cōmunicatiō, the Prieſt aſked him, doeſt thou know (ſaid he) who I am, thou ſitſt too neere me, thou ſitſt on my clothes. No ſir (ſaid he) I know not what you are. I tell thee I am a Prieſt. What ſir, are yee a Perſon or Vicar, or a Ladies Chaplen. No (quoth he) againe, I am a ſoule prieſt, I ſing for a ſoule, ſaith he. Do ye ſo ſir quoth the other, that is well done. I pray you ſir, (quoth he) where find you ẏ ſoule when you go to Maſſe. I can not tel thee, ſaid the Prieſt. I pray you where do you leaue it ſir whē the Maſſe is done. I can not tell thee ſayde the Prieſt. Neither can you tell where you finde it when you go to Maſſe, nor where you leaue it when the Maſſe is done, how can you then haue the ſoule ſaid he. Go thy waies ſaid ẏ Prieſt, thou art an heretike, and I will be euen with thee. So at the landing, the Prieſt taking to hym Water More, and William More, two Gentlemen brethren, rode ſtraightwaies to the Archb. Warham, whereupon the ſaid Iohn Browne within three daies after, his wife being churched the ſame day, & he bringing in a meſſe of pottage to the boord to his gueſts, was ſent for, and hys feete bound vnder his own horſe, & ſo brought vp to Cant. neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whether he went, nor whether he ſhould. And there continuing frō Lowſonday to ẏ friday before Whitſonday, not knowing to his wife all this while where he was. He was ſet in the ſtockes ouer night, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Aſhford, an. 1517. The ſame night as he was in the ſtocks at Aſhford, where he & his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came & ſate by him al ẏ night before he ſhould be burned, to whom he declaring ẏ whole ſtory how he was handled, ſhewed & told how ẏ he coulde not ſet his feete to the ground, for they were burned to the bones, and told her how by the two Biſhops, Warham, & Fiſher, his feet were heat vpon the whote coales, & burnt to the bones, to make me ſaid he to deny my Lord, which I will neuer do, for if I ſhould deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter denie me. I pray thee, ſaid he, therefore good Elizabeth, continue as thou haſt begon, and bring vp thy childrē vertuouſly & in the feare of God, & ſo ẏ next day on Whitſonday euē, this godly Martir was burned. Stāding at ẏ ſtake this praier he made holding vp his hands,

Chilten of wey; a Baily arrant, and one Beare of Willſelborough with 2. of the Byſhops ſeruantes ſet him vpon the horſe; and ſo carried him away.

O Lord I yeeld me to thy grace,
Graunt me mercy for my treſpaſſe,
Let neuer the feend my ſoule chaſe,
Lord I will bow, and thou ſhalt beate,
Let neuer my ſoule come in hell heate.
Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, thou haſt redeemed
me O Lord of truth, and ſo he ended.

Ex teſtimonio Aliciæ Browne eius filiæ, cuius mariti nomen dicebatur ſtrat. in parochia S. Pulchri.

At the fire, the ſaid Chilten the Bayly Arrant, bade caſt in his children alſo, for they would ſpring (ſayd he) of hys aſhes.

This bleſſed Martyr Iohn Browne had borne a fagot ſeauen yeares before in the daies of King Henry the 7.

As it is the propertie of Sathā euer to malice the proſperous eſtate of the Saintes of God, & true profeſſours of Chriſt: ſo ceaſſeth he not continually to ſtyrre vp his wicked mēbers to the effectuall accompliſhyng of that which his enuious nature ſo greedily deſireth: if not alwayes openly by colour of tyrannicall lawes, yet (at the leaſtwiſe) by ſome ſubtill practiſe of ſecret murther. Which thing doth moſt playnly appeare not onely in a great number of the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſtes Churche, mentioned in this booke, but alſo, and eſpecially in the diſcourſe of this lamētable hiſtory that now I haue in hand, concernyng the ſecrete & cruell murderyng of Richard Hunne, whoſe ſtory here conſequently enſueth, decerped and collected partly out of the Regiſters of London, partly out of a Bill exhibited and denounced in the Parliament houſe.

¶ The ſtory of Richard Hunne.

Richard Hunne martir.

Anno. 1514.

There was in the yeare of our Lord. 1514. one Richard Hunne marchaūt Taylour, dwelling within the Citie of London, & freeman of the ſame, who was eſteemed during his lyfe, & worthely reputed and taken, not onely for a man of true dealyng, and good ſubſtaunce, but alſo for a good Catholicke mā. This Richard Hunne had a child at nourſe in Middleſex in the Pariſh of S. Mary Matfilon, which dyed: by the occaſion wherof one Thomas Drifield Clerke, beyng Parſon of the ſayd Pariſh, ſued ẏ ſayd Richard Hunne in the ſpirituall Court for a bearyng ſheete, which the ſayd Thom. Drifield claymed vniuſtly to haue of the ſayd Hunne for a mortuary for Steuē Hunne, ſonne of the ſayd Richard Hunne: which Steuē beyng at nourſe in the ſayd Pariſh, dyed being of the age of. v. weekes and not aboue. Hunne anſwered him agayne, that for aſmuch as the child had no proprietie in the ſheete, he therfore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to haue it. Whereupō the Prieſt moued with a couetous deſire, & loth to loſe his pretēded right, aſcited him to appeare in the ſpirituall Court, there to anſwere the matter. Whereupon the ſayd Rich. Hunne beyng troubled in the ſpirituall Court, was forced to ſeeke coūſell of the learned in the law of this lād, & purſued a writ of Premunire agaynſt the ſayd Thomas Drifield, and other his ayders, counſellers, proctors, and adherents, as by the proces therof is yet to be ſene. Which whē the reſt of the Prieſtly order heard of, greatly diſdaynyng that any lay man ſhould ſo boldly enterpriſe ſuch a matter againſt any of thē, & fearing alſo, that if they ſhould now ſuffer this Prieſt to be cōdēned at the ſute of Hunne, there would be therby euer after, a libertie opened vnto all others of the laity to do the like with the reſt of the Clergy in ſuch like caſes: they ſtraightwayes, both to ſtop this matter, and alſo to be reuenged of him, for that he had already done, ſought all meanes they poſſibly could, how to

The deſpitefull demeanor of the popes holy catholikes to be noted.

entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruell lawes: and therupon making ſecret and diligent inquiſition, & ſeeking al corners they could againſt him, at lẽgth they found a means how to accuſe him of hereſie vnto Richard Fitziames then Biſhop of London, and ſo did: who (deſirious to ſatiſfie the reuenging and bloudy affection of his chaplaynes) cauſed therupon him to be apprehended, and cõmitted vnto priſon within the Lolards Tower at Paules, ſo that none of his freendes might be ſuffered to come to hym. Thus Richard Hunne being clapt in the Lolards Tower, ſhortly after, at the earneſt inſtigation of one Doctour Horſey the Biſhops Chauncelour (a man more ready to prefer the Clergies cruell tyrannie, then the truth of Chriſtes Goſpel) was brought before the Biſhop at his manour of Fulham, the ſecond day of December, in the yeare beforementioned: where within his Chappell he examined him vpon theſe Articles following, collected againſt him by the ſaid Horſey and his complices.

Ric. Hunne cõmitted to Lollardes tower.

The Articles obiected againſt Richard Hunne.

Firſt, that he had read, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinately defended, againſt the lawes of almighty God: that tythes, or payeng of tythes was neuer ordeined to be due, ſauing onely by the couetouſneſſe of prieſtes.

2 Item, that he had read, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinately defended: that Biſhops and Prieſtes be the Scribes and Phariſees that did crucifie Chriſt, and damned him to death.

3 Item, that he had read, taught, preached, &c. that Byſhops and Prieſts be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neyther fulfillers of the law of God, but catching, rauening, and all things taking, and nothing miniſtring, neither geuing.

4 Item, where and when one Ioanne Baker was detected and abiured of many great hereſies (as it appeareth by her abiuration) the ſayd Richard Hunne ſayd, publiſhed, taught, preached, and obſtinately tooke vpon him, ſayeng, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it coſt him fyue hundred markes.

5 Item, afterwards (where and when the ſayd Ioanne Baker after her abiuration, was enioyned open penance according to her demerites) the ſayd Richard Hunne ſaide, publiſhed, taught, and obſtinately did defend her, ſayeng: the Byſhop of London and his officers haue done open wrong to the ſayde Ioanne Baker, in puniſhing her for hereſie: for her ſayengs and opinions be according to the lawes of God: Wherefore the Byſhop and hys officers are more woorthie to bee puniſhed for hereſie, then ſhe is.

6 Item, that the ſayd Richard Hunne hath in his keeping diuers Engliſh bookes, prohibited and damned by the law: as the Apocalyps in Engliſh, Epiſtles and Goſpels in Engliſh, Wickliffes damnable workes, and other bookes conteining infinite errours, in the which he hath bene long time accuſtomed to reade, teach, and ſtudy dayly.

Particular anſweare vnto theſe ſeuerall obiections, in the Regiſter I finde none, ſauyng that next vnder them, there is written in his name with a contrarye hande, theſe words folowing: As touching theſe Articles, I haue not ſpoken them as they be heere layd: Howbeit; vnaduiſedly I haue ſpoken wordes ſomewhat ſounding to the ſame: for the which I am ſory, and aske God mercy, and ſubmit me vnto my Lords charitable and fauourable correction. Which they affirme to be written with Hunnes owne hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the diſcrete wiſedome of the reader indifferently iudge by the whole ſequele of this proces. And further, if it were his owne act, what occaſion then had they ſo cruelly to murther him as they did? ſeeing he had already ſo willingly confeſſed his fault, and ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the charitable and fauourable correction of the Biſhop (for the which euen by their owne lawe, in caſes of moſt heynous hereſie, he ought to be againe receiued and pardoned, (except perhaps they will account horrible murther, to be but the Biſhops fauourable correction. Againe it ſeemeth they had very few credible witneſſes to proue certainely that this was his anſweare and handwriting: for the Regiſter, or ſome other for him (appointed to record the ſame) hath certified it, as of hearesay from others, and not of his own proper ſight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margent of the booke, adioining to the foreſaid anſweare, plainely do declare, which are theſe: Hoc fuit ſcriptum manu propria Richardi Hunne, vt dicitur. Now if he had had any ſure ground to ſtabliſh this certificate, I doubt not, but he would (in ſteede of, vt dicitur) haue regiſtred the names of the aſſiſtants at the time of his examination, (which he confeſſeth to be many) as generally they do in all their actes, eſpecially in caſes of hereſie, as they tearme it. But how ſcrupulous thoſe good fellowes that ſpared not ſo ſhameleſly to murther him, woulde be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let (as I ſaid) the indifferent iudgement of the godly wiſe diſcerne.

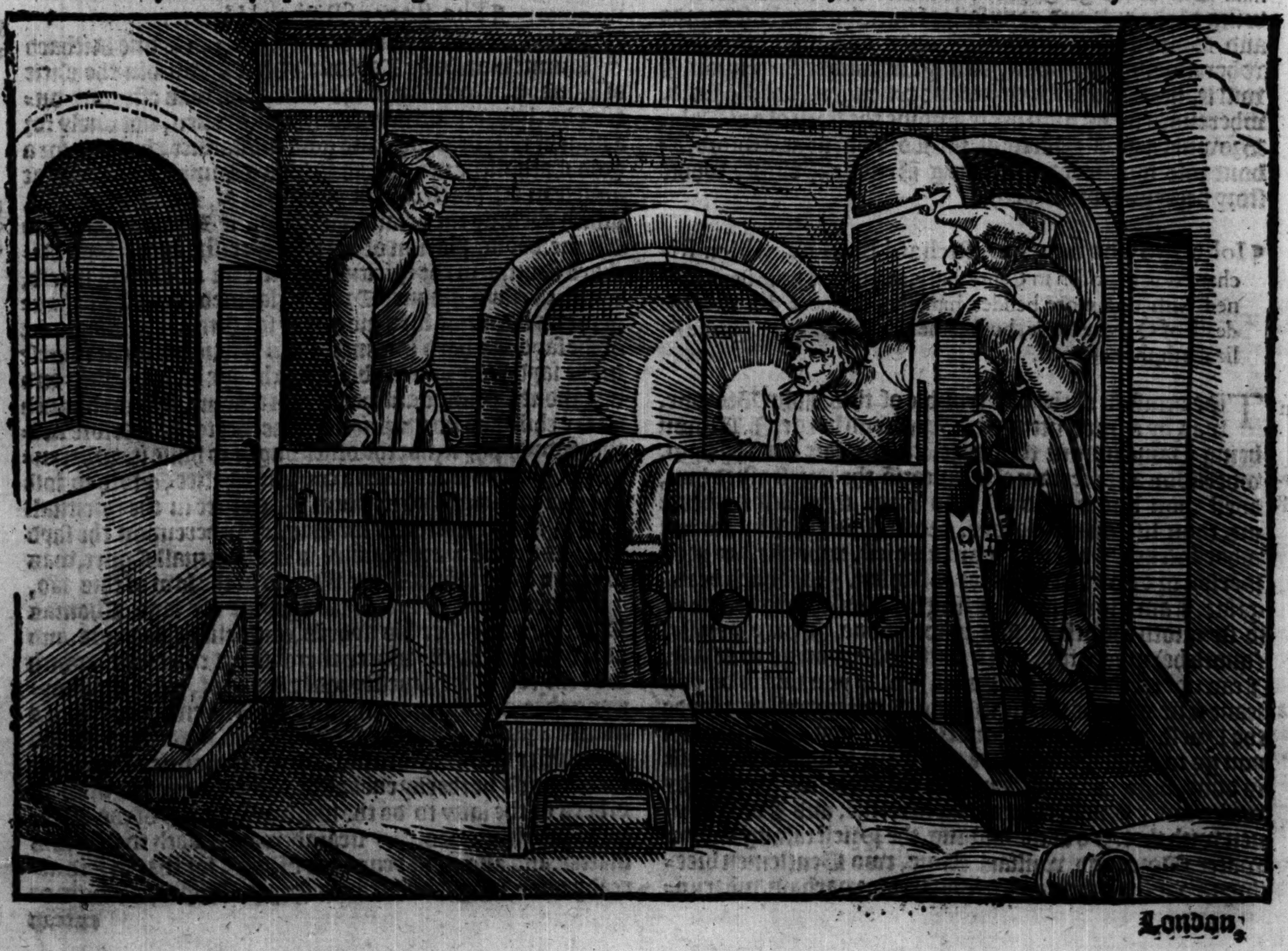
This aunſwere ſmelleth of forging & crafty packing.

Arguments and reaſons prouing this aunſwere not to be of R.Hunne.

This examination ended, the Biſhop ſent him backe againe the ſame day, vnto the Lolardes tower: and then by the appointment of Doctour Horſey his Chauncelour, he was colourably committed from the cuſtody of Charles Joſeph the Sumner, vnto John Spalding the belringer, a man, by whoſe ſimplenes in wit (though otherwiſe wicked) the ſubtill Chauncelour thought to bring his diueliſh pretended homicide the eaſier to paſſe: which moſt cruelly he did by his miniſters ſuborned, within two nights then next folowing accompliſh: as is plainely proued hereafter by the diligent inquirie and finall verdict of ẏ Crowner of

Richarde Hunne ſent backe againe to Lollardes tower.

¶ A deſcription of the Lolards tower, where M. Rich. Hunne was firſt murthered, then by the ſayd parties hanged, afterward condemned of hereſie, and at laſt burned in Smythfield.



London;

Richard Hunne priuely murdred in the Lollardes tower.

Crafty packing of the murdering Papiſtes.

The ſecret conueyance of the murdering of Richarde Hunne.

Horſey the Chaunceler craftely practiſeth.

The death of Hunne ſuſpected of the Londiners.

The Crowner ſitteth vpon the death of Hunne.

Hereſie laid to Hunne after his death.

London, and his inqueſt, made by order of the lawes in that behalfe limited. But when this vſuall practiſe of the Papiſtes was once accompliſhed, there wanted then no ſecret ſhiftes, nor worldly wyles for the crafty colouring of this miſchiefe: and therefore the next morning after they had in the night committed this murther, Iohn Spalding (I doubt not but by the counſaile of his maiſter Chauncelour) gat himſelfe out of the way, into the Citie, and leauing the keyes of the priſon with one of his felowes, willed him to deliuer them vnto the Sumners boy, which accuſtomably did vſe to cary Hunne his meate, and other neceſſaries that he needed: thinking that the boy, firſt finding the priſoner dead, and hanged in ſuch ſort as they left him, they might (by his relation) be thought free from any ſuſpition of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almoſt as they wiſhed. For the boy the ſame morning (being the fourth day of December) hauing the keies deliuered him, accompanied with two other of the Byſhops Sumners, went about x. of the clocke into the priſon, to ſerue the priſoner, as he was wont to do, and when they came vp, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Wherupon they (aſtoniſhed at this ſight) gaue knowledge thereof immediately vnto the Chauncelour, being then in the Church, and watching, I ſuppoſe, of purpoſe, for ſuch newes: who forthwith gat vnto him certaine of his collegues, and went with them into the priſon, to ſee that which his owne wicked cõſcience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainely proued, although then he made a faire face to the contrary, blaſing abroade among the people, by their officers and ſeruants, that Hunne had deſperately hanged himſelfe. Howbeit, the people hauing good experience as well of the honeſt life and godly conuerſation of the man, as alſo of the diueliſh malice of his aduerſaries the Prieſtes, iudged rather that by their procurement he was ſecretly murthered. Wherof aroſe great contention: for the Biſhop of London on the one ſide, taking his clergies part, affirmed ſtoutely that Hunne had hanged himſelfe. The Citizens againe on the other ſide, vehemently ſuſpecting ſome ſecret murther, cauſed the Crowner of London (according to law) to chooſe an inqueſt, and to take good viewe of the dead body, and ſo to trie out the truth of the matter. Wherby the Biſhop and his chapleines were then driuẽ to yͤ extremitie of ſhifts: & therefore minding by ſome ſubtil ſhew of iuſtice, to ſtop the mouthes of the people, they determined that in the meane while as the inqueſt was occupied about their charge, the Biſhop ſhould for his part, procede Ex officio, in caſe of hereſie, againſt the dead perſon: ſuppoſing (moſt like) that if the partie were once condemned of hereſie, the inqueſt durſt not then but finde him giltie of his owne death, and ſo clearely acquite them from all the former ſuſpition of priuie murther. This determinatiõ of theirs they did immediately put in practiſe in order as foloweth.

D. Hedde promoter of the dead.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitziames. London.

Firſt, beſides the Articles before mentioned (whyche they affirme were obiected againſt him in his life tyme) D. Hed did now alſo after his death, collect certain others out of the prologue of his Engliſh Bible, remaining then in the Biſhops handes: which he diligently peruſed, not to learne any good thing therein, but to get thereout ſuche matter, as he thought might beſt ſerue their curſed purpoſe: as appeareth by the tenure of the Articles, whyche are theſe.

Newe articles cõmenſed againſt Hunne after his death.

1 Firſt the ſaid booke damneth all holy Canons, calling them ceremonies and ſtatutes of ſinfull men and vncunning, and calleth the Pope Sathanas and Antichriſt.

2 Item, it damneth the Popes Pardons, ſaieng, they be but leaſings.

3 Item, the ſayd booke of Hunne ſaith, that Kings and Lords called Chriſten in name, and heathen in conditions, defoyle the Sanctuarie of God, bringing clarkes full of couetiſe, hereſie, and malice, to ſtop Gods law that it can not be knowne, kept, and freely preached.

4 Item, the ſaide booke ſaith, that Lordes and Prelates purſue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the lawe of God: and cheriſh them that preach ſinful mens traditions and ſtatutes, by the which he meaneth the holy Canons of Chriſtes Church.

5 Item, that poore men and idiotes haue the truth of the holy Scriptures, more then a thouſand Prelates and religious men, and clarkes of the ſchole.

6 Item, that Chriſten Kings and Lordes ſet Idols in Gods houſe, and excite the people to Idolatrie.

7 Item, that Princes, Lords, and Prelates ſo doyng, be worſe then Herode that purſued Chriſt, and worſe then Iewes and heathen men that crucified Chriſt.

8 Item, that euery man ſwearing by our Lady, or any other Saint or creature, geueth more honour to the ſaints, then to the holy Trinitie, and ſo he ſayth they be idolaters.

9. Item, he ſayth that Saintes ought not to be honored.

10. Item, he damneth the adoratiõ, prayer, kneelyng, & offeryng to Images, which he calleth ſtockes and ſtones.

11. Item, he ſayth, that the very body of the Lord is not conteyned in the Sacramẽt of the aultar, but that men receiuing it, ſhall thereby keepe in mynde that Chriſtes fleſh was wounded and crucified for vs.

12. Item, he dãneth the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as Art, Ciuile, Canõ, and Diuinitie, ſaying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the lawes of God, and holy Scripture.

An holy mother Church which cannot abide the worde of God to be tranſlated.

13. Item, he defendeth the tranſlation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the Engliſh tongue, which is prohibited by the lawes of our mother holy Church.

Theſe Articles thus collected, as alſo the others before ſpecified, they cauſed for a more ſhew of their pretẽded iuſtice and innocencie, to be opẽly read the next Sonday folowing by the Preacher at Paules Croſſe, with this Proteſtation made before.

The Biſhops publication at Paules croſſe againſt R. Hunne.

☞ Maiſters and frendes, for certaine cauſes and conſiderations, I haue in commaundemẽt to rehearſe, ſhew, & publiſh here vnto you, the Articles of hereſie, vpõ which Richard Hunne was detected and examined: and alſo other great Articles and damnable poyntes and opinions of hereſie conteined in ſome of his bookes be cõmen to light and knowledge, here ready to be ſhewed.

And therewith he read the Articles openly vnto the people, concludyng with theſe wordes:

And maiſters, if there be any man deſirous to ſee the ſpecialtie of theſe Articles, or doubt whether they be cõteined in this booke or not, for ſatiſfying of his minde, let him come to my Lord of London, and he ſhall ſee it with good will. Moreouer, here I counſaile and admoniſhe, that if there be any perſons, that of their ſimplenes haue bene familiar and acquainted with the ſayd Richard Hunne in theſe Articles, or haue heard him read vpon this booke, or any other ſoũdyng to hereſie, or haue any like bookes their ſelues, let them come vnto my Lord of London betwixt this and Candlemaſſe next, and knowledge their fault, & they ſhalbe charitably intreated and dealt withall, ſo that both their goodes and honeſtie ſhalbe ſaued: & if they will not come of their owne offer, but abyde the proceſſe of the law, then at their owne perill be it, if the rigour of the law be executed agaynſt them.

Ex Regiſtro Fitziames, Lond.

After which open publication & admonition, the Byſhop at ſundry tymes examined diuers of his Prieſts, and other lay perſons vpon the contentes of both theſe Articles. Among which examinates, there was a man ſeruaũt and a mayde of the ſayd Hunnes, who although they had of long dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehẽſion; no, not in ſuch points as the Byſhop chiefly obiected, agaynſt him. But yet the Prieſtes (through whoſe procurement this miſchief was firſt begon) ſpared no whit ſtoutly and maliciouſly to accuſe him: ſome in the contentes of the firſt Articles, & ſome in the ſecond. Wherefore hauyng now (as they thought) ſufficient matter agaynſt him, they purpoſed ſpeedely to proceede to his condemnation. And becauſe they would ſeeme to doe all thynges formally, and by preſcript order, they firſt drew out certaine ſhort and ſummary rules, by the which the Byſhop ſhould be directed in this ſolemne Seſſion: which are theſe.

Marke the manner of this proceeding.

1. Firſt, let the Byſhop ſit in his tribunall ſeate, in our Ladyes Chappell.
2. Secondly, let him recite the cauſe of his comming, and take Notaryes to him, to enact that ſhalbe there done.
3. Thirdly, let him declare, how vppon Sonday laſt, at Paules Croſſe, he cauſed to be publiſhed a generall monition, or denunciation, that all fautours and mainteyners of Richard Hunne, ſhould come in, as by this day, & ſubmit themſelues: and let him ſignifie withall, how certaine haue come in, and haue appeared already.
4. Fourthly, let him proteſt & ſay, that if there remayne any yet behynd which haue not appeared accordyng to the former monition and denunciation: yet if they will come, and appeare, and ſubmit themſelues, they ſhalbe heard & receiued with grace and fauour.
5. Fiftly, let the Byſhop or ſome other at his appointmẽt, recite the Articles obiected agaynſt Richard Hunne, in the tyme of his life: and thẽ the other Articles likewiſe, which were out of his great booke of the Bible extracted.
6. Sixtly, let the aunſweres and confeſſions of the ſayd Richard Hunne, ſummarely be recited, with the Atteſtatiõs made to the ſame Articles. Alſo let his bookes be exhibited, and thẽ Thomas Brooke his ſeruaunt be called for.
7. Seuently, let it be openly cryed at the Quere doore,

that if there be any which will defend the articles, opinions, bookes, or the memory of the ſaid Richard Hunne, let them come and appeare, and they ſhall be heard, as the lawe in that behalfe ſhall require.

8 Eightly, let it be openly cryed, as in maner before, for ſuch as be receiuers, fauourers, defenders, or beleeuers of the ſayd Richard Hunne, that all ſuch do appear and ſubmit themſelues to the Biſhop, or elſe he intendeth to proceede to the excommunication of them in generall, according to the exigence of the law in that behalfe.

9 Ninthly, then the Byſhop ſpeaking to the ſtanders by, and to them which ſate with him vpon the bench, of the Clergie, demaunding of them, what their iudgement and opinion is, touching ỹ premiſſes, and whether they thinke it conuenient and agreeable for him to proceede to the ſentence againſt the ſayd Richard Hunne, in this parte to be awarded.

10 Tenthly, after their conſent and counſayle geuen, let the Biſhop reade out the ſentence.

11 Finally, after the ſentence read, let the Byſhop appoint the publication and denuntiation of the foreſaid ſentence, to be read at Paules Croſſe or elſewhere, as to hym ſhall ſeeme expedient, with a Citation likewiſe generally againſt all them that be receiuers, fauourers, and beleeuers of the ſayde Hunne, to geue to vnderſtand why he ought not farther to proceed againſt them, &c.

A ſolemne proceſſe of Fitziames Biſhop of London againſt Richard Hunne being dead.

Now according to the tenure of theſe preſcriptes and rules, the Biſhop of London accompanied with the Biſhops of Durham and Lincolne, ſate in iudgement the xvi. day of December, then next folowing, within the place by the ſame appointed: adioining alſo vnto them as witneſſes of their procedings, ſixe publique Notaries, his owne Regiſter, and about xxv. Doctours, Abbots, Priours and Prieſts of name, with a great rabble of other common anoynted Catholiques. Where after a ſolemne proclamatiõ made, that if there were any that would defend the opinions and bookes of Rich. Hunne, they ſhould preſently appeare, and be heard according to law, he commaunded all the Articles and obiections againſt Hunne, openly to be read before the aſſembly: and then perceyuing that none durſt appeare in his defence, by the aduiſe of his aſſiſtants, he pronounced the ſentence definitiue againſt the dead carkaſe, cõdemning it of hereſie, and therwith committed the ſame vnto the ſecular power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous decree was as fondly accompliſhed in Smithfield the xx. day of the ſame moneth of December: (being full xvi. daies after they had thus horribly murthered him) to the great griefe and diſdaine of all the people. And becauſe the Biſhop in his ſentence definitiue vſeth a more formall and ample order of words, then accuſtomably is vſed in others: and alſo pretendeth full hypocritically in the beginning (as it were by way of induction) diuers cauſes that moued him to proceed againſt the dead carkaſe: I thought therefore good, heere to inſert the ſame, as a finall concluſion of their craftie coloured tragedie: the tenure whereof is this.

The corpes of Richard Hunne burned after his death.

The ſentence definitiue againſt Richard Hunne after his deathe.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente ſacra ſynodo & generali prelatorum & cleri prouinciæ Cantuarienſis conuocatione, in eccleſia noſtra Cathedrali ſancti Pauli London, per prelatos & clerum prouinciæ Cantuarienſis actualitèr ibidem exercita) contigiſſet quod quidam Richardus Hune de parochia ſanctæ Margaretæ in Brigeſtrete Lond. de & ſuper crimine hereticæ prauitatis notatus & diffamatus extitiſſet: Reuerendiſſ. in Chriſto pater & dominus dominus Willielmus miſeratione diuina Cantuarienſis Arciepiſcopus, totius Angliæ primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, ipſius venerabilis cætus & conuocationis caput & præſidens, ex vehemẽtibus & violentis (quas cõtra eundem Richardum Hune ſuper heretica prauitate tũc habebat) preſumptionibus cõtra eundẽ Richardum, debitam facere inquiſitionem cupiens, vt (ſi ratione hereſis huiuſmodi mẽbrum fuiſſet a corpore Chriſti miſtico preciſum) ipſum ad caput & corpus (id eſt Chriſtum, ſanctæq; matris eccleſie vnitatẽ) per ſalutaria monita & condignam pœnitentiam reuocaret & reduceret: ne idem Richardus inter ſimplices & deuotas Chriſti fidelium & catholicorum animas coerrando, & zizania heretica ſeminando, fidelium mentes macularet & inficeret, & ſiniſtris ac peruerſis aſſertionibus & opinionibus, a veritatis ſemita & vera fide Chriſtiana aberrare faceret: ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto reuerendiſſimo patre & domino Archiepiſcopo, ſuiſq; coepiſcopis & ſuffraganeis ceteriſq; illius concionis ſiue ſacræ Synodi prælatis ſuper præmiſſis reſponſurum perquiri fecit & mandauit. Verum idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Vnde dictus reuerendiſſimus pater ſuum tam pium, tam ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum ad effectum perducere nõ potuit. Quod cum nos Richardus permiſſione diuina Londinenſis Epiſcopus, dicti Richardi ordinarius (cui etiam tanquam de hereſi ſuſpectus idẽ Richardus a multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus extiterat) intellexerimus, non volentes nec audentes prædicta facinora ſilentio & conniuentibus oculis pertranſire & pretermittere, ne ob noſtram negligentiam & torporem ſanguis eius in diſtricto examine, ſiue Dei iudicio, de manibus noſtris requiratur) volentes cerciorari & informari an ea quæ de ipſo & cõtra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcitentur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortaſſe ouis morbida exiſtens, innocuas animas gregis dominici peſtifera hereſi corrumperet & inficeret, ad informandum animum noſtrum, ipſum coram nobis vocandũ, & ſuper præmiſſis diligentèr interrogandum & examinandum, omniaq; faciendũ quæ ſecundũ canonicas ſanctiones erant facienda (eius animã pio & paterno zelantes affectu) deſcendimus & properauimus: cõtra quem, obiectis iudicialitèr, & propoſitis publice in iudicio articulis, de & ſuper quibus nobis (vt præfertur) delatus, detectus & notatus fuerat. Quos per venerabilem virum magiſtrũ Iohannem Downam hic publicè iam lectos, pro hic lectis & inſertis habemus & haberi volumus: habitiſq; & receptis ad eoſdẽ articulos reſponſionibus & cõfeſſionibus ſuis. Deinde teſtes fide dignos de & ſuper eiſdem articulis & alijs contra dictum Richardũ in debita iuris forma recepimus, admiſimus, & diligenter examinari fecimus: propoſitoq; nuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucẽ diui pauli, eius deteſtabiles hereſes & errores, in articulis & libris ſuis, quibus vſus eſt, comprehenſas, in eius & ipſorũ deteſtationẽ & damnationẽ publicantes, atque publicè recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidẽ tunc congregato, notificauimus & intimauimus. Quod iſto die cõtra eundẽ Richardum, tanquam contra hæreticum, ad ipſiuſq; condemnationẽ & excõmunicationẽ in ſpecie, ad aliaq; in hac parte requiſita, necnon ad excõmunicationem receptatorũ, defenſorũ, fautorum, & credentiũ ipſius in genere, iuxta canonicas ſanctiones, ſanctorum patrum decreta, & omnem iuris vigorem & diſpoſitionẽ, deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionemq; ſiue denuntiationem quandam generalẽ dedimus & fecimus tunc ibidem, videl. quod ſi qui fuerint eius receptatores, defenſores, fautores, & credentes, quod citra hunc diem ad nos & ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ gremium redirent, & ſe ſubmitterent: quod ſi facerent (de miſericordia omnipotentis Dei confiſi) polliciti ſumus quod ipſos de erroribus & reatibus ſuis huiuſmodi poenitentes cum gratia, benignitate, miſericordia, & fauore, ad animarum ſuarum ſolatiũ & ſalutem reciperimus, quodque honeſtatem eorum pro poſſe ſeruaremus in hac parte. Alioquin ſi ſic ſponte venire non curarent, ſed iuris ordinarium proceſſum expectarent: ſcirent nos hoc admiſſum aduerſus eos ſeuerius executuros, in quantũ iura permitterent. Aduenienteitaq; iam die iſto, ad premiſſa & infra ſcripta facienda (ſic vt prefertur) per nos prefixo, nos Richardus epiſcopus antedictus, in negotio inquiſitionis hæreticę prauitatis predictæ legitimè procedentes, volenteſq; huiuſmodi negotiũ fine debito terminare, ſolenne conſiliũ tam in ſacra theologica facultate, quam iure canonico & ciuili doctorum, & hunc venerabilem cœtum cleri & populi coram nobis fecimus congregari: & viſis, auditis, intellectis, rimatis, ac diligẽtèr & matura deliberatione diſcuſſis meritis & circumſtantijs negotij memorati, actiſq; & actitatis in eodem productis & deductis prædictorũ, digeſto & maturo cõſilio (cum nullus appareat contradictor ſeu defenſor, qui dicti Richardi opiniones, articulos, & memoriam defendere velit) ſolũ Deũ oculis noſtris proponentes, ad ſententiam noſtram contra eum, eius opiniones & libros, receptatoreſq;, fautores, defenſores, & credẽtes, ſe nobis iuxta tenorem & formam monitionis & denuntiationis noſtrarũ prædictarũ minime ſubmittentes, nec ad gremium ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ redire curantes, licet quidam ſaluationis pij filij citra monitionem & denuntiationem noſtras predictas ad nos venerunt, & ſe ſubmiſerunt, quos cum gratia & fauore recepimus, in hac parte ferendam, ſic duximus procedendũ & procedimus in hũc qui ſequitur modum. Quia per acta actitata, inquiſita, deducta, confeſſata & probata, necnon per vehementes & vrgentes præſumptiones, & iudicia perſpicua conperimus luculenter, & inuenimus dictũ Richardum Hune crimine hæreticæ prauitatis multipliciter irretitum, atq; hæreticum fuiſſe & eſſe, nonnullaſq; opiniones & aſſertiones deteſtabiles & hæreſes damnatas, dum in humanis agebat & vitales caperet auras, affirmaſſe, propoſuiſſe & recitaſſe, libriſq; ſuſpectis & de iure damnatis, & nonnullas hæreſes peſtiferas in ſe continentibus vſum fuiſſe, receptiſq;, admiſſis & examinatis teſtibus per commiſſarios ad hoc deputatos de & ſuper impœnitentia finali, partinacia, & obitu dicti Richardi Hune: Idcirco nos Richardus Epiſcopus antedictus, ſeruatis ſeruandis (prout in tali negotio poſtulat ordo iuris) dicti Richardi Hune impœnitentia ac finali * obſtinatia & pertinacia, per euidentia ſigna teſtibus legitimis vehemẽtiſſimis & violentis præſumptionibus cõprobatis, prout iam corã nobis legitime extitit facta fides, edicto apud crucem diui Pauli, die dominico vltimo præterito, ad audiendũ & per nos ferendũ ſentẽtiam, ad hunc diem per nos publice facto & propoſito. paopterea de huius venerabilis coetus (videlicet reuerendorum patrũ, dominorũ Thomæ Dunelmenſis, & Willihelmi Lincolnienſis, ac Iohannis Calipolenſis Epiſcoporũ, necnon in ſacra theologia, decretorũ, & legum doctorũ, & cleri, atq; proborum & venerabilium virorũ do-

* What final obſtinacy was in him, when you ſay before by his owne hand writing that he ſubmitted himſelfe to the Biſhops fauorable correction?

mini

domini Maioris, Aldermanorũ, & Vicecomitum ciuitatis London. & populi hic congregatorum, & nobis in hac parte aſsidentium & aſsiſtentium, conſenſu, aſſenſu, & conſilio, eundem Richardum Hunne diuerſarum hæreſium libris dum vixit vſum fuiſſe, ac notorium & pertinacem impœnitentem hæreticum fuiſſe, ac in hæreſi deceſsiſſe, atque conſciencia criminis & metu futuræ ſētentię animo pertinaci & impœnitenti, corde indurato obijſſe & deceſſiſſe, præmiſſorumq; prætextu de iure excommunicatum fuiſſe & eſſe, atq; in excommunicatione hujuſmodi deceſſiſſe, ipſiuſq; receptatores, fautores, defenſores, & credentes etiam in genore de iure excommunicatos, atq; ſententia maioris excommunicationis innodatos & inuolutos fuiſſe & eſſe pronuntiamus decernimus, & declaramus; ipſum Richardum Hunne & libros ſuos hæreticos de iure damnatos, ſuamq; ac librorum ipſorum memoriā in deteſtationem & damnationem ſceleris & criminis huiuſmodi condemnamus; dictumq; Richardum Hunne (ob premiſſa) eccleſiaſtica carere debere ſepultura ſententiamus, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, & in foro eccleſiaſtico tanquam membrum putridum proijcimus, corpuſq; ſuum & oſſa brachio & poteſtati ſeculari relinquimus & committimus; iuxta & ſequundum canonicas & legitimas ſanctiones, conſuetudineſq; laudabiles in regno Angliæ ab antiquo vſitatas & obſeruatas, in opprobrium ſempiternum & deteſtationem criminis nephandiſsimi predicti, ad eternamq; huius rei memoriam, cæterorumq; Chriſti fidelium metum atq; terrorem, per hanc noſtram ſententiam ſiue finale decretum, quam ſiue quod ferimus & promulgamus in his ſcriptis.

Notwithſtanding, after all this tragical & cruell handling of the dead body, with their faire and colourable ſhew of iuſtice, yet the inqueſt no whit ſtayed theyr diligent ſearching out of the true cauſe and meanes of his death. In ſo much that when they had bene diuers times called both before the kinges priuy counſell (his maieſty himſelfe being ſometime preſent) & alſo before the chiefe Iudges and Iuſtices of this realm, & that the matter being by thē throughly examined & perceiued to much bolſtered & borne withall by the clergy, was again wholy remitted vnto theyr determination and ending: they founde by good proofe and ſufficient euidence, that Doctour Horſey the Chauncellour, Charles Ioſeph the Sumner, and Iohn Spalding the Belringer had priuily & maliciouſly committed this murther, and therefore indicted them all three as wilfull murtherers. Howbeit, through the earneſt ſute of the Byſhop of London, vnto Cardinall Wolſey (as appeareth by hys letters hereafter mentioned) meanes was founde, that at the next Seſſions of Gayle deliuery, the kinges Attorney pronounced the indictment agaynſt D. Horſey to be falſe & vntrue: and him not to be guilty of the murther. Who being then thereby deliuered in body, hauing yet in himſelfe a guilty conſcience, gat him vnto Exeter, and durſt neuer after for ſhame come agayne vnto London. But now that the truth of all this matter may ſeeme more manifeſt and playn vnto all mens eyes, here ſhall folow word by word, the whole inquiry and verdict of the inqueſt, exhibited by them vnto the Crowner of Londō, ſo geuen vp and ſigned with his owne hand.

D. Horſey Chaũcelor, Charles Ioſeph and Spalding murderers of Richard Hunne.

¶ The Verdict of the inqueſt.

The verdict of the inqueſt.

THe fift and the ſixte day of December, in the ſixte yeare of the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lord king Henry the eight, William Barnewel Crowner of London, the day and yeare aboueſaid, within the ward of Caſtelbaynard of London aſſembled a queſt, whoſe names afterward do appeare, and hath ſworne them truely to inquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, which lately was found deade in the Lollardes Tower within Paules Church of London: whereupon all we of the inqueſt together went vp into the ſayde Tower, where we found the body of the ſayd Hunne hanging vpon a ſtaple of iron in a gyrdle of ſilke, with fayre countenaunce, his head fayre kemmed, and his bonet right ſitting vpon his head, with his eyne and mouth fayre cloſed, without any ſtaring, gaping, or frowning, alſo without any drineling or ſpurging in any place of his body, whereupon by one aſſent all we agreed to take downe the deade bodye of the ſayd Hunne, and as ſoone as we beganne to heaue the body, it was looſe, whereby by good aduiſement we perceiued that the gyrdle had no knot about the ſtaple, but it was double caſt, and the linckes of an iron chayne which did hang on the ſame ſtaple, were layde vpon the ſame gyrdle whereby he did hang: Alſo the knot of the gyrdle that went about his necke, ſtood vnder his left eare, which cauſed his head to leane towardes his right ſhoulder. Notwithſtanding there came out of his noſtrels two ſmall ſtreames of bloud, to the quantitye of foure droppes. Saue onelye theſe foure droppes of bloud, the face, lippes, chinne, doublet, coller, and ſhyrt of the ſayd Hunne, was cleane from any bloud. Alſo we fynde that the ſkinne both of his necke and throate beneath the gyrdle of ſilke, was frette and faled away, with that thing which the murtherers had broken his necke withall. Alſo the handes of the ſayd Hunne were wrong in the wriſtes, wherby we perceiued that his handes had bene boūd. Moreouer we find that within the ſayd priſon was no mean wherby a man might hang himſelfe, but onely a ſtoole, which ſtoole ſtoode vpon a bolſter of a bed, ſo tickle, that any manne or beaſte might not touch it ſo litle, but it was ready to fall. Whereby wee perceiued that it was not poſsible that Hunne might hang himſelfe, the ſtoole ſo ſtanding. Alſo all the gyrdle from the ſtaple to his necke, as wel as the part which went about his necke, was too litle for his head to come out therat. Alſo it was not poſsible that the ſoft ſilken gyrdle ſhoulde breake his necke or skinne beneathe the gyrdle. Alſo we finde in a corner ſomewhat beyond the place where he did hange, a great parcell of bloud. Alſo we finde vpon the left ſide of Hunnes Iacket frō the breſt downeward, two great ſtreames of bloud. Alſo within the flap of the left ſide of his Iacket, we finde a great cluſter of bloud, and the Iacket folden down thereupon: which thing the ſayd Hunne could neuer fold nor doe after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth playnely to vs all, that the necke of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of bloud was ſhed before he was hanged. Wherefore all we finde by God and all our conſciences, that Richard Hunne was murdered. Alſo wee acquite the ſayd Richard Hunne of his owne death.

Alſo there was an end of a waxe candle, which as Iohn Belringer ſayth, he lefte in the priſon burning with Hunne that ſame Sunday at night that Hunne was murthered, which waxe candle we founde ſticking vpon the ſtockes fayre put out, about ſeuen or eight foote from the place where Hunne was hanged, which candle after our opinion was neuer put out by him, for many likelyhoods which we haue perceiued. Alſo at the going vp of mayſter Chauncellor into the Lollardes tower: we haue good proofe that there lay on the ſtockes a gowne either of Murrey or Crimoſin in grayne furred with ſhankes. Whoſe gowne it was we could neuer proue, neither who bare it away. All we finde that Mayſter William Horſey Chauncellour to my Lord of London, hath had at his commaundement both the rule and guiding of the ſayd priſoner. Moreouer, all we finde that the ſayde maiſter Horſey Chauncellor hath put Charles Ioſeph out of his office, as the ſayd Charles hath confeſſed, becauſe he woulde not deale and vſe the ſayde priſoner ſo cruelly, and doe to him as the Chauncellour woulde haue had him to do. Notwithſtanding the deliuerance of the keies to the Chauncellour by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunnes death, and Charles riding out of the towne on that ſonday in the morning enſuing, was but a conuention made betwixt Charles and the Chauncellour for to colour the murther. For the ſame ſonday that Charles rode forth, he came agayne to the town at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as in the depoſitions of Iulian Littel, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simondes, and Peter Turner do appeare.

After colouring of the murther betwixte Charles and the Chauncellour conſpired, the Chauncellour called to him one Iohn Spalding Belringer of Paules, and deliuered to the ſame Belringer the keyes of the Lollardes tower, geuing to the ſayde Belringer a great charge, ſaying: I charge thee to keepe Hunne more ſtraitely then he hath bene kept, and let him haue but one meale a day. Moreouer I charge thee, let no body come to him without my licence, neyther to bring him ſhirt, cappe, kirchiefe, or any other thing, but that I ſee it before it come to him. Alſo before Hunne was caryed to Fulham, the Chauncellour commaunded to be put vpon Hunnes necke a great coller of iron with a greate chayne, which is too heauy for any man or beaſt to weare, & long to endure.

Proufes of Hunnes death.

Moreouer, it is well proued, that before Hunnes death, the ſayd Chauncellour came vppe into the ſayd Lollardes tower, and kneeled downe before Hunne, holding vp his hands to him, praying him of forgeueneſſe of all that he had done to him, and muſte do to him. And on ſonday folowing the Chauncellour commaūded the Penitenſary of Paules to go vp to him, and ſay a Goſpell, and make for him holy water and holy bread, and geue it to hym, which ſo did: and alſo the Chauncellor commaunded that Hunne ſhould haue his dinner. And the ſame dinner time Charles boye was ſhut in priſon with Hunne, which was neuer ſo before: and after dynner when the Belringer fet out the boy, the Belringer ſayd to the ſame boy, come no more hither with meat for him, vntill to morow at noone, for my maiſter Chauncellour hath commaunded that he ſhall haue but one meale a day: and the ſame night folowing Richard Hunne was murdered: which murther could not haue bene done without conſent and licence of the Chauncellor, and alſo by the writing and knowledge of Iohn Spalding Belringer: for there could no man come into the priſon, but by the keies being in Iohn Belringers keeping. Alſo as by my Lord of Londōs booke doth appeare, Iohn Belringer is a poore innocent manne. Wherefore all we doe perceiue that this murther coulde not bee done, but by the commaundement of the Chauncellour, and by the witting and knowing of Iohn Belringer.

Charles Ioſeph within the tower of Lond. of his owne free will & vnconſtrayned ſaid, that maiſter Chauncellor deuiſed & wrote

Witnes of Charles Ioſeph Sumner.

with his owne hand, all ſuch hereſyes as were layde to Hunnes charge, recorde Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Paſmere, Richarde Gibſon, with many other. Alſo Charles Ioſeph ſayth, that when Richard Hunne was ſlayne, Iohn Belringer bare vp the ſteyre into Lollardes tower a waxe candle, hauing the keyes of the doore hanging on his arme, and I Charles went next to him, and maiſter Chauncellour came vppe laſt: and when all wee came vppe, wee found Hunne lying on his bed: and then maiſter Chauncellour ſayd, lay handes on the theefe, and ſo all we murdered Hunne: & then I Charles put the gyrdle about Hunnes neck, and then Iohn Belringer and I Charles did heue vp Hunne, and Mayſter Chauncellour pulled the gyrdle ouer the ſtaple and ſo Hunne was hanged.

¶ The Depoſition of Iulian Littel late ſeruaunt to Charles Ioſeph by her free will vnconſtrayned, the 6. yere of our ſoueraigne Lord king Henry the eight, within the Chappel of our Lady of Bethlem, ſhewed to the Inqueſt.

The witnes of Iulian Littell againſt Charles Ioſeph.

FIrſt Iulian ſayth, that the wedneſday at night after the death of Richard Hunne, Charles Ioſeph her Mayſter came home to his ſupper: then Iulian ſayd to him, Mayſter, it was tolde me that ye were in priſon. Charles aunſwered. It is mery to turne the penny: and after ſupper Charles truſſed vp a parcel of his goodes, and with helpe of Iulian bare them into Maiſter Porters houſe to keepe: and that done, Charles ſayd to Iulian: Iulian, if thou wilt be ſworne to keepe my counſell, I wyll ſhew thee my mind. Iulian aunſwered, yea, if it be neyther felony nor treaſon: Then Charles tooke a booke out of his purſe, and Iulian ſware to him therupon: then ſayd Charles to Iulian, I haue deſtroyed Richard Hunne. Alas mayſter, ſaid Iulian, how? he was called an honeſt man. Charles aunſwered, I put a wyer in his noſe. Alas ſayd Iulian, nowe be ye caſt away and vndone. Then ſayd Charles, Iulian, I truſt in thee that thou wilt keepe my counſell: and Iulian aunſwered, yea, but for Gods ſake Mayſter ſhyft for your ſelfe: and then Charles ſayde, I had leuer then a hundred pound it were not done: but that is done, can not be vndone. Moreouer, Charles ſayd then to Iulian, Vpon Sonday when I rode to my coſin Baringtons houſe, I taryed there and made good cheare all day til it was night, and yet before it was midnight, I was in London, and had killed Hunne, and vpon the next day I rode thyther agayne, and was there at dinner, and ſent for neighbors, and made good cheare. Then Iulian aſked Charles, where ſet you your horſe that night you came to towne, and wherefore came ye not home? Charles aunſwered, I came not home for feare of bewraying: and then Iulian aſked Charles, who was with you at the killing of Hunne? Charles aunſwered, I will not tell thee: and Iulian ſaith, that vpon the Thurſday folowing, Charles taried all day, in his houſe with great feare: and vpon Friday folowing early in the morning before day, Charles went forth (as he ſayd) to Paules, and at his comming in agayne he was in a great feare ſaying haſtely, get me my horſe & with greate feare and haſte made him ready to ride, and bade Mayſter Porters lad leade hys horſe into the field by the backeſide: and then Charles put into his ſleeue hys Maſe or Maſor, with other plate borowed of mayſter Porter, both golde & ſiluer, but howe much I am not ſure: and Charles went into the field after his horſe, and Iulian brought hys bouget after hym. Alſo vpon friday in Chriſtmas weeke folowing, Charles came home late in the night, and brought with him three Bakers and a Smyth of Stratforde, and the ſame night they carryed out of Charles houſe all hys goodes by the fieldes ſide to the Bell in Shordich, and early in the morning conueyed it with Cartes to Stratford.

Moreouer Iulian ſayth, that the Saterday at night before the death of Hunne, Charles came home, and brought with him a gurnard, ſaying, it was for Hunne, & Charles boy called to Iulian, that there was alſo ordeyned a piece of freſh Salmon, which Iohn Belringer had.

Alſo Charles ſaid to the ſaid Iulian, were not this vngracious trouble, I could bring my Lord of Londõ to the dores of heretiques in London both of men and women, that bene worth a thouſand pound: But I am afrayd that the vngracious midwife ſhall bewray vs all.

Alſo Charles ſayd vnto maiſtres Porter in likewiſe & more larger, ſaying, of the beſt in London, whereto maiſtres Porter aunſwered, the beſt in London is my Lorde Maior: then Charles ſayde, I will not ſcuſe him quite, for that he taketh this matter hoate.

Whereas Charles Ioſeph ſayth, he laye at Neckehyll with a harlot a mans wife in Baringtons houſe the ſame night, and there abode vntill the morrowe at eleuen of the clock, that Richard Hunne was murthered, wherupon he brought before the kinges Counſell for his purgation the foreſayd Baude Baringtons wyfe, and alſo the foreſayde Harlot: which purgation we haue proued all vntrue, as right largely may appeare, aſwel by the depoſition of Iulian Littel, Thomas Chicheſtey Taylor, Tho. Symondes Stationer, of Rober Iohnſonne and his wife, of Iohn Spalding Belringer: Alſo of Peter Turner ſonne in lawe of the foreſayde Charles Ioſeph: who ſayde before to an honeſt woman, a waxe chaundelers wyfe, that before this day ſeuenth night Hunne ſhould haue a miſchieuous death. &c. Alſo of Iohn Enderbye Baker, to whome Iohn Spalding himſelfe declared theſe wordes: That there was ordeined for Hunne ſo grieuous penaunce, that when men heare of it, they ſhal haue great maruel therof. &c. Beſides the depoſition moreouer of Alen Creſwel wax chaũdelor, and Richard Horſenayle Bayliffe of the Sanctuary towne called Godſture in Eſſex. Which teſtimonyes & depoſitions hereafter folow.

The witnes of Peter Turner.

The witnes of Iohn Spalding himſelfe.

✱ The Depoſition of Alen Creſwell waxechaundeler.

THe ſayde Alen ſayeth, that Iohn Graunger ſeruaunt with my Lord of London in my L. of Londons kitchin at ſuch time as the ſaid Alen was ſeruing of Hunnes coffẽ, that Graũdger told to him, that he was preſent with Ioh. belringer the ſame ſonday at night that Rich. Hunne was found dead in the morow when the keepers ſet him in the ſtocks. in ſo much the ſayd Hunne deſired to borow the kepers knife, & the keper aſked him, what he would do with his knife, & he anſwered I had leuer kil my ſelfe, then to be thus entreated. This depoſition the ſayd Alen will prooue as far forth as any chriſtian man may, ſaying that Graũdger ſhewed to him theſe wordes of his owne free will and minde without any queſtion or Inquyry to him made by the ſayd Alen: Moreouer the ſayde Alen ſayth, that all that euening Graundger was in great feare.

¶ The Depoſition of Richard Horſnayle. Bayliffe of the Sanctuary Towne called Goodeſture in Eſſex.

THe ſayd Richard ſayeth, that friday before Chriſtmas day laſt paſt that one Charles Ioſeph Somner to my Lord of London, became a Sanctuary man, and the aforeſayd Friday he regiſtred his name, the ſayde Charles ſaying, it was for the ſauegard of his body, for there be certein men in London ſo extreame agaynſte him for the death of Richard Hunne, that he dare not abide in London. Howbeit the ſayd Charles ſayth he knowledgeth himſelfe guiltleſſe of Hunnes death, for he deliuered the keyes to the Chauncellour by Hunnes life, alſo the ſayd Bayliffe ſayth, that Charles payd the duty of the ſayd Regeſtring both to him and ſyr Iohn Studley Vicar.

¶ The Copy of Richard Fitziames Letter then Biſhop of London, ſent to Cardinall Woolſey.

The letter of the B. of London to Cardinall Woolſey.

IBeſeeche your good Lordſhippe to ſtand ſo good Lord vnto my poore Chauncellour nowe in Warde, and indighted by an vntrue queſt, for the death of Richard Hunne, vpon the onely accuſation of Charles Ioſeph, made by payne and duraunce, that by your interceſſion, it may pleaſe the kinges grace to haue the matter duely and ſufficiently examined by indifferent perſons of hys diſcreete counſell, in the preſence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cauſe: and that vpon the innocency of my ſayde Chauncellour, declared, it may further pleaſe the kinges grace to award a Plackard vnto his Attorney to confeſſe the ſayde Enditement to be vntrue, when the time ſhall require it: for aſſured am I, if my Chauncellour be tryed by any twelue men in London, they be ſo maliciouſly ſet, In fauorem hereticæ prauitatis, that they will caſt and condemne any Clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel. Quare ſi potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates noſtras & tibi imperpetuum deuincti erimus. Ouer this in moſt humble wiſe I beſeech you, that I may haue the kinges gracious fauour, whom I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might ſpeake with his grace and you, and I with all mine, ſhall pray for your proſperous eſtate long to continue.

Your moſt humble
Oratour. R.L.

Laſtly nowe remayneth to inferre the ſentence of the queſtmen, which foloweth in like ſort to be ſeene and expended, after I haue firſt declared the wordes of the Byſhop ſpoken in the Parliament houſe.

¶ The wordes that the B. of London ſpake before the Lordes in the Parliament houſe.

Memorandum, that the biſhop of London ſaid in the parliament houſe, that there was a bil brought to the parliament, to make the Jury that was charged vpon yͤ death of Hunne, true men: and ſayde, and tooke vpon his conſcience, that they were falſe periured Caytiffes: and ſayd furthermore to all the Lordes there then being: For the loue of God, look vpon this matter, for if you do not, I dare not keepe mine owne houſe for heretiques: And ſayde that the ſayd Richard Hunne hanged himſelfe, and that it was his owne deed, and no mans els. And furthermore ſayde, that there came a man to his houſe (whoſe wiſe was appeached of hereſy) to ſpeake with him, & he ſayd that he had no mind to ſpeake with the ſame man, which man ſpake and reported to the ſeruauntes of the ſame Biſhoppe, that if his wiſe would not hold ſtill here opinion, he would cut her throat with his owne handes, with other wordes.

¶ The ſentence of the Inqueſt ſubſcribed by the Crowner.

The ſentẽce of the Inqueſt.

The inquiſition intended and taken at the city of Londõ in the Pariſh of S. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Caſtle in London, the ſixt day of December, in the 6. yeare of the raigne of K. Henry the 8. before Thomas Barnewel Crowner of our ſoueraigne Lord the king, within the city of London aforeſayd: Alſo before James Yarford, and John Mundey Sheriffes of the ſayde City, vpon the ſight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London Taylour, which was found hanged in the Lollardes tower, and by the oth and proofe of lawfull men of the ſame warde, and of other three wardes next adioyning, as it ought to be, after the cuſtome of the city aforeſayd, to inquire how, & in what maner wiſe the ſayd Richard Hunne came vnto his death, and vpon the oth of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, Joh. Turner, Robert Alen, william Marler, Joh. Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickehill, william Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Buſted, Gylbert Howel, Richard Gibſon, Chriſtopher Crafton, John Eod, Richard Holt, John Paſmere, Edmunde Hudſon, John Armuſel, Richard Couper, John Tyme: the which ſaide vpon theyr othes, that where the ſayd Richard Hunne by the commaundement of Richard Biſhop of London, was empriſoned and brought to holde in a priſon of the ſayd Biſhops called Lollardes Tower, lying in the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London, in the pariſh of S. Gregory in the ward of Baynard Caſtle aforeſayd, william Horſey of London Clerke, otherwiſe called william Hereſye, Chauncellour to Richard Biſhop of London, and one Charles Joſeph, late of London Sumner, and John Spalding of London otherwiſe called John Belringer, feloniouſly as felons to our Lord the king, with force and armes agaynſt the peace of our ſoueraigne Lord the king, & dignity of his crowne, the fourth day of December, the ſixt yeare of the raygne of our ſoueraigne Lord aforeſayd, of theyr great malice, at the pariſh of S. Gregory aforeſayde, vpon the ſayde Richarde Hunne made a fray, and the ſame Richard Hunne feloniouſly ſtrangled and ſmodered, and alſo the necke they did breake of the ſayde Richard Hunne, and there felonionſlye ſlue him, and murdered him: and alſo the body of the ſayde Richard Hunne afterward the ſame fourth day, yere, place pariſh, and ward aforeſayd, with the proper gyrdle of the ſame Richard Hunne of ſilke, blacke of coulor, of the value of 12. d. after his death, vpon a hooke driuen into a piece of timber in the wall of the priſon aforeſayd, made faſt, and ſo hanged him agaynſt the peace of our Soueraigne Lord the king, and the dignity of his crowne: and ſo the ſayd Jurye hath ſworne vpon the holy Euangeliſtes that the ſayd W. Horſey, Clerke, Charles Joſeph, and John Spalding, of theyr ſet malice then, and there felonouſly killed and murdered the ſayd Richard Hunne, in maner and forme aboue ſayd, agaynſt the peace of our ſoueraign Lord the king, his crowne and dignity.

Richarde Hũne cleared by the Inqueſt, not to haue hãged himſelf.

Subſcribed in this maner,
Thomas Barnewel, Crowner of
the City of London.

The Parlament iudging with Richarde Hunne.

After that the 24. had geuen vp theyr verdict ſealed and ſigned with the Crowners ſeale, yͤ cauſe was thẽ brought into the Parliament houſe, where the truth was layde ſo playne before al mens faces, and the fact ſo notorious, that immediately certaine of the bloudy murderers were committed to priſon, and ſhoulde no doubte haue ſuffered that they deſerued, had not the Cardinall by his authority practiſed for his Catholique Children, at the ſuite of the Byſhop of London. wherupon the Chauncellor by the kings pardon, and ſecret ſhifting, rather then by Gods pardon, and his deſeruing eſcaped, and went, as is ſayd, to Exeter, &c. Neuertheleſſe though iuſtice tooke no place, where fauour did ſaue, yet becauſe the innocent cauſe of Hunne ſhould take no wrong, the Parliament became ſuters vnto the kinges maieſty, that whereas the goodes of the ſayd Hunne were cõfiſcate into the kinges hands that it would pleaſe his grace to make reſtitution of all the ſayde goodes vnto the children of the ſayd Hunne: vpon which motion the king of his gracious diſpoſition did not onely geue all the foreſayde goodes vnto the foreſayde children vnder his broade ſeale yet to be ſeene, but alſo did ſende out his warrantes (which hereafter ſhall folow) to thoſe that were the cruell murderers, commaunding them vpon his high diſpleaſure, to redeliuer all the ſayd goodes, and make reſtitution for the death of the ſayde Richard Hunne: all whyche goodes came to the ſumme of 1500. poundes ſterling, beſide his plate and other Jewels.

The practiſe of Cardinall Wolſey for his clergie men.

¶ The tenour of the kinges letter in the behalfe of Richard Hunne.

The kings letter for the reſtitution of Hunnes goods.

Truſtye and well beloued we greete you well: whereas by the complaynt to vs made, as well as alſo in our high court of parliament, on the behalfe and partye of Roger Whapplot of our city of London Draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hunne. And wheras you were indicted by our lawes, of and for the death of the ſaid Richard Hunne, the ſayd murder cruelly cõmitted by you, like as by our recordes more at large plainly it doth appeare, about the 5. day of December in the ſixt yeare of our raigne, the ſame we abhorre, neuertheleſſe we of our eſpeall grace, certayne ſcience, and mere motion pardoned you vpon certayne conſiderations vs mouing, for the intent that the goods of the ſayd Richard Hunne, the adminiſtration of them were committed to the ſaid Roger Whapplot, we then ſuppoſed and intended your amendement, and reſtitution to be made by you to the infantes the children of the ſayde Richard Hunne, as well for hys death, as for his goodes, embeſeled, waſted, and conſumed by your tyranny, and cruell acte ſo committed, the ſame being of no little value, and as hitherto ye haue made no recompence, accordinge to our lawes, as might ſtand with equity, iuſtice, right, and good conſcience, and for this cauſe due ſatisfaction ought to be made by our lawes: Wherefore we will and exhort, & otherwiſe charge and commaund you, by the tenoure of this our eſpeciall letters, that ye ſatisfy and recompence the ſayde Roger Whapplot, & the ſayd Margaret his wife, according to our lawes in this cauſe, as it may ſtand with right and good conſcience, els otherwiſe at your further perill, ſo that they ſhall haue no cauſe to returne vnto vs, for theyr further remedy eſtſoones in this behalf, as ye in the ſame tender to auoyd our high diſpleaſure: otherwiſe that ye vpon the ſight thereof, to ſet all excuſes apart, and to repayre vnto our preſence, at which your hither comming, you ſhalbe further aduertiſed of our minde.

From our Manor. &c.

Defence of Richard Hunne agaynſt Syr Thomas Moore and Alen Cope.

Defence of Richard Hunne.

I Doubte not but by theſe premiſſes thou haſt (Chriſtyan reader) ſufficiently to vnderſtand the whol diſcourſe and ſtorye of Richard Hunne frõ top to toe. Firſt how he came in trouble for denying the bearing ſheete of his young infant departed: then how he was forced, for ſuccour of hymſelfe, to ſue a Premunire: And thereupon what conſpiracy of the Clergy was wrought agaynſt him, what ſnares were layd, what fetches were practiſed, and Articles deuiſed to ſnarle him in the trap of hereſy, & ſo to impriſon him. Furthermore, being in priſon, how he was ſecretly murthered, after his murder, hanged, after his hanging condemned, after his condemnation, burned: and after his burning, laſtly how his death was required by the Crowner, and cleared by acquitall of the Jnqueſt. Moreouer, how the caſe was brought into the Parliament, and by the Parliament the kings precept obteined for reſtitutiõ of his goods. The debating of whiche tragicall and tumultuous ſtory, with all the braunches, & particular euidences of the ſame, takẽ out aſwell of the publique actes, as of the Biſhops regiſters, & ſpeciall recordes, remayning in the cuſtodye of Dunſtan whapplot, the ſonne of the daughter of the ſayde Richarde Hunne, there to be ſeene, I thought here to vnwrap and diſcouer ſo much the more, for three ſpeciall purpoſes.

Ex publicis actis Ex archiuis et Regiſt. Lond.

Three purpoſes conſidered.

Firſt, as is requiſite, for teſtimony & witneſſe of truth falſely ſlaundered, of innocency wrongfully condemned, & of the party cruelly oppreſſed.

The ſecond cauſe moueth me, for ſir Thomas Mores Dialogues, wherin he dallieth out the matter, thinking to ieſt poore ſimple truth out of countenaunce.

The third cauſe which conſtrayneth me, be the Dialogues of Alanus Copus, which two, the one in Engliſh, the other in Latin, rayling and barking agaynſt Rich. Hunne do doublewiſe charge him, both to be an hereticke, and alſo a deſperate homicide of himſelfe: which as it is falſe in the one, ſo is it to be foūd as vntrue in the other, if ſimple truth, which hath few frendes, and many times commeth in crafty handling, might freely come in indifferent hearing. Wherefore as I haue hitherto deſcribed the order and maner of his handling with the circumſtaunces thereof, in plaine and naked narration of ſtory, ſimply layd out before all mēs faces: ſo ſomething here to intermit, in the defence as well of his oppreſſed cauſe, as alſo in diſcharge of my ſelfe, I will now compendeouſly aunſwere to both theſe foreſayde aduerſaries, ſtopping as it were, with one buſh two gappes, and the mouthes alſo, if I can, of them both together. And firſt agaynſt ſir Thomas Moore, albeit in degree worſhipfull, in place ſuperiour, in wit and learning ſingular (if his iudgement in Chriſtes matters had bene correſpondent to the ſame) otherwiſe being a man with many worthy ornamentes beautified, yet being but a man, & one man, I lay and obiect agaynſt the perſon of him, the perſons and cenſures of 24. queſtmen, the depoſition of ſo many Iurates, the iudgement of the Crowner, the approbation of the Parliamēt, and laſtly the kings Byl aſſigned for reſtitution of his goodes, with his owne broade Seale confirmed. &c. And thus much to the perſon and credite of Syr Thomas Moore.

Anſwere for Richard Hunne agaynſt Syr Thomas More Knight.

Syr Thomas More hauing many good vertues, but one great vice.

The perſon of Syr Thomas More countervayled.

The reaſons of Syr Thomas More refuted.

Now as touching his reaſons, whereas he comming in with a ſlimme ſlamme of a horſe myłne, or a myłne horſe (in his owne termes I ſpeake) thinketh it probation good enough, becauſe he coulde not ſee him taken by the ſleeue, which murdered Hunne: agaynſt theſe reaſons vnreaſonable of his, I alledge all the euidences and demonſtratiōs of the hiſtory aboue prefixed, to be cōſidered, and of al indifferent men to be peaſed.

The circumſtāces of Hunnes hanging conſidered.

Firſt, how he was founde hanging, with his countenance fayre, with his bearde and head fayre kemmed, hys bonet right ſet on his head, with his eyne and mouth fayre cloſed, without any driueling or ſpurging. His body being taken downe, was found looſe, (whiche by hanging coulde not be) his necke broken, and the ſkinne thereof beneath the throate where the gyrdle went, frette and faced away, his gyrdle notwithſtanding being of ſilke, and ſo double caſt about the ſtaple, that the ſpace of the gyrdle betweene the ſtaple and his necke, with the reſidue alſo which went about his neck, was not ſufficiēt for his head to come out. His handes moreouer wroung in the wriſtes, his face, lyppes, chinne, doublet, and ſhyrt coller vnſtayned with any bloud: when as notwithſtāding in a maner ſomewhat beyond the place, where he did hang, a great quantitye of bloud was found. Alſo whereas the ſtaple wheron he hanged, was ſo, that he could not climbe thereto without ſome meane, there was a ſtoole ſet vp vpon the bolſter of a bed, ſo tickle, that with the leaſt touch in the world, it was ready to fal. And how was it poſſible that Hunne might hang himſelfe vpon that ſtaple, the ſtoole ſo ſtanding? Beſides the confeſſion moreouer of Charles Iosephs owne mouth to Iulian Littell, of Robert Iohnſon, Iohn Spalding the Belringer, Peter Turner, and others. All whiche teſtimonyes and declarations being ſo cleare and vndeniable, may ſuffice (I truſt) any indifferent man to ſee where the truth of this caſe doth ſtand: vnleſſe maiſter Moore being a gētleman of Vtopia, peraduēture after ſome ſtraūge guiſe of that country, vſeth to cary his eyes not in his head but in his affection, not ſeing but where he liketh, nor beleuing but what him liſteth.

Vtopia Mori.

Finally where Sir Thomas Moore ſpeaking of himſelfe ſo concludeth, that he hearing the matter, what well might be ſayde, yet could not finde contrary, but Hunne to be guilty of his owne death: ſo in as many wordes to anſwere him agayne, I peruſing and ſearching in the ſtorye of Richard Hunne, what may wel be ſearched, cannot but marueill with my ſelfe, either with what darcknes the eyes of maiſter Moore be dared, not to ſee that is ſo playne, or els with what conſcience he would diſſemble, that ſhame can not deny. And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Syr Thomas Moore.

Aunſwere to Alanus Copus for Richarde Hunne.

Thirdly touching the Dialogues of Alen Cope, which had rather the Biſhops Chauncellor and officers to be recounted among theues and murderers, then Hunne to be numbred among the martyrs, I haue herein not much to ſay, becauſe himſelfe ſayth but litle: and if he had ſayd leſſe, vnleſſe his groūd were better, it had made as little matter. But forasmuch as he ſaying not much, ſendeth vs to ſeeke more in Moore: ſo with like breuity agayne I maye ſende him to William Tindall, to ſhape him an aunſwere. Yet notwithſtanding, leaſt Cope in ſaying ſomething, ſhoulde thinke Hunnes innocent cauſe to lack ſome frends, which will not, or dare not aduenture in defence of truth, ſomewhat I will anſwere in this behalfe.

Hūne murdered not by himſelfe, but by others.

And firſt touching this murder of Hunne, not to be his owne wilfull acte, but the deede of others: beſides the demonſtrations aboue premiſed to ſir Thomas Moore, now to M. Cope, if I had no other euidences, but onely theſe two, I would require no more: That is, his cap founde ſo ſtreight ſtanding vpon his head, and the ſtoole ſo tottering vnder his feet. For how is it, I will not ſay, like, but how is it poſſible, for a man to hang himſelfe in a ſilcken gyrdle double caſt about a ſtaple, in ſuche ſhortneſſe, that neyther the ſpace of the knot coulde well compaſſe his head about, and yet hauing his cap ſo ſtreight ſet vpon his head, as his was?

Not poſſible that Hunne ſo hangyng ſhoulde hang himſelfe.

Again, how is it poſſible, or can it be imagined, for him to hang himſelfe, climing vp by a ſtoole which had no ſtay for him to ſtand vpon, but ſtood ſo tickle, that if he had touched the ſame neuer ſo litle, it muſt needes haue fallen?

Cope denyeth Richard Hunne to dye a Martyr.

But Cope, being ſomething more prouidēt in this matter, ſeemeth to exceede not altogether ſo farre as doth M. Moore. For he vnderſtanding the caſe to be ambiguous, & doubtfull, ſo leaueth it, in ſuſpēſe, neither determining that Hunne did hange himſelfe, and yet not admitting that hee died a martyr, no more then they which are quelled by theues & murderers in high way ſides. Well, be it ſo as Cope doth argue, that they which dye by the handes of felōs and murderers in theeuiſh waies, be no martyrs, yet notwithſtanding this his owne ſimilitude, cōparing the Biſhops Chauncellour & officers to theeues and murderers, doth graunt at leaſt that Hunne dyed a true man, although no Martyr. Now if the cauſe be it, and not the paine, that maketh a Martyr, in pondering the cauſe why Hunne was ſlayne, we ſhall finde it not altogether like to the cauſe of them whiche periſhe by Theeues and Robbers. For ſuch commonly becauſe of theyr goodes, and for ſome worldlye gayne to be ſought by theyr death, are made away, & beyng true men, may peraduenture haue yͤ reward, although not the name of Martyrs: whereas this mannes death being wrought neyther for money, nor any ſuch temporall lucre to redounde to his oppreſſors, as it hath an other cauſe, ſo may it haue an other name, and deſerue to be called by the name of Martyrdome. Like as Abel being ſlayne by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulate agaynſt him, but of ſpite onely and of malice was made away, yet notwithſtanding is iuſtly numbred among the Martyres: ſo what let to the contrary, but that Hunne alſo with him may be reckoned in the ſame ſocietye, ſeeing the cauſe wherefore they both did ſuffer, proceedeth together out of one fountayne? And what moreouer if a man ſhould cal Naboth (who for holding his right inheritance was ſlayne) a Martyr, what great iniury ſhould he do eyther to the name or cauſe of the perſō, worthy to be carped? Agaynſt Thomas Becket yet know M. Cope no ſpeciall article of fayth was layd, wherefore he dyed. And why thē do you beſtow vpon him ſo deuoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding that from the king, which by law of God, and of the realme did belong vnto him: and cannot ſuffer Hunne to be titled for a Marty., dying in his owne right by the handes of ſpirituall theeues and homicides, as you your ſelfe do terme them? But what do I ſtrayne my trauell any further, to proue Hunne a martyr, whē as Copes own confeſſiō doth import no leſſe, though I ſaid nothing? For if I ſhould take no more but his owne very wordes & ſay, that he was knowne to be an heretique as Cope doth affirme: what could I ſay more, ſeing he dyed for theyr hereſy, to proue him to dye a Martyr? For to dye an hereticke with the Papiſtes, what is it els (to ſay trueth) but to dye with God a Martyr?

The cauſe, not the pain maketh a Martyr.

The cauſe of Abels death & of Hūnes compared.

Cope.Dial. 6.Pag.847.

Cope Ibid.

But howſoeuer it pleaſeth either Syr Tho. Moore to ieſt, or Alen Cope to ſkowlde out the matter, & to ſtile Richard Hunne for a knowne and deſperate heretique: yet to all true godly diſpoſed mē, Hunne may well be knowen to be a godly and vertuous perſon: no heretique, but faythful and ſound, ſaue that onely he ſemed rather half a papiſt: at leaſt no full Proteſtant, for that he reſorted dayly to maſſe, and alſo had his Beades in priſon with him, after the Catholique maner: albeit he was ſomwhat inclining (as may appeare) toward the Goſpell. And if the name of a martyr be thought to good for him, yet I truſt maiſter Cope wyll ſtand ſo good maiſter to him, to let him at leaſt to be a mar-

Hunne no full Proteſtant.

tyrs

tirs felow. But what now if I goe further with Mayſter Cope, & name Richard Hunne not onely for a martyr, but alſo commend him for a double martyr? Certes as I ſuppoſe, in ſo ſaying I ſhould affirme nothing leſſe thē the truth, nor any thing more then truly may be ſayd, and iuſtly proued. But to geue and graunt this conceſſion vnto the aduerſary, which notwithſtanding might be eaſily proued: let vs ſee now the proues of maiſter Cope, how he argueth that Rich. Hunne is no martyr: becauſe ſaith he, true men being killed in hie wayes by theeues & murderers, are not therfore to be counted martyrs. &c. And was there nothing els in the cauſe of Hunne, but as is in true men killed by theeues & murderers? They that are killed by theeues and murderers, are killed for ſome pray, or money about them. And what pray or profit was in the death of Hunne, let vs ſee, to redound to them whiche oppreſſed him? If it were the mortuary, or the bearing cloth, that was a ſmall thing, and not worthye his death. If it were the Premunire, the daunger therof perteined to the Prieſt, and not to them. If they feared leaſt the example thereof once begun, ſhould afterward redound to the preiudice of the whole church, thē was the cauſe of his death not priuate, but publick, tēding to the whole Church and Clergy of Rome: and ſo is hys death not altogether like to the death of thē, which for priuate reſpectes are killed of theeues and murderers.

But he was an heretique, ſayth Cope. By the ſame reaſon that Cope taketh him for an heretique, I take hym the more to be accepted for a martyr. For by that waye, which they call hereſy, the liuing God is ſerued, by no way better. And if he were an heretique, why then did they not proceed agaynſt him as an heretique while he was alyue? when they had him at Fulham before them, if they had ben ſure to entrappe him in that ſnare, why did they not take theyr aduauntage, when they might with leaſt ieoperdye? why did they not procede and condemne hym for an heretique? why made they ſuche haſte to preuent his death before? why did they not tary the ſentence of the law, hauing the law in theyr owne handes? But belike they perceined that he coulde not be prooued an heretique while he liued: and therfore thought it beſt to make him away priuily, and to ſtop the Premunire, and afterward to ſtop the purſuite of his death, by making him an heretique. And therfore were articles deuiſed by the Chauncellour (as is proued by witneſſe of Charles Ioſeph and other pag. 785.) agaynſt hym, and he condemned for an heretique, and all his fauourers alſo, who ſo euer durſt ſtyrre to take his part, and ſo thereupon was committed to the ſecular power, and burned. Wherin they did him double wrong, firſt in that they burned him for an heretique, hauing before ſubmitted himſelfe to theyr fauourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the Biſhops Regiſters by his owne hand, as it is there pretēded: whiche was agaynſt theyr owne lawes. Agayne, if he had not ſubmitted himſelfe at that time, yet did they hym wronge to burne him, before they knewe and hearde hym ſpeake (as Tindall ſayth) whether he woulde recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for an heretique, yet to be killed and burned of them, for an heretique, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather geueth him to be a double martir. But Cope yet proceding in his hoat coler agaynſt Rich. Hunne, after he hath made him firſt no martyr, and then an heretique, thirdly he now maketh him alſo a murtherer of himſelfe, and ſayeth, that no other man was any part of his death, but only his owne handes, and that either for indignation and anger, or for deſperation, or for ſome cauſe, he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogus to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameleſſe, who in Queene Maries time in like ſort went about to hang himſelf, had he not bene taken in the maner, and reſcued. Furthermore, as touching the Chauncellour, he argueth that there was no cauſe why he ſhould attempt any ſuch violence agaynſt him, both for his age, and for his dignitye, for his learning, and for the greatneſſe of his owne perill, which might enſue thereof. Who if he had maligned the man, and had bene ſo diſpoſed to worke his deſtruction, had meanes otherwiſe without daunger, to bring that about, hauing him within his daunger conuict and faſt tyed for hereſy. Wherunto I aunſwere that to all this matter, ſufficient hath bene aunſwered by the ſtory it ſelfe of his death, aboue ſpecified. Whereby the maner of his death, by circumſtaunces of his handling, and hanging, by his necke broke, by his bodye looſe, by his ſkinne fretted, by his wriſtes wrong, by his gyrdle in ſuch ſhortneſſe double caſt about the ſtaple, by his cap right vpon his head, by his heare kemmed, by his eyes cloſed, by the cake of bloud founde in the floore, by his Shyrt coller, Doublet, Iacket, and other outwarde partes of his garmentes without drop of bloud vnſpotted, by the ſtoole ſtanding vpon the bolſter, by the Chauncellours Murrey gowne wund the day after vpon the ſtockes, the waxe candle fayre put out: furthermore by the verdict of the inqueſt, by the atteſtatiō of the witneſſes ſworne, by the Crowners iudgement, by the aſſent of the Parliament, by the kynges Letters aſſigned, and broade Seale of reſtitution of hys goodes: and finally by the confeſſion of the partyes themſelues whiche murthered him. &c. and yet thinketh Cope to make men ſuch fooles, hauing theyr fiue wits to weene yet that Hunne did hange himſelfe, after ſo many demonſtrations and euidences to the contrary, as in euery parte of this ſtorye may appeare. And though it were, as it was vnlike, and hard for a man to beleue, that D. Horſey a man of ſuch age, dignity, and learning, woulde ſo much forgette himſelfe, to attempt ſuch a villany, yet ſo great is the deuil ſometimes with man (where GOD permitteth) that he worketh greater thinges then this, and more vncredible. For who would haue thought it like, that Cain woulde euer haue killed Abell his owne naturall Brother? whiche was more then a Byſhoppes Chauncellour to kyll a Citizen: yet ſo he did. And where Cope pretendeth the cauſes of anger, and deſperation wherby Hunne did hang hymſelfe: how is it like, or who did euer heare, a man beinge in ſuch extremity of deſperation, to ſtand firſt trimming himſelfe, and kemming hys head, before he goe to hang himſelfe? No leſſe credite is alſo to be geuen to that whiche followeth in the ſame Cope, where he ſayth, that Richard Hunne being in priſon, was conuict of hereſye. By the which word conuict, if he meane that Hunne was proued an heretique, that is falſe, for that he being at Fulham examined vpon certayne Articles, both denyed the Articles to be true, as they were obiected, and alſo if they were true, yet he ſubmitted himſelfe to theyr fauourable correction, and therfore not ſtanding obſtinately in the ſame, coulde not be proued an heretique. And if by this terme conuict, he meane that he was by ſentence caſt, ſo was Hunne neuer caſt by any ſentence for an heretique, ſo long as he lyued, but after his death, when hee coulde nothing aunſwere for himſelfe. And becauſe this vntrueth ſhould not goe wythout his felow, ſee howe he hudleth vp one falſe narration in the necke of another: affirming moreouer, that Hunne was caſt in priſon, before he entred his ſuite of Premunire agaynſt the Prieſt. Which is vtterly falſe and vntrue, both diſagreeing to other ſtoryes, and alſo refuted by the wordes of Syr Thomas More his owne authour, who reporteth that Hunne (in ſuing his Premunire agaynſt the Prieſt) being ſet vpon a glory of victorye, made his boaſting among his frendes, that he truſted to haue the matter long ſpoken of, and to be called Hunnes caſe. Hæc Morus: Whereby it appeareth, that Hunne was not then in priſon clapt vp for hereſy: but was abroad ſeeking counſell among the Lawyers, and boaſting among his friendes, as writeth More Lib. 3. Dial.

The cauſe of Hunnes ſecret murther diſcuſſed.

Craftie practiſe.

Hunne had doble wrōg.

Copes reaſons why Hunne ſhould hang him ſelfe.

Copes reaſons aunſwered.

Proufes that Hunne dyd not hange him ſelfe.

Manifeſt vntruth in Cope.

An other vntruth noted in Cope.

Cope hudleth vp vntruthes.

An other vntruth noted in Cope.

Tho. Morus. Dial. Lib. 3.

After this heape of vntruthes aboue paſſed, adde yet further an other copy of Copes falſe dealing: who ſeeking all corners, and euery where how to picke matter agaynſt my former hiſtory, chargeth me with arrogancy, as though I tooke ſo highly vpon me to vndoe & derogate the kinges acts and iudgements in the acquitall of D. Horſey. If it ſo pleaſed the king to acquite D. Horſey, by his gracious pardon, I am not agaynſt it, neither do I deny but the king ſo did, neyther do I ſay, nor euer did, but the king of his ſupereminent prerogatiue may ſo do: & wherein then do I vnrippe or looſe the kinges actes here done & concluded? But if the queſtion be this, whether D. Horſey with his coniurates did kill Richard Hunne or no: then do I ſay, that the pardon of the king doth not take away the veritye of the crime cōmitted, but remoueth away the penalty of the law deſerued: and ſo if the life of them was ſaued by way of pardon (as M. More himſelfe ſeemeth not to denye) thē was it not through theyr innocency clayming iuſtice, that they eſcaped, but through petition ſtanding neede of mercy. For what needeth pardon, where iuſtice abſolueth? yea, who ſueth pardon, but in ſo doing muſt yeld himſelfe guilty? for pardon neuer commeth lightly eyther with God or man, except the crime firſt be confeſſed. Wherfore, if they eſcaped by iuſtice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth M. More ſay, they were ſaued by pardon? And if they eſcaped by pardon, how then doth Cope ſay, they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the ſentence of the kinges Attorney, in the kinges name did abſolue them as vnguiltye, according as the king was then informed by the Cardinall and ſuite of frendes: yet afterwarde the king being better informed by the Parliament, and the truth better knowne, deteſted and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon vnto thē, as by the kinges owne actes and his broad ſeale appeared, yet remayning in recordes to be ſeene.

An other vntruth in Cope noted.

Anſwere to Copes cauil tion.

The eſcaping of Horſey came rather of fauour, then of his demerites.

And as touching my former hiſtoryes ſet forth in latine and in Engliſh, which ſpeake firſt of the foreman of the queſt, then of the kinges Attorney to be labored with ſome giftes or mony: as Cope hath yet proued no vntruth in my ſaying, ſo leſſe can he finde any repugnaunce or diſagreeing in the ſame. For he that ſpeaketh of bribing, firſt of one perſon, and then afterward of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary (I thinke) to himſelfe, but rather doth comprehend that in the one booke, whiche he before leaueth out in the other, and yet no great repugnãce either in the one or in the other, ſeing ẏ which is ſayd, may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For how is it otherwiſe like or poſſible, but that there muſt nedes be found ſome priuy packing in this matter, ſeeing after ſuch euidence found and brought in by the Crowners inqueſt and Iury of 24. choſen perſons, after ſo many marks and tokens of the murder ſo cleare and demonſtrable, and layd forth ſo playne to the eies of all the world, that no manne coulde deny, or not ſee the ſame: yet through the handling of the foreſayde Attorney, and of the foreman of the queſt, the murderers were borne out, & confeſſed to be no murderers. If ſuch bolſtring out of matters and parciality were then ſuche a rare caſe in the Realme of England in the time of Cardinal Wolſey, who then vnder the king, and in the kinges name did what he liſt: then let it ſeeme vntrue in my former ſtories, that I haue writtẽ. And yet the wordes of my ſtory which Cope carpeth at ſo much, be not mine, but the wordes of Ed. Hall his owne author. Wherfore if his diſpoſition be ſo ſet, that he muſt needs be a cenſor of other mens writinges, let him expoſtulate wyth Hall, and not with me.

Ex Edu. Halle, in vit. Henr. 8. anno. 6.

But I trouble the reader to much in this matter of Richard Hunne, being of it ſelfe ſo cleare, that no indifferent iudge can doubt therof. As for wranglers and quarrellers they will neuer be ſatiſfied. Wherefore to returne agayn to the purpoſe of our ſtory intermitted, in the table aboue, cõteining the names of them whiche about this time of Richard Hunne, were forced to deny and abiure their profeſſed opinions, pag. 774. mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, Iohn Houſhold, and other mo, abiuring about the yeare of our Lord. 1517. Whoſe vexation and weakneſſe although it be pitifull to behold, yet to conſider the confeſſion of theyr doctrine in thoſe aũcient dayes, it is not vnprofitable. Wherein we haue to ſee the ſame fourme of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the harts of our forelders, which is now publiquely receiued, as well touching the Lordes Sacrament of his body, as alſo other ſpecialties of ſincerity. And although they lacked thẽ publique authority to mayntayne the open preaching and teaching of the Goſpell, which the Lords mercifull grace hath geuẽ vs now, yet in ſecret knowledge and vnderſtanding they ſeemed then little or nothing inferiour to theſe our times of publicke reformation: as may appeare by this cõfeſſion of Elizabeth Stamford here vnder written, whiche only may ſuffice for exãple to vnderſtand what ripe knowledge of Gods worde was then abroade, although not in churches publickely preached, for daunger of the biſhops, yet in ſecret wiſe taught and receiued of diuers.

Anno. 1517.

Elizabeth Stamford.

The teaching of the former times to be conſidered.

Thomas Beele.

In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford, who being brought and examined before Fitziames Biſhop of London ann. 1517 confeſſed that ſhe was taught by one Thomas Beele, ſometime dwelling at Henley, theſe wordes, 11. yeares before: That Chriſt feedeth, and faſt nouriſheth his Church with his owne precious body, that is, the breade of life comming downe from heauen: this is the worthy worde that is worthely receiued, and ioyned vnto man for to be in one body with him. Soth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wiſely deeminge of the holy Sacrament Chriſtes owne body: this is not receiued by chewing of teeth, but by hearing of eares and vnderſtanding with your ſoule, and wiſely working thereafter. Therefore ſaith S. Paule, I feare me amongeſt vs, brethren, that many of vs be feeble and ſicke, therefore I counſell vs brethren to riſe & watch, that the great day of dome come not ſodẽly vpon vs, as the theefe doth vpon the Marchaunt. Alſo the ſayd Thomas taught and ſhewed her, that the Sacrament of the aultar was not the very body of Chriſt, but very bread: and that the Sacrament was the very bodye of Chriſt put vppon the Croſſe, after a diuine or miſtical maner. And moreouer that ẏ ſaid Thomas Beele did many times and ofte teache her thys foreſayd leſſon, that ſhe ſhould confeſſe her ſinnes to God, and that the Popes pardons and indulgence were nought worth and profited not, and that worſhipping of Images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

Ioanne Sampſon.

To this Elizabeth Stamford, may alſo be annexed the doctrine and confeſſion of Ioane Sampſon, wife of Iohn Sampſon Carpenter of Aldermanbury in London: Againſt whom being cited, and examined before the Biſhop of London, certaine witneſſes were producted: who vpon theyr othe being ſworne, did detect and denounce the ſayde Ioane Sampſon in theſe articles and opinions folowing.

Articles of Ioanne Sampſon.

1. Firſt, that ſhe being in her labour what time Ioane Sampſon her predeceſſor then being aliue, was with her, and after the maner then of women, called much vpon the helpe of the virgin Mary, ſhe ſpitting thereat, was in ſuch ſort agreeued, that the other party was compelled to forſake the houſe.

2. Alſo, that ſhe ſpake againſt pilgrimage, and the worſhipping of the bleſſed virgine, and of all ſaints, affirming that there is none holy but one.

3. Item, an other time in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when ſhee and other women were inuocating the bleſſed Virgine to helpe in womens labour, ſhee ſtoode agaynſt them, and contumeliouſly ſpake agaynſt the inuocators.

4 Item, that ſhee ſpeaking agaynſt the Pilgrimage of our Lady of Wilſedon, (as ſhe was then called) and of S. Sauiour at Barmſey, called the ſayd Saynt Sauiour, S. Sawyer.

5. Item, for hauing two certayne bookes in Engliſhe, one bigger, and an other leſſer, whiche ſhee committed to one Iohn Auſted a Cooke, which bookes in the Regiſter be not named.

Againſt the Sacrament of the altar.

6 Item, that the ſayde Ioane Sampſon at a Supper in the hearing of certayne men, and of a certayne widdow named Ioane White, ſpake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the aultar, ſaying that the Prieſtes were Idolaters which did lift vp the breade ouer theyr heades, making the people to worſhip it & making the people to beleue that it was the Lords body, and that it was better to eat the aultar cloth, if it might be eaten and digeſted as eaſily as the other.

Here followeth moreouer the names of diuers other which in the Regiſters be ſpecified to abiure, as

The names of diuers perſons abiured.

William Iacum Carpẽter.
Iohn Stradlyng.
Iohn Newman Sherman.
Robert Boſhel.
Tho. Edward Dyar.
Richard Dewar.
Rich. Appulby.
Iohn Osborne.
Robert Roger.
Iohn Eton.
Iohn Chapman.
William Chakon.
Richard Myldnale.
Iohn Hatchot.
Iacob Sturdey.
Tho. Puruall Taylor.
Iohn Bytam.
Rob. Hutton Prynter.
Robert Pope.
Iohn Geeſte of Stratford.
Iohn Bryan of the Pariſh of S. Steuen.
Iohn Bol.
Richard Weſcotte.
William Croſſe.
George Lawnd Prior of S. Sithe.
Henry Colle.
William Manne.
William Sweting.
Iacob Bruſter.
Sabine Manne.
Iohn Spencer.
Patricke Dowdal alias Capper.
Robert Aleyn.
Iohn Finch Cooke.
Iohn Southwyke.

Iohn Southwike.

Agaynſt this Iohn Southwike laſt named, was layde & obiected, that whẽ one Rinelay comming frõ the church of the Gray friers in London, had ſayde to his wife (aſking where he had bene) that he had heard Maſſe, & had ſene his Lord God in forme of bread & wine ouer ẏ prieſts head. &c. the foreſayd Iohn Southwike there preſent aunſwered agayn & ſayd: nay, William, thou ſaweſt not thy Lord God: thou ſaweſt but bread, wine, & the Chalice. And when the ſayd William anſwered agayn in ẏ ſame words, as before, ſaying: I truſt verily that I ſaw my Lord God in forme of bread & wine, & this I doubt not: the other replying again anſwered & ſayd, as before: nay, I tel thee, thou ſaweſt but onely a figure or ſacramẽt of him, ẏ which is in ſubſtance, bread and wine &c. This was in the yere of our Lord. 1520 In which he was compelled to abiure.

Conſent of doctrine.

All theſe aboue named in one key of doctrine & religion did hold & concord together, agaynſt who were obiected 5. or 6. eſpeciall matters: to witte, for ſpeaking agaynſt worſhipping of ſaynts, agaynſt pilgrimage, agaynſt inuocatiõ of the bleſſed virgin, agaynſt the ſacramẽt of the Lords body, & for hauing ſcripture bookes in Engliſh: which bookes eſpecially I finde to be named, as theſe: the booke of the 4. Euangeliſtes, a booke of the Epiſtles of Paule and Peter, the Epiſtle of S. Iames, a booke of the Apocalips, and of Antichriſt, of the 10. Commaundementes, and Wickcliffes workes, with ſuch other like.

¶ Iohn Stilman Martyr.

Anno. 1518.

IT would alſo a long tractation & tedious, to recite in order the greate multitude and number of good men & women, Iohn Stilman, Martyr. Wickliffes Wicket.

men beſide theſe aboue rehearſed, which in thoſe dayes recanted and abiured about the beginning of king Henryes raigne and before: among whō yet notwithſtanding, ſome there were whom the Lord reduced againe, & made ſtrong in the profeſſion of his truth, and conſtant vnto death: of which number, one was Iohn Stilman by name, who about the xxiiij. day of Sept, in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitziames then B. of Lond. at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithſtanding his former recantation, oth, and abiuration made about xi. yeres then paſt, before Edmund Byſhop of Saliſbury, as well for ſpeaking againſt ẏ worſhipping, praying, and offering vnto Images, as alſo for denying the carnal and corporal preſence in ẏ ſacrament of Chriſtes memoriall: yet ſithens that time he had fallen into the ſame opinions againe, and ſo into the daunger of relapſe, and further he had highly commended and prayſed Iohn wickliffe, affirming that he was a ſaint in heauen, and that hys booke called ẏ wicket, was good and holy. Soone after hys examination he was ſent from thence vnto the Lollardes tower at London, and the xxij. day of October then next enſuing, was brought openly into the conſiſtory at Paules, and was there iudicially examined by Thom. Hed the byſhops vicare generall, vpon the contentes of theſe articles followyng.

Ex Regiſt. Fitziames, Lond.

Articles laid agaynſt Ioh. Stilman.

1. Firſt I obiect vnto you, that you haue confeſſed before my Lord of London, and me D. Hed his vicar generall, that about xx. yeares paſt one Steuen Moone of the Dioces of wincheſt. (with whom you abode 6. or 7. yeares after) did teach you to beleeue that the going on pilgrimage and worſhipping of images (as the Lady of walſingham and others) were not to be vſed. And alſo that afterwards one Richard Smart who was burned at Saliſbury about 14. or 15. yeares paſt, did read vnto you wickliffes wicket, and likewiſe inſtructed you to beleeue that the ſacrament of the altar was not the body of Chriſt: all whiche thinges you haue erroneouſly beleued.

* Yeares of Antiquitie to be noted. A godly Martyr, Richarde Smart burned at Saliſbury ann. 1503. Wickliffes Wicket.

2. Item, you haue diuers times read the ſaid book called wickleffes wicket, and one other booke of the x. Commaundementes, which the ſayd Richard Smart did geue you, and at the tyme of your firſt apprehenſiō, you did hide thē in an old oke, and did not reuele them vnto the biſhop of Saliſbury, before whom you were abiured of hereſie about xi. yeares ſince: where you promiſed by oth vpon the Euangeliſtes, euer after to beleue and hold as the Chriſtē fayth taught and preached, and neuer to offend agayne in the ſayd hereſies, or any other, vpon payne of relapſe. And further you there promiſed to performe all ſuch penaunce as the ſayd Biſhop of Saliſbury did enioyne you: who thē enioyned you, vpon the like payne, not to depart his Dioces, without hys ſpeciall licence.

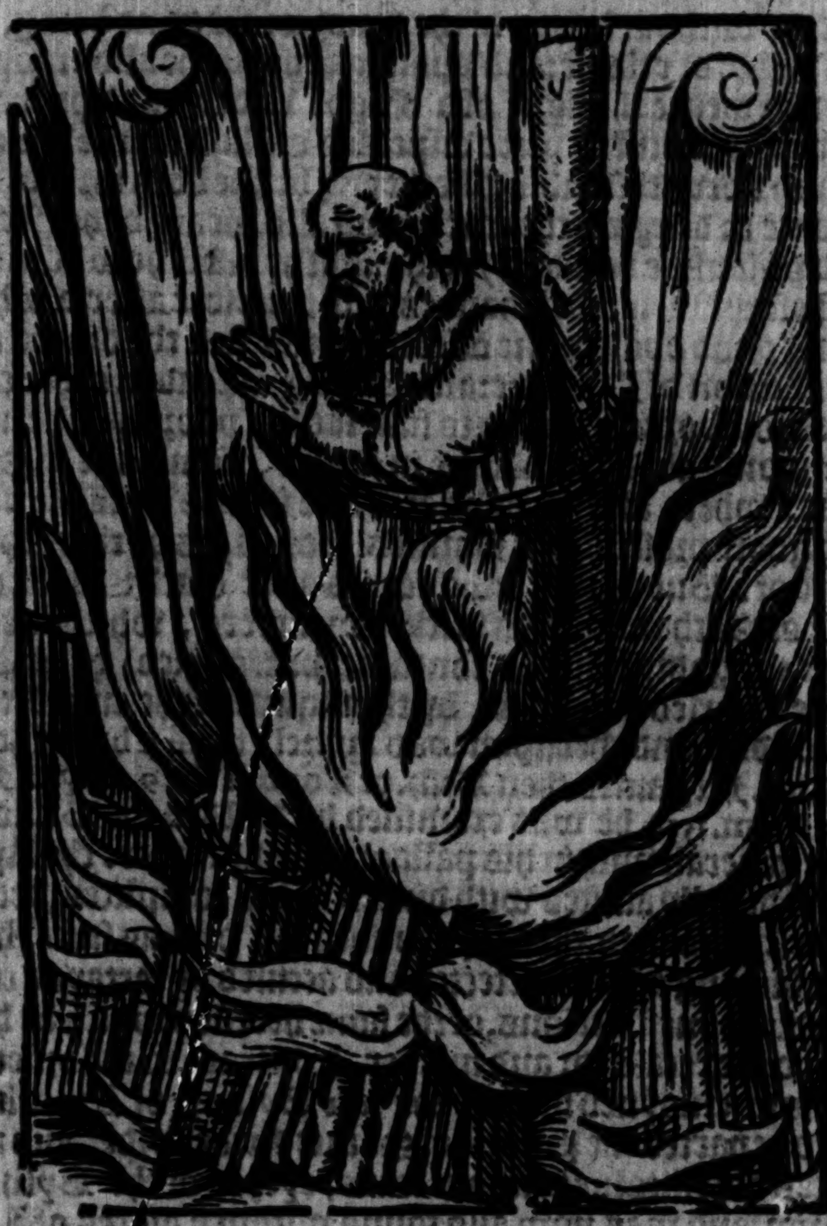
3. Item, it is euident that you be relapſed aſwel by your own confeſſion, as alſo by your deedes in that about two yeares after your abiuration you went into the ſayd place where you had hidden your books, and then taking them away with you: you departed the foreſayd dioces, without the licence of the Biſhop and brought them with you to London, where nowe being tached and taken with them vpon great ſuſpicion of hereſie, you are brought vnto the Biſhop of London. By reaſon of whiche your demeanor, you haue ſhewed by your impenitent and diſſembled conuerſation from your errours, and alſo your vnfaithful abiuration and diſobedience vnto the authoritie of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance, in whiche behalfe you be voluntarily periured and alſo relapſed, in that you departed the ſayd dioces wythout licence.

4. Item you be not onely (as afore is ſayd) impenitent, diſobedient, voluntarily periured, & relapſed by this your foreſayd hereticall demeanor, but alſo ſithens your laſt attachment vpon ſuſpicion of hereſie, you haue maliciouſly ſpoken erroneous and damnable wordes, affirming before my Lord of London your Ordinary and me, iudicially ſitting at Fulham, that you were ſorye ẏ euer you did abiure your ſaid opinions, and had not ſuffered then manfully for them: for they were and be good and true, and therfore you will now abide by them, to die for it. And furthermore you haue ſpoken againſt our holy father the pope and hys authoritie, damnably ſaying that he is Antichriſt, and not the true ſucceſſor of Peter, or Chriſtes vicar on earth: and that his pardons and indulgences which he graunteth in ẏ ſacrament of penaunce, are nought, and that you will none of thē: And likewiſe ẏ the college of Cardinals be limmes of the ſayd Antichriſt: and that all other inferiour prelates and Prieſtes are the ſinagogue of Sathan. And moreouer you ſayd, that the doctors of the Churche haue ſubuerted the truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own mindes, and therfore theyr workes be nought, and they in hell: but that wickliffe is a Saint in heauen, and that the booke called his wicket, is good, for therein he ſheweth the truth. Alſo you did wiſh that there were xx. thouſand of your opinion againſt vs Scribes and Phariſies, to ſee what you would doe for the defēce of your fayth. Al which hereſies you did afterwardes erroneouſly affirme before ẏ Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and then ſaid that you would abide by thē to dye for it: notwithſtanding his earneſt perſwaſions to the contrary: and therfore for theſe premiſſes you be euidently relapſed, and ought to be committed vnto the ſecular power.

Wickliffes Wicket.

All theſe articles thus propounded, and his conſtant perſeuering in the truth perceiued, Doctour Hed vicar generall the xxv. day of October by his ſentence definitiue, did condemne him as a relapſed hereticke, and ſo deliuered him the ſame preſent day, vnto the Sheriffes of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

¶ The burning of Iohn Stilman.



¶ Thomas Man Martyr.

Tho. Man, Martyr.

Next to Iohn Stilman aboue mentioned, followeth in this bleſſed order of Martyrs, the perſecution and condemnation of Thomas Man, who the 29. day of Marche in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was burned in Smithfield. This Tho. Man had likewiſe bene apprehended for ẏ profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, about 6. yeares before, the 14. day of Auguſt. an. 1511. and being at that time brought before D. Smith B. of Lincolne, was by him examined vpon dyuers and ſundry articles: the effect wherof are theſe.

1. Firſt, that he had ſpoken againſt auricular confeſſion, and denyed the corporall preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament of the altar.

2. Item, that he beleued that al holy men of his ſect were onely prieſtes.

The articles of Thomas Man.

3. Item, that he had affirmed that the father of heauen was the altar, and the ſecond perſon the ſacrament, & that vppon the Aſcenſion day the ſacrament aſcended vnto the altar, and there abideth ſtill.

4. Item, that he beleued not aright in the ſacrament of extreme vnction.

5. Item that he had called certaine prieſtes meanely arayed, pyld knaues.

6. Item, that he had ſayd that pulpits were prieſtes lying ſtooles.

7. Item, that he had beleued that images ought not to be worſhipped: and that he neyther beleeued in the Crucifixe, nor yet would worſhip it.

8. Item, that he had affirmed that he heard ſay, the word of God and God to be al one, and that he worthily receiueth the word of God, receiueth God.

9. Item, that he had ſayd, that the popiſh Churche was

not the church of God, but a ſinagogue: and that holy men of his ſect, where the true church of God.

Thomas Man ſent to the monaſtery of Oſney.

For theſe and ſuche like matters was he a long time, empriſoned, and at laſt through frailtie and feare of death, was contented to abiure & yeld himſelfe vnto the iudgement of the Romiſh Church, and thereupon was enioyned, not only to make hys open recantation, but alſo from thence forth to remayne as priſoner within the monaſtery of Oſney beſides Oxford, and ſo to beare a fagot before the firſt croſſe at the next generall Proceſſion within the Vniuerſitie. Howbeit not long after, the Biſhop hauing neede of the poore mans helpe in hys houſholde buſines, tooke him out of the ſaid Monaſtery, and placed him within his owne houſe, vntill his buſines was ended, and then (hys turne once ſerued) hee appoynted D. Wilcockes his vicar generall, that in hys next iudicial Seſſion within the ſayd Priorie of Frideſwide at Oxforde, he ſhoulde aſſigne him to remayne within the ſayd Priorie, and not to depart thence without licence of the Prior for the tyme being, vpon payne of relapſe: and vpon lyke payne he alſo enioyned him to weare the ſigne of a Fagot vnder his vppermoſt garment, vntill he were diſpenſed withall for the ſame. All which notwithſtanding, he (beyng belike both ſory for hys offence in denying the trueth, and alſo weary of his ſeruile and priſonlike bondage) bethought hymſelf how he might beſt eſcape their cruell handes, and therefore after a while, ſeyng good oportunitie offered him, he fled the dioces and iuriſdiction of Lincolne: and ſeeking abroad in other countryes for worke (thereby to ſuſteine his poore lyfe) he moſt commonly abode, ſometime in Eſſexe, ſometime in Suffolke: where alſo he aſſociated and ioyned himſelfe vnto ſuch godly profeſſors of Chriſtes Goſpel, as he there could heare of. But within fewe yeares after (ſuch is the cruell rage of Sathan and hys wicked members, whiche neuer ſuffer the godly long to continue vntroubled) he was agayne accuſed of relapſe, by the inqueſt of the inquiſition of London, and therupon was apprehended & brought vnto Rich. Fitziames then Biſh. of Lond. & the 9. day of February an. 1518. he was examined by D. Hed the Biſhops vicar generall within his pallace at Lond. where the ſayde Hed iudicially aſſiſted with diuers of his complices, declared firſt vnto man, that forasmuch as he was ſince hys firſt abiuring againe detected and accuſed by certayne credible and honeſt perſons, of the ſame hereſies which he had once before recanted: and further (contrary to the order of pennaunce enioyned hym by the late Byſhop of Lincolne) he had departed the Priorie of Saint Frideſwide, and the Dioces of Lincolne without leaue, eyther of the Byſhop or Prior: and was now alſo found within ỹ dioces of Lõdon, and that without hys badge aſſigned hym by ỹ ſayde biſhops vicar generall: he therefore as Chauncellour and vicar generall vnto the biſh. of Lond. deputed for that purpoſe, did then meane to proceede agaynſt hym as a relapſe by order of Eccleſiaſticall lawes in that behalfe prouided: wherfore he appoynted hym to appeare agayne in the conſiſtory of Pauls, the 12. day of February next after, there to anſwere vnto ſuch articles as then ſhould be propounded agaynſt him. At which day and place the Chauncellor (firſt reciting the cauſes before mentioned, why he did then proceede againſt him) obiected vnto him theſe articles folowing.

Thomas Man ſent to the monaſtery of Frideſwyde.

Thomas Man fledde out of the monaſtery.

Thomas Man the ſecond time apprehended.

The cauſe of hys martyrdome.

Articles againe obiected againſt Thomas Man.

1. Firſt, that he was of the Dioces of London.

2. Itẽ, that he was a Chriſten man & profeſſed Chriſtes Fayth, and the determinatiõs of holy Church concernyng the ſeuen Sacramentes, and other articles of the Catholicke fayth.

3. Item, that it was not lawfull for any man (eſpecially a lay man) erroneouſly and obſtinatly to hold, teach, or defend any opinion contrary vnto the determinations of the ſayd church, and that the perſon ſo doing is an hereticke.

Againſt the reall preſence in the Sacrament.

4. Item, that within one of the 12. monthes of the yeare of our Lord. 1511. he had bene detected before the Biſhop of Lincolne that then was, of diuers poyntes of hereſie: as that he had affirmed that the very body and bloud of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the altar, but materiall bread and wine, and that he had receiued it at Eaſter as holye bread, and likewiſe had affirmed that the crucifixe & other Images in the Church were not to be worſhipped, and alſo that confeſſion made vnto a prieſt, was of none effect, with diuers other like opinions and hereſies.

5. Item, that for theſe and ſuch like poyntes of hereſie he had bene abiured in S. Mary church at Oxford before D. Wilcockes Chauncellour vnto the ſayde Byſhop of Lincolne, in the month of October, in the yeare laſt aboueſayd and there dyd renounce them and all other, promiſing no more to fal into the like.

6. Item, that there alſo he had taken a ſolemne oth, to do ſuch pennaunce as ſhould be enioyned him by the authoritie of the ſayd Biſhop.

7. Item, that then he was enioyned to abide within the monaſtery of Oſney by Oxforde: and alſo there to beare a fagot before the firſt Croſſe in the generall Proceſſion.

8. Item, that after a certayn tyme that he had bene within the monaſtery of Oſney the Byſhop of Lincolne (for certayne cauſes) tooke him into his owne houſe and ſeruice, reſpiting his pennaunce for a time.

9. Item, that afterwardes, which was the 9. day of October. anno, 1512. the ſayd Biſhops Chauncellour iudicially ſitting in the Chapter houſe of the Priorie of S. Frideſwide in Oxford, did enioyne him that he ſhould tary within the ſayd Priory, and not to goe out of the gates thereof without licence of the Prior for the tyme beyng, vntill he had other commaundement from the Byſhop, vpon payn of relapſe: and further that he ſhould from thenceforth (vpon the lyke payne) weare a ſigne of a Fagot vnder his vppermoſt garment.

10. Item, ỹ after hys abiuration, and ſithens the promiſes thus done, he was yet agayne detected to the B. of Lõdon by open fame, and denounced by worſhipfull and credible perſons, ỹ he had vſed like falſe errours and hereſies & had ſpoken and taught certaine concluſions of hereſie againſt the Chriſten fayth, and determinations of holye Church: and that he had fallen into the like hereſies, as before his abiuration, both againſt the ſacrament of the altar agaynſt pilgrimages and worſhipping of Images: and had blaſphemed our bleſſed Lady, calling her Mably.

He ment ſome Image or picture of the virgine, ſet vp in ſome blinde place to be worſhipped

11. Item that when he wrought with one Iohn Bates in Stratford Langthorne in Rogation weeke, then 3. yeares paſt, and beyng bidden by the ſayd Bates wife to goe and heare the goſpell, he aunſwered, and ſayd vnto her, I wyll not come there, go you if ye liſt, ye ſhal haue as much meed for it as to put your finger in the fire, and to burne it.

12. Item, that in times paſt for feare of abiuration, he had fled from Colcheſter to Newbery, and after that vnto Hamerſham, and had there damnably accompanyed with heretiques and had taught hereſies among them: & alſo ſince ỹ tyme of hys abiuration he had ſayd, that he and hys wyfe had turned ſixe or ſeuen hundreth people vnto thoſe opinions which he was abiured of, and others alſo, contrary to Chriſtes fayth, and determinations of holy Church.

Hys aunſwere vnto theſe Articles was, that as touching the firſt nine, hee graunted in part to be true, confeſſing to the ſeconde, that hee was a true Chriſtian, and did profeſſe the true Chriſtian faith: but the contentes of the laſt three he vtterly denied to be true, affirming for certaine aunſwere vnto the 11. article, that at the time mentioned in the ſame, he did not worke in the towne of Stratford. Vpon which anſwere the Chauncelour called forth two witneſſes to be ſworne and examined againſt hym, willyng hym that if he had any iuſt matter againſt any of them, hee ſhould refuſe them. But to what purpoſe this his faire offer and trim ſhewe of vpright iuſtice ſerued, I can not ſee. For notwithſtanding that hee charged the one of the witneſſes with theft and adulterie (for that hauing a wife of hys owne, he did yet runne away wyth an other mannes wife and goodes) and alſo alleged that the other was to young to be a ſworne witneſſe in caſe of life and death: yet were they both ſtill retained & allowed by the Chauncelour, and ſworn not to depart away or hide themſelues, but to be alwaies ready to iuſtifye that which they had to ſay againſt the ſayde Thomas Man: and ſo for that time as well they, as alſo all the reſt were commanded to depart, and the priſoner ſent againe to hys priſon.

Falſe witnes.

Falſe witnes receiued againſt Thomas Man.

And here in the order of the othe miniſtred vnto theſe witneſſes, I finde one note (me thinketh) worthy preſent remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in this proces, and alſo becauſe it ſomewhat openeth ỹ fooliſh, ridiculous, and fained figuratiue Ceremonies of the Papiſts, who do attribute a ſpirituall ſignification almoſt vnto all their doinges. The Regiſter diſcourſing at large the manner of their othe hath theſe wordes: Ad ſancta Dei Euangelia iurari fecit, tribus mediis digitis erectis, & ſuper librum poſitis in ſignum Trinitatis, & fidei Catholicæ: & duobus (videl. police & auriculari) ſuppoſitis & ſuppreſſis, & ſub libro poſitis, in ſignum damnationis corporis & animæ, ſi non depoſuerint veritatem in hac parte. That is to ſay, he cauſed them to ſweare vpõ the holy Euangeliſtes, with their three middle fingers ſtretched out right, and laide vpon the booke in ſigne of ỹ Trinitie and Catholique faith: and the other two (to wyt, the thombe and the litle finger) put downewardes vnder the booke, in token of damnation of body and ſoule, if they did not depoſe the truth in the matter. This Ceremoniall order and expoſition of theirs as it is of their owne fonde inuention, without any ground or example of the ſcriptures

The ceremoniall maner of the popiſh miniſtring of their othe.

of God ſo minde I to leaue it ſtill vnto thẽſelues, wt other their apiſh toies & ridicles, as things worthy to be laught at, and will now further proceed with the reſt of this proceſſe, which I haue in hand.

Tho. Man againe called by D. Hed Chancelour

The xv. day of February, D. Hed the Chauncellour, againe iudicially ſitting in the conſiſtory at Paules, commaunded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there cauſing the articles obiected againſt him by the Byſhop of Lincolne with his order of abiuration & penaunce and alſo his owne articles laſt propounded to be firſt read he called forth a third witnes to be ſworne and examined vpon the ſame. But becauſe he would ſeeme to do all thinges by order of iuſtice, and nothing againſt law, he therefore appoynted vnto the ſayd Thomas Man, certain Doctours and aduocates of the Arches, as his counſellers, to plead in his behalfe: which was euen like as if the lambe ſhould be committed to the defence and protection of the woolfe, or the hare to the hounde. For what good helpe could he looke for at their handes, whiche were both moſt wicked haters and abhorrers of his Chriſtian profeſſion, and alſo ſtout vpholders and maintainers of that Antichriſtian law, by the which he was for the ſame cõdemned? And that full well appeared by the good aduice and profitable councell which they gaue him againſt his next examinations. For aſwell vppon the 20. and alſo the 23. dayes of the ſame month of February, in theyr ſeuerall Seſſions he ſeing his owne negations to their obiections, to take no place againſt their ſworne witneſſes, had no other thinge to allege for himſelfe, but that through his xx. weekes of hard impriſonment vnder the byſhop of Lincolne, he was forced to recant and abiure: whiche was a poore ſhifte of counſell, God knoweth: And yet D. Raynes beyng one of his chiefe aſſigned aduocates (in ſteede of aduice) coulde by his ſubtle queſtioning, then make him to confeſſe, that certaine talke, whereof one of the witneſſes had accuſed hym, was ſpoken about fiue yeares before paſt: which becauſe it was ſince his recantatiõ, was rather an accuſation of hym ſelfe, then an excuſing: and therefore it is eaſie to iudge wt how fauourable and vprightfull hartes they tooke vppon them to be his aduocates and defenders. The Chauncellour likewiſe charged him vpon the ſame xxiij. daye yt ſince his laſt impriſonment he had ſaid vnto Robert Cluny the Biſhops Sumner, and his keeper, that as far foorth as he could ſee or perceiue for his parte in this his matter, the lawes of the Church were grounded vpon Pilate & Cayphas. which obiection he graunting to be true, the Chauncellour did for that time diſmiſſe the Courte, vntill the firſt daye of Marche nexte following. Uppon whiche daye (minding to make quicke diſpatche) he in fewe wordes aſked Man, what matter he had to alledge for himſelfe, why he ſhoulde not then (conſidering the premiſſes) bee pronounced a relapſed heretique, and receiue ſuche puniſhement by the ſeculare power, as to ſuche was due by order of lawe. But he hauing no other allegations then before whiche might take place with them, was finally condemned as an heretique. And notwithſtanding that, as the regiſter noteth (but howe truely, God onely knoweth) he did agayne forſake his former renewed profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, and yelded himſelfe vnto the Biſh. of Rome requiring to be abſolued from his curſe of excommunication, and contented to doe ſuch penaunce, as they ſhould enioyne him, he was yet the xxix. day of Marche deliuered by Doctour Hed vnto the Sheriffe of London, to be then preſently burned, with this proteſtation made before, that he might not conſent to the death of any, and therefore he deſired the Sheriffe that he woulde receiue this perſon as relapſed and condemned, and yet to puniſhe him otherwiſe then by rigorous rigour. The wordes to be marked in their ſentence be theſe Rogamus attentè in viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, vt huiuſmodi dignæ ſeueritatis vltio & executio de te & contra te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, vt non ſit rigor rigidus, neq; manſuetudo diſſoluta, ſed ad ſalutẽ & ſanitatem animæ tuæ &c. That is, we deſire in the bowels of our lord Ieſus Chriſt, that the puniſhment and execution of due ſeueritie of thee, & againſt thee in this part, may ſo be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no diſſolute manſuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy ſoule. &c. wherein theſe Catholique Churchmen doe well declare, according to the wordes of Thomas Man before expreſſed, that the lawes of their church be grounded vpõ Pilate & Caiphas. For like as Caiphas with his court of Phariſeis, cried againſt Chriſt vnto Pilate: It is not lawfull for vs to put anye man to death: But if thou let hym go, thou art not Cæſars friend. Euen ſo they, firſt condemning the ſaints of God to death and then deliuering them vnto the ſecular Magiſtrate, to be thereupon executed, woulde yet couer their malignant hartes with the cloke of hipocriticall holines, and vnwillingnes to ſhedde bloude. But God be thanked, whiche bringeth all thinges to light in his due time, & vncouereth her hipocriſie, at laſt that ſhe may be ſeene and knowne in right colours.

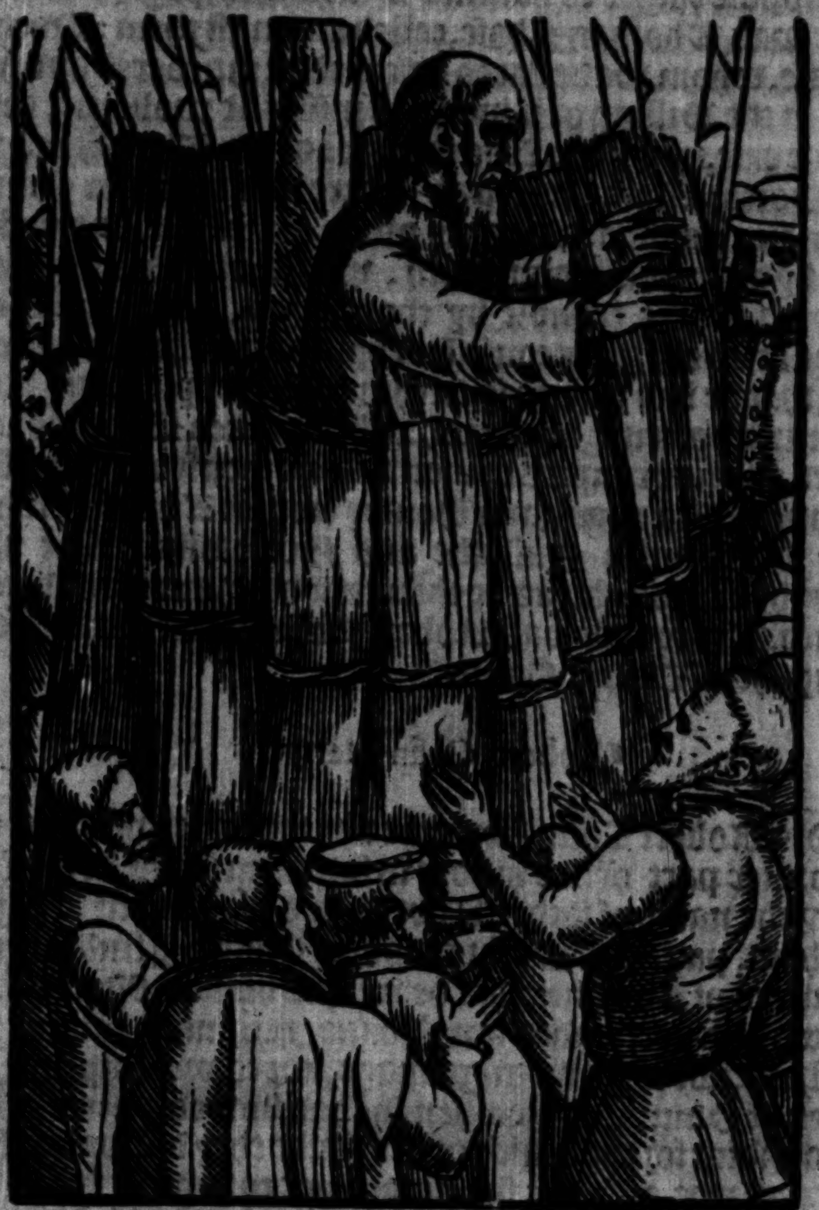
Agnus Lupo commiſſus.

The ſubtile practiſe of the Romiſh churchmen.

The lawes of the church of Rome grounded vpon Pilate and Cayphas.

The popiſh chauncelour would not ſeeme to cõſent to his death: but yet could ſend him to the Shambles to be kilde.

* The burning of Thomas Man.



Thus Thomas man, the manly martyr of Ieſu chriſt, being condemned by the vniuſt ſentence of Hed the Chauncellour, was deliuered to the Sheriffe of London ſitting on horſebacke, in Pater noſter rowe, before the Byſhops doore, an. 1518. proteſting to the ſayde Sheriffe, that he had no power to put him to deathe, and therefore deſired the Sheriffe to take him as a relapſe and cõdemned to ſee him puniſhed, Et tamen citra Mortem, that is, without death, as the wordes ſtand in the Regiſter. The Sheriffe receiuing neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any Indentures of that his deliuerye, immediately caryed him to Smithfielde, and there in the ſame day in the forenoone cauſed him to be put into Gods Aungell, according to the wordes of the ſayd Thomas Man before, ſaying that if he were taken againe of the pilled knaue prieſtes, as he called them, he wiſt well he ſhould goe to the holy Aungell, and then be an angell in heauen.

Thomas Man burned of the Sheriffe without any warrãt. An. 1518. Menſ. Mart. 29. Ex Regiſt.

In the depoſition of one Thomas Riſby, weauer of Stratford Langthorn, againſt ye forenamed Martyr Tho. Man, it appeareth by the Regiſters, that he had bene in diuers places and countryes in England, and had inſtructed very many, as at Amerſham, at London at Billerica, Chemsford, at Stratford Langford, at Oxbrige, at Burnham, at Henley vpon Thamis, in Suffolke, and Northfolke, at Newbery, and diuers places moe: where he himſelfe teſtifieth, that as he went weſtward, he found a great company of well diſpoſed perſons, being of the ſame iudgement touching the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper, that he was of, and eſpecially at Newbery, where was (as he confeſſed) a glorious and ſweete ſocietie of faythfull fauourers, who had continued the ſpace of xv. yeares together, till at laſt by a certaine lewd perſon, whome they truſted and made of their counſell, they were bewrayed, and then many of them, to the number of ſixe or ſeuen ſcore were abiured, and three or foure of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confeſſed) to the foreſt of windſore, where he hearing of the brethren which were at Hamerſham, remoued thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching 23. yeares: whiche was from this preſent time 70. yeares agone. And this congregation of Buckingham ſhyre men remayned till the time of Iohn Longham Biſhop of Lincolne, whereof we ſhal (Chriſt willing) heare more anone. Againſt theſe faythfull Chriſtiãs of Amerſham, was great troble and perſecution in the time of w. Smyth Byſhop of Lincolne, about the yeare of our Lord 1057. at whiche time diuers and many were abiured, and it was called

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitziames. Pag. 798.

Vj. ſcore abiured, and 3. or 4. burnt about Newbery 60. yeares agoe.

Abiuratiõ magna.

Knowen men, or Iuſt faſt men of Amerſham.

W. Tilſeley or rather Tylſeworth, martyr. Vid. ſupra. Pag. 774.

Abiuratio Magna, the great abiuration, and they whiche were noted of that doctrine and profeſſion, were called by the name of knowne men or iuſt faſt men. &c. In this congregatiō of the faithfull brethren, were 4. principall readers or inſtructers. whereof one was Tileſworth called thē D. Tileſworth, who was burnt at Amerſham, mentioned in our hiſtory before, by the name of William Tiſſeley: whō I ſuppoſe rather to be called Tilleſworth, pag. 774. An other was Thomas Chaſe, called amongſt them, Doctour Chaſe, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the Biſhop of Lincolnes priſon at Woborne, called Little eaſe, pag. 774. The third was this Tho. Man, called Doctor Man, burned as is here mentioned in Smithfield, an. 1518. who, as by his owne confeſſion, and no leſſe alſo by his trauaile appeareth, was Gods champion and ſuffered muche trouble by the prieſtes, for the cauſe and lawe of God. Hee confeſſeth himſelfe in the ſame Regiſter, that he had turned ſeuen hundreth people to his Religion and doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conueyed alſo fiue couples of men and women from Amerſhā, Oxbrige, Burnham, and Henley vppon Thamis, where they dwelt vnto Suffolke and Northfolke, that they mought be brought (as he then termed it) out of the deuils mouth. The fourth was Robert Coſin, named likewiſe among them, Doctor Coſin.

Thomas Chaſe Martyr. Vide. ſupra. pag. 774.

Thomas Man a great reader among the brethren of Amerſham.

¶ Robert Coſin Martyr.

Robert Couſyn burnt at Buckingham.

This Robert Coſin ſeemeth to be the ſame, which in the former part of our hiſtory is forementioned, being called by the name of father Robert, and was burnt in Buckingham, pag. 749. Of this Robert Coſine, I finde in the Regiſters of Lincolne: that he with Thomas Man had inſtructed and perſwaded one Ioane Norman, about Amerſham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worſhip any Images of Saints. Alſo when ſhe had vowed a peece of ſiluer to a ſaint for the health of her childe they diſſwaded her from the ſame, and that ſhe needed not to confeſſe her vnto a Prieſt, but to be ſufficient to lift vp her hands to heauen. Moreouer they were charged by the biſhop for teaching yͤ ſayd Ioan that ſhe might aſwell drinke vppon the ſonday before Maſſe: as any other day. &c. Ex. Regiſt. Ioan. Longland. And thus you ſee the doctrine of theſe good men, for the which they were in thoſe daies abiured, and condemned to death.

The teaching & doctrine of Robart. Coſyn.

A perilous hereſie.

¶ William Sweting, alias Clerke martyr.

William Sweeting Martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwiſe named Clerke, firſt dwelt with the Ladye Percy at Dalington in the County of Northampton for a certayne ſpace, and from thence went to Boxſted in the County of Eſſex, where he was the holy water Clerke, the ſpace of ſeuen yeares: after that was baliffe and fermer to mayſtres Margerye Wood, the terme of 13. yeares. From Boxted he departed and came to the towne of ſaint Oſithe, where he ſerued the Prior of ſaint Sythes named George Launde, the ſpace of 16. yeares and more. Where he had ſo turned the Prior by his perſwaſions, that the ſayd Prior of ſaynt Oſithe was afterward compelled to abiure. This William Sweting comming vp to London with the foreſayd Prior, for ſuſpicion of hereſie was committed to the Lollardes Tower, vnder the cuſtody of Charles Ioſeph, and there being abiured in the Churche of ſainct Paule, was conſtrayned to beare a fagot at Paules croſſe, and at Colcheſter. And afterward to weare a fagot vpon his coat all his life. Which he did two yeares together vpon hys left ſleeue, till at length the perſon of Colcheſter required hym to helpe in the ſeruice of the Churche, and ſo pluckt the badge from hys ſleeue: and there he remayned two yeares, being the holye water Clerke. From thence afterward departed, and trauailing abroad, came to Rederith in the dioces of Wincheſter, where he was holy water Clerke the ſpace of a yeare: then went to Chelſith, where he was theyr neatheard, and kept the towne beaſtes. In the which towne vpon Sainct Annes day in the morning, as he went forth with his beaſtes to the field, the good man was apprehended & brought before the Biſhop: and hys chamber ſearched for bookes. This was anno. 5511.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitziames, page. 60.

George Laund Prior of Saint Oſithe, abiured.

The crimes whereupon he was examined be theſe.

Crimes obiected.

Firſt, for hauing muche conference with one William Man of Boxſted, in a booke which was called Mathew.

The Goſpell of S. Mathewe.

Item, that he had familiaritie, and frequented much the company of Iames Brewſter, who had bene before abiured.

Againſt pilgrimage.

Item, that when his wife ſhould go on pilgrimage, he aſked of her, what good ſhe ſhould receiue by her going on pilgrimage, adding moreouer, that as he ſuppoſed, it was to no purpoſe, nor profite, but rather it were better for her to keepe at home, and to attend to her buſines.

Item, that he had learned: and receiued of William Man, that the Sacrament of the Prieſtes altar was not the preſent very body, but bread in ſubſtaunce, receiued in memoriall of Chriſt.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Item, that he propounded, and affirmed the ſame doctrine to Iames Brewſteer.

Item, becauſe he had reprehended his wife for worſhipping the Images in the churche, and for ſetting vp candles before them.

Againſt Images.

And thus haue you all the cauſes and crimes layde againſt this William Sweting, wherfore he was condemned. Who then beeing aſked what cauſe he had, why hee ſhould not be iudged for relapſe, ſayd he had nothing els, but onely that he commited himſelfe to the mercye of almighty God.

¶ Iames Brewſter Martyr.

With William Sweting alſo the ſame time was examined and condemned Iames Brewſter, of the Pariſh of ſaint Nicholas in Colcheſter. This Iames Brewſter was a Carpenter, dwelling ten yeares in the town of Colcheſter, who being vnlettered, could neyther reade nor write, and was apprehended vpon the daye of S. Iames, in one Walkers houſe in S. Clementes pariſh.

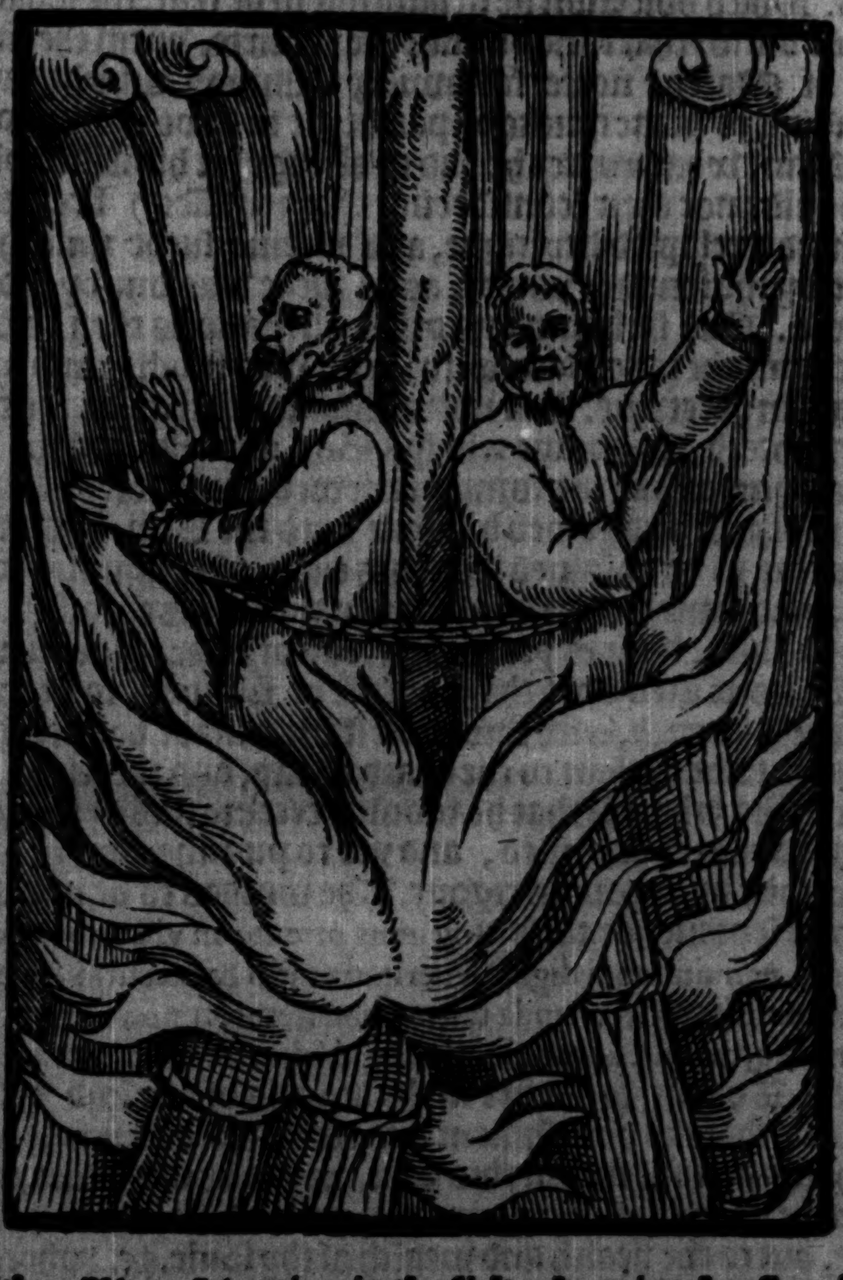
Iames Brewſter of Colcheſter Martyr.

About ſixe yeares before, whiche was ann. 1505. he had bene abiured by William Warham Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, the ſee of London being then vacant. And after other penaunce done at Colcheſter, was enioyned to weare a Fagot vpon his vpper garment during his life. Whiche badge he did beare vpon his left ſhoulder neare the ſpace of two yeares, till the Controller of the Earle of Oxforde pluckt it away, becauſe he was labouring in the workes of the Earle.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confeſſed were theſe: firſt that he had bene fiue tymes with William Sweting in the fields keeping beaſtes, hearing hym read many good thinges out of a certayne book. At which reading alſo were preſent at one time, Wodroffe or Woodbynde, a Nette maker, with his wife: alſo a brother in law of William Sweting: and an other time Thomas Goodred, who heard likewiſe the ſayde Thomas Sweting read.

Crimes obiected againſt Brewſter.

✱ The burning of William Sweting and Iames Brewſter.



Item, becauſe he vſed the company and conference of

Henry Hert Carpenter, of weſtminſter, and wrought with him in his ſcience at weſtminſter,

Item for hauing a certaine litle booke of Scripture in Engliſh, of an old writing, almoſt worne for age, whoſe name is not there expreſſed.

Maozim in the 11. chap. of Daniel is an Idole, & ſignifieth as muche as fortes or munitions.

Item, becauſe he hearing vppon a time, one mayſter Bardfield of Colcheſter thus ſay, that he will not worſhip the Maozim in hart and thought, ſhall dye in ſight, he asked afterwarde of William Man, what that worde Maozim ſhould meane: who told him that it ſignified as muche as the maſing God, to wit the ſacrament of the altar.

Ite, that he had much conference, with Henry Hert agaynſt oblations & Images, & that it was better beſtowed money which was geuen to the poore, then that that was offered in pilgrimage.

Item, for that he had communication and conference wt Roger Helar and one walker a Thicker of S. Clements concerning diuers ſuch matters of Pilgrimage, offering to Images, worſhipping of Saincts, and the ſacrament of the altar.

A perilous hereſie. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Item, when Thomas Goodred, William Sweting, and he in the fieldes keeping beaſtes, were talking together of the ſacramente of the Lordes bodye, and like matters, this Iames Brewſter ſhoulde thus ſay: Nowe the ſonne of the liuing God helpe vs. Unto whome William Sweting agayne ſhoulde aunſwere, Nowe almightye God ſo doe.

And thus haue you the cauſes likewiſe and crymes layd againſt Iames Brewſter, vpon which he with William Sweting was together examined and condemned. Then being aſked, as the Romiſhe maner is, whether he had any cauſe why he ſhuld not be adiudged for relapſe, he truſting to finde fauoure and grace in ſubmitting himſelfe, ſayd, that he ſubmitted him to the mercy of almighty God, and to the fauourable goodnes of him his iudge. And likewiſe did William Swetinge ſubmit himſelfe, truſting belike that they ſhould finde ſome fauour and reliefe in thys humble ſubiecting themſelues vnto their goodnes.

The vnmercifull, and vnchriſtian dealing of the catholique Papiſts.

But note here the vnmercifull and vnchriſtian dealing of theſe Catholique fathers, who vppon their ſubmiſſion were contented to geue out a ſolemne commiſſion, the tenor whereof was to releaſe and pardon them from the ſentence of the excommunication, whereinto they had incurred: But immediately after vpon the ſame, the Byſhop all this notwithſtanding, pronounced vpon them the ſentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both deliuered to the ſecular power, and both together brent in Smithfield at one fire, the 18. day of October. an. 1511.

William Sweeting & Iames Brewſter, burnt in Smithfield.

¶ Chriſtopher Shoomaker Martyr.

Chriſtoph. Shomaker burnt in Newbery mariir

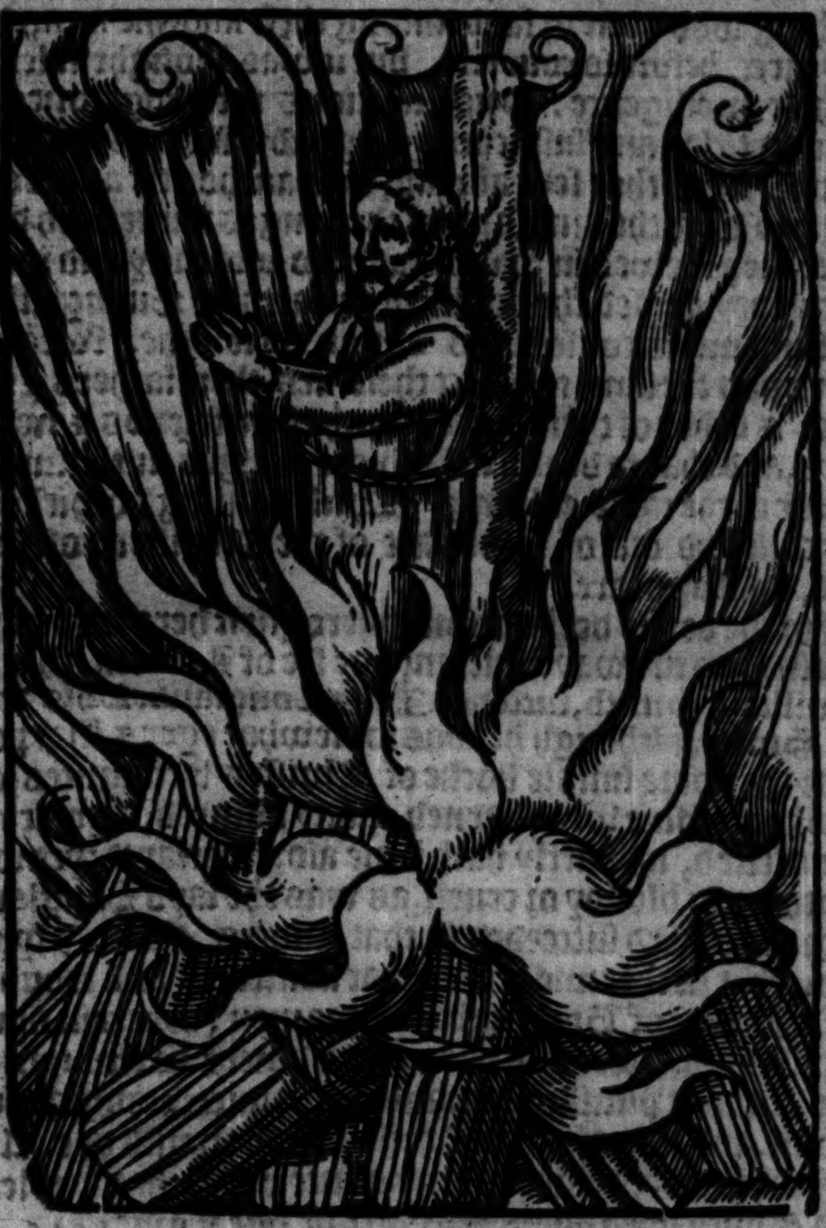
TO theſe bleſſed ſaintes before paſt, we will alſo adioyne Chriſtopher Shoomaker: of whom this I finde briefly in the Regiſter of ſyr Iohn Longland: and that the ſayde Chriſtopher Shoomaker, a pariſhioner of great Miſſendē came to the houſe of one Iohn Say, and after other matters of talke, read to him out of a little booke, the wordes which Chriſt ſpake to his diſciples. And thus comming to his houſe about foure times: at euery time read ſomething out of the ſame booke vnto him: teaching him not to be deceiued in the prieſtes celebration at Maſſe, and declaring that it was not the ſame very preſent body of Chriſt as the prieſtes did phantaſie: but in ſubſtance bread, bearing the remembraunce of Chriſt. And taught him moreouer, that the Pilgrimage, worſhipping and ſetting vp candles to ſaintes were all vnprofitable. And thus the ſayde Ioh. Say beyng taught by this Chriſtopher, and alſo confirmed by Iohn Okendē, and Robert pope, was brought to the knowledge of the ſame doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that Regiſter concerning Chriſtopher Shoomaker, declaring further that he was burned at Newbery about this time, which was an. 1518. And thus much out of Regiſters of London.

IN turning ouer the Regiſters and Recordes of Lincoln likewiſe, and comming to the yere of our Lord. 1520. and 1521. I finde that as the light of the Goſpell began more to appeare, and the number of the profeſſors to growe, ſo the vehemencie of perſecution, and ſtirre of the biſhops began alſo to encreaſe. Wherupon enſued great perturbatiō & greeuous affliction in diuers & ſondry quarters of thys realm, eſpecially about Buckingham ſhyre, and Amerſhā, Urbrige, Henley, Newbery, in the dioces of London, in Eſſex, Colcheſter, Suffolke and Northfolke, and other partes moe. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in theſe countryes among the people. Wherfor they are much begyled and miſſe informed, whiche condemne this kinde of doctrine now receaued, of noueltie, aſking where was this churche and religion xl. yeares agoe, before Luthers time? To whome it may be aunſwered, that this Religion and forme of doctrine was planted by the Apoſtles, and taught by true Byſhops, afterward decayd, and nowe reformed againe, although it was not receiued nor admitted to the Popes Clergye before Luthers time, neyther yet is, yet it was receiued of other, in whoſe heartes it pleaſed the Lorde ſecretly to worke, and that of a great number, whiche both profeſſed and ſuffered for the ſame, as in the former times of this hiſtory may appeare. And if they thinke this doctrine be ſo newe, that it was not heard of before Luthers time how thē came ſuch great perſecution before Luthers time here in Englande? If theſe were of the ſame profeſſion, whiche they were of, thē was their crueltie vnreaſonable, ſo to perſecute theyr owne Catholicke fraternitie. And if they were otherwiſe how then is this doctrine of the Goſpell ſo new, or the profeſſors thereof ſo late ſtart vp, as they pretend them to be? But this commeth onely of ignoraunce, & for not knowing nor conſidering well the times & antiquities of the church which hath bene before vs. Which if they did, they ſhold ſee and ſay, that the church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, which taſted & folowed the ſweetnes of Gods holy worde, almoſt in as ample maner, for the number of well diſpoſed hartes as now. Although publique authoritie then lacked to mayntayne the open preaching of the goſpel, yet yͤ ſecret multitude of true profeſſours, was not much vnequall: certes the feruent zeale of thoſe Chriſtian dayes ſeemed much ſuperior to theſe our dayes and times: as manifeſtly may appeare by their ſitting vp all night in reading and hearing, alſo by their expenſes and charges in buying of bookes in Engliſhe: of whome ſome gaue fiue markes, ſome more, ſome leſſe for a booke. Some gaue a lode of hay for a few chapters of S. Iames or of S. Paule in Engliſh. In whiche raritie of bookes, and want of teachers this one thing I greatly maruel and muſe at, to note in the Regiſters & to conſider howe the worde of trueth notwithſtanding did multiply ſo exceedingly as it dyd amongeſt them. Wherein is to be ſeene no doubt yͤ meruelous working of Gods mighty power. For ſo I finde and obſerue in conſidering the Regiſters, howe one neighbour reioycing and conferring with an other, eftſoones with a few wordes of the firſt or ſecond talke, did win and turne their mindes to that wherein they deſired to perſwade them, touching the trueth of Gods worde and hys ſacramentes. To ſee their trauailes, theyr earneſt ſeeking, their burning zeales, their readinges, their watchinges, their ſweete aſſemblies, theyr loue and concord, their godly liuing, their faythfull meaning with the faythfull, may make vs now in theſe our dayes of free profeſſion to bluſh for ſhame.

The antiquitie of the true doctrine of the Goſpell.

❧ The burning of Chriſtopher Shoomaker.

The death of Chriſtopher Shomaker.



{ Anno. 1518. }

Ignoraunce of antiquite.

Elder times of the Goſpell with theſe latter times compared.

The earneſt zeale of our forfathers in following Chriſts Goſpell.

Foure principall pointes they ſtood in againſt the Church of Rome, in pilgrimage, adoration of ſainctes, in reading ſcripture bookes in Engliſh, and in the carnall preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament.

Abiuratio magna.

Knowen men Iuſt faſt men.

After the great abiuration aforeſayd, which was vnder William Smith Biſhop of Lincolne: they were noted and termed among themſelues by the name of knowne men, or iuſt faſt men: as nowe they are called by the name of Proteſtantes.

The practiſe of Romiſh prelats.

The practiſe of prelates.

As they were ſimple, & yet not vncircumſpect in theyr doings, ſo the crafty ſerpent being more wily then they, by fraudulent ſubtletie did ſo circumuent thē, that they cauſed the wife to detect the huſband: the huſband the wife, the father the daughter, the daughter the father, the brother to diſcloſe the brother, and neighbour the neighbor. Neither were there any aſſemblies nor readinges kept, but both yͤ perſons and alſo the bookes were knowne: Neither was any word ſo cloſely ſpoken, nor article mentioned, but it was diſcouered. So ſubtilly and ſleightly theſe Catholicke prelates did vſe their inquiſitions and examinations, that nothing was done or ſayd among theſe Knowne men, xv. or xx. yeares before ſo couertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, ſo many articles and ſuſpicions they had, ſuche eſpyals and priuie ſcoutes they ſent abroad, ſuch authoritie and credite they had with the king, and in the kinges name: ſuch dilligence they ſhewed in that behalfe, ſo violently and impudently they abuſed the booke, of yͤ peaceable Euangeliſtes, wreſting mens conſciences vppon their othe, ſwearing them vpon the ſame to detect thēſelues, their fathers & mothers, & other of their kinred, with their friends & neighbours, and that to death. All whiche thinges in the further proceſſe of the table enſuing (Chriſt willing) whiche we haue collected out of ſome part of the Regiſters of Lincolne, ſhall appeare.

W. Smith. Biſh. of Lincolne.

Iohn Longland B. of Lincolne.

The College of Braſen noſe in Oxford builded.

For the better declaration wherof, firſt here is to be premoniſhed by the way, touching the ſee of Lincoln, that after William Smith, ſucceded Iohn Longland. This William Smith, although he was ſomewhat eger & ſharpe againſt the poore ſimple flocke of Chriſtes ſeruauntes vnder whome ſome were burned, many abiured, a great nūber moleſted, as partly hath bene afore declared: yet was he nothing ſo bloudy or cruell, as was the ſayd Longland, which afterward ſucceeded in that Dioces. For ſo I fynde of him, that in the time of the great abiuratiō and troubleſome affliction of Buckinghamſhyre men, wherein many were abiured, & certaine burned, yet diuers he ſent quietly home without puniſhment: and pennaunce, bidding them go home, and liue as good Chriſten men ſhould doe. And many which were enioyned penaunce before, he did releaſe This Smith dyed about the yeare of our Lord. 1515. by whome was builded, as is aforeſaid, the Colledge of Braſan noſe in Oxford.

Not long after him folowed Iohn Longland, a fierce & cruell vexer of yͤ faythfull poore ſeruantes of Chriſt: who to renue again the old ſparkles of perſecutiō, whiche were not yet vtterly quenched firſt began wͭ one or two of them which had bene abiured, whom he thought to be moſt notorious, cauſing them by force of their othe, to detect & bewray not onely their owne opinions touching poyntes of religiō: but alſo to diſcouer al other of their affinitie, which were either ſuſpected or abiured before. And them likewiſe he put to their othe, moſt violently conſtrayning them to vtter and confeſſe both themſelues, and whom els ſo euer they knew. By reaſon whereof, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maydens were brought forth to examination, and ſtraightly handled. And ſuch as were found in relapſe, were burned.

Biſhop Longlād a greuous perſecutor of chriſtes people.

Accuſers.

The parties accuſed:

The crimes obiected

The reſt were ſo burdened with ſuperſtitious and idolatrous penaunce and iniunctions, that eyther through griefe of conſcience they ſhortly dyed: or els with ſhame they liued. All which tragicall doyngs and proceedings of the byſhop againſt theſe Knowen and Iuſte faſte men, in theſe tables here vnder following (Chriſt graunting) ſhall appeare, both with with the accuſers, and with the parties them ſelues accuſed, and alſo the crimes obiected.

But before we enter into the table, it ſhalbe requiſite firſt to heare the order and copy of his captious and crafty interrogatoryes, whereby he conſtrayned the ſimple poore men to accuſe and appeach one an other: which interrogatoryes were theſe in order as followeth.

※ Interrogatories miniſtred commonly by the Biſhop of Lincolne agaynſt theſe examinates here following.

The interrogatories or articles: which Longland Biſh. of Lincolne vſed moſt commonly to miniſter to theſe examinates or knowen men, in number were 9. and are theſe as followeth.

Captious interrogatories miniſtred by the Biſhop of Lincolne.

1 Firſt, whether they or any of them did know, that certayne of the pariſh of Amerſham, had bene conuented before William Smyth late Biſhop of Lincolne, for hereſie.

2 Item, whether they knew, that they ſo conuented before the ſayd Biſhop, did erre in the ſacrament of the altar, or in any other ſacrament of the Church. And if they did in what Sacramentes, or in whiche of them: Alſo whether they knew that the ſayd parties ſo conuented, did confeſſe their errours, and receiued penaunce for the ſame.

3 Item, whether they, or any of them, were of the ſocietye of them ſo conuented for hereſie: and if they were what fellowſhip they had with them and with whom?

4 Item, whether they or any of them, were euer conuerſant, with ſuch a one (naming the perſon whome they knew ſuſpected) as with Thuſtan Littlepage. And if they were, what conuerſation they had with him, how long, & when: And whether they knewe the ſayde perſon to haue bene ſuſpect of hereſie?

5 Item, whether they, or any of them were euer conuerſaunt with him, or him (naming ſome other perſon whom they ſuſpected) as Alexand. Maſtal. And if they were, how and how long: and whether they knew the ſayd perſon to be ſuſpected of hereſie?

6 Item, whether they, or any of them had bene before time detected of hereſie to the office of the foreſayd William Biſhop of Lincolne: And if the were, by what perſon or perſōs they were detected? Or els whether they were onely called by yͤ foreſayd William Biſhop, for hereſie?

7 Item, whether he or they be noted and holden for heretickes, or be reputed and diffamed to be of the ſect of thē which were conuented for hereſie: And whether he or they be named for a Knowen man amongſt them?

8 Item, whether he, or they haue bene euer at any readinges of ſuch as haue bene ſo conuented for hereſie?

9 Item, whether he, or they were euer in any ſecret cōmunication or conuenticle with them: whom, or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a Knowen man, or holding againſt the ſacrament of the altar, or other Sacramentes and articles of faith? And if they knew any ſuch to declare where, and when, and what they were, and who were preſent the ſame time?

These articles and interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be ſhewed, a certayne briefe ſumme compendiouſly collected out of the Regiſters of Iohn Longland biſhop of Lincolne, declaring in order of a table the names firſt of them which by othe were conſtrayned againſt theyr willes to detect and and accuſe other. Secondly the perſōs that were accuſed. Thirdly, the crimes to them obiected, as in the proces of this table ſhall follow to be ſeene.

And firſt, for aſmuch as the Biſhop perceiued that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with ſuch other were mē eſpecially noted to be of that ſide, therfore to work his purpoſe the better, he began with them producing the ſame as witneſſes, to ditect firſt Robert Bartlet of Amerſham, & Richard his brother: vnderſtanding that theſe forenamed witneſſes, becauſe they had bene abiured before, durſt now doe no other, vppon payne of relapſe, but neede confeſſe what ſoeuer was put vnto them. And therefore becauſe Rob. Bartlet & Richard hys brother being called before yͤ biſhop and ſworn vpon their othe, would confeſſe nothing againſt themſelues, the Biſhop to conuict them by witneſſes, went firſt to William Chedwell, lying ſore ſicke in his bed, cauſing him vpō the Euangeliſts to ſweare, whether he knewe the foreſayde Robert and Richard Bartlet to be knowen men. which being done, the Biſhop then called before him Robert Andrew Roger Bennet, Iohn Hill, Edmund Dormer. Iohn Milſent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, Iohn Doſſet, all Amerſham men: who being abiured before, as is ſayd, durſt no otherwiſe do, but confeſſe vpon their othe, that Robert and Richard Bartlet were knowen men. And yet the Biſhop not contented wͭ this, cauſed alſo theyr two wiues to wit, Margaret the wife of Robert Bartlet, & Iſabel yͤ wife of Richard Bartlet, to depoſe & geue witneſſe againſte their owne naturall huſbandes. Albeit Iſabel Bartlet being ſomewhat more temperate of her tongue, refuſed vtterly to confeſſe any thing of her huſband, & denied her huſbands words to be true, til at laſt ſhe being conuict of periury, was conſtrained to vtter the truth, as in the proces of this table folowing more particularly foloweth to be ſeene.

¶ A Table

A Table deſcribing the greeuous afflictions of good men and women, in the Dioceſſe of Lincolne, vnder Iohn Longland there Biſhop, with the names both of the Accuſers, and of them that were accuſed: alſo wyth the crimes to them obiected: out of the Regiſters of the ſayde Dioceſſe. Anno 1521.

Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt Io. Longlãd Lincolne.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
W. Chedwel ſicke in his bedde. Robert Andrewe. Rob. Benet. Iohn Hill. Edmũd Dormer. Iohn Milſent. Thomas Bernard. Tho. Litlepage. Iohn Doſſet. Margarete Bartlet. Iſabel Bertlet: theſe being before abiured, were nowe compelled by othe to detect.	Rob. Bartlet. Rich. Bartlet his brother.	This Robert Bartlet, and Rich. his brother were detected by theſe forſayde accuſers, to be knowne men, that is, to be of the ſame company and affinitie wyth theſe Iurates, and other that had ben abiured before in the time of William Smith Byſhop of Lincolne, about the yere of our lord 1508. and that in yͤ houſe of Thomas Hardynge, they were ſo noted by the wordes of Hardinges wife: who ſpeakynge to Roberte Bartlet, ſayde, that ſhe was glad that he was conuerted to grace, and choſen to almyghtie God, requiring hym neuer to forſake yͤ he was called to, for if he did, there was no Sacrifice left for him. Alſo the ſayde Hardinges wife ſpeaking to Richarde Bartlet comminge into her Houſe, ſayde, Here commeth a good man, and I hope he wil be a good man, but he hathe ſo muche minde of buying and ſelling, and taking of farmes, that it putteth hys minde from all goodneſſe. By whych wordes it appeared, ſayd they, that hee was a knowen man. Item, that Robert Bartlet ſpeaking to Hardings wife, ſayd, he had thought to haue called William Tilleworth falſe heretique: but now hee was better aduiſed. Item, that they vſed the lectures and readings of that companie.

For reading ſcripture in Engliſhe.

¶ Thys Rob. Bartlet, & Richarde his brother firſt being ſworne, and yet confeſſing nothing before the Byſhop, at laſt were conuicted by witnes, (as aboue appeareth) and noted therefore of periurie. Wherfore incurring into greater daunger, they were conſtrained at their next examination to vtter them ſelues, and confeſſe what they had both done and ſayde: that is, that the ſayde Robert had red vnto Richarde hys brother, a parcel of ſcripture beginning thus: James the ſeruaunt of God, to the xij. kindes. &c. Item, for that he hard Williã Tilleworth ſay, that Images of ſaintes were but ſtockes and ſtones and dead thinges: and that he taught the ſame to his brother Richarde, and concealed the wordes of William Tilleworthe. Item, for that he partly beleued Thomas Maſtall, teaching him that the true preſence of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament: and likewiſe of Images and Pilgrimage. Item, for receyuing the Communion at Eaſter without ſhrift. &c.

Anno. 1521. Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Robert Bartlet was brought to examinatiõ, & cauſed by his othe to detect	Rich. Bartlet his brother.	The crime wherein Roberte Bartlet appeached hys brother Rich. was this, becauſe he ſaid, hys brother Rich. had beene muche conuerſant wyth Thurſtane Litlepage, & had learned of hym the counſailes and ſecreates of thoſe men. Alſo, that hee had learned of hym, ſome of the Epiſtle of S. James thus beginning: James the ſeruaunte of God, to the twelue kindes. &c.
	Iſabel Bartlet, his wife.	The cauſe wherein Roberte Bartlet did detecte his wife, was thys, that when the Byſhops ſeruaunte was come for her husband, ſhe vttered theſe wordes, ſaying: Alas, he was now an vndone man, and ſhe but a dead woman. Furthermore, yͤ ſaid R. being demaunded of yͤ Biſhop, whether he knewe Iſabell hys wyfe to bee of the ſecte of heretiques before hee marryed her, ſayde yea. Beeing aſked againe, if ſhee hadde not ben of that ſect, whether then he would haue maried her, he graunted the ſame likewiſe.
	Agnes Wellis, his ſiſter.	Furthermore, yͤ ſaid R. Bart. detected his owne ſiſter, in that hee hadde twiſe inſtructed her not to worſhyppe Images, and alſo hadde taughte her in the Epiſtle of S. James.
The foreſaid Ro Bartlet was broght to examination, & cauſed by hys othe to detect	Elizabeth Deane, wife of Richarde Deane, of Weſtwicam. Emme Tilſeworth, wife of Wil. Tilſeworth. William Grinder, & his wife. Iohn Scriuener. Alexander Maſtal. w. Tilſworth. Thurſtane Litlepage. Iohn Bartlet his brother.	The ſayde Roberte Bart. detected alſo theſe to bee of the number of knowen men: for that they reſorted many times together, reading and conferringe amonge themſelues, & talking againſte worſhippinge of Images, & Pilgrimage: And if any came in amongſt them, which was not of theyr ſide, the they would ſpeake no more, but keepe all ſilence. &c.

The Brother detecteth the Brother.

The husband detecteth the wife.

The brother accuſeth the ſiſter.

The brother accuſeth his ſiſter.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Rich. Bartlet by hys oth was cõſtrained to detect	Agnes wellys, wife of Iohn Wellys, his ſiſter.	This Agnes was detected of her brother in 3. poyntes. Firſte, for learning the Epiſtle of Saint James in Engliſh, of Thurſtan Litlepage. Secondly, for not beleeuing the bodily preſence in the Sacrament. Thirdly, for ſpeakyng againſt worſhippyng of Images, and goyng on Pilgrimages.
	Olde father Bartlet, his father.	This Richarde Bertlet alſo in hys confeſſyon, ſayde of his Father, that he was a better manne, then hee was taken for. For the other daye there came a manne to him, as hee was threaſhing, and ſayde, God ſpeede father Bertlet, yee worke ſore, yea ſayde hee, I threſhe God almighty out of the ſtrawe.

The Popes God almightie threſhed out of the ſtrawe.

¶Againſt thys Agnes wellys brought and examined before the Biſhop, were miniſtred theſe interrogatories, which for certaine cauſes I thought here to inſerte, for our poſteritie to note and conſider, and they are theſe, as foloweth.

❧ Articles miniſtred to Agnes Wellys.

Articles miniſtred againſt Agnes Wellys.

1 Whether ſhee knewe that certaine of the Pariſhe of Amerſham were conuented before William Smith, late Byſhoppe of Lincolne for hereſie?

2 Item, whether ſhe knew that certaine of them ſo conuented before the Biſhop for hereſie, did erre in the Sacrament of the altar, or in other Sacraments, and what errours they were, and wherein?

3 Item, whether ſhe knewe anye other to be ſuſpect of the ſame hereſie or ſect, beſide them of Amerſham ſo conuented, who they were, and how many?

4 Item, whether ſhee had bene of the ſame company, or ſect, or opinion with them, which were conuented before the Biſhop for hereſie: and if ſhe were, what company ſhe vſed, and whoſe?

5 Whether ſhe was at any time conuerſant with Thurſtane Litlepage: and if ſhee were, how ofte ſhe had bene in his company: howe, what time, in what place, who elſe were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhe knew him to be ſuſpected for hereſie?

6 Item, whether ſhee knewe and had beene conuerſant wyth Alexander Maſtall, and if ſhee were, howe, when, in what place, who were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhee knewe him ſuſpected for hereſie?

7 Item, whether ſhe was euer detected to the office of Willi. Smith late Biſhop of Lincolne: at what time, or ſince the time that Litlepage and Maſtall were conuented before the Byſhop for hereſie: and whether ſhee was then called and conuented before the Biſhop for hereſie, or not?

8 Item, whether ſhe had bene preſent, or is now noted, had, holden, or reputed, or diffamed to be of the ſame ſect with Thurſtan Litlepage, or other conuicted of hereſie, and whether ſhe be or hath bene nominated for a Knowen woman among them?

9 Item, whether ſhe hath ben preſent at any time at the readings or conferrings betweene Thurſtane Litlepage, and other conuicts?

For readyng the ſcripture in Engliſhe.

10 Item, whether Thurſtane Litlepage did euer teache her the Epiſtle of Sainte James, or the Epiſtles of Saint Peter or Paule in Engliſh, and whether ſhee hath repeated oft times the ſayde Epiſtle of ſaint James, vnto the ſayde Thurſtane, in the preſence of Richard Bartlet her brother?

Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Io. Longlād Lincoln.

11 Item, whether Richarde Bartlet her brother dyd teache her at any time the Epiſtle of S. James, and if he did, howe oft, and in what place?

12 Item, whether ſhee hadde beene inſtructed by Thurſtane Litlepage, or by any other, in the foreſayde ſecte, that in the Sacrament of the aultare was not the true body of Chriſte, but onely the ſubſtaunce of bread?

13 Item, whether ſhee hadde bene inſtructed by Thurſtane Litlepage, or any other, that Pilgrimage was not to be vſed, nor the Images of Saintes to be adored?

14 Item, whether ſhee did credite the ſayd Thurſtane Litlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premiſſes, and whether ſhe did beleue or expreſly cõſent with them in the foreſayd articles?

15 Item, whether that Roberte Bartlet her brother did euer teach her the Epiſtle of S. James, and if he did, howe often, and where?

16 Whether the ſayd Robert Bartlet had taught her that Pilgrimage was not to be vſed, and that Images were not to be adored?

Captious articles.

17 Item, whether ſhe knew ſuche a lawe and cuſtome amoung them, that ſuche as were of that ſorte, did contract matrimonie only with them ſelues, and not with other Chriſtians?

18 Item, whether ſhe did euer heare Thurſtane, or any other ſay, that they onely whych were of their doctrine, were true Chriſtians?

19 Item, when ſhe came to receiue, and was confeſſed, whether ſhe did vtter and confeſſe her hereſies to the prieſt?

¶Unto theſe captious and cruell Interrogatorie Articles miniſtred agaynſt Agnes wellys, ſhee anſwered negatiuely, almoſt to them all, refuſing to vtter any perſon vnto the Byſhop: But ſone after, being otherwiſe ſchooled, I can not tell howe, by the Catholiques, ſhee was compelled to detect both her ſelfe, her brother Roberte Bartlet, Thurſtane Litlepage, and alſo Iſabel Morwyn, wife of John Morwyn. &c.

Iſabel Bartlet was then brought, & examined before the Biſhoppe: where ſhee beinge aſked whether ſhee ſpake theſe wordes followyng to her huſbande, at the commynge of the Byſhoppes manne: Alaſſe, nowe are you an vndone manne, and I but a deade womanne.

Firſte, ſhee ſtode in long deniall of the ſame, and althoughe her huſbande gaue witneſſe againſte her, yet ſtode ſhee that her huſband ſayd not trueth. At laſt, ſhee was compelled to graunte thoſe wordes to bee ſpoken: and then being aſked what ſhee meant by them, thus ſhe excuſed her ſelfe, that her huſbande hadde beene vnkinde vnto her a long time, and therefore ſhee deſired to depart from him.

She excuſeth her own words.

Whereuppon now for ſorrowe ſhe ſpake thoſe wordes. &c. The whyche wordes her huſband did excuſe ſomethynge otherwyſe, ſayinge, that hys wyſe ſpake thoſe wordes betweene the threſholde and the Hall dore, becauſe of a vehemente feare for the loſſe of her goodes.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Richarde Hobbes of Hichenden. Henry Hobbes of Hichenden. Hernes wife. Herne widowe of Amerſham. Thomas Couper of Amerſham, huſbandman.	
Wil. Chedwel, of Amerſham.	Iohn Stãpe wheeler of Amerſham. Alice Hard. wife of Tho. Harding.	The crime layde to Alice Hardynge, was thys, becauſe, when the Prieſte was commynge to Rycharde Bennette, to geue hym howſell, ſhee wente before, and inſtructed hym what he ſhoulde doe.

Theſe

Anno. 1521. Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Roger Bennet, by like compulſion of hys othe, was cauſed to detect theſe perſons.	W. Rogers Tiler. W. Harding. Roger Harding.	Theſe were detected by Roger Bennet, for that they being admonyſhed to appeare before ẏ Biſhops Chauncelour at Amerſham, neglected ſo to do.
	Jo. Jennings ſeruaunt to James Morden. George, ſeruant of Tho. Tochel. Tho. Gray, ſeruaunt of Roger Bennet.	Theſe were detected for carying about certen bokes in Engliſh.
	Wil. Smith Wheeler. The wife of Io. Milſent. The wife of W. Rogers. Ro. Stampe, & his wife. The wife of Rob. Bartlet.	Theſe good womenne here named, were detected to the Byſhoppe by Roger Bennet, for that vppon the holye dayes, when they goe and come from the Churche, they vſe to reſorte vnto one I. Colingworths houſe, and there to keepe theyr conuenticle.
	The wife of Dauid Lewes, & her father.	Thys womanne was charged for ſpeking theſe wordes: that the churchmen in the olde time dyd leade the people, as the Henne dothe leade her chickens: but our prieſts now do leade the people to the deuil.
	Agnes Franke wife of Wil. Franke. I. Gardiner. I. Samme. I. George. Iam. Mordē.	Becauſe ſhee tourned awaye her face from the Croſſe, as it was caryed about on Eaſter daye in the morning, at the reſurrection. Fol. 16.
Tho. Rowland put likewiſe to his othe, did detect	John Scriuener the elder.	For carrying aboute Bokes from one to an other.
	Thomas Rowland.	For theſe wordes following: If I lie, curſe, ſcorne, ſweare, chide, fight, or threat: then am I worthye for to be beate, I pray you good maiſter mine, if I offende in any of theſe nine, Amend me with a good ſcouring.
James Morden compelled in like manner by his oth, did detect	Thomas Chaſe.	In the like alſo was charged Thomas Chaſe becauſe hee hearde hym twiſe recite the Epyſtle of Sainte James. Begynnynge: James the ſeruaunt of GOD, and of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, to the twelue kindes. &c. Alſo for theſe wordes: It was by the dayes of Herode king of Jewes, that there was a Prieſte, Zacharie by name, and hee came of the ſorte of Abias, and hys wyfe of the Daughter of Aaron: bothe they were iuſt before GOD, goynge in al the commaundements. &c.

For Engliſh bookes.

Accuſers.	parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	W. Norton. Agnes Aſhforde of Cheſham.	The cauſe layde to this Agnes, was for teaching this James the wordes following:

wee bee the ſalt of the earth, if it be putrified and vaniſhed away, it is nothing worth. A citie ſet vpon an hill may not be hyd. Tende ye not a candle and put it vnder a buſhell, but ſette it on a candleſticke, that it may geue a light to all in the houſe. So ſhine your light before menne, as they may ſee your workes, and glorifie the father that is in heauen. No title nor letter of the lawe ſhall paſſe ouer, till all things be done. And fiue times went hee to the foreſaid Agnes to learne this leſſon. Item, that the ſayde Agnes did teach him to ſay thys Leſſon: Jeſus ſeeing his people, as hee went vp to a hill, was ſet, and his diſciples came to him: hee opened his mouth and taught them, ſaying: Bleſſed be the poore men in ſpirite, for the kingdome of heauen is theirs. Bleſſed be milde men: for they ſhall welde the earth: And twiſe hee came to her to learne thys leſſon. Ex Regiſt. Longl. fol. 11.

Note gentle reader what hereſie is heere.

And theſe leſſons the ſayde Agnes was bidde to recite before 6. biſhops: who ſtraightly inioyned and commaunded her, that ſhe ſhould teache thoſe leſſons no more to any man, and eſpecially to her children. Ex Regiſt. fol. 11.

	Rich. Aſhford Smith.	
	Agnes Aſhford. Tho. Chaſe.	Becauſe theſe two dyd exhort him thryſe, that he ſhould kepe the thynges they ſpake of, as ſecreate in his ſtomack, as a man woulde keepe a theefe in pryſon.
	Tho. Tredway of Cheſham.	
	Rob. Pope. John Morden and his wife.	Becauſe they were heard in the preſence of thys James Morden theyr nephew, to recite the ten Commaundementes in theyr houſe in Engliſhe, Fol. 15.
The foreſayde James Morden detected	Alice Atkins.	Becauſe of him ſhe learned the Pater noſter, Aue Maria and Creede in Engliſh, and the v. meruailes of Saint Auſten. Alſo an other peece of an Engliſhe Booke beginning: heere ſueth fowre thinges, by whych a man may knowe whether hee ſhall be ſaued. &c.
	Marian Morden his own ſiſter.	Alſo that ſhee dyd not worſhip Images. And after theſe little thynges he intended to teache her of the Sacrament.
	W. Afrike, or Littlepage. John Afrike, or Litlepage. Emme Harding, or Afrike. John Fip Pinnicion.	

To thys James Morden with other moe abiurers, it was enioyned by Biſhoppe Smith, for ſeuen yeares, to viſite the church of Lincolne twiſe a yeare from Amerſham. And when diuers had gotte licence of the Biſhoppe for length of the iourny, to viſite the Image of our Ladie of Miſſenden, for the ſpace of v. yeares, thys James Morden, when hee coulde not obtaine licence ſo to doe, yet notwithſtandyng for the tediouſneſſe of the way, went with them to the ſame Image, and thereupon was charged for violatyng the Biſhops iniunction.

Alſo becauſe, to get his liuing, hee wrought halfe a yeare out of the dioces, when he had bene inioyned by the Biſhop not to goe out of the dioceſſe of Buckingham. Fol. 11.

This Jam. Morden confeſſed ẏ he vſed his Pater noſter and Creede ſo much in Engliſh, that he had forgot many words thereof in Latin, and therefore was

Anno 1521.
Ex Regiſt. Io. Longlād Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		inioyned by biſhop Smith to ſay it no more in Engliſh, but only in Latine, and becauſe he kept not this iniunction, he fell therefore in relaps.
Roger Benet by like compulſion of his othe, was cauſed to detect theſe following to be knowne perſons.	W. Rogers Tyler and his wife. W. Harding. Rog. Harding. Ioane Ienynges. George, ſeruaunt to Tho. Tochel. Th. Gray ſeruant of Roger Benet. Agnes Franke. Ioane Colyngworth. W. Smith. The wife of Iohn Milſent. Rob. Stampe and his wife. The wife of Rob. Bartlet. The wife of Dauid Lewys of Henley. Ioh. Frier, ſeruant to M. Penne. Iohn Tracher. Ioh. Mordens wife. Rich. Aſhford. Wil. Litlepage, prentiſe ſometime of Iohn Scriuener. Emme his wife. Ioh. Scriuener.	
	Iſabel Morwyn.	For teaching Coplands wyfe her errors.
Thom Halfaker ſworne vpon his othe, did detect theſe names here folowing.	Ioh. Millſent & his wife. Rog. Harding and his wife. Th. Bernard. Th. Afrike & his wife. W. Rogers.	Becauſe theſe comming to the Church, and eſpeciallye at the eleuation time would ſay no prayers, but did ſitte mumme (as hee tearmed it) lyke beaſtes.
	W. Harding and his wife. Kat. Bartlet, the mother of Rob. and Ric. Barlet. Th. Harding & his wife. W. Franke, and Agnes his wife.	Becauſe Katherine Bartlette beyng of good health, came but ſeldome to the Church, but fained her ſelfe ſicke: and becauſe William Franke maried Agnes hys wife, ſhee beyng before abiured.
	Rob. Pope.	Becauſe hee fled away when the great abiuration was at Amerſham. Alſo for hauing certaine Engliſh bokes. fol. 16.
Tho. Holms detected	Emme Affrike alias, Emme Harding. I. Affricke, Henry Milner. Hernes wife, now the wife of Waiuer. William Tilſeworth. Emme Tilſeworth, of London. Thomas Tilſeworth, and his wife. The wife of Robert Tilſeworth. William Glasbroke. Chriſtopher Glasbroke, Milner. Thomas Groue, and Ioane his wife. Thomas Man, by Briſtow.	
	Hen. Miller	Counted for a great heretike, and learned in the Scripture.
	Iohn Schepard. The wife of Iohn Schepard of Dorney. The elder daughter of Rog Harding of Amerſham. Nich. Stokely Couper and his wife of Henley. Iohn Clerke. Tho. Wilbey of Henley. W. Stokeley. Hobs with his ſonnes of Hychenden. The wife of Iohn Scriuener, Smith of Owborne. Thomas Clerke the elder. Thomas Clerke the younger. Wigner fermer of Hychenden. Robert Carder weiuer.	
	Iohn Frier, ſeruant to M. Pen. Iohn Morwen and Iſabel his wife. Elizabeth Houer, wife of Henry Houer of little Miſſenden. Rich. White, Fuller of Beckinsfield.	
	Andr. Randal and his wife of Ricmanſworth.	Becauſe they receyued into theyr Houſe, Thomas Manne, flying for perſecution, and for reading Wickleffs wicket.
	The father of Andrewe Randall. Benet Ward Fuller.	Thys Benet warde was alſo denounced by Iohn Merſtonne, for ſaying that it booteth no manne to pray to oure Ladie, nor to no Sainte, nor aungell in Heauen, but to God only, for they haue no power of mans ſoule.
	The wife of Benet Ward, and her daughter.	For ſaying that Thomas Pope was the deuouteſt manne that euer came in their houſe, for he woulde ſitte readyng in his booke to midnight many times.
	Tho. Tailour and his wife of Vxbridge. Rob. Quicke. Rob. Coſine. Tho. Clarke and his wife of Ware. One Geldener about Herford. Iohn Say, and Wil. Say his ſonne, of little Miſſenden. The wife of Iohn Wellys of Amerſham. Ioane Glasbroke, ſiſter to Wil. Glasbroke of Harow on the Hill.	
The foreſayd Tho. Holmes detected	Tho. Suſan, Wheler. Iohn a Lee, Smith. Iohn Auſty, Sherman. Iohn Frier. Edmund Harding. Ioh. Heron, Carpenter of Hambeldon. Henry Miller.	
	Iohn Phips.	Hee was very ripe in Scriptures.
	Emme wife of Rich. Tilſworth.	
	Iohn Phip.	He was a reader or rehearſer to the other.
	Iohn Say of Miſſenden. William Stokeley.	
	Rog. Squire.	For ſaying to Holmes. Thys is one of them that maketh all this buſineſſe in oure Towne wyth the Byſhoppe. I pray GOD teare al the bones of him.
	Roger Herne. A certaine Tanner.	
	Ioh. Butler, Carpenter. Rich. Butler. W. King of Vxbridge.	Theſe three ſate vp all the night in the houſe of Durdant of Iuencourte by Stanes, readinge all the nighte of a Booke of Scripture.
	Iohn Muklyf, Weauer.	For ſpeaking againſte holy bread and holy water.
	Tho. Man.	For ſaying that Chriſt was not ſubſtantially in the Sacrament,

This great abiuraiion was anno 1511.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

For

Anno 1521
Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Thomas Vllman. Ienkin Butler.	For receiuing an Engliſh booke geuen hym by Carder his father, who after his abiuration don before biſhop Smith, fel ſicke and died.
	Rich Vulford of Riſelip. Hacker. Thomas King.	
	Ione Cocks. The wife of Rob. Wywood, huſbandman.	For deſiring of Durdant her maiſter, that he being a knowen a man, woulde teache her ſome knowledge of gods law and deſiring the ſame alſo of the Butlers.
Rob. Carder of Iuer, weuer, detected theſe	Nic. Durdāt of Stanes. Dauy Durdant of Ankerwike. The wife of old Durdāt. The wife of Nich. Durdant.	Theſe were detected for that olde Durdant of Euyncourte, at dinner ſitting with his children & their wiues, bidding a boy there ſtanding, to departe out of ẏ houſe, that he ſhould not heare and tel, did recite certain places vnto them, out of the Epiſtles of S. Paule, & of the Goſpels.
	Ric. White, Father in law to Benet Ward of Bekinsfield.	He was detected to be a knowen man, becauſe, after the death of biſhop Smith, he was heard to ſay theſe words: my L. that dead is, was a good man, and diuers knowen men were called before him, & he ſet them home againe, bidding them ẏ they ſhould liue among their neighbors as good Chriſten men ſhould do. And now (ſaide he) there is a new Byſhop which is called a bleſſed man, and if he bee as he is named, hee wil not trouble the ſeruants of God, but wil let them be in quiet.
Maria Morden was forced vpon her othe to vtter	Iames Morden her owne brother, which taught her ẏ Pater noſter, Aue and Creede in Engliſh, and that ſhee ſhuld not go on pilgrimage, nor ſhuld worſhip ſaincts or images, whych ſhe had not done by the ſpace of 6. yeares paſt, folowing & beleuing her brother.	
Iames Morden was forced vpon his othe to vtter	Iohn Littlepage. Henry Littlepage. William Littlepage. Ione Littlepage. Ric. Morden his brother of Cheſham. Emme his wife. Alice Browne of Cheſham. Rad. Morden his brother of Cheſham. His wife. Iohn Phips. Elizabeth Hamon.	
Tho. Coupland forced by his othe, detected	A Chanon of Miſſenden. Tho. Groue, of London. Iſabel Morwyn. The wife of Norman of Amerſham.	
	Th. Couper of Wodrow. Rog. Harding. W. Grinder.	Becauſe theſe two could not ſaye their Creede in Latin.
	The wife of Rob. Stampe of Woodrowe.	
Th. Roulād. T. Couplād. Ric. Steuēs.	Thom. Harding of Amerſham.	Becauſe, after theyr abiuration in Byſhop Smithes tyme, diuers knowen men (as they thē termed them) which wer abiured before, had much reſort to their houſe.
Rog. Benet forced by their othe to accuſe,	Alice Harding his wife.	
	Agnes Squyer.	For ſpeaking theſe wordes: Men do ſay I was abiured for hereſy, it may well be a napkin for my noſe, but I wil neuer be aſhamed of it.
	The Vicar of little Miſſenden. Tho. Groue & his wife.	He was detected for ẏ hee did geue to D. Wilcocks 20. li. to excuſe him ẏ he might not be brought to open penance.
Iohn Sawcote vpon his othe did appech	Thomas Holmes.	For that he was heard to ſay theſe wordes after the greate abiuration, when hee had abiured: that the greateſt cobbes were yet behinde.
	Rich Saunders of Amerſham.	Becauſe he euer defended them whyche were ſuſpected to bee knowen mē. Alſo becauſe he bought out his penance, and caryed hys badge in hys purſe.

¶ Biſhop Longland ſeeking how to conuicte Iohn Phip of periurie, who being charged with an oth did not anſwer affirmatiuely to ſuch ſuſpitions as were laide vnto him by Thom. Holmes and other ſeueral accuſers, did examine Sibill Affrike his owne ſiſter, vpon her oth to detect I. Phip her brother of relapſe, but ſhe ſo anſwered, that the biſhop could take by her no great hold of relapſe againſt him. Wherin is to be noted the ſingular iniquitie and abuſe in the Church of Rome, which by vertue of othe, ſetteth the ſiſter to procure the brothers blud. The like alſo was ſought by Thomas Affrik, his ſiſters huſband, but they had by him no vauntage.

Iohn Fyppe.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Ienkin Butler did appeach	Iohn Butler hys owne brother.	For reading to hym in a certayne Booke of the Scripture, and perſwading him to harken to the ſame.
	Robert Carder. Richard Butler his brother. Henry Vulman of Vxbridge. Rich. Amſorde of Walton, otherwiſe called Rich. Naſh, or R. Tredway. W. King of Vxbridge.	
	Iſabel Tracher, wife of Ioh. Tracher Thom. Clement of Cherſham.	Becauſe ſhe came not to the Churche ofter on the worke dayes, being admoniſhed bothe by the church wardens, by the graduates of the church, and by Doctour Cockes commiſſary, but folowed her buſines at home. Alſo becauſe ſhee purpoſed to ſet her daughter to Alice Harding, ſaying that ſhee coulde better inſtruct her then many other. Alſo becauſe ſhe curſed ẏ prieſt after he was gone, which had geuen to her the Euchariſt, ſaying, that he had geuen to her bitter gall.
W. Amerysden did detect	Alice Holting.	For ẏ ſhe being great wt childe, did dine before ſhe wēt to church to take her rites, ſaying, that Iſabel Tracher did ſo tell her, ẏ ſhe might dine before ſhe receiued the ſacrament.

For

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	W. Trecher of Amerſham.	For keping Thomas Groue in hys houſe on Eaſter and Chriſtmaſſe day, becauſe hee woulde not come to the Church.
Ioane Norman did appeach	Rob. Coſin. Tho. Man. Alice Harding.	For diſſwading from pilgrimage, from worſhipping of Images, & from bowing her mony to Saintes for health of her childe. Alſo, for ſaying, that ſhee needed not to confeſſe to a prieſt: but to be enoughe to lifte vp her handes to Heauen. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhee myghte as well drincke vpon the Sonday before maſſe, as any other day. &c.
	Henry Miller Wyerdrawer, whych from Amerſham fledde to Chepſford.	That hee abiured and did penance in Kent before, and afterwarde cõming to Amerſham, taught them (as hee ſayde) many hereſies.
	Iohn Barret goldſmith of London. Ioan Barret his wife. Iode his ſeruaunt.	Becauſe he was heard in his own houſe before his wife and mayd there preſent, to recite the Epiſtle of ſ. Iames: which epiſtle wyth many other things, hee had perfectly wythout booke.
	Iohn Merywether, his wife & his ſonne.	Alſo becauſe Ioanne his wife had lent to thys Ih. Scriuener, the Goſpell of Mathewe and Marke, which booke hee gaue to biſhop Smith.
Ioh. Scriuener forced by his othe to accuſe	Durdant by Stanes. Olde Durdant. Iſabel wife of Thomas Harding. Hartop of Wyndſore.	All theſe were accuſed becauſe at the marriage of Durdantes daughter, they aſſembled together in a Barne, and heard a certain Epiſtle of Saint Paule read, which reading they well liked, but eſpecially Durdant, and commended the ſame.
	Ione Barret wife of Iohn Barret of London. H. Miller. Stilman Tailour.	
	Tho. Rowland of Amerſham.	It was obiected to Thomas Roulande for ſpeaking theſe wordes: Ah good Lorde where is all oure good communication which was wont to bee among vs, when your maiſter was aliue?
	Tho. Groue of London butcher. W. Glaſbroke of Harowe on the hill. Chriſtopher Glasbroke of London.	Theſe were appeached becauſe they vſed to reſorte and conferre together of matters of Religion, in the houſe of Thomas Man of Amerſham, before the greate abiuration.
	William Tilſworth of London goldſmith, prentiſe ſometimes to Iohn Barret.	
	Iohn Newman.	He was appeached becauſe hee was preſent in the houſe of I. Barret, at the reading of Scripture.
	Iohn Wood of Henley. Wil. Wood. Lewys of Henley, ſeruing man.	

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longlãd Lincoln.

Father Robert martir.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Wylie and his ſonne.	This wily was appreached becauſe he taught the goſpell of Math. to I. Wood and William Wood after the great abiuration, & father Rob. did teach them ſ. Paules Epiſtle, whiche olde father was after that burned at Buckingham.
	Turſtan Litlepage. Emme his wife.	This Thurſtan had taught him the ſaying of Salomon: that wrathe caſteth chiding: had taught him alſo the Pater noſter, and Aue in Engliſh. His Crede in engliſh he learned of his grãdmother. The ſaid Thurſtan alſo taught him, Chriſte not to bee corporallye in the ſacrament.
	Iohn Litlepage his brother. Alice, wife of Thurſtan Littlepage.	Becauſe he was ſayde to haue learned the ten commaundementes in Engliſh, of Alice Thurſtans wife in his fathers houſe.
	Iohn Frier.	Becauſe this I. Frier had taught the ſaid W. yͤ x. commaundements in Engliſh.
Wil. Litlepage forced by his othe did accuſe.	Thomas Groue. Hernes wife. The wife of Iohn Morwyn. Richard Bartlet. Robert Bartlet. Thomas Bernard.	
	Ioan Clerke of little Miſſenden.	For ſaying ſhee neuer did beleeue in the ſacrament of the aultare, or euer would beleue in it.
Iohn Gardiner did appeache.	Iohn Horne of Ambylden.	
	His ſiſter Agnes Warde. Wardes wife of Marlow. Nicholas Stokeley.	Becauſe, that when this Gardiner ſayde, God helpe vs and our Ladie, and all the ſaints of heauen, then ſhe ſayd: what neede is it to goe to the feete, when we may goe to the head?
	William Stokeley. The wife of William Deane. Will. Ramſey of Newbery. Iohn Symon, Hys wife, of Marlow. Iohn Gray of Marlow. Dauy Schyrwood, William Schyrwood. Raynold Schyrwood.	
Iohn Say did detect	Chriſtopher Shomaker. Ih. Okinden Rob. Pope.	Thys Chryſtopher Shomaker hadde beene burned a little before at Newbery.

Chriſtoph. Shomaker martir.

¶ Byſhop Longland ſeeking matter againſt Iſabell Morwyn, of whome hee coulde take no greate aduauntage by examination, called and cauſed Elizabeth Copland her own ſiſter, to teſtifie againſt her in maner as followeth.

Elizabeth Coplande witneſſeth againſt	Iſabel Morwyn, her owne ſiſter.	Firſte becauſe in talke together comming from their father, being at the poynte of death, Iſabell ſayde to her ſiſter Elizabeth, that all whych dye, either paſſe to hel or heauen. Nay ſayde the other, there is betweene them purgatorie.

Againe

Anno. 1521.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.

Agayne, when Elizabeth came from the rode of reſt ſayd Iſabell, that if ſhe knew ſo much as ſhee hath heard, ſhee would go no more on pilgrimage while ſhe liued: for all Saints, ſaid ſhe, be in heauen. Then aſked Elizabeth wherfore pilgrimage was ordeined of Doctours and Prieſtes. Said the other, for gaine & profit. who hath taught you this quoth Elizabeth? man or womā? Your Curate, I dare ſay, neuer learned you ſo. My Curate ſayd ſhe, will neuer knowe ſo much: and moreouer ſayd to Elizabeth her ſiſter, that if ſhe woulde keepe counſaile, & not tell her huſband, ſhe would ſay more. And when Elizabeth anſwered, that ſhe would not tell: but ſayth the other, I will haue you to ſweare: and becauſe ſhe woulde not ſweare, the other would not proceed any further.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Alice Browne. forced by her othe too detect.	Iohn Tracher of Cheſſham.	The cauſe why this Iohn Tracher was denounced, was thys, for that hee taught her in the Goſpell this ſayeng of Ieſus: Bleſſed bee they that heare the word of G O D and keepe it. Alſo, becauſe hee taughte her the eyghte beatitudes in Engliſh.

¶ Emme Tilſeword becauſe ſhe refuſed to detect other by vertue of her othe, and denied ſuch matter as by witnes and by the Biſhops actes were prooued againſt her, in paine of relaps the Biſhop enioyned her to make certaine fagots of cloth, and to weare the ſame, both before her vpper garment, and behinde, ſo long as ſhe liued. Ex Regiſt. Longland.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincolne.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
W. Phippes forced by his othe to detect.	Thomas Afrike.	For aſking howe hys couſin Widmore clerke, the elder, and Iohn Fip did at Hichenden: whether they kepte the lawes of G O D as they were wont.
	Roger Parker	deceaſed.
	Ioh. Phip.	For ſayeng that Images are not to bee worſhipped, becauſe they are made and carued wyth mans hande, and that ſuch ought not to be worſhipped.
	Iohn Gardiner.	For that to the ſayde Wil. this Gardiner ſayd, that all which are burned for thys ſecte, are true Martyrs.
	Iohn Stilman.	

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Butler by his othe was forced to detect.	Thomas Geffray firſte of Vxbridge then of Ipſwich Taylor.	For reading and teaching him in the acts and preachings of the Apoſtles. Item, for hauing a Scripture Booke in Engliſh: whyche Booke, the ſayde Gefferay gaue to the Byſhoppe of London when hee was accuſed. Item, that the ſayde Gefferay ſayde, that true Pilgrimage was barefoote to go and viſite the poore, weake, and ſicke, for they are the true Images of God.
	Richard Vulford.	This Wulforde, and Thomas Gefferay tolde the ſayde Iohn Butler, that the hoſte conſecrated, was not the verye true bodye of Chriſte. In proofe whereof, they ſayde, that let a Mouſe bee put in the pixe wyth the hoſte, and the Mouſe woulde eate it vp. And for more proofe, they declared vnto the ſayde Iohn Butler, that there were two Prieſts in Eſſex, which put a mouſe in the pixe to a conſecrated hoſte, and the mouſe did eate it. Afterwarde the facte of theſe Prieſtes beyng knowne and brought to the Byſhop, one of the Prieſtes was burned for the ſame.
The foreſayd Iohn Butler did detect.	Ioh. Clerke of Deham.	Alſo the ſame Wulford and Geffrey told him and Iohn Clerke, that holy bread, and holy water were but a vayne glorye of the world: for God neuer made them, but were mennes inuentions: and that G O D neither made Prieſtes, for in Chriſtes time there were no prieſts
		Moreouer, that Thomas Geffrey cauſed this Iohn Butler diuers Sōdayes to goe to London to heare Doctour Colet.
	Andrew Fuller of Vxbridge.	Becauſe this Iohn Butler had an olde booke of Richard Wulford. Alſo an other greate booke of Andrewe Fuller for whiche hee payde ſixe ſhillyngs and foure pence and an other litle booke of Thomas Man, which he brought to the Byſhop.
	Thomas Man.	Moreouer, this Thomas Man, was appeached, becauſe hee read to this deponent ten yeares agoe: howe Adam and Eue were expelled out of Paradiſe: and for ſpeakyng agaynſte Pilgrimage and worſhyppyng of Images, and agaynſt the ſingyng ſeruice vſed then in Churches. This Thomas Man, was burnt and dyed a Martyr, of whō mention is made before. pag. 817.
	William Kyng.	This William Kyng was appeached becauſe he lodged Thomas Man in his houſe vppon a certaine holy day at diuine ſeruice: vnto whom reſorted Richard Wulford, and Ioh. Clerke, & this Ioh. Butler: to whom the ſayd Tho. Man declared, that pilgrimage was naught, & that Images were not to be worſhypped.
	Rob. Carder. Durdant. Rich. Butler his own brother. Wil. Kyng	To theſe was layd that Thom. Carder brought this Ioh. Butler to Durdantes houſe at Iuēcourt by Stanis, where was Rich. Butler his brother, and William Kyng readyng in a certaine Engliſhe booke: At whiche tyme Durdant deſired thē not to tell, that he had any ſuch Engliſh booke in his houſe, leaſt hee ſhould be burned for the ſame.
	Rich. Naſh or Aſhford.	Alſo an other tyme, that Iohn Butler with Richard Butler his brother, and Robert Carder wēt to the houſe of Rich. Aſhford or Naſhe, to heare the ſame Aſhford read in a certaine litle booke, but which cōteined many good things.

A ſtory of a mouſe put into the pixe.

Doctor Colet commended.

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longlãd Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Phip compelled by his othe to detect.	Richard Vulman of London.	This Vulman was detected vpon this, for that he would haue red to this Iohn Butler a certaine engliſh booke, and ſpake againſt pilgrimage and images.
	Henr. Vlman & his wife of Vxbridge.	
	Radulph Carpenter of London. A daughter of Iohn Phip. A daughter of William Phip.	This Raſe Carpenter was detected, for hauing certaine bookes of the Apocal. in Engliſh. Alſo for that thys Carpẽter and his wife did bring him and the wife of Henry Vulman to a cornerhouſe of Fridayſtreete, where the goodman of yͤ houſe hauing a ſtumpe foote, had diuers ſuch bookes, to the intẽt they ſhould heare them read.
	R. Butler. Ienkin Butler his owne breethren. The mother of Richard Aſhford. I. Butler his other brother.	Theſe were detected partly for holdyng againſt the Sacrament of the alter, partly alſo, becauſe they were reading two houres together in a certayne booke of the actes of the Apoſtles in Engliſh at Cherſham in Aſhfords houſe.
	The wife of Robert Pope.	For hauing certaine bookes in Engliſh, one bound in bourds, and three with parchment couerings, with foure other ſheetes of paper written in engliſh, conteining matter agaynſt the Romiſh Religion. Alſo another booke of the ſeruice of the virgin Mary in Engliſh.
	Thomas Stilman.	Tho. Stilman was therefore detected, for yͤ he told wil. Fip how that he being in lolards tower, did climbe vp the ſteeple where yͤ bels were, and there cutting yͤ belropes, did tye two of them together, and ſo by them ſlipped downe into Paules Churchyard, & eſcaped.
Tho. Tredway compelled by his othe to detect.	Iohn Mordẽ of Aſhly greene. Rich. Aſheford his brother.	Theſe were accuſed & detected, becauſe Iohn Morden had in hys houſe a booke of yͤ Goſpels, and other chapters in engliſh, & read three or foure times in the ſame: In whiche booke his brother Aſhford alſo did rede once. Item, becauſe I. Morden ſpake againſt Images, and ſpake theſe words: our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt ſaith in hys Goſpell: Bleſſed bee they that heare yͤ word of God, & kepeth it, &c.
	Agnes Aſhford his owne mother.	Tredway alſo detected his mother for teaching him yͤ he ſhuld not worſhip yͤ images of ſaints.

For reading bookes in Engliſhe.

Tredway detecting his owne mother

Ioane Bernard detecting her owne father.

¶ Likewiſe Ioane Bernard being accuſed by Robert Copland, was ſworne by her othe to detecte Thomas Bernarde hir owne naturall father, for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimage, againſt worſhipping of Saints, and againſt diriges and praieng for the dead, and for warning his daughter not to vtter any of all this to her Ghoſtly father.

Rich. Bernard detecting his owne father.

¶ The like othe alſo was forced to Richard Bernard that he ſhould in like maner detect Thom. Bernard his owne naturall father, for teaching him not to worſhip images, nor to beleeue in the Sacramente of the aulter, but in God onely which is in heauen: and that he ſhould not vtter the ſame to the Prieſt.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The vicar of Iuer, and Richard Taylor witnes, accuſed.	Richard Carder.	For defending the cauſe of Ienkin Butler, and for ſaieng that the Biſhop dyd hym iniurie. Item, for ſayeng that if he had knowne the Byſhops man woulde haue ſet hym ſo to the Biſhop, hee woulde haue giuen hym warning thereof before. Item, for ſayeng, that if hee ſhoulde call him, hee woulde confeſſe nothing although he burned him.
Agnes Carder, wife of Richard Carder detected.	Richard Carder her huſband.	For ſayeng that hee ſuſpected that ſhee was too much familiare with the Vicar of Iuer. And when ſhee aunſwered againe: howe coulde hee bee euill with her, ſeeing he ſayeth Maſſe euery day, and doth not confeſſe hymſelfe before: then her huſbande ſayde, that hee coulde confeſſe himſelfe to a poſt or to the alter.

¶ Where note that the Biſhop then examining her of that offence, whether ſhe was culpable, and whether ſhe was commonly in the voyce of the people diffamed with him or no: ſhe confeſſed ſo to be. Whereupon no other penaltie nor penance for that crime of adultery was enioined her of the Biſhop, but only this, that ſhe ſhould frequent the Vicares houſe no more.

Againſt Images.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Ioh. Clerke of Denham forced by his othe to detecte.	Richard Vulford of Riſelyp. Iohn Butler.	For ſpeaking agaynſte Images, Pilgrimages, oblations, and agaynſte the Sacramente of the alter. Item, when this Iohn Clerke had made a weele for fiſh, Richard Vulford commyng by, aſked hym when hee had made hys weele, whether the weele now coulde turne againe and make hym: and hee ſayd no. Euen ſo (quoth hee) God hath made all Prieſts as thou haſt made the weele, and how can they turne againe & make God?
Iohn Maſtall detected.	The daughter of Iohn Fippe of Hinchenden.	For ſayeng that ſhe was as well learned, as was the pariſhe Prieſt in all things, except only in ſayeng of Maſſe.
Rob. Rowland. William Franke. Thomas Houre. Tho. Rowland. Ioane Franke. Ioh. Baker, all theſe detected.	Alice Sanders, wife of Richard Saunders of Amerſham.	For geuing twelue pence to Thomas Holmes to buy a certayne Booke in Engliſhe for her daughter. To whome Tomas Holmes anſwered agayne, that a noble woulde not ſuffice to buy it. Another tyme, for geuing ſyxe pence to the buieng of a certaine booke in engliſh, which coſt fiue markes. Another time, Thomas Houre commyng from Owburne, ſhee aſked what newes, and hee ſayde, that manye were there condemned of hereſie: and therefore hee woulde leaue to that way

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		waye no more. Then ſaide ſhe, if he did ſo, he would gaine nothyng thereby. whereby hee had no more worke with her huſband, and after was put from his holy water Clerkeſhip in that towne. Another time, for ſayeng to Thomas Rowland theſe wordes: yee may ſee how Thomas Houre and other which laboured to haue heretikes detected before B. Smith, are broughte now to beggery: you may take exaple by thē.
Ioane Franke, William Franke the elder, William Franke the yonger, Alice Tredway detected.	Ioane Collingborne.	For ſayeng to one Ioan Timberlake, and to Alice Tredway ten yeares ago, that ſhee would neuer beleeue pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that Saincts were to be worſhipped: and deſired them not to tell their Curate. which Alice immediately cauſed her to be called before the Biſhop.
William Carder vpon his othe was forced to detect.	Iſabel Tracher, wife of William Tracher his maiſtres.	For that ſhee beyng not ſicke, but in good health, and beeing rebuked dyuers tymes of her huſband for the ſame, yet woulde not go to the Church, but taried at home and kept her worke as well holyday as worke daye, the ſpace of three yeares together.
Iſabel Gardiner, Iohn Gardiner forced by their othe to detect the Vicare of Wicombe.	Thomas Rave of great Merlow.	For ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimages, in the companie of Iohn and Elizabeth Gardiner, as he was going to our Lady of Lincolne for hys penance enioyned by Byſhoppe Smyth. Alſo the ſame tyme, as hee met certayne commyng from Saincte Iohn Shorne, for ſayeng they were fooles, and calling it Idolatry. Alſo in the ſame voyage, when he ſaw a certaine chappell in decay and ruine, he ſayde: lo, yonder is a faire milke-houſe downe.

Item, when he came to Lincolne, he made water in the Chappell at maſſe time, excuſing afterward that he did it of neceſſitie. Item, the ſame time ſpeakyng againſt the Sacrament of the aulter, he ſayde, that Chriſt ſitteth in heauen at the right hand of the father almighty, and brought forth this parable, ſayeng, that Chriſt our Lord ſayd theſe wordes, when he went from his diſciples, and aſcended to heauen: That once he was in ſinners hands, & woulde come there no more. Alſo when hee came to Wicomb there to do his penaunce, he bound his fagot with a ſilken lace. Alſo, being demaunded of D. London, whether he had done his penaunce in comming to our Lady of Lincolne, he aunſwered, that Biſhop Smith had releaſed him, to come to our Lady of Meſſenden for ſixe yeares. And three yeares he came, but whether he came any more, becauſe he did not there regiſter his name, therefore he ſayd he could not proue it.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	The wife of Tho. Potter of Hychenden.	
Roger Benet forced by hys othe to detect.	The wife of Wil. Tilſeworth now of Haukewel.	For not thinking catholikely, that is, after the tradition of Rome, of the Sacrament of the alter.

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	The wife of Robert Stampe. Marian Randall.	For not accompliſhyng her penaunce inioyned by Byſhop Smith.
	Iohn Butler.	For hauyng of him a certaine booke in Engliſh conteinyng a Iewe and a Chriſtian.
	His owne wife deceaſed.	
	Iohn Clerke of Denham.	For communing with hym, agaynſt Images, Pilgrimage, and the Sacrament of the aultar.
	Thom. Geffrey, of Vxbrige, & his wife departed.	For commonyng agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, worſhyppyng of Saintes, Pilgrimage, &c.
Richard Vulford, detected.	Henry Vulman of Vxbrige.	For ſpeakyng and teaching agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar eleuen yeares agoe, and ſaying it was but a trifle.
	The mother of William Kyng of Vxbrige.	
	William Kyng.	
	Robert Carder, the elder.	
	Iohn Baker of Vxbrige.	
Iohn Scriuener, the elder, detected.	Geldener the elder. His two daughters.	For beyng preſent and harkenyng vnto Richard Benet readyng the Epiſtle of Saint Iames in Engliſh.
	Emme, ſiſter of W. Tilſeworth mart.	
	Iohn Lee Carpenter of Henly.	

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

For reading the Scripture.

There is to be noted, that in the towne of Cheſham were two men: One named Robert Hutton. The other Iohn Sparke. Of whiche two, the one called the other hereticke: The other called hym agayne theefe. Sparke whiche called Hutton theefe, was condemned to pay for his ſlaunder x. ſhillynges. But Hutton which called the other hereticke, payed nothyng. It happened that the wife of this Sparke not long after, had certeine money ſtolne. For the whiche the ſayd Sparke her huſband ſent for the counſaile of two Friers, who gaue him counſaile to make two balles of clay, and to put them in the water and in the ſame balles to incloſe the names of thē whom he ſuſpected, and ſo doyng the ſayd Sparke came to his money agayne. And this was detected to Byſhop Longland the ſame tyme by Thomas Clement. But of all this matter there was no inquiſition made, nor interrogatories miniſtred, nor witneſſe produced, nor any ſentence geuen. Ex Regiſt. Longlang. fol. 50.

Iohn Sparke.

Witchcrafte left of the Biſhop vnpuniſhed.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Groſar, beyng put to his oth, detected.	Thomas Tykill. Thomas Speſer and his wife. Iohn Knight.	This Iohn Groſar was examined whether he had a booke of the Goſpels in Engliſhe, who confeſſed that he receaued ſuch a booke of Thomas Tykill morrowe Maſſe Prieſte in Milkeſtreete, and afterwarde lent the ſame booke to Thomas Spenſer: whiche Thomas Spenſer with hys wife vſed to read vppon the ſame. After that it was lent to Ioh. Knight who at length deliuered the booke to the Vicare of Rikemanſworth.
Iohn Fuge forced by his othe to detect.	Fraunces Funge and his brother	Fraunces Funge was examined for ſpeakyng theſe wordes to his brother I. which wordes he had learned of Thomas Clarke: If the Sacrament of

For hauing the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Thomas Clerke.	of the alter be very God & man, fleſh & bloud, in forme of bred, as prieſts ſay that it is: then haue we many Gods, and in heauen there is but one God. And if there were an hūdreth honſeled in one pariſh, and as manye in another, then there muſt needes bee more then one God. I will not denie, but it is a holy thing: but it is not the body of the Lord that ſuffered Paſſion for vs: for hee was once in mans hands heere, and ill entreated, and therefore he will neuer come in ſinfull mens handes againe. Alſo for ſpeaking theſe wordes: the Pope hath no authoritie to geue pardon, and to releaſe any mans ſoule from ſinne, and ſo from payne: it is nothyng but blinding of the people, to haue their money. Alſo for theſe wordes, or ſuche like: If a man do ſowe twentie quarters of corne, as wheate or barley, or other corne, he ought to deduct his ſeede, and of the reſidue to tithe, or elſe he hath wrong, &c.
Fraunces Funge and Alyce his wife were put to their othe to detect.	Thomas Clerke.	For ſpeaking againſt the reall preſence of Chriſte in the Sacramente vnto Fraunces Funge, as before, &c.
	Robert Raue of Dorney.	For ſaying theſe wordes: That the Sacrament of the aulter is not the body whiche was borne of the bleſſed virgine Mary. Item, for ſpeakyng ſuch wordes fourteene yeares paſte: That folkes were ill occupyed that worſhipped any thynges grauen with mans hande: for that is grauen wyth mans hand, is neither God, nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of Saincts. Nor we ought to worſhip any thing, but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saincts, whiche are but ſtockes and ſtones.
Henry Deyn forced by his othe to detect.	Edmund Hill of Penne. Robert Freeman, pariſhe prieſt of Orton by Colobroke	For hauing and reading vpon a ſuſpected booke: whyche booke when hee perceaued to be ſeene in his hand, he cloſed it, and caried it to his chamber.
Iohn Hill forced by his othe, did detect.	Thomas Groue and his wife, of Amerſham. Matild Philby, wife of Edward Philby of Chaldwey.	
	Ioanne Gunne of Cheſham.	Becauſe ſhe inſtructed and taught the ſayd Hill before his abiuration, in the Epiſtle of Saint Iames, and other opinions.
	William Atkyns of great Miſſenden. Richard Murden, of Cheſham. Emme Murden, his wife.	
William Gudgame forced by his othe to detect.	Ioanne Gudgame his owne wife.	For being in the ſame opinion of the Sacrament that hee was of: who notwithſtanding did ſwear the ſame Matild not to bee true, that her huſband ſayd.

Anno 1521.
Ex Regiſt. Longland Lincolne.

A propheſ

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Matilde Symonides, and Iohn Symonides her huſband, put to their othe detected.	Alyce Naſhe, or Chapman, of Miſſenden.	
	One Haggar of London.	For ſpeaking in theyr houſe, an. 1520. theſe wordes: That there ſhoulde be a battayle of Prieſts, and all the Prieſts ſhoulde be ſlayne, and that the Prieſts ſhoulde a while rule: but they ſhoulde all be deſtroyed, becauſe they holde agaynſte the law of holy Church, and for making of falſe Gods, and after that they ſhould be ouerthrowne. Item, another time he ſayd, that men of the Churche ſhoulde be put downe, and the falſe Gods that they make: and after that he ſayde they ſhould know more, and then ſhould be a mery world.
Thomas Clerke forced by his othe, did detect.	Chriſtopher Tinker of Wicombe.	The cauſe of thys Tinkers trouble was, for that he comming to this mans houſe, and complaining to him of ẏ pouerty of the world, hadde theſe wordes: That there was neuer ſo miſgouerned people, and that they bare thē ſelues ſo bolde vpon pardons and pilgrimages, that they cared not whatſoeuer they did, and ſo he departed. And after that ſeauen dayes, thys Tinker comming againe, aſked hym how his communication with hym laſt did pleaſe him, and he ſaid well. Then the Tinker ſayd he knewe more, and that hee coulde tell hym more, and bad him that he ſhould beleeue in God in heauen: for heere be many Gods in earth, and there is but one God: and that he was once heere, and was ill dealt with, and woulde no more come heere till the daye of doome: and that the Sacrament of the aulter was a holy thing, but not the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt that was borne of the virgine, and charged hym not to tell this to hys wife, and eſpecially to his wiues brother a Prieſt. Afterward as the Prieſt was dryeng ſinging bread being wet, which his ſiſter had bought, the foreſayde Thomas Clerke ſayde, that if euery one of theſe were a God, then were there many Gods. To whome the Prieſt anſwered, that till the holy wordes were ſpoken ouer it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, fleſh and bloud, ſayeng moreouer, that it was not meete for anye lay man to ſpeake of ſuch thyngs. Theſe wordes of the Prieſt beeyng after recited to the Tinker, by the ſayd Clerke: then ſayd he, let euery man ſay what they will: but you ſhall finde it as I ſhew you: and if you will take labour to come to my houſe, I will ſhewe you a farther proofe of it, if you will take heede, &c.
Robert Pope firſt of Amerſham,	Thomas Afrike, alias Litle page, and hys wife.	To theſe was obiected for that they hadde communicatiō and cōference with thys Roberte Pope in the Goſpell of S. Mathew, before the great abiuratiō, in ẏ towne of Amerſham.

after

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
after of Weſtadred, cauſed by his oth, did detect theſe folowing.	Thomas Scriuener father to Thomas Holmes wife.	Thys Scriuener was detected, for that the ſayde Pope had of him a booke of the Epiſtles in Engliſh.
	Benet Ward of Bekenneſfield, and his father. Edmund Dormer.	To ward, this was layd, that the foreſayde Pope had receaued a Booke of the ten Commaundementes. He had alſo the Goſpels of Mathewe and Marke. Of the ſame warde he learned hys Chriſte Croſſe rowe: Fyue partes of the eight beatitudes.
	Thomas Hardyng, and his wife.	
	Iohn Scriuener, and his wife.	
	Tho Man, and his wife. Another Tho. Man and his wife.	Theſe were detected for this, becauſe they hadde communed and talked with the ſayde Robert Pope oftimes in Bookes of Scripture and other matters of Religion, concerning Pilgrimage, adoration of Images, and the Sacramente of the Lords body.
	Thomas Bernard.	
	Thomas Groue.	
	Thomas Holmes.	
	Robert Raue.	
	William Gudgame, and his wife.	
	Naſhe the elder, and his wife.	
	W. Gray of Eaſthenred, Milner.	
	Edwarde Gray, and hys wyfe, of Eaſthenred.	
	Margery yong, widow, of Eaſthenred.	
	Iſabell Moer, ſiſter to the ſayde Margery of Eaſthenred.	
	Richard Nobys Fouler, and his wife of Eaſthenred.	
	Richard Colyns of Gynge, and his wife.	Thys Colyns was among them a great reader, and hadde a booke of Wickleffes Wicket, and a booke of Luke, and one of Paul, and a Gloſe of the Apocalyps.
	William Colyns his brother.	
Roberte Pope of Weſtanred, being before adiured now agayne put to his othe detected theſe as folow.	Thom. Colyns the father of Richard and William.	He hadde a booke of Paule, and a booke of ſmall Epiſtles.
	Iohn Colyns, of Betterton.	
	Robert Lyuord, of Steuenton.	
	William Lyuord, of Steuenton.	
	Father Amerſhaw, of Steuenton.	
	Smarte, of Steuenton, Milner.	
	Thomas Halle, of Hungerford.	
	Iohn Eden, of Hungerford.	
	Iohn Ludlow, of Hungerford.	
	Thomas New, of Wantage, thatcher.	
	Ioanne Taylor and her mother, of Biſſam.	
	Humfrey Shomaker, of Newbery.	
	Iohn Semande, of Newbery, Fiſhmonger.	
	Robert Geydon, and his wife, of Newbery, weauer.	
	Iohn Edmundes, of Burford.	This Iohn Edmunds was charged for hauing a Booke, named W. Thorps. Alſo, for reading in an Engliſhe booke after a mariage.

Anno. 1521. Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Robert Burges, and his wife of Burford.	
	Iohn Colyns, of Burford.	
	Iohn Colyns, and his wife of Aſthall.	
	Ioh. Clerke of Claufield.	This Clerke was hearde ſaye that all the world was as well hallowed as in ye Churche or Churchyard. And that it was as good to be buried in the field, as in ye Church or Churchyard.
	William Gunne, and his wife of Witney, Tanner. Iohn Baker, of Witney, weauer. Iohn Brabant the elder, of Stanlake. Iohn Brabant the yonger of Stanlake. Iohn Kember, of Hennybarkes. Walter Kember, his brother, of Henybarkes. Iohn Rabettes, of Chawley. Thomas Widmore, of Hychenden.	
	Ioh. Fyppe William Fyppe.	For readyng a certaine Treatiſe vppon the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, whiche this Iohn Fippe did read to hym, and to his father.

This foreſayd Robert Pope moreouer detected Edward Pope his owne father of litle Myllenden, for hearyng the Goſpell of Mathew read vnto him, and for communyng vpon the ſame with this Robert Pope his ſonne, hee detected likewiſe Edward Pope his brother.

The ſonne detected the father.

Furthermore, he detected his owne wife, who had before abiured vnder Byſhop Smith, to continue ſtill in her opinions.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Thomas Clerke the elder, of Hychenden.	
	Laurence Herne, of Hychenden.	
	W. Halyday of Eaſthenred.	This Halyday was detected, for hauyng in his cuſtodie a booke of the Actes of the Apoſtles in Engliſh, whiche the ſayd Robert Pope brought vnto hym, at the takyng of Roger Dodde.
	William Squire, and hys brother of Schaw.	
	Thomas Steueton, & Matilde his daughter, of Cherney.	
Rob. Pope before abiured, did detect theſe here folowyng.	Thomas Philippe, pointer: Laurence Tayler of London.	For that theſe two beyng in the houſe of Richard Colyns at Gynge, there did read in an Engliſh booke, the Epiſtle of Saint Paule to the Romaines, and Laurence did read the firſt Chapter of S. Lukes Goſpell.
	Andrew Mayſey, of Burton. The wife of Richard Colynes, of Gynge.	
	Iohn Harrys his wife. Alyce Colyns, wife of Richard Colyns.	Theſe beyng together at Vpton in Iohn Harrys houſe, did talke of the Apocalips, and of the Actes of the Apoſtles, and therfore were ſuſpected & thus detected, Ex Regiſt. Longl fol 71.

For the ſcripture in Engliſh.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Item,

Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Longland Lincolne.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		Item, becauſe Iohn Harrys ſpake againſt Pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talke of ſeauen leane, and ſeauen fat Oxen.
	Roberte Colyns of Hertford wallis, Maſon.	
	Tho. Grey, of Weſthedred.	For receiuing certeine bookes of this Roberte Pope.
	Margarete Houſe, wife of William Houſe, of Eſtginge.	For keepyng companye, and receauyng ỹ doctrine of Alyce Colins.
	Iohn Naſhe, of little Miſſenden.	
	Henry Etkyn, and hys mother, of little Miſſenden.	
	Richard Dell, of Miſſenden.	
Roberte Colyns beeyng ſworne vpon the Euangeliſtes, did detecte theſe perſons.	Richarde Colyns of Gynge.	Firſt, for that this Richard Colyns did reade vnto the ſayde Roberte Colyns the ten Commaundements: and after taught him the Epiſtles of Iames, and another ſmall Epiſtle of Peter: and after that, tooke hym the Goſpell of Sainct Iohn in Engliſh, & bade him reade therein hymſelfe. Alſo, for teaching him not to worſhip Images, nor to ſet vp candels, nor to go on pilgrimage. Another crime againſt Richard Colyns: Becauſe hee taughte this Robert, that in all ſuch things wherein hee offended God, he ſhoulde onely ſhriue himſelfe to God: & in which things he offẽded mã, he ſhould ſhriue hym to man. Alſo for teaching him that the Sacramente of the Altar is not very God, but a certaine figuratiue thing of Chriſt in bread: and that the Prieſt hath no power to conſecrate the body of Chriſt. Alſo, for that the ſayd Richard did teach him in wickliffes wicket: howe that a man maye not make the bodye of our Lorde, which made vs: and how can wee then make him againe? The father is vnbegotten, and vnmade: the Sonne is onely begotten and not made: and how then can mã make that which is vnmade, ſaid he. And in the ſame booke of wickliffes wicket, followe the wordes of Chriſt thus ſpeaking: If my wordes be hereſie, then am I an heretike: And if my words be leaſings, then am I a lyer, &c. Alſo, another cryme againſt Richarde Colyns: For hauyng certayne Engliſh Bookes, as wickleffes wicket, the Goſpell of Sainct Iohn, the Epiſtles of Sainct Paule, Iames, and Peter in Engliſh, an expoſition of the Apocalips, a booke of our Ladies mattens in engliſh, a booke of Salomon in engliſh, a booke called the pricke of conſcience.
	Iohn Edmundes, of Burford Taylor.	The crime againſte Iohn Edmundes, for hauing a certain engliſh book of ỹ cõmandemẽts.
The foreſayd Robert Colyns being ſworne vpon the Euangeliſts, did detecte theſe perſons.	Iohn Harrys.	The crime againſte Iohn Harrys: For communing with hym of the firſt Chapter of Sainct Iohns Goſpel: In the beginning was the word, and the word was wyth God, and God, &c. Alſo for communing of a Chapter in Mathew of the viij. beatitudes.
	Thomas Hall.	Item, for counſaylyng hym not to go on pilgrimage to Saincts, becauſe they were Idols.
	Rob. Lyuord. William Lyuord. Bruges, & Ioanne his wife. Harrys, & his wife. Rich. Colyns.	All theſe were detected, for that they beeyng together in Bruges houſe at Burford, were reading together in the booke of the expoſition of the Apocalyps, and communed concerning the matter of opening the booke with ſeauen claſpes, &c.
	Iohn Lediſdall, or Edon of Hungerford.	
	Iohn Colyns of Burford.	
	Iohn Colyns, and his wife, of Aſthall.	
	Iohn Clerke, of Clauſield.	
	The wife of Richard Colyns, of Ginge.	
	Thom. Colyns, and his wife, of Gynge.	This Thomas was charged for hauyng a booke of Paul & Iames in Engliſh.
	William Colyns.	
	Robert Pope, of Henred.	
	Hakker, of Colmanſtreete in London.	
	Stacy brickmaker of Colmõſtreete.	For hauing the booke of the Apocalypſe.
	Tho. Philip. Laurence Wharfar of London.	For readyng the Epiſtle of Sainct Peter in Engliſh in the houſe of Roberte Colyns at Aſthall.
	Ioanne Colyns his owne ſiſter, of Aſthall.	
	Thomas Colyns hys couſen, of Aſthall.	
	Maiſtres Briſtow, of London.	
	Iohn Colyns ſonne of Richard Colyns, of Gynge.	
	Ioanne Colyns daughter of Richard Colyns of Gynge.	
	Henry Stacy ſonne of Stacy of Colmanſtreete.	
	Thomas Steuenton of Charney in Barkeſhyre.	
	Iohn Brabant in Stanlake.	
	Iohn Baker weauer, of Wytney.	
	Richard Colyns.	The wordes of Richarde Colyns were theſe: That the Sacramente was not the true bodye of Chriſt in fleſh

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

For ſpeaking againſt Idolatry.

The ſonne accuſeth the father.

Accuſers	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		fleſh and bloud: but yet it ought to be reuerenced: albeit not ſo as the true body of chriſt.
Iohn Colins of Burford, appeached to the Byſhop theſe perſons her named.	Thom. Colins of Gynge, hys owne naturall Father.	The crime agaynſte Thomas Colins: For that eight yeares paſt, this Thomas Colins his Father had taught this Iohn his ſonne in the preſence of hys Mother, the x. Commaundementes, and namely, that he ſhould haue but one GOD, and ſhoulde worſhyp nothing but GOD alone: and that to worſhip Sayntes and to go on pilgrimage was Idolatry. Alſo that he ſhould not worſhippe the Sacrament of the aulter as God, for that it was but a token of the Lordes bodye. which thing ſo muche diſcontented this Iohn Colyns, that he ſayd he would diſcloſe his Fathers errours, and make him to be burned: but his Mother entreated him not ſo to doe.
	Rob. Colins of Aſthall.	The crime againſt Rob. Colyns: That this Robert readde to him in a certaine thick booke of Scripture in Engliſh.
	Iohn Edmundes and his wife.	The crime layd to Ioh. Edmundes: For that hee readde to this Iohn the x. Commaundementes, & tolde him that Iohn Baptiſte ſayd, that one ſhoulde come after him whoſe buckle of his ſhoo, he was not worthye to vndoe.
	Alice, wife of Gunne of Wytney.	
	Iohn Hakker, and his ſonne of London.	This Iohn Hakker of London, comming to Burford, brought a booke ſpeaking of the x. plagues of Pharao, Alſo after that, an other booke, entreatyng of the ſeauen Sacramentes.
	Laurence Taylor of Shordich.	
	Thomas Philip of London.	
	Philip, ſeruaunt of Richard Colins.	
	Waunſell fiſhmonger, of the Viſe.	
	Ioane Robert.	
	Burges wife.	
	Iohn Boyes, and his brother, a Monke of Burford.	
	Thomas Baker, Father to Gunnes wife of Whatley.	
	Agnes, daughter of Iohn Edmundes.	
	The Mother of Iohn Boyes, of Sedbery.	
	Edward Red Scholemayſter of Burford.	
	Robert Hichman of Lechelade.	
	Elynor Hegges of Burford.	This Elynor was charged that ſhe ſhold burne the Sacrament in an Ouen.
	Iohn Through, of the Priory of Burford.	
	The Mother of Robert Burges wife.	

Accuſers	Partyes accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Roger Dods of Burford, by his othe was cōpelled to vtter theſe perſons here named.	Syr Iohn Drury Vicare of Windriſh in Worceterſhyre.	The crime againſt this Syr Iohn Drury was, for that, when Roger Doddes came firſt to him to bee hys ſeruaunte, hee ſware him vppon a booke to keepe his counſels in all thinges: and after that he ſhewed hym a certayne woman in his houſe whome hee ſayde to bee hys wife, counſelling moreouer the ſayd Roger Dods vpon an embring day, to ſuppe with bread & cheeſe, ſayinge: that whiche goeth into a mannes body defileth not a mans ſoule, but that whiche goeth out of the body defileth both body and ſoule. Alſo that the ſayde Vicare taught him the A.B.C. to the intent he ſhoulde haue vnderſtanding in the Apocalips, wherein he ſayde that he ſhoulde perceiue all the falſehood of the world, and all the trueth. He ſaid farthermore vnto him, when he had bene at the Ladye of Worceſter, at the bloud of Hayles, which had coſt him xviij. pence, that he had done as an ill huſbande, that had ploughed his lande and ſowen it, but nothing to the purpoſe: For he hadde worſhipped mans handye worke and caſt away his money, which had bene better geuen to the poore: for he ſhould worſhip but one God, and no handye worke of man. Item, when the people would offer candles, where hee was Vicare to Mary Magdalene, he would take thē away & ſay they were fooles, ỹ brought them thether.
	Elizabeth More, of Eaſthenred.	
	Robert Pope, of Weſthenred.	
	Henry Miller or Tucke, by Ware.	This Henrye dyd ſhew to Roger Dods a certain ſtory of a woman in the Apocalips, riding vpō a red beaſt. The ſayd Henry was twiſe abiured.
	Iohn Fyppe of Hychenden.	For reading vnto the ſaid Roger Dods, a certayne Goſpell in Engliſh.
	W. Fyppe of Hychenden and Henry his ſonne.	This William had exhorted Roger Dods that he ſhould worſhip no Images, nor commit no Idolatrye, but worſhip one God: and tolde the ſame Roger, that it was good for a man to be mery & wiſe meaning, that he ſhold keepe cloſe that was tolde him: for els ſtrait puniſhement woulde folow.
	Roger Parker of Hichenden.	This Parker ſayd to Iohn Fyppe for burning of his bookes, that he was fowle to blame, for they were worth a hundreth markes. To whom Iohn aunſwered, that hee had rather burne his bookes, then that his bookes ſhoulde burne hym.

For reading the Bible in Engliſhe.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE.

Againſt the bodely preſence of the Sacrament.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſaid Roger Dods of Burford, by his othe was compelled to vtter theſe perſons here annexed.	The wife of Thomas Wydemore, daughter of Roger Houſe, of Hychenden, Olde Wydmores wife, ſiſter to Iohn Phip of Hychenden.	
	Iohn Ledisdall of Hungerford.	For reading of the bible, in Robert Burges houſe at Burforde vpon holy roode day, with Colyns Lyuord, Thomas Hall and other.
	Rob. Colins & his wife. Iohn Colins, and his wife.	For buying a Bible of Stacy, for 20.s.
	The father of Rob. Colins.	This father Colins had beene of his doctrine from the yeare of our Lord.1480.
	Tho. Baker of Whatley. Robert Lyuord. Iohn Symſon of Steuenton. Tho. Ryley, of Burford. Iohn Clemſon, ſeruaunt to the Prior of Burford. Iohn Edmundes, of Burford. William Gunne of Wytney,	To theſe was layd, that they beyng in the houſe of Iohn Harris of Vpton, at the mariage of Ioane the wife of Roberte Burges, hyd reade in a Booke called Nicodemus goſpell, that made the cloth which our Lorde was buryed in (as the Regiſter ſayth) and in that Booke is the ſtory of the deſtruction of Hieruſalem.
	Iohn Baker, Weauer of Wytney,	
	The Bayliffe of Wytney.	
	Iohn Hakker.	
	Iohn Brabant, and his wife. Iohn Brabant his ſonne, with his wife. Iohn Brabant the younger ſonne, with his wife. Reginald Brabant, of Stanlake.	For reading in a certayne Engliſh book of Scripture, they being together in Ioh. Brabantes houſe of Stanlake.
	Henry Fyppe.	The crime and detection againſt this Hery was, for that he being aſked of this Doddes an. 1515. whether he would go to Wycomb or not, aunſwered agayne, that hee was choſen Rood man, that is, keeper of the Roode loft, ſaying yͤ he muſte go & find a candle before his Blocke almightye.
	Olyuer Smyth of Newlynd, and his Wyfe.	
	William Hobbis.	This William Hobbis was detected, firſt by Radulphe Hobbys his brother to Byſhop Smyth, but was deliuered throughe the ſuite of the Curate of Weſtwycumbe.
Iohn Edmundes, otherwiſe called Iohn Ogins of Burford, did detect	Philip Brabant ſeruaunt of Rich. Colyns.	For ſaying, that the ſacrament of the aultar was made in the remēbraunce of Chriſts own body, but it was not yͤ body of Chriſt.

Againſt the bodely preſence.

The booke called the king of Beeme.

For hauyng the x. Commaundements in Engliſhe.

The father accuſeth his owne daughter.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Edmundes, otherwiſe called Iohn Ogyns of Burford did de detect	The ſhepheardes kalender was alſo accuſed & detected.	Becauſe the ſame Edmundes ſayde that hee was perſuaded by this booke, readynge theſe wordes: that the Sacrament was made in the remembraunce of Chriſt.
	The booke of William Thorpe likewiſe was muche complayned of both by thys Iohn Edmundes, and diuers other.	
	Richard Colyns of Gynges.	This Richard Colins, as he was a great doer among theſe good men: ſo was he muche complayned vppon by diuers, & alſo by thys Edmundes, for bringing with him a booke called the king of Beeme, into theyr company, and did read thereof a greate parte vnto them, in this Edmundes houſe of Burford.
	Alice Colins, wife of Rich. Colyns.	This Alice likewiſe was a famous womā among them, and had a good memory & could recite much of yͤ ſcriptures, and other good bookes: And therefore when any conuenticle of theſe men did meete at Burford, commonly ſhe was ſent for, to recite vnto them the declaration of the x. commaundementes, & the Epiſtles of Peter, and Iames.
	Ioanne Colyns daughter of Rich. and of Alice Colyns.	This Ioanne alſo following her fathers and Mothers ſteppes was noted, for that ſhe had learned with her father and mother, the x. Commaundementes, the ſeuē deadly ſinnes, the ſeuen workes of mercy, the fiue wittes bodely and ghoſtly, the eight bleſſings, and v. chapters of S. Iames Epiſtle.
	Agnes Edmundes his owne daughter.	This Agnes Edmundes was alſo detected by her Father, that he brought her to the houſe of Richarde Colyns, to ſeruice, to the intent ſhee myght bee inſtructed there in Gods law, where ſhe had learned likewiſe the x. Commaundementes, the fiue wits Bodely and Ghoſtly, and the 7. deadly ſins.
	Alyce Gunne. W. Ruſſell, of Colmanſtreet. One mother Ioanne. Father Iohn Hungerford. Ioanne Taylor, ſeruaunt of Iohn Harrys, of Burford. Thomas Quicke, Weauer of Redyng. Philip Brabant, Weauer. Iohn Barbar, Clerke of Ameſham. Iohn Eding, of Hungerford.	

One

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	One Brabant, brother to Philippe Brabant, of Stanlake.	
Thomas Whyte, and Thomas Clerke did appeach.	Robert Butterfield. William Dorſet.	The wordes of William Dorſette were theſe: that pilgrimage was of none effect, and offering candles or other things to ſayntes, ſtode in no ſtede, and was but coſt loſt. Alſo when his wyfe was going on pilgrimage, and hee aſked whether? and ſhe ſayd to our Ladye of Wilſedon: our Lady, ſayd he is in heauen.
Iohn Baker being vrged vpon his othe, did diſcloſe.	Iohn Edmundes.	This Iohn Edmundes was detected becauſe that hee, talking with the ſayde Baker, of pilgrimage bad hym goe offer his money to the Image of GOD. when the other aſked, what that was, he ſaid that the Image of GOD was the poore people, blinde, and lame: and ſayde that hee offended almightye God in goinge on pilgrimage.
William Phyppe adiured by his othe did accuſe.	Henry Phippe his owne ſonne.	For communing with Roger Dods agaynſt pilgrimage and adoration of Images.
Henry Phip being examined, and abiured by the Biſhop was compelled to diſcloſe	his owne wordes ſpoken to Roger Dods, ſaying to him, that he muſt light a candle before his BLOCKE ALMIGHTYE, being then roodeman.	
	Roger Parker. William Phip his owne father.	For talking together agaynſte Pilgrimage and Idolatry.
Iohn Brabant, the elder ſonne of Iohn Brabant, did nominate	Iohn Hakker. Robert Pope.	For reading the holy Scripture in his fathers houſe, and for ſaying theſe wordes: Chriſt made his maundy and ſayd: take thys breade, eate it, thys is my body: Take this wine, drinke it, thys is my bloude: And Prieſtes ſaye by theſe wordes, that the Sacrament of the aulter is the body of Chriſt.
	Iohn Brabant his Father, & his Mother.	For being preſent when Hacker was reading the Scripture in theyr houſe.
	Philip Brabant his Vncle.	The wordes of Philippe Brabant, were theſe: that it was deadly ſin to goe on pilgrimage.

Coſt loſt.

For ſaying: Our Ladye is not at Wilſedon, but in heauen.

The Image of God.

Father accuſeth his owne ſone.

BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE.

¶ Concerning this Iohn Brabant, here is to be noted the forme and effect of the Byſhoppes examination, aſking and demaunding thus of the ſayde Brabant: An vnquam audiuit Ioannem Hakker legentem ſacram Scripturam contra determinationem Eccleſiæ. That is, whether he euer heard Iohn Hacker reade the which wordes, if he meane, that it is agaynſt the determination of the church, to read the holy Scripture, it may therby appeare to be a blind church. And if they meane that the holy ſcripture conteineth anye ſuch thing in it whiche is agaynſt the determination of the church, then it appeareth theyr church to be contrary vnto God, ſeing it determineth one thing, and Gods word an other.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longlād Fol. 85.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Baker did detect	Robert Pope. Richard Nobbis. Iohn Edmundes.	For ſpeaking againſte going on pilgrimage, and Image worſhip.
Iohn a Lee denounced	Iohn a Weedon.	When this Iohn a Lee had tolde the ſayd Weedon, how the B. had ſaid in his ſermon theſe wordes: That all whiche were of the ſect of heretickes beleued that God was in heauen, but they beleued not that the bodye of Chriſt on the aulter was God: to this hee aunſwearing agayne, ſayd: ye be bold vpon that worde, deryding the B. in ſo ſaying.
Ioane Steuenton denounced	W. Dorſet of kinges Langley.	For ſaying that images ſtode for nothing: and that Pilgrimage ſerued to ſpend folkes mony, & nothing els.
	Alice Colyns.	For teaching the ſayd Ioane Steuenton, in Lent, ẏ x. Commaundements, thus beginning: I am thy Lord God that led thee out of the Land of Egypt and brought thee oute of ẏ houſe of thraldom. Thou ſhalt not haue no alyen Gods before me, neither make to thee any image grauē wͭ mans hādes, that is in heauen aboue, neyther in the earthe beneath. &c. Itē, for teaching her ẏ firſt chapter of S. Iohns Goſpell: In the beginning was the word. &c.
	Iohn Harrys.	For teaching her the 1. chapter of Peter.
Sir Iohn a Prieſt, and alſo Rob. Robinſon detected	M. Cotiſmore of Brightwell; Alſo Maiſtres Cotiſmore, otherwiſe called Maiſtres Doly.	For ſpeaking theſe wordes to one Iohn Baynton her ſeruant: that if ſhee went to her chamber & prayd there ſhee ſhoulde haue as much merit as though ſhe went to Walſingham on pilgrimage. Item, when the ſayd Sir Iohn came to her, after the death of M. Cotiſmore hys Mayſter, requyring her to ſende one Iohn Stayner her ſeruant to our Lady of Walſingham for Maiſter Cotiſmore which in his lyfe time being ſicke, promiſed in his owne perſon to viſite that place, ſhee would not conſēt therto, nor let her ſeruaunt go. Item for ſaying ẏ when women go to offer to Images or ſaints they did it to ſhewe theyr newe gay geare, & that images were but carpenters chips: and that folkes go on pilgrimage more for the grene way then for deuotion.

Carpenters chyppes.

Accuſers	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Hakker did detect.	Tho. Vincent of London.	To Tho. Vincent it was obiected for geuinge this Hakker a booke of S. Mathew in Engliſh.
	Maiſtres Cotiſmore, otherwiſe Doly.	
	Rich. Colyns.	For receiuing of the ſaid Hakker a booke of the 10. Commaundementes in Engliſh.
	Goodwife Briſtow of Wooſtreete in London.	
	William Gunne.	For receiuing of Hakker a booke of the x. plagues ſent of God to Pharao.
The forſayd Iohn Hakker did detect	The Wyſe of Tho. Wydmore of Chychenden.	
	Elizab. the daughter of this Hakker, and Rob. her huſband, otherwiſe called Fitton, of Newbery.	
	William Stokeley of Henley.	
	Iohn Symondes and his wife of great Marlow.	
	Iohn Auſty of Henley.	
	Thomas Auſty of Henley.	
	Grinder of Cookham.	
	Iohn Heron.	For hauing a booke of the expoſition of the Goſpels fayre written in Engliſh.
Tho. Groue, end alſo Io. of Reding put to theyr othe, did detect.	Richard Grace.	For ſpeaking theſe wordes falowing: that our bleſſed Lady was the Godmother to S. Katherine: & therefore the Legend is not true in ſaying, that Chriſte did mary with S. Katherine, and bad Adrian put on his veſtmẽt, and ſaye the ſeruice of Matrimonye: For ſo Chriſt ſhould liue in adulterye, for maryyng wyth hys Godſyſter: which thing if he ſhold do, he ſhold be thought not to do well. Item, for ſaying by the picture of S. Nicholas being newly paynted, that he was not worthy to ſtand in ẏ Roode loft, but that it better beſeemed hym to ſtand in the Belfray, &c.

The Legend of S. Katherine proued falſe.

In this Table aboue prefixed, thou haſt gentle reader, to ſe and vnderſtand: Firſt the number and names of theſe good men and women troubled and moleſted by the church of Rome, and all in one yeare: of whom few or none were learned, being ſimple laborers and artificers, but as it pleaſed the Lord to worke in them knowledge and vnderſtanding, by reading a few Engliſh bookes, ſuch as they could get in corners. Secõdly what were theyr opiniõs we haue alſo deſcribed. And thirdly herein is to be noted moreouer, the blind ignorance & vncurteous dealing of the biſhops agaynſt them, not onely in that they, by theyr violent othe, and captious interrogatoryes, conſtrayned the children to accuſe theyr parentes and parents the childrẽ: the huſband the wife, & the wife the huſband. &c. but eſpecially in ẏ moſt wrongfully they ſo afflicted them, without all good reaſon or cauſe, onely for the ſincere verity of Gods worde, & reading of holy Scriptures.

The reaſons and probations of their doctrine.

Now it remaineth, that as you haue heard the opiniõs (which principally in number were 4.) ſo alſo we declare their reaſons & ſcriptures wherupon they grounded, & after that conſequently the order & maner of penance to them inioyned by the Byſhop. And firſt agaynſt pilgrimage and agaynſt worſhipping of Images, they vſed this text of the Apoc. 9. I ſaw horſes in a viſion, and the heads of thẽ, as the heads of Lions: ſmoke, fire, and brimſtone came out of theyr mouthes: with theſe 3. plages, the third part of men were ſlayne of the ſmoke and of the fire, and of the brimſtone that came out of the mouthes of them. They that were not ſlayn of theſe 3. plagues, were ſuch as worſhipped not deuils, and images of gold and ſiluer, of braſſe, of tree, and of ſtone. &c. Ex Regiſt. Longland. Fol. 72. Alſo they vſed & alledged the firſt commaundement, that there is but one God, & ẏ they ought not to worſhip mo Gods then one. &c

Wickliffes Wicket. The Shepherdes Calender.

And as touching the Sacrament and the right doctrine therof, they had theyr inſtruction partely out of wickliffes wicket, partly out of the Shepheardes Calender: where they read: That the ſacrament was made in remembraũce of Chriſt, and ought to be receiued in remembraunce of his body. &c. Moreouer they alledged and folowed the wordes of Chriſt ſpokẽ at the ſupper, at what time he ſitting with his Diſciples, and making with them his Maundy, toke bread, and bleſſed, and brake, and gaue to his diſciples: And ſayd, eat ye: this (reaching forth his arme, and ſhewing the bread in his hand, and then noting his owne naturall body and touching the ſame, and not the bread conſecrate) is my body, which ſhall be betrayed for you: doe this in remembraunce of me: And likewiſe toke the wine and bad them drinke, ſaying: this is my bloud which is of the newe Teſtament. &c.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Fol. 102.

Item, that Chriſt our Sauior ſitteth on the right hand of the father, and there ſhalbe vnto the day of dome: wherfore they beleued that in the Sacrament of the aultar was not the very body of Chriſt.

Fol. 42.

Item (ſayd one of them) men ſpeak much of the Sacrament of the aulter, but this will I bide by, that vpõ ſharethurſday Chriſt brake bread vnto his diſciples, and bad thẽ eate it, ſaying, it was his fleſh and bloud. And then he wẽt from them, and ſuffered paſſion: and then he roſe frõ death to life, and aſcended into heauen, and there ſitteth on the right hande of the father, and there hee is to come vnto the day of dome, when he ſhal iudge both quick and dead: And therefore how he ſhoulde be here in the forme of breade, he ſayd, they could not ſee.

Fol. 32.

Such reaſons and allegations as theſe and other lyke, taken out of the ſcripture, and out of the Shepheards Kalender, wickliffes wicket, and out of other bookes they had amongeſt them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in theyr doctrine, yet they conferring and communing together among themſelues, dyd conuert one another, the Lordes hand working with them marueilouſly: So that in ſhort ſpace, the number of theſe Knowne or Iuſt faſt men (as they were then termed) did exceedingly increaſe, in ſuch ſort, that the Byſhop ſeyng the matter almoſt paſt his power, was driuen to make his cõplaynt to the king, and required his ayde for ſuppreſſion of theſe men. wherupon king Henry being then young, & vnexpert in the bloudy practiſes and blind leadings of theſe apoſtolicall prelats, incenſed with his ſuggeſtions and cruell complayntes, directed down letters to his Shirifs, bailifs, officers, & ſubiectes for the ayd of the biſhop in this behalfe: the tenor of which letters here enſueth.

The Biſhop complayneth to the kyng.

¶ The copy of the kinges letter for the ayde of Iohn Longland B. of Lincolne, agaynſt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt, falſely then called heretickes.

Henry the 8. by the grace of God, king of England & of Fraũce Lord of Ireland, defender of the fayth: to all Mayors, Shyriffes, Bayliffes and Conſtables, and to all other our Officers, Miniſters, and Subiectes, theſe our letters hearing or ſeeing, and to euery of them greeting. For as muche as the right reuerend father in God our truſty and right welbeloued Counſellour the Biſhop of Lyncolne, hath now within his Dioces no ſmall number of hereticks, as it is thought to his no little diſcomfort and heauines: We therfore being in will and minde ſafely to prouide for the ſayde right reuerend father in God and his officers: that they ne none of thẽ, ſhall bodily be hurt or damaged hy any of the ſayde heretickes or theyr fautours, in the executing and miniſtring of Iuſtice vnto the ſayd hereticks accordingly to the lawes of holy church: do ſtraitly charge and commaund you and euery of you, as ye tender our hie diſpleaſure, to be ayding, helping and aſsiſting the ſayd right reuerend Father in God, and his ſayde officers in the executing of Iuſtice in the premiſſes, as they or any of them ſhal require you ſo to do, not fayling to accompliſhe our commaundement & pleaſure in the premiſſes, as ye entend to pleaſe vs, and will aunſwere to the contrary, at your vttermoſt perils. Yeuen vnder our ſignet at our caſtle of Wyndſour the 26. day of October the 13. yeare of our raign.

The copie of the kings letter.

The biſhop thus being armed no leſſe with the authority of the kinges letter then incited with his owne fierceneſ, forſlacked no time, but eftſones to accõpliſh his moody violence vpon the poore flock of Chriſt called before him ſitting vpon his tribunall ſeat, both theſe aforenamed perſons, and all other in his dioces which were neuer ſo little noted or ſuſpected to incline toward thoſe opiniõs: of whõ to ſuch as had but newly bene taken, and had not before abiured

iured, he inioyned moſt ſtraight & rigorous penance. The other in whō he could find any relaps, yea albeit they ſubmitted themſelues neuer ſo humbly to his fauourable curteſy, and though alſo at his requeſt, and for hope of pardō, they had ſhewed thēſelues great detecters of their brethrē being moreouer of him fed and flattered therunto, yet notwithſtanding, contrary to his fayre wordes, & their expectation, he ſpared not, but read ſentēce of relaps againſt thē committing them to the ſecular arme to be burned.

The cruell falſehoode of Byſhop Longland.

And firſt as touching them who being brought to abiuration, were put to theyr penaunce, long it were to recite the names of all. Certayne I thought to recite here in a catalogue, firſt reciting the perſons, afterward the rigorous penaunce to them enioyned.

The names of them which were abiured in the Dioces of Lincolne, the yeare of our Lord. 1521.

William Colyns.
Ioh. Colyns.
Ioane Colyns.
Rob. Colyns.
Ioh. Hackar.
Ioh. Brabant, the father.
Ioh. Brabant his ſonne.
Ioh. Brabāt the yonger ſonne
Iohn Edmonds.
Edward Pope.
Henry Phip.
Ioh. Steuenton.

Ioane Steuenton.
Rob Bartlet.
Tho. Clerke.
Ioh. Clerke.
Rich. Bartlet.
William Phip.
Ioh. Phip.
Tho. Couper.
Wil. Littlepage.
Ioh. Littlepage.
Ione Littlepage.
Ioh. Say.

Ioh. Frier.
Rich. Vulford.
Tho. Tredway.
Wil. Gudgame.
Roger Heron.
Frances Funge.
Rob. Pope.
Roger Dods.
Iohn Harris.
Rob. Bruges.
Iohn Stampe.
Ione Stampe.

Rich. White.
Bennet Ward.
Iohn Baker.
Agnes Wellis.
Marian Morden.
Iſabell Morwin.
Io. Butler. Io. Butler ẏ yonger
R. Carder.
Rich. Bernard.
Ione Bernerd.
Io. Grace. Io. French.
Ioh. Edings.

The townes and villages and countryes, where theſe foreſayd perſons did inhabite, are named chiefely to be theſe.

The names of the towns where they dwelled.

Amerſham.
Cheſham.
Hychenden.
Miſſenden the great.
Miſſenden the leſſe.
Eaſthendred.
Weſthendred.
Aſthall.

Bekensfield.
Denham.
Gyng.
Betterton.
Cherney.
Stanlake.
Claufield.
Walton.

Marlow.
Dorney.
Iuer.
Burton.
Vxbridge.
Owburne.
Henley.
Wycame.

Weſtwycame.
Newbery.
Burford.
Wyney.
Hungerford.
Vpton.
Wynſore.
London.

Colmonſtreet in Lō.
Chepeſide in Londō.
Shordich by London
S. Gyles in London.
Eſſex.
Suffolke.
Northfolke.
Norwich.

The bookes & opiniōs, which theſe were charged withall, & for the which they were abiured, partly are before expreſſed, partly here folow in a briefe ſummary to be ſeene.

¶ A briefe ſumme of theyr opinions.

Ex Regiſt. Fol. 32. The opinions of many of theſe perſons were, that he or ſhe neuer beleued in the Sacrament of the aulter, nor euer would, and that it was not as men did take it.

Ibid. For that he was knowne of his neghbor, to be a good felow, meaning that he was a knowne man.

Fol. 33. For ſaying that he would geue 40. pence, in cōditiō that ſuch a one knew ſo much, as he did know.

Fol. 34. Some for ſaying, ẏ they of Amerſhā, which had bene abiured before by Biſhop Smyth, were good men, & perfect Chriſtians, & ſimple folk which could not anſwere for thēſelues, & therefore were oppreſſed by power of the biſhop.

Ibid. Some for hiding other in theyr barnes.

Some for reading the Scriptures or treatiſes of Scripture in Engliſh: ſome for hearing the ſame read.

Some for defending: ſome for marying with thē whiche had bene abiured.

Fol. 36. Some for ſaying that matrimony was not a Sacramēt.

Some for ſaying, that worſhippinge of Images was Mawmetrey: ſome for calling Images carpenters chips: ſome for calling them ſtockes and ſtones: ſome for calling them dead thinges.

Fol. 33. Some for ſaying that money ſpent vpon pilgrimage, ſerued but to mainteine theues and harlots.

Some for calling the Image in the Rood loft block almighty.

Fol. 37. Other for ſaying that nothing grauen with mans hand was to be worſhipped.

Fol. 40. Some for calling them fooles which came from maſter Iohn Shorne in pilgrimage.

Ibid. An other for calling his vicar a poll ſhorne prieſt.

Ibid. An other for calling a certayne blinde chappell being in ruine, an old fayre milckhouſe.

Fol. 4. An other for ſaying that he threſhed God almighty out of the ſtraw.

Fol. 34. An other for ſaying that almes ſhoulde not be geuen, before it did ſweat in a mans hand.

Fol. 35. Some for ſaying, that they which dye, paſſe ſtraight either to heauen or hell.

Fol. 9. Iſabell Bartlet was brought before the Byſhop, and abiured, for lamēting her huſband when the Biſhops man came for him, and ſaying, that he was an vndone man, and ſhe a dead woman.

Fol. 45. For ſaying that Chriſt departing from his diſciples into heauen, ſayd: that once he was in ſinners handes, & would come there no more.

Robert Raue hearing a certayne Bell in an vplandiſh ſteple, ſayd: lo yonder is a fayre bell, and it were to hang about any cowes neck in this towne: and therfore, as for other ſuch like matters moe he was brought coram nobis.

Item for receiuing the Sacrament at Eaſter, & doubting whether it was the very body, and did not confeſſe their doubt to theyr ghoſtly father.

Some for ſaying that the pope had no authority to geue pardon or to releaſe mannes ſoule from ſinne, and ſo from payn, and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get theyr money.

The order of penaunce.

The penaunce to theſe partyes enioyned by this Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, was almoſt vniforme and all after one condition, ſaue onely that they were ſeuerally committed and deuided into ſeuerall and diuers monaſteryes, there to be kept and found of almes all theyr life, except they were otherwiſe diſpenſed with by the biſhop: as for example I haue here adioyned the Biſhoppes letter for one of the ſayd number, ſent to the Abbey of Enſham, there to be kept in perpetuall penaunce. By whiche one, an eſtimation may be taken of the reſt, which were beſtowed likewiſe ſunderly into ſundry Abbeyes, as to Oſney, to Frideſwide, to Abingdon, to Tame, to Beſſeter, to Dorcheſter, to Notley, to Aſhrige, and diuers moe. The copy of the biſhops letter ſent to the Abbot of Enſham, here followeth vnder written.

The Biſhops letter to the Abbot of Enſham.

The copie of the Biſhops letter to the Abbot of Enſham.

My louing brother, I recommend me hartely vnto you: and where as I haue, according to the lawe, put this bearer R. T. to perpetuall penaunce within your monaſtery of Enſham, there to liue as a penitent, and not otherwiſe, I pray you, and neuertheleſſe, according vnto the law, cōmaund you to receiue him, & ſee ye order him there accordingly to his iniunctiōs which he wil ſhewe you, if ye require the ſame. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him. And his meat and drinke, he may haue ſuch as ye geue of your almes. And if he can ſo order himſelfe by his labour within your houſe in your buſines, whereby he may deſerue his meate and drinke, ſo may you order him, as ye ſee conuenient to hys deſertes, ſo that he paſſe not the preſynct of your monaſtery. And thus fare you hartely well from my place &c.

As touching the reſidue of the penaunce and puniſhment inflicted to theſe men, they doe little or nothing diſagree, but had one order in them all. The maner and forme whereof in the ſayd Biſhops Regiſter doth proceed in condition as foloweth.

Penaunce enioyned vnder paine of relapſe by Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, the 19. day of December. an. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Fol. 90.

Inprimis, that euery one of them ſhall vpon a market day, ſuch as ſhall be limited vnto them in the market time, go thriſe about the market at Burford, and then to ſtande vp

Penaunce enioyned to theſe abiurates vnder paine of relaps.

vpon the higheſt grece of the Croſſe there a quarter of an houre with a fagotte of wood euery one of them vpon hys ſhoulder, and euery one of them once to beare a fagotte of wood vpon theyr ſhoulders, before their proceſſion vpon a Sonday, which ſhall be limited vnto them at Burford, frō the quyre doore going out, to the quyre doore going in, and all the high Maſſe time to holde the ſame fagot vpon theyr ſhoulders, kneeling vpon the grece afore the high aultar there, and euery of them likewiſe to doe likewiſe in theyr owne pariſh Church, vpon ſuch a Sonday as ſhalbe limited vnto them: and once to beare a fagot at a generall proceſſion at Oxbridge, when they ſhalbe aſſigned therto: and once to beare a fagot at the burning of an hereticke, when they ſhalbe moniſhed therto.

Alſo euery one of them to faſt bread and ale onely euery Friday during theyr life, and euery euen of Corpus Chriſti euery one of them to faſt bread and water during theyr life vnles ſicknes vnfayned let the ſame.

Alſo to ſay euery of them euery Sonday and euery friday during theyr life, once our Ladye Pſalter, & if they forget it one day, to ſay as much another day for the ſame.

Alſo they nor none of them, ſhall not hide the marke vpon theyr cheeke, neyther with hat, cap, hood kerchiefe, napkin, or none otherwiſe, nor ſhall not ſuffer theyr beardes to grow paſt 14. dayes, nor neuer to haunt againe together with any ſuſpect perſon or perſons, vnles it be in the open market, fayre, church or common Inne or alehouſe, where other people may ſee theyr conuerſation.

And all theſe iniunctions they and euery of them, to fulfill with their penaunce, and euery part of the ſame, vnder payne of relaps.

* Abiured, what it ſignifieth.

And thus haue you the names, with the cauſes and the penance of them which were at this preſent time abiured. By the which word * abiured, is ment that they were conſtrayned by theyr othe, ſwearing vpon the Euangeliſts, & ſubſcribing with theyr hand, and a croſſe to the ſame, that they did vtterly and voluntarily renoūce, deteſt, & forſake, and neuer ſhould hold hereafter theſe, or any other like opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome: and further, that they ſhould detect vnto theyr ordinary, whome ſo euer they ſhoulde ſee, or ſuſpect hereafter to teach, hold, or mayntayne the ſame.

¶ Here folow the names of them, which were condemned for relaps, and committed vnto the ſecular power.

Vid. ſup. pag. 814.

AMong theſe aforenamed perſons, which thus ſubmitted themſelues, and were put to penance, certeine there were which becauſe they had bene abiured before, as is about mentioned, pag. 814. vnder biſhop Smith, were now condemned for relaps, and had ſentence read agaynſt them and ſo were committed to the ſecular arme, to be burned: whoſe names here follow.

Martyrs.

Anno. 1521.

Thomas Bernard.
Iames Morden.
Robert Raue.
Iohn Scriuener.

Of theſe mention is made before, both touching theyr abiuration, and alſo their martirdome, pag. 814. vnto whō we may adioyne.

Ioane Norman. Thomas Holmes.

Tho. Holmes. Vid. ſupra pag. 824.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had diſcloſed and detected many of his brethrē, as in the table aboue is expreſſed, pag. 824. thinking thereby to pleaſe the Biſhoppe & to ſaue himſelfe, & was thought to be a feed man of the biſhop for the ſame: yet notwithſtanding in the ſayd biſhops regiſter appeareth the ſentence of relaps, & condemnation written & drawne out agaynſt him: and moſt like that he was alſo adiudged and executed with the other.

Children compelled to ſet fire to their owne father.

¶ As touching the burning of Ioh. Scriuener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to ſet fire vnto their father, in like maner as Ioane Clerke alſo daughter of William Tilſeworth, was cōſtrayned to geue fire to the burning of her owne natural father, as is aboue ſpecified, pag. 774. The example of whiche cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and nature, ſo hath it not bene ſeene nor heard of in the memory of the heathen.

A note of Thomas Dorman.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that at the burning of this Iohn Scriuener, one Thomas Dorman, mentioned before, pag. 775. was preſent and bare a fagot at Amerſhā: whoſe abiuration was afterwarde layde agaynſt hym, at what time he ſhould depoſe for recouery of certeine landes from the ſchole of Barchamſted. This Thomas Dorman (as I am credibly informed of certayne about Amerſham) was then vncle to this our Dorman, & found him to ſchole at Barchamſted vnder M. Reue, which now ſo vncharitably abuſed his pen in writing agaynſt the contrary doctrine, and rayleth ſo fiercely agaynſt the bloud of Chriſtes ſlayne ſeruauntes, miſcalling them to be a donghill of ſtinkin Martyrs.

This Maiſter Dorman, becauſe he was put to ſchoole by his vncle at Barchamſtede to M. Recue, being a proteſtāt, therefore he for the ſame cauſe, in the firſt ſentēce of his preface, ſayth that he was brought vp in Caluins ſchoole.

Well, how ſoeuer the ſauour of theſe good Martyrs doe ſeme in the noſe of M. Dorman, I doubt not but they geue a better odour and ſweeter ſmel in the preſence of the Lord: *Precioſa enim in conſpectu Domini mors ſanctorum eius.* Precious is in the ſight of the Lord the death of his Sayntes. And therefore howſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe M. Dorman wyth reprochfull language to miſterme the good martirs of Chriſtes, or rather Chriſt in his Martyrs, his vnſeemely vſage more cartlike then clerkelike, is not greatly to be weyed. For as the daunger of his blaſphemie hurteth not them which are gone: ſo the contumely and reproch thereof, as well comprehendeth his owne kindred, frendes, and country, as any other els: and eſpecially redoundeth to himſelf and woundeth his own ſoule and none els, vnto the great prouoking of Gods wrath agaynſt him, vnleſſe he be dued with better grace by time to repent.

Doctour Colet.

Iohn Colet Deane of Paules.

MUch about this time, or not paſt 2. yeares before, died D. Iohn Colet, of whom mention was made in the table about pag. 801. To whoſe ſermons theſe knowen men about Buckinghamſhyre, had a great minde to reſort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he firſt beganne to read the Epiſtles of S. Paule openly in Oxford, in ſted of Scotus and Thomas. From thence he was called by the kyng, and made Deane of Paules: where he accuſtomed much to preach, not without great auditory, as well of the kinges court, as of the citizēs and other. His diet was frugall: his life vpright: in diſcipline he was ſeuere: In ſo much that his Canons becauſe of theyr ſtrayter rule, complained that they were made like monkes. The honeſt and honourable ſtate of matrimony he euer preferred before the vnchaſt ſinglenes of prieſts. At his dinner commonly was read either ſome chapter of S. Paule, or of Salomons Prouerbs. He neuer vſed to ſup. And although the blindneſſe of that time caryed him away after the common errour of Popery: yet in ripenes of iudgemēt he ſeemed ſomething to incline frō yͤ vulgar trade of that age. The religious orders of monks and friers he fantiſed not. As neither he coulde greatly fauour the barbarous diuinity of the ſchole Doctours, as of Scotus, but leaſt of all, of Thomas Aquine: In ſo much that when Eraſmus ſpeaking in the prayſe of Thom. Aquine, did commēd him that he had red many old authors, and had written many new workes as *Catena aurea*, & ſuch like, to proue and to know his iudgement: Colet firſt ſuppoſing that Eraſmus had ſpoken in ieſt, but after ſuppoſing that he ment good fayth, burſteth out in great vehemency, ſaying: what tell you me (quoth he) of the commēdation of that man, who except he had bene of an arrogant and preſumptuous ſpirit, would not define and diſcuſſe all thinges ſo boldly & raſhly: and alſo except he had bene rather worldly minded, then heauenly, would neuer haue ſo polluted Chriſtes whole doctrine with mans prophane doctrine, in ſuch ſort as he hath done.

Paules Epiſtles firſt read openly in Oxforde.

The commendation of Doctor Colet.

Colettes iudgement of Thomas Aquine.

D. Colet accuſed.

The Biſhop of London at that time was Fitziames, of age no leſſe then 80. Who bearing long grudge and diſpleaſure agaynſt Colet, with other 2. Biſhops taking hys parte, like to himſelfe entred action of complaynt agaynſt Colet to the Archb. of Cant. being then W. Warham. The matter of his complaint was deuided into 3. Articles. The firſt was for ſpeaking agaynſt worſhipping of Images. The ſecond was about hoſpitalitye, for that he entreating vpō the place of the goſpell, *paſce, paſce, paſce*, feed, feed, feed: when he had expounded the 2. firſt, for feeding with example of life and with doctrine: in the third, which the ſcholemen doe expounde for feeding with hoſpitalitye, hee left out the outwarde feeding of the belly, and applyed it an other way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for ſpeaking agaynſt ſuche as vſed to preache onely by boſome Sermons, declaring nothing els to the people, but as they bring in theyr prayers with thē. Which becauſe the Biſhop of London vſed then much to do for his age, he tooke it as ſpoken againſt him, and therefore bare him this diſpleaſure. The Archbiſhop more wiſely weying the matter, and being well acquaynted with Colet, ſo tooke hys part agaynſt his accuſers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

The B. of London enemie to D. Colet.

The Archb. of Canter. fauorer of D. Colet.

William Tyndall in hys booke aunſwering that M. More addeth moreouer, and teſtifieth that the Byſhop of London would haue made the ſaid Colet Deane of Paules, an hereticke for tranſlating the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, had not the Byſhop of Caunterbury holpen the Deane.

Iniqua pax iniuſtiſſimo bello præferenda.

But yet the malice of Fitziames the Byſhop ſo ceaſed not: who being thus repulſed by the Archbiſhop, practiſed by an other trayne how to accuſe hym vnto the king. The occaſion thus fel. It happened the ſame time, that the king was in preparation of warre agaynſt Fraunce, whereupon the Byſhop with his coadiutors taking occaſion vpon certaine wordes of Colet, wherein he ſeemed to preferre peace before any kinde of warre, were it neuer ſo iuſt, accuſed him therefore in their ſermons, and alſo before the Kyng.

Colet called before the kyng.

Furthermore it ſo befell the ſame time yͤ vpon goodfriday D. Colet preaching before the king, entreated of the victory of Chriſt, exhorting all Chriſtians to fight vnder yͤ ſtandard of Chriſt, againſt the deuill, adding moreouer what an hard thing it was to fight vnder Chriſtes banner, and that all they which vpon priuate hatred or ambition, tooke weapon againſt their enemy, one chriſtian to ſlay an other ſuche did not fight vnder the banner of Chriſt, but rather of Satan, & therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Chriſtian men in their warres would followe Chriſt their Prince, & captayn, in fighting againſt their enemies rather then the example of Iulius or Alexander &c. The king hearing Colet thus to ſpeake, and fearing leſt by hys wordes the hartes of his ſouldiours might be withdrawne from his warres which hee had then in hande, tooke hym aſide, and talked with him in ſecret conference in his garden walking. Biſh. Fitziames, Bricot, and Standiſh, who were his enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet muſt needs be committed to yͤ Tower, & wayted for his comming out. But the king with great gentlenes entertayning D. Colet, and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long curteous talk had with him in the garden much commended him for his learning & integritie of lyfe agreeing with him in all poyntes, but that onely he required him (for that the rude ſouldiours ſhuld not raſhly miſtake that which he had ſaid) more playnly to explane hys wordes and minde in that behalfe, which after he dyd: and ſo after long communication and great promiſes, the king diſmiſſed Colet with theſe wordes, ſaying: let euery man haue his Doctour as him liketh: this ſhall be my Doctour and ſo departed. whereby none of his aduerſaries durſt euer trouble him after that time.

D. Colet commended of the king.

The foundation of the ſchoole of Paules.

Among many other memorable actes left behind him, he erected a worthy foundation of the ſchoole of Paules (I pray God the fruites of the ſchoole may anſwere yͤ foundation) for the cheriſhing vp of youth in good letters, prouiding a ſufficient ſtipende as well for the maiſter as for the Huſher, whome he willed rather to be appoynted out of the number of maryed men, then of ſingle prieſtes with their ſuſpected chaſtitie. The firſt moderator of this ſchoole was Guliel. Lilius, a man no leſſe notable for hys learnyng, then was Colet for his foundation. Ex. Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Iodoc. Ionam. This Colet died the yeare of our Lord 1519.

Gulielm. Lilius. Ex epiſt. Eraſ. ad Iod. Ionam. Guliel. Grocinus. Guliel. Latimerus. The iudgemẽt of Grecinus vpon Hierachia eccleſiaſt. Dioniſii Areopag.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lyued Gulielmus Grocinus, and Gulielmus Latimerus, both Engliſh men alſo, and famouſly learned. This Grocinus as he began to read in his opẽ lecture in yͤ church of S. Paul the booke of Dyoniſius Areopagita, commonly called Hierarchia Eccleſiaſtica (for the reading of the holy ſcriptures in Paules was not in vre) in the firſt entry of his preface, he cryed out with great vehemency agaynſt them who ſoeuer they were, whiche eyther denyed, or ſtoode in doubt of the authoritie of that booke: in the number of whome hee noted Laurence Valla & diuers other of like approued iudgement and learning. But afterward the ſame Grocine, when he had continued a few weekes in hys reading thereof, and did conſider further in him, he vtterly altered, and recanted his former ſentence, proteſting openly, that the forenamed booke to his iudgement, was neuer written by that authour whom we reade in the actes of the Apoſtles to be called Dyoniſius Areopagita. Ex. Eraſ. ad Pariſienſ.

Dioniſius Areopag.

Thomas Linacre. Richarde Pace.

The tractation of theſe two couples aboue rehearſed, doe occaſion me to adioyne alſo the remembraunce of an other couple of like learned men: The names of whom not vnworthy to be remembred, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace: which two followed much vpon the tyme of Colet, and of Wil. Lily. But of Richard Pace, whiche was Deane next after the foreſayd Iohn Colet, more conuenient place ſhall ſerue vs hereafter to ſpeake, comming to the ſtory of Cardinall Wolſey.

Geffrey Chaucer. Iohn Gower.

Moreouer to theſe two I thought it not out of ſeaſon, to couple alſo ſome mention of Geffrey Chaucer, and Iohn Gower, which although being much diſcrepant frō theſe in courſe of yeres, yet may ſeeme not vnworthy to be matched with theſe forenamed perſons in commendation of their ſtudy and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the tyme and death of theſe two, we cannot finde: yet it appeareth in the prologe of Gowers work, intituled confeſſio Amantis, that he finiſhed it in the 16. yeare of K. Rich. the ſecond. And in the end of the viij. booke of hys ſayde treatiſe he declareth, that he was both ſicke and old, when he wrote it, whereby it may appeare, that he liued not long after. Notwithſtanding, by certayne verſes of the ſayde maiſter Gower placed in yͤ latter end of Chaucers works both in Latine and Engliſhe, it may ſeeme that he was aliue at the beginning of the raigne of king Henry the iiij. and alſo by a booke which he wrote to the ſame K. Henry By his ſepulture within a Chappell of the Churche of S. Mary Oueries, whiche was then a monaſtery where he & his wife lye buried, it appeareth by hys cheyn & his garlād of Laurell, that he was both a knight, and floriſhing than in poetry. In the which place of his ſepulture were made in hys graueſtone 3. books, the firſt bearing the tytle, Speculum meditantis, The ſecond, Vox Clamantis, The thyrd. Cōfeſſio amantis. Beſides theſe, diuers Cronicles and other workes moe he compiled.

The bookes of Iohn Gower.

Chaucer & Gower commended for their ſtudious exerciſe.

Likewiſe as touching the tyme of Chaucer, by hys owne works in the end of hys firſt booke of Troylus and Creſeide it is manifeſt, that he and Gower were bothe of one tyme, although it ſeemeth that Gower was a great deale his ancient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudenes of that tyme did gene, both great friends together and both in like kinde of ſtudy together occupyed, ſo endeuoring themſelues, and employing their tyme, that they excelling many other in ſtudy and exerciſe of good letters did paſſe forth their liues here right worſhipfully & godly to the worthye fame and commendation of theyr name. Chaucers workes be all printed in one volume, and therefore knowne to all men.

Chaucer a right Wickleuian.

Chaucers bokes

This I meruaile to ſee the idle lyfe of the prieſtes and clergye men of that tyme, ſeeing theſe lay perſons ſhewed themſelues in theſe kinde of liberall ſtudyes ſo induſtrious & fruitfully occupyed: but muche more I maruell to conſider thys, how yͤ the biſhops condemning and aboliſhing al maner of Engliſhe bookes and treatiſes whiche might bring yͤ people to anye light of knowledge, did yet authoriſe the workes of Chaucer to remaine ſtill & to be occupyed: who (no doubt) ſaw in Religion as much almoſt as euen we do now, & vttereth in hys works no leſſe, and ſeemeth to be a right Wicleuian, or els was neuer any, and that all his workes almoſt, if they be thoroughly aduiſed will teſtifie (albeit it be done in mirth, & couertly) & eſpecially yͤ latter end of hys thyrd booke of yͤ Teſtament of loue for there purely he toucheth the higheſt matter, that is the communion: wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may eſpy him at the full. Although in the ſame book (as in all other he vſeth to do) vnder ſhadows couertly, as vnder a viſour, he ſuborneth truth, in ſuche ſort, as both priuilye ſhe may profite the godly minded, and yet not be eſpyed of the crafty aduerſary: And therefore the biſhops belike, taking his workes but for ieſtes and toyes, in condemning other bookes, yet permitted his bookes to be read.

Men brought to truth by reading Chaucers workes.

The ploughmans tale in Chaucer.

So it pleaſed God to blind then the eyes of them, for yͤ more commoditie of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatiſes, ſome fruit might redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it dyd to many: As alſo I am partly enformed of certayne whiche knew the parties, which to them reported, yͤ by reading of Chaucers works, they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not vnlike to be true. For to omitte other partes of his volume, whereof ſome are more fabulous then other, what tale can be more playnly tolde then the tale of the ploughman? or what finger can poynt out more directly the Pope with his prelates to be Antichriſt, then doth the poore Pellican reaſoning agaynſt the greedy Griffon? Vnder which Hypotypoſis or Poeſie, who is ſo blind that ſeeth not by the Pellican, the doctrine of Chriſt: and of the Lollardes to be defended againſt the Church of Rome? Or who is ſo impudent yͤ can deny that to be true, which the Pellicā there affirmeth in deſcribing the preſumptuous pryde of that pretenſed Church? Agayne what egge can be more lyke, or fig vnto an other: then the wordes properties, and conditiōs of that rauening griphe reſembleth the true Image, that is, the nature and quallities of that which we call yͤ church of Rome, in euery poynt & degree: and therefore no great meruaile, if that narratiō was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers workes: whiche notwithſtanding now is reſtoꝛed agayne, and is extant foꝛ euery man to reade that is diſpoſed.

This Geffrey Chaucer being boꝛne (as is thought) in Oxfoꝛdſhyꝛe, and dwelling in Woodſtocke, lyeth buryed in the Church of the minſter of S. Peter at Weſtminſter, in an Jle on the ſouthſide of the ſayd Church, not far from the doꝛe leading to the Cloiſter, and vpon his graue ſtone firſt were written theſe two old verſes.

Galfridus Chaucer vates & fama poeſis
Maternæ, hac ſacra ſum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the yeare of our Loꝛd. 1556. one M. Bꝛickham beſtowing moꝛe coſt vpon his tombe, did adde thereunto theſe verſes following.

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum ſi quæras Domini, ſi tempora mortis,
Ecce nota ſubſunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25. Octob. Anno. 1400.

❧ Here beginneth the reformation of the church of Chriſt, in the tyme of Martine Luther.

The corruption of the Church deſcribed.

Although it can not be ſufficiently expꝛeſſed with toung oꝛ pen of man, into what miſerable ruine & deſolation the church of Chꝛiſt was bꝛought in thoſe latter dayes: yet partly by the reading of theſe ſtoꝛyes afoꝛepaſt, ſome intelligence may be geuen to them, whiche haue iudgement to marke oꝛ eyes to ſee: in what blindnes and darckenes the woꝛld was dꝛowned during the ſpace of theſe 400. yeares heretofoꝛe and moꝛe. By the viewing and conſidering of which times and hiſtoꝛies, thou mayſt vnderſtand (gentle reader) how the religion of Chꝛiſt, which onely conſiſteth in ſpirit and veritie, was wholy turned into outward obſeruations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many Sainctes we had, ſo many gods, ſo many monaſteries, ſo many pilgrimages. As many churches, as many reliques foꝛged & feyned we had. Agayne, ſo many religues, ſo many lyeng miracles wee beleued. Jn ſtede of the onely liuing Loꝛde, we woꝛſhipped dead ſtocks and ſtones. Jn place of Chꝛiſt immoꝛtall, we adoꝛed moꝛtall bꝛead. Jn ſtead of his bloud we woꝛſhipped the bloud of duckes, How the people were led, ſo that the pꝛieſtes were fed, no care was taken. Jn ſtead of Gods woꝛd, mans woꝛde was ſet vp. Jn ſtead of Chꝛiſtes teſtament, the Popes teſtament, that is the Canon lawe: in ſtead of Paule, the mayſter of ſentence tooke place, and almoſt full poſſeſſion. The law of God was litle read: the vſe and end therof was leſſe knowne. And as the ende of the lawe was vnknowne, ſo the difference betweene the Goſpell and the lawe, was not vnderſtanded, ẏ benefite of Chꝛiſt not conſidered, the effect of faith not expended. Through the ignoꝛaunce wherof, it cannot be told what infinite erroures, ſectes and religions crept into the church ouerwhelming the woꝛld, as with a floud of ignoraunce and ſeduction. And no maruell, foꝛ where the foundation is not well layd, what building can ſtand and pꝛoſper? The foundation of all our Chꝛiſtianitie is onely this:

The foundation of Chriſtian religion.

The pꝛomiſe of God, in the bloud of Chꝛiſt hys ſonne, geuing and pꝛomiſing life vnto all that beleeue in him: Geuing (ſayth the Scripture) vnto vs, and not barganing oꝛ indenting with vs: And that freely (ſayth the Scripture) foꝛ Chꝛiſtes ſake, and not condicionally foꝛ our merites ſake.

Rom 6.

Rom.4.

Rom.4.

Rom.3.

Rom.11.

Furthermoꝛe freely (ſayth the ſcripture) by grace that the pꝛomiſe might be firme and ſure, and not by the woꝛkes that we doe, which are alwaies doubtfull. By grace (ſayth the ſcripture) through pꝛomiſe to all and vpon all ẏ beleue, and not by the law vpon them that do deſerue. Foꝛ if it come by deſeruing, thẽ is it not of grace: Jf it be not of grace, thẽ is it not of pꝛomiſe. And contrariwiſe if it be of grace and pꝛomiſe, then is it not of woꝛks ſayth S. Paul. Upon this foundatiõ of Gods free pꝛomiſe and grace firſt builded the Patriarckes, kinges and pꝛophets. Upon the ſame foundation alſo Chꝛiſt the Loꝛd builded his church. Upon the which foundation the Apoſtles likewiſe builded the Church Apoſtolicall oꝛ Catholicall.

This Apoſtolicall and Catholicke foundation, ſo long as the Church did retayn, ſo long it continued ſincere and ſound: which endured a long ſeaſõ after the apoſtles time. But after, in pꝛoces of yeares, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, ſo ſoone as this foundation began to be loſt, came in newe builders, which would build vpon a new foundation, a new Churche moꝛe gloꝛious, which we call now the Church of Rome. Who beyng not contented with the olde foundation and the head coꝛner ſtone, whiche the Loꝛd by his woꝛd had layd, in place therof, they layde the ground woꝛke vppon the condition and ſtrength of the lawe and woꝛkes. Although it is not to be denyed, but that the doctrine of gods holy law, and of good woꝛkes accoꝛding to the ſame, is a thing moſt neceſſary to be learned and followed of all men: yet is not that ẏ foundation, whervpon our ſaluation conſiſteth, neither is that foundation able to beare vp the weight of the kingdome of heauen: but is rather the thing, which is builded vppon the foundatiõ: which foundatiõ is Jeſus Chꝛiſt, accoꝛding as we are taught of Saint Paul, ſaying: No man can lay any other foundation, beſide that whiche is layde, Chꝛiſt Jeſus. &c.

1.Cor.3.

The doctrine of the church corrupted.

But this auncient foundation with the olde auncient Church of Chꝛiſt (as J ſayd) hath bene now of long tyme foꝛſaken, & in ſtead therof a new Church, with a new foundation hath bene erected and framed, not vpon gods pꝛomiſe & his free grace in Chꝛiſt Jeſus, noꝛ vpon free iuſtification by fayth, but vpon merits & deſertes of mens woꝛking. And hereof haue they planted al theſe their new deuiſes, ſo infinite that they cannot wel be numbꝛed as maſſes, trecenares, diriges, obſequies, mattens and houres ſinging ſeruice, vigiles, midnightriſing, barefoꝛgoing, fiſhfaſting, lentfaſt, imberfaſt, ſtations, rogations, iubilees, aduocatiõ of ſaints, pꝛaying to images, pilgrimage walking, woꝛkes of ſupererogation, application of merites, oꝛders rules, ſectes of religion, vowes of chaſtitie, wilful pouerty, pardons, relations, indulgences, penaunce and ſatiſfaction, with auricular confeſſion, founding of Abbaies, building of Chappels, geuing to Churches, And who is able to recite all their laboꝛious buildinges: falſly framed vpon a wꝛong ground, and all foꝛ ignoꝛaunce of the true foundation, whiche is the free iuſtification by fayth in Chꝛiſt Jeſus the ſonne of God.

The life and maners of the church corrupted.

Moꝛeouer to note, that as this new founde Church of Rome was thus defoꝛmed in doctrine: ſo no leſſe was it coꝛrupted in oꝛder of life & deepe hipocriſie, doing al thinges onely vnder pꝛetenſes and diſſembled titles. So vnder ẏ pꝛetence of Peters chayꝛe, they exerciſed a maieſtie aboue Emperours and kinges. Under the viſour of their vowed chaſtitie, reigned adultery, vnder the cloke of pꝛofeſſed pouerty, they poſſeſſed the goodes of the tempoꝛalty. Under the tytle of being dead vnto the woꝛld, they not only reigned in ẏ woꝛld, but alſo ruled the woꝛld: vnder the colour of ẏ keyes of heauẽ to hang vnder theyꝛ girdle, they bꝛought all the ſtates of the woꝛldes vnder theyꝛ girdle, & crept not onely into the purſes of men, but alſo into theyꝛ conſciences: they heard theyꝛ confeſſions: they knew their ſecrets: they diſpenſed as they were diſpoſed, & looſed what them liſted: And finally when they had bꝛought the whole woꝛld vnder theyꝛ ſubiection, yet dyd theyꝛ pꝛyde neyther ceaſe to aſcend, neyther could their auarice be euer ſatiſfied. And if the example of Cardinall Wolſey and other Cardinalles and popes cannot ſatiſfie thee, J beſeech the (gentle Reader) turne ouer the foꝛeſayd booke of the ploughmans tale in Chaucer aboue mencioned, wher thou ſhalt vnderſtãd much moꝛe of theyꝛ demeanour, then J haue here deſcribed.

Habentes ſpeciem pietatis, ſed vim eius abnegantes. 2.Tim.3.

The reformation of the Church neceſſary.

Jn theſe ſo blynd and miſerable coꝛrupt dayes of darckenes and ignoꝛaunce, thou ſeeſt good Reader (J doubt not) howe neceſſary it was, and high time, that refoꝛmation of the Church ſhould come, which now moſt happily & graciouſly began to woꝛke, through the mercifull and no leſſe needfull pꝛouidence of almightye God. Who although he ſuffered hys Church to wander and ſtart aſide through the ſeduction of pꝛide and pꝛoſperitie a long time, yet at length it pleaſed his goodnes to reſpect hys people, and to reduce hys church into the pꝛeſtine foundation and frame againe, from whence it was pitiouſly befoꝛe decayed. Whereof J haue now conſequently to intreat, intending by the grace of Chꝛiſt: to declare how and by what meanes, firſt this refoꝛmation of the church began, and howe it pꝛoceeded, increaſing by little and little into this perfection which now we ſee, and moꝛe J truſt ſhall ſee.

The firſt beginning of reformatiõ, how and by what means

And herein we haue firſt to behold the admirable woꝛk of Gods wiſedome. Foꝛ as the firſt decay and ruine of the church, befoꝛe began of rude ignoꝛaunce, & lacke of knowledge in teachers: ſo to reſtoꝛe ẏ church agayne by doctrine and learning, it pleaſed God to open to man ẏ arte of pꝛinting, the time wherof was ſhoꝛtly after ẏ burning of Hus and Hierome. Pꝛinting being opened, incontinent miniſtred to the Churche, the inſtrumentes and tooles of learning & knowledge, which were good bookes and authoꝛs, which befoꝛe lay hid and vnknowne. The ſcience of Pꝛinting being found, immediately followed the grace of God: whiche ſtyꝛred vp good wittes aptly to conceiue the light of knowledge and of iudgement: by which light, darcknes

Printing the fountain of reformation.

began to be eſpied, and ignoraunce to be detected, trueth from errour, religion from ſuperſtition to be diſcerned as is aboue more largely diſcourſed, where was touched the inuenting of printing. pag.707.

Vid.ſupra. pag.707.

Furthermore, after theſe wittes ſtyrred vp of God, folowed other more, increaſing dayly more and more in ſcience, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge: who now were able, not onely to diſcerne in matters of iudgement but alſo were ſo armed and furniſhed with ẏ helpe of good letters that they did encounter alſo with the aduerſary, ſuſtayning the cauſe & defence of learning againſt barbaritie of veritie, againſt errour: of true religion, againſt ſuperſtition. In number of whom, amongeſt many other here vnnamed were, Picus, and Franciſcus Mirandula, Laur. Valla, Franc. Perarcha, Doct. Weſalianus, Renelinus, Grocinus, Coletus Rhenamus, Eraſmus, &c. And here began the firſt puſhe and aſſault to be geuen againſt the ignoraunt & barbarous faction of the popes pretenſed Churche. Who after that by their learned writinges and laborious trauaile, they had opened a window of light vnto the worlde, and had made (as it were) a way more ready for other to come after: Immediately, according to Gods gracious appointment, folowed Martine Luther, with other after him, by whoſe miniſtery it pleaſed the Lorde to worke a more full reformation of his churche, as by their actes and proceedinges hereafter ſhall followe (Chriſt willing) more amply to be declared.

And now comming to the tyme and ſtorye of Martine Luther, whom the Lord did ordayne and appoint to be the principall organe and miniſter vnder him, to reforme religion and to ſubuert the ſea of the pope, firſt before we enter into the tractation hereof, it ſhall not be impertinent to ẏ purpoſe, to inferre ſuch prophecies and forewarninges, as were ſent before of God, by diuers and ſundry good men, long before the time of Luther, which foretold and propheſied of this reformation of the Church to come.

⁂ Prophecies going before Martine Luther.

The propheſie of Iohn Hus, touching the reformation of the church.

And firſt, to begin with the prophecie of Iohn Huſſe, and Hierom, it is both notable, and alſo before mentioned what the ſayd Iohn Huſſe at the time of his burning, prophecied vnto his enemies, ſaying: that after an hundreth yeares come and gone, they ſhould geue accounte to God and to him.

¶ Where is to be noted, that counting from the yeare 1415. (in the which yeare Iohn Hus was burned) or from the yeare 2416. when Hierome did ſuffer) vnto the yeare. 1516, (when Martine Luther began firſt to write) we ſhal finde the number of an hundereth yeares expyred.

An other propheſie of I.Hus, touching the reformation of the church. Vid.ſupra. 630.

Likewiſe, to this may be adioyned the propheticall viſion or dreame, which chaunced to the ſayd Iohn Hus lying in the dungeon of the friers in Conſtance, a litle before he was burned, His dreame as he himſelfe reporteth it in his Epiſtles writing to M. Iohn Chlum, and as I haue alſo before recorded the ſame pag.630. ſo will I nowe repeate the ſame agayne in like effect of wordes, as he wrote it himſelfe in Latine: the effect of which latine is this.

I pray you expounde to me the dreame whiche I had this night. I ſawe ẏ in my church at Bethleeme (whereof I was perſon) they deſired and laboured to aboliſh all the images of Chriſt, and did aboliſh them. I the next day folowing, roſe vp & ſaw many other paynters, which painted both the ſame and manye more images, and more fayrer, which I was glad to behold: whereupon the painters with the great multitude of people ſaid: Now let the Byſhops and prieſtes come, and put vs out theſe images if they cā. which thing done, much people reioyced in Bethlem, and I with them: & riſing vp I felt my ſelfe to laugh.

Ex Epiſt. 45. I.Hus.

This dreame maiſter I. of Chlume firſt expounded. Then he in the next Epiſtle after expounded it himſelfe to this effect. Stante mandato Dei, &c. That is: the Commaundemēt of God ſtanding, that we muſt obſerue no dreames yet notwithſtanding I truſt that the life of Chriſt was painted in Bethlehem by me through his word in ẏ harts of men, the which preaching they went about in Bethlehē to deſtroy, firſt in commaunding that no preaching ſhould be neyther in the church of Bethlehem, nor in the chappels therby: Secondly that the Church of Bethlehem ſhoulde be throwne downe to the ground. The ſame life of Chriſt ſhall be paynted vp agayne by mo preachers muche better then I, and after muche more better ſorte, ſo that a greate number of people ſhall reioyce thereat: all ſuch as loue the life of Chriſt: and alſo I ſhall reioyce my ſelfe: at what tyme I ſhall awake, that is, when I ſhal ryſe agayn from the dead.

An other propheſie by Ioh. Hus.

Alſo in hys 48. Epiſtle, he ſeemeth to haue a like propheticall meaning, where he ſayth: That he truſted that thoſe thinges which he ſpake then within the houſe, ſhould afterward be preached aboue the houſe top. &c.

Vid.ſupra.pag. 630. An other propheſie by Iohn Hus.

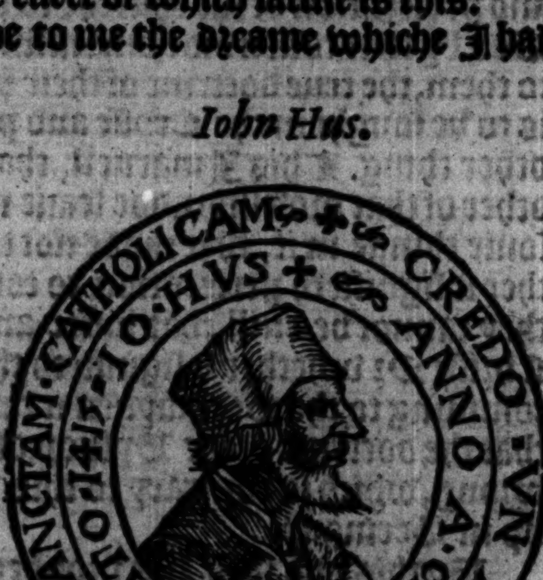
And becauſe we are here in hand w the prophecies of I. Hus, it is not to be omitted, what he writeth in a certayne treatiſe, De ſacerdotum & monachorum carnalium abominatione, thus propheſying of the reformation of the church, The Church, he ſayth, cannot be reduced to hys former dignitie and reformed, before all thinges firſt be made new, (the trueth wherof appeareth by the temple of Salomon) as well the clergye and Prieſtes, as alſo the people and laitye. Or els, except all ſuche as now be addicted to auarice from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt cōuerted and renued, as well the people as the clerkes, and prieſtes thynges cannot be reformed. Albeit, as my mynde nowe geueth me, I beleue rather the firſt that is, that then ſhal ryſe a newe people, formed after the new man, whiche is created after God. Of the whiche people, new clerkes and prieſtes ſhall come forth and be taken, which al ſhal hate couetouſnes, and glory of thys lyfe, labouring to an heauēly conuerſation. Notwithſtanding al theſe thynges ſhal be done and wrought in continuance and order of tyme diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And thys God doth and wil doe of hys owne goodnes and mercy, and for the riches of hys pacience and ſufferaunce, geuing tyme and ſpace of repentaunce to them that haue long layne in their ſinnes, to amend & flye from the face of the Lordes fury: vntill at length all ſhall ſuffer together, and vntill both the carnall people, and prieſtes, and Clerkes in proceſſe and order of tyme, ſhall fall away and be conſumed, as is cloth conſumed and eaten of the moth. &c.

Ioh.Hus, De Sacerd.& monachorum carnalium abominatione.ca.73

A propheſie of reformation by Hierom.Pragenſis. Vide ſupra, pag. 636.

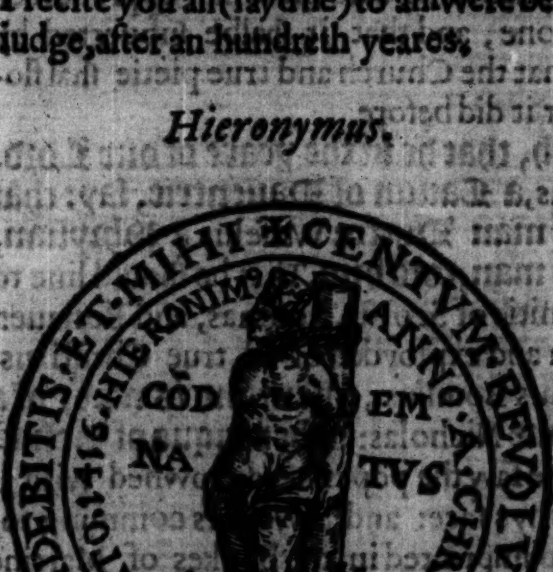
With this propheſie of Iohn Hus aboue mentioned, ſpeaking of the hundreth yeares, accordeth alſo the teſtimony of Hierome his fellow Martyr, in theſe wordes: And I recite you all (ſayd he) to anſwere before the moſt high and iuſt iudge, after an hundreth yeares.

Iohn Hus.


CREDO · VNAM · ESSE · ECCLESIAM · SANCTAM · CATHOLICAM
IO · HVS · ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1415

Centum reuolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis.

Hieronymus.


CENTVM · REVOLVTIS · ANNIS · DEO · RESPONDEBITIS · ET · MIHI
HIERONIM · ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1416
CŌD EM NA TVS

Poſt centum annos vos omnes cito.

This Hierome was burnt an.1416. and Luther began to write an.1516. which was the iuſt hundreth yeare after, according to the right accompt of Hieromes prophecy.

An other propheſie of reformation by Ioh.Hilton Monke of Thuringe

Phillip Melancthon in his Apologie, cap. De votis Monaſt. teſtifieth of one Iohn Hilton a Monke in Thuring, who, for ſpeaking againſt certayne abuſes of the place and order where he liued, was caſt in priſon. At length beyng weake and feable through impriſonment, he ſent for ẏ warden of the Couent, deſiring and beſeching him, to haue ſome reſpect of his woefull ſtate, & pitifull caſe. The warden rebuking and accuſing hym for that he had done & ſpoken: He aunſwered againe and ſayde that he had ſpoken nothyng

which

Ex Phil. Melanct. in Apologia cap. de vot. Monaſt.

whiche might be preiudiciall or hurtfull to their monkery, or againſt their Religion: But there ſhoulde come one (and aſsigned the yeare, an. 1516.) Who ſhould vtterly ſubuert all monkery. and they ſhould neuer be able to reſiſt him &c.

Ex Reuelat. Brigit. lib. 4. cap. 17.

Brigit propheſieth of reformation.

Long it were to induce here all Prophecies that be read in hiſtories. Certeine I minde briefly to touch & paſſe ouer. And firſt to omit the reuelations of Brigit (wherunto I doe not muche attribute) who prophecying of the deſtruction of Rome in her 4. booke, cap. 17. ſayth: That Rome ſhalbe ſcoured and purged with three thinges, with ſworde, fire, and the plough: reſembling moreouer the ſayd Church of Rome to a plant remoued out of the old place into a new. Alſo to a body condemned by a iudge, to haue the ſkinne flayne off. the bloud to be drawen from the fleſhe, the fleſh to be cut out in peeces, and the bones thereof to be broken, and all the marow to be ſquieſed out from the ſame, ſo that no part thereof remayne whole and perfect. &c. But to theſe ſpeculations of Brigit, I geue no great reſpect, as neither I doe to the predictions of Katherine De Senis.

Antonia. part. 3. hiſt. titul, 23. cap. 14.

Katherina Senenſis, prophecying of reformation.

And yet notwithſtanding, Antoninus writing of the ſame Katherine in hys 3. part. Tit. 23. cap. 14 reciteth her wordes thus, propheſying of the reformation of the church to Fryer Reymund her ghoſtly father: By theſe tribulations (ſayth ſhe) God after a ſecret maner vnknowne to man, ſhall purge his holy Church, and after thoſe thinges ſhall follow ſuch a reformation of the holy Church of God, and ſuch a renouation of the holy paſtours, that the onely cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my ſpirite to reioyce in the Lord: And, as I haue oftentimes told you heretofore, the ſpouſe which is now all deformed and ragged, ſhalbe adourned and decked with moſt ritch and precious ouches and brouches: and all the faythfull ſhalbe glad and reioyſe to ſee themſelues ſo bewtified with ſo holye paſtours. Yea and alſo the infidels then allured by the ſweete ſauour of Chriſt, ſhall returne to the catholicke folde, and be conuerted to the true byſhop and ſhepheard of theyr ſoules. Geue thankes therefore to GOD, for after this ſtorme, hee will geue a great calme. &c.

Of the authoritie of this prophetiſſe, I haue not to affirme or iudge, but rather to heare what the Catholique iudge will ſay of this their owne ſaint and Prophet. For if they do not credite her ſpirite of propheſie, why then doe they authoriſe her, for a pure ſaint amōg ẏ Siſters of [illegible] S. Dominick? If they warrāt her propheſie, let them ſay then when was this glorious reformation of the Churche, euer true or like to be true, if it be not true now in this maruellous alteration of the Churche, in theſe our latter dayes? Or when was there any ſuch conuerſion of Chriſtian people in all countries euer heard of, ſince the Apoſtles tyme, as hath bene ſince the preaching of Martine Luther.

The propheſie of Hieron. Sauonarola. Vid. ſupra, pag. 707. & 753.

Of Hieronimus Sauonarola I wrote before, pag 000 ſhewing that he prophecied: That one ſhoulde paſſe ouer the Alpes like to Cyrus, who ſhoulde ſubuert and deſtroy all Italye. Which may well be applyed to Gods word, and the Goſpell of Chriſt, ſpreading nowe in all places ſince Luthers tyme.

The propheſie of Theodoricus.

Theodoricus Biſhop of Croacia, liued neare about the tyme, when Hus and Hierome were martyred. Who in ẏ ende of his propheticall verſes, which are extant in print, declareth: That the ſea of Rome whiche is ſo horriblie polluted with Simonie and auarice, ſhall fal, and no more ſhal oppreſſe men with tyranny, as it hath done, and that it ſhalbe ſubuerted by hys owne ſubiectes, and that the Church and true pietie ſhal floriſh agayne more then euer it did before.

The propheſie of Doct. Weſelus.

Nouiomagus teſtifieth, that he in the yeare of our Lord, 1520. heard Oſtendorpius, a Canon of Dauentrie, ſay: that when he was a young man Doctor Weſelus a Phyſian, which was then an old man, told him, That he ſhould liue to ſee this new ſchoole diuinitie of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonauenture to be vtterly forſaken and exployded of all true Chriſtians.

A propheſie of the popes head.

In a booke of Carolus Bouillus, mention is made of a certaine viſion, which one Nicholas: an heretique of Heluetia, had, in which viſion he ſaw the popes head crowned with 3. ſwordes proceeding from hys face: and 3. ſwordes comming toward it. This viſion is alſo imprinted in the bookes of Martine Luther, with hys preface before it.

Ex Flacio de teſtibus veritatis.

Nicholas Medlerus, being of late ſuperintendent of Briſwyke, affirmed and teſtified: That he heard and knewe a certayne Prieſt in his country, which told the prieſts there, that they layd aſide Paule vnder their deſkes and pues: but the time would come, when as Paule ſhould come abroad, and driue them vnder the deſkes and darcke ſtalles, where they ſhoulde not appeare. &c.

Matthias Flaccius, in the ende of his booke intituled: De teſtibus veritatis, ſpeaketh of one Michaell Stifelius, which Michaell being an old man, told him that he heard the Prieſtes and Monkes ſay many tymes, by old prophecies, that a violent reformation muſt needes come amongeſt them: and alſo that the ſayd Michaell heard Cōradus Stifelius his father, many tymes declare the ſame: who alſo for the great hatred he bare agaynſt this filthy ſect of Monkes and prieſtes, told to one Peter [illegible] a friend and neighbour of hys, that he ſhould lyue and ſee the day, and therefore deſired him, that when the day came, beſides thoſe Prieſtes which he ſhould kill for himſelfe, he woulde kill one prieſt more for hys ſake. Hæc ex Flaccio.

The Goſpel beginneth his reformation with peace and quietnes.

This Stifelius thought belike, that this reformation ſhuld be wrought by outward violence, and force of ſword but he was thereing deceiued. Although the aduerſarye vſeth all forcible meanes, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the Goſpell alwaies beginneth with peace, and quietnes.

In the table of Amerſham men I ſignified a little before pag. 000. how one Haggar of Londō, ſpeaking of this reformation to come: declared: That the Prieſtes ſhould make battaile, and haue the vpper hand a while, but ſhortly they ſhould be vanquiſhed, and ouerthrowne for euer.

The fall of the Popedome ſignified by the fall of the Angel, from the Church toppe of the popes Caſtle.

In the tyme of pope Alexander the 6. and about the yeare of our Lord. 1500. as is before ſpecified, pag. 000. the hygh angell which ſtoode in the top of the popes churche and caſtle of S. Angell, was throwne downe with a terrible thunder, into the riuer of Tybris: whereby might ſeeme to be declared the ruine and fall of the popedome.

Ex Baleo Centur. 8.

An other ſignification of the popes ſubuerſion.

To this may be adioyned, whiche in certayne Chronicles, and in Iohn Bale is recorded: which ſayth, that in ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1516. whiche was the ſame yeare when Martine Luther began, Pope Leo the x. dyd create 31. Cardinals: In the which yeare and day of theyr creation, there fell a tēpeſt of thūder and lightning in Rome, which ſo ſtrake the church where the Cardinals were made, that it remoued the little Childe Ieſus out of the lappe of hys mother, and the keyes out of Saint Peters hand. Whiche thing many then did interprete to ſignifie and foreſhow the ſubuerſion and alteration of the ſea of Rome.

Ex Ioan. Carione, Fronc. Mirandula, & alijs.

Bloudie markes of the Lordes paſſion, ſeen vpon mens garments.

Hetherto pertayneth alſo a ſtrange portente and a prodigious token from heauen, in the yeare of our Lord. 1505. In the which yeare, vnder the reigne of Maximilian Emperour, there appeared in Germany, vpon the veſtures of men as well of Prieſtes, as lay men, vpon womens garmentes alſo, and vpon theyr rockes as they were ſpynning, diuerſe printes and tokens of the nayles, of the ſpunge, of the ſpayre, of the Lordes coate, and of bloudy Croſſes. &c. All which were ſeene vpon theyr cappes and gownes, as is moſt certaynly teſtified and recorded by diuers, which both did ſee & alſo did write vpon the ſame. Of whom firſt was Maximilian the Emperour, who both had and ſhewed the ſame to Franciſcus Mirandula, which wrote thereupon a booke in Latine meter called Stauroſtichon: wherin for the more credite, theſe verſes be conteyned.

Non ignota cano, Cæſar monſtrauit, & ipſi
Vidimus: Innumeros prompſit Germania teſtes. &c.

The expoſition of this portent.

Of this alſo writeth Iohn Carion, Functius, Phil. Melanct. Flaccius, with diuers other moe. Theſe markes and tokēs, as they were very ſtraunge, ſo were they diuerſly expounded of many, ſome thinking that they pretended affliction and perſecution of the churche to drawe neare: ſome, that God by that token did admoniſhe them or foreſhewed vnto them, the true doctrine of their iuſtification, which onely is to be ſought in the Croſſe and paſſion of Chriſt, and no other thing. This I maruell, that Chriſtianus Maſſeus, and other of that profeſſion, doe leaue it out. Belike they ſawe ſome thinge in it, that made not to theyr liking. For whether it ſignifieth perſecution to come vpon the Germayns they cannot be euill that ſuffer and beare the Croſſe wyth Chriſt: Or whether it ſignifieth the true doctrine of Chriſt comming to the Germaynes it cannot otherwiſe be, but that the doctrine of the Byſhop of Rome muſt needes be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath ſtyrred vp in Germany.

By this and ſuch like prophecies it is euident to vnderſtand, the time not to be farre of, when God of his determinate prouidēce was diſpoſed to reforme & to reſtore his Churche. And not onely by theſe prophecies the ſame might well appeare but alſo, and much rather by ẏ hartes of the people at that tyme, whoſe mindes were ſo inſenced and inflamed with hatred agaynſt the pompe and pryde of Rome, both through all nations, and eſpecially the people of Germany, that it was eaſie to perceaue the tyme was neare at hand, whē the pride of popiſh prelacy would haue a fall. Such diſdeyne there was, ſuch contempte and deriſion began to ryſe on euery ſide then agaynſt the pope and the Courte of Rome, that it might ſoone appeare by the heartes of the people, that God was not diſpoſed to haue it long to ſtand. For neither were their deteſtable doinges of ſecret that men did not ſee them: neither did any man behold them, hauing any ſparckle of godlines, that could abide them. And thereupon grewe theſe prouerbes to their deriſion, in euery country: As in Germany it hath bene Prouerb amongſt them.

Prouerbes againſt the corrupt ſea of Rome.

Was iſt nu in der werlt fur ein weſen,
Wir moegen fur den pfaffen nicht geneſen.
What is this, to ſee the world now round about,
That for theſe ſhaueling prieſtes no man that once maye route?
Quàm primum clericus ſuſcipit raſuram, ſtatim intrat in eum diabolus. That is,
So ſoone as a Clerke is ſhorne into his order, by and by the deuill enterth into him.
In nomine Domini incipit omne malum. That is:
In the name of God beginneth all euill alluding to the Popes Bulles, which commonly ſo begin.
Item when Bulles come from Rome, bind well your purſes.
The nearer Rome, the farther from Chriſt.
Item, he that goeth once to Rome, ſeeth a wicked man.
He that goeth twiſe, learneth to know him.
He that goeth thriſe, bringeth him home with him.
Item, the Courte of Rome neuer regardeth the ſheepe without the woll.

Ex Auen.

Once were wodden chalices and golden prieſtes.
Now we haue golden chalices, and wodden Prieſtes.
Once Chriſtan men had blinde churches and light hartes,
Now they haue blinde hartes and light Churches.
Item, many are worſhipped for Saintes in heauen, whoſe ſoules be burning in hell.

What ſhould I ſpeake of our Engliſh prouerbe which ſo vily eſteemeth the filthy Friers, that it compareth them (ſauing thy reuerence good Reader) to a fart?

In Fraunce, Gallus Senonenſis writeth. 400. yeares agoe, that amongeſt them it was an old ſaying: Romæ ſolui Satanam in perniciem totius Eccleſiæ. That is: That Sathan was let loſe at Rome to deſtroy the whole Church.

Thomas Becket himſelfe, in his time writing to the Colledge of Cardinals, denieth it not, but to be a common word both through town and city, Quod non ſit iuſtitia Romæ. That is, That there is no right at Rome.

To theſe may be adioyned alſo the A. B. C. whiche we find in the margent of a certayne ould regiſter, to be attributed to William Thorp, whoſe ſtory we haue comprehended in the booke before.

The A. B. C. againſt the pride of the Clergie.

¶ A wake ye ghoſtly perſons, awake, awake,
B oth Prieſt, pope, Byſhop and Cardinall.
C onſider wiſely, what wayes that ye take,
D aungerouſly beyng like to haue a fall,
E uery where the miſchiefe of you all,
F arre and neare, breaketh out very faſt:
G od will needes be reuenged at the laſt.
¶ H ow long haue ye the world captiued,
I n ſore bondage: of mens traditions?
K inges and Emperours ye haue depriued,
L ewdly vſurping, theyr chiefe poſſeſsions:
M uch miſery ye make in all regions.
N ow your fraudes be almoſt at their latter caſt,
O f God ſore to be reuenged at the laſt.
¶ P oore people to oppreſſe, ye haue no ſhame,
Q uaking for feare of your double tyranny,
R ightfull iuſtice ye haue put out of frame,
S eeking the luſt of your God, the belly.
T herefore I dare you boldly certifie,
V ery little though ye be thereof a gaſt,
Y et God will be reuenged at the laſt.

By theſe and ſuch like ſayinges, whiche may be collected innumerable, it may ſoone be ſeen what harts & iudgements the people had in thoſe dayes of the Romiſh Clergy. which thing, no doubt, was of God, as a ſecret prophecie, that ſhortly religion ſhoulde be reſtored: according as it came to paſſe, about thys preſent tyme whē Doct. Martin Luther firſt began to write, after that Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, & laſt of all, Eraſmus Roterodamus, had ſomewhat broken the way before & hadd ſhaken the monkes houſes. But Luther gaue the ſtroke, & plucked downe the foundation, & all by opening one vayne long hid before, wherein lyeth the touchſtone of all trueth & doctrine, as the onely principall origine of our ſaluation which is our free iuſtifying by faith onely in chriſt ẏ ſonne of God. The laborious trauailes, and the whole proceſſe & the conſtant preachings of this worthy mā, becauſe they be ſufficiētly declared in the hiſtory of Iohannes Sleidanus, I ſhall the leſſe neede to ſtand long thereupon, but onely to runne ouer ſome principall matter of his life & actes as they are briefly collected by Phillip Melanthon.

Laurentius Valla. Picus Mirādula. Eraſmus Roterodamus. M. Luther. The article of our free iuſtification beateth downe all errours.

¶ The hiſtory of D. Martine Luther with his lyfe and doctrine deſcribed.

The hiſtory of M. Luther with his life & doctriue deſcribed.

Martine Luther, after he was growne in yeares, being borne at Iſleben in Saxonie, an. 1483. was ſet to the Uniuerſity, firſt of Magdeburg, thē of Erford. In this Uniuerſitie of Erforde, there was a certayne aged man, in the Couēt of the Aguſtines (who is thought to be Weſelus aboue mentioned) wyth whom Luther beyng then of the ſame order a fryer Auguſtine, had conference vppon diuers thinges, eſpecially touching the Article of remiſſion of ſinnes, the whiche Article the ſayd aged father opened vnto Luther after this ſorte, declaring that wee muſt not generally beleue onely forgeuenes of ſinnes to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paule, to Dauid, or ſuche good men alone: but that Gods expreſſe commaundements is, that euery man ſhould beleue particularly hys ſinnes to be forgeuen him in Chriſt: and further ſayd, that thys interpretation was confirmed by the teſtimonies of S. Barnerd, and ſhewed him the place, in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus ſet forth: But adde thou that thou beleueſt this, that by him thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee. This is the teſtimony that the holy Ghoſt giueth thee in thy heart, ſaying: Thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee. For this is the opinion of the Apoſtle, that man is freely iuſtified by fayth.

An excellent declaration of S. Bernard touching fayth.

By theſe wordes Luther was not onely ſtrengthened, but was alſo inſtructed of the full meaning of S. Paule, who repeateth ſo many tymes this ſentence: We are iuſtified by fayth. And hauing read the expoſitions of many vppon this place, he then perceiued as well by the purpoſe of the old man, as by the comfort he receiued in his ſpirit, the vanitie of thoſe interpretations, which he had read before, of the ſcholemen: And ſo reading by litle and litle, with cōferring the ſayinges and examples of the Prophetes & Apoſtles, and continuall inuocation of God, and excitatiō of fayth by force of prayer, hee perceiued ẏ doctrine more euidently. Then began he to read Saint Auguſtines bookes, where he founde many comfortable ſentēces among other in the expoſition of the Pſalmes and ſpecially in the booke of the Spirite and Letter, which confirmed this doctrine of fayth and conſolation in hys hart, not a little. And yet he layd not aſide the Sentenciaries, as Gabriell and Cameracenſis. Alſo he read the bookes of Occam, whoſe ſubtilty he preferred aboue Thomas Aquine, & Scotus. He read alſo and reuolued Gerſō: but aboue al the reſt, he peruſed all ouer S. Auguſtines workes with attentiue cogitation. And thus continued he his ſtudy at Erford, ẏ ſpace of 4. yeares in the Couent of the Auguſtines.

The profite of S. Auguſtines bookes.

About this tyme one Staupicius a famous mā, who miniſtring his helpe to further the erection of an Uniuerſitie in Wittenberg, and endeuouring to haue ſchooles of Diuinitie founded in this new Uniuerſitie: when he had cōſidered the ſpirite & towardnes of Luther, he called him from Erford, to place him in Wittenberg, in ẏ yeare. 1508. and of his age xxvi. There his towardnes appeared in ẏ ordinary exerciſe both of hys diſputations in the ſchooles & preaching in churches, where as manye wiſe and learned mē attentiuely heard Luther, namely D. Mellerſtad.

The inſtitution of the Vniuerſitie at Wittenberge. Staupitius.

This Mellerſtad would oftentimes ſay, that Luther was of ſuche a marueilous ſpirit, and ſo ingenious, that he gaue apparant ſignification, that he would introduce a more compendious, eaſie, and familier maner of teaching and altar and aboliſhe the order that then was vſed.

The iudgement of Doct. Mellerſtad, vpon M. Luther.

There firſt he expounded the Logick and Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, & in the meane while, intermitted no whit his ſtudy in Theolagy. Three yeares after, he went to Rome, about certayn contentions of the Monkes, and returning the ſame yeare, he was a graded Doctour: at the expenſes of Elector Fredericke, Duke of Saxonie, according to the ſolemn maner of ſcholes: for he had heard him preach: well vnderſtanded the quickenes of his ſpirite: diligently conſidered the vehemency of hys wordes, and had in ſingular admiration thoſe profound matters, whiche in hys Sermons he ripely and exactly explaned. This degree Staupicius, againſt his will enforced vpon him, ſaying merely vnto him, that God had many thinges to bring to paſſe in hys Church by him. And though theſe wordes were ſpoken merely, yet it came ſo to paſſe anone after, as many predictions or preſages proue true before a chaunge.

Luther ſent to Rome.

Fridericke Duke of Saxonie.

Luther commenced doctour.

After this he began to expound the Epiſtle to the Romayns, & conſequently the Pſalmes: where he ſhewed the difference betwixt the lawe and the Goſpell. He alſo confounded the errour that raigned then in ſchooles and Sermons, teaching that men may merite remiſſion of ſinnes

Doct. M. Luther beginneth to read the Epiſtle to the Romains.

by their proper works,and that they be iuſt before God by outward diſcipline,as the Phariſeis taught.Luther dilligently reduced the mindes of men, to the ſonne of God. As Iohn Baptiſt demonſtrated the lambe of God that tooke away the ſinns of the world:euen ſo Luther ſhining in the church of a bright ſtarre after a long cloudy and obſcure ſkye, expreſly ſhewed that ſinnes are freely remitted for the loue of the ſonne of God, and that we ought faythfully to embrace this bountifull gift.

Luther taught Ieſus Chriſt.

Theſe happy beginninges of ſo good matters,got him great authoritie, eſpecially ſeeing his lyfe alſo was correſpondent to his profeſſion. The conſideration whereof allured to him meruailouſly the hartes of his auditors , and alſo many notable perſonages.

Eraſmus openeth the way before Luther.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonyes,but preciſely obſerued his rule amōg his felowes he medled in no doubtfull opinions,but taught this onely doctrine,as moſt principall of al other to all men,opening & declaring the doctrine of repentance,of remiſſion of ſins of fayth,of true comfort in times of aduerſitie. Euery man receaued good taſte of this ſweet doctrine,and the learned conceiued high pleaſure to behold Ieſus Chriſt, the Prophets & Apoſtles,to come forth into light out of darcknes, wherby they began to vnderſtand the difference betwixt yͤ law and the Goſpell:betwixt the promiſes of the law,and the promiſe of the Goſpell:betwixt ſpiritual iuſtice,& ciuil things:which certainly could not haue bene foūd in Thomas Aquine,Scotus,nor ſuch like ſchoole clerkes.

It happened moreouer about this time , that manye were prouoked by Eraſmus learned workes,to ſtudy the Greek & Latine tongues,who perceiuing a more gentle & ready order of teaching then before, began to haue in contempt the Monkes barbarous and ſophiſticall doctrine:& ſpecially ſuch as were of liberall nature and good diſpoſition.Luther began to ſtudy the Greeke and Hebrue tonge to this end,that after he had learned the phraſe and proprietie of the tongues , and drawne the doctrine of the very fountaynes,he might geue more ſound iudgement.

Ex Chriſtia. Maſſæo. Lib.20. Chronic.

As Luther was thus occupyed in Germany, whiche was the yeare of our Lord 1516.Leo yͤ x.of that name ſucceding after Iulius.2.was Pope of Rome.who vnder pretence of warre againſt the Turke, ſent a Iubile wyth his pardons, abroad through all Chriſten Realmes & dominions : whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treaſure. The gatherers and collecters whereof perſwaded the people,that whoſoeuer would geue x.ſhillings,ſhuld at his pleaſure,deliuer one ſoule from yͤ payns of Purgatory . For this they held as a generall rule, that God would do,what ſoeuer they woulde haue him,according to the ſaying: Quicquid ſolueritis ſuper terram,erit ſolutum in cœlis &c. Whatſoeuer you looſe vpon earth,the ſame ſhal be looſed in heauen. But if it were but one iotte leſſe then x. ſhillinges,they preached that it would profite thē nothing. Ex Chriſtia, Meſſeo lib.20.Chro.

10 ſhilling pardons.

Cecollus preacher of the popes pardons.

This filthy kind of the popes marchandiſe,as it ſpread through all quarters of Chriſtian regions, ſo it came alſo to Germany,through the meanes of certayne Dominicke Fryers named Tecellius, who moſt impudently cauſed yͤ Popes indulgences or pardons to be caryed & ſold about the country. Whereupon, Luther muche moued with the blaſphemous ſermōs of this ſhameles Fryer,and hauing his hart earneſtly bent with ardent deſire to mayntayne true religion,publiſhed certayne propoſitions concerning indulgences,which are to be read in the firſt Tome of hys works, and ſet them openly on the temple that ioyneth to the Caſtle of Wittenberge, the morrow after the feaſtes of all Saintes,the yeare.1517.

Luthers propoſitions of pardons.

The firſt occaſion why Luther wrote againſt pardons.

This beggerly Fryer, hoping to obtaine yͤ popes bleſſing,aſſembled certayne Monkes & ſophiſticall diuines of his couent,& forthwith commanded thē to write ſomething againſt Luther. And whileſt he would not himſelfe ſeeme to be dumme,he began not onely to enuey in his ſermons but to thunder againſt Luther,crying: Luther is an heretike , and worthy to be perſecuted with fire: and beſides this, he burned openly Luthers propoſitions,and the ſermon whiche he wrote of indulgences. This rage and furiſh fury of this Frier,enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cauſe, and to mayntayne his matter.

The ſlaunder of Tecellus the Fryer.

And thus roſe the beginninges of this controuerſie, wherein Luther neyther ſuſpecting ne dreaming of anye chaunge that might happen in the ceremonies,did not vtterly reiect the indulgences,but required a moderation in them:and therfore they falſely accuſe him, which blaſe that he began wͭ plauſible matter, wherby he might get prayſe. to the end that in proceſſe of time,he might change the ſtate of the common weale, and purchaſe authoritie, eyther for himſelfe or other.

The prayſe of Friderick Duke of Saxonie.

And certes,he was not ſuborned or ſtyrred vp by them of the courte (as the Duke of Brūſwike wrote:) in ſo much that the Duke Frederick was ſore offended that ſuch contention and controuerſie ſhould ariſe, hauing regarde to the ſequele thereof.

And as this good Duke Frederick was one of al yͤ princes of our time, that loued beſt quietnes and common tranquilitie,neither was auaricious, but willingly bent to referre al his counſels to the common vtilitie of all the world (as it is eaſy to be coniectured diuers waies:)ſo he neither encouraged nor ſupported Luther, but often repreſented ſemblaunce of heauines and ſorrow,which he bare in hys hart,fearing greater diſſentions:But being a wiſe prince and following the Counſaile of Gods rule,and well deliberating therupon, he thought with himſelfe that the glory of God was to be preferred aboue all thinges.Neyther was he ignoraunt what blaſphemy it was, horribly condemned of God,obſtinately to repugne yͤ truth. Wherfore he did as a godly Prince ſhould do:he obeyed God,cōmitting himſelfe to his holy grace,and omnipotent protectiō. And although Maximilianus the Emperor, Carolus K. of Spaine,& Pope Iulius had geuen commaundement to the ſayd Duke Fridericke, that he ſhould inhibite Luther from all place and libertie of preaching: yet the Duke conſidering with himſelfe the preaching and & writing of Luther and weighing dilligently the teſtimonies and places of the Scripture by him alledged,would not withſtād the thing,which he iudged ſincere. And yet neyther did he this,truſting to his own iudgemēt,but was very anxious & inquiſitiue to heare yͤ iudgements of other, whiche were both aged,& learned.In the number of whom was Eraſmus, whō the Duke deſired to declare to him his opinion touching yͤ matter of Martine Luther,ſaying & proteſting that he would rather the ground ſhuld open and ſwallow him,then he would beare wͭ any opinions,which he knew to be cōtrary to manifeſt truth:& therfore he deſired him to declare his iudgement in yͤ matter,to him freely & frendly.

The iudgement of Eraſmus touching Luther.

Eraſmus thus being entreated of the Duke , began thus ieſtingly and merely to anſwere the Dukes requeſt, ſaying:that in Luther were two great faultes:firſt, that he would touch the bellyes of monks:the ſecond, yͭ he would touch the popes crown: which two matters in no caſe are to be dealt withall.Then opening his minde playnly to yͤ Duke,thus he ſayde,that Luther did well in detecting errours,and that reformation was to be wiſhed , and very neceſſary in the church:and added moreouer, that the effect of his doctrine was true; but onely that he wiſhed in him, a more temperate moderation and maner of writing and handling. Wherupon Duke Friderick ſhortly after wrote to Luther ſeriouſly, exhorting him to temperate the vehemency of his ſtyle. This was at the City of Colen, ſhortly after the Coronation of the newe Emperour , where alſo Huttenus,Aloiſius,Marlianus, Ludouicus,viues,Halonius, with other learned men,were aſſembled together wayting vpon the Emperour.

Monkes belies and the Popes crowne not to be touched.

Ex Chron. Caſp.Pencer.lib.5.

Ex epiſt.Eraſm.ad Moguntinenſem.

Furthermore the ſame Eraſmus,the yeare next folowing that, wrote vp to the Archbiſhop of Mentz a certayne Epiſtle touching the cauſe of Luther. In whiche Epiſtle thus he ſignifieth to the Byſhop: That many thinges were in the books of Luther ,condemned of monkes and Diuines,for hereticall, whiche in the bookes of Bernarde and Auſten are redde for ſound and godly.

The churc burdened,h

Alſo,that the world is burdened with mens inſtitutions,with ſchole doctrines and opinions,and with the tyrannye of begging Friers: which Fryers when they are but the Popes ſeruaunts and vnderlinges:yet they haue ſo growne in power and multitude, that they are nowe terrible both to the pope himſelfe , and to all princes.Who ſo long as the pope maketh with them, ſo long they make him more thē a God. But if he make any thing agaynſt their purpoſe or commoditie , then they wey his authoritie no more then a dreame or phantaſie.

Once (ſayd he) it was counted an hereſie , when a man repugned agaynſt the Goſpell,or Articles of the fayth . Now he that diſſenteth from Thomas of Aquine, is an hereticke, whatſoeuer doth not like them,whatſoeuer they vnderſtand not,that is hereſie. To ſpeake Greeke, is hereſie. Or to ſpeake more finely then they do,that is with them hereſie.And thus much by the way, concerning the iudgement of Eraſmus.

Now to returne and to entreate ſomething orderly of the actes and conflictes of Luther with hys aduerſaryes: after yͭ Tecelius the foreſayd Fryer, wͭ his fellow monkes and Frierly fellowes,had cried out wͭ open mouth againſt Luther,in mayntayning the popes indulgences, and that Luther agayn in defence of hys cauſe,had ſet vp propoſitions againſt the open abuſes of the ſame,maruell it was to ſee how ſoone theſe propoſitions, were ſparckled abroad in ſundry and farre places,and howe greedely they were cat-

ched

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſperg.

ched vp in the handes of diuers, both far & near. And thus ye contentiõ of this matter increaſing betwene them, Luther was cõpelled to write therof more largely & fully, thẽ otherwiſe he thought: which was in ye yeare of our Lorde, 1517.

Yet all this while, Luther neuer thought of anye alteration to come of any ceremony, much leſſe ſuch a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies, as afterward did follow. But onely hearing that he was accuſed to the Biſhop of Rome, he did write humbly vnto him: in the beginning of which writing, he declareth ye vnordinate outrage of thoſe his pardonmongers, which ſo exceſſiuely did pill & pole the ſimple people, to the great ſlaunder of the Church, and ſhame to his holines: and ſo proceeding in the ende of the ſayd his writing, thus he ſubmitteth himſelfe.

The ſubmiſſion of Luther to the Pope.

Wherefore (ſayth he) moſt holy father, I offer my ſelfe proſtrate vnder the feete of your holines, with all that I am, and that I haue. Saue me, kill me, call me, recall me, approue me, reproue me, as you ſhall pleaſe. Your voyce, ye voyce of Chriſt in you ſpeaking, I will acknowledge. If I haue deſerued death, I ſhall be contented to dye: For the earth is the Lordes, and all the fulnes therof, who is to be bleſſed for euer, Amen. This was the yeare of our Lorde. 1518.

Pſal. 23.

The ragyng Dialogue of Sylueſter Prierias againſt Luther.

After that Martine Luther, prouoked thus by Tecelius, had declared hys minde in writing lowly and humbly and had ſet vp certayn propoſitions to be diſputed: not lõg after, among other monkes and Fryers, ſtepped vp one Silueſter de Priero a Dominicke Frier, who fyrſt began to publiſh abroad a certayne impudent and rayling Dialogue againſt him. Vnto whom Luther aunſwered agayn, firſt alledging the place of the Apoſtle. 1. Theſ. 5. That we muſt proue all thinges. Alſo the place. Gal. 1. That if an aungell from heauen do bryng an other Goſpell, then that we haue receiued, he ought to be accurſed.

The aunſwere of Luther againſt Sylueſter.

Item, he alledged the place of Auſten vnto Hierome, where the ſayd Auſten ſayth: That he is wont to geue thys honour onely to the book of Canonicall Scripture, that who ſoeuer were the writers thereof, he beleueth them verily not to haue erred. But as touching all other mens writings, were they neuer ſo holy men or learned, he doth not beleue them therfore, becauſe they ſo ſay, but in that reſpect as they doe agree with the Canonicall Scripture, which cannot erre.

Clem. De poenit. & remiſſ. C. Abuſionibus.

Item, he alledged the place of the Canon law: Clem. de Poenit. & remiſ. C. Abuſionibus. wherein he proued, ye theſe pardonſellers, in their ſetting forth of the popes indulgenſes, ought to go no farther by the lawe, then is enioyned them within the letters of their commiſſion.

And in the latter part of this aunſwer, thus Luther writeth to the reader, Let opinions (ſayth he) remayne opinions, ſo they be not yokes to the Chriſtians. Let vs not make mens opinions equall with the articles of fayth, & to the decrees of Chriſt, and Paule. Moreouer I am aſhamed (quod he) to heare the common ſaying of this Diuine ſchole doctours, who holding one thing in the ſchooles, and thinking otherwiſe in their own iudgement, thus are wont, ſecretly among thẽſelues, and with their priuy frendes, talking together to ſay: Thus we do hold, and thus would I ſay, being in the ſchooles, but yet (be it ſpoken here amongſt vs) it cannot be ſo proued by the holy Scriptures, &c. Ex. Paralip. Abb. Vrſperg.

Ex Paralipominis Abba. Vrſperg.

Eckius wryteth againſt Luther.

D. Andræas anſwereth for Luther.

Next after this Silueſter, ſtept forth Eckius, and impugned the concluſions of Luther. Agaynſt whom encountered D. Andreas Bedenſtein. Archdeacõ of Wittenberg, makyng hys Apologie in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the 7. of Auguſt. by one Hieronimus B. of Aſcalon, to appeare at Rome. About which tyme Thomas Caietanus Cardinall, ye popes Legate, was then lieger at the Citie of Auguſta, who before had beene ſent downe in commiſſion, with certayne mandates from Pope Leo, vnto that Citty: The vniuerſitie of Wittenberg vnderſtanding of Luthers citation, eftſoones directed vp their letters, with their publique ſeale to ye pope, in Luthers behalfe. Alſo an other letter they ſent to Carolus Miltitius the popes chamberlayne beyng a Germayne borne. Furthermore good Fridericke ceaſed not for his part, to ſollicitate the matter with his letters & earneſt ſuit, with Cardinall Caietanus, that the cauſe of Luther might be freed from Rome, and remoued to Auguſta, in the hearing of the Cardinall. Caietanus at ye ſuyt of the Duke, wrote vnto the Pope, from whome he receaued this anſwer again, the 23. of the foreſayd month of Auguſt, that he had cited Luther, to appeare perſonally before him at Rome, by Hieronimus Biſhop of Aſcalon, Auditour of the chamber: whiche byſhop dilligently had done, that was commaunded hym, but Luther abuſing and contemning the gentlenes offered, did refuſe not onely to come, but alſo became more bold and ſtubborne, continuing or rather increaſing in his former hereſie, as by hys writing did appeare: wherfore he wold that the Cardinal ſhould cite and call vp the ſayd Luther to appeare at the city of Auguſta before him, adioyning withall, the ayd of the princes of Germany & of the Emperour, if neede required ſo that when the ſayd Luther ſhoulde appeare, he ſhoulde lay hand vpon him, & commit him to ſafe cuſtody, and after he ſhould be brought vp to Rome: and if he perceaued him to come to any knowledge or amendment of hys faulte, he ſhould releaſe him, and reſtore hym to the church again, or els he ſhuld be interdict, with al other his adherents, abetters, & mayntainers, of what ſoeuer eſtate or cõdition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marqueſes, Earles Barons. &c. Againſt all which perſons and degrees, he willed hym to extende the ſame curſe and malediction (onely the perſon of the Emperour excepted) interdicting by the cenſure of the church, all ſuch landes, Lordſhips, Townes, tenementes, villages, as ſhould miniſter any harbour to the ſayd Luther, & were not obedient vnto the ſea of Rome. Contrariwiſe to all ſuch as ſhewed themſelues obedient, he ſhould promiſe full remiſſion of all theyr ſinnes. Likewiſe the pope directeth other letters alſo the ſame tyme, to Duke Friderick, complayning with many grieuous wordes, agaynſt Luther.

The vniuerſitie of Wittenberge writeth to the Pope for Luther.

The Popes charge to his Legate againſt M. Luther.

The Cardinall thus being charged with iniunctions from Rome, according to his commiſſion, ſendeth with all ſpeede, for Luther to appeare at Auguſta before hym.

Luther obedient to the Sea of Rome.

About the beginning of October Martin Luther yealding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Auguſta, at the Cardinals ſending (at the charges, of the noble Prince Electour) and alſo hys letters of commendation, where he remayned 3. dayes before he came to his ſpeache: for ſo it was prouided by his frendes, that he ſhoulde not enter talke with the Cardinall, before a ſufficient warrant or ſafeconduct was obtained of the Emperour Maximilian: which being obteyned, eftſoones he entred, offeringe himſelfe to the ſpeach of the Cardinal, and was there receyued of the cardinall very gently: who according to ye popes commaundement, propounded vnto Martin Luther three thinges, or as Sleaden ſayth, but 2. to witte.

Luther appeareth before Cardinall Caietanus.

1. That he ſhould repent and reuoke hys erroures.
2. That he ſhoulde promiſe from that tyme forward, to refrayne from the ſame.
3. That he ſhoulde refrayne from all thinges that myght by any meanes trouble the Church.

Three thinges put to Luther by the Pope.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherin he had erred, the Legate brought forth the extrauagants of Clement, which beginneth: Vnigenitus &c. becauſe that he contrary to that Canon had held & taught in his 58. propoſition, that the merites of Chriſt are not the treaſure of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the cardinall, contrary to the ſeuenth propoſition of Luther, affirmed that fayth is not neceſſary to him that receaueth the ſacrament.

Furthermore, an other day in the preſence of 4. of the Emperours Counſaile, hauing there a Notary and witneſſes preſent, Luther proteſted for himſelfe and perſonally in this maner following.

Proteſtation of M. Luther before the Cardinall.

In primis, I Martine Luther, a Fryer Auguſtine, proteſt that I do reuerence and followe the Church of Rome in all my ſayinges and doings, preſent, paſt, and to come: And if any thing haue bene or ſhalbe ſaid by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as though it had neuer beene ſpoken. But becauſe the Cardinall hath required at the commaundement of the Pope three thinges of me to be obſerued:

1 That I ſhould returne againe to the knowledge of my ſelfe.
2 That I ſhould beware of falling into the ſame agayne here after.
3 That I ſhoulde promiſe to abſtayne from all thinges which might diſquiet the church of God:

I proteſt here this day, that whatſoeuer I haue ſayde, ſeemeth vnto me to be ſound, true and Catholicke: yet for the further profe therof, I doe offer my ſelfe perſonally eyther here or elſwhere, publikely to geue a reaſon of my ſayinges. And if this pleaſe not the Legate, I am ready alſo in writing to aunſwere hys obiections, if he haue anye agaynſt me: And touching theſe thinges, to heare the ſentence and iudgement of the Vniuerſities of the Empyre. Baſill, Friburge, and Louane. Hereof when they had receiued an anſwere in writing, they departed.

The aunſwere of Luther, with his propoſitions to the Cardinal.

After thys Luther by and by prepareth an aunſwere to the Legate, teaching that the merites of Chriſt are not committed vnto men: that the popes voyce is to be heard when he ſpeaketh agreably to the Scriptures: that ye pope may erre: that he ought to be reprehended, Act. 15. Moreouer he ſhewed that in the matter of fayth. not onely ye generall councell, but alſo euery faythfull chriſtian is aboue the Pope, if he leane to better authoritie and reaſon: that the

Extrauagant containeth vntruthes: that it is an infallible veritie, that none is iuſt: that it is neceſſary for hym that commeth to the receiuing of the ſacrament, to beleue: that fayth in the abſolution and remiſſion of ſinnes, is neceſſary that he ought not nor might not decline from the veritie of the Scripture: that he ſought nothing but the light of the truth. &c.

Proteus was a monſter noted in Poetes which could chaunge him ſelfe into al formes & likenes.

But the Cardinall would heare no ſcriptures: he diſputed without ſcriptures, deuiſed gloſes and expoſitions of his owne head, and by diſtinctions (wherewith the Diuinitie of the Thomiſtes is full) like a very Proteus, he anoyded al thinges. After this, Luther being commaunded to come no more in the preſence of the Legate, excepte he would recant, notwithſtanding abode there ſtill & woulde not depart. Then the Cardinall ſent for Ioannes Stupitius, vicare of the Auguſtines, & moued him earneſtly to bryng Luther to recant of his own accord. Luther taried the next day alſo, and nothing was ſayd vnto him. The thyrd daye moreouer he taryed and deliuered vp his minde in writing

Luthers aunſwere to the Cardinall.

in whiche, firſt he thanked him for his curteſie and great kyndenes which he perceaued by the wordes of Stupitius toward him, and therefore was the more ready to gratifie him in whatſoeuer kinde of office he could do him ſeruice: confeſſing moreouer, that where he had bene ſomewhat ſharpe and eger agaynſt the popes dignitie, that was not ſo much of his own minde, as it was to be aſcribed to the importunitie of certaine which gaue him occaſion. Notwithſtanding, as he acknowledged his exceſſe therin, ſo he was ready to ſhew more moderation in that behalf hereafter; & alſo promiſed to make amendes for yͤ ſame vnto the biſh. & that in the pulpit, if he pleaſed. And as touching the matter of pardons, he promiſed alſo to procede no further in any mention therof, ſo yͭ his aduerſaries likewiſe were bound to keep ſilence. But where as he was preſt to retracte hys ſentence before defended, foraſmuch as he had ſaid nothing but with a good conſcience, and whiche was agreable to yͤ firme teſtimonies of the ſcripture: therefore he humbly deſired the determination therof, to be referred to the biſhop of Rome, for nothing could be more gratefull to hym, then to heare the voyce of the Church ſpeaking &c.

¶ who doth not ſee by this ſo humble and honeſt ſubmiſſion of Luther, but that, if the Biſhop of Rome woulde haue bene aunſwered with any reaſon, or contented wyth ſufficient meane, he had neuer bene touched any further of Luther. But the ſecret purpoſe of GOD had a farther worke herein to do: for the tyme nowe was come, when God thought good that pride ſhoulde haue a fall. Thus while the vnmeaſurable deſire of that B. ſought more then inough, and like to Æſopes dogge, coueting both to haue yͤ fleſhe, and ſhadowe, not onely he miſſed that he gaped for, but alſo loſt that which he had.

Pride wil haue a fall.
Aeſopes dogge.
All couet, all looſe.

But to the purpoſe of our matter agayne: this writing Luther deliuered to the Cardinall the third daye after he was commanded out of his ſight. which letter or writing the Cardinall did little regard. when Luther ſawe that he woulde geue no aunſwere nor countenaunce to the letter, yet notwithſtanding he remayned after that, the fourth daye, and nothing was aunſwered: the fift day likewiſe was paſſed with like ſilence, and nothing done. At the length, by the counſell of hys frendes, and ſpecially becauſe the Cardinall had ſayde before, that he had a commaundement to impriſon Luther and Iohn Stupitius the vicare, after yͭ he had made and ſet vp hys appeale where it might be ſeen and read, he departed, thinking that he had ſhewed ſuche daungerous obedience long enough. Luther a beholder & a doer of theſe things, recordeth the ſame and ſheweth the cauſe why he ſubmitted himſelfe to the church of Rome: declaring alſo, that euen thoſe thinges, which are moſt truely ſpoken, yet ought to be mayntayned and defended, with humilitie and feare. Some thinges he ſuppreſſeth and conceileth, whiche he ſuppoſeth the reader to vnderſtand not without griefe and ſorrow. At length he proteſteth that he reuerenceth and followeth the church of Rome in al thinges, and that he ſetteth himſelfe onely agaynſt thoſe, which vnder the name of the churche of Rome, goe about to ſet forth and commend Babylon vnto vs.

Luther obedient to the Sea of Rome.

An other letter of Luther to the Legate.

Thus you haue heard how that Luther being reiected from the ſpeache and ſight of Caietanus the Cardinall, after ſixe dayes wayting, departed by the aduiſe of his friendes & returned vnto wittēberg, leauing a letter in writing to be geuen to the Cardinall, wherein hee declared ſufficiently, firſt his obedience in hys comming, the reaſons of hys doctrine, his ſubmiſſion reaſonable to the Sea of Rome, hys long wayting after he was repelled from the Cardinals ſpeache, the charges of the Duke, and finally, the cauſe of his departing. Beſides this letter to the Cardinall, he left alſo an Appellation to the Byſhop of Rome, from the Cardinall, which he cauſed openly to be affixed before his departure.

Luther appealeth frō the Cardinall to the Pope.

The letters of Caietanus to duke Fridericke.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned agayn into hys country, Caietanus writeth to Duke Fridericke, a ſharpe and a byting letter, in which firſt he ſignifieth to him hys gentle intertaynment & good will ſhewed to reduce Luther from hys errour. Secondly, he complayneth of yͤ ſodayn departing of him, & of Stupicius. Thirdly, he declareth yͤ pernicious daunger of Luthers doctrine againſt the Churche of Rome. Fourthly, hee exhorteth the Duke, that as he tendereth hys own honour and ſafetye, & regardeth the fauour of the hye byſhop, he will ſend him vp to Rome, or expell hym out of hys dominiō, foraſmuch as ſuch a peſtilence breeding, as that was, coulde not, neyther ought by any meanes long ſo to be ſuffered.

The Duke aunſwereth the Cardinall for Luther.

To this letter of the Cardinall, the Duke aunſwereth agayne at large, purging both Luther, and himſelfe: Luther, in that he following hys conſcience grounded vppon yͤ word of god, would not reuoke that for an errour, which could be proued no errour: & himſelfe he excuſeth thus, that where is required of hym to baniſh hym hys countrey, or to ſend him vp to Rome, it would be little honeſty for him ſo to do, and leſſe conſcience, vnles he knew iuſt cauſe, why he ſhould ſo do: which if the Cardinall would or could declare vnto him, there ſhould lacke nothing in hym, whiche were the part of a Chriſtian Prince to doe, and therfore he deſireth hym, to be a meanes vnto the Byſhop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppreſſed, before yͤ cryme or errour be lawfully conuicted.

Luthers letters to duke Fridericke.

This done, the Duke ſendeth the letter of the Cardinall, vnto Martin Luther: who aunſwered agayne to the Prince, ſhewing firſt how he came obediently vnto Caietanus, with the Emperours warrant: & what talke there was betweene them: how Caietanus preſſed hym againſt his conſcience and manifeſt truth, to reuoke theſe errours. Firſt that the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion, were not yͤ treaſure of the popes pardons. Secondly that fayth was neceſſary in receauing the Sacramentes. Albeit in the firſt he was content to yeeld to the Cardinall. In the ſecond, becauſe it touched a great part of our ſaluation, he coulde not with a ſafe conſcience relent, but deſired to be taught by the Scripture: at leaſt that the matter might be brought into open diſputation in ſome free place of Germanye, where yͤ truth might be diſcuſſed and iudged of learned men. The Cardinall not pleaſed wͭ this, in great anger caſt out of many manacing words, neither would admit hym any more to hys preſence or ſpeache: whereas yet notwithſtanding perſiſting in his obedience to the church of Rome, gaue attendaunce, wayting vpon the Cardinals pleaſure a ſufficient tyme.

At laſt, when no aunſwere woulde come, after hee had wayted yͤ ſpace of v. or. vi. dayes, to his great detriment, & greater daunger, by the perſwaſion of hys friendes, he departed. whereat if the Cardinall were diſpleaſed, he had moſt cauſe to blame hymſelfe. And now whereas the Cardinall threatneth me (ſayth he) not to let the action fall, but yͭ the proces thereof ſhalbe purſued at Rome vnleſſe I eyther come and preſent my ſelfe, or els be baniſhed your dominions, I am not ſomuch greeued for myne owne cauſe, as yͭ you ſhould ſuſteyne for my matter any daunger or peril. And therefore ſeeyng there is no place nor countrey, which can keep me frō the malice of mine aduerſaryes, I am willing to depart hence and to forſake my coūtry, whetherſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe the Lorde to leade me: thanking God which hath counted me worthy to ſuffer thus muche for the glory of Chriſtes name.

Luther readie to be exiled.

The cauſe of Luther in great daunger.

Here (no doubt) was the cauſe of Luther in great daunger, beyng nowe brought to this ſtrayte, that both Luther was ready to flye the countrey, and the Duke agayne was as much afrayd to keepe hym, had not the marueilous prouidence of God (who had this matter in guiding) here prouided a remedy, where the power of man did fayle, by ſtyrring vp the whole vniuerſitie of wittingberg, who ſeeyng the cauſe of truth thus to declyne, with a full and a general conſent, addreſſed theyr letters vnto yͤ Prince, in defence of Luther & of his cauſe, making their hūble ſuit vnto hym, yͭ he of hys princely honour, would not ſuffer innocency and the ſimplicity of trueth ſo cleare as is the Scripture, to be foyled and oppreſſed by mere violence of certayne malignant flatterers about the Pope: but that the errour firſt may be ſhewed and conuicted, before the partye be pronounced gylty.

Gods prouidence.

The Vniuerſitie of Wittenberge writeth to the Duke for Luther.

By the occaſion of theſe letters the Duke began more ſeriouſly in hys minde to conſider the cauſe of Luther, and to read hys workes, and alſo to harken to hys Sermons. wherby (through Gods holy working) he grew to knowledge and ſtrength, perceauing in Luthers quarrell more then he did before. This was about the beginning of December. an. 1518.

New indulgences ſet forth by Pope Leo.

The doctrine of the church of Rome.

As this paſt on, Pope Leo playing the Lyon at Rome in the meane time in the month of Nouember, to ſtabliſhe his ſeate againſt this defection, whiche he feared to come, had ſent forth new indulgences into Germany, & al quarters abroad, wͭ a new Edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholicke doctrine of the holy mother church of Rome Prince of al other churches, that Biſhops of Rome which are ſucceſſours of Peter, and vicares of Chriſt, haue thys power and authoritie geuen to releaſe, and diſpenſe, alſo to graunt indulgences auaylable both for the liuing and for the dead, lyeng in the paynes of purgatory. And thys dotrine he charged to be receiued of all faythfull Chriſten men, vnder payne of the great curſe, and vtter ſeparation from all holy Church.

The Popes Aleſtake to picke mens purſes.

This Popiſhe decree and indulgence, as a new Marchandiſe, or Aleſtake to get money, being ſet vp in al quarters of Chriſtendome for yͤ holy fathers aduauntage, came alſo to be receiued in Germanye about the moneth of December. Luther in the meane time hearing how they were about in Rome, to proceede and pronounce agaynſt him, prouideth a certayne appeallation conceiued in due forme of law, wherein he appealeth from the pope to the general Councell.

Luther appealeth frō the Pope to a general councell.

Miltitius the popes chamberlaine ſent to duke Fridericke.

When Pope Leo perceaued that neyther his pardons would proſper to his minde, nor that Luther coulde be brought to Rome, to aſſay how to come to his purpoſe by crafty allurementes, he ſent his Chamberlayne Carolus Miltitius, aboue mentioned, which was a Germaine, into Saxony to Duke Fridericke, with a golden roſe, after yͤ vſuall ceremony accuſtomed euery yeare to be preſented to him, with ſecret letters alſo to certayne Noble men of the Dukes counſaile, to ſollicite yͤ popes cauſe, and to remoue the Dukes minde, if it might be from Luther.

The death of Maximilian the Emperour.

Charles the 5. elected Emperour, by the meanes of Duke Fridericke.

But before Miltitius approched into Germany, Maximilian the Emperour deceaſed in the month of January an. 1519. At what tyme two there were which ſtoode for the election: to wyt Fraunces the Frenche king, and Charles king of Spayne, which was alſo Duke of Auſtriche, and Duke of Burgundy. To make this matter ſhort, through the meanes of Fredericke, Prince Elector, (who hauing the offer of the preferment, refuſed the ſame) the election fell to Carolus, called Carolus the v. ſurnamed Prudence: which was about the end of Auguſt.

The diſputation at Lypſia.

Eckius againſt Caroloſtadius.

Luther commeth to the diſputation.

Melancthon newlye come to Wittēberge.

In the month of June before, there was a publike diſputation ordeined at Lypſia. which is a Cittie in Miſnia, vnder the dominion of George Duke of Saxonie, vncle to Duke Fredericke. This diſputation firſt began thorough the occaſion of Ioannes Eckius, a Fryer, and Andræas Caroloſtadius, Doctour of Wittenberge. This Eckius had impugned certayne propſitions or concluſions of Martine Luther, which he had written the yeare before, touching yͤ popes pardons. Agaynſt him Caroloſtadius wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius agayne to aunſwere Caroloſtadius, ſet forth an Apology. whiche Apology Caroloſtadius agayn confuted by writing. Vpon this began the diſputation, with ſafe conduct graunted by Duke George, to al & ſingular, perſons, that would reſort to the ſame. To thys diſputation came alſo Martine Luther, with Philip Melancthō, who not paſt a yeare before was newly came to Wittenberge, Luther not thinking then to diſpute in anye matter, becauſe of his appellation aboue mentioned, but onely to heare what there was ſayd and done.

The queſtiō of free will. αὐθαίρετον.

God geueth his grace to vſury.

Firſt, before the entry into the diſputation, it was agreed, that the Actes ſhould be penned by Notaryes, and after to be diuulged abroad. But Eckius afterward went backe from that, pretending that the penning of the Notaries ſhould be an hinderaunce & a ſtay vnto them, whereby the heate of them in their reaſoning ſhuld the more languiſh and theyr vehemency rebayte. But Caroloſtadius without Notaryes woulde not diſpute. The ſumme of their diſputations was reduced to certain concluſions. Among which firſt came in queſtion to diſpute of free wyll, which the Greekes call αὐθαίρετον. That is, whether a man haue of himſelfe, any election or purpoſe, to do that is good: or (to vſe the termes of the ſchoole) whether a man of congruence, may deſerue grace, doing yͤ which in hym doth lye. Herein when yͤ queſtiō was to be diſcuſſed, what yͤ will of mā may do of it ſelfe, without grace: they through heat of contention (as the maner is) fell into other by matters and ambages, little or nothing appertayning to that which Caroloſtadius propoſed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure ſtrength to do good, is not in mans will, but is geuē of God to man to take intereſt & increaſe of man agayne, which firſt he ſeemed to deny. Then being aſked of Caroloſtadius whether yͤ whole & full good worke that is in mā proceedeth of god: to this he anſwered, yͤ whole good work but not wholy: graunting that the will is moued of God: but to cōſent, to be in mans power. Agaynſt this reaſones Caroloſtadius, alledging certain places of Auſten, & namely of S. Paule, whiche ſayth, that God worketh in vs both to will and to performe. And this ſentence of Caroloſtadius ſeemed to ouercome. Eckius for his aſſertion, inferred certayne eſcriptes out of Bernard, which ſeemed little to the purpoſe. And thus was a whole weeke loſt about this cōtentious and ſophiſticall altercation betweene Eckius, and Caroloſtadius.

Totum. Totaliter.

Phil. 2.

Luther diſputeth with Eckius.

Luthers aſſertion againſt the popes ſupremacy.

Luther (as was ſayd) came, not thinking at all to diſpute, but hauing free libertie graunted by the Duke, & vnder the popes authoritie, was prouoked, & forced agaynſt hys will to diſpute with Eckius. The matter of their controuerſie was about yͤ authoritie, of the Biſhop of Rome. Here is fyrſt to be admoniſhed, that Luther before had ſet forth in writing this doctrine: yͤ they which do attribute yͤ preheminence to the church of Rome, haue no foundation for them, but out of the Popes decrees, ſet forth not muche paſt 400. yeares heretofore: whiche decrees he affirmed to be contrary to all auncient hiſtoryes, aboue a thouſande yeares paſt, contrary alſo to the holy ſcriptures, and vnto Nicene Councell.

The aſſertion of Eckius for the ſupremacie.

Agaynſt this aſſertion Eckius ſet vp a contrarye concluſion ſaying, that they whiche holde that the ſupremacie and preheminence of the Church of Rome aboue all other Churches, was not before the time of Pope Silueſter the firſt, do erre, for as much as they which ſucceeded in the ſee and fayth of Peter, were alwayes receiued for the ſucceſſours of Peter, and vicars of Chriſt in earth.

This being the laſt of all the other Themes of Eckius yet thought he chiefly to begin with this againſt Luther, to bring him into more diſpleaſure with the B. of Rome, wherein Luther himſelf much refuſed to diſpute, alledging that matter to be more odious then neceſſary, for that preſent time, and that alſo for the B. of Romes ſake, he had much rather keepe ſilence in the ſame. Whereunto if he muſt needes be vrged, he would the fault ſhould be vnderſtanded of all men to be where it was, namely in his aduerſary which prouoked him thereunto, & not in himſelfe. Eckius agayn clearing himſelfe, tranſlateth all the fault vnto Luther, which firſt in his treatiſe, De indulgentijs Papæ, defended that before pope Silueſters tyme the church of Rome had no place of maioritie, or preheminence aboue other churches, & alſo before yͤ Cardinall Caietanus affirmed yͤ Pope Pelagianus wreſted many places of the Scripture out of their ſenſe, vnto hys owne affection and purpoſe. Wherefore the fault hereof (ſayd he) to him rather is to be imputed, which miniſtred the firſt occaſion.

Diſputation betwene Luther and Eckius about the popes ſupremacy.

Ex paralip. Abbat. Vrſp.

The reaſons of Eckius for the ſupremacy.

Hieron.

Ciprian.

Bernard.

Thus Luther being egged and ſtrayned to diſpute, whether he would or no, the queſtion began to be propounded touching the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome: which ſupremacy Eckius did contend to be founded & grounded vpon Gods law. M. Luther on the other ſide, denyed not the ſupremacie of the Byſhoppe of Rome aboue other churches, neither denyed the ſame moreouer to be vniuerſall ouer all churches: but onely he affirmed it not to be inſtituted by Gods lawe. Vpon this queſtiō the diſputation did continue the ſpace of 5. dayes. During al which ſeaſon, Eckius very vnhoneſtly & vncurteouſly demeaned himſelfe, ſtudying by all meanes how to bring his aduerſary into yͤ hatred of the auditors, & into danger of the P. The reaſons of Eckius were theſe. For ſo much as yͤ church beyng a ciuill body, cannot be without an head, therefore as it ſtandeth wͭ Gods law, that other ciuil regiments ſhould not be deſtitute of theyr head, ſo is it by Gods law requiſite that the pope ſhould be the head of the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt. To this M. Luther aunſwered, that he confeſſeth & graunteth yͤ Church not to be headles, ſo long as Chriſt is aliue, who is the onely head of yͤ Church, neither doth the Churche require any other head beſide hym, for ſo much as it is a ſpirituall kingdome, not earthly: and he alledged for hym the place of Colloſ. 1. Eckius agayne produced certayne places out of Hierome and Cyprian, whiche made very little to proue the primacie of the P. to hold by Gods law. As touchig yͤ teſtimony of Bernard neither was yͤ authoritie of yͤ author of any great force in thys caſe, neither was the place alledged ſo greatly to yͤ purpoſe.

Math. 16.

Luther aunſwereth to the place of S. Math.

Then came he to the place of S. Math. 16. Tu es Petrus &c. Thou art Peter, and vpon thys rock I will build my Church &c. To this was aunſwered, that thys was a confeſſion of faith, and that Peter there repreſenteth the perſon of the whole vniuerſall Church, as Auſten doth expound it. Alſo that Chriſte in that place meaneth himſelfe to be the Rocke, as is manifeſt to collect, both by hys wordes and order of the ſentence, and many other coniectures. Likewiſe to the place of S. Iohn. Paſce oues meas: Feede my ſheepe. Which wordes Eckius alleged properly and peculiarly to be ſpoken to Peter alone. Martin aunſweared, that after theſe wordes ſpoken, equall authoritie was geuen to all the Apoſtles, where Chriſt ſayeth vnto them, Receiue ye the holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer yee remit, they are remitted. &c. By theſe wordes (ſayeth hee) Chriſt aſſigning to them their office, doeth teache what is to feede, and what he ought to be that feedeth. After thys Eckius came to the authoritie of the Councell of Conſtance, alleging this amongſt other articles, De neceſsitate ſalutis eſt, credere Rom. pontificem Occumenicum eſſe, That is, that it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of our ſaluation to beleeue the Biſhop of Rome to bee ſupreme heade of the Churche: alleging moreouer, that in the ſame Councell was debated and diſcuſſed, that the general Councel could not erre. Whereunto Martin Luther againe did anſwere diſcreetly, ſaying that al the articles which Iohn Hus dyd holde in that Councell, were not condemned for hereticall: with much other matter more. Againe, of what authoritie that Councel of Conſtance is to be eſtemed, that he leaft to other mens iudgemēts. This is moſt certain (ſaid he) that no Councell hath ſuch authoritie to make newe articles of faith. Here M. Luther began to be cryed out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminiſhing ẏ authority of generall Councels. Although in deede he meane nothing leſſe, but euer labored to confirme the authority of the ſame: yet was he called hereticke & ſchiſmaticke, and one of the Bohemes faction, with many other termes moe of reprochful contumely. Eckius then graunted the authoritie of the Apoſtles to be equal: & yet not to folow therby, the authoritie of all Byſhops therefore to be equall: For betwene Apoſtleſhip and miniſterie (ſayd he) there is great difference.

Iohn. 21.

The aunſwere of Luther to the place of S. Iohn. Palce Oues meas.

The authoritie of the councell of Conſtance.

To conclude, Eckius in no caſe coulde abide that anye creature ſhoulde decline from any worde or ſentence of the Popes decrees, or the cōſtitutions of the forefathers. To this againe Luther anſweared, grounding him ſelfe vpon the place ad Gal. 2. where S. Paule ſpeaking of the principall Apoſtles, ſayeth: And of them which ſeemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to mee, for God accepteth no mans perſon: neuertheleſſe, they that were of ſome reputation, dyd auayle nothing at all, &c. Eckius to this ſaid, that as touching the authoritie of the Apoſtles, they were all choſen of Chriſt, but were ordeyned Biſhops of Saint Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the conſtitution of the decree, which ſayeth, Ne Romanus pontifex vniuerſalis Epiſcopus nominetur, &c. Yea let not the Biſhop alſo of Rome bee called vniuerſal Biſhop, &c. To this Eckius aunſweared on this ſort, that the Biſhop of Rome ought not to be called vniuerſal Biſhop: yet he may be called (ſayd he) Byſhop of the vniuerſall church. And thus much touching the queſtion of the Popes ſupremacie.

Gala. 2.

Here is good doctrine of Eckius, I trowe.

From this matter, they entred nexte to Purgatorie wherein Eckius kept no order. For whē they ſhould haue diſputed, what power the Pope hath in Purgatorie, Eckius turneth the ſcope of the queſtion, and prooueth that there is Purgatorie, & allegeth for him the place of Machab. Luther leaning vpon the iudgement of Hierom, affirmeth the booke of Machabees not to be Canonical. Eckius againe replyeth the booke of Machabees to be of no leſſe authoritie then the Goſpels. Alſo he alleged the place 1. Corinth. 3. Hee ſhall bee ſaued, yet ſo as it were by fyre. Moreouer he inferred the place of Math. 5. Agree thou with thine aduerſary while thou art in the way with him, leaſt he commit thee into priſon from whence thou ſhalt not eſcape, tyll thou haſt payed the vttermoſt farthing. &c. To this he added alſo the place of the Pſalmes: We haue paſſed through the fire and water. &c. Howe theſe places be wraſted to purgatory, let the reader diſcerne and iudge.

The queſtion of Purgatorie.

2. Mach. 12.

1. Corint. 3.

Math. 5.

Pſal. 65.

Then was inferred the queſtion of indulgences, whereof Eckius ſeemed to make but a toy & a matter of nothing, and ſo paſſed it ouer.

The queſtion of Indulgences.

At laſt they came to the queſtion of penaunce, touching which matter, the reaſons of Eckius digreſſed much from the purpoſe, which went about to proue that there be ſome maner of paynes of ſatiſfaction: which thing Luther dyd neuer deny. But that for euery particuler offenſe, ſuch particuler penaunce is exacted of Gods iuſtice vpon the repētant ſinner, as is in mans power to remitte or releaſe, as pleaſeth him: ſuch penaunce, neither Luther, nor anye other true Chriſtian did admit. And thus haue ye the chiefe effect of this diſputation betweene Luther and Eckius at Lypſia, which was in the month of July an. 1519.

The queſtion of Penaunce.

About the beginning of the ſame yeare, 1519. Ulder icke Zuinglius came firſt to Zuricke, and there began to teach. Who in the 16. article, in his booke of articles, recordeth, that Luther and both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of an other, began to write againſt the popes pardons and indulgences. Albeit if the time be rightly counted, I ſuppoſe we ſhall finde that Luther began a yeare or two before Zuinglius. Notwithſtanding this doth Sledan teſtifie, that in this preſent yeare, when Sampſon a Franciſcan, came with the popes pardons to Zurick, Ul dericke Zuinglius did withſtand him, and declared hys chaffer and pardons to be but a vayne ſeducing of the people, to inueagle away their money. Ex Sled Lib. 1.

When Vldericus Zuinglius came to Tigurie.

Luther and Zuinglus began both at one tyme to write against the Pope.

The next yeare enſuing, which was 1250. the Fryers and Doctours of Louane, and alſo of Colen, condemned ẏ bookes of Luther as hereticall. Agaynſt whom Luther agayne effectuouſly defended himſelfe, and charged them with obſtinate violence, and malicious impiety. After this within fewe dayes flaſheth out from Rome the thunderbolt of pope Leo againſt the ſaid Luther notwithſtanding he ſo humbly and obediently before had reuerenced both the perſon of the pope, and agniſed the authoritie of his ſee and alſo had dedicated vnto him, and bookes intituled De Chriſtiana libertate: that is, of Chriſtian libertye: In which booke theſe two poyntes principally hee diſcuſſeth and prooueth.

Luthers bookes condemned at Louen, and Colen Pope Leos Bull against Luther.

Lutherus de libertate Chriſtiana.

1 That a Chriſten man is free and Lorde of all thinges, and ſubiect to none.

2 That a Chriſten man is a dilligent vnderling and ſeruaunt of all men, and to euery man ſubiect.

Moreouer, in the ſame yeare he ſet out a defence of all his articles, which the popes Bull had before condemned.

An other book alſo he wrote to the nobilitie of Germanie, in the which booke he impugneth and ſhaketh ẏ three principall walles of the papiſtes: the firſt whereof is this.

Lutherus ad Nobilitatem Germaniæ. Three wals or bulwarkes of the papiſtes.

1 Where as ẏ papiſtes ſay, that no temporal or prophane magiſtrate hath any power vpon the ſpiritualtie: but they haue power ouer the other.

2 Where any place of Scripture being in controuerſie is to be decided, they ſay, No man may expound ẏ ſcripture, or be iudged thereof, but onely the Pope.

3 When any Councell is brought againſt them, they ſay, that no man hath authoritie to call a Councell, but onely the Pope.

Moreouer, in the foreſayd book diuers other matters he handleth and diſcourſeth: That ẏ Pope can ſtop no free Councell. Alſo what things ought to be handled in Cōcels. That the pryde of the pope is not to be ſuffered. What money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, mounting to the ſumme of 3000000. Florences. The true meaning of this verſe he expoundeth: Tu ſupplex ora: tu protege, tuq; labora. Wherein the three eſtates with their offices and dueties are deſcribed: to wyt, the miniſter the magiſtrate, & the ſubiectes. Furthermore in the ſayd booke he prooueth and diſcuſſeth, that the Emperour is not vnder the Pope but contrariwiſe: that the donation of Conſtantine is not true, but forged: that prieſtes may haue wiues: that ẏ voyces of the people ought not to be ſeperate from the election of eccleſiaſticall perſons: that interdicting and ſuſpending of matrimony at certayne times, is brought in of auarice: what is the right vſe of excommunicatiō: that there ought to be fewer holy daies: that liberty ought not to be reſtrained in meates: that wilfull pouerty and begging ought to be aboliſhed, what damage and inconuenience haue growen by the Councell of Conſtance: and what miſfortunes Sigiſmund the Emperour ſuſteined, for not keeping faith and promiſe with Iohn Hus and Hierom: that hereticks ſhould be conuinced, not by fire and fagot, but by euidence of Scripture and Gods word, how ſchooles and vniuerſities ought to be reformed: what is to be ſayd and iudged of the popes Decretals, that ẏ firſt teaching of children ought to begin with the Goſpell. Item, he writeth in the ſame booke agaynſt exceſſiue apparell among the Germaines. Alſo againſt their exceſſe in ſpyces. &c.

The booke of Luther to the Nobilitie, with the matter therto conteyned.

In this yeare moreouer followed not long after, the coronation of the new Emperour Carolus quintus: whiche was in the month of Octob. at Aquiſgraue.

Charles th Emperour crowned.

After whiche coronation being ſolemniſed about the month of nouemb. Pope Leo ſent againe to Duke Fridericke two Cardinals, hys Legates: of whom the one was Hieronymus Aleander, who after a few wordes of high cōmendation firſt premiſed to the Duke touching his noble progenie, and other his famous vertues, they made two requeſtes vnto him in the Popes name: Firſt that he would cauſe all bookes of Luther to be burned. Secondly, that he would eyther ſee the ſaid Luther there to be executed, or els would make him ſure, and ſend him vp to Rome vnto the popes preſence.

Duke Fredeꝛickes anſwere to the Popes Legates, for Luther.

Theſe two requeſtes ſeemed very ſtrange vnto y^e duke, who anſweryng again to the Cardinals ſaid, that he being long abſent from thence, about other publique affayres, could not tell what there was done, neither did hee communicate with the doinges of Luther. Notwithſtandyng this he heard y^t Eckius was a great perturber not only of Luther, but of other diuers learned and good men of hys vniuerſitie. As for himſelfe he was alwayes ready to doe his duety, firſt in ſending Luther to Caietanus the Cardinall, at the citie of Auguſta, and afterward at y^e Popes commaundement would haue ſent him away out of hys dominion, had not Meltitius the popes owne Chamberlayne geuen contrary counſell to retayne him ſtill in hys owne country, fearing leaſt y^t in other countryes he might do more harme, where he was leſſe knowne: and ſo nowe alſo was as ready to doe his duety, where ſoeuer right ſhould ſo require. But for ſo much as in this cauſe, he ſeeth much hatred and violence ſhewed on the one party, and no errour yet conuicted on the other party, but that it hath rather the approbation of diuers well learned of ſound iudgement: and for ſo much as alſo the cauſe of Luther was not yet heard before the Emperour: therefore he deſired the ſayd Legates to be a meane to the Popes holines, that certaine learned perſons of grauitie and vpright iudgement, might be aſſigned to haue the hearing and determination of this matter, & that his errour firſt might be knowen, before he were made an heretique, or his bookes burned: which being done, when he ſhould ſee his errour by manifeſt and ſound teſtimonies of Scriptures conuinced, Luther ſhould finde no fauour at his handes. Otherwiſe he truſted that y^e popes holines would exact no ſuch thyng of him, which he might not with equitie and honour of his place and eſtate, reaſonably performe. &c.

The Popes Legates burne the bookes of Luther.

Then the cardinals, declaring to the duke agayn, that they could no otherwiſe do, but accordyng to the forme of theyr preſcript commiſſion, they muſt proceede: tooke the bookes of Luther, and ſhortly after ſet fire vpon them, and openly burnt them. Luther hearing this, in like maner called all the multitude of ſtudentes and learned men in Wittenberge, and there takyng the popes decrees, and the Bull lately ſent out againſt him, openly and ſolemnly accompanied with a great number of people followyng him, ſet them likewiſe on fire, and burnt them, which was the tenth of December.

Luther burneth the Popes decrees and Bulles at Wittëberg.

A litle before theſe thinges thus paſſed betweene the Pope and M. Luther, the Emperour had commaunded & ordayned a ſitting or aſſemble of the ſtates of al y^e Empyre to be holden at the City of Wormes, agaynſt the ſixt day of January next enſuing. In the whiche aſſemble, through y^e meanes of Duke Fredericke, the Emperoꝛ gaue foꝛth that he woulde haue the cauſe of Luther there brought befoꝛe him, and ſo it was. For at what tyme the aſſemble was commenced in the city of Woꝛmes, the daye and moneth afoꝛeſayd, which was the 6. of January, afterward vpon y^e ſixt day of marche following, the Emperour through the inſtigation of Duke Fredericke, directed hys letters vnto Luther, ſignifying, that for ſo muche as he had ſet abroad certayne bookes, he therfoꝛe by the aduiſe of his peeres & princes about him, had oꝛdayned to haue y^e cauſe brought befoꝛ him in hys owne hearing, and therefoꝛe he graunted hym licence to come and returne home agayne. And that he might ſafely and quickly ſo doe, and be therof aſſured he promiſed vnto him by publicke fayth and credite, in the name of the whole Empyꝛe, his Paſpoꝛt and ſafeconduite as by the inſtrument whiche he ſent vnto hym, he might moꝛe fully be aſcertayned. Wherefoꝛe without all doubte oꝛ diſtruſt, he willed him eftſoones to make hys repayꝛe vnto him, and to be there preſent the 21. day after the receit thereof: and becauſe he ſhoulde not miſdoubt anye fraude oꝛ iniurye herein, he aſſured to him his warrant and promyſe.

The Emperours letter, with his ſafe cõduict ſent to M. Luther.

M. Luther being thus prouided foꝛ his ſafeconduict by the Emperour, after he had bene firſt accurſed at Rome vpon Maundy Thurſday, by the popes cenſure, ſhoꝛtly after Eaſter ſpeedeth hys iourny towarde the Emperour, at Woꝛmes. Where the ſayde Luther appearing befoꝛe the Emperour and all the ſtates of Germany, how conſtantly he ſtocke to the truth, and defended hymſelfe, and anſwered his aduerſaryes, and what aduerſaryes hee had, here followeth in ful hiſtory with the actes and doings as there happened, according as in our foꝛmer edition partly was befoꝛe deſcribed.

M. Luther accurſed at Rome of the Pope.

¶ The actes and doynges of Martin Luther, before the Emperour, at the Citty of Wormes.

Anno. 1521.

IN the yeare of our ſaluation. 1521. about ſeuentene dayes after Eaſter, Martin Luther entered into Woꝛmes, being ſent foꝛ by the Emperour Charles the 5. of y^t name, &c. who the firſt yeare of hys Empyꝛe, made an aſſemble of princes in the foꝛeſayd Citie. And whereas M. Luther had publiſhed three yeares befoꝛe, certayne propoſitions to be diſputed in the towne of Wittenberge in Saxonie, againſt the tyranny of the pope (which notwithſtanding were toꝛne in peeces, condemned and burned by y^e papiſtes, and yet by no manifeſt Scriptures, noꝛ probable reaſon conuinced) the matter began to grow to a tumult & vpꝛoꝛe, & yet Luther mayntayned all this while openly his cauſe againſt y^e clergy. Wherupon it ſeemed good to certain y^t Luther ſhoulde be called, aſſigning vnto hym an Herault of armes, with a letter of ſafe conduict, by the Emperour and Princes. Being ſent foꝛ, he came, and was brought to the Knightes of the Rhodes place, where he was lodged, well entertayned, and viſited of many Erles Barons, Knightes of the oꝛder, Gentlemen Prieſtes and the communaltie, who frequented his lodging til night.

Luther is ſent for to Wormes.

To conclude, he came contrary to the expectatiõ of many, as wel aduerſaries, as other. For albeit he was ſet foꝛ by the Emperours meſſenger, and had letters of ſafeconduict: yet foꝛ that a few dayes befoꝛe his acceſſe, his bookes were cõdemned by publique proclamations, it was much doubted of by many y^t he would not come: and the rather, foꝛ that his frendes deliberated together in a village nye hand, called Oppenhime (where Luther was firſt aduertiſed of theſe occurrentes) & many perſwaded him not to aduenture him ſelfe to ſuche a preſent danger, conſidering howe theſe beginninges anſwered not to the fayth of promiſe made: who whẽ he had heard their whole perſwaſiõ & aduiſe, he anſwered in this wiſe: As touchyng mee, ſince I am ſent foꝛ, I am reſolued & certainly determined to enter Woꝛmes, in the name of our Loꝛde Ieſus Chꝛiſte, yea although I knew there were ſo many deuils to reſiſt me, as there are tyles to couer the houſes in Woꝛmes.

Conſtancy in Luther.

The fourth daye after his repayꝛe, a Gentleman, named Vlricke of Pappenhim, Lieutenaunt generall of the men at armes of the empire, was commanded by the emperour befoꝛe dynner, to repayꝛe to Luther, and inioyne hym at foure of the clocke in the after noone, to appeare befoꝛe the Emperial maieſtie, the Princes Electoꝛs, Dukes, and other eſtates of the Empire, to vnderſtande the cauſe of his ſendyng foꝛ: wherunto he willingly agreed, as hys duetie was.

And after iiij. a clocke Vlricke Pappenhim: and Caſper Sturm the Emperoꝛs Heraulde (who conducted M. Luther from Wittenberge to Woꝛmes) came foꝛ Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knightes of the Rhodes place, to the Earle Palatines pallace: and leaſt the people ſhould moleſt him, that thꝛõged in, he was led by ſecrete ſtayꝛes to the place where he was appointed to haue audience. Yet manye, who perceyued the pretence, violently ruſhed in, and were reſiſted, albeit in vaine many aſcended the galleries, becauſe they deſired to behold Luther.

Luther is brought before the Emperour.

Thus ſtanding befoꝛe the Emperour, the Electours, Dukes, Earles, and all the eſtates of the Empire, aſſembled there, he was firſt aduertiſed by Vlricke of Pappenhim, to keepe ſilence vntil ſuch time as he was required to ſpeake. Then Iohn Eckius aboue mentioned, who then was the Biſhop of Triers general officiall, with a loude and intelligible voyce, firſt in Latine, then in Dutche, accoꝛding to the Emperours commaundement, ſaide & proponed this ſentence in maner as enſueth, oꝛ like in effect.

Iohn Eckius propoundeth againſt M. Luther.

Martyn Luther, the ſacred and inuincible Emperiall maieſtie hath enioyned by the conſent of all the eſtates of the holye Empyre, that thou ſhouldeſt be appealed before the throne of his maieſtie, to the ende I might demaunde of thee theſe twoo poyntes.

Firſt, whether thou confeſſeſt theſe bookes here (for hee ſhewed a heape of Luthers bookes written in the Latine and Dutch tongues) and which are in all places diſperſed, intituled with thy name, be thine, and thou doeſt affirme them to be thine, or not Secondly, whether thou wylt recant and reuoke them, and al that is contayned in them, or rather meaneſt to ſtand to that thou haſt written?

Then befoꝛe Luther, prepared to aunſwere, Mayſter Ierome Scurffius, a Lawyer of Wittenberge, required that the tytles of the bookes ſhould be read. Foꝛthwith the foꝛeſaid Eckius named certayne of the bookes, and thoſe principally whiche were imprinted at Baſil, among the

Hierome Schurfe.

which he nominated his Comentaries vpon the Pſaltar his booke of good workes, his Commentary vpon ẏ Lords prayer, and diuers other, which were not contentious.

M.Luthers aunſwere.

After this Luther anſwered thus in Latine & in dutch, Two things are propounded vnto me by the Emperial maieſtie. Firſt, whether I will auouche for mine, all thoſe bookes ẏ beare my name: Secondly, whether I will maintayne or reuoke any thing that hytherto I haue deuiſed & publiſhed. whereunto I wil anſwere as briefly as I can,

Luther refuſeth to reuoke his bookes.

In the firſt, I can do none other then recogniſe thoſe bookes to be mine, which laſtly were named, & certaynely I will neuer recant any clauſe therof. In the ſecond to declare whether I will wholy defend, or call backe any thing cōpriſed in them: forasmuch as there be queſtiōs of faith & ẏ ſaluation of the ſoule (& this concerneth ẏ word of God, which is the greateſt & moſt excellent matter that can be in heauen or earth, & the which we ought duely euermore to reuerēce:) this might be accoūted in me a raſhnes of iudgemēt, & euen a moſt dangerous attēpt, if I would pronoūce any thing before I wer better aduiſed, cōſidering I might recite ſomething leſſe then the matter importeth, and more then the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate ẏ whiche I would ſpeake. The which two thinges well conſidered doth ſet before mine eyes this ſentence of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, wherin it is ſaid: Whoſoeuer ſhall deny me before mē, I will deny him before my father. I require then for this cauſe and humbly beſeech the Emperiall maieſtie, to graunt me liberty and leyſure to deliberate, ſo that I may ſatiſfie the interrogatiō made vnto me, without preiudice of ẏ worde of God, and perill of mine owne ſoule.

Luther deſireth reſpite to aunſwere.

Wherupon the princes began to deliberate. This done Eckius the prolocutor pronounced what was their reſolution, ſaying: Albeit M. Luther, thou haſt ſufficiently vnderſtanded by the Emperoures commaundement, ẏ cauſe of thy appearance here, & therfore doeſt not deſerue to haue any further reſpite geuen thee to determine: yet the Emperous maieſtie of his mere clemencie, graunteth thee one day to meditate for thine anſwere, ſo that to morow at this inſtant houre thou ſhalt repayre to exhibite thyne opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the ſame with liuely voyce.

This done, Luther was led to hys lodging by the herauld. But herein I may not be obliuious, that in the way going to the Emperour & when he was in the aſſemble of princes, he was exhorted of other to be couragious, & mā ly to demean ſhimſelf, and not to feare them that kil the body, but not the ſoule: but rather to dread him that is able to ſend both body and ſoule to euerlaſting fire.

Luther is exhorted to be conſtant.

Furthermore he was encouraged with this ſentence: When thou art before kinges, thinke not what thou ſhalt ſpeake: for it ſhall be geuen thee in that houre.

Math. 10.

The next day after foure a clocke, the Herauld came & brought Luther from his lodging to the emperors court, where he abode till ſixe a clocke, for that the princes were occupyed in graue conſultations, abiding there and being enuironed with a great number of people, and almoſt ſmothered for the preaſe that was there. Then after when the Princes were ſet, and Luther entred, Eckius the Officiall began to ſpeake in this maner.

Eckius againe propoundeth agaynſt Luther.

Yeſter day at this houre, the Emperours maieſtie aſſigned thee to be here M. Luther, for that thou didſt affirm thoſe books ẏ we named yeſterday to be thine. Further, to ẏ interrogation by vs made, whether thou wouldeſt approue al ẏ is contayned in thē, or aboliſh and make voyde any part therof, ẏ didſt require time of deliberation, which was graunted, & is now expyred. Albeit thou oughteſt not to haue opportunitie graunted to deliberate, conſidering it was not vnknowne to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of fayth, euery man ought to be ſo prepared, that at all times when ſoeuer he ſhalbe required, he may geue certayne & conſtant reaſon therof, & thou eſpeciall being counted a man of ſuch learning, and ſo long tyme exerciſed in Theologie. Then goe to, aunſwere euen now to the Emperours demaund, whoſe bountye ẏ haſt proued in geuing thee leiſure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintayn all thy bookes which thou haſt acknowledged, or reuoke any part of them, and ſubmit thy ſelfe. The Officiall made this interrogation in Latine and in Dutche. Martine Luther anſwered in Latine and in Dutch in this wiſe, modeſtly and lowly, and yet not without ſome ſtoutnes of ſtomacke and Chriſtian conſtancie, ſo as his aduerſaries woulde gladlye haue had hys courage more humbled and abaſed, but yet more earneſtly deſired his recantation, wherof they were in ſome good hope, whē they heard him deſire reſpite of time to make his anſwere.

His aunſwere was this.

Moſt magnificent Emperor, and you moſt noble princes and my moſt gentle Lordes, I appeare before you here at the houre preſcribed vnto me yeſterday: yelding the obedience that I owe, humbly beſeeching for Gods mercy, your moſt renowmed maieſty, and your graces & honors, that ye will miniſter vnto me this curteſy, to attende this cauſe beningly, which is the cauſe (as I truſt) of Iuſtice and verity. And if by Ignoraunce I haue not geuen vnto euery one of you your iuſt titles, or if I haue not obſerued the ceremonies and countenaunce of the Court, offending againſt them: it may pleaſe you to pardone me of your benignities, as one that onely hath frequented cloyſters, and not courtly ciuylities. And firſt, as touching my ſelf, I can affirme or promiſe no other thinge, but onely this, that I haue taught hitherto in ſymplycytye of minde, that which I haue thought to tende to Gods glory, & to the ſaluation of mens ſoules.

M.Luther aunſwereth for him ſelf.

Now as concerninge the two articles obiected by your moſt excellente maieſtye, whether I woulde acknowledge thoſe bookes which were named, and be publyſhed in my name, or whether I would mainteine & not reuoke thē: I haue geuē reſolute anſwere to the firſt, in the which I perſiſt & ſhall perſeuer for euermore, ẏ theſe bookes be myne, and publyſhed by me in my name, vnleſſe it hath ſyth happened that by ſome fraudulent misdealing of myne enemies there be any thyng foyſted in them, or corruptly correcred: For I will acknowledge nothing, but that I haue wrytten, and that which I haue wrytten, I will not deny.

Luther geueth a compt of hys fayth before the Emperour.

Now to anſweare to the ſecond article, I beſeech your moſt excellent maieſtye, and your graces, to vouchſafe to geue eare. Al my bookes are not of one ſort. There be ſome, in which I haue ſo ſimply and ſoundly declared & opened the religion of Chriſten faith and of good workes, that my very enemyes are compelled to confeſſe them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Chryſtyans. And truely the Popes Bull (how cruell and tyrannous ſo euer it be) iudgeth certayne of my bookes inculpable, albeyt the ſame with ſeuere ſentence, thundreth againſt me, and with monſtruous cruelty condēneth my bookes, which books if I ſhuld reuoke. I might worthely be thought to neglect and tranſgreſſe the office of a true Chriſtian, and to be one alone, that repugneth the publicke confeſſion of all people

He deuideth hys workes into three partes.

There is an other ſort of my books, which containe inuectiues agaynſt the Papacie, and other of the popes retinue, as haue with theyr peſtiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole ſtate of our Chriſtianitie. Neyther can any deny or diſſemble this, whereunto vniuerſall experience, and common complaynt of all beare witneſſes that the conſciences of all faythfull men be moſt miſerably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Popes lawes and doctrines of men. Alſo that the goodes and ſubſtaunce of Chriſten people are deuoured, eſpecially in this noble and famous countrey of Germanye, and yet without order, and in moſt deteſtable maner, are ſuffered ſtill to be deuoured, without all meaſure, by incredible tyranny: notwithſtanding that they themſelues haue ordayned to the contrary in theyr owne proper lawes, as in the Diſtinct. 9. & 25. q. 1. & 2. where they themſelues haue decreed that all ſuch lawes of popes which be repugnant to ẏ doctrine of the Goſpell, and the opinions of the auncient Fathers, are to be iudged erroneous, and reproued.

The Pope proceedeth contrary to his owne doctrine.

If then I ſhall reuoke theſe, I can do none other, but adde more force to theyr tyranny, and open not onely wyndowes, but wide gates to theyr impiety, whiche is like to extend more wide, and more licenciouſly then euer it durſt heretofore: And by the teſtimonie of this my retractation, their inſolent kingdome ſhalbe made more licencious, and leſſe ſubiect to puniſhment, intollerable to the cōmon people, and alſo more confirmed and eſtabliſhed, eſpecially if this be bruited, that I. Luther haue done this by the authoritie of your moſt excellent maieſtie, and the ſacred Romaine empyre. Oh Lord, what a couer or ſhadow ſhall I be then to cloke theyr naughtines and tyranny?

The reſt, or thyrd ſort of my bookes are ſuch as I haue written againſt certaine priuate and ſingular perſons, to wyt, againſt ſuch as with tooth and nayle labour to maintaine the Romiſh tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion, which I haue taught and profeſſed. As touching theſe, I playnly confeſſe I haue bene more vehemēt, then my religion and profeſſeion required. For I make my ſelfe no Sainct, and I diſpute not of my life, but of the doctrine of Chriſt.

And theſe I cannot without preiudice cal back. For by this recantacion it will come to paſſe, that tyrannie and impietie ſhall raigne, ſupported by my meanes, and ſo ſhal they exerciſe crueltie againſt people, more violently and ragyngly then before.

He requireth to be inſtructed if he haue erred.

Neuertheles, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwiſe enterpriſe to defend my bookes, then did my verye Lorde Ieſus Chriſt defende his doctrine. who being examined of his learning before Annas, and hauing receiued a buffet of the miniſter, ſayd, If I haue ſpoken euill, beare witneſſe of the euill.

Iohn. 18.

If the Lord (who was perfect, and could not erre) refuſed not to haue teſtimony geuē agaynſt his doctrine, yea of a moſt vile ſeruaunt: howe much the more then I, that am but vile corruptiō, and can of my ſelfe doe nothing, but erre, ought earneſtlye to ſee and require, if any will beare witneſſe agaynſt my doctrine?

Therfore I require, for Gods mercy, your moſt excellent maieſty, your graces and right honorable Lordſhyps, or what ſo euer he bee of high or lowe degree, here to lay in his teſtimony, conuict my errours, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophetes or the Apoſtles, and I will be moſt ready (if I be ſo inſtructed) to reuoke any maner of errour: yea and will be the firſt that ſhall cōſume mine owne bookes and burne them.

Diſſentions and diuiſiōs folow the doctrine of Chriſt, not for anye cauſe in the doctrine, but in the aduerſary.

I ſuppoſe hereby it may appeare, that I haue perpended, and well weyed before, the perils and daungers, the diuiſions and diſſentions which haue riſē throughout the whole world, by reaſon of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and ſharply yeſterday admoniſhed. Concerning which diuiſions of mens minds, what other mē do iudge, I know not, as touching my ſelfe, I conceiue no greater delectation in any thing, then when I behold diſcords and diſſenſions ſtyrred vp for the word of God, For ſuch is the courſe and proceeding of the Goſpell. Ieſus Chriſt ſayth: I came not to ſend peace but a ſworde. I came to ſet a man at varyance with his father.

Math. 10.

And further, we muſt thinke, that our God is maruellous and terrible in his Coūcels, leaſt perhaps that which we endeuour with earneſt ſtudy to atchieue and bringe to paſſe (if we begynne firſt with condemning of hys worde) the ſame rebound agayne to an huge ſea of euill: and leaſt the newe raigne of this younge and bounteous Prince Charles (in whome next after GOD, we all conceaue ſingular hope) be lamentable, vnfortunate, and miſerably begunne.

Mans counſaile without Gods worde and his feare, be vnfortunate

I could exemplify this with authorityes of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharao, the King of Babylon, and the Kinges of Iſrael, who then moſt obſcured the bright ſunne of theyr glory, and procured theyr own ruine, when by ſage councels they attempted to pacify and eſtabliſh theyr Gouernementes and Realmes, and not by Gods Counſelles: for it is he that intrappeth the wilye in theyr wylyneſſe, and ſubuerteth mountaynes before they be ware. wherefore it is good, and Gods worke, to dreade the Lord.

I ſpeake not this, ſuppoſing that ſo politique and prudent heades haue need of my doctrine or admonition, but becauſe I would not omit to profite my countrey, and offer my duty or ſeruice that may tend to the aduauncement of the ſame. And thus I humbly commend me to your moſt excellēt maieſty, and your honorable Lordſhips, beſeching you that I may not incurre your diſpleaſures, neyther be contemned of you, through the purſute of my aduerſaryes. I haue ſpoken.

Luther prouoked again to ſubmit hym ſelfe.

Theſe wordes pronounced, then Eckius the Emperors Prolocutor, with a ſterne countenance beganne, and ſayd, that Luther had not aunſwered to any purpoſe, neyther it behoued him to call in queſtion, thinges in time paſt concluded and defined by generall Councels: and therfore they required of him a playne and direct aunſwere, whether he would reuoke or no.

Luthers abſolute aunſwere.

Then Luther: conſidering (ſayde he) your ſoueraigne maieſty, and your honors require a playne aunſwere: thys I ſay and profeſſe as reſolutely as I may, without doubling or ſophiſtication, that if I be not conuinced by teſtimonies of the Scriptures, & by probale reaſons (for I beleeue not the Pope, neither his generall Councels, which haue erred many times, and haue bene contrary to themſelues) my conſcience is ſo bound and captiued in theſe ſcriptures and word of God which I haue alledged, that I will not, nor may not reuoke any maner of thing, conſidering it is not godly or lawfull to do any thing againſt cōſciēce. Hereupon I ſtand and reſt. I haue not what els to ſay. GOD haue mercy vpon me.

The princes conſulted together vpon this anſwere geuen by Luther: and whē they had diligently examined the ſame, the prolocutor began to repell him thus.

Eckius againe replieth.

Martin (ſayd he) thou haſt more immodeſtly aunſwered, then beſeemed thy perſon, and alſo litle to the purpoſe. Thou deuideſt thy bookes into three ſortes, in ſuch order as all that thou haſt ſayd, maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore if thou haddeſt reuoked thoſe, wherein the greateſt parte of thine errours is contayned, the Emperours Maieſty, and the noble clemency of other would haue ſuffered the reſt that be ſound, to ſuſteyn no iniury. But thou doeſt reuiue and bringeſt to light againe, all that the generall Councell of Conſtance hath condemned, the which was aſſembled of all the nation of Germany, & now doeſt require to be conuinced with ſcriptures, wherein thou erreſt greatly. For what auayleth it to renue diſputation of thinges ſo long time paſt condemned by ye church and Councels, vnleſſe it ſhould be neceſſary to geue a reaſon to euery man of euery thing that is concluded? Nowe were it ſo, that this ſhould be permitted to euery one that gaynſtandeth the determination of the Church and councels, that he may once get his aduauntage, to be conuinced by the Scriptures, we ſhall haue nothing certayne and eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendome.

The Papiſtes ſtande onely vpon their church and councels.

And this is the cauſe wherefore the Emperours maieſty requireth of thee a ſimple aunſwere, either negatiue or affirmatiue, whether thou mindeſt to defend all thy works as Chriſtian or no?

Then Luther turning to the Emperour, and the nobles, beſought them, not to compell him to yeelde agaynſt his conſcience confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifeſt argumentes alledged to the contrary by hys aduerſaryes. I haue declared and rendred (ſayd he) myne aunſwere ſimply and directly: neyther haue I any more to ſaye, vnleſſe mine aduerſaryes with true and ſufficient probations grounded vpon the Scripture, can reduce and reſolue my minde, and refelle mine errours, which they lay to my charge. I am tyed (as I ſayde) by the Scriptures, neither may I, or canne with a ſafe conſcience aſſent vnto them. For as touching general Councels, with whoſe authority onely they preſſe me, I am able to proue, that they haue both erred, and haue defined many times things contrary to themſelues: and therefore the authority of them, he ſayd not to be ſufficient, for the which he ſhould call back thoſe thinges, the verity whereof ſtandeth ſo firme and manifeſt in the holy Scripture: that neyther of him it ought to be required, neither could he ſo do without impiety.

Generall councels haue erred, and haue bene cōtrary to them ſelues.

Whereunto the Official agayne anſwered, denying that any man could proue the Coūcels to haue erred. But Luther alledged that he coulde, and promiſed to proue it, and now night approching, the Lordes roſe and departed. And after Luther had taken his leaue of the Emperour, diuers Spaniardes ſcorned and ſcoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, halowing and whoping after him a long while.

Upon the friday folowing, when the Princes electors, Dukes, and other eſtates were aſſembled, the Emperour ſent to the whole body of the councell, a certaine letter conteining in effect as foloweth.

¶ The Emperours letter.

The Emperours aunſwere againſt Luther.

OVr predeceſſours, who truely were Chriſtian princes, were obedient to the Romiſh Churche, which Martin Luther preſently impugneth. And therfore in as much as he is not determined to call backe his errors in any one poynt, we cannot without great infamy and ſtayn of honor, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will mayntayne the auncient fayth, and geue ayde to the ſee of Rome. And further, we be reſolued to purſue Martin Luther and his adherentes, by excommunications and by other meanes that may be deuiſed, to extinguiſh his doctrine. Neuertheleſſe we will not violate our fayth, which we haue promiſed him, but meane to geue order for ſafe returne to the place whence he came.

Conſultation vpon the Emperours letter.

THe Princes electors, Dukes, and other eſtates of the Empire, ſate and conſulted vpon this ſentence, on fryday al the after noone, and ſaterday the whole daye, ſo that Luther yet had no aunſwere of the Emperour.

During this time, diuers Princes, Earles, Barons, Knightes of the Order, Gentlemen, Prieſtes, Monkes, with other the laitie and common ſort, viſited him. Al theſe were preſent at al houres in the Emperours Courte, and could not be ſatiſfied with the ſight of him. Alſo there were bylles ſet vp, ſome againſt Luther, and ſome, as it ſeemed, with him. Notwithſtanding many ſuppoſed, and eſpecially ſuch as wel conceiued the matter, that this was ſubtilly done by his enemies, that therby occaſion might be offered to infringe the ſafe conduct giuen him, the which the Romane Ambaſſadours with all diligence endeuoured to bring to paſſe.

Great reſort to Martyn Luther.

The Monday following, before ſupper, the Archebyſhoppe of Triers aduertiſed Luther, that on Wedneſdaye nexte hee ſhoulde appeare before hym, at nine of the clocke before dynner, and aſſigned hym the place: On Sainte Georges daye a certaine Chapleine of the Archebiſhop of Triers, about ſupper tyme came to Luther, by the commaundement of the Byſhop, ſignifying that at that houre and place preſcribed, he muſt the morowe after haue acceſſe to his maiſter.

Luther appeareth before the Archb. of Tryers.

The morow after ſaynt Georges day, Luther obeying the Archbiſhops commaundement, entred his palace, being accompanyed thither with his ſayd chapleine and one of the Emperours Heraldes, and ſuch as came in his company out of Saxony to Wormes, with other his chiefe frendes: where as Doctour Vœus, the Marques of Bades chaplein began to declare and proteſt in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of Triers, Ioachine Marques of Brandeburge, George Duke of Saxonye, the biſhops of Auſburge and Brandeburge, the Earle George, Iohn Bocke of Straſburge, Verdcheymer and Peutinger Doctours, that Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to diſputation, but onely that the princes had procured licence of the Emperors maieſty, through Chriſtian charity, to haue liberty graunted vnto them, to exhort Luther beningly & brotherly.

Doct. Veus his oration to Martin Luther.

He ſayd further, that albeit the Councels had ordeyned diuers thinges, yet they had not determined contrary matters, And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abaſed or at the leaſt, not ſo erred, that it was lawful for euery man to impugne theyr opinions: inferring moreouer many thinges of Zacheus and the Centurion: Alſo of the conſtitutions and traditions and of Ceremonies ordeyned of men, affirming that all theſe were eſtabliſhed to repreſſe vices, according to the qualitye of tymes: and that the Church could not be deſtitute of humain conſtitutions. It is true (ſayde he) that by the fruites the tree may be known, yet of theſe lawes and decrees of men, many good fruites haue proceded: and ſainct Martin, ſaint Nicholas, and many other Saynctes haue bene preſent at the Councels.

For the authoriti of Councells.

This he ſpake of Luthers words, who denied any good fruites to come of their lawes.

Moreouer, that Luthers bokes would breede a great tumult and incredible troubles, and that he abuſed the common ſort with his booke of Chriſtian liberty, encouraging them to ſhake of theyr yoke, and to confirme in them a diſobedience: that the world nowe was at another ſtay, then when the beleuers were all of one hart and ſoule, and therefore it was requiſite and behouefull to haue lawes. It was to be conſidered (ſayde he) albeit he had wrytte many good thinges, and (no doubt) of a good mind, as De Triplici iuſtitia, and other matters, yet howe the deuill now by craftye meanes goeth about to bring to paſſe, that all his workes for euer ſhould be condemned: for by theſe bookes which he wrote laſt, men (ſayd he) would iudge and eſteeme him, as the tree is knowen, not by the bloſome, but by the fruit.

Here he added ſomething of the none deuil, and of the ſpirite comming in the darcke, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of Rhetoricall places of honeſty, of vtility, of lawes, of the daungers of conſcience, and of the common particular wealth, repeating ofte this ſentence in the proheme, midle, and epilogue of his oratiō: that this admonition was geuen him of a ſingulare good will, and great clemency. In the ſhutting vp of his oration, he added manacinges, ſaying: that if he would abide in his purpoſed intent, the Emperour woulde procede further, and baniſh him from the Empyre, perſwading hym deliberately to ponder, and to aduiſe theſe and other thinges.

Pſal. 90.

Martin Luther anſwered, Moſt noble Princes, and my moſt gracious Lordes, I render moſt humble thankes for your benignityes and ſinguler good wils, whence procedeth this admonition: For I knowe my ſelfe to be ſo baſe, as by no meanes I canne deſerue to bee admoniſhed of ſo mighty eſtates.

M. Luther aunſwereth to Veus.

Then he franckely pronounced, that he had not reproued all Councels, but onely the councel of Conſtance, and for this principall cauſe, for that the ſame had condemned the word of G O D, which appeared in the condemnation of this article propoſed by Iohn Hus: The Church of Chriſt is the Communion of the predeſtinate. It is euident (ſayde he) that the Councell of Conſtance aboliſhed this Article, and conſequently the Article of our fayth: I beleue the holy churche vniuerſall: and ſayd that he was ready to ſpend life and bloud, ſo he were not cōpelled to reuoke the manifeſt word of God, for in defence therof we ought rather to obey God then men: And that in this he could not auoid the ſcandall, or offence of fayth, for there bee two maner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of fayth. The ſlaunder of charity conſiſteth in maners and in life. The offences of fayth or doctrine reſt in the word of God: and as touching this laſt, he could eſcape it no maner of wayes, for it lay not in his power to make Chriſt not to be a ſtone of offence. If Chriſtes ſheepe were fedde with pure paſture of the goſpell, if the fayth of Chriſt were ſincerely preached, and if there were good Eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates who duely would execute theyr office: we ſhoulde not neede (ſayth he) to charge the Church with mens traditions. Further, that he knew wel we ought to obey the Magiſtrates and higher powers, how vniuſtly and peruerſly ſo euer they liued. We ought alſo to be obedient to theyr lawes and iudgementes: all which he had taught (ſayd he) in all his works, adding further that he was ready to obey them in all poyntes, ſo that they enforced him not to deny the word of God.

The councell of Conſtance condemned the word of God.

Scādale of faith and charitie.

These wordes finiſhed, Luther was bid ſtand aſide, & the Princes conſulted what anſwere they might geue him. This done, they called him into a parlor, whereas the foreſaid Doctour Vœus repeated his former matters, admoniſhing Luther to ſubmit his writinges to the Emperour, & to the Princes iudgement.

The Princes conſulted about Martin Luther.

Luther anſwered humbly and modeſtly, that he coulde not, neither would permit that men ſhoulde ſay he woulde ſhunne the iudgement of the Emperour, Princes, and ſuperiour powers of the Empyre. So farre was it off, that he woulde refuſe to ſtand to theyr tryall, that he was contented to ſuffer his writings to be diſcuſſed, conſidered and iudged of the ſimpleſt, ſo that it were done with ẏ authority of the worde of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the word of God made ſo muche for him, and was ſo manifeſt vnto him, that he could not geue place, vnleſſe they coulde confounde his doctrine by the worde of God. This leſſon (ſayd he) he learned of S. Auſtē, who writeth, that he gaue his honour onely to thoſe bookes which are called Canonicall, that he beleued the ſame onely to be true. As touching other Doctors, albeit in holyneſſe and excellēcy of learning the paſſed, yet he would not credit them further then they agreed with the touchſtone of Gods word. Further (ſayde he) S. Paule geueth vs a leſſon, writing to the Theſſalonians: Proue all thinges, folow that is good. And to the Galathians: Though an Aungell ſhould deſcende from heauen, if hee preach any other doctrine, let him be accurſed, and therefore not to be beleued.

The word of God only true.

1 Theſ. 5.
Gal. 1.

Finally he meekely beſought them, not to vrge his cōſcience captiued in the bands of the word of God and holy ſcripture, to denye the ſame excellent worde. And thus hee commended his cauſe and himſelfe to them, and ſpecially to ẏ Emperoures maieſty, requyring they fauour, ẏ he might not be compelled to doe anye thing, in this matter againſt his conſcience: in all other cauſes he would ſubmit himſelf with all kinde of obedience and due ſubiection.

As Luther had thus ended his talke, Ioachimus Elector, Marques of Brandeburge, demaūded if his meaning was thus, that he woulde not yelde, vnleſſe he were conuinced by the Scripture? Yea truely right Noble Lorde (quoth Luther) or els by auncient and euident reaſons. And ſo the aſſemble brake, and the Princes repayred to the Emperours Court.

After theyr departure, the Archbiſhoppe of Triers, accompanyed with a fewe his familiars, namely Iohn Eckius his Officiall, and Cochleus, commaunded Luther to repayre into his parlour. With Luther was Hieronimus Scurffius, and Nicholas Ambſdorff, for his aſſiſtaunce. Then the Officiall beganne to frame an argument like a a Sophiſt and Canoniſt, defending the Popes cauſe: that for the moſt part at all tymes holy Scriptures haue engendred errors, as the error of Heluidius the heretique, out of that place in the Goſpell, where is expreſſed: Ioſephe knewe not his wyfe tyll ſhe was deliuered of her firſt childe. Further, he went about to ouerthrow this propoſition, that the Catholique Church is the Communion of Saynctes.

False argumentes for the Pope.
Math. 1.

Martin Luther and Hierome Scurffe reprooued (but modeſtly) theſe follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth as thinges not ſeruinge to the purpoſe. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his fine egges, and laboured to perſwade Luther to deſiſte from his purpoſe, & vtterly to refraine thenceforth to write or teach, and ſo they departed.

About euening the Archbiſhopp of Triers aduertiſed Luther by Ambſdorff, that the Emperours promiſe made vnto him, was prolonged two daies, and in the mean ſeaſon he would conferre with him the nexte day, and for that cauſe he would ſend Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade which was Vœus, the morow after to him, and he himſelfe would alſo talke with him.

The friday after, whiche was S. Markes day, Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade trauelled in the forenoone to perſwade Luther ſimply and abſolutely to ſubmitte the iudgement of his writinges to the Emperor and Empire. He aunſwered he would doe it, and ſubmit any thing they would

Sollicitatiō to cauſe Luther to yelde.

would haue hym, ſo they grounded with authoritie of holy Scripture: otherwiſe he woulde not conſent to doe any thing. For God ſayd by his Prophet (ſayth he) Truſt ye not in Princes, nor in the childrē of men, in whom there is no health. Alſo, Curſed be he that truſteth in man. And ſeeing that they did vrge him more vehemently, he anſwered: we ought to yeld no more to yͤ iudgement of men, thē the word of God doth ſuffer. So they departed, and prayed him to aduiſe for better anſwere, and ſayd, they would returne after dinner.

Luthers cōdition.

After dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vayne. They prayed him, that at the leaſt he woulde ſubmit his writing to the iudgement of the nexte generall Councell. Luther agreed therunto, but with this conditiō, that they themſelues ſhoulde preſent the Articles collected out of his bookes to be ſubmitted to the Councell in ſuche ſort, as notwithſtanding the ſentence awarded by the coūcell, ſhould be authoriſed by the Scripture, and confirmed with the teſtimonyes of the ſame.

Falſe witneſſe.

They then leauing Luther, departed, and reported to the Archbiſhop of Triers, that he had promiſed to ſubmit his writinges in certayne articles to the next Councell, & in the meane ſpace he woulde keepe ſilence, which Luther neuer thought: who neither with admonitions, ne yet manaces could be induced to deny or ſubmit his bookes to the iudgementes of menne (he had ſo fortified hys cauſe wyth cleare and manifeſt authoritayes of the Scripture) vnleſſe they could proue by ſacred ſcripture, and apparant reaſōs to the contrary.

The prouidēce of God.

It chaunced then by the ſpeciall grace of God, that the Archbiſhop of Triers ſent for Luther, thinking preſently to heare him. And when he perceiued otherwiſe then Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade had tolde him, he ſayde, that he would for no good, but that he had heard himſelfe ſpeake: for els he was euen now going to the Emperor, to declare what the Doctors had reported.

Familiar talke betweene the archbiſhop and Luther.

Then the Archbiſhop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, firſt remouing ſuch as were preſēt, as well of the one ſide as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the Archbiſhop, affirming that it was daūgerous to ſubmit a matter of ſo great importaunce to them, who after they had called hym vnder ſafeconduct, attempting him with new commaundementes, had condemned his opinion, and approued the Popes Bull.

Luthers prophecie out of Gamaliell.

Act.5.

Moreouer, the Archbiſhop bidding a frend of his draw nigh required Luther to declare what remedy might bee miniſtred to helpe this. Luther anſwered: there was no better remedy then ſuche as Gamaliel alledged in the fyfte chapter of the Apoſtles, as witneſſeth S. Luke, ſaying: If this Councell or this woorke proceede of men, it ſhall come to nought, but if it be of God, ye can not deſtroy it. And ſo he deſired that the Emperour might be aduertiſed to write the ſame to the Pope, that he knewe certaynely if this his enterpriſe proceeded not of God, it would be aboliſhed within three, yea within two yeares.

Luthers cōſtancie.

The Archbiſhop enquired of him what he would do, if certayne articles were taken out of his bookes, to be ſubmitted to the generall councell. Luther aunſwered, ſo that they be not thoſe, which the counſell of Conſtance condemned. The Archbyſhoppe ſayd, I feare they will be the very ſame: but what then? Luther replyed, I will not, nor I cannot holde my peace of ſuch, for I am ſure by theyr decrees the word of God was condemned: therefore I wyll rather loſe head and life, then abandon the manifeſt word of my Lord God.

Then the Archbiſhop ſeing Luther would in no wiſe geue ouer the word of God, to the iudgement of men, gētly bade Luther farewell, who at that inſtaunt prayed the Archbiſhop to entreat the Emperours maieſty to graunt him gracious leaue to depart. He aunſwered, he woulde take order for him, and ſpeedely aduertiſe hym of the Emperours pleaſure.

Luther ſent home from the counſel.

Within a ſmall while after, John Eckius the Archbyſhops officiall, in the preſence of the Emperours Secretary, who had bene Maximilians Chauncellour, ſayde vnto Luther in his lodging, by the commaundement of the Emperour: that ſince he had bene admoniſhed diuerſly of the Emperiall maieſty, the Electors, Princes and eſtates of the Empyre, and that notwithſtanding he woulde not returne to vnity and concord, there remained that the Emperour as aduocate of the Catholique fayth ſhould proceed further: and that it was the Emperours ordinaunce that he ſhould within 21. dayes, returne boldly vnder ſafeconduct, and be ſafely garded to the place whence he came, ſo that in the meane while he ſtyrred no commotion amonge the people in his iourney, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther hearing this, aunſwered very modeſtly, & chriſtianly: euen as it hath pleaſed God, ſo is it come to paſſe, the name of the Lord be bleſſed. He ſayde further, he thanked moſt humbly the Emperors maieſty, and all the Princes and eſtates of the Empyre, that they had geuen to hym benigne and gracious audience, and graunted ſafe conduct to come and returne. Finally he ſayd, he deſired none other of them, then a reformation, according to the ſacred word of God, and conſonancy of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his hart he deſired: Otherwiſe he was preſt to ſuffer all chaūces for the Emperiall maieſty, as life and death, goodes, fame, and reproch, reſeruing nothing to himſelfe, but the onely word of God, which he would conſtantly confeſſe, to the latter end, humbly recommending hym to the Emperours maieſty, and to all the Princes and other eſtates of the ſacred Empyre.

Luthers departure from Wormes.

The morow after, which was the 26. day of Aprill, after he had taken his leaue of ſuch as ſupported him, and other his beneuolent frends, that often times viſited hym, and had broken hys faſt, at tenne of the clocke he departed from Wormes, accompanyed with ſuch as repayred thyther with him, hauing ſpace of time limited vnto him, (as is ſayd) for 21. dayes, and no more. The Emperours Heralde Caſper Sturme, folowed and ouertooke him at Oppenhime, being commaunded by the Emperour to cōduct him ſafely home.

¶ The vſuall prayer of Martin Luther.

Confirme (O God) in vs that thou haſt wrought, and perfect the worke that thou haſt begunne in vs, to thy glory. So be it. Ex hiſtor. Phil. Melancth. Ex Sledano. Ex Parali. Abb. Vrſperge. & ex Caſp. Peucero.

Luther in his iourney wryteth to the Emperour and nobles of Germany.

Martin Luther thus being diſmiſſed of the Emperour, according to the promiſe of his ſafeconduct made (as you haue heard) departed from Wormes toward his countrey the 26: of Aprill, acompanied with the Emperours Heraulde, and the reſt of his company, hauing onely xxi. dayes to him graunted for his returne, and no more. In the which meane ſpace of his returne, hee writeth to the Emperour, and to other nobles of the Empyre repeating briefely to them the whole action and order of things there done, deſiring of them, theyr lawfull good will and fauour, which as he hath alwayes ſtand neede of, ſo now he moſte earneſtly craueth, eſpecially in this, that hys cauſe whiche is not his but the cauſe of the whole church vniuerſall, may be hearde with indifferency and equitye, and may be deciſed by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: ſignifying moreouer, that when ſo euer they ſhall pleaſe to ſend for him, he ſhall bee ready at theyr commaundement, at any time or place, vppon theyr promiſe of ſafety, to appeare. &c.

The doctors of Paris condemne the bookes of Luther.

During the time of theſe doinges, the Doctours and Schoolmen of Paris, were not behinde with theyr partes, but to ſhewe theyr cunning, condemned the bookes of Luther, extracting out of the ſame, eſpecially out of hys booke De Captiuitate Babilonica, certayne Articles as touching the Sacramentes, lawes and decrees of the Church equalitye of workes, vowes, contrition, abſolution, ſatiſfaction, Purgatory, free will, priuiledges of holy Church, coūcelles, puniſhment of heretiques, Philoſophye, Schole diuinity, with other more. Unto whom Philip Melancton maketh aunſweare, and alſo Luther himſelfe, albeit pleaſantly and ieſtingly.

Philip Melancton anſwereth the Pariſians.

It was not long after this, but Charles the new Emperour, to purchaſe fauor with the Pope (becauſe hee was not yet confirmed in his Empyre) prouideth and directeth out a ſolemne writ of outlawry agaynſt Luther, & all them that take his part, commaunding the ſaid Luther, where ſo euer he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his bookes burned. By which decree proclaymed agaynſt Luther, the Emperour procured no ſmall thanke with the Pope in ſo much that the Pope ceaſing to take part with the French king, ioyned himſelfe whollye to the Emperour. In the meane time Duke Fredericke, to geue ſome place for the time to the Emperors Proclamation, conueyed Luther a litle out of ſight ſecretly, by the helpe of certain noble men, whom he well knew to be faythfull and truſty vnto him in that behalfe. Where Luther being cloſe and out of company, wrote diuers Epiſtles, and certayne bookes alſo vnto his frendes among which he dedicated one to his companye of Auguſtine Fryers, entituled, De abroganda Miſſa, which Friers the ſame time being encouraged by him, beganne firſt to lay downe theyr priuate Maſſes. Duke Fredericke fearing leaſt that would breede ſome great ſtyrre or tumult, cauſed the cenſures and iudgementes of the whole Uniuer-

Luther outlawed by the Emperour.

M. Luther kept a ſide for a while

Luthers booke De Abroganda Miſſa ad Auguſtinenſes.

Uniuerſity of wittenberge, to be aſked in the matter, committing the doing thereof to foure, Iuſtus, Ionas, Philip Melancthõ. Nic. Ambſdorſſius, Ioh. Dulcius.

The Maſſe laide downe firſt at Wittenberge.

The iudgement of the Vniuerſitie of Wittenberge againſt the Maſſe.

The mindes of the whole Uniuerſity being ſearched it was ſhewed to the Duke, that he ſhoulde doe well and Godly, by the whole aduiſe of the learned there, to commaund the vſe of Maſſe to be abrogate through his dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let, why the courſe of true doctrine ſhould be ſtayed, for the multitude, which commonly ouercommeth the better part. Neyther ought ſuch diſturbaunce to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the aduerſaryes, which willingly and wickedly kicke agaynſt the trueth: whereof Chriſt alſo geueth vs forewarning before. For feare of ſuch tumults therefore we ought not to ſurceaſe frõ that which we know is to be done, but conſtantly muſt go forward in defence of Gods truth, how ſo euer the world doth eſteeme vs, or rage againſt it. Thus ſhewed they their iudgemẽt to Duke Fridericke.

Anno. 1521.

It happened moreouer about the ſame yeare and time, that king Henry alſo pretending an occaſion to impugne the booke De Captiuitate Babylonica, wrote agaynſt Luther. In which booke:

1. He reproueth Luthers opinion about the Popes pardons.
2. He defendeth the ſupremacy of the Byſhop of Rome.
3. He laboreth to refell all his doctrine of the Sacramẽts of the Church.

K. Henry wryteth agaynſt M. Luther.

K. Henry made defender of the fayth by the Pope.

This booke, albeit it carryed the kinges name in the title, yet it was an other that miniſtred the motion, an other that framed the ſtile. But who ſo euer had the labor of this booke, the king had the thanke, and alſo the rewarde. For conſequently vpon the ſame, the biſhop of Rome gaue to the ſayd king Henry for the ſtyle agaynſt Luther, yͤ ſtyle and title of Defender of the Chriſten fayth, and to his ſucceſſors for euer.

The death of Pope Leo, in the midſt of his tryumphe.

Pope Adrian the 6.

A great peſtilence in Rome.

Shortly after this, within the compaſſe of the ſame yere, Pope Leo after he had warred agaynſt the Frenche men, and had gotten from them, through the Emperors ayd, the Citties of Parma, Placentia, and Millen. &c. he ſitting at ſupper, & reioycing at three great gifts that God had beſtowed vpõ him. 1. That he being baniſhed out of his cõtry, was reſtored to Florence agayn with glory. 2. That he had deſerued to be called Apoſtolique. 3. That he had driuẽ the Frenchmen out of Italy: after he had ſpokẽ theſe wordes, he was ſtroken with a ſodayne feuer, and dyed ſhortly after, being of the age of 47. yeares: albeit ſome ſuſpect that he dyed of poyſon. Succeſſour to whom was Pope Adrian the vi. ſcholemayſter ſometime to Charles the Emperour: who liued not much aboue one yeare and a halfe, in his Papacy. During whoſe ſmall time, theſe three eſpeciall thinges were incident: A great peſtilence in Rome, wherein aboue an hundreth thouſande people were conſumed. The loſſe of Rhodes by the Turke. And thirdly the capitall warre, which the ſayd Pope Adrian, with the emperour, and the Venetians, and the king of Englande, dyd hold agaynſt Fraunces the French king.

Adrian a Germaine Pope and not vnlearned.

Pope Adrian a great enemie to Luther.

A dyet of the Princes kept at Norenberge.

This pope Adrian was a Germane borne, brought vp at Louane, and as in learning he exceded the common ſort of Popes: ſo in moderatiõ of life and maners he ſemed not all together ſo intẽperate as ſome other Popes haue bene, and yet like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from hys Sea, he was a mortall enemy againſt Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, ſhortly after the Councell of Wormes was broken vppe, an other meeting or aſſemble was appoynted by the Emperor at Norenberge of yͤ princes, nobles and ſtates of Germany. an. 1522.

Paynted pretences ought to be examined.

Unto this aſſemble the ſayde Adrian ſent his letters in maner of a briefe, with an inſtruction alſo vnto his Legate Cheregatus, to informe him how to proceede, and what cauſes to alledge agaynſt Luther, before the Princes there aſſembled. His letter with the inſtructiõ ſent, becauſe they are ſo hypocritically ſhadowed ouer with a fayre ſhew and colour of paynted zeale and Religion, and beareth reſemblaunce of great trueth and care of the Church, able to deceaue the outward eares of them, which are not inwardly in true Religion inſtructed: I thought therefore to geue to the Reader a ſight therof to the intent that by the experiẽce of them, he may learne hereafter in caſes like, to be prudent & circumſpect in not beleuing ouer raſhly the ſmoth talke, or pretenſed perſwaſions of men, eſpecially in Church matters, vnleſſe they carry with them the ſimplicity of playne truth, goyng not vpon termes, but groũded vpon yͤ word and reueled wil of God, with particular demonſtrations, prouing that by the Scripture, which they pretend to perſwade. Firſt the letter of this Pope conteined & directed agaynſt Luther, proceedeth in this effect.

* Adrian Pope vi. to the renowmed Princes of Germanye, and to the Piers of the Romayne Empyre, greeting, and Apoſtolique benediction.

The exam ple of Po Adrians le ter ſent to the prince of Germa ny.

If theſe p ſtors care a ny thing the ſheep it is onely for the wolle.

Right honourable brethren, and deare children, greeting and Apoſtolique benediction. After that we were firſt promoted (through Gods diuine prouidence) to the office of the ſee Apoſtolick, he which hath ſo aduanced vs, is our witneſſ, how we both daye and night reuoluing in our mindes, did cogitate nothinge more, then how to ſatisfye the partes of a good Paſtour, in attending the health and cure of the flock, both vniuerſally & ſingularlye committed vnto vs: ſo that there is no one particular ſheepe through the whole vniuerſall flock, ſo infected, ſo ſicke, or ſo farre gone aſtray, whome our deſire is not to recouer, to ſeeke out, and to reduce into the Lordes folde agayne. And chiefely, from the firſt beginning of our paſtorall function, our care hath alwayes bene, as well by our meſſengers, as our dayly letters, howe to reclayme the mindes of Chriſtian Princes from the inteſtine wars and diſſenſions among themſelues, to peace and concorde, or at leaſt, if they woulde needes fight, that they woulde conuert theyr ſtrẽgth and armour agaynſt the cõmõ enemyes of our fayth. And to declare this not onely in worde, but rather in deede, God doth knowe with what charges and expences wee haue burdened our ſelues, to extend our ſubſidy and reliefe, to the ſouldiers of Rhodes for defence of themſelues and of the Chriſtian fayth, agaynſt the Turkiſh tyranny, by whom they were beſieged.

Rather a new raiſer of the olde doctrine of the Patria ches, Prophets and Apoſtles.

Termes without truth.

Euill called good, and good euil.

And now to bend our care from theſe forreyne matters, and to conſider our inwarde troubles at home, we heare, to the great griefe of our hart, that M. Luther a newe rayſer vppe of olde and damnable hereſyes: firſt after the fatherly aduertiſemẽtes of the See Apoſtolique, then after the ſentence alſo of condemnation awarded agaynſt him, and that by the aſſent and conſent of the beſt learned, and of ſundy Vniuerſityes alſo: and laſtly after the Emperiall decree of our well beloued ſonne Charles, elect Emperour of the Romaynes, and Catholique king of Spayne, beyng diuulged through the whole nation of Germanye, yet hath neyther bene by order reſtrayned, nor of himſelfe hath refrayned from hys madneſſe begunne, but daily more and more forgetting and contemning all Chriſtian Charity and Godlyneſſe, ceaſeth not to diſturbe and repleniſh the worlde with new bookes, fraught full of errours, hereſyes, contumelyes, and ſedition (whether vppon hys owne head, or by the healpe of other) and to infect the country of Germany, and other Regions about, with this peſtilence, and endeuoureth ſtill to corrupt ſimple ſoules, and maners of men, with the poyſon of his peſtiferous tongue: and (which is worſt of all) hath for his fautours and ſupporters, not of the vulgare ſort onely, but alſo diuers perſonages of the Nobility: in ſo much that they haue begunne alſo to inuade the goodes of prieſtes (whiche perhappes is the chiefe ground of this ſtyrre begunne) contrarye to theyr obedience which they owe to eccleſiaſticall and temporall perſons, and nowe alſo at laſt haue growen vnto ciuill warre and diſſention among themſelues, which thing how vnfortunately it falleth out now, at this preſent ſeaſon, eſpecially amongeſt vs Chriſtians, you may ſoone repute with your ſelues and conſider. For although the Apoſtle hath tolde vs before, **that hereſyes muſt needes be, that they which be tried, may be made manifeſt. &c.** yet was there neuer time, either ſo vnconuenient to rayſe vp hereſyes, or ſo neceſſary for the repreſſing thereof, when any ſuch are rayſed, as now. For whereas the Deuill, the perpetuall enemy of mankinde, roaring in the ſhape of a Lyon, by the power of the Turkes, doth continually inuade the flocke of Chriſt, how can we then reſiſt the violent inuations of him, oppreſſing vs without, ſo long as we nouriſh at home the ſame Deuill, vnder the coulour of a wyly Dragon, ſowing ſuch hereſyes, diſcordes, and ſeditions among our ſelues: And albeit it were in our power eaſily to vanquiſh theſe forreigne aduerſaryes, yet were that but labor loſt, ſeruing to no profite, to ſubdue our enemyes without, and at home with hereſyes and ſchiſmes to be deuided.

1. Cor. 11.

Who ſoweth theſe hereſies, but he which will not let the Scriptures take place.

* He meaneth the doctrine of Iohn Hus tranſlated into Germany.

We remember, before the time of our Papacy, when we were in Spayne, many thinges we heard then of Luther, and of his peruerſe doctrine. Which rumours and tydinges, although of thẽſelues they were grieuous to be hearde, yet more gireuous they were for this, becauſe they proceeded out of that countrey, where we our ſelfe, after the fleſh, tooke our firſt beginning: but yet thys comfort we had, ſuppoſing that either for the iniquity, or els for the fooliſhneſſe thereof being ſo manifeſt, this doctrine woulde not long holde: reputing thus with our ſelfe, that ſuch peſtiferous * plantes tranſlated from other countryes into Germanye, would neuer grow vppe to any proofe in that ground, which was euer woont to be a weeder out of all hereſyes and infidelity. But now, ſince this euill tree (whether by Gods iudgement correcting the ſinnes of the people, or by the negligence of ſuche as firſt ſhould haue reſiſted ſuch beginninges) hath ſo enlarged and ſpread his braunches ſo farre: you therefore, both Princes, and people of Germanye, muſt this conſider and prouide, leaſte you, which at the firſt ſpringing vp of this euill, might peraduenture be excuſed as no doers therof, now through this your ouermuch ſufferaunce, might be found vnexcuſable, and ſeeme to conſent to that which you do not reſiſt.

Here we omitte and paſſe ouer, what enormity, and more thẽ enormity, that is, that ſuch a great, and ſo deuoute a nation, ſhould by one fryer (who relinquiſhing the Catholique fayth and Chriſtian religion, which he before profeſſed playeth the Apoſtata, & hath lyed to God) be nowe ſeduced from that way, which firſt *Chriſt our redemer & his bleſſed apoſtles haue opened vnto vs, which ſo many Martyrs, ſo many holy Fathers, ſo many greate learned men, & alſo your owne foreelders and old auncitours haue alwayes hitherto walked in, as though onely Luther had all wit and cunning, as though he onely nowe firſt had receiued the holy ghoſt (as the heretick Montanus vſed to boaſt of himſelfe) or as though the Church (frõ which Chriſt our ſauiour promiſed himſelfe neuer to depart) hath erred hitherto alwayes in darke ſhadowes of ignorance and perdition, tyll now it ſhould be illuminate with newe reſplendent beames of Luther. Al which thinges, there is no doubt, but to ſuch as haue iudgement, will ſeeme ridiculous, but yet may be pernitious to ſimple and ignoraunt mindes: and to the other which being wery of all good order, do gape ſtil for new changes, may breed matter and occaſion of ſuch miſchiefes, as partly your ſelues haue experienced already. And therfore do you not conſider (O princes and people of Germany) that theſe be but prefaces & preambles to thoſe euils and miſchiefes, which Luther with the ſecte of his Lutherianes, do intend & purpoſe here after? *Do you not ſee playnly & perceiue with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Goſpell firſt begun by the Lutherians to be pretended, is now manifeſt to be but an inuentiõ to ſpoile your goods which they haue long intẽded? Or do you thinke that theſe ſonnes of iniquity do tend to any other thing, then vnder the name of liberty, to ſupplant obedience, and ſo to open a generall *licence to euery man, to do what him liſteth? And ſuppoſe you, that they will any thing regard your commaundementes, or eſteeme* your lawes, which ſo contemptuouſly vilipend the holy Canons, and decrees of the fathers, yea and the moſt holy Councels alſo (to whoſe authorite the Emperors lawes haue alwayes geuen roome and place) & not onely vilipẽd them, but alſo with a diabolicall audacitye haue not feared to rent them in pieces, and ſet them on a light fire? They which refuſe to render due obedience to prieſtes, to byſhops, yea to the high biſhop of al, & which dayly before your owne faces make theyr bootyes of Church goodes, and of thinges conſecrated to God: thinke ye that they will refrayne theyr ſacrilegious handes frõ the ſpoyle of lay mens goods? yea that they wil not plucke from you whatſoeuer they can rap or reaue? Finally to conclude, how can you hope that they will more ſpare you, or hold theyr murthering handes from your throates, which haue bene ſo bold to vexe, to kill, to ſlay the Lordes annoynted, which are not to be touched? Nay thinke you not contrary, but this miſerable calamity will at length redound vpon you, your goodes, your houſes, wiues, children, dominions, poſſeſsions, & theſe your temples, which you hallow & reuerẽce, except you prouide ſome ſpeedy remedy agaynſt the ſame.

* Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught vs, that we are ſaued by Fayth onely in the Sonne of God the ſame doeth Luther preache, and the Pope denyeth. Holy Martyrs and fathers in the old time miniſtred the Communion in both kindes to the people, and taught that fayth was neceſſary, in receauing the Sacramentes: the ſame doth Luther affirme, and the Pope denyeth, the old way of the fathers was this, that they neuer had any aduocates and mediators but Chriſt alone, and that they neuer ſolde the merites of Chriſtes paſſion for money. In the ſame way doeth Luther now walke, whereas the pope hath deuiſed a newe way to walke in for money, with an hundreth other new deuiſes, newe ſectes, and newe ordinances which the olde fathers neuer knewe.

* The doctrine of Luther hath bin preached in Germanie, aboue theſe 40. yeares, and yet is there neuer a Prince nor Magiſtrate, nor Citizen in Germany, God be prayſed, which by the doctrine of Luther, is worſe by one halfepeny: whereas by the pope, good reckenyng hath beene made, that Germany hath bin worſe by 3000000. Florens by the yeare. Out of the territory of the biſhop of Ments, amounteth to the Pope, for the Archbiſhops Palle. 26000. Florens. In the counſel of Baſil it was openly declared that 9. Millions of Gold were gathered in the tyme of Pope Martyne, and tranſlated to Rome. Pag. 698. Nowe let the Princes of Germany conſider this.

* The preaching of Chriſtiã libertie of the ſoule, breaketh no ciuil order touching the outwarde Obedience of the bodie: But the Pope would haue the ſoules of men in his bondage, and therfore he can not abide this inwarde libertie of the ſpirite to be touched, for that were agaynſt the popes purſe and profite, which were an hereſie intollerable.

* This is no good conſequent: Luther burned the popes ſtinckyng decretals: Ergo hee wil not ſticke alſo to burn the bookes of the ciuil law.

The perſecuting pagans, in the olde time did obiect to the old Fathers of the Primatiue church, the blaſphemies of Thyeſtes ſupper and of the inceſt of Oedipus: the worſhipping alſo of an Aſſes head. pag. 43. 39. In much like ſort doth the pope heere lay vnto Luther, riots, rebellions, and all miſchiefes hee can deuiſe, not becauſe they be true, but becauſe hee would haue the world ſo to beleue.

Wherefore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, & deuotions of all and ſinguler in the Lord, and beſeech you for Chriſtian charity & religion (for which religion your forefathers oft times haue geuen their bloud, to vpholde and encreaſe the ſame) and notwithſtanding require you alſo in vertue of that obedience, which all Chriſtians owe to God & bleſſed S. Peter, and to his Vicar here in earth, that ſetting aſide all other quarrels and diſſentions among our ſelues, you conferre your helping handes euery man to quench this publique fire, and endeuour and ſtudy the beſt way ye can, howe to reduce the ſayd M. Luther and all other fautours of theſe tumultes and errours, to better conformitye and trade both of lyfe and fayth. And if they which be infected, ſhal refuſe to heare your admonitiõs, yet proued that the other part, which yet remayneth ſound, by the ſame contagion be not corrupted. He to whom all ſecretes of men are open, doth know how we both for our nature, and alſo for our paſtorall office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit, then to reuenge. But when this peſtiferous canker can not with ſupple and gentle medecines be cured, more ſharper ſalues muſt be proued, and fiery ſearinges: the putrified members muſt be cut of from the body, leaſt the ſound partes alſo be infected. So God did caſt downe into hell the ſchiſmaticall brethren *Dathan and Abiron. And him that would not obey the authority of the prieſt, God commaunded to bee puniſhed with death. So Peter prince of the Apoſtles, denounced ſodeine death to Ananias, and Saphira, which lyed vnto God. So the olde and godly Emperours commaunded* Iouinianus and Priſcillianus, as heretiques, to be beheaded. So S. Ierome wiſheth Vigilantius as an heretick, to be geuen to the deſtructiõ of the fleſh, that the ſpirit might be ſaued in the day of the Lord. So alſo did our predeceſſours in the Councell of *Cõſtance condemne to death Iohn Hus & his felow Hierome, which now appeareth to reuiue agayne in Luther. The worthy* acts and examples of which forefathers, if you in this doinges (ſeeing otherwiſe ye can not) ſhall imitate: wee doe not doubt, but Gods mercifull clemency ſhall eftſoones releue his Church, which being now ſore vexed of infidels, hath her eies chiefely and principally directed vpõ you, as being the moſt puiſſaunt and moſt populous nation that wee haue in Chriſtendome.

Obedience to God, and to S. Peter, and to his vicare, do not well match together by the Scripture: for the obedience to the Creator is one and the obedience to the creature is an other.

* Let the Pope followe the worde of God, as Moſes dyd, and be ſent of God expreſly, as Moſes was: and then let Luther be puniſhed as Dathon, and Abyron were. Againe, if the Pope be the ſucceſſour of Peter, & haue his authoritie: why then doeth not the Pope, bearing the keyes of Peter, exerciſe the power of his ſpirite vpon Luther his great enemie, as Peter did vpon Ananias and Saphira.

* If Iouinianus, Priſcillianus, and Vigilantius, were proued heretickes. They were proued not onely by Canõs & councels, but by ſcripture: ſo was Luther neuer.

* Your fathers, in the Councell of Conſtance did kill the prophets of God, and you make vp their graues. But thankes bee vnto God whiche hath geuen ſuche light to the world, to vnderſtande your cruell impietie in killing I. Hus, which you thought ſhould neuer be eſpied.

* You haue well imitated your forefathers alreadie, in burning ſo many Lutherians: & yet how haue you proſpered againſt the Turkiſh Infidels the ſpace of theſe 40. yeares.

Wherefore vpon the bleſsing of almighty God and of bleſſed S. Peter, which here we ſend vnto you, take courage vnto you, as well agaynſt the falſe Dragon, as the ſtrong Lion, that both theſe: that is, as well the inward hereſyes, as the forreigne enemyes by you being ouercome, you may purchaſe to your honours an immortal victory, both here and in the world to come. This we geue you to vnderſtand, that whatſoeuer the Lord hath geuen vs to aid you withall, either in money or authoritye, wee will not fayle to ſupport you herein, yea and to beſtowe our life alſo in this holye quarrell, and for the health of our ſheepe to vs committed. Other thinges as touching the matter of Luther, we haue committed to this Cheregatus our Legate, whom wee haue directed purpoſelye for the ſame, vnto your aſſemble, whom we wiſh you to Credite, as being our truſty Legate. Datum Rom. apud S. Petrum ſub anulo piſcatoris die. 25. Nouemb. ann. 1522. pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

The falſe Dragon reſembleth the Pope, and the ſtrong Lyon the Turke.

The falſe Dragon here ſeeth that it is time to beſtirre hym.

By this letter aboue prefixed, thou haſt (gentle reader) to note and vnderſtand, what eyther wyly perſwaſions, or ſtrength of authoritie could deuiſe againſt Luther, here not to haue lacked. If plauſible termes or gloſyng ſentences, or outward facyng and bracyng could haue ſerued, where no ground of ſcripture is brought, this might ſeeme apparantly a pithie Epiſtle. But if a man ſhould require the particulars or ẏ ſpecialties of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to bee examined and tryed by Gods word, there is no ſubſtaunce in it, but onely wordes of office, which may ſeeme well to ſerue for waſte paper. And yet I thought to exhibite the ſaide letter vnto thee, to the entent, that the more thou ſeeſt mans ſtrength with all his policie bent againſt Luther, the more thou mayſt conſider the almightie power of God, in defending the cauſe of this poore man, againſt ſo mightie enemies.

Nowe heare further what inſtructions the ſayde Pope Adrian ſent to his Legate Cheregatus, how and by what reaſons to moue and inflame the princes of Germany to the deſtruction of Luther, and his cauſe, and yet was not able to bring it to paſſe.

Inſtructions geuen by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legate, touching his proceedings in the diete of Norenberg, how and by what perſuaſions to incenſe the Princes agaynſt Luther.

Inſtructions of the Pope againſt Luther.

IN primis, you ſhall declare to them the great griefe of our hart for the proſpering of Luthers ſecte, to ſee the innumerable ſoules redemed with Chriſts bloud, and committed to our paſtorall gouernement, to be turned away from the true fayth and religion, into perdition by this occaſion: & that eſpecially in the nation of Germany, being our natiue country, which hath bene euer heretofore, til theſe few yeares paſt, moſt faythfull and deuout in religion: & therefore our deſire to be the greater, that this peſtilence ſhould be ſtopped by time, leaſt the ſame happen to that countrey of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part, there ſhalbe no lacke to helpe forward what we may: As likewiſe we deſire them, to endeuoure them ſelues to the vttermoſt of theyr power, whom theſe cauſes ought to moue, which here we direct vnto you, to be declared vnto them.

* The firſt cauſe to ſtirre men agaynſt Luther.

* The honour of God conſiſteth principally in honouring Ieſus the Sonne of God, whom the father hath ſent. Now examine, good reader, whether more extolleth the honour of Chriſt, the doctrine of Luther, or the doctrine of the Pope. Luther ſendeth vs onely to chriſt: The Pope ſendeth vs to other Patrons and helpers. Luthers doctrine tendeth wholy to the glory of Chriſt: the popes doctrine if it be well wayed, tendeth to the glory of man. Luther cleaueth onely to Scripture: The Pope leaneth to the Canons and Councels of men.

* Firſt the honour of God, which before all other thinges ought to be preferred: whoſe honor by theſe hereſyes is greatly defaced and his worſhip not onely diminiſhed, but rather whollye corrupted. Alſo the charitie toward our neighbor, by which charity euery man is bound to reduce his neighbor out of errour: otherwiſe God will requyre at theyr handes all ſuch as by theyr negligence do periſh.

The 2. cauſe.

The ſecond cauſe to moue them agaynſt Luther, is the infamy of theyr nation, whiche being counted before time alwayes moſt Chriſtian, now by theſe ſectaries of Luther, is euill ſpoken of in all other quarters.

The 3. cauſe.

The third cauſe is the reſpecte of theyr owne honour, which notoriouſly will be diſteined, if they which moſt excell in nobility and authority among the Germaines, ſhall not bend all theyr power to expell theſe hereſyes: Firſt for that they ſhall appeare to degenerate from theyr progenitors, who being preſent at the condemnatiō of Iohn Hus, & of other heretickes, are ſayd ſome of thē with theyr owne hands to haue led Iohn Hus to the fire: Secondly, for that they or the greater part of thē approuing with theyr authority * the emperiall edict ſet forth of late in cōdemnatiō of M. Luther, now except they ſhall folow the execution of ẏ ſame, ſhall be noted inconſtant, or may be thought to fauor the ſame, ſeing it is manifeſt that they may eaſily exterminate him, if they were diſpoſed.

* This edict of the Emperor aboue touched, pag. 827. was deuiſed and ſet out not knowing to diuers of the Princes there, And ſemeth chiefly to be brought about by the Pope, and his flatterers about him. Looke more hereof in the ſtory of Sledan. Lib. 3.

The 4. cauſe.

The fourth cauſe is the iniury wrought by Luther to them their parentes, and progenitors, for as much as their fathers, progenitors, and themſelues alſo haue alwayes holden the ſame fayth, which the catholick church of Rome hath appoynted: contrary to which fayth, Luther with his ſectaryes now doeth holde, ſaying that many thinges are not to be beleued, which theyr foreſaid aunceters haue holden to be of fayth: it is manifeſt therfore that they be condemned of Luther for infidels and hereticks, and ſo conſequently by Luthers doctrine, all theyr forelders & progenitors which haue deceaſed in this our fayth be in hell: for errour in fayth importeth damnation.

The 5. reaſon or cauſe.

* The doctrine of Luther tendeth againſt the vſurped power of the Sea of Rome. Ergo, the doctrine of Luther diſſolueth all obedience due to Magiſtrates. This conſequent is to be denied, for the power of Magiſtrates is of God: and he that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God: So is not the vſurped power of the Pope.

The fift cauſe to moue them is, that they ſhould wel aduiſe & conſider the end, whereunto all theſe Lutherians do tend:* which is, that vnder the ſhadow of Euangelicall liberty, they may aboliſh all ſuperiority and power. For although at the firſt beginning they pretended onely to adnul and repreſſe our power eccleſiaſticall, as being falſely & tyrannouſly vſurped agaynſt the Goſpell: yet for as much as liberty is all theyr foundation and pretence, by the which liberty the ſeculer power and magiſtrates can not binde men by any commaundementes (be they neuer ſo iuſt, or ſo reaſonable) *to obey thē vnder paine of mortall ſinne: it is manifeſt that theyr ſcope is to enfeeble and infringe as much or more, the ſeculer ſtate alſo, although couertly they pretend to ſalue it: to the end, that when the ſeculer Princes ſhall beleue this theyr working not to be directed againſt them, but onely agaynſt the vſurped domination of the church and churchmē, then the laity (which commonly hath bene alwayes agaynſt men of the Church) holding with them, ſhall ſuffer the Churchmen to be deuoured: which done, no doubt, but * they will afterward practiſe the like vpon the ſecular Princes and poteſtates, which now they attempt agaynſt our eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction.

* If the Pope doe ſay, that no preceptes of Magiſtrates do oblige vnder paine of mortall ſinne, he ſayth not true: if hee ſay that Luther ſo teacheth, he belyeth Luther: who teacheth al men to be ſubiects vnto Magiſtrates, no man more.

* Who ſo cōſidereth the doctrine of Luther, De Libertate Chriſtiana, ſhal finde this to be a falſe ſlaunder. For how is it like that he meaneth any rebellion, who deſcribing a Chriſtian, calleth him a ſeruant and an vnderling to all men?

The 6. cauſe.

The ſixte cauſe to mooue, and perſwade them agaynſt Luther is this, for them to conſider the fruites which folow of that ſect: as ſlaunders, offences, diſturbaunce, robberyes, murders, * ſeditions, diſſentions, which this ſect hath and dayly doth ſtyrre vp through whole Germany: Alſo blaſphemyes, * ſlaunderous wordes, ſcoffing ieſtes and bitter tauntes whiche are euer in theyr mouthes. Agaynſt which, vnles that they ſhall finde a preſent remedy, it is to be feared, leaſt the deſolation of Gods wrath will fall vpon Germany, being ſo diuided: or rather vpō the Princes of Germany, who hauing the ſword geuen of God into theyr hands for the ſuppreſſion of malefactors, ſuffer ſuch enormities amongſt theyr ſubiectes. Curſed is he (ſayth the Prophet) which doth the worke of the Lorde negligently: and holdeth backe his ſworde from the bloud of wicked doers. Iere. 48.

* The cauſe why the Pope doth charge the Lutherians with ſedition, dyd ryſe vpon this, becauſe one Franciſcus Sickyngus a valiant man and a great fauourer of Luther, dyd warre agaynſte the Archbyſhop of Triers, for withho ding two certain perſons frō iudgement, which ſhould haue appeared, and by his meanes did not.

* As for ſclaunderous words & by ter tauntes with what face can the Pope charge Luther, being him ſelf ſo impudent and bytter, as in this his preſent letter is manifeſt to be ſeene? wherein he ſheweth him ſel in his own colours, what he is.

The 7. cauſe or reaſon.

* If the doings & properties of Mahumet be rightly conſidered, none ſhould be found ſo aptly to reſemble hym, as the pope him ſelf. He declyneth from the word of God, & ſetteth vp an other lawe, ſo doeth the Pope. Hee killeth, and ſleyeth the contrary part, ſo doth the Pope. He holdeth Saluation by workes of the law: ſo doth the Pope. And if Mahumet giue liberty of fleſh, ſo doth not Luther, but the Pope both taketh it, and alſo diſpenſeth with the ſame. Mahumet would not haue hys Religion reaſoned vpon: no more will the Pope. Briefly, as the ſect of Mahumet is deuided into many ſundry ſorts of Religion, and of Religious mē: ſo hath the ſect of the pope, hys Friers, Monks, Nunnes, Hermits, and other ſwarmes of an infinite varietie.

The ſeuenth reaſon is, that the Princes ſhould conſider how Luther vſeth the ſame way of ſeducing the people of Chriſt, as hath the venimous vyper *Mahumet practiſed in deceiuing ſo many thouſands of ſoules, in permitting to them the libertye of thoſe thinges which fleſh deſireth, and afterward in exempting them from ſuch thinges as be more ſharp in the law, but that Luther a litle more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceiue more effectually: For Mahumet geueth licence to haue many wiues, and to diuorce and mary other at their pleaſure. This Luther, to drawe vnto him the fauor of nunnes, monks, and prieſts, ſuch as be laſciuious in fleſh, preacheth that vowes of perpetuall continencye be vnlawfull, much leſſe to be obligatory: and therfore permitteth vnto thē that they may mary, forgetting by the way what the Apoſtle writeth of yōg widowes, ſaying: That when they waxe wanton agaynſt Chriſt then will they marrye, hauing condemnation, becauſe they haue made voyd theyr firſt fayth. 1. Tim. 5.

Theſe & other ſuch like reaſons, being opened & layd before thē, you ſhal thē in our name exhort ẏ foreſaid princes, prelats, & people to awake, and employ their diligēce how to gaineſtand: Firſt the iniury of theſe Lutherians toward God, & toward his holy religiō: Secōdly theyr villany toward the whole nation of the Germanes & their princes, & eſpecially the ſhamefull contumely toward theyr fathers & elders, whō in effect they condemne to hel. In conſideratiō wherof you ſhal cal vpō thē to remēber thēſelues, & to proceed effectually to the executiō of ẏ apoſtolicall ſentēce, & of the Emperors edict, geuing pardon to thē that wil amend & acknowledge their fault: the other which obſtinatly perſiſt in their error, puniſhing with the rod of diſtrict ſeuerity according to the decrees of the Canons and lawes of the Church, that by theyr example, ſuch as ſtand, may remaine in fayth, and they which are fallen may be reduced.

*Here the Pope agreeth rightly with Mahomet, for he will not haue his Religion reaſoned vpon, no more wil the Pope haue hys. Graunt thys to the pope, and he may play the Lord of miſrule and do what he liſteth.

And if any ſhall obiect again, ẏ Luther was condēned by the apoſtolicke ſee before he was heard, & ẏ his cauſe ought firſt to haue bene heard & iudged, before he was cōuinced: you ſhall aunſwere, that thoſe * thinges which perteine to faith, are to be beleued for theyr owne authority, & not to be proued. Take away (ſayth Ambroſe) argumentes, where fayth is ſought, there the fiſhers, not the Philoſophers muſt bee truſted. Truth it is, & we graunt no leſſe, but the lawfull defence & hearing ought not to bee denyed in ſuch caſes, where the queſtion is of the fact, whether it were done or not, as whether he ſpake, preached, writ, or not? But where the matter is of Gods law, or in cauſe of the ſacramentes, there muſt we alwayes ſtand to the authority of holy fathers & of the Church. Now all thinges almoſt wherein Luther diſſenteth from other, are reproued before by diuers Councels. Neither ought thoſe things to be called into queſtiō, which haue bene defined before by general cōucels, & ẏ vniuerſal Church, but ought to be receiued by fayth: For els he doth iniury to the Synode of the church, who ſo bringeth again into controuerſy things once rightly diſcuſſed & ſetled. Otherwiſe what certaynty can there be amongſt mē, or what end ſhal there be of contēding & diſputing, if it ſhalbe lawfull for euery lewd & preſumptuous perſon, to decline from the things which haue bene receiued and ratified by the cōſent, not of one, nor of fewe, but of ſo many ages, ſo many wiſe heades, & of the Catholicke church, which God neuer permitteth to erre in matters vnto fayth apperteyning? And how can it otherwiſe be choſen, but that all muſte bee ful of diſturbaūce, offences, and confuſion, vnleſſe the thinges which haue bene once, yea many times by ripe iudgement cōſtituted, be obſerued of al mē as inuiolable? wherfore, ſeing Luther and his felowes do cōdemne the Councels

cels of holy fathers, do burne the holy canons, do cõfound al things at their pleaſure, & do diſquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be reiected & exploded, as enemies and perturbers of publike peace?

Further this you ſhal ſay vnto them, yͤ we confeſſe our ſelues, & deny not, but that God ſuffreth this perſecutiõ to be inflicted vpon his churche, for the ſinnes of men, eſpecially of prieſts and prelates of the clergie. For certain it is, that the hand of the Lord is not ſhortned, that he cannot ſaue: but our ſinnes haue diuided betwene God and vs: and therfore he hideth his face from vs, that he wil not heare vs. The ſcripture teſtifieth, that the ſinnes of the people doe iſſue out from the ſinnes of the prieſts. And therfore ſaith Chryſoſtom,) Chriſt going about to cure the ſicke citie of Hieruſalẽ, firſt entred into the temple, to correct the ſinnes of the prieſtes, like a good phiſitiõ, which firſt beginneth to cure the diſeaſe from the very rote. We know that in this * holy ſee there haue bene many abhominable things of long time wrought & practiſed: as abuſes in matters ſpirituall, and alſo exceſſes in life and maners, and all things turned cleane cõtrary. And no maruell if the * ſickneſſe firſt beginning at the heade, that is, at the high Biſhops, haue deſcended afterward to inferior prelates. Al we (that is, prelates of the church) haue declined euery one after his owne waye. Neither hath there ben one that hath don good, no not one. Wherfore nede it is yͤ al we geue glory to God, and that we humble our ſoules to him, conſidering euery one of vs, from whence hee hath fallen, and that euery one doe iudge himſelf, before he be iudged of God in the rod of his furie. For the redreſſe wherof you ſhal inſinuate vnto them, and promiſe in our behalfe, that in vs ſhall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, firſt beginning wͭ our owne court, that like as this contagion firſt from thence deſcended into all the inferior partes: ſo reformation & amendement of all that is amiſſe from the ſame place againe, ſhall take his beginning. Wherunto they ſhall finde vs ſo much the more ready, for that we ſee yͤ whole worlde ſo deſirous of the ſame. Wee our ſelues (as you knowe) neuer ſought this dignity, but rather coueted, if we otherwiſe might, to lead a priuate life, and in a quiete ſtate to ſerue God. And alſo would vtterly haue refuſed the ſame, had not the feare of God, and the maner of our election, and miſdoubting of ſome ſchiſme to follow after, haue vrged vs to take it. And thus tooke we the burden vpon vs, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our frends, and kinſfolks, but only to be obediẽt to the will of God, and for reformation of the catholique church, and for reliefe of the pore, and eſpecially for the aduancement of learning & learned men, with ſuch other things moe, as apperteineth to the charge of a good Biſhop & lawful heire of S. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuſes, be not ſtraight wayes amended by vs, men ought not therat to maruell. The ſore is great and farre growen, and is not ſingle, but of manifolde maladies together compacted, & therefore to the curing therof we muſt proceede by litle and litle, firſt beginning to cure the greater and the moſt dangerous, leaſt while we intend to amend all, we deſtroy all. All ſodaine mutations (ſayth Ariſtotle) in a common wealth, are perilous. And he that wringeth too hard, ſtraineth out bloud. Prou. 30

Eſa. 59.

* And howe then can this be called an holy Sea, where ſo many abhominable impieties & manifold exceſſes, both in ſpirituall matters, & alſo in eternall life, are ſeene & practiſed: ſuch ambitiõ in the prelats, ſuch pryde in the Pope, ſuch auarice in the Court, & finally, where ſuch corruption is of all things as you your ſelues doe here confeſſe, & can not denye?

* True it is that the ſicknes hath begunne in the head: that is, at the very triple crown: and therfore the ſicknes being great, and hauing neede of a ſharpe Phiſition, God hath ſent Luther vnto the Pope (as Eraſmus writeth of him) as a meete Phiſition to cure his diſeaſe: Yet he refuſeth to be healed.

Cayphas himſelfe could neuer propheſie more truely.

The Pope promiſeth reformation of his owne Court, but when beginneth hee?

You proceede ſo by litle & litle, that nothing at all is ſeene. Sodeine mutations be not for the Popes purpoſe: but the Lord promiſeth to come ſodenly when he is not looked for.

And whereas in your laſt letters you wryte, that the Princes complaine, howe this See hath bene and is preiudiciall to their ordinaunces and agreements: heereunto you ſhall thus aunſwere: That ſuche exceſſes which haue bene done before our time, ought not to be imputed to vs, who alwayes haue miſliked theſe derogations, and therefore bidde them ſo aſſure them ſelues, that though they had required no ſuch matter, we of our owne accorde, woulde haue refrained the ſame, partly for that it is good, right, & reaſon, that euery one haue that which is due vnto hym: and partly alſo that the ſayd noble natiõ of Germany ſhal haue by vs no hinderance, but furtherance rather, ſo much as in vs ſhall lie to do for them.

And as touching the proceſſes, whyche they deſire to haue remoued away a Rota, and to be referred down to the parties, you ſhall ſignifie vnto them that we will gratifie them herein aſmuch as honeſtly we may. But becauſe our auditors are now preſently abſent from the citie by reaſon of the Plague, wee can not be infourmed as yet, touching the qualitie of thoſe proceſſes. Aſſone as they ſhall returne (which we hope will be ſhortly) we ſhal do in the Princes fauour, what reaſonably we may.

Rota is ſome office in the court or Chaũcery of Rome.

Further, wheras we vnderſtande, that there be many freſh floriſhing wits in Germanie, and many well learned men, which are not ſeene vnto, but be reiected and vnlooked to, while in the meane time, throughe the Apoſtolicall prouiſions, dignities, and promotions are beſtowed vpon tapſters, and daunſers, and vnfitte perſons; we wil therefore that you inquire out what thoſe learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that when any ſuch vacation of benefices in Germany do fal, we of our voluntary motiõ, may prouide for them accordingly. For why, we conſider howe much it is againſt Gods glory, and againſt the health and the edification of ſoules, that benefices and dignities of the church, haue now ſo long time bene beſtowed vpon vnworthy and vnable perſons.

The Pope flattereth for aduauntage.

And why then haue you abuſed the church ſo long with theſe Apoſtolical prouiſions, and yet doe not redreſſe the ſame.

As touching the ſubſidie for the Hungarians, we ſend no other information to you, but that which we gaue you at your departure, ſaue onely that we will you to extende your diligence therein, as we alſo will do the like, in ſoliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italie, that euery one may helpe after his abilitie. Ex Orth. Gratio.

These popiſh ſuggeſtions and inſtructions of the Pope himſelfe againſt Luther, I thought (Chriſten reader) to ſet before thine eyes, to the intent thou maieſt ſee here (as in a paterne, and go no further) all the crimes, obiectiõs, exclamations, ſuſpitions, accuſations, ſlãders, offenſions, contumelies, rebukes, vntruths, cauillations, railings, whatſoeuer they haue deuiſed, or can deuiſe, inuent, articulate, denounce, infer, or ſurmiſe againſt Luth. and his teaching. They crie, hereſy, hereſy: but they proue no hereſy. They cry, Councels, Councels: and yet none trãſgreſſeth Councels more then themſelues. If Councels go alwaies with Scripture, then Luther goethe with them. If Councells doe iarre ſometime from the Scripture, what hereſie is in Luth. in ſtanding with Scripture againſt thoſe councels? And yet neither hath he hitherto ſpoken againſt any councels, ſaue onely the Councell of Conſtance. They inflame kings and princes againſt Luth. and yet they haue no iuſt cauſe wherefore. They accuſe him for teaching libertie. If they meane the libertye of fleſhe, they accuſe him falſely: if they meane the liberty of ſpirit, they teach wickedly, which teach contrary: and yet when they haue all ſayde, none liue ſo licentiouſly as themſelues. They pretẽde the zeale of the Churche, but vnder that churche lieth their owne priuate welfare, and belly cheare. They charge Luth. with diſobedience, and none are ſo diſobedient to Magiſtrates and ciuile lawes, as they. They lay to his charge, oppreſſion and ſpoiling of lay mens goods: and who ſpoileth the lay mẽs liuings, ſo much as the Pope? For probation whereof, let the Popes accountes be caſt, what hee taketh out of euery Chriſtian realme. Briefly, turne only the names of the perſons, and in ſteede of Luthers name, place the name of the Pope, and the effect of this letter aboue prefixed, ſhal agree vpon none more aptly, then vpon the Pope him ſelfe, and his owne ſectaries. Now to proceede further in the proces of this foreſaide matter, let vs ſee what the Princes againe for their partes anſwere to theſe foreſaide ſuggeſtions and inſtructions of Pope Adrian, ſent vnto them in their diete of Norenberg, in the cauſe of Luther: the anſwer of whom here foloweth vnder wrytten.

Luther cried out of without any iuſt cauſe.

Liberty of fleſh. Liberty of ſpirite.

Turne onely the names of the perſons: and all the accuſations of the Papiſtes againſt the Lutherians, agree chiefly vpon them ſelues.

The anſwere of the noble and reuerend princes and ſtates of the ſacred Romane Empire, exhibited to the Popes ambaſſador.

THe noble & renowmed Prince Lord Ferdinandus, Lieutenant to the Emperors maieſty, with other reuerend pieres in Chriſt, and mighty princes Electors, and other ſtates and orders of this preſent aſſemble of the Romane Empire in Norenberge conuented, haue gratefully receiued, and diligently peruſed the letters ſent in forme of a Brief, with the inſtructions alſo of that moſt holy father in Chriſt, and L. L. Adrian, the hie Biſhop of the holy and vniuerſall Church of Rome, preſented vnto them in the cauſe of Luthers faction.

The anſwere of the Princes of Germany, to the Popes letter, & inſtructions.

By the which foreſaid letters and wrytings, firſt where as they vnderſtande his holineſſe to haue bene borne, and to haue had his natiue origine and parentage out of this noble nation of Germanie, they doe not a little reioyce. Of whoſe egregious vertues and ornaments both of minde and body, they haue heard great fame and commendation, euen from his tender yeares: by reaſon wherof they are ſo muche the more ioyous of his aduauncement and preferment, by ſuch conſent of election, to the hie tippe of the Apoſtolicall dignitie, and yeelde to God moſt hartie thankes for the ſame: praying alſo from the bottome of their hearts, for his excellent clemencie, and perpetuall glory of his name, and for healthe of ſoules, and incolumitie of the vniuerſall Churche, that GOD wil geue his holines long continuance of felicity. Hauing no miſdout, but that by ſuch a ful & conſenting election of ſuch a paſtor of the vniuerſall catholike church, great profite and commoditie will enſue. Which thing to hope and looke for, his holineſſe openeth to them an euident declaration in his owne letters, teſtify-

Pope Adrian a Germane borne.

ing and proteſting what a care it is to him both day & night, how to diſcharge his paſtorall function, in ſtudying for the health of the flocke to him committed: and eſpecially in conuertinge the minds of Chriſtian princes, from warre to peace: declaring moreouer what ſubſidie and reliefe his holineſſe hath ſent to the ſouldiers of Rhodes. &c. All which things they perpēding with them ſelues, conceiue exceeding hope and comfort in their mindes, thus reputing and truſting that this cōcord of Chriſtian princes, wil be a great helpe and ſtay to the better quieting of things now out of frame: without which neither the ſtate of the cōmon welth, nor of Chriſtian religion can be rightly redreſſed, and much leſſe the tyrannie of the barbarous Turke repreſſed.

Can any good thing come out of Rome.

Wherfore, the excellent prince, Lord Lieutenant to the Emperors maieſtie, with the other princes Electors, and orders of this preſent aſſemble, moſt hartily doe pray that his holines wil perſiſt in this his purpoſe & diligence, as he hath vertuouſly begun, leauing no ſtone vnremoued, how the diſagreeing hearts of Chriſtē princes may be reduced to quiet and peace: or if that will not be, yet at leaſt ſome truce and intermiſſion of domeſtical diſſentions may be obtained for the neceſſity of the time now preſent, wherby all Chriſtians may ioyne their power together, with the helpe of God, to go againſt the Turke, & to deliuer the people of Chriſt from his barbarous tyrannie and bondage: Whereunto both the noble prince Lord Lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, wil put to their helping hands, to the beſt of their abilitie.

The Pope much greeued for the proſpering of Luther.

And wheras by the letters of his holines, with his inſtruction alſo exhibited vnto them by his Legate, they vnderſtand, that hys holines is aflicted with great ſorow, for the proſpering of Luthers ſect, wherby innumerable ſoules committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition, & therefore his holines vehemently deſireth ſome ſpeedy remedy againſt the ſame to be prouided, with an explication of certaine neceſſary reaſons & cauſes, wherby to moue the Germane princes therunto, and that they will tender the execution of the Apoſtolique ſentence, and alſo of the Emperours edict, ſet forth touching the ſuppreſſion of Luther: to theſe the L. Lieutenant and other princes and ſtates doe anſwere, that it is to them no leſſe griefe and ſorow, then to his holines, and alſo do lament as much for theſe impieties and perils of ſoules, and inconueniences which grow in the religion of Chriſt, either by the ſect of Luther, or any otherwiſe. Further, what help or counſel ſhall lie in them, for the extirping of errors, & decay of ſoules health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to performe, conſidering how they ſtand bound & ſubiect, as wel to the Popes holines, as alſo to the Emperours maieſtie.

Cauſes why the princes haue not proceded by the Popes ſentence againſt Luther.

Greeuances receaued by the court of Rome.

But why the ſentence of the Apoſtolike ſee, & the Emperours edict againſt Luther, hath not ben put in execution hetherto, ther haue bene (ſaid they) cauſes great and vrgent, which haue led thē therto: as firſt in weying and conſidering with them ſelues, that great euils & inconuenience wold therupon enſue. For the greateſt part of the people of Germany haue alwaies had thys perſuaſion; & now by reading of Luthers bokes, are more therin cōfirmed, that great greeuances and inconueniences haue come to this nation of Germanie, by the courte of Rome: and therefore if they ſhuld haue proceded with any rigor in executing the Popes ſentence, & the emperors edict, the multitude would conceiue & ſuſpect in their minds, this to be done for ſubuerting the verity of the goſpell, & for ſupporting & confirming the former abuſes & greuances, wherupon great warres & tumults (no doubt) would haue enſued: which thing vnto the princes & ſtates ther, hath ben wel perceiued by many arguments. For the auoiding wherof, they thought to vſe more gentle remedies, ſeruing more oportunely for the time.

The Pope aunſwered with his owne wordes.

Againe, wheras the reuerend L. Legate (ſaid they) in the name of the Popes holines hath ben inſtructed, to declare vnto thē, that God ſuffreth this perſecution to riſe in the Church for the ſins of men, & that his holines doth promiſe, therefore to begin the reformation with his owne court, that as the corruption firſt ſprāg from thence to the inferior parts, ſo the redres of al againe ſhould firſt begin with the ſame: Alſo, wheras his holines, of a good & fatherly heart, doth teſtify in his letters, that he himſelfe did alwaies miſlike that the Court of Rome ſhould intermeddle ſo muche, and derogate from the cōcordates of the princes, and that his holines doeth fully purpoſe in that behalfe, during his papacie, neuer to practiſe the like, but ſo to endeuor, that euery one, and eſpecially the nation of the Germanes may haue their proper due and right, graunting eſpecially to the ſayde nation, his peculiar fauour: who ſetteth not by theſe premiſſes, but that this moſte holy B. omitteth nothing, which a good father or a deuout paſtor may or ought to do to his ſheepe? Or who wil not be moued hereby to a louing reuerence, and to amendement of his defaultes, namely ſeeing hys holineſſe ſo intendeth to accompliſh the ſame in deede, which in word he promiſeth, according as he hath begon.

And thus vndoubtedly both the noble L. Lieutenant, & all other princes & ſtates of the empire, wel hope that he wil, and pray moſt hartily that he may doe, to the glory of our eternall God, to the health of ſoules, & to the tranquilitie of the publike ſtate. For vnles ſuch abuſes and greuances, with certain other articles alſo, which the ſeculare princes (aſſigned purpoſely for the ſame) ſhall draw out in wryting, ſhall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace & cōcord betwene the eccleſiaſticall & ſeculer eſtates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult, & errors in Germanie that cā be hoped. For partly by lōg warres, partly by reaſon of other greuances & hinderances this nation of Germanie hath bene ſo waſted and conſumed in money, that vnneth it is able to ſuſtaine it ſelfe in priuate affaires, and neceſſary vpholding of iuſtice wythin it ſelfe: much leſſe then to miniſter aid and ſuccor to the kingdom of Hungary, & to the Croatians, againſt the Turke. And wheras al the ſtates of the ſacred Romane Empire doe not doubte, but the Popes holines doth right well vnderſtād how the Germane princes did graunt & condeſcend for the money of Annates to be leauied to the ſee of Rome for terme of certen yeres, vpon condition that the ſaid mony ſhuld be conuerted to maintain warre againſt the turkiſh infidels, and for defence of the catholike faith: & wheras the terme of theſe yeres is now expired long ſince, when as the ſaid Annates ſhould be gathered, and yet that mony hath not ben ſo beſtowed to that vſe, whereto it was firſt graunted: therefore if any ſuch neceſſitie ſhould nowe come, that any publike helpes or contributions againſt the Turke, ſhould be demanded of the Germane people, they would aunſwer againe, why is not that money of Annates reſerued many yeares before to that vſe, nowe to bee beſtowed and applied, and ſo woulde they refuſe to receiue anye more ſuch burdens for that cauſe to be laid vpon them.

¶ Greuaunces of the Germaynes, cōplained of to the pope. Vide infra.

Annates falſely pretended of the Pope, to maintaine warre againſt the turke.

Annates is a certaine portion of money wont to be paide to the court of Rome, one of the one yeares fruites, at the vacation of an eccleſiaſticall lyuing.

Wherefore the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes & degrees of the Empire make earneſt petition, that the Popes holines wil with a fatherly conſideration expend the premiſſes, and ſurceaſe hereafter to require ſuch Annates, which are accuſtomed after the death of biſhops and other prelats, or eccleſiaſticall perſons, to be payd to the court of Rome, and ſuffer them to remaine to the chamber of the Empire, whereby iuſtice & peace may be more cōmodiouſly adminiſtred, the tranquilitie of the publike ſtate of Germanie mainteined, and alſo by the ſame, due helpes may be ordeined and diſpoſed to other Chriſten potentates in Germanie, agaynſt the Turke, which otherwiſe without the ſame, is not to be hoped for.

Remedye of reformatyō.

A generall Councell in Germany required.

Item, wheras the Popes holines deſireth to be informed what way were beſt to take, in reſiſting theſe errors of the Lutherians: to this the Lord Lieutenant, with other Princes add nobles do anſwere, that whatſoeuer helpe or counſell they can deuiſe, with willing harts they will be ready therevnto. Seeing therefore the ſtate, aſwell eccleſiaſticall, as temporall, is farre out of frame, and haue ſo much corrupted their wayes, and ſeeing not onely of Luthers part, and of his ſect, but alſo by diuers other occaſions beſides, ſo many errors, abuſes, & corruptions, haue crept in: much requiſite and neceſſary it is, that ſome effectuall remedie be prouided, as well for redreſſe of the church, as alſo for repreſſing of the Turks tyrannie. Now what more preſent or effectuall remedy can be had, the Lord Lieutenant, with other eſtates and princes do not ſee, then this, that the Popes holines, by the conſent of the Emperors maieſtie, do ſummon a free Chriſten Councell in ſome conuenient place of Germanie, as at Strausburgh, or at Mentz, or at Colen, or at Metz, and that with as much ſpeede as conueniently may be, ſo that the congregating of the ſaid Councel be not deferred aboue one yere: in the which Councel it may be lawfull for euery perſon that there ſhall haue intereſt, either temporal or eccleſiaſtical, freely to ſpeake & conſult, to the glory of God, and health of ſoules, and the publike wealth of Chriſtendome, without impeachment or reſtraynt, whatſoeuer oth, or other bond to the contrary notwithſtanding: yea and it ſhalbe euery good mans part there to ſpeake, not onely freely, but to ſpeake that which is true, to the purpoſe, and to edifying, & not to pleaſing or flattering, but ſimply and vprightly to declare his iudgemēnt, without all fraud or guile.

An interim before the Councell.

Wryting & Printing for a time ſuſpended.

And as touching by what waies theſe errors & tumultes of the Germane people may beſt be ſtaid and pacified in the meane time, vntil the councell be ſet: the foreſaid L. Lieutenant, with the other princes, therupon haue cōſulted & deliberated, that for as much as Luth. and certaine of his fellowes be within the territorye and dominion of the noble duke Friderike, the ſaide L. Lieutenant and other ſtates of the Empire ſhall ſo labour the matter wyth the aforenamed Prince duke of Saxonie, that Luther and his followers ſhall not wryte, ſette foorth, or print any thing during the ſayde meane ſpace, neither doe they doubte but that the ſayde noble prince of Saxonie, for his Chriſtian pietie, and obedience to the Romane Empire, as becōmeth a Prince of ſuch excellent vertue, will effectually condeſcend to the ſame.

The office of preaching tempered.

Item, the ſaid L. Lieutenant and princes ſhal labour ſo with the preachers of Germany, that they ſhall not in their ſermōs teach or blow into the peoples eares, ſuch matters, whereby the multitude may be moued to rebelliō or vpror, or be induced into error: and that they ſhall preach & teach nothing, but the true, pure, ſincere, & holy goſpell, & aproued ſcripture, godly, mildly, & chriſtianly, according to the doctrine and expoſition of the Scripture, being approued and receiued of Chriſtes Churche, abſtaining from all ſuche thynges, whych are better vnknowen, then learned of the people, and which to be ſubtilly ſearched, or deepely diſcuſſed, it is not expedient. Alſo that they ſhall mooue no contention of diſputation among the vulgare ſorte, but what ſo euer hangeth in controuerſie, the ſame they ſhall reſerue to the determination of the Councell to come.

Preachers limited within certaine bõdes.

Item, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates wythin their dioceſſe ſhall aſsigne godly and learned men, hauing good iudgement in the ſcripture, which ſhall diligently and faithfully attende vppon ſuch preachers: and if they ſhall perceiue the ſayde preachers either to haue erred, or to haue vttered any thing vnconueniently, they ſhall godly, mildely, and modeſtly aduertiſe, and informe them thereof, in ſuch ſort as no man ſhall iuſtly complaine the trueth of the Goſpell to be impeached. But if the preachers continuing ſtill in their ſtubberneſſe ſhall refuſe to be admoniſhed, and will not deſiſt from their lewdneſſe, then ſhall they be reſtrained and puniſhed by the Ordinaries of the place, wyth puniſhment for the ſame conuenient.

Againſt ſelling and printing of famous libells.

Famouſe libels be ſuch bookes as raile againſt the fame of any perſon, ſhewing no name of the author thereof.

Furthermore, the ſayde Princes and nobles ſhall prouide and vndertake, ſo much as ſhall be poſsible, that from henceforth during the foreſaide time, no new booke ſhalbe imprinted, eſpecially none of theſe famous libels, neither ſhall they priuily or apertly be ſold. Alſo order ſhalbe taken amongſt al poteſtates, that if any ſhall ſet out, ſell, or imprint any newe worke, it ſhall firſt be ſeene and peruſed of certaine godly learned, and diſcrete men appoynted for the ſame: ſo that if it be not admitted and approoued by them, it ſhal not be permitted to be publiſhed in print, or to come abrode. Thus by theſe meanes, they hope wel, that the tumults, errours, and offenſions among the people, ſhal ceaſe, eſpecially if the Popes holineſſe himſelfe ſhall begin with an orderly & due reformation, in the foreſaid greuances aboue mentioned, and wil procure ſuch a free and Chriſtian Councel as hath bene ſayde, and ſo ſhall the people be well contented and ſatiſfied. Or if the tumult ſhall not ſo fully be calmed, as they deſire, yet the greater parte thus will be quieted, for all ſuch as be honeſt and good menne, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that generall Councell, ſo ſhortly and now ready at hand to come.

For prieſtes or religious men that marry.

Finally, as concerning prieſts which contract matrimonie, & religious men leauing their cloiſters, wherof intimation was alſo made by the Apoſtolicall Legate, the foreſaid princes do conſider, that forſomuch as in the ciuile lawe there is no penaltie for them ordeined, they ſhalbe referred to the Canonicall conſtitutions, to be puniſhed therafter accordingly: that is, by the loſſe of their benefices, and priuiledges, or other condigne cenſures: and that the ſaid Ordinaries ſhall in no caſe be ſtopped or inhibited by the ſeculer powers, from the correction of ſuch: but that they ſhal adde their helpe and fauour to the maintenance of eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and ſhal direct out their publike edicts and precepts, that none ſhal impeach or prohibite the ſaid ordinaries in their eccleſiaſtical caſtigation, vpon ſuch tranſgreſſors to be adminiſtred.

To conclude, the redoubted prince L. Lieutenaunt and other princes, eſtates, & orders of the publike Empire, vehemently and moſt heartily do pray and beſeech, that the Popes holineſſe, & the reuerend Lord his legate will accept and take all the premiſſes to be no otherwiſe ſpoken and meant, then of a good, free, ſincere, & a Chriſtian minde. Neither is there any thing, that al the aforeſaid princes, eſtates, and nobles do more wiſh and deſire, then the furtherance and proſperous eſtate of the holy Catholique church of Rome, and of his holineſſe. To whoſe wiſhes, deſires, & obedience they offer and commend themſelues moſt ready, and obſequious, as faithfull children. Ex Orth. Grat.

Ex Ioan. Sledano.

Thus haſt thou (louing reader) the full diſcourſe both of the popes letter, and of his Legates inſtructions, with the aunſwere alſo of the ſtates of Germanie to the ſayde letter and inſtructions, to them exhibited in the diete of Norenberge. In the which diet, what was concluded, and what order and conſtitution was taken, firſt touching the greeuances of Germanie, whych they exhibited to the Pope, then concerning a general councell to be called in Germanie, alſo for printing and preaching, & for prieſts mariage, hath bene likewiſe declared. &c.

Miniſters of Strauſbrough troubled for their wiues.

The occaſion of this matter mooued againſt prieſts mariage, came firſt by the miniſters of Strauſburgh, which about this time began to take wiues, and therfore were cited by the biſhop of Strauſburgh to appeare before him at a certaine day, as violaters of the lawes of holy Churche, the holy fathers, the Biſhops of Rome, and of the Emperours maieſtie, to the preiudice both of their owne order of prieſthood, and maieſtie of almighty God: But they referred their cauſe to the hearing of the magiſtrats of the ſame citie, who being ſuiters for them vnto the Biſhops, labored to haue the matter either releaſed, or at leaſt to be delaied for a time.

Luther expoundeth the decree of Norenberge.

Long it were to recite all the circumſtances following vpon this diete or aſſemble of Norenberge, howe their decree was receiued of ſome, of ſome neglected, of diuers diuerſly wraſted and expounded. Luther wryting his letters vpon the ſame decree, to the Princes, thus made his expoſition of the meaning thereof, that where as the preachers were commaunded to preach the pure Goſpel, after the doctrine of the church receiued, he expounded the meaning therof to be, not after the doctrine of Tho. Aquine, or Scotus or ſuche other late ſchoole wryters, but after the doctrine of Hilarie, Cyprian, & Auſten, and other auncient doctors, and yet the doctrine of the ſaid aunciters no farther to be receiued, but as they ſhould agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, as concerning new bokes not to be ſold nor printed, he expounded the meaning therof to extend no farther, but ỹ text of the Bible and bookes of the holy Scripture might be printed notwithſtanding, and publiſhed to all men.

And as for the prohibition of Prieſtes mariage, he wryteth to the Princes, and deſireth them to beare wyth the weakenes of men, declaring that braunch of their decree to be very hard, which though it ſtand with the Popes law, yet it accordeth not with the Goſpell, neither conduceth to good maners, nor to honeſtie of life. &c.

An hundreth greeuaunces of the Germaines againſt the pope.

Furthermore, where as in the ſame ſeſſion of Norenberge, mẽtion was made before of certaine greuances collected to the number of an hundreth, and exhibited to the Biſhop of Rome; it were tedious likewiſe to inſerte them all: yet to geue ſome taſt of a few, I iudge it not vnprofitable: to the entẽt, that the world may ſee and iudge, not only what abuſes and corruptions moſte monſtruous and incredible, lay hid vnder the glorious title of the holy church of Rome: but alſo may vnderſtand, with what hipocriſie & impudẽcie the pope taketh vpon him ſo greuouſly to complaine vpon M. Luther, and other: when in all the vniuerſall Church of Chriſte, there is none ſo muche to be blamed all manner of wayes, as he himſelfe, according as by theſe hainous complaints of the Germain princes, here folowing againſt the popes intolerable oppreſſions & greuances may right well appeare, which greuances being collected by the Princes of Germanie at Norenberge, to the number of an hundreth, I wiſh might be fully and at large ſet forth to the ſtudious Reader, whereby might appeare the ſubtile ſleightes and intolerable fraudes of that pretenſed Church. But forſomuch as it were to long to comprehend the whole, I haue thought good to exhibite ſome part therof for example, as geuing only a certain taſt, wherby thou mayeſt more eaſely conceiue, what to thinke and eſteeme of all the reſidue, which both to me wold be tedious to write, and perhaps more greeuous to thee, to heare.

✻Certaine greuances or oppreſsions of Germanie, againſt the courte of Rome, collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the councel of Norenberge, to the number of an C. wherof certaine ſpecialties here folow.

Forbidding of mariage in diuers degrees, not forbidden by Gods lawe.

Forbidding of meates, not forbidden by Gods lawe

AMongeſt other burthens & greuances, this is not leaſt to be regarded: ỹ many things are prohibited by mens conſtitutions, & many things exacted, whiche are not prohibited or commaũded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obſtacles of matrimonie inuented and brought in, wherby mẽ were forbid to mary in caſes of kindred, which ſtande vpon diuers degrees: as vpon affinitie, publike honeſty, ſpiritual kindred, kindred by law, & kindred in blud. &c. and likewiſe in forbidding ỹ vſe of meates, which God hath created for mans neceſſitye, and taught by the Apoſtle indifferently to be receiued with thanks geuing. By theſe and many other ſuch humane cõſtitutions, men are yoked in bondage, vntil by mony they obteined ſome diſpẽſation of thoſe lawes, at their handes which made them: ſo ỹ money ſhall make that lawfull for rich men, which is clearely prohibited vnto the poore. By theſe ſnares of mens lawes & conſtitutions, not onely great ſummes of money are gathered out of Germanie, & caried ouer the Alpes, but alſo great iniquitie is ſprong vp amongſt chriſtians: many offences and priuie hatreds do riſe, by reaſon that poore men do ſee themſelues intangled with theſe ſnares, for no other cauſe, but for that they doe not poſſeſſe the thornes of the Goſpel, for ſo Chriſt doth often call riches.

Times forbidden.

Tymes of mariage reſtrayned, and after releaſed for money.

THe like practiſe alſo is to be ſene in the times reſtrained from Mariage, by the heades of the Churche of Rome, from the Septuageſima Sonday, ſomewhat before Lent: when as notwithſtanding bothe the Clergye and the ſeculars in the meane time wil liue licentiouſly, and that openly in the face of all the world. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a man ſhal preſume ſo to do vpon his owne liberty, without compounding. But otherwiſe if there be any hope of money, then that which was before vnlawful, is now made lawful for euery man to do freely. And this is alſo an other drawing net, wherby great ſummes of mony are dragged out of the Germanes purſes. Wherupon alſo hangeth an other greeuance as great as thys, that in ſuing out a diſpẽſation, the ſtate of the poore and of the rich is not indifferently weyed: For where the rich eſcapeth many times for little or naught, & goeth cleare away, the poore man ſhalbe ſure to pay for the ſhot.

A complaint for ſelling remiſsion of ſinnes for money.

BUt eſpecially the burden and greuaunce of the Popes Indulgences and Pardons be moſt importable: when as the Biſhops of Rome, vnder pretẽſe of building ſome church in Rome, or to warre againſt the Turke, do make out their indulgences with their bulles: perſwading and promiſing to the ſimple people, ſtraunge & wonderfull befites of remiſſion a Pœna & culpa, that is, from all theyr ſinnes, and puniſhment due for the ſame, and that not in this life onely, but alſo after this life, to them that be deade burning in the fire of purgatorie. Through the hope and occaſion whereof, true pietie is almoſt extinct in all Germanie, while euery euill diſpoſed perſon promiſeth to him ſelf for a litle money, licence and impunitie to do what him luſteth: wherupon foloweth fornication, inceſt, adulterie, periurie, homicide, robbing and ſpoyling, rapine, vſurye, with a whole floud of all miſchiefes. &c.

A complaint againſt the Immunities of Clergie men.

ITem, whoſoeuer hee be that hath receiued any Eccleſiaſtical orders, great or ſmall, thereby he doth contende to be freed from al puniſhmẽt of the ſecular magiſtrate, how great offẽce ſoeuer he do: neither doth he vnaduiſedly preſume therupon, but is mainteined in that liberty to ſinne, by the principal eſtates of the clergy. For it hath often ben ſeene, that whereas by the canonicall lawes, prieſtes are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chaſtitie of matrones, virgines, and of the wiues, daughters and ſiſters of the lay men: and through their continual inſtance and labour, partly with gifts and rewards, and flattering wordes, partly by their ſecrete confeſſions (as they cal thẽ) as it hath bene founde by experience, they brynge to paſſe that many virgins and matrones, which otherwiſe wold be honeſt, haue beene ouercome and moued to ſinne and wickedneſſe: and it happeneth oftentimes, that they do deteine and keepe away the wiues, and daughters frõ theyr huſbands and fathers, threatning them wyth fire & ſword that do require them againe. Thus through theyr raging luſt, they heap & gather together innumerable miſchieues and offences. It is to be maruailed at, howe licentiouſly wythout puniſhmente they dailye offende in robberyes, murther, accuſing of innocents, burning, rapine, theft, and counterfaiting of falſ coyne, beſide a thouſand other kinds of miſchieues, contrary and againſt al lawes both of God and manne, not wythout great offence of others, truſting onely vppon the fredome and liberty of ſinne, whych they vſurpe vnto themſelues by the priuiledge of their canons. For when as they once perceiue that it is lawfull for them to doe what they luſt without controlment, then they doe not onely contemne the ciuill Magiſtrates, but alſo theyr Biſhops and ſuperiors, whatſoeuer they either cõmaund or forbid them to do.

The lycentious life of Priestes.

And moreouer, to yͤ intent they may be the more mayntemed in their miſchiefe & wickednes, contrary to all reaſon and equitie, it is partly forbiddẽ the Archbyſhops and Byſhops, to condemne theſe malefactours openly, except they be firſt diſgraded, which muſt be done with ſumptuouſnes and pompe: wherby it hapneth very ſeldome, that thoſe annoynted naughty packes, do receiue condigne puniſhment. Beſides that, the biſhops are ſo bound by theyr chapters, that they dare not puniſh any perſon which hath taken orders by the Canonicall lawes, be the puniſhment neuer ſo light or ſmal. By reaſon wherof the matter ſo falleth out, that through this vnequall partiality betwene the laitie and the Clergie, great hatred, diſcord, and diſſention is ſprong and riſen. It is alſo not a litle to be feared, that if the Clergie which are the cauſe of this greuance, and of other miſchiefes, (whych daily they doe procede to perpetrate) haue not like lawes, equall iudges, and like puniſhment, their offenſiue life will moue & ſtirre vp ſome great tumults and ſedition amongſt the cõmon people, not onely againſt the Clergy themſelues, but alſo againſt the ſuperiours and magiſtrates, for that they leaue ſo notorious offences vnpuniſhed.

Wherfore neceſſity & iuſtice doth require, that the ſayde preiudiciall priuiledges of the Clergie ſhoulde be abrogate and taken away, and in their place bee prouided, ordained and decreed, that the Clergy, of what order or degre ſoeuer they be, ſhal haue like lawes, like iudgement, and puniſhment as the laitie haue: ſo that they ſhal pretend no prerogatiue or fredome in like offence, more then the lay mã, but that euery one of the Cleargie offending vnder the iudge, where the offence is committed, ſhall be puniſhed for hys fact, according to the meaſure and equalitie of his offence, in ſuch like maner as other malefactours are, with the puniſhment apoynted by the common lawes of the Empire: which thing (without doubt) wil pleaſe the true miniſters of the church, ſuch as are honeſt and learned, that they will not thincke their power and authoritie thereby in any caſe diminiſhed. By this meanes it ſhall be brought to paſſe, that ſuche as are of the Clergie onely by name, and otherwiſe, naughty wicked men, through the obedience due vnto their magiſtrates, ſhalbe compelled to liue more honeſtly: and al ſedition and priuie hatred betwene them and the laitie ſhall be put away, and finally thereby the laitie ſhall be the more moued and ſtirred to loue and reuerence ſuch of the Clergie as be of a ſounde life.

Priestes ought to be ſubiecte to the ſame puniſhmentes, as are the lay people.

¶Complaint of excommunication abuſed.

ITem, at Rome and in other places many Chriſtiãs are excõmunicate by the Archbyſhops, Byſhops, or by their Eccleſiaſtical iudges, for prophane cauſes, through the deſire and couetouſnes of money, & lucre. The cõſciences of men which are weake in fayth, thereby are burthened and brought vnto deſperation: and finally, for money & luker, a matter of no importãce is made to tend to the deſtruction both of body & ſoule, contrary both to the law of God and mã, for ſomuch as no mã ought to be excommunicate but onely for hereſie, or for ſome haynous fact perpetrate, nor to be counted as ſeparate frõ the Chriſtian Catholicke Church, as the Scriptures do witnes: Therfore the princes, nobles, ſtates, & layty of the Sacred Empire, deſire & require the Popes holynes, that as a faythful Chriſtian & louyng father, he will remoue the ſayd burthen of excommunication vſed both in the ſea of Rome, & alſo in the ſeas of all other Archbyſhops and Eccleſiaſticall Iudges: and finally, decree that no man ſhall hereafter be excommunicate, but onely for a manifeſt conuict crime of hereſie. For it is to wicked a thyng, that faythfull Chriſtians for euery light offence, touchyng any temporall goodes or gayne, or for any other worldly matter, but onely for obſtinacie of hereſie or ſome great enormitie, ſhould be excluded from almighty God, and the Catholicke congregation.

Excõmunication abuſed in the church of Rome.

¶The Churche burdened with number of holy dayes.

MOreouer, the common people are not a litle oppreſſed with the great nũber of holy dayes, for that there are now ſo many holy dayes, that the huſbãdmẽ haue ſcarcely tyme to gather yͤ frutes of yͤ earth which they haue brought forth with ſo great labour & trauayle, beyng often in daunger of hayle, rayne, and other ſtormes: which fruites notwithſtandyng, if they were not letted with ſo many holy daies, they would gather & bring home without any loſſe. Beſides that, vpon thoſe holy daies, innumerable offences are committed & done, rather then God honoured or worſhipped. Which thing is ſo manifeſt, that it nedeth no witnes. For that cauſe the eſtates of the ſacred Empire thinke it beſt & moſt profitable for the Chriſtian common wealth, that this great nũber of holy dayes, ſhould be diminiſhed, whych ought rather to be celebrate in ſpirite & veritie, then wyth the externall worſhip, and be better kept with abſtinence from ſinne.

The nũber of holydaies to be diminiſhed.

Suſpending and halowing of Churchyardes gainfull to the Pope, and chargeable to the people.

FUrthermore, if it happẽ that 2. or more do fight without any weapon in a Churchyard, onely with their fiſts, or by the heare, that there be neuer ſo litle bloud ſhed, by & by yͤ clergy haue recourſe to enterdiment, & doe not ſuffer any more Chriſten burials there to be done, before that all the citizens with great pomp & expenſes do cauſe it to be conſecrated & halowed againe with no leſſe charge, then when at the firſt, of a prophane place, it was halowed for burial: all which things do redound to the charges & coſtes of the laity. And though the churches or chapels be neuer ſo litle

Hallowing of Churchyardes abuſed for money.

which are ſo hallowed: yet the ſuffraganes do burden and oppreſſe the ſimple poore houſholdes, be they neuer ſo bare or nedy, with ſuperfluous expenſes, and require moreouer giftes of the people, which is not for theyr eaſe to geue.

Baptiſing of Belles.

Alſo the ſuffraganes haue inuented that no other, but onely themſelues may baptiſe belles for the lay people, whereby the ſimple people, vpō the affirmation of the ſuffragans do beleue, that ſuch belles ſo baptiſed, wil driue away euill ſpirits and tempeſts: wherupon a great number of godfathers are appoynted, eſpecially ſuch as are riche: which at the time of the baptiſing, holding the rope wherwithal the bel is tied, the ſuffragan ſpeaking before them, as is accuſtomed in the baptiſing of young children, they altogether do anſwere, & geue the name to the bell. The bell hauing a new garment put vpon it, as is accuſtomed to be don vnto the Chriſtians, after this they go vnto ſumptuous bākets, wherunto alſo the goſſips are biddē, that therby they might geue the *greater reward, and the ſuffraganes with their chaplaines and other miniſters, are ſumptuouſly fed. Yet doth not this ſuffiſe, but that the ſuffragane alſo muſte haue a rewarde which they doe call a ſmall gifte or preſent: whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that euen in ſmall villages, a 100. florens are conſumed and ſpent in ſuch chriſtnings: which is not onely ſuperſtitious, but alſo contrary vnto Chriſtian religiō, a ſeducing of the ſimple people, and mere extortion. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops, for to enriche their Suffraganes, doe ſuffer theſe things and other farre worſe: wherefore ſuch wicked and vnlawfull things ought to be aboliſhed.

Bells weare coates.

A queſtion whether theſe goſſips which chriſten Belles may marry togeather by the Canon law.

* Spoyling of the people by baptiſing of Belles.

Complaint againſt Officials and other Eccleſiaſticall iudges.

Againſt Officials.

THe Officials alſo of Archbiſhops for the moſt part, are vnlearned & vnable men, beſides that, men of euil conditions, taking thought for nothing but onely for money. Alſo, howe corruptly they liue and continue in notorious crimes & tranſgreſſions, it is daily ſene. wherby the laity, whom they ought to correct and puniſh for their offences, & inſtruct in Chriſtian godlineſſe, are not in any poynt, by them amēded, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their offences. Beſides this, the laitie are miſerably robbed & ſpoiled of their goodes, by theſe light & vile officials. In whoſe conſcience there is no ſparke of chriſtian piety and godlines, but only a wicked deſire, & couetouſneſſe. which thing the archbiſhops and biſhops, if they were in dede ſuch as they are called, that is to ſay, the paſtours and ſhepheards of Chriſt, without doubt, they would no lōger ſuffer, or commit Chriſtes flocke, to ſuch wicked and offenſiue paſtors to be fed and nouriſhed.

Howe the Eccleſiaſticall iudges do annexe certaine ſpecial cauſes, being lay matters vnto their owne iuriſdiction, and will by no meanes, releaſe the ſame.

Lay matters brought into the ſpirituall court for money.

WHenſoeuer any cauſes are pleaded in iudgement before an Eccleſiaſticall iudge, either for rauiſhyng of virgins, or for children vnlawfully borne out of wedlocke, or for ſeruants wages, or any other matters touching widowes, the Eccleſiaſticall iudges being called vpon by the ſuperiors of the laitie which do contend, they will neyther deferre that iudgement, or by any meanes wil be intreated to remit them to theyr ordinarie iuriſdiction.

The gaine that riſeth to the Clergie, by falſe ſclaunders and rumours.

Scoulding matters brought to the ſpiritual court for gayne and lucre.

IT happeneth oftentimes, that men and women, through ſiniſter and falſe reports & ſclanders, are brought before the Official or Eccleſiaſticall iudge, as men gilty, and ſhall not be declared innocē, before they haue cleared thēſelues by an othe. whych purgation ſo made, they are reſtored again to their former eſtimation. And albeit that the damages & coſtes ought to be repaide againe, vnto ſuch as be ſo falſly accuſed, yet notwithſtādyng the innocents thēſelues, are forced to pay two gilderns and a quarter, for their letters of abſolution. And this is the cauſe, why that the Officials & other Eccleſiaſticall iudges, do ſo greedely folowe the action of ſuch vnlawful, falſe, & ſlanderous accuſatiōs, chalenging the hearinge thereof onelye vnto them ſelues: which thyng (no doubt) redoundeth to the great and moſt ſingular hurt and detriment of all men. For oftentimes it happeneth that women falling together in cōtention through anger, hatred, or ſome other affection, do ſpeake euill or ſlaunder one an other, and outrage ſomuch, that the one oftentimes accuſeth the other, either of adoultry or witchery. which thinge being brought before the Officiall, ſhee which through her anger had ſo ſlaundered the other, is forced by an othe to excuſe and purge her ſelfe, that whatſoeuer iniurious or ſlanderous word ſhe had ſpoken, came not of any deliberate purpoſe or intent, but through wrath and diſpleaſure. In like maner the other which is accuſed either of adoultrie or ſorcerie, is commaunded by an othe to declare her innocencie, that ſhee is not guiltie of thoſe factes, ſo that it is euident vnto all men, that in ſuch caſes, whether they be guiltie or not guiltie, they muſt ſweare, if they will keepe theyr good name and fame. whereby not onely the vnlawfull luker of gaine and money is ſoughte, but alſo wilful periurie forced, and the ſeculare power and iudges letted from the puniſhment therof, ſo that contrary to all reaſon, offences do remaine vnpuniſhed.

Complaint againſt ſpirituall iudges, taking Seculare cauſes from the Ciuile Magiſtrate.

The wraſting of temporall cauſes vnto the ſpirituall court, for gayne of money.

ALl be it there be many cauſes ſo indifferent to both iuriſdictions, that they may be pleaded and puniſhed as wel by the ciuill Magiſtrate, as eccleſiaſticall iudge: notwiſtanding it happeneth oftentimes, that when as the ciuill Magiſtrates would exerciſe their office and iuriſdiction in this behalfe, they are forbidden and letted by the Eccleſiaſtical iudges vnder paine of excōmunication. which thing if it ſhould long continue, and be ſuffred, the Eccleſiaſticall iudges would wholly take away all maner of cauſes from the ciuil Magiſtrate & his iuriſdiction, which is vntolerable and derogatorie both vnto the Emperors maieſty, and other ſtates of the Empire. And albeit that by the common lawes, manifeſt periuries, adulteries, witchcrafts and ſuch other like, may indifferently be puniſhed by Eccleſiaſtical, or ciuil iudges for the time being, ſo that preuention in this behalfe taketh place: notwiſtanding the Eccleſiaſticall iudges goe about to vſurpe vnto themſelues and theyr iuriſdiction, all ſuche maner of cauſes: which burthen and greuance the ciuill iuriſdiction and power ought not to ſuffer.

A complaint againſt Eccleſiaſtical iudges, intermedling with caſes of the ſecular Court: but will not ſuffer their caſes once to be touched of the other.

The clergy may deale in ciuill cauſes, but the ciuill magiſtrate muſt not deale in theirs.

MOreouer, the Eccleſiaſticall iudges ſaye, that in ſuche caſe it is lawful for them to take prophane matters in to their hands, if the ciuil magiſtrate be found negligent in executing of iuſtice: but contrariwiſe they will not ſuffer ẏ the like order ſhoulde be kept with them, neither will they permit that in Eccleſiaſticall matters, any man may complaine vnto the ciuil Magiſtrate, for lack of iuſtice, and require the adminiſtration of iuſtice at his hand. Albeit, they do define all lawes generally common, & determine howe the Canon lawes may help and aſſiſt the ciuil, and contrariwiſe the ciuil lawes, the Canon.

Complaint againſt certaine miſorders of the Cathedral Churches, for vſing double puniſhment for one offence, againſt the lawe.

Certaine orders of Cathedrall churches reproueable.

FOraſmuch as it is forbidden both by gods law & mans, ẏ no man ſhuld be beaten with 2. rods, that is to ſay, be puniſhed with 2. kinds of torments: worthely therefore do all wiſe men deteſt & abhorre the odious ſtatutes of diuers cathedral churches, wherby murtherers, both men & women, & other, as wel light as greuous offenders, haue ben hetherto vexed & tormented: for hetherto it hath bene accuſtomed ẏ ſuch as wer gilty of murther & ſuch other crimes (which they cal caſes reſerued vnto the biſhops) after they had made their auricular confeſſion, were cōpelled (to their great ignominy & ſhame) to do penaunce in the ſight of all the people: which penāce were not ſo much to be diſalowed, hearing ſome ſemblance of the inſtitution of the primatiue churche, if ſo be it theſe buſie officials, being contente therewith, wold not extort more, and greater ſummes of money, then were right and lawful, and ſo puniſh thoſe offenders with double puniſhment: wherewall it is to be marueiled, how many be offended and greeued. Howe wicked a thynge thys is, and howe farre it differeth from Chriſtes inſtitution, we will referre it to euery good conſcience to iudge.

Complaint of Officials for mainteining vnlawfull vſuries.

Officials taking penſions of prieſtes for keeping concubines

FUrthermore, the Officials being allured thorough the greedy and vnſatiable deſire of money, do not only not forbid vnlawful vſuries and gaines of mony, but alſo ſuffer and maintaine the ſame. Moreouer, they taking a yerely ſtipend and penſion, do ſuffer the Clergy and other religious perſons vnlawfully to dwel with their concubines and harlots, and to beget children by them. Bothe whych things, howe great pearil, offence and detriment they doe bring bothe, vnto body and ſoule, euery man may plainely ſee (ſo that it neede not to be rehearſed) except he wil make himſelfe as blinde as a mole.

Complaint of Officials permitting vnlawfull cohabitation with other, when the husband or wife are long abſent.

Furthermore, where it ſo happeneth (as it doeth oftentymes) that either the good manne or the good wife, by meanes of warre or ſome other vowe, hath taken in hande ſome long iourney, and ſo tarieth longer then ſerueth the appetite of the other, the Officiall taking a rewarde of the other, geueth licence to the party to dwell wyth any other perſon, not hauing firſt regard or making inquiſitiō whether the husbād or wife being abſent, be in health or dead: and becauſe theſe their doings ſhoulde not be euill ſpoken of, they name it a tolleration or ſufferaunce, not without greate offence vnto all men, and to the great contempte of holy matrimonie.

Complaint of Canons in Cathedrall Churches, which haue their B. ſworne vnto them, before he be choſen.

The practiſe in chapters of cathedral churches to make the byſhop ſworne vnto them.

This is alſo vnlawfull and plainly wicked, that the Canons of Cathedrall Churches, in whoſe hand the principal part of Eccleſiaſtical iudgements, Sinodes, and cenſures do conſiſt, and the Canons of other collegiate churches, which haue power and authoritie to chuſe theyr Superiour and Biſhop, will chuſe none to their Biſhop, except he binde himſelf firſt with an oth, and plainly ſweare, yet and oftentimes is bound by bond and inſtrumēts ſealed wyth their ſeales to them and their Eccleſiaſticall iudges, ẏ in no matter, be it neuer ſo greuous, intollerable, or diſhoneſt, he ſhall not be againſt them: and if it happen at any time that they doe offend, they may do it alſo wythout puniſhment for him.

✽ Complaint againſt incorporations or improperations and other pilling of the people, by Churchmen.

The incōueniēce of improperations.

Many pariſh churches are ſubiect vnto monaſteries, & to the perſons of other churches, by meanes of incorporations (as they call them) or otherwiſe, whych they are bound alſo, according to the canon lawes, to forſee & looke vnto, by themſelues, when as they do put them forth vnto others to be gouerned, reſeruing for the moſte parte vnto themſelues, the whole ſtipende of the benefices and tithes: and moreouer, aggrauate & charge the ſame wyth ſo great penſions, that the hireling prieſtes and other miniſters of the Church, can not haue thereupon a decent or competent liuing: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that theſe hirelynge prieſtes (for that they muſt needes haue wherupon to liue) doe with vnlawfull exactions, miſerably ſpoil and deuour the poore ſheepe committed vnto them, & conſume all theyr ſubſtaunce. For when as the Sacramentes of the aultare and of Baptiſme are to be adminiſtred, or when the firſte, the ſeuenth, the thirtie, and yeare day muſt be kept, when auricular confeſſion cōmeth to be heard, the dead to be buried, or any other ceremony whatſoeuer, about the funerall is to be done: they will not do it freely, but extort and exact ſo much mony, as the miſerable communalty is ſcarſe able to diſbourſe, and daily they do encreaſe and augment theſe their exactions, driuing the ſimple pouerty to the payment therof, by threatning them with excommunication, or by other waies, cōpelling them to be at charge: which otherwiſe through pouerty, are not able to maintein obſequies, yere mindes, and ſuche other like ceremonies, as to the funerals of the dead be appertaining.

Cruell exactiō. of the people by churchmen.

✽ Bying and ſelling of burials complained of.

Gaine gotten by ſelling burials.

It is ordained by the Popes Canons, that buriall in the Church ſhould be denied onely vnto them, whych being known to be manifeſt & notorious offenders, haue departed this life wͭout receiuing of the ſacrament. But the clergie not regarding thoſe decrees, will not ſuffer ſuche as by chaunce are drowned, killed, ſlaine with falles, or fire, or otherwiſe by chance haue ended their liues, (albeit it be not euident, that they were in deadly ſinne) to be buryed in the churches, vntill ſuch time, as the wiues, children or frends of thoſe men ſo dead, do with great ſummes of money purchaſe and buy the burial of them in the Churchyard.

✽ Chaſte and continent prieſtes compelled to pay tribute for concubines.

Concubines permitted for money and chaſt prieſtes cōpelled to pay tribute for concubines.

Alſo in many places, the biſhops & their Officials do not only ſuffer Prieſtes to haue concubines, ſo that they paye certayne ſummes of money, but alſo compell continent and chaſt Prieſtes, which liue without concubines, to paye tribute for concubines, affirming that the B. hath neede of money, which being payde, it ſhalbe lawfull for them, either to liue chaſt or keepe concubines. Howe wicked a thing this is, euery man doeth well vnderſtande and knowe.

These with many other burthens and greuances into the number of an hundreth, the ſeculare ſtates of Germanie deliuered to the Popes legate, hauing (as they ſayd) many mo, and more greuous greuances beſides theſe, which had likewiſe much nede of redreſſe: but becauſe they would not exceede the limites of reaſonable breuity, they wold cōtent themſelues (ſaid they) with theſe aforeſaid hundreth, reſeruing the reſt to a more apt and more conuenient oportunitye, ſtedfaſtly truſting & hoping, that when thoſe hundreth greuances, already by them declared, ſhould be aboliſhed, the other would alſo decay, & fall with them. Of the which foreſaid greuances and complaints here is moreouer to be noted, that a great part was offered vp before, to ẏ Emperor, at the coūcel of Wormes: but becauſe no redreſſe therof did folowe, therefore the ſeculare ſtates of Germanie thought good to exhibite the ſame now againe, with diuers moe annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus the Popes Legate, in this preſent aſſēble of Norenberge, deſiring him to preſent the ſame to Pope Adrian. This was about the yere of our Lord 1523. Which being done, the aſſemble of Norenberge brake vp for a time, and was proroged to the nexte yeare following.

The diet of Norenberge began an. 1522. and brake vp, an. 1523. The death of Pope Adrian, Pope Clement 7.

In this meane time Pope Adrian died. After him ſucceded pope Clemēt 7. who the next yere folowing, whych was An. 1524. ſent downe his Legate Cardinall Campeius, vnto the Councel of the Germane Princes aſſembled againe at Norenberge, about the moneth of March, with letters alſo to duke Friderick, full of many faire petitions, and ſharp complaints. &c. But as touching the greuances aboue mentioned, no word nor meſſage at al was ſent, neither by Campeius, nor by any other. Thus, where anye thing was to be complained of againſte Luther, eyther for ſuppreſſion of the liberty of the Goſpel, or for vpholding of the Popes dignity, the Pope was euer ready with al diligence, to cal vpō the Princes: but where any redreſſe was to be required, for the publicke wealth of Chriſten people, or touching the neceſſary reformation of the church, herein the Pope neither geueth eare, nor anſwere.

Cardinall Campeius the Popes Legate into Germanye. The Pope onely ſeeketh his own dignitie, but publicke reformation he neuer tendreth.

And thus hauing diſcourſed ſuch matters occurrēt betwene the Pope & Princes of Germany, at the Synode of Norenberge, let vs now proceede, returning againe to the ſtory of Luther: of whō ye heard before, howe he was kept ſecret & ſolitarie for a time, by the aduiſe and conueiance of certain nobles in Saxonie, becauſe of the Emperours Edict, aboue mentioned. In the meane time, while Luther had thus abſented hymſelfe out of Wyttenberge, Andræas Caroloſtadius proceding more roughly and egerly in cauſes of Religion, had ſtirred vp the people, to throw downe Images in the temples, beſide other thinges moe. For the which cauſe, Luther returning again into the city, greatly miſliked the order of their doings, and reproued the raſhneſſe of Caroloſtadius, declaring, that theyr proceedynges herein were not orderly: but that pictures & images ought firſt to be throwen out of the harts and conſciences of men & that the people ought firſt to be taught: that we are ſaued before God, and pleaſe him onely by faith, and that Images ſerue to no purpoſe: this done, and the people well inſtructed, there was no danger in Images, but they would fall of their owne accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary (he ſaide) as though he would mainteine Images to ſtand or to be ſuffered: but that this ought to be done by the magiſtrate, and not by force, vppon euery priuate mannes head, without order and authority. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

Caroloſtadius caſteth downe Images in Wittēberg.

Luther miſliketh caſting out of Images by ſtrong hand.

Furthermore, Luther wryting of Caroloſtadius, affirmeth that he alſo ioyned with the ſecte of them, which began then to ſpread about certaine parts of Saxony, ſaying that they were taught of God, that al wickednes being vtterlye ſuppreſſed, and all the wicked doers ſlaine, a newe full perfection of all thyngs muſt be ſette vp, and the innocent onely to enioy all things. &c.

Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

The cauſe why Luther ſo ſtoode againſt that violent throwing downe of Images, and againſt Caroloſtadius, ſeemeth partly to riſe of this, by reaſon that Pope Adrian in his letters ſent to the Princes and ſtates of Germany, doth greeuouſly complaine, and charge the ſect of Luther, for ſedition and tumultes, and rebellion againſt Magiſtrates, as ſubuerters and deſtroyers of all order and obedience, as appeareth by the wordes of the Popes letter before expreſſed, pag. 854. therefore M. Luther, to ſtoppe the mouth of ſuch ſlanderers, and to preuent ſuch ſiniſter ſuſpitions, was enforced to take this way, as he did: that is, to procede, as much as he might, by order and authoritie.

The cauſes diſcuſſed why Luther permitted Images to ſtand. Two things to be noted in Luther for bearing with Images.

¶ Wherein are to be noted by ye way two ſpeciall pointes, touching the doctrine and doings of M. Luther eſpecially for all ſuch who in theſe our dayes, now abuſing the name & authoritie of Luther, thinke themſelues to be good Lutherians, if they ſuffer Images ſtil to remaine in temples, and admit ſuch things in the Church, which themſelues do wiſh to be away. The firſt is the maner how and after what ſort Luther did ſuffer ſuch Images to ſtand. For although he aſſented not that the vulgare and priuate multitude tumultuouſly by violẽce ſhould rap them downe: yet that is no argument now for the Magiſtrate, to let them ſtand. And though he allowed not the Miniſters to ſtirre vp the people, by forceable meanes to promote Religion: yet that argueth not, thoſe magiſtrates to be good Lutherians, which may and ſhould remoue them, and will not.

The ſecond point to be noted is, to conſider the cauſe why that Luther did ſo ſtand with ſtanding of Images, which cauſe was time, and not his owne iudgement. For albeit in iudgement he wiſhed them away, yet time ſo ſerued not therunto then, as it ſerueth now. For then the doctrine of Luther firſt beginning to ſpring, and being but in the blade, was not yet knowne whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow: but rather was ſuſpected to tend to diſobedience & ſedition: and therefore the Pope hearing of the doings of Caroloſtadius in Wittenberge, and of other like, tooke his ground thereby to charge the ſect of Luther with ſedition, vprores, and diſſolute libertie of life. And this was the cauſe, why Luther cõpelled then by neceſſitie of time, to ſaue hys doctrine from ſclaunder of ſedition and tumulte, beyng layd to hym by the Pope (as ye haue heard) was ſo much offended with Caroloſtadius and other, for their violence vſed againſt Images. For otherwiſe, had it not bene for the Popes accuſations, there is no doubt, but Luther would haue bin as well cõtented with aboliſhing of Images and other monuments of Popery, as he was at the ſame time, contented to write to the Friers Auguſtines for abrogating of priuate Maſſes. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excuſed, the circumſtances conſidered: ſo the like excuſe perhaps will not ſerue the ouermuch curious imitation of certeine Lutherians in this preſent age now: which conſidering only the fact of Luther, do not marke the purpoſe of Luther, neyther do expend the circumſtances and time of his doings: being not much vnlike to the ridiculous imitatours of King Alexander the great, which thought it not ſufficient to follow him in his vertues, but they woulde alſo counterfeite him in his ſtouping and all other geſtures beſides: but to theſe liuing now in the Church, in another age then Luther did, it may ſeeme (after my minde) ſufficient to follow the ſame way after Luther, or to walke with Luther, to the kingdome of Chriſt, though they iumpe not alſo in euery foote ſteppe of his, and keepe euen the ſame paſe, and turnings in all points, as he did.

χαδοξηλία.

Lutherians of this age.

How Luther is to be folowed.

Luther not to be contẽned for one little blemiſh.

And contrarywiſe of the other ſorte, much leſſe are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary ſtring, are ſo preciſe, that becauſe of one ſmall blemiſh, or for a little ſtouping of Luther in the Sacrament, therefore they giue cleane ouer the reading of Luther, and fall almoſt in vtter contempt of his bookes. whereby is declared not ſo much the niceneſſe and curiouſneſſe of theſe our daies, as ye hinderance that cõmeth thereby to the Church, is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Chriſt (praiſed be the Lord) is not vnprouided of ſufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to inſtruct in matters of doctrine: yet in the chiefe points of our cõſolation, where the glory of Chriſt, and the power of his paſſion & ſtrength of faith is to be opened to our conſcience, & where the ſoule wraſteling for death and life, ſtandeth in neede of ſerious conſolation, the ſame may be ſayd of Martin Luther, amongſt all this other varietie of writers, that S. Cyprian was wont to ſay of Tertulian Da magiſtrum, geue me my maiſter. And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and diſſented frõ Zuinglius in this one matter of the Sacrament: yet in all other ſtates of doctrine they did accord, as appeared in the Synode holdẽ at Marpurge, by prince Philip Langraue of Heſſe, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. where both Luther, and Zuinglius were preſent, and conferryng together, agreed in theſe Articles:

Commendation of Martin Luthers doctrine. Cyprian ſo much delited in reading of Tertulian, that whenſoeuer he called for his booke, he badde teach him his maiſter.

The conſent betweene Luther and Zuinglius in caſes of doctrine.

1. On the vnitie, and Trinitie of God. 2. In the Incarnation of the word. 3. In the paſſiõ and reſurrection of Chriſt. 4. In the Article of Originall ſinne. 5. In the Article of Fayth in Chriſt Ieſu. 6 That this fayth commeth not of merites, but by the gift of God. 7. That this Fayth is our righteouſneſſe. 8. Touchyng the extreme word. 9. Likewiſe they agreed in the Articles of Baptiſme. 10. Of good workes. 11. Of cõfeſsion. 12 Of Magiſtrates. 13. Of mens traditiõs. 14. Of Baptiſme of infantes. 15. Laſtly concernyng the doctrine of the Lordes Supper, this they did beleue and hold, firſt that both the kyndes therof are to be miniſtred to the people accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution: and that the Maſſe is no ſuch worke for the which a mã may obteine grace both for the quick, and the dead. Item, that the Sacrament (which they call of the altar) is a true Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord. Item, that the ſpirituall manducation of his body and bloud is neceſſary for euery Chriſten man. And furthermore, that the vſe of the Sacrament tendeth to the ſame effect, as doth the word, geuẽ and ordeyned of the almightie God, that thereby infirme conſciences may be ſtirred to beleue, by the holy Ghoſt. &c. Ex Paral. Abbat. Vrſp.

In all theſe ſummes of doctrine aboue recited: Luther and Zuinglius did conſent and agree. Neither were their opinions ſo differẽt in the matter of the Lordes Supper, but that in the principall pointes they accorded. For if the queſtion be aſked of them both, what is the materiall ſubſtaunce of the Sacrament, which our outward ſenſes doe behold and feele: they will both confeſſe bread, and not the accidents onely of bread. Further if the queſtion be aſked whether Chriſt be there preſent: they will both confeſſe his true preſence to be there, onely in the manner of preſence they differre. Agayn, aſke whether the materiall ſubſtaunce layd before our eyes in the Sacrament, is to be worſhypped: they will both deny it, and iudge it Idolatry. And likewiſe for tranſubſtantiation, and for the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, they both do abhorre, and do deny the ſame: As alſo the Communiõ to be in both kyndes adminiſtred, they do both aſſent and graunt.

Luther & Zuinglius agree in the preſence: only in the maner, of the preſence they differ.

How & wherein Luther and Zuinglius diſſent in doctrine of the Lordes ſupper.

Luthers opinion in the Sacramẽt.

Zuinglius opinion in the Sacrament.

Onely their difference is in this; concernyng the ſenſe and meanyng of the wordes of Chriſt: Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body: &c. which wordes Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and ſimply, as the letter ſtandeth, without trope or figure, and therfore holdeth the body and bloud of Chriſt truely to be in the bread, and wine, and ſo alſo to be receaued with the mouth. Vldricus Zuinglius, with Ioannes Oecolampadius and other moe, do interprete theſe wordes otherwiſe, as to be taken not litterally, but to haue a ſpirituall meanyng, & to be expounded by a trope or figure, ſo that the ſenſe of theſe wordes: This is my body, is thus to be expoũded: this ſignifieth my body and bloud. Ex Ioan. Sled. Lib. 5. With Luther cõſented the Saxõs. With the other ſide of Zuinglius, went the Heluetians. And as tyme did grow, ſo the diuiſion of theſe opinions increaſed in ſides, & ſpread in farther Realmes and countreys: the one part beyng called of Luther Lutheriãs: the other hauyng ye name of Sacramentaries. Notwithſtandyng in this one vnitie of opinion, both the Lutherians, & Sacramentaries do accorde & agree, that the bread & wine there preſent is not tranſubſtantiate into the body & bloud of Chriſt (as is ſayd) but is a true Sacrament of the body & bloud.

Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 5.

Lutherians. Sacramentaries.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſp.

But hereof ſufficient, touchyng this diuiſion betwene the Lutherans and Zuinglians. In which diuiſiõ, if there haue bene any defect in Martin Luther: yet is that no cauſe why either the Papiſtes may greatly triumph, or why the Proteſtantes ſhould deſpiſe Luther. For neither is the doctrine of Luther touchyng the Sacramẽt ſo groſſe that it maketh much with the Papiſtes: nor yet ſo diſcrepaunt frõ vs, that therfore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cã not well be made (as ſome haue gone about to do) yet let vs geue to Luther a moderate interpretation, & if we will not make thinges better, yet let vs not make them worſe thẽ they be, & let vs beare, if not with the maner, yet at leaſt with the tyme of his teachyng: and finally let it not be noted in vs, that we ſhould ſeeme to differre in Charitie more (as Bucer ſayd) then we do in doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Chriſt willyng) when we come to the hiſtory of Iohn Frith.

Lutherians and Zuinglians differ more in charitie then in doctrine.

They which write the lyfe of Saintes, vſe to deſcribe and to extoll their holy lyfe & godly vertues, and alſo to ſet forth ſuch miracles as be wrought in them by God: whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther, but rather time lacketh to vs and oportunitie to tary vpon them, hauyng ſuch haſt to other things. Otherwiſe what a miracle might this ſeeme to be, for one man, & a poore Frier, creepyng out of a blynd cloyſter, to be ſet vp agaynſt the Pope, A notable miracle of God to ouerthrowe the Pope by a poore Fryer.

the vniuerſall Biſhop and Gods mighty Vicare in earth: to withſtand all his Cardinals, yea and to ſuſteine the malice and hatred almoſt of the whole worlde, being ſet againſt him, and to worke that againſt the ſaid Pope, Cardinals and Church of Rome, which no King nor Emperour could euer do, yea durſt neuer attempt, nor all the learned men before him, could euer compaſſe, which miraculous worke of God, I recount nothing inferiour to the miracle of Dauid ouerthrowing great Goliath. wherfore if miracles do make a Sainct (after the Popes definition) what lacketh in Martin Luther but age and tyme only to make him a Sainct? who ſtanding openly againſt the Pope, Cardinals, and prelates of the Church, in number ſo many, in power ſo terrible, in practiſe ſo craftie, hauing Emperours, and all the Kings of the earth againſt him, who teaching and preaching Chriſt the ſpace of nine and twenty yeares, could without touch of all his enemies ſo quietly in his owne countrey, where he was borne, die and ſleepe in peace. In the which Martin Luther, firſt to ſtand againſt the Pope, was a great miracle: to preuaile againſt the Pope, a greater: ſo to die vntouched, may ſeme greateſt of all, eſpecially hauing ſo many enemies as he had. Againe, neither is it any thing leſſe miraculous, to conſider what manifold dangers he eſcaped beſides, as when a certeine Iewe was appointed to come to deſtroy him by poiſon, yet was it ſo the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Iewe ſent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and auoided the perill.

Three miracles noted in M. Luther.

M. Luther miraculouſly preſerued.

Another time as he was ſitting in a certaine place vpon his ſtoole, a great ſtone there was in the vault, ouer hys head where he did ſit, which being ſtayd miraculouſly, ſo long as he was ſitting, as ſoone as he was vp, immediatly fell vpon the place where he ſate, able to haue cruſhed him all in peeces if it had light vpon him.

M. Luther vehement & mighty in prayer.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of his praiers, which were ſo ardent vnto Chriſt, that (as Melancthon writeth) they which ſtoode vnder his windowe, where he ſtood prayeng, might ſee his teares falling and dropping downe. Againe, with ſuch power he prayed, that he (as himſelfe confeſſeth) had obteined of the Lord, that ſo long as he liued, the Pope ſhould not preuaile in his countrey: after his death (ſayd he) let them pray who could.

A miraculous worke of the Lorde in deliuering a yong man out of the deuils daunger by Chriſtian prayer.

And as touching the marueilous workes of the Lorde, wrought here by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, then that whiche is declared of a yong man aboute Wittenberge, who being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by way of ſorcery, to bargaine with the Diuell, or a familiare (as they call him) to yeeld hymſelfe body and ſoule into the Diuels power, vpon condition to haue his wiſh ſatiſfied with money: So that vpon the ſame, an obligation was made by the yong man, written with his owne bloud, and geuen to the Diuell. This caſe you ſee, how horrible it was, and how damnable: now heare what followed. Vpon the ſodeine wealth and alteration of this yong man, the matter firſt being noted, began afterward more & more, to be ſuſpected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought vnto Martin Luther, to be examined. The yong man, whether for ſhame or feare, long denied to confeſſe, and woulde bee knowne of nothing. Yet God ſo wrought, being ſtronger then the Diuell, that he vttered vnto Luther the whole ſubſtance of the caſe, as well touching the money, as the obligation. Luther vnderſtanding the matter, and pitiing the lamentable ſtate of the man, willed the whole congregation to pray: and he himſelfe ceaſed not with hys praiers to labour, ſo that the Diuell was compelled at the laſt to throw in his obligation at the window, and bade him take it againe vnto him. Which narration, if it be ſo true as certeinely it is of him reported, I ſee not the contrary, but that this may well ſeeme comparable wyth the greateſt miracle in Chriſtes Church, that was ſince the Apoſtles time.

Ex Phill Melanct. in orat funebri. Ex Hierony. Wellero.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his prayers: ſo in his Sermons God gaue him ſuch a grace, that when hee preached, they which heard him, thought euery one hys owne temptations ſeuerally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when ſignification was geuen vnto him by hys frends, and he demaunded how that could be: mine owne manifold temptations (ſaid he) and experiences are the cauſe thereof. For this thou muſt vnderſtand (good reader) that Luther, from his tender yeares, was much beaten and exerciſed with ſpirituall conflicts, as Melancthon in deſcribing of his life, doth teſtifie. Alſo Hieronymus Wellerus, ſcholer and diſciple of the ſayd Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his maiſter thus reporte of himſelfe: that he had bene aſſaulted and vexed with all kindes of temptations, ſauing onely one, which was, with couetouſnes. with this vice he was neuer (ſaid he) in all his life troubled, nor once tempted. And hetherto concerning the life of Martin Luther: who liued to the yeare of his age 63. He continued writing and preachyng, about 29. yeares. As touching the order of his death, the wordes of Melancthon be theſe.

Luther neuer in all his life tempted with couetouſnes. M. Luther how long he liued & taught.

The ſicknes of Luther.

In the yeare of our Lord 1546. and the 17. of February, Doctour Martin Luther ſickened a little before ſupper, of his accuſtomed maladie, to wyt, of the oppreſſion of humours in the orifice or opening of his ſtomacke, whereof I remember I haue ſeene him oft diſeaſid in this place. This ſickenes tooke him after ſupper, with the which he vehemently contending, required receſſe into a bye chamber, and there he reſted on his bed two houres, all whych time his paynes encreaſed. And as Doctor Ionas was lieng in his chamber, Luther awaked, and praied him to riſe, and to call vp Ambroſe his childrens ſcholemaiſter, to make fire in another chamber. Into the which, when he was newly entred, Albert Earle of Manſfield, with hys wife and diuers other (whoſe names in theſe letters for haſte, were not expreſſed) at that inſtant came into hys chamber. Finally, feeling his fatall houre to approche, before nine of the clocke in yͤ morning, the xviij. of February, he cõmended himſelfe to God, with this deuout praier.

The quiet death of Luther.

¶ The Prayer of Luther at his death.

The prayer of Luther at his death.

My heauenly father, eternall and mercifull God, thou haſt manifeſted vnto me thy deare ſonne, our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt. I haue taught him, I haue knowne him, I loue him as my life, my health, and my redemption: whome the wicked haue perſecuted, maligned, and with iniurie afflicted. Draw my ſoule to thee. After this, he ſayd as enſueth, thryſe.

I commend my ſpirit into thy hands, thou haſt redeemed me, O God of truth. GOD ſo loued the world, that he gaue his only ſonne, that all thoſe that beleeue in him, ſhoulde haue life euerlaſting. Iohn. iij.

Hauing repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, vnto whome ſo faithfully he commended his ſpirit, to enioy, no doubt, the bleſſed ſocietie of the Patriarks, Prophets, and Apoſtles in the kingdome of God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt. Let vs now loue the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught. Let vs learne to be modeſt and meeke. Let vs conſider the wretched calamities, and marueilous chaunges that ſhall follow this miſhap and dolefull chaunce. I beſeech thee, O ſonne of God, crucified for vs, and reſuſcitated Emanuell, gouerne, cõſerue and defend thy Church. Hæc Melancthon.

The death of Duke Fridericke.

Fridericus Prince Electour died long before Luther, in the yeare of our Lord 1525. leauing no iſſue behind him, for that he liued a ſingle life, and was neuer maried: wherfore after him ſucceded Iohn Fridericke, D. of Saxony.

Diſceptatiõ betweene the Senate of Strauſburgh, and Cardinall Campeius, about maried miniſters.

Mention was made a little before, page 859. of the Miniſters of Strauſburgh, which becauſe of their Mariage, were in trouble and cited by the Biſhop, to appeare before him, and thereto be iudged without the precinct of the Citie of Strauſburgh: wheras there had bene a contrary order taken before betweene the Biſhop, and the Citie, that the Biſhop ſhould execute no iudgement vpon any, but vnder ſome of the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City of Strauſburgh. Whereupon the Senate and Citizens taking into their hands the cauſe of theſe maried Miniſters, in defence of their owne right and liberties, wrote (as is ſayd) to their Byſhop of Strauſburgh, and cauſed the iudgement thereof a while to be ſtayed. By reaſon whereof the matter was brought at lẽgth, before Cardinall Campeius Legate, ſent by Pope Clemẽt to the aſſemble of Norenberge, an. 1524.

Murnerus a Frier, an accuſer of maried miniſters.

The chiefe doer in this matter was one Thomas Murnerus, a Franciſcane Frier, who had commenced a greeuous complaint againſt the Senate and Citie of Strauſburgh, before the foreſayde Cardinall Campeius. Wherefore the Senate, to purge themſelues, ſent their Ambaſſadours, thus clearing their cauſe, and aunſwering to theyr accuſation: That they neither had bene, nor would be any let to the Byſhop, but had ſignified to him before by theyr letters, that whatſoeuer he could lay againſt thoſe maried Prieſts, conſonant to the lawe of God, they woulde be no ſtay, but rather a furtherance vnto him, to proceede in hys action. But the Senate herein was not a little greeued, that the Biſhop, contrary to the order and compact, which was taken betweene him and them, did call the ſayde Miniſters out of the liberties of their Citie: For ſo it was betweene them agreed, that no Eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould

The Senate of Strauſburgh purgeth themſelues to Cardinall Campeius.

be adiudged, but vnder ſome iudge of their owne Citie. But now contrary to the ſaid agreement, the Biſhop called thoſe Miniſters out of their liberties, and ſo the Miniſters claiming the right and priuiledge of the Citie, were condemned, their cauſe being neither heard nor knowne. And now if the Senate ſhould ſhew themſelues any thing more ſharpe or rigorous vnto thoſe Miniſters, in claiming the right of the Citie, the people, no doubt, woulde not take it well, but happely woulde riſe vp in ſome commotion againſt them, in the quarell and defence of their fraunchiſes and liberties.

The Biſhop of Strauſburgh breaketh the agreement made, & the liberties of the Citie.

And where it is obiected, that they receaue Prieſts and men of the Clergy, into the fredome and protection of their Citie, to this they anſwered, that they did nothing herein, but which was correſpondent to the auncient vſage and maner of the Citie before: and moreouer, that it was the Byſhops owne requeſt & deſire, made vnto them ſo to do.

The anſwer of Campeius to the ambaſſadours.

The Popes prelates be lawles, and can breake no order whatſoeuer they doe.

To this the Cardinall againe aduiſing well the letters of the Biſhop, & the whole order of the matter, which was ſent vnto him, declared that he right wel vnderſtood by the letters ſent, that the Miniſters in deede (as the Ambaſſadours ſayd) were called out from the fredome, & liberties of the Citie, and yet no order of law was broken therein: for as much as the Biſhop (ſaid he) had there no leſſe power and authoritie, then if he were his owne Vicare delegate, and therefore he deſired them, that they woulde aſſiſt the Biſhop in puniſhing the foreſayd Miniſters, &c.

The ambaſſadours reply againſt the Cardinall.

After much other talke and reaſoning on both partes, wherein the Ambaſſadours argued in defence of their fredome, that the iudgement ſhould not be transferred out of the Citie: among other cōmunication, they inferred moreouer and declared, how in the Citie of Strauſburgh were many, yea the moſt part of the Cleargy, which liued viciouſly and wickedly with their ſtrumpets & harlots, whom they kept in their houſes, to the great offence of the people, ſhame to Chriſtes Church, and pernitious example of other: and yet the Biſhop would neuer once ſtirre to ſee any puniſhing or correction thereof. Wherefore if the Senate (ſaid the Ambaſſadours) ſhould permit the Biſhop to extend his crueltie and extremitie againſt theſe married Miniſters, for not obſeruing the Biſhop of Romes law, and leaue the other notorious whoremaiſters, whiche brake the law of God, to eſcape vnpuniſhed, doubtles it would redound to their great danger and perill, not onely before God, but alſo among the commons of their Citie, readie to riſe vpon them.

Holy matrimony puniſhed, wicked whoredome eſcapeth.

Campeius anſwereth.

To this Campeius aunſwered, what compoſition or bargaine was betwixt the Biſhop and thē, he knew not: but ſurely the Acte of the one was manifeſt, and needed no great triall in law of prouing and confeſſing, and therefore they were ſequeſtred and abandoned from the communion of the Church, *ipſo facto*. As for the other ſorte of them, which keepe harlots and concubines although (ſaid he) it be not well done: yet doth it not excuſe the enormitie of their Mariage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the maner of the Biſhops of Germany, for money to winke at Prieſts lemans, and the ſame alſo was euil done in deede: and farther, that the time ſhould come, when they ſhall be called to an accompt for the ſame: but yet neuertheleſſe it is not ſufferable that Prieſtes therefore ſhoulde haue wiues. And if compariſon ſhould be made (ſayd he) much greater offence it were, a Prieſt to haue a wife, then to haue and keepe at home many harlots. His reaſon was this: For they that keepe harlots (ſayd he) as it is naught that they do, ſo do they acknowledge their ſinne: the other perſwade themſelues to do well, and ſo continue ſtil without repentance, or conſcience of their fact. All men (ſaid he) can not be chaſte, as Iohn Baptiſt was: yet can it not be proued by any example, to be lawfull for Prieſts profeſſing chaſtitie, to leaue their ſingle life, and to marrie: no not the Greekes themſelues, which in rites be differing from vs, do geue this libertie to their owne Prieſtes to marry: wherefore he prayed them to geue their ayde to the Biſhop in this behalfe.

Ipſo facto, that is, vpon the very doing of the acte without any further iudgement or triall by the lawe.

A fitt reaſō for a carnall Cardinall: better it is to haue many concubines, then one wife..

Touching the Greeke church how vntruely this Cardinall ſpeaketh turne to the pag. 187.

The Ambaſſadours reply.

Whereunto the Ambaſſadours replyed againe, ſayeng, that if he would firſt puniſh the whoremaſters, then might the Senate aſſiſt him the better in correcting the other. But the Cardinall was ſtill inſtaunt vpon them, that firſt they ſhoulde aſſiſt their Biſhop, and then if the Biſhop woulde not puniſh whoredome, he woulde come thyther himſelfe, and ſee them puniſhed accordingly.

The aſſembly or Diet at Ratiſbone.

This Cardinall Campeius, how he was ſent by Pope Clement the ſixt, to the ſecond aſſemble or diet of Norenberge, ann. 1524. and what was there done by the ſayde Cardinall, is before ſignified, page 862. After this Councell of Norenberge, immediately followed another ſittyng at Ratiſbone, where were preſent Ferdinandus, Campeius, the Cardinall of Saliſburge, the two Dukes of Bauaria, the Byſhops of Trēt and Ratiſbone: alſo the Legates of the Byſhops, Bamberge, Spires, Strauſburgh, Auſburgh, Conſtance, Baſill, Friſing, Paſſame, and Brixine. By whom in the ſayd aſſemble was concluded: That for ſomuch as the Emperour, at the requeſt of Pope Leo, had condemned by his publicke Edict ſet forth at Wormes, the doctrine of Luther, for erroneous and wicked, and alſo it was agreed vpon in both the aſſembles of Noremberge, that the ſayd Edict ſhould be obeyed of all men: they likewiſe at the requeſt of Cardinall Campeius, do will, and commaund the foreſayd Edict to be obſerued through all their fines and precinctes: That the Goſpell, and all other holy Scriptures in Churches ſhould be taught accordyng to the interpretation of the auncient forefathers: That all they which reuiue any old hereſies before condēned, or teach any new thyng contumelious, either againſt Chriſt, his bleſſed mother, and holy Saintes, or which may breede any occaſion of ſedition, the ſame to be puniſhed accordyng to the tenour of the Edict aboue ſayd: That none be admitted to preach without the licence of his ordinary: That they which be already admitted, ſhall be examined how, and what they preach: that the lawes which Campeius is about to ſet forth for reformation of maners, ſhalbe obſerued: That in the Sacraments, in the Maſſe, and all other thynges, there ſhalbe no innouation, but all thynges to ſtand, as in foretyme they did: That all they which approch to the Lordes Supper without cōfeſſion and abſolution, or do eate fleſh on dayes forbidden, or which do runne out of their order: alſo Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, that be maried, ſhal be puniſhed: That nothyng ſhall be Printed without cōſent of the Magiſtrate: That no booke of Luther, or any Lutherian ſhall be Printed or ſold: That they of their iuriſdictiō which ſtudy in the Vniuerſitie of Wittēberge, ſhall euery one repayre home within three monethes after the publiſhyng hereof, or els turne to ſome other place free frō the infectiō of Luther, vnder payne of cōfiſcating all their goodes, and looſing their inheritaunce: That no benefice, nor other office of teachyng, be geuē to any ſtudent of that Vniuerſitie. Item, that certaine Inquiſitours fit for the ſame, be appointed to inquire and examine the premiſſes: Item, leaſt it may be ſayd that this faction of Luther taketh his origine of the corrupt lyfe of Prieſtes, the ſayd Campeius, with other his aſſiſters in the ſayd conuocation of Ratiſbone, chargeth and commaundeth, that Prieſtes liue honeſtly, goe in decent apparell, play not the marchauntes, haunt not the tauernes, be not couetous, nor take money for their miniſtration: Such as keepe concubines to be remoued: The nūber alſo of holy dayes to be diminiſhed. &c.

Popiſh decrees made at the councell of Ratiſbone.

These thynges would Campeius haue had enacted in a full Councell & with the cōſentes of all the Empire: but when he could not bryng that to paſſe, by reaſon that the myndes of diuers were gone frō the Pope, he was fayne therfore to get the ſame ratified in this particular conuenticle, with the aſſentes of theſe Byſhops aboue rehearſed.

Campeius miſſed of his purpoſe in Germanie.

Theſe thynges thus hetherto diſcourſed, whiche fully may be ſene in the Cōmentaries of Ioh. Sledan, it remaineth next after the ſtory of Martin Luther, ſomewhat to adioyne likewiſe touchyng the hiſtory of Zuinglius & of the Heluetiās. But before I come to the explicatiō of this ſtory it ſhal not be incōueniēt, firſt to geue ſome litle touch of the townes called pages, of theſe Heluetians, & of their league and confederation firſt begon amongeſt them.

¶The hiſtory of the Heluetians or Suitzers, how firſt they recouered their libertie, and after were ioyned in league together.

How the Heluetiās came free & ioyned together in league.
Ex Chronic. Heluetic.
Ex Sebaſti. Mūſter. Coſmog. Lib. 3.
Ex Comment. Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

The Heluetiās, whom otherwiſe we call Suitzers, are deuided principally into xiij. pages. The names of whō are, Tigurini, Bernates, Lucernates, Vrani, Suicenſes, Vnterualdij, Tugiani, Glareani, Baſiliēſes, Solodurij, Friburgij, Scafuſiani, Apecellēſes. Furthermore, to theſe be added vij. other Pages, albeit not with ſuch a full bond, as the other, be together conioyned: whiche be theſe, Rheti, Lepontij, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mulluſiani, Rotulenſes. Of theſe xiij. confederate Pages aboue recited, theſe three were the firſt, to witte, Vrania, Suicenſes, and Siluanij (or as ſome call them Vnterualdij) which ioyned themſelues together.

If credite ſhould be geuen to old narrations, theſe iij. pages * or valleyes firſt ſuffered great ſeruitude & thraldome vnder cruell rulers or gouernours: In ſo much that the gouernour of Siluania * required of one of the inhabitauntes, a yoke of his Oxen: which when the townes man denyed to geue him, the ruler ſent his ſeruaunt by force to take his Oxen frō him. This whē the ſeruaūt was about to do, commeth the poore mans ſonne, & cutteth of one of his fingers, & vpō the ſame auoyded. The gouernour hearing this, taketh the poore man, and putteth out his eyes.

*Note that the Pages in Suitzerland are for the moſt part ſituate in valleyes.

*Extortion in rulers.

Example of true chaſtitie in a matrone.

Adultery iuſtly puniſhed.

Another time in the ſayd Syluania, as the good man of the houſe was abſent abroade, the gouernour which had then the rule of the towne, entring into the houſe, cõmandeth the wife to prepare for him a bath, and to let him haue his pleaſure of her. Wherunto ſhe being vnwilling, differred the bathe as long as ſhe might, till the returne of her huſband. To whome then ſhe making her complaynt, ſo moued his mind, that he with his axe or hatchet which he had in his hand, flew vpõ the adulterous ruler & ſlue him.

Example of ſingular tyrannye.

W. Tell.

Pride and tyrannye well rewarded.

Another example of like violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia, and Siluania, who ſurpriſed with like pride and diſdaine againſt the poore vnderlings, cauſed his cap to be hanged vp vpon a pole, charging and commanding by his ſeruant, all that paſſed by, to do obeyſance to the cap. Which, when one, named William Tell, refuſed to do, the tiraunt cauſed his ſonne to be tied, with an apple ſet vpon his head, and the father with a croſſebow, or a like inſtrument, to ſhoote at the apple. After long refuſing, whẽ the wofull father could not otherwiſe chooſe, by force conſtreined, but muſt leauill at the apple, as God would, he miſt the child, and ſtroke the marke. This Tell, being thus compelled by the tirant to ſhoote at his ſonne, had brought with him two ſhaftes, thinking that if he had ſtroke the child with the one, the other he would haue let driue at the tyraunt. Which being vnderſtand, he was apprehended, and led to the rulers houſe: but by the way eſcaping out of the boate, betweene Vrania and Brun, and paſſing through the mountaines with as much ſpeede as he might, he lay in the way ſecretly as the ruler ſhould paſſe, where he diſcharged his arow at the tyraunt, and ſlue him.

Ex Sebaſt. Müſt. Coſmog. lib. 3.

And thus were theſe cruell gouernours vtterly expelled out of theſe three valleyes or pages aforeſayd, and after that, ſuch order was taken by the Emperour Henricus 7. and alſo by the Emperours Ludouicus duke of Bauaria, that henceforth no iudge ſhould be ſet ouer them, but only of their owne companie, and towne dwellers. Ex Seb. Munſt. Coſmog. lib. 3.

A fooles bolt ſomtimes hits the marke.

It folowed after this, in the yeare of our Lord 1315. that great contention and war fell betweene Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, and Ludouicke Duke of Bauaria, ſtriuing and fighting the ſpace of eight yeares together about the Empire. With Ludouicus held the three pages aforeſayd: who had diuers conflicts with Lupoldus, brother to the forenamed Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, fighting in his brothers quarell. As Lupoldus had reared a mighty army of twenty thouſand footemen and horſemen, and was come to Egree, ſo to paſſe ouer the mountaines to ſubdue the pages: he began to take aduiſe of his counſaile, by what way or paſſage beſt he might direct his iourney toward the Suitzers. Whereupon, as they were buſy in conſulting, there ſtoode a foole by (named Kune de Stocken) which hearing their aduiſe, thought alſo to ſhoote his bolt withall, and told them that their counſaile did not like him. For all you (quoth he) conſult how we ſhould enter into yonder countrey: but none of you geueth any counſaile how to come out againe, after we be entred. And in concluſion, as the foole ſaid, ſo they found it true. For when Lupoldus, with his hoſte had entred into the ſtraites and valleys betweene the rockes and mountaines, the Suitzers wyth their neighbours of Vrania, and Siluania, lieng in priuie waite, had thẽ at ſuch aduantage, & with tumbling downe ſtones from the rockes, and ſodeine comming vpon theyr backes in blinde lanes, did ſo encomber them, that neither they had conuenient ſtanding to fight, nor roome almoſt to flie away. By reaſon whereof, a great part of Lupoldus army there being encloſed about yͤ place called Morgartẽ, loſt their liues, & many in the flight were ſlaine. Lupoldus with thẽ that remained, retired and eſcaped to Thurgoia. This battaile was fought, anno. 1315. Nouember 16.

The firſt league betweene the 3. Pages.

After this, the burgers of theſe three villages, being continually vexed by Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, for that they would not knowledge him for Emperour, aſſembled them ſelues in the towne of Vrania, an. 1316. and there entred a mutuall league and bond of perpetuall ſocietie and coniunction, ioining and ſwearing themſelues, as in one bodie of a common wealth, and publike adminiſtration, together. After that came to them Lucernates, then Tugiani, after them the Tigurines, next to them folowed Bernates, the laſt almoſt of all, were the Baſilians, then folowed after, the other ſeauen pages aboue recited.

And thus haue ye the names, the freedome, and confederatiõ of theſe Suitzers, or Cantons or pages of Heluetia, with the occaſions & circumſtãces therof briefly expreſſed. Now to the purpoſe of our ſtory intended, which is to declare the ſucceſſe of Chriſtes Goſpel and true Religion receaued amõg theſe Heluetians: alſo touching the life & doctrine of Zuinglius, & order of his death, as heere inſueth.

¶ The actes and life of Zuinglius, and of receauing the Goſpell in Zuitzerland.

Vldrichus Zuinglius.

Zuinglius reading the ſcriptures at Zurike.

Zuinglius againſt the Popes pardons.

Anno. 1521.

The Biſhop of Conſtance complayneth againſt Zuinglius.

IN the tractation of Luthers ſtory, mention was made before of Vldricus Zuinglius, who firſt abiding at Glacona, in a place called then our Lords Ermitage, from thence remoued to Zuricke, about the yeare of our Lorde 1519. and there began to teach, dwelling in the Minſter among the Canons or Prieſtes of that cloſe, vſing with them, the ſame rites and ceremonies during the ſpace of ij. or iij. yeares, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures vnto the people with great trauaile, and no leſſe dexteritie. And becauſe Pope Leo, the ſame yeare, had renued his pardons againe through all countreys (as is aboue declared) Zuinglius zelouſly withſtood the ſame, detecting the abuſes thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the Church, and ſo continued by the ſpace of two yeares and more, till at length Hugo Biſhop of Conſtance (to whoſe iuriſdiction Zuricke then alſo did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his letters to the Senate of the ſaid Citie of Zuricke, complayning greeuouſly of Zuinglius, who alſo wrote another letter to the colledge of Canons, where Zuinglius was the ſame time dwelling, complaining likewiſe of ſuch new teachers, which troubled the Churche, and exhorted them earneſtly, to beware and to take diligent heede to themſelues. And forſomuch as both the Pope and the Emperours Maieſtie had condemned all ſuch new doctrine by their decrees and Edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no ſuch new innouations of doctrine, without the cõmon conſent of them, to whome the ſame did appertayne. Zuinglius hearing therof, referreth his cauſe to the iudgemẽt and hearing of the Senate, not refuſing to render vnto them accompt of his faith. And forſomuch as the Byſhops letter was read openly in the colledge, Zuinglius directeth another letter to the Biſhop againe, declaring that the ſayd letter proceeded not frõ the Biſhop, nor that he was ignoraunt who were the authors thereof, deſiring him not to follow their ſiniſter counſailes, for that truth (ſaid he) is a thing inuincible, and can not be reſiſted. After the ſame tenour, certaine other of the Citie likewiſe wrote vnto the Biſhop, deſiring him that he would attempt nothing, that ſhould be preiudiciall to the libertie and free courſe of the Goſpell: requiring moreouer, that he would forbeare no longer the filthie and infamous life of prieſts, but that he woulde permit them to haue theyr lawfull wiues, &c. This was in the yeare of our Lord 1522.

Zuinglius writeth to the Heluetians.

Prieſtes mariage.

An olde vſe of the Heluetians to forewarne their prieſts to take concubines.

Beſides this, Zuinglius wrote alſo another letter to the whole nation of the Heluetians, moniſhing them, in no caſe to hinder the paſſage of ſincere doctrine, nor to inferre any moleſtation to Prieſts that were maried. For as for the vowe and coaction of their ſingle life, it came (ſayd he) of the diuell, and a diueliſh thing it is. And therefore, whereas the ſaid Heluetians had ſuch a rite and cuſtome in their townes and pages, that when they receiued anie new Prieſt into their Churches, they vſed to premoniſh him before to take his concubine, leaſt he ſhould attempt any miſuſe with their wiues and daughters: he exhorted them that they would no leſſe graunt vnto them to take their wiues in honeſt matrimonie, then to take concubines and harlots, againſt the precept of God.

Zuinglius reſiſted by aduerſaries

Diſputatiõs at Zuricke about religion.

Ioan. Faber Stapulenſis againſt Zuinglius. Ex Sled. lib. 3.

Thus as Zuinglius continued certaine yeares, labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to riſe at thys new doctrine, and diuers ſtept vp, namely the Dominicke Friers on the contrary ſide, to preach & inuey againſt him. But he keping himſelfe euer within the Scriptures, proteſted that he would make good by the word of God, that which he had taught. Upon this the Magiſtrates and Senate of Zuricke, ſent forth their cõmandemẽt to all prieſts and miniſters within their dominion, to repaire to the citie of Zuricke, againſt the xxix. day of Ianuary next enſuing (this was anno. 1523.) there euery one to ſpeake freely, and to be heard quietly, touching theſe controuerſies of religion, what could be ſaid, directing alſo their letters to the Biſhop of Cõſtance, that he would either make his repaire thether himſelfe, or elſe to ſend his deputie. When the day appointed came, and the Biſhops vicegerent, which was Ioannes Faber, was alſo preſent: the Conſull firſt declaring the cauſe of this their frequencie and aſſemble (which was for the diſſention newly riſen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to obiect, or inferre againſt the doctrine of Zuinglius, he ſhould freely and quietly vtter and declare his minde.

Lxvij. articles of Zuinglius.

Zuinglius had diſpoſed his matter before, and cõtriued al his doctrine in a certaine order of places, to yͤ number of lxvij. Articles: which articles he had publiſhed alſo abroad before, to the ende that they which were diſpoſed, might reſort thether better prepared to the diſputation. Whē the Conſull had finiſhed that which he would ſay, and had exhorted other to begin: then Faber firſt entring the matter, begā to declare the cauſe of his ſending thether, and afterward wold perſwade, that this was no place conuenient, nor time fit for diſcuſſing of ſuch matter by diſputation, but rather that the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a generall Councell, which he ſaide, was already appointed, and now neere at hand. Notwithſtāding, Zuinglius ſtill continued vrging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to ſay, or to diſpute, he would openly and freely vtter his minde. To this he aunſwered againe, that he would cōfute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other words on both ſides had to and fro, whē no man would appeare, there to offer any diſputation, the aſſemble brake and was diſcharged. Whereupon the Senate of Zuricke incōtinēt cauſed to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territorie, that the traditions of men ſhould be diſplaced and abandoned, and the Goſpell of Chriſt purely taught out of the old and new Teſtament an. 1523. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

John Faber refuſeth diſputation.

The aſſēble of Zuricke brake vp without diſputation. The Goſpel publickly receaued in Zuricke. Traditions of men abolyſhed.

When the Goſpell thus began to take place, and to floriſh in Zuricke and certaine other places of Heluetia, the yeare next following, ann. 1524. another aſſemble of the Heluetians was conuented at Lucerna, where this decree was made on the contrary part: That no man ſhould deride or contemne the word of God, which had bene taught now aboue a thouſand & four hūdreth yeares heretofore: nor the Maſſe to be ſcorned, wherein the body of Chriſt is conſecrated, to the honour of God, and to the cōfort both of the quicke, & the dead.

That they which are able to receiue the Lords body at Eaſter, ſhall confeſſe their ſinnes in Lent to the Prieſt, and do all other things, as the vſe and maner of the Church requireth.

That the rites and cuſtomes of holy Church be kept.

That euery one obey his owne proper paſtor and curate, and to receaue the Sacramēts of him, after the maner of holy Church, and to pay him his yearely duties.

That honour be geuen to Prieſts.

Item, to abſteine from fleſheating on faſting dayes, and in Lent to abſteine from egges and cheeſe.

That no opinion of Luther be taught priuely or apertly, contrary to the receaued determination of holy Church, and that in tauernes and at table, no mention be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

That Images and pictures of Saincles in euery place be kepte inuiolate.

That Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church be not compelled to render accompt of their doctrine, but only to the Magiſtrate.

That due ayde and ſupportation be prouided for them, if anie commotion do happen.

That no perſon deride the reliques of the holy ſpirit, or of our Lady, or of Saint Anthony.

Finally, that all the lawes and decrees ſet foorth by the Byſhop of Conſtance, be obſerued.

Conſtitutions made in the councell of Lucerne.

These conſtitutions whoſoeuer ſhall tranſgreſſe, let them be preſented to the Magiſtrate, and ouerſeers be ſet ouer them that ſhall ſo tranſgreſſe.

After theſe things concluded thus at Lucerna, the Cantons of Heluetia together direct their publicke letter to the Tygurines or men of Zuricke, wherein they do much lament and complaine of this new broched doctrine whych hath ſet all men together by the eares, through the occaſion of certaine raſh and newfangled heads, which haue greatly diſturbed both the ſtate of the Church, and of the common wealth, and haue ſcattered the ſeedes of diſcorde: whereas before time, all things were well in quiet. And although this ſore (ſayd they) ought to haue bene looked to by time, ſo that they ſhould not haue ſuffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the bleſſed Virgine and other Saints ſo be diſhonored, but rather ſhould haue beſtowed their goodes and liues to mainteine the ſame: yet notwithſtanding they required them now to looke vpon the matter: which otherwiſe would bring to them deſtruction both of body and ſoule: as for example, they might ſee the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgare people now (ſayde they) coulde not be holden in, but woulde burſt foorth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by ſufficient prooſes alate: and like is to be feared alſo among themſelues, and all by the occaſion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Iuda, which ſo take vpon them to expound the word of God, after their owne interpretation, opening thereby whole dores and windowes to diſcord and diſſention. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certaine what they did teach: yet what inconuenience folowed vpon their doctrine, they had to much experiēced. For now all faſting was layd downe, and all daies were alike to eate both fleſh & egges, as well one as an other: Prieſts & religious perſons both mē & women brake their vowes, ranne out of their order, and fell to marying: Gods ſeruice was decayed, ſinging in the church left, and prayer ceaſed: Prieſts grewe in contēpt: Religious men were thruſt out of their cloiſters: Confeſſion, and penance was neglected: ſo that men woulde not ſticke to preſume to receaue at the holy aultar, without any confeſſion made to the Prieſt before. The holy maſſe was derided and ſcorned: Our bleſſed Lady, and other ſaintes blaſphemed: Images pluckte downe & broken in peeces, neither was there any honour geuen to the Sacraments. To make ſhort, men now were growen vnto ſuch a licence and liberty that vnneth the holy hoſt could be ſafe within the Prieſts hands. &c.

The letter of the Heluetians to the Tygurines.

Zuinglius and Leo Iuda, were preachers at this time in Zuricke.

The diſorder of all which thinges, as it is of no ſmall importaunce, ſo it was (ſayd they) to them ſo greuous and lamētable, that they thought it their part to ſuffer the ſame no lōger. Neither was this the firſt time (they ſaid) of thys their complaining, when in their former aſſemble they ſent vnto them before, the like admonition wryting to them by certaine of the Clergye, and crauing their aide in the ſame. Which ſeing it is ſo, they did now againe earneſtly cal vpō them touching the premiſſes, deſiring them to ſurceaſe frō ſuch doings, and to take a better way, cōtinuing in the religion of their old aunceters, which were before them. And if there were any ſuch thing, wherein they were greeued & offended againſt the Biſhop of Rome, the Cardinals, Biſhops, or other Prelates, either for their ambition, in heaping, exchanging, and ſelling the dignities of the Church, or for their oppreſſiō in pilling mens purſes with their indulgences, or els for their vſurped iuriſdiction, and power which they extend too farre, & corruptly apply it to matters externe & politicall, which onely ought to ſerue in ſuch caſes as be ſpirituall: if theſe and ſuch other abuſes were the cauſes, wherewith they were ſo greeuouſly offended, they promiſed that for the correction & reformation therof, they would alſo themſelues ioyne their diligence and good will thereto, for ſomuch as themſelues alſo did not a litle miſlike therewith, & therfore would conferre their counſailes together with them, how & by which way, ſuch greuaunces might beſt be remoued.

To this effect were the letters of the Heluetiās written to the Senate & Citizens of Zuricke. Whereunto the Tigurines made their aunſwere agayne, the xxi. day of March, the ſame yeare, in maner as here foloweth.

¶An anſwere agayne of the Tygurines to the Letter aforeſayd.

First, *declaring how their Miniſters had laboured and trauailed amongeſt them, teachyng and preachyng the word of God vnto thē the ſpace now of v. yeares. Whoſe doctrine at the firſt, ſeemed to them very ſtraunge and nouelle, becauſe they neuer heard the ſame before. But after that they vnderſtoode and perceiued, the *ſcope of that doctrine onely to tende to this, to ſet forth Chriſt Ieſus vnto vs to be the pillar and refuge of all our ſaluation, whiche gaue his life and bloud for our redemption and which onely deliuered vs alſo ſinnefull miſers from eternall death, and is the onely Aduocate of mankynde before God: they could no otherwiſe do, but with ardent affection receaue ſo wholeſome and ioyfull meſſage.

*The letter of the Tigurines, aunſwering againe the letter of the Heluetiās.

* If the ſcope of doctrine be well marked betwene the Papiſtes and the Proteſtātes, it will not be hard for any mā to iudge which is the truer doctrine. For the whole ende and ſcope of the Popes doctrine, tendeth to ſet vp the honour and wealth of man, as may appeare by the doctrine of ſupremacy, of confeſſion, of the maſſe, of the Sacramēt of the aultar, &c, all which do tend to the magnyfiyng of the Prieſts: like as Purgatory, obſequies, pardons, and ſuch other, ſerue for their profite. Contrarywiſe the teaching of the Proteſtantes, as well touching iuſtification, originall ſinne, as alſo the Sacramentes and inuocation, and all other ſuch like, tende onely to the ſetting vp of Chriſt alone, and caſting downe of man.

The holy Apoſtles, and faythfull Chriſtiās, after they had receaued the Goſpell of Chriſt, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but louyngly agreed and conſented together: and ſo they truſted (ſayd they) that they ſhould doe, if they would likewiſe receaue the worde of God, ſettyng aſide mens doctrines and traditions diſſonant from the ſame.

Whatſoeuer Luther, or any other mā doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the perſons, why the doctrine whiche they teach ſhould be either euill or well iudged vpon, but onely for that it agreeth or diſagreeth from the rule of Gods word: for that were but to goe by affection, and were preiudiciall to the authoritie of the word of God: which ought to rule man, and not to be meaſured by man.

And if Chriſt onely be worſhipped, and mē taught, ſoly to repoſe their confidence in him, yet neither doth the bleſſed Virgine, nor any Saint elles receaue any iniurie thereby, who beyng here in earth receiued their ſaluation onely by the name of hym.

No iniurye to Saints if Chriſt onely be worſhipped.

And where as they charge their Miniſters with wraſtyng the Scripture after their owne interpretation, God had ſtyrred vp ſuch light now in the hartes of mē, that the moſt part of their Citie, haue the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruſe the ſame: ſo that their Preachers cā not

Who be they that wraſte the ſcripture.

ſo winde the Scriptures awry, but they ſhall quickly be perceaued. Wherefore there is no danger, why they ſhould feare any ſectes, or factions in them: but rather ſuch ſectes are to be obiected to thoſe, who for their gaine and dignitie, wraſt the word of God after their owne affections and appetites.

Errour many times obiected where none can be proued.

And where as they and other haue accuſed them of errour, yet was there neuer man, that could proue any errour in them: Although diuers Byſhops of Conſtance, of Baſill, of Curiake, with diuers Vniuerſities beſides: alſo they themſelues, haue bene ſundry times deſired ſo to do, yet to this preſent day, neither they, nor euer any other ſo did, neither were they, nor any of all the foreſayd Biſhops, at their laſt aſſemble, being requeſted to come, ſo gentle to repaire vnto them, ſaue only the Schaſhuſians, and Sangallians. In the which foreſayd aſſemble of theirs, all ſuch as were then preſent, conſidering thoroughly the whole caſe of the matter, condeſcended together with them.

Biſhops neither will feede the flocke, nor yet ſuffer them to feede thẽſelues.

And if the Byſhops happely will obiect againe and ſay: that the wordes of God ought not ſo to be handled of the vulgare people: they aunſwered the ſame not to ſtand with equitie and reaſon. For albeit it did belong to the Biſhops office, to prouide that the ſheepe ſhould not go aſtray, and moſt conuenient it were, that by them they ſhould be reduced into the way againe: yet becauſe they will not ſee to theyr charge, but leaue it vndone, referring all things to the fathers, and to Councels, therefore right and reaſon it is, that they themſelues ſhould heare and learne, not what man doth determine, but what Chriſt himſelfe doth commaund in his Scripture. Neither haue their Miniſters geuen any occaſion of this diuiſion, but rather it is to be imputed to ſuch, which for their owne priuate lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, do ſeduce the people into errour, and greeuouſly offending God, do prouoke him to plague them with manifolde calamities. Who, if they would renounce the greedines of their owne gaine, and would folow the pure doctrine of his word, ſeeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they ſhould ſoone fall to agreement.

* It was the Popes law then, that in Lent no man ſhould eate fleſhe nor egges, nor any white meate: wherein it may ſeeme to be verefied which S. Paule doth propheſie, 1. Theſſ. 4. In the latter dayes certaine ſhall departe from the faith, harkening to the doctrine of deuils, forbidding to marry & to eate. &c.

* As for the eating of fleſh and egges, although it bee free to all men, and forbidden to none by Chriſte: yet they haue ſet forth a lawe, to reſtreine raſh intemperance, and vncharitable offenſion of other.

Prieſts mariage.

And as touching matrimonie, God is himſelfe the author thereof, who hath left it free for all men. Alſo Paule willeth a Miniſter of the Church to be the huſband of one wife.

Vowes of chaſtity, not agreing to Gods lawe.

And ſeeing that Byſhops for money permitte theyr Prieſtes to haue concubines, which is contrary both to Gods law, and to good example: why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawfull matrimony, which he hath ordeined, as they to reſiſt God in forbidding the ſame? The like is to be ſaid alſo of women vowing chaſtitie: of whome this they iudge and ſuppoſe, that ſuch kind of vowes and coacted chaſtitie, are not auaylable nor alowed before God: and ſeeing that chaſtitie is not all mens gift, better it were to marrie (after their iudgemẽts) then filthely to liue in ſingle life.

Monaſteries firſt geuen to the poore, but now ſerue to feede the rich.

As for Monaſteries, and other houſes of Canons, they were firſt geuen for reliefe onely of the poore and needie, where as now they which inhabite them, are wealthy and able to liue of their owne patrimonie, in ſuch ſort, as manie times ſome one of them hath ſo much, as well might ſuffice a great number: wherefore it ſeemeth to them, not vnconuenient that thoſe goodes ſhould be conuerted agayne to the vſe of the poore: Yet neuertheleſſe they haue vſed heerein ſuch moderation, that they haue permitted the inhabitants of thoſe monaſteries to enioy the poſſeſſions of their goodes, during the tearme of their naturall life, leaſt any ſhould haue cauſe of iuſt complaint.

Goods of monaſteries conuerted to the reliefe of the poore.

Ornaments of churches better beſtowed vpon the poore.

Ornamentes of Churches ſerue nothing to Gods ſeruice: but this is well agreeing to the will and ſeruice of God, that the poore ſhould be ſuccoured. So Chriſt commaunded the yong man in the Goſpell, that was rich, not to hang vp his riches in the temple, but to ſell them, and diſtribute them to the needy.

Good prieſtes not to be contẽned: the rable of them to be diminiſhed.

The order of prieſthode they do not contemne. Suche prieſts as will truly diſcharge their dutie, & teach ſoundly, they do magnifie. As for the other rable, which ſerue to no publike cõmoditie, but rather damnifie the cõmon wealth, if the number of them were diminiſhed by little and little, & their liuings put to better vſe, they doubted not, but it were a ſeruice well done to God. Now whether the ſinging and praiers of ſuch Prieſts be auaylable before God, it may be doubted, for as much as many of thẽ vnderſtãd not what they ſay or ſing, but onely for hyre of wages do the ſame.

As for ſecrete confeſſion, wherein men doo detect theyr ſinnes in the Prieſts eare, of what vertue this confeſſion is to be eſteemed, they leaue it in ſuſpenſe. But that confeſſion, whereby repenting ſinners do flie to Chriſt our only interceſſour, they recount not only to be profitable, but alſo neceſſary to all troubled conſciences. As for ſatiſfaction, which Prieſts do vſe, they reckon it but a practiſe to get money, and the ſame to be not onely erroneous, but alſo full of impietie. True penance and ſatiſfaction is for a man to amend his life.

Confeſſiõ to the prieſt. Confeſſiõ to Chriſt.

The order of Monkrey.

The orders of Monkery come only by the inuention of man, and not by the inſtitution of God.

The vſe of Sacraments.

And as touching the Sacramentes, ſuch as be of the Lords inſtitution, thẽ they do not deſpiſe but receaue with all reuerence, neither do ſuffer the ſame to be deſpiſed of any perſon, nor to be abuſed otherwiſe then becommeth: but to be vſed rightly according to the preſcript rule of Gods word. And ſo with the like reuerence, they vſe the Sacrament of the Lords ſupper, according as the word preſcribeth, not as many do abuſe it, to make of it an oblation and a ſacrifice.

Falſe tale carriers.

And if the meſſengers ſent to them of the Clergy in their letters mentioned, can iuſtly charge them with any hinderance, or any errour, they will be readie either to purge themſelues, or to ſatiſfie the offence. And if they can not, then reaſon would, that thoſe meſſengers of the Cleargie ſhould heereafter looke better to their owne doings, and to their doctrine, and to ceaſe from ſuch vntrue ſclaunders and contumelies.

The onely way of true reformation is, that the worde of God onely be receaued.

The Pope cã not abide the preaching of the word, and why?

Finally, where as they vnderſtand by their letters how deſirous they are to haue the Popes oppreſſions, and exactions, and vſurped power aboliſhed, they are right glad thereof and ioyfull, ſuppoſing that the ſame can by no meanes be brought to paſſe, except the word of God only and ſimply be receaued. For otherwiſe, ſo long as mens lawes and conſtitutions ſhall ſtand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For by the preaching of Gods word their eſtimation and dignitie muſt needes decay: and that they well perceaue, and therefore by all meanes do prouide, how to ſtop the courſe of the word: and becauſe they ſee themſelues too weake to bring theyr purpoſe about, they flie to the ayde of Kings and Princes. For the neceſſary remedie whereof, if they ſhall thinke good to ioyne their conſent, there ſhall nothing be lacking in their behalfe, what they are able eyther in counſayle or goodes, to do in the matter, declaring moreouer that this ſhould haue bene ſeene too long before. Which being ſo, they praied and deſired them to accept in good parte, and diligently to expend this that they did write. As for theyr owne parte, they required nothing elſe more then peace both betweene them, and all men. Neither was it euer their intent to ſtirre any thing that ſhould be preiudiciall againſt their league and bande agreed vpon betweene them. But in this cauſe, which concerneth their eternall ſaluation, they can do no otherwiſe, but as they haue done, vnleſſe their errour by learning might be proued and declared vnto them.

The Tygurines will be iudged by the ſcriptures.

Wherefore as they did before, ſo now they deſire againe, that if they thinke this their doctrine to be repugnant to the holy Scripture, they will gently ſhew and teach them their errour, and that before the end of the moneth of May next enſuing: for ſo long they will abide wayting for an aunſwere, as wel from them, as from the Biſhop of Conſtance, and alſo from the Vniuerſitie of Baſill. And thus much conteineth the aunſwere of the Tigurines, vnto the letter of their other colleagues of Heluetia.

The B. of Conſtance aunſwereth the Tygurines by wryting.

In the meane time, as this paſſed on, and the moneth of May aboue mentioned was now come, the Byſhop of Conſtance, with the aduiſe of his Councell about him, did aunſwere the Tigurines as he was requeſted of them to do, in a certaine booke, firſt written, and afterward printed: wherin he declareth what Images and pictures thoſe were, which the prophane Iewes and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what Images be theſe which the Churche hath from time to time receaued and admitted, and what difference there is betweene thoſe Idols of the Iewes & Gentiles, and theſe Images of the Chriſtians. The concluſion hereof was this, that where as the Scripture ſpeaketh againſt Images, and willeth them not to be ſuffered, that is to be vnderſtand of ſuch Images and Idols, as the Iewes and Idolatrous Gentiles did vſe: yet neuertheleſſe ſuch Images & pictures, which the Church hath receaued, are to be vſed and reteined.

A Popiſhe diſtinction betweene the Images of the Gentiles, and Images of of the Chriſtians. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 4.

From this, he entreth next into the diſcourſe of the Maſſe, where he proueth by diuers and ſondry teſtimonies, both of the Popes Canons and Councels, the Maſſe to be a ſacrifice and oblation.

The booke of the Byſhop of Conſtance written to the Senate of Zuricke in defence of the Maſſe and Images.

This booke being thus compiled and wrytten, hee ſent it vnto the ſenate of Zuricke, about the beginning of Iune, willing and exhorting them by no manner of meanes, to ſuffer their images, or the maſſe to be abrogated, and ſhortly after, he publiſhed the ſaid booke in Print, & ſent it to the Prieſts and Canons of the Minſter of Zuricke, requiring them to folow the cuſtome of the Church receaued, and not to ſuffer themſelues otherwiſe to be perſuaded by any mā.

The aunſwere of the Tigurines, to the Byſhops booke.

The Senate againe anſwering to the Biſhops booke, about the middle of Auguſt did write vnto him: firſt declaring that they had read ouer & ouer againe his booke, with all diligence: The which booke for ſomuch as the Byſhop had diuulged abroad in printe, they were therof right glad, becauſe the whole world thereby might iudge betwene thē the better. After thys they explaned vnto hym the iudgement and doctrine of their miniſters and preachers: and finally by the authoritie & teſtimonies of the Scripture conuinced his opinion, and proued the doctrine of his booke to be falſe. But before they ſent their anſwer to him, about the 13. day of Iune, they commanded al the images as wel within the Citie, as throughe their dominion, to be taken downe and burned quietly and without any tumult. A few monethes after, an order was taken in the ſayde Citie of Zuricke, betweene the Canons of the churche, and citie, for diſpoſing the landes and poſſeſſions of the Colledge.

Images aboliſhed within all the dominiō of Zuricke.

Certaine Pages or townes of the Suitzers complayne againſt the Tigurines.

It would grow to a long diſcourſe, to comprehend all things by order of circumſtance, that happened amōg the Heluetians vpō this new alteration of religion: but briefly to contract, and to runne ouer the chief ſpecialties of the matter, heere is firſt to be noted, that of the Heluetians, which were confederate together in 13. Pages, chiefly ſixe there were, which moſt diſdained and maligned thys religion of the Tigurines: to witte, Lucernates, Vrani, Suitenſes, Vnterualdij, Tugiani, Friburgenſes: Theſe in no caſe could be recōciled. The reſt ſhewed thēſelues more fauourable. But the other, which were their enemies, conceiued great grudge, & raiſed many ſclaunderous reportes and falſe rumours againſt them, and laide diuers thinges to their charge, as firſt for refuſing to ioyn theyr conſent to the publique league of the other Pages, with Frances the french king: then for diſſenting from them in religion: and thirdly for refuſing to ſtand to the Popiſh decree made the yeare before at Ratiſborne, by Ferdinandus and other biſhops aboue mentioned, pag. 838. They layd moreouer to their accuſation, for aiding the Vualſutenſes theyr neyghbors, againſt Ferdinandus their Prince, which was falſe. Alſo for ioyning league ſecretly, with other Cities, wythout their knowledge, which was likewiſe falſe. Item, that they ſhould intende ſome ſecrete conſpiracie againſt them, and inuade them with warre, which was as vntrue as the reſt. Many other quarels beſides, they pretended againſte the Tigurines, which were all falſe and cauilling ſclaunders: as that they ſhould teach and preache that Mary the mother of Chriſt had mo ſonnes, & that Iames the younger, the Apoſtle, did die for vs, and not Chriſte hymſelfe. Againſt theſe and ſuch other vntruthes, being meere matters of cauillation and ſclaunder, the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquite themſelues by wryting, and did expoſtulate vehemently with them, not onely for theſe falſe and wrongfull ſuſpitions of theyr partes vndeſerued, but alſo for other manifolde iniuries receiued and borne at theyr handes: among which other wrongs and iniuries, thys was one, that the Burghmaſter of Turegia had apprehended a certaine preacher, named Ioannes Oxlinus, and led him home as priſoner vnto his houſe, beyng taken wythin the precinct and limites of the Citie of Zuricke, cōtrary to lawe and order.

Falſe matter of accuſation laide againſt the Tigurines by the other Pages.

What ſlaūderous tongues can doe.

The Tigurines aunſwer againe to the complaint of the Pages.

Iohn Oxlinus a preacher, apprehended for religion.

Finally, after much diſcourſing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelitie at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the libertie and dignitie of their country, as touching the cauſe of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themſelues willing to heare, and more glad to amende, if anye could proue any errour in them by the Scripture. Otherwiſe, if none ſo could or would proue, wherin they did erre by the worde of God: they coulde not (they ſayd) alter any thing in the ſtate of that Religion wherein their conſciences were already ſtaide by the worde of God, and ſetled what ſoeuer pearill or daunger ſhould happen to them for the ſame,

What loue and hatred doth among men.

Although here was no cauſe, why theſe Pages or Cantons, which were ſo confederate together in the league of peace, ſhould diſagree among themſelues: yet heerein may we ſee the courſe and trade of the worlde, that when difference of religiō beginneth a litle to breake the knot of amitie, by and by how friends be turned to foes, what ſuſpitions do riſe, what quarels and grudge do folow, howe nothing there liketh men, but euery thing is taken to yͤ worſt part, ſmal motes are made mountaines, vertues made vices, and one vice made a thouſand, and all for lacke only of a litle good wil betwixt party & party. For as loue & charity commonly among men either couereth or ſeeth not the faultes of their frendes: ſo hatred and diſdaine taking all things to blame, can finde nothyng in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen betweene theſe good men of Zuricke, and theſe other Suitzers aboue named.

The Maſſe with all his ceremoies put downe in Zuricke.

Theſe letters of the Tigurines to the other Cantons, were written vpon the occaſion of theyr apprehending the preacher Ioan. Oxlinus aboue named the 4. day of Ianuary Anno 1525. and in the moneth of April next following, the magiſtrates and Senate of the ſayd Citie of Zuricke commanded the Maſſe, with all his ceremonies and appurtenaunce thereto belonging, to be put downe, as wel wythin the City, as without throughout all their iuriſdiction: and in ſteade thereof was placed the Lordes Supper, the reading of the Prophets, prayer, and preaching. Alſo a lawe was made againſt whoredome, and adulterie, and iudges ordained to heare the cauſes of matrimony. Anno. 1525. Ex Comment. Sled. lib. 4.

A law in Zurick made againſt adulterers.

Diſputation at Badē in Heluetia.

All this while the Goſpel was not as yet receiued in any other Page of Heluetia, but only in Zuricke. Wherfore yͤ other 12. pages or townes appoynted among themſelues concerning a meting or a diſputation to be had at Baden: where were preſent amōg other diuines, Ioannes Faber, Eckius, & Murnerus aboue mentioned. The biſhops alſo of Lucerna, Baſill, Curiake, & Lauſanna ſent thither theyr legates. The concluſions there propounded were theſe.

Theames or propoſitions propounded in the diſputation at Baden.

That the true body and bloud of Chriſt, is in the Sacrament.

That the maſſe is a ſacrifice for the quicke and deade.

That the bleſſed virgine and other ſaintes are to be inuocated, as mediatours and interceſſours.

That Images ought not to be aboliſhed.

That there is a purgatorie.

Eckius defēded.

Oecolampadius againſt Eckius.

Which concluſions or aſſertions, Eckius tooke vppon him ſtoutly to defend. Againſt him reaſoned Oecolampadius (who was then chiefe preacher at Baſill) wyth certaine other moe. Zuinglius at that time was not there preſent, but by wrytinge confuted the doctrine of Eckius, declaring withall, the cauſes of hys abſence: whych were, for that he durſt not for feare of his lyfe, committe himſelfe to the handes of the Lucernates, Vrani, Suitij, Vnterualdij, and Tugiani, his enemies, and that hee refuſed not to diſpute, but the place onely of the diſputation, excuſing moreouer yͭ he was not permitted of the Senate to come, neuertheles: if they would aſſigne the place of diſputation, either at Zuricke, or at Berna, or at Sangallum, thether he woulde not refuſe to come. Briefly the concluſion of the diſputation was this: that all ſhould remaine in that Religion, which hetherto they had kept, and ſhould follow the authoritie of the Councell, neither ſhould admit any other newe doctrine within theyr dominions. &c. Thys was in the moneth of Iune, the ſayd yeare aboue mentioned.

Zuinglius excuſeth himſelf for not comming to the diſputation.

The diſputation at Berne.

Diſputation at Berne in Heluetia.

As the time proceded, and diſſention about religion encreaſed, it folowed the next yere after, An. 1527. in the mōth of December, that the Senate & people of Berne, (whoſe power amongſt al the Suitzers chiefly excelleth) conſidering how neither they could haue the Actes of the diſputation of Baden communicated vnto them, and that the variance about religion ſtill more & more encreaſed: aſſigned an other diſputation within their owne Citie, and ſending forth wrytings therof, called vnto the ſame, al the biſhops bordering nere about them, as the Biſhops of Conſtance, Baſill, Sedune, Lauſanna warning them bothe to come themſelues, and to bring their diuines wyth them, or elſe to loſe all ſuch poſſeſſions, which they had lying within the boundes of theyr precinct. After this, they appoynted oute certeine Eccleſiaſticall perſons of their iuriſdiction, to diſpute, preſcribing and determining the whole diſputation to be decided only by the authority of the old and new Teſtamēt. To all that would come thether they graūted ſafeconduict. Alſo they appoynted that all things there ſhould be done modeſtly, without iniurie and brauling woordes, and that euery one ſhoulde haue leaue to ſpeake his minde freely, and with ſuch deliberation, that euery mans ſaying might be receiued by the notarye & penned, with this prouiſo made before, that what ſoeuer there ſhoulde be agreed vpon, the ſame ſhould be ratified, and obſerued through al their dominions: and to the intent mē might come thether better prepared before, they propounded in publike wryting 10. concluſions, in the ſayde diſputation to be defended of their miniſters, by the ſcriptures, which miniſters, were Franciſcus Colbus, and Bertholdus Hallerus. The theames or concluſions were theſe.

Godly lawes of a diſputation.

Theames to be diſputed.

1. That the true Church, whereof Chriſt is the head, riſeth out of gods word, and perſiſteth in the ſame, and heareth the voice of no other.
2. That the ſame Church maketh no lawes without the worde of God.
3. That traditions ordeined in the name of the Church, doe not binde, but ſo farre forth as they be conſonante to Gods worde.
4. That Chriſt only hath made ſatiſfactiõ for the ſinnes of the world: and therefore if any man ſay that there is any other way of ſaluation, or meane to putte away ſinne, the ſame denieth Chriſt.
5. That the body & bloude of Chriſte can not be receaued really and corporally, by the teſtimony of the Scripture.
6. That the vſe of the maſſe, wherein Chriſt is preſented and offered vp to hys heauenly Father for the quicke and the dead, is againſt the Scripture, and cõtumelious to the ſacrifice which Chriſt made for vs.
7. That Chriſt onely is to be inuocated, as the mediator and aduocate of mankinde, to God the father.
8. That there is no place to be found by the holy Scripture, wherin ſoules are purged after thys life: and therfore all thoſe praiers & ceremonies, yerely Diriges & Obites, which are beſtowed vpon the dead: alſo Lampes, Tapers and ſuch other things, profite nothing at all.
9. That to ſette vp any picture or Image to be worſhipped, is repugnant to the holy ſcripture, and therfore if any ſuch be erected in Churches for that entent, the ſame ought to be taken downe.
10. That Matrimonies prohibited to no ſtate or order of men, but for eſchewing of fornication, generally is cõmanded and permitted to all men by the word of God. And for as much as all fornicatours are excluded by the teſtimonie of Scripture, from the Communion of the Church, therefore this vnchaſte and filthye ſingle life of Prieſts, is moſt of all vnconuenient for the order of prieſthode.

The lettters and aunſwere of the Suitzers to the Senate & people of Berne.

Ex Comment. Ioan. Sled. lib. 6.

When the Senate and people of Bern, had ſent abrode their letters with theſe theames and concluſions, to al the Heluetians, exhorting thẽ both to ſend their learned men, and to ſuffer al other to paſſe ſafely through their cõtries: the Lucernates, Vranites, Suitzians, Vnterualdians, Tugians, Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburg aunſwered againe by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any caſe to deſiſt from their purpoſed enterpriſe: putting them in remembrance of theyr league and compoſition made, and alſo of the diſputation of Baden aboue mentioned, of the which diſputation they were them ſelues (they ſayd) the firſt beginners and authors: ſaying moreouer, yͭ it was not lawfull for any nation or prouince to alter the ſtate of religion, but the ſame to belong to a generall Councel: wherfore they deſired them, that they wold not attempt any ſuch wicked acte, but continue in the Religion, which theyr parents and elders had obſerued: and in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they wold neither ſend, nor ſuffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet graunt ſafeconducte to any others to paſſe through their countrey. To this and ſuch like effect tended the letters of theſe Suitzers aboue named.

All which notwithſtanding, the Lordes of Berne proceding in their intended purpoſe, vppon the day preſcribed (which was the 7. of Ianuarie) began their diſputation. Of all the biſhops before ſignified (which were aſſigned to come) there was not one preſent. Neuertheles the Citie of Baſil, Zuricke, and Schafuſe, and Abbecelle, Sangallium, Mulluſia, wᵗ the neighbors of Rhetia, alſo they of Strauſburgh, Vlmes, Auſburge, Lindaue, Conſtance, and Iſne, ſent thether theyr Ambaſſadors.

The diſputation beginneth.

The Doctours, aboue mẽtioned, of the City of Berne, began the diſputation. Where at the ſame time, were preſent Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucerus, Capito, Blaurerus, with other moe, all which defended the affirmatiue of the concluſions propoũded. On the contrary ſide of them whych were the opponentes, the Chieftayne was Conradus Tregerus a frier Auguſtin, who to proue hys aſſertion, when he was driuen to ſhift out of the ſcripture, to ſeeke helpe of other Doctors, and the moderatours of the diſputation would not permit the ſame (being contrary to the order before appoynted) hee departed out of the place, and would diſpute no more.

The part defendent.
The part opponent.
The Popes doctrine cannot abide the triall of the Scripture.

Reformation of religiõ in Berne.

Maſſes & Images put downe at Berne.

The diſputation endured 19. daies, in the ende whereof it was agreed, by the aſſent of the moſt parte, that the concluſions there diſputed, were conſonant to yͤ truth of gods word, & ſhould be ratified not onely in the Citie of Berne, but alſo proclaimed by the Magiſtrates in ſundrie other Cities nere adioyning: furthermore that maſſes, aultares, and Images in all places ſhould be aboliſhed.

The Popes clergy cãnot abyde to be reſtrayned from fornication and adulterye. Ambroſe Blaurerus preacher at Conſtance.

At the Citie of Conſtance certaine things began to be altered a little before. Where alſo, among other things, lawes were made againſt fornication and adultery, and all ſuſpect or vnhoneſt company, wherat the canons, (as they are called) of the Church, taking great griefe and diſpleaſure, departed the Citie. In the ſayde Citie was then teacher Ambroſius Blaurerus, a learned man, and borne of a noble ſtocke, who had bene a Monke a litle before, profeſſed in the monaſtery of Alperſpacke, in the Duchie of Witenberge, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinandus. Which Blaurerus by reading of Luthers workes, & hauing a good wit, had chaunged a little before, his Religion and alſo his coat, returning againe home vnto his frends, and when his Abbot would haue had him againe, & wrote earneſtly to the Senate of Conſtance for him: he declared the whole caſe of the matter in wryting, propounding wᵗall, certaine conditions, whereupon he was content (as he ſayde) to returne. But the conditions were ſuche that the Abbot was rather willing and contented, that hee ſhoulde remaine ſtill at Conſtance, and ſo he did.

Reformatyõ of religion at Cõſtãce

After this diſputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath bene ſayde) the Images and aultares, wyth ceremonies, and Maſſes were aboliſhed at Conſtance.

Reformatiõ of relion at Geneua.

They of Geneua alſo for their parts, were not behind, folowing likewiſe the example of the Citie of Berne in extirping Images and ceremonies. By reaſon whereof the Biſhop and Clergie there left and departed the Citie in no ſmall anger.

The Lanceknightes of Berne and Zuricke forſake their league with the Erench king.

The Bernates after they had redreſſed wyth them the ſtate of Religion, they renounced the league made before with the French king, refuſing and forſaking hys warlye ſtipend, whereby they were bounde at his call to feede hys warres, folloving therin the example of the Tygurines, which before had done the like, and were contented onely with theyr yearely penſion that the King payeth to euery page of the Heluetians, to keepe peace.

* Victory of the Goſpell an. 1528.

*The day and yere when thys reformation with them began, from Poperie to true Chriſtianitie, they cauſed in a pillar to be engrauen wyth golden letters, for a perpetual memorie to all poſteritie to come. This was An. 1528.

Reformatiõ of religion in Strauſburgh.

After that the rumour of this diſputation, and alteration of Berne, was noiſed in other cities & places abroad, firſte the Miniſters of Strauſburgh encouraged by thys occaſion, began likewiſe to affirm and teach that the maſſe was wicked, and a great blaſphemie againſte Gods holy name, and therfore was to be abrogated, and in ſtead therof, the right vſe of the Lords ſupper to be reſtored agayne. Which vnleſſe they could proue by yͤ manifeſt teſtimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuſe no maner of puniſhment. On the contrary part, the Biſhop of Romes clergie, did holde and maintaine that the Maſſe was good and holy, whereuppon kindled a great contention on both ſides: which when the Senate and Magiſtrates of the city woulde haue brought to a diſputation, and coulde not, becauſe the Prieſts would not condeſcend to any reaſoning, therfore ſeeing they ſo accuſed the other, & yet would come to no triall of their cauſe, the ſayde Magiſtrates cõmanded them to ſilence. The byſhop in the meane while ceaſed not with his letters & meſſengers, daily to call vpõ the ſenate, deſiring the ſenate to perſeuere in the auncient religion of their elders, & to geue no care to thoſe newe teachers, declaring what daunger & pearil it would bring vpon them.

The Biſhop of Strauſburgh to the Senate.

The Senate of Strauſburgh replieth to the byſhop.

The Senate againe deſired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that ſuch things, which appertained to the true honor and worſhip of God, might be ſet forward, and all other things which tended to the cõtrary, might be remoued and taken away: for that properly belonged to hys office to ſee to. But the Biſhop ſtill driuing them off with delaies, pretended to call an aſſemble for the ſame, appoynting alſo day and place for the hearing & diſcuſſing of thoſe controuerſies: where, in decde, nothing was performed at all: but with his letters he did often ſollicitate them to surceaſe their enterpriſe, ſometimes by waye of entreating, ſometimes with manacing words terrifying them: and at laſt, ſeeing he could nothing by that way preuaile, he turned his ſute to the aſſemble of the Empire, which was thẽ at Spires collected, entreating them to ſet in a foote, and to helpe what they could, with their authoritie.

The Biſhop of Strauſburgh cõplayneth to the Cõucell of Spires.

The meſſage from the Cõucell of Spires, to the Citie of Strauſburgh.

They ready to ſatiſfie the Byſhops requeſt, ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſie to the Senate and Citizens of Strauſburgh, about Decemb. the yere aboue ſaid, requiring them not to put downe the Maſſe: for neither it was (ſayd they) in yͤ power of the Emperor, nor of any other eſtate to alter the auncient Religion receiued from their forefathers, but eyther by a generall, or by a prouinciall Councell, whyche Councell if they ſuppoſed to be farre of, at leaſte that they would take a pauſe till the next ſitting of yͤ Empire, whych

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ſhould be with ſpeede, where their requeſts being propounded and heard, they ſhould haue ſuch reaſonable aunſwer, as ſhould not miſcontent them: for it was (ſayde they) againſt all lawe and reaſon, for a priuate Magiſtrate to infringe and diſſolue thoſe thynges, which by general conſent of the whole world, haue bene agreed vpon: and therefore good reaſon required, that they ſhoulde obteine ſo much at theyr handes: For els if they ſhould obſtinately procede in this theyr attempt, ſo with force and violence to worke, as they began, it might fortune, the Emperour their ſupreme Magiſtrate vnder God, and alſo Ferdinandus, his deputie would not take it well, and ſo ſhoulde be compelled to ſeeke ſuche remedie therein, as they would be ſorie to vſe. Wherfore their requeſt was, & aduiſe alſo, that they ſhuld wey the matter diligently with themſelues, & folowe good counſaile: who in ſo doing, ſhould not only glad the Emperor, but alſo worke that which ſhould redound chiefly to theyr owne commendation and ſafetie.

The biſhops of Hildeſſeme and of Strauſburgh trauaile to keepe the Citye of Strauſburgh in their olde religion.

Beſides the meſſengers thus ſent from the Councell of Spires, the Byſhop alſo of Hildeſſeme had bene wyth them a little before, exhorting them in the Emperours name, after like maner. Neither did the biſhop of Strauſburgh alſo ceaſe wyth his meſſengers and letters, daily to labour his frendes there, and eſpecially ſuch of the Senatours as he had to him bound by any feaulty, or otherwiſe by any gifts or friendſhip, that ſo much as in them did lye, they ſhould vphold the Maſſe, and gainſtand the contrary proceedings of the other.

Reformatiō of religiō at Strauſburgh.

The Senate of Strauſburgh in the meane time, ſeing the matter did ſo long hang in controuerſie, the ſpace now of 2. yeares, and the preachers daily and inſtantly calling vpon them for a reformation, and ſute alſo being made to them of the Citizens, aſſembled their great & ful councel to the number of 300 (as in great matters of importance they are accuſtomed to doe) and there with themſelues debated the caſe, declaring on the one ſide, if they aboliſhed yͤ maſſe what danger they ſhould incurre by the Emperor: On the other ſide, if they did not, how much they ſhuld offend god and therefore geuing them reſpite to conſulte, at the nexte meting required them to declare their aduiſe and ſentence, in the matter. When the day came, that euery man ſhoulde ſay his mind, ſo it fell out, that the voices and iudgements of them, which went againſt the Maſſe preuailed. Whereupon immediatly a decree was made the 20. of Februarie. Anno. 1529. that the Maſſe ſhould be ſuſpended and layde downe, til the time that the aduerſary part could proue by good Scripture, the Maſſe to be a ſeruice auailable & acceptable before God.

The Maſſe ouerthrown at Strauſburgh.

This decree being eſtabliſhed by the cōſent of yͤ whole Citie, the Senate eftſones commaunded the ſame to be proclaimed and to take full place and effect as well within the Citie, as alſo without, ſo farre as their limites and dominion did extend, and afterward by letters certified their Byſhop touching the doing thereof. Who hearing theſe newes, as heauy to his heart as leade, did ſignifie to them again, how he receiued their letters, & how he vnderſtode by them, the effect and ſumme of their doings: all which he was enforced to digeſt with ſuche patience as hee coulde, thoughe they wente ſore againſte his ſtomacke, ſeeing for the preſent time, he could no otherwiſe chuſe: hereafter would ſerue, he ſayde he would ſee therunto, according as his charge and office ſhould require.

The biſhops patience perforce.

Reformatiō beginneth at Baſill.

Ioannes Oecolampadius

Thus howe the Maſſe was ouerthrowne in Zurike, in Berne, in Geneua, & in Strauſburgh you haue hearde. Now what folowed in Baſil, remaineth likewiſe to vnderſtand. In this citye of Baſill, was Oecolampadius preacher (as is aboue ſignified) by whoſe diligent labor & trauaile, the Goſpel began there to take ſuch fruit, that great diſſention there alſo aroſe among the citizēs about religion, and eſpecially about the Maſſe: wherupon the Senate of Baſill appoynted, that after an open diſputation, it ſhoulde be determined by voices, what were to be done therin. This notwithſtanding the Papiſts ſtill continuing in their former purpoſe: began more ſtoutly to inuey againſt the other parte, and becauſe they were ſo ſuffered by the Magiſtrate without puniſhment, it was therefore doubted by the cōmons, that they had ſome priuie maintainers amonge the Senators. Whereupon certaine of the Citizens were appoynted, in the name of the whole commons to ſue to the Senators, and to put them in remembrance of theyr promiſe: whoſe ſuite and requeſt was thys, that thoſe Senators, which were the aiders and ſupporters of the papiſts, might be diſplaced, for that it did as well tende to the contempt of the former decree made, as alſo to the publicke diſturbance of the Citie. But when this coulde not be obtained of the Senate, the commons, vppon the 8. day of February, the yeare aboue ſayde, aſſembled themſelues in the gray Friers Churche, and there conſidering wyth themſelues vppon the matter, repaired againe with theyr ſuite vnto the Senate, but not in ſuche humble wiſe as before: and therewithall gathered themſelues in the publicke places of the Citie, to fortifie the ſame, all be it as yet wythout armor. The ſame euening the Senate ſent them worde, that at theyr requeſt they graunted, that thoſe Senatours, although remaining ſtill in office, yet ſhoulde not ſitte in counſaile, what time any matter of Religion ſhoulde come in talke.

The Popiſhe Senatours diſplaced at Baſill.

Religion in Baſill defended by the commons.

By thys aunſwere the Commons gathering that the whole ſtate was ruled by a few, toke therat grief and diſpleaſure, proteſting openly that they would take counſell by them ſelues hereafter what they had to doe, not onely in caſes of Religion, but alſo in other matters of ciuile gouernment, and forthwith toke them to armour, keeping the towers and gates and other conuenient places of the Citie with watche and warde, in as forcible wiſe, as if the enemie had bene at hand.

The next day the Senate requiring reſpite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whome the commons before had ſent as ſuters vnto them. Which offer the Citizens did not refuſe, but wyth this condition that thoſe Senatours, whych were giltie, ſhoulde in the meane ſeaſon followe their pleey as priuate perſones, vpon theyr owne priuate coſtes and charges: the other which defended the publicke cauſe for the behoofe of the poſterity, ſhould be mainteined by the publicke charges of the Citie. This the Senate was glad to graunt vnto, to ſome other like matters of lighter weight, to appeaſe theyr rage.

Gods handy work in throwing downe Images in Baſill.

It happened the very ſame day, that certaine of the citizens, ſuch as were appoynted to goe about the Citie for the vewing of things, came into the highe Churche where one of them thruſting at a certaine image wyth his ſtaffe, eftſoones it fell downe and brake. By the occaſion whereof, other Images alſo in like ſorte were ſerued after the ſame deuotion. But when the Prieſtes came runnynge to them, which ſeemed to be greatly offended therewith, they becauſe they would not paſſe their Commiſſion, ſtaid their handes and departed.

Images throwne downe at Baſill.

It folowed vppon this, that when word hereof was brought to the Citizens which ſtode in the market place, and the matter being made worſe to them then it was, they incontinent diſcharged out CCC. armed men, to reſcue their felowes in the church, ſuppoſing them to be in daunger. Who comming to the Church, and not fineding theyr felowes there, and all things quiet, ſaue onely a few Images broken downe, they likewiſe leaſt they ſhuld haue loſt all theyr labour, threwe downe all the other Idols and Images whyche they founde there ſtanding, and ſo paſſing thorowe all other Churches in the citie, did there alſo the like: and when certaine of the Senate came forth to appeaſe the tumult, the Citizens ſayde, that whiche you haue ſtande aboute theſe three yeares, conſulting and aduiſing whether it were beſt to be done, or not, that ſhall wee diſpatche in one houre, that from henceforth neuer more contention ſhall growe betweene vs for Images: and ſo the Senate permitted them free leaue, wythout any more reſiſtaunce: and 12. Senatours were diſplaced from theyr order, all be it wythout note of reproche or diſhoneſtie. Alſo a decree the ſame time was made, that as well wythin the Citie of Baſill, as wythout, through all theyr iuriſdiction, the Maſſe with all Idols ſhoulde be abandoned: and further, that in all ſuche matters and caſes as concerned the glory of God, and the affaires of the publique wealth, beſides the number of the other Senators two hundreth and three ſcore of the Burgers or Citizens ſhoulde be appoynted out of euery warde in the Citie, to ſit with them in coūſeil. Theſe decrees being eſtabliſhed, after they had kepte watch and warde about the Citie 3. daies and 3. nightes, euery one retourned againe to his houſe, quiet and ioyfull, without any bloud or ſtroke geuen, or anger wreked, but onely vpon the Images.

12. Senatours diſplaced at Baſill.

Maſſe put downe at Baſill.

Ex Farrag. Epiſt. Eraſ.

On the thirde day, which was Aſhwedneſday (as the Popes ceremoniall Church doth call it) all the wooden Images were diſtributed among the poore of the Citie, to ſerue them for fire woode. But when they coulde not well agree in diuiding the pray, but fel to brawling among themſelues, it was agreed that the ſaide images ſhould be brent all together: ſo that in nine great heapes all the ſtocks and Idolles there, the ſame day were brent to aſhes before the great Church doore. And thus by Gods ordinance it came to paſſe, that the ſame day, wherein the Popes prieſtes are wont to ſhew forth all their mourning, & do marke mens foreheades wyth aſhes, in remembraunce that they be but aſhes, was to the whole citie feſtiuall & ioyfull, for turning theyr Images to aſhes, and ſo is obſerued and celebrate

Aſhewenſday at Baſill, a day of all paſtime. A true Aſhweſday of Gods owne making.

euery yere ſtil vnto this preſent day, with al mirth, playes and paſtimes, in remembraunce of the ſame aſhes, whych day may there be called a ryght Aſhwedneſday of Gods owne making. The men of Zurike, of Berne, and of Solodure hearing what buſines was at Baſill, ſent their ambaſſadors to be a meane betwene them, but before the ambaſſadors came, all was ceaſed and at quiet.

Gods prouidēce to be noted for the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell.

All this meane ſpace, the Emperor & the French king were together occupied in warres and ſtrife. Whych as it turned to the great dammage and detriment of the French king, who in the ſayde warres was taken priſoner by the Emperor, ſo it hapned commodious and oportune for the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell: for els it is to be thought that theſe Heluetians and other Germanes ſhuld not haue had that leiſure & reſt to reforme religion, and to linke them ſelues in league together, as they did. But thus almightie God of his ſecret wiſdome diſpoſeth times & occaſions, to ſerue his wil & purpoſe in al things. All be it Ferdinandus the Emperours brother, & deputie in Germanie, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in reſiſting the procedings of the proteſtants, as appeared, both by the decree ſet forth at Ratiſbone, and alſo at Spires. In the whych Councel of Spires, Ferdinandus at the ſame time, whych was the yeare of our Lorde 1529. had decreed agaynſte the proteſtants, in effect as followeth.

The decree made at Spyres by Ferdinandus.

Firſt, that the edict of the Emperour made at Wormes, ſhould ſtand in force through all Germanie, till the time of the general councel, which ſhould ſhortly folow. Alſo, that they whiche already had altered their religion, & now could not reuoke the ſame again, for feare of ſedition, ſhould ſtay themſelues and attempt no more innouations heereafter, till time of the generall Councell.

Item, that the doctrine of them which hold the Lordes Supper otherwiſe then the Church doth teach, ſhould not be receiued, nor the maſſe ſhuld be altered: and there where as the doctrine of religion was altered, ſhuld be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were diſpoſed to come to Maſſe, might ſafely therein vſe their deuotion: againſt Anabaptiſts likewiſe: and that all miniſters of the Church ſhould be enioyned to vſe no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but accordyng to the expoſition of the Churchdoctors: other matters that were diſputable, not to be touched. Moreouer, that all perſons and ſtates ſhuld keepe peace, ſo that for Religion neither the one part ſhuld inferre moleſtation to the other, nor receiue anye confederates vnder theyr protection and ſafegarde: All whych decrees, they which ſhoulde tranſgreſſe, to be outlawed and exiled.

The decree of Spires reſiſted by the Proteſtantes.

Vnto this ſitting at Spires firſt the Ambaſſadours of Straſburgh, were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinandus, becauſe they had reiected the maſſe: and therefore the ſayd citie of Straſburgh denied to pay any contribution againſt the Turk, except they wyth other Germanes, might be likewiſe admitted into their counſels. The other princes which were receiued and not repelled, as the duke of Saxonie, George of Brandeburgh, Erneſtus, & Franciſcus Earles of Luneburgh, Lantgraue, Anhaldius, did vtterly gainſtand the decre, & ſhewed their cauſe in a large proteſtation written, why they ſo did: which done, all ſuch cities which ſubſcribed and conſented to the ſayd proteſtation of the princes, eftſones conioyned them ſelues in a cōmon league with them, whereuppon they had their name, called thereof Proteſtants. The names of the Cities were theſe. Argentina, or Strausburgh, Noriberge, Vlmes, Conſtance, Rutelinge, Winſſemium, Meminge, Lindauia, Campodunum, Hailbrunum, Iſna, Wiſſeburgum, Norlinge, Sangallum.

The name of Proteſtantes, how it firſt beganne.

Sancto gallum.

Quinque pag. The popiſh Pages in Heluetia cōfederate with Ferdinandus.

Furthermore, as touching the Heluetians (from whēce we haue ſomewhat digreſſed) howe the Citie of Berne and Zurick had conſented and ioyned together in reformation of true religion, ye hard before. Wherfore the other Pages in Heluetia, which were of contrary profeſſion, in like maner confederated them ſelues in league with Ferdinādus: the number and names of which Pages, eſpecially were 5. to witte, Lucernates, Vraui, Suitenſes, Vnterualdij, and Tugiani, whych was in the yeare aboue ſayd: to the intent, that they conioyning their power together, might ouerrunne the religion of Chriſt, and the profeſſours of the ſame. Who alſo for hatred & deſpite, hanged vp the Armes of the foreſaide cities of Zuricke and of Berne, vppon the gallowes, beſide many other iniuries and greeuaunces, whych they wrought againſt them. For the which cauſe the ſaid Cities of Berne and Zuricke raiſed their power, intending to ſet vpon the foreſaid Suitzers, as vpō their capital enemies. But as they were in the field ready to encoūter, one army againſt ẏ other, through the meanes of the citie of Strauſburgh, and other interceſſours, they were parted for that time, and ſo returned.

The Councell of Auſpurge. The confeſſiō of the Proteſtan at Auſpurg.

As touching the Councell of Auſpurge, which followed the next yeare after the aſſemble of Spires, An. 1530. howe the Princes and Proteſtantes of Germanie, in the ſame Councell exhibited their confeſſion, and what labour was ſought to confute it, and how conſtantly Duke Fridericke perſiſted in defence of his conſcience againſt the threatning wordes, and replications of the Emperour: alſo in what danger the ſaid princes had ben in, had not the Lantgraue priuily by night ſlipt out of the citie, perteineth not to thys place preſently to diſcourſe.

To returne therefore vnto Zuinglius and the Heluetians, of whome we haue heere preſently to intreate, you heard before howe the tumulte and commotion betweene the two Cities of Zuricke and Berne, and the other v. Cities of the Cantons, was pacified by the meanes of interceſſion, which peace ſo continued the ſpace of two yeares. After that the olde wound waxing rawe againe, began to burſt out, & gather to an head: which was by reaſon of certaine iniuries, and opprobrious wordes and contumelies, which the reformed cities had receiued of the other: wherfore the Tigurines and the Bernates ſtopping al paſſages and ſtreits, would permit no corne nor victual to paſſe vnto them. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1531.

Warres betweene the Goſpellers and the fiue Popiſhe townes of Suitzerlād.

And when great trouble was like to kindle therby, the Frenche king with certaine other towneſhips of Suitzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Soloturnians, and other comming betweene them, laboured to ſet them at agrement, drawing out certain cōditions of peace betwene them. Whyche conditions were theſe, that all contumelies & iniuries paſt ſhould be forgotten. That hereafter neither parte ſhoulde moleſt the other. That they which were baniſhed for religion, ſhould againe be reſtored. That the v. Pages might remaine without diſturbaunce in their religion, ſo that none ſhould be reſtrained amongſt them from the reading of the olde and new Teſtament. That no kind of diſquietneſſe ſhould be procured againſt them of Berne and Zuricke: and that either part ſhould conferre mutuall helpes together, one to ſuccour the other, as in times paſt. But the fiue Pagemen wold not obſerue thoſe couenants made, neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformitie. Wherfore the Bernates and Tigurines, ſhewing & declaring firſt theyr cauſe in publicke wryting, to purge and excuſe the neceſſity of their warre, being preſſed wyth ſo many wrongs, and in manner conſtrained to take the ſword in hande, did as before, beſet the hye wayes and paſſages, that no furniture of victuall or other forage could come to the other Pages. By reaſon whereof when they of the fiue towns began to be pinched with want and penurie, they armed themſelues ſecretly, and ſet forewarde in warlike aray toward the borders of Zuricke, where as then was lying a garriſon of the Zuricke menne, to the number of a thouſande and more. Whereupon worde was ſent incontinent to the Citie of Zuricke, to ſuccoure theyr men with ſpeede, but their enemies approched ſo faſt, that they coulde hardly come to reſcue them. For when they were come to the toppe of the hille, whereby they muſte needes paſſe, they ſawe their fellowes being in greate diſtreſſe in the valley vnder them: whereupon they encouraging themſelues, made downe the hil with more haſt then order, who might goe faſteſt: but the nature of the hill was ſuch, that there could but one go down at once. By reaſon wherof, for as much as they could not keepe their rankes, to ioyne all together, it folowed that they being but few in number, were diſcomfited and ouermatched of the multitude, which was the 11. day of October, the yeare abouesayde. Among the number of them that were ſlayne, was alſo Vldricus Zuinglius the bleſſed ſeruaunt & S. of God. Alſo the Abbotte of Capella, and Commendator Kunacenſis, wyth 13. other learned and worthy men were ſlaine, being as is thought, falſly betraied, and brought into the handes of theyr enemies.

Conditions of peace drawen but not kepte.

The Tygurines prouoked and cōpelled to warre againſt their enemies.

The Tigurines ouermatched & ouercome.

Vldricus Zuinglius ſlaine.

As touching the cauſe which moued Zuinglius to goe out with his citizens to the warre, as is ſufficiently declared and excuſed both by Iohn Sleidan, and eſpecially by Oecolampadius, in his Epiſtle (ad Mart. Frechtum, and Somium. Epiſt. Lib. 4. where firſt is to be vnderſtande, that it is an old receiued maner among the Zuricke men, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief miniſter of theyr church goeth with them. Zuinglius alſo of him ſelfe beyng a man (ſaith Sledanus) of a ſtoute and bolde courage, conſidering if he ſhould remaine at home when warre ſhould be attēpted againſt his citizens, and if he which in his ſermons did ſo encourage other, ſhould now faint ſo cowardly, and tarye behinde at home, when time of daunger came, what ſhame and diſdaine might worthily riſe to hym thereby, thoughte not to refuſe to take ſuche parte as his brethren did.

Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 8.

Ex epiſt. Ioan. Oecolampadij. Lib. 4.

Oeco-

Zuinglius excuſed for his going out to warre.

Oecolampadius moreouer addeth, that hee went not out as a captaine of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and as a good ſhepheard ready to die with his flocke. And which of them all (ſayeth he) that moſt cry out againſt Zuinglius, can ſhew any ſuch noble heart in him, to do the like: Againe, neither did he go out of his owne accorde, but rather deſired not to goe, foreſeeing belike, what daunger thereof woulde enſue. But the Senate being importune vpon him, would haue no nay, vrging and enforcing hym moſt inſtantly to goe: among whom were thought to haue bene ſome falſe betraiers, ſaying and obiecting to him that he was a daſtarde, if he refuſed to accompany his brethren, as well in time of daunger, as in peace. Moreouer the ſaid Zuinglius among other ſeculare artes, had alſo ſome ſkill in ſuch matters of warfare. Hæc Oecolampad. Whē he was ſlaine, great crueltie was ſhewed vppon his deade corpes, ſuch was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be ſatiſfied, vnleſſe alſo they ſhoulde burne hys bodie being dead. Ex comment. Ioan. Sled Lib. 8.

Zuinglius his dead body burned.

Ex Oſwaldo Miconio de vita et obitu Zuinglij.

The hart of Zuinglius, foūd whole in the aſhes.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut firſt in 4. peeces, and then conſumed with fire, three daies after hys death, his frēds came to ſee whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his hart in the aſhes, whole and vnburned: in much like maner as was alſo the hart of Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, which in the aſhes alſo was founde and taken vp vnconſumed, as by credible information is teſtified.

The cruell handling of the Abbot Cappellenſis.

Ex Epiſt. Oecola. ad wolfgangū Capitonem lib 4.

The age of Zuinglius & of Luther recknεd.

Furthermore, ſuche was then the rage of theſe 5. pages againſt the foreſaid Abbot Capellenſis, that they tooke him being ſlain, and putting out both his eies, they clothed him in a monkes coule, and ſo ſet him in the pulpite to preache, railing and ieſting vpon him in moſt deſpiteful maner. Ex Epiſt. Oecolamp. ad Wolfgangum Capitonem. lib. 4. Vldericke Zuinglius was when he died, of the age of 44. yeres, yonger then M. Luther by 4. yeares.

The Bernates, who were purpoſed the ſame time to atchieue warre againſt the Vnteruualdians bordering near vnto them, when they heard of this diſcōfiture of the Tigurines, to comfort them againe, deſired thē to be of good cheare and courage, promiſing that they woulde not faile but come and reuenge their quarrell. Againe, when the Tigurines had aſſembled theyr power together, whyche was the 8. day after the battell, and had receiued aide from the Schaffuſians, Mulhuſians, Sangalles, and frō Baſil, (the Bernates at this time were nothing haſtie) out of the whole number they choſe out certaine enſignes, whyche ſetting forth in the night, lay in the hil beſide Meringe, intending when the moone was vp, to take the town of Tugic lying neare at hand, vpon the ſodain. Which whē their ennemies had perceiued, which were encamped not farre from them, with all ſpeede and moſte ſecrete manner came vpō them being at reſt, the 24. day of October, and putting them in more feare, made a wonderful clamorous outcrie: ſo it fell out in concluſion, that many on both parties were ſlaine. And all be it the 5. pagemen had the vpper hand, yet would they of Zuricke nothing relent in theyr religion. At the laſte throughe mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed, that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Baſilians, ſhoulde forſake the league which they had lately made wyth the Citie of Strauſburgh, and the Lantgraue: likewiſe ſhoulde the 5. Page men geue ouer theyr league and compoſition made wyth Ferdinandus: and hereof obligations were made and ſealed in the latter ende of Nouember.

An other ſkirmiſh betweene the Tigurines & the fiue Pagemen, in Suitzerland.

Peace concluded betweene the Proteſtants and the Papiſtes, in Suitzerland.

The death of Oecolāpadius, anno 1531.

The Commentaries of Oecolampadius vpon the Prophets.

Oecolampadius the preacher of the citie of Strauſburgh aboue recorded, hearing of ẏ death of Zuinglius his deare frend, tooke thereat inward griefe and ſorrowe, in ſo much that it is thought to haue encreaſed his diſeaſe, and ſo hee alſo departed this life, the ſame yeare and moneth of Nouember aboue mentioned, being of the age of 49. yeres, elder then M. Luther by one yeare. Although this Oecolampadius then died, yet his learned & famous Commentaries vpon the Prophets, with other worthy workes, which he left behinde him, liue ſtill, and ſhall neuer die.

The death of Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie.

The next yere folowing, which was, anno. 1532. in the moneth of Auguſt, died alſo the worthy and memorable prince Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie, who for teſtimonie of Chriſte and of his Goſpel, ſuſteined ſuch trials, ſo many brunts, and ſo vehement conflicts with the Emperour, and that eſpecially at the Councell aſſembled at Auſpurge, that vnleſſe the almighty hand of the Lorde had ſuſteined him, it had not bene poſſible for him or any prince to haue endured ſo conſtāt and vnremoueable, againſt ſo many perſwaſions, and aſſaults, as hee did to the ende. After him ſucceeded Iohn Fridericke his ſonne. &c.

And thus haue ye the hiſtorie of Zuinglius, and of the church of Suitzerlande, with their proceedings and troubles, from the firſt beginning of their reformation of religion, ſet forth and deſcribed. Whereunto we will adde one certaine Epiſtle of ẏ ſaid Zuinglius, taken out of his other Epiſtles, and ſo therewith cloſe vp hys ſtorie. Which Epiſtle I thought here to record, eſpecially for that in the ſame among other maters, profitably is expounded ẏ true meaning of the Apoſtle, wryting to the Corinthians, concerning how to iudge the Lordes body, to the entent that the ſimple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be theſe, as folowe.

Huldricus Zuinglius N. fratri in Domino.

Gratiam & pacem in Domino. Accipe igitur chariſs. frater. &c.

In Engliſh thus.

A letter of Vldricus Zuinglius.

Vnto your queſtions propounded to me in your former letters (well be loued brother,) I haue ſent you heere mine aunſwere. Firſt I am alſo in the ſame minde with you, that the Lordes ſupper is a verye thankes geuing: for ſo the Apoſtle him ſelfe meaneth, ſaying: Yee ſhall ſhewe foorth the Lordes death. Where the woorde of ſhewing foorth, ſignifieth as much as praiſing, or thankes geeuynge. Wherefore, ſeeinge it is an Euchariſte, or a thankes geuing, in my iudgement no other thing ought to bee obtruded to mens conſciences, but onely with due reuerence to geue thankes. Neuertheleſſe, yet this is not to be neglected, that euery man doe prooue and examine him ſelfe, for ſo wee oughte to ſearch and aske our owne conſciences, what faith wee haue in Chriſt Ieſus, which if it be ſounde and ſincere, we may approche without ſtay, to this thankes geuing. For he that hath no faith, & yet faineth or pretendeth to haue, eateth his owne iudgement: for he lieth to the holy Ghoſt. And whereas you ſuppoſe, that Paul in this place doth not reprooue them which ſit at the table eating of meates offered to Idols, I diſſent from you therein. For Paule a litle before wryteth vehemently againſt thoſe arrogante perſones which bragging vpon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eate of ſuch meates offered to Idols, ſitting and eating at the Lordes table: You can not (ſayeth he) be partakers bothe of the Lordes table, and the table of deuils. &c. Wherefore Saint Paules meaning is, that euery one ſhould trie and examine hymſelfe what faith he hath. Whereuppon it foloweth, that he which hath a right faith, muſt haue no parte nor fellowſhip wyth thoſe things, which be geuen to Idols, for he is nowe a member of another body, that is, of Chriſte: ſo that hee can not ioyne him ſelfe nowe to be one body with Idolaters. And therefore thoſe be they which doe not iudge or diſcerne the Lordes body, that make no difference betwene the Church of Chriſt, and the Church of Idolaters. For they which ſit at the Lordes table eating of Idolmeates, do make no difference at all betweene the Lordes ſupper, and the ſupper of the deuill, which be they whom Paul ſayth, not to iudge the bodye of the Lorde, that is, which make no diſcrepance, nor geue any more regard to Chriſtes Church, then to the church of deuils. Whereas if we would iudge our ſelues, that is, if we would thorowly ſearch and examine our own conſciences as we ſhuld, in comming to the table of the Lorde, we finding any faith in vs, would neuer goe to the table, or make therof the feaſt of deuilles. Wherefore your iudgement heerein is not amiſſe in expounding the word of iudging in S. Paule, to ſignifie as much, as, cōſidering, perpending, and inquiring.

1. Cor. 10.

The place of S. Paule of iudging the Lords body, expounded.

Who be they that iudge not the Lords body.

Ieſus tooke bread.

To your ſeconde queſtion I aunſwere, that Ieſus tooke bread, and brake, &c. Alſo, he tooke the cuppe, &c. Iſta verba ſunt peculiariter agentis, non hoſpitaliter inuitantis: that is, theſe woordes declare the action of one which properly doeth a thing, and not the hoſpitalitie of one which inuiteth another to eate. Touching your third queſtion out of the 6. chap. of Iohn: Doeth this offende you? herein I doe full agree with you.

The word Eaſter.

As for this word Oſtren, which is your fourth queſtion, I vnderſtād therby, the time of the great feaſt or ſolemnitie, which we kepe in remembrance of the great deliueraunce of Gods people, from the thraldome nowe of Satan, before from the thraldome of Pharao. Neither is it greatly materiall with what woorde we expreſſe the thing, ſo the thing it ſelfe be one, and the analogie and conſonancie of the Scripture be kept: For the Scripture calleth Chriſt bothe the Lambe, and S. Paule calleth him our Eaſter or Paſſeouer. Now your worde wanderfeſt well pleaſeth me, for the Paſſeouer, or Paſah.

The deſcending of Chriſt into hell, expounded.

To your fifth interrogation, of Chriſt deſcending into Hell, I ſuppoſe this particle was inſerted into the Creede, by the ſentence of the Fathers, to declare how the fathers were redemed by the death of Chriſt, which died in the faith. For Chriſt ledde away captiuitie wherewith they were holden, with him vp into heauen: ſo that hys going downe into Hell, non ſic intelligatur, quaſi circumſcriptiuè, ſed potentionaliter: that is, be not ſo vnderſtanded, as circumſcriptiuely, which is, when a thynge is preſent by circumſcription of any one place: but by power, which is, by the operation of his ſpirit, which is not cōprehēded in any certenty of place, but without preſcription of certain place, is diffuſed euery

Circūſcriptiuè. Potētionaliter. Vt mors illius eos, qui erant apud inferos, redimeret.

* 1. Pet. 3.

ſo that the article of Chriſtes deſcending into hell, importeth as much, as that his death redemed them, which were in hell. Wherunto S. Peter alſo ſeemeth to haue reſpect, where he ſayeth: * The Goſpell alſo was preached to them which were deade: that is, that they alſo did feele the good tidings of the Goſpell, their redemption by the ſonne of God: and that they which roſe againe wyth Chriſt in ſpirite, be nowe with him in heauen, who neuertheleſſe in fleſh ſhalbe iudged, what time the ſonne of God and of man ſhal come to iudge both the quicke & dead. Returne to the places of Peter, the one in his firſt Epiſtle, the other in the latter: and ſo be you contented with this preſent anſwer raſhed vp in haſte. Fare ye hartily wel. And comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commende me to Iohn Eggenberge. From Zuricke the 1. day of September. An. 1527.

The corruption of the Sea of Rome, continually cryed out againſt.

The Pope charged with hereſie by Luther.

The foundation of the Popes doctrine contrarye to Chriſten faith.

FRom the firſt beginning of this whole booke and hiſtorie hitherto (good reader) thou haſt hearde of many and ſundry troubles, & much buſineſſe in the church of Chriſte, concerning the reformation of diuers abuſes and great errors crept into the ſame, namely in the Churche of Rome, as appeareth by the doings of them, in diuers and ſundry places, wherof mention hath bene made heretofore in this ſaid hiſtorie. For what godly man hath there bene wythin the ſpace of theſe 500. yeares, either vertuouſly diſpoſed, or excellently learned, which hath not diſproued the miſordred doings and corrupt examples of the See and Biſhop of Rome, from time to time, vnto the cōming of this Luther? wherin this appeareth to me, & may alſo appeare no leſſe to al godly diſpoſed mē, to be noted, not without great admiration, that ſeeing this foreſaid Romiſh Biſhop hath had great ennemies and gainſaiers continually from time to time, both ſpeaking & working, preaching and wryting againſt him, yet notwithſtanding neuer any could preuail before the comming of this man. The cauſe whereof, although it be ſecretely knowen vnto God, and vnknowen vnto men: yet ſo farre as men by cōiectures may ſuppoſe, it may thus not vnlikely be thought: That whereas other men before him, ſpeaking againſt the pomp, pride, whoredom, and auarice of the Biſhop of Rome, charged him only or moſt ſpecially with examples and maners of life: Luther went further with hym, charging him not wyth life, but with his learning: not with doings, but with his doctrine: not picking at the rine, but plucking vp the roote: not ſeeking the man, but ſhaking his ſeate, yea & charging him with plaine hereſie, as preiudicial and reſiſting plainly againſt the bloud of Chriſt, cōtrary to the true ſenſe and direct vnderſtanding of the ſacred teſtament of Gods holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith grounded vpon the holy ſcripture, teacheth & leadeth vs to be iuſtified onely by the worthines of Chriſt, & the onely price of his bloud: the Pope proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth vs otherwyſe to ſeeke our ſaluation, not by Chriſt alone, but by the way of mennes meriting and deſeruing by works: wherupon roſe diuers ſorts of orders & religious ſects amongſt men, ſome profeſſing one thing, and ſome an other, & euery man ſeeking his owne vnrighteouſnes, but few ſeking the righteouſnes of him which is ſet vp of God to be our righteouſnes, redemption, and iuſtification.

Iuſtification by faith, reuiued by Luther.

Math. 10.

Great perſecution after the doctrine of Luther.

Martin Luther therefore vrging & reducing things to the foundation and touchſtone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were drowned in darknes. Whereupon it can not be expreſſed what ioy, comforte, and conſolation came to the hearts of men, ſome lying in darknes and ignoraunce, ſome wallowing in ſinne, ſome being in deſpaire, ſome macerating them ſelues by workes, and ſome preſuming vppon their owne righteouſneſſe, to beholde that glorious benefite of the greate libertie and free iuſtification ſet vp in Chriſt Ieſus. And briefly to ſpeake, the more glorious the benefite of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignoraunce, the greater perſecution followed vppon the ſame. And where the elect of God tooke moſt occaſion of comfort and of ſaluation, thereof the aduerſaries tooke moſte matter of vexation & diſturbance: As commonly we ſee the true word of God to bring with it euer diſſention and perturbation, and therefore truely it was ſayde of Chriſt, That he came not to ſend peace on earth, but the ſwoorde. And this was the cauſe, why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, ſo great troubles and perſecutions followed in all quarters of the world: wherby roſe great diſquietneſſe among the Prelates, and many lawes and decrees were made, to ouerthrowe the ſame by cruell handling of many good and Chriſtian men. Thus while authoritie armed wyth lawes and rigour, did ſtriue againſte ſimple veritie, lamentable it was to heare, howe many poore men were troubled and went to wracke, ſome toſt from place to place, ſome exiled out of the land for fear, ſome cauſed to abiure, ſome driuen to caues in woodes, ſome racked wyth torment, and ſome purſued to deathe wyth fagot and fire. Of whom we haue nowe (Chriſt willing) in this hyſtorie following to entreat, firſt begynning with certaine that ſuffered in Germanie, & then to returne to our owne ſtories, and Martyrs here in England.

Henry Voes and Iohn Eſch,
Friers Auguſtines.

Two Fryers burned at Bruxelles.

Egmondanus, and Hocheſtratus, doctors of Louain, perſecuters.

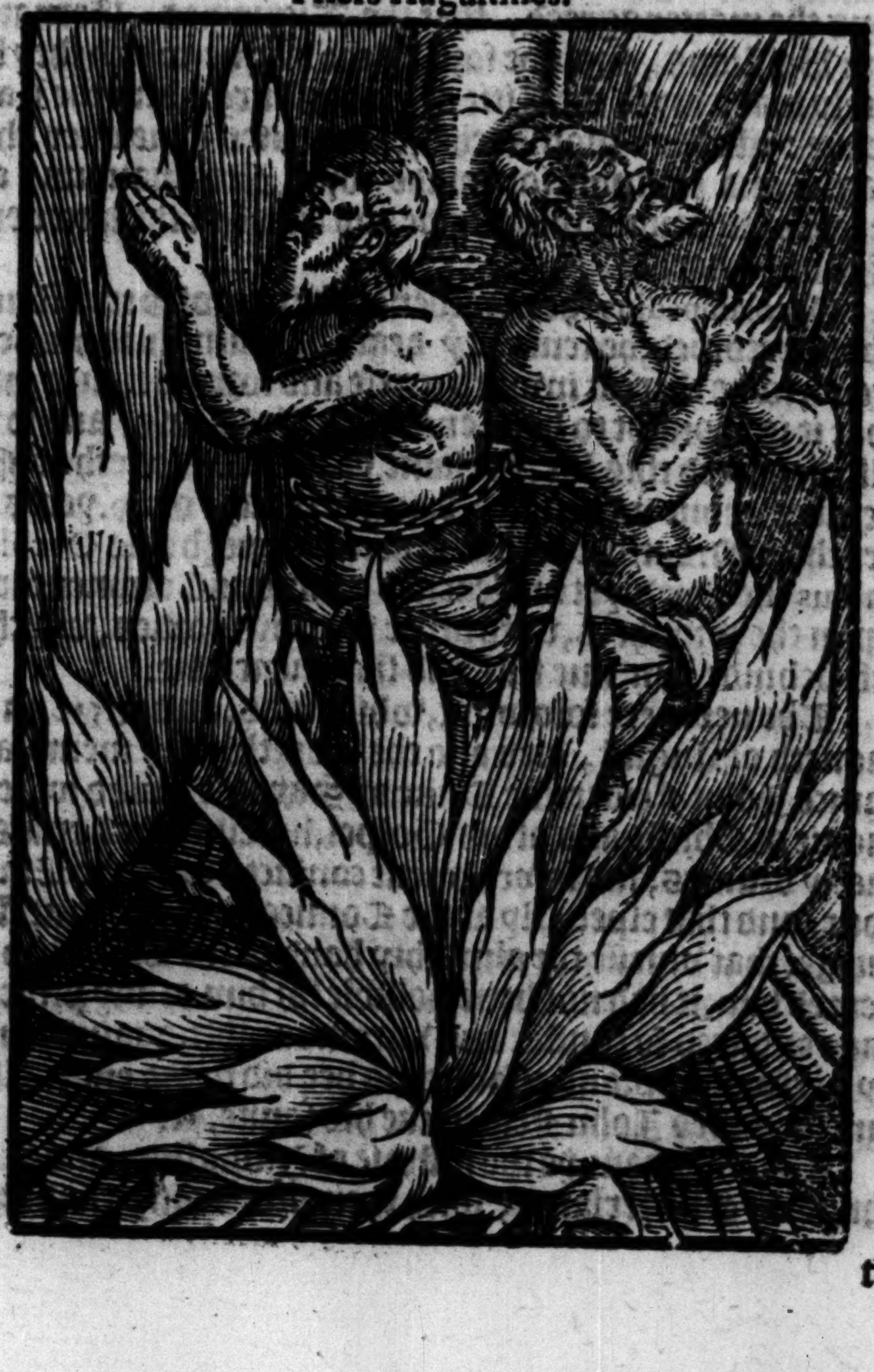
Their examination.

The cauſe of their accuſation & Martirdōe.

IN the yeare of our Lorde. 1523. two young menne were burnt at Bruxelles, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of 24. yeares, and the other Iohn Eſch, whych before had bene of the order of the Auguſtine Friers. They were diſgraded the firſt day of Iulie, and ſpoiled of theyr friers weede, at the ſuite of Egmondanus the Popes Inquiſitour, and the diuines of Louaine, for that they would not retracte and deny their doctrine of the Goſpell, which the Papiſtes call Lutheraniſme. Theyr examiners were Hocheſtratus and other, who demaunded of them, what they did beleeue? They ſayde, the bookes of the olde Teſtament, and the newe, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creede. Then were they aſked whether they beleued the decrees of the Councels and of the Fathers? They ſayde, ſuch as were agreeing to the Scripture, they beleeued. After thys they proceeded further, aſking whether they thought it any deadly ſinne, to tranſgreſſe the decrees of the fathers, and of the biſhop of Rome? That (ſaid they) is to be attributed onely to the precepts of God, to binde the conſcience of man, or to looſe it. Wherein when they cōſtantly perſiſted, and would not turne, they were condemned and iudged to be burned. Then they beganne to geue thanks to God their heauenly father, which had deliuered them through his great goodnes, from the falſe and abhominable prieſthoode, & had made of them prieſts of his holy order, receiuing thē vnto him as a ſacrifice of ſweete odor. Then there was a bill written, which was deliuered vnto them to read opēly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they helde. The greateſt error that they were accuſed of, was that men ought to truſt only in God, for ſo much as men are liers and deceitful in all their words and deedes, and therefore there ought no truſt or affiance to be put in them.

As they were ledde vnto the place of execution, which was the firſt day of Iulie, they went ioyfully and merily, making continual proteſtation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the goſpell, as true Chriſtians, beleuing & following the holy church of the ſonne of God, ſaying alſo that it was ẏ day which they had long deſired. After they were come to the place where they ſhoulde bee burned, and were diſpoyled of their garments, they taried a great ſpace in their ſhirtes, & ioyfully embraced the ſtake that they ſhould be bound to, paciently and ioyfully enduring what ſo euer was done vnto thē, praiſing God wyth Te Deum laudamus, and ſinging Pſalmes, and rehearſing

The burning of Henry Voes and Iohn Eſch,
Friers Auguſtines.



the Creede, in teſtimonie of their faith. A certaine Doctour beholding their iolitie & mirth, ſaid vnto Henry, ẏ he ſhuld take heede ſo fooliſhly to glorifie himſelfe. To whome he anſwered, God forbid that I ſhoulde glory in any thyng, but onely in the croſſe of my Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Another coūſelled him to haue God before his eies: vnto whom he anſwered, I truſt that I cary him truly in my hart. One of them ſeeing that fire was kindled at his feete, ſaid: Me thinkes ye do ſtraw roſes vnder my feet. Finally, ẏ ſmoke and the flame mounting vp to their face, choked them.

Beholde how conſtantly and ioyfully, theſe Martirs take their death.

Henry being demaunded amongſt other things, whether Luther had ſeduced him or no: yea (ſaid he) euen as Chriſt ſeduced his Apoſtles. He ſaid alſo, that it was contrary to Gods law, that ẏ Clergy ſhould be exempted frō the power & iuriſdictiō of the magiſtrate ordeined of God, for ſuch as were ordeined in office by the biſhops, haue no power but onely to preach the worde of God, and to feede their flocke therewithall. After their death, their monaſterie was diſſolued at Antwarpe. The Preſident wherof, by the Papiſtes called Iacobus Lutherianus, after diuers and many troubles & afflictions, was forced to recant at Bruxels, but afterward his mind being renued by ẏ holy ghoſt, embracing that againe which before he had renounced, he fled vnto Luther. Ex 6. tomo M. Lutheri. fol. 397.

Againſt all reaſon that the Clergie ſhould be exempted from the ciuill Magiſtrate.

Iacobus Lutherianus.

Henry Sutphen Monke put to death in Diethmar.

THe next yeare after the burning of thoſe two Chriſtian martyrs at Bruxels aboue mentioned, with like tyrannie alſo was martired & burned without all order of iudgment or iuſt condemnation, about the Citie of Diethmar, in ẏ borders of Germany, one Henry of Sutphen monke, an. 1524. of whom mention is partly touched in the Commentaries of Ioh. Sledan. Lib. 4. but his hiſtorie is more amply deſcribed of Luther, of Paulus Eberus in his Calēdar, of Ludou. Rabus Criſpinus, and other. This Sutphen had bene before with M. Luther, and afterward cōming to Antwarpe, was frō thence excluded for the Goſpell, and ſo came to Breme, not to ẏ intent there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberge, beeing driuen from Antwarpe, as is aboueſaide. Who beeing at Breme, was there required by certaine godly Citizens of Breme, to make one or two briefe exhortations vpon the Goſpel. Wherunto, through the earneſt loue and zeale that was in him, he was eaſily allured & perſwaded. He made his firſt Sermon vnto the people, the ſonday before Saint Martins daye. When the people heard him preache the word of God ſo ſincerely, they deſired him againe the ſecond tyme, and were ſo in loue with his doctrine, that the whole pariſh required him to tary amōgſt them to preach the Goſpell: which thing, for feare of daunger, for a time he refuſed. When the religious rout had vnderſtanding hereof, ſpecially the Canons, Monkes, and prieſts, they went about with al endeuour, to oppreſſe him, & thruſt both him out of the citie, and alſo the Goſpel of Chriſt (for that was their chiefe ſeeking:) whereupon they went vnto the Senate, deſiring that ſuch an heretique might be baniſhed the towne, which in his doctrine preached againſt ẏ catholike Church. Upon the complaint of the Canons, the Senate ſent for the wardens, and head men of the pariſh where Henry had preached, who being come together, the Senat declared vnto them the cōplaint of the Canons, and al the other religious men. Wherunto the citizens of Breme taking their preachers part, anſwered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honeſt man, to preach vnto thē, which ſhould teach them ſincerely & truly the word of God. Notwithſtanding, if the Chapterhouſe or any other man could bring teſtimoniall or witnes, that the Preacher had taught any thing, which either ſauored of hereſie, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they ſaid) with the Chapterhouſe to perſecute him: for God forbid that they ſhoulde mainteine an heretique. But if contrarywiſe the Canons of the Chapterhouſe, and the other Religious men will not declare and ſhew that the preacher whome they had hyred, had taught any errour or hereſie, but were ſet only of malice, by violence to driue him away, they might not (ſaid they) by any meanes ſuffer the ſame. Whereupon they deſired the Senate with all humble obedience, that they woulde not require it of them, but graunt them equitie and iuſtice, ſayeng, that they were minded to aſſiſt their preacher always, and to pleade his cauſe.

Henry Sutphen Martir.

Ex Comment. Sled. Lib. 4.

Henry Sutphen preacheth at Breme.

Monkes and Prieſtes conſpire againſt Henrye.

The Citizēs of Breme, excuſe their preacher.

This anſwere the Senate commaunded to be declared to the Chapterhouſe. When as the religious ſort vnderſtoode that they coulde preuaile little or nothyng wyth their wordes, burſting out in a furie, they began to threaten, and there withall went ſtraight vnto the Archbyſhop, to certifie him how ẏ Citizens of Breme were become heretikes, & would no lōger obey their religious ſort, with many other lyke thynges in their complaynt, ſo that it was to be feared, leaſt the whole Citie ſhortly ſhould be ſeduced.

The Mōkes and prieſtes cōplaine agayne of the preacher to the Archbiſhop of Breme.

When the Byſhop heard tell of theſe thyngs, ſtraightwayes he ſent ij. which were of his counſell, vnto Breme, requiryng that Hēry ſhould be ſent vnto him without delay. Whē they were demaūded why they would haue him ſent, they aunſwered, becauſe he preached agaynſt the holy Church. Being agayne demaūded, in what pointes or articles, they had nothyng to ſay. One of theſe counſellers was the Byſhops Suffragan, a naughty pernitious hypocrite, which ſought all meanes poſſible to cary away the ſayd Henry captiue. Finally they receiued this aunſwere of the Senators, that forſomuch as the preacher being hyred by the Church wardens, had not hetherto bene cōuict for an hereticke, & that no mā had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they ſayd, they could by no meanes obteine of the Citizēs that he ſhould be caryed away: wherefore they earneſtly deſired the Byſhop that he would ſpeedely ſend his learned mē vnto Breme, to diſpute with him, & if he were cōuinced, they promiſed, without any delay that he ſhould be iuſtly puniſhed, and ſent away: if not, they would in no wiſe let him departe. Whereunto the Suffragan aunſwered with a great proteſtation, requiryng that he might bee deliuered into his handes, for the quietneſſe of the whole countrey, takyng God to his witneſſe, that in this behalfe, he ſought for nothyng els, but onely the commoditie of his countrey. But for all this, they could preuayle nothyng, for the Senate continued ſtill in their former mynde. Whereupō the Suffragan beyng moued with anger, departed from Breme, and would not confirme their children.

The preacher cited to appeare before the Archbiſhop.

Falſe accuſatiō.

The Senate denieth to ſend the preacher to the Biſhop.

The Senate of Breme require a diſputatiō of the Archbiſhop.

The Suffragane would not confirme their children for anger.

When he came vnto the Byſhop he declared the aunſwere of the Senate, and what he had heard and learned of the Prieſtes and Monkes there. Afterward whē dayly newes came, that the preacher did ſtill more & more preach & teach more heynous matter agaynſt the religious rout, they attempted an other way, ſuborning great men to admoniſh the Citizens of Breme into what ieopardie their common wealth might fall by meanes of their Preacher, preachyng contrary to the decree of the Pope and Emperour. Beſides that, they ſayd, that he was the priſoner of the Lady Margaret, for which cauſe they had gotten Letters of the Lady Margaret, requiring to haue her priſoner ſent vnto her agayne.

Whē the prelats cannot preuayle by power, they fall to practiſe.

All theſe craftes and ſubtilties did nothyng at all preuayle, for the Senate of Breme aunſwered all thynges without blame. When as the Byſhop ſaw this his enterpriſe alſo fruſtrate, he attempted an other way, whereby he had certaine hope, that both he, & alſo the word of God with him ſhould be wholy oppreſſed. Whereupō they decreed a Prouinciall counſaile, not to be holden at Breme, as it was accuſtomed, but at Buckſtade, which place they thought moſt meete for their purpoſe.

An other practiſe of the Archbiſhop.

To this Councell were called all the Prelates & learned men of the Dioces, to determine what was to be beleeued, and whereto to truſt.

Alſo to the ſayd Councell was Henry called, notwithſtādyng that they had already decreed to proceede agaynſt him, as agaynſt a manifeſt hereticke, albeit he was not yet conuict, nor had pleaded his cauſe before. Wherefore the rulers of the Citie, together with the commonaltie, deteyned him at home, foreſeyng and ſuſpectyng the malice of the Councell. Then the ſayd Henry gathered a ſumme of his doctrine into a fewe Articles, and ſent it with his letters, vnto the Archbyſhop, excuſing his innocēcie, offering himſelfe to be ready, if he were conuict of any errour by the teſtimony of ẏ holy Scripture, he would be ready to recāt ẏ ſame: notwithſtanding earneſtly requiryng, that his errours might be cōuicted by ẏ holy Scriptures, by the teſtimony wherof he had hetherto approued his doctrine & doubted not hereafter to cōfirme the ſame: but this tooke no place amongeſt thoſe annoynted prelates. What ẏ determinatiō of their iudgemēt was, it may hereupon wel be gathered, in that ſhortly after they ſet vp vpō the Church porche the Bull of Pope Leo the x. & decree of the Emperour made at Wormes. Wherupon Henry contēnyng their madnes, proceeded dayly in preaching the Goſpel, adding alwayes this proteſtatiō, ẏ he was ready willingly to geue account touchyng his fayth & doctrine, to euery mā that would require the ſame. In the meane tyme the holy Catholickes could not be idle, but ſent their chapleines vnto euery ſermon, to trappe him in his wordes. But God, whoſe foote pathes are in ẏ middeſt of ẏ floudes, would haue his maruelous power to be ſene in thē, for he cōuerted many of

A Councell of prieſtes called againſt Henry Sutphen.

Hēry gathereth the ſūme of his doctrine in writing.

Vide ſupra pag. 847. 849.

The Catholike proceding of the Popes Clergy.

They that were about to take him, were taken.

them: in ſo much that the greater part of thoſe that were ſent to hearken, did opēly witnes his doctrine to be Gods truth, againſt which no man could contend, and ſuch as in all their times before they had not heard, perſwading them likewiſe, that they forſaking all impietie, ſhould folow the word of God, and beleeue the ſame, if they would be ſaued. But the chiefe prieſts, canons and monkes, were ſo indurate and blinded with Pharao, that they became the worſe for theſe admonitions. When as God ſaw the time conuenient that Henry ſhould confirme the veritie that he had preached, he ſent him among the cruell murtherers appointed for that ſlaughter, by this occaſion as followeth.

Henry Sutphen ſent for to preach at Meldorph.

It happened in the yeare of our Lord 1524. that thys Henry was ſent for by letters, by Nicholas Boye pariſh prieſt, and other faithfull Chriſtians of the pariſh of Meldorph, which is a towne in Diethmar, to preach the Goſpel vnto them, and deliuer them out of the bondage of Antichriſt, which in that place had full dominion.

Theſe letters being receiued vpon S. Catherines euen, calling together ſixe brethren, honeſt Citizens, he opened the matter vnto thē, how ẏ he was ſent for by them of Diethmar, to preach ẏ Goſpel: adding moreouer that he was not only a debtour vnto thē, but to all other which required his ayde. Wherfore he thought good to go vnto Diethmar, to ſee what God would worke by him, requiring alſo that they woulde helpe him with their aduice, by what meanes he might beſt take his iourney, that no mā ſhould know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or ſtopped: which thing without doubt had come to paſſe, if his purpoſe had bene knowne to the people.

The Citizens of Breme perſwade Henrye not to go to Diethmar.

Unto whom the citizens anſwered, deſiring him that he would not depart for a time, for ſo much as ẏ Goſpell had not yet taken ſo deepe roote in ẏ people, but was as yet weake, & ſpecially in the villages thereabout, & that the perſecution was very great, willing him alſo to haue reſpect vnto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching, and if they of Diethmar deſired a preacher, he ſhoulde ſend ſome other in hys place, for they had before perceiued the diſpoſition and vntruſtines of them of Diethmar: beſides that, it was not in their power to geue him free liberty to depart, without the conſente of the whole communaltie.

The cauſes mouing Henry to goe to Diethmar.

Whereunto Henry made anſwere in this manner, that albeit he could not denie but that he was ſent for by them: yet now there were many godly & learned men at Breme, whoſe labour they might vſe in his abſence, in preaching of the Goſpell. Beſides that, the Papiſtes were for the moſt parte vanquiſhed and ouerthrowne, and their follie knowne, euen vnto women and children, adding thereunto, that he had nowe preached the Goſpell by the ſpace of two yeares at Breme, and that they of Diethmar liued without a paſtour euen in the middeſt of the wolues, wherefore he could not with ſafe conſcience denie theyr requeſt. And whereas they alleged that they could not licence him without the conſente of the whole congregation, that (ſaid he) was but of ſmall effect, for ſo much as he would not vtterly forſake them, but determined only to remaine with them of Diethmar, for a moneth or two, to lay a foundation, and then to returne againe, deſiring them, that after his departure, they would declare vnto the cōgregation, how he was ſent for by them of Diethmar, to whom he could not ſay nay: willing them alſo to excuſe his ſodeine departure, for that he was forced to departe ſecretly, becauſe of his aduerſaries priuily lyeng in waite in euery place for him, thinking that he ſhould ſcarſely auoyde them, which had alwayes gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they ſhould promiſe to the congregation in his name, that when he had perfourmed his enterpriſe, he woulde ſtraight returne againe. They being perſwaded with theſe words, cōſented vnto him, ſtedfaſtly hoping that they of Diethmar ſhould be conuerted vnto the true faith: which people aboue all other, haue alwaies bene moſt geuen to Idolatrie.

In this rude coūtry of Diethmar, Maiſter Rogers our coūtreyman was ſuperintendent in tyme of the 6. articles where he with great daunger of his life, did very much good.

Henry taketh his iourney to Meldorph.

Hauing prepared all things toward his ſetting forth, the xxij. day of October, he tooke his iourney, and came to Meldorphe, whither he was ſent for: wheras he was ioyfully receiued of the pariſh prieſt and other, as ſoone as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the Diuell with his members by and by began to freat and fume for anger. Aboue all other, one Auguſtine Torneborch, Prior of the Blacke friers, began to fume, who went out of hand vnto maiſter Iohn Swicken his companion, and Commiſſary to the Officiall of Hamburge, to take counſell what was to be done, leaſt they ſhould loſe their kingdome.

The Prior of the Blacke Fryers, with the 48. Preſidentes, conſpireth the death of Henry.

Finally it was decreed by them, aboue all things to withſtand the beginnings, that he ſhould not haue licence to preach: for if by any meanes it happened that he preached, and the people ſhould heare him, it was to be feared that the wickednes and craft of the Prieſtes and Monkes ſhould be opened, which being made manifeſt, they knew plainely that it would be but a folly to reſiſt, remembring what had happened lately before in Breme. This determination had, the Prior the next day early in the morning, (for he had not ſlept well all night for cares) wente wyth great ſpeede vnto Heyda to ſpeake with the 48. Preſidēts of the countrey: vnto whome with great complaintes he ſhewed, how that a ſeditious felow a Monke, was come from Breme, which would ſeduce all the people of Diethmar, as he had done the Bremers.

The chiefe doers of this conſpiracye.

There was moreouer that did aſſiſt this Prior, maiſter Gunterus, Chauncelour of that countrey, and Petrus Hannus, both enemies vnto the Goſpell. Theſe two ſtoutly aſſiſted the Prior, perſwading the other 46. being ſimple and vnlearned men, that they ſhould obteine great fauour and good will of the Biſhop of Breme, if they would put this hereticke monke to death. When theſe poore vnlearned men heard theſe words, they decreed that this Monke ſhoulde be put to death, neither heard, nor ſeene, much leſſe conuict.

Furthermore, this Prior obteined letters from the 48. Preſidents vnto the pariſh prieſt, commanding him vnder great penaltie, that he ſhoulde put the Monke out of his houſe, and commaunde him to depart without preaching.

Nicolas Boyes pariſh prieſt of Meldorph commaūded to put away Henry.

With theſe letters he came ſpeedily vnto Meldorphe, and deliuered the letters ouernight vnto the pariſh Prieſt, truſting that by their threatnings and commandement, the ſayd Henry ſhould be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

When as the pariſh prieſt had read ouer the letters, he marueyled not a little at that proud commaundement, for that it had not bene heard of before, that the xlviij. Preſidents ſhould meddle with Eccleſiaſticall matters, and that it had bene of long time vſed, that the ruling therof ſhould be in the hands of the pariſh prieſt: and long time before it was decreed by the whole prouince, and cuſtomably vſed, that in euery church ẏ pariſh prieſt ſhould haue free libertie to receiue or put out the preacher. Theſe letters the pariſh prieſt deliuered vnto Henry: which when he had diligently looked ouer, he anſweared, that for ſo muche as he was come, being ſent for by ẏ whole cōgregatiō to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt, he would ſatiſfie that vocation, becauſe he ſaw it would be acceptable vnto the whole cōgregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, then mā: Alſo ẏ if it pleaſed God that he ſhould loſe his life in Diethmar, there was as neare a way to heauen, as in any other place, for that he doubted nothing at all, ẏ once he muſt ſuffer for ẏ Goſpels ſake.

The conſtācy of Henry in his vocation.

Upon this courage and boldnes, the next day Henry went vp into the Pulpit, and made a Sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is, Rom. 1. Teſtis eſt mihi Deus, &c. That is, God is my witnes: and the Goſpell of the day. After the Sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the Prior deliuered the letters that were ſent by the 48. Preſidents, the tenor whereof was this: that they of Meldorph ſhould be fined with a fine of a thouſand gildrens, if they ſuffered the Monke to preach: and commaunded moreouer, that they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours vnto Heida, with full power and authoritie. When they heard theſe letters read, they were much moued, becauſe they were ſo charged contrary to the cuſtome of the countrey, for ſo much as euery pariſh prieſt hath alwaies had authority, according to his diſcretion, to chooſe or put away the preacher. Briefly they all determined with one voice, to keepe Henry for their preacher, and to defend him: for when they had heard the Sermon, they were greatly offended with the Prior.

Henry preacheth at Meldorph. The Citizens of Meldorph write in defence of their preacher.

After dinner Henry preached againe, expoūding ẏ place of S. Paule Rom. 15. Debemus nos qui potentes ſumus, &c. We ought which are ſtrong, &c. The next day the Citizens of Meldorphe ſent their meſſengers vnto Heyda, offering to aunſweare in all cauſes before all men, for their preacher, whome they had receiued. Beſides that, the meſſengers declared what chriſtian & godly Sermons they heard him preach. The pariſh prieſt alſo wrote letters by the ſaid Legates vnto the 48. rulers, wherin he excuſed himſelfe, that it was neuer his mind, nor the intent of the ſaid Henry to moue ſedition, but only ſincerely to preach ẏ word of God, and offred himſelfe ready to anſwer for the ſaid Henry to al mē, whenſoeuer he ſhould be called, moſt earneſtly deſiring them not to geue credite vnto ẏ Monks, which being blinded with hatred & auarice, had fully determined to oppreſſe ẏ truth: ſaieng moreouer, that it was againſt all reaſon, that a man ſhould be condemned, before the truth be tried out, and his cauſe declared, and if after due inquiſitiō had, he ſhould be cōuict, then he ſhould ſuffer cōdigne puniſhment. This ſubmiſſion with ẏ publique teſtimoniall, was nothing eſteemed or regarded, neither was there any anſweare geuen thereunto, but euery man repined & murmured

Good counſaile of Peter Dethleues.

Luke 19.

Heb. 7.

mured thereat. Laſt of all, one Peter Dethleues, one of the Seniors anſwered: that albeit there were diuers diſſenſions in euery place about the Chriſtian faith; and that they as men ignorant, could not redreſſe the ſame, yet this their ſentence ſhould be holden and ratified: which was, that the iudgement of determining this diſſenſion, ſhould be reſerued to the next Councell, which by the report of maiſter Chauncelour, was now in hand to be called and gathered. Alſo vntill all diſcord and diſſenſion ſhould be appeaſed, whatſoeuer was receiued and beleeued by their neighbours, he promiſed in the name of the reſt, that they would willingly receiue and beleeue the ſame: So that if the word of God hath not hitherto bene clearely and ſincerely preached (as they ſaid) vnto yͤ people, and that there be now ſome which can teache and preach the ſame more ſincerely, it is not their mind or intent to withſtand or reſiſt their good doings, but that the preſidents would wiſh this one thing diligently to be taken heede of, that there be no occaſion geuen by any man to moue ſedition, and in the meane time he commaunded all men quietly to geue ouer all matters vntill Eaſter nexte, and by that time it ſhoulde be made euident what ſhoulde be receiued, and what left vndone. With this anſwere they were all very well contented, and the meſſengers returned againe to Meldorphe with great ioy and gladnes, declaring to the whole congregation what anſwere was made, cōceiuing a ſure hope that the matter would ſhortly come to paſſe.

Upon S. Nicholas daye, thys Henry preached twiſe, firſt vpon the Goſpell Homo quidam nobilis, &c. A certaine noble man, &c. Secondly vpon this text, Plures facti ſunt ſacerdotes, &c. There are many made Prieſtes, &c. with ſuche a ſpirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praicing God moſt earneſtly that they might long haue ſuch a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our Lady, he alſo made two Sermons vpon the firſt chapter of Mathew, expounding the booke of the generation, wherein he rehearſed the promiſes made by God vnto oure forefathers, and vnder what faith our fathers that then were, had liued, adding alſo that all reſpect of workes being ſet apart, we muſt be iuſtified by the ſame faith. All theſe things were ſpoken with ſuch boldnes of ſpirit, that al mē greatly marueiled at him, geuing thankes to God for his great mercy, that had ſente them ſuch a Preacher, deſiring hym moreouer that he would tarrie with them al Chriſtmas to preach, for they feared leaſt he ſhould be ſent for to ſome other place.

The Prier and the Monkes againe conſpired against the Goſpell.

In the meane ſpace, the Priour and maiſter Iohn Schinke were not idle, for when the Prior perceiued that his malitious enterpriſe tooke no good ſucceſſe, he adioyned vnto him a companion, William, a Doctour of the Iacobines, and ſo went vp to Laudanum, to the Monks, Franciſcanes, and Minors, for helpe and counſaile. For thoſe kindes of Friers aboue all other, are beſt inſtruct by their hypocriſie, to deceiue the poore and ſimple people. Theſe Friers ſtreightwaies ſent for certaine of the rulers, which had all the rule and authoritie, and ſpecially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden, vnto whome they declared, after their accuſtomed maner, with great complaintes, what an heretique Monke had preached, and how he had obteined the fauour almoſt of all the ſimple people, which if they did not ſpedily prouide for and withſtand the beginnings, and put the heretique to death, it would come to paſſe, that ſhortly the honour of our Lady and all Saints, together with the two Abbeys, ſhoulde vtterly come to ruine and decay.

The death of Henry conſpired by the Monkes and Friers.

The names of the conſpirators & perſecutors.

A droncken murther.

When theſe ſimple & ignorant men heard theſe wordes, they were greatly moued. Whereunto Peter Swine aunſwered thus, that they had before written vnto the pariſh prieſt & to Henry, what was beſt to be done, notwithſtanding if they thought good, they would write againe. No, ſaid yͤ Prior, this matter muſt be attempted another way, for if you write vnto the heretike, he wil by and by anſwer you againe. And it is to be feared, leaſt the contagion of his hereſie do alſo infect you, being vnlearned men: for if you geue him leaue to ſpeake, and to anſwere, there is no hope that you ſhall ouercome him. Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burne him, before the people ſhould know it, or he come to his defence to anſwere. This deuiſe pleaſed all mē, but ſpecially the Franciſcane Friers. Petrus Hannus the Priors chiefe frend, willing to get the chiefe praiſe and thankes of this matter, by the help of maiſter Gunter, did aſſociate vnto him certaine other rulers of the townes neere adioining, whoſe names are heere not to be hidden, becauſe they ſo much affected praiſe and glorye. The names of the Preſidentes were theſe, Petrus Hannus, Peter Swines ſonne, Hennicke Lūdaue, Iohn Holueus, Laurence Hannemanus, Nicholas Weſlingbourgus, Ambroſe & Iohn Brenthuſius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Henſtedanus Ludckus, Iohānes Weſlingus, and Petrus Groſſus, Preſident of Hemmigſtate. All theſe Preſidentes & all other that were of Councell to this pretēce, aſſembled together in the Pariſh of the new Church, in the houſe of maiſter Gunter, where alſo the Chauncelour was conſultyng together with thē, how they might burne the ſayd Henry, ſecretly comming vpon him without any iudgement or ſentence. They concluded the next day after the conception of our Lady, to meete at Hennyng, which is v. myle frō Meldorphe, with a great band of huſbādmen. This determination this made, they layd ſcoutes in euery place, that there ſhould no newes of their pretēſed miſchiefes come vnto Meldorphe, cōmaundyng that as ſoone as it began to waxe darke, they ſhould all gather together. There aſſembled aboue v. C. mē of the countrey, vnto whom was declared the cauſe of their aſſemble, & alſo they were inſtructed what was to be done, for before no mā knew the cauſe of the aſſemble, but onely the Preſidentes. When the huſbandmē vnderſtood it, they would haue returned backe agayne, refuſing to do ſuch a deteſtable and horrible deede. The Preſidentes with moſt bitter threates, kept them in obedience, & to the intent they ſhould be the more couragious, they gaue them three barrels of Hamborow beere to drinke.

Hennegus the betrayer of the preacher.

The pariſh prieſt violently taken in his houſe by night.

Henry Sutphen taken and caried away of the murtherers.

Henry brought to Hemingſted.

The cruel handling of Gods Martyr.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorphe. The Iacobines and Monkes prepared torches for them, that Henry ſhould not ſlip away ſodēly in the darke. They had alſo with them a falſe betrayer, named Hennegus, by whoſe treaſon they had perfect knowledge of all thynges. With great violēce they burſt into the houſe of the Pariſh Prieſt, breakyng & ſpoylyng all thynges, as the maner of that dronken people is. If they found either gold or ſiluer, they tooke it away. When they had ſpoyled all things, they violently fell vpon the Pariſh Prieſt, & with great noyſe cried out, kill the theefe, kill the theefe. Some of them tooke him by the heare of the head and pulled him out into the durt, forcyng him to go with them as priſoner: other ſome cried out, ſaying that yͤ Pariſh Prieſt was not to be medled withall, for they had no commiſſion to take him. After they had ſatiſfied their luſt vpon the Pariſhe Prieſt, with great rage and furie they ranne vpō Henry, and drawyng him naked out of his bed, bound his handes hard behinde him: whō beyng ſo bounde, they drewe to and fro ſo long, that Peter Hannus, which otherwiſe was vnmercyfull & a cruell perſecuter of the word of God, willed thē that they ſhould let him alone, for yͭ without doubt, he would folow of his owne mynde. Then they committed the guidyng of him to Iohn Balco, who rather drew him by violence, thē led him. When he was brought to Hemmingſted, they aſked of him how and for what intent he came to Diethmar. Unto whom he gently declared the whole cauſe of his cōmyng: but they all in a rage cryed out. Away with him, away with him, for if we heare him talke any longer, it is to be feared, that he will make vs alſo heretickes. Then he beyng marueilous weary and faynt, required to bee ſet a horſebacke, for his feete were all cut and hurt with the yſe, becauſe he was led all night barefoote. When they heard him ſay ſo, they mocked & laughed at him, ſaying, muſt we hyre a horſe for an hereticke? He ſhall go a foote whether he will or no. Becauſe it was night, they caried him naked vnto Heyda. Afterward they brought him to a certaine mās houſe named Calden, & bound him there with chaynes in the ſtockes. The maiſter of the houſe ſeyng the cruell deede, takyng compaſſion vpon Henry, would not ſuffer it to bee done. Wherefore hee was caried away to the Prieſtes houſe, the Officials ſeruaūt of Hamburge, & ſhut vp in a cupbord, & was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked & ſcorned him. Amongeſt all other there came vnto him, Symon in Altenword, & Chriſtian Pariſh Prieſt of the new Church, both alike ignoraunt & wicked perſecutors of the word of God, demaundyng of him why he had forſaken his holy habite. Unto whom he frendly aunſwered by the Scriptures, but thoſe ignoraūt perſons vnderſtood nothyng what he ſayd. Maiſter Gunterus alſo came vnto him, enquiring whether hee had rather to bee ſent to the Byſhop of Breme, or receiue his puniſhmēt in Diethmar. Unto whom Henry aūſwered, if I haue preached any thyng contrary to Gods word, or done any wicked act, it is in their handes to puniſh me therfore. Gunterus aunſwered. Harke I pray you frendes, harke, he deſireth to ſuffer in Diethmar. The common people all the night continued drinkyng and ſwillyng.

A droncken cōſultation. Crucifige. Crucifige.

In the mornyng about viij. of the clocke, they gathered together in yͤ market place to cōſult what they ſhould do. There the ruſticall people boyling with drinke, cryed out, burne him, burne him, to the fire with the hereticke. Without doubt, if we do it, we ſhall this day obtaine great glorie and praiſe both of God and man, for the longer he liueth, the more he will ſeduce with his hereſie. What neede many words? Sure he was to die, for they had condemned this good Henry without any iudgement, (his cauſe not being heard) to be burned. At laſt they commaunded the Crier to proclaime, that euerye man that was at the taking of him, ſhould be readie in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Amongeſt all other, the Frier Franciſcanes were preſent, encouraging the dronken rude people, ſayeng, now ye go the right way to worke. Then they bound the ſaide Henry, hands, feete, and necke, and with great noyſe brought him forth to the fire. As he paſſed by, a certaine woman ſtanding in her dore, beholding that pitifull ſight, wept aboundantly. Vnto whome Henry turnyng himſelfe, ſaide, I pray you weepe not for me. When he came to the fire, for very weakenes he ſate downe vpon the ground, By and by there was preſent one of the Preſidents named Maye, which was euidently knowne to be corrupted and bribed with money, to this purpoſe: he condemned the ſaid Henry to be burned, pronouncing thys ſentence vpon him.

The bloudy broode of Friers, helpe forward.

Henry brought forth to the fire.

A falſe ſentence of a corrupte iudge.

For ſo much as this theefe hath wickedly preached againſt the worſhip of our bleſſed Lady, by the commaundement and ſufferance of our reuerend father in Chriſt, the Biſhop of Breme, and my Lord, I condemne him heere to be burned and conſumed with fire. Vnto whome Henry anſwered, I haue done no ſuch thing: and lifting vp hys eies towards the heauen, he ſaid, O Lord forgeue them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do. Thy name, O almighty God, is holy.

The tender compaſſion of a godly woman.

In the meane time, a certaine woman, the wife of one Iunger, ſiſter of Peter Hannus, offered hir ſelfe to ſuffer a thouſand ſtripes, and to geue them much money, ſo that they would pacifie the matter, and keepe him in priſon, vntill that he might pleade his matter before the whole cōuocation of the countrey. When they heard theſe wordes, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman downe vnder feete, and trode vpō her, and beate the ſaid Henry vnmercifully. One of the ruſticall ſort, ſtrake him behinde on the head with a ſharpe daggar. Iohn Holmes of the new Church ſtrake him with a Mace. Otherſome thruſt hym in the backe, and in the armes. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to ſpeake. Maiſter Gunter cried out, encouraging them, ſayeng: Go to boldly good felowes, truely God is with vs preſent.

The tiranny & fury of the people againſt this bleſſed Martyr.

After this he brought a Franciſcane Frier vnto Henry, ẏ he ſhould be confeſſed. Whom Henry demaunded in this maner: Brother, when haue I done you iniurie, either by word or deed, or when did I euer prouoke you to anger? Neuer, ſaide the frier. What ſhould I then confeſſe vnto you, ſaid he, that you thinke you might forgeue me? The Frier being moued at theſe words, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burne. Notwithſtanding they ſatiſfied their minds vpon him, ſtriking & pricking him with all kind of weapons. The ſaide Henry ſtanding in the meane time in his ſhyrt before all this rude people, at the laſt they hauing gotten a great ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and caſt him into the fire. And whē he began to pray, & to repeate his Creede, one ſtrake him vpō the face with his fiſt, ſaieng, thou ſhalt firſt be burnt, and afterward pray & prate as much as thou wilt. Then another treading vpon his breſt, bounde his necke hard to a ſtep of the ladder, that the bloud guſhed out of his mouth and noſe. This was done to ſtrangle him withall, for they ſaw, that for all his ſore woundes, he would not die.

Where the offēce is not done to man, cōfeſſiō to man there needeth not.

The fire would not kindle.

The martyrdom of Hen. Sutphē.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was ſet vpright. Then one running vnto him, ſet his halbard for the ladder to leane againſt (for thoſe countreymen vſe no commō hangman, but euery mā exerciſeth the office without difference) but the ladder ſlipping awaye from the point of the halbard, cauſed that the halbard ſtrake him through the body. Then they caſt this good man with ladder and all vpon the wood, which tumbling downe, light vpon the one ſide. Then Iohn Holmeus ranne vnto him, & ſtrake him with a mace vpon the breſt, till he was dead, and ſtirred no more. Afterward they roſted him vpon the coles, for the wood as aftē as it was ſet on fire, would not burne out. And thus this godly preacher finiſhed his martyrdome, which was, ann. 1524. Ex Epiſt. Mart. Luth.

Ex Epiſt. Mart. Lut.

About the ſame time, many other godly perſons, & ſuch as feared God, for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell, were throwne into the riuer of Rhene, and into other riuers, where their bodies afterward were found, and taken vp. Alſo in the ſaide Towne of Diethmar, another faithfull Saint of God, named Iohn, ſuffered the like martirdome. Thus theſe two bleſſed and conſtant Martyrs, as two ſhining lights ſet vp of God, in teſtimonie of his truth, offered vp the ſacrifice of their confeſſion, ſealed with their bloud, in a ſweete odor vnto God.

Diuers Martyrs ſecretly drowned in riuers. Iohn of Diethmar, Martir.

At the Towne of Hala, likewiſe another preacher, named M. George, for miniſtring in both kindes, was martired and ſlaine of a like ſort of cutthrotes, ſet vp by monks and friers to murther him, neere to the towne called Haſcheinburge. Ex Criſp. & Pantal.

M. George of Hala preacher, in Saxony, Martyr.

At Prage alſo in Bohemia, another for changing hys Monkerie into Matrimonie, did ſuffer in like maner. Ex Lud. Rab.

Furthermore, in the ſame yeare of our Lord aboue mentioned 1524. and 22. of Octob. the Towne of Miltenberge in Germany was taken and ranſackt, and diuers of the inhabitants there ſlaine, and many impriſoned for maintaining and keeping with them Caroloſtadius, to be theyr preacher. Ex Raba. & Pantal.

The towne of Miltenberge.

In the ſame catalogue of holy Martirs, likewiſe is to be placed Gaſpar Tamber. Alſo another called Georgius, a Scriuener, which both wer burned at Vienna in Auſtria.

Gaſper Tābar, George a Scriuener of Vienna, Martirs.

¶ The lamentable martyrdome of Iohn Clerke of Melden in Fraunce.

Melden is a citie in Fraunce x. miles diſtant from Paris, where Iohn Clerke firſt was apprehēded & takē, ann. 1523. for ſetting vp vpon the Church dore, a certayne Bill againſt the Popes pardons lately ſent thyther from Rome, in which Bill he named the Pope to be Antichriſt. For the which his puniſhment was this, that three ſeueral days he ſhould be whipped, & afterward haue a marke imprinted in his forehed, as a note of infamy. His mother being a chriſtiā womā, although her huſband was an aduerſary, when ſhe beheld her ſonne thus pitiouſly ſcourged, and ignominiouſly deformed in the face, cōſtantly & boldly did encourage her ſonne, crieng with a loude voice. Bleſſed be Chriſt, and welcome be his printes and markes.

Ioh. Clerke of Melden Martir.

Ioh. Clerke ſcourged, for calling the Pope Antichriſt.

Ioh. Clerke marked in the forehead.

After this execution and puniſhment ſuſteined, the ſayd Iohn departed that towne, and went to Roiſie in Bry, & from thence remoued to Metz in Lotharing, where he remained a certaine ſpace, applyeng his vocation, beyng a wollecarder by his occupation. Wheras he, the day before that the people of that city ſhould go out to the ſuburbs to worſhip certaine blind idols neere by (after an old vſe and cuſtome amongſt them receiued) being inflamed with the zeale of God, went out of the Citie to the place where the Images were, and braſt them all downe in peeces. The next morow after, when ẏ Canons, Prieſtes, & Monkes, keping their old cuſtome, had brought with them the people out of the Citie, to the place of Idolatry, to worſhip as they were wont, they found all their blocks and ſtocks almighty, lye broken vpon the ground. At the ſight whereof they being mightely offended in theyr mindes, ſet all the Citie on a gog to ſearch out the author thereof. Who was not hard to be found: for ſo much as this foreſayde Clerke, beſides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was alſo ſeene ſomewhat late in the euening before, to come from the ſame place into the Citie. Wherfore he being ſuſpected, and examined vpō the ſame, at firſt confeſſed the fact, rendring alſo the cauſe, which moued him ſo to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kinde of doctrine, were moued marueilouſly againſt him, crieng out vpon him in a great rage. Thus his cauſe being informed to the Iudges, wherin he defended the pure doctrine of the ſonne of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of executiō, where he ſuſteined extreme tormēts: For firſt his hand was cut off from his right arme: then his noſe with ſharp pinſons was violently pluckt from his face: after that both his armes, and his pappes were lykewiſe pluckt and drawne with the ſame inſtrument. To all them that ſtoode looking vpon, it was an horrour to behold the greeuous and dolefull ſight of his paines: againe to behold his pacience, or rather the grace of God geuing him the gift ſo to ſuffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and conſtantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner ſinging the verſes of the 115. Pſal. Simulacra eorum ſunt argentum & aurum, &c. Their Images be ſyluer and golde, the woorke only of mans hand, &c. The reſidue of his life that remayned in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith conſumed: which was about the yeare of our Lord 1524. Ex Plant. & Criſp.

Ioh. Clerke taken for caſting downe Images.

The greeuous tormentes of Ioh. Clerke.

The Conſtancye of this bleſſed Martyr.

Iohn Caſtellane.

The yeare next enſuing, which was 1525. mayſter Iohn Caſtellane borne at Tourney, a Doctour of Diuinitie,

Iohn Caſtellane Doctour & Martyr.

nitie, after that he was called vnto yͤ knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in Fraunce, in a place called Barleduc, alſo at Vittery in Partoiſe, at Chalon in Champaine, and in the towne of Vike, which is the Chamber and Epiſcopall Seate of the Biſhop of Metz in Loraine, after he had laide ſome foundation of the doctrine of the Goſpell in the towne of Metz, in returning from thence he was taken priſoner by the Cardinall of Loraines ſeruants, by whome he was caryed from Gorze to the Caſtell of Nommeny: wherupon the citizens of Metz tooke no little diſpleaſure and greeuance, who being greeuouſly offended to haue their preacher ſo to be apprehended and impriſoned, within ſhort ſpace after tooke certaine of the Cardinalles ſubiectes, and kept them priſoners ſo long, vntill the Abbot of S. Antonies in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar generall, as wel in cauſes ſpirituall, as tēporall, through the iuriſdiction both of the Cardinall, and Biſhopricke of Metz, Tolouſe and Verdune, being furniſhed with a letter & commiſſion from the See of Rome, came to the ſaide towne of Metz, and after diuers declarations made to the Prouoſt, and the other Iuſtices and Counſellers of the Citie, he ſo wrought and brought to paſſe, that immediately the ſayde ſubiectes of the Cardinall were ſet at libertie. But Iohn Caſtellane was kept ſtill priſoner in the Caſtell of Nommeny, and was moſt cruelly handled, from the time of the fourth day of May, vntill the twelfth day of Ianuary: during all which time he perſeuered conſtant in yͤ doctrine of the ſonne of God. wherupon he was carried from Nommeny, to the towne and Caſtell of Vike, alwaies perſeuering conſtantly in the profeſſion of the ſame doctrine, ſo that they did proceed vnto the ſentence of his degradation, that he might be deliuered ouer vnto the ſecular power, according to the cuſtome and manner. And for ſo much as the fourme and manner of the ſentence and proceſſe of diſgrading is notable, and hath bene reported vnto vs word for word, we haue thought good heere to annexe the ſame, to declare the horrible blaſphemies ioined with groſſe and brutiſh ſubtiltie, in thoſe high miſteries which the enemies of the truth do vſe in their proceſſe againſt the children of God, whereby euery man, euen the moſt ignoraunt, may euidently perceaue the horrible blindnes, that theſe vnſhamefaſt Catholiques are blinded withall.

Doctor Caſtellane carried to the Caſtell of Nommenye.

The zelous affection of the Citezēs of Metz toward their preacher.

Whoſoeuer eſcape, the Chriſtians are ſure to ſuffer.

Doctor Caſtellane conſtant in his doctrine.

The ſentence of the degradation.

The ſentēce of his degradation. Ex actis epiſcopalibus.

Concerning the proceſſe inquiſitorie, fourmed and geuen in fourme of accuſation againſt thee Iohn Caſtellane, prieſt and religious man of the fryer Eremites of the order of S. Auſtine: vnderſtanding likewiſe thy confeſsion which thou haſt made of thine owne good will, mainteining falſe and erroneous doctrine: and marking alſo beſides this, the godly admonitions, and charitable exhortations which we made vnto thee in the towne of Metz, which thou like vnto the ſerpent Aſpis, haſt refuſed, and geuen no eare vnto: alſo conſidering thine anſweares made and reiterate vnto our interrogatories, by meanes of thine othe, in the which diueliſhly thou haſt hydden and kept backe, not onely the truth, but alſo following the example of Caine, haſt denyed to confeſſe thy ſinnes and miſcheuous offence: and finally hearyng the great number of witneſſes, ſworne and examined agaynſte thee, theyr perſons and depoſitions diligently conſidered, and all other things woorthy of conſideration, beeing iuſtly examined; the reuerende mayſter Nicholas Sauin, doctour of diuinitie, and inquiſitour of the fayth, aſsiſtaunt vnto vs, hath entred proceſſe agaynſt thee, and geuen full information thereof: this our purpoſe and intent being alſo communicate vnto diuers Mayſters and Doctours both of the Ciuile and Canon lawes heere preſent, which haue ſubſcribed and ſigned heereunto, whereby it appeareth that thou Iohn Caſtellane haſt oftentimes and in diuers places openly and manifeſtly ſpread abroade and taught manye erroneous propoſitions, full of the hereſie of Luther, contrary and againſt the Catholique faith, and the veritie of the Goſpell, and the holy Apoſtolique ſee, and ſo accurſedly looked backe, & turned thy face, that thou art founde to be a lyer before Almighty God. It is ordeyned by the ſacred rules of the Canon lawe, that ſuch as through the ſharpe dartes of their venemous tongue, doo peruert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the ſoules of the faithfull, ſhould be puniſhed and corrected with moſt ſharpe correction, to the ende that others ſhould be afrayde to attempt the like, and apply themſelues the better to the ſtudy of Chriſtian concorde, through the examples ſet before their eyes, as well of ſeuerity. as of clemency. For theſe cauſes and others riſing vpon the ſaide proceſſe, by the Apoſtolique authoritie, and alſo the authoritie of our ſayde reuerende Lorde the Cardinall, whych we doo vſe in this our ſentence definitiue, whiche wee ſitting in our iudgement ſeate, declare in theſe writinges, hauing God onely before our eyes, and ſurely conſidering, that what meaſure we do meat vnto other, the ſame ſhalbe meaſured to vs againe: we pronoūce and declare ſentētially and diffinitiuely, thee Iohn Caſtellane, beyng here preſent before vs, and iudge thee becauſe of thy deſertes, to be excōmunicate with the moſt great excōmunication, and therewithall to be culpable of treaſon againſt the diuine maieſty, and a mortall enemy of the Catholicke fayth, and veritie of the Goſpell: alſo to be a manifeſt hereticke, & a folower & partaker of the execrable *crueltie of Martin Luther, a ſtirrer vp of old hereſies already cōdemned, and therfore, as thou oughteſt to be depoſed and depriued of all Prieſtly honor and dignitie, of all thy orders, of thy ſhauing, & religious habite: alſo of thy Eccleſiaſticall benefices, if thou haſt any, and from all priuilege of the Clergy: ſo we here preſently do depoſe, depriue, and ſeperate thee as a rotten member, from the communion and companie of all the faythfull, and beyng ſo depriued, we iudge that thou oughteſt to be actually diſgraded: that done, we leaue thee vnto the ſecular powers, committyng the degradation and actuall execution of this our ſentence, vnto the reuerend Lord and Byſhop here preſent, with the authoritie and commaundement aforeſayd.

True you ſay: for your meaſure is death definitiue and therfore looke you for the ſame meaſure agayne at Gods hand.

* If Luther be to be noted of cruelty which teacheth all mē and killeth no man: what then is to be noted in the Pope which killeth all Gods children and teacheth none?

This ſentēce beyng thus ended, with their Catholicke Sermon alſo, the ſayd Byſhop of Nicopolis ſittyng in his pontificalibus, in the iudgement ſeate, beyng Suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles and people about him, proceeded to the diſgradyng (as they call it) of the ſayd maiſter Iohn Caſtellane. Thus the ſayd maiſter Iohn Caſtellane being made ready to his degradation by the officers of the ſayd Byſhop, was apparelled in his Prieſtly attyre, and afterward brought forth of the Chappell by the Prieſtes, which were therunto appointed, with al his prieſtly ornamentes vpon him, and holdyng his handes together, he kneeled downe before the Biſhop. Then the officers gaue him the chalice in his handes with wyne & water, the patine, & the hoſt: all which thinges the ſayd byſh. which diſgraded him, tooke frō him, ſaying, we take away frō thee, or cōmaund to be takē frō thee, all power to offer ſacrifice vnto God, & to ſay Maſſe aswell for yͤ quicke, as the dead.

Doc. Caſtellane diſgraded.

Moreouer, yͤ Byſh. ſcraped yͤ nayles of both his handes with a peece of glaſſe, ſaying: By this ſcrappyng we take away frō thee all power to ſacrifice, to cōſecrate, & to bleſſe, which thou haſt receiued by the annoyntyng of thy hāds. Then he tooke from him the Cheſille, ſaying: by good right we do diſpoyle thee of this prieſtly ornamēt, which ſignifieth charitie: for certainly yͧ haſt forſakē the ſame, & all innocencie. Then taking away the ſtole, he ſayd: Thou haſt vilanouſly reiected & deſpiſed the ſigne of our Lord, which is repreſented by this ſtole: wherefore we take it away frō thee, and make thee vnable to exerciſe and vſe the office of Prieſthood, & all other things apperteinyng to Prieſthood. The degradation of yͤ order of Prieſthood beyng thus ended, they proceeded to the order of Deacon. Thē the miniſters gaue him the booke of the Goſpels, which the Byſh. tooke away, ſaying: we take away from thee all power to read yͤ Goſpels in the Church of God, for it apperteineth onely to ſuch as are worthy. After this he ſpoyled him of the Dalmatike, which is the veſture that the Deacōs vſe, ſaying: we depriue thee of this Leuiticall order: for ſomuch as thou haſt not fulfilled thy miniſterie & office. After this the byſh. tooke away the ſtole frō behind his backe, ſaying: we iuſtly take away from thee the white ſtole which thou haddeſt receiued vndefiledly, which alſo thou oughteſt to haue borne in the preſence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicate vnto the name of Chriſt, may take by thee example, we prohibite thee any more to exerciſe or vſe the office of Deaconſhyp. Then they proceeded to the diſgradyng of Subdeaconſhyp, & taking away from him the booke of the Epiſtles, & his Subdeacons veſture, depoſed him from reading of the Epiſtles in the Church of God: & ſo orderly proceedyng vnto all the other orders, diſgraded him from the order of Benet and Collet, from the order of Exorciſt, from the Lectorſhyp, and laſt of all, frō the office of Doorekeeper, taking frō him the keyes, & cōmaundyng him hereafter not to opē or ſhut the Reueſtry, nor to ring any more belles in the Church. That done, the byſh. went forward to diſgrade him from his firſt ſhauing, & takyng away his Surplice, ſayd vnto him, by yͤ authoritie of God almighty, the father, the ſonne, & the holy ghoſt, & by our authoritie, we take from thee all Clerkely habite, and diſpoyle thee of all ornament of religion: Alſo we depoſe and diſgrade thee of all order, benefite, & priuilege of the Clergy, & as one vnworthy of that profeſſion, we commit thee to the ſeruitude & ignominie of the ſecular eſtate. Thē the Byſhop tooke the ſheeres, and began to clyp his head, ſaying in this maner, we caſt thee out as an vnthākfull child of the Lordes heritage, whereunto thou waſt called, and take away from thy head, the crowne, which is the royall ſigne of Prieſthood, through thine owne wickedneſſe and malice,

Prieſts annoynted fingers.

The Cheſile.

The Stole.

The Goſpell booke.

The Dalmatike.

The Stole behinde his backe.

The Epiſtle booke.

Bennet and Collet.

Exorciſt.

Lectorſhip.

Dorekeper.

The Church dore keyes.

Ringing of Belles.

The Surplice.

The Popes Clergy accompteth the ſecular ſtate ignominious & ſeruile.

The royall ſigne of prieſthoode.

malice. The Biſhop alſo added theſe wordes, that whiche thou haſt ſong with thy mouth, thou haſt not beleeued with thy hart, nor accompliſhed in worke, wherefore we take from thee the office of ſinging in the Churche of God.

Singing in the Church.

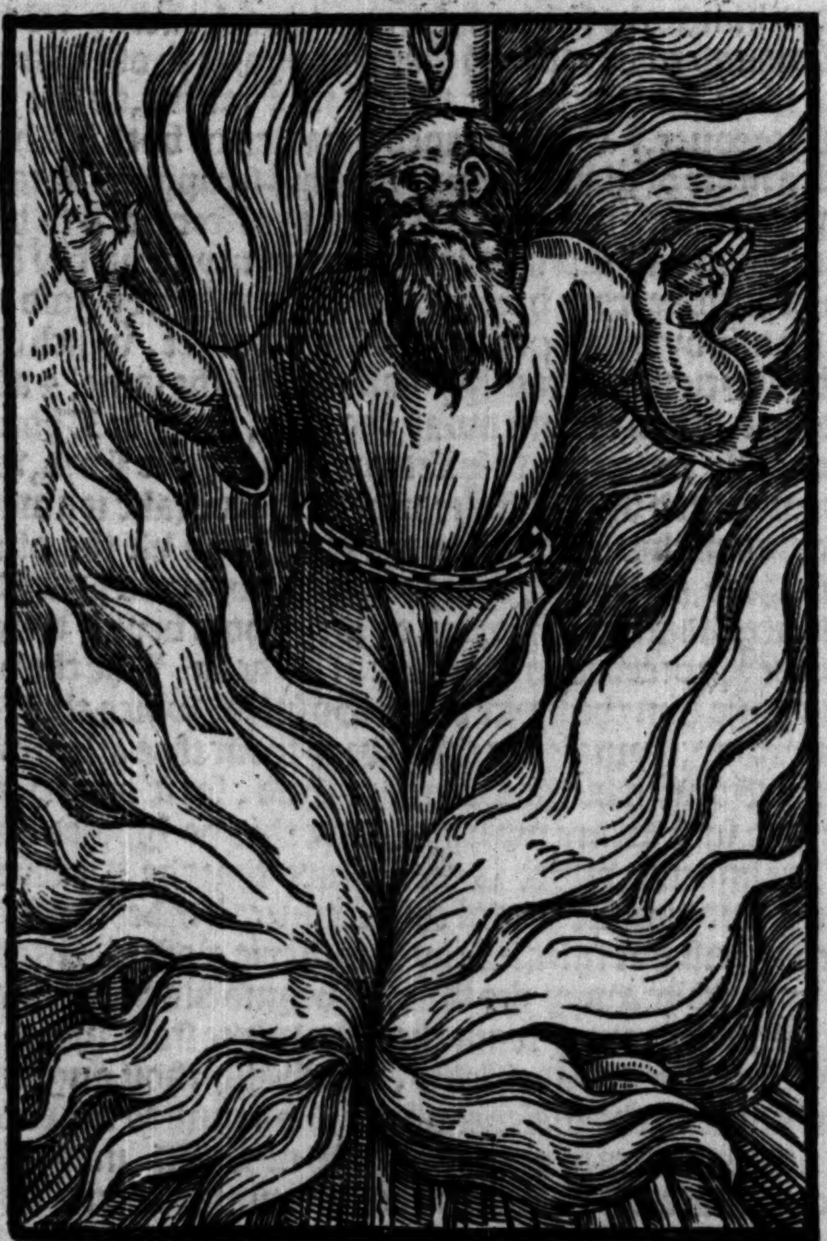
The diſgrading thus ended, the procurator fiſcall of the Court and citie of Metz, required of the Notary an inſtrument or copie of the diſgrading. Then the miniſters of the Biſhop turned him out of his clerkely habite, and put vpon him the apparell of a ſeculer man. That done, for ſo much as he which is diſgraded, according to the inſtitution of Pope Innocent the third, ought to be deliuered vnto the ſeculer court, the Biſhop that diſgraded him, proceeded no further, but ſaid in this manner, we pronounce that the ſeculer court ſhall receiue thee into their charge, being thus diſgraded of all clerkly honour and priuilege.

Pope Innocent author of diſgrading.

This done, the Biſhop, after a certaine maner, intreated the ſeculer Iudge for him, ſayeng: My Lord Iudge, we pray you as hartily as we can, for the loue of God, and the contemplatiō of tender pitie & mercie, and for ye reſpect of our praiers, that you will not in any point do any thing that ſhal be hurtful vnto this miſerable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body. Theſe thinges thus done, the ſeculer Iudge of the towne of Vike, confirming the foreſaid ſentence, cōdemned the ſaid maiſter Iohn Caſtellane, to be burned quicke: which death he ſuffred the xij. day of Ianuary 1525. with ſuch a conſtancie, that not onely a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawne to the knowledge of the veritie, but alſo a great number which had already ſome taſte thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his conſtant and valiant death.

Note here theſe perſecutors, how they will ſeeme outwardly to be lambes, but inwardly are rauening Wolues.

❧ The burning of Iohn Caſtellane.



The Conſtant death and Martyrdome of Doc. Caſtellane.

It would fill another volume to comprehend the actes & ſtories of all them, which in other countreys at the riſing of the Goſpell, ſuffered for the ſame. But praiſed be ye Lord, euery Region almoſt hath his owne hiſtory writer, which ſufficiently hath diſcharged that part of duty, as euery one in matters of his owne countrey is beſt acquainted: wherfore I ſhall the leſſe neede to ouerſtraine my trauaile, or to ouercharge this volume therwith. Only it ſhall ſuffice me to collect iij. or iiij hiſtories, recorded by Oecolampadius and the reſt to bring into a briefe table, & ſo returning, to occupy my ſelf wt our own domeſtical matters, here done at home.

¶ The hiſtory of a good paſtour, murthered for the preaching of the Goſpell: written by I. Oecolampadius.

A good Prieſt for euill will

In the yeare of our Lord 1525. there was a certaine good and godly miniſter, who had cōmitted ſomething in the Commotion there raiſed by the ruſticall clownes of the countrey, which they ſaid that knew him, was but of ſmall importance. He, becauſe he had offended his prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with ſome word ſomething ſharply ſpoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

After ſentence was geuen, there was a Gentleman of a cruell hart, ſent with a certaine troupe of men, to apprehend the ſaid prieſt, and to hang him. who comming into his houſe, ſaluted him frendly, pretending as though their comming had bene to make good cheare: for he was a good houſekeeper, and the Gentlemen of the Countrey thereaboutes vſed oftentimes to reſort vnto his houſe familiarly. This prieſt made ready for them in ſhort ſpace, a very ſumptuous banket, whereof they did eate and drinke very cheerefully. After dinner was ended, and that the Prieſt was yet at the table thinking no hurt, the Gentleman ſaid to his ſeruants, take ye this prieſt our hoſt, and hang him, and that without delay, for he hath wel deſerued to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed agaynſte hys Prince, the ſeruaunts were marueylouſly aſtonied wyth his words, and abhorring to do the deede, ſayd vnto theyr maiſter, God forbid that we ſhould cōmit any ſuch crime, to hang a man that hath intreated vs ſo gently: for ye meate which he hath geuen vs, is yet in our ſtomackes vndigeſted. It were a wicked acte for a noble man to render ſo great an euill, for a good turne: but eſpecially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the ſeruaunts ſought no other occaſion, but only to geue him way to flee, that they might alſo auoide the execution of that wicked purpoſe.

Vngentlenes in a gentleman.

As the Gentleman and his ſeruants were thus contending, the prieſt ſaid vnto them, I beſeech you ſhewe no ſuch crueltie vpon me, rather leade me away captiue vnto my prince, where I may purge my ſelfe. I am falſely accuſed, and I truſt to pacifie his anger which he hath conceiued againſt me. At leaſt remember the hoſpitalitie which I haue euer ſhewed to you, and all Noble mē at al times, reſorting to my houſe. But principally ſpeaking to the Gentleman, he aduertiſed him of ye perpetuall ſting which would follow vpon an euill conſcience: proteſting that he had faithfully and truely taught them the doctrine of the Goſpell, and that it was the principall cauſe why he had ſuch euill will: whiche long time before he had foreſeene would come to paſſe, for ſo much as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reproued ſharply and openly the horrible vices of the Gentlemen, which mainteined their people in their vicious liuing, and they themſelues were geuen vnto blaſphemie and drunkennes, whereas they ſhould ſhewe example of faith, true religion, and ſobernes, but they had oftentimes reſiſted him, ſayeng that it was not his part to reproue them, for ſo much as they were his Lordes, and might put him to death if they woulde: that all things which they did was allowable, and that no man ought to gaynesay it: alſo that he went about ſome things in hys Sermons, that would come to an ill ende.

Many thinges may be pretēded but religion is euer the cauſe why good men goe to wracke.

This good man, whatſoeuer he coulde ſaye, coulde not make his matter ſeeme good, for the Gentleman continued in his wicked enterpriſe, and pricked forth his ſeruants ſtill to accompliſh their purpoſe, for it was reſolued by the Prince, that he ſhoulde be put to death, and turning hymſelfe vnto the Prieſt, he ſaid, that he could gaine nothing by preaching in ſuch ſorte, but that he ſhoulde fully determine himſelfe to die, for the prince had geuen expreſſe commaundement to hang him, whoſe fauour he woulde not looſe, for to ſaue his life.

Kindnes vnkindly rewarded with vnkindnes.

At the laſt the ſeruants, after great ſorrow and lamentation, bound their hoſte, & hanged him vpon a beame in his owne houſe, the Gentleman ſtanding by, & looking vpon.

This good man ſeeing no remedy, ſpake none other wordes, but onely, Ieſus haue mercy vpon me. Ieſus ſaue me. This is the truth of this moſt cruell acte, which a Turke would ſcarſely haue committed againſt his mortall enemie. Now let euery man iudge with himſelfe, which of them haue the greateſt aduantage, either they which commit the crueltie againſt the good, or the good men which do ſuffer the ſame vniuſtly. The firſt ſorte haue a continuall gnawing in their conſcience, and the other obtaine an immortall crowne.

¶ The like hiſtorie of the death of a certaine Miniſter, named M. Peter Spengler, which was drowned in the yeare of out Lord 1525. collected by Oecolampadius.

In a certaine village named Schlat, in the countrey of Briſgois, there was a vigilant miniſter, a man very wel learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he liued a godly & a blameleſſe life, hauing lōg time faithfully done his office and dutie, being alſo courteous and gentle, and wel beloued of mē, but ſpecially of the Byſh. of Conſtāce, with whom he was in great authority, peaceable and quiete with all men that he had to doo withall. He quieted diſcordes and contentions with a marueilous prudencie, exhorting

A deſcriptiō of a good miniſter or curate.

horting all men to mutuall charity & loue. In al aſſembles whereſoeuer he came, he greatly commended honeſt lyfe & amendment of maners. when the purity of the goſpell began to ſhine abroad, he began to read with great affection the holy Scriptures, which long tyme before he had read, but without any vnderſtanding. when he had recouered a litle iudgement, and came to more vnderſtanding by cõtinuall reading, being alſo further grown in age, he begã to conſider with himſelfe, in how great darckenes and errors the whole order of prieſts had bene a long time drowned. O good God (ſayd he) who would haue thought it, that ſo many learned and holy men haue wandred out of the right way, and could haue ſo lõg time bene wrapped in ſo greate errors, or that the holy Scripture coulde haue bene ſo deformed with ſuch horrible abuſes, for he neuer wel vnderſtood before (he ſayde) that the Goſpell was the verity of God, in that order wherein it is written, ſeeing it conteyned ſo much touching the Croſſe, perſecution, and ignominious death, and yet the Prieſtes liued in great proſperity, and no man durſte mayntayne any quarrell agaynſt them, without great daunger? He alſo ſaw that the howre was come that the Goſpell ſhould be diſplayd, that perſecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth beganne now to rage, that the wicked and proud lyfted vppe theyr heades on high, and feared not to enterpriſe and take in hand all kynde of miſchiefe and wickedneſſe agaynſt the faythfull, that the Byſhops which ought by theyr vertue and power to defend the word, were more barbarous and cruell then any tyrauntes had bene before. He thus conſidering the preſent eſtate of the world, put all doubte from his hart, and ſawe preſently before hys eyes, that Ieſus Chriſt had taught the trueth, ſeeing ſo many bodyes of the faythful were dayly ſo tormented, beaten, exiled, and baniſhed, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great tormentes which the innocent haue endured theſe yeares paſſed, euen by thoſe which cal themſelues Chriſtians, and for no other cauſe, but onely for the true confeſſion of Ieſus Chriſt? This good Paſtour conſidering with him ſelfe the lawes and doctrine of the church of Rome to ſwarue from the truth of Chriſt, eſpecially in reſtraining mariage: to the end that he would not defile himſelfe wyth fornication, he maryed a mayd of his, ſuch a one as feared God, by whom afterward he had many fayre children.

The croſſe diſcerneth betweene true Chriſtians, and counterfeit.

He that ſeeketh to lyue godly in Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. Tim.4.

A commotion of the Boures.

About this time the people of the countrey had rayſed a great commotion, who in theyr rage went vnto monaſteries and prieſtes houſes, as if they had taken in hand ſome pilgrimage, and ſpared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they eyther caſt vnder feet, or caryed it away with them. One company of this ruſtical ſort, lodged themſelues in the houſe of this good Prieſt, for they made no difference betwene the good & the bad. Theſe royſters tooke from him all that they could finde, leauyng nothing behinde them, in ſo much as they tooke away the very hoſe from his legges, for all that he could doe: albeit that he gently entreated them, ſhewing that it was theft, & a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued ſtyll in theyr madnes like beaſtes.

As they were departing out of the houſe, the good prieſt could not refrain himſelfe from weeping, ſaying vnto thẽ, I tell you before, theſe your vnordinate dooynges will redound to ſome great miſchiefe to your ſelfe. For what madnes is this, what meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keepe no order or equity, neither haue any reſpect betwene frend and foe? who thus ſtyrreth you vp? what cõſell do you folow, or to what end do you this? Like theues you ſpoyle what ſo euer you can lay handes vpon. And thinke you not but theſe thinges which you now rob, rauen, and ſteale, you ſhalbe compelled hereafter to reſtore agayn, to your great detrimẽt? what ſedition did euer come to good end? You pretend the Goſpell, and haue no peace of the Goſpell either in your mouthes, or in your hartes. Theſe exceſſes (ſayd he) ye neuer learned of me, which euer haue taught you the true word of God. This your Goſpel (ſayth he) is rather the Goſpell of the deuill, then of God, which vexeth al the world with violence and wrong, ſpoyling and robbing without regard. The true Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, teacheth you to do good vnto all men, to auoyde diſſentiõs and periury. This I ſay vnto you, that in theſe your doinges you offend God, and prouoke his iuſt vengeance to plague you, which will neuer ſuffer theſe euilles to eſcape vnpuniſhed. You finde written in the Goſpell: That which thou wouldeſt not ſhoulde be done to thee, do not to other. You offend alſo all the nobilitye, and your lawfull magiſtrates, whom you are ſworne and bound vnto. It is no ſmall matter I tel you, to rayſe vp ſedition, to ſtyrre vp other, and to diſturbe the ſtate of the common wealth: and when this tumult ſhall be ceaſed, what then ſhall your noble men do? ſhal they not rifle you as faſt, & of your goodes make themſelues rich? and then ſhall one of you betray an other. Theſe with ſuch other words he ſtood preaching vnto them, almoſt naked, but al this would not preuayle with thoſe men, who after all theſe gentle admonitions and fayre wordes, departed out of his houſe geuing him foule language, and calling him olde Dotarde. Amongeſt all other, one more wicked then the reſidue, ſayde vnto hym in this maner: O mayſter Curate, we haue bene long deceyued by your ſelling of maſſes, by fearing vs with Purgatory, by your Diriges and Trentals, and ſo haue we bene ſpoyled: wherfore we do nothing now, but requyre agayn the mony which you robbed vs of, and ſo mocking & ſcorning him they departed.

Crueltie & ſedition neuer commeth to good ende.

The Goſpel teacheth no rebellion.

After that this ſedition of the Peſantes was partly appeaſed (theyr armour being layd away) and they taken vnto grace: after that alſo diuers of the principals of that conſpiracy were taken here and there in the villagyes, and executed: this good paſtor fearing no ſuch thing, for the true and ſincere preaching of the Goſpell, whereat many tooke great indignation, was taken in the night by certayn ſouldiers, which bound him hand and foote, with a great rope before his wife and children, and ſo ſet him vpon a horſe, and ledde him away to Friburge. what grieuous ſighes, teares, ſorrowe, and lamentation was there? It would haue mooued any hart (were it as hard as a Flynt) to a dolefull compaſſion, eſpecially to ſee the barbarous and deſpightfull rebukes, tauntes, and extreme cruelty ſhewed by theſe proude Popiſhe Souldiours agaynſt the innocent Prieſt. Such beaſtly Tyrauntes the world is neuer without. Such Godly miniſters we haue had but a few.

Religion the cauſe onely why good men be troubled of the wicked.

The people hearing this pitifull noyſe and lamentatiõ in the night, came running out, not the men, but onely the women, whom the ſouldiers willed to go home again, and that theyr men ſhould come forth and keepe the towne, but theyr men durſt not appear. Then from Friburge, ſhortly after they conueyed him to Enſiſheim.

After they had long kept this man in priſon, and that he had endured moſt terrible tormẽts, as well by the priuy members, as in other partes, they iudged him to death. If you will know ỷ cauſe what they had to lay to his charge, it was onely this, ỷ he had maryed a wife ſecretely in hys owne houſe, with a few witneſſes. Other crimes they had none to obiect agaynſt him, neither that he was a ſeditious and wicked man, or that he had cõmitted any other offence albeit they had gathered diuers wicked perſons out of ſundry places, to picke out of hys Sermons, the order and maner of his behauiour. when he was led vnto the place of execution, he aunſwered gentlye and quietly vnto all them that came to comfort hym. But there were diuers Monkes and Prieſtes which troubled hym very ſore with theyr fooliſh babling, as he was ſtriuing in hys ſpirite agaynſt the horrour of death, and making hys prayer vnto almightye GOD, ſeeking nothing els but to turne him away from his harty and earneſt contemplation. But he deſired them that they woulde holde theyr peace, ſaying that he had already confeſſed his ſinnes vnto the Lord Ieſus, nothing at all doubting but that he had receiued abſolution and forgeueneſſe of them all. And I (ſayd he) ſhall this day be an acceptable ſacrifice vnto my Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, for I haue done no ſuche thing wherefore I am now condemned, whiche might diſpleaſe my Lorde God, who in this behalfe hath geuen me a good and quiet conſcience. Nowe therefore let them which thyrſt for innocent bloud, and ſhed the ſame, diligently aduiſe themſelues what they do, and that they offend euen hym, vnto whom it perteineth truely to iudge the hartes of men: for it is ſayd: Vengeance is myne, and I will puniſh. And for ſo much as he was a very leane man, he added thys moreouer, ſaying: It is all one, for ſhortly I muſt haue forſaken thys ſkin which already ſcarſely hangeth to my bones, I know well that I am a mortall, and a corruptible worme, and haue nothing in me but corruption. I haue long time deſired my latter day, & haue made my requeſt that I might be deliuered out of this mortall body, to be ioyned with my Sauiour Chriſt.

Crueltie without cauſe.

Rom.12.

I haue deſerued through my manifold ſinnes committed agaynſt my Sauior Chriſt, my croſſe: and my Sauiour Chriſt hath borne the croſſe, and hath died vpon the croſſe: and for my part, I will not glory in any other thing, but onely in the croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt.

There were preſent by, certayne naughtye perſons which tould not endure to heare this godly exhortatiõ, but made a ſigne vnto the hangman, to caſt him down into the riuer. After he was throwne downe, he moued by a certayne ſpace in the water, in ſuch ſort, that the riuer where-

This bleſſed Martyr drowned.

into he was caſt, was redde with bloud. This was a certayne ſigne and token, that innocent bloud was that daye ſhed. They which were there preſent, beholding that whiche had happened, were greatly amazed and aſtonyed, cōſidering with themſelues what the ſtayning of the water with the bloud ſhould ſignify. Euery man returned home pēſiue and ſad, maruelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithſtanding no man durſt open his mouth to ſpeake one word, becauſe that all thinges were exerciſed with ſuch crueltye. This was done in the towne of Enſiſheim. an. 1525.

The water miraculouſly couloured with bloud, where he was drowned.

Theſe thinges I did vnderſtand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be mercifull vnto vs, and forgeue vs our ſinnes. Ex Oecolam.

Such was the wickednes then of thoſe dayes, and yet is ſtill, that who ſo euer was perceiued to fauour the Goſpel, or any thing to diſlike the doctrine of the popes church, he was hated and deſpited of the Rulers, Lawiers, and al other Papiſtes through the whole countrey about, but eſpecially of prieſtes, monks and friers. And though the life of the Goſpellers were neuer ſo ſound & vpright, yet ſuch was the hatred and malice of the Popes frendes agaynſte them, that they neuer ceaſed to ſeek all occaſiōs, and deuiſe matters how to bring them to death.

It ſo happened a litle before this preſent time, that there was a commotion of the rude and ruſticall people of the country, riſing in armour inordinately, agaynſt theyr Rulers, to the great diſturbance of the whole country of Germany, & no leſſe to theyr owne deſtruction: of whom were ſlayn aboue 20000. At length when this rebellion was appeaſed, and all things quiet, ſuch as were the popes frēds, to worke theyr malice agaynſt the Goſpell, tooke occaſion thereby not long after, to accuſe and entangle ſuch as they knew to be Goſpellers & Proteſtantes. And although the ſayd Goſpellers were neuer ſo inculpable & cleare from al rebellion, yet that ſufficed not, for cauſes were made, falſe witneſſes brought, corrupt Iudges ſuborned to condemne the innocent, & many were put to death, theyr cauſe neither being heard nor knowne. By reaſon whereof, a great nūber of good & innocent Chriſtians were miſerably brought to theyr end and martyrdome. In the number of whome was this poore man alſo, whoſe ſtory by Oecolampadius is thus deſcribed.

¶ An other hiſtory of a certayne man of the country wrongfully put to death, collected by the ſayd Iohn Oecolampadius.

Ex Ioan. Oecolampadio.

There was (ſayth he) a certayne manne of the countrey, which in my iudgement was a good man, and louer of iuſtice, and a mortall enemye of all the cruell exactions of the Gentlemen, which oppreſſed the poore people. Thys man, after the tumult and commotion of the countrey was appeaſed, was grieuouſly vexed and tormented, becauſe he had cryed Alarme, when as a great number of horſemen raunged about the countrey to ſeeke out thoſe which had bene the authours of that ſedition. This poore man was taken by pollicy, & ſo vpholden with fayre promiſes, that they made him cōfeſſe whatſoeuer they requyred. He thinking that they would not haue put him to death, was caſt in priſon, wheras he was long time deteined, & well cheriſhed, to take away all ſuſpition from him: but after he had taried a long time in priſon, they put him to the Pinbank, laying diuers and many grieuous offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the truſſe of the corde, the ſpace of ſixe houres, hanging a great ſtone faſtened at hys feete.

The truſſe of the corde is a certaine hanging vp by the handes behinde, hauing a waightie ſtone faſtened at their feete.

The ſweat that dropped from his body for very payne and anguiſh, was almoſt bloud. In this diſtreſſe he cryed out pitifully, but all that could not once moue the tormenters hartes. When as all the power & ſtrength in his body beganne to fayle him, with great violence they let him fall downe. There this poore man lay euen as a ſtocke, not mouing any part or member of his body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was ſome life in him. Here the tormenters were in great doubt what to do with the man, whom they ſought by al meanes to deſtroy, in what place they might put him, that he ſhould not die of that torment.

Amongeſt them there was one which brought vineger and roſe water, and rubbing him therewithall, they dyd ſomewhat recouer him. After that they had cauſed hym to eate and drinke ſuch as they had prouided for him, they let him downe into a deepe dungeon, where he could ſee neyther Sunne nor Moone. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had ſomewhat recouered his ſtrength agayne. There they let him continue xviij. dayes: after which time they brought him agayne to examination, propoūding certaine articles vnto him, whiche he conſtantly denyed. They deuiſed diuers and ſundry kindes of tormentes, to the intent they might euen of force extorte ſomething of this poore man, which might ſeeme worthy of death: yet for all that they were fayne to depart without theyr purpoſe. The xx. day after, theſe tyrauntes hyred a hangman (a man ſure worthy of his office) whiche lefte no kinde of cruelty vnpractiſed. Yet did he miſſe of his purpoſe alſo, and was conſtrained to leaue his cruelty, and to pronounce euē with his own mouth, that the man was innocēt, in that he had ſo conſtantly endured ſo many horrible and grieuous tormentes. Yet theſe tyrauntes came agayne the fourth time, & ſuborned two witneſſes agaynſt him, thus cōcluding that he was worthy of death, becauſe he had cried Alarme, after the truice was taken, & woulde haue moued a new ſedition. The day was appointed whē he ſhould ſuffer, and they brought vnto him the hangman, and a Frier into the priſon.

The inno- cent man gaine to- mented.

False wit- nes,

In the meane time this poore man thought with hymſelfe that they would haue ſhewed him the like crueltye as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeō where they had let him downe, certifying him that they had thinges to tell him for his profite. This they dyd becauſe he ſhould not dye in priſon.

Then they let downe a cord and a ſtaffe, but they could not perſwade him to ſit thereupon, ſaying that he woulde rather chuſe to dye there, then he woulde endure any more ſuch cruell tormentes: Notwithſtanding, if they woulde promiſe him, not to put him any more to the truſſe of the Corde, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before iuſt Iudges: on that condition he would come out, although he had fully determined neuer to haue remooued from thence, but to haue ended his life in that dungeon. There were preſent certayne counſellors which promiſed to performe his requeſt. And thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As ſoone as he ſawe the Fryer, he cryed out with a loud voyce, ſaying: O miſerable and wretched man that I am: now am I betrayed and deceiued, for my latter houre is at hand. I ſee well the dreame whiche I haue dreamed this night will come to effect, for they doe handle me tyrannouſly & condemn me, not being heard. The frier brake him of from his purpoſe and pulling a woodē croſſe out of his ſleeue, preſented it vnto hym, declaring that he muſt be quiet, becauſe they had already geuen ſentence agaynſt him, & that he ſhould gain nothing by ſo much talk. Poore man (ſayd the Frier) thou haſt had good and gentle Iudges, at the leaſt thou ſhalt go to God, therfore confeſſe thy ſinnes in my eare, and after thou haſt receiued abſolution at my handes, doubt not but this day thou ſhalt goe ſtraight to the kingdome of heauē. The poore man anſwered: Thou wicked frier, get thee away from me, for I haue long ſince bewayled my ſinnes and offences, & that before the face of my Lord Ieſus, who hath already forgeuen me all that which I haue cōmitted againſt his maieſty, wherfore I haue no need of thy abſolution, which thou thy ſelfe doeſt not vnderſtand. This is moſt certeine, that lōg time ſince, thou ſhouldeſt haue amēded thine own wicked & hipocriticall life. I know well enough what thou art, thou plaieſt the Ape with me, but thou haſt a ſubtle and craftye hart, whiche hath deceiued much ſimple people. If thou haſt any comfort or conſolation out of the Goſpell to comfort me withall, let me haue it, if not, get thee away frō me, with thy Porteſſe. The frier was ſo confuſed and amazed with theſe woordes, that he knewe not what to doe or ſay. The hangman being wiſer then the fryer, bade him reade vnto the poore man ſomething of the Paſſion, wherein the poore mā would take great pleaſure. This fooliſh frier had no other conſolatiō to comfort him withall, but to hold the Crucifixe of wood before him, ſaying: Beholde thy ſauiour which dyed for thee, looke vpon him, & thou ſhalt be comforted. Then ſayd the poore man, I haue an other Sauiour this is none of my Sauiour, get thee away from me thou naughty perſon: with thy marmoſet of wood. My Sauior dwelleth in heauē in whom I truſt that he wil not deliuer my ſoule to eternall death. The frier croſſed himſelfe, ſhewing the ſemblance of a man that were very ſory & agreeued, thinking with himſelfe, that this poore man was fallen into deſperation. Then he was led forth into the market place, wheras according to the cuſtome, opēly before al the people, his confeſſion was read with a loud voice whiche conteined no other thing, but onely that ẏ mā had bene a ſeditious perſon, and that in the time of truce he had cryed Alarme, euen in the night, when all men were at reſt.

He had ra ther pyne i priſon, the to come in the papiſt handes.

The falſe promiſes the papiſt not to be truſted.

The Chri ſtian poore man refu ſeth the Fri ers woodē croſſe.

The Cru fixe of woo falſely cal led a Saui our.

The inno cent man condemned for ill will

When he was come to the place where he ſhoulde ſuffer, being compaſſed in with Gleues & Halbardes, hyred for the purpoſe: after he had ſaid the Lords prayer, yͤ hangman bad him kneele downe, but he refuſed ſo to do, declaring that he had yet ſome thing more to ſay before the people, thinking that he ſhould not be denyed to ſpeake in that place, as he was before the wicked Iudges. Thoſe (ſayde he) which know me, ſhalbe ſufficient good witneſſes on my behalfe, that from my youth vpward: I haue alwayes lyued in good name, fame, and honeſty, being neuer before accuſed for any offence, ſedition, or periury.

Nihil peccauit agnus, Sed Lupus eſurijt.

In an euill time haue I happened into theſe curſed daies, when as all waies both God and manne are turned topſy turuy. I was adherent to the tumult & ſedition of the men of the countrey, as many other were which dwell there about, but what then? are there not alſo many Gentlemen which folowed the peſants army, and many ſtrõg townes which went alſo with them? I was not the authour of any ſedition, which alwayes I haue mortally hated. I neuer gaue counſell vnto any man to moue any broile or tumult in any place. We aſked counſell of our Gentlemenne what we ſhould doe, when the bandes of the peſants were aſſẽbled in the fields: but they gaue vs neither counſell nor comfort. And to ſpeake of my ſelfe, I did neuer vnderſtand or know what the articles were that were publiſhed, neyther was there euer any man that told me wherefore they wer publiſhed, neither did I know wherfore the bands of the countrymen were riſen, neither wherefore euery man moued his neighbor to put on armour. Wherfore thẽ haue ye taken me as a ſeditious man, and made me to endure ſo great torments. He continued a long time in declaring his innocency, but notwithſtanding al his excuſes & defences, the hangman drue his ſword, & at the commaundement of the iudge, ſtrake of his head, as he had made an end of hys prayers. His tongue moued a long time afterward in hys head, by meanes of the force of the words which he had before ſpoken.

This bleſſed Martyr beheaded.

Thus this good man of the countrey ended his dayes. Againſt whom the falſe Iudges could find no crime or offẽce to obiect, albeit they had diligẽtly ſought by witneſſes to haue information of al his life & liuing. The Lord grãt his ſpirit to all thoſe which ſuffer for his name. Ex Ioan. Oecolampad.

✻ Wolfgangus Schuch a Germane,
in Lotharing, martyr.

The ſtory & Martyrdom of Wolfgangus Schuch.

WOlfgangus Schuchus comming to a certayne towne in Lotharing, bearing the name of S. Hippolitus, & being receiued in the ſaid towne to be theyr Paſtor, labored by all meanes how to extirp out of the harts of the people Idolatry and Superſtition. Whiche through the grace of Chriſt working with him, he in ſhort time had brought proſperouſly to paſſe, according to his deſire: In ſo muche that the obſeruation of Lent, Images, and all Idols, with the abhominatiõ alſo of the Maſſe, in the ſame towne was vtterly aboliſhed. So reformable God made the hartes of the people there, & ſuch affection had they to theyr miniſter. It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of Duke Antony, prince of Loraine (vnder whoſe dominion they were) through the ſwift report of the aduerſaries, falſly belying theſe Hippolitans to yͤ duke, as though they in relinquiſhing the doctrine and faction of the Pope, went about to reiect and ſhake of all authority & power of princes, & all ſuperior gouernors. By the meanes of which ſiniſter report, they incenſed the Prince to ſuch diſpleaſure and indignation, that he threatned to ſubuert and vtterly to deſtroy the Towne with ſwoord and fire. Wolfgangus hauing word of this, wrote vnto the Duke his Epiſtle, in moſt humble & obedient wiſe, in defence both of his miniſtery, of his doctrine which he taught, & of the whole cauſe of the Goſpell.

Falſe and pernitious tongues.

The Duke of Loraine threateneth the town of S. Hypolitus.

The letter of Wolfgãgus to the Duke.

In which Epiſtle firſt he excuſed the people to be innocent & blameleſſe, & rather thoſe ſlaunderous reporters to be both worthy to be blamed, and alſo puniſhed for theyr falſe rumors & forged ſclaunders rayſed vp agaynſt them. After that he opened and explaned the cauſe and ſtate of the Goſpell, and of our ſaluation, cõſiſting only in the free grace of God, through fayth in Chriſt his ſonne, cõparing alſo the ſame doctrine of the Goſpell, with the confuſed doctrine of the Church of Rome.

That done, thirdly he proceeded to our obedience, honor and worſhip which firſt we owe to God & to Chriſt: next vnder him, to Princes here and Poteſtates, whom God hath placed in his rome, and endued with authoritye here in earth, vnto whom they offered themſelues nowe & at all times, preſt and moſt ready to obey with all ſeruice & duety. &c.

But with this Epiſtle Wolfgangus did nothing preuayle, eyther for that it was intercepted by the way, or els for that the falſe accuſations & wicked tongues of the aduerſarye parte tooke more effect to winne credite wyth the Duke, then could the ſimple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he ſaw no other remedy, rather then the towne ſhould come in any daũger for his cauſe, yͤ good man of his owne accord came to the city of Nancey (which is the head towne of Loraine) there to render a confeſſion of his doctrine, and alſo to deliuer the towne of S. Hippolite out of perill, deriuyng all the daunger vppon hymſelfe.

The Conſtancie of Wolfgangus vnremoueable.

As ſoone as he was come thyther, incontinent handes were layd vpon him, and he laid faſt in a ſtraight and ſtinking priſon, where he was ſharpely and bitterly handled, vnder the cuſtody of the churliſh and cruell kepers. All this notwithſtanding, Wolfgangus cõtinuing in that priſõ the ſpace of a whole yeare, yet would not be moued from hys cõſtancy neither with the ſtraitnes of the priſon, nor wyth the hardneſſe of his kepers, nor yet with the compaſſion of his wife & children, which he had about ſixe or ſeuen. Then was he had to the houſe of the Gray fryers to profeſſe there his fayth: where he both wittyly and learnedly confuted all them that ſtood agaynſt him.

Wolfgangus had to the Gray Fryers.

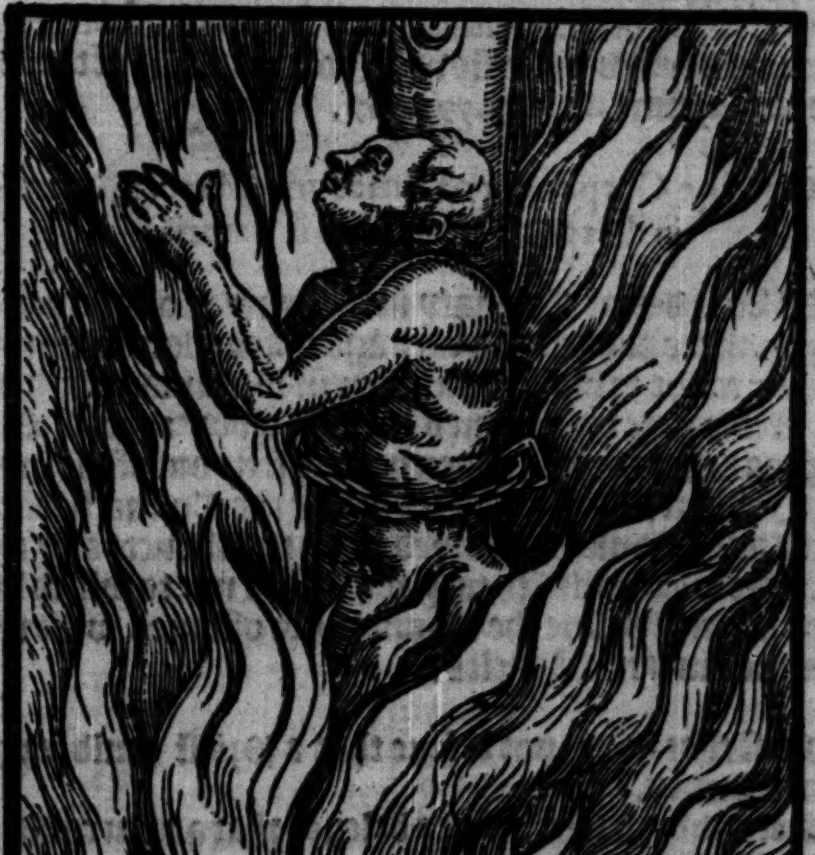
Wolfgangus cõfuteth his aduerſaries.

A right deſcription of a Frierly Silenus, or Cyclops.

There was a fryer (named Bonauenture) prouinciall of that order, of face, body, and belly monſtrous, but muche more groſſe in blinde ignoraunce, and a man vtterly rude, a contemner of all ciuility and honeſty, who beyng long confeſſour to the Duke, and of great authority in Loraine, as he was an enemy to vertue and learning, ſo was he euer perſuading the Duke to baniſh out of the Courte and Country of Loraine all learned men, neyther coulde he abide any perſon which ſeemed to know more then hys elders knewe before. The ſumme of all his Diuinitye was this, to be ſufficient to ſaluation onely to know the Pater noſter, and Aue Maria. And thus was the Duke brought vp and trayned, and in nothing els, as the Duke hymſelfe oft times in talke with hys familiars, woulde confeſſe. Thys Bonauenture beyng chiefe Iudge and Moderator where Wolfgangus diſputed, or was examined, had nothyng els in his mouth, but thou hereticke, Iudas, Belzebub. &c. Wolfgangus bearing patientlye thoſe priuate iniuryes, whiche perteyned to himſelfe, proceeded mightely in hys diſputation by the Scriptures confuting or rather cõfounding his aduerſaryes. Who being not otherwyſe able to make theyr party good, yet for very ſhame, becauſe they would not ſeeme to do nothing, tooke his Bible with hys notes in the margẽt, into theyr monaſtery and burned it. At the laſt diſputation Duke Anthony himſelf was ſaid to be there, altering his apparrell, becauſe he woulde not be knowne, who albeit he vnderſtood not the ſpeach of Wolfgangus, ſpeaking in Latine, yet perceiuing him to be bold and conſtant in his doctrine, departing from the diſputation, gaue ſentence, that he ſhould be burned, becauſe he de-

The diſputation of Wolfgangus with the Friers.

¶ The Martyrdome of Wolfgangus.



The ſentence giuen agaynſt Wolfgangus, by the Duke, not knowyng what Wolfgangus ſayd.

nyed the Church, and Sacrament of the Maſſe. wherupō it folowed ſhortly after that wolfgangus was cōdemned to be burned, who hearing the ſentence of his condēnation began to ſing the Pſal. 122. Lætatus ſum in his quæ dicta ſunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus. &c.

As he was led to the place of execution, paſſing by the houſe of the Gray Friers, Bonauenture the greate Cyclops ſitting at the doore, cryed out to him: thou heretique do thy reuerence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy Sayntes, ſhewing to him the Idols ſtanding at the Friers gate. To whom wolfgangus aunſwered agayne: thou hypocrite, thou paynted wall, the Lord ſhall deſtroy thee, and bring all thy falſe diſſimulation vnto light. when they were come to the place of his Martyrdome, firſt hys bookes before him were throwne in the fire. Then they aſked him whether he woulde haue his payne myniſhed or ſhortned: to whom he ſayd no, bidding thē to do theyr will: for (ſayd he) as God hath bene with me hitherto, ſo I truſt now he will not leaue me, when I ſhall haue moſt need of him, concluding his wordes thus: that they ſhould put the ſentence in execution, & ſo beginning to ſing the 51. Pſalme he entred into the place heaped vp with fagots and wood, continuing in his Pſalme and ſinging till the ſmoke & the flame tooke from hym both voyce and life.

Note the quiet and ioyful death of this bleſſed Martyr.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon perſecutors.

The ſinguler vertue, conſtancye, and learning of thys bleſſed man, as it refreſhed and greatly edified the harts of many good men: ſo it aſtonyed as much the mindes of hys aduerſaryes, and wrought to theyr confuſion: For ſhortlye after his death the Commēdator of S. Antony of Vienna, who ſate as ſpirituall iudge ouer him, and gaue ſentence of his condemnation, fell ſodenly down and dyed. Alſo his felow, which was Abbot of Clarilocus, and ſuffragan to to the Biſhop of Metz, ſodenly at the comming of the Duches of Denmarke into the city of Nancy, ſtrokē with ſoden feare, at the cracke of gunnes, fell downe and dyed, as they which were preſēt and ſaw it, haue made faythfull relation of the ſame. an. 1525. Ex Ludou. Rabo, & Pantal.

¶ Iohn Huglein Martyr.

Iohn Huglein, Martyr. Ex Comment. Sled. lib. 6.

OF Iohn Huglein Prieſt, mention is made in the Commentaryes of Iohn Sled. in Lib. 6. who the next yeare folowing. an. 1526. was burned at Merſpurge by the biſhop of Conſtance, for that he did not holde with the Byſhop of Romes doctrine in all poyntes.

Promiſe of maryage broken with Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxony.

Moreouer, beſides other matters in this yeare occurrent, here is alſo a Memorandum to be made to all poſterity, that in this preſent yeare. 1526. vnto Iohn Friderick ſonne and heyre to the Prince and Electour of Saxony, was promiſed the Lady Katherine the Emperours younger ſiſter in Mariage, and writinges made of the ſame. But when the alteration of religion was ſent by Gods prouidence in to Saxonye, they ſwarued from theyr couenauntes, and Hawnart, which was then the Emperours Amballadour in Germany, ſayde playnely, that there was no promiſe to be kept with heretickes: wherin they ſeemed to folow well the footſteppes of the Councell of Conſtance, as before you haue partly heard in the ſtory of Iohn Hus, & of the Emperour Sigiſmund, pag. 593. 587.

The Popes church keepeth no promiſe with heretickes.

¶ George Carpenter of Emeryng Martyr, burned in the towne of Munchen in Bauaria.

George Carpenter, Martyr.

THe viij. day of February in the yeare of our ſaluation. 1527. there happened a rare and maruellous example & ſpectacle in the town of Munchen in Barauia. which was this. A certayne man named George Carpenter of Emeryng was there burnt. when he was fette out of the pryſon called Falken Tower, and led before the Councell, diuers Friers and Monkes followed him, to inſtructe and teach him. whom he willed to tary at home, & not to folow him. when he came before the Councel, his offences were read, conteyned in foure Articles.

Articles layde againſt George Carpenter.

Firſt that he did not beleue that a Prieſt could forgeue a mans ſinnes.

Secondly that he did not beleue, that a man could call God out of heauen.

Thyrdly that he did not beleue, that God was in the bread, which the Prieſt hangeth ouer the aultar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, that he did not beleue, that the very element of the water it ſelfe in Baptiſme, doth geue grace.

George perſuaded to recant.

which foure Articles, he vtterly refuſed to recant. Thē came vnto him a certayne Scholemaiſter of S. Peters in ye towne of Munchen, ſaying: my frend George, doeſt thou not feare the death and puniſhmēt which thou muſt ſuffer? If thou were let go, wouldeſt thou returne to thy wife and children? wherunto he aunſwered: If I were ſet at liberty, whither ſhould I rather go, then to my wyfe and well beloued children? Then ſayde the Schoolemayſter, reuoke your former ſentence and opinion, and you ſhal be ſet at liberty. wherunto George anſwered: my wife and my children are ſo dearely beloued vnto me, that they can not bee bought from me, for all the riches and poſſeſſions of the Duke of Bauaria: but for the loue of my Lord God I will willingly forſake them. when he was led vnto the place of execution, the ſcholemayſter ſpake vnto him agayne, in the middeſt of the market place, ſaying: good George, beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar: do not affirme it to be onely a ſigne. wherunto he aunſwered: I beleue this Sacrament to be a ſigne of the body of Ieſus Chriſt, offered vpon the Croſſe for vs. Then ſayde the Schoolemayſter moreouer, what doeſt thou meane, that thou doeſt ſo litle eſteme Baptiſme, knowing that Chriſt ſuffered himſelfe to be Baptiſed in Iordane? wherunto he anſwered, and ſhewed what was the true vſe of Baptiſme, and what was the end why Chriſt was Baptiſed in Iordane, & howe neceſſary it was that Chriſt ſhould dye and ſuffer vpon the Croſſe, wherin onely ſtandeth our ſaluation. The ſame Chriſt (ſayde he) will I confeſſe this daye before the whole world: for he is my Sauiour, and in him do I beleue.

The loue of God prefe red before wyfe, chyldren, and libertie.

The Sacrament a ſigne of the Lords bodie.

Baptiſme.

After this came vnto him one Mayſter Conrade Scheitter, the Vicare of the cathedrall Church of our Lady in Munchen a preacher, ſaying: George, if thou wilt not beleue the Sacrament, yet put al thy truſt in God, and ſay: I truſt my cauſe to be good and true: *but if I ſhould erre, truely I woulde be ſory and repent. whereunto George Carpenter aunſwered: God ſuffer me not to erre I beſech hym. Then ſayd the Scholemayſter vnto him, doe not put the matter in that haſarde, but chuſe vnto you ſome good Chriſtian brother, Mayſter Conrade, or ſome other, vnto whom thou mayſt reuele thy hart: not to confeſſe thy ſelfe, but to take ſome godly counſell of him. wherunto he aunſwered: Nay, not ſo, for it would be to long. Then maiſter Conrade began the Lordes Prayer, Our Father which art in heauen. whereunto Carpenter aunſwered, truely thou art our Father and no other: this day I truſt to be with thee. Then Mayſter Conrade went forwarde with the prayer, ſaying: Halowed be thy name. Carpenter aunſwered: O my God, how little is thy name halowed in this world? Then ſayde Mayſter Conrade. Thy Kingdome come. Carpenter aunſwered: let thy kingdome come this day vnto mee, that I alſo may come vnto thy kingdome. Then ſayd Cōrade: Thy will be done in earth as it is heauen. Carpenter aunſwered: For this cauſe O Father, am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine. Then ſayd Mayſter Conrade: Geue vs this day our dayly bread. Carpenter aunſweared: the onely liuing breade Ieſu Chriſt ſhall be my food. Then ſayd Conrade: And forgeue vs our treſpaſſes, as we forgeue them that treſpaſſe agaynſt vs. Carpenter aunſwered: with a willing mind do I forgeue all men, both my frends and aduerſaryes. Then ſayd Mayſter Conrade: And leade vs not into temptation; but deliuer vs from all euill: wherunto Carpenter aunſwered: O my Lord, without doubt thou ſhalt deliuer me, for vppon thee onely haue I layde all my hope. Then he began to rehearſe the beliefe, ſaying: I beleue in God the Father almightye. Carpenter aunſwered: O my God, in thee alone doe I truſt: in thee onely is all my confidence, and vpon no other creature, albeit they haue gone about to force me otherwiſe. In this maner he aunſwered to euery word: which his aunſweres, if they ſhoulde be deſcribed at length, would be to long. This prayer ended, the Scholemayſter ſayd vnto him: doeſt thou beleue ſo truely and cōſtantly in thy Lord and God with thy hart, as thou doeſt chearefullye ſeeme to confeſſe him with thy mouth? Hereunto he aunſwered: It were a very hard matter for me, if that I which am here ready to ſuffer death ſhoulde not beleue that with my hart, whiche I openlye profeſſe with my mouth: For I knewe before, that I muſte ſuffer perſecutiō, if I would cleaue vnto Chriſt: who ſaith, where as thy hart is, there alſo is thy treaſure, and whatſoeuer thing a man doth fixe in his hart to loue aboue God, that he maketh his Idoll. Thē ſayd mayſter Conrade vnto him, George doeſt thou thinke it neceſſary after thy death, that any man ſhould pray for thee, or ſay Maſſe for thee? He aunſwered: ſo lōg as the ſoule is ioyned to the body, pray God for me, that he wil geue me grace and pacience, with al humility, to ſuffer the paynes of death with a true Chriſtian fayth: but when the ſoule is ſeparate from the body, then haue I no more need of your prayers. when as the hangman ſhould bind him to the ladder, he preached much vnto the people. Then he was deſired by certaine Chriſtian brethren

* Mark here theſe ſubtile Serpentes, which wh they can not remoue thy good man from hys fayth, they goe about to bryng hym in doubt thereof.

The aunſweres of George Carpenter to euerie particle of the Lordes prayer.

The hartie confeſſion of George Carpenter. Luke 12. Whatſoeuer a man loueth aboue God, that he maketh his Idoll.

George Carpenter Carpenter refuſeth to be prayed for after his death.

then, that as ſone as he was caſt into the fire, he ſhould geue ſome ſigne or token, what his faith or beliefe was. To whom he anſwered: this ſhall be my ſigne and token: that ſo long as I can opē my mouth, I wil not ceaſe to call vpon the name of Ieſus.

The conſtāt behauiour of George Carpenter at his death.

Behold (good reader) what an incredible cōſtancy was in this godly man, ſuch as lightly hath not bene ſene in any man before. His face & countenaunce neuer chāged colour, but chearefully he went vnto the fire. In the middeſt (ſayth he) of the towne, this day will I cōfeſſe my God before the whole world. When he was layd vpon the ladder, and that hangman put a bagge of gunnepouder about his necke, he ſayd, let it ſo be, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. And when as the two hangmen lifted him vp vpon the ladder, ſmiling he bad a certayne Chriſtian farewell, requiring forgeuenes of him. That done, the hangman thruſt him into the fire. He wyth a loud voyce cryed out Ieſus, Ieſus. Then the hangman turned him ouer: and he agayne for a certayne ſpace, cryed Ieſus, Ieſus, and ſo ioyfully yelded vp his ſpirite.

The death and martyrdome of George Carpenter.

¶ Leonard Keyſer.

The hiſtory of Leonard Keyſer.

HEre alſo is not to be paſſed ouer the maruellous cōſtācy of M. Leonard Keyſer of the countrey of Bauaria, who was burned for the Goſpel. This Keyſer was of the towne of Rawbe. 4. miles frō Paſſaw, of a famous houſe. This man being at his ſtudy in Wyttēberge, was ſent for by his brethren which certified him, that if euer he woulde ſee his father aliue, he ſhould come with ſpeed: which thing he did. He was ſcarſly come thither, when as by the commaundement of the Biſhop of Paſſawe, he was taken by his mother & his brethren. The Articles which he was accuſed of, for ẏ which alſo he was moſt cruelly put to death, & ſhed his bloud for the teſtimony of the truth were theſe.

That fayth onely iuſtifieth.

That workes are the fruites of fayth.

That the Maſſe is no ſacrifice or oblation.

Item, for confeſſion, ſatiſfaction, the vow of chaſtitye, Purgatory, differēce of daies, for affirming only two Sacramentes, and inuocation of Sayntes.

He alſo mayntayneth 3. kindes of confeſſion.

The firſt to be of fayth, which is alwayes neceſſary.

The ſecond of charity, which ſerueth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himſelfe agayne, as a man may ſee by that which is written in Math. 18.

The third which is not to be deſpiſed, is to aske counſel of the auncient Miniſters of the Church.

Articles againſt Leonard Keyſer.

And for ſo much as all this was contrary to the bull of Pope Leo, and the Emperours decree made at Wormes, ſentence was geuen agaynſt him, that he ſhould be diſgraded and put into the hands of the ſecular power. The perſecuters that ſate in iudgement vppon him, were the Byſhop of Paſſaw: the Suffragans of Ratiſbone, & of Paſſaw: alſo Doctour Eckius, being garded about with armed men. His brethren and kinſfolkes made great interceſſion to haue his iudgement deferred and put of, that the matter might be more exactly knowne. Alſo Iohn Fredericke Duke of Saxony, and the Earles of Schauuēburge, and of Schunartzen, wrote to the Byſhoppe for him, but could not preuayle. After the ſentence was geuen, he was caryed by a company of harneſſed men, out of the Citty agayne, to Schardingham. 13. of Auguſt. Where Chriſtopher Frenkinger the ciuile Iudge receiuing him, had letters ſent him from Duke William of Bauaria, that forthwith tarying for no other iudgement, he ſhould be burned aliue. Whereupon the good and bleſſed Martyr early in the morning, being rounded and ſhauen and clothed in a ſhort gowne, and a blacke cappe ſet vpon his head all cutte and iagged, ſo was deliuered to the officer. As he was led out of the town, to the place where as he ſhould ſuffer, he boldly and hardily ſpake in the Almayne tongue, turning his head, firſt on the one ſide, and then on the other, ſaying: O Lord Ieſu remayne with me, ſuſtayne and helpe me, and geue me force and power.

Vid. ſu. pag. 844. 845.

Perſecutors.

Haſty iudgemēt againſt Leonarde Keyſer.

Then the woode was made ready to be ſet on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voyce: O Ieſus, I am thine, haue mercy vpon me, and ſaue me, and therwithall he felt the fire begin ſharply vnder his feet his hands, and about his head: and becauſe the fire was not great enough, the hangman plucked the body halfe burnt, with a long hooke, from vnderneath the wood. Then he made a great hoale in the body, through the which he thruſt a ſtake, and caſt him agayne into the fire, and ſo made an end of burning. This was the bleſſed end of that good man, which ſuffered for the teſtimony of the truth, the 16. day of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord, 1526. Ex 6. Tomo operum Lutheri.

The martyrdome of Leonard Keyſer.

Wendelmuta widow and Martyr.

IN Holland alſo the ſame yeare. 1527. was Martyred and burned a good and vertuous widow, named Wendelmuta, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchendam, Thys widow receiuing to her hart the brightnes of Gods grace, by the appearing of the Goſpell, was therfore apprehēded and committed to cuſtody in the Caſtle of Werden, & ſhortly after, from thence was brought to Hage the 15. day of Nouember there to appeare at the general ſeſſions of that country: where was preſent Hochſtratus, Lord Preſidēt of the ſayd countye, who alſo ſat vpon her the 17. day of the foreſayd moneth. Diuers Monkes were appoynted there to talke with her, to the end they might conuince her, and wyn her to recant, but ſhe conſtantly perſiſting in ẏ truth, wherin ſhe was planted, would not be remoued. Many alſo of her kindred & other honeſt womē were ſuffred to perſuade wt her. Amōg whō there was a certein noble matrō, who loued and fauored dearely the ſayd wydow beyng in priſon. This matron comming, and commoning with her in her talke ſayde: My Wendelmuta, why doeſt thou not keepe ſilence, & thinke ſecretly in thine hart, theſe thynges which thou beleueſt, that thou mayeſt prolonge here thy dayes and life? To whom ſhe aunſwered agayne: Ah (ſayd ſhe) you know not what ye ſay. It is written: With the hart we beleue to righteouſneſſe, with toung we confeſſe, to ſaluation. &c. And thus ſhe remayning firme & ſtedfaſt in her beliefe and confeſſion, the 20. day of Nouember was condemned by ſentence geuen, as agaynſt an heretick, to be burned to aſhes and her goodes to be confiſcate, ſhe taking the ſentence of her condemnation mildely and quietly.

Wendelmuta widow, Martyr.

Religion would be profeſſed as wel with tōge as with hart. Rom. 10.

After ſhe came to the place wher ſhe ſhould be executed, and a Monke there had brought out a blinde Croſſe, willing her many times to kiſſe and worſhip her God: I worſhip (ſayd ſhe) no wodden God, but onely that God which is in heauen: and ſo with a merry and ioyfull countenance, ſhe went to the ſtake, deſiring the executioner, to ſee the ſtake to be faſt, that it fall not: then taking the powder and laying it to her breſt, ſhe gaue her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending her ſelfe to the hands of God. Whē the time came that ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled, modeſtly ſhe cloſed her eyes, & bowed down her head as one that would take a ſleepe: which done the fire then was put to the wood, and ſhe being ſtrangled, was burned afterward to aſhes, in ſtead of this life to get the immortall crowne in heauen. an. 1527. Ex Pantal.

Wodden Gods not to be worſhipped.

⁂ Petrus Fliſtedius, and Adolphus Clarebachus put to death at Colen.

IN the number of theſe Germanie Martyrs, are alſo to be comprehended Peter Fliſteden and Adolphe Clarebach, two mē of ſinguler learning, & hauing rype knowledge of Gods holy word. Which two, in the yere of our Lord. 1529. for that they did diſſent frō the papiſtes in diuers poyntes, & ſpecially touching the ſupper of the Lord, and other the popes traditions & ceremonies, after they had endured impriſonment a yeare and a halfe, by the commaundement of the Archb. and Senate, were put to death and burned in Colen, not without the great griefe & lamentatiō of many good Chriſtians, all the fault being put vpon certayne Diuines, which at that time preached that the puniſhment & death of certayne wicked perſons, ſhould pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany grieuouſly with a new and ſtraunge kinde of diſeaſe: For at that ſeaſon, the ſweating ſicknes did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany. Ex Commenta. Ioan. Sled. Lib. 6.

Petrus Fliſtedius. Adolphus Clarebachus, Martyrs.

The bloud of Martyrs ſpilt to ſtoppe the ſweating ſicknes at Colen.

¶ A Preface to the Table folowing.

IF thou well remember in reading this booke of ſtoryes (louing reader) it was before mentioned & declared, pag. 842. how in the yeare of grace 1501. certayne prodigious markes and printes of the Lordes paſſion, as the crowne, croſſe, nayles, ſcourges, & ſpeare were ſene in Germanye, vpon the garmēts of men & womē. Which miraculous oſtent paſſing ẏ ordinary courſe of natural cauſes, as it was ſent of God, no doubt, to foreſhew the great & terrible perſecution, which afterward fell in the countrey of Germany and other regions beſides, for the teſtimony of Chriſt: ſo if the number & names of all thoſe good men & womē, which ſuffered in the ſame perſecution, with theyr actes & doings ſhould be gathered & cōpiled together, it would aſke a long time, & a large volume. Notwithſtanding, partly to ſatiſfy the hiſtory which we haue in hand, partly alſo to auoyd tedious prolixity, I thought briefely to cōtract the diſcourſe therof, drawing, as in a compendious Table, the names of the perſecutors, & of the Martyrs which ſuffered, and the cauſes wherfore, in as much ſhortnes as I may, referring the full tractation of their liues & doyngs to thoſe writers of theyr owne countrey, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an order in the ſame Table, as much as in ſuch a cōfuſed heape of matters I may, according to the order and diſtinctiō of the countryes, in which theſe bleſſed Saintes of Chriſt did ſuffer: I haue ſo diuided the order of the Table in ſuch ſort, as firſt to begin with them that ſuffered in Germany, then in Fraunce, alſo in Spayne, with other forrein countries mo, ſhewing only the names with the principall matters of them, referring the reſt to the further explication of their owne Storywriters, from whence they be collected. The which Table being finiſhed, my purpoſe is (Chriſt willing) to returne to the full hiſtory of our owne matters, & Martirs which ſuffred here in England.

The Duch Martyrs, The Fren Martyrs, TheSpani Martyrs, TheEngli Martyrs,

¶ A Table of the names and cauſes of ſuch Martyrs, which gaue theyr liues for the teſtimony of the Goſpell in Germany, Fraunce, Spayne, Italy, and other *forreigne Countryes, ſince Luthers tyme: In which Table firſt is contayned within* the firſt ſpace betweene the lines, the Perſecutours, next the Martyrs, and thyrdly the cauſes.

¶ The Martyrs of Germany.

¶ Of diuers which ſuffered in Germany for the witneſſe of the Goſpell, partly ſome rehearſall is made before, as of Voes, and Eſch, of Sutphen, Iohn Caſtellanne, Pet, Spengler, with a certayne Godly Miniſter, and an other ſimple man of the countrey mentioned in Oecolampadius: Alſo of them in Diethmar and Prage, of M. George of Hala, Gaſpar, Tambert, Georgius of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, Iohn Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyſer, Wendelmuta, P. Fliſtede, Adol. Clarebach, and other moe. The reſidue folow in order of this Table here to be ſhewed.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Charles the Emperour. Two ſeruauntes of a Butcher did apprehend.	One Nicholas of Antwerpe. At Antwarpe. An. 1254.	The Curate of Melza by Antwarpe, had vſed to preach to a great number of people without the towne. The Emperour hearynge thereof, gaue leaue to take the vppermoſt garment of all thē that came to heare, and offered 30. gilders who ſo would take the Prieſte. Afterwarde, when the people were gathered, and the Curate not there, thys Nicholas ſtepped vp in place and preached. wherefore hee beinge apprehended by theſe two ſeruauntes of a Butcher, was put in a ſacke and drowned by the Crane at Antwerpe. 1524.
Margarete daughter of Maximiliā, Princes of Holland. M. Montane M. Roſemund. M. Anchuſanus Inquiſitours. M. Iodocus Loueryng, Vicare of Mechlin.	Ioan. Piſtorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kynne to Eraſm. Roterod. An. 1524.	The ſtorye of Piſtorius, is largely ſette foorth by Gnapheus. Firſt he was a Prieſt, then he maryed: after that he preached, commyng from Wyttenberge. Hee ſpake agaynſt the Maſſe and pardons, and agaynſt the ſubtile abuſes of Prieſts. He was committed vnto priſō with 10. malefactors, whom he did cōfort, & to one being halfe naked and in daunger of colde, he gaue his gowne. Hys father viſiting him in priſon, did not diſſuade him, but bad him bee cōſtant. At laſt he was cōdemned, and diſgraded, hauing a fooles coate put vppon him. His fellow priſoners at his death ſong Te Deum. Commyng to the ſtake he gaue hys necke willingly to the hand wherwith he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burned, ſaying at his death: O death, where is thy victory?
Sabaſtian Braiteſtein, Abbot.	Mathias Weibell, Scholemaiſter. In Sueuia. An. 1525.	For ſayinge ſomewhat agaynſt the Abbots firſt Maſſe, and agaynſt carying about the reliques, through the procurement of the Abbotte, he was hanged by Campidonium in Sueuia.
Certayne noble men, after the cōmotion of the countrymen in Germany.	A certayne godly Prieſt. An. 1525.	This Prieſt beyng commaunded to come and geue good counſell to 16. countrymen that ſhoulde be beheaded, afterwarde was byd, hym ſelfe to kneele down to haue his head cut off, nō cauſe nor cōdemnation further beyng layd agaynſt him, but onely of meere hatred agaynſt the Goſpell, Ex Ioan. Gaſtia.
The name of the Perſecutor appeareth not in the ſtory.	George Scherrer. At Raſtat, by Saltzeburge. An. 1528.	Ater that this George had inſtructed the people in knowledge of the Goſpell in Raſtat. x. miles diſtant frō Saltzeburge, he was accuſed of his aduerſaries and put in priſon, where he wrote a confeſſion of his faith whiche Mathias Illiricus hath ſet out wyth his whole ſtorye. Hee was condemned to be burned a liue: but meanes was made, that firſt his head ſhoulde be cut of, and his body afterward be caſt into the fire. Going toward his death he ſayd, crying aloude: That you may knowe (ſayde he) that I die a true Chriſtian, I will geue you a manifeſt ſigne, and ſo he did by the power of the Lord: For when his head was taken of frō his ſhoulders, the body falling vpon his belly, ſo cōtinued the ſpace while one might well eat an egge. After that, ſoftly it turned it ſelfe vpon the backe, and croſſed the righte foote ouer the lefte, and the right hand ouer the left. At the ſight wherof they which ſawe it were in a great maruell. The Magiſtrates which before had appoynted to haue burned the body after his beheading, ſeeing this myracle, would not burne it, but buryed it with other Chriſtian mens bodyes, and many by the ſame example were

Nicholas of Antwerpe, Martyr.

Ioannes Piſtorius, Martyr.

1. Cor. 15.

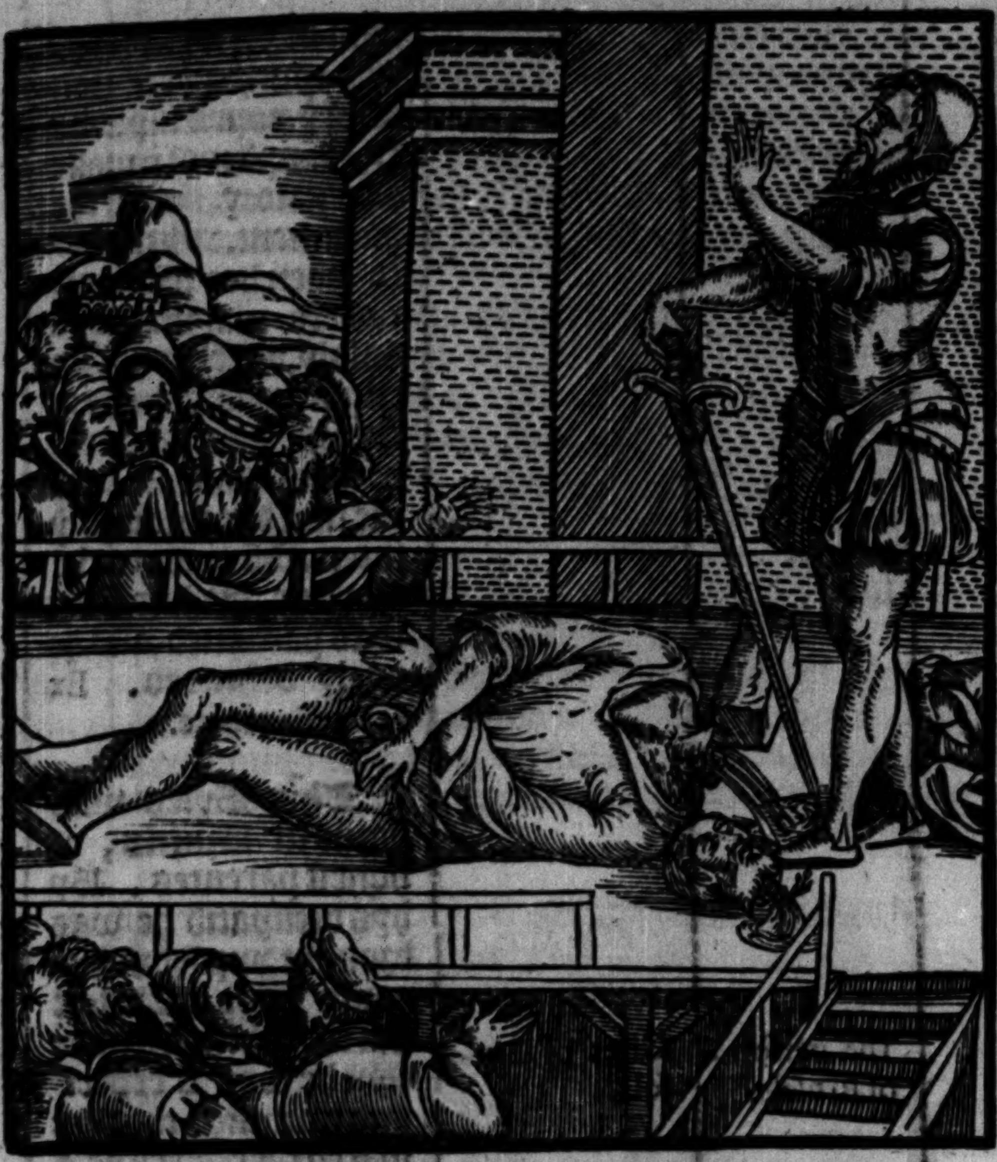
Mathias Wiebell Martyr.

A Prieſt, Martyr.

George Scherter, Martyr.

Ex Mat. Flat. Illyrica.

A ſtraunge myracle of God in manifeſting hys Goſpel.



were moued to beleue the Goſpell. Thus God is able to manifeſt the truth of his Goſpell, in the midſt of perſecution, who is to be bleſſed for euer. Amen.

A good Prieſt martyred in hys own houſe.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Balthaſar, Officiall.	Henry Flemmyng. At Dornick. 1525.	This Henry a Fryer ſometyme of Flaunders, forſooke hys habite & maryed a wyfe. who beyng offered lyfe of Balthaſar, if he woulde confeſſe hys wyfe to be an harlot, denyed ſo to do, and ſo was burnt at Dornic.
A Popiſhe prieſt and a wicked murderer.	A good prieſt dwelling not farre from Baſill. 1539.	There was a certaine wicked Prieſt, a notorious adulterer, a dycer, and a vile dronkard geuen to all wickednes and vngratiouſneſſe, without all feare, regarding nothing what miſchiefe he did: moreouer a mā fit and readye to ſerue the affection of the papiſtes at all turnes. It chaunced ẏ this Prieſt was receiued and lodged in the houſe of an other Prieſt dwellyng not farre from Baſill, whiche was a good man and a ſincere fauourer of the Goſpell. This dronken prieſt ſitting at ſupper, was ſo dronke that he coulde not tell what he did, or els feyned himſelfe ſo dronke of purpoſe, the better to accompliſhe hys intended miſchiefe. So it followed that this wretch, after hys firſt ſleep, roſe out of his bed and brake all the glaſſe windowes in his chamber, threwe downe the ſtone, and rent all his hoſtes bookes that he founde. The hoſt awaking wyth ẏ noyſe therof, came to hym, aſking howe he dyd: whether there were any theeues or enemies that he was in feare of, deſiring him to ſhew what he ayled. But aſſoon as the good hoſt had opened his chamber dore, the wicked cutthroate, came at him with his ſworde and ſlew hym. The hoſt after the wounde receaued, fell downe and dyed. Upon this a clamour was made through all the ſtreet, and the neighbours came in, the murderer was taken and bound: and yet all the frendes and kinſfolkes that the good prieſt had, could not make that miſerable caitiffe that was the murderer, to be executed: the ſuperiour power did ſo take hys part, ſaying that he ſhoulde be ſent to hys byſhop. The townes men did grieuouſly cry out and complayne, at the boulſtering out of ſo manifeſt vilany. So did alſo the noble man that was the Lord of the Page, ſaying that ſo many good men and maried prieſtes were drowned and beheaded for ſuch ſmall trifles, without any regard had to the Byſhop but a murtherer might eſcape vnpuniſhed. It was aunſwered to them agayne, that what the ſuperiour powers wold do, thei had nothing to do withal. The tyme was otherwiſe now, then it was in the commotion of the ruſticall people. The ſuperiour power had authoritie to gouerne as they would, ſayd they: it was their partes onely to obey: And ſo was he ſent bound to the byſhop, and ſhortly after diſmiſſed, hauing alſo a greater benefice geuen him for hys worthy acte: for he ſo auaunted him ſelfe, that he had ſlain a Lutheran Prieſt. Ex tom. 2. Conuiualium Sermonum Ioan. Gaſtij. & ex. Pantal.

Ex Ioan Gaſtij.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes
Charles the Emperours Procurator. Doctour Anchuſanus, Inquiſitour. Latomus. At Louane. An. 1543.	XXviij. Chriſtē men and women of Louane Paule a preiſt. Two aged women. Antonia. Two men. At Louane. 1543.	When certayne of the Citie of Louane were ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, the Emperors Procurator came from Bruſſelles thether to make Inquiſition. After which Inquiſition made, certaine bandes of armed men came & beſet their houſes in the nighte where many were taken in theyr beddes, pluckt frō their wiues and children, and deuided into dyuers pryſons. Through the terrour wherof, many citizens reuolted from ẏ doctrine of the goſpel, and returned agayne to Idolatrye. But 28. there were whiche remayned conſtant in ẏ perſecutiō. Unto whō the Doctors of Louan Anchuſanus eſpecially the Inquiſitour, & Latomus ſometymes, wͭ other, came and diſputed, thinking no leſſe but either to confound them or to conuert thē. But ſo ſtrongly ẏ ſpirite of ẏ Lord wrought with hys Saints, that the other went rather confounded awaye thē ſelues. When no diſputation coulde ſerue that whiche lacked in cunning, they ſupplyed wͭ tormentes, by enforcing and afflicting thē ſeuerally, euery one by him ſelfe. Among the reſt, there was one Paulus a Prieſt, vpon the age of 60. yeres, whom the Rectors of the Uniuerſitie, wyth theyr Collegues, accompanyed with a great number of billes and gleues, brought out of priſon to ẏ Auſten Friers, where after many foule wordes of the Rector, he was degraded. But at length for feare of death he began to ſtagger in ſome poyntes of his confeſſion, and ſo was had out of Louane, and condemned to perpetuall

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

Paulus a prieſt condemned to perpetuall priſon.

priſon whiche was a darke and ſtincking dongeon, where he was ſuffered neither to read nor write, or anye man to come at him, commaunded onely to be fed with bread and water. After that, other two there were, whiche becauſe they had reuoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, conſtantly taking their martyrdome.

2. Martyrs burnt at Louane.

An aged man Martyr.

Antonia Martyre buryed quicke.

An aged woman Martyr buryed quicke.

Then was there an old man, and 2. aged women brought forth: of whom the one was called Antonia, borne of an auncient ſtocke in that Citie. Theſe alſo were condẽned, the man to be headed, the 2. women to be buryed quicke, which death they receiued lykewiſe very chearfully. Certain of the other priſoners, which were not codemned to death, were depriued of theyr goodes, commaunded in a white ſheete to come to the church, and there kneling with a Taper in their hand, to aſke forgeuenes: and they which refuſed ſo to doe, and to abiure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire. Ex Franciſ. Encenate.

M. Perſeuall, Martyr.

The name of the perſecutor appeareth not in the story.

M. Perſeuall.

At Louane.

An. 1544.

Not long after this, was one M. Perſeual in the ſame Vniuerſitie of Louane, ſingularly well learned. Who for reprehending certayne popiſhe ſuperſtitions, and ſome thing ſpeaking in commendation of the Goſpell, was throwne into priſon. Then beyng accuſed of Lutheraniſme, becauſe he ſtood to yͤ ſame, and woulde not condeſcende to the popes erroneous faction, he was adiudged to perpetuall priſon, there to be fedde onely with bread and water, which puniſhment he tooke pacyentlye for Chriſtes ſake. Neuertheleſſe certayne Cittizens taking compaſſiõ of him ſent him wyne and beare. But hys keepers beeing charged vnder a great penaltie, durſt let nothing come vnto hym. At laſt what became of him, no man coulde learne nor vnderſtand. Some iudge that hee was eyther famiſhed for hunger, or els that he was ſecretly drowned. Ex Franc. Encenate.

Iuſtus of Louane, Martyr.

Franciſcus Encenas, priſoner.

Dorſardus a Poteſtate in that countrey, and a great perſecutor.

Iuſtice Imbſberger.

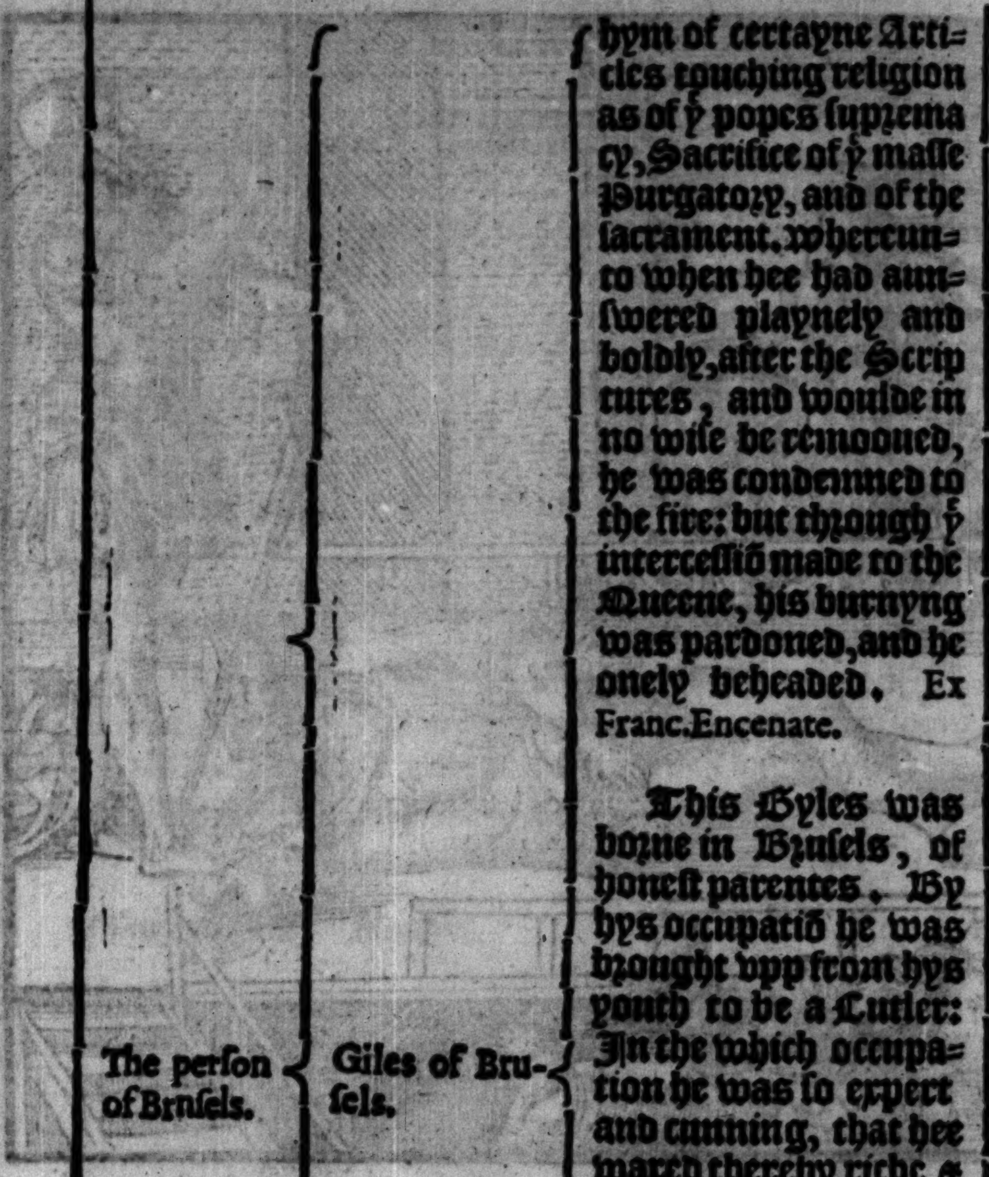
At Bruſels.

An. 1544.

Iuſtus a ſkinner of Louane, being ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, was foũd in his houſe to haue the new teſtament and certayne ſermons of Luther: For the which he was committed, and hys Iaylour commanded, that he ſhould ſpeake wyth none. There were the ſame tyme, in the lower priſon vnder them, Egidius, and Franciſcus Encenas a Spanyard, who ſecretly hauing the doores left open, came to him and confirmed hym in the cauſe of righteouſnes. Thus is the prouidẽce of the Lord neuer lacking to hys Saintes, in time of neceſſity. Shortly after came the Doctours and mayſters of Louane, to examine hym of certayne Articles touching religion as of yͤ popes ſupremacy, Sacrifice of yͤ maſſe, Purgatory, and of the ſacrament. Whereunto when hee had aunſwered playnely and boldly, after the Scriptures, and woulde in no wiſe be remooued, he was condemned to the fire: but through yͤ interceſſiõ made to the Queene, his burnyng was pardoned, and he onely beheaded. Ex Franc. Encenate.

Iuſtus pe
de terra,

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.



The perſon of Brnſels.

Giles of Bruſels.

An. 1544.

Gyles, Ma
tyr.

Good works going with a lyuelye fayth.

This Gyles was borne in Bruſels, of honeſt parentes. By hys occupatiõ he was brought vpp from hys youth to be a Cutler: In the which occupation he was ſo expert and cunning, that hee waxed thereby riche & wealthy. Comming to the yeares of 30. he beganne to receaue the light of the Goſpell, thorough the readyng of the holy Scripture, and encreaſed therein exceedingly. And as in zeale he was feruent, ſo was he of nature humane, milde, and pittyfull, paſſing al other in thoſe partes. Whatſoeuer he had, that neceſſitie coulde ſpare, he gaue it awaye to the poore, and onely liued by hys ſcience. Some he refreſhed with hys meate, ſome with clothing to ſome he gaue hys ſhoes: ſome he helped wyth houſholde ſtuffe: to other ſome he miniſtred holeſome exhortatiõ of good doctrine. One poore woman there was brought to bed, and had no bed to lye in, to whom he brought hys owne bed, hymſelfe contented to lye in the ſtraw.

The humble heart of Gyles.

The ſayd Egidius being detected by a Prieſt or perſon of Bruſels, was taken at Louane for that religion, whiche the Pope doth call hereſie. Where hys aduerſaryes extended great care and diligence to reduce hym to theyr doctrine, and to make hym abiure. But as he was a man well reaſoned and ſingularly witted, they went away many tymes wyth ſhame. Thus beyng detayned 8. monthes in priſon, he was ſent to Bruſels to be iudged: where he comforted dyuers whych were there in priſon (amõg whom was alſo Franciſcus Encenas) exhorting them to conſtancie of the truth vnto the crowne which was prepared for them. At the table he miniſtred to them al, beyng contented hymſelfe wyth the fewe ſcrappes which they left. In thys hys prayers he was ſo ardent, kneelyng by hymſelfe, in ſome ſecret place, that he ſeemed to forget hym ſelfe. Beyng called many tymes to meate, he neyther heard, nor ſawe them that ſtood by hym, till he was lift vp by the armes, & then gently he woulde ſpeake vnto them, as one waked out of a ſweet ſleep.

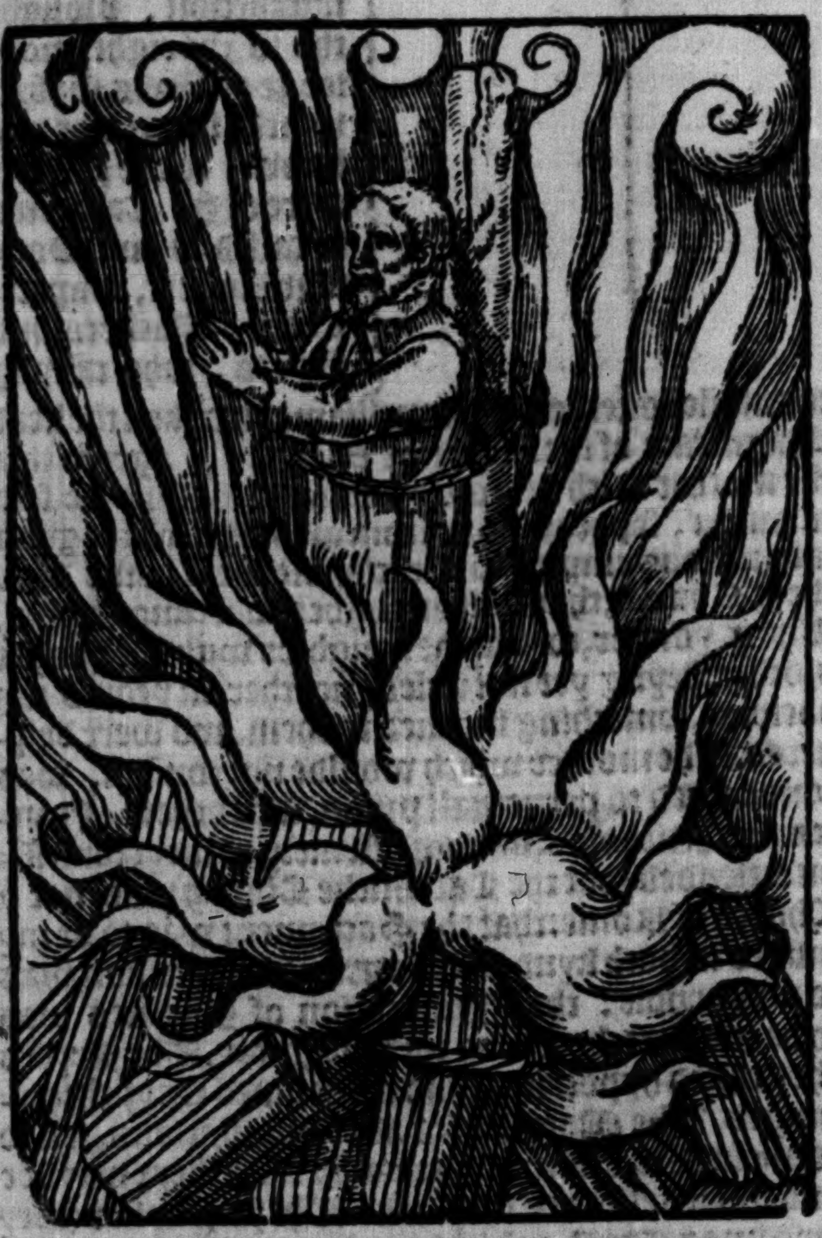
Feruency of prayer.

Blaſphemy of Papiſtes

Certayne of the Gray Friers ſomtymes were ſent vnto hym by two and two, to reduce hym, but he would alwaies deſire them, to depart frõ him, for he was at a poynt, & when the Fryers at anye tyme did miſcall hym, he euer helde his peace, at ſuch priuate iniuries: in ſomuche that thoſe blaſphemers would ſay abroad, that he had a dum deuill in hym. But when they talked of any religion, there he ſpared not, but anſwered them fully by euidences of the Scripture in ſuch ſort, that diuers times they would depart maruelyng. At ſundry times he might haue eſcaped, the dores being let open, but he woulde not for bringing his keeper in perill.

At length about the moneth of Ianuary, he was brought to an other priſon, to be conſtrayned with tormentes to confeſſe Purgatory, and to vtter mo of hys fellowes. But no forcement would ſerue. wherfore vppon the 22. of Ianuary he was condemned to the fire, but priuily, contrary to the vſe of yͤ Country, for openly they durſt not condemne hym for feare of the people: ſo wel was he beloued. when tidinges of the ſentence came vnto him, he gaue harty thankes to GOD, that the houre was come, when he might glorifie the Lord.

The martyrdome of Gyles.



As he was brought to the place of burning, where he ſaw a great heape of wood pyled, hee required the greater part therof to be taken awaye, and geuen to yͤ poore: a litle (ſayd he) wold ſuffice him. Alſo ſeyng a poore man comming by, as he wẽt, that lacked ſhoes he gaue hys ſhoes vnto him. Better ſayd he: ſo to do then to haue his ſhoes burnt, and the poore to periſh for cold. Standing at the ſtake the hangman was ready to ſtrangle hym before, but he woulde not ſaying, that there was no ſuch need that hys payn ſhuld be mittigated, for I feare not (ſayd he) the fire, doe therfore as thou art commanded. And thus the bleſſed Martyr, lifting vp his eyes to heauen, in the middle of the flame, was extincted, to the great lamentation of all that ſtood by. After that tyme, when the friers of that Cittie would goe about for theyr almes the people would ſay, it was not meet for them to receaue almes with bloudy handes. This hiſtory you ſhall finde more copiouſly deſcribed, in Franc. Encenas. Ex Franc. Encen.

The zeale of people againſt the bloudy Fryers.

Perſecution in Gaunt & Bruzels.

Ex Francisco Encenate.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Friers and prieſtes of Flaunders.	Great perſecution in Gaunt & other partes of Flaunders. At Gaunt. An. 1543. 1544.	As Charles the Emperour did ly in Gaũt the Fryers and Doctours there obtayned that the Edicte made agaynſt the Lutherãs might be read openlye twiſe a yeare. Whiche being obtayned, great perſecution followed, ſo that there was no Citty nor towne in all Flaunders, wherein ſome eyther were not expulſed, or headed, or condemned to perpetuall priſon, or had not theyr goodes confiſcate neither was there any reſpect of age or ſexe. At Gaunt eſpecially, many there wer of the head men, which for religion ſake were burned.

Afterward the Emperour comming to Bruſels, there was terrible ſlaughter, and perſecution of Gods people, namely in Brabant, Hennegow and Artoys, the horror and cruelty wherof is almoſt incredible: In ſo much that at one time as good as ij. hundreth men and women together, were brought out of the countrey about, into the Citty, of whome ſome were drowned, ſome buryed quicke, ſome priuely made awaye, others ſent to perpetuall priſon: wherby all priſons and towers there about were repleniſhed with priſoners and captiues, and the handes of the hangmen tyred with ſlaying and killing, to the great ſorrowe of all them, which knew the Goſpel, being now compelled eyther to deny the ſame, or to confirme it with theyr bloud. The ſtorye hereof is at large ſet forth by Francis. Encenas, a notable learned man, who alſo himſelfe was priſoner yͤ ſame time at Bruzels: whoſe booke written in Latine, I my ſelfe haue ſeene and read, remayning in the handes of Iohn Oporine at Baſill.

Martyn Hœurblock Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Franciſcan Fryers of Gaunt.	Martynus Hoeurbloc, Fiſhmõger. At Gaunt. An. 1545.	This Martine euer almoſt to his latter age, was a man much geuen to al wickednes and fleſhly lyfe ſo long as he continued a follower of the popes ſuperſtitiõ and Idolatry. Afterwarde (as God hath alwaies his calling) thorough the occaſion of a Sermõ of his pariſh prieſt beginning to taſt ſome working of grace, and repentance of his former lyfe, went out of Gaunt for the ſpace of iij. monethes, ſeeking the company of godly Chriſtians, ſuch as he heard to vſe the readyng of the ſcriptures: by whome he beyng more groundly inſtructed, returned agayn to the Cittye of Gaunt, where all his neighbours firſt beganne to maruell at the ſodayne chaunge of this man. The Franciſcanes, which knewe hym before ſo beneficiall vnto them, nowe ſeing hym ſo altered from theyr wayes and ſuperſtition, and ſeeing hym to viſite the captiues in priſon, to comforte thẽ in perſecution, and to confirme them in the worde of God whiche went to the fire, conſpired agaynſt hym: whereby he was detected and layd in bandes. After that, with ſharp and grieuous tormentes they would haue conſtrayned hym to vtter other of the ſame Religion. To whome thus he aunſwered, that if they could proue by the ſcripture, that hys detecting and accuſing of hys brethren, whõ they

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

they would afflict with the like tormentes, were not agaynſt ẏ ſecond Table of Gods law, then he would not refuſe to preferre the honor of God before ẏ ſafegard of his brethren. Then the friers examined hym in the ſacrament, aſking him why he was ſo earneſt, to haue it in both kyndes, ſeing (ſayd they) it is but a naked ſacrament as you ſay, to whom he aunſwered that the elementes thereof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, forſomuch as the ſayd elementes of bread and wine, beeing receaued after the inſtitution of Chriſt, do now make a Sacrament and a miſticall repreſentation of the Lordes body, cõmunicating him ſelfe with our ſoules. And as touching the receauyng in both kindes, becauſe it is the inſtitution of the Lorde, who is he (ſayd Martyne) that dare alter the ſame? Then was he brought before the counſayle of Flanders. The cauſes layd againſt him, were the Sacrament, Purgatory, and praying for the dead: for the which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt, in Verle place, all hys goodes being confiſcate. As he ſtoode at the ſtake, a Franciſcan Frier ſayd to him (Martine vnleſſe thou doeſt turne, thou ſhalt goe from this fire, to euerlaſting fire. It is not in you, ſayd Martine againe, to iudge. For this the Friers after were ſo hated, ẏ many billes and rimes were ſet forth in diuers places agaynſt them. Ex Pantal.

Nicholas Danpole, Iohn de Brucke and hys wyfe, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The counſayle of Flaunders.	Nicholas Vanpole. Iohn de Brucke & hys wyfe. At Gaunt. An. 1545.	The next day after the burning of Martin aforeſayd, whiche was the 9. of Maye, theſe three alſo were burned for the ſame cauſes likewiſe, for the which ẏ other was cõdemned & burned the day before, but onely ẏ the woman was burned aliue. All whiche tooke theyr Martyrdome ioyfully & wyth much cheerefulnes.

Mary and Vrſula, two virgins, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Vrſula. Maria. Virgines of noble ſtocke. At Delden. An. 1545.	Delden is a towne in lower Germany, 3. myles from Dauentry, where theſe two virgines of noble parentage were burned. Who after diligent frequenting of Churches and Sermons being inſtructed in the worde of the Lord, defended, that ſeeyng the benefite of our ſaluation commeth only by our fayth in Chriſt, all the other marchaundiſe of the pope, which he vſeth to ſel to ẏ people for mony, was needles. Firſt Mary beyng the yonger, was put to the fire, where ſhe prayed ardently for her enemies, commẽding her ſoule to God.

At whoſe conſtancie the Iudges did greatly marueill.

Then they exhorted Vrſula to turne, or if ſhee would not, at leaſt that ſhe ſhould require to be headed. To whom ſhe ſayd, that ſhe was guiltie of no errour, nor defended any thing, but which was conſonant to the ſcripture, in which ſhe truſted to perſeuer vnto the end. And as touching the kinde of puniſhement, ſhe ſayde, ſhe feared not ẏ fire, but rather wold follow the example of her deare ſiſter, that went before. This was maruellous, that the executioners could in no wiſe conſume their bodyes with fire, but left them whole lying vpõ the ground whyte: which certayn good Chriſtians priuily tooke vp in ẏ night and buryed. Thus God many times, ſheweth hys power in the middeſt of tribulations. Ex Lud. Rab. Pantal. &c.

A myraculous worke of God in the dead bodies of theſe two virgines.

Andrew Thieſſe his wife, Nichola Fraunce Thieſſe their ſo Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes
The perſon of S. Catherines. Doctour Tapertus. William Clericken ruler of Mechlin.	Andreas Thieſſen. Catherina, hys wife. Nicholas Thieſſen. Fraunces Thieſſen. brethren. At Mechlin. An. 1545.	Andrew Thieſſen Citizen of Mechlin, of his wyfe Catherine, had three ſonnes and a daughter, whom he inſtructed diligently in the doctrine of the goſpell, and deſpiſed the doynges of Poperye. Wherfore, being hated and perſecuted of the Fryers and Prieſtes there, he wẽt into England and there dyed. Fraunces and Nicholas hys two ſonnes went to Germany to ſtudy. Returning agayne to theyr mother and ſiſter and younger brother, by diligent inſtruction, brought thẽ to the right knowledge of Gods Goſpel whiche being not vnknown to the Perſon there of S. Catherine he called to him Doctour Rupert, Tapert, & other Maiſters and Fryers, who takyng counſaile together, with William Clericken the head Magiſtrate of the towne of Mechlen, agreed that the mother with her foure Children ſhoulde be ſent to priſon, ſeparated one from an other: where great labour was employed to reclayme them home vnto theyr Church, that is, from light to darcknes agayn.

The ij. yonger, to wit, the daughter with the yonger brother, beyng yet not ſetled, neyther in yeares nor doctrine, ſomething inclined to them, and were delyuered. The mother which woulde not conſent, was condemned to perpetuall priſon. The other 2. Fraunces and Nicholas, ſtanding firmely to theyr confeſſion, defended that the Catholicke Church was not ẏ Church of Rome: that the Sacrament was to be miniſtred in both kynds: that auricular confeſſion was to no purpoſe: that Inuocation of Sayntes was to be left: that there was no Purgatory. The Fryers they called hypocrites, and contemned theyr threatninges. The Magiſtrates after diſputations, fell to tormentes, to know of them who was theyr mayſter and what fellowes they had. Theyr mayſter (they ſayd) was Chriſt, which bare hys croſſe before. Fellowes (they ſayd) they had innumerable, diſperſed in all places. At laſt they were brought to the Iudges: their Articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Comming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gagges or balles of wood were thruſt in their mouthes, whiche they through vehemencye of ſpeaking thruſt out agayne, deſiring for ẏ Lord ſake, that they might haue leaue to ſpeake. And ſo ſinging with a loud voyce, Credo in vnum Deum. &c. they went, and were faſtened to the ſtake, praying for theyr perſecutors, and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire paciently. The one feeling the flame to come to hys beard: Ah (ſayd he) what a ſmall payn is this, to be compared to the glory to come? Thus the pacient martyrs committyng theyr ſpirite to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through conſtancy, atchieued the crowne of martyrdome. Ex. Phil Melanct.

Fraunces & Nicholas conſtant in Chriſt.

Adrian and Marion his wyfe, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes
The names of their accuſers appeare not in the Authours.	Marion wyfe of Adrian Taylor. At Dornic. An. 1545.	In the ſame perſecution agaynſt Brulius and his companye in Dornic, was apprehended alſo one Adrian and Marion hys wyfe. The cauſe of theyr trouble, as alſo of the others, was the Emperoures decree made in the Councell of Wormes agaynſt ẏ Luthe-

Lutherians, mentioned before, pag. 841. Adrian not ſo ſtrong as a man, for feare gaue backe from ẏ truth and was but onely beheaded. The wife ſtronger thē a woman did withſtand their threates, and abide the vttermoſt, and beyng incloſed in an yron grate formed in ſhape of a paſtie, was layd in the earth and buryed quicke, after the vſuall puniſhment of that countrey, for women. When the aduerſaryes fyrſt tolde her, that her huſband had relented, ſhe beleeued them not: and therefore as ſhee went to her death, paſſing by the Tower where he was, ſhee called to hym to take her leaue, but he was gone before. Et Pant. lib. 4.

Marion buryed quicke.

Peter Bruly, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Magiſtrates of Dornic. or Tornay.	M. Peter Bruly Preacher. At Dornic. An. 1545.	M. Peter Bruly was preacher in the Frenche Churche at Strauſburgh. Who at the earneſt requeſt of faythful brethren came downe to viſite the lower countryes about Artoys and Dornic in Flanders, wher he moſt dilligētly preached the word of God vnto the people in houſes, the dores ſtanding open. Wherupon, whē ẏ magiſtrates of Dornic had ſhut the gates of the towne, and had made ſearche for hym three dayes, he was priuelye let downe the wall in the night by a baſket: and as he was let downe to the ditch ready to take his way one of them whiche let him downe leaning ouer the wall, to byd hym fare well, cauſed (vnawares) a ſtone to ſlip out of ẏ wall, which falling vpon hym, brake hys legge, by reaſon whereof he was heard of the watchmen complaynyng of hys wounde, and ſo was taken, geuing thankes to God by whoſe prouidence he was there ſtayed, to ſerue the Lord in that place. So long as he remayned in priſon, hee ceaſed not to ſupply the part of a diligent preacher, teaching and confirming all them that came to hym in ẏ word of grace. Beyng in priſon he wrote hys owne confeſſion and examination, & ſent it to the brethren. He wrote alſo an other Epiſtle to them that were in perſecution: an other alſo to all the faithfull: alſo an other letter to hys wife, the ſame day that he was burned. He remayned in priſon 4. monethes. His ſentence was geuen by the Emperours Commiſſioners at Bruxels, that he ſhould be burned to aſhes, and hys aſhes to be throwne into the riuer. Although the fryers and prieſtes made the fire but ſmall, to multiply hys payne, yet he the more cheerefully and conſtantly toke hys martyrdome and ſuffered it. The letters of Duke Fredericke, and of the Langraue came to entreat for hym, but hee was burned a little before the letters came. Ex Lud. Rab. Lib. 6.

Gods ſecret working in diſpoſing the wayes of his ſeruauntes.

The Martirdome of Brulius.

Pet. Mioce, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Senate of Dornic. Doctour Haſardus, a Gray Fryer.	Peter Miocius. Bergiban. At Dornic. An. 1545.	The comming of M. Peter Bruly into the countrey of Flaunders, did exceeding much good among the brethren, as appeared by diuers other good men, and namely by thys Peter Mioce, which was by hys occupation a ſilke weauer. This Peter, before he was called to ẏ Goſpell, led a wicked lyfe, geuen to much vngraciouſnes, & almoſt to all kyndes of vyce. But after the taſte of the Goſpell began to worke in hym, ſo cleane it altered hym from that former man, that he excelled all other in godly zeale and vertue. In his firſt examination he was aſked whether he was one of the ſcholers of Peter Bruly. He ſayd he was, and that hee had receiued muche fruite by his doctrine. Wilt thou then defend hys doctrine, ſayd they? Yea ſayd he, for that it is conſonant bothe to the old Teſtament and to the new, and for thys he was let downe vnto a deepe dongeon vnder ẏ caſtle ditch, ful of toades and filthy vermine. Shortly after the Senate with certayne Friers, came agayne to examine him, to ſee whether they coulde conuert hym. To whome he anſwered and ſayd that when he before had liued ſuch an vngodly lyfe, they neuer ſpake word agaynſt hym: but now for ſauouring and fauoring the worde of God, they were ſo infeſte agaynſt hym that they ſought hys bloud. Among whō was one Doctour Haſardus, whiche aſked hym if he did not ſeeme to hymſelfe more wicked nowe, then euer he was before: but he ſetting the Fryer at light, bad him auaunt Fryer, ſaying: that he had to talke wyth the Senate, and not with him. The Senate then began to examine him of certain Articles of Religion. To whom as he was about to aunſwere boldly and expreſly to euery poynte, they interrupting him bad hym ſay in two wordes, eyther, yea or nay. Then ſayde he, if ye will not ſuffer me to aunſwere for my ſelfe in matters of ſuch importaunce, then ſend me to my priſon agayne among my todes and frogs, whiche will not interrupt mee, while I talke with my Lord my God. The boldnes of whoſe ſpirit and courage, as it made ſome to gnaſh theyr teeth, ſo ſome it made to wonder, and miniſtred to ſome great confirmation.

Crueltie ſhewed vpō Chriſtes ſeruauntes.

There was alſo one Bergiban the ſame tyme in priſon, who had bene a foreward man, & a great doer in the Goſpell, before the comming downe of Brulius. Who being alſo ſought for at the takyng of Brulius, and beyng then not found at home, eyther by chaunce, not knowing, or els becauſe hee conueyed himſelfe out of the way for feare, conceaued thereof ſuch ſorrowe in hys minde, ẏ afterward neyther hys wife nor children, nor any frend els, could ſtaye hym but he woulde needes offer hymſelfe to the Iudges, ſaying to the ruler, being aſked why he came? The Magiſtrates came to ſeeke mee (ſayd he) and now I am come to know, what they would. Wherupon the ruler beyng ſory of hys comming, yet notwithſtanding committed hym to priſon, where he remayned conſtant a certayne while. But after the Commiſſioners had threatned hym with cruell tormentes and horror of death, he began by little and little to waner & ſhrinke from the truth. At the fayre wordes of the falſe Friers and Prieſtes, to haue hys puniſhment changed, and to be beheaded, he was fayne to graunt vnto theyr biddinges and requeſtes. Whereupon the aduerſaries taking theyr aduauntage, came to Miocius, and told hym of Bergibans retractation, wylling him to doe the like. But he ſtoutly perſiſting in the truth, endured to the fire, where he hauing pouder put to hys breſt was ſo put to death, and diſpatched. The Fryers hearing the cracke of ẏ pouder vpon hys breſt, told the people, that the deuill came out of him and caried away hys ſoule. Ex Rabo. & alijs.

The Martyrdome of a good prieſt.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A certayne Prince in Germany, about Hungary or the partes of Pannonia.	A prieſt of Germany.	Iohannes. Gaſtius Conuiual. Serm. lib. 2. writeth of a certayne Prince, but doth not name hym, which put out ẏ eyes of a certayn Prieſt in Germanye, for no other cauſe, but for that he ſayd ẏ maſſe to be no ſacrifice, in ẏ ſence, as many prieſtes do take it. Neither did the cruell prince immediatly put him to death but firſt kept hym in priſon a long time, afflicting him with diuers tormentes. Then he was brought forth to be degraded, after a barbarous and tyrannous maner. Firſt they ſhaued the crowne of hys head, then rubbed it hard with ſalt, that ẏ bloud came running downe hys ſhoulders. After that they raſed and pared the toppes of hys fingers wyth cruell payne, that no ſauour of the holy oyle myght remayn. At laſt the patient and godly martyr, foure dayes after, yealded vp hys lyfe and ſpirite. Ex. Ioan. Gaſtio. lib. 2.

The cruell murthering of Iohn Diazius.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Alphonſus Diazius, a Spanyard. Petrus de Maluenda the popes prolocutor at Ratiſbone a Spanyard. The Emperours confeſſor, a blacke Fryer a Spanyard. Marquina.	Ioannes Diazius, a Spanyard martyr, killed of his own brother at Neoberg in Germany. An. 1546.	Of this Iohn Diazius the full proces and hiſtorye is ſet forth in Latine wherein the whole circumſtaunce is debated at large, wherof briefe ſūme is this. Iohn Diazius a Spanyarde borne, firſt being at Paris 13. yeares, from thēce remoued to Geneua: then to Baſill, & after to Strauſburgh: from whence he was ſent Ambaſſadour with Bucer and other, to the Councell of Ratiſbone: where he talking with Peter Meluenda hys countreyman, the Popes factour, ſo declared his Relygyon vnto hym

that Maluenda wrote to the Fryer, whiche was the Emperours confeſſour touching the ſayd Iohn Diazius: at the opening and reading of whiche letters, one Marquina an other Spanyarde was preſent. Vpon this it followed, whether by this confeſſor, or by Marquina, that Alphonſus Diaſius, brother to Iohn Diazius: which was one of the Popes Lawyers in Rome, had knowledge geuen hym, of hys brother Iohn.

The Emperours confeſſour.

Alphonſus Diazius come from Rome to kyl hys brother.

When the communication of Ratiſbone was diſſolued & broken vp. Iohn Diazius, from Ratiſbone went to the City of Neoberg, within the Dominion of Otto Henry Pallatine, about the expedition of Bucers booke there to be printed. As Iohn Diazius was there occupyed, it was not long, but Alphonſus hys brother was come frō Rome to Ratiſbōe, where Maluenda was: bringing with him a peſtilent cutthroate, a notorious ruffian or homicide belonging to yͤ City of Rome, Maluenda & Alphonſus conſulting together about yͤ diſpatch of theyr deuiliſh purpoſe, firſt laboured to hūt out by yͤ frends of Diazius wher Diazius was, wherof Alphon. & the homicide hauing knowledge by certayne of hys ſecret friends, pretending great matters of importaunce, came to Neoberg, where Diazius was printing of Bucers booke: where after long debating of matters of religion betwene the two brethren. Alphonſus ſeing the hart of his brother Iohn to be ſo conſtantly planted on the ſure rocke of Gods truth, that by no wyſe he could eyther be remooued from his opinion, or perſwaded to ride in his company (being otherwiſe cōſailed by Bucer and hys friendes) feyned him ſelfe frendly to take his leaue of his brother and to depart but ſhortly after, ſecretly with his ruffenly murderer he returned agayne, and by the waye they bought a certein hatchet of a carpenter.

This done, Alphonſus ſendeth his man beyng diſguiſed, with letters vnto his brother, he himſelfe following after. As Iohn Diazius in the mornyng was riſen out of his bed, to read the letters, yͤ wretched hangman, wyth the hatchet claue his head vnto the braynes, leauing the hatchet in his head, and ſo hee with Alphonſus tooke them to theyr horſe, which ſtoode without the Cittie gate, with as much ſpeede as they might. They of Neoberge, hearing of the horrible acte, ſent out certaine horſemen, making great iournyes after them. who comming to Auguſta, and hearing yͤ murderers to be paſt before, were out of hope to ouertake them, and ſo returned. One in the cōpany more zelous then the reſt, woulde not returne, but purſued them ſtill, and in the Cittie of Oeniponte, cauſed them to be ſtayed, and put in priſon. Otto Palatine hearing of their taking writeth to the Magiſtrates of Oeniponte for iudgement. which Magiſtrates at firſt ſemed very willing therto: but in concluſion, through the practiſe of papiſts, and crafty lawyers, the ſentence iudiciall was ſo delayed from day to day, thē from houre to houre, that the Emperours letters came in poſthaſte requiring the matter to be ſtayed, and reſerued to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of Cain and his felow was bolſtered out by the Papiſtes. The like wherof from the memorye of men was neuer hearde of, ſince the firſt example of Cain, which for religion ſlue hys own brother Abell. But although true iudgemēt in this world be peruerted, yet ſuch bloudy Cains in their wilfull murther, ſhall not eſcape yͤ hands of him, who ſhall iudge truely both the committers, and the bolſterers alſo of all miſchieuous wickednes. Ex Claudio Senarcleo.

Iohn Diazius ſlaine by his owne brother.

God will haue murther knowen.

Cain ſtill killeth Abell.

¶ An. 1546, Charles the Emperour helde an armed Councell at Auguſta after his victory gotten in Germany. where Iulius Pflug, Michael Sidonius and Iohn Iſlebius going about to concorde together the Goſpell of Chriſt, with the traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a hodgebotch of them both, drewe and framed out a new forme of Religion called Interim. whereupon began a new matter of perſecution in Germanie. For the Emperour proceeded ſtraightly agaynſt all them, which woulde not receaue hys Interim, intending thereby to haue wrought ſome great maſtry againſt the Goſpellers, but the Lorde diſapoynted his purpoſe.

Interim.

Among them whiche withſtode this Spaniſhe Interim, beſides other, were alſo the Cittizens of Cōſtantia. For the which three thouſande Spanyardes priuilye by night came agaynſt the Towne of Conſtance, where they killed three of the watchmen of the Town, which watching in the ſuburbes, went forth to view the noyſe whiche they heard in the woodes. The deuiſe of the Spanyardes was in the mornyng when the cittizens were at the Sermon, ſodeinly to ſet vppon the Citty and take it, ſo (no doubt) intēding to haue gone further. But as the Lord would ſomething began to be ſuſpected in the night by the watchmē in the ſuburbes, on the other ſide the water, whereby the Conſul and Cittizens had intelligence to be in readines. When the morning came, yͤ Spanyardes were ready at yͤ gate to breake into the City. But beyng driuen from thence and theyr Captaine Alphonſus ſlayne, they went to the bridge which goeth ouer the Rhene. But being beaten alſo from thence, with ſhotte and great peeces from the walles, and a great number of them drowned in the riuer, the Spanyardes breaking downe the hynder part of the bridge, becauſe the Cittizens ſhoulde not purſue them, they recoyled backe into the ſuburbes, and burned thē with the dead bodyes alſo that were ſlayne, ſo that the number of the Spanyardes that there were killed, could not be knowne: Onely a hūdreth of honeſt Cittizens of Conſtance were miſſing Ex. Ioan. Sled. lib. 21.

The aſſaul of the Spaniardes, againſt the Citie of Conſtanc

At the ſame tyme, many godly Miniſters of the Churches in Germany were in great daunger, eſpecially ſuch as refuſed to receaue the Interim: of whom ſome were caſt into priſon. In which number of priſoners was Mart. Frectius Superintendēt of Vlmes, with foure other preachers moe: alſo hys brother George, for comming but to his houſe to comfort him. For the which cauſe Muſculus the ſame tyme, wyth other preachers moe, went from Auſburge, Brentius from Hala, Blaurerus from Conſtance, Bucer from Strauſburgh.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A Biſhop in Hungary	A godly prieſt in Hungary.	In Hungary a certayn godly prieſt preached, that the eating of fleſh is not prohibited in the Scripture: for the which the cruel biſhop, after he had impriſoned him certayne weekes, cauſed hym to be brought out, & hys body to be tyed ouer with Hares, Geeſe, and Hennes, hanging round about hym: and

ſo yͤ beaſtly Biſh. made dogges to be ſet vppō hym, which cruelly rent and tore whatſoeuer they could catche. And thus the good miniſter of Chriſt, beyng driuen about the Cittie with the barking of dogges dyed, and was martyred. The ſighte whereof, as it was lamentable to the godly, ſo it ſeemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few dayes after, the impious biſhop by the ſtroke of Gods iuſt hand, fell ſicke and became horne madde, and ſo rauing without ſence or witte, miſerably dyed. Ex tomo. 2. Conuiualium Sermo. Ioan Gaſtij.

The marty dome of a godly prieſt.

Iuſt puniſhmēt of God vpon a cruel perſecutor.

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

John Fridericke Duke of Saxony.

Iohn Fridericke of Saxony Elector.
An. 1547.

Among theſe godly and conſtant Sayntes of Chriſt, may well be recounted Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxony. who whē he had recouered agayne all his dominions (which Duke Maurice hadde taken from him before, being in Suenia with his armye) and at laſt was taken priſoner of the Emperour at Albis, 24. of Aprill. ann. 1547. yet could neuer be induced to yelde to the Emperour in reuoking his fayth and doctrine of the Goſpell wherin he ſtoode: For the which he was deteined from his wife and children, and bereaued of all his goods, and caryed about with the Emperour, the ſpace of fiue yeares. This admirable conſtancye of that duke was a wonder to all his aduerſaries. At laſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1552. through the benefite of almighty God, he was ſet agayne at libertye & returning home to his wife & childrē cōtinued in his religion till the houre of his death. Ex Sled lib. 19.

The Lantgraue of Heſſe.

Much like was the caſe alſo of Philip Lantgraue of Heſſe, who likewiſe being taken and ſpoyled of the Emperour, cōtinued the ſpace of 5. yeares in the cruel cuſtodye of the Spanyardes, and albeit he had fined vnto the Emperour, and was promiſed to be ſet free out of priſon, the Emperour and his Counſell dalying with theyr promiſe, expounded his priſonment not to be perpetuall. And though great labour & interceſſion was made for him: yet al would not helpe. For when the Emperour ſent him away, then Mary the Emperours ſiſter tooke him by the way, finding cauillations agaynſt him: whereby hee was agayne committed to the hands of Spanyardes, till at lēgth, through the diſpoſing of Gods mercy firſt the Duke of Saxony, and then 6. dayes after the Lantgraue alſo, were both freed out of long captiuitye, & ſent home. Ex Comment. Sled. lib. 19.24.

Hermannus Archb. of Colen.

Charles. Emperour.

Hermannus Archbiſhop of Colen.
An. 1547.

Wyth theſe holy Martyrs aboue recyted, may alſo be numbred Hermannus arch byſh. of Colen. who a litle before the Emperour had war agaynſt the Proteſtantes, had reformed his Churche from certain papiſtical ſuperſtitions, vſyng therin the ayd and aduiſe of Martine Bucer. wherefore Charles the Emperour ſent word to Colen, that he ſhould be depoſed, whiche he paciētly did ſuffer. In his roome was ſet Adolphus Earle of Schauuenburge. Ex Sled. lib. 18.

Nicholas Frenchman. Mariō wyfe of Auguſtinus, Martyrs.

The Preſident or Maior of Dornic.

M. Nicholas Frenchman.
Marion wife of Auguſtinus
An. 1549.

M. Nicholas and Barbara hys wyfe: alſo Auguſtinus a Barber, and Marion hys wyfe borne about Hennegow, after they had bene at Geneua a ſpace, came into Germanye, thinkyng that way to paſſe ouer into England. By the way comming to Hēnegow, Auguſtine deſired M. Nicholas (becauſe he was learned) to come to Bergis to viſite and comfort certeyne brethren there, which he willingly did. From thence paſſing by Dornic (or Tornay) they held on theyr iourney toward England. But in the way Auſten and his wife being knowen, were detected to the Lieutenaunt of Dornic, who in all ſpeedy haſt folowing after them, ouertooke

Perſecutors. Martyrs, The cauſes.

them 4. myles beyond Donic, Auguſtine (how I can not tell) eſcaped that time out of theyr handes, and could not be found. The ſouldiours then laying handes vpon Nicholas and the 2. women, brought them backe agayne to Dornic. In returninge by the waye, when M. Nicholas at the table gaue thankes (as the maner is of the faythfull) the wicked Ruler ſcorning them, and ſwearing like a tyraunt, ſayd: Now let vs ſee, thou lewd heretick, whether thy God can deliuer thee out of my hand. To whome Nicholas aunſwering againe modeſtly, aſked what had Chriſt euer offended him, that he with his blaſphemous ſwearing did ſo teare him in pieces, deſiring him, that if he had any thing againſt Chriſt, rather he would wreke his anger vpon his poore body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound, hands & feet, were brought to Bergis, and there laid in the doungeon. Thē duke Ariſcote, accompanyed with a great number of prieſtes, and Franciſcan Friers, and with a Doctor whiche was theyr warden, came to talke with them. Nicholas ſtanding in the middeſt of them, being aſked what he was, and whither he would: aunſwered thē perfectly to all theyr queſtions, and moreouer ſo confounded the Friers, that they went away aſhamed, ſaying that he had a deuil, and crying: to the fire with him Lutherane.

Blaſphemy of a Papiſt.

The Fryers confounded.

As they continued looking ſtill for the day of their execution, it came to the Rulers myndes to aſke of Nicolas in what houſe he was lodged, whē he came to Bergis. Nicolas ſayd he had neuer bene there before, and therefore being a ſtraunger he could not tell the name of the houſe. When Nicolas would confeſſe nothing, Duke Ariſcotus came to Barbara Nicholas hys wyfe, to know where they were lodged at Bergis, promiſing many fayre woordes of deliuery, if ſhe would tell. She being a weake and a timorous woman, vttered all. By the occaſion whereof great perſecution folowed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that ſhortlye, euen vpon the ſame, the ſonne of the ſayd Duke Ariſcotus, was ſlayne and buryed the ſame day, when Auguſtinus was burned. To be ſhort, Nicolas ſhortly after was brought before the Iudges and there condemned to be burned to aſhes. At which ſentence geuing, Nicolas bleſſed the Lord, which had counted him worthy to be a witneſſe in the cauſe of hys deare and welbeloued ſonne. Going to the place of execution, he was commaunded to ſpeake nothing to the people, or els he ſhould haue a balle of wood thruſt in his mouth. Being at the ſtake and ſeeyng a great multitude aboute him, forgetting his ſilence promiſed, he cryed with a loud voyce: O Charles, Charles, how long ſhall thy hart be hardened? And with yͤ, one of yͤ ſouldiours gaue him a blow. Then ſaide Nicholas again: Ah miſerable people, thou art not woorthy to whom the word of God ſhould be preached. And thus hee ſpake as they were binding him to the ſtake. The Friers came out with theyr olde ſong, crying that he had a deuill. To whom Nicholas ſpake the Verſe of the Pſalme: Depart from me all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voyce of my weepyng. And thus this holye Martyr paciently taking his death, commended vp his ſpirit vnto God in the middeſt of the fire. Ex Lud. Rab. Pantal. et alijs.

Barbara reuolted.

Gods puniſhment vpon perſecutours.

Nicholas condemned.

Marion Wife of Auſten, aboue mentioned.
At Bergis in Hennegow.
An. 1549.

After the Martyrdome of this M. Nicolas, Mariō the wife of Auſten was called for. With whome they had much talke about the maner and ſtate of Geneua, aſking her how the Sacraments wer adminiſtred ther, and whether ſhee had celebrated there the Lordes Supper. To whom ſhe aunſwered that the Sacramentes there were celebrated after the Lordes inſtitution, of the which ſhe was no Celebrator but a Partaker. The ſentence of her condemnation was this, that ſhe ſhould be interred quicke. When ſhe was let downe to the graue, kneeling vpon her

The martyrdom of Marion.

Marion buryed quicke.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.

knees, ſhe deſired the Lord to help her, and before ſhe ſhould be throwne downe, ſhe deſired her face might be couered with a napkin or ſome linnen cloth, who being ſo couered, and the earth throwen vpon her face and her body, the hangman ſtamped vpon her with hys feet, till her breath was paſt. Ibidem.

The watchmé or ſouldiours of Bellimont.	Auguſtine the huſband of Marion. At Bellimont in Hennegow. An. 1549.	Ye heard before how Auſten eſcaped before at the taking of Nicholas and the 2. women. After this he gaue himſelfe to ſell ſpices & other pedlary ware from place to place. Who at length cõming to the Towne of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was knowne & detected to the Magiſtrate. Whereof he hauing ſome intelligence before, left his ware & ran away. And ſeeing

Auguſtine againe taken.

moreouer the houſe beſet about with harniſed men, where he was hoſted, he began to be more afeard and hid himſelf in a buſh: for he was very timorous, and a weake ſpirited man. But the houre beyng come, which the Lord hath appoynted for him, it happened that certayne ſtanding vpon the towne walle which might well ſee him go into the thicket or buſhe, gaue knowledge therof to the ſouldiours, which folowed hym to the buſhe and tooke him. Beyng taken, he was had to Bergis, the head towne of Hennegow, where being examined, valiauntly ſtandyng to the defence of his doctrine, aunſwered his aduerſaryes with great boldnes.

Example of Gods goodnes in ſtrengthening the weake harted.

Wherein here is to be noted and marueiled to ſee the worke of the Lord, how this man being before of nature ſo timorous, now was ſo ſtrengthened wyth Gods grace, that he nothing feared the force of al his enemies. Among other, came to him the warden of the Gray Friers, with a long Oration, perſwadyng him to relent or els he ſhoulde be damned in hell fyre perpetually. To whom Auſten aunſweryng agayn, ſayd: proue that which you ſay, by the authority of Gods woord, that a man may beleue you, you ſaye much, but you proue nothing, rather lyke a Doctor of lyes, then of truth. &c. At laſt he being there condemned to be burnt at Bellimont, was brought to the Inne where he ſhoulde take horſe: where was a certayne Gentleman a ſtraunger, who drinkyng to him in a cup of wine, deſired hym to haue pity vpon him ſelfe, and if he would not fauour his life, yet that he would fauour his owne ſoule. To whome ſayd Auſten, after he had thanked hym for his good will, what care I haue (ſayd he) of my ſoule, you may ſee by this, that I had rather geue my body to be burned, then to do that thing, that were agaynſt my conſcience. Whẽ he was come to the towne of Bellimont where he ſhould be burned, the ſame day there was a great buriall of the Duke Ariſcotus his ſonne, which was ſlayne a litle before (as is before touched) by the occaſion whereof many nobles and gentlemen were there preſent, which hearing of this Auſten, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of hys martyrdome, the people being offended at his cõſtancy, cryed out to haue him drawne at an horſe tayle, to the place of burning: but the Lord would not ſuffer that. In fine, being tyed to the ſtake and fire ſet vnto him, hartely he prayed to the Lord & ſo in the fire paciently departed. Ex Criſp. & alijs.

The death and martyrdome of Auſten.

Ex Ioan Sled. lib. 22.

The names of the perſecutours be not expreſſed in the ſtory.	A certayne woman of Auſpurge. At Auſpurge. An. 1550.	At Auſpurge, a certayne woman there dwelling, ſeeing a prieſt to cary the hoſte to a ſicke perſon wyth Taper lyght (as the maner is) aſked hym what he meant ſo to goe with candle lyght at noone daye? For thys ſhee was apprehended, and in great daunger, had it not

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

bene for the earneſt ſute and prayer of the women of that City, and at the interceſſion of Mary the Emperours ſiſter. Ex Ioan Sled. lib. 22.

	Two Virgins. In the Dioces of Bamberge. An. 1551.	In the Dyoces of Bamberge 2. maydes were ledde out to ſlaughter, whych they ſuſteyned wyth patient hartes, and cheereful cõtenãces. They had garlands of ſtraw putte on theyr heades. Whereupon one comforting the other going to theyr martyrdome: ſeing Chriſt (ſayd ſhe) for vs bare a Crowne of thorne, why ſhoulde wee ſticke to beare a Crowne of ſtraw? No doubt but the lorde wil render to vs agayne

better then Crownes of golde, ſome ſayd, that they were Anabaptiſtes. And it might be (ſayd Melanct) that they had ſome fond opinion admixed withal: yet they did hold (ſayth he) the foundation of the Articles of our fayth, and they dyed bleſſedly, in a good conſcience and knowledge of the ſonne of God: Fewe doe liue without errors. Flatter not your ſelues, thinking your ſelues ſo cleere that you can not erre. Hæc Philip. Melancth.

The names of the perſecutors appeare not in the ſtory.	The Chriſtian City of Magdeburge. An. 1551.	When Charles the emperour had almoſt gotte all his purpoſe in Germany, in obtruding hys Religion of Interim into all places, which was receiued of the moſt part of all the chiefe Princes and Cittyes, onely the City of Magdeburge continuing in the conſtancy of their doctrine reformed, refuſed to admit the ſame. Where-

fore warre was rayſed agaynſt them, theyr City beſieged, and great violence vſed: ſo that many honeſt and religious Citizens for the Goſpels cauſe ſuſteyned great perils and daunger of death. At laſt when they had manfully and conſtantly endured ſuch great diſtreſſe and calamity, the ſpace of a whole yere, thorow the bleſſed prouidẽce of almighty God (who about the ſame time ſent warre betwene the French king and the Emperour) honeſt reconciliation was made betwene them and the Emperor, whereby they were receiued into fauor, and ſuffered to enioy theyr former religion quietly. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 23.

Iames Heſſelius Chãberlayne of Gaunt, and the Friers there.	Hoſtius otherwiſe called George. At Gaunt. An. 1555.	This Hoſtius borne at Gaunt, was cunning in grauing in armour, and in ſteele. He firſt was in the French Church here in England, during the reigne of King Edward. After the comminge of Queene Mary he wẽt to Norden in Friſeland, wyth hys wyfe and Children. From thence, hauing buſineſſe, hee came to

Gaunt: where (after a certayne ſpace that hee hadde there continued, inſtructing diuers of hys friendes) he heard that there was a blacke Fryer, which vſed to preach good doctrine to the people. Wherefore he being deſirous to heare, came to hys Sermon, where the Frier contrarye to his expectation preached in defence of tranſubſtantiation. At the hearing whereof, his hart was ſo full, that he had muche a doe to reſtrayne, while the Sermon was finiſhed.

As

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

As ſoone as the Frier was come downe, he braſte out, and charged him with falſe doctrine perſuadyng the people, as well as he could be heard, by the ſcriptures, that the bread was but a Sacrament onelye of the Lordes body. The Fryer not willing to heare him, made ſignes vnto him to depart. Alſo the thrõg of the people was ſuch, that it caryed hym out of the dores. He had not gone far, but Heſſelius the Chamberlaine ouertoke him & caried him to priſon. Then were Doctours and other Friers, as Piſtorius and Bunderius, brought to reaſon with him, of the Sacrament, of Inuocation of Saintes, and Purgatory. He euer ſtood to the triall onely of the ſcripture: whiche they refuſed. Then was it agreed that he ſhoulde declare his mind in writing: which he did. He wrote alſo to his wyfe at Emden: comforting her, and requiring her to take care, for Samuel, and Sara hys children. when he was condemned, he was cõmaunded not to ſpeake to the people. Heſſelius the Officer made great haſt to haue him diſpatched. wherfore he myldely like a lambe, praying for his enemyes, gaue him ſelfe to bee bounde, paciently taking that they would doe agaynſt him: whom firſt they ſtrangled, & then conſumed his body being dead, wyth fire. And this was the Martyrdome of Hoſtius. Ex Lud. Rabo. lib.6.

John Friſius, Abbot.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Ioan. Friſius Abbot. In Bauaria. An. 1554.	Ioanne. Sled. Lib. 25. maketh recorde of one Ioan. Friſius Abbotte of Newſtat within the Dioces of the B. Herbipolenſis in Bauaria: who being ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme was called to accompt of his fayth: and ſtrõgly perſiſting in his aſſertions, and defẽding the ſame, by the ſcriptures, he was therefore diſplaced and remooued from all hys iuriſdictions. 25. of Iune. an. 1554. Ex Sled.

The pittious martirdome of Bertrand le Blas.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Bayliffe of Hennegow, gouernour of the towne and Caſtle of Dornic. Peter Deuentiere, Lieuetenaũt to the ſayd Bayliffe. Philip de Cordis, chiefe cõſellour in criminall cauſes. Nic. Chambree. Pet. Rachelier. Iames de Clerke. Nicholas of Fernague. M. Hermes of Wingles, one of the counſell for the ſayd Baliwicke.	Bertrand le Blas. At Dornic. An. 1555.	The Story of Bertrand is lamentable, his tormentes vncredible, the tyrannye ſhewed vnto him horrible, the conſtancye of the Martyr admyrable. This Bertrand beyng a Sylkeweauer, went to Weſell for the cauſe of religion. Who being deſirous to drawe hys wyfe and Chyldren from Dornic to Weſell, came thryſe from thence to perſwade with her to goe with hym thither. When ſhee in no wiſe coulde be entreated, hee remaynyng a few dayes at home, ſet hys houſe in order, and deſyred his wife and his Brother to pray that God woulde ſtabliſhe him in hys enterpriſe, that he went aboute. That done, he went vpon Chriſtenmas daye to the hygh Churche of Dornic, where hee toke the cake out of the Prieſtes handes, as he would haue lyft it ouer hys heade at Maſſe, and ſtampt it vnder his feet, ſaying that he did it to ſhew the glory of that God, and what litle power he hath: with other wordes moe to the people, to perſwade them that the cake or fragment of breade was not Ieſus theyr Sauiour.

Perſecutors. Martyrs, The cauſes.

At the ſight hereof the people beyng ſtroken with a marueilous damp ſtood all amazed. At length ſuch a ſtyrre therupon folowed, that Bertrand could hardely eſcape with life. It was not long but the noyſe of this was caryed to the Baylife of Henegow, and gouernour of the Caſtle of Dornic, which lay ſicke the ſame time, of the gowte, at Bieſy. who like a madde man cried out, that euer God would or could be ſo pacient, to ſuffer that contumely, ſo to be troden vnder the foote of ſuch a myſer: adding moreouer, that he would reuenge his cauſe in ſuch ſorte, as it ſhoulde be an example for euer to all poſterity, and forthwith the furyous tyraunt commaunded himſelfe to be caried to ẏ Caſtle of Dornic. Bertrand being brought before him, was aſked whether hee repented of hys fact, or whether he would ſo doe, if it were to be done agayne. Who aunſwered, that if he were an hundreth tymes to be done, he woulde doe it: and if he had an hundreth liues, he would geue them in that quarrell. Then was he thriſe put to the pynebanke, tormented moſt miſerably, to vtter his ſetters on, whiche he would neuer do. Then proceded they to the ſentence, more like tyrauntes then Chriſten men. By the tenour of which ſentence, this was his puniſhment: Firſt he was drawne from the Caſtle of Dornic, to the market place, hauing a balle of yron put in hys mouth. Then he was ſette vpon a ſtage, where hys right hand, wherwith he tooke the hoſte, was cruſhed and preſſed betwene two hoate yrons, with ſharp yron edges fyry redde, till the forme & faſhion of hys hand was miſſhaped. In like manner they brought other like yrons for hys righte foote, made fyre hoat whereunto of his owne accorde, he put hys foot, to ſuffer as his hand had done before, with marueilous conſtancy and firmeneſſe of minde. That done, they toke the balle of yron out of his mouth, and cutte of hys toung, who notwithſtanding, with continuall crying, ceaſed not to call vpon GOD: whereby the hartes of the people were greatly moued: wherupõ the tormentours thruſt in the yron balle into hys mouth agayne. From thence they brought him down to ẏ lower ſtage, he goyng to the ſame no leſſe chearfully and quietly, then if no part of his body had bene hurt. There his legges and hys handes were bound behinde hym with an yron cheyne goyng aboute his body and ſo he was ledde downe flat vpon the fyre: whom the foreſayd gouernour there ſtanding by and looking vpon, cauſed to be let vp agayne, & ſo downe and vp agayne, till at laſt the whole body was ſpent to aſhes, which he commaunded to be caſt into the riuer, when this was done, the Chappell where thys Maſſegod was ſo entreated, was lockt vppe, and the bord whereupon the Prieſt ſtood, was burnt: ẏ marble ſtone whereupon the hoſte did light, was broken in peeces. And finally for ſo much as the ſayde Bertrand had receiued his doctrine at Weſſell, commaundement was geuen, that no perſon, out of that countrey ſhould go to Weſel, or there occupy vnder incurring the daunger of the Emperours Placard. Ex Criſp. Pantal. et Adriano.

Bertrand thriſe tormented.

The miſerable and tragicall hãdling of Bertrand.

The right hand & foote of Bertrand preſſed of, with hoate yrons.

The tounge of Bertrand cut of.

The burning and martyrdom of Bertrand.

Perſecution in Bohemia.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs,	The cauſes.
	Two hnndreth Miniſters of Bohemia. An. 1555.	The ſame yeare 2. hundreth Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpell, were baniſhed out of Bohemia, for preaching agaynſt the ſuperſtition of the Biſhoppe of Rome, and extolling the glorye of Chriſt. Ex Cõment. Ioã Sled. lib. 25.

Perſecution in Locarne.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs,	The cauſes.
	The preachers of Locrane.	Locarne is a place beyonde the Alpes, yet ſubiecte to the Heluetians, when theſe alſo had receiued the goſpell, and the fiue Pages of the Heluetians aboue mentioned,

Fraunces Warlut,
Alexãder Dayken.
Martyrs.

The father with his two ſonnes and his daughter, martyred.

Michella wife of Iames Clerk, Martyr.

This Iames Clerke before was burned.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
		were not well pleaſed therewith, but woulde haue them puniſhed, and great contention was among the Heluetians about yͤ ſame, it was concluded at length, that the Miniſters ſhould be exiled: whom the Tygurines did receiue. Ex. Pantal.
	Fraunces Warlut. Alexander Dayken. At Dornic. An. 1562.	After theſe two good mẽ being borne in the lower partes of Germany, had bene conuerſaunt in diuers reformed churches in other countryes, at laſt for cõſcience ſake, they returned home agayn to do good in theyr owne countrey of Dornic, & there about. So vpon a time, as the people there reſorted to a backe fielde or wood without the city, with a certayne preacher to heare the word of God and to pray, the aduerſaryes hauing thereof ſome intelligence, ſo purſued them, that they toke of them aboue 30. of whom theſe 2. among the reſt, were apprehended, and thinking no leſſe but that they ſhould be burned, they began to ſing pſalmes. At lẽgth being broght forth, firſt one, then the other, they were Loth beheaded. And where the iudges had intẽded to quarter their bodies, and to ſet thẽ vp by the high wayes, yet was it ſo prouided, GOD working in the hartes of the people, that they were both committed to ſepulture. Ex Lud. Rab.
Earle of Lalain.	Gillotus Viuer. Iames Faber, his father in law. Michaell Faber, ſonne of Iames. Anna wife of Gillotus, and daughter of Iames Faber.	Theſe in the cauſe of the Goſpell ſuffered at Valence. Iames Faber being an olde man, ſayd: that although he could not aunſwere or ſatiſfye them in reaſoning, yet he would conſtantly abide in the truth of the Goſpell. Anna hys daughter being with childe, was reſpited, after ſhe was deliuered, ſhe folowed her huſbãd and father in the like Martyrdome.
	Michella Caignoucle At Vallence. An. 1550.	Michella, wyſe of Iames Clerke which was before burned, when ſhe was offered to be maryed, and to bee caryed out of the country to ſome reformed church, refuſed ſo to doe, but woulde abide the aduenture of her vocation, and ſo was condemned wyth Gillotus to be burned. Ex Criſp.
	Godfridus Hamelle. At Dornic. An. 1252.	Thys Godfryde a Taylor, was taken & condemned at Dornic or Tournay. when they had condemned him by the name of an hereticke. Nay (ſayd he) not an hereticke, but a ſeruaunt of Ieſus Chriſt vnprofitable. when the hangmã went about to ſtrangle him to diminiſh his puniſhment, he refuſed it, ſaying that he woulde abide the ſentence that the Iudges had geuẽ. Ex eod.

Godfride, Taylor, martyr.

☞Beſides theſe Germaynes aboue ſpecified, a great number there was both in the higher & lower countryes of Germanye, which were ſecretly drowned, or buryed, or otherwiſe in priſon made away, whoſe names although they be not knowne to vs, yet they are regiſtred in the booke of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch booke of Adrian, diuers other be numbred in the Catalogue of theſe Germane Martyrs, which likewiſe ſuffered in diuers places of the lower country: the names of certayn wherof be theſe. At Bergis or Berghen in Hennegow, were burnt in the yeare of our Lord. 1555. Iohn Malo, Damian Witrocke, Weldrew Calier buried quicke, Iohn Porceau. At Aſte ſuffered alſo one Iulian. an. 1541. and Adrian Lopphẽ. an. 1555. At Bruxels. an. 1559. one Bawdwyne beheaded. Another called Gilleken Tielman burnt. an. 1541. Adde moreouer to the ſame Catalogue of Duch Martyrs burnt and conſumed, in the lower countryes vnder the Emperours dominion: the names of theſe folowing. W. Swolle, burnt at Mechlin. an. 1529. Nico. Paul. at Gaunt beheaded. Robert Orguier, and Ioanne his wife, with Baudicon and Martin Orguier their children, which ſuffered at Liſle. an. 1556. M. Nicholas burnt at Mons. Iames Foſſeau at Mons. Corniels Volcart, at Brugis, an. 1553. Hubert the Printer, and Philippe Iopner, at Brugis. an. 1553. A woman buryed wyth thornes vnder her. Peter le Roux. at Brugis. an. 1552 At Mechlin ſuffered Frances, and Nicholas Thys, ij. brethren. an. 1555. At Antwerpe were burnt Adrian a Painter and Henry a Taylor. an. 155. Alſo Cornelys Halewyne Lockſmith, & Herman Ianſon the ſame yeare. M. Iohn Champ. Scholemayſter. an. 1557. with a number of other beſides, whiche in the ſayd booke are to be ſeene and read.

Iohn Malo.
Damian Witroke.
Weldrewe Calier.
Iohn Porceau.
Iulian, van den Swerde.
Adrian Lopphen.
Bawdwyne.

Diuers in the lower countries, martyred.

Ex Galli na hiſt, A. driano.

¶An. 1525. we read alſo in the French hiſtory of a certayne Monk, who becauſe he forſooke his abhominable order and was maryed, was burnt at Prage.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Prieſtes of Erford.	A Preacher poyſoned at Erford.	In the Collections of Henry Pantalion, we reade alſo of a certaine godly preacher to be poyſoned, for preaching the woorde of trueth, by the Prieſtes of Erford. Ex Elegia cuiuſdam viri Docti. in Pantal.

A preacher at Erdphor poyſoned.

And here ceaſing with theſe perſecutions in Germany, we will now (Chriſt willing) proceed further to the Frenche Martyrs, comprehending in a lyke Table, the names and cauſes of ſuch as in that kingdome ſuffered for the word of God, and cauſe of righteouſnes, as in this briefe Summary conſequentlye hereunder enſueth.

¶An

¶ An other Table of them which suffered in Fraunce for the like witnesse of the Gospell.

❧ The French Martyrs.

	Persecutors.	Martyrs.	The Causes.
James Pauane, Martyr.	Doctour Martiall of Paris.	James Pauane Scholemaister. At Paris. An. 1524.	This James, first being taken by the Byshop of Melden, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Doctor Martiall. Afterwarde returning agayne to his confession, he was burnt at Paris. 1525. Ex Ioan. Crisp.
Dionysius de Rieux Martyr. This Denys hauing a wodden crosse put into his handes by the Friers, with hys teeth cast it into the ryuer, which made the Fryers mad.		Dionisius de Rieux. At Melda, or Meaux. An. 1528.	This Denys was one of thẽ which were first burne at Melda, for sayinge, that the Masse is a playne denyall of the death and Passion of Christ. He was alwayes wont to haue in his mouth the wordes of Christ: He that denyeth mee before men, hym wyll I denye before my Father, and to muse vpon the same earnestlye. He was burnt with a slow fire, and dyd abyde muche torment. Ex Crisp. & alijs.
Ioannes Cadurcus, Martyr.		Ioannes de Cadurco, Bacheler of the Ciuill law. An. 1533.	This John, first for makyng a Sermon or exhortation to his countreymen of Lunosin in Fraunce vpon Alhallow daye: and after, sitting at a feast where it was propounded, that euerye one shoulde bryng forth some sentence, for that he brought forth thys: Christe reygne in our hartes, and dyd prosecute the same by the Scryptures in muche length of words, was thereupon accused, taken, and disgraded and after burned. At this degradation one of the black Friers of Paris preached, taking for his theame the wordes of S. Paule. 1. Tim. 4. The spirite speaketh, that in the latter dayes menne shall departe from fayth, geuing heed to lying spirites, and doctrine of error. &c. And in handling that place, either he could not or woulde not proceed further in the text. Cadurcus cryed out to him to procede, and read further. The Frier stood dombe, and coulde not speake a word. Then Cadurcus taking the text, did prosecute the same, as foloweth: Teaching false doctrine in hypocrisy, hauing theyr conscience marked with a hoate yron, forbidding to mary, and to eat meates created of God, to bee eaten with thankesgeuing &c. Ex Ioan. Crispi.
5. Martyrs burned.		Batthelmew Mylé, a lame creple.	These fiue here specified, for certayne Billes cast abroad and set vppe, soundyng a-

Persecutors.	Martyrs.	The Causes.	
Prelates of Paris.	John Burges, Marchaunt. The receiuer of Nantes. Henry Poille of Couberon. Cantella, a Scholemistres. Stephen de la Forge, Marchaunt. An. 1533.	gaynst the abhomination of the Masse, and other superstitious absurdityes of the Pope, were condemned and burned in the City of Paris. Henry of Couberon had hys tongue bored through, and wyth an yron wyer, tyed fast to one of hys cheekes: who lykewise with the other, was burned, as is aforesayde. Ex Ioanne Crisp.	
	Alexander Canus priest, otherwise called Laurentius Crucceus. At Paris. An. 1534.	For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christes true religion, hee was burned in Paris, hauing but small fire, and abydde muche torment. Ex Henr. Pantal.	Alexander Canus, Martyr.
The Gray Friers in Paris. Doctour Clerke, a Sorbonist.	John Poynter, a Surgeon. At Paris. An. 1533.	Thys Surgeon beyng detected and accused by the Fryers, and suche as he had cured before of the Frenche pockes, was first condemned to be strãgled, and then burned: but afterwarde, because he would not do homage to a certayne Idole at the commaundemente of a Fryer that came to confesse hym, his sentence was turned to haue hys toung cutte of, and so to bee burned. Ex Crisp.	John Poyntet, Martyr. In Fraunce the maner was, that the Martyrs comming by any Image as they went to burning, and would not worship the same, had their tongues cut out.
A certayne Knight of Rhodes, Vncle to this Peter.	Peter Gaudet, Knight sometimes of Rhodes. An. 1533.	This Peter being at Geneua with hys wyfe, was trayned out from thence by his vncle, and put in prison for defence of the Gospel, and after long tormentes then sustained, was burned. vide Crisp.	Peter Gaudet, Martyr.
	Quoquillard. An. 1534.	At Bezanson, in the countye of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christes gospell. Ex Ioan Crisp.	Quoquillard, Martyr.
	Nicolas a Scriuener. John de Phoix. Stephen Burlet. An. 1534.	These three were executed and burned for the like cause of the Gospell, in the City of Arras: namely, Nicholas a Scriuener, John de Poix, Stephen Burlet. Ex Ionne Crisp.	Nicholas a Scriuener, Ioan. de Poix, Steuen Burlet, Martyrs.
A Gray Frier in the City of Rochell.	Mary Becandella. At Fountaynes.	This Mary beyng vertuouslye instructed of her maister where she liued, and being afterward at a Sermon, where a Frier preached, after the Sermõ, found faulte with hys doctrine	Mary Becaudella, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	An. 1534.	doctrine, and refined the ſame by Scryptures. whereat he diſdayning, procured her to be burned at Fountaynes. Ibidem.
	John Cornon. An. 1535.	John Cornon a huſband man of Maſco, and vnlettered, but to whom God gaue ſuch wiſedome, that hys iudges were amazed, when he was condēned by theyr ſentence, and burned. Ex Criſp.
George Borell. Iaylor. The Procurator of the City of Grenoble in Fraunce. The Inquiſitour.	Martin Gonyn. In Dolphyne. An. 1236.	This Martin being taken for a ſpye in the borders of Fraunce, towarde the Alpes, was committed to priſon. In his going out, hys Iaylour eſpyed about hym, letters of Farellus and of Peter Viret, wherefore being examined of the kinges Procuratour, and of the Inquiſitor, touching his fayth, after he had rendered a ſufficient reaſon thereof, he was caſt into the riuer and drowned. Ex Ioan Criſp.
The kinſfolkes and frendes of this Claudius. Moſinus, an Officer.	Cladius Paynter a Goldſmith. At Paris. An. 1540.	Claudius going about to conuert hys frendes and kinſfolks to hys doctrine was by them committed to Morinus a chiefe captayn, who condemned him to be burned: but the hygh Parliament of Paris, correctyng that ſentence, added moreouer ẏ he ſhoulde haue hys tongue cut out before: and ſo to be burned. Ex Ioan Criſp.
Gaſper Augerius the Biſhops Renter. Domicellus, a Franciſcane and Inquiſitour.	Stephen Brune, a huſbandman. At Rutiers. An. 1540.	Stephen Brune was perſecuted of Augerius, who after his confeſſion geuen of hys fayth, was iudged to be burned, which puniſhment, he tooke ſo conſtantly, that it was to them a wōder. Hys aduerſaryes commaūded after his death, to bee cryed that none ſhould make any more mention of him, vnder payne of hereſy. Pantalion addeth moreouer, that at the place of hys burnyng called Planuol, the wynde roſe and blewe the fyre ſo from hym, as he ſtoode exhortyng the people, that hee there continued about the ſpace of an houre, in maner, not harmed

John Cornon, Martyr.

Martyn Gonyn Martyr.

Claudius Paynter, a Goldſmith, Martyr.

Stephen Brune Martyr.

The Martyr not harmed with the fire.

or ſcarce touched with any flame: ſo that all ẏ woode being waſted away, they were compelled to begin the fire agayne with new fagottes, & veſſels of oyle, and ſuch other matter: and yet neither could he wyth all this, be turned, but ſtood ſafe. Then the hangman tooke a ſtaffe, and let driue at his head. To whome the holy Martyr being yet aliue, ſayde: when I am iudged to the fire, doe ye beate me with ſtaues like a dogge? with that the hangman with his pike, thruſt him through the belly and the guttes, and ſo threw him downe into the fire & burned his body to aſhes, throwing away his aſhes afterward with the wind. Ex Ioan Criſp.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Conſtantinus, a Citizen of Rhone wyth three other. An. 1542.	These foure for defence of the Goſpell, being cōdemned to be burned, were put in a doungcart, who thereat reioyſing, ſayd that they were reputed here as excrements of this worlde, but yet theyr death was a ſwet odour vnto God. Ex Ioan Criſp.
	Iohn du Beck, Prieſt. An. 1543.	For the doctrine of the Goſpell he was diſgraded, and cōſtantly abode the torment of fire in the chiefe City of Champaigne. Ex Ioan Criſp.
The Pariſh Prieſt of the towne of S. Fayth in Angeow. Alſo other Prieſtes of the ſame country. Riueracus and his ſeruaunt.	Aymond de Lauoy. Bordeaux. An. 1543.	This Aymonde preached the Goſpell at S. Faythes in Angeow, where he was accuſed by the Pariſhe Prieſt there, and by other Prieſtes moe, to haue taught falſe doctrine, to the great decaye of theyr gaynes. Whereupon, when the Magiſtrates of Bordeaux had geuen commaundement, and had ſent out theyr Apparitour to apprehende hym, he hauing intelligence thereof, was willed by his frendes, to flye and ſhyfte for himſelfe: but he would not, ſaying that he had rather neuer to haue bene borne, then ſo to doe. It was the office of a good Shephearde (he ſayd) not to flye in tyme of perill, but rather to abide the daunger, leaſt the flocke be ſcattered: or els leaſt

Purgrtory.

The office of a goodſhepheard to ſtand by hys flocke.

Hebr. 9.
1. Pet. 1.

Act. 21.

peraduenture, in ſo doing, he ſhould leaue ſome ſcruple in theyr mindes, thus to thinke, that he had fedde them with dreames and fables, contrary to the word of GOD. wherefore beſeeching them to moue him no more therein, he tolde them, that he feared not to yelde vp both body and ſoule in the quarrell of that trueth, which he had taught: ſaying with S. Paule, that he was ready not onely to be bound for the teſtimony of Chriſt, in the Gitty of Bordeaux, but alſo to dye. To contract the long ſtorye hereof to a briefe narration, the Sumner came, and was in the City three daies: during which tyme Aymondus preached three Sermons. The people in defence of theyr Preacher, flew vppon the Sumner, to delyuer hym out of hys handes. But Aymond deſired them not to ſtoppe hys Martyrdome: ſeyng it was the will of God that he ſhould ſuffer for him, he would not (ſayd he) reſiſt. Then the Conſuls ſuffered the Sumner, and ſo Aimond was caryed to Bordeaux. Where many witneſſes, the moſt part being Prieſtes, came in agaynſt him, with M. Riuerack alſo, and his ſeruaunt: which Riueracke had ſayde oftentimes before, that it ſhould coſt him a thouſand crownes, but he woulde burne him. Many exceptions he made agaynſt hys falſe witneſſes, but that would not be taken. Al their accuſation was onely for denying Purgatory.

About ix. monethes he remayned in priſon wyth great miſery, bewaylyng exceedingly his former life albeit there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came downe letters, wherupon the iudges began to proceede to his condēnation, and he had greater fetters put vpon him, which he tooke for a token of his death ſhortly to follow. After, he was examined with tormēts. One of yͤ head preſidents came to him, & ſhaking hym by the beard, bad him tell what fellowes he had of his Religion, To whō he anſwered, ſaying: that he had no other fellowes, but ſuche as knew, and did the will of God his father, whether they were nobles, marchantes, huſbandmen, or of what degree ſo euer they were. In theſe torments he endured ii. or iii. houres beyng but of a weake body, with theſe wordes comforting himſelfe: This body (ſayd hee) once muſt dye but the ſpirit ſhal liue: the kingdom of God abideth for euer. In the time of his tormenting he ſwoūded, Afterward comming to himſelfe agayne, he ſayd, O Lord Lord, why haſt thou forſaken me? To whome the preſident: Nay wicked Lutheran (ſaid he) Thou haſt forſaken God. Then ſayd Aymondus: Alas good mayſters, why do you thus miſerably torment me? O Lord I beſeech thee forgeue them, they know not what they do. See (ſayd the Preſident) this Caytiſe, how he prayeth for vs, neuertheles ſo conſtant was he in his paynes, yͭ they could not force hym to vtter one mans name: ſaying vnto thē, yͭ he thought to haue founde more mercy with men: wherefore he prayed God that that he might find mercy with him.

Tormentes.

On the next Saterday following, ſentence of condemnation was geuen agaynſt hym. Then certayne Fryers were appoynted to heare his confeſſion. Whō he refuſed, chuſing to him one of his owne order, the pariſh prieſt of S. Chriſtophers, bidding the Friers depart from hym, for he would confeſſe hys ſinnes to yͤ Lord. Do you not ſee (ſayd he) how I am troubled enough with men? will ye yet trouble me more? Other haue had my body, will you alſo take from me my ſoule? Away from me I pray you. At laſt when he could not be ſuffered to haue the pariſh prieſt, he then tooke a certayne Carmelite, bidding yͤ reſt to depart, with whom he hauing long talke, at laſt did conuert him, vnto the truth. Shortly after yͭ came vnto him the Iudges, Caſſagnes, and Longa with other counſailers moe, vnto whome the ſaide Aymondus began to preach and declare his minde, touching the Lordes ſupper: But Longa interrupting him: demaunded of him thus.

Purgrtory.

The Iudge.

Firſt declare vnto vs your minde what you thinke of Purgatory.

The Martyr,

In Scripture all theſe are one, to purge, to clenſe, & to waſh. Whereof wee reade in Eſay, in the Epiſtle of S. Paule, and of S. Peter. He hath waſhed you in hys bloud. Ye are redeemed not with golde, but with the bloud of Chriſt.&c. And how often doe we read in the Epiſtles of S. Paule, That we are clenſed by the bloud of Chriſt from our ſinnes.&c.

Hebr.9.
1.Pet.1.

The Iudge.

Thoſe Epiſtles are knowne to euery child.

The Martyr.

To euery child? Nay, I feare you haue ſcarſe read them your ſelfe.

A Fryer.

M. Aymond, with one word you may ſatiſfie them, if you will ſay, that there is place where the ſoules be purged after this life.

The Martyr,

That I leaue for you to ſaye, if you pleaſe. What? would you haue me damne mine owne ſoule, and to ſay that which I know not?

The Iudge.

Doeſt not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou ſhalt go to purgatory? And he that dyeth in veniall ſinne, that he ſhall paſſe ſtreight into Paradiſe.

The Martyr.

Such truſt I haue in my God, that the ſame daye, when I ſhall dye, I ſhall enter into Paradiſe?

An other Iudge.

Where is Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

There, where the maieſtie and glory of God is.

The Iudge.

The Canons doe make mention of Purgatory, and you in your ſermons haue vſed alwayes muche to pray for the poore.

This Fryer taketh praying for the poore which be aliue and thoſe that be dead to be all one.

The Martyr.

I haue preached the word of God, & not the Canōs.

The Iudge.

Doeſt thou beleue in the Churche?

The Martyr.

I beleue as the Church regenerated by the bloud of Chriſt, and founded in hys word, hath appoynted.

The Church.

The Iudge.

What Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Church is a Greeke word ſignifiyng as muche as a congregation or aſſemble: and ſo I ſay, yͭ when ſo euer the faythfull doe congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Chriſtian religion, the holy ghoſt is verily with them.

The Iudge.

By this it ſhould follow, that there be many Churches. And where as any ruſticall clownes do aſſemble together, there muſt be a Church.

The Martyr.

It is no abſurde thinge to ſay that there be manye Churches or congregations among the Chriſtians: And ſo ſpeaketh S. Paule: To all the Churches whiche are in Gallatia.&c. And yet all theſe congregations make but one Churche.

Galat.1.

The Iudge.

The Church wherein thou beleeueſt, is it not the ſame Churche, whiche our Creede doth call the holy Church?

The Martyr.

I beleue the ſame.

The Iudge.

And who ſhould be the head of that Churche

The head of the Church.

The Martyr.

Ieſus Chriſt.

The Iudge.

And not the Pope?

The Martyr.

No.

The Iudge.

And what is he then?

The Martyr.

A Miniſter, if he be a good man, as other Byſhops be: of whom S. Paule thus writeth: 1. Cor. 4. Let a man ſo eſteeme of vs, as Miniſters, and diſpenſers of the ſecrets of God.&c.

The Iudge.

What then, doeſt not thou beleue the Pope?

The Martyr.

I know not what he is,

The Pope what he is.

The Iudge.

Doeſt thou not beleue that he is the ſucceſſour of Peter?

The Martyr.

If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter, vpon the true rocke Chriſt Ieſus, ſo I beleue his workes, and ordinaunces to be good,

Then the Iudges leauing hym with yͤ Friers, departed frō hym, coūting as a dāned creature. Notwithſtanding, Aymundus putting his truſt in God, was full of comfort, ſaying with Saint Paule: Who ſhall ſeparate me from the loue of God? Shall the ſword, hunger, or nakednes? No, nothing ſhall pluck me from hym. But rather I haue pittie of you (ſayd he) and ſo they departed. Not lōg after, he was brought to the place of execution, ſinging by the waye, the Pſalme. In exitu Iſraell de Ægipto. &c. And as he paſſed by the place, where he before had bene impriſoned, he called to hys priſon fellowes, exhorting them to put theyr confidence in the Lorde, and tolde them that he had ſpoken for them, and declared theyr miſeryes vnto the Preſident. He thanked moreouer the keeper, and deſired hym to be good to hys pore pryſoners. And ſo taking his leaue of them, and deſiring them to praye for hym, alſo geuyng thankes to the maiſtreſſe keeper, for her gentlenes ſhewed to hym, he proceeded forward toward hys execution. As he came agaynſt the Churche of Saint Andrew, they willed hym to aſke mercy of God, and of bleſſed S. Mary, and of Saint Iuſtice. I aſke mercye, (ſayth he) of God and hys Iuſtice, but the Virgine, bleſſed S. Mary, I neuer offended, nor did that thinge, for the whiche I ſhould aſke her mercy. From thence he paſſed forward to the Churche of S. Legia, preaching

Pſalm.114.

Aymond ſpeaketh for his pryſon fellowes.

Iohn 8. Filioli, cuſtodite vos a ſimulachris. 1. Iohn 5.

ching ſtill as he went. Then ſpake one of the ſouldiours to the driuer or carter, willyng him to driue a pace, for here is preaching, ſayd he, enough. To whō ſayd Aymond, He that is of God, heareth the wordes of God &c. In paſſing by a certain Image of our Lady great offence was taken agaynſt him, becauſe he alwayes called vpon Chriſt Ieſus onely, and made no mention of her. whereupon hee lifted his voyce to God, praying that he woulde neuer ſuffer him to inuocate any other, ſauing him alone. Comming to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he was tumbled out of the cart, vpon ẏ groūd, teſtifying to the Magiſtrates & to the people ſtanding by, ẏ he dyed for the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt & for his word. More he would haue ſpoken, but he coulde not be ſuffered, by ẏ tumultuous vexing of the officers, crying, diſpatch, diſpatche him, let him not ſpeake. Thē he ſpeaking a few wordes ſoftly in ẏ eare of the litle Carmelite, whō he had conuerted: was bid to ſtepp vp to ẏ ſtage. where the people beginning to geue a litle audiēce, thus he ſaid O Lord make haſt to helpe me, tary not, do not deſpiſe the woorke of thy handes. And you my brethren, ẏ be ſtudents, & ſcholers, I exhort you to ſtudy and learne the Goſpell, for the word of God abideth for euer: labour to knowe the will of God, and feare not them that kill the body, but haue no power vpon your ſoules. And after that, my fleſhe (ſayde hee) repugneth merueilouſly againſt the ſpirit, but ſhortly I ſhall caſt it away. My good mayſters, I beſeech you pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my ſoule. As he was oft repeting the ſame the hangman tooke and haled him vpon the ſteppes in ſuch ſort, that he ſtrangled hym. And thus ẏ bleſſed Sainct gaue vp his life. whoſe body afterwarde was with fire conſumed.

The wordes of Aymond to the ſtudentes.

The death and martyrdome of Aymondus.

Fraunces Bribard.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Fraunces Bribard. An. 1144.	Fraunces Bribard was ſayde to be the ſecretarye of the Cardinal of Bellay. who being alſo for the Goſpel condemned, after hys tongue was cutte off, did with like cōſtācie ſuſteyne the ſharpenes of burning. Ibidem.

William Huſſon, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The high Court of Roan. A widowe keeping a vitailing houſe, in the ſuburbes of Roan.	William Huſſon, an Apothecary. At Roan. An. 1544.	William Huſſan Apothecary, comming frō Bloys to Roan, was lodged with a certaine widow in the ſuburbs of the Cittye. who aſking of her, at what tyme the Counſayle or Parliament did ryſe, ſhe ſayd at x. of ẏ clock About whiche tyme & houre hee went to the Pallace, and there ſcattered certayne bookes concernyng Chriſtian doctrine, and the abuſe of mens traditions. whereat the counſayle was ſo mooued, that they commaunded all the gates of the Cittye to be locked, and diligent ſearch to be made in all Innes and hoſteles, to finde out the author. Then the widow told of the partye which was there, and aſked of the riſing of the Counſayle & ſhortly vpon the ſame took hys horſe and rode away. Thē were poſtes ſet out thorough all quarters, ſo that the ſayd William was taken by the waye riding to Diepe, and brought agayne to Roan. who there being examined, declared hys fayth boldly, and howe became of purpoſe to diſperſe thoſe bookes in Roan, and went to do the like at Diepe.

The bold
of a con
Martyr.

The weeke enſuing, hee was condemned to be burned aliue. After the ſentence geuen, he was brought in a cart, accompanyed with a Doctor a Carmelite Frier, before the great churche, who puttynge a torche in hys hand, required hym to doe homage to the Image of our Lady: which becauſe he refuſed to do, his tongue was cut out. The Fryer then making a Sermon, when he ſpake any thing of the mercies of God, the ſayd William harkened to hym: but when he ſpake of the merites of Sayntes, and other dreames he turned awaye his head. The Fryer looking vppon the countenaunce of Huſſon, lifte vpp his hand to heauen: ſaying with great exclamation, that he way damned, and was poſſeſſed with a deuill when the Fryer had ceaſed hys Sermon, this godly Huſſon had his handes and feete bound behynde his backe, & with a pully was lifted vp into the ayre and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the bleſſed Martyr, with a ſmyling and cheerefull countenaunce looked vp to heauen, neuer mouing nor ſtyrryng, till he let down his head, and gaue vp hys ſpirite. All the people there preſent were not a little aſtonyed thereat, and were in diuers opinions, ſome ſaying, that he had a deuill other mayntayned the contrary, ſaying, if hee had a deuill, he ſhould haue fallen into diſpayre.

Cuſtodi
vos a ſim
lachris,
Iohn 5.

Crueltie
the aduer
ries,

This Carmelite Fryer abouesayde, was called Delanda, which after was conuerted, and preached the Goſpell, Ex, Gallie, hiſt. Ioan. Criſp. Lib. 2.

Frier Del
da, conuerted,

Iames Cobard, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Three popiſh prieſts. The Duke of Loraine.	Iames Cobard a Scholemaſter, and many other taken the ſame time. An. 1545.	This Iames, ſcholemaiſter in the Citty of Sainct Michael in the Dukedom of Barens in Loraine, diſputed with three prieſts that the ſacrament of Baptiſme, and of the Supper dyd not auayle, vnleſſe they were receaued with fayth: which was as muche to ſaye, as that the Maſſe dyd profite neither ẏ quick nor the dead. For the which and alſo for hys confeſſion, which he being in priſon, ſent of hys owne accorde, by hys mother vnto the Iudge, hee was burned, and moſt quietly ſuffered. Ex. Ioan. Criſp.

Ex Lud.

Rab. Lib. 6. Note how God maketh theſe aduerſaries with their owne ſong, to praiſe the ſacrifice of theſe holie Martyrs againſt theyr willes.

* O Salutaris hoſtia, id eſt, O wholeſome ſacrifice, is a ſong which the Papiſts vſe in prayſe of the ſacrifice of their Maſſe.

Xiiij. Martyrs.

Pet. Clerke, Ioh. Clerke, brethrē and Martyrs.

Xiiij. bleſſed martyrs at Meaux.

A French church ſet vp in Meaux.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Franciſcan Friers.	Peter Clerke brother to Iohn Clerke, burnt before. Stephanus Manginus. Iames Bouchbeck. Iohn Briſebar. Henr. Huiſnote. Tho. Honorate. Iohn Baudouinus.	Theſe xiiij. dwelt at Melda, a Cittye in France x. myles from Paris. where William Briconetus beyng there Byſh. did muche good, brought to them the light of the Goſpell, and reformed the Church. who ſtraightly beyng examined for the ſame, relented: but yet theſe with many other remained conſtāt. who after the burning of Iames Pauane before mentioned, and ſeeing ſuperſtition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Mangins houſe, & to ſet vp a churche to themſelues, after the example of the French Churche in Straunſburgh. For theyr miniſter, they choſe Peter Clerke

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Doctours of Sorbone and others.	Iohn Fleſch. Iohn Picquere. Peter Piguere. Io. Matheſton. Philippe Little. Michaell Caillow. Fraunces Clerke. Couberon, a Weauer. At Meaux. An. 1546.	Clerke. Firſt they beginning with 20. or 30 did grow in ſhort time to 3. or 4. hundreth. Whervpon the matter being knowne to the Senate of Paris, the chamber was beſette, where they were, and they taken. Of whom 62. men and weomen were bound & brought to Paris, ſinging pſalmes, eſpecially yͤ pſal. 79. To theſe it was chiefly obiected, that they beeing laye men, would miniſter the ſacrament of the body & bloud of the Lord. Of theſe 62. 14. chiefly did ſtand faſt, which were condemned, and rackt, to confeſſe moe of theyr fellowes, but they vttered none: the reſt wer ſcourged and baniſhed the country. Theſe 14. were ſent to ſondrye Monaſteries to be conuerted: but yͤ woulde not be. Then they beyng ſent in a cart to Melda, or Meaux, to be burned, by the waye, three myles from Paris, a certayne weauer, called Couberon, by chaunce meeting them, cryed to them a loud, bidding them be of good cheare and to cleaue faſt to the Lord: who alſo was taken, and bounde with them in the cart. Cōming to the place of execution, which was before Mangins houſe, it was told them, that they which would be confeſſed, ſhuld not haue their tongues cut out, the other ſhuld. Of whom vii. there were, whiche to ſaue theyr tongues, confeſſed: other vii. would not. Of the firſt was Stephen Mangin, who hauing his tongue firſt cut, notwithſtanding ſpake ſo that he might be vnderſtande, ſaying thriſe The Lordes name be bleſſed. As they were in burning, the people ſunge pſalmes. The prieſts ſeing that, would alſo ſing their ſonges: *O Salutaris hoſtia and Salue regina, while the ſacrifice of theſe holy martyrs were finiſhed. Their wiues being compelled to ſee their huſbandes in tormentes, were after put in priſon, from whence they being promiſed to be let go if they would ſay that theyr huſbands were damned refuſed ſo to ſay.

Ex Lud.

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*O Salutaris hoſtia, id eſt, O wholeſome ſacrifice, is a ſong which the Papiſts vſe in prayſe of the ſacrifice of their Maſſe.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Andre bookſeller, promotour. Doctours Sorboniſts M. Nicolas Clerici, Doctour of Diuinitie. Doctour Iohn Picard Doctour Nicolas Maillaird.	Peter Chapot. At Paris. An. 1546.	Peter Chapot firſt was a correcter to a Printer in Paris. After he had bene at Geneua, to do good to the Church of Chriſt, lyke a good man, he came with bookes of holye ſcripture into France and diſperſed them abroad, vnto the faythfull, which great zeale of his, cauſed hym to be apprehended of I. Andre, which was the common Promotor to Liſet the Preſident, & to the Sorboniſtes. This good Chapot being taken and brought before the Commiſſaries, rendered promptly accompt of hys faith vnto whom he exhibited a ſupplication, or writing wherein hee learnedly informed yͤ Iudges, to do their office vprightly. Then were iii. Doctours of Sorbone aſſigned, Nicholas Clerici, Iohn Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to diſpute with hym. Who when they could finde no aduantage, but rather ſhame at hys hands, they waxed angry with the Iudges, for letting them diſpute with heretickes. This done the Iudges conſulting together vpon hys condemnation, could not agree: ſo that Chapot (as it ſeemed) might haue eſcaped, had not a wicked perſon, the reporter of the proces, ſought & wrought his condemnation, whiche condemnation was at length concluded thus: that he ſhoulde be burned quicke, onely the cuttyng of hys tongue was pardoned. The Doctour appoynted to be at his execution, was Maillard, wyth whome he was greatly encombred. For this Fryer called vppon hym ſtill, not to ſpeake to the people, but hee deſired hym that he might pray. Then he bad hym praye to oure Lady, & confeſſe her to be his Aduocate. He confeſſed, yͭ ſhe was a bleſſed Virgine, & recited the Lords prayer and the Creed, and was about to ſpeake of yͤ Maſſe, but Maillard woulde not let hym making haſt to hys execution, & ſaid vnles he would ſay Aue Maria, he ſhould be burnt quicke. Then Chapot prayed: O Ieſu, ſonne of Dauid, haue mercy vppon me. Maillard then bad hym ſay Ieſus, Maria, and ſo hee ſhould be ſtrangled. Chapot agayn excuſed that he was ſo weake, he could not ſpeake. Say, ſayd Maillard, Ieſus Maria, or els thou ſhalt be burned quicke. As Chapot was thus ſtriuing with the Fryer, ſodeinly as it happened, Ieſus Maria, eſcaped out of hys mouth. But he by and by repreſſing hymſelfe, O god ſayde he, what haue I done? Pardon mee O Lorde, to thee onely haue I ſinned. Then Maillard commaunded the corde to be pluckt about hys necke to ſtrangle hym: notwithſtanding yet he felt ſomthing the fire. After all thynges done, Maillard all full of anger went to the counſayle houſe, called La chamber Ardante, declaring what an vprore had there almoſt happened amongſt the people, ſaying that he would complayne vpon the Iudges, for ſuffering thoſe heretickes to haue theyr tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made that all which were to be burned, vnles they recanted at the fire: ſhoulde haue theyr tongues cut of. Whiche lawe dilligently afterwarde was obſerued. Ex Ioan. Criſp. Lib. 6.

To geue neuer ſo litle to the aduerſaries is a great matter.

The cutting of tongues howe and by whom it came, in Frāce.

Perſecutuors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
M. Peter Liſet, Preſidēt of the counſayle of Paris.	Saintinus Niuet. At Paris. An. 1546.	After the burning of thoſe 14. whoſe names bee deſcribed before, this Saintinus (which was a lame criple) with hys wife remoued out of Meaux, to Montbeliard, wher when he had continued a while in ſafe liberty of religion, and ſaw hymſelfe there to doe no good, but to bee a burden to the Church caſt in his mind to returne home to Meaux agayn, & ſo did. Where at laſt, as hee was ſelling certayn ſmall wares in yͤ fayre, hee was there knowne and apprehended. Whereof whē information was geuen, hee being examined, at the firſt confeſſed all, and more thē they were willing to heare. In the tyme of this Inquiſition, as they were examining hym of certayn points of Religion, and aſked hym whither he would ſtand to that he ſayd or not: he gaue this aunſwere agayne, worthye to be regiſtred in all mens hartes, ſaying: And I aſke you agayne Lorde Iudges, dare you be ſo bold to deny that is ſo playn and manifeſt by the open wordes of the Scripture? So

little

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

little regard had he to ſaue hys owne lyfe, that he deſired the Iudges, both at Meaux, and at Paris for Gods ſake, that they would rather take care of their owne liues and ſoules, and to conſider howe muche innocēt bloud they ſpilled dayly in fighting againſt Chriſt Ieſus, and his Goſpell.

At laſt, being brought to Paris, through the meanes of M. Peter Liſet, a great perſecutour, for that they of Meaux, ſhoulde take by hym no incouragement, there he was deteyned, and ſuffered hys martyrdome: where no kinde of crueltie was lacking, which the innocent Martyrs of Chriſt Ieſus were wont to be put vnto. Ex Henr. Pantal. & hiſt. Gallic.

Stephen Polliot, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The names of his perſecutours in the ſtory be not expreſſed.	Stephen Polliot. At Paris. An. 1546.	Stephen Polliot comming out of Normandy (where he was borne) vnto Meaux, taryed not there long, but was compelled to flye, & went to a towne called Fera: where hee was apprehēded, and brought to Paris, and there caſt into a foule and darcke priſon. In whiche priſon he was kept in bands and fetters a lōg ſpace, where he ſaw almoſt no light. At length being called for before the Senate,

and his ſentence geuen to haue his tongue cut out, and to be burned aliue, his ſatchell of bookes hangyng about his necke, O Lord (ſayd he) is the world in blindnes and darckenes ſtill? For he thought being in priſon ſo long, that the world had ben altered from his olde darckenes, to better knowledge. At laſte, the worthye Martyr of Ieſus Chriſt hauyng his bookes about his necke, was put into the fire, where he with much paciencc, ended this tranſitory lyfe. Ex Henr. Pantal.

Ioh. Engliſhe, martyr.

Michaell Michelot, martyr.

Leonardus de Prato, martyr.

Vij. Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The high Senate of Paris.	Iohn Engliſhe. An. 1547.	He was executed & burned at Sens in Burgundy, being condemned by the hygh Courte of Paris, for confeſſing ẏ true word of God. Ex Criſp. & Adrian.
	Michaell Michelote, a Taylour. An. 1547.	This Taylour beyng apprehended for ẏ goſpels ſake, was iudged firſt if hee woulde turne, to be beheaded: and if hee woulde not turne, then to be burned aliue. Who beyng aſked whether of theſe two he woulde chuſe, aunſwered, that hee truſted that hee which hath geuen him grace not to denye the truth woulde alſo geue him pacience to abide the fire. He was burned at Werden by Turney.
Two falſe brethren.	Leonardus de Prato. An. 1547.	This Leonard goyng from Dyion, to Bar, a towne in Burgundy, with two falſe brethren, and talkyng with them about religion, was betrayed of thē, and afterward burned.
	Iohn Taffingnon. Ioan his wife. Symon Mareſchall. Ioan his wife. W. Michant. Iames Boulerau. Iames Bretany. An. 1547.	All theſe 7. beyng of the Cittie of Langres, for the word and truth of Chriſt Ieſus, were committed to the fire wherein they dyed ẇ much ſtrength & comfort. But eſpecially Ioanne, which was Simons wife, being reſerued to the laſt place becauſe ſhe was ẏ yongeſt, confirmed her huſband and al the other, with wordes of ſingular conſolation, declaring to her huſband, that they ſhoulde the ſame daye, be maryed to the Lorde Ieſus, to liue with him for euer. Ex Pantal, Criſp. & aliis.
The Senate of paris.	Miſchaell. Mareſchall. Ioh. Cam. Great Iohn Camus. Iohn Serarphin. An. 1547.	Theſe alſo, the ſame yeare and about the ſame tyme, for the lyke confeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, wer condemned by the Senate of Paris, & in the ſame Cittye alſo with the like cruelty, were burned. Ex Pantal. Criſp.
The hoſt of Octouien, at Lyons. Gabriell of Saconnex Preſenteur.	Octonien Blondell, a Marchaunt of precious ſtones. At paris. An. 1548.	This Octouien, as he was a great occupyer in al fayres & countryes of Fraunce, and well knowne, both in Court, & els where: ſo was he a ſingular honeſt man, of great integritie, and alſo a fauourer of Gods word who beyng at his hoſtes houſe in Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk and ſuperſtitious behauiour, whiche there he heard & ſaw. Wherfore the hoſt bearing to him a grudge, chanced to haue certayne talke with Gabriell of Sacconex Preſenteur concerning the riches, and a ſumptuous coller ſet with riche iewels, of this Octouien. Thus theſe two cōſulting together, dyd ſuborne a certayn per-

Octouien, martyr.

ſon to borowe of hym a certayne ſumme of crownes which becauſe Octouien refuſed to lend, the other cauſed hym to be apprehended for hereſie, thinking thereby to make a tachment of hys goodes. But ſuch order as was taken by Blondels friendes, that they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe. Then Blondell being examined of hys fayth, gaue a playne and ful confeſſion of that doctrine, which he had learned, for the whiche he was committed to priſon: where he dyd much good to the priſoners there. For ſome ẏ were in debt, he payd theyr creditors and looſed them out. To ſome he gaue meate, to other rayment. At length thorough the importune perſwaſions of his parents and frendes, he gaue ouer and chaunged hys confeſſion. Notwithſtanding the Preſenteur not leauyng ſo, appealed hym vp to ẏ high court of Paris. There Otouien beyng aſked agayne, touching hys fayth, which of hys two confeſſions he woulde ſtick to, he being before admoniſhed of his fal, and of the offence geuen thereby to the faithfull, ſaid he would liue & dye in his firſt confeſſion, which he defēded to be conſonāt to the verity of Gods word. Which done, he was cōdemned to be burned, and ſo haſt was made to his execution, leaſt his frendes in the court, might come betweene and ſaue his life. Ex Ioan. Criſp. Lib. 6.

Faith ioyned with good workes.

Hubert Cheriet, Martyre.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a yong man a Taylour. At Dyion. An. 1549.	Hubert beyng a young man of the age of xix. yeares, was burned for the Goſpell at Dyiō, who neyther by any terroures of death nor allurementes of hys parentes, coulde be otherwyſe perſwaded, but conſtantly to remayne in the truth, vnto death. Ibid.

Florent Venote, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
peter Liſetus, preſident of the Counſaile of paris, and other Sorboniſtes.	M. Florent Venote, prieſt. At paris. An. 1549.	This Florent remayned in priſon in Paris, 4. yeares and 9 houres. During which tyme, there was no torment, which he did not abide and ouercome. Among al other kindes of torments, he was put in a narrowe priſō or brake, ſo ſtrait that he coulde neyther ſtand nor lye, whiche they call the hoaſe or boote, ad Nectar Hippocratis, becauſe it is ſtrait beneath, and wyder aboue, like to the inſtrument where with Apotecharies are wont to make their hipocras.

In this he remayneth 7. weekes, where the tormentors affirme, that no thiefe nor murderer coulde euer endure xv. dayes, but was in daunger of lyfe, or madnes.

At laſt, when there was a great ſhew in Paris at the kings comming into the Citty, and diuers other Martyrs in ſondry places of the Cittye were put to death, he hauing hys tongue cut off, was brought to ſee the execution of them all: and laſt of all, in yͤ place of Maulbert, was put in the fire and burned the ix. of July at after noone. Ex Ioan Criſp.

Anne Audebert, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Anne Audebert, an Apothecaryes wiſe and wydow. At Orleance. An. 1549.	She going to Geneua was taken & brought to Paris, and by the Counſayle there, iudged to bee burned at Orleance. whē yͤ rope was put about her, ſhee called it her wedding girdle, wherwith ſhe ſhoulde be maryed to Chriſt. And as ſhee ſhuld be burned vpō a ſaterday, vpō Michaelmas euen: vpon a ſaterday, ſayde ſhee, I was firſt maryed, and

vpon a Saterday I ſhall be maryed agayn. And ſeing the dongcart brought wherein ſhe ſhould be caryed, ſhe reioyced thereat, ſhewing ſuche conſtancye in her martyrdome, as made all the beholders to maruell. Ex. Ioan. Criſp.

A godlie Taylour in Paris, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Henry. 2. Frēch king. An Officer of the kings houſe. petrus Caſtellanus, Byſhop Machonenſis.	A poore Taylour of paris, dwellynge in the ſtreete of S. Antony. At Paris. An. 1549.	Among many other godly martyrs yͭ ſuffered in France, the ſtory of this poore Taylor is not the leaſt nor worſt to be remembred. His name is not yet ſought out in yͤ frenche ſtoryes for lack of dilligence in thoſe writers, more is the pittie. The ſtory is this. Not long after the coronation of Henry ij. the Frenche king, at whoſe comming into Parris dyuers good Martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a ſpectacle: as is aboue ſaid: a certayne poore Taylour, who then dwelt not farre from the kynges

Pallace, in the ſtreete bearing the name of S. Antony, was apprehended of a certayne officer in the kinges houſe, for that, vpon a certayne holy daye, he followed hys occupation, and did worke for his lyuing. Before he was had to priſon, the officer aſked hym, why he dyd labour and worke, geuing no obſeruation of the holy day.

The taylour impriſoned for breaking a peece of an holy day.

To whom he aunſwered, that he was a poore man liuing onely vpon hys labour: and as for the day, he knew no other, but onely the Sonday, wherein hee might not lawfully worke, for the neceſſitie of his liuing. Then the Officer began to aſke of hym manye queſtions, whereunto the poore Taylour dyd ſo aunſwere, yͭ eftſones hee was clapt in priſon. After that, the Officer comming into the Court, to ſhewe what good ſeruice he had done for the holy Churche declared to certayne eſtates, how he had taken a Lutherane, workyng vpon the holy day, ſhewing that he had ſuche anſweres of hym, that he commaunded hym to priſon. When the rumour hereof was noyſed in yͤ kings chamber, through the motiō of thē which were about the king, the poore man was ſent for to appeare, that the king might haue yͤ hearing of him.

The taylour brought before the kyng.

Whereupon the kinges chamber being voyded, ſaue onely a fewe of the chiefe Pieres remayning about the king, the ſimple Taylour was brought. The king ſitting in hys chayre, commaunded petrus Caſtellanus Byſhop of Maſcon (a man very fitte for ſuch Inquiſitions) to queſtion wyth hym. The Taylour being entred, and nothyng appaulled at the kynges maieſtie, after hys reuerence done vnto the prince, gaue thankes to God, that he had ſo greatly dignified hym being ſuch a wretch, as to bring him, where he might teſtifie his truth before ſuch a mighty prince. Then Caſtellanus entring talke, began to to reaſon with hym touching the greateſt and chiefeſt matter of Religion. Whereunto the Taylour without feare or anye halting in hys ſpeache, with preſent audacitie, witte and memory, ſo aunſwered for the ſincere doctrine and ſimple truth of Gods Goſpel, as was both conuenient to the purpoſe, and alſo to his queſtions aptly and fitly correſpondent.

The preſent boldnes of the taylor aunſweryng for his religion, before the kyng.

Notwithſtandyng, the nobles there preſent, with cruell tauntes and rebukes, did what they coulde to daſhe him out of countenaūce. Yet all this terrefied not hym, but with boldnes of hart, and free libertie of ſpeach, he defended his cauſe, or rather the cauſe of Chriſt the Lorde, neither flattering with their perſons not fearing their threates: which was to them all, a ſingular admiration to behold that ſimple poore artificer to ſtand ſo firme and bold, aunſweryng before a kyng, to thoſe queſtions propounded agaynſt him. Whereat, when the kyng ſeemed to muſe with him ſelfe, as one ſomwhat amaſed, and which might ſoone haue bene induced at that preſent, to further knowledge: the egregious Biſhop, & other courteours, ſeeyng the king in ſuch a muſe, ſayd he was an obſtinate & a ſtubburne perſon, obfirmed in his own opiniō, and therfore was not to be maruelled at, but to be ſent to the iudges, & to be puniſhed: and therefore leſt he ſhould trouble the eares of the ſayd Henry the kynge, hee was commaunded agayne to the handes of the officer, that his cauſe myght be informed, and ſo within few daies after, he was condemned by the hye Steward of the kyngs houſe, to be burned aliue. And leſt any deepe cōſideration of that excellent fortitude of the poore man might further peraduenture pearſe the kinges mynde, the Cardinals and Byſhops were euer in the kynges eare, tellyng hym that thoſe Lutheranes were nothyng els, but ſuch as caryed vaine ſmoke in their mouthes, which being put to yͤ fire, would ſoone vaniſh. Wherfore the king was appointed, himſelf to be preſent at his executiō, which was ſharpe & cruell, before the Church of Mary the Virgin, where it pleaſed God to geue ſuch ſtrength and courage to his ſeruaunte, in ſuffering his martyrdome, that the beholding thereof, did more aſtoniſh the kyng, then all the other did before.

Peſtilent counſell about the kyng.

A fumiſh compariſon of a fierie Cardinal.

The death and martyrdome of this taylour.

Ex Ioan. Criſp. Ex Henr. Pantall. Lib. 7.

Claudius Thierry, Martyr.

Leonard Galimard, martyr.

Macæus Moreau, martyr,

Ioh. Godean, Gabriell Berādine, martyrs.

Tho. Sanpaulinus, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Claudius Thierry. At Orleance. An. 1549.	The ſame yeare, & for the ſame doctrine of the Goſpell, one Claudius alſo was burned at the ſayde Towne of Orleance, being apprehended by the waye, commyng from Geneua to hys Countrey, Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Leonard Galimard. At Paris- An. 1549.	This Leonard, for the confeſſion lykewiſe of Chriſt and his Goſpel was takē and brought to Paris, and there by the ſentence of the coūſayle, was iudged to be burnt the ſame time as Florent Venote, aboue mentioned, did ſuffer at Paris. Ex Ioā. Criſp.
	Macæus Moreou. At Troyes. An. 1549.	He was burned in Troyes in Campaine (a Towne in France) remaining conſtant to the end in the Goſpell, for the whiche he was apprehended. Ex eodē.
	Ioan Godeau. Gabriell Berandinus. An. 1550.	Theſe two were of the Churche of Geneua. Afterwarde for theyr frindly admoniſhing a certayn prieſt, which in his ſermon had abuſed the name of God, they were takē at Chāberiace. Godeau ſtandyng to his confeſſion was burned. Gabriell thoughe he beganne a litle to ſhrynk for feare of the tormentes, yet beyng confirmed by yͤ conſtant death of Godeau, recouered agayne, and ſtanding likewiſe to his concluſion, firſt had his tongue cut out. Who notwithſtanding, through Gods might did ſpeake ſo as hee might be vnderſtand: whereupon the hangman being accuſed for not cutting of his tongue rightly, ſaid that he could not ſtoppe him of hys ſpeach. And ſo theſe two, after they had confirmed manye in Gods truth, gaue their lyfe for Chriſtes Goſpell, Ibidem.
Ioan. Andreas Promoter. Peter Liſet, Preſident of the Counſel of Paris. Mailardus, Doctor Sorbonius. Aubertus, Conſiliarius.	Thomas Sanpaulinus. At Paris. An. 1551.	This Thomas a yong man of the age of 18. yeares, commyng from Geneua to Paris, rebuked there a mā for ſwearing. For the which cauſe he being ſuſpected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whether he went, and was taken and broughte before the Counſaile of Paris, and put in priſō, where he was racked, and miſerably tormented to the intent he ſhould eyther chaunge his opinion, or confes other of hys profeſſion. Hys tormentes and rackinges were ſo ſore through the ſetting on of Maillard and other Sorboniſtes, that the ſight therof made Aubertus one of the counſayle, a cruell and vehement enemy againſt yͤ Goſpel, to turne hys back and weepe. The yoūg man when he had made the tormenters weary with racking, and yet woulde vtter none, at laſt was had

to Maulbert place in Paris, to be burned. where he being in the fire, was pluckt vp agayn vpon yͤ gybbet, and aſked whether he would turne. To whome he ſayd, that he was in hys way toward God, and therfore deſired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martir remayning inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with conſtant confeſſion of his truth. Ibid.

Mauryce Senenat, martyr.

Ioannes de Puteo martyr.

Claudius Monerius, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Mauricius Secenat. In Prouince. An. 1551.	He firſt hauing interrogations put to hym by the Lieutenaunt of that place, made hys aunſweres thereunto, ſo as no great aduauntage could be taken thereof. But he being greatly compuncted and troubled in hys conſcience for diſſembling with the truth, and called afterward before the Lorde chiefe Iudge, aunſwered ſo directly, that he was condemned for yͤ ſame, and burned in Prouince. Ex eodē.
A Citrizen of Vzez.	Ioannes Putte, or de Puteo, ſurnamed Medicus. At Vzez in Prouince. An. 1551.	This Medicus beyng a Carpenter and vnlettered, had a controuerſie about a certaine pitte with a Citizene of the towne of Vzez, where he dwelled. He to caſt thys Medicus in the lawe, from the pitte, accuſed him of hereſie, bringing for his witneſſes, thoſe labourers whome Meddicus had hyred to work in his vineyard: wherfore he being examined of the Sacrament of yͤ Lords Supper, was condemned and burned. At Vzez in Prouince, Ex eodem.
The gouernour of Lyons. The Official of the Archdeacon of Lyons.	Claudius Monerius. At Lyons. An. 1551.	This man being well inſtructed in yͤ knowledge of Gods worde, for the whiche he was alſo driuen from Auernia, came to Lyons, and there taught children. He hearing of yͤ Lord Preſidents comming to the citie, went to geue warning to a certain familiar friend of hys, and ſo conducted him out of yͤ town. In returning agayne to comforte the mans wife and children, he was taken in hys houſe: and ſo he confeſſing that, which he knew to be true, and ſtanding to that whiche he confeſſed, after muche affliction in priſon and doungeons, was condemned and burned at Lyons. He was noted to be ſo gentle and milde of conditions, and conſtant withall, and alſo learned, that certayne of the Iudges coulde not forbeare weeping at his death.

The ſayd Monerius being in Priſon, wrote certeine letters, but one ſpecially very comfortable, to all the faythful, which the Lorde willing, in yͤ ende of theſe hiſtories ſhalbe inſerted. He wrote alſo yͤ queſtiōs & interrogatories of yͤ Official, wͭ his aunſweres likewiſe to the ſame, which ſummarily, we haue here contracted as followeth.

The Sacrament.

Officiall.

What beleue you of the Sacrament? is the body of Chriſt in the bread or no?

The Martyr.

I worſhip Ieſus Chriſt in heauen ſitting at the right hand of God the Father.

Officiall.

What ſay you by purgatory?

The Martyr.

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

Forſomuch as there is no place of mercy after thys life therefore no neede there is of any purgation, but neceſſary it is, that wee be purged before wee paſſe hence.

Officiall.

Of the Pope what thinke you?

Supremacie.

The Martyr.

I ſay, he is a Biſhop, as other Biſhops are, if he be a true folower of S. Peter.

Officiall.

What ſay you of vowes?

Vowes.

The Martyr.

No man can vow to God ſo much, but the lawe requireth much more then he can vow.

Officiall.

Are not Sayntes to be inuocated?

Praying to Saintes.

The Martyr.

They can not pray without fayth, and therfore it is in vayne to call vnto them. And againe, God hath appoynted his Aungels about vs, to miniſter in our neceſſities.

Officiall.

Is it not good to ſalute the bleſſed virgine wyth Aue Maria?

The Martyr.

When ſhe was on this earth, ſhe had then need of the Aungels greeting, for then ſhe had need of ſaluation, as well as other: but now ſhe is ſo bleſſed, that no more bleſſing can be wiſhed vnto her.

Officiall.

Are not Images to be had?

Images.

The Martyr.

For that the nature of man is ſo prone to Idolatry, euer occupyed and fixed in thoſe thinges, whych lye before his eies, rather then vpon thoſe which are not ſeene, Images therefore are not to be ſette before Chriſtians. You know, nothing is to be adored, but that which is not ſeene with eies, that is God alone, which is a ſpirit, and him we muſt worſhip onely in ſpirit and truth.

Officiall.

What ſay you by the canonicall or ordinary houres for prayer?

The Martyr.

To houres and times, prayer ought not to be tied. But when ſo euer Gods ſpirit doth mooue vs, or when any neceſſity driueth vs, thẽ ought we to pray.

Then the Officiall aſked what he thought of holy oyle, ſalt, with ſuch other like. To whome the Martyr aunſwered, that all theſe thinges were a meere *Maraniſmus, that is, ſauoured of the law of Maranorũ and of the ſuperſtition of the Iewes.

*Maranatha is an Hebrue word, mentioned 1. Cor. 16. and ſignifieth curſe or malediction, to the loſſe of all that a man hath: and thereof commeth Mataniſmus, vid. Nic. Lyr.

Renate Poyet, martyr.

Ioh. Ioyer, with his ſeruaunt, martyrs.

Hugh Grauier martyr.

V. ſtudentes martyrs. Martiall Alba, Petrus Scriba, Bernard Seguine.

Charles Faber. Peter Nauihere

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Renate Poyet. At Salmure in Fraunce. An. 1552.	Renate Poyet, the ſonne of William Poiet, which was Chauncellour of Fraunce, for the true and ſyncere profeſſion of the word of GOD, conſtantly ſuffered Martyrdome, and was burned in the Citty of Salmure. an. 1552. Ex Criſp.
	Iohn Ioyer, and his ſeruant a young man. At Tholouſe. An. 1552.	Theſe twoe comming from Geneua to theyr Countrey, with certayne bookes were apprehẽded by yͤ way, and at length hadde to Thoulouſe. Where the mayſter was firſt condemned. The ſeruaunt beyng young, was not ſo prompt to aunſwere them, but ſent them to his mayſter ſaying, that he ſhould anſwer them. When they were brought to the ſtake, the yong man firſt going vp, began to weep. The mayſter fearyng leaſt he would geue ouer, ranne to him, and he was comforted, and they beganne to ſing. As they were in the fire, the maiſter ſtãdyng vprighte to the ſtake, ſhifted the fire frõ him to his ſeruaunt, being more carefull for hym then for himſelfe: and when he ſaw him dead he bowed downe into the flame, & ſo expired. Ex Criſp. & alijs.
	Hugonius Grauier, a Scholemayſter and miniſter after of Cortillon, in the County of Newcaſtle. At Burge. An. 1552.	At Burge in Breſſe, a dayes iourney from Lyons, this Grauier was burned. He comming from Geneua to Newcaſtle, there was elected to be Miniſter. But firſt hee going to ſee hys wyues frends at Maſcon, there as he was commyng away out of the towne, was taken vppon the Brydge, wyth all hys company: and in the ende, hee willing the women and reſt of the companye to laye the fault in him for bringing them out, was ſentẽced to be burnt, notwithſtanding yͤ Lords of Berne ſent theyr Heraldes to ſaue his life, & alſo that the Officiall declared him to bee an honeſt man, & to holde nothing, but agreeing to the ſcriptures. Ex Ioan Criſp. lib. 3.
Tignacius the gouernour or deputy of Lyons. Buatherius, Officiall to the Archb. of Lyons. Clepierius Chamberlayne. Thre orders of Friers. Iudge Melierus, Doct. Cunubanus, a gray frier. Iudge Vilard. Primatius, Officiall. Cortrerius Iudge,	Martiall Alba. Petrus Scriba. Bernard Seguine. Charles Faber Peter Nauihere. At Lyons. An. 1553.	Theſe 5. Students, after they head remayned in the Vniuerſitye of Lauſanna a certayn time, conſulted among themſelues, being all French men to return home euery one to hys countrey, to the intent they mighte inſtructe theyr parentes & other theyr friendes in ſuche knowledge as yͤ Lord had geuen them. So taking theyr iourney frõ Lauſanna, firſte they came to Geneua, wher thei remained a while. Frõ thence they wẽt to Lyons. Where they ſitting at the table of one that mette them by the way, and deſired them home to his houſe, were apprehended and led to priſon: where they continued a whol yeare, that is, from the firſt day of May, to the 16. of the ſayd moneth agayne. As they were learned and well exerciſed in the ſcriptures: ſo euery one of thẽ exhibited ſeuerally a learned confeſſion of his fayth, and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lordes ſpirite, they confounded the Friers, with whõ they diſputed: eſpecially Peter Scribe or Scriuener, and Seguine. They were examined ſonderly of the Sacrament of the Lordes body, of Purgatory, of confeſſion, and Inuocation, of freewill, and of the ſupremacy. &c. Although they approued their cauſe by good ſcripture, and refuted theyr aduerſaryes in reaſoning, yet right being ouercome by might, ſentence was geuen, and they burned in yͤ ſaid towne of Lions. Being ſet vp-

on the cart, they began to ſing pſalmes. As they paſſed by the market place, one of thē with a loud voyce, ſaluted the people with the wordes of the laſt chap. to the Heb. The God of peace which brought again frō death the great paſtor of the ſheep, in the bloud of the eternall Teſtament. &c. Comming to the place, firſt the 2. youngeſt one after an other, went vp vpon the heap of wood to the ſtake, & there were faſtened, and ſo after them the reſt. Marciall Alba being the eldeſt, was the laſt, who likewiſe being ſtripped of his clothes, and brought to the ſtake, deſired this petitiō of the gouernor, which was that he might go about his felowes tied at the ſtake and kiſſe them. which being graunted, he went and kiſſed euery one, ſaying: farewel my brother. Likewiſe the other foure following the ſame example, bad each one farewel my brother. With that fire was commaunded to be put vnto thē. The hangman had tyed a rope about al theyr necks, thinking firſt to ſtrangle them, but theyr faces being ſmered with fat and brimſtone, the rope was burnt before they were ſtrangled. So the bleſſed Martyrs in the midſt of the fire, ſpake one to an other to be of good cheare, and ſo departed. Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.

¶ Theyr examinations briefely touched.

The Frier.

Supremacy.

Thou ſayſt frend in thy confeſſion that the Pope is not ſupreme head of the Church, I will proue the contrary.

The Pope is the ſucceſſor of S. Peter.
Ergo, he is ſupreame head of the Church.

The Martyr.

I deny firſt your antecedent.

The Frier.

The Pope ſitteth in the place of S. Peter.
Ergo, he is the ſucceſſor of S. Peter

The Martyr.

The head of the Church.

Ephe. 1.

I will graunt neither of both: Firſt becauſe that he which ſucceedeth in the roome of Peter, ought to preach and teach, as Peter did: which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did ſo preach as Peter did, he might wel folow the example of Peter, yet ſhould he not therfore be the head of the Church, but a member onely of the ſame. The head of menne and Aungels, whom God hath appoynted, is Chriſt alone, ſayth S. Paule.

The Frier.

Although Chriſt be the head of the whole church militant and tryumphant, yet his vicar here in earth is left to ſupply his roome.

The Martyr.

Not ſo, for the power of his Diuinitye being ſo great to fill all things he needeth no Vicar or deputy to ſupply his abſence.

The Frier.

Regiment ciuile.
Regiment ſpirituall.

I wil proue that although Chriſt be king both of heauen and earth: yet he hath here in earth, many vicars vnder him, to gouerne his people.

The Martyr.

It is one thing to rule in the ciuill ſtate, another thing to rule ſpiritually. For in ciuill regiment, we haue kinges & princes ordeined of God by the ſcriptures, for the obſeruation of publicke ſociety: In the ſpirituall regiment and kingdome of the Church it is not ſo.

Then another Frier.

Thou ſayeſt that S. Peter is not the head of the church: I will proue he is.

John 1.
Cephas.

Our Lord ſayd to Peter: Thou ſhalt be called Cephas: which Cephas is as much to ſay in latine as head. Ergo, Peter is head of the Church.

The Martyr.

Where finde you that interpretation? S. Iohn in his firſt chap. doth expoūd it otherwiſe. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas, yͭ is as much (ſaith he) as Petrus or ſtone

Then the iudge Vilardus calling for a new teſtament, turned to the place, and found it to be ſo. Wherupon the Frier was vtterly daſhed and ſtood mute.

The Frier.

Luke 10.

Thou ſayſt in thy confeſſion, that a man hath no free will. I wil proue it. It is written in the Goſpel, how a man going from Hieruſalem to Iericho, fell among theeues, & was ſpoyled, maymed, & left halfe dead. &c. Thomas of Aquine expoundeth this parable to meane free wil, which he ſayth is maymed: yet not ſo, but yͭ ſome power remayneth in mā to work.

The Martyr.

This interpretation I do refuſe and denye.

The Frier.

What? thinkeſt thou thy ſelfe better learned then S. Thomas.

The Martyr.

I do arrogate no ſuch learning vnto my ſelf. But this I ſay: this parable is not ſo to be expoūded, but is ſet forth for example, of the Lord, to cōmend to vs charity toward our neighbour, how one ſhould help an other.

The Frier.

Iuſtificati

Thou ſayſt in thy cōfeſſiō, yͭ we are iuſtified onely by faith. I wil proue, yͭ we are iuſtified by works.

By our workes we do merite.
Ergo, by workes we are iuſtified.

The Martyr.

I deny the antecedent.

The Frier.

S. Paule. Heb. the laſt, ſayth: Forget not to doe good and to diſtribute vnto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus. i. For by ſuch oblatiōs God is merited.

We merite God by our workes:
Ergo, we are iuſtified by our workes.

The Martyr.

The wordes of S. Paule in that place, be otherwiſe and are thus to be tranſlated: Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus. &c. i. With ſuch ſacrifices God is delighted or is well pleaſed.

The Iudge Vilard.

Vilard the Iudge turned the booke, and found the place euen to be ſo, as the priſoner ſayd. Here the friers were maruellouſly appalled & troubled in theyr mindes: of whom, one aſked then what he thought of confeſſion.

The Martyr.

Confeſſio

To whom the martyr anſwered, that confeſſion onely is to be made to God, & that thoſe places whiche they alledge for auricular confeſſion, out of S. Iames and other, are to be expounded of brotherlye reconciliation betwene one another, and not of confeſſion in the Prieſtes eare. And here agayne the friers ſtood, hauing nothing to ſay agaynſt it.

A blacke Frier.

Tranſubſtã-
tiation.

Doeſt thou not beleue yͤ body of Chriſt to be locally and corporally in the ſacrament? I will proue the ſame. Ieſus Chriſt taking bread ſayd: this is my body. Ergo, it is truely his body.

The Martyr.

The verbe (eſt) is not to be takē here ſubſtantiuely in his owne proper ſignification, as ſhewing the nature of a thing in ſubſtance, as in Philoſophy it is wont to be takē: but as noting yͤ property of a thing ſignifiyng, after the maner & phraſe of the Scripture: where one thing is wont to be called by the name of an other, ſo as the ſigne is called by the name of the thing ſignified. &c. So is Circumciſion called by the name of the Couenaunt, and yet is not the Couenaunt. So the Lambe hath the name of the Paſſeouer, yet is not the ſame. In which, 2. Sacraments of the olde law, ye ſee the verbe (eſt) to be taken, not as ſhewing the ſubſtaunce of being, but the property of being, in the thing that is ſpoken of: And ſo likewiſe in the Sacrament of the new law.

The Frier.

The Sacraments of the old law, & of the new do differ greatly: for theſe geue grace, ſo did not yͤ other.

The Martyr.

Sacraments geue no grace.

Neither the ſacramentes of the olde, nor of yͤ new law, do geue grace, but ſheweth him vnto vs which geueth grace in deed. The miniſter geueth the ſacramēts, but Ieſus Chriſt geueth grace, by the operation of the holy Ghoſt: of whom it is ſayd, This is hee which baptiſeth with the holy Ghoſt. &c.

Iohn 2.

The Frier.

The fathers of the old Teſtament, were they not partakers of the ſame grace and promiſes with vs?

The Martyr.

Yes, for S. Paule ſayth, that the fathers of yͤ old Teſtament did eat the ſame ſpirituall meat, and dyd drinke of the ſame ſpirituall drinke, with vs.

The Frier.

Ieſus Chriſt ſayth, Iohn. 6. Your Fathers did eate Manna in the deſert, and are dead.

Ergo, they were not partakers of the ſame grace with vs, in the new Teſtament.

The Martyr.

Chriſt here ſpeaketh of them, which did not eate that

The true eating of Manna.

that Manna with fayth, which was a type and figure of that bread of life, that came from heauen: and not of them, which did eate the ſame with fayth, as Moſes and Aaron, Ioſua Caleb, and ſuche other, who vnder the ſhadowes of the olde Teſtament, did look for Chriſt to come. For ſo it is written of Abraham, that hee ſawe the day of Chriſt, and reioyſed, not ſeeing it with his bodely eyes, but with the eyes of his fayth.

Here the doltiſh Doctor was at a ſtay, hauing nothing to ſay, but heare frend, be not ſo hoat nor ſo haſty, tary a while, tary a while. At length after his tarying, this came out.

The Frier.

The fathers of the olde Teſtament, howe they were vnder the law, and howe they were vnder grace.

I will proue, that they of the olde Teſtamēt were not partakers of the ſame grace with vs. The lawe (ſayth S. Paule) worketh anger: And they that are vnder the law, are vnder malediction. Ergo, they of the olde law and Teſtament, were not partakers of the ſame grace with vs.

The Martyr.

S. Paule here proueth that no man by the lawe, can be iuſtified, but that all men are vnder the anger and curſe of God therby, for ſo much as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended, and therfore we haue need euery man to runne to Chriſt, to be ſaued by faith, ſeing no man can be ſaued by the law. For who ſo euer truſteth to the lawe, hoping to finde iuſtification therby, and not by Chriſt onely, the ſame remayneth ſtill vnder malediction: not becauſe the law is curſed, or the times therof vnder curſe: but becauſe of the weakenes of our nature, which are not able to performe the law.

The Frier.

S. Paule. Rom. 7. declareth in the olde Teſtamēt to be nothing but anger, and threatnings: and in the new Teſtament, to be grace and mercy, in theſe wordes where he ſayth: Wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me from the body of this death? The grace of god by Ieſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

S. Paule in this place, neither meaneth nor ſpeaketh of the difference of times betwene the olde and the new Teſtament: but of the conflicte betweene the fleſh and the ſpirite, ſo that, whereas the fleſh is euer rebelling agaynſt the ſpirit: yet the ſpirituall manne notwithſtanding through the faith of Chriſt, hath the victory. Furthermore the true tranſlation of ẏ place, hath not, Gratia Dei: but Gratias ago Deo, per Ieſū Chriſtum. &c.

Primacius the Officiall.

The Sacrament.

The Officiall ſeeing the Frier almoſte here at a poynt, ſet in, & ſayd: Thou lewd hereticke, doeſt thou deny the bleſſed Sacrament?

The Martyr.

No Syr, but I embrace and reuerēce the Sacrament, ſo as it was inſtituted of the Lord, and left by his Apoſtles.

The Officiall.

Thou denyeſt the body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament: and thou calleſt the Sacrament bread.

The Martyr.

The Scripture teacheth vs to ſeeke the bodye of Chriſt in heauen, and not in earth: where we reade Coloſ. 3. If ye be riſen with Chriſt, ſeeke not for the thinges which are vpon the earth: but for the thinges which are in heauen, where Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of God. &c.

And where as I affirme the Sacrament, not to be the body, but bread, ſpeaking of bread remayning in his owne ſubſtaunce, herein I do no other, but as S. Paule doth, which Cor. 11. doth call it bread likewiſe. 4. or 5. times together.

The Frier.

Ieſus Chriſt ſayd, that he was the bread of life.

The Officiall.

Thou noughty hereticke, Ieſus Chriſt ſayd, that he was a vyne, & a dore. &c. where he is to be expounded to ſpeak figuratiuely. But the wordes of the Sacrament are not ſo to be expounded.

The Martyr.

Thoſe teſtimonyes which you alledge, make more for me, then for you.

The Officiall.

What ſayſt thou leud hereticke? is the bread of the Lordes Supper, and the bread that we eate at home,

all one, and is there no difference betwene them?

The Martyr.

In nature and ſubſtance there is no difference: in quality and in vſe there is much difference. For the bread of the Lordes table though it be of the ſame nature & ſubſtance, with the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applyed to be a ſacrament, it taketh an other quality, and is ſet before vs to ſeale the promiſe of our ſpiritual and eternal life. And this was the effect of their examinations, Ex Criſp.

Petrus Bergerius, martyr.

The name of his perſecutour appeareth not in his ſtory.

Petrus Bergerius.
At Lyons.
An. 1553.

About the ſame time, when theſe 5. ſtudents aboue ſpecified, were apprehended, this Bergerius alſo was taken at Lions, & with them examined, and made alſo the like confeſſion with them together, & ſhortly after them, ſuffered the ſame martyrdome. He had bene before an occupier or marchant of wines. He had wife and children at Geneua, to whom he wrote ſweet and comfortable letters. In the doungeon with him was a certayne Theefe and Malefactor, which had lyen there the ſpace of ſeauen or eyght monethes. This Theefe for payne and torment, cried out of God, and curſed his parentes, that begat him, being almoſt eaten vp with lice, miſerably handled, and fed with ſuch bread, as dogs, and horſes had refuſed to eat. So it pleaſed ẏ goodnes of almighty God, that through the teaching and praiers of this Bergerius, he was brought to repentaunce of hymſelfe, and knowledge of God, learning much comfort and patience by the word of the Goſpel preached vnto him. Touching his conuerſion he wrote a ſweete letter to thoſe 5. ſtudentes aboue mentioned, wherein he praiſeth God for them, and eſpecially for this Bergerius, declaring alſo in the ſame letter, that the next day after, that he had taken holde of the Goſpell, and framed himſelf to pacience according to the ſame, his lice (which he could plucke out before no leſſe then 12. at once, betwixte his fingers) nowe were ſo gone from him, that he had not one. Furthermore, ſo the almes of good men was extended towardes him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good. Such is the goodnes of the Lord toward thē that loue and ſeeke his trueth. The name of this conuert was Iohn Chambone. Ex Epiſt. Ioan. Cambon. Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.

The notable cōuerſion of a theefe in priſon.

Steuen and Dionyſe Peloquine, brethren and martyrs.

Stephanus Peloquinus.
Dionyſius Peloquinus.
At Ville Franche about Lyons.
An. 1553.

Steuen Peloquine, Brother to this Dionyſius, was taken about 2. or 3. yeares before, with Anne Audebert aboue mentioned, and alſo martyred for the teſtimonye of the Goſpell, at the ſame time, with a ſmal fire. After whome followed Dyoniſe Peloquine, in the ſame ſteppes of Martyredome, which was his Brother. Thys Dioniſe had bene ſometime a Monke, and chaungyng hys weede, tooke a wyfe, with whom he liued a certayne ſpace at Geneua, in Godly order and modeſty of life. Comming afterward to Uille Franche ſixe myles from Lyons, from thence he was had to Lyons, where he remayned in priſon 10. monethes. Frō thence he was reuerſed to Uille Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The Articles whereupon he was condemned, were for the Maſſe, the Sacrament, auricular confeſſion, Purgatory, the Uirgine Mary, and the Popes ſupremacy. He ſuffered in the yeare of our Lord. 1553. Septemb. 11. In his martyrdome ſuch pacience and fortitude God gaue, that whē he was halfe burned yet he neuer ceaſed holding vp his handes to heauen, and calling vpon the Lord, to the great admiration of thē that looked on. Ex Ioan Criſp.

Lodouicke Marſac. Michaell Gerard. Steuen Granot, Martyrs.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The kinges Lieuetenant at Lyons. The Officiall. The Fryers.	Lodouicus Marſacus. Michael Gerard his coſin. Steuen Granot, Carpenter. At Lyons. An. 1553.	At Lyons the ſame yere theſe 3. alſo were apprehended, and ſacrificed. Ludouicus hadde bene of the order of the Dimilances whiche ſerued the king in hys warres. Afterwarde comming to Geneua, he was trayned vppe in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lorde. Upon diuers Articles he was examined as inuocation to Saynts, and of the Vyrgyne Mary, free wyll, merites, and good workes, auricular confeſſion, faſting, the Lords ſupper. In his ſecond examinatiō they inquired of him, and alſo of the other 2. touching vowes, the Sacramentes, the Maſſe, and the Vicar of Chriſt, In all which articles, becauſe his and their iudgement diſſented from the doctrine of the Popes Church, they were condemned. The aunſweres of Marſac to the articles, are to be ſeene at large in the booke of the French martyrs, ſet out by Ioan. Criſp.

The blaſphemies of the Papiſtes.

The Lieuetenant among other blaſphemies, had theſe wordes: Of the iiij. Euangeliſtes, but ij. were pure, Mathew and Iohn. The other two, Marke & Luke were but gatherers out of the other. The Epiſtles of S. Paule, but that the Doctors of the church had authoriſed them, he would otherwiſe eſteme thē no better then the fables of Æſope.

Note what opinion the Papiſts haue of the law of God, when it ſtandeth not with their law.

Item, the ſayde Lieuetenant ſayd to M. Copes mayd, ſpeaking ſomewhat of the law: Curſed be the God of that law.

When the ſentence of condemnation was geuen agaynſt theſe three, they were ſo glad thereof, that they went out prayſing God, and ſinging Pſalmes. Which troubled the iudges ſore, to ſee them ſo litle to eſteme their death: in ſo much that the Lieuetenaunt cauſed thē to be made to hold theyr peace, ſaying: ſhal theſe vile abiectes ſo vaunt themſelues, agaynſt the whole ſtate of the realme: Thē as Marſac, was going to a corner by, to pray, one of ẏ ſouldiors woulde not ſuffer him. To whō he ſayd, that litle time which we haue, wil you not geue vs to pray? With that the ſouldiour being aſtoniſhed, went his way.

As they ſhould be brought out of priſon to ẏ ſtake, the hangman tyed a rope about the neckes of the other two. Marſac ſeing himſelf to be ſpared becauſe of his order and degree, called by the way to the Lieutenaunt, that he might alſo haue one of the precious cheynes about his necke, in honor of his Lord. The which being graūted, ſo were theſe three bleſſed martirs committed to the fire, where they with meek pacience yelded vp theyr liues to the hands of the lord, in teſtimony of his Goſpell, Ex Criſp. Pantal.

Matth. Dimonet, martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Lieutenant of Lyons. Primacius Officiall. Buatherius, Officiall. Orus, Inquiſitor.	Matthæus Dymonetus. marchaunt. At Lyons. An. 1553.	This Marchaunt firſt liued a vicious & deteſtable life, full of muche corruption and fylthyneſſe. He was alſo a ſecret enemy and a Searcher out of good men, when and where they conuented togeather. Who being called notwithſtanding by ẏ grace of God, to the knowledge and ſauor of his word, ſhortly after was taken by the Lieutenant and Buatherius the Official, in his owne houſe at Lions, and ſo after a litle examination was ſent to priſon. Being examined by the Inquiſitor and the Officials, he refuſed to yeelde any aunſwere to them, knowing no authority they had vpon him, but onely to the Lieutenant,

Perſecutors. Martyrs, The cauſes.

His aunſweres were, that he beleued all that the holy vniuerſall Church of Chriſt did truely beleue & all the articles of the Creed. To the article of the holy Catholicke Churche, being bid to adde alſo Romanam, that is the Church of Rome: that he refuſed. Aduocates he knew none, but Chriſt alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the croſſe and paſſion of the lamb, which purgeth the ſinnes of all the world. The true confeſſion he ſayd, ought to be made, not to the prieſt once a yeare, but euery day to God, and to ſuch whō we haue offended. The eating of the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt, he tooke to be ſpirituall: and the Sacrament of the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, to be eaten with the mouth, and that ſacrament to be bread and wine vnder the name and ſignification of the body and bloud of Chriſt, the maſſe not to be inſtituded of Chriſt, being a thing contrary to his word and will. For the head of the Church he knew none, but onely Chriſt. Being in priſon he had great conflictes with the infirmity of his owne fleſh, but eſpecially with the tēptation of his parentes, brethren and kinſfolkes, and the ſorow of his mother: neuertheleſſe the Lord ſo aſſiſted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he ſpake much to the people, & was heard with great attention. He ſuffered the 15. of Iuly. an. 1553. Ex Criſ.

William Neel, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Legoux the Deane, Ilierenſis. M. Simon Vigor, the Penetentiary of Eureux,	William Neel, an Auſten Fryer. At Eureaux, in Fraunce. An. 1553.	Hen. Pantal. lib. 9. & Criſp. & Adrian, maketh mention alſo of one William Neel a Fryer Auguſtine, who ſuffered in muche like ſorte the ſame yeare, & was burned at Eureux in Fraunce. The occaſion of his trouble roſe firſt, for the rebuking of the vitious demeanour of the Prieſtes there, and of the Deane named Legoux, for the which the Deane cauſed hym to be ſent to Eureux to the priſon of the Byſhoppe. The ſtorye of thys William Neel, with his aunſweres to theyr Articles obiected, is to be read more at large in the 9. booke of Pantalion, and others.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The Bailiffe or ſteward of the Citye Dyion.	Symon Laloe. At Dyion. An. 1553.	Symon Laloe a ſpectacle maker, comming from Geneua into Fraunce for certayn buſines, was laid hand of by the Bayliffe of Dyon. Three thinges were demaunded of him. 1 Where he dwelt. 2. What was his faith. 3. What fellowes hee knew of his Religion. His dwelling he ſayd, was at Geneua. Hys Religion was ſuch, as was then vſed at Geneua. As for his fellowes, he ſayd, he knew none, but onely them of the ſame City of Geneua, where his dwelling was. When they could gette of him no other aunſweare but thys, with all theyr racking and tormēts, they proceeded to hys ſentence, and purſued the execution of the ſame, which was the 21. of Nouember. an. 1553.

Simon Laloe, martyr.

The executioner who was named Iames Siluester, ſeeing the great fayth and conſtancye of that heuenlye Martyr, was ſo compuncted with repentaunce, & fell in ſuch deſpayre of himſelfe, that they had much

adoe

The executioner conuerted.

adoe with all the promiſes of the Goſpell, to recouer any cōfort in him. At laſt through the mercy of chriſt, he was comforted, and conuerted, and ſo he with all his family, remoued to the Church of Geneua. Ex Ioan Criſp.

Nicholas Naile martyr.

Torments.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Nicholas Nayle. At Paris. An.1553.	This Nicolas, ſhomaker commynge to Paris with certayne ferdles of bookes, was there apprehended. who ſtoutly in perſiſting in confeſſing the trueth, was tried with ſundry tormentes, to vtter what fellowes he had beſides of his profeſſion, ſo cruelly, that his body was diſſolued almoſt one ioint from an other: but ſo conſtant he was in his ſilence, that he would expreſſe none. As they brought him to the ſtake, fyrſte

they put a gag or pece of wood in his mouth, which they bou͂d with cordes to the hinder part of his head, ſo hard, ẏ his mouth on both ſides guſhed out wyth bloud, and diſſigured his face monſtrouſly. By the way they paſſed by an Hoſpitall, where they willed him to worſhip the picture of S. Mary ſtanding at the gate. But he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For the which the blind people were ſo grieued, that they would haue fallē vpon him. After he was brought to the fire, they ſo ſmered his body with fatte and brimſtone, that at the firſt taking of the fire, all his ſkin was parched, & the inward parts not touched. With that the cordes braſt which were about his mouth, wherby his voyce was heard in the middeſt of the flame, prayſing the Lord, and ſo ẏ bleſſed Martyr departed. Ex Ioan Chriſp.

Peter Serre, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
A woman of Toulouſe. The Officiall of the Biſhop of Toulouſe. The Inquiſitour and Chauncelour of the Biſhop of Cozeran.	Peter Serre. About Toulouſe. An. 1553.	Peter Serre fyrſt was a Prieſte, then chaunging his religiō, he went to Geneua, & learned the ſhomakers craft, and ſo liued. Afterward vpon a ſingular loue he came to hys brother at Toulouſe, to the intent to doe hym good. His brother had a wife, which was not well pleaſed with hys religiō, and comming. She in ſecret Counſell tolde an other woman one of her neighbors, of this. what doth ſhe, but goeth to the Officiall, and maketh hym priuy of all. The Officiall thinking to forſlacke no time, taking counſell with his fellowes, laid hands vpon this Peter, and brought him before the Inquiſitor. To whom he made ſuch declaration of his fayth, that he ſeemed to reduce the Inquiſitor to ſome feling of conſcience, and began to inſtruct him in ẏ principals of true religion. Notwithſtāding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the ſaid Chauncellor, to be degraded, & cōmitted to the ſeculer iudge. The Iudge inquiringe of what occupation hee was, he ſayde, that of

Prieſts craft, a vyle and a filthy acte.

late he was a ſhomaker. wherby the Iudge vnderſtanding that he had bene of ſome other faculty before, required what it was. He ſayd, that he had bene of another faculty before, but he was aſhamed to vtter it, or to remember it, being the worſt & moſt vileſt ſcience of all other in the whole world beſides. The iudge and the people ſuppoſing that he had ben ſome thief or cutpurſe, inquired to know what it was, but he for ſhame and ſorow ſtopped his mouth, & would not declare it. At laſt through theyr importunate clamor, he was conſtrayned to declare the truth, & ſayd, that he had bene a prieſt. The iudge therupon was ſo moued, ẏ he cōdemned him, firſt enioyning him in his cōdemnation, to aſke the king forgeuenes, then iudged him to haue his tongue cut out, and ſo to be burned. Frō this ſentence he appealed to the parliament of Toulouſe: not for that he thought therby to ſaue his life, but becauſe he was enioined to aſke the king forgeuenes, whom he had neuer offended. Alſo becauſe he was iudged to haue his toung cut of, wherewith he would prayſe his God. Notwithſtanding by the ſentence of that parliament, he was likewiſe condēned to be burnt, onely he was pardoned for aſking forgeuenes of the king, and the cutting of his tongue, ſo that he would ſay nothing agaynſt theyr religion.

As he went to burning, he paſſed by the college of S. Martial, where he was bid to honor the picture of the virgine ſtanding at the gate. Which becauſe he refuſed, the Iudge commaunded his toung to be cut of, & ſo being put to the fire, he ſtood ſo quiet, looking vp to heauen all the time of his burning, as though he had felt nothing, bringing ſuch admiration to the people, that one of the Parliament ſaid, that way not to be beſt, to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more hurt then good. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Conſtancie notable.

Steuen kyng.

Peter Denoche, martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The gouernor of Marches.	Steuen king. Petrus Denocheus. At Chartres. An.1553.	Steuen king, after he had bene at Strauſburgh a while, returned again into his coūtry, dwelling in a town bearyng the name of S. George, not far frō Chauſtors, where hee ſerued in the place of a notary, and had vnder him, a Clearke named Peter Denoche, who alſo had bene at Geneua, & was there zelous in inſtructing the ignorant & rebuking blaſphemous

ſwearers, and other offenders. These two were not long together, but they were ſuſpected both of Lutheraniſme: and ſo were apprehended by the gouernor of the Marches, or Marſhall, and ſo were caried to Chartres: where after the conſtant confeſſion vpon theyr examination made, they were encloſed in priſon, and there ſuſteined long & tedious endurance. During the which meane time, Steuen king made many worthy ſonges and ſonets in the prayſe of the Lord, whereby to recreate his ſpirite in that dolefull captiuity. At length, when after long perſwaſions & fayre promiſes of the Biſhop and of other, they could not be reuoked from the doctrine of theyr confeſſion, they were condemned. From that condēnation, they appealed to the Court of Paris. But the Councell there confirming theyr former ſentence, returned thē agayne to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruell puniſhment of fire. Ex hiſt. Gallic. per Ioan Criſp.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Prieſtes of Burges.	Antonius Magnus, or Magnæus.	Antonius Magne, was ſent by the fiue which were in priſon, at Lyons, aboue mentioned, and by other alſo that were in captiuity at Paris, vnto Geneua to commende them to theyr prayers vnto GOD, for them. who after certayne buſines there

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	At Paris. An. 1554.	diſpatched, returned agayne into Fraunce, & there within 3. houres of his comming was betrayed and taken by certayne Prieſtes at Burges and there deliuered by the ſaid prieſtes vnto the Officiall. After a fewe dayes the kinges Iuſtices tooke him from the Official, and ſent him to Paris, where after greate rebukes and tormentes, he ſuffered in the priſō, and firmely perſiſting in the profeſſion of the trueth, by theyr capitall ſentence was adiudged to haue his tongue cut out, & ſo was burned at Mulbert place in Paris. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
Falſe brethren.	William Alēcon bookeſeller. A certayne ſherman. At Montpelliers. An. 1554.	This Alencon did much good in the prouinces of Fraunce, by carying bookes. Comming to Montpelliers he was there circumuented by falſe brethrē detected, and layde in priſon. In his fayth he was firme and conſtāt to the end of his Martirdome, being burned the 7. of Ianuary. 1554. There was the ſame time at Montpelliers a certayne ſherman or clothworker, who had bene long in duraunce for religion, but at length for feare, and infirmity, he reuolted. To whom it was enioyned by the Iudges to make publicke recantation, and to be preſent alſo at the burning of Alencō aforeſayd. At the beholding of whoſe death and cōſtancy, it pleaſed God to ſtrike into this man ſuche boldeneſſe, that he deſired the Iudges, that either he might burne with this Alencon, or els be brought againe into priſon, ſaying that he would make no other recantation, but ſo. wherefore within three dayes after he was likewiſe condēned to the fire, and burned, in the towne aforeſayde. Ex Ioan Criſp.
	Paris Panier, a Lawyer. At Dola. An. 1554.	At Dola was beheaded a good & godlye Lawyer named Paris Panier, for conſtant ſtanding to the goſpell of Chriſt, an. 1554. Ex Pantal.
	Peter du Val, ſhoomaker. At Niſmes. An. 1554.	At Newmans in Delphinate, Peter du Val ſuſteined ſore and grieuous rackinges & tormentes: wherewyth hys body being broken, diſſolued, and maymed, yet he notwithſtanding manfully abiding all theyr extremity, would name and vtter none. Then was he had to the fire, & there conſumed. ann. 1554. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
Gilles le Pers, Lieuetenaunt for the marſhall of S. Andrew, and Inquiſitour for the prouince of Borbon. Ioh. Bergeronius, an other Inquiſitor or counſeller.	Ioannes, Filieul, or Filiolus Carpenter. Iulianus Leuille, poyntmaker. At Sanſerre. An. 1554.	These two bleſſed and conſtant martyrs, as they were goyng toward Geneua, wyth one of their ſonnes and a daughter were apprehended by Gilles le Pers, who in the way ouertaking them and moſt wickedly & Iudaſlye pretendinge great fauour to them, and to theyr religion, which he (as he ſayde) ſuppoſed them to be of, with theſe and manye other faire wordes circumuented and allured them to confeſſe what was theyr fayth, whither they wēt with theyr children, and alſo that theyr wiues were at Geneua. when they had declared this, the wretched Traytour gaue a ſigne to hys horſemen, and ſo were theſe ſimple ſayntes of Chriſt intrapped, and brought to the Caſtle of Minerne. Beyng in Priſon, they were examined of many thinges: whereunto they aunſwered vprightly, accordinge to theyr fayth. Firſt touching the ſacrament, they affirmed the tranſubſtantiation of the Biſhop of Rome, to be againſt ẏ Article of the Creede, which ſaith, that Chriſt is gone vp to heauen, & there ſitteth at the hand of God: and therfore the bread and wine muſt nedes remayne in theyr propertyes, bearing notwithſtanding a Sacrament, or a holy ſigne of the body & bloud of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the hart of man is comforted, ſo the bodye of Chriſt crucified, & his bloud ſhed, ſpirituallye hath the like operation in the ſoules of the beleuers.

For the Maſſe, they ſayd it was a thing moſt ſuperſtitious, and meere Idolatry. And if we put any part of ſaluation therein, they ſayd, it was vtterly a robbing of the Paſſion of Chriſt the ſonne of God, & that it was not once to be named out of a Chriſten mouth. Alſo that they whiche ſay that Peter either was Pope, or Author of the ſayd Maſſe, are farre deceiued. And as for turning breade into the bodye of Chriſt by the wordes of conſecration, it was an error (they ſayd) more of mad men, then any ſad men: foraſmuch as God is neither ſubiect to men, nor to ẏ tongues or exorciſmes of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, ſaue onely the bloud of Chriſt Ieſu.

Furthermore as they would not bereft the ſaints of God of theyr due honor, ſo neither the Saynts thēſelues (ſayd they) will be contented to robbe God of his honor onely due to him.

As touching confeſſion, theyr opinion was, that the woundes and cauſes of conſcience, belong to no man, but onely to God.

After theſe aunſweres geuen and written, they were ſent to the Monaſtery of Sanpeter, there to be diſputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated amog the Iudges, what was to be done with them. Some would theyr goodes to be taken by Inuentory, and them to be baniſhed. But Bergeronius at laſt cauſed to be determined, that they ſhoulde be burned, and firſt to heare Maſſe. From that Courte, they apppealed to the Courte of Paris: but the matter there was nothing amended. Where beholde the iudgement of God: In the meane time, whyle they were at Paris, the wretched Perſecutour Gilles le Pers, was ſodenly ſtroken mad, and dyed in a frenſy: which made many men to wonder, and eſpecially the martyrs to be more conſtant.

At laſt the decree of the ſentence was read againſt them. Firſt for ſpeaking againſt the Sacramēt: whiche they denyed.

Secondly for ſpeaking agaynſt Baptiſme: whiche alſo they denyed.

Thirdly, for ſpeaking contumely agaynſte the Sayntes: which they in like maner denyed.

William Alencon, martyr.

A ſherman, martyr.

Paris Panier, martyr.

Peter du Val. martyr.

Iohn Filieul, Iulian Leuille, martyrs.

Tranſubſtātiation.

A ſimilitude betweene the bread, and the body of chriſt.

The Maſſe.

Honour to God, not to Saintes.

Note the iuſt vengeaunce of God, vpon a wicked perſecutor.

After

Tormentes.

After this, the officer to cauſe thẽ to recant threatned them with tormentes, whiche they ſuſteyned very extreme, the ſpace from after dinner, til three of the clocke. When all that would not turne them, hee ſent to them a Fryer Dominicke, a man captious & ſophiſticall, to preſſe them in diſputation. But as he could do no hurt vnto them, ſo could they do no good vpon him. When the tyme of theyr execution did approch, the officer aforeſayd put into their hands being tyed, a wooden croſſe, which they tooke with their teeth, & flong it away: for the which the officer commaunded both their tongues to be cut of. Wherein appeared an other marueilous worke of the ẏ Lord For neuertheles that their tongues were taken frõ them, to the intent they ſhoulde not ſpeake, yet God gaue them vtteraũce, their tongues beyng cut out, to ſpeake at their death: ſaying, we bid ſinne, ẏ fleſhe, the worlde, and the deuill fare well for euer, wyth whome neuer we ſhall haue to do hereafter. Diuers other wordes they ſpake beſides, whiche the people did heare and note. At laſt when the tormenter came to ſmiere them with brimſtone and gunpouder: Go to, ſayd Filiolus, ſalt on, ſalt on the rotten and ſtinking fleſh. Finally as the flame came burſting vp to their faces, they perſiſting conſtant in the fire, gaue vp their liues, and finiſhed their martyrdome. Ex Io. Criſp, & Henr. Pantal. & alijs.

Denis vaire, prieſt and martyr.

	Dionyſius Vayre.
Will. Langloys, vnder Sheriffe.	
Ioh. Langloys, the kinges procurator.	At Rhoan.
	ann. 1554.

In the ſame yeare ſuffered at Rhoan, Denis Vayre, who firſt leauing hys Popiſhe prieſthode, went to Geneua, where hee learned the art of bookbynding, & brought many tymes bookes into Fraunce. After that in the reigne of K. Ed. 6. hee came to Gerzey, & there was miniſter, & preached. After ẏ death of K. Ed. the tyme not ſeruing hym to tarry, thinking to returne agayne to Geneua, hee came into Normandy with his bookes, into a towne, called Fueillie: where as he going out to hyre a cart. William Langloys, with Iohn Langloys his brother came in and ſtayd his bookes, and hym alſo which had the cuſtody of thẽ. Denis, albeit hee might haue eſcaped, yet hearing ẏ keeper of his bookes to be in trouble, came, & preſẽting himſelf, was cõmitted, ẏ other was deliuered. Firſt after two monethes and a halfe impriſonment, he was charged to be a ſpye, becauſe hee came out of England. Then from that priſõ he was remoued to the Byſhops priſon, and then to Rhoan where ſentence was geuen, that he ſhould be burned aliue, and thriſe lifted vp, and let downe agayne into the fire. After the ſentence geuen, they threatned him with many terrible tormentes, vnles he would diſcloſe ſuch as he knew of that ſide. To whom he aunſwered that the ſounder part of all Fraunce, and of the Senate, was of that Religion: notwithſtandyng he would vtter no mans name vnto them. And as for theyr torments, he ſaid he paſſed not, for if he wer killed with racking, then he ſhould not feele the burning of the fire. When they ſawe him ſo little to paſſe for theyr tormentes, they left that, and proceeded to hys burning: and firſt they put a croſſe in his hands which he would not hold. Thẽ becauſe he comming by the Image of the virgine mary, would not adore the ſame, they cryed, cut out hys tõgue: & ſo they caſt hym into the fire, where he ſhould be thriſe taken vp but the flame went ſo hye, that the hangman beyng not able to come neare hym, cried to the people ſtanding by, to help, and ſo did the officers with their ſtaues, lay vpon the people, to helpe theyr tormenters, but neuer a man would ſtyrre. And this was the end and martyrdome of that bleſſed Denys. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 10.

A Marchaunt hanged for ieſting agaynſt the Friers.

There was a riche marchaunt of Paris, who ſayd in ieſt to the Friers of S. Frances. You weare a rope about your bodyes, becauſe S. Frances once ſhould haue bene hanged, & the pope redeemed him vpon this condition, that all hys life after he ſhould weare a rope. Vppon this the Franciſcan Fryers of Paris cauſed him to be apprehẽded & layd in priſon, and ſo iudgement paſſed vpon hym, that he ſhoulde be hanged: but he to ſaue hys lyfe, was contented to recant, and ſo did. The Fryers hearing of his recantation, commended him, ſaying if he continued ſo, he ſhould be ſaued: and ſo calling vpon the officers, cauſed them to make haſte to the gallowes, to hang hym vp, while he was yet in a good way (ſaid they) leaſt he fall again. And ſo was this marchaunt, notwithſtanding, hys recantation, hanged for ieſting againſt the Fryers. Ex. Pantal. lib. 7.

The iudgements of God.

To this marchaunt may alſo be adioyned ẏ brother of Tamer, who when hee had before profeſſed the truth of the goſpell, and afterward by the counſel and inſtruction of hys brother, was remoued from the ſame, fell in deſperation, and ſuch ſorrow of mind that he hanged himſelfe. Ex Ioan. Manlio in dictis Phil. Melanct.

Thomas Galbergne, martyr.

	Tho. Galbergne, a Couerlet maker.
	At Tourney.
	Ann. 1554.

This Tho. had copied out certayn ſpirituall ſonges out of a booke in Geneua whiche he brought wyth hym to Tourna & lent ẏ ſame to one of hys felowes This booke beyng eſpied, he was called for of the Iuſtice, & examyned of the booke, which he ſayd, contayned nothyng, but ẏ was agreing to the ſcripture, & that he would ſtand by ẏ Then he was had to ẏ Caſtle, and after ſix. dayes was brought to the towne houſe, and there adiudged to the fire. Whereũto he went chearfully ſinging pſalmes. As hee was in ẏ flame, the Warden of the fryers ſtood crying: Turne Thomas, Thomas, yet it is tyme: remember hym ẏ came at the laſt houre. To whom he cryed out of the flame with a loud voyce, and I truſt to be one of that ſort, and ſo calling vpon the name of the Lord, gaue vp hys ſpirite. Ex Criſp. lib. 4.

Nicholas Paule, martyr.

Adde alſo to this, one Nicholas Paul beheaded at Gaunt. Theſe two ſhould haue bene placed amõg the Dutch Martyrs in the table before.

Richard Feurus, martyr.

Latrunculator, or vnder Marſhal, or examiner of Dolphenie.	Rich. Feurus a goldſmith.
The Lieutenant.	
His Attourney.	At Lyons.
	An. 1554.
His Scribe.	

Feurus a Goldeſmith borne at Rhoan firſt being in Englãd, and in London there receiued the taſte and knowledge of Gods word, as in hys owne Epiſtle hee recordeth. Then he went to Geneua, where he remayned 9. or 10. yeares. From thẽce returning to Lions, there was apprehended, and condemned. Then he appealed to the hye court of Paris, through the motion of his friends. Where in the waye as hee was led to Paris, he was met by certain whome he knew not, and by them taken frõ hys keepers, and ſo ſet at libertie, which was ann. 1551,

After the continuing at Geneua, about ẏ ſpace of iii. yeares, he came vppon buſines to the prouince of Dolphenie, and there as he found faulte wyth the grace ſayd in Latine, he was detected and taken in hys Inne in the night, by the vndermarſhall, or him which had the examination of malefactours.

The examination of Richard Feurus.

next day he was ſent to the Iuſtice, from him to the biſhop, who ridding their handes of him, then was he brought to the Lieutenaunt, who ſent his aduocate wᵗ a notary to him in the priſon, to examine hym of his fayth. The whole proceſſe of his examinatiōs, wᵗ his aduerſaryes and the fryers, in his ſtory deſcribed, is long, ẏ principal contents come to this effect.

This Inquiſitor was the Aduocate which the Lieutenant ſent with the Notarie.

Inquiſitour.

Doeſt thou beleue the Church of Rome?

The Martyr.

No, I do beleue the Catholicke and vniuerſall Church.

Inquiſitour.

What Catholicke church is that?

The Martyr.

The congregation, or communion of Chriſtians

The church.

Inquiſitour.

What congregation is that, or of whom doth it conſiſt?

The Martyr.

It conſiſteth in the number of Gods elect, whō God hath choſen to be the members of his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, of whome he is alſo the head.

Inquiſitour.

Where is the congregation, or how is it knowē?

The Martyr.

It is diſperſed through the vniuerſall world, in diuers regions, and is knowne by the ſpirituall direction, wherwith it is gouerned that is to ſay, both by thy word of God, and by the right inſtitution of Chriſtes Sacramentes.

Inquiſitor.

Do ye thinke the Church that is at Geneua, Lauſanna, Berne, and ſuche other places, to be a more true Church then the holy church of Rome?

The Martyr.

Yea verily, for theſe haue the notes of the true Church.

Difference betweene the church of Rome and the church of Chriſt.

Inquiſitour.

What difference then make you betweene thoſe Churches and the Church of Rome?

The Marytr.

Muche, for the Churche of Rome is gouernd onely with traditions of men, but thoſe are ruled only by the word of God.

Inquiſitor.

Where learned you this doctrine firſt?

The Martyr.

In England, at London.

Inquiſitour.

How long haue ye bene at Geneua?

The Martyr.

About 9. or 10. yeares.

The virgin Mary no aduocate.

Inquiſitor.

Doeſt thou not beleue the virgine Mary to be a mediatrix and aduocate to God for ſinners?

The Martyr.

I beleue as in the worde of God is teſtified, Ieſus Chriſt to be onely mediator and aduocate for all ſinners. Albeit the virgine Mary be a bleſſed womā yet the office of an aduocate belongeth not vnto her.

Whether ſaintes doe praye.

Inquiſitor.

The Sayntes that be in Paradice, haue they no power to pray for vs?

The Martyr.

The church of Rome, is not the church of chriſt.

No, but I iudge thē to be bleſſed, & to be contēted with ẏ grace & glory whiche they haue, that is, that they be counted the members of the ſonne of God.

Inquiſitor.

And what then iudge you of them which follow the religion of the Church of Rome, think you them to be Chriſtians?

The Martyr.

No, for that churche is not gouerned with ẏ ſpirite of God, but rather fighteth agaynſt the ſame.

Inquiſitor.

Do you then eſteme all them which ſeperate them ſelues from the Churche of Rome to be Chriſtians?

The Martyr.

Galat.6.

I haue not to aunſwere for others, but onely for my ſelfe, Euery man (ſayth S. Paule) ſhall beare hys owne burden,

And thus the aduocate, when he had aſked hym whether he would put his hand to that he had ſayd, and had obtaynea the ſame, departed to dinner.

At the next examination was brought vnto him a Franciſcan fryer, who firſt entring with hym touthing the wordes ẏ he ſpake in hys Inne, aſked him why that grace might not be ſaid in Latine? Becauſe (ſayd he) by the worde of God, Chriſtians are commaunded to pray with hart and with ſpirite, and with that tongue which is moſt vnderſtanded, and ſerueth beſt to the edification of the hearers. Then the Fryer bringing forth his Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c. Laus Deo, pax viuis, requies defunctis, &c. began thus to reaſon.

Praying ſtraunge tongue.

The Fryer.

God vnderſtandeth al tongues: and the church of Rome hath preſcribed this forme of praying, receiuing the ſame from the auncient churche and the fathers, which vſed then to pray in Latine. And if anye tongue be to be obſerued in prayer, one more then an other, why is it not as good to pray in the Latyn tongue, as to pray in the Frencch?

The Martyr.

My meaning is not to exclude any kynd of language from prayer, whether it be in ẏ Latine Greek Hebrue, or any other, ſo that the ſame be vnderſtanded, and may edifie the hearers.

The Fryer.

When Chriſt entred the Citty of Hieruſalem, the people cryed, lauding hym with Oſanna filio Dauid, and yet vnderſtood they not what they ſayd, as Hierome writeth.

The Martyr.

It may be, that Hierome ſo writeth, howe they vnderſtoode not the propheticall meaning, or the accompliſhment of theſe wordes vpon Chriſtes comming: but that they vnderſtood not the phraſe of that ſpeache or language whiche they ſpake, ſpeaking in theyr owne language. Hierome doth not deny.

Then the Fryer declaring that he was no fit parſon to expound the Scriptures, being in the Latine tongue, inferred the authorities of Counſels and doctors, & teſtimonies of men, which ſemed to moue the officer not a little: who then charging hym with many thinges, as with wordes ſpoken in contempt of the virgin Mary, and of the Sayntes: alſo wyth rebellion agaynſt princes and kinges, came at laſte to the matter of the Sacrament, and demaunded thus.

The Sacr ment, Iohn 6,

Inquiſitour.

Doeſt thou beleue the holy hoſt whiche the prieſt doth conſecrate at the maſſe, or no?

The Martyr.

I beleue neyther the hoſt nor any ſuch conſecration.

Inquiſitour.

Why? doeſt thou not beleue the holy Sacrament of the aultar, ordayned of Chriſt Ieſus hymſelfe?

The Martyr.

Touching the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper, I beleue, that when ſoeuer we vſe the ſame, accordyng to the preſentation of S. Paule, we are refreſhed ſpiritually with the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who is the true ſpirituall meate and drinke of our ſoules.

The Fryer.

The Fryer then inferred the wordes of S. Ioh. Goſpell, ſaying: My fleſh is meate in deede. &c. and ſayd that the Doctors of the church had decided that matter already, and had approued the maſſe to be an holy memory of the death, and paſſion of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

The ſacrament of the ſupper, I beleeue to be ordeined of the Lord, for a memoriall of his death, & for a ſtyrryng vpp of our thankes geuing to hym. In whiche Sacrament we haue nothing to offer vp to hym, but doe receiue with all thankeſgeuing the benefites offered of God to vs moſt aboundantly, in Chriſt Ieſus hys ſonne.

And thus the Aduocate with the Fryer, biddyng the Notary to write the wordes that he had ſpoken departed. Who after eyght dayes, beyng accompanied with the ſayd Franciſcan, and other fryers moe of the Dominickes, ſent for the ſayde Richard Feurus agayne to hys houſe, and thus began to enquire

Inquiſitour.

Doeſt thou beleue any purgatory?

Purgatory.

The Martyr.

I beleue that Chriſt with hys precious bloude hath made an end of all purgatory and purgation of our ſinnes.

Inquiſitour.

And doeſt thou thinke then there is no place after this life, where ſoules of men departed remayne ſo long til they haue made ſatiſfaction for their ſins?

The Martyr.

No: but I acknowledge one ſatiſfaction once made for the ſins of all men, by the bloude & ſacrifice of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the ſinnes of the whole world.

The Fryer.

Math.18.

In the xviij. chap. of S. Math. Chriſt ſpeaketh by way of a parable or ſimilitude, of a certayne cruell ſeruaunt, who becauſe he would not forgeue hys fellow ſeruaunt, was caſt in priſon, and ſaith: That he ſhall not come out from thence before he hath payde the vttermoſt farthing. By the which ſimilitude is ſignified vnto vs, a certayn middle place, which is left for ſatiſfaction to be made after this lyfe, for ſinnes.

The Martyr.

Satiſfaction for ſinnes.
Math.11.
Ioh.10.
Ioh.13.
Apoc.13.
Luke 23.

Firſt, the ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes by the death of Chriſt, is playne and euident in the ſcriptures: as in theſe places: Come to me all you that labour, and be burdened, and I will refreſh you. Math.11. I am the doore, he that entreth by me, ſhalbe ſaued. Iohn 10. I am the waye veritie, and lyfe. Iohn 13. Bleſſed be they that dye in the Lord, for they reſt from theyr labours. Apoc.13. Alſo to ye thiefe which hanged with the Lorde it was ſayde: This day thou ſhalt be with mee in paradiſe, &c. Secondly as touching this ſimilitude, it hath no other demonſtration, but to admoniſhe vs of our duetye in ſhewing charitie, and forgeuing one an other, which vnles we do, there is no mercye to be looked for at the handes of God.

The Fryer.

Limbus.

If this be true that you ſay, then it ſhould folow that there is neyther purgatory, nor anye Limbus, whiche were agaynſt our Chriſtian fayth and oure Crede, which ſayth: He deſcended into hell, &c.

The Deputy.

Doeſt thou not beleue there is a Limbus?

The Martyr.

Neither doe I beleue to be any ſuche place, neyther doth the ſcripture therof make any mention.

The Fryer.

Where were the old fathers then before the death of Chriſt?

The Martyr.

In lyfe (I ſay) eternall, which they looked for, beyng promiſed before to Adam, Abraham, and the Patriarches, in the ſeede to come.

The Deputy.

Then the Deputy, what (ſaith he) doeſt thou beleue that the pope hath any power?

The Martyr.

Yea verily.

The Deputy.

The power of the pope.

Doeſt thou beleeue that the pope, as the vicar of Ieſu Chriſt can here bynde and looſe?

The Martyr.

That I doe not beleue.

The Deputy.

How then doeſt thou vnderſtand the power of the pope?

The Martyr.

I vnderſtand the power of the pope ſo, as ſaincte Paul declareth. ij. Theſſ. ſaying: That becauſe the worlde refuſed to receiue the loue of the truth, vnto ſaluation therefore God hath geuen to Satan, and to hys miniſters, power of illuſions and erroures, that men ſhoulde beleeue lyes, and ſet vp to themſelues paſtors and teachers, ſuche as they deſerue.

The Fryer.

Chriſtes vicar in earth.

Chriſt gaue to S. Peter power to bynde & looſe, whoſe ſucceſſour and vicar of Chriſt is the pope, for the gouernment of the church, that it might haue one head in the world, as it hath in heauen. And though the Paſtors doe not liue according to ye word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refuſed, as Chriſt teacheth. Math.23.

Math.23.

The Martyr.

If the pope and hys adherents would preach the word purely & ſincerely, admixing no other inuentions of theyr own, nor obtruding laws of theyr own deuiſing, I would then imbrace their doctrine, howſoeuer their lyfe were to the contrary: according as Chriſt doth tell vs of the ſcribes & phariſeis, admoniſhing vs to followe theyr doctrine, & not their liues. Mat.23. but there is great difference, whether they ye take the gouernance of the church, do ſit in Moſes chayre, which is the ſeate of truth, or els doe ſit in the chayre of abhomination, ſpoken of by Daniell, & alſo by S. Paule where he ſayth: That the man of perdition ſhal ſit in the temple of God, vaunting hymſelfe inſolently aboue all that is called God. 2. Theſ.2.

Math.23.

2.Theſ.2.

The keyes of binding & looſing.

And as touching the keyes of binding & looſing, geuen to Peter, Chriſt therein aſſigned to Peter, & other apoſtles, the office of preaching the word of the goſpell, whiche they did alſo well obſerue, in preaching nothing els but onely the word, in the whiche word is al the power conteyned of binding & looſing. Neither is it to be granted, the Church to haue two heades, one in heauen, an other in earth. The head whereof is but one, whiche is Ieſus Chriſt, whome the father hath appoynted to be head alone, both in heauen and earth, as S. Paul in many places of his Epiſtles doth teach. Epheſ.1. Coloſ.1 &c.

Epheſ.1.
Coloſ.1.

The Fryer.

You haue no vnderſtanding how to expound the Scriptures. But the olde doctors haue expounded the ſcriptures & holy Councels, whoſe iudgements are to be followed. But what ſay you to auricular confeſſion?

Auricular confeſſion.

The Martyr.

I know no other confeſſion, but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towardes our neighbour, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles haue commended to vs.

The Fryer.

Haue you not read in the Goſpell, howe Chriſt doth bid vs to confeſſe to the prieſt, where hee commaunded the leper being made whole to ſhew hymſelfe to the prieſt?

The Martyr.

The true church of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt neuer obſerued this ſtraunge kinde of confeſſion, to carrye our ſinnes to the prieſtes eare. And though the churche of Rome haue intruded this maner of confeſſing it followeth not thereby, that is to be receiued. And as touching the leper, whome the Lorde ſent to the prieſt, he was not ſent therefore to whiſper his ſins in the Prieſtes eare, but onely for a teſtimony of hys health receiued, according to the law.

Of the other confeſſion whiche is to be made to God, we haue both the examples and teſtimonyes of the prophet Dauid full in the pſalmes. 32. 51. 106. where he ſayth: That he confeſſed his ſinnes vnto the Lord, and receiued forgeuenes of the ſame.

Pſal. 32. 51. 106.

The Fryer.

The Church of Rome and of Geneua, compared.

After this the fryer proceeding further to make compariſon betweene the churche of Rome, and the churche of Geneua, would proue that the pope hath power to ſet lawes in the Church, without anye expreſſe worde of God. For ſo it is written, (ſayd hee) That there were many other thinges beſides, which are not written in this booke. Ioan.21. Alſo where Chriſt promiſeth to his Diſciples, to ſend vnto them the holye ghoſt, which ſhuld induce them into al truth. Moreouer ſuch decres & ordinances which are in ye church were decided (ſayd he) and appoynted by the doctors of ye church, & by al the Councels directed (no doubt) by the holy Ghoſt. Furthermore he inferred, that ye church alſo of Geneua, had theyr ordinaunces and conſtitutions made without any word of God. And for example he brought forth the order of the pſalms and ſeruice publiquely obſerued and appoynted vpon wedneſday in the churche of Geneua, as though that day were holyer then an other.

The Martyr.

To this the martyr anſwered agayne declaring that the ordinaunce of thoſe publicke prayers and pſalmes vppon wedneſday, in the churche of Geneua, was not to bynde conſcience, or for anye ſuperſtitious obſeruation, or for any neceſſitie, whiche eyther there ſhould bind conſcience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement: but onely for an order or commoditie for publike reſort to heare the word of god, according as ancient kings & temporall Magiſtrates haue vſed in old time to doe, in congregating the people together, not to put any holines in the daye or to bind conſcience to any obſeruation (as the pope maketh his lawes) but onely for orders ſake, ſeruing vnto commoditie.

And as touching that any thing ſhould be left for doctors and counſels to be decided, without the expreſſe word of God, that is not ſo, for that al things be expreſſed and preſcribed by the word, whatſoeuer is neceſſary eyther for gouernment of the Church, or for the ſaluation of men, ſo that there is no neede for doctours of the Church or Councels, to decide anye thing more then is decided already.

Rom. 15. 2. Iohn.

Paule ſayth, that he durſt vtter nothing, but that the Lord had wrought by him. Rom. 15. S. Iohn ſpeaking of the doctrine of Chriſt Ieſu, willeth vs to receaue no man, vnles he bring with him the ſame doctrine. 2. Ioan. S. Paule warneth the Gallat. not to beleeue an angell from heauen, bringing an other doctrine thē that which they had already receiued Gal. 2. Chriſt callyng himſelſe the good ſhepheard, noteth them to be his ſheep which heare his voyce, and not the voyce of others. Ioh. 11 And S. Peter admoniſhing the paſtors of ẏ churche forewarneth them to teache onely the woorde of God, without any ſeeking of Lordſhip or dominion ouer the flocke. From the which moderation how far ẏ forme of the popes church doth differ, the tyranny whiche they vſe doth well declare,

The Church ought to be gouerned only by the voyce of the Lords word. 1. Pet. 5.

The Fryer.

In the old churche, prieſtes and miniſters of the church were wont to aſſemble together, for deciding of ſuch thinges as pertained to the gouernment and direction of the church, whereas in Geneua no ſuch thing is vſed, as I can proue by this your owne teſtament here in my handes, that you the better may vnderſtand what was then the true vſe and manner of the Churche.

The Martyr.

Churches may be inſtituted without the Pope.

What was the true order and manner that the Apoſtles did inſtitute the church of Chriſt, I would gladly heare, and alſo would deſire you to conſider the ſame, and when you haue well conſidered it, yet ſhall you finde the inſtitution and regiment of the Church of Geneua not to be without the publicke counſell and aduiſement of the magiſtrates, elders & miniſtres of that church, with ſuch care and diligence as Paule, and Silas took, in ordering the church of Theſſalonica, Birrhea. &c. wherin nothing was don without the authoritie of Gods word, as appeareth Act. 17. As likewiſe alſo in ſtabliſhing the Church of Antioch, when the Apoſtles were together in counſell for ẏ ſame, there was no other law nor doctrine folowed, but onely the word of God, as may appere by the wordes of the Councell: Quid tentatis Deum, iugum imponere, &c. And albeit the miniſters of the church of Rome, and the pope were not called to the inſtitution of the foreſayd churche of Geneua: yet it followeth not therfore, that there was no lawful order obſerued, eyther in ſtabliſhing that Churche, or any other.

The Fryer.

You were firſt baptiſed in the Church of ẏ Pope were ye not?

Baptiſme in the popes church, no neceſſary cauſe to folow all the Popes errours.

The Martyr.

I graunt I was, but yet that nothing hindereth the grace of God, but hee may renouate and call to further knowledge whom he pleaſeth.

A Counſeller.

I would wiſhe you not to ſticke to your owne wiſedome and opinion. Ye ſee the Churches in Germany, how they diſſent one from an other. So that if you ſhould not ſubmit your iudgement to the authoritie of the Generall Councels, euery day you ſhould haue a new Chriſtianitie.

The Martyr.

Agreement in the principall pointes of doctrine, in the churches reformed.

To mine owne wiſedome I do not ſticke, nor euer will, but onely to that wiſedome whiche is in Chriſt Ieſu, although the world doth accompt it fooliſhnes. And where ye ſay, that the churches of Germanie diſſent among themſelues one from an other that is not ſo, for they accorde in one agreement, altogether, touching the foundation and principall groundes of Chriſtian fayth. Neyther is there anye ſuch feare, that euery day ſhould ryſe vp a new chriſtianitie, vnles the church be ballanced with authoritie of the councels, as you pretend. For ſo we read in the profite Dauid pſal. 33. and in other places of ſcripture moe: that the Counſels of the nations and people ſhalbe ouerthrowne and ſubuerted of the Lorde. &c. Wherefore the beſt is, that we follow the councell of God and hys word, and preferre the authoritie therof before all other counſels and iudgementes of mē, And thus doyng, I for my part had rather dwel and ſettle my ſelfe in this litle Chriſtianitie, be it neuer ſo ſmall, then in that populous Papalitie, be it neuer ſo great in multitude.

Pſal. 33.

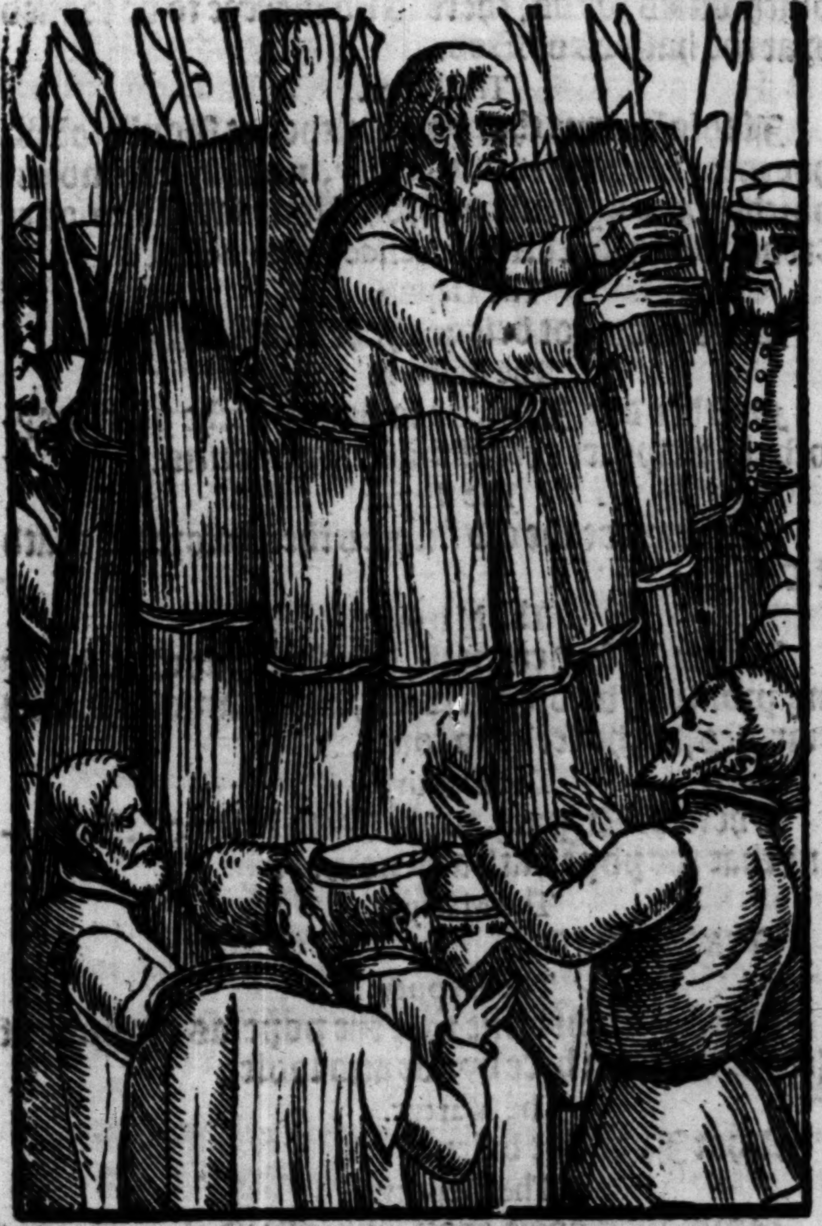
Paruus Chriſtianiſmus potior populoſo Papatu.

And thus was this godly Feurus commaunded agayne by the Deputye, to the Biſhops priſon, and from thence ſhortly after remoued to Lions, not by the open and beaten waye, but by ſecret and priuy iournyes, leaſt perhaps he ſhould be taken from thē agayne, as he was before.

Tignacius, D. Fumoſus, Sorboniſtes.

After he was come to Lyons, he was brought before Tignacius the Iudge, and a Doctour of Sorbone called Fumoſus, who queſtioned with hym touching ſondry articles of Religion. But in concluſion, when they neyther with argumentes coulde conuict him, nor with promiſes allure him, nor with threatning terrours ſtyrre hym, eyther to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray them whome he knew not, which tooke him away before hys kepers they proceeded at laſt to the ſentence, condemnyng hym firſt to haue hys tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he receiued willingly and quietly for righteouſnes ſake, thus finiſhing his martyrdom Iul. 7. ann. 1554. Ex Criſp. Pantal. & alijs.

The martyrdome of Richard Feurus.



The martirdome of Richard Feurus.

Nicholas Cheſne, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
An Inquiſitour monk.	Nicholas du Cheſne.	The cauſe and occaſion why this Nicolas came in trouble, was for that he goyng from Lauſāna (where he abode for hys conſcience) to fette hys ſiſter & her huſband, & certayne other of hys friendes, as hee went from Bezanſon, toward the towne of Gry, dyd

alſe dea-
ng in a pa-
iſt.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	At Gry by Bezanſon. Ann.1554.	did not homage to a certayne croſſe in the way where a certayne monke which was an inquiſitour, ouertooke him, and therby ſuſpected him. He was guyded by the ſame monke craftily diſſebling hys religion, to a lodgyng in Gry: where the Juſtice of the place comming in, incontinent tooke him. Nicholas ſeing how hee was by ẏ monke his conductor betrayed: O falſe traytor, (ſayd he) haſt thou thus betrayed me? Then after examination, he was condēned. Being caryed to the place of martyrdome, by ẏ way he was promiſed, that if he would knele down and heare a maſſe, he ſhould be let go as a paſſenger. But Nicolas armed with perſeuerance, ſayde hee would rather dye then commit ſuch an act. who calling vpon the name of the Lord, tooke his death paciently. Ex Criſp·Lib.6.
The ſeniors or Lords of Eſtnay and of Ciguongnes, dwelling by the towne of Machenoir. Denys Barbes, Counſellour of Bloys.	Iohn Bertrand a foſter or keeper of the foreſt of Marche noir. At Bloys. Ann.1556.	For the religion & goſpell of Chriſt, thys Iohn was apprehended by theſe perſecuters here ſpecified, and led bounde to Bloys: where he was examined by Denys ẏ counſeller, of diuers points as whether he had ſpokē at any time againſt God, agaynſt ẏ church & the he ſayntes, & the ſhe ſaynts of Paradiſe wherunto he ſayd no. Item, whether at any time hee had called the maſſe abhominable, whiche hee graunted, for that hee finding no maſſe in all the Scripture, was commanded by S. Paule, That if an angell from heauē would bring anye other goſpell beſide that whiche was already receiued, he ſhuld account it accurſed. After his condemnation, they woulde haue hym to be confeſſed, and preſented to him a croſſe to kiſſe. But he bad the Fryers with theyr croſſe depart. That is not the croſſe (ſayd he) that I muſt cary. Entring into ẏ cart before the multitude he gaue thanks to God, that he was not there for murther, theft, or blaſphemye, but onely for the quarrell of our ſauiour. Being tyed to the poſt, he ſang the 25. pſalme. Of age he was yong his countenaunce was exceeding chearfull & amiable, his eyes looking vp to heauen. O the happy iourny, ſayd he (ſeeing the place where he ſhould ſuffer) & the fayre place that is prepared for me. When the fire was kindled about them, O Lord cryed he, geue thy hand to thy ſeruaunt: I recommend my ſoule vnto thee, and ſo meekly yelded vp his ſpirite. Whoſe pacient and ioyfull conſtancye ſo aſtonyed the people, that of long tyme before, nothing did ſeeme to them ſo admirable. Ex Gallic, hiſt. per. Criſp. Lib.6.
A brother in lawe of this Peter.	Peter Rouſſeau. An. 1556.	Peter Rouſſeau comming from Geneua and Lauſanna to hys countrey, partlye to communicate wyth certayne of hys acquayntaunce in the word of God, partlye for other certayn affayres, becauſe hee required hys inheritaunce of hys brother in law, was by him betrayed. Then being conſtant in his confeſſion, which he offered vp, he was put to the racke three tymes, which he ſuffered conſtantly with great tormentes. Afterward he had hys tongue cut of, and a balle of yron put in hys mouth. He was drawē vpon a hurdle, al broken and maymed, to the fire, where he was lifted vp into the ayre, and let downe three tymes: And when he was halfe burned, the balle fell from hys mouth, and he with a loud voyce called on the name of GOD, ſaying, Ieſus Chriſt aſſiſte me. And ſo thys bleſſed Martyr gaue vp hys life to God. Ex Ioan, Criſp.

ohn Ber-
and, mar-
yr.

Peter Rouſſeau, martir.

Crueltie.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes
Antony de Leſcure, thē kinges attourney.	Arnauld Moniere. Iohn de Cazes. At Bordeaux. An.1556.	After that Arnald Moniere was taken and examined of the Juſtice, and ſo was layde in priſon, John de Cazes reſorting to the ſame town of Burdeaux, and hearing of hym, and beyng admoniſhed moreouer, that if he went to him, hee ſhoulde be appeached of hereſie, notwithſtanding went to comforte him, and ſo was alſo impriſoned. After many examinations, ſentence was geuen vpon them to be burned. When the tyme came of theyr Martyrdome they were drawne thorough the durt vppon an hurdle, to the place accompanyed with a number of bylles, and glaynes, and gūners, and trūpeters. Moreouer, albeit there was no ſuch cauſe (they being two ſimple poore men) yet the Magiſtrates commaunded (vpon what occaſion I know not) all the gates of ẏ Citty to be ſhut, and garded with keepers. Whē the bleſſed martyrs were brought and bound to the poſt which was before the Pallace, they much reioyſing that they were made worthye to ſuffer for Chriſte, made confeſſion of their fayth, and many earneſt exhortations vnto the people. But to ſtop the hearing of theſe ſaints, the trumpeters were commaunded to ſound, which during all the time of their ſuffering neuer ceaſed. The hangman preparing hymſelf firſt to ſtrangle Cazes, chaunced to fall downe from the top of the poſt, to the pauement and brake hys head in ſuch ſorte, as the bloud followed in great quantitie. Notwithſtanding he recouering hymſelfe, went to Monier, and hym he ſtrangled; who patientlye rendered vp his lyfe. Cazes which was the ſtronger of them both, being ſet on fire before the hangman came, ſuffered the extremitie of the fire with great paynes, but greater patience: for as hys legges wer almoſt halfe burnt, yet he endured, crying: My God my father, and ſo gaue vp hys lyfe. And further, to note the worke of God that folowed when theſe two myld & martyred ſayntes were almoſt cōſumed in the fire to aſhes ſodenly without matter or cauſe, ſuch a feare fell vpon them, at ẏ execution, that the iuſtices and the people, notwithſtanding that they had the gates locked to them, & were defenſed with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherfore, tooke thē to their legs, in ſuch haſt fleeing away, ẏ they ouerran one an other. The prior of S. Antonies fel down, ſo ẏ a great number went ouer hym. The iudge Pontacke on hys mule, in his red robe, fleeing as the other dyd, was ouerthrowne with the preſſe in the ſtreet called Poetevin in ſuche ſorte, that he was fayne to be caryed to Pichons houſe a widow, and there cryed within, Hide me, ſaue my lyfe, I am dead: I ſee euen the lyke matter, as at the laſt commotion, My friendes hyde my mule

Arnauld Moniere, Iohn de Cazes, martyrs.

Trumpettes brought in, to ſtop the hearing of Gods Saints.

Feare ſent amongſt Gods enemies.

Impius fugit et nemo perſequitur.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
		mule, that no man ſe her nor know her. Briefly ſuch was the feare which came from them, that euery mā ſhut vp their houſes. After the feare was paſt, euery man aſked what the matter was, but none could tel neither could the enemies of Gods truth perceaue, who was he that put them ſo to flight and feare, wͭout any ſemblaunce of anye aduerſary about them. This ſtory is teſtified, and to be founde both in the volume of the Frenche martyrs, printed by Iohn Criſpine, lib. 6. alſo in the booke of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrianus.

Bertelmewe Hector, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A gentlemā called Perriere. M. Bartlemew Eme, Preſident. M. Auguſtine de Egliſe, Counſeller.	Bartlemew Hector. At Thurin. Ann. 1556.	Firſt this Hector was a trauailer, about the country, and a ſeller of bookes, hauyng his wife and children at geneua. As he came into the vale of Angroigne, in Piedmont to get his liuing wyth ſellyng of bookes, hee was taken by a certen gentleman, and there areſted & ſent to Thurin: then examined, at laſt condēned. Beyng condemned, hee was threatned, yͭ if he ſpake any thing to the people, his tongue ſhould be cut of. Neuertheleſſe he ceaſed nothing to ſpeake. After his praiers made, wherein he prayed for the Iudges, that God would forgeue them, and opē theyr eies, he was offered his pardon at the ſtake, if he would conuert, which he refuſed. Then he prepared himſelfe to his death, which he tooke patiently. Wherat many of the people wept, ſaying, why doth this man dye, whiche ſpeaketh of nothing, but of God? Ex hiſt. Gal. per Criſp. lib. 6.

Philip Cene, Iames his fellow, martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The accuſers appeare not in the ſtory.	Phillip Cene. Iames his fellow. At Dyion. An. 1557.	This Phillip Cene was an Apothecarie at Geneua. He was taken at Dyion, & there impriſoned, and in the ſame town of Dyion, he with one Iames hys companion, was burned. As this Phillip went to his death ſinging pſalmes, the Fryer ſtandyng by, ſtopped hys mouthe with his hande. The moſt part of the people wept bitterly, ſaying, be of good courage brethren, be not afrayd of this death. Which when one of the aduerſary part heard, he ſayde to one of the magiſtrates. Do you not ſee how almoſt halfe part of the people is of their ſide, and doth comfort them? Ex Ioan Criſp. lib. 6.

Archambant, M. Nicolas Ruſſean, martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Archambant Seraphon. M. Nicolas du Ruſſeau. At Dyion. Ann, 1557.	Theſe two were in priſon together wͭ Phillip, and Iames abouesaid, at Dyion Archambant goyng about with a packet of pedlerye ware, to get hys liuing and comming towardes hys wyfe, heard of certayn priſoners at Dyion, to whome he wrote to comfort them with his letters. The next daye after hee was ſearched at Auſſone, and letters of certayne ſchollers of Paris founde about him: then he was brought to Dyion, where hee with the other called M. du Rouſſeau, conſtantly ſuffered.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
		The ſame Archambant had bene alſo condemned three yeares before at Tule, and as he was ledde to Bordeaux, he eſcaped. Ex eius Epiſt. ad vxorem, apud Criſp. lib. 6.

Philber Haml martyr.

The zeal Philber

Philbert prophecieth.

The marueilous iudgemen of God againſt Ap ſtates.

Trumpet blowen t ſtoppe the hearing o Philbert.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The kinges Attourney of Sainctes Ville.	Philbert Hamlin. At Burdeaux. Ann. 1557.	Philbert Hamlin firſt was a prieſt, then hee went to Geneua, wher he exerciſed printing, and ſent bookes abroad. After that hee was made a miniſter at the towne of Allenart in Saintonge: In which and in other places moe, hee did much good in edifying the people. At laſt hee was apprehended at Saintes Ville, and with him his hoſt, a prieſt, whom he had inſtructed in the goſpell, and after confeſſion made of hys fayth, hee with the ſayde prieſte was caryed to Burdeux before the Preſident. As hee was in priſon on a ſondaye, a prieſt came in with all his furniture, to ſaye maſſe in the priſon: whom Philbert ſeing to be reueſted, came & pluckt his garmentes from his backe wyth ſuche zeale and vehemency, that the maſſe garmentes, with the challice & candleſtickes fell downe, and were broken, ſaying: Is it not enough for you to blaſpheme God in churches, but you muſt alſo pollute the priſon wͭ youre Idolatry? The iaylour hearing of this, in his furye layd vpon him wͭ his ſtaffe, and alſo complayned of him: whereby he was remoued to the common priſon, and layd in a low pitte, laden wyth great yrons ſo that hys legges were ſwolne withall, and there continued viij. dayes. A little before hee perceiuing the prieſt his hoſt to decline from the truth, did what he could to confirme hym in the ſame: but when hee knew that he had flatly renounced Chriſt and hys worde, he ſayde vnto hym. O vnhappy and more then miſerable, is it poſſible for you to be ſo foliſh as for ſauing of a few dayes, which you haue to liue by the courſe of nature, ſo to ſtart awaye, and to denye yͤ truth? Know you therfore, that although you haue by your fooliſhnes auoyded yͤ corporall fire, yet your life ſhalbe neuer the longer, for you ſhall dye before me, and God ſhal not geue you the grace, that it ſhal be for hys cauſe, and you ſhalbe an example to al Apoſtates. He had no ſooner ended hys talke but the prieſt goyng out of priſon, was ſlayne by two gentle men which had a quarrell to him. Whereof when M. Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knewe of no ſuch thing before, but ſpake as pleaſed God to guyd hys tongue. Wherupon immediatly he made an exhortation of the prouidence of God, which by the occaſon hereof, moued the hartes of many, and conuerted them vnto God. At laſt the foreſayd Philbert, after hys condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdome before the palace, and as he was exhorting the people, to the intent hys wordes ſhoulde not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceaſing. And ſo being faſtened to yͤ poſt, this holy martyr praying & exhortyng the people, was ſtrangled, and hys bodye wyth fire conſumed, on palme ſunday euen. Ex Gal. hiſt. Criſp. lib. 6.

Nicolas Startoriu martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Ripet, a Secretary.	Micholas Startorius.	Nicolaus Startorius of the age of 26. yeres, borne in Piedmont, came to the partes of Chamberye in Lent, where a certayn warden of the Fryers in the towne of Oſte had preched on good friday vpon

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Anthony Eſchaux Baily. The kinges Procurator.	At Oſt by Pledmont. An. 1557.	vpon the paſſion. The reporte of which Sermon being recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him, Sartorius reprehended the errour and blaſphemyes thereof, whiche were agaynſt the holye ſcriptures. Shortly after, the party that told hym, went to a Secretarye named Riper, who couertly came to entrap Nicholas, demaunding him of the Friers Sermon: And did not our Preacher (ſayd he) preach well? No, ſayde Nicholas, but he lyed falſely. Riper entring further wyth him, demaunded: And do not you beleue the

body of the Lord to be in the hoſte? to whom Nicholas then aunſwered agayne, that to be agaynſt our Creed, which ſayth, that he aſcended vp and ſitteth. &c. Incontinent Riper went to the Frier and his companions, to cauſe him to be apprehended. The frendes of Nicolas perceiuing the daunger, willed him to auoyde and ſaue himſelfe, and alſo accompanyed him out of the town, about the ſpace of three leagues. Then was great purſute made after him to al quarters, who at length was taken at the towne of S. Remy, at the foot of the mountaine of great S. Bernard, where he was examined before Anthony Eſchaux Bailiffe of the towne, and other iuſtices, before whom he aunſwered with great boldneſſe, for hys fayth. Then they brought him to the racke, & when the Sergeant refuſed to draw the corde, the Bayliffe himſelfe & the Receiuer, with a Canon did rack him with theyr owne handes. Notwithſtanding that the Lordes of Berne wrote for him to the towne of Oſt, requiring to haue theyr owne ſubiect deliuered vnto them, they haſtened the execution, and pronounced ſentence, that he ſhould be burned. Which ſentence he receiued with ſuch conſtancy, that neither the kinges receiuer, nor all the other enemies coulde diuert him from the truth of the Goſpell, which he manfully mainteined while any ſpirit remayned in his bodye. Ex Ioan. Criſp lib. 6.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The accuſers be not named in the ſtory.	George Tardif, with one of Tours, a Broderer. Nicholas, a Shomaker of Ienuile. At Tours. An. 1558. At Ienuile. An. 1558.	The Printer of the ſtory of the french martyrs named Criſpine, among other moe, maketh alſo memoriall of George Tardif, a Broderer of Tours, and Nicholas of Ienuile, declaring that all theſe three together were in priſon, and afterward were diſſeuered, to ſuffer in ſundry places, one from the other: of whome firſt George Tardife was executed in Sens. The Broderer of Tours, as hee was comming with 5. or 6. other out of a woode, beyng at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before hee ſhoulde bee examined, he deſired the Iudges, that hee myght praye. Which being graunted after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the Iudges, for the king, and all eſtates, &

for the neceſſity of all Chriſtes Saynctes, he aunſwered for himſelfe, with ſuch grace and modeſtye, that the hartes of many were broken vnto the ſheddyng of teares, ſeeking (as it ſeemed) nothing els but hys deliueraunce. Notwithſtanding he at laſt was ſent vnto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdome.

The third which was Nicolas, being but young of yeares, and newly come from Geneua, to his coūtrey, for certayne money: by meanes of a Lady there dwelling, was cauſed to be apprehended. When he was condemned and ſet in the cart, his Father comming with a ſtaffe, would haue beaten him, but the officers not ſuffering it, would haue ſtroken the olde man. The ſonne crying to the Officers, deſired them to let his father alone, ſaying, that his father had power ouer him, to doe with him what he would: and ſo going to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, hauyng a balle of yron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the towne of Ienuile, where he paciently toke his death and Martyrdome. an. 1558. Ex Typogra. Criſp. Lib. 6.

Nicolas of Ienuile, Martyr

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Prieſtes of the College of pleſſis. The doctors of Sorbone Doctor Democrates. Cenalis, Biſhop of Auranches. Martine the kinges Attorney. The Cardinall of Lorrane. Maillardus. Henry the ſecōd frēch king.	The congregation of Paris perſecuted, to the number of three or foure hundreth. At Paris. An. 1558.	AN. 1558. Sept. 4. a company of the faythfull, to the nūber of 3. or 4. hundred, wer together conuented at Paris in a certē houſe, hauing before it, ẏ college of Pleſſis in the ſtrete of S. Iames, & behinde it, the college of Sorbone. Who ther aſſembled in the beginning of the night to the intent to communicate togeather the Lordes ſupper: but incontinēt that was diſcouered by certeyne Prieſtes of Pleſſis: who gathering together ſuche as were of that faction, came to beſet the houſe and made an outcrye, that the watch mighte come and take them, ſo that in ſhort time almoſt all the city of Paris was vp in armor, thinking ſome conſpiracy to haue bene in ẏ city. Who then following the noyſe, & perceiuing that they were Lutheranes, a greate part of thē were in extreme rage, furiouſlye ſeeking to haue theyr bloud, and therfore ſtopped the ſtreetes and lanes with cartes, and made fires to ſee that none ſhoulde eſcape. The faythfull

A terrible perſecution at Paris againſt the Cōgregation.

albeit God hath geuē them leiſure to finyſh their adminiſtration & prayers, with ſuch quietnes, as they neuer had better, ſeeing the ſodenneſſe of the thyng, were ſtroken in great feare. Who then being exhorted by the gouernors of the congregation, fel to praier. That done, through the counſell of ſome whyche knew the cowardly hartes of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men whiche had weapon, ſhould aduenture through the preſe: onely the womē and children remayned in the houſe, and a few men with them, which were leſſe bolde then the other, to the number of ſixe or ſeauen ſcore. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapon, which notwithſtanding that ẏ lanes and paſſages were ſtopped, and the fires made, dyd all eſcape ſaue onely one, who was beatē down with ſtones, and ſo deſtroyed. Certayne that remayned in the houſe with the womē, afterward leaped into gardens, where they were ſtayed, till the Magiſtrates came. The women (which were all Gentlewomen, or of great wealth, onely ſixe or ſeuen excepted) ſeing no other hope, and perceiuing the fury of the people,

The fury of this world againſt the poore Chriſtians.

One of the Cōgregation beatē downe in the ſtreates, and Martyred.

went vp to the windowes, crying* mercy and ſhewing theyr innocent intent, required iuſtice ordinary. Thus as they were incloſed about 6. or 7. houres, at laſt came Martin the kinges Attorney, with force of Commiſſaries and Sergeantes. who with much adoe appeaſing the courage of the people, entred into the houſe, where he viewing the women & children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregatiō, perceiued teſtimonies ſufficient of their innocency, in ſo much, that in conſidering therof, for pity of hart, his eyes could not refraine from teares. Notwithſtanding proceeding in his office, hee had them all to priſon within the litle Caſtle. I omit here the furious vſage of the people by the way, how deſpightfully they plucked and haled the women, tare their garmēts, thruſt of theyr hoods frō their heades, & diſfigured theyr faces with duſt and durt. Neither were they better entreated in the Priſon, then they were in the ſtreetes: for all the villaines and theeues there, were let out of theyr holes and ſtinking caues, and the poore Chriſtians placed in theyr roomes.

* Mercy here importeth no offéce acknowledged, but to be ſaued from the rage of the people.

Beſides theſe manifolde wronges & oppreſſions done to theſe poore innocēts, folowed thē (which was worſt of all) the cruell & ſlaunderous reportes of the friers and prieſtes, who in theyr rayling ſermons & other talke, cryed out to the Lutherans, perſwading the people moſt falſly, that they aſſembled together to make a banket in the night, and there putting out yͤ candles, they went together, Iacke with Iille (as the ſayde) after a filthy and beaſtly maner. Adding moreouer (to make the lye more likely) that certayne Nunnes alſo & Monkes were with them. Alſo that they ſhould conſpyre againſt the king, and other like heynous crimes, whatſoeuer theyr malice could inuent, for defacing of the Goſpell. With ſuch like malitious miſreportes & ſclaūders, Sathan went about to extinguiſh the auncient church of Chriſt in the primitiue time, accuſing the innocent Chriſtians then of inceſt, conſpiracy, killing of infantes, putting out of candles, & filthy whoredome. &c. Vide ſupra. pag. 36. Theſe ſiniſter rumors, & curſed defamations were no ſooner geuē out, but they were as ſoone receiued, and ſpread farre, not onely to thē of the vulgar ſort, but alſo among the ſtates of the Court, and euen to the kinges eares. The Cardinall of Lorraine yͤ ſame time bare a great ſway in the court, who then procured a certayne Iudge of the Caſtle, to come in declaring to the king that he found there lying in yͤ floore of the foreſayd houſe, diuers couches & pallets, vpon which they intended to cōmit theyr whoredome: alſo much other furniture and preparation appointed for a ſumptuous feaſt or banquet: wherewith the kyng was mightely inflamed agaynſt them, neyther was there any one perſon that durſt contrary it.

A falſe and malicious ſlaunder raiſed agaynſt the Congregation.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 36

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the goſpell, with all the frẽdes therof, were ouerthrowne for euer. On the other ſide, no leſſe perplexity and lamentation was among yͤ brethren, ſorowing not ſo muche for themſelues, as for the impriſonment of theyr fellowes. Albeit they loſte not theyr courage ſo altogether, but as well as they could, they exhorted one another, conſidering yͤ great fauour and prouidence of God, in deliuering them ſo wonderfully out of the daunger. Some comfort they tooke vnto them, conſulting together in this order, that firſt they ſhould humble themſelues to God in theyr owne priuate familyes. Secondly to ſtoppe the running brutes of theyr holy aſſembles, they ſhould write Apologies, one to the kyng, an other to the people. Thirdly, that letters of conſolatiō ſhould be written and ſent to theyr brethren in priſon.

The firſt Apology was written to the king, and conueyed ſo ſecretly into his Chamber, that it was found, and read opēly in the hearing of the king and of all his nobles. Wherin the Chriſtians learnedly & diſcreetly both cleared themſelues of thoſe reportes, and ſhewed the malice of theyr enemies, eſpecially of Satan, which euer frō the beginning of the Church, hath and ſtill doeth goe about to ouerturne the right wayes of the Lord, declaring further by manyfolde examples and cōtinuall experience, euē from the primitiue time, how the nature of the Church hath euer bene to ſuffer vexations and ſclaunderous reports and infamation by the malignant aduerſaries &c. And laſtly comming to the king, they craued that theyr cauſe might not be condemned before it had indifferent hearing. &c. Neuertheleſſe, this Apology to the king, ſerued to litle purpoſe, forſomuch as the aduerſaries incontinent denied all that was written to the king, making him to beleue that all were but excuſes pretenſed, neither was there any perſon that durſt replye agayne.

The Apologie of the Congregation againſt falſe reportes.

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But the other Apology to the people, did ineſtimable good, in ſatiſfying the rumors, and defending the true cauſe of the goſpell. Wherupon certayne doctors of Sorbō began to write both agaynſt yͤ Apology and the perſons, of whom one was called Demochares, who taking for his foundation, without any proofe, that they were all heretiques, cryed out for iuſtice, with billes, glaues, fire, and ſword.

Doctor D
mochare
perſecut

An other Sorbomiſt more bloudy then the firſt, not only exclamed againſt thē, for putting out yͤ candles in theyr deteſtable concourſes & aſſembles, but alſo accuſed thē, as men which mainteined that there was no God, and denied the diuinity & humanity of Chriſt, the immortallity of the ſoule, the reſurrection of fleſh, and briefly al the articles of true religiō. And thus he charged them without any proofe, mouyng both the king and people, without any forme of law to deſtroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

Lying ſp

The third that wrote againſt thē, was Cenalis, biſhop of Auranches, which debated the ſame matter, but wt leſſe vehemency then the other, defending impudently, that theyr aſſembles were to mainteine whoredome, cōplayning of the Iudges, becauſe they were no ſharper with thē, ſaying that theyr ſoftneſſe was yͤ cauſe why the nūber of thē ſo much encreaſed. Among other pointes of his booke, this one thing he diſputeth maruelous pleaſauntly, touching yͤ ſignes & markes of the true Church: firſt preſuppoſing this one thing which is true, that yͤ true Church hath hys ſignes, by yͤ which it may be knowne frō yͤ falſe churche: and therupō (making no mention at all, either of preaching or miniſtratiō of ſacramēts) thus he inferreth, yͤ theyr church which was the catholick church, had belles, by the which theyr aſſembles be ordinarily called together: & the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath clappes of harquebuſes & piſtelets for ſignes, wherby they (as it is cōmonly bruted) are wont to cōgregate together. Vpon this ſuppoſall, as vpon a ſure foundation, he grounding his matter, vaunted & triumphed as one hauing gotten a greate conqueſt, and made a long Antitheſis, or compariſon, by the which he would proue that bels were yͤ markes of the true church. The belles (ſaid he) do ſound, the harquebuſes do cracke or thunder. The belles do geue a ſweete tune and melodious, the ſignes of the Lutheranes make a foule noyſe and terrible. The belles do open heauen, the other do open hell. Bels chaſe away cloudes and thunder, the other gender cloudes and counterfeite thunder: with many other propertyes moe, which he brought out, to proue that the Church of Rome is the true Church, becauſe it hath thoſe belles. Marke, good Reader, the profound reaſons and argumentes which theſe great doctors had, either to defēd theyr own church, or to impugne the Apologies of the Chriſtians.

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Briefly, to finiſh the reſidue of this ſtory: as the faythfull Chriſtians were thus occupied in writing theyr Apologyes, and in comforting theyr brethrē in priſon with theyr letters, the aduerſaryes agayne wt theyr faction were not idle, but ſought all meanes poſſible to haſten forward the execution, geuing diligent attendance about the priſon and other open places, to ſatiſfy theyr vncharitable deſire with yͤ death of them, whoſe religion they hated.

Finally, the 17. day of September, commiſſion was directed out by the king, and certayne Preſidentes and counſellers appoynted to ouerſee the expedition of the matter. Wherupō diuers of the poore afflicted Goſpellers were brought forth to theyr iudgement and martyrdome, as anon (Chriſt willing) you ſhall heare.

Henricus Pantal. lib. 11. partly touching this perſecution of the Pariſians, referreth the tyme thereof to the yeare of our Sauiour. 1557. whyche the Frenche Chronicles doe aſſigne to the yeare. 1558. and addeth moreouer, that the Germanes beyng the ſame time in a certayne colloquy at Wormes, diuers learned men reſorted thither frō Geneua, and other quarters,

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

quarters, deſiring of the princes & proteſtants there, that they by theyr Ambaſſadours ſent by the French king, would become ſuters vnto him for the innocēt priſoners, which for the cauſe aboue ſayd, were deteined in bandes at Paris: by the meanes of whoſe interceſſion (ſayth he) and eſpecially for that the french king was then in warre (as GOD prouided) with Philip king of Spayne, a great part of the captiues were reſcued and deliuered: albeit certayn of the ſayd number were executed before the comming of the Germaine Ambaſſadours: the names and Martyrdome of whom here vnder do enſue, Ex Criſp. & Pantal. Lib. 12.

Gods helpe in tyme of neede.

Prieſtes of the College of Pleſsis.

Nicholas Cliner.

Doctour Maillard. Sorboniſt.

At Paris.

An. 1558.

Of this godly company thus brought to iudgement and to martyrdome, the firſt was Nicolas Cliner, of the age of 86. yeares, who firſt being a ſchoolemaiſter to youth at Saintonge (where he was borne) was there puniſhed, & had his Image burned. From thence hee came to Paris, where for his godlye conuerſation hee was made one of the Elders, or Councellours of the Churche. For his age he was ſuffered of the Iudges to be a miniſter, & therefore was let to diſpute agaynſt the chiefeſt of the Sorboniſtes, & namely Maillard, whom he did ſo confute both in the Scriptures, and alſo in theyr owne Sorbonicall Diuinity (wherein he had bene well exerciſed & expert) in the preſence of the Lieutenant ciuile, that the ſayd Lieutenant confeſſed, that he neuer heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Nicholas Cliner, Seniour of the church and martyr.

Doc. Maillard confuted.

Taurin Grauelle, a Lawyer.

Doctour Maillard, Sorboniſt.

At Paris.

An. 1558.

Taurin Grauelle firſt was a ſtudent of the lawe at Toulouſe, after that, hee was made an aduocate in the Court of Paris: laſtly for his godlines hee was ordeyned an Elder to the ſayd congregation, with Cliner aboue mentioned. This Taurin hauyng in his handes the keeping of a certayn houſe of one M. Barthomier his kinſman, and ſeing the congregation deſtitute of a rowme, receiued them into the houſe. And when he perceiued the houſe to be compaſſed with enemies, albeit he might haue eſcaped with the reſt, yet he would not, but did abyde the aduenture, to the intent he woulde aunſwere for the fact, in receiuing the ſayd aſſemble into the houſe. The conſtancy of this man was inuincible, in ſuſteining his conflictes with the Sorboniſtes, with Doctour Maillarde eſpecially he was of olde acquayntaunce, whom he did knowe ſo well, euen from hys youth vpwarde, that whenſoeuer the ſayd Doctour would open his mouth to ſpeake agaynſt the Saintes for theyr nightlye aſſembles, he agayne did approch him with ſo filthy actes of buggerye and infamous Sodomitry, that neyther they which hearde, could abide it, neyther yet coulde hee deny it, being ſo notorious, that almoſt all the children in the ſtreetes did know it: and yet that Sorbonicall Doctour ſhamed not to empeach good men of whoredome, for theyr Godly aſſembles in the night. whoſe lyfe was ſo farre from all chaſtity, as were there holy aſſembles cleare from all impuritie, In fine theſe twoe Godly Elders in cruell paynes of the fire, finiſhed theyr martyrdome.

Taurin Grauelle martyr.

Note the holie lyfe of theſe Sorbonicall Doctours.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

The Lieutenant ciuile.

Philip de Luns, Gentlewoman.

Doctour Maillard, Sorboniſt.

Broſnior, Lieutenant.

Euil neighbours.

Bertrand, Lord keeper of the ſeale, and Cardinal of Sens.

At Paris.

The Marques of Tran.

An. 1558.

Next vnto theſe aboue named, was brought out maiſtres Philip, Gentlewoman of the age of 23. ſhe came firſt from the partes of Gaſcoigne with her huſband (who was Lord of Graueron) vnto Paris, there to ioyne her ſelfe to the Churche of God, where her Huſband alſo hadde bene a Senior or Elder: who in the moneth of May before, was take with an ague, and deceaſed, leauing this Philip a widowe, which neuertheleſſe ceaſed not to ſerue the Lord in hys Churche, and alſo in the houſe was taken with the ſayde company. Many conflictes ſhe had with the Iudges, and the Sorboniſtes, namely Maillard. But ſhe alwayes ſent him awaye with the ſame reproch, as the other did before, & bad him auaunt Sodomyte, ſaying, ſhe would not aunſweare one woorde to ſuche a villaine. To the Iudges her aunſwere was this, that ſhe had learned the fayth whyche ſhee confeſſed, in the woord of God, and in the ſame ſhee woulde liue and die. And being demaunded, whether the body of Chriſt was in the Sacrament. How is that poſsible (ſayde ſhe) to be the bodye of Chriſt, to whom all power is geuen, & which is exalted aboue all heauens, when as we ſee the mice & rattes, apes, and Munkies playe with it, and teare it in pieces? Her petition to them was, that ſeing they had taken her ſiſter from her, yet they would let her haue a Byble or Teſtament to comfort her ſelfe. Her wicked neighbors, although they could touche her conuerſation with no part of diſhoneſtye, yet many thinges they layde to her charge, as that there was muche ſingyng of Pſalmes in her houſe, and that twiſe or thriſe, an infinite number of perſons were ſeene to come out of her houſe. Alſo when her huſband was in dying, no Prieſt was called for, neyther was it knowne where he was buryed: Neyther dyd they euer heare any word of their infant to be baptiſed, for it was baptiſed in the Churche of the Lord. Among other her neighbours that came agaynſt her, twoe there were dwelling at S. Germain, in ỳ ſuburbes, betwene whō incontinent roſe a ſtrife, wherin one of them ſticked the other with a knife. The death of thys gentlewomā was the more haſtened of the Lord keper of the Seale, Bertrand, Cardinall of Sens, and his ſonne in law the Marques of Tran, for to haue the confiſcation of her goodes.

Philip de Luns gentlewoman, and martyr.

The Sacrament.

The iuſt hand of God againſt falſe and bloudy witneſſes.

These 3. holy martyrs aboue recited, were condēned the 27. of Sep. by the proces of the cōmiſsioners and the Lieutenaunt ciuile: and then being put in a Chappell together, certayne Doctours were ſent to them, but theyr valiaunt conſtancye remayned vnmoouable. After that they were had out of Priſon, and ſent euery one in a doung cart to the place of puniſhment, Cliner euer cryed by the way, proteſtyng that he ſayd or mayntayned nothing, but the veritye

The martyrdom of Cliuet Grauelle, and Philip de Luns.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

of God. And being aſked of a Doctour, whether he would beleue S. Auſten, touching certayne matters, he ſayd: yea, and that he had ſayd nothing, but which he would proue by his authoritie.

The Gentlewoman ſeeing a Prieſt come to confeſſe her, ſayd, that ſhe had confeſſed vnto God, and had receiued of him remiſſion: other abſolution ſhe found none in Scripture. And when certayne Counſellers did vrge her to take in her handes the woden Croſſe, according to the cuſtome of them that go to theyr death, alledging how Chriſt commaunded euery one to beare his croſſe: ſhe anſwered, my Lordes (ſayde ſhe) you make me in very deede to beare my Croſſe, condemning me vniuſtly, and putting me to death in the quarell of my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who willeth vs to beare our Croſſe, but no ſuch Croſſe as you ſpeake of.

The croſſe.

Grauelle looked with a ſmiling countenaunce, & ſhewed a chearefull colour, declaring how little hee paſſed for his condemnation: and being aſked of hys frends to what death he was condemned, I ſee well (ſayd he) that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And comming from the chappell, when he perceiued they went about to cut out his toung, vnles he would returne, he ſayd, that was not ſo conteined in the arreſt, and therefore he was vnwilling to graunt vnto it: but afterward perceiuing the ſame ſo to be agreed by the Court, he offered his toung willingly to be cut, and incontinent ſpake playnely theſe words: I pray you pray to God for me.

The Gentlewoman alſo being required to geue her toung: did likewiſe, with theſe wordes: Seing I do not ſticke to geue my body, ſhall I ſticke to geue my tongue? No, no. And ſo theſe three hauing theyr tongues cutte out, were brought to Malbert place. The conſtancy of Grauelle was admirable, caſtyng vp his ſighes and gronings vnto heauen, declaring therby his ardent affectiō in praying to God. Clinet was ſomewhat more ſad then the other, by reaſon of the feeblenes of nature and his age. But the Gentlewoman yet ſermoūted al the reſt in conſtancy, which neither chaunged countenaunce, nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

Their tongues cut out.

After the death of her huſband, ſhee vſed to go in mourning weed, after the maner of the country. But the ſame day, going to her burning, ſhee put on her French hood, and decked her ſelfe in her beſt aray, as going to a new Mariage, the ſame day to be ioyned to her ſpouſe Ieſus Chriſt. And thus theſe three with ſinguler conſtancy, were burned, Grauelle and Clinet were burned aliue. Philippe the Gentlewoman was ſtrangled, after ſhe had a litle taſted the flame with her feet, and viſage, and ſo ſhe ended her Martyrdome. Ex Ioan Criſp. lib. 6.

Precious in the ſight of God, is the death of hys Saintes.

The Lieutenant.

Doctour Maillard.

Nicolas Cene.

Peter Gabert.

Of the ſame company was alſo Nicholas Cene a Phiſition, Brother to Philippe Cene aboue mētioned and martyred of Dyion, & Peter Gabart: which two about fiue or ſixe dayes after the other three before, were brought forth to theyr death. Octob. 2.

Nicolas Cene, Pet. Gabart, martyrs.

Nicholas Cene was but newe come to Paris the ſame day, when he was aduertiſed of ẏ aſſēble which thē was cōgregate in the ſtreet of S. Iames: & (as he deſired nothing more then to heare the word of God) came thither euen as he was, booted, & was alſo with them apprehended, ſuſteyning ẏ cauſe of Gods holye Goſpell vnto death.

The other was Peter Gabart a Sollicitor of proceſſes, about the age of 30. yeares, whoſe conſtancye dyd muche comfort to the priſoners. He was put amonge a great number of Scholers in the little Caſtle. whome when he heard to paſſe the time in talking of Philoſophy. No, no, (ſayde he) let vs forget theſe worldly matters, and learne how to ſuſteine ẏ heauenly cauſe of our God, which lie here in defēce of the kingdome of Chriſt Ieſus our ſauiour: and ſo he began to inſtruct them how to aunſwere to euery poynt of chriſtian doctrine, ſo well, as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but onely ſtudyed diuinity: and yet was he but very ſimply learned. Then was he ſent from them apart vnto an other Priſon, full of filthy ſtinche and vermine: where notwithſtāding, he ceaſed not to ſing Pſalmes that the other might well heare him. He had a young nephew in an other priſon by, being but a childe, of whom he aſked what he had ſayd to the Iudges. He ſayde that he was conſtrayned to do reuerence to a crucifixe painted. O thou noughty boy (ſaid he) haue not I taught thee ẏ commaundements of God? Knoweſt thou not how it is written, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe no grauen Image. &c. and ſo beganne to expound to hym the Commaundementes: whereunto hee gaue good attention.

Counſellers.

Friers.

At Paris.

An. 1558.

A wholeſome leſſo[n] for all ſtu[...]dentes.

Images fo[r]bidden.

In their examinations, many queſtiōs were propounded by the Doctors and Friers, touching matters both of religion, and alſo to know of them what Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were there preſent at the miniſtration of the Sacrament. whereunto they aunſwered in ſuch ſort, as was both ſufficient for defence of theyr owne cauſe, and alſo to ſaue theyr other brethren from blame, ſaying that they woulde liue and dye in that they had ſayd and maynteyned.

When the time of theyr execution was come, they perceiued that the Iudges had intended, that if they would relent, they ſhoulde be ſtrangled: if not, they ſhould burne aliue, and theyr tongues be cutte from them. Which tormentes they being content to ſuffer for our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a little to ſigh, for that he might no more prayſe the Lord with his tongue. Whome then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawne out of priſon in the dōg cart, to the ſuburbes of S. Germane. Whom the people in rage and madnes, folowed with cruell iniuries and blaſphemies, as though they would haue done the execution themſelues vpon them, Maugre the hangman. The cruelty of theyr death was ſuche as hath not lightly bene ſene: for they were holden long in the ayre, ouer a ſmall fire, and theyr lower partes burnt of, before that the higher partes were much harmed with the fire. Neuertheleſſe theſe bleſſed ſayntes ceaſed not in all theſe tormentes, to turne vp theyr eyes to heauen, and to ſhewe forth infinite teſtimonyes of theyr fayth & conſtancy. In the ſame fire many Teſtamentes and Bibles the ſame time, alſo were burnt.

Their tonges cut.

Crueltie.

Upon the ſight of this cruelty, the frendes of the other priſoners, which remayned behinde, fearyng the tyranny of theſe iudges, preſented certaine cauſes of refuſall agaynſt the ſayd iudges, requiring other Commiſſioners to be placed. But the king beyng hereof aduertiſed by his Sollicitour, ſent out hys letters patentes, commaunding the ſayd cauſes of refuſall to be fruſtrate, and willed the former iudges to proceed, all other letters and obſtacles to the contrary notwithſtanding: and that the Preſidentes ſhould haue power to chuſe to them other counſellers, according to theyr owne arbitrement, to ſupply the place of ſuch as were abſent: amongeſt whome alſo the ſayd Sollicitour was receyued, in ſtead of the kinges Procurator, to purſue the proces. By the which letters patents it was decreed that theſe ſtubberne Sacramentaries (as they were called) ſhould be iudged accordingly, ſaue only that they ſhould not proceed to the executiō, before the king were aduertiſed. Theſe letters aforeſaid, ſtirred vp the fire of this perſe-

See heere, howe the whole power of the world was confederate together againſt the poore ſaints of God, according to the prophecie of the 2. Pſalme. Aſtiterunt Reges terræ & principes conuenerunt in vnum, aduerſus Dominum, &c.

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

perſecution not a litle, for that the Iudges at this refuſall tooke great indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproch. Notwithſtanding ſo it pleaſed God, that a yong man a Germane, called Albert Hartung, borne in the country of Brandeburge, and godſonne to Albert, Marques of Brandeburge, by the kinges commaundement was deliuered through the importune ſute of the ſayde Marques. Ex Ioan. Criſp lib. 6.

Albert Hartung deliuered.

Fridericke Danuile, Fraunces Rebezies, martyrs.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
2. Preſidentes. 25. Counſellers. The Lieuetenant ciuil Doctors. Friers. Sorboniſtes Benedictus Iacobin. Demochares. Maillard.	Fridericke Danuile. Frances Rebezies. At Paris. An. 1558.	Mentiõ was made aboue of certaine yong ſcholers and ſtudentes which were in the litle caſtle with Peter Gabart. Of the which nũber of Scholers were theſe two, Fridericke Danuile, and Frances Rebezies, neyther of them being paſt twẽty yeres of age. How valiauntly they behaued thẽſelues in thoſe tender yeares, ſuſteining the quarel of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, what cõfeſſion they made what conflictes they had, diſputing with the Doctors of Sorbone, their own letters left in writing do make record: yͤ effect wherof briefly to touch is this: And firſt touchinge Fridericke Danuile. The Lieuetenant criminall, who before was halfe ſuſpected, but nowe thinking to proue himſelfe a right catholick, and to recouer his eſtimation agayne, came to him beginninge with theſe wordes of Scripture: Who ſo euer denyeth me before men him will I denye before my father &c: That done hee asked him, what he thought of the Sacrament. To whom Friderick aunſwered, that if he ſhould thinke Chriſt Ieſus to be betweene the Prieſtes handes after the Sacramentall wordes (as they call them) then ſhould he beleue a thing contrary to the holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which ſaith, that he ſitteth on the right hãd of the Father. Alſo to the teſtimonye of the Aungelles, whiche ſpeake both of the aſcending of Chriſt, and of his commyng downe agayn. Act. 1. After theſe queſtions with him touching Inuocation of Sayntes, Purgatorye. &c. wherunto he aunſwered ſo that he rather did aſtoniſh the enemies, then ſatiſfy them.

Math. 10.

Act. 2.

Furthermore, the 12. of September, the ſayd Fridericke agayne was brought before Benedictus Iacobin, and his companion a Sorboniſt, called Noſter Magiſter. who thus began to argue with him.

The Doctor.

Which thinke you to bee the true Churche: the Churche of the Proteſtantes, or the Churche of Paris?

The Martyr.

I recogniſe that to be the true Church, where the Goſpell is truely preached, and the Sacramentes rightly adminiſtred, ſo as they bee left by Ieſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles.

The Doctor.

And is the Church (thinke you) of Geneua ſuch a one as you ſpeake of?

The Martyr.

I ſo iudge it to be.

The Doctor.

And what if I doe proue the contrary, will you beleue me?

Perſecutors. Martyrs, The cauſes.

The Martyr.

Yea, if you ſhall proue it by the Scripture.

The Doctor.

Or will you beleue S. Auſten and other holy doctors innumerable?

The Martyr.

Yea ſo they diſſent not from the ſcripture and the word of God.

The Doctor.

By the authority of S. Auſten, the Church is there, where is the ſucceſſion of Byſhops: whereupon I frame this argument.

The Church.

There is the Church, where is the perpetuall ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

In the Church of Paris, is ſuch ſucceſſion of byſhops.

Ergo, the Church of Paris is the true Church.

The Martyr.

To your Maior I anſwere, that if S. Auſtẽ mean the ſucceſſion of ſuch as are true Byſhops in deede, which truely preach the Goſpell, and rightly adminiſter the Sacramentes, ſuch Byſhops I ſuppoſe to be at Geneua, where the Goſpell is truely preached, and Sacramentes duely miniſtred, and not in yͤ Church of Paris. But otherwiſe, if S. Auſtẽ mean the ſucceſſion of falſe Biſhops, ſuch as neither preach nor minſter according to Gods word, ſo is the ſame in no wiſe to be graunted.

The Doctor.

Caluin is there by his owne thruſting in, & onely by the chuſing of the people.

The Martyr.

And that ſoundeth more for him to bee of Gods diuine election, for ſo much as by him the Goſpell of God is preached truely: and from this no man ſhall bring me.

After this diſceptation, rhe 9. of the ſame month came agaynſt him an other Doctour with two Sorboniſtes, who bringing forth a ſcrole out of his boſome, pretended that a certayne ſcholer comming from Geneua, made his confeſsion, wherein was contayned, that in receiuing of the bread and wine, the body and bloud of Chriſt is receiued really. Whereupon they demaunded of him whether hee would receiue the ſame confeſsion.

The Martyr.

Whatſoeuer I haue ſayd vnto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word really, I know right well that they of Geneua do not take it for any carnall preſence, as you do: but their meaning is, to exclude therby onely a vayne imagination.

Really.

The Doctor.

I maruell much that you ſo refuſe the word really, and vſe onely ſpiritually, ſeing that Caluin himſelfe doth vſe the ſame word really.

The Martyr.

Caluin meaneth therby no other thing but as we doe.

The Doctor.

What ſay you by confeſſion auricular?

Confeſſion auricular.

The Martyr.

The ſame that I ſayd before to monſeur Lieuetenaunt, that is, that I take it for a plantation not planted by God in his word.

The Doctor.

The Almanes in their confeſſion which they ſent to our king to be approued, haue theſe wordes: Confeſsionem auricularem non improbamus, eſt enim Euangelium ſecretũ: That is, we do not reiect auricular cõfeſſion, for it is a Goſpell ſecret and priuy. And alſo Melancthon in his booke of common places doth call it Euangelium ſecretum.

Melancthon in his common places, ſpeaking of the popiſh confeſſiõ, which conſiſteth in the enumeration of ſinnes, ſaith that it is a ſnare of of conſcience, & againſt the Goſpell, and otherwiſe maketh there no mention of Euangelium ſecretum: no more doth the confeſſion of the Almaynes.

An other time the ſayde Fridericke was called agayne before the Lordes, the 20. of the ſayde moneth, where they did nothing but demaund of him certayne queſtions where he was borne, and whether he had heard in his coũtry at Oleron, that M. Gerard the Byſhop there, did ſinge Maſſe. Yea ſayd he. And why do not you alſo (ſayd they) receiue the ſame? He aunſwered, becauſe he did it to reteyne and keepe his Biſhopricke. The Martir for lacke of paper, could proceed herein no further.

¶ The examination of Fraunces Rebezies.

Rebezies had iij. ſundry examinations: The firſt

The examinatiō of Rebezies.

The ſecond examination.

Maſſe.

Purgatorie.

Iohn 1.
Apoc.5.
Hebr.9.
Eſa.43.
2.Cor.5.
Math.5.

with the Lieutenaunt ciuill: the ſecond with the Preſidents and the Counſellers: the third with the Friers. Firſt the Lieutenant inquiring of his name Countrey, and Parentes, aſked whether he was at the communion, whether he receiued with them the bread and wine, and whether he was a ſeruiture to M. Nicolas Cene ſeniour of the Congregation. Whereunto he ſayd, yea. Alſo whether he was a diſtributer of the tokens, wherby they were let in, that came. That he denyed. Then he was brought into the Counſell Chamber, before two Preſidentes, and xxv. Counſellers, who after other queſtions about his country and Parentes, demaunded whether he was taken with them in the houſe. He aunſwered: Yea. What he had to do there? To heare the worde of God, and to receiue with them. Who brought him thether? Himſelfe. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durſt or woulde enter, knowing no perſon there? Truth it was (ſayd he) that he knewe there 2. or 3. Who were they? M. Granelle, Clinet, and Iohn Sanſot, feyning that name of himſelfe. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denyed. Whether he allowed the act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to reſort vnto theyr beautified temples, to heare Maſſe: or whether he did not take the Maſſe to be an holy thing, and ordeined of God? He aunſwered agayne contrary, beleuing that it was a great blaſphemy agaynſt God, and a ſeruice ſet vp of the deuill. Whether he did not acknowledge Purgatory? Yes, that Purgatory which is the death and Paſſion of Chriſt, which taketh away the ſinnes of the whole world. The death of Chriſt is the principal (ſayd they) but thou muſt alſo beleue an other. Alas (ſayde he) can we neuer content our ſelues with the ſimplicity of the Goſpell, but men alwayes wyll be putting to ſomething of his owne braine? In ſo many places of the Scripture we ſee the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt to be ſufficient, as Iohn. 1. Apocal. 5. Hebre. 9. Eſay, 43. Where the Lord himſelfe ſayth. That it is he, who for his owne ſake putteth awaye our iniquities. &c. As S. Paule alſo ſayth: that God was in Chriſt, reconciling the world vnto himſelfe. &c. And contrary, when they obiected the wordes of the parable. Mat. 5. Thou ſhalt not come out till thou haſt paied the laſt farthing: To this he aunſwered that the wordes of that parable had no ſuch relation, but to matters ciuile: and thys word (vntill) meaneth there, as much as neuer. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the bokes of Caluin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The Preſident aſked, if he were not afrayde to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his parentes into ſuch diſhonor. He aunſwered that he knew well, that all which woulde liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus, ſhoulde ſuffer perſecution: and that to him either to liue or to dye, were aduauntage in the Lord. And as touching hys parentes Chriſt (ſayd he) doth premoniſh himſelfe, That who ſo euer loueth Father or mother more then him, is not worthy to be hys. &c. Ieſus Maria, ſayde the Preſident, what youth is this now a dayes, whiche caſt themſelues ſo headlong into the fire? and ſo was he commaunded away.

2.Tim.3.

Math.10.

The third examination.

Thirdly, he was brought before Benet, mayſter of the Doctors of Sorbone, and an other called Iacobine, the 14. of October, where as he chauncing to ſpeake of the Lord, the Doctor began thus to obiect, as foloweth.

The difference betweene the Lord, and our Lord.

The Doctor.

See how you and all ſuch as are of your company, ſimply name the Lord, without putting to ỹ pronoune our. So may the deuils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.

The Martyr.

The deuils call the Lord in ſuch ſort as the phariſeis did, when they brought the adoultereſſe before him, and called him Mayſter: yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his diſciples: whoſe caſe I truſt is nothing like to ours, whiche know and confeſſe (as we ſpeake) him to be the true Lord with all our hart, ſo as true Chriſtians ought to do.

The church.

The Doctor.

I know you hold well the church to be, where ỹ word is truely preached, and the Sacramentes ſyncerely miniſtred, according as they are lefte of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

The Martyr.

That do I beleue, and in that will I liue and dye.

The Doctor.

Doe not you beleue that whoſoeuer is wythout that church, cannot obteine remiſſion of his ſinnes?

The Martyr.

Who ſoeuer doth ſeparate himſelf frō that church to make either ſect, part, or deuiſion, cannot obteyne as you ſay.

2.Chur

The Doctor.

Now let vs cōſider two churches, the one wherin the word is rightly preached and Sacraments adminiſtred accordingly as they be left vnto vs: The other wherin the word & Sacramentes be vſed contraryly. Which of theſe two ought we to beleue?

The Martyr.

The firſt,

The Doctor.

Well ſayd. Next is now to ſpeake of the gifts geuen to the ſayd Church: as the power of the keyes, confeſſion for remiſſion of ſinnes, after we be confeſſed to a Prieſt. Alſo we muſt beleue the vij. Sacramentes in the ſame Church, truely adminiſtred, as they be here in the Churches of Paris, where the Sacrament of the aultar is miniſtred, and the Goſpell truely preached.

Power of the keyes.

Confeſſio

The Martyr.

Syr, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receiue in the Church, moe then 2. Sacramentes which be inſtituted in the ſame, for the whole cōmunalty of Chriſtians. And as concerning the power of the keyes and your confeſſiō. I beleue, that for remiſſion of our ſinnes, we ought to go to none other, but onely to God. as we read. 1. Iohn. 1. If we confeſſe our ſinnes, God is faythfull and iuſt: to pardon our offences, and he will purge vs from all our iniquityes. &c. Alſo in the Prophet Dauid, Pſal, 19. and 32. I haue opened my ſinne vnto thee. &c.

The Doctor.

Should I not beleue that Chriſt in the time of his Apoſtles, gaue to them power to remit ſinnes?

The Martyr.

The power that Chriſt gaue to his Apoſtles, if it be well conſidered, is nothing diſagreyng to my ſaying: And therefore I beganne to ſay (whiche here I confeſſe) that the Lord gaue to his Apoſtles to preach the word, and ſo to remitte ſinnes by the ſame word.

The Doctor.

Do you then deny auriculer confeſſion?

The Martyr.

Yea verily I do.

The Doctor.

Ought we to pray to Sayntes.

The Martyr.

I beleue no.

The Doctor.

Tell me that I ſhall aſke: Ieſus Chriſt beinge here vpon the earth, was he not then as well ſufficient to heare the whole world, & to be interceſſour for all, as he is now?

The Martyr.

Yes.

Interceſſio of Saintes,

The Doctor.

But we finde, that when he was here on earth, his Apoſtles made interceſſion for the people, & why may they not do the ſame as well now alſo?

The Martyr.

So long as they were in the world, they exerciſed theyr miniſtery, and prayed one for an other, as needing humayne ſuccours together: but now they beyng in Paradiſe, all theyr prayer that they make, is this: that they wiſh that they which be yet on earth, may attayne to theyr felicitie: but to obtein any thing at the fathers hand, we muſt haue our recourſe onely to his ſonne.

The Doctor.

If one man haue ſuch charge to pray for another may not he then be called an interceſſor?

The Martyr.

I graunt.

The Doctor.

Well then, you ſay there is but one interceſſour, Wherupon I inferre, that I being bound to pray for an other, neede not nowe to goe to Jeſus Chriſte, to haue him an interceſſor, but to God alone, ſetting Jeſus Chriſt apart: and ſo ought we verily to beleue.

The Martyr.

You vnderſtand not ſir, that if God doe not behold vs in the face of his owne welbeloued ſonne, then ſhall we neuer be able to ſtand in his ſight. For if he ſhall looke vpon vs, he can ſee nothing but ſin. And if the heauẽs be not pure in his eyes, what ſhal be thought then of man ſo abhominable and vnprofitable, which drinketh iniquitie like water, as Job doth ſay?

Then the other Fryer ſeeing hys fellowe to haue nothing to aunſwere to this, inferred as followeth.

The Doctor.

Note this blaſphemous doctrine, which maketh ſaints equall interceſſours with Chriſt

Nay (my friend) as touching the great mercy of God, let that ſtand, and now to ſpeake of our ſelues this we know, that god is not diſpleaſed with them which haue their recourſe vnto hys ſayntes.

The Martyr.

Syr, we muſt do not after our owne willes, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth. For this is the truſt that we haue in him, that if wee demaund any thing after his will, he will heare vs. 1.Ioh.5.

The Doctor.

As no man commeth to the preſence of an earthly king or prince, without meanes made by ſome about him: ſo, or rather much more, to the heauenly king aboue. &c.

The Martyr.

To this earthly example J will aunſwere wyth an other heauenly example of the prodigall ſon: who ſought no other meanes to obtayn his fathers grace but came to the father himſelfe.

Worſhipping of ſaintes.

Then they came to ſpeake of adoration, which the ſayd Rebezies diſproued by the ſcriptures. Act.10.13.14. Apoc.19 22.Heb.10.14.12. Where is to be noted, that where the martyr alledged the 12.to the Heb, the Doctors aunſwered, that it was the 11.chap. when the place in deed is neither in the 11. nor in the 12. But in the 14. chap.of of the Actes. So well ſeene were theſe Doctors in their diuinitie.

The Doctor.

The preſence of Chriſt in the hoſte.

Touching the maſſe, what ſay you? Beleeue you not that when the prieſt hath conſecrated the hoſte, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample ſorte as he was hanging vpon the croſſe?

The Martyr.

Maſſe.

No verily. But J beleeue that Jeſus Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of his father, as appeareth Heb.10.1. Cor.15. Coloſ.3. and therefore (to make ſhort with you) J holde your maſſe for none other, but for a falſe and a counterfeyted ſeruice ſet vp by ſathan, and retayned by his miniſters, by the which you do anhilate the precious bloud of Chriſt, & hys oblation once made, of his owne body: & you know right well, that the ſame is ſufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.

The Doctor.

Naturaliter.

Supernaturaliter, or ſubſcriptiuè.

You deceiue your ſelues in the word reiteration: for we do not reiterate it ſo as you thinke, as by example J will ſhew. You ſee me now in this religious garment, but if J ſhuld put vpõ me a ſouldiors weede, then ſhould J be diſguiſed, and yet for al that J ſhould remayne the ſame ſtill, within my doublet that J was before in my friers weede. So is it with the ſacrifice, we confeſſe and graunt that Naturaliter, that is naturally he was once offered in ſacrifice and alſo is ſitting Naturaliter, that is, naturally, at the right hande of his Father: but Supernaturaliter, & ſubſcriptiue, that is ſupernaturallye, wee ſacrifice the ſame, without reiteration. Supernaturaliter wee ſacrifice him: but that ſacrifice is but onelye diſguiſed, to vnderſtand that hee is contayned vnder that curtayne and whitenes, which you ſee.

The Martyr.

The diſguiſed ſacrifice of the Papiſtes.

Sir this J ſay, that ſuch a diſguiſed Sacrifice is a diabolicall ſacrifice, and this you may take for a reſolution.

The Doctor.

And how is your belief touching the holy ſupper?

The Martyr.

The bodie of Chriſt ſpiritually receiued in the ſacrament. Spiritually. Corporally.

That if it be miniſtred vnto me by the miniſter, in ſuch vſage, as it hath bene left of Chriſt, and hys Apoſtles, preaching alſo the word purely withall, J beleue that in receauing the materiall bread & wine J receiue with liuely fayth, the body and bloude of Jeſus Chriſt ſpiritually.

The Doctor.

Say corporally?

The Martyr.

No ſir for his wordes be ſpirite and life, and let this content you.

The Doctor.

What ſay you? is it lawfull for a prieſt to mary?

The Martyr.

Matrimony of Miniſters.

J beleue it to be lawfull for hym in ſuch ſorte, as the Apoſtle ſayth: Whoſoeuer hath not the gifte of continencie, let hym marye: For it is better to marye then to burne. And if this doe not content you, further you may read what he writeth of biſhops and Elders. 1.T.3.and Tit.1.

And thus theſe Doctors affirming, that he denyed prieſthood, gaue hym leaue to depart, ſaying, god haue mercy on you. So be it, ſayd hee.

After this, about 22. of October, the ſayd Rebezies and Fridericke Danuile were brought vpp to a chamber in the Caſtle, to be racked, to the intent they ſhould vtter the reſt of the congregation. Jn ỹ which chamber they founde three Counſellers, who thus began with them: Lift vpp thy hand, Thou ſhalte ſweare by the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe image here thou ſeeſt, ſhewing him a great marmouſet ther paynted in a paper, &c. Whereunto Rebezies aunſwered, Mounſieur J ſweare to you by the paſſion of Chriſt, which is written in my hart. Why doeſt ỹ not ſweare to vs, ſayd the Counſellers, as wee ſaye vnto thee? Becauſe (ſayd he) it is a great blaſphemy agaynſt the Lorde. Then the counſellers read theyr depoſitions, and firſt beginning with Rebezies ſaid wilt thou not tell vs the trueth, what companions thou knoweſt to be of this aſſemble? Rebezies named, as hee did before, Grauelle Clinet (which were already burnt) and John Sanſot. To whome they ſayd, that the court had ordained, that if he wold geue no other aunſwere but ſo, he ſhoulde be put to the torture or racke: and ſo he was commaunded to be ſtripped to hys ſhyrt, & hauing a Croſſe put in his hand, and being bid to commend himſelfe to GOD and ỹ virgine Mary: but he neither wold receiue the Croſſe, nor commend himſelf to ỹ virgin Mary, ſaying, ỹ God was able enough to gard hym & to ſaue him out of the Lyõs mouth, & ſo: being drawne and ſtretched in the ayre, began to cry, Come Lorde, and ſhewe thy ſtrength that man doe not preuayle &c. But they cryed, Tell trueth, Fraunces & thou ſhalte be let downe. Neuertheles hee continued ſtill in hys Jnuocation and prayer to ỹ Lord, ſo that they could haue no other word, but that. And after thei had thus long tormented him, the Counſellers ſayd, wilt thou ſay nothing els? J haue nothing els, ſayd he to ſay. And ſo they commaunded hym to be looſed, and be put by the fire ſide. Who being looſed, ſayde to them: Do you handle thus the poore ſeruauntes of God? And the like was done to Fredericke Danuille alſo, hys companion, of whome they could haue no other aunſwere (who at the ſame tyme was alſo very ſick) but as of the other. So myghtely did God aſſiſte and ſtrengthen hys ſeruaũtes, as euer he did any els by theyr owne letters and confeſſion as doth appeare. Ex litteris Franciſ. Rebez. in Criſp. Lib. 6.

The martyrs racked.

The conſtancie of theſe martyrs.

Brotherly compaſsion.

Theſe conſtant and true martyrs of Chriſt, after they had returned from the torture, vnto theyr felow priſoners, ceaſed not to thanke and prayſe the Lorde for hys aſſiſtaunce. Fridericke did ſigh oftentimes, & being aſked of hys fellowes why he ſo did, he ſayde it was not for the euill that he had ſuffered, but for ỹ euils ỹ he knew they ſhould ſuffer afterward. Notwithſtanding (ſayd he) be ſtrong brethren, and be not afrayd, aſſuring your ſelues of the ayd of god which hath ſuccoured vs, and alſo will comfort you. Rebezies with the rack was ſo drawne and ſtretched, that one of hys ſhoulders was higher then the other, and hys necke drawne on the one ſide, ſo that hee coulde not moue hymſelfe: and therefore deſiring his brethren to lay hym vppon hys bed, there he wrote hys confeſſion which hitherto we haue followed. When the night came, they reioyſed together, and comforted themſelues with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this worlde, ſinging pſalmes together, till it was day. Rebezies cryed twiſe or thriſe together, away from me Satan. Fredericke beyng in bed with him, aſked why he cryed, and whether Satan would ſtop him of his courſe? Rebezies ſayd that Satan ſet before him, his parentes, but by the grace of God, (ſayd he) he ſhall doe nothing agaynſt mee.

The comfort of Gods Saintes.

The day next following, they wer brought once or twiſe before the Councellers, & required to ſhew, what fellowes they had moe, of the ſayde aſſemble. which when they would not declare, the ſentence was read againſt them, that they ſhould be brought in a doung carte, to Maulbert place, and there hauing a balle in their mouthes, to be tyed, eche one to hys poſte, and afterward to be ſtrangled, and ſo to be turned into aſhes.

Afterward came the Fryers and Doctors, Democaries, Maillard and other, to confeſſe them, and offering to them a Croſſe to kiſſe, which they refuſed, Then Democares by force made Rebezies to kiſſe it, whether he would or no: crying to them moreouer, that they ſhould beleue in the ſacrament. what ſayd Fredericke, will you haue vs to plucke Chriſte Jeſus out from the right hand of his father? Democares ſayd, that ſo many of their opinion had ſuffered death before, and yet none of them al, euer did any miracles as the Apoſtles and other holy Martirs did. Fridericke aſked them, if they required anye miracle. No ſayd they, and ſo ſtoode mute, ſaue onelye that Democares prayed them to conſider wel what they had ſayd vnto them. Maillard alſo added, that he woulde gage his ſoule to be damned, but it was true. Fridericke aunſwered, that he knewe it was contrary.

Doct. Maillard gageth hys ſoule.

At laſt being brought to the place of execution, a Croſſe agayne was offered them, which they refuſed Then a Prieſt ſtanding by, bad them beleeue in the virgine Mary. Let God ſayd they, reigne alone. The people ſtanding by ah miſchieuous Lutherane ſayd they. Nay a true Chriſtian I am, ſaid he. when they were tyed to theyr ſtakes, after theyr prayers made, when they were bid to be diſpatched: one of them comforting the other, ſayde, be ſtrong my brother, be ſtrong: Satan away from vs. As they were thus exhorting, one ſtanding by, ſayd: Theſe Lutheranes do call vpon Satan. One Iohn Morell (whiche afterward dyed a martyr) then ſtanding by at liberty, aunſwered: I pray you let vs heare (ſayd hee) what they ſay, and we ſhall heare them inuocate the name of God. whereupon the people liſtened better vnto them to harkē, as wel as they could, what they ſaid: they crying ſtil as much as much as their mouthes being ſtopped could vtter, Aſſiſte vs O Lorde: and ſo they rendring vp their ſpirites to the handes of the Lord, did conſummate their valiant Martyrdome. Ex Criſp. Lib. 6.

Iohn Morel was afterward burned.

The death and martyrdome of Ribezies and Danuile.

¶ After the martyrdome of theſe two abouesayd the intention of the Iudges was to diſpatch ẏ reſt, one after an other, in like ſorte, and had procured already proceſs agaynſt xij. or xiij. ready to be iudged. But a certayne gentlewoman then priſoner amōgſt them, had preſented cauſes of exceptions or refuſals agaynſt them, wherby the cruel rage of the enemies was ſtayed, to the month of Iuly following. In the which meane time, as this perſecution was ſpread into other countryes, firſt the faythfull Cantons of Suitziers, perceiuing theſe good men to be afflicted for the ſame doctrine which they preached in theyr Churches, ſent their Ambaſſadours to the kinge to make ſupplication for them.

The Suitzers make ſupplication to the French king, for the martyrs.

The ſame time alſo, came letters from the county Palatine Elector, tendyng to the ſame end, to ſollicite the king for them, the king ſtanding the ſame tyme, in great neede of the Germaynes, for his warres, was contented at leaſt, that they ſhould proceed more gently with them, and ſo the fire for the ſame tyme, ceaſed. Moſt of them were ſent to Abbayes, where they were kept at the charge of the Priours to bee conſtrayned to bee preſent at the ſeruice of Idolatry, eſpecially the young ſchollers: of whome ſome ſhronke backe, other being more looſly kept, eſcaped away. The moſt part were brought before the Officiall, to make their confeſſion, and to receiue abſolution ordinary. Diuers made their confeſſion ambiguous and doubtful, &c. Ex. Ioan, Criſp, lib. 6. Ex Pātal. lib, xi.

Countie Palatine maketh interceſſion to the French kyng, for the Chriſtian priſoners.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	René Seau, Iohn Almaricke. At Paris. An. 1552.	These two young men were alſo of the company aboue ſpecified, and were in priſon where they ſuſtayned ſuch cruelty beyng almoſt racked to death that Almericke coulde not go when hee was called to the courte to be iudged: and beyng vpon the racke, he rebuked their crueltye, and ſpake ſo freely, as though he had felt no grief (and as they ſayd whiche came to viſite hym) he teſtified vnto them, that hee felte no dolour ſo long as hee was vppon it. Both theſe dyed in priſon, continuing ſtill firme and conſtant in ẏ pure confeſſion of Chriſtes church. Ibidem.
Villegagnō a Frenche captayne.	Iohn Bordel. Math. Vermeil, Peter Bourdon. Andrew de Fou. At the countrey of Breſill, Ann, 1558,	Mention is made in the French ſtorye of one Villegaignon, Lieuetenaunt for the Frenche kinge, who made a vyage into the land of Breſill, wyth certaine French ſhips and tooke an Iſlande nere to the ſame adioyning, and made therin a fortreſſe. After they had bene there a while Villegaignon, for lack of victuals (as he pretended) ſent certayn of them away in a ſhippe to ẏ riuer of Plate toward the Pole Antarticke, a thouſand miles of: in the whiche ſhipp were theſe foure here mentioned: who forſaking their ſhyp by occaſion of tempeſt, were caryed backe agayne, and ſo came to the lāde of Breſill, and afterward to theyr owne countreyman. Villegaignon being much agreeued thereat, firſt charged them with departing without his leaue. Moreouer, being terrified in hys minde with falſe ſuſpicion and vayne dreames, fearing and dreaming leaſt they had bene ſent as priuye ſpyes, by the Breſilians, becauſe they came from them, and had bene friendly intertained of them: he began to deuiſe howe he might put them to death vnder ſome colour of treaſon: but the cauſe was religion: For albeit ſome tyme he had ben a profeſſour of the Goſpell, yet afterward growing in ſome dignitie, he fell to be an Apoſtata, and cruell perſecutor of hys fellowes. But when no proofe or coniecture probable could be found to ſerue his cruell purpoſe, he knowing them to be earneſt proteſtantes, drew out certayn articles of religion for thē to aunſwere: and ſo intrapping them vppon theyr confeſſion, he layd them in irons and in priſon, and ſecretly with one executor, and his page, he took one after an other, beginning with Iohn Bordell, & firſt brought hym to the topp of a rocke, and there being halfe ſtrangled, without any iudgement threw hym into the ſea, and after the like maner, ordered alſo the reſt. Of whō 3. were thus cruelly murdered & drowned: to wit Iohn Bordel, Mat. Vermeil, and Peter Burdon. The 4. which was Andrew de Fou, he cauſed by manifold allurementes, ſomewhat to inclyne to hys ſayinges, and ſo he eſcaped the daunger, notwith-

René Seau, Iohn Almaricke, dyed in priſon.

Iohn Bordell, Math. Vermeil, Pet. Burdō, martyrs.

Hee ſent them faire enough, becauſe they ſhould neuer returne, pretending that he lacked victuall, but the cauſe was religion.

Perſecutors. **Martyrs.** **The Cauſes.**

without great offence taken of a great part of the Frenchmen in that country. Ex Criſp. lib. 6. & Ex Cõment. Gallic. de ſtatu Religionis & Reipub.

Perſecutors: The kynges Lieuetenaunt.

Martyrs: Geffrey Varagle. At Thurin in Piedmont. Ann. 1558.

The Cauſes: In the ſame yeare 1558. ſuffered alſo Geffreye Varagle preacher in the Valley of Angroigne, at yͤ town of Thurin in Piedmont, who firſt was a monke and ſayd maſſe the ſpace of xxviii. yeares. Afterward returning from Buſque, toward Angroigne, to preach, as he had vſed before to doe, ſent by the miniſters of Geneua, and other faythfull brethren: was apprehended in the town of Barges, & brought before the kings Lieutenant: where he was queſtioned with, touching diuers Articles of religion: as of iuſtification, workes of ſupererogation, freewill, predeſtination, confeſſion, ſatiſfaction, indulgences, images, purgatory, the pope. &c. whereunto he aunſwered agayne in wryting, wt ſuch learning and reaſon, alleaging agaynſt the popes owne diſtinctions, namely, Diſtinct. 19. cap. Dominus, Diſtinct. 21. cap. In nono. Diſt. 21. cap. omnes. & cap. Sacroſancta, that as the ſtory reporteth, the court of Thurin marueling at his learning condemned him more for reproch of ſhame, then vppon true opinion grounded of iudgement. When hee was brought to the place of execution, the people whiche ſtoode by, and heard hym ſpeake, declared openlye that they ſaw no cauſe, why he ſhould dye. A certayn olde companion of hys, a prieſt, calling him by hys name M. Geffrey, deſired him to conuert from his opinions. To whome hee paciently aunſwered agayne, deſiring him, that he would conuert from his condition. And thus after he had made hys prayer vnto God, and had forgeuen hys Executioner, and all his enemies, he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burned. In the foreſayd ſtory, relation is made moreouer, concerning the ſayd Geffrey, that at the tyme of his burning, a doue was ſeene (as was credibly reported of many) flying & fluttering diuers times about the fire, teſtifying (as was thought) the innocency of this holy martyr of the Lord. But the ſtorye addeth, that vpon ſuche thinges, we muſt not ſtay and ſo concludeth he the Martyrdome of this bleſſed man. Ex. Criſp. lib. 6. Pag. 897.

Geffrey Varagle, martyr.

The report of a Doue flying about the Fryer.

Perſecutors: Lanteaume Blanc. De Lauris, Counſalor and ſonne in lawe, to Minors lord of Opede, the cruel perſecutor. Anthony Reueſt, the Lieutenant.

Martyrs: Benet Romain a Mercer or Haberdaſher.

The Cauſes: The lamentable ſtorye of Benet Romain is deſcribed at large, amonge other french martyrs, by I. Criſpine printer: the briefe recitall wherof, here followeth. Thys Benet hauing wyfe & children at Geneua, to get hys liuing vſed to go about the countrey with certayne Mercery ware, hauyng cunning alſo amõg other thinges, how to dreſſe Corals. As he was cõming towarde Marſeile & paſſed by yͤ town Draguignan, hee happened vpon one of the lyke facultie, named Lanteaume Blanc. Who beyng deſirous to haue of his Corals and could not agree for the price, alſo knowing that he was one of Geneua, went to a cõſailor of the courte of Aix, being then at Draguignan, whoſe name was de Lauris ſonne in lawe to miners, Lorde of Opede, the great perſecutour agaynſt Merindoll &c. Thus Lauris conſulting together with the foreſayd Blanc, & pretending to buy certain of his Corall which he ſawe to be very fayre, and knowing alſo that he had to the worth of 300. crounes incontinent after hys departing from him, he ſent to the officer of yͤ town to attache the ſayd Benet, as one being the greateſt Lutherane in the world. Thus whẽ he was areſted, for the kings priſoner Blanc and hys fellowes, which ſought nothing but onely the praye, were ready to ceaſe vppon hys goodes, and likewiſe of the other two men whõ hee hyred to bear hys merchandiſe. Then were theſe three poore men ſeperated a ſonder and Romayne examined before the Conſuls, and yͤ kings Aduocate and other Counſellers, where hee kept hys Eaſter, whether he receaued at the ſame Eaſter whether he was cõfeſſed before, & faſted the Lent: alſo he was bid to ſay his Pater noſter, the Creede & Aue Maria, which two firſt he did, but denyed to ſay Aue Maria. Then was he aſked for worſhipping of ſaintes, women ſaints, and men ſaints, and when hee heard Maſſe: He ſayd he would worſhipp none but God alone. Maſſe he heard none theſe 4. yeares, nor euer would. Whereupon he was committed to a ſtinking houſe of eaſment, with yron cheynes vpon his legges. Lauris thus hauing hys will vpon the poore man, ſent for the Lieuetenaunt, named Antony Reueſt, told hym what he had done, and willed hym to ſee the priſoner. The Lieuetenant being angry that he did ſo vſurpe vpon hys office, denyed to goe with hym to the priſoner, excuſing the filthy ſauour of the place. Notwithſtanding the ſame day, the Lieuetenaunt with an other went to the priſon, and cauſed the ſayd Romaine to come before hym: of whom he enquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, hys wife and children of hys facultie, and cauſe of hys comming, alſo of hys religion, and all ſuch poyntes therto belonging. Unto whom he anſwered agayne ſimply and truely in all reſpectes, as lay in hys conſcience, and thereunto beyng required (becauſe he could write) he put to hys marke. After hys confeſſion, beyng thuſe made, and hys aunſwer taken, certayn faythfull brethren of that place, found meanes to come to hym, & counſelled hym yͭ ſeing he had ſufficiently already made confeſſion of his fayth he would ſeeke meanes to eſcape out from his enemies, which ſought nothing but hys death, & ſhewed vnto hym what he ſhould ſay to the Lieuetenant but he refuſed ſo to doe, willing there to render accompt of hys fayth, and contented to dye for yͤ ſame.

The fame of hys conſtancy being knowne in the towne, Iudge Barboſi, a man blind and ignorant, and no leſſe deformed, came to ſee hym, and aſked: what? do they beleue (ſayd he) in any God, in Geneua? Romaine looking vpon him, what art thou ſaid he) that ſo wretchedly doeſt blaſpheme? I am (ſayde hee) yͤ Ordinary Iudge of this place. And who hath put thee (ſayd Romain) ſuche a groſſe and deformed perſon

Perſecuters: Barboſi iudge, Ordinary of Draguignã. Ioachim Partauier, the kinges Aduocate. Caual, and Caualieri, Conſuls. The Official. Gaſper Siguiere Officer in Draguignan. A Frier obſeruaunt.

Martyrs: At Draguinan in Prouince. An. 1558.

Benet Romian, martyr.

Of Miners the great perſecutor, read in the ſtorie of Merindoll.

Interrogatories miniſtred to Romian.

Romian ſealeth the confeſſion of his fayth.

Romian refuſeth to eſcape.

Barboſi, perſecutor.

A groſſe queſtion of a groſſe Iudge.

perſõ, in ſuch an office? Thinkeſt thou that we be infidels, and no chriſtians? And if ÿ deuils themſelues do confeſſe a God, ſuppoſe you, that they of Geneua do deny their God? No no, we beleue in God, wee inuocate his name, and repoſe all our truſt in hym. &c. Barboſi tooke ſuch griefe with this, departinge from Romiane, that hee ceaſed not to purſue him to death.

A free anſwere of a poore priſoner.

The Lieuetenaunt then being vrged and much called vpon, and alſo threatned by this Barboſi, and other prepared to proceed in iudgement againſt him taking to him ſuch Iudges and Aduocates, as ÿ order there required. There was the ſame time, an obſeruant Frier, which had there preached all ÿ Lent. He being very eger and dilligent to haue the poore chriſtian burned: & ſeing the iudges intentiue about the buſines, to ſet the matter forward, ſayde that hee would go & ſay maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, to illuminate their intentes to haue the ſayde Romian condemned, and burned aliue at a little fire. Moreouer he procured Canal and Caualieri the Conſuls, to threaten the Lieuetenaunt, that they woulde complayne of him to the high Court of parliament, if hee would not after that ſort, cõdemne hym to be burnt. In the meane time, the faythfull Chriſtians of ÿ ſayd towne, fearing leaſt by his racking, daunger might happen to the brethren, ſent to Romian again in the priſon, certayne inſtructions, and meanes howe hee might be ayded, ſuch as ſhould not be againſt God. But when the Lieuetenaunt came, the poore man forgot his inſtructions: ſo ſimple he was, and ignoraunt of the ſubtleties of this world.

Maſſe a commõ inſtrument for all thinges, and alſo to blowe the fire.

Filij huius ſeculi prudentiores in ſua generatione, quam filij lucis.

When the time came that the Iudges were ſet, and the proces ſhould be read, Barboſi, with other who the Frier had procured, had agreed before ÿ he ſhuld be fired aliue, and put to the racke, to diſcloſe his fellowes, & alſo gagged that he might not ſpeake & infect the reſidue. On the other parte, one there was of the aduocates (albeit a man wholly ſuperſtitious) ſeing the rage of the other, gaue contrarye aduiſe, ſaying that he ſhould be ſent home agayne, for that hee was a town dweller of Geneua, neither had taught there any kinde of doctrine, nor brought any bookes, neyther had they any informations agaynſt him: & that which he had ſpoken, was as a thing cõſtrayned by hys othe forced by the Iuſtice. And as touchinge his opinion, it was no other, but as other younge men did follow, which were eyther of the one parte, or of the other: and therefore that here remayned no more but onely the lieuetenaunt to geue his verdict &c. Thus much being ſpoken, and alſo becauſe the Lieuetenaunt was before ſuſpected, and the tyme of dinner drewe neare, they aroſe for that tyme, differring the matter to an other ſeaſon. The Fryer obſeruaunt, in this meane while was not idle, incityng ſtill the Conſuls and the people: who at the ringing of a bell, being aſſembled together, with the Officiall and the prieſtes, in a great route, came crying to the Lieutenaunt, to burne ÿ hereticke or els they would fire him and all his family: and in ſemblable wyſe, did the ſame to the other Iudges and Aduocates: The Officiall moreouer added that if it were not better ſeen to, then ſo, the Lutheranes would take ſuch courage, and ſo ſhut vp theyr Churche doores, that no man ſhold enter in. Then, becauſe the Liuetenant would not take to him other Iudges after their mindes, in all poſthaſt, the people contributed together, that at their owne charge, the matter ſhould be purſued at the parliament of Aix, and ſo compelled the Liuetenãt to bring the proces vnto iudgemẽt, euery man crying to ÿ fire to the fire, that he may be burned

Good councell of an Aduocate.

The Frier ſtill bloweth the coale of perſecution.

The Lieuetenaunt being not able otherwiſe to appeaſe the people, promiſed to bring the matter to ÿ high court of Aix, and ſo he did. They hearing the information of the cauſe, commaunded the Lieuetenaunt, and the other Iudges to deal no further therin, but to ſende vp the proces and the priſoner to thẽ. This went greatly agaynſt the mindes of them of Draguignan, which would fayne haue him condemned there. whereupon Barboſi was ſent out to the parliament of Aix, where he ſo practiſed and labored the matter, that the cauſe was ſent downe agayn to Lieuetenaunt, and hee enioyned to take vnto hym ſuch auncient Aduocates, as their olde order requyred and to certifie them agayne within 8. dayes. And ſo Romiane by the ſentence of thoſe olde Iudges, was condemned to be burned aliue, if he turned not if he did, then to be ſtrangled, and before the executiõ to be put vpon the racke to the intent he ſhould diſcloſe the reſt of his company. From the whiche ſentence Romian then appealed, ſaying that he was no hereticke. whereupon he was caryed vnto Aix, ſinging the Commaundementes, as he paſſed by ÿ town of Draguignã. which when the kings aduocate did ſee looking out of hys window, he ſayde vnto hym, that hee was one of them that concluded hys death: and deſired God to forgeue hym. Romiane aunſwered agayne and ſayd: God will iudge vs all in ÿ laſt day of Iudgemẽt. After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the Counſellers, before whome he remayned no leſſe conſtant and firme, then afore. Thẽ was a ſumiſhe Fryer ſent, who beeing three houres with him, and could not remoue him, came out to the Lordes, and ſayd that he was damned: By reaſon whereof the ſentence geuen before his condemnatiõ was confirmed, and he ſent backe agayn frõ whence he came.

The cauſe of Romian remoued to the parliament of Aix.

The ſen &, cond nation of Romian.

Romian brough Aix.

The kings Aduocate repenteth.

At his returne agayne from Aix, the Conſuls of Draguignan ſent abroad by Pariſhes, vnto the Curates, that they ſhould ſignifie to theyr Pariſhners, the day of his death, to ÿ end that they ſhould come: alſo cauſed to be cryed through the town, by ÿ ſound of a trompe, that all good Chriſtians ſhoulde bring wood to the great market place, to burne the Lutherane. The day being come which was ſaterday, the 16. day of May, the poore ſeruaunt of God, firſt was brought to the racke or torture, where, at his firſt entre, were brought before hym the cordes, yrons, & waightes to terrifie him. Then ſayde they, hee muſt vtter his complices & renounce his religion, or els he ſhould be burned aliue. He anſwered wyth a conſtant hart, that he had no other complices, nor cõpanions, neyther would he hold any other fayth, but that which Ieſus Chriſt did preach by his apoſtles. Then was he demaunded of hys fellowes taken to him, whether they did hold ÿ fayth of Rome, or whether he did euer communicate with thẽ, or did know them in the towne, or in prouince to be of his fayth. He ſayd no. Item, what he had to doe in that towne. He ſayd, to ſell hys Corall. Item, who gaue hym cõſell to appeale. God, he ſayd, by his ſpirite.

Romian returned againe from Aix to Draguignan.

Upon this he was put vpon the gynne or racke where he being torne moſt outragiouſly, ceaſed not ſtill to cry vnto God, that he woulde haue pittie on him, for the loue of Ieſus Chriſt his ſonne. Then was he commanded to call to the virgin Mary: but that he would not. whereupon his torture was renued a freſh, in ſuch cruell ſort, that they thought they had left hym for dead. For the which they ſent him to the Barbers, and finding that hee coulde endure no longer, were afraid leaſt he had bene paſt, and haſtened to bring him to the fire. So after they had aſſayd hym by prieſtes and Fryers, as much as they could to make him reuolte, they helped the hangman to beare him, all broken and diſmembred, as hee was vnto the heape of wood: where they tyed him to a chayne of yron, which was let downe vppon the fagottes. Romian ſeing himſelf to be alone, lying vpon the wood, began to pray to God. whereat ÿ fryers being moued, ranne to him agayne to cauſe hym to ſay, Aue Maria. which when he would not do, they were ſo furious, that they plucked & tare hys beard. In all theſe anguiſhes, the meeke saynt of God, had recourſe ſtill to God in hys prayers, beſeeching him to geue him paciẽce. Thẽ left they him lying as dead. But ſo ſoone as they deſcended down from the wood he began to pray to God agayne, in ſuch ſort, as one would haue thought, that he had felt no hurt. Then an other greate Fryer, ſuppoſing to doe more wyth hym then the reſt, came vp to the wood vnto hym, to admoniſh him. Romian thought at firſt that he had bene a faythfull Chriſtian, by his gentle ſpeach, but afterward, when he vrged him to pray to the virgyn Mary, he deſired him to depart and let him alone in peace. As ſoone as he was departed. Romiane lifted vp hys head and hys eyes on hye, praying God to aſſyſte him in his great temptation. Then a certayn father, a warden, to bring the people in more hatred cryed out and ſayd: he blaſphemeth, hee blaſphemeth he ſpeaketh agaynſt the bleſſed virgin Mary. wherat Barboſi cryed, ſtop hys mouth, let hym be gagged

Romian drawẽ moſt piteouſly vpon the racke.

Romiã broken with the racke & not able to goe, was borne to the fire.

Crueltie of Friers.

A ſlaundering Fryer.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.

The people cried to the fire let him be burned. Then the hangman ſet fire to the ſtraw, and little ſtickes that were about, which incontinent were ſet on fire. Romian ſtill remayned hanging in the ayre, till he dyed and was burned, all his nether partes well neare, when he was ſeene to lift vp his head to heauen, mouing his lips without any cry: and ſo thys bleſſed ſaint rendred his ſpirite to God.

Crucifiee, Crucifige eum.

The cruell death and martyrdome of bleſſed Romian.

Of this aſſemble there were diuers iudgements & ſondry bruites. Some ſayde that if good men had bene about him, it had gone better with him, & that thoſe prieſts & monks, which were about him, were whoremaiſters & infamous. Other ſayd that he had wrong: and that an hundreth of that company there were, which more deſerued death then he, eſpecially among thẽ which condẽned him. Other went away marueling, & diſputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the courſe finiſhed of this valiaunt & thriſe bleſſed martyr and ſeruaunt of the Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God. Ex Criſp. lib. 6, pag. 902.

Frances Ciuaux, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The Conuent of the Iacobin Friers at Dyion. A Prieſt of Dyion.	Fraunces Ciuaux. At Dyion. Ann. 1558.	Thys Fraunces Ciuaux was Secretarye to the Frenche Ambaſſadour here in England, in Queene Maries time. who afterward beeing deſirous to heare yͤ worde of God, went to Geneua. Alſo he was placed to be Secretary to the Senate or counſayle of Geneua: wher he continued about the ſpace of a yeare. Hauing then certaine buſines, hee came to Dyion.

There was the ſame tyme, a prieſt that preached at Dyion ſuch doctrine, where at the ſayd Fraunces being worthely offended, came friendly vnto the prieſt and reaſoned with him, touching his doctrine, ſhewing by the Scriptures how and where he had erred. The prieſt excuſed himſelfe, that he was not ſo well inſtructed to diſpute, but he would bring hym yͤ next day, to a certayne learned man, whom he knew there in the towne, and deſired the ſayd Fraunces to go with him to breakfaſt, where he would be glad to heare them two in conference together: whereunto when Fraunces had conſented, the prieſt incontinẽt went to the Iacobine Friers, where the matter was thus contriued, that at the breakefaſt time, Frances there vnawares, ſhould be apprehended.

A priuy Iudas.

When the next day came, yͤ prieſt brought Fraunces, according to his appoyntmẽt, to a Iacobine frier, who pretending much fayre friendſhip vnto him, as one glad & deſirous of his cõpany, beſought hym to take a breakefaſt with him the next morowe, and there they woulde enter conference together. Wyth this alſo Fraunces was content, & to prepare hymſelfe the better to that conflict, ſat vp almoſt all the night writing, with his fellow, The next morow, as Fraunces with his fellowe were preparing themſelues toward the breakfaſt, the Iacobin in yͤ meane time, went to the Iuſtice of the towne to admoniſhe him to be ready at the time and place appoynted. Thus, as the Iacobin was ſtanding at the Iuſtices doore, the companion of Fraunces ſeeing the Fryer there ſtand, began to miſtruſt with himſelfe, & tolde Fraunces, willing him to beware the Fryer. Moreouer, the ſame night Fraunces had in his dreame, yͭ the ſayde Fryer ſhoulde commit him to the Iuſtice. But hee, either not caring for his dreames, or els not much paſſing for the daunger, committed hymſelfe to the handes of God, and went. As they were together diſputing in the Couent of the Iacobines, Fraunces thus betrayed of the prieſt, was apprehended, by the Officers, caried to Priſon, and within ſeuen dayes after, being Saterday before the Natiuity of the Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where firſt he was ſtrangled, and then burned. Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Senatus Geneuẽſis.

Frances admoniſhed by hys dreame.

And as touching the felow & companion of this Fraunces aboue mentioned, he was alſo apprehended with hym and put in priſon, but becauſe he was but a young nouice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted and was deliuered.

Peter Arondeau, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Prieſtes of Rochelle. Manroy, a prieſt. The Lieuetenaunt of Rochelle. The Cardinall of Lorraine. Magiſtri. S. Andre.	Peter Arondeau. At Paris. Ann. 1559.	The town of Rochelle, as it is a place of great commoditie becauſe of the Sea: ſo was it not inferiour to other good Townes in Fraunce, for nouriſhing and ſupporting the holy aſſembles of the Lorde. Unto the whiche towne, about the yeare of our Lorde 1559. reſorted one Peter Arondeau, a mã of baſe condition, with a little packet of mercery ware, there to ſel, who there being knowen, to adioyne hymſelfe to the church and congregatiõ of yͤ faithfull, was demaunded of certayne Miniſters of Antichriſt, whether he would goe to heare Maſſe, or no. He ſayd that he had bene there to oſte, to hys great grief: and that ſince the tyme that the Lorde had taken the vayle from hys eyes, he knewe the Maſſe to be abhominable, forged in the ſhop of the enemy of all mankinde.

The Maſſe.

They to whome hee thus aunſwered, were Prieſtes amongeſt whom was one named Monroy, who taking the other there preſent, for witneſſes, brought hym ſtraight to the Lieutenaunt. The depoſitiõ being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinent, yͭ his body ſhuld be attached, And althogh by one of hys friendes hee was admoniſhed to ſaue himſelf, & to auoyd their danger yet he ceaſed not to put himſelf in his enemies hands, & ſo was led priſoner. As he was in priſon, many of the faythful came to comfort him: but rather he was able to cõfort not onely them, which came to comfort him, but alſo the other, which were there priſoners with hym. The Prieſts left no diligence vnſought, to ſtirre vppe the Lieuetenaunt, which was of himſelfe, to much inflamed in ſuch matters.

Arondeau, after many interrogations & threatning wordes, and alſo fayre promiſes of his pardon ſtill continued one man. Then the Lieuetenaunt ſeing his conſtancy condẽned him to death. Arondeau prayſing God for his grace geuen, did not a litle reioyce yͭ he might ſuffer in that quarrell, & in token of reioyſing, did ſing a Pſalme, being fully reſolued to accept yͤ ſaid condemnation, wͭout any appeale. But his frendes not pleaſed with his reſolution, came to him, & ſo perſwaded with hym, not to geue his lyfe ſo good cheape, ouer to his enemies handes, that hee was turned from that, & made his appeale. The appeale beyng entred, yͤ Lieuetenaunt, ſeeking to gratifie the aduerſaries of yͤ goſpell, and eſpecially yͤ Cardinall of Lorraine, ſecretly, by yͤ backſide of the town & out of the high way, conueyed yͤ poore priſoner vnto Paris. who being brought vnto Paris, by priuy iournies (as is ſayd) was put into priſon, committed to yͤ cuſtody of two Preſidentes: to witte, Magiſtri, & S. Andre. By the meanes of whom, the ſentence of the Lieuetenant was confirmed, & alſo put in execution, the 15. day of Nouember in they yeare aboueſayd: on the which day, the ſayd Arondeau was burned quick at yͤ place called S. Iohn in Greue, at Paris. The conſtancy heroicall which God gaue hym, & wherinhe indured victorious vnto death, was a mirrour or glaſſe of paciẽce to M. Anne du Bourge Counceller in the Parliament of Paris, & to diuers other then priſoners, & was to them a preparation toward yͤ like death, which ſhortly after they ſuffred.

Peter Arondeau condemned.

Peter Arondeau appealeth.

Not long after the happy end of this bleſſed martyr, the forenamed Monroy, whiche was the principall accuſer, & party agaynſt him, was ſtroken with a diſeaſe called * Apoplexia and thereupon ſodeinly dyed.

By this and many other ſuch like examples, the migh

* Apoplexia, is a ſicknes engendered in the brain by aboundance of groſſe humors, which depriue them that haue it, of ſpeach, feeling, and mouing Moſt commonly it aſſaileth gluttons, drunkards, and ſurfetters.

mighty iudgement of God moſt euidently may appeare: who albeit commonly he doth vſe to begin hys iudgement with his owne houſhold in this worlde: yet neither doth hys aduerſaries alwayes eſcape thẽ ſelues the terrible hand of his iuſtice.

Gods iuſt vengeaunce vpõ the Lieutenaunt a perſecutor.

Alſo the Lieutenaunt, which was his condemner, taryed not long after the prieſt, but he was areſted perſonally to appeare before the kinges counſaile, through the procurement of a certaine Gentleman of Polonie, called Anthony de Legliſe, agaynſt whome the ſayd Lieutenaunt had geuen falſe and wrong iudgement before. By reaſon whereof the foreſayd Gentleman ſo inſtantly did purſue hym, before the Lordes of the counſaile, that all the extorſions & pollinges of the Lieutenant were there openly diſcouered, and ſo he condemned to pay to the gentleman a thouſand French crownes of the ſumme, within xiiii. dayes vpon payne of double as muche. Alſo he was depoſed of his office, and there declared vnworthy to exerciſe any royal office hereafter for euer, with infamy and ſhame perpetuall. Ex Criſp. Lib.6. pag.907.

Note.

Thomas Moutarde, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A prieſt of Valencienes.	Thomas Moutarde. At Valenciennes. Ann. 1559.	In the towne of Valenciennes, not far frõ France, the ſame yere which was 1559. in the month of October ſuffered Tho. Moutard, who firſt being conuerted from a diſordered life, to the knowledge of the Goſpell, is to vs a ſpectacle of Gods great gracious mercy toward his elected Chriſtians. This Moutarde was attached for certain wordes ſpoken to a prieſt, ſaying thus, that his god of yͤ hoſt was nothing

Againſt the bodely preſence of Chriſt in the hoſte.

but abhomination, which abuſeth yͤ people of God. These wordes were takẽ firſt as ſpoken in hys dronkennes. But the next day after, whẽ the ſame wordes were repeted to him agayne, to knowe whether hee would abyde by the wordes there vttered, or no, hee ſayd, yea. For it is an abuſe (ſayd hee) to ſeeke Jeſus Chriſt any other where, then in heauen, ſitting at the glory & right hand of God hys father: and in thys, he was ready to liue & dye. His proces being made, he was condemned to be burned quicke. But as he was caryed from the town houſe, to the place of puniſhment, it was neuer ſeene a man with ſuch conſtancie to be ſo aſſured in hart, & ſo to reioyce at that great honor, which God had called hym vnto. The hangman haſted as much, as was poſſible, to binde hym, & diſpatch him. The martir in the midſt of yͤ flaming fire, lifting vp his eies vnto heauẽ, cried to the Lord, that he would haue mercy on his ſoule: and ſo in great integritie of fayth and perſeueraunce, hee gaue vp his life to God. Ex Ioan. Criſp. Lib.6.

Conſtancye of a good conſciẽce.

☞ This Dutch ſtory ſhould haue gone before, in the Dutch Martyrs. But ſeeing Vallenciẽnes is not far diſtant from Fraunce it is not much out of order, to adioyne the ſame with the French martyrs: who altogether at length, ſhalbe ioyned in the kingdome of Chriſt: which day the Lord ſend ſhortly. Amen.

Thus haue we (through the aſſiſtaunce of the Lord) deduced the Table of the French and alſo of yͤ Dutch martyrs, vnto the tyme and reign of Queene Elizabeth, that is, to the yeare. 1560. Since the which tyme, diuers alſo haue ſuffered, both in Fraunce, & in the lower countrey of Germany, whoſe ſtory ſhal be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the tyme of Queene Elizabeth. In the meane ſeaſon it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent to inſert their names onely, which here do follow.

The reſidue of the French Martyrs.

Anne du Burge, Counſailer of Paris. Andrew Coiſſier, Iohn Iſabeau, Iohn Indet, Martyrs of Paris, Geoffrey Guerien, Iohn Morell, Iohn Barbeuille, Peter Cheuet, Marin Marie, Margarite Riche, Adrian Dauſſi, Gilles le Court Phillip Parmentier, Marin Roſſeau, Peter Milot, Iohn Berſoy: Beſides the tumult of Amboiſe, the perſecution of Vaſſi, Auſtin Marlorat, Maſter Mutonis.

The reſidue of the Dutch Martyrs.

Iames de Lo, of the Ile of Flaunders, Iohn de Buiſſons at Antwerpe, Peter Petit, Iohn Denys, Gymon Guilmin, Simeon Herme of the Ile of Flanders, Iohn de Lannoy at Tournay. Andrew Michell, a blind man, at Tournay, Frances Varlut, at Tournay, Alexander Dayken of Bramchaſtle William Cornu, in Henault, Antony Caron of Cambray, Renaudine de Francuile, Certayne ſuffered at Tournay, Michell Robilert of Aras, Nicaiſe de le Tombe at Tournay, Roger du Mont.

To the Catalogue of French Martyrs aboue rehearſed, the ſtory of Merindoll and Cabriers, wyth the lamentable handling of them, were alſo to be annexed. But becauſe the tractation thereof is prolixe, and cannot well be contracted into a ſhorte diſcourſe therefore we haue deferred the ſame to a more conuenient roome, after the Table here following next of the Spaniſhe and Italian Martyrs. where better oportunitie ſhalbe geuen, to proſecute more at full that Tragicall perſecution, the Lord ſo permittyng.

A Table of ſuch Martyrs, as for the cauſe of Religion, *ſuffered in Spayne.*

The Spaniſhe Martyrs.

Frances San Romane, martir.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Spaniſhe marchantes in Antwerp The Fryers of Antwerpe.	Franciſcus San Romanus. At Burges in Spayne.	An. 1540. Thys Frances was ſent by certayne Spaniſhe Marchantes of Antwerpe, to Breme, to take vp money due to be payde of certayne Marchantes there. where hee being at a Sermon, hearing M. Iacobus, priour ſometimes of the Auſten friers of Antwerp, preache, was ſo touched & drawne (thorough the maruelous working of Gods ſpirite) at the hearyng thereof, albeit hauing no perfect vnderſtanding of the Dutche tongue, that

not onely hee vnderſtoode all that there was ſayde, but alſo comming to the preacher, & accompanying him home (all his other worldly buſines ſet apart) there recited the whole contentes of hys Sermon, euery thing, (as they ſayd, which heard the ſayd miniſter of Breme preach) in perfect forme and order, as he had preached. After this little taſte, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, ſearching and conferring with learned men, that in ſhorte ſpace, hee was growne in great towardnes, & ripe knowledge in yͤ word of lyfe. The Miniſter marueling at the ſodayn mutation of the man, and alſo ſeeyng the vehemency of hys zeale ioyned withall, began to exhort hym, howe to temper hymſelfe with circumſpection, and diſcretion, ſtill more and more inſtructyng hym in the worde and knowledge of the Goſpell, whiche he ſo gredely dyd receaue, as one that coulde neuer be ſatiſfied: & ſo remayned hee with the miniſter 3. dayes together, committyng hys worldly buſines and meſſage that he was ſent for, vnto hys fellowe which came wyth hym. Thus being inflamed wyth with an other deſire, he ceaſed to ſeeke for temporall trifles, ſeking rather for ſuch french or dutch bookes, which he could get, to read: and agayne, read yͤ ſame ſo diligently, that partly by the reading therof, partly by M. Jacobus, and alſo by M. Machabeus (which was there the ſame time) he was able in ſhort time, to iudge in the chiefe Articles of our religion: In ſo much, that he took vpō him to write letters vnto his coūtrymen the Marchaunts of Antwerpe, in yͤ which letters, firſt he gaue thanks to God for yͤ knowledge of his holy word, which he had receiued. Secondly he bewayled the great crueltie, & groſſe blindnes of his countrymen, deſiring God to open theyr eyes and eares, to ſee & vnderſtand the word of their ſaluation. Thirdly he promiſed ſhortly to come to thē at Antwerp, to confer with them touching the grace of God, which he had receiued. Fourthly declareth to them his purpoſe in going alſo to Spaine, intēding there likewiſe to impart to his parentes, and other frēds at Burges, the wholeſom Doctrine, which the Lord hath beſtowed vpon him.

Fraunces writeth to the Marchauntes of Antwerpe.

Beſide this he addreſſed other letters alſo to Charles the Emperor, opening to him the calamities and miſerable ſtate of Chriſtes Church, deſiring hym to tender the quietnes thereof, eſpecially that he would reforme the miſerable corruption of the Churche of Spaine. &c. Ouer and beſides al this, he wrote there a Catechiſme, & diuers other treatiſes in the ſpaniſh toung. And all this he did in one monethes ſpace,

Frances writeth to the Emperour.

In the meane time the Spaniſh Marchaunts of Antwerpe, vnderſtanding by his letters, both hys chaunge of religiō, & alſo his purpoſe of comming to Antwerpe, ſent him letters agayne, pretending outwardly a fayre countenaunce of much good will, but ſecretly practiſing his deſtruction. For at the day appointed of his cōming, certaine Friers were ſet ready to receiue him, which tooke him comming downe from his horſe, rifled his books, had him into a marchāts houſe neare hād, where they examined hym: with whom he agayne diſputed mightely, and when they found him not agreing to theyr fayth they boūd him hand and foote, crying out vpon him, and calling him Lutherane, & burnt his bookes before hys face, threatning to burne himſelfe alſo. At this diſputatiō within the houſe, diuers Spaniardes were preſent, which made the Friers more bold. Being demaūded to ſhew, of what fayth and religiō he was: my fayth (ſayd he) is to cōfeſſe and preach Chriſt Jeſus onely and him crucified, which is the true fayth of the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt through the whole world. But this fayth and doctrine you haue corrupted, taking an other abhominable kinde of life, and by your impiety haue brought the moſt part of the world, into blindnes moſt miſerable: and to explane his fayth to thē more expreſſely, he recited al the Articles of the Creed.

Frances betrayed by Spanyſhe Marchantes.

The fayth and confeſſion of San Romane.

Which done, thē the Friers aſked whether he beleued the Biſhop of Rome to be Chriſtes Vicar, and head of the Churche, hauing all the treaſures of the Church in his owne power, being able to binde and looſe: alſo to make new articles, & aboliſh the olde, at his owne will & arbitrement. Hereunto Fraunces aūſwered agayne, that he beleued none of al this, but contrary did affirme, that the Pope was Antichriſt, borne of the deuill, being the enemy of Jeſus Chriſt, transferring to himſelfe Gods honor: & which moreouer being incited by the deuill, turned all things vpſide downe, & corrupted the ſinceritye of Chriſtes religion, partly by his falſe pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty deſtroying the poore flocke of Chriſt. &c. With the like boldnes he vttred his mind likewiſe agaynſt the Maſſe & Purgatory. The Fryers could ſuffer him meanely well to ſpeake, till hee came to the pope, & began to ſpeak againſt his dignity, & theyr profite: then could they abide no lōger, but thundred agaynſt him woordes full of cruelty & terror. As they were burning of his bookes, and began alſo to caſt the new teſtament into the fire. Fraunces ſeyng that, began to thūder out againſt them again. The Spaniardes thē ſuppoſing him not to be in his right ſenſes, conueied him into a Tower 6. miles diſtant from Antwarpe, where he was deteined in a deep caue or dungeon, with much miſery, the ſpace of 8. monethes. In which time of his impriſonment, many graue, and diſcreet perſons came to viſit him, exhorting him that he would chaunge his opinion, & to ſpeake more modeſtly. Fraūces anſwered againe, that he mainteined no opinion erroneous or hereticall: & if he ſemed to be ſomewhat vehement with the Friers, that was to be aſcribed not to him ſo muche, as to theyr owne importunity: hereafter he would frame himſelf more temporatly. Wherupon the Spaniards thinking him better come to himſelf, diſcharged him out of priſon. Which was about yͤ time whē yͤ Emperor was in his coūſel at Ratiſbone. an. 1541.

The Pope Antichriſt.

The Popes crowne and the Fryers bellies are not to be touched.

Frances brought into priſon.

San Romane deliuered out of priſon.

San Romane thus beyng freede out of Priſon, came to Antwerpe, where he remayned about twēty dayes. From thence he went to Louane, vnto a certaine frend of his, named Frāciſcus Dryander, (who alſo afterward dyed a Martyr) with whom he had much conference, about diuers matters of Religion: who gaue him counſell not to alter the ſtate of hys vocation, being called to be a marchaūt, which ſtate he might exerciſe with a good conſcience, & doe much good. And as touching Religion, his counſell was that he ſhould ſay or do nothing, for fauour of men, wherby the glory of God ſhould be diminiſhed: but ſo, that he required notwithſtanding in the ſame, a ſound and right iudgement, conformed to the rule of Gods word, leſt it might chaūce to him, as it doth to many, who being caried with an inconſiderate zeale, leaue their vocations, & while they think to do good, and to edifye, they deſtroy, & do harm, and caſt themſelues needles into daūger. It is God (ſayd he) that hath the care of his Church, and will ſtirre vp faythfull Miniſters for the ſame: neither doth hee care for ſuch, which raſhly intrude themſelues, into that function without any calling.

Frances Dryander.

This aduertiſement of Dryander, Fraunces did willinglye accept, promiſing hereafter to moderate himſelfe more conſiderately. But this promiſe was ſhortly broken, as you ſhall heare. For paſſing from Dryander, he went to Ratiſbone, and there hauyng tyme and opportunity conuenient to ſpeake to yͤ Emperor, he ſtepped boldely vnto him, beſeeching hym to deliuer his country and ſubiectes of Spayne, frō falſe religion, and to reſtore agayne the ſinceritye of Chriſtes doctrine, declaring and proteſting that the Princes and Proteſtantes of Germany, were in the truer part, and that the Religion of Spayne beynge drowned in ignoraunce and blindenes, was greatly diſſonant from the true & perfect word of God, with many other words perteyning to yͤ ſame effect. The Emperor all this while, gaue him gentle hearing, ſignifying that he would conſider vpon the matter, & ſo do, therin, as he truſted ſhould be for the beſt. This quiet anſwere of the Emperour, miniſtred to him no litle incouragement of better hope, albeit he might perceiue there in the City, many examples to the cōtrary, yet all that diſcouraged not him, but he wēt the ſecond, & alſo the third time, vnto the Emperor: who quietly agayne ſo aunſwered him as before. And yet this our Fraunces not ſatiſfied in his minde, ſought with a greater ardency the fourth time, to ſpeake to the Emperour, but he was repulſed by certayne of the Spanyardes about the Emperor, who incontinent with out al further hearing or aduiſing yͤ cauſe, would haue throwne him headlong into the riuer of Danubius, had not the Emperor ſtayd them, & wylled him to be iudged by the lawes of the Empyre. By which commaundement of the Emperor, he was reſerued & deteined with other malefactors, in bandes, till the Emperor tooke his voiage into Aphrike. Thē Fraunces, with other captiues folowing the Court, after that the Emperor was come into Spayn, was there deliuered to the Inquiſitours: by whō he was layd in a darcke priſon vnder the ground. Oft & many times he was called for to examination, where he ſuffered great iniuries and contumelies, but euer remayned in his conſcience firme and vnmoueable. The Articles wherupon he ſtoode, and for which hee was condemned were theſe.

The boldnes of San Romane to the Emperour.

The Emperours gentle anſwere.

Frances San Romane brought into Spayne.

The articles of San Romane.

That life and ſaluation in the ſight of God, commeth to no mā by his own ſtrength, workes, or merites: but only by the free mercy of God, in the bloud and Sacrifice of his ſonne our mediator.

That the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, which the Papiſtes do recount auayleable, Ex opere operato, for remiſſion of ſinne, both to the quick and dead, is horrible blaſphemy.

That auricular confeſſion, with the numbring vp of ſinnes, that Satiſfactiõ, Purgatory, Pardons, inuocation of Sayntes, worſhipping of Images, bee mere blaſphemy agaynſt the liuing God.

Item, that the bloud of Chriſt is prophaned and iniuried in the ſame aforeſayd.

After the Inquiſitours perceaued, that by no meanes he could be reclamed from his aſſertiõs, they proceded at laſt, to the ſentence, condemning him to be burned for an hereticke. Many other malefactors were brought alſo with him to the place of executiõ, but all they were pardoned & diſmiſſed: he onely for the Goſpell, being odious to the whole world, was taken & burned. As he was led to the place of ſuffering, they put vpon him a Miter of paper, paynted full of deuils, after the ſpaniſh guiſe.

Barrabas deliuered, & Chriſt taken.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the Citty gate to be burned, there ſtood a woodden croſſe by the way, wherunto Frances was required to do homage. which he refuſed, aunſwering that the maner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip wood, and he was (ſayd he) a Chriſtian. Hereupon aroſe great clamor among the vulgare people, for that he denied to worſhip the wooden croſſe. But this was turned incõtinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudeneſſe of that people, that they did impute this to the diuine vertue, as geuen that Croſſe from heauen, for that it would not ſuffer it ſelfe to be worſhipped of an hereticke: and immediatly, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with theyr ſwordes, did hew it in pieces, euery man thinking himſelfe happy, that might cary away ſome chip or fragment of the ſayde Croſſe.

The maner of Chriſtians is not to worſhyp wood.

A great Spaniſh myracle.

When he was come to the place, where he ſhould ſuffer, the Friers were buſye about him, to haue him recant: but he continued euer firme. As he was layd vpon the heape of woode, and the fire kindled aboute him, he began a litle, at the feeling of the fire, to lyfte vp his head toward heauẽ: which when the Inquiſitours perceiued, hoping that he would recant hys doctrine, they cauſed him to be taken from the fyre. But when they perceiued nothing leſſe in hym, the aduerſaryes being fruſtrate of theyr expectation, willed him to be throwne in agayne, and ſo was he immediatly diſpatched.

Frances conſtant to the death.

The death and martyrdome of Frances San Romaine.

After that the Martyrdome of this bleſſed man was thus conſummate, the Inquiſitors proclaimed opẽly that he was damned in hel, & that none ſhould pray for him: yea and that all were herretickes, whoſoeuer doubted of his damnatiõ. Neuertheleſſe certayne of the Emperors Souldiors gathered of hys aſhes. Alſo the Engliſh Ambaſſador procured a portion of his bones to be brought vnto him knowyng right well that he dyed a Martyr. Yet this could not be ſo ſecretly done, but it came to the eares of the Inquiſitors & of the Emperor. wherefore the ſouldiers going in great daunger of life, were committed to priſon, Neither did the Ambaſſadour himſelfe eſcape cleare frõ the daunger of the Popes ſcourge: For he was vpõ the ſame ſequeſtred frõ the court & cõmaũded to be abſẽt for a ſpace. And thus much cõcerning the notable Martyrdome of this bleſſed San Romane. Ex Franc. Encena. Hiſpano, teſte occulato.

The Inquiſitors of Spaine take Chriſtes office to iudge the quicke and the dead.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadour baniſhed the Spaniſh court.

Rochus martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
An Inquiſitour in Spayne.	Rochus. At San Lucar in Spayne. An. 1545.	Rochus was borne in Brabant, his father dwellynge in Antwerpe. By his ſcience hee was a Caruer or Grauer of Images. who as ſoone as he began, firſt to taſte the Goſpell, he fell frõ making ſuch Images as vſe to ſerue for Idolatrye in Temples, & occupyed himſelfe in making ſeales: ſaue onely that he kept ſtãding on his ſtalle an Image of the virgin Mary artificially grauen, for a ſigne of his occupatiõ. It happened vnhappely, that a certayne Inquiſitor paſſing by in the ſtreete, & beholding the carued Image, aſked of Rochus what was the price therof. which when Rochus did ſet (not willing belike to ſell it) the Inquiſitour bad him ſcarſe halfe the mony. The other anſwered againe that he could not ſo liue of that bargayn. But ſtil the Inquiſitor vrged him to take his offer. To whome Rochus agayne, it ſhalbe yours (ſayd he) if you geue me that, which my labor and charges ſtand me in, but of that price I can not afforde it: yet had I rather breake it in pieces. Yea ſayth the Inquiſitour? breake it, let me ſee thee. Rochus with that tooke vp a Chiſell, and daſhed it vpon the face of the Image, wherewith the noſe or ſome other part of the face was blemiſhed. The Inquiſitor ſeing that, cried out as he were mad, and commaunded Rochus forthwith into priſon. To whom Rochus cried again, that he might do in his owne workes, what he liſted. And if the workemanſhip of the Image were not after his fantaſy, what was that to them? But all this could not helpe Rochus, but within 3. dayes after, ſentence was geuen vpon him that he ſhould be burned, and ſo was he committed to the executers. As Rochus was entring the place, there to be burned, he cryed with a loud voyce, aſkyng among the multitude, which there ſtoode by, if anye man of Flaunders, were there. It was aunſwered, yea: and alſo that there were 2. ſhips already fraught and appoynted to ſayle to Flaunders. Then ſayd he, I would deſire ſome of them to ſignify to my Father dwelling in Antwerpe, that I was burned here in this city, and for this cauſe which you all haue heard. And thus after his prayers made to God, this good man being wrongfully condemned, after his godlye life, made this bleſſed end. an. 1545.

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And leaſte this ſo rare and ſtraunge example of cruelty ſhall ſeeme to lacke credite, in the fifte booke of the hiſtory of Pantaleon, there is recorded that a certayne Spanyard comming to Antwerpe, made diligent inquiſitiõ there among the Image makers to finde out the parentes of this Rochus, & ſignifyed to them what had happened toward theyr ſonne, as hath bene by his ſayd parentes and frends, declared: In ſo much that it is alſo teſtified, that hys Father, at the hearing of the ſayde meſſage, for ſorrow thereof, dyed ſhortly after. Ex Pantal. lib. 5.

☞ Furthermore beſides theſe aboue recited, and alſo before theyr time, I heare and vnderſtand by faythfull relation, that diuers other haue bene in the ſayd countrey of Spayne, whoſe hartes God had maruellouſly illuminate and ſtirred vp, both before, and alſo ſince the comming in of the Inquiſition, to ſtand in defence of his Goſpell, and which were alſo perſecuted for the ſame, and are ſayde to haue dyed in priſon: Albeit theyr names as yet are vnknowne, for that the ſtoryes of that countrey bee not yet come to light, but I truſt ſhortly ſhall, as partly ſome intelligence I haue thereof. In the meane tyme we wyll come now to the Inquiſition of Spayne, ſpeakyng ſomething of the ceremoniall pompe, and alſo of the barbarous abuſe and cruelty of the ſame.

Diuers g
men & m
tyrs of
Spayne
in priſon.

¶ The execrable Inquiſition of Spayne.

The cruell and barbarous Inquiſition of ſpayne, firſt began by king Ferdinandus and Elizabeth his wife, and was inſtituted agaynſte the Iewes which after theyr baptiſme, mainteined agayne theyr owne ceremonies. But now it is practiſed agaynſte thẽ that be neuer ſo litle ſuſpected to fauor the verity of the Lorde. The Spanyardes, and eſpecially the great diuines there do holde, that this holy & ſacrate Inquiſition cannot erre, and that the holy Fathers the Inquiſitours cannot be deceiued.

The form
and mane
of the In
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Three ſortes of men moſt principally be in daunger of theſe Inquiſitors. They that be greatly rich, for the ſpoyle of theyr goodes. They that be learned, becauſe they will not haue theyr miſdealings and ſecret abuſes to be eſpyed and detected. They that begin to encreaſe in honour and dignity, leaſt they being in authority, ſhould worke them ſome ſhame, or diſhonor. The abuſe of this Inquiſition is moſt execrable. If any woord ſhall paſſe out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in euill part: yea, & though no word be ſpoken, yet if they beare any grudge or euill will agaynſt the party, incontinent they com-

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maund him to be taken, and put in an horrible pryſon, and thē finde out crimes agaynſt him at leyſure, and in the meane time no mā liuing ſo hardy once to open his mouth for him. If the Father ſpeake one word for his childe, he is alſo taken and caſt into priſon, as a fauourer of herretickes. Neyther is it permitted to any perſon, to enter to the priſoner: but there he is alone, in ſuch a place, where he cannot ſee ſo much as the ground, where he is, and is not ſuffered either to read or write, but ther endureth in darknes palpable, in horrors infinite, in feare miſerable, wraſtling with the aſſaultes of death.

Example of the ſame well appeareth in Rothus aboue mentioned.

By this it may be eſteemed, what trouble and ſorrow, what penſiue ſighes & cogitatiōs, they ſuſteyne which are not throughly inſtructed in holy doctrine. Adde moreouer to theſe diſtreſſes and horrors of the priſon, the iniuries, threates, whippings and ſcourginges, yrons, tortures, and rackes, which they endure. Somtimes alſo they are brough out, & ſhewed forth in ſome higher place, to the people, as a ſpectacle, of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they deteyned there, ſome many yeares, and murthered by long tormentes, & whole dayes together, entreated much more cruelly (out of al compariſon) then if they were in the hangmās handes to be ſlayne at once. During all this time, what is done in the proces, no perſon knoweth, but onely the holy fathers and the tormentors, which are ſworne to execute the tormentes. All is done in ſecret, & (as great miſteries) paſſe not the handes of thoſe holy ones. And after all theſe tormentes ſo many yeares endured in the priſon, if any man ſhall be ſaued, it muſt be by geſſing: For all the procedinges of the Court of that execrable Inquiſition is opē to no mā, but all is done in hugger mugger, & in cloſe corners, by ambages, by couert waies, and ſecret counſelles. The accuſer ſecret, the crime ſecret, the witnes ſecret: whatſoeuer is done, is ſecret, neither is the poore Priſoner euer aduertiſed of any thing. If he can geſſe who accuſed hym, whereof & wherfore, he may be pardoned peraduēture of hys life: but this is very ſeldome: and yet he ſhall not incontinēt, be ſet at liberty, before he hath endured lōg time, infinite tormentes (and this is called theyr penitence) and ſo is he let go: and yet not ſo, but that he is enioyned, before he paſſe the Inquiſitors handes, that he ſhall weare a garment with yellow colours, for a note of publicke infamy, to him, and his whole race. And if he can not geſſe right, ſhewing to ye Inquiſitours by whom he was accuſed, whereof, and wherfore (as is afore touched) incontinent the horrible ſentence of condemnation is pronounced againſt him, that he ſhall be burned for an obſtinate herreticke: and ſo yet the ſentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath endured impriſonment in ſome haynous priſon.

The miſerable handeling of gods people in Spaine.

¶And thus haue ye heard the forme of the Spaniſh Inquiſition. By the vigour and rigour of thys Inquiſition, many good true ſeruauntes of Ieſus Chriſt haue bene brought to death, eſpecially in theſe latter yeares, ſince the royall and peaceable reign of this our Queene Elizabeth. The names and ſtoryes of whom, partly we wil here recite, according as we haue faythfull recordes of ſuche as are come to our hands by writing. The other which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will deferre, till further intelligence and oportunity, by the Lords ayd and leaue, ſhall ſerue hereafter.

Diuers martyrs in Spain ſince the tyme of Queene Elizabeth.

An. 1559. Maij 21. In the towne of Walcdolid, where commonly the counſell of the Inquiſition is wont to be kept, the Inquiſitors had brought together many priſoners, both of high and low eſtate, to the number of xxx. alſo the coffin of a certayne noble womā, with her picture lying vpō it, which had bene dead long before, there to receiue iudgement and ſentence. To the hearing of which ſentence, they had ordeined in the ſayd town, 3. mighty Theatries or ſtages. Upon the firſt was placed Dame Iane, ſiſter to king Philip, and chiefe Regimēt of his realmes: alſo Prince Charles, king Philippes ſonne, with other Princes and States of Spayne. Upon the other ſcaffold mounted the Archbiſhop de Seuille, Prince of the Synagoge of the Inquiſitors, with the Coūſell of the Inquiſition: alſo other Byſhops of the landes, and the kinges counſell with them.

30. Chriſtian priſoners brought before the councell of the Inquiſition.

Three ſtages.

The ceremoniall pompe of the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

After that the Princes, and other ſpirituall iudges, & coūſellers were thus ſet in theyr places, wyth a great garde of Archers, and Halberdiers, and harneſſed ſouldiours: with 4. Herauldes alſo of armes, geuing theyr attēdance to the ſame, and the Earle of Buendia bearing the naked ſword, all the markette place where the ſtages were, being inuironed wyth an infinite multitude of all ſortes of the world there ſtanding, and gaſing out of windowes, & houſes to heare & ſee the ſentences & iudgementes of this Inquiſition: then after all, were brought forth (as a ſpectacle and triumph) the poore ſeruauntes and witneſſes of Ieſus Chriſt, to the number (as is aforeſayd) of thirty, clothed with theyr Sanbenito, as the Spaniards do call it, which is a maner of veſture, of yellow cloth cōming both before them & behind thē, ſpangled with read Croſſes, & hauing burning Cierges in theyr handes: alſo before them was borne a Crucifixe couered with blacke lynen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreouer, they which were to receiue the ſentence of death, had Miters of paper vpō theyr heads, which ye Spaniardes call Coracas. Thus they being produced, were placed in theyr order, one vnder an other, according as they were eſteemed culpable: So ye firſt of all, ſtood vp Doctor Cacalla, an Auſtē Frier, a mā notable & ſingular in knowledge of diuinity, preacher ſometime, to Charles the 5. Emperor, both in higher and lower Germany.

The Spaniſh Mantell of S. Benet of yellow coulor with red croſſes both before & behinde, called Sanbenito.

Theſe thinges thus diſpoſed, thē folowed a Sermon, made by a Dominicke Frier, which endured about an houre. After the Sermon finiſhed, the Procurator generall, with the Archbiſhop, went to the ſtage, where the Princes and Nobles ſtood, to miniſter a ſolēne othe vnto them vpō the Crucifixe painted in the Maſſebooke: the tenour of which othe was this. Your Maieſtyes ſhall ſweare, that you will fauor the holy Inquiſitiō, & alſo geue your conſēt vnto the ſame: and not onely that you ſhal, by no maner of way, hinder and impeach the ſame, but alſo you ſhall employ the vttermoſt of your helpe & endeuour hereafter, to ſee all them to be executed, whiche ſhall ſwerue from the Church of Rome, & adioyne themſelues to the ſect of the Lutheran herreticks, without all reſpect of any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, quality, or condition ſoeuer they be.

This Dominicke was M. Melchior Cano.

The oth geuen to the princes by the Inquiſition of Spaine.

¶And thus much for the firſt Article of the othe. The ſecond was this, as foloweth.

Item, your Maieſties ſhall ſweare, that you ſhal conſtrayne all your ſubiectes, to ſubmitt themſelues to the Church of Rome, and to haue in reuerence all the lawes and commaundementes of the ſame: and alſo to geue your ayde agaynſt all them, whoſoeuer ſhal hold of the hereſy of the Lutheranes, or take any part with them.

In this ſort and maner, when all the Princes & ſtates euery one in theyr degree, had receyued theyr othe, then the Archbiſhop lifting vp his hand, gaue them his benediction, ſaying: God bleſſe your highneſſes, and geue you lōg life. This ſolemne Pageon thus finiſhed, at laſt the poore captiues and priſoners were called out, the Procurator fiſcall, or the Popes great Collectour, firſt beginning with Doctor Cacalla, and ſo proceding to the other in order, as here vnder in this Table followeth with theyr names, & theyr iudgementes deſcribed.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The Inquiſitours of Spayne. The Popes great Collector, or Procurator fiſcall.	1. Doctour Cacalla, a Frier Auguſtine.	Before the Popes great Proctor or Collector fiſcall, firſt was called forth Doct. Auſten Cacalla. Thys Doctour was a Frier of Auſtens order, and Prieſt of the towne of Walledollid, and preacher ſometimes to the Emperour Charles the 5. a man wel accoūted of for his learning. who for that hee was thought to be as the ſtandert bearer to the Goſpellers (whō they called Lutherās) and preacher and Doctour vnto thē, therfore they

Doct. Cacalla, a Frier Auguſtine, preacher ſometyme to Charles 5. Martyr.

	Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	The Archbiſhop of Senille. The biſhop of Valence. The biſhop of Orenſe.		being firſt called for, was brought from his ſtage, nearer to yͤ proctor fiſcal, there to heare the ſentence of his condẽnation: which was, that he ſhould be degraded, and preſently burned, and all his goods confiſcate, to the profit & auauncement of iuſtice.
Frances de Biuero, prieſt, and brother to Cacalla, martyr.		2. Fraunces de Biuero, prieſt of Valledolid, and brother to the foreſayd Cacalla.	The ſecond priſoner & next to Doctor Cacalla, yͤ was called, was Fraunces de Biuero his brother, Prieſt alſo of Valledolid, who receiued likewiſe yͤ ſame ſentence of condemnation. And to the intent he ſhould not ſpeake any thing to the preiudice, or agaynſt the abuſe of the ſaccrate Inquiſition, as he before had done both within and without the priſõ, with much boldnes, & alſo becauſe hee was much fauored of yͤ people: to yͤ end therfore, yͤ no cõmotiõ ſhold come by his ſpeaking, hys mouth was ſo ſtopped & ſhut vp, that he could not ſpeake one word.
Dame Blanche ſiſter to them, martyr.		3. Dame Blãche de Biuero.	The 3. was Dame Blanche, Siſter to the other two, aforeſayd, agaynſt whõ alſo was pronounced the like ſẽtence, as vpon her brethren before.
Iohn de Biuero, brother to the ſame martyr.		4. Iohn de Biuero.	The fourth, was Iohn de Biuero, brother to the ſame kinred, who was alſo iudged an hereticke, and cõdemned to perpetuall priſon, and to beare his Sanbenito all hys life long: whiche is an habillemẽt of diſhonor.
Dame Cõſtance de Biuero, an other ſiſter, martyr.		5. Dame Conſtance de Biuero, ſiſter to the ſame aforeſayd.	Dame Conſtance de Biuero was the fifte, Siſter to the other before ſpecified, widowe of Ferdinando Ortis, dwelling ſometime, at Valledolid: who was alſo condẽned with the like ſentence with her brethren, to be burned.
Dame Leonore de Biuero, mother to theſe Martyrs aboue, burnt after her death.		6. The coffin with the dead corpes of Dame Leonore de Biuero, the mother of theſe aforeſayd.	The ſixt thunderbolt of condemnation, was thundered out agaynſt a poore coffine, with the dead corps of dame Leonore de Biuero, mother to theſe aboue named, beyng her ſelfe the ſixt, & being already dead long before at Valledolid. Aboue her coffin was her picture laid, which was alſo condemned with her dead corpes to be burned for an hereticke: And yet I neuer heerd of any opinion that this picture did holde, eyther with, or agaynſt the Church

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.	
The Inquiſitours of Spayne.		of Rome. This good Mother while ſhee liued, was a worthye maynteiner of chriſtes goſpell, with great integritye of life: and reteyned diuers aſſemblies of the ſayntes in her houſe, for the preaching of the worde of god. In fine, her corps and Image alſo being brought before yͤ Fiſcall, was condemned likewiſe (as the Mother with her 7. chyldre in the book of Machabees) to be burned for a Lutherane heretick, and all her goodes to be ſeaſed to the behoofe of the Superiour powers, and alſo her houſe vtterly to be raſed & caſt down to the groũd: & for memoriall of yͤ ſame, a marble ſtone was appointed there to be ſet vp in yͤ houſe, wherein the ſayd cauſe of her burning ſhould be ingraued.	This goo mother with her children, burned b Antichri reſembl to the mo ther wit her 7.chil dren,bur in the bo of Macha bees.
	7. Maiſter Aflonſe Perez Prieſt of Valence.	In the ſeuẽth place was condemned mayſter Aflonſe Perez prieſt of Valence: firſt to be degraded, & after to be burned as an heretick, & all his goodes likewiſe confiſcate and ſeaſed, to the behoofe of the ſuperiority.	M,Aflonſ Perez,m tyr.

☞ When theſe 7. aforeſayd had receiued theyr ſentence, then the Biſhop of Valence, in his pontificalibus, cauſed Doctour Cacalla, Fraunces his brother, and Aflonſe Perez, to be apparelled and reueſted in prieſtly veſture. which done, he tooke from them, firſt the chalice out of theyr handes, and ſo all theyr other trinckets, in order, according to theyr accuſtomed ſolemnity. And thus they being degraded, and all their prieſtly vnctions taken from their fingers, alſo their lippes and theyr crownes raſed, ſo were theyr yellow habites of Sanbenito put ouer theyr ſhoulders agayne, with theyr Miters alſo of paper vpon theyr heades. This done, Doctor Cacalla began to ſpeak, praying the Princes and the Lords, to geue him audience: but that being not graunted to him, he was rudely repulſed, & returned agayne to his ſtanding. Onely thus much he proteſted clearely and openlye, that his fayth, for which he was ſo handled, was not hereticall, but conſonant to the pure and cleare word of God. For the which alſo he was preſt and ready to ſuffer death, as a true Chriſtian, and not as an hereticke: Beſides many other worthy ſentences of great conſolation, which he there vttered in yͤ meane ſpace, while the Iudges were buſy in theyr ſentences, agaynſt the reſidue of the Martyrs.

The deg
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Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.	
The Inquiſitours of Spayne.	8. Don Peter Sarmiento Knight of the order of Alcantara.	The viij. that was brought before yͤ foreſayd Fiſcall, was Don Peter Sarmiento knight of the order of Alcantara, dwelling at Valence, and ſonne of Marques de Poza, who was pronounced an hereticke, & iudged to beare the marke & habite of diſhonor all his life, and condẽned to perpetuall priſon, wͭ the loſſe of his order & of all his goodes: To whome moreouer it was enioyned neuer to weare any more gold, ſiluer, pearles or any precious ſtone about him.	Don Pet Sarmiento Knight,cõ- demned fo a perpetu priſoner.

Ninth-

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Inquiſitors of Spayne.	9. Dame Mencia wiſe of the ſayd Don Peter.	Ninthly after hym was called dame Mēcia de Figneroa, wyfe of the foreſaid Don Peter Sarmiento. who likewiſe being proclaimed for an Heretique, was condemned to the ſame puniſhmēt as her huſband was.
	10. Don Louys de Roxas, ſonne and heyre of the Marques de Poza.	Next after her was called & brought out, Don Louys de Roxas, ſonne & heire of the Marques de Poza, who beyng alſo declared an hereticke, for ẏ great ſute and labour which was made for him, was condemned only to beare his Sābenito, vnto the town houſe, and his goodes to be confiſcate.
	11. Dame Anne Henriques.	After whom in the xi. place, folowed dame anne Hēriques, daughter of the marques Alcanſzes, and mother to the forenamed Marques de Poza, & wife to Lord Alfonſus de Fonſeca: who in lyke ſorte was declared an hereticke and condemned to beare her Sābenito, to the towne houſe, and her goodes to be confiſcate.
	12. Chriſtopher Dell.	Chriſtopher Dell, citizē of Samora was the xij. who after hee was declared an hereticke, was iudged to be burned, and his goods to be ſeaſed.
	13. Chriſtopher de Padilla.	The lyke ſentence was alſo geuen vpon Chriſtofer de Padilla citizen of Samora.
	14. Antony de Huezuello.	The 14. was Antony de Huezuello bacheler of diuinity dwelling at Toro. who after he was proclaimed heretick, & his goodes confiſcate, was condēned to be burned, and moreouer hadde hys mouth ſtopped, for ẏ he ſhould not ſpeake, & make confeſſion of his fayth vnto the people.
	15. Katherine Romain.	Then folowed Katherine Romain, dwelling in Pedroſa, called from her ſtādīng who receiuing the like ſentence was condemned to be burned, & all her goods confiſcate.
	16. Fraunces Errem.	The 16. was Fraūces Errem, borne in Pegnaranda, whom they condemned to be burned aliue, and all her goodes likewiſe confiſcate.
	17. Katherine Ortega.	After her ſucceeded in the next ſentence of Martyrdome, Katherine Ortega dwellyng in Valledolid, daughter of Hernando Diazo Fiſcall, & widow of captaine Louys, pronoūced with the other to be an heretick: and forſomuch as ſhe was reckoned to be a Schoolemaiſtres to the reſt, ſhe was iudged to be burned, and her goodes confiſcate.

Dame Mencia, wyfe of Don Peter, condemned r a perpetuall priſoner.

Don Louys de Roxas, condemned o beare a Sanbenito.

Dame Anne Henriques, iudged as an hereticke to beare a Sanbenito.

Chriſtofer Dell, martyr.

Chriſtofer de Padilla, martyr.

Antonie de Huezuello, martyr.

Katherin Romain, martyr.

Frances Errem, martyr.

Katherine Ortega, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The Inquiſitors of Spayne	18. Iſabell Strada. 19. Iane Valeſques.	In the 18. and 19. place, ſtoode Iſabell de Strara, and Iane Valeſques, both dwelling in Pedroſa, which likewiſe were condemned to be burned & all their goods confiſcate.
	20. A Smith.	A certayne workmā of white yron, or ſmith for interteining aſſemblies in his houſe, and for watching with thē receiued alſo with thē the like ſentence, to loſe both life & goodes for the Goſpels ſake.
	21. A Iew.	With theſe alſo was ioyned a Portugale, named Goncalo Vaes of Liſbone, whyche was borne a Iewe, afterward Baptiſed, & then returned agayne to his Iudaiſme: who for more ſhame to the other, was put alſo in the ſame tale and number, as the 2. theeues were ioyned wͭ Chriſt and was alſo with thē condemned to be burned, & his goods ſeaſed.
	22. Dame Iane de Sylua.	After theſe, was called dame Iane de Silua, wife to Iohn de Biuero, Brother to Doctour Cacalla: to whome it was enioyned to beare a mantle all her life, for penance & token of her treſpas, & al her goods cōfiſcate.
	23. Leonore de Liſueros, wife of Huezuelo. 24. Marina de Saiauedra. 25. Daniell Quadra.	In like maner was called for, Leonore de Liſueros, wife of the foreſayd Antony Huezuelo, Batcheler of diuinity. Item, Marina de Saiauedra, wife of Cyſueras de Sarcglio. Itē, Daniell Quadra borne at Pedroſa: All which 3. perſons were pronoūced heretickes and condemned to do penaunce in perpetuall Priſon, with their mantles & cōfiſcatiō of al their goods.
	26. Dame Mary de Royas.	Dame Marye de Royas, ſiſter of Marques of Royas, becauſe ſhe was in a cloiſter, & was come of a good houſe, was therfore iudged to beare her mantle to ẏ towne houſe, and al her goods confiſcate.
	27. Antony Dominike.	Antony Dominicke de Pedroſa beyng thē brought out, was iudged and condemned to iij. yeares penaunce in priſon, for his hereſye, clothed with the mantle of yelow, and al his goods confiſcate.

Iſabell Strada, martyr.
Iane Valeſques, martyr.

A Smith, martyr.

A Iewe burned.

Dame Iane de de Silua, condemned for an hereticke.

Leonore de Liueros.
Marina de Saiauedra.
Daniell Quadra, condemned to perpetuall priſon.

Dame Mary de Royas, inioyned penaunce.

Antonie Dominicke, enioyned penaunce.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	28. Anthony Baſor, an Engliſhman.	Laſt of all was produced Antony Baſor, who for that he was an Engliſhe man, he was iudged to beare his mãtle of yellow to the towne houſe in penance for his crime, & incontinẽt was thruſt into a cloyſter for one yeare, to the intent he might there be inſtructed in ẏ catholick ordinances of the church of Rome as thei be called

Antonie Baſor, an Engliſh man, enioyned penaunce.

After theſe ſentences being thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned with the coffin of the dead Lady, & her picture vpon the ſame, were committed to the ſecular magiſtrate, and their executioners, which were commaunded to doe their endeuour. Then were they all incontinent takẽ, and euery one ſet vpon an Aſſe, their faces turned backeward, with a great gariſon of armed ſouldiors, vnto the place of puniſhment, which was without the gate of the towne called Del Campo.

Xiiij. Martyrs in Spayne, burned.

When they were come to the place, there were 14. ſtakes ſet vp of equall diſtaunce one from an other, whereunto euery one ſeuerally being faſtened according to the faſhion of Spayne, they were all firſte ſtrangled, and then burned and turned to aſhes, ſaue onely Antony Huezuelo. Who for ſo much as he had both within and without the priſon, vehemently deteſted the popes ſpiritualty, therfore he was burned aliue, and his mouth ſtopped frõ ſpeaking. And thus theſe faythfull Chriſtians, for the verity & pure word of God, were led to death, as ſheepe to the ſhambles: who not onely moſt chriſtianly did comfort one an other, but alſo did ſo exhort all them there preſent, that all men maruelled greatly, both to heare their ſingular conſtancy, and to ſee their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that beſides theſe aforeſayd, there remayned yet behinde 37. other priſoners, at ẏ ſayd towne of Valledolid, reſerued to an other Tragedy & ſpectacle of that bloudy Inquiſition. Ex quinta parte Martir. Gallic Impreſſe pag. 474.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

¶ Furthermore, whereas the ſtory of the ſayde Inquiſition being ſet out in the Frenche tongue doth recken the number of the martyrs aboue mentioned, to be thirty: and yet in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but xxviij. here is therefore to be noted, that eyther this number lacked two of thirty: or els that 2. of the ſayde company were returned backe without iudgement, into the priſon agayne.

¶ And thus much for this preſent, touching the proceeding of the church of Spayne, in their Inquiſition agaynſt the Lutheranes, that is, agaynſt the true and faythfull ſeruauntes of Jeſus Chriſt. Albeit there be other countryes alſo beſides Spayne, ſubiect vnto the ſame Inquiſition, as Neaples, and Sicily: in which kingdome of Sicilie, I heare it credibly reported that euery thyrd yeare are brought forth to iudgement and execution, a certeine number after the like ſort of chriſtian martyrs, ſome times 12. ſome times 6. ſome times more, and ſome times leſſe. Amongeſt whome there was one, much about ẏ ſame yere aboue mentioned. an. 1559. who comming from Geneua, vnto Sicilie, vpon zeale to do good, was at laſt layd hand of, and being cõdẽned the ſame time, to the fire, as he ſhould take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be ſtrãgled, hauing the cord ready about his necke: but he notwithſtanding, refuſed the ſame, and ſayde that he would feele the fire: and ſo endured he, ſinging with all his might vnto the Lord, till he was depriued both of ſpeach and life, in the middeſt of the flame: ſuch was the admirable conſtancy and fortitude of that valiant ſouldiour of Chriſt, as is witneſſed to me by him, whiche beeing there preſent the ſame tyme, did both then ſee that which he doth teſtify, and alſo doth now teſtify that he then ſaw.

A Chriſti
martyr bu
ned in Sic
lie.

¶ Now it remayneth further, according to my promiſe, in like order of a compendious table, to cõprehend alſo ſuch Martyrs, as ſuffered for the verity and true teſtimony of the Goſpell, in the places and countryes of Italy: which Table conſequently here next enſueth to be declared.

¶ A Table of ſuch Martyrs as ſuffered for the teſtimony of the Goſpell in Italy.

✽ The Italian Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Certayne popiſh Spaniardes. at Rome.	N. Encenas otherwiſe called Dryander. At Rome. An. 1546.	This Encenas, or Dryander, a ſpaniard borne at Burges, was brother to Franciſcus Encenas ẏ learned man, ſo oft before mentioned, & was alſo ẏ teacher or inſtructor in knowledge of religion, to Diazius the godly martyr aboue recorded. He was ſet of his ſuperſtitious parents, beinge younge vnto rome. Who there after long cõtinuance growing vp in age & knowledge but eſpecially being inſtructed by the lord in the truth of his woord, after hee was knowne to miſlike the Popes doctrine, & the

Encenas, or Dryander, martyr.

impure doinges at Rome, was apprehended and taken of certayne of his owne country men, and ſome of his owne houſeholde frends at Rome at the ſame time, when he was preparing to take his iourney to his brother Frãces Encenas in Germany. Thus he being betrayed and taken by his cõtrymen, was brought before the Cardinals, and there committed ſtraight to priſon. Afterward he was brought forth to geue teſtimonye of his doctrine, whiche he in the preſence of the Cardinalles, and in the face of all the Popes retinue, boldly and conſtantly defended. So that not onely the Cardinals, but eſpecially the ſpaniardes, being therewith offended, cryed out vppon him that he ſhould be burned. The Cardinalles, firſt before the ſentence of death ſhould be geuen, came to him, offering if he would take it (after the maner of the Spaniardes) the badge of reconciliation, whiche hath the name of Sanbenites cloth, made in forme of a mantle, going both before him and behinde hym, with ſignes of the redde Croſſe. But Encenas ſtyll conſtant in the profeſſion of trueth, denyed to receiue any other condition or badge, but onely the badge of the Lord: which was to ſeale the doctrine of his religion, with the teſtimony of his bloud. At laſt, the matter was brought to that iſſue, that the faythfull ſeruaunt and witnes of Chriſt was iudged and condemned to the fire, where he in the ſight of the Cardinals, and in the face of the Apoſtolicall ſea pretenſed, gaue vp his life for teſtimony of the Goſpell. Ex Pantal. lib. 6. Ex Criſp. & alijs.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

¶ And for ſo much as mention hath bene made both in this ſtory, and many other before of Franciſcus Encenas his brother: here is not to be pretermitted, how the ſayd Franciſcus being a man of notable learning as euer was any in Spayne being in the Emperors Court at Bruxels, offered vnto the Emperour Charles the fift the newe Teſtament of Chriſt tranſlated into Spaniſhe. For the whyche he was caſt into Priſon, where he remayned in ſorrowfull captiuity and calamitye, the ſpace of fifteene monethes

The impri
ſonment
and eſcape
of Franci
cus Encena

monethes, looking for nothing more, then preſent death. At laſt through the merueilous prouidence of almighty God, the firſt day of February. ann. 1545. at viij. of the clocke after ſupper, he found the doores of the priſon ſtanding open, and he ſecretly was anſwered in his minde, to take the occaſion offered, and to ſhift for himſelfe: and ſo he iſſuing out of the priſon without any haſty paſe, but goyng as leiſurely as he could, eſcaped from thence and went ſtraight to Germany.

Faninus, martyr.

Perſecutors	Martyrs	The Cauſes
Pope Iulius the thyrd.	Faninus. At Ferraria. An. 1550.	Faninus, borne in Fauentia, a towne in Italy through the reading of godly bookes tranſlated into the Italian tongue (hauyng no perfect ſkill in the Latin) was conuerted frō great blindnes to the wholeſome knowledge of Chriſt, and of his word: wherein he tooke ſuch a ſweetnes and ſo grewe vp in the meditation of the ſame that hee was able in ſhort time to inſtruct other. Neither was there anye dilligence lacking in him to communicate, that abroad which he had receyued of the Lord: being ſo in his mind perſwaded, that a man receiuing by the ſpirite of God the knowledge and illumination of his veritie, ought in no caſe to hide the ſame in ſilence, as a candle vnder a buſhell:

And therefore being occupyed dilligently in that behalfe, albeit he vſed not publickely to preache, but by pryuate conference to teache, hee was at length by the popes clientes eſpied, apprehended and committed to priſon. Albeit he remayned not long in the priſon: For by the earneſt perſwaſions and prayers of hys wife, his children, and other frendes, he was ſo ouercome, that he gaue ouer, and ſo was diſmiſſed ſhortly out of priſon. After this, it was not long, but he fel into horrible perturbation of mind: Inſomuch that vnles the great mercy of God had kept him vp, hee had fallen in vtter deſperation, for ſlipping from the trueth, and preferring the loue of his friendes and kinred, before the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, whome he ſo earneſtly before had profeſſed. This wound went ſo deepe into his hart, that he could in no caſe be quieted before he had fully fixed and determined in hys mind to aduenture his life more faithfully in the ſeruice of the Lord.

Faninus ouercome by his wife and brethren,

Wherupon he being thus inflamed with zeale of ſpirite, went about all the countrey of Romaigna, publikely preaching the pure doctrine of the Goſpell not wont great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring it ſo fell out, that he was apprehended againe, an. 1547. in a place called Bagnacanallo, where alſo he was condemned to be burned, but he ſaid his houre was not yet come, and the ſame to be but the beginning of his doctrine, and ſo it was, for ſhortly after he was remoued vnto Ferraria, where he was deteined ij. yeares. At laſt yͤ Inquiſitours of the popes hereſies condemned hym to death, an. 1549. and yet his tyme beyng not come, he remayned after that to the moneth of September, an. 1550. In the meane time many faythfull and good men came to viſite him: for the which the pope commanded him to be incloſed in ſtraiter cuſtody: wherein he ſuffered great tormentes yͤ ſpace of 18. monethes and yet had ſuffered greater, if the Dominick Friers might haue got him into their houſe, as they went about. Thus Faninus remoued from priſon to priſon, many times chaunged his place, but neuer altered hys conſtancy.

Faninus againe impriſoned.

At length he was brought into a priſon, where were diuers great Lordes, Captaynes and noble perſonages there committed, for ſtirring vp commotions and factions (as the countrey of Italy is full of ſuch) who at firſt, hearing him ſpeake, beganne to ſet him at light, and to deride him: ſuppoſing that it was but a melancholy humor that trobled his brain, wherupon, ſuch as ſeemed more ſage amongſt them began to exhort him to leaue hys opinion, & to lyue with men as other men do, and not to vexe his mind but to ſuſpend hys iudgement, till the matter were decided in a generall Councell. To whome Faninus agayne, firſt geuing them thankes for their friendly good willes: wherwith they ſeemed to reſpecte hys well doyng, modeſtly and quietly declared vnto thē how the doctrine which he profeſſed was no humore nor opinion of mans brayne, but the pure veritie of God, founded in hys worde, and reuealed to men in the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and eſpecially nowe in theſe dayes, reſtored: whiche veritie he had fully determined in his minde neuer to renye to beleeue the lying phantaſies of men. And as in his ſoule, whiche was redeemed by the bloud of the ſonne of God, hee was free from all bondage; ſo likewiſe as touchyng Counſels, he looked for no other ſentence nor authority (he ſayd) but that onely whiche hee knewe to be declared to vs by Chriſt Ieſus, in hys Goſpel, whiche both he preached wyth hys word, and confirmed with hys bloud &c. with theſe and ſuch other wordes he ſo moued theyr myndes, that they were cleane altered vnto a new kynde of lyfe, hauing hym nowe in admiration, whom they had before in deriſion, and recounted hym for an holye perſon. To whome hee proceeded ſtill to preach the word of grace declaring and confeſſing hymſelfe to be a miſerable ſinner, but by the fayth of the Lorde Ieſus, & through the grace onely of hym, he was fully perſwaded and well aſſured hys ſinnes to be forgeuen: like as al theyr ſinnes alſo ſhalbe remitted to the through their fayth onely in Chriſt, beleuing hys Goſpell.

The modeſt anſwere of Faninus to his felow priſoners.

There were other alſo beſides theſe, who hauing vſed before, a more delicate kinde of lyfe, coulde not well away wt the ſharpenes and hardnes of yͤ priſon. Theſe alſo receaued ſuch comfort by the ſayde Faninus, that not onely they were quietly contented, but alſo reioyſed in this theyr captiuitie, by the occaſion whereof they had receaued and learned a better libertie, then euer they knew before.

Priſoners conuerted by Faninus.

When the priſonment of thys Faninus was knowne to hys parentes and kinſfolke, hys wyfe & ſiſter came to hym with weeping perſwaſions, to moue hym to conſider and care for hys poore family, To whom he anſwered agayn, that hys Lord and mayſter had cōmanded him not to deny hym for lookyng to his family, and that it was enough for them that he had once for theyr ſakes fallen into yͤ cowardlines, whiche they knew: wherefore he deſired them to depart in peace, and ſollicite hym no more therein for hys end (he ſayd) he knew to drawe neare, and ſo he commended them vnto the Lord.

About the ſame tyme dyed Pope Paulus the 3. and after hym ſucceded Iulius the 3. whiche then ſent letters and commaundement, that Faninus ſhuld be executed. Wherof, whē one of yͤ magiſtrates officers brought hym word the next day, he reioyſed therat, and gaue the meſſenger thankes, and began to preache a long ſermon to them that were aboute hym, of the felicitie and beatitude of the life to come. Then the meſſeger exhorted hym, yͭ in caſe he would change hys opinion, he ſhould ſaue both thys lyfe, & enioy that to come. An other aſked hym in what caſe he ſhould leaue his little children and hys wyfe, or what ſtay ſhould they be at, he ſo leauing thē: wherfore he deſired hym to haue reſpect both to hymſelfe, and to them. Faninus anſwered, yͭ he had left them with an ouerſeer, which woulde ſee vnto them ſufficiently. And being aſked who he was, the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt (ſayd he) a faythfull keeper and a conſeruer of all yͭ is committed to hym. After that the meſſenger was thus departed from Faninus all full of teares and ſorrow: the next daye following he was remoued into the common priſon, and deliuered to the ſecular magiſtrate, who in all his wayes, hys wordes, hys geſtures and countenaunce, declared ſuch conſtancy of faith, ſuch modeſty of manners, and tranquillitie of mynde, that they which before were exaſperated againſt hym, thinking hym rather to haue a deuill, began nowe fauourably to harken to hym, and to commend hym. With ſuch grace and ſweetenes he talked, euer ſpeaking of the worde of God,

Pope Iulius the third.

Chriſt preferred before wife and children.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes

that diuers of the Magiſtrates wyues in hearyng him, could not abſtayne from weeping. The executioner alſo wept himſelf. One of the publicke Scribes then came to hym and ſayd, that if he woulde relent from his opinion, the Popes pleaſure was, that he ſhould be ſaued: but that he refuſed. This was marueilous, that he hauing but ſmall ſkill in the Latine yet recited ſo many and ſondry places of the Scripture without booke, and that ſo truely and promptly, as though he had ſtudyed nothing els. One ſeyng him ſo iocound and mery goyng to hys death, aſked why he was ſo mery at his death, ſeing Chriſt himſelfe ſweat bloud and water before his paſſion? Chriſt (ſayd he) ſuſtayned in hys body, all yͤ ſorowes and conflictes with hell and death, due vnto vs: by whoſe ſuffering we are deliuered from ſorrowe and feare of them all. Finally, early in the morning hee was brought forth where he ſhould ſuffer. who after his prayers moſte earneſtlye made vnto the Lorde, meekly & paciently gaue himſelfe to the ſtake, where with a corde drawne about his neck, he was ſecretly ſtrangled of the hangman, in the Cittie of Ferraria, three houres before day, to the intent yͤ people ſhuld not ſee him, nor heare him ſpeake: and after, about dinner time, his body in the ſame place was burned. At the burning whereof, ſuch a fragrant and odoriferous ſent came to all them there preſent, and ſo ſtroke theyr ſenſes, that the ſweetenes therof ſemed to refreſh them no leſſe, then hys wordes would haue done, if they had heard him ſpeake.

Life refuſed.

How Chriſt feared death himſelfe, & yet hath he taken away the feare of death from others.

A myracle as it is reported.

The cuſtome is of that cittie, that the bones and aſhes which be lefte, ſhould be caryed out of the city but neyther the magiſtrate, nor the Byſhop, nor hys great Vicar or Chauncellor, nor anye Diuine els, would take any charge thereof, euery man transferring that burden from themſelues, to him whiche was the cauſe of hys death. wherby it may appeare, what ſecret iudgement and eſtimation, all they had of that good bleſſed man. At laſt the people tooke his burned bones, with the cinders, and caried them out of the ſtreete of the Citie. Ex Henri. Pantal, lib. 7. Ex Ioan Criſp. pag. 363.

The death and martyrdome of Faninus.

The name of the perſecutor in the ſtory appeareth not.

Dominicus de Baſana.

At Placentia.

Ann. 1550.

The ſame yeare yͤ the foreſayd Faninus ſuffered in Ferraria, Dominicus alſo ſuffered in the Citie of Placentia. This Dominicus was Citizen in Baſana, and followed the warres of Charles the Emperour in Germany: where he receiued the firſt taſte of Chriſtes goſpel. wherin he encreaſed more & more by conferring & reaſoning with learned men, ſo yͤ in ſhorte tyme hee was able to inſtruct many, and ſo did, working and traueling in the Churche till at length in yͤ yeare 1550. he comming to yͤ City of Naples, there preached the worde, & from thence proceding to Placencia, preached there likewiſe vnto yͤ people, of true confeſſion, of Purgatorye, & of Pardons: Furthermore, the next day entreated of true faythe & of good workes, howe farre they are neceſſary to ſaluation, promiſing moreouer yͤ nexte daye to ſpeake of Antichriſt and to paynt him out in his colours. when the houre came that he ſhould begin hys ſermon, the magiſtrate of the cittye commaunded hym to come downe from the chayre in the market place, & deliuered him to the officers. Dominicus was willing & ready to obey the commaundement, ſaying that hee did much maruayle, that the deuill could ſuffer hym ſo long in that kind of exerciſe. From thence he was led to the biſhops Chauncellour, and aſked whether he was a prieſt, and how he was placed in that function. He anſwered that he was no prieſt of the pope but of Ieſus Chriſt, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demaunded whether he would renounce hys doctrine. He anſwered, that he mayntayned no doctrine of hys owne, but onely the doctrine of Chriſt, whiche alſo he was readye to ſeale with hys bloud: and alſo gaue harty thankes to God, whiche ſo accepted hym as worthye to glorifie hys name with his martyrdome. Vpon this he was committed to a filthy and ſtinking priſon. where after he had remayned a few monthes, he was exhorted diuers tymes to reuoke: otherwiſe he ſhould ſuffer: but ſtill he remayned conſtaunt in hys doctrine. wherupon when the tyme came aſſigned for his puniſhment, he was brought to the market place, wher he preached, and there was hanged. who moſt hartely praying for his enemies, ſo finiſhed his dayes in this miſerable wretched world. Ex Pantal. lib. 7.

Dominicus de Balana, martyr.

Antichriſt can not abyde to be detected.

The mar dome of Domini de Baſſa

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.

The byſhop of Santangelo, & hys prieſtes.

At the Cittye called Laus Pompeia, in Italy.

Galeazius Trecius.

Ann. 1551.

Santangelo is a certayne fortreſſe or caſtle in Italy, within Lombardy, not farre from the Cittye called Laus Pompeia, belongyng alſo to the ſame dioces In this fort of Santangelo was an houſe of Auguſtine Friers vnto whome vſed muche to reſorte, a certayne fryer of the ſame order dwelling at Pauia, named Maianardus, a man well expert in the ſtudy of ſcripture, and of a godly conuerſation. By this Maianardus, diuers not onely of the Fryers, but alſo of other townesmen, were reduced to the loue & knowledge of Gods worde, & to the deteſtatiõ of the popes abuſes. Amõg whom was alſo this Galeazius, a gentle man of a good calling, & welthy in worldly ſubſtaunce and very beneficiall to the poore. who firſt by conference with yͤ fryers, and alſo with hys brother in law, began to conceaue ſome light in Gods truth, and afterwarde was confirmed more thoroughly by Cælius Secundus Curio, who then being driuen by perſecution, came from Pauia, to the ſayd place of Santangelo. In proces of tyme, as this Galeazius encreaſed in iudgement and zeale, in ſettyng forward the wholeſome word of Gods grace: as a light ſhining in darkenes, coulde not ſo lye hyd, but at laſt, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1551. certayne were ſent from the forenamed Cittie of Laus Pompeia, to lay handes vppon hym, and brought hym to the biſhops Pallace, where he was kept in bandes, hauing vnder hym but onely a pad of ſtraw. Although his wife ſent vnto him a good fetherbed, with ſhetes to lye in, yet the Byſhops chaplaynes and officers kept it frõ him, deuiding the pray among thẽſelues.

Galeazi Trecius, martyr.

The iniurious & fradulent dealyng of the Papiſtes,

When the tyme came that he ſhould be examined he was thriſe brought before the Commiſſioners, where he rendered reaſons and cauſes of hys fayth, anſwering to theyr interrogatories, wᵗ ſuch euidence of Scriptures, & conſtancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that that heard hym. Albeit not long after, through the importunate perſwaſions of hys kinſfolkes & frendes, and other colde Goſpellers, laying many conſiderations before hys eyes: he

Galeazius relenteth,

Galeazius epenteth.

he was brought at length, to aſſent to certain points of the popes doctrine. But yet the mercye of God, which began with him, ſo left him not, but brought him agayne to ſuche repentance, & bewayling of his facte, that he became afterward, according to the example of Peter, and S. Cyprian, and other, doublewiſe more valiaunt in defence of Chriſtes quarrell: neither did he euer deſire any thing more, then occaſion to be offered, to recouer agayne by confeſſion, that he had loſt before by denyall: affirming that hee neuer felt more ioy of hart, then at the tyme of his examinations, where hee ſtoode thriſe to the conſtant confeſſion of the truth: and contrary that he neuer taſted more ſorrow in al his life, then when he ſlipt afterward from the ſame, by diſſimulation: Declaryng moreouer to hys brethren, that death was muche more ſweete vnto him, with teſtimony of the veritie then life with the leaſt denyall of truth, and looſſe of a good conſcience. Thus Galeazius mourning for his fall in priſon, after he heard of his friendes, that nothing was yet ſo farre paſt, but that he might recouer hymſelfe agayne, and that his infirmitie was not preiudiciall, but rather a furtheraunce to Gods glory, and admonition to himſelfe to ſtande more ſtrongly hereafter, tooke thereby exceeding comfort: And when they would haue left with him a booke of the new teſtament, for his comfort: he refuſed it, saying yͭ hee had it in hys hart, whatſoeuer Chriſt there ſpake to hys Diſciples: Alſo what happened both to Chriſt himſelfe and to his Apoſtles, for confeſſing yͤ word of trueth.

A ſentence a martyr, be marked.

Furthermore, ſo comfortable was hee after that, that they which talked wyth him, continued all the day without meate or drincke, and woulde alſo haue taried all the night following, if they might haue ben ſuffered. As Galeazius thus continued in the priſon looking for ſome occaſion to recouer himſelfe agayn from his fall, it followed in ſhort time, that the Inquiſitors and prieſtes repayred to him againe in the priſon, ſuppoſing that he would confirme now that whiche before he had graunted to them, and required him ſo to do. Galeazius renying all that hee had graunted to them before, returned agayne to the defence of hys former doctrine: with muche more boldnes of ſpirite, confeſſing Chriſt as he did before: and deteſted Images, affirming and prouing yͭ god onely is to be worſhipped, and that in ſpirite and veritie: Alſo to be no mo mediators but Chriſt alone, and that hee onely and ſufficiently by his ſuffering, hath taken away the ſinnes of the whole worlde: & that all they which depart hence in this fayth, are aſcertained of euerlaſting life: they whiche doe not, are vnder euerlaſting damnation: with ſuche other lyke matter, which was repugnant vtterly to the popes proceedinges. With this confeſſion made, as hys minde was greatly refreſhed, ſo the aduerſaries wer away as much apaulled. Who at laſt perceiuing that he in no caſe could be reuoked, cauſed hym to be cōmitted to the ſecular iudge to be burned.

Galeazius returneth to his former confeſſion of truth.

Galeazius committed to the ſecular power.

Thus Galeazius early in the morning, beyng brought out of priſō to the market place, there was left ſtanding bound to the ſtake till noone, as a gazing ſtocke for all men to looke vpon. In the whiche meane tyme, many came about hym, exhorting hym to recant, & not ſo to caſt awaye his life, where as wͭ x. wordes ſpeaking he might ſaue it. And if he paſſed not for hys lyfe nor for hys country where he ſhould lyue nor for his goodes and poſſeſſions, whiche ſhuld be confiſcate, yet he ſhuld ſomewhat reſpect his wife whom he loued ſo well, and hys young children: at leaſt he ſhould conſider hys owne ſoule. This counſayle gaue they whiche more eſteemed the commodities of this preſent lyfe, thē any true ſoules health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing coulde ſtir the ſetlet minde of this valiaunt Martyr. Wherfore fire was commaunded at laſt, to be put to the drye wood about him, wherwith he was ſhortly extincted wͭout any noyſe or crying, ſauing onely theſe wordes heard in the middle of the flame: Lord Ieſu. Thys was an. 1551. Nouemb. 24.

The death and deceaſe of Galeazius.

Touching the ſtory of this bleſſed Martyr, thys by the way is to be geuen for a Memorandum. That a litle before this Galeazius ſhould be burned, there was a controuerſie betweene the Mayor of the citty and the byſhops clergy, for the expenſes of the wood that ſhould goe to his burning. He hearing thereof, ſent word to both the parties, to agree, for hee hym ſelfe of his owne goodes woulde ſee the coſte of that matter diſcharged.

An other note moreouer here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captiuitie, certayne of the Papiſts perceauing that Galeazius had great goods and poſſeſſions, practiſed with his wife, vnder color to releaſe her huſband, yͭ ſhe ſhould lay out a ſumme of mony to be ſent to the wife of the chiefe Lorde of Millain (called Ferrarus Gonzaga) to the end yͭ ſhe ſhould intreat both with her huſband, and with the Senate for Galeazius life. Which money when they had thus iugled into theyr handes, ſo was the ſeely woman robbed and defeated both of her huſband, and alſo of her money. Ex Cælio.

D. Ioan. Mollius, martyr.

Perſecutors	Martyrs
Cornelius, profeſſor of Bononie.	D. Ioannes Mollius, a gray Frier.
Campeius Cardinall.	
Cardinall de Capo.	A certayn Weauer of Peruſium.
Bonauentura Generall.	
Vi. Cardinals.	At Rome.
Pope Iulius the thyrd.	Ann. 1553.

Ioan. Mollius Montilcinus, beyng but 12. yeares olde, with hys brother Auguſtinus, was ſet of hys parents in the houſe of yͤ graye Fryers, where hee in ſhorte tyme hauyng a freſh wit, far excelled his fellowes in al tongues and liberall ſciences. So growing vp to the age of 18. he was ordeyned prieſt, & ſang hys firſt Maſſe. After that hee was ſent to Ferraria to ſtudye, where hee ſo profited in the ſpace of 6. yeres, that hee was aſſigned by Vigerius, General of yͤ order, to be Doctor and then reader in Diuinitie: who then wͭ his ſophiſtry oppoſed hymſelf as an vtter enemy againſt the goſpell. From thence hee went to Brixia, & the next yeare following to Millayn, where he read or profeſſed openly. Againe, from hence hee was taken by Franciſcus, Sforzia, and brought to the Vniuerſitie of Papia, there openly to confeſſe Philoſophy. Where hee remayned foure yeares. After that he was called to the Vniuerſitie of Bononie by Laurentius Spatha, Generall of that order, whereas he was occupyed in readyng the bookes of Ariſtotle De Anima. In the meane tyme God wrought in hys ſoule ſuche lyght of hys word, and of true Religion, that hee waxing weary of profeſſing Philoſophy, began ſecretly to expound the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Rom. to a few which beyng knowne, hys auditors increaſed ſo faſt that he was compelled to read openly in the Tēple, whereas the number of his audience dayly augmēted, ſo the eger feruency of theyr mindes ſo mightely encreaſed withall, that euery man almoſt: came with hys penne and inke to write, and great dilligence was beſtowed how to come betyme, to take vp the firſt places, where they might beſt heare, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1538. There was yͤ ſame tyme at Bononie, one Cornelius an arrogant babler, who enueying the doynges of this Ioannes, toke vppon hym, at the requeſt of Cardinall Campeius, to expound the ſayd Epiſtle of Sainct Paule confuting and diſprouing the explanation of yͤ ſayde Iohn, and extolling the pope withal his traditions. Contrary, Iohn extolled and commended onely Chriſt, and hys merites to the people. But the purpoſe of Cornelius came to ſmall effect. For the auditors whiche firſt came to him, beganne by little to fall from hym and the concourſe of the other mans auditors, more and more encreaſed.

Laurentius Spatha, generall of the gray Friers.

Cornelius and Cardinal Campeius, perſecutors.

Which when Cornelius perceaued, hee perſwaded Campeius, that vnleſſe hee prouided that man to be diſpatched, the eſtimation of the Churche of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bryng theyr purpoſe about, ſecretly thys way was deuiſed, that Cornelius & Ioannes ſhuld come to opē diſputatiō: which diſputatiō endured til 3. of the clocke after midnight. At length, when neyther

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ther part coulde agree, Ioannes was bid to returne home to his houſe. Who as he was come downe to the lower ſteps, where the place was moſt ſtraiteſt ſo that his frendes could not come to reſcue him (although by drawing theyr ſwordes they declared their good willes) was theyr taken and layd faſt in priſon. When the day came, ſuche tumulte and ſtirre was in the whole Cittie, that Cornelius was driuen to hide himſelfe. Alſo Campeius the Cardinall, with the biſhop there, were both contemned of the ſtudentes. The next day, yͤ Biſhop of Bononie ſent his Chãcelour to Iohn in the priſon, to ſignifie vnto him, yͭ either he muſt recant, or els burne. But he beyng of a bold & cheerefull ſpirite, would in no wiſe be brought to recant. This one thing greeued him, that hee ſhould be condemned, his cauſe being not heard.

Mollius taken and impriſoned by Card. Campeius.

Mollius deliuered out of priſon by meanes of Spatha the generall.

Mollius appeareth before the Pope.

* The Popes church can not abide S. Paules Epiſtles.

* Paules Epiſtles muſt geue place to Philoſophie.

In the meane ſeaſon, Laurentius Spatha aboue mentioned, being generall of that order, in moſt ſpedy wiſe poſted vp to Rome, & there ſo practiſed with the Cardinall S. Crucis, the Proctor in the court of Rome, for the gray Fryers, that the Pope wrote downe his letters to Campeius, that he ſhoulde deliuer the ſayd Iohn out of priſon: ſo that he notwithſtanding, within 3. monthes after, ſhould perſonally appeare at Rome. Thus the 30. daye of hys impriſonment he was deliuered: who but for comming of the popes letters, had bene burned within 3. daies after. Moreouer, with the ſayde Mollius, Cornelius alſo was cited, to make hys appearance likewyſe at Rome, and there was deteined in priſon by the Cardinall S. Crucis, till hys cauſe ſhoulde be decided. The frendes of Mollius gaue hym counſayle not to go to Rome, & offred hym mony to go to Germany: but he would not, ſaying that the Goſpell muſt alſo be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, & appeared before Pope Paule 3. humbly hee deſired, that the cauſe being ſo weighty, might come in publicke hearyng, but that could not be obtayned. Then was he cõmaunded to write his minde in Articles, and to bring his proofes: which he dilligetly performed, entreating of Originall ſinne, Iuſtification by fayth, Free will, Purgatory and other ſuch like: prouing the ſayd articles by the authoritie of the Scripture, and of auncient fathers, and ſo exhibited the ſame to the byſh. of Rome. Vpon this, certain Cardinals and Biſhops were aſſigned to haue the cauſe in hearing, who diſputed with him 3. dayes, & could not refell that which he had proued. At laſt, anſwere was made vnto him thus, that it was trueth which he affirmed, neuertheleſſe the ſame was not meet for this preſent tyme, for that it coulde not be taught or publiſhed, without the detriment of the Apoſtolicke ſea: wherefore he ſhould abſteyne hereafter from the *Epiſtles of S. Paule, and ſo returne agayne ſafe to Bononie, & there profeſſe * Philoſophy. Thus, as he was returned to Bononie, and al men there were deſirous to know of his caſe, how he ſped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all thinges in order as they were done, and gaue God thankes.

Mollius in great daunger at Neaples.

Mollius the ſecond tyme apprehended for reading S. Pauls Epiſtles.

Mollius agayne deliuered.

Herewith Campeius beyng more offended then before, obteyned of the Pope, that the generall of the order ſhould remoue the ſayd Iohn Mollius from Bononie, and place him ſome other where. So Mollius from thence was ſent to Neaples, & there was appoynted reader and preacher in the Monaſtery of S. Laurence. But Petrus the Viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, ſo neerely ſought his death that he had much adoe to eſcape with lyfe, and ſo departing frõ thence, he went wandring into Italy from place to place, preaching Chriſt, wherſoeuer he came. Not long after this, when Cardinall Cãpeius was dead he was called againe vnto Bononie by a good Abbot, named De Graſsis. an. 1543. where hee renued again yͤ reading of S. Paules Epiſtle, after a ſecret ſort, as he did before, but yͭ could not be long vndiſcouered. Wherupon by yͤ meanes of Cardinall de Capo, and by Bonauentura the generall, he was apprehended the ſecond tyme, and brought to Fauentia, & layd there in a filthy & ſtincking priſon, where he continued foure yeres, no man hauing leaue once to come to him. During which tyme of his indurãce he wrote a Commentary vpon the bookes of Moſes but that labour by the maligntie of the aduerſaryes was ſuppreſſed. At length through the interceſſion of the Earle Petilianus, and of the foreſaid good Abbot De Graſsis, he was agayn deliuered, and ſent to

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Rauenna, where he made hys abode a few months with the Abbot ad S. Vitalem, & there agayne taught the Goſpell of Chriſt, as before: and whenſoeuer hee ſpake of the name of Ieſu, hys eyes dropt teares, for he was fraught with a mighty feruency of gods holy ſpirite.

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Weauer,

In proces of tyme, when this Abbot was dead, his ſureties began to be weary of theyr bond, and ſo was he agayne now the thyrd tyme, reduced into priſon by the popes Legates. There were then 4. men of great authoritie, who beyng ſtyrred vp of GOD, had pitty vpon hym, and bayled hym out of priſon. Of whom, one of the ſayd ſureties tooke yͤ ſayd Mollius home, to inſtruct hys children in the doctrine of religion, and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man, ſuche a concourſe of people came to ſee him, that the aduerſaryes beganne to conſult wyth themſelues, to kill hym, leaſt hys doctrine ſhuld diſparſe farther abroad, to the detriment of the Churche of Rome. Wherupon commaundement was ſent to the popes Legates, to lay handes vpon hym and to ſend hym vp faſt bound to Rome. Where agayne, now the fourth tyme, he was impriſoned in the Caſtle of Rome, and there continued 18. monthes, being greatly aſſaulted, ſometimes with flattering promiſes, ſometyme with terrible threates, to geue ouer hys opinion, but hys building could not be ſhaken, for it was grounded vpon a ſure rocke. Thus Doct. Mollius beyng conſtant in the defence of Chriſtes Goſpell, was brought, wᵗ certayn other men (which were alſo apprehẽded for religion) into the Temple of S. Mary (called De Minerua) the 5. daye of Septemb. an. 1553. either there to reuoke, or to be burned There ſate vpon them 6. Cardinals in high ſeates, beſide the Iudge: before whome preached a Dominicke Fryer, which cruelly inueighing agaynſt the poore priſoners, incenſed the Cardinals, with al the vehemency he might, to theyr condemnation. The poore men ſtoode holding a burning taper in theyr handes: Of whome ſome for feare of death reuolted. But this Doctor Mollius, with a Weauer of Peruſium, remayned conſtant. Then Mollius began an earneſt ſermon in the Italian tongue, wherein hee confirmed the Articles of the fayth, by yͤ ſacrete ſcriptures, declaring alſo that the pope was not the ſucceſſour of Peter, but Antichriſt: and his ſectaryes do figure the whore of Babilon. Moreouer he cited thẽ vp to the Tribunall ſeate of Chriſt, and threw away the burning taper from hym. Wherupon they being repleniſhed with anger, condemned hym with the weauer to the fire, and commaunded them to be had away. So were they caried incontinent to the camp or fielde called Florianum. Where they remayned cheerefull and conſtant. Firſt the Weauer was hanged. Mollius then willing the hangman to execute hys office lykewiſe vpon hym, began to exhorte the people to beware of Idolatry, & to haue no other ſauiours but Chriſt alone: for he onely is the mediator betweene God and man. And ſo was he alſo hanged commending hys ſoule to God, and afterward layd in the fire and burned. The people hauing diuers iudgementes vpon hym, ſome ſayd he dyed an hereticke, ſome ſayd he was a good man. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 19. an. 1543.

Two monkes of the houſe of S. Auſten in Rome.

At Rome.

Ann. 1554.

Furthermore, in the ſame Cittye of Rome, and about the ſame time, in the Monaſtery of Saint Auſten, were found two Monkes in their Celles with theyr tonges and theyr heades cut of, onely for rebukyng the immoderate & outragious exceſſe of the Cardinals, as witneſſeth Manlius. Suche was the cruelty then of the malignant aduerſaryes. Ex Ioan. Manl. in dictis Phil. Melanct.

Two Auguſtine Mõ
Martyrs.

Frances

Franciſcus Gamba, martyr.

The blynde iudgement of the world in Gods matters.

Patience in perſecution.

Frances Gamba his tongue bored thorough.

Pomponius Algerius, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Senate of Millain.	Franciſcus Gamba. At the City of Comũ in the dioces of Millian. Ann. 1554.	Fraunces Gamba borne in the Cittye of Brixia in Lobardie, after he had receaued the knowledge of the goſpell, went to Geneua, to conferre about certain neceſſary affayres with them that were wiſe & learned in that Church which was about the time, whẽ the Lordes Supper there was adminiſtred at Penticoſte: who there alſo at the ſame tyme, did communicate with them. Afterwarde in hys returning home, as he was paſſing ouer the Lake of Come, hee was taken & brought to Come, and and there cõmitted to ward. During the tyme of which impriſonment, diuers and ſondry as well nobles, as others with Doctors alſo, eſpecially prieſtes and monkes, reſorted vnto hym, laboring by all maner of meanes, & moſt fayre promiſes to reduce hym frõ his opinions: which ſemed to ſome but phantaſies, comming of ſome humors, to ſome they ſemed vncatholicke or hereticall. But hee conſtantly diſputing wͭ them by the manifeſt ſcriptures declared the opinions whiche he defended, not to be any vayn ſpeculations or imaginary phantaſies of mans doting brayne, but yͤ pure verity of God, and yͤ euident doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus expreſſed in hys word, neceſſary for all men to beleue, & alſo to maintayn vnto death: and therefore, for hys part, rather then he would be found falſe to Chriſt, & his word he was there ready, not to deny, but to ſtand to Chriſts Goſpel, to the effuſion of hys bloud. Thus when he coulde in no wiſe be reclaymed frõ yͤ doctrine of trueth, letters came from the Senate of Millain, that he ſhould be executed wͭ death. which execution, as they of Comum were about to prepare, in yͤ mean while came other letters from Geneua, writtẽ by the Emperours Ambaſſadour, and other nobles of Millain by yͤ which letters his death was delayed for a tyme till at length, other letters were ſent from the Senate againe of Millain, requiring execution of yͤ ſentence. Neuertheles, through interceſſion of his friendes, one weekes reſpite more was graunted hym, to proue whether he might be wonne agayne to the popes Church, that is to ſay, loſt from God. Thus he being mightely & long aſſayled both by friendes, & by enemies terrified, yet by no perſwaſions would be expugned, but gaue thankes to God, yͭ hee was made worthy to ſuffer the rebukes of this world, and cruell death, for the teſtimonye of hys ſonne, and ſo went he chearfully vnto hys death. Then came certayn Franciſcan Fryers to hym, to heare his confeſſion, whiche he refuſed. Alſo they brought in theyr handes, a croſſe for him to behold, to keep hym from deſperation, at the feeling of the fire. But hys mynde (he ſayd) was ſo repleniſhed with ioy and comforte in Chriſt, that he needed neither their Croſſe, nor thẽ. After this, as he was declaring manye comfortable things to the people, of the fruition of thoſe heauenly ioyes aboue, whiche God hath prepared for hys, becauſe he ſhould ſpeake no more to the people, hys tongue was bored thorough, and ſo immediately beyng tyed to the ſtake, there was ſtrãgled till he was dead, euery man there geuing teſtimony, which ſaw hys conſtancie, that he dyed a good man. Ex Epiſtola cuiuſdam Nobilis Comenſis apud Henr. Pantal. Lib. 10. & Celium.
Pope Paulus the 4. The Magiſtrates of Venice.	Pomponius Algerius. At Rome. Ann. 1555.	Pomponius Algerius borne in Capua, a young man of great learning, was ſtudent in the Vniuerſitie of Padua, where hee not beyng able to conceale and keepe cloſe the veritie of Chriſtes Goſpell, whiche he learned by the heauenlye teaching of Gods grace, ceaſed not both by doctrine and example of lyfe, to informe as many as he could, in the ſame doctrine, and to bring them to Chriſt. For the whiche he was accuſed of hereſie, to Pope Paulus the fourth. who ſending immediately to the Magiſtrates of Venice, cauſed hym to be apprehended at Puada, & caryed to Venice, where hee was long deteyned in priſon & bandes, till at laſt the Pope commaunded yͤ Magiſtrates there to ſend hym vp boũd vnto Rome: which the Venetians eftſoones accompliſhed. After he was broughe to Rome, manifolde perſwaſions and allurementes were aſſayed to remoue the vertuous and bleſſed younge man, from hys ſentence. But when no worldly perſwaſions could preuayle againſt the operation of Gods ſpirit in hym, then was hee adiudged to be burned aliue, which death moſt conſtãtly he ſuſteyned to the great admiration of all that beheld hym.

Being in priſon at Venice, he wrote an Epiſtle to the afflicted Saintes, whiche for the notable ſweetnes & moſt wonderfull conſolation conteined in the ſame, in ſhewing forth the mighty operatiõ of gods holy power working in hys afflicted Sayntes, that ſuffer for hys ſake: I haue thought good and expedient, to communicate, as a principall monument amõgſt al other Martyrs letters, not onely with yͤ other letters, which ſhalbe inſerted hereafter (yͤ Lord willing) in the end of the booke, but alſo in this preſent place to be read, to yͤ entent that both they which be, or ſhalbe hereafter in affliction, may take conſolation alſo, and alſo that they whiche yet followe the trade of this preſent world, in comparing the ioyes & cõmodities therof, with theſe ioyes here expreſſed, may learne and conſider with themſelues, what difference there is, betwene them both, and therby may learne to diſpoſe themſelues, in ſuch ſort, as maye be to theyr edification, and perpetuall felicitie of theyr ſoules. The copy of the letter, firſt written in Latine we haue tranſlated into Engliſh: the tenour wherof here vnder enſueth.

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¶ A comfortable letter of Pomponius Al*gerius an Italian Martyr.*

¶ To his moſt dearly beloued brethren, and fellow ſeruauntes in Chriſt, which are departed out of Babylon, into Mount Sion: Crace, peace, and health, from GOD our Father, by Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour.

TO mitigate your ſorrowe, whiche you take for me, I cannot but impart vnto you ſome portion of my delectations and ioyes, which I feele and finde, to the intent you with me, may reioyce, and ſing before the Lord, geuing thanks vnto him. I ſhal vtter that, which no man will beleue when I ſhall declare it. I haue found, a neſt of hony and hony combe in the entrals of a Lyon. Who will euer beleue that I ſhall ſay? or what man wil euer think in the deepe darcke doungeon, to finde a Paradiſe of pleaſure? in the place of ſorrow and death, to dwell in tranquillitie and hope of lyfe, in a caue infernall, to be found ioy of ſoule? and where other men doe weepe, there to be reioyſing? where other do ſhake and tremble, theyr ſtrength and boldneſſe to be plenty? Who will euer thinke, or who will beleue thys? in ſuche a woefull ſtate, ſuche delectation? in a place ſo deſolate, ſuch ſocietye of good men? in ſtraite bandes and cold yrons? ſuch reſt to be had? Al theſe thinges, the ſweete hand of the Lorde (my ſweet brethren) doth miniſter vnto me. Behold, he that was once farre from me, now is preſent with me. Whome once ſcarſe I could feele, now I ſee more apparantly: whome once I ſaw a farre of, now I beholde neare at hand: whome once I hungered for, the ſame nowe approcheth and reacheth his hand vnto me He doth comfort mee, and heapeth me vp with gladnes, he driueth away all bitternes, hee miniſtreth ſtrength and courage,he healeth me,refreſheth aduanceth,and comforteth me. O how good is the Lord,whiche ſuffereth not his ſeruauntes to be tempted aboue theyr ſtrength? O how eaſie and ſweete is his yoke?Is there any like vnto the hyeſt, who receaueth the afflicted,healeth the wounded,and nouriſheth them?Is there any like vnto hym? Learne ye welbeloued,howe amiable the Lord is,how meeke and mercifull he is,whiche viſiteth his ſeruauntes in tentations,neither diſdayneth he to keepe company with vs in ſuch vile and ſtincking caues. Will the blynd and incredulous worlde (thinke you) beleeue this? or rather will it not ſay thus?No thou wilt neuer be able to abide long , the burning heate,the cold ſnow,and the pinching hardnes of that place the manifold miſeries,and other greuaunces innumerable: the rebukes,and frowning faces of men howe wilt thou ſuffer ? Doeſt thou not conſider and reuolue in thy minde thy pleaſaunt Country,the riches of the world,thy kinſfolke the dellicate pleaſures, and honours of this lyfe? Doeſt thou forget the ſollace of thy ſciences,and fruite of all thy laboures? Wilt thou thus looſe all thy labours,which thou haſt hitherto ſuſteined?ſo many nightes watched thy paynfull trauailes,and all thy laudable enterpriſes,wherin thou haſt ben exerciſed continually,euen from thy childhood Finally,feareſt thou not death,which hangeth ouer thee,and that for no crime committed? O what a foole art thou, which for one word ſpeaking,mayeſt ſalue all this,and wilt not? What a rude & vnmanerly thing is this, not to be intreated at the inſtant petitions and deſires of ſuche, ſo many and ſo mighty,ſo iuſt,ſo vertuous,ſo prudent,and gratious Senatoures, and ſuche noble perſonages?&c.

But now to aunſwere,let this blinde world harken to this againe:What heate can there be more burning,then that fire,whiche is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewiſe what ſnowe can be more colde,then thy hart whiche is in darckenes, and hath no light? What thyng is more hard and ſharpe,or crooked,then thys preſent lyfe,which heare we leade?What thing more odious and hatefull, then this world here preſent? And let theſe wordly men here aunſwere me:what country can we haue more ſweete , then the heauenly countrey aboue? what treaſures more riche or precious, then euerlaſting lyfe? And who be our kinſmen,but they which heare the word of God?where be greater riches, or dignities more honorable,then in heauen? And as touching the ſciences,let this fooliſh world conſider, be they not ordayned to learn to know God?whom vnles we do know, all our laboures , oure night watchinges,our ſtudyes,and all our enterpriſes ſerue to no vſe or purpoſe,all is but labour loſt. Furthermore let the miſerable worldly man anſwere me,what remedy or ſafe refuge cā there be vnto him,if he lacke God , who is the life and medicine of all men? And howe can he be ſayd to flye from death,when he hymſelfe is already dead in ſinne?If Chriſt be the way, veritie and lyfe, how can there be any lyfe then,without Chriſt? The ſooly heate of the priſon, to me is coldnes:the colde winter to me is a freſhe ſpring time in the Lorde He that feareth not to be burned in the fire,how will he feare the heate of weather?or what careth hee for the pinching froſt, which burneth with the loue of the Lord? the place is ſharpe and tedious to them that be giltye, but to the innocent and giltles,it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dewe, here floweth the pleaſaunt Nectar, here runneth the ſweete milke,here is plenty of al good thinges.And although the place it ſelfe be deſerte and barren, yet to mee it ſeemeth a large walke,and a valley of pleaſure: here to me is the better and more noble part of the world.Let the miſerable worldling ſay and confeſſe,if there be anye plot paſtor, or medowe ſo delightfull to the mind of man,as here?Here I ſee kinges,princes,Citties, and people,here I ſee warres,where ſome be ouerthrown,ſome be victors ſome thruſt downe,ſome lifted vp.Here is the mount Sion: here I am already in heauen it ſelfe. Here ſtandeth firſt Chriſt Ieſus in the fronte.About him ſtande the olde fathers, Prophetes and Euangeliſtes,Apoſtles,and al the ſeruauntes of God.Of whō ſome do embrace & cheriſh me, ſome exhort me,ſome open the Sacramentes vnto me,ſome comfort me,other ſome ſinging about me And how then ſhall I be thought to be alone,among ſo many,& ſuch as theſe be ? The beholding of whome, to me is both ſolace, and example For here I ſee ſome crucified,ſome ſlayne,ſome ſtoned,ſome cut a ſonder and quartared,ſome roſted,ſome broyled, ſome put in hoat caulderns , ſome hauing theyr eyes bored thorough,ſome their tongues cut out,ſome their ſkinne plucked ouer theyr heades,ſome theyr handes and feete chopt off,ſome put in kilnes and furnaces,ſome caſt downe headlong, and geuen to the beaſtes,and foules of the ayre,to feed vpon, It woulde aſke a long time if I ſhould recite all.

To be ſhort diuers I ſee, with diuers and ſundrye tormentes excruciate:yet notwithſtanding, all liuing and all ſafe. One playſter,one ſalue cureth al their woundes:which alſo geueth to them ſtrength & life,ſo that I ſuſteyne all theſe tranſitory anguiſhes, & ſmal afflictions,with a quiet mind,hauing a greater hope layd vp in heauen. Neither do I feare mine aduerſaries which here perſecute me and oppreſſe me:For he that dwelleth in heauē ſhal laugh them to ſcorne,and the Lord ſhall deride them I feare not thouſands of people,which compaſſe me about.The Lord my God ſhal deliuer me, my hope,my ſupporter, my comforter, who exalteth vp my head.He ſhall ſmite al thē that ſtand vp againſt me without cauſe,& ſhal daſh the teeth & iawes of ſinners a ſunder:for he only is all bleſſednes and maieſtie. The rebukes for Chriſtes cauſe make vs iocant:for ſo it is writtē,If ye be rebuked & ſcorned for the name of Chriſt,happy be you,for the glory and ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. 1.Pet.4. Be you therefore certified,that our rebukes which are layd vpon vs,redound to the ſhame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no manſion firme to me, and therfore I trauaile vp to the new Ieruſalem,which is in heauen,& which offereth it ſelfe vnto me, without paying anye fine or Income.Behold I haue entred already in my iourny,wher my houſe ſtandeth for me prepared,and where I ſhall haue riches, kinſfolks delites,honours neuer fayling. As for theſe earthly thinges here preſent,they are tranſitory ſhadowes, vaniſhing vapours,and ruinous walles,Briefly all is but very vanitie of vanities , where as hope,and the ſubitance of eternitie to come,are wanting,Which the mercifull goodnes of the Lord hath geuen,as companions, to accompany me,and to comfort me,and now doe the ſame begin to worke and to bring forth fruites in me.I haue trauayled hetherto,laboured and ſwette early and late,watching day and night,& and now my trauailes begin to come to effect. Dayes and houres haue I beſtowed vpon my ſtudyes.Behold the true countenaunce of God is ſealed vpon me,the Lord hath geuen myrth in my hart. And therefore in the ſame will I lay me downe in peace and reſt. Pſal 4.And who then ſhall dare to blame this our age conſumed, or ſay that our yeares be cut off?What man can nowe cauill, that theſe our labours are loſt,which haue followed & founde out the Lord and maker of this worlde,and whiche haue chaunged death with lyfe?My portiō is the Lord(ſayth my ſoule)& therfore I will ſeek & wayt for him Now then,if to dye in the Lord,be not to die but to lyue moſt ioyfully : where is this wretched wordly rebell, which blameth vs of folly,for geuing away our liues to death? O how delectable is this death to me,to taſte the Lords cup,whiche is an aſſured pledge of true ſaluation? for ſo hath the Lord himſelf forewarned vs,ſaying:The ſame that they haue done to mee, they will alſo do vnto you. Wherfore let the doltiſh worlde ,with hys blynd worldlings(who in the bright ſun ſhine,yet goe ſtumblyng in darcknes,being as blinde as betels)ceaſe thus vnwiſely to carp againſt vs,for our raſh ſuffering, as they count it.To whome thus we aunſwere agayne with the holy Apoſtle : That neyther tribulation,nor anguiſh,nor hunger,nor nakednes, nor ieoperdy, nor perſecution,nor ſworde, ſhalbe able euer to ſeperate vs from the loue of Chriſt. We are ſlain al the day long,we are made like ſheep ordayned to the ſhābles.Rom. 8.Thus do we reſemble Chriſt our head which ſaid.That the Diſciple cannot be aboue his maſter nor the ſeruant aboue his Lord.The ſame Lord hath alſo commanded that euery one ſhall take vp his croſſe,and followe him Luc.9. Reioyſe,reioiſe(my deare brethrē,& fellow ſeruants) & be of good cōfort,when ye fal into ſondry tentations. Let your pacience be perfect on all parts.For ſo is it foreſhewed vs before, & is writtē: That they which ſhall kill you,ſhal think to do God good ſeruice. Therfore afflictiōs,& death be as tokens & ſacraments of our election,& life to come.Let vs then be glad,& ſing to the Lord, whē as we being cleare frō al iuſt accuſation, are perſecuted & geuen to death.For better it is,that we in doyng well,do ſuffer,if it ſo be the will of the Lord,then doing euil. 1.Pet.3. We haue for our example,Chriſt and the prophets,whiche ſpake in the name of the Lord,whom the children of iniquitie did quell and murder: and now we bleſſe and magnifie them,that then ſuffred,Let vs be glad and ioyous in our innocencie, and vprightnes.The Lord ſhall reward them that perſecute vs:let vs referre all reuēgement to him.

I am accuſed of fooliſhnes,for that I do not ſhrink frō the true doctrine & knowledge of God,& do not rid me ſelfe out of theſe trobles,whē with one word,I may.O the blindnes of man,which ſeeth not the ſunne ſhyning,neither remēbreth the Lords words. Conſider therfore what he ſayth.You are the light of the world:A city builded on the hil cannot be hid:Neither do men light a candle, & put it vnder a buſhell , but vppon a candleſticke , that it may ſhyne,and geue light to them in the houſe. And in an other place he ſayth:you ſhalbe led before kinges & rulers,feare ye not them,which kill the body,but hym whiche killeth both body and ſoule,Who ſoeuer ſhall confeſſe me before men,him will I alſo cōfeſſe before my father whiche is in heauen : And hee that denyeth me before men,him will I alſo deny before my heauenly father.Wherfore, ſeing the words of the Lord be ſo playne,how or by what authoritie will this wiſe counſeller thē approue this hys counſayle,which he doth geue?God forbid that I ſhuld relinquiſh the commaundements of God,and folowe the counſailes of men. For it is wrytten: Bleſſed is the manne that hath not gone in the wayes of ſinners,and hath not ſtande in the counſailes of the vngodly,and hath not ſit in the chaire of peſtilence. Pſal.1. God forbid that I ſhould deny Chriſt,where I ought to confeſſe him. I wil not ſet more by my life,then by my ſoule: neither will I exchange the life to come,for this worlde heere preſent. O howe fooliſhly ſpeaketh he, which heere argueth me of fooliſhneſſe?

Neither doe I take it to be a thing ſo vncomely or vnſeeming for me not to obey in this matter,the requeſts of thoſe ſo honourable,iuſt,prudent,vertuous and noble Senatours, whoſe deſires (he ſayeth)were inough to commaunde me. For ſo are we taught of the Apoſtles: That we ought to obey God before men. After that we haue ſerued and done our duetie firſt vnto God, then are we bounde next to obey the Poteſtates of this worlde: whome I wiſh to be perfecte before the Lord. They are honourable,but yet are they to be made more perfecte in the Lord They are iuſt,but yet Chriſt the ſeat of iuſtice is lacking in them. They are wiſe,but where is in them the beginning of wiſdom,that is,the feare of the Lorde? They are called vertuous,but yet I wiſh them more abſolute in Chriſtian charitie. They are good and gratious: but yet I miſſe in them the foũdation of goodnes, which is the Lord God, in whome dwelleth all goodnes and grace. They are honourable, yet haue they not receiued the Lord of glory, which is our Sauiour moſt honourable and glorious. Vnderſtande you kings,and learne you that iudge the earth. Serue the Lord in feare,and reioyce in him with trembling Hearken to doctrine,and get knowledge,leaſt you fal into Gods diſpleaſure,and ſo peariſh out of the way of righteouſnes. What freat you,what fume,you O Gentils? O you people, what caſt you in your braines the cogitations of vanity? you kings of the earth,and you princes,why conſpire you ſo together againſt Chriſt, and againſt his holy one? Pſal.2. Howe longe will you ſeeke after lies,and hate the trueth? Turne you to the Lorde,and harden not your hearts. For this you muſt needes confeſſe, that they which perſecute the Lordes ſeruaunts, do perſecute the Lorde him ſelfe. For ſo he ſayeth himſelfe: Whatſoeuer men ſhall doe to you, I will count it to be done,not as vnto you, but to my ſelfe.

And nowe let this carnal pollıticke counſeller and diſputer of thys worlde, tell, wherein haue they to blame me,if in mine examinations I haue not aunſwered ſo after their minde and affection as they required of me? ſeeing it is not our ſelues that ſpeake, but the Lord that ſpeaketh in vs,as he himſelfe doth fore witneſſe ſaying: When ye ſhall be brought before rulers and Magiſtrates, it is not you your ſelues that ſpeake, but the ſpirit of my father,that ſhal be in you. M. 10 Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithfull of his word,as it is moſt certain,then is there no blame in me: for he gaue the wordes that I did ſpeake,and who was I, that coulde reſiſt his will? If any ſhall reprehende the things that I ſayde,let hym then quarell wyth the Lorde,whome it pleaſed to worke ſo in me. And if the Lorde be not to be blamed, neither am I heerein to be accuſed, which did that I purpoſed not, and that I forethoughte not of. The thinges whiche there I did vtter and expreſſe, if they were otherwiſe then well, lette them ſhewe it, and then will I ſay, that they were my wordes,and not the Lordes? But if they were good,and approoued, and ſuch as can not iuſtly be accuſed,then muſt it needes be graũted,ſpite of their teethe,that they proceded of the Lorde:and then who be they, that ſhall accuſe me? A people of prudence. Or who ſhall condemne me? Iuſt iudges. And though they ſo doe,yet neuertheleſſe,the worde ſhall not be fruſtrate,neither ſhall the Goſpel be fooliſh,or therefore decay: but rather the kingdome of God ſhall the more proſper and flouriſh vnto the Iſraelites,and ſhall paſſe the ſooner vnto the electe of Chriſte Ieſu: And they which ſhall ſo doe,ſhall proue the greeuous iudgement of God,neither ſhal they eſcape without puniſhment,that be perſecuters and murderers of the iuſt. My well be loued,lift vp your eyes, and conſider the counſailes of God. Hee ſhewed vnto vs a late, an Image of his plague,which was to our correction. And if we ſhall not receiue him, he will drawe out his ſworde,and ſtrike with ſworde, peſtilence, and famine, the nation that ſhall ryſe againſt Chriſte. Theſe haue I wrytten to your comforte,deare brethren. Pray for me, I kiſſe in my heart, with an holy kiſſe, my good maiſters, Siluius, Pergula, Iuſtus, alſo Fidel Rocke, and hym that beareth the name of Lelia,whõ I know,although being abſent. Itẽ, the gouernor of the Vniuerſitie, Syndicus,& all other,whoſe names be writtẽ in the boke of life. Farewel all my felow ſeruants of God: fare ye wel in the Lord,& pray for me continually. From the delectable horchyard of Leonine priſon. 12 cal. Aug. An. 1555.

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¶ It is wrytten of one Thebrotus, that when he hadde read ỹ booke of Plato, De immortalitate animæ, hee was ſo moued and perſwaded therewith, that he caſte hym ſelfe downe headlong from an high wall, to be rid out of thys preſent life. If thoſe heathen Philoſophers, hauing no worde of God, nor promiſe of any reſurrection and life to come, coulde ſo ſoone be perſwaded by reading the wordes of Plato,to cõtemne this world and life here preſent: how muche more is it to be required in Chriſtians, inſtructed with ſo many euidences and promiſes of Gods moſt perfect word, that they ſhoulde learne to caſt of the carnall deſires and affections of this miſerable peregrination, and that for a double reſpect, not onely in ſeeing, reading, and vnderſtanding ſo many examples of the miſeries of thys wretched worlde: but alſo muche more in conſidering, and pondring the heauenly ioyes and conſolations of the other world, remaining for vs hereafter to come. For a more full euidence whereof, I thought good to geue out this preſent letter of Algerius aboue prefixed, for the taſte of the ſame, and a liuely teſtimony for all true Chriſtians to read and conſider. Now let vs procede further (the Lord willing) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

Perſecutours.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Ioannes Aloiſius. At Rome. An.1559.	Of Ioannes Aloiſius we finde mention made in a letter of Symonne Florillus: whiche Aloiſius was ſente downe frõ Geneua, to the parties of Calabria, there to be their miniſter, who afterwarde was ſent for vp to Rome, and there ſuffered. Ex Epiſt. D. Simonis Florilli.
	Iacobus Bouellus. At Meſsina. An.1559.	Iacobus Bouellus was likewiſe ſent frõ Geneua to the ſayde parties of Calabria, with Aloiſius, who alſo being ſent for, vp to Rome, was ſente downe to the Citye Meſſina, and there was martired. Ibidẽ.
Pope Pius the fourth.	Diuers that ſuffered in the kingdome of Naples. At Neaples An. 1560.	After Pope Iulius the third, came Marcellus the ſecond. After him ſucceded pope Paul the fourth. This Paule being dead, followed Pope Pius the fourth. who being aduaunced to ỹ rowme, began hoate perſecution in all the territories of the Churche of Rome, agaynſte them whyche were ſuſpected for Lutheranes. Whereuppon enſued great trouble and perſecution in the kingdome of Neaples, in ſuch cruell ſorte, that many noble men with their wiues, & others are reported there to be ſlaine. Vide Pantali. lib.11.
Pope Pius the fourth.	Lxxxviij. Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, ſlaine like ſheepe.	In Calabria likewiſe the ſame tyme, ſuffered a bleſſed nũber of Chriſtes welbeloued ſaintes, both old ond yong, put together in one houſe, to the number of 88. perſõs, al which, one after an other, were

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	1600. other, alſo condemned. At Calabria. An. 1560.	taken out of the houſe, and ſo being layd vpon the butchers ſtall, like the ſhepe in the Shambles, wyth one bloudy knife, were all killed in order. A Spectacle moſt tragicall, for all poſteritie to remember, and almoſt incredible to beleeue. wherefore for the more credite of the matter, leaſt we ſhall ſeeme eyther light of creadite, to beleeue that is not true, or raſhly to committe to penne, thynges wythout due proofe and authoritie, wee haue heere annexed a peece of an Epiſtle, wrytten by mayſter Symon Florillus preacher of Goddes worde at the Citie Clauenna, among the Rhetians, vnto a certaine friende of his, named Gulicl. Grataloꝛus an Italian, and Doctoure of Phiſicke, in the Vniuerſitie of Baſill, whyche Grataloꝛus tranſlated the ſame into the Latine tounge, and it is to be founde in the 11. booke of Pantal. pa. 337. the Engliſh whereof is thys as followeth.

❧ The ende of a certaine letter of maſter Symon Florellus, wrytten in Italian, concerning a lamentable ſlaughter of 88. Chriſtian Saintes, in the parties of Calabria.

Newes out of Italy. anno. 1560.

As concerning newes, I haue nothing to wryte, but onely, that I ſende you a Copie of certaine letters imprinted eyther at Rome, or at Venice, concerning the Martyrdome or perſecution in two ſeuerall Townes of Calabria, eyghte Italyan myles from the borders of Conſentia: the one called Sainte Sixtus wythin two miles of Montalte, vnder the Seigniorie of the Duke of Montalte: the other called Guardia, ſituate vppon the Sea coaſte, and 12. miles from S. Sixtus: the which two Townes are vtterly deſtroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitantes there (or as ſome wryte from the Citie of Rome) no leſſe then a full thouſande. Hee that wrote the letter, was ſeruaunt to Aſcanius Caracciolus. The countrey and people there I well knew, to take the firſt Original of their good doctrine, & honeſt life, frõ the Valdéſes. For before my departure frõ Geneua at their requeſt, I ſent them two Schoolemaiſters, and two preachers. The laſt yeare the two preachers were Martyred: the one at Rome, named Ioannes Aloiſus Paſchalis, a Citizen of Cunium: the other at Meſsina, named Iames Bouel, both of Piedmont: This yeare the reſidue of that godly fellowſhippe were Martyred, in the ſame place. I truſt thys good ſeede ſowen in Italie, will bringe foorthe good and plentifull fruite.

Ioan. Aloiſius Paſchalis, Iames Bouell, preachers and Martirs.

Now foloweth the copie of the letters ſent from Montalt, a towne in Calabria 8. miles diſtant from Conſentia, bearing Date the 11. of Iune. 1560. The wryter of the which letters, as ye may perceiue, was one of them which call themſelues Catholickes, and followers of the Pope. The wordes of the letter bee theſe, as heere vnder followeth.

❧ Heere foloweth the Copie of a letter ſent from Montalte in Calabria, by a Romaniſt, to a certayne frend of his in Rome, containing newes of the perſecution of Chriſtes people in Calabria, by the newe Pope Pius the fourth.

Horrible perſecution in Calabria. an. 1560.

Hetherto, moſt noble Lord, haue I certified you, what here daily hath bene done about theſe hereticks Now commeth next to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhippe, the horrible iudgement begon thys preſent day, being the eleuenth of Iune, to bee executed verry earely in the mornyng againſte the Lutheranes. Whyche when I thynke vppon, I verelye quake and tremble. And truely, the manner of theyr putting to deathe, was to be compared to the ſlaughter of calues and ſheepe. For they being al thruſt vp in one houſe together as in a ſheepefolde, the executioner commeth in, and amongeſt them taketh one and blindfeldeth him wyth a muffler about his eyes, & ſo leadeth him forth to a larger place near adioyning, where he commaundeth him to kneele downe, whych being ſo done, he cutteth his throte, & leauing him half dead, and taking his butchers knife and muffler all of gore bloud (which the Italians call Benda) commeth againe to the reſt, & ſo leading one after an other, he diſpatcheth them all, which were to the number of 88. This ſpectacle, to behold howe doleful and horrible it was, I leaue to your Lordſhippes iudgement: for to wryte of it, I my ſelfe cannot but weepe. Neither was there any of the beholders there preſent, whiche ſeeing one to die, coulde abide to beholde the death of an other. But certeſſe ſo humbly and paciently they went to death, as is almoſt vncreadible to beleeue. Some of them as they were in dyinge, affirmed that they beleeued euen as wee doe. Notwithſtanding, as the moſt part of them died in the ſame theyr obſtinate opinions. All the aged perſones wente to deathe more cheerfully, the younger were more timerous. I tremble and ſhake euen to remember how the executioner held his bloudie knife betweene his teethe, with the bloudy muffler in his hande, and his armes all in goare bloude vp to the elbowes, going to the folde, and taking euery one of them, one after an other, by the hande, and ſo diſpatching them all, no otherwiſe then doeth a butcher kill his calues and ſheepe.

The Chriſtians killed like Calues.

88. Martirs.

It is moreouer appoynted (and the cartes be come all readie) that all thoſe ſo put to death, ſhoulde be quartered, and ſo to bee conueied in the cartes to the hethermoſt parts of Calabria, where they ſhalbe hanged vppon poles in the high waies, and other places, euen to the confines of the ſame country. Vnleſſe the Popes holines & the Lord Viceroy of Neaples ſhall geue in commandement to the Lord Marques of Buccianus, gouernour of the ſayde prouince, to ſtay his hand, and go no further, he wil procede, with the racke and torture, examining al other, and ſo encreaſe the nũber in ſuch ſorte, that he will nie diſpatch them all.

This day it is alſo determined that an hũdreth of the more ancient women, ſhould appeare to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for ſo many menne, ſo manye women. And thus haue you that I can ſay of this iuſtice. Nowe it is aboute two of the clocke in the afternoone: Shortly we ſhall heare what ſome of them ſayde, when they went to execution. There be certaine of them ſo obſtinate, that they will not looke vppon the crucifixe, nor be confeſſed to the prieſt, and they ſhall be burned aliue.

The heretickes that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 1600 but as yet no more but theſe foreſayd 88. are already executed. This people haue theyr originall of the valley named Angronia, neare to Subaudia, and in Calabria, are called Vltramontani. In the kingdome of Neaples there are 4. other places of the ſame people, of whome whether they liue well or no, as yet wee knowe not: For they are but ſimple people, ignoraunt, wythout learning, woode gatherers, and huſbandmen: but as I heare, much deuout and religious, geuing themſelues to die for religions ſake. From Montealto, the 11. of Iune. And thus much wryteth this Romaniſt.

☞ Here moreouer is to be noted, that the foreſaid Marques Buccianus aboue ſpecified, hadde a ſonne or brother, vnto whome the ſayde new Pope (Pius the fourth belike) is reported to haue promiſed a Cardinalſhippe at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirped and roted out in that prouince. And like inough that the ſame was the cauſe of thys butcherly perſecution and effuſion of Chriſten bloud, in the ſaid countrey of Calabria, beyond Neaples in Italy.

Beſides theſe godly Italian Martyrs, in thys Table aboue contained, many other alſo haue ſuffred in the ſame countrey of Italie, of whome ſome before haue bene ſpecified: ſome peraduenture omitted. But many moe there be, whoſe names we know not, wherof aſſoone as knowledge may be geuẽ vnto vs, we purpoſe God willing, to impart the ſame (louing reader) vnto thee.

☞ Now in the meane time it foloweth (according to my promiſe made before) next after this lamẽtable ſlaughter of Calabria, here to inſert alſo the tragical perſecution & horrible murder of the faithfull flocke of Chriſte inhabiting in Merindole in Fraunce, and in other townes adiacẽt neere vnto the ſame, in the time of Franciſcus. 1. the french king. The furious crueltie of whiche miſerable perſecution, although it can not be ſet forth too much at large, yet becauſe we wil not weary too much the reader, with the ful length therof, we haue ſo contracted the ſame, eſpecially the principal effect therof we haue comprehended in ſuch ſorte, that as we on the one part haue auoided prolixitie: ſo on the other we haue omitted nothing, which might ſeme vnworthy to be forgotten. The ſtory here foloweth.

A notable hiſtorie of the perſecution and deſtruction of the people of Merindol and Cabriers, the countrey of Prouince: where, not a fewe perſons, but whole Villages and Towneſhips with the moſt part of all the foreſayde countrey, both men, women, and children, were put to all kind of cruelty, & ſuffered martyrdome, for the profeſsion of the goſpell.

They that write of the beginning of this people, ſay that about CC. yeres ago, they came out of the Country of Piedmont, to inhabite in Prouince, in certaine Villages, deſtroyed

The lamentable ſtory of Merindoll.

deſtroyed by warres, and other deſert places: wherin they vſed ſuch labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corne, wine, oyles, hony, almons, with other fruits & commodities of the earth, and muche cattell. Before they came thether, Merindol was a barren deſert and not inhabited. But theſe good people (in whome God alwaies had reſerued ſome litle ſeede of pietie) being diſperſed, and ſeparated from the ſocietie of men, were compelled to dwell with beaſts, in that waſte and wilde deſert, which notwithſtanding, through the bleſſing of God, and their great laboure and trauel, became exceeding frutefull. Notwithſtanding, the world in the meane time, ſo deteſted & abhorred them, and with all ſhamefull rebukes and contumelies, railed againſt them in ſuch deſpiteful maner, ẏ it ſemed they were not worthy that the earth ſhould beare them. For they, of a long continuance and cuſtome, had refuſed the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, and obſerued euer a more perfect kinde of doctrine, then others, deliuered to them from the father to the ſonne, euer ſince the yere of our Lord. 1200.

For the originall of this people, ſee before in pag. 273

For this cauſe they were often accuſed & complained of to the king, as contemners & deſpiſers of the magiſtrates and rebels. wherefore they were called by diuers names according to the countreis and places where they dwelte. For in the country about Lyons, they were called the pore people of Lyons: In the borders of Sarmatia & Liuonia, and other countreis towards the North, they were called Lolards: In Flanders, and Artoys, Turrelupius, of a deſert where wolues did haunte: In Dolphine, with great deſpite, they were named Chagnardes, becauſe they liued in places open to the Sunne, and without houſe or harborough. But moſt commonly they were called waldoys, of waldo, who firſt inſtructed them in ẏ word of God: which name continued vntill the name of Lutheranes came vp, which aboue all other, was moſt hated, and abhorred.

Pauperes de Lugduno, Waldẽſes, Turrelupini. Chaguardi.

Of Waldo read before, pag. 230.

Notwithſtanding, in all theſe moſt ſpitefull contumelies ond ſclaunders, the people dwelling at the foote of the Alpes, and alſo in Merindol & Cabriers, and the quarters thereabout, alwaies liued ſo godly, ſo vprightly and iuſtly ẏ in al their life & conuerſation, there appeared to be in thẽ a great feare of God. That little light of true knowledge whiche God had giuen them, they laboured by al meanes to kindle & encreaſe daily more & more, ſparing no charges whether it were to procure bookes of the holy Scripture, or to inſtructe ſuch as were of the beſt and moſte towardly wits, in learning & godlineſſe: or els to ſend thẽ into other countreis, yea euen to ẏ fartheſt partes of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the goſpel began to ſhine.

For in the yere 1530. vnderſtanding that the goſpel was preached in certaine townes of Germany & Switzerland, they ſent thether 2. learned men, that is, Georgius Maurelius borne in Dolphine, a godly preacher of their owne, and whome they had of their owne charges brought vp in learning, & Petrus Latomus a Burgundian, to conferre with the wiſe & learned miniſters of the Churches there, in the doctrine of the goſpel, and to know the whole forme and manner which thoſe Churches vſed in the ſeruice and worſhipping of God: and particularly to haue their aduiſe alſo, vppon certaine poynts, which they were not reſolued in. Theſe 2. after great conference had ẇ the chiefeſt in the Churche of God, namely with Oecolampadius at Baſill: at Strauſburgh, with Bucer and Capito: and at Berne, ẇ Bartholdus Hallerus: as they were returning thorow Burgundie, homewarde, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dyion, and caſte into priſon, Maurelius eſcaped & returned alone to Merindol, with the bookes and letters whych he brought with him, from the churches of Germanie, and declared to his brethren all the poynts of hys commiſſion, and opened vnto them, how many and great errours they were in: into the which their olde Miniſters, whome they called * Barbes, that is to ſay, Uncles, had broughte them, leading them from the right way of true Religion.

* Theſe were their miniſters, for lacke of better, vntill they came to more ſincere knowledge: which enſtructed thẽ moſt commonly by night abroade in caues and quarries, for feare of perſecution. Of theſe Calabrians, Vide infra

When the people heard this, they were moued with ſuch a zeale to haue their Churches reformed, that they ſent for the moſte ancient brethren, & the chiefeſt in knowledge and experience, of all Calabria & Apulia, to conſult wyth them, touching the reformation of ẏ Church. This matter was ſo handled, that it ſtirred vp the biſhops, prieſts & monkes in all Prouince, with greate rage againſt them. Amongeſt other, there was one cruel wretch called John de Roma, a monke, who obtaining a commiſſiõ to examine thoſe that were ſuſpected to be of ẏ waldois or Lutheran profeſſion, forthwith ceaſed not to afflict the faithful with all kinde of cruelty, ẏ he could deuiſe or imagine. Amongeſt other moſt horrible torments, this was one, which he moſt delighted in, and moſt commõly practiſed: He filled bootes with boiling greece, & put them vpon their legs, tying them backeward to a forme, with their legges hanging downe ouer a ſmall fire, and ſo he examined them. Thus he tormẽted verẏ many, and in the ende, moſt cruelly put them to deathe. The firſt whome hee thus tormented, were Michelottus Serra, and W. Melius, with a number moe.

Ioan. de Roma, a wretched perſecutor.

The cruelty of a Papiſt.

Michelottus Serra, W. Melius, Martirs.

Wherfore Fraunces the French king being informed of the ſtrange and outragious cruelty of this helliſh monke: ſent letters to the high Courte or Parlament of Prouince, ẏ forthwith he ſhould be apprehended, & by forme of proces and order of law, he ſhould be condemned, & aduertiſement ſent vnto him ẇ all ſpede, of his condemnation. The monke being aduertiſed heereof by his frendes, conueyed himſelfe to Auinion, where hee thought to enioy the ſpoylings, which he, like a notorious thefe, had gotten by fraud & extortion, from the pore Chriſtians. But ſhortly after, he which had ſo ſhamefully ſpoiled other, was ſpoiled of altogether, by his owne houſhold ſeruants: wherupon, ſhortly after, he fell ſicke of a moſt horrible diſeaſe, ſtraunge and vnknowen to any Phiſition. So extreme were the paines & torments, wherwith he was continually vexed in al his body, that no oyntment, no fomẽtation, nor any thing els, could eaſe him one minute of an houre. Neither was there any man that could tary neare about him: ne yet wold any of his owne frendes come neare to him: ſo greate was the ſtinch that came from him. For the which cauſe he was caried from the Jacobines, to an hoſpitall, there to be kepte. But the ſtinche & infection, ſo encreaſed, that no man durſt there come neare him: no nor he himſelf was able to abide the horrible ſtinch that iſſued from his body, full of vlcers and ſores, and ſwarming with vermin, and ſo rotten, that the fleſh fell away from the bones, by peecemeale.

The iuſt iudgement of God againſt a cruell perſecutor.

Whiles he was in theſe torments and anguiſh, he cried out oftẽtimes in great rage: Oh who wil deliuer me? who will kill and rid me out of theſe vntolerable paines, which I know, I ſuffer for the euils and oppreſſions that I haue done to the poore men? And he himſelfe went about diuers times, to deſtroy hymſelfe, but hee had not the power. In theſe horrible torments and anguiſh, and fearfull diſpaire, this blaſphemer and moſt cruel homicide, moſte miſerably ended his vnhappye daies and curſed life, as a ſpectacle to all perſecutors, receiuing a iuſt reward of his crueltye by ẏ iuſt iudgement of God. When he was dead, there was no man ẏ would come nere him to bury him: but a yong nouice newly come to his order, in ſteade of a more honorable ſepulture, caught hold ẇ a hooke vpon his ſtinking carian & drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for hym.

A ſpectacle to all perſecutors.

After the death of this cruell monſter, the biſhop of Aix, by his Officiall Perionet, continued the perſecution & put a great multitude of them in priſon: of whom ſome by force of torments, reuolted from the truth: the others which cõtinued conſtant after he had condemned thẽ of hereſy, were put into the hands of the ordinary iudge, which at ẏ time, was one Meiranus, a notable cruel perſecutor: who without any forme of proces or order of law, ſuch as the Official had pronoũced to be heretikes, he put to death, with moſt cruell tormẽts: But ſhortly after, he receiued a iuſt reward of his crueltie, in like maner.

The Biſhop of Aix, Perionet, his Officiall, Meiranus, cruell perſecutors.

After the deathe of the good Preſident Caſinetus, the Lord of Reueſt being chief Preſident of the Parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death. Who afterwarde being put out of his office, returned to his houſe of Reueſt, where he was ſtroken with ſuch an horrible ſickneſſe, that for the fury and madnes which he was in, hys wife or any that were about him, durſt not come neare him, and ſo hee dying in this fury and rage, was iuſtly plagued for his vnmercifull and cruell dealing.

An other exãple of Gods terrible iudgement vppon a perſecutor.

After him ſucceded Barthol. Caſſaneus, likewiſe a peſtilent perſecutor, whom God at length ſtroke with a fearful & ſodeine death. In the time of this tyrant, thoſe of Merindol, in the perſone of ten, were cited perſonally to appeare before ẏ kings atturny. But they hearing that ẏ court had determined to burn them ẇout any further proceſſe or order of law, durſt not appeare at ẏ day apointed. For which cauſe the court awarded a cruel ſentẽce againſt Merindol, & condemned al the inhabitants, to be burned both men & women, ſparing none, no not the litle children & infantes: the towne to be raſed, & their houſes beaten downe to the groũd: alſo the trees to be cut down, as wel oliue trees, as al other, and nothing to be left, to the entent it ſhuld neuer be inhabited again, but remaine as a deſert or wilderneſſe.

An other exãple of Gods iudgement vpon Caſſaneus, a bloudy perſecutor.

A bloudy decree againſt the Merindolians.

This bloudye arreſt or Decree ſeemed ſo ſtraunge and wonderfull, that in euery place throughout all Prouince, there was great reaſoning and diſputation cõcerning the ſame, eſpecially among the aduocates, and men of lerning & vnderſtanding: in ſo muche that many durſt boldly & openly ſay, that they greatly marueiled, how that Court of parlamẽt could be ſo mad, or ſo bewitched, to giue out ſuch an arreſt, ſo manifeſtly iniurious & vniuſt, and contrary to all right and reaſon,yea to all ſenſe of humanitie: alſo contrary to the ſolemne othe, which all ſuch as are receiued to office in Courtes of Parliament, are accuſtomed to make, that is to ſay, to iudge iuſtly & vprightly, according to the law of God,and the iuſt ordinances & lawes of the realm, ſo that God therby might be honoured,and euery mannes right regarded without reſpect of perſons.

Some of the aduocates or lawyers,defending the ſaid Arreſt to be iuſt and right,ſayd: that in caſe of Lutheraniſme, the iudges are not bou͂d to obſerue either right or reaſon,law either ordinance,and that the iudges can not faile or do amiſſe,whatſoeuer iudgement they do geue,ſo that it tend to the ruine and extirpation of all ſuche as are ſuſpected to be Lutheranes.

Euen ſo the Phariſeis proceeded againſt Chriſt the ſo͂ne of God.

To this the other lawyers and learned men anſwered, that vppon theyr ſayings it woulde inſue,that the Iudges ſhould now altogether folowe the ſame maner and forme, in proceeding againſt the Chriſtians accuſed to be Lutheranes,which the goſpell witneſſeth that the Prieſts,Scribes,and Phariſes followed,in purſuing and perſecutyng, and finally condemning our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

By theſe & ſuch other like talkes yͤ ſaid arreſt was publiſhed throughout the country, and there was no aſſemble or banket where it was not diſputed or talked of:& namely within 12. dayes after the Arreſt was geuen oute,there was a great banket in the towne of Aix,at the whych banket was preſent M.Barthelmew Challanec,Preſident,& many other Councellers and other noble perſonages and men of authority.There was alſo the Archb.of Arles and the biſhop of Aix, with diuers ladies and gentlewomen, amongſt whom was one which was commonly reported to be the biſhop of Aix his concubine. They wer ſcarſe wel ſet at the table,but ſhe began thus to talke. My Lord Preſident, will you not execute the arreſt, which is geuen out of late,againſt the Lutheranes of Merindoll? The Preſident aunſwered nothing, faining that hee hearde her not. Then a certaine gentleman aſked of her what Arreſt that was. Shee recited it in maner and forme,as it was geuen out,forgetting nothing,as if ſhe had a long time,ſtudied to commit the ſame vnto memorye: whereunto they whyche were at the banket gaue diligent eare without any worde ſpeaking,vntill ſhe had ended her tale.

The Biſhops bancket.

There is no cruelty to the cruelty of an harlot.

Then the lord of Alenc,a man fearing God,and of great vnderſtanding,ſaid vnto her:gentlewomã,you haue learned this tale,either of ſome that wold haue it ſo,or els it is geuen out by ſome parliament of women. Then the lord of Senas an ancient counſailor, ſaid vnto him,no,no,my L. of Alenc,it is no tale which you haue hard this gentlewoman tell: for it is an arreſt geuen out by a whole Senate, & you ought not thus to ſpeake,except you woulde call the court of Prouince a parliament of women. Then the L. of Alenc began to excuſe hymſelfe,wyth proteſtation,that hee wold not ſpeake any thing to blemiſh the authority of that ſoueraigne court, notwithſtanding he could not beleue all that which the ſayd gentlewoman had tolde,that is to ſay, that all the inhabitants of Merindoll were condemned to die by yͤ Arreſt of the ſaid court of parliament of Prouince, and ſpecially the women & little children and infants: and the town to be raſed,for the fault of 10.or 12.perſons which did not appere before the ſaide court at the day appoynted. And the Lord Beauieu alſo anſwered, that he beleued not the ſayde courte to haue geuen out any ſuch Arreſt, for that (ſaid he) were a thing moſt vnreaſonable,and ſuche as the very Turkes and the moſt tyrannes of the worlde would iudge to be a thing moſt deteſtable: and ſayde further,that he had knowen a long time many of Merindol,which ſeemed vnto him to be men of great honeſty: and my L.Preſident(ſaid he)can certify vs wel what is done in this matter, for we oughte not to geue credite vnto womens tales. Then the gentlewoman which had reherſed yͤ arreſt, ſtaied not to heare the Preſidents anſwer, but ſodenly loking vpon the B.of Aix,ſaid: I ſhould greatly haue marueiled, if there had bene none in all this company whyche woulde defend theſe wicked men, and lifting her eyes to heauen in a great womanly chafe and fume,ſayd: would to God that all the Lutheranes which are in Prouince, yea, and in all Fraunce,had hornes growing on theyr foreheads, then we ſhould ſee a goodly many of hornes. To whome the Lorde Beauieu ſodenly anſwered,ſaying,would to God that all prieſts harlots ſhould chatter like Pies. Then ſaid the gẽtlewoman: ha my L.Beauieu,you ought not ſo to ſpeake againſt our holy mother the church, for that there was neuer dogge yͭ barked againſt the crucifixe,but that he waxed madde. whereat the Biſhop of Aix laughed,and clapping the gentlewoman on the ſhoulder,ſayd,by my holy orders my minion,wel ſaid,I conne you thanke, She hath talked wel vnto you,my Lord Beauieu,remember wel the leſſon that ſhee hath geuen you. Heere the Lorde Beauieu being wholy moued w anger, ſayde, I care neyther for her ſchole nor yours,for it would be long before a man ſhould learne of either of you both,any honeſty or honour: For if I ſhuld ſay that the moſt part of the biſhops and prieſts are abhominable adulterers,blind idolaters,deceiuers,theeues,ſeducers,I ſhould not ſpeake againſt the holy church,but againſt a heape and flocke of wolues,dogs,and filthy ſwine in ſpeaking theſe thinges,I would thinke a man not to be mad at all,except he be mad for ſpeaking of the truth.

The Lord of Alenc, a good man.

The L. Beauieu.

A Catholicke wiſhe of a Prieſtes harlot.

Then the Archbiſhop in a great furie anſwered,my L. Beauieu,you ſpeake very euil,and you muſt geue account when time and place ſerueth,of this your talke,which you haue here vttered againſt the Church men. I would,ſayde the Lord Beauieu that it were to do euen this preſent day, and I wold binde my ſelfe to proue more abuſes & naughtineſſe in Prieſtes then I haue yet ſpoken. Then ſayde the Preſident Challince, my Lorde Beauieu, lette vs leaue of this talke and liue as our fathers haue done, and maintain theyr honour. Then ſayde hee in a greate anger, I am no Prieſtes ſonne to maintaine their wickedneſſe and abuſe. And afterward he ſayde, I am well content to honour all true paſtors of the church, and will not blame them which ſhew good example in their doctrine and liuing: but I demaund of you my Lord of Arles,and you my Lord of Aix, when as our Lord Ieſus Chriſt called the Prieſtes deceiuing hypocrites, blind ſeducers, robbers and theeues,did he them any outrage or wrong? and they anſwered no,for the moſt part of them were ſuch men. Then ſayd the Lord Beauieu, euen ſo is it with the biſhops and prieſts which I haue ſpoken of, for they are ſuche kinde of men,or rather worſe: and I ſo abhorre their filthy and abhominable life, that I dare not ſpeake the one halfe of that which I know, and therfore in ſpeaking the truth, to coole the babling of a harlot,I do them no iniurie.

The Popes churchmen worſe then the olde Phariſies.

Then monſieur de Senas an auncient counſailor,ſayd, let vs leaue of this contentious talke, for we are here aſſẽbled & come together to make good chere. And afterwarde he ſaid,monſieur de Beauieu,for the loue and amity which I beare vnto you,I will aduertiſe you of 3. things, which if you will do,you ſhall finde great eaſe therein.

The firſt is,that you neither by worde nor deede,aide or aſſiſt thoſe which you heare to be Lutheranes.

Secondly,yͭ you do not entermeddle,openly to reproue ladies and gentlewomen for their paſtime and pleaſures.

Thirdly, that you doe neuer ſpeake againſt the life and liuing of * Prieſts,howe wicked ſo euer it be,according to this ſaying: Do not touch mine annoynted.

* Churchmẽ be they neuer ſo euill, muſt not be ſpoken againſt. 1. Par. 16.

To whom monſieur Beauieu anſwered, as touching yͤ firſt poynt,I know no Lutherans,neither what is meant by this word Lutheraniſme,except you do call them Lutherans,which profeſſe the doctrine of the goſpel. Neither yet will I euer allowe any Arreſt which ſhall be geuen out to death againſt men whoſe cauſe hath not bene heard,eſpecially,againſt women and yong infantes: and I am aſſured that there is no Court of parliament in all Fraunce which will approue or allowe any ſuch arreſt.And where as you ſay that I ſhuld not meddle to reproue ladies or gẽtlewomen,if I knewe any kinſwoman of mine,which would abandone her ſelfe vnto a prieſt or clerke, yea albeit he were a cardinal or biſhop,I would not do her ſo much honor as to rebuke her therfore, but at the leaſt I would cutte of her noſe. And as touching prieſtes, as I am contented not to meddle with their buſines,ſo likewiſe I will not that they meddle with mine heereafter, or come from henceforth within my houſe: For as many as I ſhall finde or take there, I wil ſet their crownes ſo nere their ſholders, that they ſhal nede no more to weare any hoodes about their necks. The like alſo ſaid the Preſident Challanec.

How prieſts harlots ſhould be handled.

Then the byſhop of Aix his ſweete heart, which had begon the quarell, ſaid,I ſhal not be in quiet,except I ſpeake yet one word more vnto monſieur Beauieu. Do you think ſayd ſhe vnto hym, that all the Cardinals, Byſhops, Abbots,Prieſtes,and all thoſe holy religious men which goe oftentimes to gentlemens houſes, and haunte the Caſtels and palaces of Princes and noblemen,that they go thither to commit wickedneſſe? Alſo you muſt not thinke euil of al thoſe ladies and gentlewomen, that go to Biſhops houſes of deuotion,and for to reueale thoſe whome they know to be Lutherans,as it was commaunded in the pulpitte vppon payne of Excommunication: If ſo be you will maintaine thoſe wordes,I will not ceaſe to accuſe you of crime, and alſo of Treaſon both to God and to man: for heere be thoſe in this companie, which ſhall make you geue an accompt thereof. Shee had not ſo ſoone ended her talke, but Monſieur Beauieu ſayde vnto her,auaunte O Herodias, thou filthy and impudent harlot: is it thy part to open thy

Well ſpoke and like an harlot.

As Herodias wrought the death of

mouth to talke in this cõpany? Doeſt thou well vnderſtãd and knowe what treaſon to God and man meaneth? Is it not ſufficient for thee to be as thou arte, but thou muſt ſollicite other to ſhed innocent bloude? with theſe wordes the Gentlewoman was ſomewhat amaſed. All men thought that this talke had bene at an end, and euery man began to inuent ſome mery communication, that the former matter ſhould be no more talked of.

Iohn Baptiſt, ſo this ſtrumpet ſeeke the death of the Merindolians, two ſtrumpets well compared togeather.

At the laſt, the gentlewoman aduiſing her ſelf, and thinking that ſhe was to much iniured, to be ſayd, that ſhe wẽt about to ſhed the innocent bloud, ſhe brake of al their talk, and with a loud voice ſayde, Monſieur Beauieu, if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combate, to proue that I am no ſuch manner of woman as you ſay I am, that I deſire to ſhed innocent bloud, Do you call the bloude of theſe wicked men of Merindoll, innocent bloud? True it is that I deſire and offer with my whole power, that theſe naughty packes of Merindol, & ſuch like as they are, ſhoulde be ſlaine and deſtroyed, from the greateſt euen vnto the leaſt. And for to ſee the beginning of thys worke, I haue emploied all my credite, and all my frends, and do not ſpare, neither body nor goods, to worke the ruine & deſtruction of theſe people, and to raſe out, and to deface their memorie from amongeſt men. Doe you then Monſieur Beauieu, call the ſlaughter of theſe Lutherans, the effuſion of innocent bloude? And ſay you what you will, I wil not refraine for no man liuing, to goe either by day eyther by night, vnto the houſes of Biſhops, in all * honeſty and honor, for the deuotion which I beare vnto our holy * mother the church, and alſo I wil receiue into my houſe, all religious men, to cõſult and deuiſe the meanes how to put theſe Lutherans to death. But as Monſieur Beauieu toke no more regarde vnto her talke, ſo likewiſe al that were at the table, diſpraiſed her and were weary of her prating.

God ſendeth a ſhrewd cowe ſhorte hornes.

The cruell hart of an harlot.

* The viſor of honeſtye on a harlots face.

* Like mother like daughter

Then there was a certaine younge gentleman, whych merely ieſting, ſaid vnto her: Gentlewomã, it muſt nedes be that theſe poore people, vnto whome you doe wiſh thys cruell death, haue done you ſome great diſpleaſure. Then ſayd ſhe, I may well take an othe, that I neuer knewe one of thoſe wretched people, neither (that I wot of) euer ſawe any of them. And I had rather to meete 10. deuils, then one of thoſe naughty knaues: for theyr opinions are ſo deteſtable, that happy and bleſſed are they, which neuer heard tell of them. And I was not then well aduiſed, at what time. by curioſitie I ſeeing the Biſhop of Aix ſo muche troubled and angry, that he could not eate nor drinke, did deſire him and conſtraine him to tell me the cauſe thereof. Then hee perceiuing that I would not be wel contented if he ſhould not tel me, declared vnto me ſome part of the cauſe: that is to ſay, that there was certaine heretickes, whyche ſpake againſt our holy mother the churche, and amonge other errours, they maintained, yea to death, that all Biſhoppes, Prieſts, & paſtors ought to be maried, or els to be gelded: and hearing this, I was maruellouſly offended, and euer ſince I did hate them to the death. And alſo it was enioyned vnto me by penaunce, that I ſhould endeuour with al my power, to putte theſe heretickes to death. After theſe friuolous talkes, there was great trouble and debate amongſt them, and many threatnings, which were to long here to deſcribe.

Oderũt me gratis. Iohn. 15.

The Popes clergy cánot abide honeſt marriage to dye for it,

Then the Preſident Chaſſance, and the Cõſellers parted aſide, and the Gentlemen went on the other part. The Archbiſhop of Arles, the Biſhop Aix, and diuers Abbots, Priors, and others, aſſembled them ſelues together, to cõſult how this Arreſt might be executed with all ſpeede, entending to raiſe a newe perſecution, greater then that of Iohn the Iacobine Monke of Rome: For otherwiſe (ſayd they) our ſtate and honour is like to decay. we ſhall be reproued, contemned, and derided of all menne. And if none ſhould thus vaunt and ſet themſelues againſt vs, but theſe peſantes, and ſuch lyke, it were but a ſmal matter: but many Doctours of Diuinitie, and men of the religious order, diuers Senatours and Aduocates, many wiſe and well learned men: alſo a great parte of the nobilitie (if we may ſo ſay) and that of great renoume, yea euen of the cheefeſt Peeres in all Europe, begyn to contemne and deſpiſe vs, counting vs to be no true paſtours of the church: ſo that except we ſee to this miſchiefe, and prouide for remedie betime, it is greatly to be feared, leaſt not onely wee ſhall be compelled to forſake our dignities, poſſeſſiõs and liuings, which we now wealthely enioy, but alſo the church being ſpoiled of her paſtors and guides, ſhall hereafter come to a miſerable ruine and vtter deſolation. Thys matter therefore now requireth great diligẽce and circumſpection, and that withall celeritie.

Querebant Principes ſacerdotum et ſcribæ, quemodo interficerent Ieſum. Luke. 22.

Note how the Popes church is led not with any conſciẽce of truth, but onely with loue of liuinges.

Then the Archbiſhop of Arles, not forgetting his Spaniſh ſubtilties and pollicies, gaue his aduiſe, as foloweth. Againſt the nobilitie we muſt (ſayde he) take heede that we attempt nothing raſhly: but rather, we muſt ſeeke all the meanes we cã, how to pleaſe them, for they are our ſhield, our fortreſſe and defence. And albeit we knowe that many of them doe both ſpeake & thinke euill of vs, and that they are of theſe new goſpellers, yet may we not reproue them to exaſperate them in any caſe: but ſeeing they are too much bent againſt vs already, we muſt rather ſeeke how to win them, and to make them our frendes againe, by giftes and preſents: and by this pollicie, we ſhall liue in ſafetie vnder their protection. But if wee enterpriſe any thing againſte them, ſure we are to gaine nothing thereby, as we are by experience already ſufficiently taught.

It is well ſayd, ſayth the Byſhop of Aix: but I canne ſhew you a good remedy for this diſeaſe. we muſt go about withall our endeuor, power, and policie, and al the frends we canne make, ſparing no charges, but ſpending goodes, wealth and treaſure, to make ſuche a ſlaughter of the Merindolians, and ruſticall peſantes, that none ſhalbe ſo bold hereafter, what ſoeuer they be, yea although they be of the bloud royal, once to open their mouthes againſt vs, or the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate. And to bring this matter to paſſe, wee haue no better way, then to withdrawe our ſelues to Auinion, in the which Citie we ſhal finde many Biſhops, Abbots, and other famous men, which will with vs, employ their whole endeuor, to maintaine and vphold the maieſtie of our holy mother the Church. This counſaile was well liked of them all. Wherupon the ſayd Archbiſhop of Arles and the Biſhop of Aix, went withall ſpeede, to Auinion, there to aſſemble, out of hand, the Biſhops and other men of authoritie and credite, to entreate this matter. In thys peſtilent conſpiracie the Biſhop of Aix, a ſtoute champion and a great defender of the traditions of men, taking vpon hym to be the chiefe Oratour, beganne in manner as followeth.

A butcherly religion which worketh all by bloud.

Cathedra Peſtilentie.

O Yee fathers and brethren, yee are not ignoraunt that a great tempeſt is raiſed vp againſt the little barke of Chriſte Ieſus, nowe in great danger and ready to peariſh. The ſtorme commeth from the North, whereof all theſe troubles proceede. The ſeas rage, the waters ruſhe in on euery ſide, the windes blowe & beate vpon our houſe, and wee, without ſpeedy remedy, are like to ſuſtaine ſhippewracke, and loſſe of alltogether. For oblations ceaſe, pilgrimage and deuotion waxeth colde, charitie is cleane gone, our eſtimation and authoritie is abaſed, our iuriſdiction decaied, and the ordinaunces of the churche deſpiſed. And wherefore are we ſette and ordained ouer nations and kingdomes, but to roote out and deſtroy, to ſubuert and ouerthrow, whatſoeuer is againſt our holy mother the Churche? Wherefore let vs now awake. lette vs ſtande ſtoutly in the right of our owne poſſeſſion, that we may roote out from the memorie of men for euer the whole route of the wicked Lutheranes: thoſe Foxes (I ſay) whiche deſtroye the vineyard of the Lorde: thoſe great Whales, which goe aboute to drowne the little barke of the ſonne of God. We haue already wel begonne, and haue procured a terrible Arreſt againſt theſe curſed heretickes of Merindoll; nowe then reſteth no more but onelye the ſame to be put in execution. Let vs therefore employe oure whole endeuour, that nothyng happen whych may lette or hinder that we haue ſo happely begon, and lette vs take good heede, that our gold and ſiluer do not witneſſe agaynſt vs at the day of iudgement, if we refuſe to beſtowe the ſame, that we may make ſo good a ſacrifice vnto God. And for my parte, I offer to wage & furniſhe of mine owne coſtes and charges, a 100. men well horſed, with al other furniture to them belonging, and that ſo long, vntill the vtter deſtruction and ſubuerſion of theſe wretched and curſſed caitiffes, be fully performed and finiſhed.

An oration of Cateline, that is, the oration of the Biſhop of Aix, ſeditious, & bloudy.

Your oblations be againſt the Scripture.

Your pilgrimage is Idolatry.

Your charity is gone in deed, whẽ ye ſeeke ſo the bloud of your bretheren.

Your eſtimation is Phariſaicall.

Your iuriſdictiõ is tyrannicall.

Your ordinãces ſerue not to Chriſtes glory but your owne.

The day ſhall come when men ſhal thinke they do a good ſacryfice to God, in putting you to death. Iohn. 16.

This Oration pleaſed the whole multitude, ſauing one doctor of diuinitie, a frier Iacobine, named Baſſinet, who then anſwered againe with this Oration.

This is a weyghty matter (ſayd he) and of great importaunce: We muſte therefore proceede wiſely and in the feare of God, and beware that we do nothing raſhly. For if we ſeeke the deathe and deſtruction of theſe poore and miſerable people wrongfully, whẽ the King and the Nobilitie ſhall heare of ſuche an horrible ſlaughter, we ſhall be in great daunger, leaſt they doe to vs as we reade in the Scriptures, was done to the prieſtes of Baal. For my parte, I muſt ſay and vnfainedly confeſſe, that I haue too raſhly and lightly ſigned many proceſſes againſt thoſe, which haue bene accuſed of hereticall doctrine: but nowe I do proteſt before God, whyche ſeeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that ſeeing the lamentable end and effect of mine aſſigments, I haue had no quietneſſe in my conſcience, conſidering that the ſecular iudges, at the reporte of the iudgement and ſentence, geuen by mee, and other Doctours my companions, haue condemned all thoſe vnto moſt cruel death whome wee haue iudged to bee heretickes. And the cauſe why in conſcience I am thus diſquieted, is this, that now of late ſince I haue geuẽ my ſelf more diligently to the reading & cõtẽplatiõ

The oration of Baſſinet anſwering to the Byſhop of Aix.

The godly repentance of Baſſinet.

The teſtimony of Baſſinet for Lutherans.

of the holy ſcriptures:I haue perceiued that the moſt part of thoſe Articles which they that are called Lutheranes doe maintayne, are ſo conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part, I can no longer gaineſay them, except I ſhould euen wilfully and maliciouſly reſiſt and ſtriue againſt the holy ordinances of God. Al be it hetherto, to maintaine the honour of our holy mother the Churche, and of our holy father the Pope, and of our order, I haue conſented to the opinions, & doings of the other Doctours, as well through ignoraunce, as alſo becauſe I woulde not ſeeme to attempt any thing againſt the will and pleaſure of the Prelates and Vicares generall: But now it ſeemeth vnto mee that wee ought not any more to proceede in this matter, as wee haue done in time paſt. It ſhall be ſufficient to puniſh them, with fines or to baniſh them, which ſhall ſpeake too intemperately, or raſhly againſt the conſtitutions of the Churche, and of the Pope: and ſuch as ſhall be manifeſtly conuicted by the holy Scriptures, to be blaſphemers or obſtinate heretickes, to be condemned to deathe according to the enormity of the crimes or errours, or els to perpetuall priſone. And this my aduiſe and counſaile I deſire you to take in good part.

God and the Pope, and the obedience to them two, compared together.

John. 3.

With this counſaile of Baſſinet, al the company was offended, but eſpecially the Biſh. of Aix, who lifting vp his voyce aboue all the reſt, ſayd thus vnto hym: O thou man of litle faith, whereof art thou in doubt? Doeſt thou repent thee of that thou haſte well done? Thou haſte tolde heere a tale that ſmelleth of fagottes and brimſtone. Is there any differēce (thinkeſt thou) betwene heriſies and blaſphemies ſpoken and mainteined againſte the holy Scriptures: and opinions holden againſt our holy mother the Church, and contrary to our holy father the Pope, a moſt vndouted and true God in earth? Art thou a maiſter in Iſrael, and knoweſt not theſe things? Then ſaid the Biſhop of Arles, could any man entreat better of the little Barke of Chriſt Ieſus, then my Lorde of Aix hath done? Then ſtode vp Baſſinet agayne, and made thys Oration.

An other Oration of Baſſinet.

False paſtors in Chriſtes church deſcribed.

Math. 23.

Take heede of thoſe that come to you in ſhepes ſkinnes, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues.

Math.7. The Po Pilots in Chriſtes ship are b come Pi rates.

It is true, that my Lorde the Biſhop of Aix hathe very well ſet out the manners and ſtate of the Clergie, and hath aptly reprooued the vices and hereſies of this preſent time: and therefore ſo ſoone as mention was made of the ſhippe of Chriſt Ieſus, it came in my minde firſt of all, of the high Biſhop of Hieruſalem, the Prieſtes, the Doctours of the lawe, the Scribes and Phariſeys, whyche ſometime had the gouernaunce of this ſhippe, being ordeined paſtours in the Church of God. But when they forſooke the lawe of God, and ſerued him with mennes inuentions and traditions, he deſtroyed thoſe Hypocrites in his great indignation: and hauing compaſsion and pitie vppon the people, which were lyke ſheepe without a ſhepheard, hee ſent diligent fiſhers to fiſhe for menne: faithfull workemen into his harueſt, and labourers into hys vineyeard, which ſhall all bring foorth true fruites in their ſeaſon. Secondly, conſidering the purpoſe and entent of the reuerent Lord Biſhop of Aix, I called to minde the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his 1. Epiſtle and 4. chapter vnto Timothe: That in the latter daies, ſome ſhall fall away from the faith, following after deceitfull ſpirites, and the doctrine of deuils. And the Apoſtle geueth a marke whereby a man ſhall know them. Likewiſe our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, in the 7. chapter of Mathew, ſayeth, That the falſe Prophetes ſhall come, clothed in ſheepes ſkinnes, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues: and by their fruites they ſhallbe knowen. By theſe two and diuers ſuch other places, it is eaſy to vnderſtand, who are they that goe about to drowne this little barke of Chriſt. Are they not theſe which fill the ſame wyth filthy and vncleane thinges? With mire and dirt? with puddle and ſtinking water? Are they not thoſe which haue forſaken Ieſus Chriſte, the fountaine of liuing water, and haue digged vnto them ſelues pittes or ceſternes whych will holde no water? Truely euen thoſe they are, which vaunt them ſelues to be the ſalte of the earth, and yet haue no ſauour at all: which cal them ſelues paſtours, & yet are nothing leſſe then true paſtours, for they miniſter not vnto the ſhepe the true paſture and feeding, neither deuide and diſtribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may be bolde to ſpeake it) would it not be at this preſent, as a great wonder to heare a Biſhop preache, as to ſee an Aſſe flie? Are not they curſſed of God whych glorye and vaunte them ſelues to haue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and neither enter in them ſelues, nor ſuffer them that wold enter, to come in? They may be knowen right well by their fruites: for they haue forſaken faith, iudgement and mercy, & there is no honeſt, cleane, or vndefiled thing in them, but their habite, theyr rochet, & theyr ſurpleſſe and ſuch other: Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trimme, but wythin they are full of al abhomination, rauine, gluttonie, filthy luſte, and all manner of vncleanneſſe. They are like painted ſepulchers, which outwardly appeare beautifull & faire, but wythin they are full of filth and corruption. A man ſhal know (I ſay) theſe rauening Wolues, by their fruites, which deuour the quicke and the dead, vnder the pretence of long prayer: and for ſo much as I am enforced to geue place to the trueth, and that you call me a Maiſter in Iſrael, I will not be afraide to prooue by the holy Scriptures, that your great Pilot and patrone the Pope, and the Biſhops the mariners, and ſuch others, which haue impudently forſaken the ſhippe of Chriſt Ieſus, to embarke them ſelfe in Piniſes and Brigandines, are pyrates and robbers of the Sea, falſe Prophetes, deceiuers and not true paſtours of the Church of Ieſus Chriſt.

A commendation for Doctors of the Canon lawe.

The biſhop of Aix, Archcaptain of this perſecution.

When Doctor Baſſinet had thus frely and boldly vttered hys minde: the whole multitude beganne to gather about him, and ſpitefully railed at hym. But the biſhoppe of Aix aboue other, raging and crying out, as hee had bene mad: get thee out ſaide he, from amongſt vs, thou wicked Apoſtata: thou art not worthy to be in this company. We haue burned daily a great manye, which haue not ſo well deſerued it, as thou haſt. We may now perceiue yͤ there is none more ſtedfaſt and feruent in the faith, then the doctors of yͤ canon law. And therefore it were neceſſary to be decreed in the next generall councell, that none ſhould haue to doe in matters of religion, but they alone: For theſe knaues and beggerly Monkes and Friers will bring all to noughte. Then the other doctors of the ſame order, boldly reproued the biſh. of Aix, for the iniurie that he had done vnto them: After this, there roſe a great diſſention amongeſt them: in ſo muche that there was nothing at that time determined. After dinner all theſe reuerent prelates aſſembled together againe, but they ſuffered neither Frier nor Monke to be amongeſt them except he were an Abbot. In thys aſſemble they made a generall compoſition, confirmed with an oth, that euery man ſhoulde endeuour hym ſelfe, that the ſayde Arreſt of Merindol ſhould be executed withall expedition, euery man offring to furniſh out men of warre, according to his habilitie. The charge wherof was geuen to the Biſhop of Aix and to the Preſident of the Canons, to ſollicite the matter, and to perſwade by al meanes poſſible, the preſidents and Counſellers of the ſaid Court of Parliament, without feare or doubte, to execute the ſayde Arreſt, wyth drummes, enſignes diſplaide, artillerie, and all kinde of furniture of warre.

This conſpiracie being concluded and determined, the Biſhop of Aix departed incontinent from Auinion, to goe vnto Aix, to performe yͤ charge, which was geuen to hym. Notwithſtanding they deſired him to be the next day after the Counſell was holden, at a bankette whych ſhoulde be made at the houſe of the Biſhop of Rieux. To thys banket ſuch as were knowen to be the faireſt and moſt beautifull women in all Auinion, were called to refreſhe and ſolace theſe good Prelates, after the greate paines and trauayle which they had taken for our holy mother the Church. After they had dined, they fell to dauncing, playing at dice, and ſuch other paſtimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the bankets and feaſtes of theſe holy Prelates. After this, they walked abroade to ſolace them ſelues, and to paſſe the time till ſupper.

Ex fructib eorum cognoſcetis eos.

Baudy pictures receiued, Gods booke reiected.

As they paſſed thorowe the ſtreetes, euery one leadyng his Minion vpon his arme, they ſawe a man whych ſolde baudie Images and pictures, with filthie rimes and Ballets annexed to the ſame, to moue and ſturre vp the people to whoredome, and knauerie. All theſe goodly Pictures were bought vp by the Biſhops: which were as many as a Mule coulde well carie. And if there were anye obſcure ſentence, or hard to vnderſtand, in thoſe rimes or ballets, the ſame theſe learned Prelates did readely expounde, and laughed preſently thereat. In the ſame place, as they walked alōg, there was a bookeſeller which had ſet out to ſale, certaine Bibles in Frenche and Latine, with diuers other Bookes, whyche when the Prelates behelde, they were greatly moued thereat, and ſaid vnto him: Dareſt thou be ſo hardy to ſet out ſuch marchādiſe to ſel here in this towne? Doeſt thou not know that ſuch bookes are forbidden? The bookeſeller anſwered, is not the holy Bible as good as theſe goodly pictures, which you haue bought for theſe Gentlewomen? He had ſkarce ſpoken theſe words, but the biſhop of Aix ſayd, I renounce my part of Paradiſe if this felowe be not a Lutherane. Let him be taken (ſayd he) and examined what he is, and incontinently the bookeſeller was taken and caried vnto priſon, and ſpitefully handled: For a company of knaues and ruffians, which waited vpon the Prelates, began to crye out, a Lutherane, a Lutherane, to the fire with him, to the fire with him, and one gaue hym a blow with his fiſt, a nother pulled him by the hear, & other by the beard, in ſuch ſorte, that the poore man was all embrued with bloud, before that he came vnto priſon.

The morow after he was brought before the iudges, in yͤ preſence of the biſhops, wherās he was examined in this forme as followeth. Haſt not thou ſet forth to ſale the Bible and the new Teſtament in French? The priſoner aunſwered,

ſwered,

Chriſtian conſtancy in a good bookeſeller.

ſwered, that he had ſo done. And being demaunded whether he vnderſtood or knew not that it was forbidden throughout all Chriſtendome, to print or ſel the Bible in any other language, then in Latin: he aunſwered, that he knewe the contrary, and that he had ſold many Bibles in the French tong, with yͤ Emperors priuiledge, and many other printed at Lions: alſo new teſtaments, imprinted by the kings priuiledge. Furthermore he ſayde, that he knew no nation throughout all Chriſtendome, which had not the holy ſcriptures in their vulgare toung: and afterward with a bold courage thus he ſpake vnto them. O you inhabitants of Auinion, are you alone in all Chriſtendome? thoſe men which do deſpiſe and abhorre the Teſtament of the heauēly father: wil you forbid and hide that which Ieſus Chriſt hath commaunded to be reuealed and publiſhed? Do you not know that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt gaue power vnto his Apoſtles, to ſpeake all maner of toungs, to this ende, that his holy Goſpell ſhould be taught vnto all creatures, in euery language? And why do you not forbid thoſe bookes and pictures, which are full of filthines and abhomination, to moue & ſtirre vp the people to whoredome, and to vncleannes, and to prouoke Gods vengeance and great indignation vpon you all? what greater blaſphemy can there be, then to forbid Gods moſt holy bookes which he ordeined to inſtruct the ignoraunt, and to reduce and bring againe into the way ſuch as are gone aſtray? what cruelty is this, to take away from the poore ſely ſoules their nouriſhment and ſuſtenance? But my Lordes, you ſhall geue an heauie accompt, which call ſweete ſower, and ſower ſweete, whiche mainteine abhominable and deteſtable bookes and pictures, and reiect that which is holy.

A godly bookeſeller with two Bibles about his necke, burned in Auinion.

Proclamation agaynſt French Bibles.

Then the Biſhop of Aix and the other Biſhops, began to rage, and gnaſhed their teeth againſt this poore priſoner. What neede you (ſaid they) any more examination? let him be ſent ſtraight vnto yͤ fire, without any more wordes. But the Iudge Laberius and certaine others were not of that mind, neither founde they ſufficient cauſe, why to put him to death, but went about to haue him put vnto hys fine, and to make him confeſſe & acknowledge the Byſhop of Aix and other his companions, to be the true paſtors of the Church. But the bookeſeller aunſwered, that he could not do it with a good conſcience, forſomuch as he did ſee before his eies, yͭ theſe Byſhops mainteined filthy bookes and abhominable pictures, reiecting and refuſing the holy bookes of God, and therefore he iudged them rather to be the Prieſts of Bacchus and Venus, then the true paſtors of the Church of Chriſt. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the ſentence was executed yͤ very ſame day: And for a ſigne or token of the cauſe of hys condemnation, he caried two Bibles hanging about hys necke, the one before, & the other behind him: but this poore man had alſo the word of God in his hart & in his mouth, and ceaſed not continually by the way, vntill that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and moniſh the people to reade the holy Scriptures: in ſo much that diuers were thereby mooued to ſeeke after the truth. The Prelates ſeeing a great diſſention amongſt the people of Auinion, and that many murmured and grudged againſt them for the death of this good man, and alſo for the diſhonour which they had done vnto the holy Teſtament of God, minding to put the people in a feare, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamatiō by the ſound of a Trumpet, throughout the whole towne and Countie of Venice, that all ſuch as had any bookes in the French tongue intreating vpon the holy Scriptures, ſhould bring them foorth, and deliuer them into the hands of the Commiſſioners, appointed for that purpoſe: contrarywiſe, they which had any ſuche bookes found about them, ſhould be put to death.

The Biſhop of Aix ſtirreth vp Caſſaneus the Preſident to perſecution.

The aunſwere of Caſſaneus to the Byſhops for Merindoll.

Then after that theſe Prelates had taken aduiſe to raiſe great perſecution in Venice, the Biſhop of Aix returned to proſecute the executiō of the arreſt againſt Merindol, trauelling earneſtly with the Preſident Caſſaneus, to that effect: declaring vnto him the good will of the Prelates of Auinion and Prouince, & the great affectiō they bare both to him and his, with many faire promiſes, if he would put the Arreſt in execution. The Preſident aunſwered hym, that it was no ſmall matter to put the Arreſt of Merindoll in execution. Alſo that the ſayd Arreſt was geuen out more to keepe yͤ Lutheranes in feare, which were a great number in Prouince, then to execute it in effect, as it was conteined in the ſayd Arreſt. Moreouer, he ſaid that the arreſt of Merindoll was not definitiue, and that the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme, did not permit yͤ executiō thereof, without further proceſſe. Then ſaid the Biſhop, if there be either lawe or ſtatute which doth hinder or let you, we cary in our ſleeues to diſpence therwithall. The Preſident anſwered, it were a great ſinne to ſhed the innocent bloud. Then ſayd the Byſhop, the bloud of them of Merindoll be vpon vs and vpon our ſucceſſours. Then ſaid the Preſident. I am very well aſſured that if the Arreſt of Merindoll be put in execution, the kyng will not be well pleaſed to haue ſuch deſtruction made of his ſubiectes. Then ſayd the Biſhop, although the kyng at the firſt, do thinke it euil done, we will ſo bring it to paſſe, that within a ſhort ſpace, he ſhall thinke it well done: For we haue yͤ Cardinals on our ſide, & ſpecially the moſt reuerent Cardinall of Tournon, the which will take vpō him the defence of our cauſe, and we can doe him no greater pleaſure, then vtterly to roote out theſe Lutheranes: ſo that if we haue any neede of his coūſaile or ayde, we ſhall be wel aſſured of him: And is not he the principall, the moſt excellent & prudēt aduerſary of theſe Lutheranes, which is in all Chriſtendome?

Sanguis eius ſuper nos & filios noſtros. Math. 27.

The Cardinall of Tournon the organe of Antichriſt.

The popes army ſetteth forward toward Merindoll.

By this & ſuch other like talke, the Byſhop of Aix perſuaded the Preſidēt & Counſellours of the Court of Parliament, to put the ſayd Arreſt in execution, and by this meanes through the authoritie of the ſayd Court, the drum was ſounded throughout all Prouince, yͤ Captaines were prepared with their Enſignes diſplayd, and a great number of footemē and horſemen, began to ſet forward & marched out of the towne of Aix, in order of battell, well horſed and furniſhed agaynſt Merindoll, to execute the Arreſt. The inhabitauntes of Merindoll beyng aduertiſed hereof, and ſeyng nothyng but preſent death to be at hād, with great lamentation, commended themſelues & their cauſe vnto God by prayer, makyng thēſelues ready to be murthered and ſlayne as ſheepe led vnto the butchery.

The army againe retyred by the meanes of the Lord of Alenc.

A ſtory of excomunycatyng the Rattes for eating vp the corne.

Whiles they were at this greeuous diſtreſſe pitiouſly mournyng and lamentyng together, the father with the ſonne, the daughter with yͤ mother, the wife with the huſband, ſodenly there was newes brought vnto them, that the army was retired, and no mā knew at that tyme, how or by what meanes: notwithſtandyng afterward it was knowen, that the Lord of Alenc, a wiſe man & learned in the Scriptures & in Ciuill law, beyng moued with great zeale and loue of iuſtice, declared vnto the Preſidēt Chaſſanee, that he ought not ſo to proceede agaynſt the inhabitantes of Merindoll by way of force of armes, contrary to all forme and order of iuſtice, without iudgement or condemnation, or without making any differēce betwene the gilty & the vngilty. And furthermore he ſayd, I deſire you my Lord Preſidēt, call to remēbraunce the counſell which you haue written in your booke, entituled Catalogus gloriæ mundi, in the which booke you haue intreated and brought forth the proceſſes whiche were holden agaynſt the Rats, by the officers of the Court and iuriſdiction of the Byſhop of Authun. For as it happened, there was almoſt through out all the Bailiwyke of Lauſſois, ſuch a great number of Rats, that they deſtroyed and deuoured all the corne of the coūtrey. Wherupon they tooke counſell to ſend vnto yͤ Byſhop of Authuns Official, for to haue the Rats excommunicate. Whereupon it was ordeined & decreed by the ſayd Officiall, after he had heard the plaintiſe of the Procurator fiſcall, that before he would proceede to excommunication, they ſhould haue admonition, and warning, accordyng to the order of iuſtice. For this cauſe it was ordeined, that by the ſound of a trūpet, & open proclamation made throughout all yͤ ſtreetes of the towne of Authun, the Rats ſhould be cited to appeare within three dayes: and if they did not appeare: then to proceede agaynſt them.

The Preſident Chaſſane choſen Aduocat for the Rattes.

The three dayes were paſſed, & the Procurator came into the Court agaynſt the rats, & for lacke of appearāce, obteyned defaulte: by vertue whereof he required that they would proceede to the excōmunication. Wherupon it was iudicially acknowledged, that the ſaid Rats beyng abſent, ſhould haue their Aduocate appointed them to heare their defence, forſomuch as yͤ queſtion was for yͤ whole deſtructiō & baniſhyng of the ſayd Rats. And you my Lord Preſidēt beyng at that tyme the kynges Aduocate at Authun, were then choſen to be the Aduocate to defend the Rattes. And hauyng takē the charge vpō you in pleadyng yͤ matter, it was by you there declared that the citatiō was of no effect, for certaine cauſes & reaſons by you there alledged. Then was it decreed that the ſayd Rats ſhould be once againe cited, throughout the Pariſhes whereas they were. Then after the citatiōs were duely ſerued, the Procurator came agayne into the Court as before, & there it was alledged by you my Lord Preſident, how that yͤ terme of appearaunce geuen vnto the Rats was to ſhort, & that there were ſo many Cats in euery Towne and Village as they ſhould paſſe through, that they had iuſt cauſe to be abſent.

The perſwaſion of the Lord of Alenc, to Chaſſane, to returne his army from Merindoll.

Wherfore my Lord Preſidēt, you ought not ſo lightly to proceede agaynſt theſe poore mē, but you ought to looke vpon the holy Scriptures, and there you ſhall finde how you ought to proceede in this matter: and you my Lord, haue alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the ſame, as appeareth more at large in your ſayd booke, and by this plea of a matter which ſeemeth to be but of ſmall importance, you haue obteined great fame and honour, for the vpright declaration of the maner & forme, how iudges ought grauely to procede in criminall cauſes. Then my Lord Preſident, you which haue taught others, will you not alſo learne by your owne bookes? the which will manifeſtly condemne you, if you proceede any further, to the deſtruction of theſe poore men of Merindoll. For are not they Chriſtian men? and ought you not as well to miniſter right and iuſtice vnto them, as you haue done vnto the Rattes? By theſe and ſuch like demonſtrations, the Preſident was perſuaded, and immediately called backe his commiſſion which he had geuen out, and cauſed the army to retire, the which was already come neere vnto Merindoll, euen within one mile and a halfe.

The Lords prouidence for the Merindolians.

Then the Merindolians vnderſtanding that the army was retired, gaue thankes vnto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation, alwaies to haue yͤ feare of God before their eies, to be obediēt vnto his holy commandements, ſubiect to his moſt holy wil, and euery man to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his prouidence, paciently attending and looking for the hope of the bleſſed, that is to ſay, the true life and the euerlaſting riches, hauing alwaies before their eies for example our Lord Ieſu Chriſt the very ſonne of God, who hath entred into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themſelues to endure and abide all the afflictions, that it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon them: and ſuch was their anſwere to all thoſe that either pitied or elſe ſought their deſtructiō. Wherupon the brute and noiſe was ſo great, as well of the Arreſt, as of the enterpriſe of the execution, and alſo of the pacience and conſtancie of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kepte ſecrete, from King Fraunces, a Kyng of noble courage, and great iudgement: who gaue cōmandement vnto the noble and vertuous Lorde, Mounſieur de Langeay, which then was his Lieutenant in Thurin, a Citie in Piemont, that he ſhould diligently enquire and ſearch out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the ſayd Mounſieur de Langeay, ſent vnto Prouince two men of fame and eſtimation, geuing them in charge, to bring vnto him the copie of the Arreſt, and diligently to enquire out all that followed and enſued thereupon: and likewiſe to make diligent inquiſition of the life and maners of the ſaid Merindolians, and others, which were perſecuted in the countrey of Prouince.

Fraunces the French kyng ſēdeth Mounſieur Langeay, to enquire better of the Merindolians.

These deputies brought the copie of the Arreſt, and of all that happened thereupon, vnto the ſayd Mounſieur de Langeay, declaring vnto him the great iniuries, polings, extorcions, exactions, tirannies, & cruelties, which yͤ Iudges, as well ſecular as Eccleſiaſticall, vſed agaynſt them of Merindoll and others. As touching the behauiour and diſpoſition of thoſe which were perſecuted, they reported that the moſt part of the men of Prouince affirmed them to be men geuen to great labour and trauaile, and that about 100. yeares paſſed (as it is reported) they came out of the countrey of Piemont to dwell in Prouince, and tooke to tillage and to inhabite, many hamlets & villages deſtroyed by the warres, and other deſert and waſte places: which they had ſo well occupied, that now there was great ſtore of wynes, oyles, hony, and cattell, wherewith ſtraungers were greatly relieued and holpe. Beſides that, before they came into the countrey to dwell, the place of Merindoll, was taxed but at foure crownes, which before the laſt deſtruction, payed yearely vnto the Lord for taxes and tallages, aboue 350. crownes, beſide other charges.

A teſtimonie in the commenda of the Merindolians.

The godly conuerſation of the Merindolians.

The like was alſo reported of Lormarin, and diuers other places of Prouince, whereas there was nothyng but robberie before they came to inhabite there, ſo that none coulde paſſe that way, but in great daunger. Moreouer, they of the countrey of Prouince, affirmed that the inhabitaunts of Merindoll and the other that were perſecuted: were peaceable & quiet people, beloued of all their neighbours, men of good behauiour, cōſtant in keeping of their promiſe, and paieng of their debtes, without trauerſing or pleading of the law. That they were alſo charitable men, geuing of almes, releeuing the poore, and ſuffered none amongſt them to lacke or be in neceſſitie. Alſo they gaue almes to ſtrangers, and to yͤ poore paſſengers, harbouring, nouriſhing, and helping them in all their neceſſities, according to their power. Moreouer, that they were knowne by this, throughout all yͤ countrey of Prouince, that they would not ſweare, or name the diuell, or eaſly be brought to take an othe, except it were in iudgemente, or makyng ſome ſolemne couenant. They were alſo knowne by thys, that they could neuer be moued nor prouoked to talke of any diſhoneſt matters, but in what company ſoeuer they came, where they heard any wanton talke, ſwearing or blaſphemy, to the diſhonour of God, they ſtraight way departed out of that company. Alſo they ſayd that they neuer ſawe them go vnto their buſines, but firſt they made theyr prayers. The ſayd people of Prouince furthermore affirmed, that whē they came to any fayres or markets, or came to their cities by any occaſion, they neuer in a maner were ſeene in their Churches: and if they were, whē they praied they turned away their faces frō the images, and neyther offred candels to thē, nor kiſſed their feete. Neither would they worſhip the reliques of Saints, nor once looke vpon them. And moreouer, if they paſſed by any croſſe or Image of the crucifixe or any other Sainct, by the way as they went, they would do no reuerence vnto them. Alſo the Prieſtes did teſtifie, that they neuer cauſed them to ſay any Maſſes, neyther diriges, neither yet De profundis: neyther woulde they take any holy water, and if it were carryed home vnto their houſes, they woulde not ſaye once God a mercy, yea they ſemed vtterly to abhorre it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vowes to Saints, to buy pardons or remiſſion of ſinnes with money, yea though it might be gotten for a halfepeny, they thought it not lawfull. Likewiſe whē it thundered or lightened, they would not croſſe themſelues, but caſting vp their eies to heauen, fetch deepe ſighes. Some of thē would kneele downe & pray, without bleſſing themſelues with yͤ ſigne of the croſſe, or taking of holy water. Alſo they were neuer ſeene to offer, or caſt into the baſon, any thing for yͤ maintenance of lightes, brotherhoods, churches, or to geue any offering either for yͤ quicke or the dead. But if any were in affliction or pouertie, thoſe they releeued gladly, and thought nothing too much.

Crimes laid againſt the Merindolians.

Mans lawe preferred before Gods lawe.

This was yͤ whole tenor of the report made vnto Mounſieur de Langeay, touching the life and behauiour of yͤ inhabitants of Merindoll, and the other which were perſecuted: alſo as touching the Arreſt and that which enſued therupon. Of all thoſe things, the ſayd Monſieur de Langeay, according to the charge that was geuen him, aduertiſed the king: who vnderſtanding theſe things, as a good prince moued with mercy and pity, ſent letters of grace & pardon, not only for thoſe which were cōdemned for lacke of appearance, but alſo for all the reſt of yͤ countrey of Prouince, which were accuſed and ſuſpected in like caſe: expreſly charging and commanding the ſaid parliamēt that they ſhoulde not heereafter procede ſo rigorouſly as they had done before, againſt this people, but if there were anye that could be found or proued by ſufficient information, to haue ſwarued from yͤ chriſtian religion, that then he ſhould haue good demonſtration made vnto him by the word of God, both out of the old and of the new Teſtament: and ſo as well by the gentlenes as by the rigour of the ſame, he ſhould be reduced againe vnto the Church of Chriſt: declaring alſo yͭ the kings pleaſure was, that all ſuch as ſhould be conuict of hereſie in maner aforeſaid, ſhould abiure: forbidding alſo all maner of perſons, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they were, to attempt any thing againſt them of Merindoll or other that were perſecuted, by any other maner of meanes, or to moleſt or trouble them in perſon or goodes: reuoking and diſanulling all maner of ſentences and condemnations, of what iudges ſoeuer they were, and commaunding to ſet at libertie all priſoners which either were accuſed or ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme.

The kinges pardon procured & ſent downe for the Merindolians.

By vertue of theſe letters, they were now permitted to declare their cauſe, and to ſay what they coulde, in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a confeſſion of their fayth: the effect whereof you ſhall ſee in the end of the ſtory. This * confeſſion was preſented firſt to the Court of Parliament, and afterward being declared more at large, wyth Articles alſo annexed thereunto, it was deliuered to the Biſhop of Cauaillon, who required yͤ ſame. Alſo to Cardinall Sadolet, Biſhop of Carpentras, with the lyke Articles, and alſo a ſupplication to this effect: That the inhabitants of Cabriers in the Countie of Venice, moſt humbly deſired him that he would vouchſafe to receiue & reade the confeſſion and declaration of their fayth and doctrine, in the which they, and alſo their fathers before them, had bene of a lōg time, inſtructed and taught, which they were perſuaded to be agreable to the doctrine conteined in yͤ old and new Teſtament. And becauſe he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they deſired hym that he woulde marke ſuch articles as he thought to be againſt the Scriptures: and if he ſhould make it to appeare vnto them, yͭ ther was any thing cōtrary to the ſame, they would not only ſubmit themſelues vnto abiuration, but alſo to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſhould be adiudged vnto them, euen to the loſſe, not only of all that they had, but alſo their liues. And moreouer, if there were any Iudge in all the countie of Venice, which

* This moſt godly and Chriſtian confeſſion you ſhall finde more largely ſet out in Hē. Pantaleon, and alſo in the French ſtory, entreating of the deſtruction of Merindoll, and Cabriers: alſo touching their faith and confeſſion, you ſhall partly ſee hereafter, pag. 917.

The Merindolians require the iudgement of Cardinall Sadolet, touching their articles.

which by good and ſuſficiēt information, ſhould be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine, or mainteined any other religion then was cōteined in the articles of their confeſſion, they deſired him that he would cōmunicate the ſame vnto them, and with all obedience, they offered themſelues to whatſoeuer ſhould be thought iuſt and reaſonable. Upon this requeſt Cardinal Sadolet anſwered by his letters writtē by his Secretary, and ſigned with his owne hand, the tenor whereof heere enſueth.

The anſwer of Cardinal Sadolet, to the Merindolians.

I haue ſeene your requeſt, and haue red the Articles of youre confeſsion, wherein there is much matter conteined, and do not vnderſtand that you are accuſed for any other doctrine, but for the very ſame, which you haue confeſſed. It is moſt true, that many haue reported diuers things of you, worthy of reproofe, which after diligent enquiry made, we haue found to be nothing elſe but falſe reports and ſlaunders. As touching the reſt of youre Articles, it ſeemeth vnto me, that there are many wordes therein, which might well be chaunged without preiudice vnto your confeſsion. And likewiſe it ſeemeth to me that it is not neceſſary that you ſhould ſpeake ſo manifeſtly againſt the Paſtours of the Churche. For my parte, I deſire youre welfare, aud would be ſory that you ſhould be ſo ſpoyled or deſtroyed, as they do pretende. And to the ende you ſhall the better vnderſtande my amity and friendſhip towards you, ſhortly I will be at my houſe by Cabriers, whether ye may reſort vnto me eyther in greater or ſmaller number, as you will, and returne ſafely without any hurt or damage, and there I will aduertiſe you of all things that I thinke meete for your profite and health.

The Biſhop of Cauaillō ſeeketh the deſtruction of Cabriers.

Card. Sadolet returned backe the armye comming againſt Cabriers.

The promiſe of Sadolet to his tenauntes of Cabriers.

About this time, which was the yeare of our Lord 1542. the Vicelegate of Auinion aſſembled a great number of men of warre at the ſute of the B. of Cauaillon, to deſtroy Cabriers. when the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the Cardinall Sadolet went with ſpeede vnto the Vicelegate, and ſhewed him the requeſt of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the Articles of their confeſſion, and the offers that they made: ſo that for that preſent, the army retired without any damage or hurt done vnto ẏ inhabitāts of Cabriers. After this the Cardinall Sadolet went vnto Rome: but before his departure he ſent for diuers of Cabriers, and certaine farmers of his owne, whom he knew to be of ẏ number of thoſe which were called Lutheranes, and told thē that he would haue them in remembrance, as ſoone as he came vnto Rome, and cōmunicate their Articles and confeſſion vnto the Cardinals, truſting to finde a meane to haue ſome good reformation, that God ſhould be thereby glorified, & all Chriſtendome brought to an vnitie and concord: at the leaſt, nothing at all doubting, but that the fouleſt abuſes ſhould be corrected and amēded, aduertiſing them in the meane time to be wiſe and circumſpect, to watch and pray for that they had many enemies. Wyth this Oration of Cardinall Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, truſting that at ẏ ſute of Cardinall Sadolet they ſhould haue aunſwer of their confeſſion. But at his returne, they vnderſtode that he founde all thinges ſo corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortall warre agaynſt all ſuch as would not liue according to the ordinances of the Church of Rome. Likewiſe ſayde the Treaſurer of Carpentras, who albeit he payed out money to furniſh ſouldiours that were hired for the deſtruction of Cabriers, notwithſtanding he did ayde them ſecretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the Legate: whereupon he was conſtreined to withdraw himſelfe.

The treſurer of Carpentras a priuye frende to them of Cabriers.

On the other parte, the Byſhop of Aix and Cauaillon purſued ſtill the execution of the areſt of Merindoll. Then it was ordeyned by the court of parliament, that according to the kings letters John Durand coūſailer of the Court of parliament, with a Secretarie: and the Biſhop of Cauaillon with a doctor of diuinitie, ſhould go vnto Merindoll, and there declare vnto ẏ inhabitants the errours and hereſies which they knew to be cōteined in their cōfeſſion, and make them apparant by good and ſufficient information, and hauing ſo conuicted them by the worde of God, they ſhould make them to renounce & abiure the ſayde hereſies. And if the Merindolians did refuſe to abiure, then they ſhould make relatiō therof, that the Court might appoint how they ſhould further procede. After this decree was made, the Biſhop of Cauaillon would not tary vntil the time which was appointed by the Court, for the execution of this matter: but he hymſelfe with a Doctour of Diuinitie, came vnto Merindoll to make them to abiure. Unto whom the Merindolians aunſwered that he enterpriſed againſt the authoritie of the Parliament, and that it was againſt his commiſſion ſo to do. Notwithſtādyng, he was very earneſt with thē that they ſhould abiure, & promiſed them, if they would ſo doe, to take them vnder his wynges & protection, euen as the hen doth her chickens, & that they ſhould be no more robbed or ſpoyled. Thē they required that he would declare vnto thē what they ſhould abiure. The Byſh. aūſwered that ẏ matter needed no diſputation, & that he required but onely a generall abiuratiō of all errours, which would be no damage or preiudice to them: For he himſelfe would not ſticke to make the lyke abiuration. The Merindolians aunſwered him agayne, that they would do nothing contrary to the decree & ordinaunce of the Court, or the kyngs letters, wherein he cōmaunded that firſt the errours ſhould bee declared vnto thē, wherof they were accuſed: wherefore they were reſolued to vnderſtād what thoſe errours & hereſies were, that being enformed therof by the word of God, they might ſatiſfie the kyngs letters: otherwiſe it were but hypocriſie & diſſimulation, to doe as he required them. And if he could make it to appeare vnto them by good & ſufficiēt information, that they had holdē any errours & hereſies, or ſhould be conuict therupon by the word of God, they would willingly abiure: or if in their confeſſion there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would reuoke the ſame: Contrarywiſe, if it were not made manifeſt vnto them, that they had holden any hereſies, but that they had alwayes liued accordyng to the doctrine of the Goſpell, and that their confeſſion was grounded vpon the ſame: they ought by no meanes, to moue or conſtrayne them, to abiure any errours which they held not, & that it were plainly agaynſt all equitie and iuſtice ſo to do.

The Popes Byſhops will come to no reaſoning.

The Biſhops condemne the Merindolians for hereſie, and yet can ſhewe no hereſies in thē by the word of God.

Then the Byſhyp of Cauaillon was maruelouſly angry & would heare no word ſpoken of any demonſtration to be made by the word of God, but in a furie curſed and gaue him to the deuill that firſt inuented that meane. Thē the Doctour of Diuinitie whom the Biſhop brought thether, demaunded what Articles they were, that were preſented by the inhabitaunts of Merindoll, for the Byſhop of Cauaillō had not yet ſhewed thē vnto him. Thē the biſhop of Cauaillon deliuered the Doctour the confeſſion: Whiche after he had read, the Byſhop of Cauaillon ſayd, what? will you any more witneſſe or declaration? this is full of hereſie. Thē they of Merindoll demaūded in what point. Whereunto the Byſhop knew not what to aunſwere. Then ẏ Doctour demaunded to haue tyme to looke vpon the Articles of the cōfeſſion, and to conſider whether they were agaynſt the Scriptures or no. Thus the Byſhop departed, beyng very ſore agreeued that he could not bryng his purpoſe to paſſe.

The biſhop ſore agreued to haue hereſie tryed by Gods word.

After viij. dayes the Byſhop ſent for this Doctour, to vnderſtand how he might order himſelf to make thoſe hereſies appeare, which were in the ſayd confeſſion. Whereunto the Doctour aunſwered, that he was neuer ſo much abaſhed: for when he had beholden the Articles of the confeſſiō, and the authorities of the Scripture that there were alledged for the confirmation thereof, hee had founde that thoſe Articles were wholy agreable and accordyng to the holy Scriptures, and that hee had not learned ſo much in the Scriptures all the dayes of his lyfe, as he had in thoſe viij. dayes, in lookyng vpon thoſe Articles and the authorities therein alledged.

The articles of the Merindoliās approued by the Doctor.

Shortly after, the Byſh. of Cauaillon came vnto Merindoll, & callyng before him the childrē both great & ſmal, gaue them money, & commaunded thē with fayre wordes, to learne the Pater noſter & the Creede in Latin. The moſt part of them aunſwered that they knew the Pater noſter, & the Creede already in Latin, but they could make no reaſō of that which they ſpake, but onely in the vulgare tongue. The Byſh. aunſwered, ẏ it was not neceſſary they ſhould be ſo cunnyng, but that it was ſufficient that they knew it in Latin, & that it was not requiſite for their ſaluation, to vnderſtād or to expoūd the Articles of their fayth: for there were many Byſhops, Curates, yea & Doctours of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expoūd the Pater noſter, & the Creede. Here ẏ Bailiffe of Merindoll, named Andrew Mainard, aſked to what purpoſe it would ſerue, to ſay the Pater noſter and the Creede, & not to vnderſtand the ſame: for in ſo doyng, they ſhould but mocke & deride God. Thē ſayd the Byſhop vnto him, do you vnderſtād what it ſignified by theſe wordes, I beleue in God? The Bailiffe aunſwered, I ſhould thinke my ſelfe very miſerable, if I dyd not vnderſtand it, & then he began orderly to geue accoūt of his fayth. Then ſayd the Byſhop. I would not haue thought there had bene ſo great Doctours in Merindoll. The Bailiffe aunſwered: the leaſt of the inhabitauntes of Merindoll, can do it, yet more readely then I: but I pray you, queſtion with one or two of theſe young childrē, that you may vnderſtand whether they be well taught or no.

The anſwere of the children of Merindoll to the Byſhop.

The anſwere of the Bailiſe of Merindoll to the Biſhop.

The Pater noſter in Latin.

The children of Merindoll to good for the Biſhop

But the Biſhop either knew not how to queſtion wyth them, or at the leaſt, would not.

Then one named Pieron Roy ſayde, Sir, one of theſe children may queſtiō with another, if you thinke it ſo good: and the Biſhop was contented. Then one of the children began to queſtion with his felowes, with ſuch grace and grauitie, as if he had bene a Scholemaiſter, and the childrē one after another, aunſwered ſo vnto the purpoſe, ẏ it was marueilous to heare: For it was done in the preſence of many, amōg whom there were four religious men ẏ came lately out of Paris, of whom, one ſaid vnto the Biſhop, I muſt needs confeſſe that I haue often bene at the common ſchooles of Sorbone in Paris, where I haue hearde ẏ diſputations of the Diuines: but yet I neuer learned ſo much as I haue done by hearing theſe yong children. Then ſayd William Armant: did ye neuer reade that which is written in xi. Chapter of S. Mathew, where it is ſayde: O father, Lord of heauen and earth, I render thankes vnto thee, that thou haſt hidden theſe thynges from the ſage and wiſe men of the worlde, and haſt reuealed them vnto yong infants. But beholde O father, ſuch was thy good will and pleaſure. Then euery mā marueiled at the ready and witty aunſweres of the children of Merindoll.

The youth of Merindoll well brought vp.

Math. 11.

When the Biſhop ſaw that he could not thus preuaile, he tried another way, and went about by faire & flattering wordes, to bring his purpoſe to paſſe. Wherefore, cauſing the ſtraungers to go apart, he ſayd that he now perceaued they were not ſo euill as many thought them to be: Notwithſtanding, for the cōtentatiō of them, which were their perſecutors, it was neceſſary that they ſhould make ſome ſmall abiuration, which onely the Bailife, with two officers, might make generally in his preſence; in the name of all the reſt, without any Notary to record the ſame in writing, and in ſo doing they ſhould be loued and fauoured of all men, and euē of thoſe which now perſecuted them: and that they ſhould ſuſteine no infamy therby, for there ſhould be no report thereof made, but only to the Pope, and to the high Court of Parliament of Prouince: And alſo if any man in time to come, woulde turne the ſame to their reproch, or alledge it againſt them to their hurt or damage, they might vtterly denie it, and ſay they made no abiuration at all, becauſe there were no records made thereof, or witneſſes to proue the ſame. For this purpoſe he deſired them to talke together, to the ende there might be an ende made in this matter, without any further buſines.

The Merindolians are moued to abiure.

The Bailiſe and the two officers, with dyuers other Auncients of the towne, aunſwered, that they were fully reſolued, not to cōſent to any abiuratiō, howſoeuer it were to be done, except that (which was alwaies their exceptiō) they could make it appeare vnto thē by the word of God, that they had holden or mainteined any hereſie: marueling much that he woulde go about to perſwade them to lye to God and the world. And albeit that all men by nature are lyars, yet they had learned by the word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed of lying in any matter, were it neuer ſo ſmall. Alſo that they ought diligently to take heede, that their children did not accuſtome or vſe themſelues to lie, and therefore puniſhed them very ſharpely, when as they tooke them with any lye, euen as if they had committed any robbery: for the Diuell is a lyer and the father of lyes. Heere the Byſhop roſe vp in great anger and indignation, and ſo departed.

In matters of faith and religion, ought to be no diſſimulatiō.

Within a while after, the Biſhop of Aix ſolicited maiſter John Durandus Councellour of the Court of the Parlament of Prouince, to execute the commiſſion which was geuen him, that is, to go vnto ẏ place of Merindoll, together with the Secretarie of the ſayd Court, and there, in ẏ preſence of the Byſhop of Cauaillon, accompanyed with a Doctour of Diuinitie, to declare the errours and hereſies which the Biſhops pretended the inhabitants of Merindoll to be infected and intangled withall, and according to their dutie, to make it appeare by the word of God, and ſo being conuict, to make them abiure and renounce the ſayd hereſies. Whereupon the ſaid Counceller Durandus, certified the day that he would be preſent at Merindoll, to the end & purpoſe that none of the inhabitaunts ſhould be abſent. At the day appointed, the ſaid Counſeller Durandus, the Byſhop of Cauaillon, a Doctour of Diuinitie, & a Secretary, came vnto Merindoll, where as was alſo preſent, diuers Gentlemen and men of vnderſtanding, of all ſorts, to ſee this commiſſion executed. Then they of Merindoll were aduertiſed, that they ſhould not appeare all at once, but ẏ they ſhould keepe themſelues apart, and appeare as they ſhould be called, in ſuch order & number, as ſhould be appointed vnto them. After that Durandus, the Byſhop of Cauaillon, the Doctour of Diuinitie, and the Secretary were ſet in place where iuſtice was accuſtomed to be kept, there was called forth Andrew Maynard, the baylife of Merindoll, Jenon Romane, and Michelin Maynard * Syndiques, John Cabrie, and John Palene, auncients of Merindoll, and John Bruncroll vnderbaylife. After they had preſented themſelues with all due reuerence, the Counſeller Durandus ſpake thus vnto them.

Durandus ſtirred vp by the Byſhops to execute the commiſſion againſt the Merindollians.

Durandus the commiſſioner commeth to Merindoll.

* Syndic is a Gre word, and ſignifieth much as an aduocate patrone, or deputy, to plead cauſe.

You are not ignoraunt that by the Arreſt geuen out by the high Court of Prouince, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children: your houſes alſo to be beaten downe, and your towne to be raſed and made deſolate, &c. as is more largely conteined in the ſaid arreſt. Notwithſtanding, it hath pleaſed the King our moſt gracious Prince, to ſend his letters vnto the ſaid Court, commanding that the ſayd arreſt ſhould not ſo rigorouſly proceede againſt you: but if it could, by ſufficient information be proued, that you or any of you had ſwarued frō the true Religion, demonſtratiō ſhould be made thereof vnto you by the word of God, wherby you might be reduced againe to the flocke of Chriſt. Wherefore it was determined in the ſaide Court of Parlament, that the Biſhop of Cauaillon, with a Doctour of Diuinitie, ſhould in my preſence, declare vnto you the errours and hereſies wherewith they ſay, you are infected: and after good demonſtration made by the word of God, you ſhould publikely and ſolemnely renounce and abiure the ſayde hereſies, and in ſo doyng, ſhoulde obteine the grace and pardon conteined in the Kings letters: wherefore ſhew your ſelues this day, that you be obedient vnto God, the King, and ẏ Magiſtrates. When he had thus ſpoken, what aunſwere you (ſayd he) to that which I haue propounded?

The words of Dur to the Merindolians.

Then Andrew Maynard the Baylife, deſired that they would graunt them an Aduocate to anſwere according to the inſtructiōs, which they would giue him, for ſo much as they were men vnlearned, and knew not how to anſwere, as in ſuch a caſe was requiſite. The Counſeller aunſwered that he would heare their aunſwere neither by Aduocate nor by writing, but woulde heare them aunſwere in their owne perſons: Notwithſtanding he woulde giue them leaue to go apart and talke together, but not to aſke any counſell, but onely amongſt themſelues: and then to aunſwere one after another. Upon this determination, the Bayliffe and the two Syndiques, with other two ancient men, talked together a while, and determined that the two Syndiques ſhould ſpeake firſt, and after them the Baylife, then the two auncient men, euery man accordyng as God ſhould geue them grace, and by and by, preſented themſelues. Whereat the Counſeller Durandus was greatly abaſhed, to ſee that they had agreed and determined ſo ſpeedely. Then Michelin Maynard began to aunſwere, deſiring the Counſeller and the Byſhop, with the other aſſiſtance, to pardon him if that he aunſwered ouerrudely, hauing regard that they were poore, rude, and ignoraunt men. His aunſwere heere followeth.

The Merindolians denied to geue anſwere by counſaile writing.

The anſwer of the Merindoliās to Durandus.

We are greatly bound (ſayth he) to geue God thankes, that beſides other his benefites beſtowed vpō vs, he hath now deliuered vs frō theſe great aſſaultes, and that it hath pleaſed him to touch the hart of our noble King, that our cauſe might be intreated with iuſtice, and not by violence. In like maner are we alſo bounde to pray for our noble King, which following ẏ example of Samuell & Daniell, hath not diſdeined to looke vpon the cauſe of his poore ſubiects. Alſo we render thankes vnto the Lords of the Parlament, in that it hath pleaſed them to miniſter iuſtice according to the Kings commandemēt. Finally, we thanke you my Lord Durandus, Commiſſioner in this preſent cauſe, that it hath pleaſed you in ſo few wordes, to declare vnto vs the maner and order how we ought to proceede. And for my part, I greatly deſire to vnderſtand and know the hereſies and errours, wherof I am accuſed, and where as they ſhall make it appeare vnto me, that I haue holden any errours or hereſies, I am contented to amende the ſame, as it ſhall be ordeined and prouided by you.

The Baylife of Merindo anſwereth.

After him aunſwered Jenon Romane the other Syndique, a very auncient father, approuing all that which his fellow before had ſayde, geuing God thankes that in hys time, euen in his latter daies, he had ſeene and heard ſo good newes, that the cauſe of Religion ſhoulde be decided and debated by the holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard auncient men ſay, that they could neuer obteine of the Judges in all their perſecution, to haue their cauſe debated in ſuch ſort.

Then Andrew Maynard the Baylife aunſwered ſayeng: that God had geuē to thoſe two Syndiques the grace to anſwere ſo well, that it was not neceſſary for him to ſay or adde any more thereunto. Notwithſtanding it ſeemed good that their anſweres were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that had done nothing elſe, but mocke and gyre at all that had bin ſayd: wherfore he required the Commiſſioner to looke vnto the matter. Then the Commiſſioner was very angry and ſharpely rebuked his Secretary, commaunding him to ſit nearer and to write their anſweres word for word, and he himſelfe with a ſingular memory, repeated their anſweres, and oftētimes aſked if it were not ſo. The ſayd aunſweres being thus put in writing, the Cōmiſſioner aſked the baylife if he had any more to anſwere, ſayeng that he had done him great pleaſure to ſhewe him his Secretaries faulte, willing him to ſpeake boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cauſe. Then the Baylife ſaid, for ſomuch as it hath pleaſed you to geue me audience & liberty to ſpeake my mind freely: I ſay moreouer, that it ſemeth vnto me, that there is no due forme of proceſſe in this iudgemēt: for there is no partie heere that doth accuſe vs. If we had an accuſer preſent, which according to the rule of the Scripture, either ſhould proue by good demonſtration out of the olde and new Teſtament, that wherof we are accuſed, or if he were not able, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment due vnto ſuch as are heretickes: I thinke he would be as greatly troubled to mainteine his accuſations, as we to aunſwere vnto the ſame.

The proceeding with the Merindoliās not after forme of lawe.

After that the Baylife had made this anſwere, Iohn Palenc, one of the auncients of Merindol, ſaide that he approued all that had bene ſayd by the Syndiques, and that he was able to ſay no more then had bene ſaid by them before. The Commiſſioner ſayd vnto him: you are (I ſee) a very auncient man, and you haue not liued ſo long, but that you haue ſome thing to aunſwere for your part, in defence of your cauſe. And the ſayde Palenc aunſwered: ſeeing it is your pleaſure that I ſhould ſay ſomething, it ſeemeth vnto me vnpoſſible that (ſay what we can) we ſhoulde haue either victory or vantage: for our iudges be our enemies.

John Palēc anſwereth.

The vnder Baylife of Merindoll anſwereth.

Then Iohn Bruncroll vnderbaylife at Merindoll, anſwered, that he would very faine know the authority of yͤ Counſeller Durandus, Commiſſioner in this cauſe, for as much as the ſaid Counſeller had geuē them to vnderſtād, that he had authority of the high Court, to make them abiure their errours, which ſhould be found by good and ſufficient information, and to geue them ſo doing, the pardon conteined in the Kings letters, and quite them of all puniſhment and condemnation. But the ſaid Commiſſioner did not geue them to vnderſtand, that if they could not be found, by good and ſufficient information, that they were in errour, he had any power or authoritie to quite and abſolue them of the ſayd ſentence and condemnation: wherfore it ſeemed that it ſhould be more vauntage for the ſayd Merindolians, if it ſhoulde appeare that they were heretickes, then to be found to liue according to the doctrine of the Goſpell. For this cauſe he required, that it woulde pleaſe the ſayd Commiſſioner to make declaration therof: concluding that if it did not appeare by good and ſufficient information againſt them, that they had ſwarued from the faith, or if there were no accuſer that woulde come foorth againſt them, they ought to be fully abſolued, without being any more troubled eyther in body or goodes.

Durandus the Commiſſioner, required to ſhew his Cōmiſſion.

The Bailyfe & Sindickes, of Merindol appeare the ſecond time.

Theſe things were thus in debating from ſeauen of the clocke in the morning, vntill xj. Then the Commiſſioner diſmiſſed them till after dinner. At one of the clocke at after noone, they were called for agayne, and demaunded whether they woulde ſay any thyng elſe, touchyng that which was propounded in the morning, by the ſaid Commiſſioner. They aunſwered, no. Then ſayd the Commiſſioner, what do you conclude for your defence? The two Syndiques aunſwered: we conclude that it would pleaſe you to declare vnto vs the errours and hereſies, whereof we are accuſed. Then the Commiſſioner aſked the Byſhop of Cauaillon, what informations he had agaynſt them. The Byſhop ſpake vnto him in his eare, and would not aunſwere aloude. This talke in the eare continued almoſt halfe an houre, that the Commiſſioner and all other that ſtoode thereby, were weary thereof. In the ende, the Commiſſioner ſayd vnto them, that the Byſhop of Cauaillon had told him, that it was not needefull to make it apparant by information, for ſuch was the cōmon report. Hereunto they aunſwered: that they required the cauſes and reaſons alledged by the Byſhop of Cauaillon, againſt them, ſhould be put in writing. The Byſhop was earneſt to the contrary, and woulde haue nothyng that eyther he ſayd or alledged, to be put in writing.

They that do the workes of darckenes hate the light.

Then Iohn Bruncroll required the Commiſſioner, that at the leaſt, he would put in writing, that the Byſhop would ſpeake nothing agaynſt them, that they could vnderſtand, and that he woulde not ſpeake before the Commiſſioner but only in his eare. The Byſhop on the cōtrarie part, defended that he would not be named in proceſſe. There was great diſputation vpon this matter, and cōtinued long. Thē the Cōmiſſioner aſked the Merindolians if they had the Articles of their confeſſion, which they had preſented to the high Court of Parliament. Then they required that their confeſſion might be read, and by the readyng thereof they might vnderſtand whether it were the doctrine, which they held, & the confeſſion which they had preſented, or no. Then the confeſſion was read publickely before thē, which they did allow and acknowledged to be theirs. This done the Commiſſioner aſked the Doctour if he did finde in the ſayd confeſſiōs, any hereticall opinions, wherof he could make demōſtration by the word of God, either out of the old or the new Teſtamēt. Then ſpake the Doctour in Latin a good while. After he had made an end: Andrew Maimard the Bayliffe deſired the Commiſſioner, accordyng as he had propoūded, to make the errours and hereſies that they were accuſed of, apparaūt vnto them by good information, or at the leaſt, to marke thoſe Articles of their confeſſion, which the Byſhop & the Doctours pretēded to be hereticall, requiryng him alſo to put in Regiſter, their refuſall, aſwell of the Byſhop as of the Doct. of whō the one ſpake in his eare, and the other in Latine, ſo that they of Merindoll could not vnderſtand one word. Then the Commiſſioner promiſed thē to put in writyng all that ſhould make for their cauſe. And moreouer he ſayd that it was not needefull to call the reſt of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be ſayd to them, then had bene ſayd to thoſe, which were already called. And this is yͤ ſumme of all that was done at the after noone.

The confeſſion of the Merindolians, exhibited and read.

What were the articles & doctrine of their confeſſion, read Sled. Lib. 16.

Many which came thether to heare theſe diſputations: ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue heard ſome goodly demōſtrations, were greatly abaſhed to ſee the Byſhop and the Doctour ſo confoūded: which thyng afterward turned to the great benefite of many: for hereby they were moued to require the copyes of yͤ confeſſion of their fayth: by meanes wherof they were conuerted and embraced the truth, and namely iij. Doctours, who wēt about diuers tymes to diſwade the Merindoliās from their fayth: whoſe miniſtery God afterwardes vſed in the preachyng of his Goſpel. Of whom one was Doctour Combaudi Prior of S. Maximin, afterwardes a Preacher in the territory of the Lords of Berne. An other was Doctour Somati, who was alſo a Preacher in the Bailiwycke of Tonon. The other was Doctour Heraudi, paſtour and Miniſter in the Countie of Newcaſtle.

Three Doctours cōuerted by the confeſſiō of the Merindolians.

After this the inhabitaunts of Merindoll were in reſt and quietnes for a ſpace, in ſo much that euery man feared to goe about to trouble them, ſeyng thoſe which perſecuted them, did receaue nothyng but ſhame and confuſion: as it dyd manifeſtly appeare, not onely by the ſuddeyne death of the Preſident Chaſſanee, but alſo many other of the chiefeſt Counſellers of the Parliament of Prouince, whoſe horrible end terrified many, but ſpecially yͤ ſtraūge and fearefull exāple of that bloudy tyran Iohn de Roma, ſet out as a ſpectacle to all perſecutours whereof we haue ſpoken before.

The ſodeine death of a perſecutor.

Thus the Lord repreſſing the rage of the aduerſaries for a tyme, ſtayd the violence and execution of that cruell ſentence or Arreſt geuen out by the Parliament of Prouince, agaynſt the Merindoliās, vntill Iohn Miniers, an exceedyng bloudy tyran, began a new perſecution. This Miniers beyng Lord of Opede neare to Merindoll, firſt began to vexe the poore Chriſtians by pillyng and polyng, by oppreſſion & extortion, getting frō them what he could, to enlarge his Segnorie or Lordſhyp, whiche before was very baſe. For this cauſe he put v. or vi. of his owne Tenauntes into a Ciſterne vnder the grounde, and cloſing it vp, there he kept them, till they dyed for hunger, pretēding that they were Lutheranes, and Waudoys, to haue their goodes and poſſeſſions. By this and ſuch other practiſes, this wretche was aduaūced in ſhort ſpace, to great wealth and dignitie, & ſo at lēgth became not onely the chief Preſidēt of the high Court of Parliament, but alſo the kynges Lieutenaunt generall in the countrey of Prouince, in the abſence of the Lord Grignan, then beyng at the Councell of wormes in Germany. Now therfore ſeyng no oportunitie to be lacking to accompliſh his deuiliſh enterpriſe, he employed all his p wer, richeſſe, & authoritie not onely to confirme and to reu e that cruell Arreſt geuen out before by the Court of Parliament: but alſo (as a right miniſter of Sathan) hee exceedyngly encreaſed the cruelty thereof, which was already ſo great, that it ſeemed there could nothyng more be added thereunto. And to bryng this miſchief to paſſe, he forged a moſt impudent lye, geuyng the kyng to vnderſtād that they of Merindoll & all the countrey neare about, to the nūber of twelue or fifteen thouſand, were in the field in armour with theyr Enſigne diſplayed, entendyng to take the Towne of Marſeille, and

Minerius a peſtilent perſecutor without all reaſō and meaſure.

6. Martirs of Opede.

Minerius made the kinges Lieutenant of Prouince.

Falſe accuſatiōs and crimes forged vpō the innocēt Chriſtiās.

The king abuſed by wicked counſaile.

make it one of the Cantons of the Switzers: And to ſtay this enterpriſe, he ſayd it was neceſſary to execute the Areſt manu militari, and by this meanes he obteyned the Kings letters patents, thorough the helpe of the Cardinall of Tournon, commaunding the ſentence to be executed againſt the Merindolians, notwithſtanding that the King had before reuoked the ſayde ſentence, and geuen ſtraight commaundement that it ſhould in no wiſe be executed, as before is mentioned.

After this he gathered all the Kynges armey, whyche was then in Prouince ready to go agaynſt the Engliſhmen, and tooke vp all beſides, that were able to beare armour, in the chiefeſt Townes of Prouince, and ioyned them with the armey which the Popes Legate had leuied for that purpoſe, in Auinion and all the countrey of Venice, and employed the ſame to the deſtruction of Merindoll, Cabriers, and other Townes and Villages, to the number of xxij. geuing commiſſion to his ſouldiours to ſpoile, ranſacke, burne, and to deſtroy altogether, and to kill man, woman and child, without all mercy, ſparing none: no otherwiſe then the Infidels and cruell Turkes haue dealt with the Chriſtians, as before in the ſtory of the Turkes, you may reade.

8. townes with the moſt parte of the people deſtroyed for true religion.

For as the Papiſtes and Turkes are like in their Religion, ſo are the ſayd Papiſtes like, or rather exceede them, in all kindes of cruelty that can be deuiſed. But this Archtyrant before he came to Merindoll, ranſackt and burnt certaine townes, namely La Roche, S. Stephens, Villelaure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabrierettes, S. Martin, Pipin, and other places mo, notwithſtanding that the Areſt extended but only to Merindol. where the moſt of the poore inhabitants were ſlaine and murthered without any reſiſtance: womē and maydens rauiſhed: women with child and little infants borne and to be borne, were alſo moſt cruelly murthered: the pappes of many women cut off, which gaue ſucke to their children, which looking for ſucke at their mothers breſt being dead before, died alſo for hunger. There was neuer ſuch crueltie and tirannie ſeene before.

Horrible cruelty vpon women & young infantes.

The Merindolians ſeeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their houſes and fled into the woods, and remained that night at the Village Sanfales and thereaboutes, in wonderfull feare and perplexitie: for the Biſhop of Canaillon, deputie to the Biſhop of Romes Legate, had appointed certaine Captaines to go and ſlay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding thēſelues in woods, for there was daunger on euery ſide, and Miniers had commaunded vnder paine of death, that no mā ſhould ayde them by any meanes, but that they ſhould be ſlaine without pitie or mercy, whereſoeuer they were found. The ſame Proclamation was of force alſo, in the Biſhop of Romes dominions thereby: and it was ſayde that the Biſhops of that countrey did finde a great part of the army. wherefore they went a tedious and a paynefull iourney, carieng their children vpon their ſhoulders, and in their armes, and in their ſwadling clothes, and many of them alſo being great with child, were conſtreined ſo to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thether was already reſorted a great number which had loſt their goodes, and ſaued themſelues by flight.

A lamentable ſeparatiõ of the Merindoliãs frõ their wyues and children.

Not long after, it was ſhewed them how that Miniers was comming with all his power, to giue the charge vpon them. This was in yͤ euening, and becauſe they ſhould go thorough rough and comberſome places, and hard to paſſe by, they all thought it moſt expedient for their ſafegard to leaue behinde them, all the women and children, with a few other, and among them alſo, certeine Miniſters of the Church: the reſidue were appointed to go to the towne of Muſſie. And this did they vpon hope that the enemie would ſhew mercy to the multitude of women and children, being deſtitute of all ſuccour. No toung can expreſſe, what ſorrow, what teares, what ſighing, what lamentation there was at that wofull departing, when they were compelled to be thus ſeparated aſūder, the husband from his deare wife, the father from his ſweete babes and tender infants, the one neuer like to ſee the other againe aliue. Notwithſtanding, after the Miniſters had ended their ordinary Sermons, with euening Prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to auoyde a greater inconuenience.

When they had gone all the night long, and had paſſed ouer yͤ great hill of Libron, they might ſee many villages and farmes ſet on fire. Miniers in the meane time, had deuided his army into two partes, marching himſelfe with the one, towardes the Towne of Merindoll, and hauing knowledge by eſpiall whether the Merindolians were fled, he ſendeth the other parte to ſet vpon them, and to ſhewe theyr accuſtomed crueltie vpon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, ſome of Miniers armye, eyther of good will, or mooued with pitie, priuily conueyed themſelues awaye, and came vnto them, to geue thē warning that their enemies were comming: and one from the top of an high rocke, where he thought that the Merindolians were vnderneath, caſteth downe two ſtones, and afterward, although he could not ſee them, he calleth vnto them, that they ſhould immediately flye from thence. But the enemies ſuddenly came vpon them, finding them all aſſembled together at praiers, and ſpoyled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backes: ſome they rauiſhed: ſome they whipped and ſcourged: ſome they ſold away like cattell, practiſing what cruelty and villanie ſoeuer they could deuiſe againſt them. The women were in number about fiue hundreth.

The Merin doliãs o- uertaken their ene- mies.

In the meane time Miniers came to Merindoll, where he founde none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yelded himſelfe to a ſouldiour, promiſing him for his raunſome, two French crownes. Miniers woulde haue had him away by force, but it was anſwered that the ſouldiour ought not to loſe his priſoner. Miniers therefore paying the two crownes himſelfe, tooke the young man, and cauſed him to be tyed to an Oliue tree, and ſhot thorough with harquebuſhes, and moſt cruelly martired. Many Gentlemen which accompanied Miniers againſt their willes, ſeeyng thys cruell ſpectacle, were mooued wyth greate compaſſion, and could not forbeare teares. For albeit this yong man was not yet very well inſtructed, neyther had before dwelt at Merindoll, yet in all hys tormentes hauyng alwayes hys eyes lyfted vp to heauen, wyth a loude voyce, he ceaſed not ſtill to call vpon God: and the laſt wordes that he ſpake, were theſe: Lord God, theſe men take away my life full of miſerie, but thou wilt giue vnto me life euerlaſting, by thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: to whome be glory. So was Merindoll without any reſiſtance, valiantly taken, ranſackt, burnt, raſed, and layed euen with the ground. And albeit there was no man to reſiſt, yet this valiant Captaine of Opede armed from toppe to toe, trembled for feare, and was ſeene to chaunge his colour very much.

Vile cruelty ſhewed vpon a yo man of Merindoll.

The towne of Merindol deſtroyed of the Papiſt.

When he had deſtroyed Merindoll, he layed ſeege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordinaunce, but when hee coulde not winne it by force, he with the Lorde of the Towne, and Poulin his chiefe Captaine, perſuaded wyth the inhabitauntes, to open their gates, ſolemnely promiſing, that if they would ſo do, they would lay downe theyr armour, and alſo that their cauſe ſhould be heard in iudgement with all equitie and Iuſtice, and no violence or iniurie ſhould be ſhewed againſt them. Upon this, they opened their gates, and let in Miniers with his Captaynes and all his army. But the Tyraunt when he was once entred, falſified his promiſe, and raged like a beaſt. For firſt of all he picked out about thirtie men, cauſing them to be bound and caried into a medowe neare to the Towne, and there to be miſerably cut and hewen in peeces of hys ſouldiours.

The towne of Cabriers falſely tak

Othe and promiſe broke of the Papiſtes.

30. men, Martyrs.

Then, becauſe he would leaue no kinde of crueltie vnattempted, hee alſo exerciſed outrage and fury vppon the poore ſelly women, and cauſed fortie of them to be taken, of whome diuers were great with child, and put them into a barne full of ſtrawe and hey, and cauſed it to be ſet on fire at foure corners. And when the ſely women running to the great window, where the hey is wont to be caſt into the barne, woulde haue leaped out, they were kepte in with pikes and halberdes. Then there was a ſouldyoure which moued with pitie at the crieng out and lamentation of the women, opened a dore to let them out, but as they were comming out, the Tyraunt cauſed them to be ſlaine and cut in peeces, opening their belyes, that theyr children fell out, whome they trode vnder their feete. Many were fled into the wineſeller of the Caſtell, and many hid themſelues in caues, whereof ſome were caryed into the medowe, and there ſtripped naked, were ſlaine: otherſome were bound two and two together, and caried into the hall of the Caſtell, where they were ſlaine by the Captaynes, reioyſing in theyr bloudy butcherie and horrible ſlaughter.

40. Women, Martyrs.

Cruelty Neroticall, or rather furye diabolicall.

That done, this Tyraunt, more cruell then euer was Herode, commaunded Captayne Iohn de Gay wyth a bande of ruffians, to go into the Churche (where was a great number of women, children and yong infantes) to kill all that he founde there. which the Captayne refuſed at the firſt, to do, ſayeng: that were a crueltie vnuſed among men of warre. whereat Miniers being diſpleaſed, charged him vpon payne of rebellion, and diſobedience to the King, to do as he had commaunded hym. The Captayne

tayne

taine fearing that myght enſue, entred with hys men, and deſtroyed them all, ſparing neither young nor olde.

In this meane while certaine ſouldiors went to ranſacke, the houſes for the ſpoyle: where they founde many poore men that had there hidden themſelues in ſellers and other priuy places, flying vpon them and crying out: kill, kill. The other ſouldiors that were without the town, killed all that they could meete with. The nõber of thoſe that were ſo vnmercifully murdered, were about M. perſons of men, women, and children. The infantes that eſcaped their furie, were baptiſed againe of their enemies.

Aboue a 1000. Martyrs of Cabriers.

In token of this ioly victory, the Popes Officers cauſed a piller to be erected in the ſaid place of Cabriers, in the whych was engrauen the yeare and the day of the taking and ſacking of this Towne, by Iohn Miniers Lorde of Opede, & chiefe Preſident of the Parlament of Prouince, for a memoriall for euer, of the barbarous crueltie, the like whereof was yet neuer heard of. Whereupon we withall our poſterity, haue to vnderſtand what be the reaſons and argumentes wherewith the Antichriſt of Rome, is wont to vphold the impious ſeate of his abhomination: who now is come to ſuch exceſſe and profunditie of all kindes of iniquitie, that all iuſtice, equitie and veritie being ſet a ſide, he ſeeketh the defence of his cauſe, by no other thyng, then only by force and violence, terror and oppreſſion, and ſhedding of bloud.

The argumentes wherevpõ the doctrine of the popes church ſtãdeth.

In this meane while the inhabitaunts of Merindoll and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rockes, in great neceſſitie of victualles, and muche affliction: who had procured certaine men, whiche were in ſome fauour and authority with Miniers, to make requeſt for them vnto him, that they might depart ſafely, whether it ſhoulde pleaſe God to leade them, with theyr wiues and children, although they had no more but their ſhirts to couer their nakedneſſe. Whereunto Miniers made this aunſwere: I know what I haue to doe: not one of them ſhall eſcape my handes. I will ſend them to dwel in hel among the deuils.

Antichriſt here plaieth the deuill.

After this there was a power ſent vnto Coſta, which likewiſe they ouercame, & committed there great ſlaughter. Many of the inhabitantes fledde away and ranne into an orcharde, where the ſouldiours rauiſhed the women and maidens, and when they had kept them there incloſed a day and a night, they handled them ſo beaſtly, that thoſe which had great bellies, and the younger maidens dyed ſhortly after. It were impoſſible to comprehend all the lamentable and ſorrowfull examples of this cruell perſecution againſt the Merindolians and their fellowes: In ſo muche that no kinde of cruell Tyrannie was vnpractiſed. For they whych eſcaped by woodes, and went wandering by mountaines, were taken and ſet in galleis, or elſe were ſlaine outright.

The towne of Coſta, deſtroyed.

Martyrs of Coſta.

Many which did hide themſelues in rockes and darke caues, ſome were famiſhed with hunger, ſome were ſmothered with fire, and ſmoke put vnto them. All which may more fully be vnderſtand by the recordes of the Court, and by the pleas betweene them and theyr aduerſaries in the highe Conſiſtorie of the Courte of Paris: where all the doores being ſet open, and in the publicke hearing of all the people, the caſe of this trouble and perſecution was ſhortly after, ſolemnly debated betwene two great lawyers: the one called Aubrius, which accuſed Minerius the preſident committed to priſon, and the other called Robertus, who was the defendant againſt him. The cauſe why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and iudgement to be decided by the law, was this:

When the Merindolians were ſlaine, their cauſe was pleaded.

Henry the ſecond French king, which newly ſucceeded Fraunces his father aboue mentioned, conſidering howe this cruell and infamous perſecution againſte hys owne ſubiectes and people, was greatly miſliked of other Princes, and alſo obiected both againſt him and his father, as a note of ſhamefull Tyrannie, by the Emperour hym ſelfe, Charles the fift, and that in the publicke Councel of all the ſtates of Germany, for ſo murthering & ſpoyling his own naturall ſubiects, without all reaſon and mercy: he therefore to the entent to purge and cleare himſelfe thereof, cauſed the ſayd matter to be brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Iuſtice.

Fraũces the Frẽch king, noted of tyranny by Charles 5. Emperour.

Whiche cauſe, after it was pleaded to and froe, in publike audience, no leſſe then fiftie times, and yet in the ende, coulde not be determined, ſo it brake of and was paſſed ouer, and at length Minerius being looſed out of priſone, was reſtored to his libertie and poſſeſſions agayne, vppon this cõdition and promiſe made vnto the Cardinal, Charles of Lorraine, that he ſhould baniſh and expell theſe new Chriſtians (terming ſo the true profeſſors of the Goſpell) out of all Prouince.

The cauſe of the Merindolians after their death pleaded 50. times in the Court.

Minerius loſed out of priſon.

The iuſt ſtroke of God vpon cruell Minerius.

Thus Minerius being reſtored, returned againe into Prouince, where hee began againe to attempt greater tyrannie, then before. Neither did his raging furye ceaſe to procede, before the iuſt iudgement of God lighting vpon him, brought him by a horrible diſeaſe, vnto the torments of death, which he moſt iuſtly had deſerued. For he being ſtrocken with a ſtrange kinde of bleding at the lower partes, in maner of a bloudy flixe, and not being able to voyde any vrine, thus by little and little his guttes wythin hym rotted: and when no remedy could be founde for this terrible diſeaſe, and his entrals now began to be eaten of wormes, a certaine famous ſurgeon named La Motte, whych dwelt at Arles, a man no leſſe godly then expert in hys ſcience: was called for, who after he had cured him of this difficultye of making water, and therefore was in great eſtimation with him, before he would procede further to ſearche the other partes of his putrified bodye, and to ſearche out the inward cauſe of his malady, he deſired yͤ they which were preſent in the chamber with Minerius, wold depart a little a ſide. Which being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earneſt wordes, ſaying howe the time nowe required that he ſhould aſke forgeuenes of God by Chriſte, for his enormous crimes and cruelty in ſheding ſo muche innocent blud, and declared the ſame to be the cauſe of this ſo ſtraunge profuſion of bloud comming from him.

Good counſaile geuen to Minerius of his Surgeon.

Minerius ſeeketh the bloud of his Surgeon.

These wordes being hearde, ſo pearſed the impure conſcience of this miſerable wretch, that he was therewith more troubled then with the agonie of his diſeaſe: in ſo much that hee cryed out to lay hande vppon the Surgeon, as an hereticke. La Motte hearing thys, eftſoones conueyed him ſelfe out of ſight, and returned againe to Arles. Notwythſtanding it was not long, but he was ſent for againe, being intreated by his frendes, and promiſed moſt firmely, that his comming ſhould be without any perill or danger: and ſo with much ado, he returned againe to Minerius, what time all nowe was paſt remedy: and ſo Minerius raging and caſting out moſte horrible and blaſpheming wordes, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the nauill vpward, with extreme ſtinch of the lower parts, finiſhed his wretched life. Whereby we haue notoriouſly to vnderſtand that God through his mighty arme, at length confoundeth ſuch perſecuters of his innocent and faithful ſeruaunts, & bringeth them to nought: to whome be praiſe and glory for euer.

The wretched end of wretched Minerius the perſecuter.

Moreouer, beſides this Iuſtice of God ſhewed vpon Minerius, here alſo is not to be forgotten which folowed likewiſe vpon certaine of the other, which were the chiefe doers in this perſecution vnder Minerius aforeſaid, namely Lewes de Vaine, brother in lawe to the ſaide Preſident, and alſo the brother, and the ſonne in law to Peter Durãt, maiſter butcher of the Towne of Aix: the which three dyd ſlay one an other vpon a certaine ſtrife that fel amõg them. And vppon the ſame day the Iudge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in yͤ ſame perſecutiõ, as he returned homewarde, going ouer the Riuer of Durance, was drowned. Ex Hiſt. Gallica. Henr. Pantal, & alijs.

The iuſt plague of God vpon 3. perſecuters.

Notes vppon the ſtorie of Merindoll aboue recited.

THus haſt thou heard (louing Reader) the terrible troubles, & ſlaughters committed by the Biſhops and Cardinals againſte theſe faithfull men of Merindol, whiche for the hainous tirannie and example of the facte moſte vnmercifull, maye be comparable with any of the firſt perſecutions in the primitiue Churche, done either by Decius, or Diocleſianus.

The Goſpellers of Merindoll came firſt of the Waldenſes.

Nowe, touching the ſayd ſtorie and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the firſte time that theſe men of this countrey, were vexed, neither was it of late yeres, that the doctrine and profeſsion of them began. For (as by the courſe of time, and by auncient Recordes it maye appeare) theſe inhabitaunts of Prouince, and other coaſtes bordering about the confines of Fraunce, and Piemont, had their continuance of auncient time, and receiued their doctrine firſt from the Waldenſes, or Albigenſes, which were (as ſome ſay) about the yeare of oure Lord 1170. or (as other doe recken) about the yeare of our Lorde 1216. whereof thou haſte (gentle reader) ſufficiently to vnderſtãd, reading before, pag. 230. Item, pag. 260 Item, pag. 267. &c.

Vid. ſupra pag. 230. &c.

Theſe Waldenſes, otherwiſe called Pauperes, de Lugduno, beginning of one Petrus Waldus, Citizen of Lyons, as is before ſhewed, pag. 231. by violence of perſecution being driuen oute of Lions, were diſparcled abroad in diuers countreis, of whom ſome fled to Maſsilia, ſome to Germanie, ſome to Sarmatia, Liuonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia, diuers ſtrayed to the Countreis of France, eſpecially about Prouince, and Piemont, of whõe came theſe Merindolians, aboue mentioned, and the Angrogni-

Vid. ſupra pag. 231.

Waldenſes how and of whom they firſt began.

ans with others,of whom now it foloweth likewiſe(God willing) to diſcourſe. They which were in the countrey of Tolouſe, of the place where they frequented, were called Albij, or Albigenſes. Againſt the which Albigenſes, Frier Dominicus was a great doer, labouring and preaching againſt them 10.yeres together,and cauſed many of them to be burned, for the which he was highly accepted,and rewarded in the Apoſtolicall Court,and at lengthe by Pope Honorius the 3. was made Patriarch of the blacke gard of the Dominicke Friers. Ex Antonino part.3.tit.19.cap.1.

Dominicus Patriarch of the blacke Fryers,enemie to the Waldenſes.

Vid. ſupra pag. 261.

These Albigenſes,againſt the Pope of Rome, had ſet vppe to them ſelues a Biſhop of their owne, named Bartholomæus,remaining about the coaſtes of Croatia,and Dalmatia,as appeareth by a letter of one of the Popes Cardinals, aboue ſpecified, pag,261. For the which cauſe the Sea of Rome tooke great indignation againſt the ſayde Albygenſes, and cauſed all their faithfull Catholickes and obedienciaries to their Churche to riſe vp in armour, and to take the ſigne of the holy croſſe vpon them,to fight againſt them. An.1206 by reaſon wherof great multitudes of them were pitifully murdered, not onely of them about Tolouſe,& Auinion in France(as is afore to be ſeene,pag.273.) but alſo in al quarters, miſerable ſlaughters and burnings of them long continued,from the raigne of Fridericke 2.Emperour, almoſt to this preſent time, through the inſtigation of the Romane Popes.

Ex Paul. Aemylio lib.6

Paulus Æmylius the French Chronicler in his 6.booke, wryting of theſe Pauperes de Lugduno,and Humiliati, and deuiding theſe two orders from Albigenſes, reporteth that the two former orders were reiected of Pope Lucius 3. And in their place, other two orders were approued, to witte,the order of the Dominicke Friers, and of the Franciſcanes. Which ſeemeth not to be true, for ſomuch as this Pope Lucius was 20.yeres, before Innocent 3. and yet neither in the time of Pope Innocent, the order of the Dominicke Friers was approued,but in the time of Pope Honorius the 3.who was 40.yeres after Pope Lucius. Again,Bernardus Lutzenbergenſis,in Catal.hæret affirmeth,that theſe Pauperes de Lugduno,or Waldenſes began firſt.an.1218. Which if it be true, then muſt the other report of Æmylius be falſ,wryting of the ſect of Pauperes Lugdunenſes, to be refuſed by Pope Lucius the 3. who was long before this,in the yeare of our Lord.1181.

Ex Bernard. Lutzenberg.

See the ſtory of Sleidan.

Among other authours which wryte of theſe Waldenſes, Ioan.Sleidan.Lib.16. intreating of their continuance and doctrine, thus wryteth of them.There be(ſayeth he)in the French Prouince a people called Waldoys.Theſe of an auncient trade and cuſtome among them,doe not acknowledge the Biſhop of Rome,and euer haue vſed a manner of doctrine ſomewhat more pure, then the reſt,but eſpecially ſince the comming of Luther, they haue encreſed in more knowledge and perfection of iudgement. Wherefore they haue beene oftentimes complained vppon to the kinge, as though they contemned the Magiſtrate, and would moue rebellion,with other ſuche matter falſely ſurmiſed againſt them, more of deſpite and malice,then of any iuſt cauſe of truthe. There be of them certaine Townes and Villages, among which Merindoll is one. Againſt theſe Merindolians ſentence was geuen,fiue yeares paſt,at Aix,being the high tribunall ſeate or iudgement place of Prouince, that all ſhould be deſtroied without reſpecte of age or perſone, in ſuch ſort, as that the houſes being pluckt downe, the Village ſhoulde be made plaine,euen with the grounde, the trees alſo ſhould be cut downe,and the place altogether made deſolate and deſert. All beit, though it were thus pronounced,yet was it not then put in execution,by the meanes of certaine that perſwaded the king to the cõtrary,namely one William Bellay,who was at the ſame time,the kings Lieutenaunt in Piedmont. But at the laſt,the 12.day of April. an.1545. Iohn Minerius Preſident of the Counſell of Aix, calling the Senate, reade the kings letters,commaunding them to execute the ſentence giuen &c.

This confeſſion worthy of perpetual memory, you ſhall ſee more largely ſet out, in Henr, Pantaleon,wryting of the deſtruction of Cabriers and Merindoll, and alſo in the French ſtoiye.

Moreouer,concerning the confeſsion,and the doctrine of the ſayde Merindolians receiued of auncient time from their forefathers the Waldenſes,thus it followeth in the ſayd boke and place of Iohn Sleidan.

Ex Ioan. Sledano. Lib. 16.

At laſt(ſayeth Sleidan,after he had deſcribed what great crueltie was ſhewed againſt them) when the reporte hereof was bruted in Germanie,it offended the mindes of many: and in deede, the Suitzers, who were then of a contrary Religion to the Pope, entreated the King, that he woulde ſhewe mercy to ſuche as were fled. Whereunto the ſaide king Fraunces,made aunſwere in thys wiſe: pretending that he had iuſt cauſe to doe,as he did,inferring moreouer,that they ought not to be carefull, what he did within his dominions,or how he puniſhed his offendours, more then he was about their affaires.&c,Thus hard was the king againſt them notwithſtanding (ſayeth Sleydan) that he,the yere before,had receaued from the ſayde his ſubiectes of Merindoll, a confeſsion of their faith and doctrine.The Articles whereof,were,that they, according to Chriſtian faith,confeſſed, firſt God the father, creator of all things: The ſonne, the onely Mediatour and Aduocate of mankinde The holy ſpirite,the comfortour,and inſtructour of all truth. They confeſſed alſo the Church,which they acknowledged to be the felowſhip of Gods elect, wherof Ieſus Chriſt is the head. The miniſters alſo of the Churche they did allowe, wiſhing that ſuch which did not their duety,ſhould be remoued.

The confe ſion & faith of the Wa denſes in Merindo

And as touching Magiſtrates, they graunted likewiſe the ſame to be ordeined of God,to defend the good,& to puniſh the tranſgreſſours. And how they owe to him,not loue onely, but alſo tribute,and cuſtome,and no man herein to be excepted,euen by the example of Chriſt,who paied tribute himſelfe.&c.

Likewiſe of Baptiſme, they confeſſed the ſame to be a viſible, and an outwarde ſigne,that repreſenteth to vs the renuing of the ſpirite,and mortification of the members.

Furthermore,as touching the Lordes Supper, they ſayde and confeſſed the ſame to be a thankeſgeuing, and a memoriall of the benefite receaued through Chriſt.

Matrimonie they affirmed to be holy and inſtituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

That good workes are to be obſerued & exerciſed of all men, as holy Scripture teacheth.

That falſe doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worſhip of God,ought to be eſchewed.

Briefly,and finally,the order and rule of their faith, they confeſſed to be the olde and newe Teſtament,proteſting that they beleeued all ſuch things as are contained in the Apoſtolike Crede: Deſiring moreouer, the King to geue credite to this their declaratiõ of their faith, ſo that whatſoeuer was informed to him to the contrary,was not true, and that they would well prooue, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confeſsion of the Merindolians out of Sleidan: and alſo concerning their deſcent and offſpring from the Waldenſes.

✤ The Hiſtorie of the perſecutions and warres againſt the people called Waldenſes or Waldois in the valleis of Angrongne,Luſerne, S.Martin,Perouſe, and others, in the countrey of Piemont, from the yere 1555. to the yere of our Lord. 1561.

Perſecutio in the vall of Angrongne, Luſerne, S. Martin, Perouſe, a Piedmont.

Perſecutours.	Martyrs.
The Parliament of Thurin. The Preſident of S Iulian. Iacomell Monke, an Inquiſitour. Monſieur de la Trinitie. The Gentlemen of the Valleyes. Charles Truchet. Boniface Truchet. The Collaterall of Corbis The Collateral de Eccleſia. The Duke of Sauoy. Monkes of Pigneroll,and many other moe,enemies of God,and miniſters of Sathan.	The Martirs of the valley of Angrogne. The Martyrs of the valley of Luſerne. The Martyrs of S. Martin. The Martyrs of Perouſe,and others. In the coũtrey of Piemont. From the yeare 1555. vnto 1561.

The Cauſes.

To procede now further in the perſecution of theſe Waldois, or Waldenſes,you haue herd hitherto, firſt how they deuiding themſelues into diuers Countreis, ſome fled to Prouince, and to Tolouſe, of whom ſufficient hath bene ſayd. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it foloweth now to entreat God willing. Thus theſe good men by long perſecution,being driuen from place to place, were grieuouſlye in all places afflicted, but yet could neuer be vtterly deſtroied,nor yet compelled to yeelde to the ſuperſtitious and falſe religion of yͤ church of Rome: but euer abſteined from theyr corruption and Idolatrie, as much as was poſſible, & gaue themſelues to the worde of God,as a rule both truely to ſerue him, and to directe their liues accordingly. They had many bookes of the old and new Teſtament tranſlated into their language. Theyr Minyſters inſtructed them ſecretely, to auoyd the furye of theyr ennemies, whyche could not abide the light: all be it they did not inſtruct thẽ wyth ſuche puritie as was requiſite. They liued in great ſimplicity, and with the ſweate of theyr browes. They were quiete and peaceable

able among theyr neighbors, abſteining from blaſphemy, and prophaning of yͤ name of God, by othes, and ſuch other impietie: from lewde games, dauncing, filthy ſonges and other vices and diſſolute life, and cōformed their life wholy to the rule of Gods word. Their principal care was alwaies that God might be rightly ſerued, and his worde truely preached: In ſo muche, that in our time, when it pleaſed God to ſet forth the light of his goſpel more clearely, they neuer ſpared any thing, to eſtabliſh the true and pure miniſtery of the worde of God and his Sacraments. which was the cauſe that Sathan with his miniſters, did ſo perſecute them of late more cruelly then euer he did before, as manifeſtly appeareth by the bloudy & horrible perſecutions which haue bene, not onely in Prouince, againſt thoſe of Merindol & Cabriers: alſo againſt them of Prage and Calabria (as the hiſtories afore written doe ſufficiently declare) but alſo againſt them in the Countrey of Piedmont, remaining in the Valley of Angrongne, and of Lucerne, and alſo in the Valley of S. Martine, and Perouſe, in the ſayd countrey of Piedmont. which people of a long time, were perſecuted by the Papiſts, and eſpecially within theſe fewe yeares, they haue bene vexed in ſuch ſort, and ſo diuerſly, that it ſeemeth almoſt incredible: and yet hathe God alwayes miraculouſly deliuered them, as heereafter ſhall enſue.

Albeit the people of Angrongne had before this time, certaine to preach the word of God, and miniſter the ſacramentes vnto them priuately: yet in the yeare of our Lorde 1555. in the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, the Goſpel was openly preached in Angrongne. The miniſters and the people entended at the firſt, to kepe themſelues ſtill, as ſecrete as they mighte: but there was ſuche concourſe of people from al parties, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cauſe they built them a Church in the mids of Angrongne, where aſſembles were made, and Sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one Iohn Martin of Briqueras, a mile frō Angrongne, which vaunted euery where, that he wold ſlit the miniſters noſe of Angrogne, was aſſaulted by a wolfe, which bitte of hys noſe, ſo that he died thereof madde. Thys was commonly knowen to all the townes thereabout.

The iuſt hād of God vpon Iohn Martin, a perſecutor.

At this ſeaſon the French king helde theſe foreſaid valleis, & they were vnder the iuriſdiction of the Parliament of Thurin. In the ende of Decēber folowing, newes was brought, that it was ordeined by the ſayd Parlament, that certaine horſemen and footemen ſhould be ſent to ſpoil and deſtroy Angrongne. Whereuppon ſome whych pretended great frēdſhip to this people, counſelled thē not to goe forward with their enterpriſe: but to forbeare for a while, and to wait for better opportunitie. But they notwithſtanding, calling vpon God, determined with one accord, conſtantly to perſiſt in theyr religion, and in hope and ſilence, to abide the good pleaſure of god: ſo that this enterpriſe againſt Angrongne, was ſoone daſhed. The ſame time they began alſo openly to preach in Luſerne.

In the moneth of March, An. 1556. the Miniſters of the Valley of S. Martine, preached openly. At that time certaine Gentlemen of the Valley of S. Martine, tooke a good man, named Barthelmew a booke binder, priſonner, as he paſſed by the ſaid Valley, the which was ſent by and by, to Thurin, and there with a marueilous conſtancie, after he had made a good confeſſion of his Faith, hee ſuffered death: In ſo much that diuers of the parlament were aſtoniſhed and appalled at his conſtancie. Yet they of the ſayde Parlament, being ſore incenſed againſt the Vaudois, ſent one named the Preſident of S. Iulian, aſſociating vnto him, one called de Eccleſia, and others, for to hinder theyr enterpriſe. Theſe comming firſt to the Valley of Perouſe, wher as yet no preachers were, but they were accuſtomed to reſort to the Sermons at Angrongne, very much troubled and feared the poore people there.

Barthelmew a Bookebinder martyr.

The Preſident of S. Iulian and other, ſent to the Angrongnians.

From thence they went to the Valley of S. Martine, and remained there a good while, tormentinge the poore people, and threatning their vtter ruine and deſtruction. After that they came to Luſerne, troubling and vexing the people there, in like maner. From thence they went to Angrongne, accompanied wyth many Gentlemen, and a great rable of Prieſtes, of the ſayde Countrey: but by the way, the Preſident enquired for one dwelling at S. Iohns neare to Angrongne, and examined him whether hee had not baptiſed his childe at Angrongne, and wherfore he had ſo done. The poore ſimple man aunſweared, that hee hadde baptiſed his childe at Angrongne, becauſe Baptiſme was there miniſtred according to the inſtitution of Chriſt. Thē the Preſident in a great rage, cōmādeд him in the kings name, to Baptiſe his childe again, or els he ſhuld be burnt. The poore man deſired the Preſident that he might be ſuffered to make his prayer to God, before hee ſhoulde make aunſweare thereunto. which, after, he had done in the hall before all the companie there preſent: he required the Preſident that he woulde wryte and ſigne the ſame wyth hys owne hand, that he would diſcharge him before God of the danger of that offence, if he ſhould baptiſe his childe again; and that he would take the pearill vpon him and hys. The Preſident hearing this, was ſo confounded, that hee ſpake not one worde a good while after. Then ſayde he in a great furie, away thou vilaine, out of my ſight: and after that he was neuer called againe any more.

Note here how the Papiſtes play the Anabaptiſtes.

Example of good prayer

The Preſident confounded at the poore mans aunſwere.

After they were come to Angrogne, the Preſident hauing viſited the two Temples, cauſed a Monke to preache in the one, the people being there aſſembled, who pretēded nothing els, but only to exhort them to returne to the obedience of the Sea of Rome. The Monke with the Preſident & all his retinue, kneeled downe twiſe, and called vpon the virgin Mary: but the miniſters and all the people ſtoode ſtill, and would not knele, making no ſigne or token of reuerence. Aſſoone as the Monke had ended hys Sermon, the people requeſted inſtantly, that their Miniſter might alſo be ſuffered to preache, affirming that the ſayde Monke had ſpoken many thinges, which were not according to the worde of God. But the Preſident woulde not graunt their requeſt. After that, the ſayde Preſident admoniſhed them in the name of the king, and the Parlament of Thurin, that they ſhoulde returne to the obedience of the Pope, vpon paine of loſſe of goodes and life, and vtter deſtruction of their towne: and withal he recited vnto them, the pitious diſcomfiture of their brethrē and frends, which had bene done before in Merindoll and Cabriers, & other places in the country of Prouince. The miniſters and the people anſwered that they were determined to liue according to the word of God, and that they wold obey the king and all their ſuperiors in all things, ſo that God were not thereby diſpleaſed: And furthermore, if it were ſhewed vnto them by the word of God, that they erred in any poynte of Religion, they were ready to receaue correction, and to be reformed. Thys talke endured about ſixe houres together, euen vntil night. In the end, the Preſident ſayd there ſhould be a diſputation apoynted for thoſe matters, whereunto the people gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made thereof.

The people would not kneele to pray to our Ladye.

The people of Angrongne threatned with deſtruction.

The Angrongnians deſired to be tryed by the word of God.

Heere he remained 14. daies, daily practiſing newe deuiſes, to vexe and torment them, wyth newe Proclamations, now calling to him the Syndiques and head officers, now ſeuerally and nowe altogether, yͭ ſo for fear he mighte make thē to relente: cauſing alſo aſſembles to be made in euery Pariſh, by ſuche as hee appoynted, thinking thereby to deuide the people. Notwithſtanding he nothing preuailed with all that he coulde doe: but ſtill they continued conſtant. In ſomuch that they with one accorde, preſented a briefe confeſſion of their Faith, with an aunſwere to certaine interrogatories made by the Preſident, in the whych they confeſſed:

The Syndiques were as Shrieues Counſellers or Aduocates.

That the Religion wherein both they and theyr Elders had ben long inſtructed & brought vp, was the ſame, which is conteined both in the olde and newe Teſtament, the which is alſo briefly compriſed in the 12. Articles of the Chriſtian beliefe.

The Articles & confeſſion of the Angrongnians exhibited, to the Preſident.

Alſo, that they acknowledged the Sacraments inſtituted by Chriſte, whereby he diſtributeth aboundauntly hys graces and great benefites, his heauenly riches and treaſures, to all thoſe which receiue the ſame, with a true and a liuely faith.

Furthermore, that they receaued the Creedes of the foure generall Councels, that is to ſay, of Nice, Conſtantinople, Epheſus and Calcedon, and alſo the Creede of Athanaſius, wherein the myſtery of the Chriſtian faith and religion is plainely and largely ſet out.

Item, the ten Commaundementes expreſſed in the 20. chapt. of Exod. and in the 5. of Deut. in the which the rule of a godly & holy life, and alſo the true ſeruice whiche God requireth of vs, is briefly compriſed: and therfore folowing this article, they ſuffered not by any meanes (ſayd they) any groſſe iniquities to raigne among them, as vnlawfull ſwearing, periury, blaſphemy, curſing, ſclandering, diſſention, deceit, wrong dealing, vſury, gluttony, dronkenneſſe, whoredom, theft, murther, ſorcery, witchcraft, or ſuch like: but wholy endeuoured them ſelues to liue in the feare of God, and according to his holy will.

Moreouer, they acknowledged the ſuperior powers, as princes and magiſtrates, to be ordeined of God, & that who ſo euer reſiſteth the ſame, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God: and therefore humbly ſubmitted themſelues to theyr ſuperiours, with all obedience, ſo that they cōmanded nothing againſt God.

Finally, they proteſted, that they woulde in no poynte be ſtubborne, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one iote concerning true religion, the ſame beynge proued by the word of God, they would willingly yeelde, and be reformed.

Their Interrogatories.

The interrogatories, were concerning the Maſſe, auricular confeſſion, baptiſme, mariage, and burials, according to the inſtitution of the Church of Rome.

Their aunſwers to the Interrogatories. Maſſe.

To the firſt they aunſweared, that they receyued the Lordes ſupper, as it was by him inſtituted, and celebrated by his Apoſtles: but as touching the maſſe, except the ſame might be proued by the word of God, they would not receiue it.

1. Iohn. 1.

Iere. 4.
Eſa. 43.

Auricular confeſſion.

To the ſecond touching auricular confeſſion, they ſaid, that for their parte, they confeſſed them ſelues daily vnto God, acknowledging them ſelues before him, to be miſerable ſinners, deſiring him of pardone and forgeueneſſe of their ſinnes, as Chriſte inſtructed his, in the prayer which he taught them: Lord, forgeue vs our ſinnes. And as S. Iohn ſayeth: If we confeſſe our ſinnes to God, hee is faithfull and iuſt to forgeue vs our ſinnes, and to cleanſe vs from all vnrighteouſneſſe. And according to that which God him ſelfe ſayeth by his Prophet: O Iſrael, if thou returne, returne vnto me. And againe, O Iſrael, it is I, it is I, which forgeeueth thee thy ſinnes. So that, ſeeing they ought to returne to God alone, and it is he only that forgeueth ſinnes, therfore they were bound to confeſſe them ſelues to God onely, and to no other. Alſo it appeareth, that Dauid in his Pſalmes, and ye Prophets, and other faithfull ſeruaunts of God haue confeſſed them ſelues, both generally and particularly vnto God alone: Yet if the contrary might be proued by the word of God, they woulde (ſay they) wyth all humbleneſſe receiue the ſame.

Baptiſme.

1. Cor. 14.

Thirdly, as touching Baptiſme, they acknowledged and receiued that holy Inſtitution of Chriſte, and adminiſtred the ſame with all ſimplicitie, as hee ordeined it in his holy Goſpell, without any chaunging, adding, or diminiſhing in any poynt, & that all this they did in their mother tongue, according to the rule of S. Paul, who willeth that in the church euery thing to be done in the mother tongue, for the edification of our neighbor. But as for their coniurations, oyling, and ſalting, except the ſame might be proued by the ſacred Scripture, they would not receiue them.

The manner of burials.

Fourthly, as touching burialles, they aunſwered, that they knewe there is a difference betwene the bodies of the true Chriſtians, and the Infidels, for aſmuch as the firſte are the mẽbers of Ieſus Chriſt, temples of the holy ghoſt, and partakers of the glorious reſurrectiõ of the dead, and therefore they accuſtomed to folow their dead to the graue reuerently, with a ſufficient company, and exhortation out of the worde of God, as well to comfort the parentes and frendes of the dead, as alſo to admoniſh all men, diligently to prepare them ſelues to die. But as for the vſing of candles or lightes, praiers for the dead, ringing of belles, except ye ſame might be proued to be neceſſary, by the word of God, and that God is not offended therwith, they wold not receiue them.

Obedience to mens traditions.

Fifthly, as touching obedience to mennes traditions, they receiued and allowed all thoſe ordinances, which (as S. Paule ſayth) ſerue for order, decencie, & reuerence of the Miniſterie. But as for other Ceremonies, which haue bin brought into the Churche of God, either as a parte of his diuine ſeruice, either to merite remiſſion of ſinnes, or els to binde mens conſciences, becauſe they are mere repugnant to the word of God, they could by no means receiue them.

Councells not to be preferred before Gods word.

Galat. 1.

And whereas the Commiſſioners affirmed the ſayde traditions to haue ben ordeined by councels: firſt they anſweared, that the greateſt part of them were not ordeined by councels. Secondly, that Councels were not to be preferred aboue the worde of God, which ſaith: If any man, yea or Angell from heauen, ſhoulde preache vnto you, otherwiſe then that which hath bene receiued of the Lorde Ieſus, let him be accurſed. And therefore (ſaid they) if Councels haue ordained any thing diſſenting from the worde of God, they woulde not receiue it.

Councells not kept of the Papiſtes in many poyntes.

Finally, they ſaid, that the Councels had made diuers notable decrees concerning the election of Biſhoppes, and Miniſters of the Church: concerning Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, as wel of the Cleargie, as of the people: alſo concerning the diſtribution of the goodes and poſſeſſions of the Church. And further, that all paſtours which were eyther whoremongers, drunkardes, or offenſiue in any caſe, ſhuld be put from their office. Moreouer, that whoſoeuer ſhould be preſent at the maſſe of a prieſt which was a whoremonger, ſhould be excõmunicate. And many ſuch other things, which wer not in any point obſerued. And that they omitted to ſpeake of many other thinges, whith were ordained by diuers Councels, very ſuperſtitious, and cõtrary to the holy Commaundements of God, as they would be ready to proue (ſaid they) if they ſhould haue occaſion and oportunitie thereunto.

Diſputation required.

Wherefore they required the Commiſſioners, that a diſputation might be had (as by the ſayde Preſident was pretended) publiquely and in their preſence, and then if it might be proued by the worde of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or conuerſation and maner of liuing, they were content, with all humbleneſſe to be corrected, and reformed, as they had before ſayde: beſeeching them to conſider alſo that their religion had ben obſerued & kept from their aunceſtours, vntill their time, many hundred yeares together: and yet for their partes, being conuicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obſtinately ſtande to the defence therof: Saying moreouer, that they, togither with the ſaid Lordes Deputies, confeſſed all one God, one Sauiour, one Holy Ghoſt, one Lawe, one Baptiſme, one hope in Heauen: and in Summe, they affirmed that their faith and religion was firmly founded and groũded vpon the pure word of God, wherefore it is ſayd, That bleſſed are they which heare the ſame, and keepe it.

For the antiquity of theſe Waldoys, ſee before pag.

Turkes and Iewes finde more fauour with the Papiſtes, then the true Chriſtians.

To be ſhort, ſeeing it is permitted to the Turkes, Sarazens, & Iewes (which are mortall ennemies to our Sauiour Chriſte) to dwell peaceablye in the faireſt Cities of Chriſtendome, by good reaſon they ſhould be ſuffred to liue in the deſolate mountaines & valleis, hauing their whole religion founded vpon the holy Goſpel, and worſhipping the Lord Ieſus: and therefore they moſt humbly beſought them, to haue pitie and compaſſion vpon them, and to ſuffer them to liue quietly in their deſerts, proteſting that they and theirs would liue in al feare & reuerence of God, with all due ſubiection and obedience to their Lord and prince, and to his Lieutenants and officers.

A breathing time geuen of God to the Angronians.

The Preſident and the reſt of the Commiſſioners perceiuing that they laboured in vaine, returned to Thurin, with the notes of their proceedings, the which immediatly were ſent vnto the kings court, & there the matter remained one yeare, before there was any anſweare made thereunto: during which time, the Waldoys liued in great quietnes, as God of his infinit goodnes is wont to geue ſome comfort & refreſhing to his poore ſeruants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithfull ſo augmented, that throughout the valleis, Gods worde was purely preached, & his ſacraments duely adminiſtred, and no maſſe was ſong in Angrõgne, nor in diuers other places. The yere after, the Preſident of S. Iulian with his aſſociates, returned to Pignerol, & ſent for thither, the chiefe Rulers of Angrongne, & of the valley of Luſerne, that is, for ſixe of Angrongne, and for two of euery pariſh beſides, and ſhewed vnto them, how that the laſt yere they had preſented their confeſſion, the which by a decree made by the parliament of Thurin, was ſent to the kings court, & ther diligently examined by learned men, & condemned as hereticall. Therfore the king willed and commaunded them, to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome, vppon paine of loſſe both of goods and life: enioyning them moreouer, to geue him a direct aunſwere within 3. daies. From thence he went to Luſerne, & cauſed the houſholders, with great threatnings to aſſemble them ſelues before certaine by him appoynted: but they with one aſſent perſiſted in their former confeſſion. And leaſt they ſhould ſeeme ſtubbern in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they deſired that their confeſſion might be ſent to all the Vniuerſities of Chriſtendom, and if the ſame in any part, by the word of God were diſproued, it ſhould be immediately amended: but contrariwiſe, if that were not done, then they to be no more diſquieted.

Perſecution agayne beginneth againſt the Angroniãs.

The Angroniãs require triall by Gods word.

The Angronians required to bring in their miniſters and Schoolemaſters.

The Preſident not contẽted with this, the next morning ſent for ſixe of Angrongne by him named, & for two out of euery other pariſh, the which he and the Gentlemenne of the country threatned very ſore, and warned twelue of the chiefe of Angrongne, and certaine of the other pariſhes, to appeare perſonally at the Parliament of Thurine, and to bring before the Iudges of the ſaid Parliament, their miniſters and ſcholemaiſters, thinking if they were once baniſhed the countrey, that then their enterpriſe might ſoone be brought to an ende. To the which it was aunſweared, that they could not, nor ought not to obey ſuch a commandement.

Proclamation made at Angrõgne.

A litle while after, Proclamation was made in euery place, that no man ſhoulde receiue any preacher comming from Geneua, but onely ſuche as were appoynted by the Archbiſhop of Thurin, and other his officers, vpon paine of confiſcation of their goodes, and loſſe of their liues, and that euery one ſhould obſerue the ceremonies, rites, & religion vſed in the Church of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the foreſaid preachers of Geneua came into thoſe quarters, that they ſhould immediately be apprehended, and by no meanes their aboade there by any one to be concealed, vpon the paine aforeſayde. And furthermore, the names of thoſe which ſhould diſcloſe any one of them, ſhould be kept ſecrete, and alſo for their accuſation, they ſhoulde haue the third part of the goodes confiſcated, with a full pardone, if that the ſaide accuſers were any of thoſe which priuily did keepe or maintaine the ſaid miniſters: and that they and al other, which would returne to their mother the Churche, mighte freely and ſafely come and recante before the ſayde Commiſſioners.

The Germans make ſupplication for the Angronians.

At the ſame ſeaſon the Princes of Germanie, and certaine of the Suitzers ſent vnto the French king, deſiring him to haue pitie on the foreſaide Churches, and from that time vntil thre yeeres after, the people of the foreſaide valleyes were not moleſted by any of the kings officers: but yet they were ſore vexed by the monkes of Pignerol, and the Gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin.

Geffray Varialla Martyr.

About that time a miniſter of Angrongne named Geffrey Varialla, borne in Piemont, a vertuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to viſite certaine churches in thoſe quarters where he was borne, and comming homeward, was taken at Berge, and from thence led to Thurin where he after he had made a good confeſſion of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and the terrour of the aduerſaries, moſt conſtantly ſuffred.

A notable example of a good hangman.

A fewe daies after, a miniſter of the valley of Luſerne, returning to Geneua, was taken priſoner at Suſe, & ſoone after ſent to Thurin, and with an inuincible conſtancie made his confeſſion before thoſe of the Parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman at the time of execution fained himſelfe to be ſicke, and ſo conueied hym ſelfe away. And ſo likewiſe an other ſerued them, being appointed by the foreſaid Court, to execute the poore miniſter. It is credibly reported, that the hangman which executed certain Germanes a litle afore, would by no meanes do this execution. wherupon the miniſter was ſent to priſon againe, where after long & painful endurance, ſeing the priſon doore open, he eſcaped, and returned to his cure.

Nowe foure yeares being paſt, in ſuch manner as we haue hitherto touched in this ſtorie, in the yeare folowing, which was 1559. there was a peace concluded betweene the French king, and the king of Spaine. whereupon the countrey of Piemont, (certaine townes excepted) was reſtored to the Duke of Sauoy: vnder whoſe regiment the foreſaide Churches, and all other faithfull people in Piemont, continued in great quietnes, and wer not moleſted: and the Duke him ſelfe was content to ſuffer them to liue in their religion, knowing that he had no ſubiectes more faithfull and obedient then they were. But Sathan hating al quietneſſe, by his miniſters ſtirred the Duke againſt the ſayde Churches of Piemont, his owne naturall ſubiects. For the Pope and the Cardinalles ſeeing the good inclination of the Duke towardes this people, incenſed him to doe that, which otherwiſe he would not. The Popes Legate alſo which then followed the Court, and other that fauoured the Churche of Rome, laboured by all meanes to perſwade the Duke, that hee ought to baniſhe the ſayde waldoys, which mainteined not the Popes religion: alleging that he could not ſuffer ſuch a people to dwell within his dominion, without preiudice and diſhonour to the Apoſtolique See. Alſo that they were a rebellious people againſt the holy ordinaunces and decrees of their holy mother the Churche. And briefly, that he might no longer ſuffer the ſaid people, being ſo diſobedient & ſtubbern againſt the holy father, if he would in dede ſhew him ſelfe a louing and obedient ſonne.

The Pope ſtirreth vp the Duke of Sauoy againſt the Angroniãs.

Such deuiliſhe inſtigations were the cauſe of theſe horrible and furious perſecutions, wherewith this poore people of the valleys and the Countrey of Piemont was ſo long vexed. And becauſe they foreſawe the great calamities which they were like to ſuffer: to find ſome remedy for the ſame (if it were poſſible) al the ſaide Churches of Piemont, with one common conſent wrote to the duke, declaring in effect, that the onely cauſe why they were ſo hated, and for the which he was by their enemies ſo ſore incenſed againſt them, was their religion: which was no newe or light opinion, but that wherein they and their auncitours had long cõtinued, being wholy grounded vpon the infallible worde of God, conteined in the olde and new Teſtament. Notwithſtanding, if it might be proued by the ſame worde, that they held any falſe or erroneous doctrine, they would ſubmit them ſelues to be reformed, with all obedience. But it is not certaine whether thys aduertiſemente was deliuered vnto the Duke, or no: for it was ſayde, that he woulde not heare of that Religion. But howe ſo euer it was, in the moneth of March following, there was great perſecution raiſed againſt the poore Chriſtians, which were at Carignan. Amongeſt whom there were certaine godly perſones taken, & burnt within foure daies after, that is to ſaye, one named Mathurine, and his wife, and Iohn de Carquignan, dwelling in the valley of Luſerne, taken priſoner as he went to the market at Pignerol. The woman died with great conſtancie. The good man, Iohn de Carquignan had ben in priſon diuers times before for religion and was alwaies deliuered by Gods ſingulare grace and prouidence. But ſeeing him ſelfe taken this laſt time, incõtinẽt he ſaid, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in priſon, and alſo at his death, he ſhewed an inuincible cõſtancie, and maruelous vertue, aſwel by the pure confeſſion which hee made touching the doctrine of ſaluation, as alſo in ſuffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured both in priſon, & alſo at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great crueltie, and fearing man alſo more then God, looking rather to the earth, then vnto heauẽ, conſented to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Mathurin & his wife Iohn de Carquignan, Martyrs.

Perſecution beginneth in the Valleys.

within fewe daies after, theſe Churches of the ſayde waldoys, that is to ſay, Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, and Suſe were wonderfully aſſaulted. To recite all the outrage, crueltie, and villany that was there cõmitted, it were too long: for breuities ſake we will recite onely certaine of the principal and beſt knowen. The Churches of Meane & Suſe ſuffered great afflictions. Their miniſter was taken amongſt other. Many fled away, and their houſes and goodes were ranſackt and ſpoiled. The Miniſter was a good & a faithfull ſeruaunt of God, and endued with excellent giftes and graces, who in the ende was put to moſte ſhamefull and cruell death. The great pacience which hee ſhewed in the middes of the fire, greatly aſtoniſhed the aduerſaries. Likewiſe the Churches of Larche and Meronne were maruellouſlye tormented and afflicted. For ſome were taken and ſent to the galleis, other ſome conſented & yelded to the aduerſaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly knowen, that thoſe which yeelded to the aduerſaries, were more cruelly hãdled then the others which cõtinued conſtant in the truth. wherby God declareth howe greatly he deteſteth all ſuch as play the Apoſtataes, and ſhrinke from the truth.

The Miniſter of Meane, Martyr.

Gods ſecret iudgements vpõ them that ſhrinke from his truthe.

But for the better vnderſtanding of the beginning of this horrible perſecution againſt the waldoys, heere note, that firſt of all proclamations were made in euery place, that none ſhould reſort to the Sermons of the Lutherans, but ſhould liue after the cuſtome of the Churche of Rome, vpon paine of forfaiture of their goods, and to be condemned to the Galleyes for euer, or looſe their liues. Three of the moſt cruel perſons that could be founde, were appoynted to execute this cõmiſſion. The firſt was one Thomas Iacomel, a Monke, and Inquiſitour of the Romiſh faith, a man worthy for ſuche an office, for hee was an Apoſtata, and had renounced the knowen truth, and perſecuted mortally and malitiouſlye the poore Chriſtians, againſte his owne conſcience, and of ſet purpoſe, as his bookes do ſufficiently witneſſe. He was alſo a whoremonger, and geuen ouer to al other villanies and filthy liuing, and in the horrible ſinne of Sodomitrie, which he cõmonly vſed, he paſſed all his fellowes. Briefly, he was nothing els but a miſſhapen monſter both againſt God and nature. Moreouer, he ſo afflicted and tormented the poore captiues of the ſayd waldoys, by ſpoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deſerued not only to be hanged, but to be broken vpon yͤ whele a hundred times, and to ſuffer ſo many cruell deathes, if it were poſſible: ſo great, ſo many, and ſo horrible were the crimes that he had committed.

Cruell perſecutors.

Thomas Iacomell a cruell Apoſtata.

The rigorous handling of the Waldoys.

The ſeconde was the Collaterall Corbis, who in the examination of the priſoners, was very rigorous & cruell, for he only demaunded of them whether they would go to the maſſe, or be burnt within three dayes, and in very dede executed his ſayings. But it is certainly reported, that hee ſeeing the conſtancie, and hearing the confeſſion of the pore Martyrs, feeling a remorſe, and tormented in conſcience, proteſted that he would neuer meddle any more.

Martyrs.

The thirde was the Prouoſt de la Iuſtice, a cruell and crafty wretch, accuſtomed to apprehende the poore Chriſtians either by night, or early in the morning, or in the high way going to the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Luſerne, or there aboutes. Thus the poore people were alwayes as the ſeely ſheepe in the woolues iawes, or as the ſhepe which are ledde vnto the ſlaughter houſe.

At that ſeaſon one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Luſerne, and one of the Lordes of Angrongne, wrote to the ſayde Commiſſioners, to vſe ſome lenitie towardes them of the valley of Luſern. By reaſon whereof, they were a while more gently entreated then the reſt. At that ſeaſon the monks of Pignerol, & theyr aſſociates tormented greeuouſly the churches neare about them. They tooke the poore Chriſtians as they paſſed by the waye, and kept them priſoners within their abbey. And hauing aſſembled a company of Ruffians, they ſent them to ſpoyle thoſe of the ſaid churches, and to take priſoners, men, women & children, and ſome they ſo tormented, that they wer cōpelled to ſweare, to returne to the maſſe, other ſome alſo they ſent to the galleis, and other ſome they burnt cruelly. They whyche eſcaped, were afterwards ſo ſicke, that they ſeemed to haue bene poyſoned. The ſame yeare there were two great earthquakes in Piemonte, and alſo many great tempeſts and horrible thunders.

The cruell Monkes of Pigneroll.

Martirs.

The Gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin, intreated theyr tennauntes very cruelly, threatning them, and commaunding them to returne vnto the Maſſe, alſo ſpoyling them of theyr goodes, impriſoning them, and vexing them by all the meanes they could. But aboue all the other, two eſpecially, ẏ is to ſay, Charles Truchet and Boniface hys brother, the whiche the 2. day of Aprill before day, wyth a company of Ruffians, ſpoyled a village of their owne ſubiectes, named Renclaret, the whiche aſſoone as the inhabitants of the ſaid village perceiued, they fled into the mountaine couered with ſnow, naked and without victuall, and there remayned vntill the thirde night after. In the morning certaine of his retinue toke a miniſter of the ſaid valley priſonner, which was come out of Calabria, & was going to viſite the poore people of Renclaret, and ledde hym priſonner to the Abbey, where ſoone after hee was burnt, with one other of the valley of S. Martin.

Charles Truchet and Boniface, his brother, two cruel perſecuters.

A miniſter of Calabria burnt.

The third night after, they of Pragela hauing pity vpon the poore people of Renclaret, ſente aboute iiij. C. to diſcomfite the company of the Truchets, and to reſtore thoſe which were fled to their houſes. They were furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſhot of their enemies, who notwithſtanding in the end were put to flight, and but one of the foure hundred hurt.

Gods people reſcued.

About a yeare before, the ſaid Truchet being accōpanied with a company of ruffians, arreſted priſoner the miniſter of Renclaret, as he was at his Sermon. But the people was ſo moued by this outragious dealing, & ſpecially the women, that they had almoſt ſtrangled the ſaide Truchet, and the reſt of them were ſo cannaſed, that they had no liſte to come there agayne any more. By reaſon whereof hee ſo vexed them by proceſſe, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him xvi. C. crownes.

Soone after the lordes of the ſayde valley tooke another miniſter of the ſame valley, as he was going to preach in a pariſh, a mile frō his houſe: but the people perceiuing that, ſpeedily purſued him, and tooke him. The enemies ſeeyng that they were not able to leade hym away, wounded hym ſo ſore, that they left him for dead. Whereupon they ſo perſecuted the poore people, that they were almoſt deſtroyed.

A miniſter of the Valley of Renclaret, taken and wounded.

Heere is not to be forgotten, that the ſame nyght in the whiche the companye of Truchet was diſcomfited, was ſo ſtormie and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that Countrey were ſo terrified, that they thought they ſhould haue bene al deſtroied. Wherfore they vſed more gentlenes towardes the people then before, except Charles Truchet, & hys brother, the whych wente to the Duke, and made greeuous complaintes againſt the Waldoys, not only for that which was done and paſt, but alſo perſwaded the duke, that they went about to builde three Fortreſſes in the mountaines, and alſo intended to maintaine certaine garriſons of ſtrāgers: charging them further with diuers other crimes, of the whych they were in no poynt guiltie. The Duke being moued by theſe falſe ſurmiſes, gaue in charge to the ſayde accuſers, and the Fortreſſe of the valley of S. Martine, the whych about twentie yere before was raſed by the French men, ſhoulde be builte againe, and that therein ſhoulde be placed a perpetuall garriſon, and that the people ſhoulde make ſo plaine and wide the rugged wayes, that horſemen myght eaſely paſſe, with diuers ſuch other thyngs: and all this to be done at the coſtes & charges of thoſe that woulde not ſubmit them ſelues to the abedience of the Romaine Churche.

Falſe cōplaintes brought to the Duke, againſt the Waldoys.

What cruell reporters doe.

This commiſſion being ſealed, the Gentlemen cauſed the Fortreſſe to be built againe, and put therin a garriſon, and proclaimed the commiſſion. The poore people being thereat amaſed, withſtoode the Commiſſioners, and ſente certaine to the Duke: and immediatly after the Commiſſioners retourned to the Dukes Courte, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more againſt them. But God ſoone preuented this miſchiefe: For the Truchets being at Nice, went to the Sea, with diuers noble men, and immediately they were taken priſoners by the Turkes, put into the Galleys, ſore beaten wyth ropes, and ſo cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were deade: and lōg time after denying their nobilitie, were ſent home, hauing paid 400. crownes for their ranſome. Some ſay, that the Duke himſelfe was almoſt taken, but it is ſure that hee fell ſicke ſoone after.

The iuſte iudgement of God vp the Truchets, ſo cruelly ve ing, ſpoyling and cuſing of theſe po Waldoys.

In the moneth of April next folowing, the Lorde of Raconis was preſent at a Sermon, in a place neare vnto Angrongne. The ſermon being ended, he talked with the miniſters, and hauing diſcourſed as well of the Dukes ſickeneſſe, as alſo of his clemencie and gentlenes, he declared to them, that the perſecution proceded not of him, and that he meant not that the cōmiſſion ſhuld haue bene ſo rigorouſly executed. After that he demaunded of them, what way they thought beſt to appeaſe the Dukes wrath. They anſweared, that the people ought not to be moued to ſeeke by any meanes, howe to pleaſe & appeaſe the Duke, which might diſpleaſe God. But ẏ beſt way they knewe, was the ſame, wherwith the auncient ſeruauntes of God, vſed to appeaſe the Pagane Princes and Emperours, in the time of the great perſecutions of the church, that is to ſay, to geue out and preſent vnto them in wryting, the confeſſion of theyr faith, and defence of the religion which they profeſſed: truſting that for as muche as the fury of diuers prophane and Ethnike Emperors and princes haue bene heretofore appeaſed by ſuch meanes, the Duke being endued wyth ſuch ſingular vertues, as they ſaid he was, would alſo be pacified by the like meanes: And for that cauſe the poore people had before ſent a ſupplication, wyth a Confeſſion of theyr faith vnto the Duke, but they were not certaine whether he had receiued it, or no. Wherfore they deſired him to preſent the ſame vnto the ſayd Duke him ſelfe. Whereunto he agreed & promiſed ſo to do. Wherupon they ſent three ſupplications: one to the Duke, the ſecond to the Duches, and the third to ẏ dukes counſell, wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the poyntes thereof, whych they and their aunciters had of a long time obſerued, being wholy grounded vpon the pure word of God: and if by the ſame worde it ſhould be proued, that they were in errour, they would not be obſtinate, but gladly be refourmed, and embrace the trueth. After this the perſecution ſeemed to be ſomewhat aſſwaged for a litle while.

By what meanes the Chryſtians in tymes paſt, haue appeaſed the fury of Pagane princes.

The Angronians ſend forth three ſupplications.

In the ende of Iune next following, the Lorde of Raconis, and the Lorde of Trinitie came to Angrogne, there to qualifie (as they ſayde) the ſore perſecution. and cauſed the chiefe rulers and miniſters to aſſemble together, propoundinge diuers poyntes of Religion concernyng Doctrine, the callyng of Miniſters, the Maſſe, and obedience towardes Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared vnto them that their confeſſion was ſent to Rome by the Duke, and daily they looked for aunſweare. To all theſe poynts the Miniſters anſwered. After this they demaunded of the chiefe rulers, if that the Duke would cauſe Maſſe to be ſong in their pariſhes, whether they woulde withſtand the ſame, or no. They anſwered ſimply that they would not. Then they demanded of them if that the Duke would appoynt them Preachers, whether they would receiue them. They anſwered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would heare them. Thirdly, if ẏ they were content, that in the meane time their miniſters ſhuld ceaſe, and if they whiche ſhoulde be ſent, preached not the worde of God ſincerely, then theyr miniſters to preache againe. If they would agree to thys, they were promyſed that the perſecution ſhould ceaſe, and the priſoners ſhould be reſtored againe. To thys queſtion, after they had conferred with the people, they aunſwered, that they could by no meanes ſuffer that theyr Miniſters ſhoulde forbeare preaching.

The confeſſion of the Angronia ſent to the Pope.

Demaunde put to the Angronia

The two Lordes not contented with thys aunſwere, commaunded in the Dukes name, that all the Minyſters whyche were ſtraungers, ſhoulde oute of hande be baniſhed the countrey: ſaying, that the Duke woulde not ſuffer them to dwell wythin his dominion, for that they were his enemies: demaunding alſo whether they would foſter and maintaine the Princes ennemies wythin hys owne lande againſte his owne decree and expreſſe commaundement? To the whyche, anſweare was made by the chiefe Rulers, that they coulde by no meanes baniſh them, vnleſſe they were afore conuicted of ſome hereſie, or other crime: for their part, they had alwaies founde them to be men of pure and ſound doctrine, and alſo of godly life and conuerſation.

The Angronians deny to p away their miniſters.

Thus done, immediatly Proclamations were made,

and

The Monks of Pignerol cruel againſt the Angronians.

The miniſter of S. Germain betrayed & taken.

Barbarous cruelty ſhewed againſt the good miniſter of S. Germain.

and the perſecution began on euery ſyde to be more furious then it was afore. Amongeſt others, the Monkes of Pignerol at that tyme were moſt cruell: for they ſent out a company of hyred Ruffians, which dayly ſpoyled and ranſackt houſes, and all that they could lay hands of, toke men, women, and children, and led them captiues to the Abbey, where they were moſt ſpitefully afflicted and tormented. At the ſame time they ſent alſo a band of the ſayde ruffians by night, to the Miniſters houſe of S. Germain, in the valley of Perouſe, being led thither by a traytour which knew the houſe, and had vſed to haunt thether ſecretly: who knocking at the dore, the Miniſter knowing his voyce, came foorth immediately, and perceiuing hymſelfe to be betrayed, fledde: but he was ſoone taken and ſore wounded, and yet notwithſtandyng they pricked him behynde wyth theyr halbards, to make hym haſten hys pace. At that tyme alſo many they ſlue, many they hurt, and many alſo they brought to the Abbey, and there kepte them in priſon, and cruelly handled them. The good Miniſter endured ſore impriſonment, and after that a moſt terrible kind of death, with a wonderfull conſtancie: For they roſted him by a ſmall fire: and when halfe his body was burnt, he confeſſed and called vpon the Lorde Jeſus, with a loude voice.

Two womē compelled to carrie fagots to burne their paſtor.

The Inquiſitour Jacomel, with his Monkes, and the Collaterall Corbis, amongeſt other, ſhewed one practiſe of moſt barbarous crueltie againſt thys poore man, who when he ſhould be burnt, cauſed two poore women of S. Germain (which they kept in priſon) to cary fagots to the fire, and to ſpeake theſe wordes to their Paſtour: take thys, thou wicked hereticke, in recompence of thy naughty doctrine, which thou haſt taught vs. To whome the good Miniſter aunſwered: Ah good women, I haue taught you well, but you haue learned ill. To be briefe, they ſo afflicted and tormented thoſe poore people of Saint Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were ſpoyled of their goodes, and driuen from theyr houſes, they were cōpelled to flie into ẏ mountaine to ſaue their liues. So great was the ſpoyle of this poore people, that many which before had bene men of much wealth, and with their riches had miniſtred great ſuccour and comfort to others, were now brought to ſuch miſerie, that they were compelled to craue ſuccour and reliefe of other.

Whether it be lawfull for the perſecuted people of chriſt to ſtand to their owne defence.

Now, for as much as the ſayde Monkes, with theyr troupes of ruffians (which were counted to be in number about three hundred) made ſuch ſpoyle and hauocke in all the countrey, that no man could there liue in ſafetie: it was demaunded of the Miniſters, whether it was lawfull to defend themſelues, againſt the inſolencie and furious rage of the ſayde Ruffians. The Miniſters aunſwered, that it was lawfull, warning them in any caſe, to take heede of bloudſhed. This queſtion being once diſſolued, they of the valley of Luſerne and of Angrongne, ſent certayne men to them of S. Germain, to ayde them againſt the ſupporters of theſe Monkes.

Mirabilia Dei.

In the moneth of June, the harueſt being then in Piemont, diuers of the waldoys were gone into ẏ countrey, to reape and make prouiſion for corne, for very litle groweth vpon their mountaines: the which were all taken priſoners at ſundry times and places, not one knowing of another: but yet God ſo wrought, that they all eſcaped out of priſon, as it were by a myracle: whereat the aduerſaries were marueilouſly aſtoniſhed. At the ſame time, there were certayne other alſo, which had ſuſteyned long impriſonment, looking for nothing elſe but death: and yet they after a wonderfull ſort, by Gods mercifull prouidence were likewiſe deliuered.

Victory of the Angronians ouer their enemies.

In the moneth of July, they of Angrongne, beeyng in a morning at harueſt, vpon the hill ſyde of S. Germain, perceyued a company of ſouldiours ſpoylyng them of S. Germaine: & doubting leaſt they would go to Angrōgne, made an outcry. Then the people of Angrongne aſſembled together vpon the mountayne, and ſome ranne to S. Germain ouer the hill, & ſome by the valley. They which went by the valley, mette with the ſpoylers commyng from S. Germain, loden with ſpoyle, which they had gotten, and being but 50. ſet vpon the other, amounting to the number of 120. men well appoynted, and gaue them ſoone the ouerthrow. The paſſage ouer the bridge beyng ſtopped, the enemies were fayne to take the riuer of Cluzon, where diuers were ſore hurt, many were drowned, & ſome eſcaped very hardly: and ſuch a ſlaughter was made o them, that the riuer was dyed with the bloud of them, which were wounded and ſlaine, but none of the Angrōgnians were once hurt. If the ſayd riuer had bene as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one mā eſcaped aliue. The noyſe of the harquebuſhes was great, and within leſſe then one houres ſpace, there was three or foure hundreth of the waldoys, gathered together vppon the riuer: and at the ſame tyme, they had purpoſed to fetch away their priſoners, which were in the Abbey, but they would not do it without the counſaile of their Miniſters, and ſo differred the matter vntill the next day: But their Miniſters counſailed thē not to entrepriſe any ſuch thyng: but to refrayne themſelues, and ſo they dyd. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent, after that diſcomfiture, vnto the Abbey: they might haue founde all open, and eaſly haue entred: For the Monkes were ſo ſore afrayde, that they fled ſodēly to Pignerol, to ſaue their reliques and Images, which they caryed thether. The reſt of the countrey about, were wonderfully afrayde, & range the Belles euery where. The greater part of them fledde, doubtyng leaſt the poore waldoys would haue reuenged the wronges and outrages done vnto them.

The commaunder of S. Anthony ſent to Angrongne.

Miſſa falſly deriued out of the Hebrue.

Diſputation about the Maſſe.

The next day folowyng, the Commaunder of Saint Anthony de Foſſan came to Angrongne, accōpanied with diuers Gentlemen, ſaying that he was ſent by the Duke: and hauyng aſſembled the chief Rulers and Miniſters of Angrongne, and of the Valley of Luſerne, after he had declared vnto them the cauſe of his commyng, he read their Supplication directed to the Duke, which cōteined their confeſſion, demaūdyng of them, if it were the ſame, which they had ſent to the Duke. They aunſwered, yea. Then he began to diſpute, beyng ſent (as he ſayd) to informe them of their errours, not doubtyng, but they would amēde, accordyng to their promiſe. Then he entred into a diſputation of the Maſſe, in a great heat, deriuyng the ſame frō the Hebrue word Maſſa, which ſignified (as he ſuppoſed) conſecration, and ſhewed that this word Miſſa, might be foūd in auncient writers. The Miniſters aunſwered that he ill applyed the Hebrue word: and further, that they diſputed not of the word Miſſa, but of that which is ſignified by the ſame, the which he ought firſt to proue by ẏ word of God. Briefly that he could not proue either by the word of God, or the auncient fathers, their priuate Maſſe, their ſacrifice expiatorie or propiciatorie, their tranſubſtantiation, their adoration, their application of the ſame for the quicke and the dead, & ſuch other matters, which are principal partes of the ſayd Maſſe. The Cōmaunder hauing here nothyng to reply, fell into a marueilous color, rayling and ragyng as if he had bene ſtarke mad, and told thē that he was not come to diſpute, but to baniſh their Miniſters, & to place others in their rowmes, by the Dukes commaūdement, which he could not, vnleſſe their Miniſters were firſt driuen out of the countrey.

The poore inhabitants of the valley of Luſerne, taken priſoners.

The Councell of Cōſtāce geueth leaue to breake promyſe with al ſuch as they take to be heretickes.

Nothing proued by the worde of God againſt the waldoys.

From thēce he went to the Abbey of Pignerol, where he & Jacomell cauſed a number of the poore inhabitaunts of Campillō, and of Fenill, which be of the Valley of Luſerne, to be taken priſoners, ſpoylyng them of their goods, driuyng away their cattell, and forcing them to ſweare & forſweare, & in the end raūſomed them, for great ſummes of money. About that tyme, a Gentlemā of Campillon agreed with thoſe whiche were fled, for xxx. crownes to be payde vnto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, ſo that they remayned quiet at home. But when he had receaued the money, he cauſed the Commaunder of Foſſan with his men, by night to come to his houſe, and then ſent for the poore men thinking traiterouſly to haue deliuered thē into the hādes of their mortall enemy, folowing therein the Decree of the Councell of Conſtance: which is, that no promiſe is to be kept with heretickes. But God knowyng how to ſuccour his, in their neceſſitie, preuented this daunger: for one of them had intelligence of the Commaunders commyng, & ſo they all fled. Thereupon they writ to the Lorde of Racōnis, declaryng vnto him ẏ proceedyngs of the Cōmaūder, and that he neither would nor could ſhewe or proue any thyng by the word of God, as hee had promiſed: but threatned them great wronges & iniuries, and would not ſuffer their Miniſters to reply, or ſay any thyng for the defence of their cauſe: & therefore they deſired him to ſignifie the ſame vnto the Dukes grace, to the end that he ſhould not be offended, if they perſiſted ſtill in their religiō, ſeyng it was not proued vnto them, by any reaſon taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

After this, there were many commaundementes and iniunctions geuen out thorough all the countrey, to baniſh theſe poore waldoys, with the doctrine of the Goſpell (if it were poſſible) out of the mountaynes and Valleyes of Piemont: But the poore people ſtill deſired that, accordyng to that, which they had ſo often before proteſted by word & writyng, they might be ſuffered to ſerue God purely, accordyng to the rule preſcribed in his word: ſimply obeying their Lord & Prince alwayes & in all thyngs.

Notwithſtanding they were ſtill vexed and tormented with all the crueltie that could be deuiſed, as partly it is already declared: but much more you ſhall perceiue by that which followeth.

Barabas deliuered, and Chriſt purſued.

In the end of October next folowing, the rumor went that an army was leuying to deſtroy them, and in verye deede there were certeine bands leuyed, ready to march at an houres warning. Furthermore, thoſe malefactours which heretofore were fled, or baniſhed for any offence or crime committed, were called home agayne, and pardoned of altogether, ſo that they would take them to theyr weapons, and go to deſtroy the Waldoys. The Miniſters and chiefe Rulers of the valleyes of Luſerne and Angrongne, therupõ aſſembled together oftetimes to take aduiſe what in ſuch an extremitie, were beſt to do. In the ende they determined, that for certeine daies folowing, there ſhould be kept a generall faſt, and yͤ Sonday after, a cõmunion. Alſo that they ſhould not defend themſelues by force of armes, but that euery one ſhould withdraw himſelfe into the high mountaines, and euery one to cary away ſuch goods as he was able to beare: and if their enemies purſued them thether, then to take ſuch aduiſe and counſel as it pleaſed God to geue them. This Article of not defendyng themſelues, ſeemed very ſtrange to the people, being driuen to ſuch an extremity, and yͤ cauſe being ſo iuſt. But yet euery one begã to cary their goods and vitailes into the mountaynes, and for the ſpace of eight dayes, all the wayes were filled wyth commers and goers to the mountaines, like vnto Ants in Sommer, which prouide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexitie & danger, with a wonderful courage and cherefulnes, praiſing of God and ſinging of Pſalmes, and euery one cõforting an other. Briefly, they went with ſuch ioy and alacritie, that you ſhould not haue ſeene any, which grudged to leaue their houſes and faire poſſeſſions, but were wholy determined patiently to abide the good pleaſure of God, and alſo to dye if he had ſo appoynted.

Deliberation among the Waldois how to defend, and how not to defend themſelues.

Whether ſubiects for religiõ, may ſtand to their owne defence.

A few dayes after, certeyne other Miniſters hearyng what they of Angrongne & Luſerne had concluded, wrote vnto them, that this reſolution ſeemed very ſtraunge to ſome, that they ought not to defend themſelues againſt the violence of their enemies, alleadging many reaſons, that in ſuch an extremitie and neceſſitie, it was lawful for them ſo to do: eſpecially, the quarell being ſo iuſt, that is, for the defence of true Religion, and for the preſeruation of theyr owne liues, and the liues of theyr wiues and children: knowing that it was the Pope and hys Miniſters which were the cauſe of all theſe troubles and cruell warres, and not the Duke. who was ſtirred vp thereunto onely by their inſtigations: wherefore they might well and wyth good conſcience, withſtand ſuch furious and outragious violence. For the proofe heereof, they alſo alleadged certeine examples.

The Angronyãs refuſe to heare maſſe.

During this ſeaſon, the Lorde of Angrongne, named Charles de Comptes of Luſerne, laboured earneſtly by al meanes poſſible, to cauſe them of Angrongne, to cõdeſcend to the Dukes pleaſure, & ſollicited them to ſend away their Miniſters, promiſing that he woulde cauſe a Maſſe to be ſong at Angrongne, and that the people ſhould not be cõpelled to be preſent thereat, hoping that by that means, the Dukes wrath would be appeaſed. The chief of Angrõgne thereupon were aſſembled and made this anſwere, that if the Duke would permit them to chooſe other Miniſters, they were content to ſend away their forreine miniſters & ſtraungers. But as touching the Maſſe, hys hyghnes might well cauſe it to be ſong in their pariſhes, but they for their part, could not with ſafe conſciences, be preſent at the ſame, nor yet geue their conſent vnto it.

The xxij. of October, the ſayde Lord of Angrongne, went from Luſerne, to Mondeuis (where he was then gouernour for the Duke) and ſent for the chiefe Rulers of Angrongne, at ſeuerall times, declaryng vnto them the great perils and daungers wherewith they were enuironed, the army beyng alreadie at hande: yet promiſing them if they woulde ſubmitte themſelues vnto hym, he would ſend immediately to ſtay the armye. They of Angrongne aunſwered, that they all determined to ſtande to that, which they, two dayes before in theyr aſſemble, had put in writing. With thys aunſwer he ſeemed at that preſent, to be content. The next day the rumor was, that they of Angrongne had ſubmitted themſelues to the Duke. On the morrow, whiche was Sonday, you ſhould haue ſeene nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrongne. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the miniſters and the people, the whiche affirmed, that they wholy cleaued vnto their former writing, and they ſent ſecretly to the Notary, for the copie of that which was paſſed in the counſaile houſe, at their laſt aſſemble before the Lord de Comptes: in the whiche was compriſed, that Angrongne had wholy ſubmitted hirſelfe to the good pleaſure of the Duke. The people hearing that, were ſore aſtoniſhed, and proteſted rather to dye, then obey the ſame, and therevpon it was agreed, that at that very inſtant, (albeit it were very late) certayne ſhould be ſent to the Lorde of Angrongne, to ſignifie vnto him, that the determination of the Councell was falſified, and that it might pleaſe him, the next morning to come to Angrongne, to heare the voyces of the people, not onely of the men, but alſo of the women and children. But he himſelfe went not thyther, (hauing intelligence of the vprore) but ſente thyther the Iudge of that place. Then that which had bene falſified, was duly corrected, the Iudge laying all the blame vpon the Notary.

The determination & anſwere of the Angronians, was falſified.

Open pro clamatiõ gainſt Angrongne.

During this time, the aduerſaries cryed out through all the Countrey of Piemont, To the fire wyth them, to the fire with them. The Thurſday after, Angrongne, by proclamations and writings ſet vp in euery place, was expoſed to the fire and ſworde. On Friday after, being the ſeconde of Nouember, the army approched to the borders of the valley of Luſerne, and certayne horſemen came to a place called S. Iohn, a little beneath Angrongne. Then the people retired into yͤ mountaines. Certaine of S. Iohn perceiuing that the horſemen not only ſpoiled their goods, but alſo tooke their felowes priſoners, ſet vpon them. It is not certayne what number of the enemies were there ſlayne: but ſodenly they retired to Bubiane, where theyr campe then was, and not one of them of S. Iohn was ſlayne or hurt. It happened at the ſame tyme, that two of the foreſaide horſemen beeing ſore amaſed, galoped before the reſt, towards the army, being ready to march towards Angrongne, crying, they come, they come. At whoſe cry, the whole armye was ſo aſtoniſhed, that euery man fled his way, and they were all ſo ſcattered, that the Captaines that day were not able to bring them in order againe, and yet no creature folowed them.

Senacharib flyeth from the face of Iſraell.

On the Saterday in the morning, the army muſtered in the medowe grounde of S. Iohn, neare to Angrongne. They of Angrongne had ſent certaine to keepe yͤ paſſages, and ſtoppe the armye, that they ſhoulde not enter, if it were poſſible. In the meane ſeaſon, the people retyred into the medowe of Tower, and little thought of the comming of the army ſo ſoone, or that they would haue made ſuch a ſodeine aſſault, for they were yet carying of victuals and other ſtuffe: ſo that few of them kept the paſſages. Now they which kept the ſtraites, perceiuing that their enemies prepared themſelues to fight, fell down vpon their knees, and made their praiers vnto God, that it woulde pleaſe hym to take pitie vpon them, and not to looke vpon their ſinnes, but to the cauſe which they mainteyned: to turne the harts of their enemies, and ſo to worke, that there might be no effuſion of bloud: and if it were his wyll to take them, with their wiues & infantes, out of this world, that he would then mercifully receiue them into his kingdome. In this ſort moſt feruent prayers were made of all thoſe that kept the paſſages, with exhortation that they ſhould altogether cry vnto God, and craue hys ſuccour and aſſiſtance in thys great diſtreſſe. All this the Lord of Trinitie and the army did well perceiue.

The praye of the Angronians.

Their prayers thus ended, ſodenly they perceyued their enemies comming towards them, through the vines, to wynne the top of the mountayne of Angrongne. In the meane tyme the Prior of Saint Iohn, and Iacomel, were within the temple of Angrongne, and communed wyth the Rulers touching an agreement. Theſe were ſent thyther by the Lord of Trinitie, to keepe the people occupyed. To be ſhort, the combat began in diuers places, and endured for a long ſpace in the paſſages of Angrongne. The poore Waldoys (being but few in number, and ſome of them hauing but ſlings and croſſebowes) were ſore preſſed with the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the toppe of the mountaine, where they defended themſelues vntill night.

A combat betweene the Lorde of trinity, & the Waldoys.

When they had found a place where they might wythſtande their enemies ſtill purſuing them, they turned themſelues, and ſlue diuers of them, and hurt many. When the euening came, the enemies reſted, and were about to encampe themſelues, there to ſuppe and lodge all night. Which thing, when the Angrongnians perceiued, they fell to prayer, deſiring God to aſſiſt and ſuccour them: but the enemies flouted them, and laughed them to ſcorne. Then yͤ poore people deuiſed to ſend a drumme into a litle valley hard by. And as they were makyng their prayers vnto God, & the drumme ſounded in yͤ valley, the Lord of Trinitie cauſed his ſouldiers whiche were about, to encampe themſelues, to remoue thence: which was a great vauntage

Beholde the pole of this po people.

tage to the poore people, whiche now were ſore weeried with trauaile, al wet with ſweating, and very thyrſtie, and in great perill, if God had not geuen them ſome litle breathing time. Many of the enemies that day were ſlayne, and many hurt, of the which very few eſcaped. In ſo much that they reported that the ſhot was poyſoned, which this poore ſimple people neuer vſed to do in all theſe warres. Of the Angrongnians, that daye there were but three ſlayne, and one hurt, which afterwardes was well healed agayne. This combate gaue greate courage to the Waldoys, and ſore aſtoniſhed the aduerſaries. The ſame tyme the army retyring, burnt many houſes, and made greate ſpoyle as they went, deſtroyeng alſo the wines which were in the preſſes.

Gods holy helpe in tyme of neede.

The ſayd Lord of Trinitie, with his army, camped in a village beyond Tour, in the valley of Luſerne, at the foote of the hill, betweene Angrongne and yͤ other townes of yͤ valley of Luſerne, which profeſſed yͤ Goſpell. They of the ſayd village were alwayes ſore againſt yͤ Waldoys, & haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done againſt the profeſſours therof: but they had their iuſt plague, for they were all deſtroied. After this the ſayde Lorde of Trinitie cauſed the Fortreſſe to be built agayne, which the Frenchmen had raſed, and placed there a garriſon, and after ſent another to the Forte of Villars, which is of the valley of Luſerne, and an other he ſente to the Fortreſſe of Perouſe, and a fourth garriſon he placed in the Caſtle of S. Martin. They of Angrongne (ſeeyng themſelues to be now as it were in a ſea of troubles) after they had recommended themſelues vnto God by prayer, and committed their cauſe vnto him: ſent to them of Perouſe, of S. Martin, and of Pragela, for ayde and ſuccour: which ſent them all the helpe that they were able.

Gods ſecret iudgement in helping his and puniſhing his enemies.

A crafty meſſage of the Lord of Trinitie, to the Angronians.

The nexte daye folowing, there came letters to Angrongne, from the Lord of Trinitie: The effect whereof was this, that he was ſorye for that whiche was done the day before, and that he came not thyther to make warre againſt them, but onely to view if it were a place conuenient, to build a Fort therein to ſerue the Duke. Furthermore, that his ſouldiers ſeeing the people aſſembled, as it were, to defie them, vpon that occaſion onely were ſtirred vp to geue aſſault and to ſet vpon them. Alſo that he was ſory that ſuche ſpoyle was made of their goodes and ſuche hurt done by fire. But if they would ſhew themſelues obedient to yͤ Duke, he had good hope that al ſhould be wel, and truſted that ſome good agreement ſhoulde be made.

The Angronians aunſwere to the meſſage.

The Angrongnians anſweared, that they were marueylouſly agreeued to be ſo aſſaulted, ſpoyled, and tormented by the ſubiectes of their liege and naturall prince: and as they had oftentymes before offered themſelues to be more faythful and obedient to their ſoueraigne prince the Duke, then any of all his ſubiects beſides: ſo yet ſtill they offered the ſame obedience. Alſo they moſt humbly beſought hym, not to thinke it ſtrange, if they being conſtrayned by ſuch extreame neceſſitie, defended themſelues. Finally, as touching their Religion, they affirmed that it was the pure word of God, euen as it was preached by the Prophetes and Apoſtles: and the ſame which their predeceſſours had obſerued for certayne hundreth yeares paſt. Moreouer, that the cauſe was not cõcerning the goodes of the world, but the honour and glory of God, the ſaluation, or deſtruction of the ſoules both of them and theirs, and therefore it were much better for them to dye all together, then to forſake their religion: and yet if it might be proued vnto them by good demonſtration out of the word of God, that they were in errour, not by force of armes, by bloud and fire: they would then yeeld themſelues with all obedience, moſt humbly beſeeching him and all other the Lordes of the Countrey of Piemont, to be their interceſſours and aduocates to the Duke in this behalfe.

The towne of Veliers aſſaulted.

The towne of Tailleret aſſaulted.

Upon Monday being the fourth day of Nouember, the Lord of Trinitie ſent his army to Villars and Tailleret. The leſſer company aſcended toward Villers. The people ſeeing their enemies aproching, after they had called vpon God with feruent prayer, ſtrongly defended themſelues, and ſlue many: many alſo were hurt, and the reſt fled. The other companye aſcended towardes Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that parte of the army the greater, yet making theyr prayers vnto God, and cõmending their cauſe vnto him, they defended themſelues likewiſe valiantly.

God geueth victory to his ſeruants.

In the meane ſeaſon they of Villars being emboldened by their late victorie, came to aſſiſt their neighbours, and beyng aſſembled together, they couragiouſly purſued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this purſute it chaunced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poore people, by an ambuſh of their enemies, which came an other way, were ſodẽly encloſed on euery ſide, and like to be deſtroyed: but yet they all eſcaped, and not one of them was ſlayne, onely iij. were hurt, which were ſoone cured agayn. On the enemies ſide, there were ſo many ſlayne, that they were layd together by whole cart loades. This was the reward of thoſe which were ſo deſirous to ſhed innocent bloud. The ſame day the inhabitauntes of Sanſon neare to Roccapiata, aſſembled in great number together, and went to a riche mans houſe of Roccapiata, and ſpoyled all that hee had. Certaine of Roccapiata (in number not paſt xvij.) vnderſtanding this, ſet vpon them, & ſoone put them to flight, tooke away their drumme, & forced them to leaue their bootie behynde them.

The iuſt reward vpon the Lords enemies.

Gaſtaut a falſe brother.

After that the Lord of Trinitie had receiued the letters of the Angrongnians, he ſent vnto them his Secretary, named Chriſtopher Gaſtaut, (which ſaid him ſelfe, that he fauoured the veritie of the Goſpell) accompanyed with a Gentleman of the ſayd valley, whoſe charge was to cauſe the chief rulers to ſend certaine to common with the ſayd Lord of Trinitie, ſaying that he had good tydinges to declare vnto them, & moreouer, that he would deliuer them a ſafe conduct to come and go. wherupon they ſent foure vnto him, whom he entreated very courteouſly, & rehearſed vnto them, how the Duke at his departure from the Court, told him, that although the Pope, the Princes, and Cities of Italie, yea his own counſell were fully reſolued that of neceſſitie they of the ſayd Religion ſhould bee deſtroyed, yet notwithſtãdyng God otherwiſe put in his mind, and that he had taken counſell of God, what he ſhould do in this matter: that is, that he would vſe them gẽtly. Furthermore, he declared vnto them, that the Duches bare them good affection, and fauoured them very much, & that ſhe had commended their cauſe vnto the Duke, perſwadyng with him, to haue regard to that poore people, & that their Religion was auncient & old, with many ſuch other thynges. Moreouer they had (ſayd he) great frendes in the Dukes Court, not doubtyng but if they would ſend certaine to the Court with a Supplication, they ſhould obteine more, then they themſelues would require, and he for his part would employ himſelfe in their affaires, to the vttermoſt of his power: and ſo hee promiſed that he would retire him ſelfe with his army. This hee ſeemed to ſpeake vnfaynedly. The people deſiring but to liue peaceably in their Religion, and vnder the obedience of their Prince, were content to folow his counſell.

Deepe diſſimulation in a crafty Papiſt.

The Dutches, a fauourer of the Angronians.

About this ſeaſon, they of Angrongne perceiued that a part of the army aſcended the hill of Tailleret (which is the halfe way betwene Angrongne, and thoſe of the valley of Luſerne) & the other part had already gotten a way, whiche led to the Medow of Tour, by the whiche they of Angrõgne might eaſily haue bene encloſed. Therfore they ſent certaine immediately to keepe the way, who ſoone after encountered with their enemies, and obteined the victorie, purſuyng and chaſing them to their camp, not without great loſſe of their men. The number of their enemies ſlayne, was not knowen: for their cuſtome was, immediately to carry away thoſe which were ſlayne. Not one of Angrongne periſhed that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this combate would haue hyndred the agreement. But the Lord of Trinitie could well diſſemble this matter, and excuſed that dayes iourney, puttyng the fault vpon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to haue ſlayne certaine of his men in the hygh way, but amongeſt other, his Barber.

A combate betweene the Angronians & the perſecutors.

The crafty diſſimulation of the Lord of Trinity.

On Saterday folowyng, beyng the ix. of Nouember, the ſaid Lord of Trinitie ſent agayne for them of Angrongne, to conſult with him touchyng the agreement, vſing the like communication, as before: and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience, they ſhould cary their armour into two of the houſes of the chief Rulers, not fearyng but it ſhould be ſafe: for it ſhould remayne in their owne keeping, and if neede were, they ſhould receyue it agayne. Alſo that he vppon Sonday (which was the next day) would cauſe a Maſſe to be ſong within the temple of S. Laurence in Angrongne, accõpanyed with a very few, and thereby the Dukes wrath would be aſſwaged. The next mornyng he went in the temple, (whereat they were ſore agreeued, albeit they could not withſtãd him) his army marchyng afore him: and hauyng cauſed a Maſſe to be ſong, he deſired to ſee the Medow of Tour, ſo much ſpokẽ of, that therof he might make a true report vnto the Duke: and thether the Rulers, with a great troupe of his owne men, went: the reſidue of his company remayne behynde, the which ſpoyled certaine houſes, and ſeaſed the armour which they had deliuered vp before: but they foũd no great ſtore, for the people had taken away the greateſt part therof. The ſayd Lord being entred into the Medow of Tour, the people began to make a commotion. whereof he hauing intelligence, returned immediately. All that daye he ſhewed himſelfe very courteous to all whome he met.

Beholde the double dealing and diſſimulatiō of the Papiſtes to bring their wicked purpoſe to paſſe.

The people in this meane time, perceiued themſelues to be in great daunger, and were ſore moued at the ſight of the army, the ſpoyle of the ſouldiours, the taking away of their armour, but eſpecially becauſe the ſayd Lord of Trinitie had viewed the Medow of Tour, foreſeeing his trayterous meaning and purpoſe. A few dayes after, the ſayde Lord of Trinitie ſent his Secretary Gaſtaut to Angrongne, to talke with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full reſolution thereof: which was read in the aſſemble, by the Secretarie, the ſumme whereof, was this: That the people of Angrongne ſubmitted themſelues to render all honour and reuerence to God, according to his holy word, and all due obedience to the Duke their ſoueraigne Prince: to whome they ſhoulde ſend certaine men to demaund pardon of him, concerning theyr bearing of armour in their extreme neceſſitie, and humbly to beſeech him that he would ſuffer them to liue peaceably in their religion, whiche was according to the worde of God, not compelling them to do any thyng agaynſte their conſcience: as it appeareth more amply in the ſupplication, which after this the Angrongnians made, and cauſed to be read before the Secretary, in the open aſſemble, the which heere enſueth.

¶ To the moſt excellent and worthy prince,
The Duke of Sauoy, &c. our ſoueraigne Lord,
and naturall Prince.

The ſupplicatiō of the Angronians to their Duke.

Moſt noble and renowmed prince, we haue ſente certayne of our men vnto your highnes, to geue teſtimonie of our humble, hartie, and vnfayned obedience vnto the ſame, and with all ſubmiſsion, deſire pardon, touching the bearing of armour by certayne of our people in their extreme neceſsitie, and for all other our treſpaſſes, for the which your ſoueraigne grace might conceiue any offence againſt vs.

A lawfull requeſt of the Angronians to lyue after Gods word.

Secondly, to deſire in moſt humble wiſe, your ſayd hyghnes, in the name of our Lord Ieſus, that it would pleaſe the ſame, to ſuffer vs to liue with freedome of conſcience in our religion, which alſo is the religion of our auncitours, obſerued for certayne hundreth yeares paſt. And we are perſwaded that it is the pure Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus, the only veritie, the word of life and ſaluation, which we profeſſe. Alſo that it may pleaſe your moſt gratious clemencie, not to take in yll part, if we, fearing to offende and diſpleaſe God, can not conſent vnto certaine traditions and ordinances of the Church of Rome: and heerein to haue pitie vpon our poore ſoules, and the ſoules of our children: to the end that your highnes be not in any wiſe charged in the iuſt iudgement of God for the ſame, where all men muſt appeare to anſwere for their doyngs.

On our part, we proteſt that we will ſeeke nothing but to be the true ſeruants of God, to ſerue hym according to hys holy word: and alſo to be true and loyall ſubiectes to your highnes, and more obedient then any other: being alwayes ready to geue our goodes, our bodies, our lyues, and the liues of our children, for your noble grace, as alſo our religion teacheth vs to do: only we deſire that our ſoules may be left at libertie, to ſerue God accordyng to hys holy word.

And we your poore humble ſubiectes, ſhall moſt hartily pray our God and father, for the good and long proſperitie of youre hyghnes: for the moſt vertuous Lady your wife, and for the noble houſe of Sauoy.

The wretched dealing of the Lord of Trinity, againſt them of Tailleret.

To this ſupplication, they of S. Iohn, of Roccapiata, of S. Bartholomewe, and of Perouſe, with thoſe of the valley of Luſerne, did agree: For it was concluded, that the agreement made, ſhould extend to all the confederates of the ſame religion. whiles they were treating of this agreement, the Lorde of Trinitie vexed cruelly them of Tailleret, vnder this pretence, becauſe they had not preſented themſelues, to treate of this agreemēt. He tormented them after this ſort. Firſt he commanded that all theyr armour ſhoulde be brought before hym, and then they, on their knees, ſhould aſke him pardon, becauſe they came not to treate of the agreement with the reſt: whiche notwithſtandyng the moſt parte of them did. Then he commaunded them, to attend vpon hym, to enrolle all the names of thoſe, which woulde be of the foreſayde agreement. wherupon the next morning, the chiefe of the houſholders went to the village named Bonnets, the place apointed thereunto, and when they had heard the Sermon, and called vpon God, they beganne to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the ſouldiers had gotten the top of the mountayne, and taken all the paſſages, whereat they of Tailleret were ſore amazed, and ranne with all ſpeede to defende their wiues and children. Some they ſaued: the moſt part, with their goodes, were in their enemies hands already. At this time, wich ſacking, ſpoiling, and burning, they did much miſchiefe.

The Papi falſe brea- kers of pro- miſe made.

Example o Gods ma- uelous pro- tection, fo hys ſeruan in tyme of neede.

After this, the Lord of Trinitie ſent word to them which were fledde, that if they would returne, he woulde receiue them to mercy. The poore people (for the moſt parte) truſting on his promiſe, returned to Bonnets, and yet the next morning the ſouldiers came thyther, to apprehende them and their miniſters, and beſet yͤ place one euery ſide. Suche as were ſwift of foote, and could ſhift beſt, eſcaped, but very hardly. The reſt were all hurte or taken, and yet they all eſcaped by a marueilous meanes: For it hapned that there was an old man, which could not runne faſt, to whome one of the ſouldiers came with a naked ſword in hys hand to haue ſlayne him. The olde man ſeeing the imminent daunger, caught the ſouldier by the legs, ouerthrewe hym, and drew hym by the heeles downe the hyll. The ſouldier cryed out, helpe, helpe, this villaine wyll kill me. His felowes hearing him cry, made haſt to reſcue him: but in the meane time the old man eſcaped. The reſt ſeing what the olde man had done, tooke hart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with ſtones and ſlings, they ſo beat and diſcomfited their enemies, that at that time they caryed no priſoners awaye. The day folowing yͤ ſouldiers returning to the ſayd Tailleret, robbed, ſpoyled, and caried away all that they coulde finde, and ſo continued three dayes together: which was very eaſie for them to do, becauſe the poore men fearyng leaſt they ſhoulde be charged with violating the agreement, made no reſiſtance, but retyred toward Villars.

The Villag of Taillere ſacked, and ſpoyled.

The crueltie of Papiſtes.

Two wome the mother and the daughter Martyrs.

The grand- father & hys nyce dyed Martyrs.

The fourth day, the ſayde Lord of Trinitie, to torment the poore Taillerets, yet more cruelly, ſente his armye againe before day, to yͤ mountaine, and into the ſame place. And becauſe the people of the ſayde village were retyred towards Villars, and ſcattered about the borders therof, in the hygh mountaynes, the ſouldyers not yet ſatiſfied with ſpoyling and ſacking the reſt that they founde in the ſayd Tailleret, raunging about the confines thereof, rauened, and made hauocke on euery ſide, of what ſoeuer they could laye handes on, taking priſoners both men and women, which were loden with carriage. The poore priſoners were cruelly handled. Amongeſt other there was one, whoſe eare a ſouldier of Montdeuis, in a raging fury, bit cleane off, with theſe wordes: I wyll carry (ſayde he) yͤ fleſh of theſe wretched heretikes with me, into my countrey. They of Villars alſo complayned of the great cruelty that was ſhewed vnto them, during the time of the agreement. The which when the Lord of Trinitie vnderſtoode, to make a ſhewe that he was offended therewith, he came to his ſouldiers (whiche were ſo weary, that they coulde ſcantly goe, not with fighting, but becauſe they were ſo heauily loden with the ſpoyle, that they were not able to cary it) and pretēding to be in a great choler, ſome he beat, and ſome things alſo of a ſmal value, he cauſed to be reſtored, but all the reſt was kept backe, and caryed away. The ſame day, two women, the mother and the daughter were found in a caue in the mountaine, wounded to death by the ſouldiers, and died immediatly after. So likewiſe a blinde man, a hundreth yeares of age, which was fled into a caue, with his ſonnes daughter, being eighteene yeares olde, whych fed him, was ſlaine by the enemies, and as they would haue forced the mayden, ſhe eſcaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountaine, and dyed.

A wicked perſecuter killed wi ſtones.

At that tyme alſo a great company of women of Tailleret & Villars, were taken as they fled, with their goodes, and brought to the campe, and ſent away emptye. There was at the ſame tyme a certaine ſouldier whiche promiſed the Lord of Trinitie, to find out the miniſter of Tailleret, and to deliuer him into his owne hands. And to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, he neuer ceaſed vntill he had founde him, and after that he purſued hym a long time. But as he was purſuing and chaſing him, certaine at vnwares comming out of the mountaine, reſcued the poore miniſter, and killed the ſouldier with ſtones.

But this eſpecially is to be noted, that duryng theſe troubles, diuers of the Papiſtes had ſent their daughters into the mountaines vnto the waldoys to be kept, fearing leaſt they ſhould haue ben rauiſhed by the ſouldiers, being wholy geuen ouer, as to all crueltie and rauine, ſo to all villany and abhomination, by whome they were before threatned to be ſo abuſed.

All this being done, the ſayd Lord of Trinitie cauſed the head officers and chiefeſt of yͤ people, to aſſemble together, and declared vnto them, that the mainteining of the army was a greate charge vnto the Duke: and that it was

meete

The poore Waldoys preſſed at 16. thouſãd crownes.

meete that they ſhould beare the one halfe of the charges. For this cauſe he demaunded of them twentie thouſande crownes. But by the meanes of his Secretarie Galtaut, who was promiſed a hundreth crownes for hys wyne, (that is to ſay, for a bribe) foure thouſand of thoſe twenty, were abated, ſo that they graunted vnto him xvi. thouſand: of the which ſumme the Duke releaſed the one halfe. Then the Lord of Trinitie preſſed this poore people to deliuer the eight thouſand out of hand, to pay the ſouldyers their wages (as he ſayde) and ſo to withdraw his armye. The yeare before corne was exceeding deare, for a ſacke was commonly ſold for ſixe crownes, yea and ſome for eight crownes, and alſo they had very litle corne growing vpon their mountaines: wherefore they were now verye bare of money. But they being in this perplexitie, and deſiring nothing more then to liue in peace and quietnes, went about to ſell their cattell, to pay this money. But the Lord of Trinitie had geuen out a commandement, yͭ none ſhould buy any cattell of the Waldoys, without his licẽce. Then licence was geuen out to certaine, to buy great ſtore of cattell, and that for a ſmall price: and the common brute was, that he had part of the gaine. When this money was payd, yet the army notwithſtanding retyred not.

The Papiſts falſe of promiſe.

After this, the Lord of Trinitie commaunded the Waldoys, to ſurrender vp al their armour, to furniſh yͤ Dukes fortes: otherwiſe he threatned to ſende his ſouldyers amongeſt them, and in deede he conſtrained many ſo to do. Then he demanded moreouer the eight thouſand crownes whiche the Duke had remitted, and conſtrayned them to promiſe the payment thereof. After that he commaunded that the miniſters ſhould be ſent awaye, vntill the matter were determined before the Duke: otherwiſe he woulde ſend his ſouldiers to diſlodge them out of hand: whereupon with one common aſſent and accord, they determined that their miniſters ſhoulde withdrawe themſelues for a ſpace, vntill the army were retired: which was not done without maruellous ſighes, lamentation, and teares. At that ſeaſon there fell ſuch abundance of ſnowe, that the like had not bene ſeene of a long time before: ſo that the people were conſtrained to make a way with great trauaile and paine, through the top of the mountayne of S. Martin, for their miniſters to paſſe. Now thought the Lord of Trinitie ſo to haue encloſed them, he keeping the plaine, and the mountaynes beyng couered ſo thicke with ſnowe, that by no meanes they ſhoulde haue eſcaped his handes. But the people cauſed thẽ to paſſe the top of the mountayne, and at their departure, there flocked out of euery quarter greate multitudes, to the village of Boby, and came together into a ſecrete place there, called le Puis, not withoute greate griefe and ſorowe: For they found thẽ altogether in teares and mourning, that their miniſters ſhould ſo be taken frõ them, and they now leaft as lambes amongſt wolues.

The care of the Waldois for their miniſters.

The armye was aduertiſed that the miniſters were aſſembled together, and incontinent a greate troupe of harquebuſhes were at hand, whiche ſought them euen to the very top of the mountaine, in ſo much that if they had remained there but one houre longer, they had bene all taken. From that time, for certaine dayes after, they dyd nothing but raunge about in all places, ſeeking for the miniſters, and there was no houſe, chamber, caue, nor ſecrete corner, into the whiche they dyd not enter, vnder pretence to ſeeke the Miniſters. There was neither cheſt, nor any thing elſe ſo ſtrong, but they brake it open, ſaying, that the miniſters were hidden therein, and by that meanes they tooke, ſpoyled, and caried away whatſoeuer they would.

Gods prouidence for his miniſters.

The Lorde of Trinitie promiſed often tymes, that although it were forbidden to all the Miniſters to preache, yet the Miniſter of Angrongne, ſhoulde be excepted: and furthermore ſent the ſayd Miniſter word, that if he would demaunde any thyng of the Duke, it ſhoulde be graunted hym. Whereupon the ſayde Miniſter made thys requeſt, that the poore people might liue peaceably in their religiõ. A while after he ſent for the ſaide Miniſter to confer wyth him priuately, vpõ certaine points of religion. The miniſter went vnto him, hauing therto the cõſent of the people. The Lord of Trinitie propounded vnto him three points. The firſt concerning the ſupremacie of the Pope: the other concerned tranſubſtantiation. Of the whyche two points, the miniſter then immediatly declared his opiniõ, and he ſeemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the ſame in writing. The laſt (which was his whole drift) was to perſwade the miniſter to go to the Dukes Court, and there to defend the cauſe of the people, alleging certain reaſons to perſwade him ſo to do. Whereunto the miniſter anſweared, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it ſeemed conuenient to the miniſters and people, that he ſhould go, he would be content to do the ſame, and therof he promiſed to ſend him aunſwere immediatly, with the which aunſwere he ſeemed to be contented.

Marke here the faire pretence & trayterous meaning of the Lord of Trynitye, which by & by after, ſeeketh the death of this good Miniſter.

Shortly after the foreſayd Lord, not tarying for an anſwere, ſent his army to the temple of S. Laurence in Angrongne, pretendyng to ſing a Maſſe there, & ſodenly the ſouldiours beſieged the Miniſters houſe. The Miniſter beyng warned therof, aſſayed to eſcape. The ſouldiers attempted nothyng by force, but vſed gẽtle perſwaſions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the Miniſter puſhed on further, & the ſouldiers folowed him halfe a myle, but fearyng the people, durſt go no further. The Miniſter withdrew himſelfe into the rockes vpõ the moũtaine, accompanied with v. other. The army was by & by at his heeles, & ſought a good while in the houſes and cotages on euery ſide, cruelly handlyng the people whom they tooke, to make thẽ cõfeſſe where their Miniſter was, ſpoylyng their houſes, takyng ſome priſoners, & beatyng other ſome: but yet they could not learne of them where their Miniſter was. At the lẽgth they eſpyed him amõgeſt the rockes, where they thought to haue encloſed him, & ſo they purſued him in yͤ rockes, all couered with ſnow, vntill it was night, & could not take him. Then they returned & ſpoyled his houſe, and diligently ſearched out all his bookes & writynges, and caried them to the Lord of Trinitie, in a ſacke, who cauſed them al to be burnt in his preſence, ſuppoſing (as it well appeared) that yͤ letters which he had ſent to Angrongne, touchyng the agreemẽt, ſhould be with the reſt burnt: for he did not the lyke in the other Miniſters houſes. That day they ſpoyled fourtie houſes in Angrõgne, broke their mylles, and caried away all the corne and meale that they found.

The miniſter of Angrõgne purſued of the ſouldiers.

The miniſters houſe ſpoyled.

40 houſes in Angrongne ſpoyled.

About midnight the ſouldiours returned with torchlight, to the Miniſters houſe, to ſeeke him, & ſearched euery corner. The next mornyng, commaundement was geuen to the rulers of Angrongne, that within xxiiij. houres they ſhould deliuer their Miniſter, or els Angrõgne to be put to the fire & ſword. The Rulers aunſwered, that they could not ſo do, for they knew not where he was, and the ſouldiours had chaſed him ouer the mountaine. After certaine dayes, whẽ the ſouldiours had burned houſes, ſpoyled the people, broken their mylles, & done what miſchief they could, the army retired. Notwithſtandyng the Lord of Trinitie left garriſons in the forenamed Fortreſſes, but all at yͤ coſtes and charges of the Waldoys: the which garriſons not contented with their wages, ſpoyled continually. Upon a night v. ſouldiers went with torches to a rich mans houſe of Angrongne, & ſpoyled the ſame. The good man of the houſe hardly eſcaped with life, by the top of the houſe, for there were xij. pellets ſhot of at him. Whereof one touched his face, & ſtroke his hat from his head, without any further hurt.

Gods holy protection in ſauing his ſeruant.

The Rulers of Angrongne whiche were gone to the Fortreſſe to cary thether victuals and money, were by the ſouldiours receiued, & in deſpite of them & the people, cauſed a Maſſe to be ſong before them, and forced them to be preſent at it: and becauſe they would not kneele downe to it, they were beatẽ almoſt to death. The one of them was ſent agayne for more money, the other with great perill of his lyfe, lept ouer the walles, and beyng purſued to Angrongne eſcaped.

Two rulers of Angrongne beaten almoſt to death for not kneeling to the Maſſe.

Certaine dayes after, a certaine cõpany of ſouldiours came vnto the midſt of Angrõgne, as though they would haue paſſed through, and called for meate and drinke. The poore men brought that they had vnto thẽ, in a cloſe court. Whẽ they had eaten and drunken, they cauſed the women to auoyde, & then bounde xiiij. of thoſe which had brought thẽ victuals by ij. and ij. together, & led them away. Their wiues & children perceiuyng this, ſo fiercely purſued them with ſtones, that they were fayne to let go x. of their priſoners for haſt, & had much ado to ſaue them ſelues. The other iiij. they led away to the Fortreſſe: of the which two were ranſomed, the other two were hãged vp by the feete & the handes, & hauyng tormented them almoſt to death, they releaſed them for a great ſumme of money. The one of the which dyed the next night: the other lay ſicke without hope of lyfe, long tyme after, and his fleſh fell from his handes and his feete, and therof he became lame, and after that his fingers fell of alſo. In like manner did the other garriſons entreate the villages adioyning vnto them.

Cruelty ſhewed for kindnes.

Note how God did bleſſe his ſeruantes ſtanding in their owne defence.

Two Martyrs of Angrongne.

The garriſon of Tour & of Villars beyng aſſembled together in a night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouuets, & breakyng in at the windowes and toppes of the houſes, breakyng open the doores, ſackyng & ſpoylyng all that they could lay handes of, tooke alſo xiiij. priſoners, and bound them two & two together by the armes, and ſo led them to the Fortreſſe of Tour. But two which were eſca-

Note againe how God bleſſeth his people, ſtãding to their defence, againſt the bloudy Papiſtes.

Two Martyrs.

A barbarous kinde of torment vſed, agaynſt a Martyr of the Lord called Odul Gemet, by the cruell Papiſtes.

eſcaped, whiles the ſouldiers were taking other, ſet vpon them which led the priſoners, and ſo valiantly aſſaulted & beat them with ſtones, that they forced them to let go xij. of the priſoners: the which tumbling and rolling themſelues downe the mountaine, hauing their hands bound behinde their backes, and faſtened two and two together by the armes, were contented rather ſo to dye, then to be caried to the Fortreſſe, and yet in the ende they eſcaped. The other two which were led to the Fortreſſe, were cruelly tormented, and in the end, the one of them the Captayne ſtrangled with his owne handes, who was very young and but a child: the other which was about threeſcore yeares of age, whoſe name was Odull Gemet, ſuffered a ſtrange & cruel death: For when they had bound him, they toke a kynde of beaſtes which liue in horſedoung, called in French Eſcarbotz, and put them vnto his nauell, couering them with a diſhe, the which within ſhort ſpace pearced into his belly, and killed him. Theſe and the like, more then barbarous cruelties, haue bin reuealed by the ſouldiours themſelues.

Be wiſe lyke Serpentes.

The poore Waldoys were yet in great captiuitie and diſtreſſe, but eſpecially becauſe they had not the preaching of Gods word amongſt them, as they were wont to haue, and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching againe, albeit ſecretly, for two principall cauſes: The one, for feare of mouing the Duke, and hindering the voyage of their meſſengers, hauing yet ſome hope of good ſucceſſe. The other, that no occaſion might be geuen to the ſouldiers of further trouble and outrage, for that was it which they eſpecially deſired. Alſo they of Angrongne were fully determined, as ſoone as their meſſengers were returned from the Duke, to preach openly, what newes ſoeuer they brought, were they good or euill: and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garriſon, neither yet to ſuffer the ſame to enter into Angrongne.

The meſſengers of the Angronians cruelly entreated.

The meſſengers which were ſent to the Duke, being at Verceil, were there deteined vj. weekes, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popiſh Doctours, and were conſtrayned by force and violence to promiſe to returne to the Maſſe. Furthermore, they would haue conſtrayned them to promiſe the ſame in the behalfe of the reſt, but they would not. After they were preſented to the Duke, the Secretary Gaſtant toke the ſupplication of the Waldoys out of the meſſengers hands, and deliuered another. After they had preſented themſelues to the Duke, and aſked pardon for bearing of armour, they were conſtrayned alſo to craue pardon of the Popes Legate: which at the bginning they would in no caſe do. Now when theſe meſſengers were returned, bringing theſe wofull newes, and the people vnderſtood that there was a new commaundement geuen out, that they ſhoulde returne to the Maſſe: alſo that the Popiſh preachers were appointed, and ready to come vnto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them, and entertaine them accordingly: there was wonderfull lamentation, weeping, and mourning for this great calamitie.

A new cõmaundement to the Angronians, to goe to maſſe.

Heereupon they of the valley of Luſerne and of Boby, being aſſembled together, by one aſſent, ſente two Miniſters, wyth certaine other of the people, to the Churches of Pragela (which be in the countrey of Dolphine) to ſignifie vnto them, the piteous eſtate of the poore Churches of the valleyes of Piemont, to haue their counſell and aduiſe, howe to preuent the greate daungers at hande, if it were poſſible. For this cauſe they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called vpon GOD, deſiring hys grace, and the ſpirit of diſcretion and counſell, well to conſider of thoſe waightie and vrgent affayres wherewyth they were oppreſſed: in the ende it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the ſayde valley and mountaynes of Piemont, and thoſe of Dolphine, ſhould ioyne in a league together. Whereupon they all promiſed, by Gods grace and aſſiſtance, to mainteyne the pure preaching of the Goſpell, and adminiſtration of the holy Sacraments: the one to ayde and aſſiſt the other, and to render all obedience to theyr ſuperiours, ſo farre as they were commaunded by the worde of God. Moreouer, that it ſhould be lawfull for none of the ſame valleyes to promiſe or conclude any thyng touching the eſtate of religion, without the conſent of the reſt of the valleyes: and for more ſure confirmation of the ſayde league, certayne of the Miniſters and Elders of the Churches of Dolphine, were ſente to the valley of Luſerne, to vnderſtand if they woulde geue theyr conſente heereunto, and ratifye the ſame.

Gods aſſiſtance in time of neede.

Theſe meſſengers, the Miniſters and others of Dolphine, being arriued in the euening, at the village of Boby, & the people being there aſſembled, word was brought that the next day euery houſholder ſhould appeare in the Counſel houſe, to knowe whether they would returne to the Maſſe, or no, and that they whiche woulde receiue the Maſſe, ſhould quietly enioy their houſes, and they whiche woulde not, ſhoulde be deliuered to the Iuſtices, and condemned to be burned, or ſent to the Galleyes. Wherefore the people was brought to thys extremitie, eyther to dye, or flee, or elſe to renounce God. To flee, it ſeemed them beſt, if the great ſnowe had not let them. Wherefore ſeeing themſelues in ſuch diſtreſſe, they moſt gladly conſented to the league. After this, they exhorted one another, ſayeng: For as much as we ſhall be all called for to morrow, to renounce and forſake our God, and reuolt agayne to Idolatrie, let vs now make ſolemne proteſtation, that we will vtterly forſake the falſe religion of the Pope, and that we will liue and dye in the maintenance and confeſſion of Gods holy word. Let vs all go to morrow into the Temple, to heare the word of God, and after, let vs caſt downe to the ground all the Idoles and aultars. To this euery man agreed, ſayeng, Let vs ſo do: yea, and that the very ſame houre, in the which they haue appointed vs to be at the Counſell houſe.

The peo of Pyem brought to great e treſ.

Images altars bro downe in the Chur of Boby.

The nexte day after, they aſſembled themſelues in the Churche of Boby, and as ſoone as they came into the Temple, without anye further delaye, they beate downe the Images, and caſte downe the aultars. After the Sermon, they went to Villars to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a bande of ſouldyers, whyche were goyng to ſpoyle a village, named Le val Guichard, and to take the poore inhabitãts priſoners. The ſouldiers ſeeyng them ſo yll appointed, mocked them, and diſcharged theyr handgunnes vppon them, thynking at the firſt brunt, to haue put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themſelues, and with ſtones chaſed them euen to the Fortreſſe. When they came to Villars, they beate downe theyr Images and aultars, and afterwardes beſieged the fortreſſe, and demaunded the priſoners whiche were there deteyned.

Images a altars caſt downe in the Chur of Villars.

The ſame daye the Iudge of Luſerne, called Podeſta, went to the Counſell houſe, to enrolle the names of thoſe whiche woulde returne to the Maſſe, but ſeeyng what was done, hee was ſore afrayde, and deſired the people to ſuffer hym to returne quietly: which they wyllingly graunted vnto hym. Diuers Gentlemen alſo of the valley came thyther with the Iudge, to make theyr poore tenauntes to forſake God: but ſeeyng the tumult, they were fayne to flee into the Caſtle, where they and the Garriſon were beſieged tenne dayes together, not without great daunger of theyr lyues. The ſeconde daye of the ſege, the Captayne of Toure wente with a companye of ſouldyers, thinking to raiſe the ſiege, but they were, by thoſe that kept the paſſages, eyther ſlaine or diſcomfited. As much was done the third daye. The fourth day, he returned with three bandes, and with the Garriſon of Tour, which cauſed a furious combat: wherein many of the enemies were ſlayne, but a greate number hurt, and yet of thoſe that beſieged the Fort, there was not one man hurt.

God geue victorye to his ſeruan

An other combat betweene the Waldois & their enemies.

In the tyme of thys ſiege, they attempted dyuers meanes to take the ſayde Fortreſſe, but without ordinaunce, it was impoſſible ſo to doo: wherefore they were now paſt all hope of winning it. Moreouer, the Lorde of Trinitie returning with his armie, was come to the valley of Luſerne, and the next day after, myght eaſily haue raiſed the ſiege. Wherefore, when the Garriſon (not knowing that the Lord of Trinitie was ſo neare) deſired that they might depart with bagge and baggage, they grãted theyr requeſt. In thys ſiege halfe of the ſouldyers were ſlayne, and many were hurt, as well with harquebuſhes, as with ſtones. During thys ſiege, the ſouldyers for lacke of water, were conſtrained to bake their bread with wine, which tormented their ſtomackes, and cauſed great diſeaſes. Here is not to be forgotten, that the ſouldiours which a while before dyd ſo cruelly perſecute the poore Miniſters, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to deſtroy them, were now faine to pray them to ſaue their liues, and to promiſe them that they ſhould haue no hurt, and alſo to ſafeconduct them into a ſure place: neyther woulde they depart, vntill they had promiſed them ſo to do. Which the Miniſters dyd promiſe, and alſo perfourme verye willingly. Then the ſouldiours ſeeyng themſelues much beholden to the Miniſters ſo gently dealing with them, gaue them greate thankes, and promiſed them, in recompence thereof, all the pleaſure that they could ſhew them. The ſame night the Fortreſſe was raſed.

The iuſt hãd of God vpon his enemies. Note how the Miniſters of the Goſpell promiſe to their enemies & performe, doing good for euill.

The 2. day of February, the Lorde of Trinitie camped at Luſerne, and placed a Gariſon in the Priory of S. Iohn a village of the Waldoys, betwene Luſerne & Angrõgne.

The Fortreſſe go by the Angronians.

The next day in the morning, the ſayde Lorde of Trinitie ſent word vnto them of Angrongne, that if they wold not take part with the reſt, they ſhould be gently handled. All the weeke before, they were ſollicited by him to conſent to the ſame, but they woulde geue no aunſwere. The ſame day, they of Angrongne, and the reſt of the Valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religiō by force, and that the one ſhoulde aide the other, and no agreement to be made, by any one, without the conſent of the reſt. About noone, the Lorde of Trinitie marched wyth hys armie, by S. Iohn, to enter into the borders of Angrongne, by a place called La Sonneillette, where they had foughte before. The people had made certaine bulwarkes of earth and ſtone, not paſt three foote hie: where they defended themſelues valiauntly againſt their ennemies, whyche aſſailed them diuers wayes. When the ennemies were ſo wearye that they coulde fighte no longer, they put freſh Souldiers into their places: ſo that the combate endured vntill nighte, and all that day, the armie coulde not enter into the borders of Angrongne. Many of the ennemies were ſlaine, and a great number hurt: and but two of Angrongne ſlaine, of whome the one was ſlaine by his owne folly, becauſe he was too greedy vpon the ſpoile. The army being nowe well beaten and tired, reſted a while, to make themſelues ſtronger for a further miſchiefe.

God compelleth his ſeruantes to defēd their religion by force.

An other combat betweene the Lord of Trinity and the Angronyās. God geueth victory agayne to his people.

The Friday following, which was the ſeuenth of Februarye, at the breake of the day, the armie marched towardes Angrongne, by fiue ſeuerall places. The people of Angrongne were not yet aſſembled, and none there were to reſiſte, but onely a fewe, whyche kepte the watche: the which ſeeing their ennemies comming vppon them in ſo many places, and perceiuing that they went about to incloſe them, after they had valiantly fought for a ſpace, they reculed by little and little, to a highe place called La Caſſe, where the combate was renued wyth a greater fierceneſſe, then before. But the Lord of Trinitie, ſeing the loſſe of his men, and aboue all, that one of great creditie and authoritie in the Dukes Courte, was wounded to death, blewe a retreite, and deſcended to Angrongne (the people being fled to the Medowe of Toure) and there ſpoyled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the reſt of the goodes that he could finde: ſo that in a ſhorte ſpace, he had burned about a 1000. houſes of Angrongne.

An other fighte betweene the Lorde of Trinity and the Angronians.

And heere is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes, ſet fire vpon the two Temples of Angrongne, where the worde of God was preached, but they coulde neuer burne them. So did they alſo to the Miniſters houſe, which notwithſtanding remained whole, the houſes rounde about, being all conſumed with fire. That day none of Angrongne was ſlaine or hurt, ſauing onely one that was hurte in his thighe.

A notable miracle of God in keeping, the tēples of the Goſpell frō burning.

There were in all Angrongne, but two that were enemies to the worde of God, whiche that ſame daye, were ſlaine by the ſouldiers, not in the Combate: but for their riches, whych they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a very couetous wretche, and had great ſtore of golde and ſiluer, and woulde ſpende nothing, either to helpe himſelfe, or ſuccour others: no not his poore parentes. All this was ſpoiled by the ſoldiours, with a hundreth or two hundreth crownes beſides which he had about him. Beſides theſe two, there was not one of Angrongne ſlaine that day. All the reſt of the people retired to the Medowe of Toure: The ſituation whereof, we will heere declare, for the better vnderſtandyng of that which followeth.

Note againe the ſecret worke of God. Vnkindenes to parentes, rightly rewarded.

Tour is a little Valley vpon the borders of Angrongne, enuironed aboute wyth Mountaines: two miles in length, but very narrowe. On both ſides, and in the mids thereof, there be about two hundreth ſmall houſes and cotages: alſo medowes, paſtures for cattell, grounde for tillage, trees and goodly fountaines. On the South ſide and the North, the mountaines be ſo high, that no man cā that way approche vnto the ſayd Valley. On the other coaſtes a man may enter by ſeuen or eight wayes. This place is not paſt two miles from Angrongne. The way thether is very narrow, and il to paſſe by, becauſe of the hilles, which be on both ſides. There is alſo a Riuer harde by, but very ſmall, but the bankes thereof be very high in many places. The people had caryed thether very fewe victuals, partly becauſe the way was ſo yll, and alſo through the ſodaine returne of the armie.

The medowe of Tour, deſcribed.

In the meane time the Lorde of Trinitie after he had nowe twiſe aſſaulted Angrongne, ſent certaine to burne Roſa, and to diſcouer the wayes, whiche ledde to the valley of Luſerne: but the Souldioures were driuen backe foure dayes together by thoſe whyche kepte the paſſages. Whereuppon hee ſent hys whole armie, whome they valiauntly withſtoode from the morning till nighte. Then they of Luſerne ſent newe aide. During thys combate, an ambuſhment of ſouldiours deſcended from the toppe of the mountaine, by a place ſo harde to paſſe by, that no manne would haue ſuſpected it. The poore people ſeeing themſelues ſo enuironed of their enemies, ſaued them ſelues, ſome running through the middes of their ennemies, and other ſome into the rockes.

The enemies againe driuen backe.

The poore Chriſtians rūne through the pickes.

The ennemies being entred into Roſa, conſumed all with fire and ſworde. The reſidue of the people fledde by a ſecrete way, leading to the Valley of Luſerne, and wandred al that night vppon the mountaines full of ſnowe, loden with their ſtuffe, carrying their litle infantes in theyr armes, and leadinge the other by the handes, wyth greate paine and trauail. When they of the valley ſaw them, they ranne vnto them, praiſing God for their deliueraunce, for they thought they had beene all ſlaine. All be it thys poore people were heere in ſuche great extremitie, yet they were ioyfull, and comforted them ſelues, wythout any lamentation or mourning, excepte the little poore infantes, whych cried out for colde.

The Angronians with their yōg infantes, flie into the mountaines.

A fewe dayes after, the Lorde of Trinitie entred into the Valley of Luſerne, by three ſeuerall wayes: that is to ſay, by Roſa, by the plaine, and by the ſides of Taillieret. They which kept the paſſages, at the firſt reſiſted their ennemies valiauntly: but perceiuing that they were aſſailed on euery ſide, they retired to Villars, and there defended them ſelues a while. But becauſe they ſawe that their enemies hadde already paſſed the Plaine, and gotten aboue Villars, towardes Boby: they gaue ouer, and leafte Villars, and fled into the mountaines. The ſouldiours beyng entred, burned houſes, and ſlew all that they coulde finde. The poore people which were fled to the mountaines, ſeeing the village on fire, praiſed God, and gaue him thanks, that had made them worthy to ſuffer for his name, and for his cauſe: and alſo they were glad to ſee the village on fire, leaſt that their enemies ſhould encampe there themſelues. Then the ſouldiours in great rage mounted the hilles on euery ſide, purſuing this poore people in great furie: but a few of them, after they had ardently called vpon God, toke courage, and beate backe theyr ennemies to Villars. This done, the armie retired.

The Waldoys agayne aſſaulted by the Lorde of Trinity.

Fewe dayes after the medowe of Tour was aſſaulted by three ſeuerall wayes on the Eaſt ſide. The combate dured a long ſeaſon, where diuers of the enemies were hurt, and many ſlaine: but none of this poore people were ſlaine that day, onely two were hurt, which were ſoone healed againe. But to declare the conflictes, aſſaultes, ſkirmiſhes, and alarmes which were at Angrongne, and other places therabout, it were too long: for breuities ſake it ſhall be ſufficient to touch the moſt principall, & thoſe which are moſt worthy of memorie.

On Saterday, which was the fourteenthe day of Februarye, the people which were in the vppermoſt parte of the Medowe of Toure, perceiued that a company of ſouldiours were aſcended vp the hill to Angrongne, and burning yͤ reſt of the houſes there. They doubted that it was a pollicie of theyr ennemies, to drawe them thether, and in the meane time to ſette on them behynde, and ſo to winne the Medowe of Tour from them. Therefore they ſent onely ſixe harquebuſhes againſt thoſe ſouldiours, the whych hauing the higher grounde, and not eſpied of theyr ennemies, diſcharged their gunnes altogether. Whereupon incontinent the ſouldiers fledde, albeit no man purſued them. Whether they fledde of pollicie, or for feare, it was not knowen.

The wicked flyeth when no man purſueth hym.

Shortly after, they of the warde of the Medowe of Tour, whiche were in the watche on the top of the mountaine (becauſe euery morning there was a ſermone made, whereunto the people reſorted, and they mighte ſee a farre of rounde about them) eſpied a troupe of ſouldiours marching on that ſide of the hill, which is betweene the Eaſte and the Northe, and ſoone after that, diſcouered an other companye, whyche marched on the North ſide, towardes the ſayde troupe. The firſte were aſcended an houre before the other, and fought on the toppe of the mountayne called Melcſe, but they were ſoone diſcomfited: and becauſe they coulde not runne faſte, by meanes of the deepe ſnowe, and difficulty of the waies: in fleeing they fell often downe vpon the grounde. Whiles they that purſued them were earneſt in the chaſe, and had taken from them theyr drumme: beholde, there came certaine vnto them, cryinge out, that the other troupe was entred into the Medowe of Toure, by meanes wherof they gaue ouer the chaſe, or els not one of their enemies had eſcaped, as they whych were there, reported for a trueth. Not one of Angrongne were ſlayne or hurt.

The perſecutors purſued.

Gods people fight with prayer.

The other troupe which came by the North ſide, toke a high hil in the top of the mountaine, the whych ſeemed to be almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of the ſnow and ice which was there. The chiefeſt of this company were Lodouicke of Monteil (which had bene before maſter of the campe in the kings warres) and Charles Truchet. when they wer come to the toppe of the hill, they cauſed ſeuen ſouldiours to goe downe the hill, and to viewe the waye, and to ſee whether the troupe might deſcende that way, or no. Theſe 7. went downe almoſt to the houſes. They ſent alſo other to occupie the reſt of the high places, which were neare to the foote of the hill and the rockes. In the meane time the miniſters and the people which were in the middes of the valley of the medowe, ſawe al this, and were much diſcouraged therwith: wherfore they fell to prayer, & called vpon God ardently, not without great ſighes, lamentation and teares, euen vntill night.

The ſeuen ſpies whiche came downe to diſcouer the wayes, cried vnto their captaine Truchet, Come downe, come downe Seignior Charles, this day Angrongne ſhal be taken. The other cried to them againe, aſcend, aſcend, & returne, or els ye ſhall be ſlaine euery one of you. Immediately iſſued out fiue againſt theſe ſpies, and toke certaine, and chaſed the reſt. The firſt of the fiue which ſet vpō them, caſt two of them downe vppon the grounde with a forke of fire. Soone after, eight of Angrongne iſſued out agaynſte the whole troupe, which was wonderfull to ſee them goe with ſuche courage and boldneſſe, to aſſaile ſuche a multitude, and it ſeemed that they ſhould haue ben all deſtroyed and hewen in pieces. The firſte of the eight went a good way before the other, to diſcouer the enemies, and caryed a great ſtaffe, which they call a Rancon, and is ſomewhat bigger then a halbarde. The other folowed by two & two together, with harquebuſhes. Theſe eight went frō rocke to rocke, from hill to hill about the mountaine, and chaſed their ennemies valiauntly. Then came twelue other, the which ioyning wyth the reſt, foughte with a woonderfull courage, and made great ſlaughter of their enemies. Sone after, there came from the valley of Luſerne, an hundreth harquebuſhes, with one of their Miniſters, according to their maner, which are wont to ſende out a miniſter withall, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to kepe the people in order, that they exceede not meaſure, as it came to paſſe that day.

The courage of Gods people againſt their enemies.

At the length they ſawe them alſo commyng, whyche returned from the diſcomfiture of the former troupe, making a great noyſe, and hauing a drumme ſounding afore them, whyche they had taken from their ennemies: which ioyned with them of the valley of Luſerne, and hauing made their earneſt praier vnto god, immediatly they came to ſuccour the other that nowe were encountring valiantly wyth their ennemies. Then the ennemies ſeeing ſuche a company marching againſt them, with ſuche courage and boldneſſe: after the other had once called vpon God, theyr hearts were ſo taken from them, that ſodenly they fledde, and as ſoone as the other began to pray, they beganne alſo to flee. But becauſe they could not well ſaue them ſelues by running away, they turned backe twiſe, and foughte, and ſome in the meane time fled.

A conflict betweene the Angronians and the enemies.

He that caried the Rancon, and diſcouered the enemies, was but a very young and a ſimple man, and was eſtemed to be one that coulde doe nothing, but (as they ſay in their language) handle La Sappe, that is to ſay, a Hatchet, and kept cattell: and yet he with thoſe that folowed, ſo diſcomfited the ennemies, that it was woonderfull to beholde. He brake his great Rancon with laying load vpon them, and after that, he brake alſo foure of their own ſwordes in purſuing of them. There was a boy of 18. yeares of age, and of ſmal ſtature, which alone ſlue the Lord of Monteil, maſter of the campe (as is ſaid) to the king: wherwith the enemies were maruellouſly aſtoniſhed and diſcouraged. An other ſimple man, who a man wold haue thought, durſt not once haue looked Charles Truchet in the face (becauſe hee was a very bigge man, ſtrong & puiſſant, and one of the chiefeſt captaines of the whole army) threw downe the ſaide Truchet with the ſtroke of a ſtone. Then a young man leapte vpon him, and ſlue him with his owne ſworde, which was foure fingers broad, and cleaft his head in peeces.

The maruelous workes of the Lord.

Dauid with his ſling killeth Goliath.

This Truchet was one of the principall authours of this warre, and one of the cheefeſt enemies of true religion, and of the poore waldoys, that could then be foūd. It was ſayd alſo, that he vaunted and promiſed before, to the ſayde Lord of Trinitie, that he would deliuer into his hands the medow of Tour. But God ſoone brought his proude brag to nought. And for his ſpoyling, pilling, and polling of the poore people, hee lay ſpoyled and naked like a beaſt, in the wilde mountaine of Angrongne. Two of the chiefeſt among them offered to paye a great ſumme of crownes for their ranſome, but they coulde not be hearde. They were purſued more then a mile, & were ſo diſcomfited, that they fled wout any reſiſtance, and if the nighte had not let them, they had purſued them further.

The crueltye of this wretched Truchet agaynſt thiſpore people, appeareth before in this ſtory.

The miniſter when he ſaw the great effuſion of bloud, and the enemies to flee, he cried to the people, ſaying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to geue thankes vnto God. They which heard him, obeied, and fel to prayer: but they which were further of, and heard him not, chaſed their ennemies till darke night. In ſo muche, that if the reſt had done the like, very few of their enemies had eſcaped. That day they ſpoiled their ennemies of a great part of theyr armour and munition. So God reſtored in this combat and in others, to the poore waldoys, the armor which the Lord of Trinitie had taken from them before. Thankes were geuen vnto God in euery place, and euery man cried, who is he which ſeeth not, that God fighteth for vs? This victorie gaue great courage to the poore waldoys, and greatly aſtoniſhed the enemies.

God figh teth for people.

The eightenth of February, the Lorde of Trinitie, not ſatiſfied with burning and deſtroying the greateſt parte of Villars returned to burne all the little villages rounde about, which pertaine to the ſame, and eſpecially, to purſue the poore people, which were fled vp into the mountaines, and diuiding his armye into 3. partes, he entered, by the 3. ſeuerall wayes aboue mentioned. The two firſt companies ioyned together betwene Villars and Boby, hauing a great company of horſemen. From thence they went to ſeeke the people which were in the mountaine of Combe, by ſuche a way, as they did not ſuſpecte, and where there were no warders to defende the place: Notwithſtanding, the warders which were nexte, ſeeing their ennemies aſcending that way, ſpeedely ranne before them, and callyng vpon God for his aide and ſuccour, they ſet themſelues againſt their ennemies: and albeit they were but thirtie in number, yet they valiauntly beate them backe twiſe, comming out of their bulwarkes, that is to ſay, certaine houſes, which at that time ſerued them for that purpoſe, albeit they were not made to that vſe. Many of yͤ enemies were ſlaine at thoſe two combates, and not one of the other ſide. The Lorde of Trinitie ſeeing his men ſo fiercely driuen backe, ſent out the greateſt parte of his armie: whych were eſteemed to be aboue xv. hundreth men. There came alſo about a 100. to ſuccour the warders. The combate was very cruell and fierce. At lengthe, the poore people were aſſaulted ſo vehemently, that they were faine to forſake their bulwarkes, looſing two of their men. Then the ennemyes thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpettes, triumphing that they had put the people to flight: But the people retiring not paſt a ſtones caſt, toke courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for ſuccour, they turned themſelues to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power, they hurled ſtones at them with their ſlings.

Pharao hart yet maineth durate.

The Waldoys aga driue th enemyes backe.

After this, the enemies reſted themſelues a while, and by and by after, they gaue a furious aſſaulte, but yet they were againe mightely reſiſted. Yet once again the enemies reſted, and in the meane time, the people fell to praier, calling vpon God altogether, with their faces lifted vppe towardes heauen: which frayed the enemies more then any thing els. After this they gaue yet an other great aſſaulte, but God by the handes of a fewe, droue them backe. Yea God here ſhewed his great power euē in the litle children alſo, which feruently called vpō God, threw ſtones at their enemies, and gaue courage alſo vnto the men. So did alſo the women, and the vulgare ſort, that is to ſay, thoſe which were meete for no feates of warre, remaining vppon the mountaine: and beholding theſe furious combates, kneeling vpon the ground, and hauing their faces lifted vp towards heauen, with teares and gronings, they cried: Lord helpe vs. who heard their praiers.

God geue victorye by the handes of a fewe.

After that theſe three aſſaults were geuen, there came one vnto them, crying, Be of good courage, God hath ſent thoſe of Angrongne to ſuccour vs: hee meant, that they of Angrongne were fighting for them in an other place, that is to ſay, towardes Tailleret, where the thirde parte of the army was. The people perceiuing yͭ they of Angrongne were come to that place to ſuccour them, began to cry, bleſſed be God, who hathe ſent vs ſuccour: they of Angrongne be here, they of Angrongne be here to ſuccour vs. The enemies hearing thys, were aſtoniſhed, and ſodenly blew a retreit, and retired into the plaine.

The enemies retyr

That troupe whith was gone towards Tailleret, deuided themſelues into three companies. The firſt marched by the ſide of the mountaine, burning many houſes, & ioyned with the maine armie. The ſeconde companie whyche was of ſeuen ſcore, marched hygher, thinking to take the

The Angronians helpe the fellowes.

people at vnwares. But they were by ſeuen men ſtrongly reſiſted and driuen backe. The third company attained the toppe of the mountain, thinking to encloſe the people, but as God woulde, they of Angrongne, which came to ſuccor them, encountred with them, & wyth great force put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreſhed them ſelues with a little breade and wine (for the moſt part of them had eaten nothing all that day) chaſed their enemies til it was almoſt night: ſo fiercly that the maiſter of the campe was faine to ſend to the Lord of Trinitie (whiche was at Toure) for ſuccoure, or elſe all would haue bene loſt. which he did: and immediately hee roade with all ſpeede to Luſerne, to ſaue him ſelfe, hearing the alarme which was geuen at S. Iohn, by thoſe of Angrongne, & fearing leaſt the way ſhould haue ben ſtopped. The armye retired with great difficultie (notwithſtanding the newe aide whiche was ſent them) and wyth great loſſe of their men. One of their captaines confeſſed ſince, that if they had bene purſued any further, they had fledde all that night longe. Since that time, they neuer returned againe into the valley of Luſerne.

The perſecutors put to flight.

On Monday, being the 17. day of Marche next folowing, the Lorde of Trinitie, to be reuenged of thoſe of the medow of Tour, aſſembled al the force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Countrey. In ſo muche, that whereas before his army was commonly but foure thouſand, it was nowe betweene ſixe and ſeuen thouſande: and ſecretly in the night ſeaſon he encamped with parte of hys army in the middeſt of Angrongne, from whence the poore inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the Sermon and praiers were ended, they perceiued the other parte of the army to be encamped at the foote of the mountaine of Angrongne, on the Eaſt ſide. Sone after they perceiued how both partes of the army coaſted the hilles ſide, the one towards the other, being ſuch a multitude, ſo glittering in their harneſſe, & marching in ſuch araye, that the poore people at the firſt, were aſtoniſhed therat. Notwythſtanding the aſſemble fell downe vpon their knees 3. or 4. times, crying, Help vs, O Lord, beſeching him to haue regarde to the glory of his holy name, to ſtaye the effuſion of bloud, if it were his good pleaſure, & to turne the hearts of their enemies to the trueth of his holy Goſpell. Theſe two partes of the army ioyned together, nere to the bulwarks of the medow of Toure, & gaue the aſſault in three ſeuerall places. One of the bands mounted ſecretly by the rockes, thinking to haue encloſed the people in their Bulwarkes. But aſſone as they which kept the bulwarke be lowe, had eſpied them, they forſooke their place, and marched ſtraight towardes them, & as they marched, they met with the aide which was ſent vnto them, from the vally of Luſerne, very luckily, and comming (as it were) from heauen: whych ioyning together, ſone diſcomfited their enemies wᵗ ſtones and harquebuſhes. They purſued them fierſly in yͤ rockes, and vexed them woonderfully, becauſe the rockes are ſo ſteepe, that no man can aſcende or deſcende, without great paine and difficultie. The Captaine of this band was named Baſtian of Vergil, a man very expert in the affaires of warre. Hee at his going out of his lodging, threatned yͭ he would do great & terrible things that day. His hoſteſſe hearing that, ſaid vnto him, Monſieur, if our religiõ be better then theirs, you ſhall haue the victorie: but if theyrs be better then ours, you ſhall not preuaile. Shortly after, the captaine was brought againe into his Inne, ſo wounded and ſo feeble, that he was not like to liue. Then ſayde hys hoſteſſe vnto him, Monſieur, it is nowe wel ſeene, that their religion is better then oures.

The Angroniãs fall to prayer.

The proud threates of Amman.

There was alſo an other bande that kept the top of the hill, to aſſault the bulwarkes, from thence. The middlemoſt bulwarke was then aſſaulted, in the which were very fewe to defend the ſame: the which ſeeing the number of their enemies, retired backe, leauing therein but 5. onely to defend it. There was a huge rocke not farre from the foreſayd bulwarke, behinde the ſame, a great number of the enemies were hid. And anone there iſſued out two enſigns, aſſuring them ſelues to winne the bulwarke: but immediately one of their enſigne bearers was wounded to death, whereupon many reculed backe. The other ſet vp his enſigne vpon the bulwarke. They which were wythin, had neither halbard, nor any other long weapon, but only one Pike, and the ſame without an yron: the which one of the 5. tooke, and threw downe the enſigne, and manfully beate backe the ſcalers, and threwe them downe to the grounde. Diuers of the enemies were entred into the bulwarke, by a doore belowe, and ſlue one of the fiue, which kept yͤ middle parte of the bulwarke. The other foure looked to be deſtroyed out of hande. Then one of the foure chaſed awaye thoſe which had entred belowe, with ſtones: and the other three leauing their handguns, defended themſelues likewiſe with great ſtones: and perceiuing the bande whych was on the rockes to flee, they tooke courage, and wᵗſtoode their enemies valiantly, til their companions were returned from the chaſe.

The Bulwarke manfully defended.

In the meane time, the Bulwarke which was vppon the ſide of the mountaine, was furiouſly aſſailed by the one halfe of the armie. Thoſe that were within ſuffered theyr enemies to approche neare to the Bulwarke, without any gunſhot or other defence: whereat the enemies much marueiled. But when they were euen at hand, they fell vppon them, ſome with throwing of ſtones, ſome wyth rollynge downe mighty ſtones, & ſome with harquebuſhes. There was a huge ſtone rolled downe, whych paſſed throughout yͤ whole army, and ſlue diuers. The ſouldiers at that time had wonne a litle cotage, neare to the ſaid bulwark, which did much hurt to the poore men. But among them, one deuiſed to roll downe a great huge ſtone againſt the cottage, which ſo ſhooke it, and amaſed the ſoldiors, that they thought they had bene all deſtroyed, and incontinent they fled, and neuer would enter into it againe.

Behold the Artillary of this ſimple people, & with what weapõs they fought.

Then the ſouldiors made certaine fences of woode, fiue foote long, three foote broade, and of the thickneſſe of three boardes, but they were ſo ſore vexed wᵗ the ſhot of the harquebuſhes, that they were faine to lay al thoſe fences aſide. The miners alſo made others of earth for the ſouldiours. But al theſe policies of the enemies auailed them nothing: for the ſlaughter was ſo great, that in diuers places you might haue ſene three lying dead one vpon an other. God ſo wrought wyth the poore Chriſtians, that the ſhot of two harquebuſhes ſlewe foure men. It was ſayd for a certaintie, that the ſhot of an harquebuſh came ſo neare the Lorde of Trinities heade, that it brake a wande which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire ſix ſcore paſes backward, and ſeeing his ſoldiors in ſuche great numbers murthered & wounded on euery ſide, he wept bitterly. Then hee retired the reſt of his army. That day he thought aſſuredly to haue entred into the medowe of Tour. Moreouer he was determined, if that dayes iourney had not ſucceeded, to encampe therby, and the next morning very early, to renewe the aſſault. Many gentlemẽ and others came thither, to ſee the diſcomfiture of the pore Waldois: and likewiſe thoſe of the Plaine looked for nothing, but to heare yͤ piteous ruine and deſolation of thys poore people. But God diſpoſed it otherwiſe: For the Lorde of Trinitie had muche adoe to ſaue himſelfe and his: and ſeeing the miſchiefe which they intended to do vnto others, was fallen nowe vppon their owne heads, they were wonderfully aſtoniſhed. They of yͤ plaine alſo, when they ſaw the number of the dead bodies, & the wounded to be ſo great (for from noone vntil the euening, they ceaſed not to cary them away) were likewiſe exceedingly diſmaied. Albeit they caried not away al, for ther were many that lay nere to the bulwarks, whiche the people couered with winding ſheetes, the next morning. The ſouldiers them ſelues confeſſed to them of the medowe of Tour, that if they had purſued them, they had ben al ſlain, they were ſo tired and cleane out of heart.

The Lord of Trinitye with his army, driuen backe.

The papiſtes aſtoniſhed and diſmayde on euery ſide, by the wonderfull iudgement of God.

Many marueiled why the people did not followe the army, but eſpecially the ſouldiers, ſeeing the great diſcomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten ſuche vantage of them already. But this was done for two cauſes. The one was, becauſe they had alredy determined not to folow the army being once retired, to auoid the effuſion of bloud, meaning onely to defend them ſelues. The other cauſe was, for that they were weary, and had ſpẽt all theyr munition: For many of them had ſhot of, about 30. times, and none of them, vnder twẽty, ſpending great ſtore bothe of pellets and haileſhot. The reſt of the army retired, crying with a loude voyce, God fighteth for them, and we doe them wrong.

Gods people auoyde the ſhedding of bloud.

The next day, one of the principal captaines of the army, ſurrendred his charge to the L. of Trinitie, ſaying vnto him, that he would neuer fight againſt this people anye more, and vpon that he departed. It is a maruelous thing and worthy of perpetual memorie, that in yͤ combate there were but two of the Waldoys ſlaine, and two hurt. Thorow yͤ whole countrey of Piemont, euery man ſayde, God fighteth for them. One of the Captaines confeſſed, that hee had bene at many fierce aſſaultes and combates, and ſundry battailes wel fought, but yet he neuer ſawe ſouldiers ſo faint hearted and amaſed: yea the ſouldiours themſelues told him, they wer ſo aſtoniſhed, that they could not ſtryke. Moreouer, they ſayde, that thys people neuer ſhotte, but they hurte or killed ſome of the Souldiours. Some other ſayd that the miniſters by their prayers, coniured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and in

God fighteth for his people.

Onely 14. of all the Waldoys ſlaine in all theſe conflictes.

dede wonderful is it, and maruellous are the iudgements of God, that notwithſtanding ſo many combates and conflicts, ſo great aſſaults and aduentures, ſo much & ſo terrible ſhot, continually made againſt this poore people, yet all in a maner came to no effecte: So mightily Gods holy power wrought for his people: In ſo much, that for al yͤ ſayd combates, ſkirmiſhes, and ſo many conflicts: of all the Angrongnians, there were but 9. only that miſcaried, and the whole number of thoſe that were ſlaine, were but only 14. perſons. Where alſo is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and thoſe alſo but poore ſely ſhepherds and neatherds, to encounter wͭ ſuch a mighty power, of ſo ſtrong and braue ſouldiours comming againſt them with weapon and armor, being ſo well furniſhed and appoynted with munition as they were, in all poynts accordingly, and the other on the contrary ſide being vnarmed, and vnprouided of all habiliment of warre, hauing for their defence for the moſt parte, nothing els but ſlings and ſtones, and a fewe harquebuſhes.

An other ſkirmiſhe betweene the enemies and the Angrõgniãs.

The 9. day of Marche, there was a hotte ſkirmiſhe at Angrongne. For 3. companies of ſouldiours went to Angrongne, to burn and ſpoile all that remained, & to deſtroy the wines, which were hidden in the grounde. Where, amongeſt themſelues, they mocked & flouted the poore people, ſaying: theſe Lutherane Waldoys, are valiant felowes behinde their bulwarkes: but if they had bene in the plain field, they had bene wel canuaſed. After this it chanced that 30. of the Waldoys wẽt and aſſailed theſe foreſayd companies in the plain field. They fought a long ſeaſon, and that ſo neere, that ſome of them fought hande to hande. In this conflict, one of thoſe of Angrongne, wreſtled wͭ a captaine of the enemies, ſtrong and mighty, and caſt him downe vpon the ground. Many of the ſouldiours were ſlayne, and many hurt. But of yͤ Angronians there was but one ſlaine and an other hurt a little, which notwithſtãding gaue not ouer to fight manfully. Then the ſouldiours ſeing the loſſe of their men, retired ſodenly.

Note the practiſe of Papiſtes.

After that, the Lorde of Trinitie ſent 2. Gentlemen of the Valley of Luſerne, to them of Angrongne, to fele them if they would come to any agreement. To whom anſwere was made, yͭ they would ſtand to their firſt anſwer. From that time he ſent very often, to entreate of the agreement: but what his meaning was, it myght well appeare. For when the pore people hoped for ſome agreement, they were moſt furiouſly aſſaulted. Vpon this there was a day aſſigned in the valley of Luſerne to confer touching the agreement, wͭ certaine men pertaining to the Lord of Raconis, and the ſafeconduct was promiſed and graunted.

Behoulde how this traiterous Trynitye whiles he pretendeth an agreement, goeth about to deſtroy theſe poore men.

Dauid ſpareth king Saule.

The night afore the miniſters & rulers of Angrongne ſhould take their iourny, they perceiued a company of ſouldioures going vp a hill, by the which they of Angrongne ſhould paſſe, & hid them in houſes on the wayes ſide, thinking to take at vnwares them of Angrongne, which were ſent to treat of the agrement. But they hauing intelligence of this conſpiracy, watched and warded. It was an eaſie matter as diuers thought, that night to haue taken the L. of Trinity, and haue ſpoiled his whole campe. But they of Angrongne, and Luſerne, woulde not execute thys enterpriſe, leaſt thereby they ſhoulde offende God, and paſſe the boundes of their vocation, taking vpon them no more but to defend themſelues.

At that time a pitifull caſe happened in the Medowe of Tour. The Lorde of Raconis ſeeming to be ſorie for thys warre, ſent into yͤ medow of Tour, an honeſt man of Briqueras, named Fraunces of Gilles, to take aduiſe, what meanes were beſt, to further the agreement. Who hauing conſulted with the miniſters and rulers, returned homeward that day according to his maiſters commandement, and hauing ſent backe one whiche conducted hym, was murdered ſone after at the fote of Angrongne, by two of Angrongne, which otherwiſe ſeemed to be honeſt, and of good parentage. Sone after, one of the two which had cõmitted this facte, entred into the Medowe of Toure, and was immediatly apprehended and boũd. He confeſſed the fact without any further delay. Immediatly the other alſo was taken.

The Waldoys were maruelouſly troubled & agreeued with this fact, and wrote to yͤ Lorde of Raconis, declaring vnto him the whole circumſtance of the facte, and that they had the offenders in warde, and that, if it would pleaſe him to ſend certaine to examine the matter, they for theyr part, wold ſo execute iuſtice in yͤ puniſhment of them, that theyr innocency to all men ſhuld appeare. The lord of Raconis, wrote vnto them, yͭ they ſhould deliuer vnto hym yͤ offenders, and that he would do ſuch iuſtice vppon them, as the cauſe required. To the which they of Angrongne aunſwered, that vpon three conditions, they ſhoulde be deliuered, according to his requeſt. Firſt, that the priſoners ſhould be compelled to do nothing againſt their conſciences, and as touching religion, nothing ſhuld be ſpokẽ vnto them, but out of the word of God. Secondly, that ſpeedy and ſharpe iuſtice ſhould be executed vpon them: and yͭ hereafter this ſhould be no preiudice to yͤ liberties and priuiledges of the people of Angrongne. The third, that the execution of thẽ ſhould be vpon the borders of Angrongne, for an example to all other. This being accorded with one aſſent (yea wͭout contradiction of their parents) they ſent them priſoners accompanied with 60. gunners, to the cõfines of Luſerne, and there deliuered them into the hands of the Lord of Raconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrongne.

The in dealing of the Angrongnia

After this the lord of Trinitie hauing left certaine gariſons about Angrongne, and the valley of Luſerne: went to Perouſe nere to the valley of S. Martine, to ſuccour the garriſon there, being in great danger, and there remained a moneth. During which time, they of Angrongne, and of the valley of Luſerne, liued in more quietneſſe then afore: but yet they were ſo afflicted, by reaſon of the ſcarcitie of vitailes, which ſore preſſed them, and namely thoſe of the medowe of Toure, for they were ſpoyled of theyr vitailes. This poore people liued with milke and with herbes, hauing very litle breade. But afterwardes, when they were euen like to be famiſhed, God of his goodneſſe, ſent them better ſuccour, both of corne & breade, then they had before. The enemies thought to haue taken the medow of Toure by famine: for they toke away the vitailes that were to be had in all places round about. Euery houſhold was ſuffered to haue no more then ſhould ſuſtein them that day, and that alſo was very litle: to the ende that they ſhuld not ſuccour this poore people.

Scarſenes of vitaile among the Angrõgnians.

Gods mercy toward his people.

After that, the Lorde of Trinitie being returned from Perouſe to Luſerne, ſent certaine to entreate of an agreement, and required to common with ſome of the people. Then they began to conſulte and deuiſe by al meanes, how they might come to ſome good agreement. But one Monday being the 17. day of Aprill, by breake of day, he ſent certaine bandes of Spaniardes, which he had there, with the Garriſon of Toure, to the mountaine of Tailleret, by the way which leadeth to the medow of Tour, on the Southſide. They murdered men, wemen and children of Tailleret, whome they founde in their beddes. Then they marched on along vpon the mountaine, towardes the medow of Tour. Anone after the people perceiued 2. other companies of ſouldiours marching by Angrongne, by 2. ſeuerall wayes, to aſſault the Medow of Toure. In the morning, aſſone as they roſe, they blewe their hornes, for they ſawe the Spaniards already entred. When they had made theyr prayers, euery man ranne to meete the enemyes, ſome on the Eaſtſide and the other on the Southe. They whyche firſte reſiſted the Spaniardes (who were already paſte the bulwarkes) were in the beginning but 12. Gunners, and a few other whom they cauſed to go vp to the hil, and rolle downe great ſtones. Theſe 12. hauing founde a fitte place for their purpoſe to ſtay the Spanyardes, began to ſhoote of their harquebuſhes at them. The Spanyardes ſeeing themſelues ſo ſore aſſailed both aboue and beneathe, & the place ſo narrow and ſo ſtraight, reculed backe, and retyred as faſt as they coulde, by the ſame way, by the whiche they came. If they had taried a little longer, they had ben encloſed betweene the two mountaines: whyche place was ſo ſtrait that they coulde not haue eſcaped. The people chaſed them vnto their campe, which was at Toure. As they fled they founde often, ſome Fortes, where they did reſiſte for a litle while: but they were alway beaten out. In this combate God gaue victorie to the poore Waldoys, wyth great ſlaughter of the Spanyards: where alſo very many of thẽ were ſore hurt and wounded.

Note how thys bloudy wretch pretending agreement, peace, and quietnes; immedyatly ſeeketh the deſtruction of this poore people.

The people of Tailleret cruelly murdered of the Spanyardes.

The trumpetts of the Waldoys.

The Spanyardes beaten backe.

God geueth victory to the Waldoys againſt the Spanyardes.

The ſayd L. of Trinitie ſent vnto the Spanyards, that they ſhould not faint and giue ouer, but ſticke to it like mẽ, and he woulde ſhortly ſend them ſuccour: but they would not. Thoſe of the Valley of Luſerne, hearing of thys conflict, came in the meane time, to helpe their neighboures. Amongeſt other, there was one ſlaine in that battaile, for whom the Lord of Trinity much lamented, ſaying that he would rather haue loſt a whole band, then that man. The other 2. companies, whiche marched by Angrongne, perceiuing the Spanyardes to be ſo beaten and put to flyght, & ſeing alſo thoſe of yͤ medow of Tour cõming to encounter wͭ them, retired in haſt. Vpon that, the lord of Trinitie went to Cauors thre miles from Luſerne, being in a great perplexitie: and as he was about to ſende ſuccoure to the Spanyards, he heard the ſounde of a drumme aboue Luſerne, & ſuſpected that there was an army of the Waldoys comming againſt him. Vpon this diuers of the ſouldiors

God taketh the hartes from his enemyes.

God geueth courage to the poore Waldoys.

fled away by the plaine, crying that all was loſt. It was certainly reported, that if the Waldoys had purſued the armye, as they might eaſyly haue done, the campe had that day ben chaſed out of Luſerne. The poore people lacked no courage ſo to do: for albeit they had neither eaten nor dronken all that day before, & had ſore trauelled and fought: yet they ſayde, that if they had but a little refreſhed themſelues with a morſel of bread, and a glaſſe of wine, they durſt take vpon them to enter into the campe of their enemies.

Within a few daies after, they of Angrongne were aduertiſed by the L. of Trinities letters, that hee fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and deſtroy their corne being on the ground. And furthermore, that 2. fortes ſhould be builded at Angrongne. The day was aſſigned, & horſemen appoynted, with all ſpede to execute this miſcheuous enterpriſe. The poore people thought ẏ they ſhuld be aſſailed as ſore as euer they were, and fight as harde as euer they did before. But God preuented this cruell attēpt.

The miſchieuous purpoſe of Trynitye, ſtayed by the prouidence of God.

For the night afore that this ſhould be executed, the lord of Trinitie receiued certaine letters from the Duke, which ſtaied this enterpriſe. They of the medowe of Tour, being aduertiſed that the lord of Trinitie did now entend to ſend ordinance to beat downe the bulwarcks which were made of ſtones: they made a bulwarke of earth, whyche was in compaſſe about 500. paces: which they might eaſily ſee frō Luſerne. They of the medow of Tour told the lord of Trinities men, that if they brought any artillery, they ſhoulde not ſo ſoone cary it away againe, and ſhortly the ordinance was ſent backe againe.

The Waldoys ſend a ſupplication to the Ducheſſe.

The Waldoys offer to be iudged by the word of God.

About this ſeaſon, the chief rulers and miniſters of the Waldoys requeſted earneſtly the Lord of Raconis, to preſent a ſupplication which they had made to the Ducheſſe of Sauoy. For they had intelligence that ſhe was ſore offended ẏ her ſubiects were ſo cruelly handled. In the whych ſupplication they declared the equitie of their cauſe, proteſting all due obedience to the duke their ſoueraigne Lord: and if it mighte be proued by the pure worde of God that they held any error, they would with all humble ſubmiſſion, receiue correction and be reformed, humbly beſeeching her grace to appeaſe the diſpleaſure which the Duke had cōceiued againſt them, by the vntrue ſurmiſes of theyr aduerſaries: and if there were any thing wherin they had offended him, they moſt humbly craued his gracious pardō.

The Lord of Trinyty ſore ſicke.

About this time the lord of Trinitye, by ſicknes, was in great daunger of his life. Soone after the ſupplication was deliuered: the Ducheſſe ſent an aunſwer to the Waldoys, by the ſayd Lorde of Raconis. The effect thereof was, that ſhe had obteined of the Dukes grace all that they demaunded in their ſupplication, vpon ſuch conditions as the ſaid lord Raconis would propound vnto them. But whē they vnderſtode that the ſayd conditions were very rigorous, they ſent an other ſupplication vnto the Duches, wherein they humbly beſought her grace to be a meane that the ſaid conditions and Articles might be moderated: which Articles here follow.

An other ſupplycatyō ſent to the Ducheſſe.

First, that they ſhould baniſh their Miniſters.

Secondly, that they ſhoulde receiue the Maſſe and other ceremonies of the Romiſh church.

Thirdly, that they ſhould pay a raunſome to the ſouldiours for certaine of their men which they had taken.

Fourthly, that they ſhoulde aſſemble and preache no more as they were wont to do.

Fifthly, that the Duke woulde make fortreſſes at his pleaſure, in all that countrey, with other like things.

The ſupplicatyō to the Ducheſſe.

The people made humble requeſt in this their laſt ſupplication, that it would pleaſe the ſayd Duches to geue the Duke her huſband to vnderſtand, how ẏ theſe conditions were ſtraunge and rigorous. And as for their partes, although they had good triall of their miniſters, ẏ they were good men and fearing God, of ſounde doctrine, of good life & honeſt conuerſation, yet neuertheleſſe they were contented ſo to do, if he woulde geue leaue to ſome of them to remaine: requeſting this, that it might be permitted vnto thē to chuſe ſome other good Miniſters in their places, before they departed, leaſt that their Churches ſhoulde remaine without Paſtors.

The conditiōs whereunto the Waldoys did agree & conſent.

Concerning the Maſſe, and other Ceremonies of the church of Rome, if the duke ſhould cauſe them to be miniſtred in their pariſhes, they neither wold, nor could withſtand the ſame, and for their part, they would do no iniurie or violence to thoſe that ſhould miniſter them or be preſent therat: notwithſtanding they beſought him, that they myght not be conſtrained to be preſent thēſelues, at the miniſtratiō thereof, or to pay any thing to the maintenaunce of the ſame, or els to yelde either fauour or conſent thereunto.

As touching the raunſome which was demaunded of them for their priſoners, conſidering the extreme pouertie that they were in, and the great calamities and damages whiche they had ſuffred, it was to them a thing vnpoſſible. Yea if his highnes wer truly informed what loſſe they had ſuſteined, by burning, ſpoiling and ſacking of their houſes and goods, without all mercy or pity, he wold not only require of them no ſuche thing, but as a gracious and mercifull Prince, he would ſuccour and ſupporte them, that they might be able to maintaine their poore families, whome they nouriſhed (as they were bound to do) to the ſeruice of God, and their ſaid Lord and Prince: and therfore they deſired that it mighte pleaſe him that their poore brethren remaining in captiuitie and priſone, and ſuch as were ſent to the galleis for the profeſſion of their religion, might ſpedely be deliuered and ſet at libertie.

As for their aſſembles and preachings, they were contēted that they ſhould be kept only amongſt themſelues, in their accuſtomed places and in other Valleys aforeſayde, where any aſſemble of the faithfull ſhoulde be, which were deſirous to heare the preaching of the Goſpell.

Touching ẏ Fortreſſes, for as much as by thoſe which were already made, they had ſuffered great moleſtations and troubles as well concerning their goods, as alſo their religion: they were aſſured that if he ſhould build vp newe Fortes, they ſhoulde neuer be able to abide the troubles, miſeries, and calamities, that would folow therupon, and therfore they moſt humbly deſired the ſayde Ducheſſe to be ſo good and gracious vnto them, as to obteine of the Duke that he would accept their perſons in the ſteade of Fortes: and that, ſeeing thoſe places were by nature and of themſelues ſtrong and wel fortified, it mighte pleaſe theyr ſayde lord the duke, to receiue them into his protection and ſauegarde: and by the grace and aſſiſtance of God, they would ſerue him them ſelues for ſuche walles, and Forts, that he ſhould not neede to builde any other. And becauſe many of thoſe which dwelt neare about them, had robbed & ſpoiled them, not onely of their houſholde goodes and ſuch other thinges, but alſo driuen away their cattell: that it myghte pleaſe him to geue them leaue to recouer the ſayde goodes, by the way of Juſtice, and to buy againe that whyche the ſouldiers had ſold, and that for the ſame price, for the which it was ſolde.

Briefly, they alſo beſought their ſaid Lorde, ẏ it myght pleaſe him to be ſo gratious vnto them, as to graunt them a confirmation of al their fraunchiſes, immunities, and priuileges, as well generall, as particular, geuen vnto them as well by him, as by his predeceſſours: and likewiſe of thoſe which, as well they, as their anciters had bought of their Lordes, and to receiue them as hys moſt humble and obedient ſubiects, into his protection and ſafegarde.

And becauſe in time paſt, in the ſtede of good and ſpedie Juſtice, all iniquitie was committed by thoſe that had the adminiſtration of iuſtice in their Valleis: and for as much as their purſes were emptied & puniſhed rather then the malefactours: that it might pleaſe him to geue order that ſuch iuſtice might be done amongſt them, wherby the wicked might be puniſhed with all ſeueritie, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Tormēt of conſcience in ſliding from the truth.

Finally, forasmuch as diuers of this poore people (being aſtoniſhed at the comming of the army, & fearing leaſt they ſhould not onely be ſpoyled of all theyr goods, but alſo they with their wiues and children, be vtterly deſtroyed) made promiſe againſt their conſciences, to liue accordynge to the traditions of the church of Rome: they were maruelouſly troubled and tormēted in ſpirit, and did nothing but languiſh in that diſtreſſe. Wherfore they humbly beſought the ſayde Duches to take pity vpon them, & to obtaine that they might not be compelled to do any thing againſt their conſcience: and moreouer, that it might pleaſe the Duke to permit them, to liue in libertie and freedome of conſcience: alſo, that all theyr poore brethren, baniſhed for the cauſe of Religion, might returne home to their houſes: and that al confiſcations and penalties made againſt them, myghte be aboliſhed. And for their part they promiſed to geue all due reuerence and honour to God and his holy worde, and to be true and faithfull ſubiects to theyr Lorde & Prince. Yea more then any other. Underneath the ſayde ſupplication, there was wrytten:

> Your faithfull and humble ſubiects, the poore afflicted of the Valleys of Luſerne, Angrongne, S. Martin, and Perouſe, and generally all the people of the Waldois, which inhabite the countrey of Primont.

After that this ſupplication was viewed & read of the ſayd Ducheſſe, ſhe ſo perſuaded with the Duke, that aunſwer was made with theſe conditions declared in theſe articles following.

Concluſions and Articles, laſtly agreed vpon betweene the right honourable Lorde of Raconis on the part of the Dukes highneſſe, and them of the Valleys of Piemont, called the Waldoys.

The compoſitiõ and agreement vpon conditiõs, betweene the Duke, and the Waldoys.

Pardon promyſed.

That there ſhal ſhortly be made letters Patentes by the Dukes highneſſe, by the which it may appeare that he hath forgeuen and pardoned them of the Walleys of Angrongne. Boby, Villers, Valquichard, Rora, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet bordering vppon Tour. S. Martine, Perouſe, Roccapiata, S. Bartlemew, and al ſuche as haue aided them: of all ſuch faultes as they haue committed, as well in bearing armour againſte his highneſſe, as againſt the Lordes and certaine other gentlemen whom he reteined and kept in his protection and ſafegard.

Sermons & congregations permitted.

That it ſhalbe lawful for them of Angrongne, Boby, Villard, Valquichard, Rora, (members of the Walley of Luſerne) & for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Maneillan, and Salſa (members of the Walley of S. Martine) to haue their congregations, ſermons & other miniſteries of theyr religion, in places accuſtomed.

The pariſhe of Villars.

That it ſhalbe lawfull for them of Villars (members of the Walley of Luſerne) to haue the ſame, but that onely vntill the time that his highnes doth builde a Forte in the ſame place. But whileſt the ſayd fort is in building, it ſhall not be lawful to haue their preaching and aſſemblies with in the ſaid precinct of the place, but it ſhalbe lawful for them to build a place for that purpoſe, neere at hand, where they ſhall thinke good, on that ſide towardes Boby. Neuertheles it ſhall be permitted to their miniſters to come wythin the precinct aforeſayd, to viſite the ſicke, and exerciſe other things neceſſary to theyr Religion, ſo that they preach not nor make any aſſemble there.

The pariſhe of Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet.

It ſhalbe alſo permitted to them of Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet bordering vpon Tour, to haue their Sermones and aſſembles in places accuſtomed, ſo that they enter not for that purpoſe into the reſt of the confines of Tour.

The valleyes of Luſerne, and S. Martin.

That it ſhal not be lawful for the ſaide members of the Walleys of Luſerne and S. Martine, to come to the reſt of their borderers, nor any other of his highneſſe dominion: nor to haue their preachinges, aſſembles or diſputations, out of theyr owne borders, hauing libertie to haue them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it ſhall be lawfull for them to anſwer without danger of puniſhmẽt in body or goodes.

The Pariſhe of Perouſe.

The like ſhall be lawfull for them of the pariſhe of Perouſe, which at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſaid religion, & were wont to haue their aſſembles and preachings & other miniſteries according to their religion, at the place called le Puis: ſo that they come not to other places & borders of the ſaid pariſh.

The pariſhe of Pinachia.

It ſhalbe permitted to them of ỹ pariſh of Pinachia, of the Walley of Perouſe, which at this preſent be fled becauſe of the ſaid religion, and were wont to go to Sermons and aſſemblies and other miniſteries of that religion, to haue the like onely at the place called le Grandoubion.

The pariſhe of S. Germain.

It ſhall be permitted to them of the pariſhe of S. Germain of the Walley of Perouſe, and to them of Roccapiata, which at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſaid religion and cõtinue in the ſame, to haue one onely miniſter, which may the one day preache at S. Germaine, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

Order for Villages being farre from the pariſh Church.

It ſhalbe permitted to al them of the townes and Villages of the ſaid Walleis, which at this preſent are fled, and continue in the ſaid religion, notwithſtãding any promiſe or abiuration made before this warre againſt the ſaid religion, to repaire & returne to their houſes with their houſholdes, and to liue according to the ſame, going and comming to the Sermons and aſſembles which ſhall be made by their miniſters in the places aboue ſpecified, ſo that they obey that which is aboueſayd.

And becauſe that many of the ſayde townes and villages dwel out of the precinct of the preaching, hauing neede to be viſited, and of other things according to their ſaid religion, their miniſters which dwel within the precinct, ſhal be ſuffred without preiudice, to viſite and duely aide them of ſuch miniſteries as ſhall be neceſſary for thẽ, ſo that they make no ſermons or aſſembles.

The pariſhe of Meane, & S. Barthelmew.

By eſpecial grace it ſhall be permitted to al them of the Walley of Meane, and them of S. Bartlemew, neyghbors to Roccapiata, and are fled and continue in the ſayd religion, peaceably to enioy the grace and liberties graunted in the next article before, ſo that they obſerue all which they before promiſe to obſerue.

The goods of the waldoys reſtored.

The goodes alredy ſeaſed as forfait, ſhalbe reſtored to all the inhabitants of the ſaide Walleis, and to all that are fled and continue in the ſaid religion, as wel of them of the ſaid Walleis, as of Roccapiata, S. Bartlemew, and of Meane, ſo ỹ they be not ſeaſed for any other cauſe then for the ſayde religion, and for the warre preſent and lately paſt.

It ſhalbe lawfull for them aforeſayd, to recouer by way of Iuſtice, of their neighbours, their moueable goodes and cattell, ſo it be not of Souldiours: and that whyche hathe bene ſold, they ſhall alſo recouer by way of Iuſtice, ſo that they reſtore the price for which it hath beene ſolde. Theyr neighbours ſhall haue the like againſt them.

The libe ties re

All their franchiſes, fredomes, and priuiledges, as wel generall, as particular, graunted as well by his highneſſe predeceſſours, as by him ſelfe, and obtained of other inferiour Lordes, whereof they ſhall make profe by publicke wrytings, ſhalbe confirmed vnto them.

The ſaid Walleis ſhalbe prouided for to haue good Iuſtice miniſtred vnto them, whereby they may knowe they are kept in ſauegard by his highneſſe, as wel as all hys other ſubiects.

The inhabitants of the ſayd Walleis ſhall make a rolle of all the names & ſurnames of al them of the ſaid valleys, which are fled for religion, as wel ſuch as haue abiured, as other, to the ende they may be reſtored, and maintained in their goodes and houſholdes, and enioy ſuch grace and benefites as their Prince and Lord hath beſtowed on them.

And in ſo much as it is knowen to euery man, that the Prince may builde fortreſſes in his country, where it ſhall pleaſe hym without contradiction, neuertheleſſe, to take all ſuſpition out of the mindes of the aforeſaide Waldoys, it is declared that if, at any time hereafter, his highneſſe will make a Forte at Villars, the inhabitants of the ſayde place ſhall not be conſtrained to beare the charges, but onely as they ſhal thinke good, louingly to aide their Prince. Which Forte beinge builded (by Gods aide) A Gouernoure and Captaine ſhall therein be appoynted, which ſhall attempt nothing but the ſeruice of his highneſſe, wythout offence of the inhabitants either in their goods or conſciences.

M. Martin de Pragela Miniſter of the Waldoys.

It ſhalbe lawful for them, before ỹ diſcharging of theyr Miniſters, ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe his highneſſe to haue diſcharged, to chuſe and cal other in their ſteades: ſo that they chuſe not M. Martin de Pragela, nor chaunge not from one place to another, of the ſaid valleis, any of them which be diſcharged.

Maſſe ſet vp, but none compelled to come to i

The Maſſe and other ſeruice after the vſage of Rome, ſhalbe kept in all the pariſhes of the ſayde Walleis, where the Sermons aſſembles, and other miniſters of their religion are made, but none ſhall be compelled to be preſente thereat, nor to miniſter aide or fauour to ſuche as ſhall vſe that ſeruice.

All the expenſes and charges borne by his highneſſe in this warre, ſhalbe forgeuen and releaſed to them for euer. Alſo the eight thouſand crownes wherin the inhabitants of the ſaide Walleys were behinde, as parte of ſixteene M. crowns, which they had promiſed in the warre paſſed: and his highneſſe will commaunde that the wrytings, for that cauſe made, ſhalbe adnulled and cancelled.

Their priſoners reſtored by ranſome reaſonable.

All the priſoners ſhalbe rendred & reſtored which ſhall be found to be in the hands of the ſouldiours, paying ranſome reaſonable, according to theyr goodes, as they ſhalbe ſeaſed: and thoſe which ſhall be adiudged to be wrongfully taken, ſhalbe releaſed without raunſome.

The captiues in Galleys reſtored.

Likewiſe, all they of the ſayd Walleis, whych for religion, & not for other cauſes, are deteined in the Galleis, ſhall be releaſed without raunſome.

The liberty of Trafficke graunted.

Finally, it ſhalbe lawfull for all them of the ſaid valleis, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and ſ. Bartlemewe, of what degree, eſtate, or cõdition ſo euer they be (except miniſters) to accompany and dwel, and to be in daily conuerſation wt the reſt of his highnes ſubiects, and to tary, goe & come, in all places of his highnes country, to ſel and buy, and vſe al trades of marchandiſe, in all places in his highnes country, as before is ſaid, ſo that they preach not, nor make any aſſembles, or diſputatiõs, as we haue before ſayd: and that they whiche be of the limites, dwell not oute of them: and they which be of the townes & villages of the ſaid valleis, dwel not out of them, nor of their borders: and in ſo doing they ſhall not be moleſted by any meanes, and ſhall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods: but ſhall remaine vnder the protection and ſauegarde of his highneſſe.

The elders of the Valleys of Pyemont.

Furthermore, his highnes ſhal ſet order to ſtay al troubles, inconueniences, ſecret cõſpiracies of wicked perſons after ſuch ſort, that they ſhall remaine quietly in theyr religion. For obſeruation whereof, George Monaſtier, one of the elders of Angrongne, Conſtantion Dialeſtini, otherwiſe called Rembaldo, one of the Elders of Villars, Pirrone Arduino, ſent frõ the comminaltie of Boby, Michael Ramondet, ſent from the comminaltie of Tailleret and of la Rua de Bouet bordering vpon Tour, John Malenote, ſent from certaine perſons of S. John, Peter Paſchal ſent from the comminaltie of the valley of S. Martin, Thom. Roman of S. Germain, ſent from the comminaltie of the ſame place, and of all the Valley of Perouſe, promiſe for thē and their comminalties ſeuerally, that the cōtents of theſe concluſions aforeſayd, ſhall be inuiolately kepte, and for breach thereof do ſubmit themſelues to ſuch puniſhment as ſhall pleaſe his highnes: promiſing likewiſe to cauſe the chiefe of the families of the comminalties, to allow and confirme the ſayd promiſe.

The honourable Lorde of Raconis doth promiſe that the Dukes highnes ſhall confirme and allow the foreſayde concluſions to them both generally and perticularly, at the interceſſion and eſpeciall fauour of the noble Lady the Princeſſe.

The Lord of Raconnis.

The Lady Princes interceſſour for the Waldoys.

In teſtimonie whereof, the foreſayde Lord of Raconis hath confirmed theſe preſent concluſions, wyth hys owne hand, and the Miniſters haue lykewiſe ſubſcribed in the name of all the ſayd Valleys, and they which can write, in the name of all theyr comminalties. At Cauor, the v. of June. 1561.

Phillip of Sauoy.
Fraunces Valla, Miniſter of Villars.
Claudius Bergius, Miniſter of Taillaret.
Georgius Monaſterius.
Michael Raymundet.

This accord being thus made and paſſed, by the meanes of the Ducheſſe of Sauoy, the poore Waldoys haue ben in quiet vntill this preſent: and God of his infinite goodnes hauyng deliuered them out of ſo many troubles and conflicts, hath ſet them at libertie, to ſerue him purely and with quietnes of conſcience.

Wherfore there is none at this preſent (except he be altogether blind or ſenceles) but he ſeeth and well perceiueth that God would make it knowen by experience, to theſe poore Waldoys, and al other faithful people, that al things turne to the beſt to them, which loue and feare hym. For by all theſe afflictions which they ſuffered (as is before rehearſed) this good heauenly father hath brought them to repentance and amendement of life. He hath effectuouſly taught them to haue recourſe to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jeſus Chriſt, for their onely Sauiour and redeemer.

All thinges turne to the beſt, to thē that loue the Lord.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the deſires and luſtes of the fleſh, to withdrawe their harts from the world, and lift them vp to heauen, and to be alwayes in a readines to come to him, as vnto their moſt louing and pitifull father. To be ſhort, hee hath ſet them to the ſchoole of hys children, to the end they ſhould profite in patience and hope: to make them to mourne, weepe, and cry vnto hym. And aboue all, he hath made them ſo oft to proue his ſuccours at time of need, to ſee them before their eyes, to feele and touch them with their handes (as a man would ſay) after ſuch ſort, that they haue had good occaſion and all the faithfull with them, neuer to diſtruſt ſo good a father, and ſo carefull for the health of his children: but to aſſure themſelues neuer to be confounded, what thing ſoeuer happen.

And yet to ſee thys more manifeſtly, and that euery man may take profite therof, it ſhal be good to vnderſtand what this poore people did, whiles they were in theſe combates and conflictes. So ſoone as they ſawe the armye of theyr enemies approch, they cryed altogether for ayde and ſuccour to the Lord, and before they begā to defend thēſelues they fell to prayer, and in fighting, lifted vp their hartes, and ſighed to the Lorde. As long as the enemyes were at reſt, euery one of theſe poore people, on their knees, called vpon God. When the combate was ended, they gaue him thankes for the comfort and ſuccour, which they had felte. In the meane time, the reſt of the people with the Miniſters, made their harty prayer vnto God with ſighes and teares, and that, from the morning vntill the euening. When night was come, they aſſembled agayne together. They which had fought, rehearſed the woonderfull ayde and ſuccour which God had ſent them, and ſo altogether rendred thankes vnto hym for hys fatherly goodnes. Alwayes he chaunged their ſorrow into ioye. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, wyth great terrour on all ſides: but by the euening, they were deliuered, and had great cauſe of reioyſing and comfort.

The behauiour of theſe good men in their perſecutiōs.

This poore people had two terrible enemies: warre and famine, which kepte them vnder, in ſuch ſort that a man would haue thought they had bene vtterly loſt & deſtroyed. But God of his endles mercy, deliuered thē from ſuch dangers, and reſtored them to their houſes, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietnes, & al they which had declared themſelues to be their open enemyes, were brought to confuſion, as well thoſe whiche ſought to get their goodes, as thoſe whiche onely deſired to ſhedde their bloud. For proofe wherof, the onely exāple of two Gentlemen of the Valley of Luſerne ſhall ſuffice. Theſe not onely moued cruell warre agaynſt their poore tenauntes and others, but moſt ſhamefully ſpoyled them, and tooke vntollerable fines of all thoſe that diſobeyed their Edictes, to keepe a good conſcience.

Warre and famine two enemies againſt theſe men.

Beſides this, they went about to ſeaſe all their goodes as forfaite: waytyng to haue the whole forfayture thereof themſelues. And for this cauſe they did not onely incenſe the Duke with falſe reportes and with greeuous complayntes and accuſations, agaynſt theſe poore Waldoys: but alſo purſued the ſame ſo long and with ſuch charges, that they were fayne to ſell their inheritaunce, in hope to bring their purpoſe to paſſe, and to enioy that goodly pray, which they thought could not eſcape their handes. But in the ende, for their rewarde, they got nothyng but ſhame and confuſion.

Example of Gods fauour toward his ſeruantes & cōfuſion toward their perſecutors.

And as for the Monkes and Prieſtes whiche by ſuch meanes thought to aduaunce themſelues, & to bryng their trumpery to eſtimation, they haue loſt the litle rule which they had ouer that people, and are confounded, and their Religion brought in diſdayne. Thus God beateth down thoſe which exalte themſelues aboue meaſure, and maketh his aduerſaries to fall into the pits whiche they themſelues haue made.

Let vs pray vnto him therefore, that it would pleaſe him likewiſe to ſtretch out his puiſſaunt arme at this day, to maintayne his poore Church now afflicted, and to confound all the deuiſes of Sathan and his members, to the aduauncement of his glory and kyngdome.

¶The concluſion of the ſtory.

And thus haſt thou (Chriſtiā reader) for thy erudition and comfort, the ſtory and doyngs, diſcourſed concernyng theſe two countreys, both of Prouince & alſo of Piemont, the one beyng ſubiect vnder the dominion of Fraunce, the other belōgyng to the Duke of Sauoy. In the which two foreſayd regions and countreys, how long the Goſpell of Chriſt hath continued (euē from the tyme of the firſt Waldenſes) the hiſtory it ſelfe declareth.

The concluſiō of the ſtory of Merindoll, & Angrongne.

Merindoll and Cabriers in Prouince, vnder the Frēche king.

Furthermore, what iniuries and wronges haue bene done agaynſt them for the Goſpels ſake, what rigour and cruelty hath bene ſhewed of the aduerſary part agayn, for their part, what pacience in their ſufferyng, what conſtancie in their doctrine, what truth in their wordes, and ſimplicitie in their deedes, what obedience toward their Magiſtrates, and fayth toward God they haue vſed, & finally, how miraculouſly and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemyes, the ſayd hiſtory may geue thee full knowledge and experience.

Angrongne and others in Piemont vnder the Duke of Sauoy.

The cruelty of the aduerſaryes.

The patience of the Martyrs.

Wherein this thou haſt moreouer for thy more learnyng, to note and to conſider with thy ſelfe, beſides many other memorable thinges in this ſtory conteined how vnwillyng this people were at firſt, & what remorſe of conſcience they had, for their obedience toward their Magiſtrates, to lift vp any hād or finger, for their owne defence. And therfore many of them beyng ſlayne & cruelly murthered as willingly offeryng their throates without any reſiſtaunce, to the cruell handes of their enemyes, the reſt were cōpelled to flye into the mountaines, beyng ſpoyled of houſe, vittaile, & weapon, onely to ſaue their poore liues with flying, whiche otherwiſe they would not with reſiſting, in rockes & caues, thinking there rather to periſh by famine, then to vſe that defence for thēſelues, which nature geueth to euery brute beaſt to helpe it ſelfe as it may, agaynſt violēce & iniury. Yet theſe poore Waldoys refuſing all reſiſtaunce, & laying downe their own weapon (for obedience ſake) yea not liftyng vp their own handes, to defend their owne heades, onely vſed the poore ſhift of flying frō their enemies, till at lēgth the rage of thoſe bloudy perſecutours, ſatiſfied with no bloud, nor contented with any reaſon, ceaſed not ſtill moſt furiouſly, to infeſt them, yea to take alſo the mountaines frō them, which had taken from them their houſes before, neither yet permittyng them to liue with the wild beaſtes in the deſert, whiche could not liue in their townes at home: till at length, by extreme neceſſitie, the prouidēce of God ſo workyng with them, they were cōpelled to turne their faces, & to take thoſe weapōs, which the grounde gaue to their handes. And with thoſe ſtones, ſo marueilouſly the God of hoſtes wrought for his people, that they beat, vāquiſhed & ouerthrew their aduerſaries, they cōfoūded their pride, they abated their malice, & at laſt, ſtayd the intollerable rage of their perſecutiō. So

Thē they which are in Ievvry let thē flye into the Mountaines. Luke 21.

The Waldois compelled to defēd thēſelues.

Note how the Lord bleſſed the Waldois, ſtanding to their owne defence.

mercyfully and victoriouſly the Lorde God omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people, they but turning almoſt their faces vnto their enemies, no otherwiſe then he fought in times before, with Ioſue agaynſt the heathen, with the Iſraelites againſt the Pheliſtians, with the Macabees, againſt Antiochus and the Sirians.

This hyſtorie caryeng with it a true narration of things done in the ſayd country of Piemont, and written (as it ſemeth) by certayne of the Miniſters, whiche were at the doyng thereof, with the like faith and ſimplicitie we haue collected partly out of the Italian, partly out of the French tongue: for in both the languages it is written, although in the French tongue, it is much more largely diſcourſed, which booke moſt principally heerein we haue followed. The title whereof thus beginneth, Hiſtoire des perſecutions & Guerres faites contre le peuple appellé Vaudois, &c.

Ex Hiſtor. Gallica. & Italica.

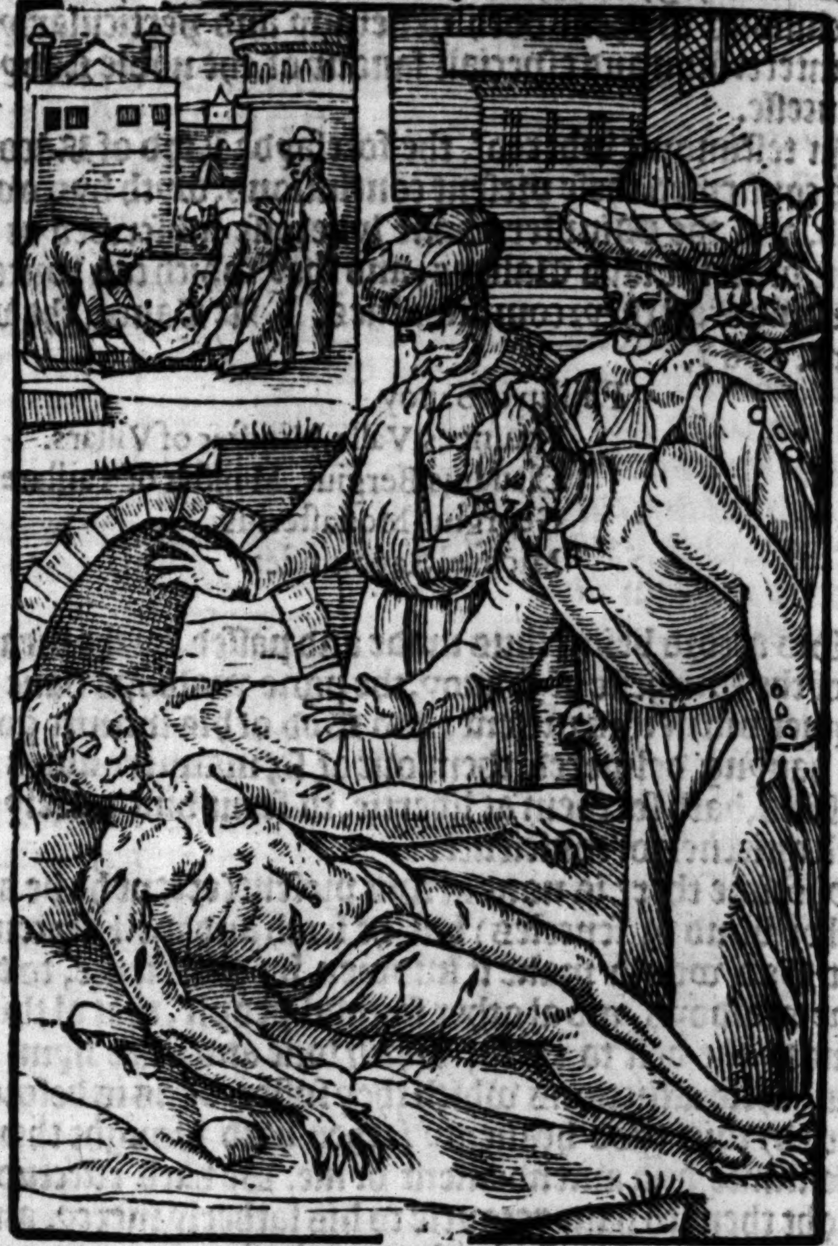
Now that we haue finiſhed theſe forreine Hiſtories, concerning ſuche matters as haue bene paſſed in other Realmes and nations of Germanie, Italie, Spaine, Fraunce, and Sauoy: conſequently it remayneth after this degreſſe, to returne and reduce our ſtory againe, to our owne countrey matters, heere done and paſſed at home, after that firſt we ſhall haue added one forreine ſtorie more, concerning ye Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Iewe, which ſuffered about theſe yeares in Conſtantinople, among the Turkes, in this wiſe as foloweth.

¶ The ſtory of a chriſtian Iew in Conſtantinople martyred by the Turkes.

A Chriſtian Iewe, Martyr.

{ Anno. 1528. }

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The Turkes of Conſtātinople.	A Iew chriſtened and Martyred. At Conſtantinople. An. 1528.	To theſe forreyne Martyrs aforeſayd we wil alſo adioine the Hyſtorie of a certayne Iew, who in the yeare of oure Lorde 1528. dwelling in the Citie of Conſtātinople, and there receyuing the ſacrament of Baptiſme, was conuerted, and became a good Chriſtian. when the Turkes vnderſtode heereof, they were vehemently exaſperated agaynſte hym, that he forſaking his Iewiſhnes, ſhould bee regenerate to the faith of Chriſt: and fearing leaſt his conuerſion ſhoulde be a detrimente to their Mahometicall lawe; they ſought meanes howe to put hym to deathe, whiche in ſhorte tyme after they accompliſhed. And for the greater infamie to be done vnto the man, they caſt his dead corps into the ſtreetes, commanding that no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to bury the ſame.



The Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Iewe.

wherein the maruelous glorye and power of Chriſt appeared. For the dead corpſe lyeng ſo by the ſpace of nyne dayes in the middeſt of the ſtreetes, reteined ſo hys natiue colour, and was ſo freſh, without any kynde of filthines or corruption, and alſo not without a certeine pleaſaunt and delectable ſent or odour, as if it had bene lately ſlayne, or rather not ſlayne at all: which when the Turkes beheld, they were thereat marueiouſly aſtonied, and beeyng greatly afrayde, they themſelues tooke it vp, and caried it to a place neere without the towne, and buryed it.

The contents of the booke folowing.

Hauing thus comprehended the troubles and perſecutions of ſuch godly Saintes, and bleſſed Martyrs, which haue ſuffered in other foreine nations aboue mentioned, heere now endyng with them, and beginning the eyght booke, we haue (God willing) to returne agayne to our owne matters, and to proſecute ſuch Actes and recordes, as to our owne countrey of England do appertayne. In the proces whereof among many other thyngs, may appeare the maruelous worke of Gods power and mercy in ſuppreſsing and baniſhing out of thys Realme, the long vſurped ſupremacie of the Pope: alſo in ſubuerting and ouerthrowing the houſes of Monkes, and Friers, with diuers other matters perteyning to the reformation of Chriſtes true Church and Religion. All which things as they haue bene long wiſhed, and greatly groned for in tymes paſt of many godly learned men: ſo much more ought wee nowe to reioyce and geue God thankes, ſeeyng theſe dayes of reformation, which God hath geuen vs. If Iohn Huſſe, or good Hierome of Prage, or Iohn Wickliffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swynderby, or the Lord Cobham, if Ziſca, with all the company of the Bohemians, if the Earle Raymundus, with all the Tholoſsians, if the Waldoys or the Albingenſis, with infinite other, had bene eyther in theſe our times now, or elſe had ſeene then thys ruyne of the Pope, and reuealing of Antichriſt, which the Lord now hath diſpenſed vnto vs, what ioye and triumph would they haue made? Wherefore now beholding that thyng which they ſo long tyme haue wiſhed for, let vs not thinke the benefite to be ſmall, but render therefore moſt humble thankes to the Lorde our God:

Antichriſt longe hyd, and now reueled.

Who by his mightie power and brightnes of his word, hath reuealed this great enemie of his ſo manifeſtly to the eyes of all men, who before was hid in the Church ſo coulourably, that almoſt few Chriſtians could eſpye him. For who would euer haue iudged or ſuſpected in hys mynde, the Byſhop of Rome (commonly receyued and beleeued almoſt of all men, to be the Vicare and Vicegerent of Chriſt heere in earth) to be Antichriſt, and the great aduerſary God, whome S. Paule ſo expreſly propheſieth of in theſe latter dayes to be reuealed by the brightnes of the Lords commyng, as all men now for the moſt part may ſee is come to paſſe. Wherefore to the Lord and Father of lightes, who reuealeth all things in hys due tyme, be prayſe and glory for euer. Amen.

The ende of the ſeauenth Booke.

The

The eyght Booke, continuing the hyſtorie of Engliſh matters appertayning to both ſtates, as well Eccleſiaſticall, as Ciuill and Temporall.

Martyrs of Couentrye.

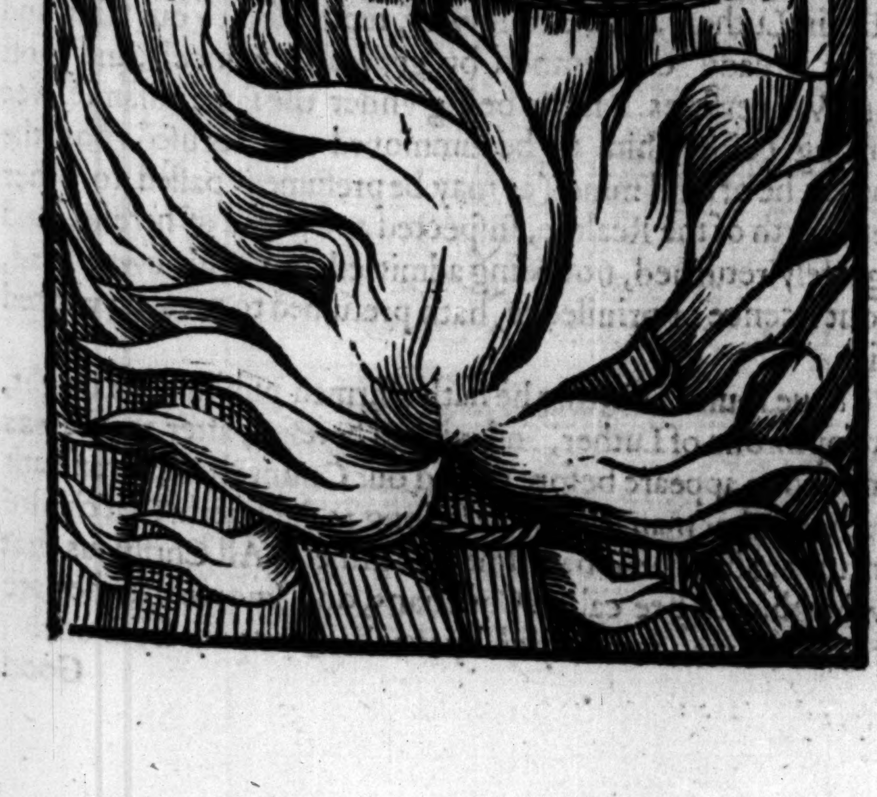
Maiſtres Smith, Rob. Hatchets. Archer, Haukins, Tho. Bond. Wrigſham, Landſdale, Martyrs.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Symon Mourton the biſhops Somner. The biſhop of Couentry. Frier Stafford Warden.	Maiſtres Smyth widow. Rob. Hatchets a ſhomaker. Archer a ſhomaker. Hawkins a ſhomaker. Tho Bond a ſhomaker. Wrigſham a Glouer. Landſdale an Hoſier. At Couentry. An. 1519.	THE principall cauſe of the apprehẽſion of thoſe perſons, was for teaching their children and familie, the Lordes prayer, and tenne Commaundementes in Engliſh: for which they were vpon Aſhwedneſday taken and put in priſon, ſome in places vnder the grounde, ſome in chambers and other places about, till Friday following. Then they were ſent to a Monaſterye called Mackeſtocke Abbey, ſixe miles from Couentry. During which time, their children were ſente for to the Gray friers in Couentry, before ÿ Warden of the ſayd friers, called Frier Stafford: who ſtraitly examining them of their beliefe, and what hereſie their fathers had taught them, charged thẽ vppon payne of ſuffering ſuche deathe as their fathers ſhould, in no wyſe to meddle any more with the Lords prayer, the Creede, and Commaundements in Engliſh.

The Lordes prayer in Engliſhe, forbyddẽ of the Papiſts.

which done, vpon Palmeſonday, the fathers of theſe children were broughte backe agayne to Couentry, and there, the weeke next before Eaſter, were condemned for relapſe (becauſe moſt of them had borne fagots in the ſame Citie before) to be burned.

7. godly Martyrs in Couentry, burned.



Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

Onely Maiſtres Smith was dimiſſed for that preſent, and ſent away. And becauſe it was in the euenyng beyng ſomewhat darke, as ſhe ſhould go home, the foreſayd Symon Mourton the Somner offered him ſelfe to goe home with her. Now as he was leadyng her by the arme, and heard the rattelyng of a ſcrole within her ſleeue: yea (ſayth he.) what haue ye here? And ſo tooke it from her, & eſpyed that it was the Lordes prayer, the Articles of the fayth, & the x. Commaundementes in Engliſhe: which when the wretched Somner vnderſtood, ah ſerrha (ſayd he) come, as good now as an other tyme, & ſo brought her backe agayne to the Byſhop, where ſhe was immediatly condemned, and ſo burned with the vj. men before named, the fourth of Aprill in a place thereby called the litle parke. An. 1519.

Maiſtres Smith cõdẽned for hauing the Lords prayer in Engliſhe.

Anno. 1521. Robert Silkeb Martyr.

	Robert Silkeb. At Couentry. An. 1521.	IN ÿ ſame nũber of theſe Couẽtry men aboue rehearſed, was alſo Robert Silkeb, who at the apprehenſion of theſe, as is aboue recited, fled away, and for that tyme eſcaped: But about two yeares after, he was taken agayne, & brought to the ſayd Citie of Couentry, where he was alſo burned the morowe after hee came thether, whiche was about the xiij. day of January. An. 1521. Thus, when theſe were diſpatched immediatly the Sheriffes went to theyr houſes, and tooke all their goodes and cattell to theyr owne vſe, not leauyng their wiues and children any parcell therof to helpe themſelues with all. And forſomuch as the people began to grudge ſomewhat,

at the crueltie ſhewed, and at the vniuſt death of theſe innocent Martyrs, the Byſhop, with his Officers and Prieſtes, cauſed it to bee noyſed abroad by their Tenauntes, ſeruauntes, and fermers, ÿ they were not burned for hauyng the Lordes prayer and commaundementes in Engliſh, but becauſe they did eate fleſhe on Frydayes and other faſtyng dayes: which neither could be proued, either before their death, or after, nor yet was any ſuch matter greatly obiected to them in their examinations. The witneſſes of this hiſtory bee yet aliue, whiche both ſaw them and knew them. Of whom one is by name mother Halle, dwellyng now in Bagington two myles from Couentry. By whom alſo this is teſtified of them, that they aboue all other in Couentry pretended moſt ſhew of worſhyp and deuotion, at the holdyng vp of the Sacrament, whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not knowen. This is certain that in godlineſſe of life they differed from al the reſt of the Citie: Neither in their occupying they would vſe any oth: nor could abyde it in them that occupyed with them.

Teſtimony of this ſtorye.

Note how theſe Martirs holding with the popiſh ſacramentes yet were burned of the papiſts, only for a fewe Scriptures in Engliſh.

Anno. 1527.

James Betõ Archb. of S. Andrew M. Hew Spẽs, dean of diuinity in the vniuerſitie of S. Andrew.	Patricke Halmeutõ.	PAtricke Hamelton a Scottiſh man borne, of an hygh and noble ſtocke, and of the kynges bloud, young and of flouriſhyng age, and excellẽt towardneſſe, of xxiij. yeares called Abbot of Ferine firſt commyng out of his countrey with 3. companiõs, to ſeek godly learnyng, went to the Vniuerſitie of Marpurge in Germany, which vniuerſitie was the new-

The ſtory of M. Patricke Hamelton, in Scotland.

ly

Of this Phillip Lantgraue of Heſſe read before.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.
M. Iohn Weddell Rector of the vniuerſitie. Iames Symſon, Officiall. Tho. Ramſay, Chanon, and Deane of the Abbey of S. Andrewes. Allane Meldrum Chanon. Iohn Greſon, Principall of the Blacke Friers. Iohn Dillidaffe, Warden of the Gray Friers. Martin Balbur, Lawyer. Iohn Spés, Lawyer. Alexander Yong, bacheler of Diuinitie, Chanon. Iohn Annand, Chanon. Frier Alex. Chambell, Priour of the Blacke Friers, &c.	At Saint Andrewes in Scotlād. An. 1527.

The Cauſes.

Of the vniuerſitye of Mapurge, reade pefore.

ly erected by Phillip Lātgraue of Heſſe: where he vſing conference and familiaritie wͭ learned men, namely with Franciſcus Lambertus, ſo profited in knowledge, and mature iudgement in matters of Religion, that he through the incitation of the ſayde Lambert, was the firſt in all ẏ Vniuerſitie of Marpurge, which publickely did ſet vp cōcluſions there to be diſputed of, concerning fayth and workes: arguing alſo no leſſe learnedly then feruently vpon the ſame. What theſe propoſitions and concluſions were, partly in his treatiſe heereafter following, called Patrike places, may appeare.

The godly zeale of M. Hamelton towardes his countrey.

Thus the ingenious witte of this learned Patricke increaſing daylye more and more in knowledge, and inflamed wyth godlineſſe, at length began to reuolue with himſelfe, touching his returne into his countrey, being deſirous to import vnto hys countreymen, ſome fruite of the vnderſtāding, which he had receaued abroade. Whereupon, perſiſting in his godly purpoſe, he tooke one of the three whome he brought out of Scotland, & ſo returned home without anye longer delaye. Where he, not ſuſteyning the miſerable ignoraunce and blindnes of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuſes, was firſt accuſed of hereſie, and afterwarde, conſtantly and ſtoutly ſuſteyning ẏ quarel of Gods Goſpell, againſt the hygh Prieſt and Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewe, named Iames Beton, was cited to appeare before him, and his Colledge of Prieſtes, the firſte daye of March, 1527. But he beeing not onely forwarde in knowledge, but alſo ardente in ſpirit, not tarieng for the houre appoynted, preuented the time, and came very early in the morning, before he was looked for, and there mightely diſputing againſt them, when he could not by the Scriptures be conuicted, by force he was oppreſſed: and ſo, the ſentence of cōdemnation being geuen againſt him, the ſame daye after dinner, in all the hoate haſte, he was had away to the fire, and there burned, the King being yet but a childe, whych thing made the Byſhops more bold. And thus was thys noble Hamelton, the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, without all iuſt cauſe, made away by cruell aduerſaries, yet not without great fruite to the Church of Chriſt, for the graue teſtimonie of his bloud, left the veritie and truth of God, more fixed and confirmed in the harts of many, then euer could after be pluckt away: in ſo much that diuers afterwarde ſtanding in his quarell, ſuſteined alſo the lyke Martyrdome, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appeare, as place and time ſhall require.

The Martyrdom and ſuffering of M. Patricke Hamelton.

In the meane ſeaſon we thinke good to expreſſe here his Articles, and order of his proceſſe, as we receaued them from Scotland, out of the regiſters.

¶ The Articles and opinions obiected againſt Maiſter Patrike Hamelton, by Iames Beton, Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes.

Articles of the Re ſter,

That man hath no free will.

That there is no Purgatory.

That the holy Patriarkes were in heauen, before Chriſtes paſſion.

That the Pope hath no power to looſe and binde: neyther any Pope had that power, after S. Peter.

That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that euery Prieſt hath the power that the Pope hath.

That Mayſter Patrike Hamelton was a Byſhop.

That it is not neceſſary to obteyne any Bulles from any Byſhop.

That the vow of the Popes religion, is a vow of wickednes.

That the Popes lawes be of no ſtrength.

That all Chriſtians worthy to be called Chriſtians, doo know that they be in the ſtate of grace.

That none be ſaued, but they are before predeſtinate.

Whoſoeuer is in deadly ſinne, is vnfaithfull.

That God is the cauſe of ſinne, in this ſence, that is, that he withdraweth hys grace from men, whereby they ſinne.

That it is diueliſh doctrine, to enioyne to any ſinner, actuall penaunce for ſinne.

That the ſayde M. Patrike himſelfe doubteth whether all children departing incontinent after their Baptiſme, are ſaued or condemned.

That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſaluation.

These Articles aboue written, were geuen in, and laid agaynſt M. Hamelton, and inſerted in their regiſters, for the which alſo he was cōdemned, by thē whiche hated him to death. But other learned men, which commoned & reaſoned with him, do teſtifie, that theſe Articles followyng were the very Articles, for the which he ſuffered.

His articles otherwiſe more truly collected.

1. Man hath no free will.
2. A man is onely iuſtified by fayth in Chriſt.
3. A man, ſo long as he liueth, is not without ſinne.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Chriſtian, which beleeueth not that he is in grace.
5. A good man doth good workes: good workes doo not make a good man.
6. An euill man bringeth forth euill works: euill works, being faithfully repented, do not make an euill man.
7. Faith, hope, and charitie be ſo linked together, that one of thē can not be without an other, in one mā, in this life.

¶ And as touching the other Articles, whereupon the Doctours gaue their iudgements, as diuers do report, he was not accuſed of them before the Byſhop. Albeit in priuate diſputation, he affirmed and defended the moſt of thē.

Heere followeth the ſentence pronounced agaynſt hym.

The ſentēce againſt M. Patricke Hamelton.

CHriſti nomine Inuocato: We Iames, by the mercy of God, Archbyſhop of Saint Andrew, primate of Scotland, with the counſayle, decree, and authoritie of the moſt reuerend fathers in God, and Lordes, Abbots, Doctours of Theologie, profeſſors of the holy Scripture, and mayſters of the Vniuerſitie, aſsiſting vs for the time, ſitting in iudgement within oure Metropolitane Church of S. Andrew, in the cauſe of hereticall prauitie, agaynſte Mayſter Patrike Hamelton, Abbot or penſionarie of Ferme, being ſummoned to appeare before vs, to aunſwere to certeine Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and ſo appearing before vs, and accuſed, the merites of the cauſe being ripely weyed, diſcuſſed, and vnderſtanded by faithfull inquiſition made in Lent laſt paſſed: we haue found the ſame M. Patrike, many wayes infamed with hereſie, diſputing, holding, and mayntayning diuers hereſies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is already *condemned by generall Councels, and moſt famous Vniuerſities. And he being vnder the ſame infamie, wee decerning before, him to be ſummoned and accuſed vpon the premiſſes, he of euill mind (as may be preſumed) paſſed to other partes foorth of the Realme, ſuſpected and noted of hereſie. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his owne head, without licence or priuiledge, hath preſumed to preache wicked hereſie.

* Condemned by councells and Vniuerſities, but here is no mention of the ſcripture.

Note here that theſe articles agree not with the articles in the Regiſter before mentioned.

We haue found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed, & taught, diuers opinions of Luther, and wicked hereſies, after that he was ſummoned to appeare before vs and our Councell: That man hath no free will: That man is in ſinne ſo long as he liueth: That childrē incontinent after their baptiſme, are ſinners: All Chriſtians that bee woorthie to bee called Chriſtians, doo knowe that they are in grace: No man is iuſtifyed by workes, but by fayth onely:

Good workes make not a good man, but a good man doth make good workes: That fayth, hope, and charitie, are ſo knit, that hee that hath the one, hath the reſt, and hee that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the reſt, &c. with diuers other hereſies and deteſtable opinions: and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that by no counſayle nor perſwaſion, he may be drawne therefrom, to the way of our right faith.

Wolues in Lambes ſkinnes.

All theſe premiſſes being conſidered, we hauing God and the integritie of our fayth before our eyes, and following the counſayle and aduiſe of the profeſſours of the holy Scripture, men of law, and others aſsiſting vs, for the tyme: do pronounce, determine, and declare, the ſaid M Patrike Hamelton, for his affirming, confeſsing, and mayntayning of the foreſayd hereſies, and his pertinacitie (they being condemned already by the Church, generall Councels, and moſt famous Vniuerſities) to be an hereticke, and to haue an euill opinion of the fayth, and therefore to be condemned and puniſhed, like as we condemne, and define him to be puniſhed, by this our ſentence definitiue, depriuing and ſentencing him, to be depriued of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church: and therefore do iudge and pronounce him to be deliuered ouer to the ſecular power, to be puniſhed, and his goodes to be confiſcate.

M. patricke geuen to the ſecular power.

This our ſentence definitiue, was geuen and read at our Metropolitane Church of S. Andrewes, the laſt day of the moneth of February, an. 1527. being preſent, the moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt, and Lords, Gawand Byſhop of Glaſgow, George Byſhop of Dunkelden, Iohn, Byſhop of Brecham, William, Byſhop of Dunblane, Patrike, Prior of S. Andrew. Dauid, Abbot of Abirbrothoke, George, Abbot of Dunfermeling, Alexander, Abbot of Caunbuskyneth, Henry, Abbot of Lendors, Iohn Prior of Pittyrweme, the Deane, and Subdeane of Glaſgow, M. Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramſay, Allane Meldrun, &c, In the preſence of the Cleargy and the people.

After the condemnation and Martyrdome of this true Saint of God was diſpatched by the Byſhops and Doctours of Scotland, the rulers and Doctours of the Uniuerſitie of Louane hearing therof, receaued ſuch ioy & conſolation, at the ſheding of that innocent bloud, that for the aboundance of hart, they could not ſtay their penne, to vtter condigne thanks, applauding and triumphing in their letters, ſent to the foreſaid Biſhop of S. Andrewes, & Doctours of Scotland, at the worthy & famous deſeruings of their atchieued enterpriſe, in that behalfe: as by the tenour of their ſayd letter may appeare, which heere foloweth.

¶ The copie of a letter congratulatorie, ſente from the Doctours of Louane, to the Archbyſh. of S. Andrewes and Doctours of Scotland, commending them for the death of mayſter Patrike Hamelton.

A letter of thankes, ſent fró Louane, to them of Scotland for ſhedding the bloud of Patricke Hamelton.

YOur excellent vertue (moſt honourable Biſhop) hath ſo deſerued, that albeit we be farre diſtant, both by ſea and land, without coniunction of familiaritie, yet we deſire with all oure harts, to thanke you for your woorthy deede, by whoſe workes, that true faith which not long ago, was taynted wyth hereſie, not only remayneth vnhurt, but alſo is more confirmed. For as oure deare friend M. Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberdon, hath ſhewed vs, the preſumption of the wicked hereticke Patrike Hamelton, which is expreſſed in this your example, in that you haue cut him off, when there was no hope of amendement, &c.

What ioy the Papiſtes make in ſpilling the bloud of Chriſtians.

The which thing, as it is thought commendable to vs, ſo the maner of the proceeding was no leſſe pleaſaunt, that the matter was perfourmed by ſo great conſent of ſo many eſtates, as of the Cleargy, nobilitie, and vulgare people, not raſhly, but moſt prudently, the order of law being in all poyntes obſerued. We haue ſeene the ſentence which ye pronounced, and alway do approue the ſame, not doubting but that the Articles which be inſerted, are erroneous: ſo that whoſoeuer will defend for a truth, any one of the ſame, with pertinacitie, ſhoulde be eſteemed an enemie to the fayth, and an aduerſary to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appeare to be without errour, to them that wyll conſider onely the bare words: as (for example) good woorkes make not a good man, but a good man worketh good workes, yet there is no doubt, but they conteyne a Lutherane ſenſe, which in a maner, they ſignifie: to wit, that workes done after fayth, and iuſtification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any rewarde before God. Beleeue not, that this example ſhall haue place onely among you, for there ſhall be among externe nations, which ſhall imitate the ſame, &c.

If ye coulde ſhew to what place of the ſcripture, we would gladly heare you.

Certaynly, ye haue geuen vs great courage, ſo that now we acknowledge your Vniuerſitie, which was founded according to the example of our Vniuerſitie of Louane, to be equall to ours, or elſe aboue: and would God occaſion were offered of teſtifying our mindes towarde you. In the meane time, let vs labour wyth one conſent, that the rauening Wolues may be expelled from the ſheepefold of Chriſt, while we haue tyme. Let vs ſtudy to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wiſely. Let vs haue Inquiſitours, & eſpyers of bookes, cótaining that doctrine, eſpecially that is brought in from farre countreys, whether by apoſtatiue Monkes, or by Marchauntes, the moſt ſuſpected kynde of mé in theſe dayes. It is ſayd, that ſince Scotland firſt embraced the Chriſtiá fayth, it was neuer defiled with any hereſie. Perſeuere therfore, being moued thereunto by the exáple of England, your next neighbour, which in this moſt troublous tyme, is not chaúged, partly by the working of the Biſhops, amóg the which * Roffenſis hath ſheweth himſelfe an Euangelicall Phœnix, and partly of the kyng, declaring himſelfe to be an other Mathias of the new law: pretermittyng nothing that may deféd the law of his realme. The which, if your moſt renowmed king of Scotland will follow, he ſhal purchaſe to himſelf eternal glory. Further, as touchyng the condigne cómendation, due for your part (moſt reueréd Byſhop) in this behalfe, it ſhall not be the leaſt part of your prayſe, that theſe hereſies haue bene extinct ſometimes in Scotlád, you being Primate of Scotlád and principal authour therof. Albeit that they alſo which haue aſsiſted you, are not to be defrauded of their deſerued prayſe, as the reueréd Byſhop of Glaſgow, of whoſe erudition, we haue here geué vs partly to vnderſtand, and alſo the Reuerend Byſhop of Aberden, a ſtoute defender of the fayth, together with the reſt of the Prelates, Abbottes, Priours, and profeſſors of holy Scripture. Let your Reuerend Fatherhood take this little teſtificate of our duety toward you, in good part, whom we wiſhe long and happely well to fare in Chriſt. From Louane. An. 1528. Aprill. 21.

The vniuerſity of S. Andrewes was founded about the yeare of our Lord 1416. in the reigne of kyng Iames the firſt, who brought into Scotland out of other countreyes, 2. Doctors of Diuinitie, and 8. Doctors of decrees, with diuers other. Hect. Boet. Lib. 16. cap. 17.

* He meaneth Fiſher B. of Rochester, who wrote againſt Oecolampadyus and Luther, and at length was beheaded for treaſon.

K. Henry. 8. is here a Matthias, when he maketh with you, but when he put downe the pope and his Abbeyes, thé ye make him an hereticke.

By the Maiſters, and profeſſours, of Theologie in the Vniuerſitie of Louane, yours to commaunde

¶ In this Epiſtle of the Louanian Doctours, I ſhall not neede (gétle Reader) to note vnto thee, what a pernitious thyng in a cómon wealth, is blynd ignoraunce, whé it falleth into cruell hartes. which may well be compared to a ſword put in the handes of one, that is both blynd and mad. For as the blynd man, hauyng no ſenſe to ſee & iudge knoweth not whom he ſtriketh: ſo the madde man, beyng cruell & furious, hath no cópaſsion in ſparyng any. Wherupon it happeneth many tymes with theſe men, as it dyd with the blynd furious Phariſeis, that as they hauing the ſword of authoritie in their hádes, in ſtede of malefactours and falſe Prophetes, ſlue the true Prophetes of God, and at laſt crucified the kyng of glory: ſo theſe Catholicke Louanians and folowers of their Meſsias of Rome, take in their handes the ſworde of iuriſdiction, who neither ſeyng what to ſpare, nor caring whom they ſmite, vnder the ſtile and pretenſe of heretickes, murther and blaſpheme without mercy, the true Preachers of the Goſpell, and the holy annoynted of the Lord.

But to returne to the matter agayne of M. Hameltó, here is moreouer to be obſerued, as a note worthy of memory, that in the yeare of the Lord. 1564. in ỹ which yeare this preſent hiſtory was collected in Scotland, there were certaine faythfull men of credite thé aliue, who beyng preſent the ſame tyme, when M. Patrike Hamelton was in the fire, heard him to cite & appeale the blacke Frier called Cápbel, that accuſed him, to appeare before the high God, as general iudge of all mé, to aunſwere to the innocécy of his death, and whether his accuſation was iuſt or not, betwene that, & a certaine day of the next moneth, which he there named. Moreouer by the ſame witnes it is teſtified, that ỹ ſayd Frier died immediately before ỹ ſayd day came, without remorſe of conſcience, that he had perſecuted the Innocét. By the example wherof diuers of the people the ſame tyme, much muſed, and firmely beleued the doctrine of the foreſayd M. Hamelton, to be good and iuſt.

A marueilous exáple of Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon the accuſer & perſecuter of M. Hamelton.

Hereunto I thought good to adioyne a certaine godly and profitable treatiſe of the ſayd M. Patrike Hamelton, written firſt by him in Latine, and afterward tráſlated by John Frith into Engliſh, which he names Patriks Places, not vnprofitable in my mynde, to be ſene and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine conteyned in the ſame, as not onely by the Treatiſe it ſelfe may appeare, but alſo by the Preface of the ſayd John Frith, prefixed before, which alſo I thought not inconuenient to inſert with the ſame, as here foloweth.

A treatiſe of M. Patricke Hamelton, called Patricks places.

¶ A brief treatiſe of M. Patrike Hamelton, called Patrikes Places, tranſlated into Engliſhe by Iohn Frith, with the Epiſtle of the ſayd Frith prefixed before the ſame, as followeth.

✠ Iohn Frith vnto the Chriſtian Reader.

BLeſſed be God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, whiche in theſe laſt dayes and perillous tymes, hath ſtirred vp in all coútreys, The preface of I. Frith before Patricks places.

treys, witneſſes vnto his ſonne, to teſtifye the truth vnto the vnfaythfull, to ſaue, at the leaſt ſome from the ſnares of Antichriſt, which leade to perdition, as ye may heere perceaue by that excellent, and well learned yong man, Patrike Hamelton, borne in Scotland of a noble progeny: who to teſtifie the truth, ſought all meanes, and tooke vpon him Prieſthode, (euen as Paule circumciſed Timothy, to winne the weake Iewes) that he might be admitted to preache the pure worde of God. Notwithſtanding, as ſoone as the Chamberleyne and other Byſhops of Scotlande had perceaued that the light began to ſhine, whiche diſcloſed theyr falſehood that they conueyed in darkenes, they layd handes ou him, and becauſe he would not deny his Sauiour Chriſt at theyr inſtance, they burnt him to aſhes. Neuertheleſſe, God of his bounteous mercy (to publiſh to the whole worlde what a man theſe monſters haue murthered) hath reſerued a little treatiſe, made by this Patrike, which, if ye liſt, ye may call Patrickes Places: For it treateth exactly of certayne common places, which knowen, yee haue the pith of all Diuinitie. This treatiſe haue I turned into the Engliſh tong, to the profit of my nation: to whome I beſeech God to geue light, that they may eſpye the deceitfull pathes of perdition, and returne to the right way which leadeth to life euerlaſting. Amen.

Patricks places.

¶ The doctrine of the Lawe.

What the Lawe is.

THE Lawe is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth euill, as the Commaundements do ſpecifie, heere following.

The ten Commaundements of God.

A diuiſiō of the Cōmaūdemēts. Exod. 20.

1. **Thou ſhalt worſhip but one God.**
2. **Thou ſhalt make thee no Image to worſhip it.**
3. **Thou ſhalt not ſweare by his name in vayne.**
4. **Hold the Sabboth day holy.**
5. **Honour thy father and thy mother.**
6. **Thou ſhalt not kill.**
7. **Thou ſhalt not commit aduoutry.**
8. **Thou ſhalt not ſteale.**
9. **Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witnes.**
10. **Thou ſhalt not deſire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.**

All theſe Commaundements are briefly comprised in theſe two heere vnder enſuing.

The loue of God. The loue of our neighbour. Math. 22.

Loue thy Lord God with all thine hart, with all thy ſoule, and with all thy mynde. This is the firſt, and great commaundement. The ſecond is like vnto this, that is, loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. On theſe two commaundements hangeth all the Lawe and the Prophetes.

Certayne generall propoſitions prooued by the Scripture.

¶ The firſt propoſition.

The firſt propoſition. Probation. 1. Iohn. 4.

¶ He that loueth God, loueth his neighbour.

This propoſition is proued 1.Iohn.4. If a man ſay, I loue God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a lyer. He that loueth not hys brother whome he hath ſeene, how can he loue God, whome he hath not ſeene?

¶ The 2. propoſition.

The ſecond propoſition. Probation. Math.7. Rom.13.

¶ He that loueth his neighbour as himſelfe, keepeth all the Commaundements of God.

This propoſition is proued Mat.7. Rom.13. Whatſoeuer ye would that men ſhould do to you, euen ſo do to them. For this is the Law and the Prophets. Math. 7.

He that loueth his neighbour, fulfilleth the Law. Thou ſhalt not commit aduoutry. Thou ſhalt not kill: Thou ſhalt not ſteale: Thou ſhalt not beare falſe wytnes: Thou ſhalt not deſire, &c. and if there be any other Commaundement, all are comprehended in this ſayeng: Loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. Rom. xiij. Rom.13.

All the Law is fulfilled in one word, that is; Loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. Gal.v. Galat.5.

¶ Argument.

Bar. He that loueth his neighbour, keepeth all the Commaundements of God. Rom. 13. Maior.

ba. He that loueth God, loueth his neighbour. 1.Iohn.4. Minor.

ra. Ergo, he that loueth God, keepeth all the Commaundements of God. Concluſ.

¶ The 3. propoſition.

The third propoſitiou. Probation. Iohn .16.

¶ He that hath fayth loueth God.

My father loueth you, becauſe you loue me, and beleeue that I come of God. Iohn. 16.

¶ Argument.

Bar. He that keepeth the Commaundements of God, hath the loue of God. Maior.

ba. He that hath fayth, keepeth the Commaundementes of God. Minor.

ra. Ergo, he that hath fayth, loueth God. Concluſ.

¶ The 4. propoſition.

The 4. propoſition. Probation. Heb. 11.

¶ He that keepeth one Commaundement of God, keepeth them all.

This propoſition is confirmed. Heb. 11. It is vnpoſsible for a man, without fayth to pleaſe God, that is, to keepe any one of Gods Commaundements, as he ſhould do. Then whoſoeuer keepeth any one Commaundement, hath fayth.

¶ Argument.

Bar. He that hath fayth, keepeth all the Commaundementes of God. Maior.

ba. He that keepeth any one Commaundement of God, hath fayth. Minor.

ra. Ergo, he that keepeth one Commaundement, keepeth them all. Concluſ.

The 5. propoſition.

The 5. propoſition. The law requireth perfecte obedience. Enthymema.

¶ He that keepeth not all the Commaundements of God, keepeth not one of them.

¶ Argument.

He that keepeth one Commaundemente of God, keepeth all.

Ergo, he that keepeth not all the Commaundements of God, keepeth not one of them.

¶ The 6. propoſition.

The 6. propoſition or aſſertion.

¶ It is not in our power to keepe any one of the Commaundements of God.

¶ Argument.

Ba. It is vnpoſsible to keepe any of the Commaundements of God, without grace. Maior.

ro. It is not in our power to haue grace. Minor.

co. Ergo it is not in our power, to keepe any of the Commandements of God. Concluſ.

And euen ſo may you reaſon cōcerning the holy Ghoſt, and fayth, for ſo much as neyther without them we are able to keepe any of the Commaundements of God: neyther yet be they in our power to haue. Non eſt volentis neq; currentis, &c. Rom.9.

¶ The 7. propoſition.

The 7. propoſition The office of the law.

¶ The Law was geuen vs to ſhew our ſinne.

By the Law commeth the knowledge of ſinne. Rom.3. I knew not what ſinne meant, but thorow the law. For I had not knowne what luſt had meant, except the Lawe had ſayde: Thou ſhalt not luſt. Without the Law ſinne was dead, that is, it moued me not, neyther wyſt I that it was ſinne, which notwithſtanding was ſin, and forbidden by the Law, Rom.7. Rom.7.

The 8. propoſition.

The 8. propoſition.

¶ The Law biddeth vs do that thing, which is vnpoſſible for vs.

¶ Argument.

Da. The keeping of the Commaundementes is to vs vnpoſſible. Maior.

ri. The Law commaundeth to vs the keeping of the Commaundements. Minor.

j. Ergo, the Law commaundeth vnto vs, that is vnpoſsible. Concluſ.

¶ Obiection.

Obiection.

But thou wilt ſay, wherefore doth God bid vs do, that is impoſſible for vs.

☞ Aunſwere.

Aunſwere. The lawe ordayned to bring vs to Chriſt.

I aunſwere, to make thee know, that thou art but euill, & that there is no remedy to ſaue thee, in thine owne hand: and that thou mayſt ſeeke remedy at ſome other, for the Law doth nothing elſe but commaund thee.

¶ The doctrine of the Goſpell.

Luke.2.

THE Goſpell is as much to ſay in our toung, as good tidings: like as theſe be, heere vnder folowing, and ſuch other.

Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world. Iohn.4.
Chriſt is the Sauiour. Luke.2.
Chriſt dyed for vs. Rom.5.
Chriſt dyed for our ſinnes. Rom.4.
Chriſt bought vs with his bloud. 1. Pet.1.
Chriſt waſht vs with his bloud. Apoc.1.
Chriſt offred himſelfe for vs. Galat.1.
Chriſt bare our ſinnes on his backe. Eſay.53.
Chriſt came into this world to ſaue ſinners. 1. Tim.1.
Chriſt came into this world to take away our ſinnes. 1. Iohn.3.
Chriſt was the price that was geuen for vs & our ſinnes. 1. Tim.2.
Chriſt was made debtour for vs. Rom.8.
Chriſt hath payd our debt, for he dyed for vs. Coloſſ.2.
Chriſt made ſatiſfaction for vs and our ſinnes. 1. Cor.7.
Chriſt is our righteouſnes. 1. Cor.1
Chriſt is our ſanctification. 1. Cor.1.
Chriſt is our redemption. Ephe.2.
Chriſt is our peace.

Chriſt hath pacified the father of heauen for vs.

Chriſt is our and all his.

Rom.5. Cor.5. Colloſſ.2. Chriſt hath deliuered vs from the lawe, from the deuill, and from hell.

John.1. The father of heauen hath forgeuen vs our ſinnes, for Chriſtes ſake. Or any ſuche other, like to the ſame, whyche declare vnto vs the mercy of God.

The nature and office of the lawe, and of the Goſpell.

The lawe ſheweth vs our ſinne.

The Goſpell ſheweth vs remedy for it.

Rom.3. The lawe ſheweth vs our condemnation.

John.1. The Goſpel ſheweth vs our redemption.

Rom.7. The lawe is the word of Ire.

Coloſſ.1. The Goſpel is the word of grace.

Rom.4. The lawe is the word of diſpaire.

Act.14.20. The Goſpell is the worde of comfort.

Deut.27. The lawe is the word of vnreſt.

Luke.2. Rom.7. Ephe.6. The Goſpell is the word of peace.

✻ A diſputation betweene the lawe and the Goſpell, where is ſhewed the difference or contrarietie betwene them both.

The lawe ſayth, pay thy dette.

The contrary operation of the lawe, and of the Goſpell.

The Goſpel ſayth, Chriſt hath paide it.

The law ſaith, thou art a ſinner, deſpaire and thou ſhalt be damned.

The Goſpell ſayeth, thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee, be of good comfort, thou ſhalt be ſaued.

The lawe ſayth, make amends for thy ſinnes.

The Goſpel ſayth, Chriſt hath made it for thee.

The lawe ſaith, the father of heauen is angry with thee.

The Goſpell ſayeth, Chriſt hath pacified hym wyth hys bloud.

The lawe ſayth, where is thy righteouſneſſe, goodneſſe, and ſatiſfaction.

The Goſpell ſayeth, Chriſte is thy rightuouſneſſe, thy goodneſſe, and ſatiſfaction..

The lawe ſayeth, thou art bounde and obliged to me, to the deuill, and to hell.

The Goſpel ſayth, Chriſt hath deliuered thee from them all.

The doctrine of Faith.

The doctrine of faith.

Faith is to beleue God, like as Abraham beleeued God, and it was imputed vnto him for rightuouſneſſe.

To beleue God, is to beleue hys word and to recount it true that he ſayeth.

He that beleeueth not Gods worde, beleeueth not God himſelfe.

He that beleueth not Gods word, he counteth hym falſe and a lier, and beleeueth not that he may and wil fulfil his worde, and ſo he denieth both the might of God, and God himſelfe.

The 9. propoſition.

The 9. propoſition.

Faith is the gift of God.

Argument.

Da- Euery good thing is the gift of God. — Maior.
ri- Faith is good. — Minor.
j. Ergo, faith is the gift of God. — Concluſ.

The 10. propoſition.

The 10 propoſition.

Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

Da- The gift of God is not in our power. — Maior.
ri. Faith is the gift of God. — Minor.
j. Ergo, faith is not in our power. — Concluſ.

The 11. propoſition.

The 11. propoſition.

He that lacketh faith, can not pleaſe God.

Without faith, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. Rom 14. All that commeth not of faith, is ſinne, for without faith can no man pleaſe God. Heb. 11.

Induction.

An argument called Inductio.

Hee that lacketh faith, truſteth not God: hee that truſteth not God, truſteth not his word: he that truſteth not his word, holdeth him falſe and a lier: he that holdeth him falſe and a lier, beleeueth not that he may doe that he promiſeth, and ſo denieth he, that he is God.

Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, he that lacketh faith, can not pleaſe God.

If it were poſſible for any man to do all the good deedes that euer were done, either of men or aungels: yet being in this caſe, it is impoſſible for him to pleaſe God.

The 12. propoſition.

The 12. propoſition.

All that is done in faith, pleaſeth God.

Right is the word of God, and all his workes in faith. Pſal. 33.

Lorde thine eies looke to faith: that is as much to ſay, as Lorde thou delighteſt in faith. Ier 5.

The 13. propoſition.

The 13. propoſition.

He that hath faith, is iuſt and good.

Argument.

Da. He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit, is iuſt and good. — Maior.
ri. He that hath faith, is a good tree bringing forth good fruite. — Minor.
j. Ergo, he that hath faith, is iuſt and good. — Concluſ.

The 14 propoſition.

The 14. propoſition.

He that hath faith, and beleueth God, can not diſpleaſe him.

Induction.

Inductio.

He that hath faith, beleeueth God: he that beleueth God, beleeueth his word, he that beleeueth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithfull, and may not lie, knowing that he both may and will fulfill his word:

Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, hee that hath faith, can not diſpleaſe God: neither can any man doe a greater honour to God, then to count him true.

Obiection.

Obiection.

Thou wilt then ſay, that thefte, murther, aduoutry, and all vices, pleaſe God.

Anſwere.

Aunſwere.

Nay verely, for they can not be done in faith: for a good tree beareth good fruit. Mat. 7. 12.

The 15. propoſition.

The 15. propoſition. A definition of faith. Heb. 11.

Faith is a certainty or aſſuredneſſe.

Faith is a ſure confidence of thinges which are hoped for, and certaintie of things which are not ſeene. Heb. 11.

The ſame ſpirite certifieth oure ſpirite, that we are the children of God. Rom. 8. Moreouer, he that hathe faithe, wotteth well that God will fulfill his word. Whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certaintie or aſſuredneſſe.

A man is iuſtified by faith.

Iuſtification by faith.

Abraham beleeued God, and it was imputed vnto hym for righteouſneſſe. Rom. 4.

We ſuppoſe therfore that a man is iuſtified by faith without the deedes of the law. Rom. 3. Gal. 2.

He that worketh not but beleeueth on him that iuſtifieth the wicked, his fayth is counted to him for righteouſnes. Rom. 4.

The iuſt man liueth by his fayth. Abac. 2. Rom. 1.

We wotte that a man is not iuſtified by the deedes of the law: but by the fayth of Jeſus Chriſt: and we beleue in Jeſu Chriſt, that we may be iuſtified by the faith of Chriſt and not by the deedes of the law. Gal. 2.

What is the fayth of Chriſt.

Faith in Chriſt, what it is.

The fayth of Chriſt is to beleue in him, that is, to beleue his word, and beleeue that he will helpe thee in all thy neede, and deliuer thee from all euill.

Thou wilt aſke me, what word? I aunſwere, the Goſpell.

He that beleueth in Chriſt, ſhalbe ſaued. Marke 16.

He that beleueth ẏ ſonne, hath euerlaſting life. John 3.

Verely I ſay vnto you, he that beleueth in me hath euerlaſting life. John 6.

This I write vnto you, that you beleeue on the ſonne of GOD, that ye may know how ẏ ye haue eternall life. 1. John. 5.

Thomas, becauſe thou haſt ſeen me, therfore haſt thou beleued. Happy are they which haue not ſene, and yet haue beleued in me. John. 22.

All the Prophetes to him beare witnes, that whoſoeuer beleeueth in him, ſhall haue remiſſion of their ſinnes. Actes. 10.

What muſt I doe that I may be ſaued? The Apoſtles aunſwered: Beleeue in the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, and thou ſhalt be ſaued. Act. 16.

If thou knowledge with thy mouth that Jeſus is the Lord, and beleeueſt with thine hart that God rayſed hym from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe Rom. 10.

He that beleueth not in Chriſt, ſhall be condemned.

He that beleueth not the ſonne, ſhall neuer ſee lyfe, but the ire of God, bydeth vpon him. John. 3.

The holy Ghoſt ſhall reproue the world of ſinne, becauſe they beleue not in me. John. 16.

They that beleue Jeſu Chriſt, are the ſonnes of God.

Ye are all the ſonnes of God, becauſe ye beleue in Jeſu Chriſt. 1. John. 3.

He that beleueth that Chriſt is the ſonne of God, is ſafe. John. 1.

Peter ſayd, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God, Jeſus anſwered and ſayde vnto him, happy art thou Symon the ſonne of Jonas, for fleſh and bloud haue not opened to thee that: but my father that is in heauen. Mat. 16.

we haue beleued, and knowe that thou art Chriſte, the ſonne of the liuing God.

J beleue that thou art Chriſt the ſonne of God, whyche ſhould come into the world. John 11.

Theſe things are written that yee might beleeue, that Jeſus is Chriſt the ſonne of God, and that ye in beleuing, might haue life. John 20.

J beleue that Jeſus is the ſonne of God. Act. 8.

The 16. propoſition.

The 16. propoſition.

He that beleueth the Goſpel, beleueth God.

Argument.

Maior.
Minor.
Concluſ.

Da. He that beleueth Gods word, beleueth God.
ri. The Goſpel is Gods word.
j. Ergo, he that beleueth the Goſpel, beleueth God.

To beleue the Goſpel is this: That Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world. John 4.

Chriſt is our Sauiour. Luke 2.
Chriſt bought vs with his bloud. Heb. 13. 1. Pet. 1. Apo. 5
Chriſt waſhed vs with his bloud. Apoc. 1.
Chriſt offered himſelfe for vs. Heb. 9.
Chriſt bare our ſinnes on his owne backe, &c. 1. Pet. 2.

The 17. propoſition.

The 17. propoſition.

He that beleueth not the Goſpel, beleueth not God.

Argument.

Maior.
Minor.
Concluſ.

Fe. He that beleueth not Gods word, beleueth not God himſelfe.
ri. The Goſpel is Gods worde.
o. Ergo, he that beleueth not the Goſpel, beleueth not God him ſelfe, and conſequently he that beeleueth not thoſe things aboue wrytten and ſuch other, beleueth not God.

The 18. propoſition.

The 18. propoſition.

He that beleueth the Goſpel, ſhalbe ſafe.

Go ye into all the worlde and preache the Goſpell, vnto euery creature: he that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued, but he that beleueth not, ſhalbe condemned. Mark. 16.

A compariſon betwene faith, and incredulitie.

A compariſon betweene Fayth and Incredulity.

Faith is the roote of all good.
Jncredulitie is the roote of all euill.
Faith maketh God and man good frendes.
Jncredulitie maketh them foes.
Faith bringeth God and man together.
Jncredulitie ſundereth them.
All that faith doth, pleaſeth God.
All that Jncredulitie doth, diſpleaſeth God.
Faith onely maketh a man good and rightuous.
Jncredulitie onely maketh him vniuſt and euill.
Faith maketh a man a member of Chriſt.
Jncredulitie maketh him a member of the deuill.
Feith maketh a man the inheritour of heauen.
Jncredulitie maketh him inheritour of hell.
Faith maketh a man the ſeruaunt of God.
Jncredulitie maketh him the ſeruaunt of the deuill.
Faith ſheweth vs God to be a ſwete father.
Jncredulitie ſheweth him a terrible iudge.
Faith holdeth ſtiffe by the word of God.
Jncredulitie wauereth here and there.
Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.
Jncredulitie holdeth him falſe and a lier.
Faith knoweth God.
Jncredulitie knoweth him not.
Faith loueth both God and his neighbour.
Jncredulitie loueth neither of them.
Faith onely saueth vs.
Jncredulitie onely condemneth vs.
Faith extolleth God and his deedes.
Jncredulitie extolleth her ſelfe and her owne deedes.

Of hope.

Hope is a truſty looking after the thing that is promiſed vs to come: as we hope after the euerlaſting ioy, which Chriſt hath promiſed vnto all that beleue in him.

We ſhould put our hope and truſt in God alonely, and in no other thing.

What hope is.

It is good to truſt in God and not in man. Pſal. 118.

He that truſteth in his owne heart, is a foole. Pro. 28.

It is good to truſt in God and not in princes. Pſal. 118.

They ſhall be like vnto the Images whych they make, and all that truſt in them. Pſal. 115.

He that truſteth in his owne thaughtes doth vngodly. Pro. 12.

Curſed be he that truſteth in man. Jer. 17.

Bid ye rich men of thys world that they truſt not in their vnſtable richeſſe, but that they truſt in the liuyng God. 1. Tim. 6.

It is hard for them that truſt in mony, to enter into the kingdome of heauen. Luke 18.

Moreouer, we ſhould truſt in him onely that may helpe vs, God onely may helpe vs, therefore we ſhould truſt in him onely.

well are they that truſt in God: and woe to them that truſt not in him. Pſal. 2. Jer. 17.

well is that man that truſteth in God, for God ſhall be his truſt. Pſal. 14. Eccleſ. 34.

He yt truſteth in him, ſhal vnderſtand the verity. Sap. 3.

They ſhall all reioyce that truſt in thee: they ſhall euer be glad, and thou wilt defend them. Pſal. 5.

Of Charitie.

Charitie is the loue of thy neighbor. The rule of charity is this: Doe as thou wouldeſt be done to: for Chriſte holdeth al alike, the rich, the poore, the frend and the foe, the thankfull and vnthankfull, the kinſeman and ſtranger.

The rule
Charitye.

A compariſon betwene Faith, Hope, and Charitie.

Faith commeth of the worde of God: Hope commeth of faith: and Charitie ſpringeth of them both.

A differe
betweene
Faith Hope
& charitye.

Faith beleeueth the word: Hope truſteth after it that is promiſed by the word: Charity doth good vnto her neyghbor, thorow the loue that it hath to God, and gladnes that is wythin her ſelfe.

Faith looketh to God and hys worde: Hope looketh vnto his gift and reward: Charity looketh on her neighbours profite.

Faith receaueth God: Hope receaueth hys rewarde: Charitie loueth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any reſpect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God onely: Hope to hys rewarde: and Charitie to her neighbour.

The doctrine of workes.

No maner of workes make vs rightwiſe.

We beleeue that a man ſhalbe iuſtified without workes. Rom. 3.

What good workes doe.

No man is iuſtified by the dedes of the lawe, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſte, and we beleeue in Jeſu Chriſte that we may be iuſtified by the faith of Chriſte, and not by the dedes of the lawe: For if righteouſneſſe come by the lawe, then died Chriſt in vaine. Gal. 2.

That no man is iuſtified by the lawe, is manifeſt, for a rightwiſe man liueth by his faith, but ye law is not of faith.

Act. 17.

Workes doe not make vs righteous.

Moreouer, ſith Chriſt the maker of heauen & earth, and al that is therein, behoued to die for vs, we are compelled to graunt that we were ſo farre drowned & ſunken in ſin, that neither our deedes nor al the treaſures that euer God made or myght make, coulde haue holpen vs out of them: therfore no dedes, no workes may make vs rightwiſe.

No workes make vs vnrightwiſe.

If any euell workes make vs vnrighteous, then the contrary workes ſhould make vs rightwiſe. But it is proued that no workes can make vs rightwiſe: therefore no workes maketh vs vnrightwiſe.

Argument a contrario ſenſu.

Workes maketh vs neither good nor euill.

Workes make vs neither good nor euill before God.

It is proued that workes neither maketh vs rightwiſe nor vnrightwiſe: therfore no works make vs either good or euill: For rightwiſe and good are one thing, & vnrightwiſe and euil likewiſe one.

Good workes make not a good man, nor euill workes an euill man: but a good man bringeth forth good workes, and an euill man euill workes.

Good fruite maketh not the tree good, nor euill fruite the tree euill: but a good tree beareth good frute, and an euill tree, euil frute.

The goodnes of the tree goeth before his fruite.

A good man can not doe euill workes, nor an euill man good workes: for a good tree can not beare euill fruite, nor an euill tree, good frute.

A man is good ere he do good workes, and euill ere hee do euil works: for the tree is good ere it beare good frute, and euil ere it beare euil frute.

Euery man, and the workes of man, are eyther good or euill.

Good fruites are ſignes of a good tree, but not the cauſe therof.

EVery tree, and the fruites therof, are either good or euil, Either make yee the tree good, and the fruite good alſo, or els make the tree euill, and the fruite of it likewiſe euill. Math. 12.

A good man is knowen by his workes, for a good man doth good workes, and an euil man, euil workes. Ye ſhall know thē by their fruit, for a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euil tree, euill fruit. A mā is likened to the tree, and his workes to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the falſe Prophetes which come to you in ſhepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolues: ye ſhall know them by theyr fruits. Luke. 7.

None of our workes either ſaue vs, or condemne vs.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

IF works make vs neither rightuous nor vnrightuous, then thou wilt ſay, it maketh no matter what we doe. I anſwer, if thou do euill, it is a ſure argument, that thou art euill, and wanteſt faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, & haſte faith, for a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euill tree euill fruite. Yet good fruite maketh not the tree good, nor euill fruite the tree euill: ſo that man is good ere he do good dedes, and euill, ere he do euil dedes,

The man is the tree, his workes are the fruite.

Fayth maketh the mā good.

A good man maketh good workes.

FAith maketh the good tree, and incredulity the euill tree: ſuch a tree, ſuch fruite, ſuch a man, ſuch workes: For all thynges that are done in faith, pleaſe God, and are good workes: and all that are done without faith, diſpleaſe God and are euill workes.

To ſay that our workes dō ſaue vs, is to deny that Chriſt is our Sauiour.

Who ſo euer beleeueth, or thinketh to be ſaued by hys workes, denieth that Chriſte is his Sauiour, that Chriſte dyed for him, and all things that pertaine to Chriſte. For howe is hee thy Sauiour, if thou mighteſt ſaue thy ſelfe by thy works, or wherto ſhould he die for thee, if any workes might haue ſaued thee?

What is this to ſay, Chriſt died for thee? Verely that thou ſhouldeſt haue died perpetually, and Chriſt to deliuer thee from death, died for thee, and chaunged thy perpetual death, into hys owne death: For thou madeſt the fault, and he ſuffered the payne, and that for the loue he had to thee, before thou waſt borne, when thou haddeſt done neyther good nor euill.

Nowe ſeeing he hath payed thy dette, thou needeſt not, neyther canſt thou pay it, but ſhouldeſt be damned, if hys bloud were not. But ſithe hee was puniſhed for thee, thou ſhalt not be puniſhed.

Finally, he hath deliuered thee from thy cōdemnation and all euil, and deſireth nought of thee, but that thou wylt acknowledge what hee hath done for thee, and beare it in minde: and that thou wouldeſt helpe other for hys ſake, both in worde and deede, euen as he hath holpen thee for nought, and wythout reward.

O how ready would we be to helpe other, if we knewe his goodnes and gentlenes towards vs? He is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let vs I beſeeche you therfore, folow his footeſteppes, whom all the worlde ought to praiſe and worſhip. Amen.

He that thinketh to be ſaued by his workes, calleth himſelfe Chriſt.

No Sauiour but Chriſt.

FOr he calleth himſelfe the Sauiour, which pertaineth to Chriſt onely.

What is a Sauiour, but he that ſaueth? and he ſayeth, I saued my ſelfe, which is as much to ſay, as I am Chriſt, for Chriſt onely is the Sauiour of the worlde.

We ſhould do no good workes for the intent to get the inheritance of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne.

No remyſſiō but in Chriſt.

FOr whoſoeuer beleueth to get the inheritāce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne through works, he beleueth not to get the ſame for Chriſtes ſake. And they that beleeue not that theyr ſinnes are forgeuen them, and that they ſhall be ſaued for Chriſtes ſake, they beleeue not the Goſpell: For the Goſpel ſayth, you ſhall be ſaued for Chriſtes ſake, your ſinnes are forgeuen for Chriſtes ſake.

He that beleeueth not the Goſpell, beleeueth not God, So it foloweth, that they which beleue to be ſaued by their workes, or to get remiſſion of their ſinnes by their owne dedes, beleeue not God, but recoūt him as a lier, and ſo vtterly deny him to be God.

Obiection.

Thou wilt ſay, ſhall we then do no good dedes?

Aunſwer.

Good workes excluded not to be lefte vndone, but not to iuſtyfie vs, whē they are done.

I ſay not ſo, but I ſay we ſhould doe no good workes, for the intent to get the inheritaunce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne. For if we beleue to get the inheritaunce of heauen through good workes, then we beleue not to get it through the promiſe of God. Or if we think to get remiſſion of our ſinnes by our dedes, then we beleeue not that they are forgeuen vs, and ſo we count God a lier. For God ſayth thou ſhalt haue the inheritaunce of heauen for my ſonnes ſake, thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee for my ſonnes ſake: and you ſay it is not ſo, but I wil win it through my works. Thus you ſee I cōdemne not good dedes, but I condēne the falſe truſt in any workes, for all the workes wherin a man putteth any confidence, are therwith poyſoned & become euil.

Not the doing of good workes, but the truſting in good workes condemned.

Wherfore, thou muſt do good works, but beware thou do them not to deſerue any good thorough them, for if thou doe, thou receiueſt the good, not as the giftes of God, but as dette to thee, and makeſt thy ſelfe fellow with God, becauſe yͧ wilt take nothing of hym for nought. And what needeth hee any thing of thine, which geueth all thyng and is not the poorer?

Therfore do nothing to him, but take of hym, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will geueth vs al that we neede, then we can take it of hym: if then we want ought, let vs wite our ſelues.

Preſſe not therefore to the inheritaunce of heauen thorough preſumption of thy good works, for if thou do, thou counteſt thy ſelfe holy and equal to God, becauſe thou wilt take nothing of hym for noughte, and ſo ſhalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.

FINIS.

Certaine briefe Notes or declarations vpon the foreſayd places of M. Patrike.

Notes.

THis litle treatiſe of M. Patricks places, albeit in quantitie it be but ſhort, yet in effecte it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to vs the true doctrine of the lawe, of the Goſpel, of faith, and of works, with the nature and properties, & alſo the difference of the ſame. Which difference is thus to be vnderſtanded, that in the cauſe of ſaluation, and in the office of iuſtifying, theſe are to be remooued and ſeparated a ſonder, the lawe from the Goſpel, and faith from workes: Otherwiſe in the perſon that is iuſtified, and alſo in order of doctrine, they ought cōmonly to goe neceſſarily together.

The lawe & the Goſpell, how they are to be ioyned, & how to be ſeperated.

Therfore, where ſoeuer any queſtion or doubt riſeth of ſaluation, or our iuſtifying before God, there the law, & al good works muſt be vtterly excluded, and ſtand apart, that grace may appeare free, the promiſe ſimple, and that faith may ſtād alone. Which faith alone, without law or workes, worketh to euery man particularly his ſaluation, through mere promiſe, and the free grace of God. This worde (particularly) I adde, for the particulare certifying of euery mans hart priuately and peculiarly, that beleueth in Chriſt. For as the body of Chriſt is the cauſe efficient of the redemption of the whole world in generall: ſo is faith the inſtrumentall cauſe, by which euery man applieth the ſayde body of Chriſt particularly to his owne ſaluation. So that in the action and office of iuſtification, both law & workes here be vtterly ſecluded and exempted, as things hauing nothing to doe in this behalfe. The reaſon is this: for ſeing that all our redemption vniuerſally ſpringeth only frō the body of the ſonne of God crucified, then is there nothing, that can ſtande vs in ſteade, but that onely, wherewith thys bodye of Chriſt is apprehended. Now, for ſomuch as neither the law nor works, but faith onely is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Chriſt, therfore faith onely is that matter which iuſtifieth euery ſoule before God, thorough the ſtrength of that obiect which it doth apprehend. For the obiect onely of our faith, is the body of Chriſt, like as the braſen Serpent was the obiecte onely of the Iſraelites looking, and not of their handes working: by the ſtrength of which obiect, through the promiſe of God, immediatly proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Chriſt being the obiecte of our faithe, ſtriketh righteouſneſſe to our ſoules, not through working, but beleuing onely.

Grace free. Promiſe ſimple. Faith alone.

Particularly.

The body of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of our redemption in generall. Faith is the inſtrumental cauſe of euery mans particular ſaluation.

Note the obiecte of faith. Faith with her obiecte, onely ſaueth.

A ſimilitude betwene the braſen Serpente and Chriſtes bodye.

Thus you ſee, howe faith being the onely eye of our ſoule, ſtandeth alone with her obiecte, in caſe of iuſtifying: but yet neuertheleſſe, in the body ſhe ſtandeth not alone: for beſides the eye, there be alſo handes to worke, feete to walke, eares to heare, and other members moe, euery one conuenient for the ſeruyce of the body, and yet there is none of them all that can ſee, but onely the eye. So in a chriſtian mans life, and in order of doctrine, ther is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charitie, and dedes of charitie; all which in life, and in doctrine, are ioyned, & neceſſarily do concurre together, and yet in the action of iuſtifying, there is nothing els in man, that hath any parte or place, but onely Fayth apprehending the obiect which is the body of Chriſt Ieſus for vs

Faith is only the eye of the ſoule, which looketh to Chriſt.

crucified, in whom conſiſteth all the worthines and fulnes of our ſaluation, by faith, that is, by our apprehending and receauyng of him, according as it is wrytten. Iohn 1. Whoſoeuer receiued him, he gaue them power to be made the ſonnes of God, euen all ſuch as beleued in his name, &c. Alſo Eſay. 53. And this iuſt ſeruaunt of mine, in the knowledge of him ſhall iuſtifie many. &c.

As many as receaued him to them he gaue power. &c. Iohn. 1. And he by the knowledge of him, ſhall iuſtifie many. &c. Eſay. 53.

Argument.

Da. **Apprehending and receauing of Chriſt onely, maketh vs iuſtified before God, Iohn 1.**
ti- **Chriſt onely is apprehended and receaued, by Faith.**
ſi. Ergo, **faith onely maketh vs iuſtified before God.**

Argument.

Ba **Iuſtification commeth onely by apprehending and receiuing of Chriſt. Eſay. 53.**
ro **The lawe, and workes do nothing pertaine to the apprehending of Chriſt.**
co. Ergo, **the law and workes pertaine nothing to Iuſtification.**

Argument.

All our righteouſnes, is as filthy cloutes. Eſay. 64.

Ce- **Nothing which is vniuſt of it ſelfe, can iuſtifie vs before God, or helpe any thing to our iuſtifying.**
ſa- **Euery worke we do, is vniuſt before God. Eſay 54.**
re. Ergo, **no worke that we do, can iuſtifie vs before God, nor helpe any thing to our iuſtifying.**

Argument.

When we haue done all that is commaunded you, ſay we are vnprofitable ſeruantes. Luke. 17. Without me can ye do no thing. Iohn. 15.

Ca- **If workes could any thing further our iuſtification, thẽ ſhould our works ſome thing profit vs before God?**
me **No workes (doe the beſt we can) doe profite vs before God. Luke 17.**
ſtres. Ergo, **no workes that we doe, can any thynge further our iuſtification.**

Argument.

Ba- **All that we can do w^t God, is only by Chriſt. Ihon. 15.**
ro **Our workes and merites be not Chriſte, neyther anye part of him.**
co. Ergo, **our workes & merits can do nothing with God.**

Argument.

The lawe worketh anger. Rom. 4.

Da- **That which is the cauſe of condemnation, cannot be the cauſe of iuſtification.**
ri- **The law is the cauſe of condemnation. Rom. 4.**
j. Ergo, **it is not the cauſe of iuſtification.**

A conſequent.

Now are we quitte and deliuered from the law, being dead to that wherein we were once holden. Rom. 7.

We are quit and deliuered from the law. Rom. 7.
Ergo, **we are not quit and deliuered by the law.**

Forſomuch therfore as the truth of the Scripture in expreſſe words, hath thus included our ſaluation in faith onely, we are enforced neceſſarily to exclude all other cauſes and meanes in our Iuſtification, and to make this difference betwene the lawe & the Goſpel, betwene faith and works, affirming with the Scripture & word of God, that the lawe condemneth vs, our works do not auaile vs, and that faith in Chriſt onely iuſtifieth vs. And thys difference and diſtinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all chriſtians, eſpecially in conflict of conſcience betweene the law and the goſpel: faith and works: grace and merites: promiſe & condition: Gods free election, and mans freewil: So that the lyght of the free grace of God, in our ſaluation may appeare to all conſciences, to the immortal glory of Gods holy name, Amen.

The order and differences of places.

Antitheta.

The Goſpel	Faith	Grace	Promiſe	Gods fre election.
The law.	Works.	Merites.	cõditiõ.	mãs fre wil.

The difference and repugnance of theſe foreſayde places being wel noted and expended, it ſhall geue no ſmal light to euerye faithfull chriſtian, both to vnderſtande the Scripture, to iudge in caſes of conſcience, and to reconcile ſuch places in the olde and newe Teſtament, as els may ſeeme to repugne, according to the rule of Auguſtine, ſaying: Diſtingue tempora, & conciliabis ſcripturas &c. Make diſtinction of times, and thou ſhalt reconcile the Scriptures. &c. Contrariwiſe, where men be not perfectly in theſe places inſtructed, to diſcerne betwene the lawe and the Goſpell, betweene faith and woorkes. &c. ſo long they can neuer ryghtly eſtable their minds in the free promiſes of Gods grace: but walke confuſedly, without order in al matters of religion. Exãple wherof we haue to much in the Romiſh church, who confoũding theſe places together without diſtinction, following no methode, haue peruerted the true order of chriſtian doctrine, and haue obſcured the ſwete comfort & benefit of the Goſpel of Chriſt, not knowing what the true vſe of the law, nor of the Goſpel meaneth.

The law to be diſcerned from the Goſpell.

The ignorance and blindnes of the Popes Church in confounding theſe places.

In the doctrine of the law, iij. things to be noted.

The firſt poynte to be noted in the doctrine of the lawe.

In the law therfore 3 things are to be conſidered: Firſt, what is the true rigour and ſtrength of the lawe, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to reſtraine his outward actions, but alſo his inward motions, and inclinatiõs of wil and affection, from the appetite of ſinne: And therfore ſaith S. Paul: The law is ſpiritual, but I am carnal &c. Rom. 7 Whereupon riſeth this propoſition: That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. Item, The law commandeth that which is to vs vnpoſſible. &c. 2 The ſecond thing to be noted in the doctrin of the law, is to conſider the time and place of the lawe, what they be, & how far they extend. For as the ſurging ſeas haue their banks and barres to kepe them in: ſo the law hath his times & limites which it ought not to paſſe. If Chriſt had not come & ſuffred, the time & dominion of the law had ben euerlaſting. But nowe ſeeing Chriſt hath come and hath died in his righteous fleſh, the power of the law againſt our ſinfull fleſh doth ceaſe. For the ende of the lawe is Chriſt. Rom. 10. that is, the death of Chriſtes body is the death of the law to al that beleue in him: ſo that who ſoeuer repẽteth their ſinnes, & flie to the death and paſsion of Chriſt the condemnation & time of the lawe to them is expired. Wherefore this is to be vnderſtand as a perpetual rule in the ſcripture, that the law withal his ſentences and iudgements wherſoeuer they are writtẽ, either in the old Teſtament or in the new, do euer include a priuy exception of repentaunce and beliefe in Chriſt, to the which alwayes it geueth place, hauing there his end, and can proceede no further, according as S. Paul doth ſay: The lawe is our Scholemaiſter vntil Chriſt, that we might be iuſtified by faith. Gal. 3.

The ſe… of the law… The ſecõ… thing to b… noted in the lawe.

The due time & pl… of the law… The death of Chriſt i… the death of the lawe, that is, of the condẽnation of the lawe. The time of the lawe how long it laſteth.

Moreouer, as the law hath his time how long to reigne, ſo alſo it hath his proper place, where to raigne. By the raigne of the law here is ment the cõdemnation of the law: for as the time of the law ceaſeth, when the faith of Chriſt, in a true repenting heart, beginneth: ſo hath the law no place in ſuch, as be good and faithful, that is, in ſinners repenting and amending, but only in them which be euill and wicked. Euil men heere I call all ſuch, which walking in ſinful fleſh, are not yet driuẽ by earneſt repentãce, to flie to Chriſt for ſuccour. And therefore ſayth S. Paule: To the iuſt man there is no law ſet, but to the vniuſt and diſobedient, &c. 1. Tim. 1. By the iuſt man here is ment, nor he which neuer had diſeaſe, but he, who knowing his diſeaſe, ſeeketh out the Phyſition, and being cured, kepeth himſelfe in health as much as he may, from any mo ſurfets: notwithſtanding, he ſhall neuer ſo kepe him ſelf but that his health (that is, his new obedience) ſhal alwaies remaine fraile & vnperfect, and ſhall continually nede the Phyſition. Where, by the way, theſe iij. things are to be noted. 1. the ſicknes it ſelf. 2 the knowing of the ſicknes. 3. the Phyſitian. The ſicknes is ſinne. The knowing of the ſicknes, is repentance, which the lawe worketh. The Phyſitian is Chriſt. And therfore, although in remiſsion of our ſinnes, repẽtaunce is ioyned with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthines of repentãce, that cauſeth remiſsion of ſinnes, but only the worthines of Chriſt whom faith onely apprehẽdeth: no more then the feeling of the diſeaſe is the cauſe of health, but only the Phiſition. For els when man is caſt and condemned by the lawe, it is not repentance that can ſerue or deſerue life, but if his pardõ come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that ſaueth.

Gal. 3. Iuſtis nõ eſt lex poſita, ſed iniuſtis et in obſequentibus. 1. Tim. 1. In remiſſion of ſinnes, … things to be noted. 1. the diſeaſe. 2. The knowing of the diſeaſe. 3. The Phiſition.

Repentance is ioyned with faith: yet is it no cauſe of ſaluation.

The third poynt to be conſidered in the doctrine of the lawe, is this: That we marke well the ende and purpoſe why the lawe is geuen, which is, not to bring vs to ſaluation, not to worke Gods fauoure, nor to make vs good: but rather to declare and conuicte our wickedneſſe, and to make vs feele the daunger therof to thys ende and purpoſe, that we ſeeing our condemnation, and beynge in our ſelues confounded, may be driuen thereby to haue our refuge in Chriſt the ſonne of God, and to ſubmit our ſelues to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this ende of the lawe diſcretely ought to be pondered of all Chriſtians. Otherwiſe, they that conſider not this end and purpoſe of the law, fall into manifold errours and inconueniences. Firſt they peruert all order of doctrine. 2. They ſeeke that in the lawe which the law cannot geue. 3. They are not able to comfort themſelues, nor other. 4. They keepe mens ſoules in an vncertayne doubt and dubitation of their ſaluation. 5. They obſcure the light of Gods grace. 6. They are vnkind to Gods benefites. 7 They are iniurious to Chriſtes paſsion, and enemies to his croſſe. 8. They ſtop chriſtian liberty. 9 They beriue the church the ſpouſe of Chriſte, of her due comfort, as taking away the ſonne out of the world. 10 In all their doings they ſhoote to a wrong marke For where Chriſt only is ſet vp to be apprehẽded by our faith, & ſo freely to iuſtify vs: they leauing this Iuſtification by faith, ſet vp other markes, partly of the lawe, partly of their owne deuiſing for men to ſhoote at. And here commeth in the manifeſt and manifolde abſurdities of the B. of Romes doctrine, which here (the Lorde willing) we will rehearſe, as in Catalogue here following.

The third point to be noted in the doctrine of the lawe.

Inconueniences that riſe in not knowing the true ẽde of the lawe.

Errours and abſurdities of the Papiſts touching the doctrine of the Law, and of the Goſpel.

Errours in the Popes doctrine cõcerning the doctrine of the lawe.

1. **They erroniouſly conceiue opinion of ſaluation in the law, which only is to be ſought in the faith of Chriſt, and in no other.**
2. **They erroneouſly do ſeke Gods fauor by works of the law, not knowing that the law in thys our corrupt nature worketh only the anger of God. Rom. 3.**

3. They

This article repugneth agaynſt this place of Iohn. 1. The lawe is geuē by Moſes: grace & verity by Ieſus Chriſt.

3. They erre alſo in this, that where the office of the lawe is diuers and contrary from the Goſpel, they without any difference, cōfound the one with the other, making the goſpel to be a law, and Chriſt to be a Moſes.

4. They erre in deuiding the law vnſkilfully in 3. partes into the law naturall, the law morall, and the lawe Euangelicall.

What is the whole ſeruice of God in the popes church but onely an heape of ceremonies

5. They erre againe in deuiding the lawe Euangelicall into precepts and counſailes, making the precepts to ſerue for all men, the counſailes onely to ſerue for them that be perfect.

6. The chiefe ſubſtance of all their teaching and preaching reſteth vpon the workes of the law, as may appear by theyr religion, which wholy conſiſteth in mens merites, traditions, lawes, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.

This article repugneth agaynſt this Scripture. Goe & preach the Goſpell to euery creature: He that beleueth. &c. But they preach as though Chriſt had ſayde: Goe & preach the law to euery creature.

7. In the doctrine of ſaluation, of remiſſion, and iuſtification, either they admixt the lawe equally with the Goſpel, or els cleane ſecluding the Goſpel, they teache and preache the law, ſo that litle mention is made of the faith of Chriſt, or none at all.

This article is contrary to the place. Rom. 8. That which the lawe coulde not performe, in the behalfe of our weake fleſh. &c. Rom. 8.

8. They erre in thinking, that the lawe of God requireth nothing in vs vnder paine of damnation, but onely our obedience in externe actions: as for the inwarde affections and concupiſcence, they eſteeme but light matters.

This article repugneth againſt the place. Gal. 2. For if righteouſnes come by the lawe, then Chriſt dyed in vaine.

9. They not knowing the true nature and ſtrength of the lawe, do erroneouſly imagine that it is in mannes power to fulfill it.

This article ſauoreth of the pride of the Phariſey, which ſaid: I am not like this Publicane.

10. They erre in thinking, not onely to be in mans power to keepe the law of God, but alſo to performe more perfect workes, then be in Gods law commanded, and theſe they call the workes of perfection. And hereof riſe the workes of ſupererogation, of ſatiſfaction, of congruitie, and cōdignitye, to ſtore vp the treaſurehouſe of the Popes Churche, to be ſolde out to the people for money.

This article repugneth agaynſt this place: They binde heauy burdens & greeuous to beare, and lay them on mens ſhoulders. Mat. 23. Woe to you Scribes & Phariſies, which for the doctrines of men tranſgreſſe the Commaundementes of God.

11. They erre, in ſaying that the ſtate monaſticall is more perfect, for keeping the Counſailes of the Goſpell, then other ſtates be, in keping the law of the Goſpell.

12. The counſailes of the Goſpell they call the vowes of theyr religious men, as profound humilitie, perfect chaſtitie, and wilfull pouertie.

13. They erre abhominably, in equaling their laws & conſtitutions, with Gods law, and in ſaying: that mans lawe bindeth vnder paine of dānation, no leſſe then Gods law.

14. They erre ſinnefully, in punyſhing the tranſgreſſours of their lawes more ſharply then the tranſgreſſours of the law of God, as appeareth by their Inquiſitions and theyr Canon lawe. &c.

15. Finally, they erre moſt horribly in this, that where the free promyſe of God aſcribeth our ſaluation, onely to oure faith in Chriſt, excluding workes: they contrary aſcribe ſaluation, onely or principally, to workes and merites, excluding faith. Wherupon riſeth the applicatiō of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, Ex opere operato, for the quicke and deade application of the merites of Chriſtes paſſion, in Bulles, application of the merites of all religious orders, and ſuch other moe aboue ſpecified more at large, in the former part of this hiſtory, about the pag. 21, 22. &c.

¶Here follow three cautions to be obſerued and auoided in the true vnderſtanding of the Law.

Three Cautions to be auoyded, cōcerning the right vnderſtanding of the lawe.

The first caution.

First, that we throughe the miſunderſtanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the Goſpel, nor the Goſpel for the law: but ſkilfully diſcerne and diſtincte the voyce of the one, from the voyce of the other. Many there be, which reading the booke of the new Teſtament, doe take and vnderſtand whatſoeuer they ſee contained in the ſayd boke, to be only and meerely the voyce of the goſpel. And contrariwiſe, whatſoeuer is contained in the cōpaſſe of the old Teſtament, that is, within the law, ſtories, Pſalmes and Prophets, to be only and merely the worde and voyce of the law: wherein many are deceiued. For the preaching of the law & of the Goſpel, are mixed together in both the Teſtaments, as wel the old as the new. Neither is the order of theſe two doctrines to be diſtincted by bookes and leaues, but by the diuerſitie of Gods ſpirite ſpeaking vnto vs. For ſometimes in the olde Teſtament, God doth comfort as he comforted Adam with the voyce of the Goſpell. Sometimes alſo in the newe Teſtament he doth threaten and terrifie, as when Chriſt threatned the Phariſeis. In ſome places againe, Moſes and the Prophets play the Euangeliſts: In ſo much that Hierome doubteth whether he ſhould call Eſay a Prophet or an Euangeliſt. In ſome places likewiſe Chriſte and the Apoſtles ſupply the part of Moſes: And as Chriſt himſelfe vntill hys death was vnder the law (which law he came not to breake but to fulfill) ſo his Sermons made to the Iewes, for the moſt part runne all vpon the perfect doctrine and workes of the law, ſhewing and teaching what we ought to doe by the righte lawe of Iuſtice, and what danger inſueth in not performing the ſame. Al which places though they be contained in the booke of the new Teſtament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the lawe, euer hauyng in them included a priuie exception of repentāce and faith in Chriſt Ieſus. As in example, where Chriſt thus preacheth, Bleſſed be they that be pure of heart, for they ſhal ſee God. &c. Mat. 5. Againe, except ye be made like theſe children, ye ſhall not enter. &c. Mat. 18. Itē, But he that doth the will of my father, ſhal enter into the kingdom of heauen &c. Mat. 7. Item, the parable of the vnkind ſeruant iuſtly caſt into priſon for not forgeuing his fellowe, &c. Mat. 18. The caſting of the rich glutton into hell. &c. Luk 16 Item, he that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my father. &c. Luk. 12 With ſuch other places of like condition. All theſe (I ſay) pertaining to the doctrine of the lawe, doe euer include in them a ſecrete exception of earneſt repentance, and faith in Chriſtes precious bloud. For els, Peter denied and yet repented. Many Publicanes and ſinners were vnkinde, vnmerciful, and hard hearted to theyr felow ſeruaunts, and yet many of them repented, & by faith were ſaued. &c. The grace of Chriſte Ieſus worke in vs earneſt repentance, and faith in him vnfained. Amen.

The voice of the Goſpell ſometymes ſoundeth in the olde Teſtament.

The voice of the lawe ſometymes is vſed in the new Teſtament.

What places of the Scripture are to be referred to the law, & what to the Goſpell. Math. 5.

Math. 18.

Math. 7.
Math. 18.
Luke. 16.
Luke. 12.

Briefly, to know when the law ſpeaketh, and when the Goſpel ſpeaketh, and to diſcerne the voyce of the one, from the voyce of the other, this may ſerue for a note: That when there is any morall worke commaunded to be done, either for eſchewing of punyſhment or vpon promiſe of any reward temporall, or eternal, either els when any promiſe is made with condition of any worke commaunded in the law, there is to be vnderſtanded the voyce of the lawe. Contrary, where the promiſe of life and ſaluation is offered vnto vs freely without all our merites, & ſimply without any condition annexed, of any law either naturall, ceremonial, or morall, all thoſe places, whether they be read in the olde Teſtament, or in the new, are to be referred to the voyce and doctrine of the Goſpell. And this promiſe of God freely made to vs by the merites of Ieſus Chriſt, ſo long before propheſied to vs in the old Teſtament and afterward exhibited in the new Teſtament, and nowe requiring nothing but our faith in the ſonne of God is called properly the voyce of the Goſpel, and differeth from the voyce of the lawe in this, that it hath no condition adioyned of our merityng, but onely reſpecteth the merits of Chriſt the ſonne of God, by whoſe faith only we are promiſed of God to be ſaued & iuſtified, according as we read Rom. 3. The righteouſneſſe of God commeth by faith of Ieſu Chriſt, in all and vpon all, that do beleue. &c.

The promiſe of the Goſpell is without cōditiō.

Free without merites.
Simple without condition.
What is the Goſpell properly.

Rom. 3.

The ſecond Caution or danger to be auoyded is, that we nowe knowing how to diſcerne rightly betweene the lawe and the Goſpel, and hauing intelligence not to miſtake the one for the other, muſt take hede againe, that we breake not the order betwene theſe two, taking and applying the lawe, where the Goſpel is to be applied, either to our ſelues, or toward other. For albeit the law and the Goſpel, many times are to be ioyned together in order of doctrine: yet caſe may fall ſometimes, that the lawe muſt be vtterly ſequeſtred from the Goſpell. As when any perſon or perſones doe feele them ſelues, with the maieſtie of the lawe, and iudgement of God ſo terrified and oppreſſed, and with the burdenne of theyr ſinnes ouerweyed and throwen downe into vtter diſcomfort, and almoſt euen to the pitte of hell, as hapneth many times, to ſoft and timorous conſciences of Gods good ſeruaunts: when ſuch mortified hearts do heare either in preaching, or in reading, any ſuch example or place of the Scripture, whiche pertaineth to the lawe, let them thinke the ſame nothing to belōg to them, no more then a mourning weede belongeth to a mariage feaſte: and therefore, remouing vtterly out of their minds all cogitation of the lawe, of feare, of iudgemente, and condemnation, let them onely ſet before their eyes the Goſpel, the ſweete comfortes of Gods promiſe, free forgeuenes of ſinnes in Chriſte, grace, redemption, liberty, reioycing, Pſalmes, thanks, ſinging, and a Paradiſe of ſpiritual iocundity, and nothing els: thinking thus with them ſelues, that the lawe hath done his office in them already, and nowe muſt needes geue place to his better, that is, muſt nedes geue roume to Chriſte the ſonne of God, who is the Lorde and maiſter, the fulfiller, and alſo the finiſher of the law: for the end of the law, is Chriſt. Rom. 10.

The ſecond caution.

Who they be to whō the Goſpel onely belōgeth.

A mourning gowne in a place of mariage doth not agree.

Chriſt the fulfiller, & alſo the finiſher of the lawe.

The thirde daunger to be auoyded, is, that we doe not vſe or apply, on the contrary ſide, the Goſpell, in ſtead of the lawe. For as the other before was euen as much as to put on a mournyng gowne, in the feaſt of a Mariage: ſo is this but euen to caſt pearles before ſwine. Wherin is a great abuſe among many. For commonly it is ſene that theſe worldly Epicures and ſecure Mammoniſtes, to whom the doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receiue and apply to themſelues moſt principally, the ſweete promiſes of the Goſpel: and contrariwiſe, the other contrite and bruſed harts: to whome belongeth onely the ioyfull tidings of the Goſpel, and not the lawe, for the moſt part, receiue and reteine to thēſelues the terrible voice and ſentences of the law, Whereby it commeth to paſſe: that many do reioyce, where they ſhuld mourne: and on the other ſide, many doe feare and mourne, where they neede not. Wherefore to conclude, in priuate vſe of life, let euery perſon diſcreatly diſcerne betweene the lawe and the Goſpell, and aptly apply to him ſelfe that which he ſeeth conuenient.

The 3. Caution. How to ſeperate the lawe from the Goſpell, How to ioyne both the law & the Goſpell.

And againe in publike order of doctrine, let euery diſcrete preacher put a difference betweene the broken heart of the mourning ſinner, and the vntepentant wordling, and ſo conioyne bothe the law, with the Goſpel, and the Goſpel, with the law, that in throwing downe the wicked, euer hee ſpare the weake hearted: and agayne ſo ſpare the weake, that he doe not encourage the vngodly. And thus muche concerning the coniunction and difference betweene the lawe and the Goſpell, vppon the occaſion of M. Patrikes places.

Henry Foreſt, Martyr.

The Fryer vttereth the cōfeſſiō of Henry Foreſt.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Iames Beton Archb. of S. Andrewes. Frier Walter Laing, bewraier of the confeſſion of thys Henry Foreſt.	Henry Foreſt. At S. Andrewes in Scotland.	Wythin fewe yeares after the martyrdome of maſter Patrike Hamelton, one Henry Forreſt, a yonge manne borne in Lithquow, who a lyttle before, had receiued the orders of Bennette and Collette (as they tearme them) affirmed and ſaid, that maſter Patrike Hamelton died a Martyr, and that hys Articles were true: for the whych hee was apprehended, and put in pryſonne by James Beton Archbyſhop of Saint Andrews. Who ſhortlye after, cauſed a certaine Fryer named Walter Laing, to heare hys confeſſion. To whom when Henry Foreſt in ſecreate confeſſion had declared hys conſcience howe hee thoughte maiſter Patrike to bee a good man, and wrongfully to be put to deathe, & that his articles were true and not hereticall: the Frier came and vttered to the Byſhoppe, the confeſſion that hee hadde heard, which before was not throughly knowne. Whereupon it followed, that his confeſſion being brought as ſufficiēt probation againſte hym, hee was therfore conuented before the Councel of the clergy and Doctors, and there concluded to be an heretick, equal in iniquitie with maiſter Patrick Hameltō, & there decreed to be geuen to the ſeculare Iudges to ſuffer death. When the daye came of his death, and that hee ſhould firſt be degraded, and was brought before the Cleargye in a greene place, being betwene the caſtle of S. Andrewes, and another place called Monymaill, aſſone as he entred in at the doore, and ſawe the face of the clergy, perceiuing whereunto they tended, he cryed wyth a loude voyce, ſaying: Fie, on falſhode:

Phie on falſe Fryers.

Fie on falſe Friers, reuealers of confeſſion: after this day, let no man euer truſt any falſe Friers, contemners of Gods worde, and deceiuers of men. And ſo they proceeding to degrade him of hys ſmall orders of Benet and Collet, he ſayd wyth a loud voyce, take from me not onely your owne orders, but alſo youre owne baptiſme, meaning thereby, whatſoeuer is beſides that which Chriſt himſelfe inſtituted, whereof there is a great tablement in Baptiſme. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as an heretike

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
		equall wyth M. Patrike aforeſayd: and ſo he ſuffered death for his faithful teſtimony of the truth of Chriſt, and of his Goſpell at the Northchurche ſtile of the Abbey Church of S. Andrewe, to the entent that all ẏ people of Anguiſhe might ſee the fire, and ſo might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrin, whych they terme by the name of hereſie, Ex Scripto teſtimonio Scotorum.

Iames Hamelton, Katherine Hamelton his ſiſter, A wife of Leith, perſecuted. Dauid Stratō, Norman Gurley, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Iames Hay biſhop of Roſe and commiſsioner of Iames Beton Archbiſhop of S. Andrews. M. Iohn Spens Lawyer.	Iames Hamelton, brother to M. Patrike. Katherine Hamelton. A wife of Lieth. Dauid Straton. M Norman Gurlay.	Wythin a yeere after the martyrdome of Henry Foreſt, or there about, was called James Hamelton of Kynclitgowe, his ſiſter Katherine Hamelton, the ſpouſe of the captaine of Dunbar, alſo an other honeſt woman of Lieth, Dauid Straton of the houſe of Lawriſtonne, and M. Norman Gurlay. Theſe were called to the Abbey Church of Halyrowdhouſe in Edenburghe, by James Hay, Biſhoppe of Roſe, commiſſioner to James Beton Archbyſhoppe, in preſence of King James the fift of that name: who vppon the daye of theyr accuſation, was altogether clad in red apparell. James Hamelton, was accuſed as one that maintained the opynions of M. Patrick hys brother. To whome the Kynge gaue counſaile to depart, and not to appeare: for in caſe hee appeared, hee coulde not helpe him, becauſe the Byſhops hadde perſwaded hym, that the cauſe of hereſie dyd in no wiſe appertain vnto him and ſo James fledde and was condemned as an heretike, & all hys goodes and lands confiſcate, and diſpoſed vnto others.

Catherine Hamelton his Siſter, appeared vpon the ſcaffolde, and being accuſed of an horrible hereſie, to witte, that her owne workes coulde not ſaue her, ſhee graunted the ſame, and after long reaſoning betweene her and M. John Spens the Lawyer, ſhee concluded in this manner: worke here, worke there: what kinde of working is all this? J knowe perfectly that no kinde of workes can ſaue me, but only the workes of Chriſt my Lord and Sauiour. The kyng hearing theſe words, turned hym about and laught, and called her vnto him and cauſed her to recant, becauſe ſhee was his aunt, and ſhee eſcaped.

A great hereſie in the Popes church, that no workes can ſaue vs, but the workes of Chriſt.

The woman of Leith was detected heereof, that when the midwife in time of her labour, bad her ſaye our Ladye helpe mee: Shee cried, Chriſte helpe mee, Chriſte helpe mee, in whoſe helpe J truſte. Shee alſo was cauſed to recant, and ſo eſcaped, without confiſcation of her goods, becauſe ſhe was maried.

A great hereſie to ſay Chriſt helpe, & not our Ladye.

Maiſter Norman Gurley, for that he ſayde there was no ſuch thing as Purgatory, and that the Pope was not a Byſhop, but Antichriſte, and had no iuriſdiction in Scotland.

Agaynſt Purgatory.

Alſo Dauid Straton, for that hee ſayde, there was no Purgatorie, but the Paſſion of Chriſte, and the tribulations of thys worlde, and becauſe that, when M. Robert Lowſon Vicare of Egleſgrig aſked hys tieth fiſhe of hym, hee did caſte them to him out of the boate, ſo that ſome of them fel into the Sea: therefore he accuſed hym, as one that ſhoulde haue ſayde, that no tithes ſhould be payed. Theſe two, becauſe after great ſollicitation made by the kynge, they refuſed to abiure and recant, were therefore condemned by the Byſhop of Roſe as heretickes, and were burned vpon on the greene ſide, betweene Leith and Edenburgh, to the entent that the inhabitants of Fiffe, ſeeing the fire, might be ſtricken with terrour and feare, not to fall into the lyke. Ex eodem Scripto.

¶ And thus muche touching thoſe Martyrs of Scotland, which ſuffered vnder James Beton, Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes. After whom ſucceeded Dauid Beton in the ſame Archbyſhoprike, vnder whom diuers other were alſo martired as hereafter (God willing) in their order ſhall appeare.

John Lõgland Byſhop of Lincolne.	Thomas Harding an aged father, dwelling at Cheſham in Buckinghamſhire.	Thom. Harding dwelling at Cheſham, in the Countie of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was firſte abiured by william Smith, Byſhop of Lincolne, an. 1506. with dyuers other moe, which the ſame time for ſpeaking agaynſt Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, were taken and compelled, ſome to beare fagots, ſome were burned in the cheeke with hote irons, ſome condemned to perpetuall priſon, ſome thruſt into Monaſteries, and ſpoyled cleane of all theyr goodes, ſome compelled to make pilgrimage to the great blocke, otherwiſe called, our Lady of Lincolne, ſome to walſingam, ſome to Saint Romuld of Buckingham, ſome to the roode of wendouer, ſome to S. John Shorne, &c. of whõe mention is made in the Table before, beginning pag 821.
Rowland Vicare of great Wickam, the Byſhops Chaplen.	At Cheſſham in Buckingham. An. 1532.	Of this Thomas Harding much rehearſall hath bene made before, as in the pages 821. 822. 823.

Tho. Harding martir.

Firſt this Thomas Harding with Alice his wife, being abiured, and enioyned penance, with diuers other moe, by william Smith Biſhop of Lincolne, afterward by the ſayd Byſhop was releaſed againe in the yeare of our Lorde 1515. of all ſuch penaunce as was enioyned him and his wife at their abiuration, except theſe three Articles following, and were diſcharged of their badges or ſignes of their fagots, &c. Only this penaunce folowing, the Byſhop continued, Sub pœna relapſus.

Firſt, that neyther of them during their life, ſhould dwell out of the pariſh of Amerſham.

It was happy that they were not put to taſte bread and water.

Item, that eyther of them during their life, ſhoulde faſt bread and ale euery Corpus Chriſti euen.

Item, that eyther of them ſhould, during theyr liues vpon Corpus Chriſti day, euery yeare, go in pilgrimage to Aſherige, and there make theyr offerings, as other people did, but not to do open penaunce. Alſo they were licenced by the ſayd Byſhop to do theyr pilgrimage at Aſherige, vpon Corpus Chriſti euen, or Corpus Chriſti day, or ſome other, vpon any cauſe reaſonable.

This penance being to them enioyned ann. 1515. they obſerued to the yeare 1522. ſaue only in the laſt yere, the foreſayd Alice his wife omitted her pilgrimage going to Aſherige vpon Corpus Chriſti daye. Alſo the ſayd Tho. Harding, being put to his othe, to detect other, becauſe he contrary to his othe diſſembled, and did not diſcloſe them, was therefore enioyned in penaunce, for his periury, to beare vpõ his right ſleue, both before and behinde, a badge or patch of greene cloth or ſilke embrodered like a fagot, during his whole life, vnleſſe he ſhoulde otherwiſe be diſpenſed withall. And thus continued he from the yeare 1522. till the yeare 1532.

The taking of Thomas Harding.

At laſt the ſaid Harding in the yeare aboueſayd 1532. about Eaſter holydayes, when the other people wẽt to the church, to commit their wonted idolatry, toke his way into the woods, there ſolitarily to worſhip the true liuing God, in ſpirit and truth. where, as he was occupied in a booke of Engliſh prayers, leaning or ſitting vppon a ſtyle by the woods ſide, it chanced that one did eſpie hym where he was, and came in great haſte to the officers of the towne, declaryng that he had ſene Harding in the woodes lookyng on a booke. whervpõ immediatly a rude rable of them, like mad mẽ, ranne deſperatly to his houſe, to ſearch for bookes, & in ſearching went ſo nigh, that vnder the bordes of his flore, they foũd certain Engliſh bookes of holy Scripture. whervpõ this godly father with his bookes, was brought before John Longlãd, Biſh. of Lincolne, thẽ lying at woburne. who with his Chapleins, calling father Harding to examination, begã to reaſon with him, proceedyng rather with checkes & rebukes, then with any ſound arguments. Thom. Hardyng ſeyng their folly, and rude behauiour, gaue thẽ but few wordes, but fixing his truſt and care in the Lord, did let them ſay what they would. Thus at laſt they ſent him to the Byſh. priſon called litle eaſe, where he did lye with hũger & payne enough, for a certaine ſpace: till at lẽgth the Biſh. ſitting in his tribunall ſeat like a poteſtate, cõdẽned him for relapſe, to be burned to aſhes, cõmittyng the charge & ouerſight of his Martyrdome to Roulãd Meſſenger, vicare of great wickhã. which Roulãd the day appointed, with a rable of other like to himſelfe, brought father Hardyng to Cheſham agayne. where the next day after his returne, the ſayd Roulãd made a Sermõ in Cheſhã Church, cauſing Tho. Hardyng to ſtãd before him all the preachyng tyme: which Sermõ was nothing els but the mainteinyng of yͤ iuriſdiction of the Byſh. of Rome, & the ſtate of his Apoſtolicall ſea, wᵗ the idolatry, fantaſies & traditions belõgyng to the ſame. whẽ the Sermõ was ended, Roulãd toke him vp to the high aulter, & aſked whether he beleued that in yͤ bread after the conſecratiõ there remained any other ſubſtãce then the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes naturall body borne of the virgin Mary. To this Tho. Harding aũſwered: the Articles of our belief do teach vs, that our Sauiour Chriſt was borne of the virgin Mary, & that he ſuffred death vnder Pilate, and roſe frõ death the thyrd day: that he then aſcended into heauen and ſitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his father.

Tho. Harding put in little eaſe the Biſhops priſon.

Tho. Harding condemned.

The faith and confeſſion of Tho. Harding.

Then was he brought into a mans houſe in the towne, where he remained all night in prayer, and godly meditations. So the next mornyng came the foreſayd Roulãd agayne, about x. of the clocke, with a company of bils and ſtaues, to lead this godly father to his burnyng. whom a great number both of men and womẽ did folow. Of whom many bewayled his death: & cõtrary the wicked reioyced thereat. He was brought forth, hauyng thruſt in his handes a little croſſe of wood, but no idoll vpon it. Then he was cheyned to the ſtake, deſiring the people to pray for him, and forgiuyng all his enemyes and perſecuters, he commended his ſpirite to God, and toke his death moſt paciently & quietly, liftyng vp his hands to heauen, ſaying: Jeſus receaue my ſpirite.

The pacient death and martirdome of Tho. Harding.

whẽ they had ſet fire on him, there was one that threw a byllet at him, & daſhed out his braynes. Of what purpoſe he ſo did, it is not knowen, but as it was ſuppoſed, that he might haue xl. dayes of pardõ as the proclamatiõ was made at yͤ burnyng of williã Tilleworth aboue mentioned pag. 774. whereas proclamation was made the ſame tyme, that whoſoeuer did bring a fagot or a ſtake to the burnyng of an hereticke, ſhould haue xl. dayes of pardon. whereby many ignoraũt people cauſed their children to beare byllets and fagottes to their burnyng.

40. dayes of pardon for bringing fagots to burne good men.

In fine, when the ſacrifice and burnt offeryng of this godly Martyr was finiſhed, and he brent to aſhes, in the Dell, goyng to Botley, at the North end of the Towne of Cheſham, Rouland their Ruler of the roſt, commaundyng ſilence and thinking to ſend the people away, with an Ite miſſa eſt, with a loude voyce ſayd to the people theſe wordes, not aduiſing belyke what his tongue dyd ſpeake: Good people, whẽ ye come home, do not ſay that you haue bene at the burnyng of an hereticke, but of a good true Chriſtian man, and ſo they departed to dyner. Rouland with yͤ rable of other Prieſtes much reioyſing at the burnyng of this good man. After dyner they went to Church to Euenſong, becauſe it was Corpus Chriſti euen, where they fell to ſingyng & chauntyng, with ryngyng, and pypyng of the Organes. well was he that could reache the hyeſt note: So much dyd they reioyce at this good mans burnyng. He ſhould haue bene burned on the Aſcention euen, but the matter

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

was referred vnto the euen of Corpus Chriſti, becauſe they would honour their bready Meſſias with a bloudy ſacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was conſumed to aſhes, he being of the age of lx. yeares and aboue. Ex teſtimonio ſcripto ciuium Amerſhamenſium.

¶ I finde in the recordes of Lincolne, about the ſame time, and in the ſame Countrey of Buckynghamſhyre, in the which the foreſayd Thomas Hardyng did ſuffer, that diuers other for the lyke doctrine, were moleſted and troubled, whoſe names with there cauſes, here vnder folow.

Alyce Doly, accuſed.

Agaynſt Pilgrimage.

Againſt Images.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Elizabeth Wighthill. Doctour London.	Miſtres Alice Doly.	Elizabeth wighthill being brought before Doctor London, in the perſonage at Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her othe, depoſed againſt Maiſtres Alice Doly, her maiſtres, that the ſayde Maiſtres Doly ſpeaking of John Hacker of Colmanſtreete in London waterbearer, ſayde that he was very expert in the Goſpels, and all other things belōging to diuine ſeruice, and could expreſſe and declare it, and the Pater noſter in Engliſh, as well as any Prieſt, and it woulde doo one good to heare him: ſayeng moreouer, that ſhe woulde in no caſe, yͤ this were knowne, for hurting the poore man, commaunding moreouer the ſaid Elizabeth, that ſhe ſhould tell no man hereof, affirming at yͤ ſame time, that the foreſayde Hacker coulde tell of diuers propheſies, what ſhould happen in the Realme. Ouer and beſides, the forenamed Elizabeth depoſed, that the ſayde Miſtreſſe Doly her Miſtreſſe, ſhewed vnto her, that ſhe had a booke, which held againſt Pilgrimages: and after that, ſhe cauſed Sir John Boothe, Parſon of Britwell, to reade vpon a booke, which ſhe called Legenda aurea, & one Saints life he read, whiche did ſpeake againſt Pilgrimages. And after that was read, her Miſtreſſe ſayde vnto her: Loe daughter, now yee may heare as I tolde you, that this booke ſpeaketh againſt Pilgrimages. Furthermore, it was depoſed againſt Maiſtres Doly by the ſayde Elizabeth, that ſhe beeing at Syr william Barentens place, and ſeeing there in yͤ cloſet, Images new gilded, ſayd to the ſayd Elizabeth, looke, heere be my Lady Barentens Gods. To whome the ſaide Elizabeth aunſwered againe, that they were ſet for remembraunce of good Saintes. Then ſayd ſhe, if I were in an houſe where no Images were, I could remēber to pray vnto Saints as well as if I did ſee the Images. Nay ſayd the other, Images do prouoke deuotion. Then ſayd her Maiſtreſſe, ye ſhoulde not worſhip that thyng that hath eares, and can not heare, and hath eyes and can not ſee, and hath mouth, and can not ſpeake, and hath hands, and can not feele. Item, the ſayd M. Doly was reported by the ſayd partie, to haue a booke conteining the xij. Articles of the Creede, couered with boordes, and red couering. Alſo another blacke booke, whiche ſhe ſet moſt price by, which booke ſhe kept euer in her chamber, or in her coffer, with diuers other bookes. And this was about yͤ yeare of our Lord 1520. Ex Regiſtro Lincolne.

¶ Note heere, good reader, in this tyme, which was aboue 46. yeares ago, what good matter heere was to accuſe and moleſt good women for.

Rog. Hatch man accuſed.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
William Smith of Northſtoke in Oxfordſhire. Thomas Ferrar.	Roger Hachman. At Northſtoke in Oxfordſhire. An. 1525.	Agaynſte thys Roger Hachman it was layd by depoſitions brought in, that he ſitting at the church Ale, at Northſtoke, ſayde theſe wordes: I will neuer looke to be ſaued, for no good deede that euer I did, neither for any that euer I will doo, without I may haue my ſaluation by petition, as an outlawe ſhall haue his pardon of the King, and ſaid, that if hee might not haue his ſaluation ſo, he thought he ſhuld be loſt. Ex Regiſt. Lin.

Rob. West accuſed.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Doctour Wharton Chauncellor to Tonſtall Biſhop of London.	Roberte Weſt, prieſt of Saint Andrew vnderſhaft. At London. An. 1529.	Agaynſte this Roberte weſt Prieſt it was obiected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in hauing wife and children, &c. Item, for ſayeng, that where as the Doctors of the Church haue commanded Prieſtes to ſaye Mattens and Euenſong, they had no authoritie ſo to do: for the whiche he was abiured, and was enioyned penance. Ex Regiſt. Lincol.

Iohn Ryburne accuſed.

A propheſy.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Doctor Morgan.	Iohn Ryburne. At Roſhborough. An. 1530.	It was teſtified againſt John Ryburne, by his ſiſter Eliſabeth Ryburne, being put to her othe, that ſhe comming to him vpon the Aſſumption euen, foūd him at Supper with butter and egges, and beeyng bid to ſit downe and eate with him, ſhe aunſwered that it was no conuenient time thē to eate. To whom he ſaide agayne, that God neuer made ſuche faſting dayes, but you (quoth he) are ſo farre in Limbo patrum, that you can neuer turne agayne. And in further communication, whē ſhe ſayd that ſhe would go on pilgrimage to the holy croſſe, at wendouer, he ſaid again, that ſhe did nought: For there is neuer a ſtep (ſaide hee) that you ſet in going on Pilgrimage, but you go to the Diuell: and you go to the Churche to worſhip that the Prieſte doth hold aboue his head, which is but bread, and if you caſt it to the Mouſe, he will eate it: and ſayd, that hee woulde neuer beleeue that the Prieſt hath power to make his Lord. Item, it was teſtified by another ſiſter named Alice Ryburne, that ſhe beyng with her brother in a cloſe called Brimmers cloſe, heard him ſay theſe wordes: That a time ſhall come that no eleuation ſhall be made. whereunto ſhe anſwering againe, aſked: and what ſeruice ſhall wee haue then? He ſayd: that ſeruice that we haue now. Furthermore, the ſayd John Ryburne was accuſed vpon theſe wordes, ſaying: that the ſeruice of the Church was nought, becauſe it was not in Engliſh: For ſayde hee, if wee had our Pater noſter in Engliſh, we would ſay it nine times againſt once now, &c. Ex Regiſt. Lincol. fol. 300.

¶ Note heere out of the records of the regiſter, that in this examination of John Ryburne, firſt his two ſiſters, then his owne wife, and at laſt hys owne father

ther were called before Iohn Longland Byſhop of Lincolne, and compelled by his othe to depoſe againſt him.

Siſter againſt brother: wife againſt huſband. Iohn Eaton and Cicilie his wife.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne	Iohn Eaton Cicilie his wyfe.	Iohn Eaton, and Cicilie hys wife, of the pariſh of Spine, were detected by Richarde Ryburne, that they were marked of certayne in the pariſh on the ſonday then laſt paſt, in the ſacring tyme, to holde downe their heads, and would not looke vpon the Sacrament. Item, in the feaſt of exaltation of the holy croſſe, when the bels did ring ſolemnely, betweene Mattens and high Maſſe, for ſaieng in a butchers houſe, what a clampering of bels is heere?
Richard Ryburne.	At Roſheborough. An. 1530.	Item, the ſayde Iohn Ryburne was detected of Richard his father, for ſaieng theſe wordes: The prieſts do naught, for they ſhoulde ſay their ſeruice in Engliſhe, that euery man may knowe it. Item, for theſe wordes ſpeaking to one of hys ſiſters: The ſacrament of the aultar, is not as they take it to be. But if it be, as I truſt, we ſhall ſee none of thē holden vp, one of theſe dayes, ouer the prieſts head, &c.

A propheſi.

Item, for ſaieng, that the bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath made ſatiſfaction for all ill deedes that were done, or ſhould be done, and therefore it was no neede, to go on pilgrimage. It was alſo layde to his charge, and confeſſed by himſelfe, that he had Ieſus Goſpels in Engliſh, and that he was preſent in the houſe of Iohn Taylor, when one Iohn Symonds read to them a lecture out of the Goſpell, of the Paſſion of Chriſt, the ſpace of two houres.

Item, for ſayeng that Images were but Idoles, and it was Idolatrie to pray to them.

For ſayeng moreouer, that at ſacring time, hee kneeled downe, but he had no deuotion, nor beleeued in the Sacrament. Item, that the Popes authoritie and pardon can not helpe mans ſoule, and it was but caſt away money, that is giuen for pardon: For if we aſke pardon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, he will geue vs pardon euery day.

Thomas Lound Prieſt, who had bene with Luther ij. yeares, being afterward caſt in the Fleete at London, was a great inſtructor of this I. Ryburne.

Iohn Simondes, accuſed.

Ex eod. Regiſt. fol. 323.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Lōgland Byſhop of Lincolne.	Iohn Symondes.	It was layde agaynſte Iohn Symōdes, for ſayeng, that men doo walke all daye in Purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this worlde, there is but two wayes, eyther to hell or to heauen. Item, he ſayd that prieſts ſhould haue wiues. It was reported by the confeſſion of the ſaid Iohn Symondes, that hee conuerted to his doctrine viij. Prieſtes, and had holpen two or three Friers out of their orders.

Dyuers accuſed for hearing the Scripture read in Engliſhe.

Ex Regiſt. Longland, fol. 311.

Simō Wiſedome abiured.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Ioh. Longland B. of Lincolne.	William Wingraue. Thomas Hawkes of Hichēden. Robert Hawes of Weſtwicome. Iohn Taylor. Iohn Hawkes. Tho. Herne of Cobſhil. Nicholas Field. Richard Deane. Thomas Clerke the yonger. William Hawkes of Cheſham. An. 1530.	Theſe perſons with other, were examined, excommunicated, and abiured, for beeyng together in Iohn Taylors houſe at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Fielde of London to reade a parcell of ſcripture in engliſh to them, who there expounded to them many things: that they whiche went on Pilgrimage: were accurſed: That it booted not to pray to Images, for they were but ſtockes made of wood and could not helpe a man: That G O D almighty biddeth vs worke as well one day as an other, ſauyng the Sonday: for vj. dayes he wrought, and the ſeuenth day he reſted: That they needed not to faſt ſo many faſting dayes, except the Imbryng dayes: for hee was beyond the Sea in Almany, and there they vſed not ſo to faſt, nor to make ſuch holy dayes. Item, that offeryngeſ do no good, for they haue them, that haue no neede therof. And when it was aunſwered agayne by one ŷ they mainteyned Gods ſeruice: nay, ſayd Nicolas, it mainteyneth great houſes as Abbeys and other. Item, that men ſhould ſay their Pater noſter, and Aue Maria, in Engliſhe, with the Creede, and declared the ſame in Engliſhe. Item, that the Sacramēt of the aultar was not as it was pretended, the fleſhe, bloud, and bone of Chriſt: but a Sacrament, that is, a Typicall ſignification of his holy body.

To williā wingraue moreouer, it was obiected ŷ he ſhould ſay, that there was no Purgatory: and if there were any Purgatory, and euery Maſſe, that is ſayd ſhould deliuer a ſoule out of Purgatory, there ſhould be neuer a ſoule there: for there be moe Maſſes ſayd in a day, then there be bodies buried in a moneth.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Lōgland Byſhoppe of Lincolne.	Symon Wiſedome of Burford	Symon wiſedome of Burford was charged in Iudgement, for hauyng three bookes in Engliſh: one was the Goſpels in Engliſh, an other was ŷ Pſalter, ŷ third was the Sūme of the holy Scripture in Engliſh.

Iames Algar, abiured.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Doctour Prinne, Commiſſary to the Byſhop of Lyncolne.	Iames Algar, or Ayger. An. 1530.	It was articulated & obiected to Iames Ayger, firſt that he ſpeakyng to a certaine Doctour of Diuinitie, named Aglonby, ſayd that euery true Chriſten man lyuyng after the lawes of God, and obſeruyng his Cōmaundementes, is a Prieſt as well as he. &c. Itē, that he ſayd, that hee would not his executours to deale any penny for his ſoule, after his death, for hee would doe it with his owne handes while he was aliue: & that his conſcience gaue him, that the ſoule, ſo ſoone as it departeth out of the body, goeth ſtreight either to heauen, or to hell.

Itē, when Doct. Aglonby aforeſayd had alledged to him the place of S. Mat. 16. Thou art Peter. &c.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

He anſwered him againe with that which followeth in the Goſpell after: Get thee after me Sathan, &c.

Item, the ſayde Iames hearing of a certayne Church to be robbed, ſayd openly, it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.

John French abiured.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Iohn Frēch of Longwitam.	Againſt Iohn French lykewiſe theſe three Articles were obiected. 1. That he beleeued not the body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, and bone to be in the Sacrament.
	At Longwitam.	2. That hee was not confeſſed to anye Prieſt of long tyme.
	An. 1530.	3. That Prieſtes had not power to abſolue from ſins, &c.

For the which he likewiſe with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled alſo with them to kneele downe, and to aſke his holy Catholicke fathers and mothers bleſſing of Rome.

But what ſtand I heere numbering the ſand? For if all the Regiſter bookes were ſought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them, which through all the other Dioceſſes of the Realme in theſe dayes, before and ſince, were troubled and purſued for theſe and ſuch like matters. But theſe I thought for example ſake, heere to ſpecifie, that it might appeare what doctrine it is, and long hath bene in the Churche, for the whiche the Prelates and Cleargie of Rome haue iudged men heretickes, and ſo wrongfully haue moleſted poore ſimple Chriſtians.

Now, paſſing from the abiurations of thoſe poore men, we will ſomething ſpeake (God willing) of the life & doings of the contrary part, who were their perſecutours, and chiefe Rulers then of the Churche, to the entent that by thoſe Rulers, it may better be diſcerned and iudged, what maner of Church that was, which then ſo perſecuted the true doctrine of Chriſt, and members of hys Church.

✠ A briefe diſcourſe, concerning the ſtorie and life of Thomas Wolſey, late Cardinall of Yorke, by way of digreſſion, wherein is to be ſeene and noted the expreſſe image of the proud vayneglorious Church of Rome, how farre it differeth from the true Church of Chriſt Ieſus.

Cardinall Wolſey.

ALthough it be not greatly pertinent vnto this our hyſtorie, nor greatly requiſite in theſe ſo weightie matters entreating of Chriſtes holy Martyrs, to diſcourſe much of Thomas wolſey Cardinall of Yorke: notwithſtandyng, forſomuch as there be many, whiche being caryed awaye with a wrong opinion, and eſtimation of that falſe glittering Church of Rome, doe thinke that holynes to be in it, which in deede is not: to the entent therefore, that the vayne pompe and pride of that ambitious Church, ſo farre differing from all pure Chriſtianitie, and godlynes, more notoriouſly may appeare to all men, and partly alſo to refreſh the Reader with ſome varietie of matter, I thought compendiouſly to expreſſe the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeaner of this foreſayd Thomas wolſey, Cardinall and Legate of Rome, in whome alone, the Image and life of all other ſuche like followers and profeſſors of the ſame Church, may be ſeene and obſerued. For like as the Lacedemonians in times paſt, were accuſtomed to ſhewe and demonſtrate droncken men vnto theyr children, to behold and looke vpon, that through the foulenes of that vice, they might inflame them the more to the ſtudie and deſire of ſobrietie: euen ſo it ſhall not be hurtfull ſometimes to ſet forth the examples which are not honeſt, that others might thereby gather the inſtructions of better and more vpright dealing.

Example of the Lacedemonians.

wherefore thou ſhalt note heere (good Reader) in thys hyſtorie, wyth all iudgement, the great difference of lyfe and Chriſtian conuerſation, betwene this Church, and the other true humble Martyrs and ſeruants of God, whome they haue, and doe yet perſecute. And firſt to beginne, with the firſt meeting and comming in of this Cardinall, and his fellow Cardinall Campeius into England: it was about the tyme, when Pope Leo intending to make war agaynſt the Turkes, ſente three Legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germanie, an other into Fraunce, Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. when he was come to Callis, and that the Cardinall of Yorke had vnderſtanding therof, he ſent certayne Byſhops and Doctors, with as much ſpeede as he coulde, to meete the Legate, and to ſhewe hym that if hee would haue hys Ambaſſade take effect, he ſhould ſende in poſte to Rome, to haue the ſayd Cardinall of Yorke made Legate, and to be ioyned wyth hym in commiſſion. which thing he much affected, miſdoubtyng leaſt hys authoritie thereby might perhaps be diminiſhed through the comming of the Legate, and therefore required to be ioyned with hym in like degree of the Ambaſſade. Campeius being a man light of beliefe, and ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, gaue credite vnto hys wordes, and ſent vnto Rome with ſuche ſpeede, that within xxx. dayes after, the Bull was brought to Callis, wherein they were both equally ioined in Commiſſion: during whiche time, the Cardinall of Yorke, ſent to the Legate at Callis, red cloth to clothe hys ſeruants withall, which at their comming to Callis, were but meanely apparelled.

Campeius ſent into England.

Cardinall Wolſey ſeeketh to be ioyned in equall commyſſiō with Campeius.

Note the ſtate and pride of the Popes Clergye.

When all things were ready, Campeius paſſed ẏ Seas & landed at Douer, and ſo kept forth his iourney towarde London. At euery good towne as they paſſed, he was receaued with proceſſion, accompanied with all the Lords & Gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to blacke Heath, there met him the Duke of Northfolke, with a great number of Prelates, Knightes, and Gentlemen, all richly apparelled, & in ẏ way he was brought into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he ſhifted hymſelfe into a Cardinals robe, furred with Ermines, and ſo tooke his Mule ryding toward Lōdō. Now marke ẏ great humilitie in this Church of the Pope, and cōpare the ſame with the other Church of the Martyrs, and ſee which of them is more Goſpell like.

The receauing of the Popes Legate into England.

Thys Campeius had eight Mules of hys owne, laden with diuers farthelles and other preparation. The Cardinal of Yorke, thinking them not ſufficient for his eſtate, the night before he came to London, sent him xij. mules more, with empty cofers couered with red, to furniſh his cariage withal. The next day, theſe xx. mules were led through the Citie, as though they had bene loden with treaſures, apparell, and other neceſſaries, to the great admiration of all men, that they ſhoulde receiue a Legate as it were a God, with ſuch and ſo great treaſure, and riches. For ſo the common people doth alwayes iudge and eſteeme, the maieſtie of the Cleargie, by no other thing then by theyr outwarde ſhewes and pompe: but in the middeſt of thys great admiration, there hapned a ridiculous ſpectacle, to ẏ great deriſion of their pride & ambition. For as the Mules paſſed through Cheape ſide, and ẏ people were preſſing about them, to behold and gaze (as the maner is) it hapned that one of the Mules breaking his coller that he was led in, ranne vpon the other Mules, whereby it hapned, that they ſo running together, and their girthes being loſed, ouerthrew diuers of their burthens, and ſo there appeared the Cardinals gay treaſure, not without great laughter and ſcorne of many, and ſpecially of boyes and gerles, whereof ſome gathered vp peeces of meate, otherſome peeces of bread and roſted egges, ſome found horſe ſhoes, and old bootes, with ſuch other baggage: crieng out, beholde, heere is my Lord Cardinals treaſure. The Muliters being therewithall greatly aſhamed, gathered together their treaſure agayne as well as they could, and went forward.

Ambition & pompe in the Cardinall.

How God confoundeth the pride & pompe of men.

The Cardinalles 20. great Mules loden with roſted eggs, and rotten ſhoes and ſuch other treaſure.

About three of the clocke at after noone, the xxix. day of Iuly, the Cardinall himſelfe was brought through the Citie, with great pompe and ſolemnity, vnto Paules church whereas, when he had bleſſed all men with the Byſhops bleſſing (as the maner is) he was guided forth vnto ẏ Cardinall of Yorkes houſe, where as he was receaued by the ſaid Cardinal, and by him, on the next day being Sonday, was conducted vnto the King, to fulfill his Ambaſſade agaynſt the Turke, which might haue deſtroyed all Hungarie, in the meane time whiles they were ſtudieng with what ſolemnitie to furniſh out their Ambaſſade.

Ex Edouar. Hallo.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a Legate, hee ſet vp a Court, and called it the Court of the Legate, and proued teſtamentes, and heard cauſes, to the great hynderance of all the Byſhops of the Realme. He viſited Byſhops & all the Clergy, exempt and not exempt: and vnder colour of reformatiō, he got much treaſure, & nothing was reformed, but came to more miſchiefe: for by example of his pride, Prieſts and all ſpirituall perſons waxed ſo proude, that they weare veluet, and ſilke, both in gownes, iackets, dublets, and ſhoes, kept open lechery, & ſo hyghly bare thē ſelues, by reaſon of his authorities & faculties, that no mā durſt once reproue any thing in them, for feare to be called hereticke, and then they would make him ſmoke or beare a Fagot. And the Cardinall himſelfe was ſo elated, that he thought himſelfe equall with the King: and when he had ſayd Maſſe, he made Dukes & Earles to ſerue him of wine with a ſay taken, and to hold the baſon at the Lauatories.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſp.

Furthermore, as he was Ambaſſadour ſent to the Emperour at Bruxels, he had ouer with him the great Seale of England, and was ſerued with his ſeruitours kneeling on their knees, and many noble men of England wayting vpon him, to the great admiration of all the Germaines that beheld it: ſuch was his monſtrous pompe and pride.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſpur.

The climing of the Cardinall Wolſey.

This glorious Cardinall in his tragicall doyngs, dyd exceede ſo farre all meaſure of a good ſubiect, that he became more like a Prince then a Prieſt: for although yͤ King bare the ſword, yet he bare the ſtroke, makyng (in a maner) the whole Realme to bend at his becke, & to daunce after hys pipe. Such practiſes and fetches he had, that when he had well ſtored his own cofers, firſt he fetched the greateſt part of the Kings treaſure, out of the realme, in xij. great barels ful of gold & ſiluer, to ſerue the Popes warres. And as his auaritious mind was neuer ſatiſfied in getting, ſo his reſtles head was ſo buſie, ruffling in publicke matters, that he neuer ceaſſed, before he had ſet both England, Fraunce, Flaunders, Spayne, and Italy, together by the eares.

Cardinall Wolſey a great cauſer of warres.

The pilling and poling of the Cardinall.

Thus this Legate well following the ſteppes of hys maiſter the Pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their religion, vnder the pretence of yͤ Church, practiſed great hipocriſie, and vnder the authoritie of yͤ King, he vſed great extortion, with exceſſiue taxes and lones, and valuation of euery mans ſubſtance, ſo pilling the commōs and Marchaunts, that euery man complayned, but no redreſſe was had. Neither yet were the Churchmen altogether free from the pillar and pollar, from the pilling & polling (I meane) of this Cardinall, who vnder his power Legantine, gaue by preuētions, all benefices belonging to ſpirituall perſons: by which hard it is to ſay, whether he purchaſed to himſelfe, more riches then hatred, of the ſpiritualty. So farre his licence ſtretched, that he had power to ſuppreſſe diuers Abbeyes, Priories, and Monaſteries, and ſo did: taking from them all their goodes, moueables, and not moueables, except it were a little penſion, left onely to the heads of certayne houſes. By the ſaide power Legantine, he kept alſo generall viſitations through yͤ Realme, ſending Doctor John Alein his Chaplein, riding in hys gowne of veluet, & with a great traine, to viſit all religious houſes: whereat the Friers obſeruants much grudged, & would in no wiſe cōdeſcend thereunto: wherfore they were openly accurſed at Paules croſſe, by frier Foreſt, one of the ſame order: ſo that the Cardinall at length preuayled both againſt them, and all other. Againſt whom great diſdayne aroſe among the people, perceauing how he by viſitatiōs, making of Abbots, probates of teſtamentes, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollings in his courtes Legantine, had made his treaſure equall with the Kings, and yet euery yeare he ſent great ſummes to Rome. And thys was their dayly talke againſt the Cardinall.

The Fryers obſeruaunts accurſed of the Cardinall.

Of Fryer Foreſt, Vid. infra. Ex Hallo. an. 17. Reg. Henric. 8.

Beſide many other matters and greeuances which ſtirred the harts of the commons againſt the Cardinall, thys was one, which much pinched them, for that the ſayd Cardinall had ſent out certain ſtrait commiſſions in the Kings name, that euery man ſhould pay the vj. part of his goods. Wherupon there folowed great muttering amongſt yͤ cōmons, in ſuch ſort, yͭ it had almoſt growen to ſome riotous commotion or tumult, eſpecially in the partes of Suffolke, had not the Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, with wiſedome aud geutlenes ſtept in and appeaſed the ſame.

Ex Hallo, an, 19. Reg, Henric, 8.

Another thing that rubbed the ſtomackes of many, or rather which moued them to laugh at the Cardinall, was this, to ſee his inſolent preſumption, ſo highly to take vpon him, as the Kings chiefe counſailer, to ſet a reformation in the order of the Kings houſhold, making and eſtabliſhing new ordinances in the ſame. He likewiſe made new officers, in yͤ houſe of the Duke of Richmond, which was then newly begon. In like maner he ordeined a Counſell, & eſtabliſhed another houſhold for yͤ Lady Mary, then being princes: ſo that all thing was done by his cōſent, & by none other. All this, with much more, tooke he vpō him, making the King beleeue, yͭ all ſhould be to his honour, and yͭ he needed not to take any paine, inſomuch that the charge of all things was committed vnto him: whereat many men ſmiled to ſee his great folly and preſumption.

Hampton court geuen to the king.

At this tyme the Cardinall gaue the King the leaſe of the Manour of Hampton Court, which he had of the Lord of S. Johns, and on which he had done great coſte. Therfore yͤ King again of his gētle nature, licenced him to lie in his Manour of Richmond, & ſo he lay there certain times. But when the common people, and ſpecially ſuch as were King Henry the vij. ſeruantes, ſawe the Cardinall keepe houſe in the royall Manour of Richmond, which K. Henry the vij. ſo much eſteemed, it was a maruaile to here, how they grudged, ſaieng: See a butchers dogge lie in the Manour of Richmond. Theſe with many other opprobrious wordes, were ſpoken agaynſt the Cardinall, whoſe pride was ſo hygh, that he regarded nothyng: yet was he hated of all men.

The Cardinall ruffling in matters and warres of Princes.

And now to expreſſe ſome part of the rufflyng practiſes and buſie intermedlynges of this Cardinall in Princes warres, firſt here is to be noted, that after lōg warres betwene England & Fraunce. 1524. (in the which warres, kyng Henry takyng the Emperours part agaynſt Fraūces the French kyng, had waged with his money, yͤ Duke of Bourbon, and a great part of the Emperours army, to inuade and diſturbe certaine partes of Fraunce) it happened that the French kyng commyng with his armye toward Millan, at the ſiege of Pauia, was there takē by the Duke of Bourbon, & Viceroy of Neaples, and ſo led priſoner into Spayne.

Fraunces the French king taken priſoner.

Here note by the way, that all this while, the Cardinall held with the Emperour, hopyng by hym to be made Pope: but when that would not be, he went cleane from the Emperour, to the French kyng, as (the Lord willyng) ye ſhall heare.

The French king priſoner a yeare and a halfe.

After this victory gotten, and the French kyng beyng taken priſoner, who remayned in cuſtody about a yeare & halfe: at lēgth through great labour & ſolicitation, as well of other, as namely of the Cardinall, and kyng Henry, an order was taken, and conditions propoūded betwene the French kyng and the Emperour, among which other diuers conditions, it was agreed, that they ſhould reſiſt the Turkes, & oppreſſe the Lutheranes: and ſo was the kyng ſet at libertie, leauyng behynd him, his ij. eldeſt ſonnes, for pledges: But ſhortly after he reuoked his othe, beyng abſolued by yͤ Byſhop of Rome, & ſayd, that he was forced to ſweare, or els he ſhould neuer haue bene deliuered. Which was. an. 1526. Pope Clement vij. ſeyng the French kyng reſtored to libertie, & miſdoubting the puiſſance and domination of the Emperour in Italy ſo neare vnder his noſe, abſolueth the French king frō his othe: alſo ioyneth together a confederacie of Venetians & other Princes agaynſt the Emperour, bearyng great hatred agaynſt all thē, that any thyng fauored the Emperours part, eſpecially the familie of Columna in Rome, which familie was then Imperiall, & therfore to ſhew his hatred againſt them, he ſayd to Pompey Cardinall of the ſame familie, in threatnyng words, that he would take away his Cardinals hatte. To whō it was aunſwered agayne of the Cardinall, that if he ſo did, he would put on a helmet, to ouerthrow the Popes triple crowne. Whereby it may appeare, here by the way, what holyneſſe and vertue lyeth in the Pope and Cardinals in that Catholicke ſea of Rome.

The pope abſolueth the French king frō his othe.

The anſwere of the Cardinall to the Pope.

The Pope ſtirreth vp warres.

Thus the falſe Pope, vnder the lying title of holynes, was the father of much miſchiefe & of great warres, which after enſued. For the Duke of Bourbon and other of the Emperours Captaines, hauyng intelligēce of the Popes purpoſe & confederacie, gathered their army together, and after much bloudſhed and fightyng, about Millā, Pawde and Cremona, at length they approched & bent their ſiege agaynſt Rome, & after three ſharpe aſſaultes obteined the Citie with the whole ſpoyle therof: where alſo they beſieged the foreſayd Pope, with his Cardinals, in the mount of Adriā and tooke him priſoner. an. 1527. As touchyng the cauſe of the beſiegyng of Rome, now ye haue heard: for the maner of taking of Rome, and of the Pope, the order therof is thus deſcribed in Hall, and other.

¶The ſackyng of Rome, and takyng of Pope Clement.

The taking of Rome.

Ex Paralip. Abbat Vrſp.

THe Emperours army departyng from Florēce, to the Citie of Seynes, where they loſt their ordinaūce, tooke counſaile there to go to Rome, and ſo much they trauailed by night and day, commōly paſſing xl. myle day and night (their good will was ſuch) that the vi. day of May with bāners diſplayed, they came before the Citie of Rome beyng Saterday, the ſame day: and on Sonday the Romaines made Bulwarkes, Rampires, and other defences; and layd ordinaunce on the walles, and ſhot at them without fiercely.

The Duke of BourBon.

The Duke of Bourbō determined that it was not beſt to lye ſtill without, and be ſlayne with ordinaunce, cōſideryng, that they were all naked people, & without great ordinaunce: wherfore he determined to take the chaunce & to geue the aſſault, and ſo mā fully they approched the walles betwene the Burgo Nouo & old Rome. But the Romaines valiauntly defēded them with hādgunnes, pykes, ſtones, and other weapons, ſo that the enemyes were fayne to retreit. Then the Romaines were glad, and ſet many fayre banners on their towers and bulwarkes, and made great

Three aſſaultes againſt Rome.

ſhoutes: whiche ſeyng the Duke of Bourbon, cryed to a new aſſault. Then the drumſlades blew, and euery man with a ladder mounted: and at firſt encounter, againe the Romaynes put them a little backe: which the Duke of Bourbon pe[illegible]uing, cryed: God and the Emperour. Then euery man manfully ſet on. There was a ſore fight, many an arrow ſhot, and many a man felled, but at laſt the Emperors men got the wall, and betweene euery aſſault fell a miſt, ſo that they within could not ſee what part they without would aſſayle, which was profitable to the Emperours partie. At the three aſſaultes were ſlaine three C. Switzers of the Popes gard. In this laſt aſſault was the Duke of Bourbon ſtriken in the thigh with a handgonne, of the which he ſhortly dyed in a chappell of S. Siſt, whether his ſouldiors had brought him: and this chance notwithſtanding, the army entred into Rome, and tooke the Popes palace and ſet vp the Emperors armes.

The Duke of Bourbon wounded.

The Pope curſeth his enemies.

The ſame daye that theſe three aſſaultes were made, Pope Clement paſſed little on the Emperours army: for he had accurſed them on the Saterday before, and in hys curſe he called the Almaynes Lutheranes, and the Spanyards Murreines or Mores: and when he was hearing of Maſſe, ſodeinly the Almaines entred into the Church, and ſlue his Garde and diuers other. He ſeeing that, fledde in all haſte by a priuie way, to the Caſtle of S. Angell: and all they that folowed him that way and could not enter, were ſlayne, and if he in that fury had bene taken, he had bene ſlayne. The Cardinals and other Prelates fled to yͤ Caſtle of S. Angell, ouer the bridge, where many of the common people were ouerpreſſed and trodden downe, as they gaue way to the Cardinals and other eſtates, that paſſed toward the Caſtle for ſuccour.

The Pope flieth.

The Cardinals beſieged.

The Cardinall of Senes, of Seſarine, of Tudertine, of Jacobace and of the Valle taried ſo long, that they could not get to the Caſtle for the multitude of people: wherfore they were compelled to take an other houſe, called the Palace of S. George, where they kept themſelues for a while as ſecretly as they might. You muſt vnderſtand, through the Citie of Rome, runneth a famous Riuer, called Tiber: and on the one ſide of the Riuer ſtandeth the Caſtle of S. Angell, or the Borough of S. Angell: and the other ſide is called Burgo Nouo, or, the New Borough. Thys Bridge is called, the Bridge of Sixte, which lyeth directly before the Caſtle. At the ende of this Bridge was a wonderfull ſtrong Bulwarke, well ordinanced and well manned. The Emperours men ſaw that they could do nothing to the Pope, nor to that porte of yͤ City, but by the bridge, determined to aſſault the Bulwarke, and ſo, as men without feare, came on the bridge, and the Romaynes ſo well defended them, that they ſlue almoſt iiij. M. men. That ſeeing the Prince of Orenge, and the Marques of Gnaſto, with all ſpeede gaue aſſault, and notwithſtanding that the Romaynes ſhot great ordinances, handgunnes, quarels, and all that might be ſhot: yet the Imperiall perſons neuer ſhranke, but manly entered the Bulwarke and ſlue & threw downe, out of the loupes, all the Romaynes that they found, and after raſed the Bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Caſtle of S. Angell, and beheld this fight, and with him were xxiij. Cardinals, of whiche one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche, was ſlayne, and with him were a M. Prelates and Prieſts, fiue hundred Gentlemen, fiue hundred Souldiers: wherefore immediatly the Captaines determined to lay ſiege to the Caſtle of S. Angell, leaſt they within might iſſue out, and turne them to damage: wherefore ſodeinly a ſiege was planted round about the Caſtle.

The Bulwarke of the Romaines beſieged & takē.

The caſtell of S. Angel beſieged.

Rome ſpoyled.

In the meane ſeaſon the ſouldiers fell to ſpoyle. Neuer was Rome ſo pilled, either of the Gothes or Vandales, for the Souldiers were not content with the ſpoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed yͤ Churches, brake vp the houſes of cloſe religious perſons, and ouerthrew the Cloiſters, and ſpoyled virgines, and rauiſhed maried women. Men were tormented if they had not to geue euery new aſker or demaunder: ſome were ſtrangled, ſome were puniſhed by the priuie members, to cauſe them to confeſſe their treaſure. This woodnes continued a great while, & ſome man might thinke that whē they had gotten ſo much, then they would ceaſe & be quiet, but that was not ſo, for they plaied continually at dyce, ſome v. C. ſome a M. Ducates at a caſt: and he that came to play ladē with plate, went againe almoſt naked, and then fell to rifeling againe. Many of the Citizens which could not paciently ſuffer that vexation, drowned themſelues in Tyber. The Souldiers daily that lay at the ſiege, made Ieſtes of the Pope. Sometime they had one riding like the Pope with a whore behinde hym, ſometime he bleſſed, and ſometime he curſed, & ſometyme they would with one voyce call him Antichriſt: and they went about to vndermine the Caſtle, and to haue throwne it downe on his head, but the water that enuironeth the Caſtle, diſappointed their purpoſe.

The Pope mocked and ſcorned openly in Rome before his owne face.

In this ſeaſon the Duke of Vrbine, with xv. M. men, came to ayde the Pope: but hearing that Rome was takē, he taried xl. myle from Rome, till he heard other worde. The Marques of Saluce, and Sir Frederico de Bodſo, with xv. M. footemen and a M. horſemē, were at Vitarbe the tenth day of May: where they hearing that the Citie of Rome was taken, alſo taried. The Cardinall of Colume, came with an army of Neapolitans to helpe the Emperours men: but when he ſaw the cruelty of the Souldiers, he did little to helpe them, but he hated them much.

The Pope beſieged and taken.

The Byſhop of Rome was thus beſieged till the eight Ides of July, at which day he yelded himſelfe for neceſſitie and penury of all things in the Caſtle, and thē he was reſtored to geue Graces and graunt Bulles as he did before: but he taried ſtill in the Caſtle of S. Angell, and had a great number of Almaines & Spanyards to keepe him: but the Spanyards bare moſt rule in the Caſtle, for no mā entred nor came out of the Caſtle but by them. When the moneth of July came, corne began to fayle in Rome, and the peſtilence began to waxe ſtrong: wherfore the great army remoued to a place called Narnia, xl. mile from Rome, leauing behind them ſuch as kept the Byſhop of Rome.

Warre and peſtilence in Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyards neuer were contented till they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Caſtle of S. Angell, and ſo they had the whole cuſtody of the Pope. And thus much for the ſacking of Rome. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſper.

The Cardynall beſtirreth him for the Pope.

When the Cardinall heere in England, heard how hys father of Rome was taken priſoner, hee began to ſtyrre coales, and hearyng of his captiuitie, he laboured with the King all that he might, to ſtirre hym vp, to fight with the ſayd Pope againſt the Emperour, and to be a defendour of the Churche: whiche if hee would do, the Cardinall perſwaded him that hee ſhoulde receiue great rewarde at Gods hand. To whome the King aunſwered againe, and ſayd in this maner: My Lord, I more lament this euill chaunce, then my tong can tell, but where you ſay I am yͤ defendour of the faith, I aſſure you that this war betwene the Emperour & the Pope, is not for the faith, but for tēporall poſſeſſions and dominiōs, and now ſith Pope Clemēt is taken by men of warre, what ſhould I do? My perſon nor my people can not reſcue him, but if my treaſure may helpe him, take that which ſeemeth to you moſt cōuenient.

The Pope fighteth for temporall poſſeſſions.

Thus the Cardinall, when he could not obteine at the Kings hands what he would, in ſtirring him vp to mortall warre, he made out of yͤ Kings treaſure xij. ſcore thouſand poundes, which he caried ouer the Sea with him. After this, the Cardinall ſent his commiſſion as Legate, to all the Biſhops, commaunding faſtings and ſolemne proceſſions to be had, wherein they did ſing the Letany after this ſort, Sancta Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa. Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa, and ſo forth, all the Letanie.

12. ſcore thouſand Poundes conueyed out of England, by the Careinall.

A new foūd Letanye of the Lord Cardinalls making.

This Cardinall paſſing the Seas with the foreſayde ſummes of money, departed out of Callis, accompanyed with Cuthbert Tunſtall Byſhop of London, the Lorde Sandes the Kings Chamberlaine, the Earle of Darby, Syr Henry Guilford, and Syr Thomas Moore, wyth many other Knightes and Squiers, to the number of xij. hundred horſe, hauing in his cariage lxxx. wagonnes, and threeſcore Moyles and ſumpter horſes.

It were long to diſcourſe in this place, the manifold abuſes and treaſons, which he practiſed whē he came to the French Court at Amias, conuerting the greate ſummes of money, whiche before you heard he had obteined of the King, for the reliefe & raunſome of Pope Clement, which at that time was priſoner in the Emperours armye, and beſtowed the ſame in the hyring of ſouldiers, & furniſhing out the French Kings armye, appoynting alſo certayne Engliſh Captaynes in the King of Englandes name, to go againſt the Emperour, to reſcue the Pope: all whiche army was payd with the King of Englands money.

Warre waged by the Cardinall.

Beſides that, he priuely by his letters cauſed Clarentius King of the armes, to ioyne with the French Herauld, and openly to defie the Emperour: whereby there began great diſpleaſure to riſe betwen yͤ Emperour & the King, but that the Emperour of his politike nature would take no occaſion of diſpleaſure agaynſt the Kyng of England.

The craftye practiſe of the Cardinall.

Now agayne he vttered another of his practiſes, for vpon the ſayd defiaunce, the Cardinall ſurmiſing & whiſpering in the Kings eare, that yͤ Emperour had euill intreated and impriſoned the Kings Ambaſſadours in Spaine, cauſed Hugo de Mendoſa the Emperours Ambaſſadour in England, to be attached & put in ſafe keeping, and hys houſe, with all his goodes to be ſeaſed, which ſo remained,

vntill

The Cardinall ſet Clarentius to defie the Emperour, and afterward would be excuſed by his death.

vntill yͤ manifeſt letters came of the gentle intreatye of the kings ambaſſadors in Spaine, & there was again ſet at liberty. When as the ambaſſador cõplained hereof to yͤ Cardinal, he laid al the fault vpon Clarentius, laying alſo that Clarentius had defied yͤ Emperor, wͭout the kings knowledge, at the requeſt of the Herald of Frãce: wherfore at his returne, he ſhould loſe his head at Callis. Wherof Clarentius being aduertiſed by the captaine of Bayon, in hys returne tooke ſhipping at Bullen, & ſo priuely came into England, and by meanes of certaine of his frends of yͤ kings priuy chamber, hee was brought vnto the kings preſence, before the Cardinal knewe of it, where as he ſhewed vnto yͤ king, the Cardinals letters of Commiſſion, and declared the whole order and circumſtance of theyr gentle intreaty. When the king heard the whole circumſtance thereof, and had a while muſed thereupon, he ſayde: O Lord Ieſus, he that I truſted moſt, told me all theſe things contrary. Well Clarentius, I wil no more be ſo light of credẽce hereafter: for now I ſee wel that I haue bene made beleue the thing, that was neuer done, and from that time forwarde, yͤ king neuer put any more confidence or truſt in the Cardinall.

The Cardinals proude threates againſt the Emperour.

The cauſe why the Cardinal ſhould beare the Emperor all this malice & grudge, after ſome wryters, it appeareth to be thus. At what time as Pope Clement was takẽ priſoner (as is before ſayd) the Cardinal wrote vnto the Emperor, that he ſhuld make him Pope. But when he had receiued an anſwere that pleaſed him not, he waxed furious madde, and ſought al meanes to diſpleaſe the Emperour, wryting very ſharpely vnto him, many manacing letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make ſuch a ruffling betwene chriſtian Princes, as was not this 100. yeares before, to make the Emperor repent, yea though it ſhould coſt the whole Realme of England.

The Emperours aunſwere vnto the Cardinalls threates.

Wherunto the Emperor made anſwer in a little booke, Imprinted both in Spaniſh and Dutch, anſwering vnto many manacings of the Cardinal, and diuers of his Articles: but ſpecially to that his ruffling threate, wherein he manaced him, that if he wold not make him Pope: he wold ſet ſuch a ruffling betwixte Chriſtian Princes, as was not this 100. yeare, though it ſhould coſt the whole Realme of England. Wherunto the Emperor anſwering again, biddeth him looke wel about him, leſt through his doings and attempts, he might bring the matter in that caſe, yͭ it ſhuld coſt him the Realme of England in deede.

The title of defendour of the faith.

You haue heard before, howe that when Pope Clement was priſoner in the Emperors army, the Cardinal required the king, becauſe he did beare the title of defendor of the faith, yͭ he would reſcue the Pope: alſo what the kings anſwere was thereunto, and what ſummes of money he had obtained of the king. Nowe, becauſe you ſhall not alſo be ignorant by what meanes and vppon what occaſion this title of the defender of the faith was geuen vnto the King, we thinke it good ſomewhat to ſay in this place. When as Martin Luther had vttered the abhomination of the Pope and his clergy, & diuers bookes were come into England, our Cardinal here thinking to finde a remedy for that, ſent immediately vnto Rome, for this title of defendour of the faith, which afterward the vicare of Croydẽ preached, that the kings grace would not loſe it, for al London & 20. mile about it. Neither is it maruel, for it coſt more then London & 40. mile about it, conſidering the great ſummes whyche you haue heard the Cardinal obtained of the King, for the Popes relief, beſide the effuſion of much innocent bloud.

The glorious vanitye of the Cardinal laughed to ſkorne.

When thys glorious title was come from Rome, the Cardinall brought it vnto the kings grace at Grenewich, and though that the king had it already, and had read it, yet againſt the morning, were all the Lords and Gentlemen that could in ſo ſhorte ſpace be gathered, ſent for, to come & receaue it with honour. In the morning, the cardinall gate him through the backe ſide, into the Frier obſeruants, and parte of the Gentlemen went round about and welcomed him from Rome, parte met him halfe way, and ſome at the Court gate. The king himſelfe, mette hym in the hall, and brought him vp into a great chamber, whereas was a ſeat prepared on high, for the king and the Cardinall to ſit on, whiles the Bull was read. Which pompe all men of wiſedome and vnderſtanding, laughed to ſcorne.

The kinges ſtile augmented.

Thys done, the kyng went to hys Chappell to heare Maſſe accompanied with many nobles of his realme, and Ambaſſadours of ſundry Princes. The Cardinall being reueſted to ſing maſſe, the earle of Eſſex brought the baſen of water, the Duke of Suffolke gaue the aſſay, & the Duke of Norfolke held the towel, & ſo he proceded to maſſe. Whẽ maſſe was done, the bull was againe publiſhed, the trompets blew, the ſhawmes and ſuckbuts played, in honor of the kings newe ſtile. Then the king went to dinner, in the midſt wherof, the king of Heraldes and his company beganne the largeſſe, crying: Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, defenſor fidei & Dominus Hiberniæ. Thus was all things ended with great ſolemnitie.

The thraſonicall receauing of the Cardinalls hatte.

Not much vnlyke to thys, was the receyuing of the Cardinalles hatte, which when a ruffian had brought vnto him to Weſtminſter, vnder his cloke, he clothed the meſſenger in riche aray, and ſent him backe againe to Douer: appoynting the Biſhop of Canterbury to meete hym, and then an other companye of the Lordes and Gentlemen, I wote not how often, before it came to Weſtminſter, where it was ſet vpon a cupbourd, and tapers rounde about it, ſo yͭ the greateſt Duke in the lande muſt make curteſie thereunto, and to his emptie ſeate, he being away.

The cruell dealing of the Cardinall againſt Richard Pacie.

Richard Pacie Deane of Paules.

And for ſomuch as we are in hande with the actes and doings of Cardinall Wolſey, among many other thyngs, whych of purpoſe we ouerpaſſe, this is not to be exempted out of memorie, touching hys vncourtuous or rather curriſh handling of Richard Pacie, Deane of Paules. Thys Pacie being the kinges Secretarie for the Latine tounge, was of ſuch ripenes of wit, of learning & eloquence, alſo in forein lãguages ſo expert, that for the one he was thought moſt meete to ſucceede after Iohn Colet in the Deanery of Paules: beſide which he was alſo preferred to the Deanry of Excetour. For the other he was ſent in the kinges affayres, Ambaſſadour to Venice. Which function there he ſo diſcharged, that it is hard to ſay whether he procured more commendation, or admiration amõg the Venetians, both for dexteritie of hys witte, and eſpecially for the ſingulare promptneſſe in the Italian toung, wherein hee ſeemed nothing inferior, neither to Peter Vanne here in Englande, the kings Secretary for the Italian toung, nor yet to any other, which were the beſt in that toung in all Venice. For opinion & fame of lerning, he was ſo notoriouſly accepted, not onely here in England wͭ Linacre, Grecinus, More, & other, but alſo knowen & reported abroad in ſuch ſort, that in all the great heap of Eraſmus Epiſtles, he wrote almoſt to none, ſo many, as he wrote to thys Richard Pacie.

Richard Pacie Ambaſſadour at Venice.

The Duke of Bourbon waged with the king of Englãds money.

The Duke of Bourbon diſapointed of the kinges money.

Richard Pacie helpeth the Duke of Bourbõ with money.

Richard Pacie was the meanes why the French king was taken.

The Cardinall hated Pacie.

As the ſayde Pacie was reſident Ambaſſadour at Venice, the king hauing warre the ſame time, with Fraunces the French king (as is afore reherſed) through the conducting of the duke of Bourbon, whom he then waged wͭ hys expenſes, ſent commandement to Pacie to geue attẽdance to the duke of Bourbon, concerning the receite of that money, and other neceſſities & exploits to that expedition appertaining. In the meane while, as the French king wyth his army, and the Duke of Bourbon were approchyng in battel together, neare about the citie of Pauia, it ſo hapned (ſome thinke through the craftie packing of the Cardinall) that the kings money was not ſo ready, as it was looked for. By reaſon wherof, yͤ duke of Bourbon perceiuing his ſoldiors about to ſhrinke from him to the French king for lacke of paiment, called to him the Ambaſſador, cõplaining vnto him how the king of England had deceiued him, and broke promiſe with him, to hys great diſhonor & vtter vndoing. &c. Pacie then being ſure of the kings wil, and ſuſpecting the crafty fetch of the Cardinall, deſired yͤ duke not to take diſcomfort, nor any diffidence of the Kings aſſured promiſe, excuſing the delay of yͤ money, as wel as he could, by intercipation, or other cauſes by the way incident, rather then for any lacke of fidelitie on the kings behalfe: adding moreouer, that if it would pleaſe him happely to proceede, as he had couragiouſly begon, he ſhould not ſtay for the kings mony: ſo ſure he was of the kings mind therin, that he would ſupply the lacke of that paiment vppon hys owne credite, amongeſt his frendes at Venice, and ſo did. Wherupon the ſoldiors being ſufficiẽtly ſatiſfied with paiment of theyr wages, proceeded forth wyth the Duke, vnto the battaile. In the which battaile, the foreſayde French king, the ſame time, before the Citie of Pauie, was taken priſoner, as is afore declared. Which being eftſoones knowen to the king of Englande, Pacie had bothe condigne thankes for his faithfull ſeruice, and alſo his money repaid againe with the vttermoſt, as he wel deſerued. But as the laude, and the renowmed praiſe of men, for theyr worthy proweſſes, commonly in this world neuer go vnaccompanied without ſome priuie canker of enuie and diſdaine following after, ſo the ſingulare induſtrie of Pacie, as it wan much commendation with many, ſo it could not auoyd the ſecrete ſting of ſome Serpents. For the conceiued hatred of this Cardinal ſo kindled againſt him, that he neuer ceaſed, till firſt he brought hym out of the kings fauour, and at laſt alſo, out of his perfect wittes.

The occaſion howe hee fell beſide hymſelfe, was thys: for that the Cardinall after the death of Pope Adrian, hoping no leſſe, but that he ſhould haue bene aduaunced vnto the Papacie, and yet miſſing thereof, hee ſuppoſed wyth him ſelfe, the faulte chiefly to reſt in Pacies negligence, by

The Cardinall practiſeth againſt Pacie.

Pacie in great credite with the Venetians.

The Cardinall falſely belyeth Pacie.

whoſe great witte and learning, and earneſt meanes and ſute, he thought eaſily he might haue acheued and compaſſed the triple crowne. Wherfore he ſeing it otherwiſe come to paſſe, and inflamed againſt Pacie for the ſame, wrought ſuch wayes and meanes, that by the ſpace almoſte of two yeares, Pacie continuing at Venice, had neither wrytinge from the king, nor his counſaile, what he ſhuld do, nor yet any maner of allowaunce for his diet (although he wrote, and ſent letters for the ſame to England very often) for the Cardinall had altogether incenſed the king againſt hym. Whereupon the ſayd Pacie toke ſuch an inward thoughte and conceite, that his wittes began to faile hym, he beynge notwithſtanding in ſuch fauour among the Senatours of Venice, that neyther for gold nor ſiluer he could there haue lacked. By ſome it is reported, that the Venitian Legate heere in Englande, comming to the Cardinall, required if he would commaunde any thyng to the Engliſhe Ambaſſadour at Venice. To whome he ſhould aunſwer agayne in high wordes, ſayinge: Paceus decepit Regem. Whyche wordes comming to Pacies eares, ſo deepely pearced hys ſtomacke, that he fel quite beſides himſelf. I hard it moreouer of an other thus teſtified, who had a brother the ſame time dwelling wyth Pacie: that the Cardinall, aboute the returning of Pacie from Venice, ſent him a letter ſo powdered (wyth what ſpices I can not tell) that at the reading therof, Pacie then being in the fieldes, fell ſodenly in ſuch a mighty running, for the ſpace of 2, miles, that his ſeruants had much a do, to take him, and bring him home.

Paciebeſtraught of his wittes.

This pitious caſe of Pacie was not a litle lamented by the whole Senate, and chiefe learned men in Venice, in ſo much that the king was not onely certified therof by Thomas Lupſet (who then was chiefe man about Pacie, and his Secretarye, for that Ambaſſage) but alſo the ſayde Senate of Venice wrote in ſuch ſharpe & vehement wiſe, vnto their Ambaſſador then being in England, that he ſhould ſignifie to the king, touching Pacies caſe, that thereby the king knowing the trueth, and the whole circumſtaunce of the matter, was not a litle ſorowful therefore. Whereupon Pacie was forthwith ſent for home, and when hee came to England, he was commanded by the king, to be ſpecially well tended, & to lacke no keeping: In ſo much that within a ſmall proceſſe of time, he was pretely well come agayne to his wittes, & began to ſtudie the Hebrew tongue, wyth Wakefield, ſo that (the Cardinall then being abſent) ſuche waies was founde by his frendes, that he was brought to the king, lying then at Richmond, where he and the kynge ſecretely communed together, by the ſpace of 2. houres and more, not wythout greate reioycing to the king, as it was perceiued, to ſee him ſo well amended, & returned to hymſelfe againe, geuing likewiſe ſtrait charge and commaundement, that he ſhould lacke nothing.

Pacie pretely recouered.

Pacie brought to the kinges ſpeech.

Pacie commaũded to the tower by the Cardinall.

Pacie diſcharged out of the tower.

The Cardinall, being then not preſent, when he heard of this, fearing leaſt he had diſcloſed ſomewhat to the king, which he woulde not haue knowen, and doubting that the king ſhould caſt his fauour agayne vnto Pacie, beganne wythin a while after, to quarrell, and pike matters, and to lay certaine things to Pacies charge, whereas hee rather ſhoulde haue cleared himſelfe of thoſe things, whyche Pacie layd vnto him before the King, which was contrary to all good forme and order of iuſtice. For where the king had willed the Cardinall to try himſelfe of thoſe things, which Pacie had rightly charged him wythall, hee ſittinge in iudgement with the Duke of Northfolke, and other ſtates of the Realme, not as a defendent, but as a Iudge in hys owne cauſe, ſo bare out himſelfe, and weied downe Pacie, that Pacie was commaunded to the tower of London, as priſoner: where he continued by the ſpace of two yeares, or thereabout, and afterwarde by the kynges commaundement, was diſcharged. But he being there priſonner, was therewyth ſo deadly wounded, and ſtrocken, that hee fell worſe from his wittes then euer he was before, beyng in ſuch a phrenesie, or lunaſie, that to hys dying day, he neuer came perfectly to himſelfe againe. Notwythſtanding, thys in hym was no perpetuall frenſie, but came by fittes, and when the fitte was paſt, he coulde looke on his Booke, and reaſon and talke handſomely, but that nowe and then hee ſhewed his diſeaſe. And thus muche betweene the Cardinall and Pacie.

The Cardinalls labour to be Pope.

By this ſtorye of Pacie, and alſo by other places aboue mentioned, ye may partly conceiue, how greedy this Cardinal was, to be made pope. Touching which matter, here by the way ſomthing to entreat, firſt is to be vnderſtãded, that forſomuche as Pacie either woulde not, or coulde not ſerue the Cardinals purpoſe herein, he thought to accompliſh hys deſire, by other names, and namely by Steuen Gardiner, who was then ſhortly after, ſent Ambaſſadour to Rome by the king and the Cardinal, in the time of pope Clement the 7. and that for two ſpecial cauſes: one was about the diuorcement, the other for promoting the Cardinall to be Pope. As touchinge the diuorcemente, we will ſpeake (the Lorde willing) heereafter. In the meane tyme, as concerning the aduauncement of the Cardinall, greate labour was made, as in letters may appeare ſent from the Cardinall to the ſayd Steuen Gardinar, in whych letters he did ſollicite the ſayd Gardinar, by all meanes, to purſue the ſute, willing hym to ſticke for no coſte, ſo farre as ſixe or ſeuen thouſand poundes woulde ſtretche: for more hee ſayd he would not geue for the triple crowne. Marke here (Chriſtian Reader) what an holye Catholycke Churche thys is, whych rather may be called a Burſe or Marte of Marchauntes (ne quid dicam durius) then any true fourme of a Church.

Steuen Gardiner Ambaſſadour at Rome for the king and the Cardinall.

Manye, both of hys, and alſo of the kinges letters, I coulde heere inſerte, but for growing of the volume, I let them paſſe. One for example ſake, ſent by the Cardinall to Gardiner, an other alſo from the king to the ſayde Gardinar, ſhall at this time ſuffice, concerning this matter. And firſt the Copie of the Cardinalles ambitious letter here, in forme foloweth.

¶ The copie of an ambitious letter, wrytten by Thom. Wolſey, Cardinall of Yorke, vnto Stephen Gardiner, one of king Henries Oratours in the Court of Rome, for the procuring of the Papall dignitie to the ſayd Cardinall.

A letter of the Cardinall to Steuen Gardiner Lieger at Rome.

Maiſter Stephen, all be it ye ſhalbe ſufficiently with your Colleages, by ſuche inſtructions as be geuen to Monſieur Vincent, informed of the kings minde and mine, concerning my aduauncement vnto the dignitye Papall, not doubting but that for the ſingular deuotion, whych you beare towardes the kynge and hys affaires, both generall and particular, and perfect loue, which ye haue towardes me, ye wyll omit nothyng that may be excogitate to ſerue and conduce to that purpoſe, yet I thought conuenient for the more feruent expreſsion of my mind in that behalf, to wryte vnto you, (as to the perſon whome I moſt entierlye doe truſt, and by whom thys thyng ſhalbe moſt pithely ſette foorthe) theſe fewe wordes folowing, of my owne hande. I doubt not but ye do profoundly conſider, as well the ſtate, wherein the Church and all Chriſtendom doth ſtand now preſently, as alſo the ſtate of this Realme, and of the kings ſecrete matter, which if it ſhould be broughte to paſſe, by any other meanes then by the authoritye of the Churche, I accompt this Prince and Realme vtterlye vndone. Wherfore it is expedient to haue ſuch a one to be Pope and common father of all Princes, as maye, can, and will geue remedye to the premiſſes. And albeit I accompt my ſelfe muche vnhable, and that it ſhalbe now incommodious in thys myne old age, to be the ſayde common father, yet when all thyngs be well pondered, and the qualities of all the Cardinalles well conſidered (Abſit verbum iactantiæ) there ſhalbe none found that can and will ſet remedye in the foreſayde thynges, but onely the Cardinall of Yorke, whoſe good will and zeale is not to you of all men, vnknown. And were it not for the reintegration of the ſtate of the Churche, and ſea Apoſtolicke to the priſtine dignitie, and for the conducing of peace amongſt Chriſtian princes, and ſpecially to relieue this Prince & realme from the calamityes that the ſame be nowe in, all the riches or honour of the worlde ſhoulde not cauſe me, Ne dum aſpirare, ſed ne conſentire, to accept the ſayd dignitie, althoughe the ſame with all commodities were offered vnto me.

Crafty pretenſes to ſerue ambytious purpoſes.

O fayned hypocriſie. Belike the Cardinall here lacketh good neighbors ſeinge he is cõpelled to praiſe himſelfe. You may long ſay ſo, before we will beleue you.

Neuertheleſſe conformyng my ſelfe to the neceſsitie of the tyme, and the wiil and pleaſure of theſe two Princes, I am cõtent to appone all my witte and ſtudy, and to ſet forth all meanes and wayes, Vt bene faciam rebus Chriſtianitatis, for the atteyning of the ſayd dignitie. For the atchieuyng and atteyning wherof, for as much as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not onely of theſe two Princes and their Realmes, but of all Chriſtendome, nothyng is to be omitted that may conduce to the ſayd ende and purpoſe. Wherefore M. Stephen, ſince you be ſo playnly aduertiſed of my mynde and intent, I ſhall pray you to extend, Omnes neruos ingenij tui, vt iſta res ad effectũ produci poſsit, nullis parcendo ſumptibus, pollicitationibus, ſiue laboribus: ita vt hominũ videris ingenia & affectiones, ſiue ad priuata, ſiue ad publica, ſic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deeſt tibi & collegis tuis ampliſsima poteſtas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata ſeu reſtricta, & quicquid feceris, ſcito omnia apud hunc regem & me eſſe grata & tuta. Nam omnia (vt paucis abſoluam) in tuo ingenio & fide repoſuimus. Nihil ſuper eſt aliud ſcribendũ, niſi quod ſupplex orem, vt omnes actiones tuas ſecundet Deus opt. maximuſq;, & ex corde vale. Ex edibus meis Weſtmoneſt. vij. Febr.

Tuæ ſalutis & amplitudinis cupidiſsimus. T. Ebor.

Steuen Gardiner the Cardinalls truſty factor.

After this letter of the Cardinall, conſequently heere enſueth an other letter of the kynge, to the foreſayde Stephen Gardiner, and other his Oratours at Rome, conteining ſuche inſtructions and documentes, as they ſhoulde practiſe with the Cardinalles of Rome, in canueſynge for the ſayde Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke, to be elected Pope, if Pope Clement were dead. Or if he were not dead, yet at leaſt, to inſtructe them, what to doe, when hee ſhould die.

The contents of the letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly neceſſary for our ſtory, yet for the ridiculous maner of the handling, and the curious ſecretariſhip therof, ful of glorious affectation, I thought it not heere vnmeete for the ſtudies and appetites of ſome, to exemplify the ſame, or at leaſt, to make the reader ſome paſtime by the way, in beholding the glorious ſtile of this vaineglorious Cardinal, being ſure like to his glorious life. The copie of the letter, bearing the name of the king, but in deede ſauouring altogether of the Cardinals deuiſe and ſwelling vaine, doth thus procede in forme and ſtile, as followeth.

Marke the ſtile, & you ſhall ſee that it is all one with the Cardinals former letter, whicch he ſayeth he wrote with his owne hand.

¶Inſtructions ſent by the kings highneſſe, to his truſtie Counſailours and ſeruaunts, M. Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of both lawes, Syr Fraunces Bryan, Syr Gregory de Caſſalis Knights, and M. Peter Vanne the kings Secretarie for the Italian toung, his ambaſſadours in the Court of Rome, for the election of the Cardinal of Yorke, to the Papacie, if Pope Clement were dead.

Inſtructions in the kinges name, to his Legates at Rome.

First, where as a good ſeaſon ſince the depeache of M. Stephen Gardiner, an Ambaſsiate towardes the Courte of Rome, the kings highnes by ſondry wayes, hath bene aduertiſed of the death of our holy father the Pope Clement of that name the 7. whoſe ſoule Ieſu pardon, by meane wherof, the charge heretofore committed by his grace vnto his Orators, to haue ben now executed with the ſayd late Pope, can not at his hands take effect, his highneſſe pondering and profoundly conſidering, the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, miſerably and piteouſly afflicted wyth the inteſtine warres, diſſentions, and diſcords, reigning amongſt the Princes of the ſame, and how the dignity of the ſea Apoſtolicke, by ſuch troble and perſecution, as hath bene inferred therunto, theſe yeares paſſed, is not a little diminiſhed and empaired, like to come to total ruine, if by the helpe & aſsiſtance of good and vertuous Princes, the ambition of thoſe, which ſtudye the exterminion thereof, be not in time repreſſed: conſidering furthermore, that as well to conduce reſt and tranquillitie in Chriſtendome, as to reſtore, repaire, and reintegrate the ſtate, authoritye, and reputation of the ſayd ſea Apoſtolicke, nothing is more requiſite & neceſſary, then that ſuch a head and common father, be now at this time of vacation of the dignitie Papal, prouided and elected to ſuccede in the ſame, as both may, can, and will puruey to the reſtauration of the ſaid Sea, and that hath, and may haue the aſsiſtance of ſuch vertuous and puiſſant Princes, as tēder the defence, maintenance, and encreaſe of the dignitie aforeſayde, and that may meete with the inordinate ambition of the Emperour, who nothing more ſtudyeth, then for his owne exaltation, to ſuppreſſe the Church & Sea Apoſtolicke: remembring alſo the high importance of the kinges great and weighty cauſe of matrimony, committed to the charge of his ſayd Orators, and how manifolde dangers and irreparable damages depend vpon the tracte, delay, or diſappoyntment thereof, which by no way or meane can be conduced to the kings purpoſe, and deſire by the authority of the Church, but onely by ſpeciall, aſſured, and perfect fauour of the head of the ſame Churche, his highnes alſo being as loth as any liuing Prince or perſon may be, to recurre vnto other refuge, ſuccour or remedy in his ſayde cauſe, then to the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, if his grace may there finde the fauour and benignitie, that to his merites towardes the ſame be correſpondent, of which fauour his highneſſe ſhoulde be clearely depriued and fruſtrate, in caſe the election of the future Pope, ſhould paſſe vpon any perſon, of whom his grace were not perfectly aſſured: his highnes for the reſpects and conſiderations before ſpecified, perceiuing his good brother and perpetuall alye the Frenche king, in the ſayde intention to be vnite, knitte, and in all actions and doings of importaunce, aſſuredly combined vnto his grace, proceeding together in one wil, minde, purpoſe, and conformitie, hath by good and mature deliberation, ſtudied, deuiſed, and excogitate with himſelfe, who were & might be the moſt able, meete, and conuenient perſon, hauing the qualities before ſpecified, to be aduaunced at this time, vnto the ſayde dignitie Papall. And finally, when his grace hath well reuolued with himſelfe, all the reſpects and conſiderations aforeſayde, noting alſo al things meete to be regarded in euery of the Cardinals of the Church of Rome, both preſent now in the Court there, and abſent from the ſame, it can not be found that there is any perſon ſufficiently furniſhed, with the requiſites before ſpecified, but only the moſt reuerend father in God, and his moſt truſty Counſellour, the Lord Legate Cardinall, Archbiſhop of Yorke, Primate & Chauncellour of this Realme: who being well knowen to haue as feruent zeale, ſtudie, minde, and deſire, to the vniuerſall weale, repoſe, and tranquillitie of Chriſtendome, to the reintegration & reſtauration of the dignity, authority, reputation, & rightes of the Churche and ſea Apoſtolicke, to the ſurety, weale, and exaltation of the kings highnes, the French king, & other their confederates, and finally to the perfection of the kings ſayde great and waightie cauſe, whereupon dependeth the ſurety of his royall perſone, ſucceſsiō, Realme, people, & dominions, as any perſon liuing can or may haue, & that the ſayd moſt reuerēd father hath the faſt aſſured fauor herein of the ſayd Frēch king (who of his owne mere motion hath frankly and liberally, offred vnto hym all that by himſelf, his frendes, his power, his agentes, or otherwiſe hee may, or can poſsible doe for his auancement to the ſayd dignitie Papal) is the perſon, who for his ſingular vertue, his entire deuotion to peace, and reſtauration of the ſaide Sea, the excellency of his wiſedome, learning and experience, the magnanimitie in his actions and doings, the dignitie wherin he is already conſtitute, the promotions whych he hath attained, the ſubſtance that he is of, his reputation, his conduite, his diligence, hys dexteritie, his diſcretion, his pollicie, and finally the notable and high fauor that the kings highnes and the ſayde French king beare vnto him, is onely, that he called to the ſayd dignity Papall, may, can, and will meete with the inordinate ambition of the ſayd Emperour, and conſequently with eſtabliſhment of tranquilitie amongſt Chriſten Princes, is by the aſsiſtance of his frendes, meete, conuenient, and able to ſuccour, relieue, and clerely to repaire the piteous iacture and decay, that the Church & Sea Apoſtolicke hath ſo long ſuffered, & to defend the ſame from the imminent danger now apparant to enſue, if the ſayde Emperour (who as the kings highnes is aſſertained) determined in the beginning of Ianuary now paſſed, to take his iourny towardes Rome, ſhould vpon this vacation of the ſaid Sea, chaunced (as it vpon many euident preſumptiōs to be thought, by ſome deteſtable acte committed, for the ſayde late Popes deſtruction) now by force, violence, cautele, blandiſhing, promiſes, or otherwiſe, haue the election to proceede at hys wil, fauor, & deuotion: wherby, hauing a Pope at his *arbitre, either he ſhould not faile to vſurpe & take from him the rights, prouents, & patrimony of the Churche, vſing him as hys chaplaine and vaſſal, or els by litle and litle vtterly to exclude and extinct him and hie authoritie.

The totall ruine of the Apoſtolicke Papacye, God ſend it.

He meaneth the matrimony betwene kyng Henr. 8. and queene Katherine, his brother Arthurs wyfe whether it was lawfull or no.

Steuen Gardiner the Cardinalls truſty factor.

See how this Prelate is all in his exaltation.

The Thraſonicall prayſe of the Cardinall.

Note this cauſe: The Cardinall is moſt meete to be Pope becauſe he can beſt brydle the Emperour.

* That is after his owne deſire.

For this cauſe, if euer it were expedient that good Chriſten Princes looke to the tuition, maintenance, defence, and continuance of Chriſtes Churche, faith and religion, nowe is it the time aboue all other, to prouide and beware by all wayes poſsible, leaſt the ſame neglected, forgotten and not in time relieued, be broght vnto extreme * ruine. And therefore the kings highneſſe hauing ſingular & ſpecial truſt and confidence in the wiſedomes, diſcretions, fidelities, diligences and circumſpections of his ſayd Orators, (to whom no part of the premiſſes is vnknowen, ne how neceſſary, & in any wiſe expediēt it ſhalbe for perfectiō of the kings ſayd great and *weighty matter to them committed, to haue the ſayde Lord Legate of Yorke, & none other, aduanced to the ſayd dignitie Papall) willeth, deſireth, ordaineth, & expreſly chargeth and commaundeth hys ſayd Oratours, and euery of them, no leſſe to employ, endeuour, and determine themſelues, to ſollicite, ſet forth, further, promote, labour and conduce the aduancement of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, to that dignitie, then they woulde that thing, which the kings highnes moſt highly, next God & hys ſoule, with all earneſtnes and feruent minde, doth aboue all other things, couete and deſire, and alſo no leſſe then they woulde the ſpeedy obtaining and perfection of all ſuch thinges, touching the kings ſayde weighty matter committed to their charges: the making or marring wherof, being now the ſayde late Pope deceaſed, conſiſteth onely in the aduauncement of the ſayde Lord Legate of Yorke, to the dignitie Papall.

* If his vſurped authoritie were cleane extinct, the fayth & religion of Chriſt ſhould ſtand & floriſhe much better.

*By this weighty matter here, is ment the cauſe of the kings deuorce.

For (as the kings ſayd Ambaſſadours may by their wiſedomes well thinke and conſider the ſame muſt of neceſsitie come, & fortune either to one that is an aſſured frende to his grace and the French king, or to one that is a manifeſt ennemye to them, fauouring the Emperours part, or to one indifferent & meane betwene both. And if it ſhould chaunce vpon a manifeſt ennemy, it is euident that the kings deſire at hys hand were merely impoſsible to be had, and neuer were to be accepted that way. If it ſhould come to one being indifferent & meane betweene both, it is more then notorious, that his grace at the leaſt, ſhoulde be contained wyth faire wordes and promiſes, and yet ſuch reſpect ſhould be had to the Emperour, that finally vnder hope of obtaining ſome thynge, there ſhoulde be no more but tracte, delay, and finally no manner fruite nor effecte: whereof experience hath already bene ſeene in one that had cauſe to be more frendly to the king, then indifferēt or meane betwene both, & yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the kings ſaid Ambaſſadors wel knowē. So that of neceſſity this thing muſt be conduced to one that is an aſſured frende. Then noting ſubſtantially the things neceſſary to concur in ſuche a frend, both for the weale of chriſtendō, the reliefe of the Church, the firm adhering to the kings highnes & the French K. with other their confederates, & the perfit cōducing of the kings great mater, which ſuffreth no tract, delay, or negatiue: it ſhalbe foūd that ther is none other for thys purpoſe, but only the ſaid L. legate of York.

The kyngs ſayd Ambaſſadours ſhal therefore plant the foundation of all their ſtudie, labour, & ſolicitation, onely to that purpoſe. And for the better introduction of the wayes and meanes, howe this thing ſhall be ſollicited, they ſhall receiue heerewyth a ſcedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many & what Cardinalles of likelihoode, ſhall be preſent at the election, and how many and which of the other, ſhalbe abſent. Semblably, howe many of them that be like to he preſent, may be thought to be frends to the kings highnes and the French king, whoſe names in the ſayd ſcedule be noted with A. and howe many are thought to be Imperiall, whoſe names be noted with B. In the ſame ſcedule be alſo ſet out the number, and names of thoſe that be thought to be neutrall or indifferent, marked with N. And furthermore, they be firſt mentioned therein, which be thought moſt like to aſpire vnto that dignity.

A. Signifieth the Cardinalls of the kinges & the French kings ſi. e. B. Signifieth the Cardinalls of the Emperors ſide. But here is neuer a C. to ſignifie any Cardinalls of Chriſtes ſide.

Herein be many things well to be regarded. Firſt the number of the Cardinals that are like to be preſent, whiche (as is thought here) ſhall not exceede 39. Secondly, that to haue election to the kings purpoſe, ſhall be requiſite to haue 2. partes of the 3. of the ſayd number, which 2. partes muſt be 26. Then is it to be noted, that they which be thought to be frendes to the kings highneſſe and the Frēch king, be in number 20. So that if they may be made ſure to the kings deuotion, there ſhall lacke but 5. of the number which ſhall ſuffice to make the election: which number the kings ſayd Ambaſſadours ſhall moue, winne and attaine, either of them that be thought to be indifferent, or ſome other.

In the conducing whereof, two wayes be ſpecially to be remembred. One is, if the Cardinals preſent, hauing God & the holy Ghoſt before them, ſhalbe mineded (as to their duetie appertaineth) to haue reſpect vnto the preſent calamitie of the Churche, and all Chriſtendōme, intending the reliefe, ſuccour, and reſtauration of the ſame, and to preſerue themſelues, and the dignitie of the ſea Apoſtolicke, then looking profoūdly vpon the ſtate of the things, they can not faile * facily of themſelues, to finde and perceiue, that to conduce their purpoſe, there is onely the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke. And in this caſe, it is verely to be thought, that very reaſon it ſelfe, and their owne conſcience ſhal lead them like vertuous fathers, to haue their principall reſpecte heereunto, and (particular affections ſet a parte) to accorde and agree wythout difficultie, to that, which ſo manifeſtly is knowen to be the thyng, aboue all other, expedient. Neuertheles, becauſe percaſe humaine fragilitie ſuffereth not all things to be pondered, trutinate, and weyed in iuſt balance, but that (as we be men) errours may runne, vnleſſe then remedy be prouided: it appertaineth in matter of ſo high importaunce, to the comfort and releue of all Chriſtendom, to ſuccour the infirmitie, that may chaunce, not for corruption or to any peruerſe, vnlefull, or euill entent, but rather to helpe to the lackes and defaultes, which by ſuche fragilitie might elſe take place: and therefore expedient ſhall it be, that the kings ſayde Oratours, to ſo notable a purpoſe, where they ſhall perceiue the cōſideration and reſpect whereunto reaſon leadeth, to be in any part to be aided or ſupplied, doe the ſame with pollicitations of promotions, ſpirituall offices, dignities, rewardes of money, or other things, ſuch as to them ſhal ſeeme meete to the purpoſe: inculking into the mindes of ſuch perſones as ſhall be requiſite, firſte what things the ſayd Lorde Legate of Yorke ſhall leaue, if he ſhoulde be aduaunced to the ſayde dignitie, which be ſuche as the eſtabliſhment of his ſtate conſidered, be farre more to his commoditie (if he ſhould regarde his priuate weale) then to enter into thys dangerous ſtorme, and troublous tempeſt, for the relief of the church and al Chriſtendom, whereunto (his ſaid priuate weale ſet a part) he is totally deuoued and dedicate, to the expoſition of his body, bloud, and life, glad and ready with the ſacrifice thereof, to do ſeruice to God, his church, his faith and religion: which ſayde promotions, the kings highneſſe finding cauſe geuen vnto him, by the gratitude and conformity of his frendes, will not faile to beſtowe to their beneſite, beſides large rewardes, to haue thys ſo vertuous an acte brought to perfection. For policitation wherof, the kings ſayd Ambaſſadors be furniſhed at this time, with ample Commiſſion, as by the ſame they ſhall perceiue: the effect wherof they ſhall execute without exception, as by their wiſedomes ſhall be thought conuenient, ſo alwayes as it be done wyth ſuch circumſpection, as may be apparaunce of good fruite to enſue. And ſemblably they be furniſhed with letters, as well to the Colledge of Cardinals in generall, as to them all that be like to be preſent in particular: which they ſhall nowe deliuer to the beſt furtheraunce and auauncement of their purpoſe, not ſparing to declare vnto them the liberalitie of the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke, the ſubſtance that he is of, the aſſured aſſiſtāce that he ſhall haue of theſe Princes & their confederates, whereby he ſhall be able aboue any other that they can deuiſe, to rewarde, promote, aduaunce, and recompence his frendes to the vttermoſt, aſſuring them that theſe two Princes will not faile alſo highly and in the beſt ſort, to conſider their gratitudes, with any thing that they may excogitate to their profites and promotions, or any of their frends. So that by this meane, and with ſuch good pollicitations, grounded vpon a leſul, honorable, and iuſt cauſe, and not vpon any corrupt or indue intent, to conduce things to ſiniſter purpoſe, the kings ſayd Oratours by theyr good pollicies ſhall attaine the perfite and ſure good will of a great many of them, and by that way ſhall with good dexteritie combine and knit thoſe which will adhere hereunto, in a perfite faſtneſſe, and in an indiſſoluble knot, firmely to ſticke and holde together, without variation or declining from their purpoſe, for any perſwaſion, practiſe, or meane, that can be made to the contrary. Which thing ſurely to be prouided, and ſuche a knot of 20. 18. or at the leaſt if it may be, of 16. Cardinals to be had, is in any wiſe expedient. For they perſiſting in their determination, ſhall not faile to impeach, that no aduerſe part can haue a full nūber to make a due and lawfull election. And yet they being founde in a conſtantneſſe to this good purpoſe, ſhall by little and little allure and bring other vnto them, ſo as the reſidue perceiuing ſo greate a towardneſſe, and fearing a ſufficient number * to accede without them, and thereby the election to paſſe againſt their wils, ſhal percaſe be the more prone and ready to come vnto that party: wherunto nothing ſhoulde of reaſon ſooner moue them, then the very reſpect to the infinite goodnes, that therby to themſelues in particular, and the vniuerſall church and religion in general, is apparant to enſue.

As though the Popes election had any thing to doe with the holy Ghoſt.

* He might as well haue ſayd, eaſely, as facily, if it had pleaſed hym: but our groſſe termes are to lowe for this high Prelate, as here commonly you may ſee.

Yea ſir, now ye ſpeake to the purpoſe. Now we begin to feele you when ye bring your bribes and rewardes of money.

Well byd and lyke a good chapman.

Thou ma[illegible] imagine here good reader, to be no corrupti-on, but ho-norable pol-licitation.

To accede, that is, to come.

Neuertheleſſe, if leauing the directe way, they will be abuſed with any other incantations, or for priuate ambition perſiſte in contending for themſelues, then is it euident, they ſearch nothing more then the ruine of the See apoſtolicke. In whiche caſe other wayes be to be deuiſed, and their * indue demeanour to be remedied & reſiſted. For this cauſe, and to be ſure in all euēts, the kings ſayd Oratours ſhall by their wiſedomes finde the meanes to haue ſome faſt and ſure perſons in the Conclaue, ſuch as may not only practiſe and ſet foorth things there to the purpoſe, but alſo geue ſuch knowledge outwarde, as the kings ſayd Oratours may therby the better know how to order their procedings. And amongſt other it is thought that Monſieur de Vaulx, one of the Frenche Ambaſſadors, (whom the French king hath commanded expreſly to further this matter, by all the meanes to him poſsible) ſhoulde be one to enter the ſayde Conclaue, not as an ambaſſadour, but as the miniſter of ſome Cardinal, frend of the French king. And ſemblably ſir Gregory de Caſſalis, who for his wiſedome, conduite, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalfe.

An other ſhift if the worſt fall.

* That is not due.

And in this matter it is to be conſidered, that ſince this election in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, by one way or other ſuffereth no negatiue, all be it the kings highneſſe truſteth that the ſame ſhall haue his courſe directly: yet if for lacke of grace or entendement, there ſhould be any diſpaire thereof, other wayes be to be prouided. And for that cauſe to ſhewe the ſayde Orators ſecretely, there is a proteſtation paſſed by the Cardinals being in England and in France, according to a copie whych the ſayd Oratours ſhall receiue herewith, which is and ſhall be kept ſecreate, vnles then by the indue proceeding vſed in the election, the ſame ſhall neede to be publiſhed. So that the kings ſayd Oratours now aduertiſed thereof, ſhall note for a ſpeciall grounde, that if it ſhall appeare that the election can not be had in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, the bande and number vnite and knitte together to the kings deuotion, in finding none other remedy, muſt be inſtructed before hande in that caſe, to perſiſt in their determination, and when time ſhalbe, by reaſon of ſuch diſpair, to proteſt, grounding the ſame their proteſtation vpon ſuch reſpects, as can not lacke to be introduced for the auoiding of the extreme daungers by the pertinacitie & wilfulnes of the aduerſe Cardinals, imminent to the ruine of the Church, and of all Chriſtendom: which proteſtation may before hand be couched and deuiſed by the ſaid M. Steuen Gardiner, and by the pollicie of the ſayde Monſieur de Vaulx, and ſir Gregory, be ſet forth in time conuenient: and therupon the Cardinals of the kings and the French kings adherents, to departe the Conclaue, whereby, repairing to other ſure place, they with the reſidue of the cardinals abſent, may procede to ſuch an election, as may be to Gods pleaſure, the weale of his Church, and faith, and of all Chriſtendome, any election that thus by pertinacitie may enſue at Rome, notwithſtanding.

The caſe of the Cardinall muſt haue no negatiue ſo eger he is of his gayne.

Secret threatnyngs to the Cardinalls to cauſe them to conſent with Cardinall Wolſey.

Prouiſo agaynſt the Cardinals if they will not condeſcend to the Cardinall of Yorke.

And to the entent the Cardinals may be the better animated to finiſh the ſaid election to the kings deſire, the kings ſayde Oratours ſhall as they ſee good, offer them a preſidie of ij or iij. M. men to be in the Citie of Rome, for the time of the ſame election, which if they will accept, the ſaid Oratours ſhall ſee furniſhed, taking money by exchange and otherwiſe, for their entertainment, as ſhall be requiſite. Which money or any other that they ſhal take for conducing this the kinges purpoſe, ſhall bee truely repayde, with * inpeſſe and all requiſites as they ſhall aſsigne. And ſemblably, leaſt terrours or dread of the Imperials in Naples, ſhoulde induce the Cardinalles to any errour, the Frenche king hathe ordeyned that Seignior Renzio ſhall lie in a preſidye, betweene the armye of Naples and the Citie of Rome, like as the Vicecounte of Tureine is alſo commaunded to lye on the other ſide, and ſemblably, the Venetians. So that by thoſe meanes not onely they ſhall be out of all feare of the Imperialles, but alſo in the more deuotion of theſe two Princes, whiche ſhall muche conferre to the

Note theſe proceedings in chuſing Popes.

Search here thy dictionaries, good reader, for this eloquence paſſeth my intelligence.

kings purpoſe, and embolden the Cardinals fauouring the deſire of theſe two princes, both to perſiſt in their deliberation, and alſo in time of extreme diſpaire, to proteſt and depart, as is aforeſayd.

1. Demorari, that is to ſtay, tary.

The firſt reaſon.

Puſillanime 1. Puſillo animo that is, weake hearted.

The ſecond reaſon.

This Cardinall dreameth that he is Pope alreadie.

And becauſe nothing ſhoulde withdrawe the mindes of the Cardinals from this purpoſe, who percaſe might thinke that the ſayde L. Legate of Yorke being elected, woulde not repaire to the court of Rome, but *demore in Auinion or ſome other place, out of Italie, the kings ſayde Ambaſſadours ſhall remoue all ſuch ſuſpitions, by two euident arguments and reaſons One is, that the ſayde Cardinall of Yorke aduanced to that dignitie, muſt thereby leaue all other his promotions, and conſequently ſhoulde be diſpurueyed of any habitation, place, or conuenient liuing, if remaining in an other ſtrange countrey, he ſhould deferre to come vnto Rome, where ſhould be the place of his See, and entire liuinge. Wherefore it were farre from reaſon, to thinke that he whych hytherto for his eſtate hath liued in ſuch aboundance, ſhoulde be ſo *puſillanime for this promotion, to bring himſelfe into condigne penury and pouerty, or to liue in place priuate, to the hinderance of his honour, profite, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moouing him to be contented at theſe princes requeſtes, to chaunge his ſtate preſent, is the feruent zeale hee hath to expone his ſtudy, trauaile, labour, ſubſtance, witte, body, bloud, and life in the quarell of Gods Churche, faith, and of Chriſtendome, which is too high an exception and a ground to be taken, to remaine and lie in a corner or priuate place: but that rather then he would ſuffer ſo high an exception to be found in him, he would expone all that he might do, who hauing the aſsiſtance of theſe two Princes ſhould not faile (God willing) to paſſe directly to his See, wyth honour and comfort vnto al Italie, and the diſcourage of the party that would be aduerſe thereunto: And therefore the Cardinals ſhoulde not neede to feare of any ſuch thing, but might be well aſſured to haue his preſence there to their comforte, in all celeritie and diligence poſible.

The Cardinall caſteth all his nets to catch the the triple crowne.

Two faces in one Cardinals hatte.

How politike the children of this worlde be in their generation.

Furthermore, to the entent the kynges ſayde Ambaſsadours may haue all the frendes that may be, to this purpoſe, expedient it ſhall be, that they with the Venetians, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrare, and all other whome they ſhall thincke good to winne vnto their partie, vſe the waies that may beſt conduce thereunto. And amongſt other, foraſmuch as they which depended vpon the Cardinall de Medices, ſhall doubte in this caſe to be reiecte, the kings ſayde Oratours ſhal inculke vnto them the ſingulare deuotion and ſpeciall fauour that the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke hathe alwayes borne vnto their family, aſſuring them that hee will take them in no further diſtaunce of entire loue, then they were wyth Pope Leo, Clement, or any other And ſemblably, they ſhall put the Florentines in comfort of the excluſion of the gouernance of the ſayd familye de Medices in Florence, and of their enioying of their libertie: Likewiſe putting the Cardinals in perfecte hope of recouery of the patrimonies of the Churche: to containe the Venetians in good truſt of a reaſonable way to be taken for Saruia, and Rauenna, to their contentment: and alſo to ſhewe the Duke of Ferrare, howe the ſayd L. Legate was the meane of the coniunction of him in league with the Frenche king, with aſſured promiſe of his continuance, in as much loue and fauour as hee maye beare vnto him, in all his cauſes & affaires. And thus hauing thoſe folkes to their frendes, whoſe Oratours ſhall haue the vttermoſte cuſtodye of the Conclaue, and the kings Ambaſſadours, and the French Ambaſſadours being in the interiour partes thereof, they being ſo amply inſtructed and furniſhed, ſhall not faile (God willing) by one or other of the ſayde two wayes, and ſpecially by the direct election at Rome, if it be poſsible, or at the leaſt by the way of the ſayde proteſtation and departure of the Cardinall, to conduce the kings purpoſe in the ſayd election, to the deſired ende. In the doinge whereof, albeit there is no doubt, but that the Frenche Oratours will ioyne with them ſincerely, to the perfection of the premiſſes, in omnem euentum, it ſhallbe well done that the kyngs ſayd Oratours haue a ſubſtantiall and politike regard to the proceeding of the ſame Frenche Oratours, leaſt that if percaſe they ſhoulde finde any diſpaire in the election to paſſe in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, they making ſome other Cardinals to their ſide, for the aduauncement of any of them to the ſayde dignity, ſhould be the more, ſtraunge, aliene, or peraduenture refuſe to come vnto the ſayde proteſtation and departure oute of the Conclaue, which is the onely remedy and refuge (the Cardinalles perſiſting in their wilfulneſſe) to interrupt, diſappoynte, infringe, and make voide their election.

Is not here an holy electiō, meete for ſuch an holy Sea?

Sides againſt the Emperour.

One other thing there is to be wel noted by the ſayde ambaſſadours, and by them to be inculcate in the mindes of the Cardinals, that if any maner of difficulty ſhall be made by the Imperials to condeſceend vnto this election vpon the ſayd L. Legate of York, and that they of the Emperours part, wold refuſe alwaies of good order and reaſon, proceeding to any election without the conſent of the reſidue that would proteſt, they may be ſure that vnto their ſiniſter and indue way they ſhould haue no Prince or Potentate adherente, but onely the Emperour and his brother, and that the other part ſhould haue the reſt of all Chriſtendome, that is to ſay, the kings highnes, the French king, the king of Hungarie, Polonie, Scotland, and Denmarke, with the Venetians, the Dukes of Ferrare, Millan, the Florentines, and the reſt of all Italye, beſides the marchants of the Almaine or Hanſe, and other leagues beyng in the dominion of the ſayde king of Polonie: and ouer that the king of Portugale, who is loth and ſory to ſee the Emperor come vnto ſo great hyght as he aſpireth vnto. So that hauing theſe mighty and noble puiſſances to their aſsiſtaunce, and the corroboration of their acte, it is facile to thinke the other could be of no validitie, ne haue or take any manner of place: whiche is no ſmall grounde whereuppon the ſayde Cardinals may be the better animate to the kings and the French kings ſayde deuotion, and therfore it is to be imprinted in their mindes accordingly.

By this one election, note the commō order of Rome in canueſing for the Popedome.

Finally, if the kings ſayde Orators endeuoring them ſelues to the conducing of the ſayd election in the perſon of the ſayd L. Legate of Yorke, ſhould at the laſt finde out that there were none other difficulty, but only that the electiō in his perſon being totally deſperate, the ſame were conducible to the Cardinall Campegius: then, rather thē al ſhould faile, if the other could by no meanes be brought to paſſe, the kings pleaſure is, that being aſſured it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the ſame Cardinall Campegius, they take ſuch waye as in that caſe the proteſtation be ſuborne, and for the laſt refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the leaſt to paſſe in the perſon of the ſaid Cardinal Campegius: whereof there is no apparance, conſidering that the reſpectes for the which the ſaid lord Legate of Yorke, ſhoulde by the kings and the French kings meanes be brought heereunto, do for the greateſt part faile and ceaſe by the election of any other then himſelf; which is in thys caſe to be remembred accordingly.

Thus be the kings ſayd Oratours inſtructed as farre as mans reaſon can here deuiſe, what is to be done for cōducing the kings purpoſe to effect, knowing wel of what importaunce the thing is, and what conſequences depende vpon it, namely for the perfection of the kings high and waightye matter, which otherwiſe then by election of the ſayde Lorde Legate of Yorke, hath no manner way to be conduced by authoritye of the See Apoſtolike. There reſteth no more but they, who well knowe the ſame great matter, to ſuffer no nay ne repulſe, but by the election in the perſone of the ſayd L. Legate doe imploy the vttermoſt that in their heartes, powers, wittes, bodies, and mindes that may be, to the perfection thereof, whereby they ſhall doe the greateſt ſeruice that can be, for this time excogitate to doe vnto their Prince, deſerue immortall laude, thankes, and praiſe, and be ſure to conſecute thereby ſuch rewarde, as ſhall be to their comforts, reioyce, and honoure, beſides manifolde other notable goodneſſes, whereof they ſhalbe the procurers and ſoliciters, to their merite perpetual. All whych they may be ſure ſhalbe conſidered accordingly.

Out of the Original, ſubſcribed by king
Henry the eight his owne hand.

Epilogus.

Man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth.

In theſe ſo great labors, purſuits, & trauailes of yͤ king & of the Cardinall, as in theſe their inſtructions aboue inſerted, may appeare, thou haſt for thine inſtruction (louing reader) to note & learne howe man purpoſeth one thyng, & howe God diſpoſeth another. For the kings purpoſe was to haue the Cardinal & Legate of Yorke placed in the See Papal, thinking by that meanes if thys Cardinal had ben pope, yͤ cauſe of his diuorce more eaſily might be compaſſed which otherwiſe he thought vnpoſſible to contriue. But God omnipotent, which only is directour of all affaires, brought it otherwiſe to paſſe, not as the king deuiſed, but after his owne wiſedome, ſo that both the diuorcemēt was concluded, and yet neither Cardinall Wolſey made Pope, nor yet Pope Clement was dead. Yea, ſo he ruled the matter, that notwithſtanding Pope Clement was aliue, yet both the diuorce proceeded, and alſo the Popes authoritye was therby vtterly extinct and aboliſhed out of this Realme of England, to the ſingular admiration of Gods wondrous workes, and perpetuall praiſe to his mercifull goodnes. Of which diuorcement, and ſuppreſſing of the Popes authority, we haue likewiſe to make declaration. But firſt, as we haue begun with the Cardinall of Yorke, ſo we will make an ende of him. That done, we will (God willing) addreſſe our ſelfe to other matters of more importance.

Fryer Barnes with two Marchantes of the Stilliard, cauſed by the Cardinal to beare fagots.

As the ambaſſadours were thus trauailing in Rome to promote the Cardinall to be Pope, althoughe the Pope was not yet dead, in the meane time the Cardinall played the Popiſh perſecuter here at home. For firſt hee ſitting in his Pontificalibus, in the Cathedrall Churche of Paules, vnder his cloth of eſtate of rich cloth of golde cauſed Frier Barnes, an Auguſtine Frier, to beare a fagot, for certayne poyntes, which he called hereſie. Alſo hee cauſed the ſame two marchants of the Stilliarde likewiſe to beare fagottes, for eating fleſhe on a friday. At the which time the Byſhop of Rocheſter made a ſermon in reproofe of M. Luther, who had before wrytten agaynſt the power of the B. of Rome. This biſhop in his ſermon ſpake ſo muche of the honoure of the Pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignitie and preeminence, that he forgate to ſpeake of the Goſpel which he tooke in hande to declare, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1526.

Anno. 1528.

After this the ſaid Cardinal likewiſe. An. 1528. and in the moneth of Nouemb. ſitting at weſtminſter, as legate, called before him the whole Cleargie, and there promyſed that all abuſions of the church ſhuld be amended, but there nothing els was done, ſaue onely he cauſed to be abiured, Arthur Bilney, Geffrey Lome, and Garret, for ſpeakinge againſt the Popes authoritie, and his pompous pride. Of whome more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord aſſiſting vs) hereafter. And this was, An. 1528.

Anno 1529

The occaſion of the Cardinalls fall.

The yeare next following, which was An. 1529. began the queſtion of the kings mariage to be reuiued. wherupon Cardinal Campegius was ſent againe into Englande from Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter. who then with Cardinall wolſey conſulting with ẏ king, although at firſt he ſeemed with his felow Cardinal, to incline to the kings diſpoſition, yet afterward perceiuing the ſequele of the caſe, whether it tended ſo farre, as peraduenture might be the occaſion of a blot to the court of Rome, and might ſhake perhaps the chaire of the Popes omnipotent authoritie, as wel in other caſes like, if this one caſe were throughly decided by learning, and trueth of Gods word: he therefore ſlipping his necke out of the collar, craftily ſhifted him ſelfe out of the Realme, before the day came appoynted for determination, leauing his ſuttle felowe behinde him, to wey with the king in the meane time, while the matter might be brought vp to the court of Rome. The king thus ſeeing himſelfe diſappoynted, foded wyth falſe promiſes, and craftily doubled withal by the Cardinalles, and at laſt after ſo many delaies and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was ſore agreeued in his mind with them, but eſpecially with Cardinall wolſey, whom he had before ſo highly exalted, and promoted to ſo many greate dignities, as to the Archbiſhoprike of York, the biſhoprike of wincheſter, of Dureſme, the abby of S. Albons, beſides the Chancelorſhip of England, and many other high roumes & preferments in the realme, which cauſed him clearly to caſt him out of his fauour, ſo that after that time he neuer came more to the kings preſence. Ex Hallo.

The cauſe of the kinges mariage with his brothers wife, was dāgerous to the Pope for this. For if it were vnlawfull, then the diſpenſation of Pope Iuly, was voyde. If it were lawfull, then the iudgementes of ſo manye vniuerſities were falſe.

The king deluded by the two Cardinalls.

A Counſaile of the Nobles called.

Then folowed firſt a counſaile of the nobles, called the firſt of Octob. During the which counſaile, all the Lordes and other the kings Counſaile agreeing together, reſorted to windſore to the king, and there informed the king, that all things which he had done almoſt, by his power Legātine, were in the caſe of the Premunire, and prouiſion: and that the Cardinall had forfaited all his lands, tenements, goods, and cattels to the king: wherefore the king willing order to him, according to the order of his lawes, cauſed his attourney Chriſtopher Hales to ſue out a wryt of Premunire againſt him, in the which he licenced hym to make an Attourney.

The Cardinall caſt in the Premunire.

The Cardinall depriued of the Chauncellourſhip.

And further, the 17. day of Nouember hee ſent the two Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, to his place at weſtminſter, to fetch away the great Seale of England, whyche he was lothe to deliuer, if there had bene any remedie, but in concluſion he deliuered it to the two Dukes, which deliuered the ſame to Doctor Tailour, Maiſter of the Rolles, to carie it to the king, which ſo did the next day.

Steuen Gardiner, the kinges ſecretarye.

Beſides this, the king ſent Syr william Fitzwilliams Knight of the Garter, and Treaſurer of his houſe, and doctor Steuen Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to ſee that no goodes ſhould be embeſiled oute of his houſe: and further, ordeined ẏ the Cardinal ſhould remoue to Aſher, beſide Kingſton, there to tary the kings pleaſure, and to haue all things deliuered to hym, which were neceſſary for him, but not after his olde pompous and ſuperfluous faſhyon, for all hys goodes were ſeaſed to the kinges vſe. when the Seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, wyth many Earles, Byſhops, and Barons came into the Starre chamber, the xix. day of October, where the Duke of Norffolke declared that the kings highneſſe, for diuers and ſundry offences: had taken from hym his great Seale, and depoſed him of all offices, and leſt men might complaine for lacke of iuſtice, he had apointed him and the Duke of Suffolke, with the aſſent of the other Lordes, to ſitte in the Starre chamber, to heare and determine cauſes indifferently, and that of all thyngs the kings pleaſure and commaundement was, that they ſhould keepe their hands cloſe from any rewards taking, or maintenance: and ſo that weeke they ſate in the Starre chamber, and determined cauſes.

The Cardinalls goods ſeaſed to the king.

The Cardinalls remouing from Yorke place.

A fewe dayes after in the ſame moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of hys houſe, called Yorke place, wyth one Croſſe, ſaying, that he woulde he had neuer borne more, meaning that by his croſſe, that which he bare as Legate, which degree taking, was hys confuſion, as you ſee openly: and ſo hee tooke his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there tooke his horſe and roade to Aſher, where he remained till Lent after.

During which time, hee being called on for an awnſwere in the kings Bench, to the Premunire, for geuing benefices by preuention, in diſturbance of mens inheritance, and diuers other open cauſes in the Premunire, accordynge to the kings licence, conſtituted Iohn Scute & Edmonde Jenny, Apprentiſes of the lawe, his attourneys, whych by his owne warrant ſigned ẇ his hand, confeſſed all thyngs concerning the ſaid ſuit, for they were too open to be cloked or hidden, and ſo iudgement was geuen, that hee ſhoulde forfeite all his landes, tenements, goodes, and cattels, and ſhoulde be put oute of the kings protection: but for al that, the king ſent him a ſufficient protection, and of hys gentlenes left to him the biſhopprikes of Yorke and wincheſter, and gaue to hym plate and ſtuffe conuenient for hys degree, and the Biſhoprike of Dureſme he gaue to Doctour Tonſtall Biſhop of London, and the Abbey of S. Albones he gaue to the Priour of Norwich, and to London he promoted Doctour Iohn Stokeſley, then Ambaſſadoure to the vniuerſities, for the marriage, as you hearde before. For all this kindneſſe ſhewed to the Cardinall, yet ſtill hee maligned againſt the king, as you ſhal hereafter perceiue, but firſt we will proceede in the courſe of theſe matters, as they paſſed in order.

Doctour Tunſtall Byſhop of Dureſme. Iohn Stokeſly made Byſhop of London.

Anno. 1530. A parliament called.

The next yeare following, whych was, Anno 1530. in the moneth of Nouemb. was ſummoned a generall parlament, to be holden at weſtminſter. In the which yeare, about the 23. day of October, the king came to his manor of Grenwich, and there much conſulted wyth his Counſaile, for a meete man to be his Chauncelour, ſo that in no wiſe he were no man of the Spiritualtie, and ſo after longe debate, the king reſoluted him ſelfe vpon ſir Thomas More knight, Chauncelor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, a man wel learned in the tonges, and alſo in the common law: whoſe wit was fine, and full of imaginations, by reaſon whereof hee was a litle too muche geuen to mocking, more then became the perſon of M. More: and then on the Sonday, the 24. day of the ſame moneth, the king made him his Chauncelor, and deliuered him the great ſeale, which Lord Chancelor the next morow after, was ledde into the Chancerye, by the two Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and there ſworne, and then the Mace was borne before him.

Syr Thomas More made lord Chauncelour of England.

Of this fall of the Cardinall, and of the placing of Syr Thomas More in the Chauncelorſhip, Eraſmus in an Epiſtle to Iohn Vergera thus wryteth: The Cardinall of Yorke hath ſo offended the kings minde, that he being turned out of his goodes and all his dignities, is cōmitted not into priſon, but into a certaine Lordſhippe of his, with 30. ſeruaunts or kepers, to geue attendance vpon him. Many and ſundry complaintes are cōmenced againſt him, ſo that he is not like to eſcape with his life. Such is the daliaunce of fortune, of a ſcholemaiſter to be made a king. For ſo hee raigned more like a king, then the king him ſelfe. Hee was dreaded of all men: he was loued but of a fewe, almoſte of none. A litle before he was apprehēded, he cauſed Richard Pacie to be caſt in the towre. Alſo he threatned my Archbiſhop of Canterburie: Salomon ſayeth, That before the fall of man, his ſpirite ſhall be eleuated. The Archb. of Caunterbury was called or reſtored to be choſen Lord Chancellor, which is the chiefeſt office in all that realme, but he excuſed himſelfe by his age, as being not able to weld ſuch a function. wherefore the ſayde office was beſtowed vpon Tho. More, no les to the reioycing of many, then the other was diſplaced from it. Theſe newes my ſeruaunt brought me out of England. &c. Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Ioan Vergeram.

Ex Eraſ.

By this Archbyſhop he meaneth William Warham.

A parliament ſummoned in Nouemb. anno. 153

You heard before, how a counſaile of the Nobles was appoynted by the king in the moneth of October, to aſſemble in the Starre chamber, aboute the Cardinals matter: and alſo how a parliament was ſummoned to begin in the moneth of Nouember in the yeare following, An. 1530. At the beginning of which Parliament, after that M. More the newe Chauncelour had finiſhed hys oration, the commons were commaunded to chuſe them a Speaker, who was Thomas Audeley Eſquire, and attorney of the Duchie of Lancaſter. Thus the Parlament being begun the 6. day of the foreſaid month of Nouember at weſtminſter, where the king with all the Lordes were ſet in the Parlament chamber, the commōs, after they had preſented their ſpeaker, aſſembling in the nether houſe, began to common of their grieues, wherwith the ſpiritualtie had before time greeuouſly oppreſſed them, contrary both to all righte, and to the lawe of the realme, and eſpecially were ſore moued with theſe 6. great cauſes.

Thomas Audely, ſpeaker of the Parliament. Sixe greuances of the commons agaynſt the clergye.

¶ Greeuances againſt the Cleargie of Englande.

Exceſſiue fines for probates of teſtamentes.

1. The firſt for the exceſſiue fines, which the Ordinaries toke for probate of Teſtaments, in ſo much that Sir Henry Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings houſe, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelitie, that he and other being executours to Syr william Compton Knight, payed for the probate of hys will, to the Cardinall and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a thouſand marke ſterling. After this declaration, were ſhewed ſo many extortions done by Ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to much to rehearſe.

A thouſand Markes for the probate of one teſtament.

The vnreaſonable exaction of the clergye for Mortuaries.

2. The ſecond cauſe was, the great poling & extreame exaction which ẏ ſpirituall men vſed, in taking of corps preſents, or Mortuaries: for the childrē of the dead ſhould all die for hūger and go a begging, rather then they would of charitie geue to thē the ſely cow which the dead mā ought, if he had but onely one: ſuch was the charitie of them.

Fermes and Granges in Prieſtes handes.

3. The third cauſe was, that Prieſtes being Surueyers, Stuards, and officers to Byſhops, Abbots, and other ſpirituall heads, had and occupied Farmes, Graunges, and graſing in euery Countrey, ſo that the poore huſbandmen could haue nothing but of them, and yet for that they ſhuld pay dearely.

Monkes and prieſts marchauntes.

4. The fourth cauſe was, that Abbots, Priors, and ſpirituall men kept Tannehouſes, and bought and ſold wooll, cloth, and all maner of Marchaundiſe, as other temporall Marchaunts did.

Beneficed men take of their flocke, but geue nothing.

5. The fift cauſe was, becauſe the ſpirituall perſons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their liuing of their flocke, were lying in the Court of Lords houſes, and toke all of their pariſhioners, and nothing ſpent on them at all, ſo that for lacke of reſidence, both the poore of the pariſhe lacked refreſhing, and vniuerſally all the pariſhioners lacked preaching, and true inſtruction of Gods word, to the great perill of their ſoules.

Pluralities of benefices.

6. The ſixt cauſe was, becauſe one Prieſt being litle learned, had tenne or twelue benefices, and was reſident on none, and many well learned ſcholers in the Vniuerſitie, which were able to preach and teach, had neyther benefice nor exhibition.

These thinges before this time, mighte in no wiſe be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he woulde be made an hereticke, or loſe all that he had: for the Byſhops were Chauncellours, and had all the rule about the King, ſo that no man durſt once preſume to attempt any thyng contrary to their profite, or commoditie.

Three bils drawen out againſt the miſorder of the clergye.

But now whē God had illuminated the eyes of ẏ king, and the time ſo ſerued, that men more boldly durſt expreſſe with voyce ſuch grudges, as they had long conceaued in their harts againſt the Clergy: the Burgeſſes of the Parliament appoynted certayne of the common houſe, men learned in the Lawe, to drawe one bill of the probates of teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, & the third for none reſidence, pluralities, and taking fermes by ſpiritual men.

The firſt bill for mortuaryes.

And firſt to ẏ bill of Mortuaries being drawen, and being alſo paſſed the cōmō houſe, and ſent vp to the higher, the Spirituall Lords ſhewed a faire face, ſayeng, that aſſuredly Prieſtes and Curates toke more then they ſhoulde, and therefore it were well done to take ſome reaſonable order. Thus they ſpake, becauſe it touched them but little.

The ſecond bill, for probates of teſtamentes.

After this, within two dayes, was ſent vp the ſecōd bill, concerning probates of teſtaments, which bill, becauſe it touched their profite ſomewhat neare, both the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and all other Biſhops in generall, began to frowne and grunt, in ſo much as Doctor John Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, ſtāding vp in the Parlament chamber, openly proteſted, that ſuch billes were ſent vp frō the cōmon houſe, tending to no other thing, but to the deſtruction of ẏ Church: which Church being downe, the glory then of ẏ whole kingdome (ſaid he) muſt needes fall, deſiring therfore the Lords, for Gods ſake, to take example by the kingdome of Boheme: For as it was then with the people there, ſo now what ſay the cōmons here, but down with ẏ Church. And all this (ſaid he) ſeemeth only to be for lacke of faith. When theſe words were reported to the cōmons of the lower houſe, what the Biſhop had ſayde, in noting all their doings to be for lacke of faith, they toke the matter greeuouſly, ſo to be eſteemed of the Biſhop for no better then heretikes, vnderſtanding moreouer, how that he by thoſe ſlāderous words, went about to perſwade the Lords temporall againſt them, and ſo to ouerthrowe the two billes by them paſſed before, as ye haue heard.

D. Fyſher chargeth the cōmons, with lacke of faith.

The grudge of the commons, in the lower houſe, againſt Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the ſaid commons, that Thomas Audeley their ſpeaker with xxx. of the chief of that houſe, ſhould be ſent to the kyng, beyng then in his palace at weſtminſter, before called Yorke place: where they eloquently declared, what a diſhonour to the kyng and the realme it was, to ſay, that they which were elected for the wiſeſt mē of all ẏ Shyres, Cities, and Boroughes within the Realme of England, ſhould be declared in ſo noble and open preſence, to lacke fayth, which was equiualent to ſay, that they were Infidels, and no Chriſtians, as ill as Turkes or Saraſins: ſo that what payne or ſtudy ſoeuer they toke for the cōmō wealth, or what actes or lawes ſoeuer they made or ſtabliſhed, ſhould be taken as lawes made by Paynims and Heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Chriſtian men: wherefore they moſt humbly beſought the kynges hyghneſſe, to call the ſayd Byſhop before him, and to cauſe him to ſpeake more diſcretly of ſuch a number as was in the common houſe.

The king not contented with the Byſhop of Rocheſter.

The Byſhops excuſe.

The kyng not beyng well contented with the ſaying of the Byſhop, yet gently aunſwered the ſpeaker, and ſent them away. Who immediately ſent for the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, & vi. other Byſhops, and Rocheſter alſo, ſignifying vnto them the grudge of the commons. The Byſhop of Rocheſter excuſing himſelfe, aunſwered, that he in ſo ſaying, meant onely the doyngs of the Bohemiās to be for lacke of fayth, & not the doynges of them that were in the cōmon houſe, which ſaying was confirmed by the Byſhops there preſent, which had him in great reputation, & ſo by that onely ſaying, the kyng accepted his excuſe, and therfore ſent word to the cōmons by Syr williā Fitzwilliams Knight, Treaſurer of his houſhold: which blynde excuſe pleaſed the commons nothyng at all.

Difference betweene the laity and ſpiritualtye, about certaine conſtitutions.

Lōg vſe maketh not euill thinges lawfull.

Mortuaries as they were vſed differed but litle from theft.

After this, diuers aſſemblies were kept betwene certaine of the Lordes, and certaine of the Commons for the Billes of the probates of Teſtamentes, and Mortuaries. The temporaltie layd to the ſpiritualtie, their own lawes & Conſtitutions, and the Spiritualtie ſore defended them by preſcription & vſage. To whom it was thus aunſwered by a Gentlemā of Greyes Inne: The vſage hath euer bene of theeues, to rob on Shoters hill Ergo, is it lawfull? With this aunſwere the ſpirituall men were ſore offended, becauſe their doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men ſtood ſtill by their ſayinges, in ſomuch that the ſayd Gentlemā ſayd to the Archb. of Cāterbury, that both the exaction of probates of Teſtamentes, and the takyng of Mortuaries, as they were vſed, were open robbery and theft. After long diſputation, the temporall Lordes began to leane to the cōmōs, but for all that, the Bylles remayned vnconcluded a while.

Redreſſe of the greeues of the commons.

It folowed ſhortly after in the Parliamēt, that a Byll was aſſented to, by the Lords of the higher houſe, and ſent downe to the commons in the lower houſe, and by them alſo, with much labour agreed vnto, of whō the moſt part were the kynges ſeruauntes: in the which Bill it was required, and concluded, that the kyng ſhould be releaſed of all ſuch loane of money, which he had borowed of his ſubiectes, in the xv. yeare of his reigne. The paſſing of which Byll went ſore agaynſt the ſtomackes of the poore Commons, for many reſted vpon it, countyng and paſſing it ouer one to an other for good debt, as if it had bene ready money in their purſes. Wherfore the king to regratifie thē agayne, graunted to them a generall pardō of all offences, onely certaine great offences & debts excepted: alſo he ayded them for the redreſſe of their grieues agaynſt the ſpiritualtie, & cauſed two new Bylles to be made indifferently, both for the probates of Teſtamentes, & Mortuaries, which Bylles were ſo reaſonable, that the ſpirituall Lordes aſſētted to them all, though they were ſore agaynſt their myndes, and in eſpeciall the probate of Teſtamentes ſore diſpleaſed the Byſhops, and the Mortuaries ſore diſpleaſed the Parſons and Vicares.

After theſe Actes thus agreed, the commons made an other Act for pluralities of benefices, none reſidence, buying and ſellyng, and takyng of fermes by ſpirituall Parſons, which Act ſo diſpleaſed the ſpiritualtie, that ẏ prieſts rayled on the cōmōs of the lower houſe, and called them heretickes and ſchiſmatikes, for the which diuers Prieſtes were puniſhed.

The third bill of the cōmons for pluralities &c.

This Act was ſore debated aboue in the Parliament chamber, and the Lordes ſpirituall would in no wiſe conſent. Wherfore the kyng perceiuyng the grudge of his cōmons, cauſed viij. Lordes & viij. of his Commons to mete in the ſtarre chamber at an afternone, and there was ſore debatyng of the cauſe, in ſo much that the tēporall Lordes of the vpper houſe, which were there, toke part with the Commons, agaynſt the ſpirituall Lordes, and by force of reaſon cauſed them to aſſent to the Bill with a litle qualifiyng, which Bill the next day was wholy agreed to, in the

Lords houſe to the great reioyſing of the lay people, and to the great diſpleaſure of the ſpirituall perſons.

And thus much concerning theſe Bylles agaynſt the Cleargy, by the way. Now, to returne to the Cardinall agayne: during the time of the ſaid Parliament, there was brought downe to the Commons, the booke of Articles which the Lords had put vp to the King, againſt the Cardinall. The chiefe Articles were theſe.

Articles againſt the Cardinall.

1 First, that he without the Kings aſſent had procured to be Legate, by reaſon whereof he tooke away the right of all Byſhops and ſpirituall perſons.

2 In al writings that he wrote to Rome, or to any other Prince, he wrote: Ego & rex meus, I and my King, as who would ſay, that the King were his ſeruaunt.

3 That he ſlaundered the Church of England to yͤ court of Rome: for his ſuggeſtion to be Legate, was to reforme the Church of England, which (as he wrote) was Facta in reprobum ſenſum.

4 He without the Kings aſſent caried the Kings great Seale with him into Flaunders, when he was ſente Amballadour to the Emperour.

5 Without the Kings conſent, he ſent commiſſion to Sir Gregory de Caſſalis, Knight, to conclude a league betweene the King and the Duke of Ferrarie.

6 That he hauing the French pockes, preſumed to come and breathe on the King.

7 That he cauſed the Cardinalles Hat to be put on the Kings coyne.

8 That he had ſent innumerable ſubſtance to Rome, for the obteining of his dignities, to the great impoueriſhmẽt of the Realme, with many other things, which are touched more at large in Chronicles.

Theſe articles with many moe, being read in the cõmon houſe, were confeſſed by the Cardinal, and ſigned with his hand. Alſo there was ſhewed an other writing ſealed with his ſeale, by the which he gaue to the Kyng all his moueables and vnmoueables.

Anno. 1530.

You haue heard hytherto declared how yͤ Cardinall was attainted in the Premunire, & how he was put out of the office of the Chauncelour, & lay at Aſher: which was in the yeare of our Lord 1530. The next yeare after in the Lent ſeaſon, the king by the aduice of his counſayle, licenced him to go into his dioces of Yorke, and gaue hym commandemẽt to keepe him in his dioces, and not to returne Southward, without the Kings ſpeciall licence in writing.

So he made great prouiſion to go Northward, & appareiled his ſeruants newly, and bought many coſtly things for his houſhold, but diuers of his ſeruaunts at this tyme departed from him, to the Kings ſeruice, and in eſpeciall Thomas Crumwell, one of his chiefe counſaile, and chiefe doer for him in the ſuppreſſion of Abbeys. After that all things neceſſary for his iourney were prepared, he tooke his iourney Northward, til he came to Southwell, which was in his dioces, and there he continued that yeare, euer grudging at his fall, as you ſhall heare heereafter: but the lands which he had geuen to his Colleges in Oxford and Ipſwich, were now come to the Kings hands, by his attainder in the Premunire, and yet the King of his gentlenes, and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the Colledge in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles Colledge, he called it the Kings College, and endued it with faire poſſeſſions, and ordeined newe ſtatutes and ordinances, and for becauſe the Colledge of Ipſwich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he leaft that diſſolued.

The Cardinalls Colledge, now called Chriſtes College in Oxforde.

Notwithſtãding that the Cardinall of Yorke was thus attainted in the Premunire, (as is aboue mentioned) yet the King being good vnto him, had graunted him the Biſhopricks of Yorke and Wincheſter, with great plentie of ſubſtance, & had licenced him to lye in his dioces of Yorke, where he ſo continued the ſpace of a yeare. But after, in the yeare folowing, which was 1531. he being in his dioces, wrote to the Court of Rome, and to diuers other Princes, letters in reproch of the King, and in as much as in him lay, he ſtirred them to reuenge his cauſe againſt the King and his Realme, in ſo much, that diuers opprobrious words againſt the King, were ſpoken to Doctor Edward Keerne, the Kings Oratour at Rome, and it was ſayd to him, that for the Cardinalles ſake, the King ſhould haue the worſe ſpeede in the ſuite of his matrimonie. The Cardinall alſo would ſpeake faire to the people to winne their harts, and declared euer, that he was vniuſtly and vntruely ordered, which faire ſpeaking, made many men beleeue that he ſayd true: and to Gentlemen he gaue great giftes, to allure them vnto him: and to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be inſtalled or inthroniſed at Yorke, with all the pompe that might be, and cauſed a throne to be erected in the Cathedral Church, in ſuch an height and faſhion, as was neuer ſeene, and ſent to all the Lords, Abbots, Priors, Knightes, Eſquiers and Gentlemen of his dioces, to be at his Manor of Cawood the ſixt day of Nouember, and ſo to bring hym to Yorke, with all maner of pompe and ſolemnitie.

The Cardinall complayneth to the Pope, of the king.

The Card. nalls proui iourneie to ward yorke

The King which knew his doings and priuie conueyance, all this yeare diſſembled the matter, to ſee what hee would do at length, till that he ſaw his proud hart ſo highly exalted, that he would be ſo triumphatly inſtalled, without making the king priuie, yea and in manner, in diſdaine of the King, thought it not meete nor conuenient to ſuffer him any longer, to cõtinue in his malitious & proud purpoſes and attemptes: wherefore he directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence, to arreſt the Cardinal, & to deliuer him to the Earle of Shrewſbury, great Steward of the Kings houſholde. When the Earle had ſene the letters, he with a conuenient number came to the Manor of Cawood the fourth daye of Nouemb. and whẽ he was brought to the Cardinal in his chãber, he ſaid to him, My Lord, I pray you take patience, for here I arreſt you. Arreſt me, ſaid yͤ Cardinal? Yea, ſayd the Earle, I haue a commaundement ſo to do. You haue no ſuch power, ſaid the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinall and a Legate De Latere, and a Peere of the College of Rome, & ought not to be arreſted by any tẽporall power, for I am not ſubiect to that power, wherefore if you arreſt me, I will withſtand it. Well, ſaide the Earle, heere is the Kings commiſſion (which he ſhewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinall ſomewhat remembred himſelfe, and ſayd, Well my Lord, I am contente to obey, but although yͭ I by negligence fell into the puniſhment of the Premunire, and loſt by the lawe all my lands & goodes, yet my perſon was in the Kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence, wherefore I maruell why I nowe ſhould be arreſted, & ſpecially cõſidering that I am a member of the Sea Apoſtolique, on whome no temporall man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I ſee the King lacketh good counſayle. Well, ſayd the Earle, when I was ſworne Warden of yͤ Marches, you your ſelf told me, that I might with my ſtaffe arreſt all mẽ, vnder the degree of a King, & nowe I am more ſtronger, for I haue a commiſſion ſo to do, which you haue ſeene. The Cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a priuie chamber, and his goodes ſeaſed, and his officers diſcharged, and his Phiſitiõ called Doctor Auguſtine, was likewiſe arreſted, and brought to the Tower by Sir Walter Welſh, one of the Kings chamber. The ſixt day of Nouember he was conueyed from Cawood, to Sheffeld Caſtle, and there deliuered to the Earle of Shrewſburies keeping, till the Kings pleaſure were knowne. Of this attachement was much communing amongſt the common people, wherefore many were glad, for he was not in the fauour of the commonaltie.

The Cardinal arreſted.

When the Cardinall was thus arreſted, the King ſente ſir William Kingſton Knight, Captaine of the Gard, and Conſtable of the Tower of Lõdon, with certeine yeomen of the gard, to Sheffeld, to fetch yͤ Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinall ſawe the Captaine of the Garde, he was ſore aſtoniſhed, and ſhortly became ſicke, for then he perceiued ſome great trouble toward him, & for that cauſe mẽ ſaid, that he willingly toke ſo much quãtitie of a ſtrong purgatiõ, that his nature was not able to beare it. Alſo the matter that came frõ him was ſo blacke, that the ſtayning therof could not be gottẽ out of his blãkets by any means. But ſir William Kingſton cõforted him, and by eaſie iorneyes he brought him to the Abbey of Leyceſter, the xxvij. daye of Nouember, where for very feeblenes of nature, cauſed by purgations and vomites, he dyed the ſeconde night folowing, and in the ſame Abbey lyeth buried.

The Cardinal brought vp toward London.

The Cardinall poyſoneth hym ſelfe.

It is teſtified by one, yet being aliue, in whoſe armes the ſayde Cardinall dyed, that hys body being dead, was blacke as pitch, alſo was ſo heauie, that ſixe coulde ſcarſe beare it. Furthermore, it did ſo ſtinke aboue the grounde, that they were conſtrayned to haſten the buriall thereof in the night ſeaſon, before it was daye. At the which buriall, ſuch a tempeſt, with ſuch a ſtinch there aroſe, that all the torches went out, and ſo he was throwne into the tombe, and there was layde.

By the ambitious pride and exceſſiue worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, al mẽ may eaſily vnderſtand & iudge what the ſtate and condition of al the reſt of the ſame order (whom we cal ſpiritual men) were in thoſe dayes, as well in all other places of Chriſtendome, as eſpecially heere in England, where as the princely poſſeſſions & great pride

The pride of the Cardinall.

of the Clergie, did not only farre paſſe and exceed the common meaſure and order of ſubiectes, but alſo ſurmounted ouer Kings and Princes, and all other eſtates, as may well appeare by his doings and order of his ſtorie aboue deſcribed.

Amongſt other actes of the foreſayd Cardinall, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new College in Oxford, for the furniture wherof, he had gathered together all the beſt learned he could heare of, amongſt which number were theſe: Clarke, Tindall, Sommer, Frith, and Tauerner, with other mo: which holding in aſſemble together in the College, were accoũted to be heretiques (as they called them) and thereupon were caſt into a priſon of the college, where ſaltfiſh lay, through the ſtinke wherof the moſt part of them were infected, and the ſayde Clarke beyng a tender yong man, and the moſt ſingular in learning amongſt them all, died in the ſaid priſon, and other in other places in the towne, alſo of the ſame infection deceaſed.

Clarke died in the Cardinals Colledge in priſon.

And thus hauing deteined the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vaineglorious Cardinal, now we wil reduce our ſtorie again to more other fruiteful matter, and as the order of time requireth, firſt beginning wyth M. Humfrey Mummuth, a vertuous and a good Alderman of London, who in the time of the ſaid Cardinal was troubled, as in the ſtorie heere foloweth.

¶ The trouble of Humfrey Mummuth,
Alderman of London.

The ſtory of Humfrey Mummuth.

MAiſter Humfrey Mummuth was a right godly and ſincere Alderman of London, who in the dayes of Cardinall Woolſey, was troubled and put in the Tower, for the Goſpell of Chriſt, and for mainteyning them that fauoured the ſame.

Articles miniſtred againſt Hũfrey Mummuth by Byſhop Stokeſly.

Stokeſley then Biſhop of London, miniſtred Articles vnto him, to the nũber of xxiiij. as for adhering to Luther and his opinions: for hauing and reading heretical bookes and treatiſes, for geuing exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and ſuch other, for helping them ouer the ſea to Luther, for miniſtring priuie helpe to tranſlate, as well the Teſtament, as other bookes into Engliſh, for eating fleſh in Lent, for affirming faith only to iuſtifie, for derogating from mens conſtitutions, for not prayeng to Saintes, not allowing Pilgrimage, auricular confeſſion, the Popes pardons: briefly, for being an aduauncer of all Martin Luthers opinions, &c.

He being of theſe articles examined, and caſt in the Tower, at laſt was compelled to make his ſute or purgation, writing to the foreſaid Cardinall, then Lord Chauncelor, and the whole Counſayle out of the Tower. In the contents whereof he anſwered to the criminous accuſation of them which charged him with certayne bookes, receyued from beyond the ſea: Alſo for his acquaintance wyth M. Tindall. whereunto he ſayde, that he denied not, but that foure yeares then paſt, he had heard the ſaid Tindal preach two or three ſermons at S. Dunſtons in the weſt, and afterward meeting with the ſaid Tindall, had certaine communication with hym cõcerning his liuing, who then told him that he had none at all, but truſted to be in the Biſhop of London his ſeruice: for then he laboured to be his chaplayne. But being refuſed of the Biſhop, ſo came agayne to the ſayd Mummuth this examinate, and beſought him to helpe hym. who the ſame tyme tooke hym into hys houſe for halfe a yeare, where the ſaid Tindall liued (as he ſayd) like a good prieſt, ſtudieng both night & day. He would eat but ſoddẽ meate, by his good will, nor drink but ſmall ſingle beere. He was neuer ſeene in that houſe to weare lynnen about him, al the ſpace of his beyng there. whereupon the ſayd Mummuth had the better liking of hym, ſo that he promiſed him ten pound (as he then ſayd) for his father and mothers ſoules, and all Chriſten ſoules, which money afterward he ſent him ouer to Hamborow, according to his promiſe. And yet not to him alone he gaue this exhibition, but to diuers other moe likewiſe which were no heretikes: as to D. Rayſton, the Biſhop of Londons Chaplayne, he exhibited fortie or fiftie pounds: to D. Wodiall, Prouinciall of the Frier Auſtens, as much, or more: to D. Watſon the Kings Chaplayne: alſo to other ſcholars, and diuers Prieſts, beſides other charges beſtowed vpon Religious houſes, as vpon the Nunry of Denney, aboue fiftie poundes ſterling beſtowed, &c.

The purgation and anſwere of Humfrey Mummuth to the artycles.

Tindal refuſed of Byſhop Stokeſley to be his Chaplein.

The temperate conuerſation of W. Tyndall.

And as touching his bookes, as Enchiridion, the Pater noſter, De libertate Chriſtiana, an Engliſhe Teſtament, of whome, ſome W. Tindall left with him, ſome he ſent vnto hym, ſome were brought into hys houſe, by whome he could not tell, theſe bookes he ſaid, did lye ope in his houſe, the ſpace of two yeares together, he ſuſpecting no harme to be in them. And moreouer, the ſame bookes beyng deſired of ſondry perſons, as of the Abbeſſe of Denney, a Frier of Grenewich, the Father Confeſſour of Syon, he let them haue them, and yet he neuer heard Frier, Prieſt, or lay mã, finde any fault with the ſayd bookes. Likewiſe to D. Watſon, to D. Stockehouſe, Maiſter Martin, Parſon of Totingbecke, he committed the peruſing of the bookes of Pater noſter, and De libertate Chriſtiana, which found no great fault in them, but onely in the booke De libertate Chriſtiana, they ſayd there were thynges ſomewhat hard, except the Reader were wiſe.

Thus he excuſing himſelfe, and moreouer cõplainyng of yͤ loſſe of his credite, by his impriſonment in the Tower and of the detrimentes of his occupying, who was wont yearely to ſhyp, ouer v. hundreth clothes to ſtraungers, & ſet many Clothiars a worke, in Suffolke and in other places, of whõ he bought all their clothes, which almoſt were now all vndone: by this reaſon at length was ſet at libertie, beyng forced to abiure, and after was made Knight by the kyng, and Shriffe of London.

A notable exãple of Chriſtian pacience, in an Alderman. M. George Stafford, reader in Cambridge.

Of this Humfrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Chriſtian patience, in the Sermons of M. Latimer, which the ſayd Latimer heard in Cambridge of M. George Stafford, reader of the Diuinitie Lecture in that Vniuerſitie. who expoundyng the place S. Paule to the Romaines, that we ſhall ouercome our enemy, with well doyng, & ſo heape whote coales vpon his head. &c. brought in an exãple, ſaying, that he knew in London a great rich Marchaunt (meanyng this Humfrey Mummuth) which had a very poore neighbour: yet for all his pouertie, he loued him very well, and lent him money at his neede, and let him come to his table whenſoeuer he would. It was euen at that tyme, when D. Colet was in trouble, and ſhould haue bene burnt, if God had not turned the kyngs hart to the contrary. Now the richman began to bee a Scripture man, he began to ſmell the Goſpell. The poore man was a Papiſt ſtill.

It chaunced on a tyme, when the rich mã talked of the Goſpell ſittyng at his table, where he reproued Popery, and ſuch kynde of thynges. The poore man beyng there preſent, tooke a great diſpleaſure agaynſt the rich man: inſomuch, that hee would come no more to his houſe: he would borow no more money of him, as he was wont to doe before tymes: yea and conceiued ſuch hatred and malice agaynſt him, that he went and accuſed him before the Byſhops. Now the riche man not knowyng of any ſuch diſpleaſure, offered many tymes to talke with him, and to ſet him at quyet. It would not be. The poore man had ſuch a ſtomacke, that hee would not vouchſafe to ſpeake with him. If he mete the rich man in the ſtreate he would goe out of his way. One tyme it happened that hee mete him ſo in a narrow ſtreate, that he could not auoyde, but come neare him: yet for all that this poore man (I ſay) had ſuch a ſtomacke agaynſt the riche man, that he was mynded to goe forward, and not to ſpeake with hym. The riche man perceiuyng that, caught hym by the hand, and aſked him, ſaying: Neighbour, what is come into your hart, to take ſuch diſpleaſure with me? what haue I done agaynſt you? tell me, and I will be ready at all tymes to make you amendes.

Ex concione Doct. Hugo. Latimeri.

Agree with thine enemie while thou art in the way with him. Math. 5.

Finally, he ſpake ſo gently, ſo charitably, ſo louyngly, and frendly, that it wrought ſo in the poore mans hart, that by and by he fell downe vppon his knees, and aſked him forgeueneſſe. The riche man forgaue him, and ſo tooke him agayne to his fauour, and they loued as well as euer they dyd afore.

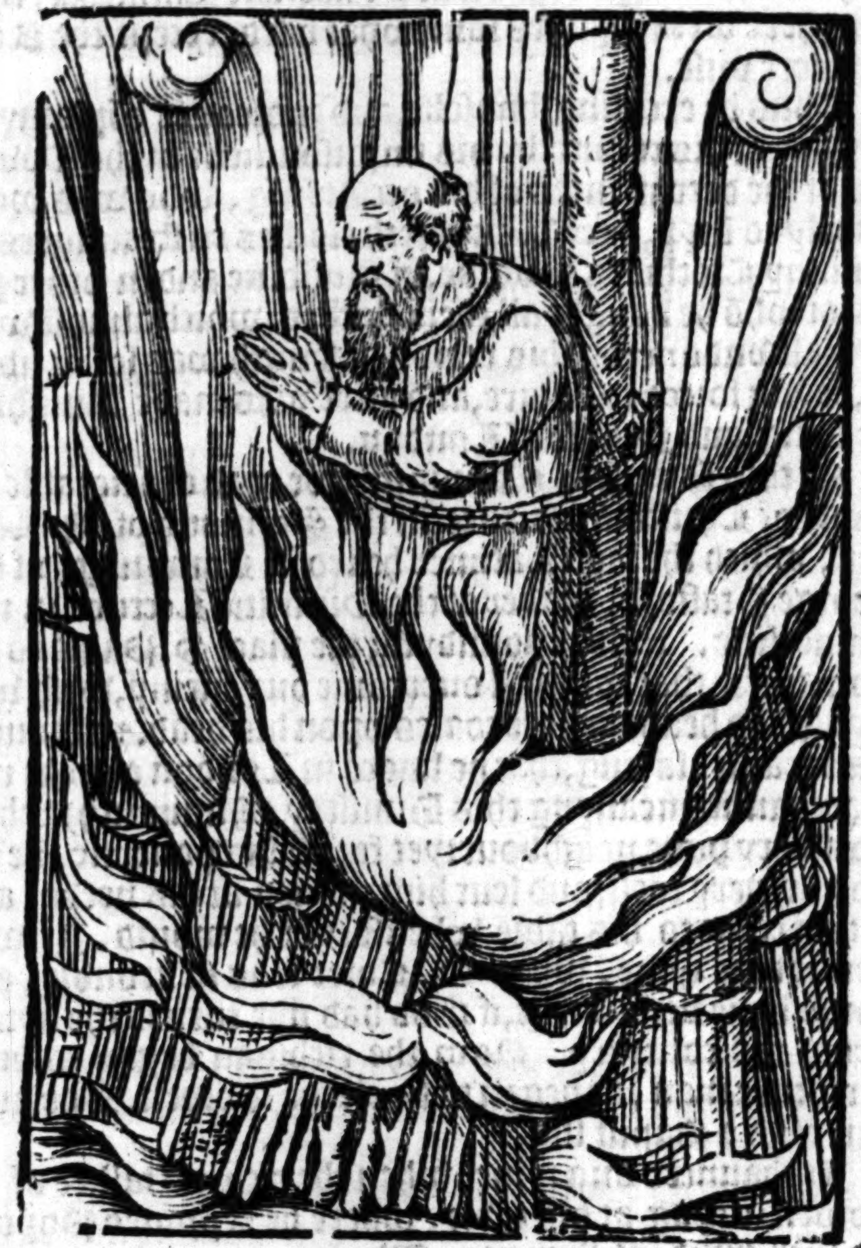
¶ The hiſtory of Thomas Hitten.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Wil. Warham Archbyſhop of Canterbury. Fiſher, Byſhop of Rocheſter.	Thomas Hytten. At Maydſtone. An. 1530.	TOuchyng the memoriall of Thomas Hytten, remayneth nothyng in writtyng, but onely his name, ſaue that William Tyndall in his Apologie agaynſte More: and alſo in another booke, entituled: The Practiſe of Prelates, doth once or twiſe make metion of him by way of digreſſion. He was (ſayth he) a Preacher at Maydſtone, whom the Byſhoppe of Canterbury William Warhã, and Fiſher Byſhoppe of Rocheſter

Tho. Hitten Martyr.

ſter, after they had longe kepte and tormented him in priſon with ſundry torments, and that notwithſtanding, he continued conſtant, at the laſt they burned him at Maydſtone, for the conſtant and manifeſt teſtimonie of Ieſu Chriſt, and of his free grace and ſaluation. In the yeare of our Lord 1530.

¶ The burnyng of Thomas Hytten.



Anno. 1531.
Thomas Bilney Martyr,

Thomas Bilney Bacheler of both lawves.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.
Cardinall Wolſey.	
Nixe, Byſhoppe of Norwich.	
Fryers of Ipſwich.	Thomas Bilney.
Fryer Byrd.	
Fryer Hogekins.	
Doctour Stokes.	
Sir Thom. Moore.	
Fryer Bruſyerd.	
Fryer Iohn Huggen, Prouinciall of the Dominikes.	Arthure, which abiured.
Fryer Geffrey Iulles.	
Fryer Iugworth.	
M. William Iecket, gentleman.	At Norwiche.
William Nelſon.	
Thomas Williams.	Ann. 1531.

The Cauſes.

In the ſtory aboue paſſed of Cardinall Wolſey, mention was made of certayne, whome the ſayde Cardinal cauſed to abiure, as Bilney, Geffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, and ſuch other, of whome we haue nowe (the Lorde directing vs) ſpecially to entreate. This Thom. Bilney was brought vp in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, euen from a child, profiting in al kind of liberal ſcience, euen vnto the profeſſion of both lawes. But at the laſt, hauing gottē a better ſchoolemaiſter, euen the holy ſpirit of Chriſt, who enduing his hart by priuie inſpiration with yͤ knowledge of better & more wholeſome things, he came at the laſt vnto this point, that forſaking yͤ knowledge of mās lawes, he cōuerted his ſtudye to thoſe things, which tended more vnto godlynes then gaynefulnes.

Finally, as he hymſelfe was greatly inflamed with the loue of true religion & godlines, euen ſo agayne was in hys hart an incredible deſire to allure many vnto the ſame, deſiring nothing more, then that hee might ſtir vp & incourage any to the loue of Chriſt, & ſincere Religion. Neyther was his labors vayne, for he conuerted many of hys felowes vnto the knowledge of the Goſpell, amōgſt which number was Thomas Arthur, and M. Hugh Latimer, which Latimer at that time was croſſekeeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth vpon proceſſion dayes. At the laſt, Bilney forſaking the Vniuerſitie, went into many places, teaching & preaching, being aſſociate with Arthur, whiche accompanied him from the Vniuerſitie. The authoritie of Thom. Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke, of whome ye heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pompe & pride much greater, which did euidently declare vnto all wiſe men, the manifeſt vanitie, not only of his life, but alſo of all the Byſhops and Cleargie. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men maruelling at the incredible inſolencie of the Cleargie, which they could now no longer ſuffer or abide, beganne to ſhake and reproue this exceſſiue pompe of the Cleargie, and alſo to plucke at the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome.

Maiſter Latimer Croſſekeeper in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge.

Bilney againſt the pride of the Pope, and of his Cardinalls.

Then it was time for the Cardinall to awake, and ſpeedily to looke about hys buſines. Neyther lacked he in this poynt any craft or ſubtiltie of a ſerpent, for he vnderſtood well enough vpon how ſlender a foundation theyr ambitious dignitie was grounded, neyther was he ignoraunt that theyr Luciferous and proude kingdome could not long cōtinue againſt the manifeſt word of God, eſpecially if the light of the Goſpell ſhould once open the eyes of men. For otherwiſe he did not greatly feare the power and dipleaſure of Kings and Princes. Only thys he feared, the voyce of Chriſt in his Goſpell, leaſt it ſhould diſcloſe and detect their hypocriſie and deceites, and force them to come into an order of godly diſcipline: wherefore he thought good, ſpeedily in time to withſtand theſe beginnings. Whereupon he cauſed the ſayd Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and caſt in priſon, as before yee haue heard.

After this, the xxvij. day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord 1527. the ſayde Cardinall accompanyed wyth a great number of Byſhops, as the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, Cuthbert of London, Iohn of Rocheſter, Nicholas of Ely, Iohn of Exeter, Iohn of Lincolne, Iohn of Bathe and Welles, Harry of Saint Aſſe, with many other both Diuines and Lawyers, came into the Chapterhouſe of Weſtminſter, where the ſayd Maiſter Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the ſayd Cardinall there enquired of M. Bilney, whether he had priuately or publiquely preached or taught to the people, the opinions of Luther or any other, condemned by the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Whereunto Bilney anſweared, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luthers opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholique Churche. Then the Cardinall aſked him, whether he had not once made an othe before, that he ſhould not preach, rehearſe, or defende any of Luthers opiniōs, but ſhould impugne the ſame euery where? He anſwered, that he had made ſuch an othe, but not lawfully, which interrogatories ſo miniſtred, and anſweares made, the Cardinall cauſed hym to ſweare, to aunſweare playnely to the articles and errors preached and ſet foorth by him, as well in the Citie and dioces of London, as in the dioces of Norwich and other places, and that he ſhuld do it without any craft, qualifying or leauing out any part of the truth.

Cardinall Wolſey with his complices, agaynſt Bilney and Arthur.

After he was thus ſworne and examined, the ſayd Cardinal proceded to the examination of M. Thomas Arthur there preſent, cauſing him to take the like othe, that M. Bilney did. Which done, he aſked of him whether he had not once told ſir Tho. More knight, yͭ in the Sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Chriſt: which interrogatory he denied. Then the Cardinal gaue him time to deliberate til noone, and to bring in his anſweare in writing. After noone the ſame daye, what tyme the examination of the foreſayde Thomas Arthur was ended, the Cardinall and Byſhops by theyr authoritie, Ex officio, did call in for witneſſes before Mayſter Bilney, certayne men, namely, Iohn Huggen, chiefe Prouinciall of the Friers preachers throughout all England, Geffrey Iulles, and Richard Iugworth, profeſſours of Diuinitie of the ſame order. Alſo William Iecket Gentleman, William Nelſon, and Thomas Williams, which were ſworne, that all fauour, hate, loue, or rewarde ſet aparte, they ſhoulde without concealing of any falſehoode, or omitting any truth, ſpeake theyr myndes vpon the Articles layde agaynſt them, or preached by hym, as well within the Dioces of London, as the Dioces of Norwich: and becauſe he was otherwiſe occupyed aboute the affayres of the Realme, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Byſhop of London, and to other Byſhops there preſent, or to three of them, to proceede agaynſt all men, as well ſpirituall as temporall, as alſo againſt ſchedules, writings

Thomas Arthur, examined.

tings, and bookes, ſet forth and tranſlated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo the tenth, and by all maner of probable meanes, to enquire and roote out their errors and opinions, and all ſuch as were found culpable, to compell them to abiuration, according to the lawe, or if the matter ſo required, to deliuer them vnto the ſecular power, and to geue them full power and authoritie to determine vpon them.

Bilney and Arthure brought before Tũſtall biſhop of London.

The xxvij. of Nouember, in the yeare aforeſayde, the Byſhop of London, with the Byſhop of Ely and Rocheſter, came vnto the Byſhop of Norwiches houſe, whereas likewiſe Ex officio, they did ſweare certayne witneſſes agaynſt mayſter Thomas Arthur, in lyke ſorte as they had done before agaynſt mayſter Bilney, and ſo proceeded to the examination of mayſter Arthur: whiche being ended vpon certayne interrogatories, the Byſhop of London warned hym by vertue of hys othe, that he ſhould not reueale his examinations, nor his anſweres, nor any parte or parcell thereof.

Worke they neuer ſo ſecretly, yet God bringeth their practiſes to light at length.

The ſeconde day of December, the Biſhops aſſembled agayne in the ſame place, and ſware more witneſſe agaynſt Mayſter Bilney. That done, they called for Mayſter Arthur, vnto whoſe charge they layde theſe Articles folowing.

¶ Articles agaynſt Thomas Arthur.

Articles againſt Thomas Arthur.

1 In primis, that he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray ſpecially for thoſe that now be in priſon, which Article he denyed.

2 That he ſayde, though men be reſtrayned to preache now adayes (which is agaynſt Gods lawes) yet I may preache: Firſt by the authoritie of my Lord Cardinall, for I haue his licence. Secondly, by the authoritie of the Vniuerſitie. Thirdly, by the Pope. Fourthly, by the authoritie of God, where he ſayeth: Euntes in mundum, prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ. By whyche authoritie, euerye man may preach, and there is neyther Byſhop nor Ordinary, nor yet the Pope, that may make any lawe to let any man to preach the Goſpell. This Article he confeſſed that he ſpake.

Authoritye to preache.

3 When he ſpake of Lawes, he brought a ſimilitude of Croſſes, ſet vp againſte the walles of London, that men ſhould not piſſe there. When there was but one Croſſe or a fewe more, men did reuerence them, and piſſed not there: but when there was in euery corner a Croſſe ſet, then men of neceſſitie were compelled to piſſe vpon the Croſſes: So in lyke manner, when there was but a fewe holy and deuoute lawes in the Churche, then men were afrayde to offend them. Afterwarde, they made many lawes for their aduantage, and ſuch as were pecuniall, thoſe they do obſerue, and ſuch as are not pecuniall, thoſe they call Palea, and regard them not: and ſo now adayes there are ſo many lawes, that whether a man do ill or well, he ſhall be taken in the lawe. He confeſſed that he ſpake the very ſame, or the like words.

The multitude of lawes, make lawes to be contemned.

Palea in the Popes decrees.

4 He ſaid, Good people, if I ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the preaching of the Goſpel of God, yet there is 7000. more that would preach ÿ Goſpell of God, as I do now. Therefore good people, good people (whiche wordes be often rehearſed as it were lamenting) thinke not that if theſe tyrants and perſecuters put a man to death, the preaching of the Goſpell therefore is to be forſaken. This Article he confeſſed that he ſpake in like words and ſenſe, ſauing that he made no mention of tyrants.

The preaching of the Goſpell is to be left for no perſecution.

5 That euery man, yea euery lay man is a prieſt. He confeſſed that he ſpake ſuch wordes, declaring in hys Sermon, that euery Chriſtian man is a Prieſt, offering vp the ſacrifice of prayer: and if they dyd murmure agaynſte the order of Prieſthoode, they dyd murmure agaynſt themſelues.

6 That men ſhould praye to no Saintes in heauen, but onely to God, and they ſhould vſe no other Mediatour for them, but Chriſt Ieſu our redeemer only. This Article he denyed.

Againſt Images.

7 He preached that they ſhoulde worſhip no Images of Saintes, whiche were nothing but ſtockes and ſtones. This he alſo denied.

8 He did preache vpon Whitſonday laſt within the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, ſuch or like wordes and ſentences: That a Bacheler of Diuinitie admitted of the Vniuerſitie, or any other perſon hauing or knowing the Goſpell of God, ſhoulde go foorth and preache in euery place, and let for no man, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer he were: and if any Byſhop did accurſe them for ſo doing, their curſes ſhould turne to the harme of themſelues. He confeſſed this.

Which aunſweres thus made and acknowledged, the ſayd M. Arthur did reuoke and condemne the ſayd Articles agaynſt him miniſtred, and ſubmitted him ſelfe to the puniſhment and iudgement of the Church.

Arthur ſubmitteth himſelfe.

The thyrd day of December, the Byſhop of London, with the other Byſhops, aſſemblyng in the place aforeſayd, after that Bilney had denyed vtterly to returne to the Church of Rome, the Byſhop of London in diſcharge of his cõſcience (as he ſayd) leaſt he ſhould hide any thyng that had come to his hands, he did really exhibite vnto the Notaries, in the preſence of the ſayd Maiſter Bilney, certaine letters, to witte, fiue letters or Epiſtles, with one Schedule in one of the Epiſtles, conteyning his Articles and aunſweres folded therein, and an other Epiſtle folded in maner of a booke, with ſixe leaues, which all and euery one he commaunded to be written out and regiſtred, and the originals to be deliuered to him agayne.

5. letters of Bylney to the Byſh. of London.

This was done in the preſence of Maiſter Bilney, deſiring a Copie of them, and he bounde the Notaries with an othe, for the ſafe keepyng of the Copies, and true Regiſtryng of the ſame. Whiche Articles and aunſweres, with three of the ſame Epiſtles, with certaine depoſitions depoſed by the foreſayd witneſſe, here followe truely drawen out partly of his owne hand writyng, and partly out of the Regiſter.

Ex Regiſt. Londinenſi.

✠ Interrogatories whereupon Maiſter Thomas Arthur, and Maiſter Bilney were accuſed and examined.

Interrogatories againſt Bilney & Arthur.

1 Whether they did beleue with their hartes, that the Aſſertions of Luther, which are impugned by the Byſhop of Rocheſter, were iuſtly and godly condemned, and that Luther with his adherentes, was a wicked and deteſtable hereticke.

Conſtitutions.

2. Whether they did beleue that the generall Coũcels and Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions once receiued and not abrogat agayn, ought to be obſerued of all men, euen for conſcience ſake, and not onely for feare.

3. Whether they did beleue that the Popes lawes were profitable and neceſſary to the preferrement of godlyneſſe, not repugnaunt to the holy Scriptures, neither by any meanes to be abrogate, but to be reuerenced of all men.

The Church.

4. Whether they did beleue that the Catholicke Churche may erre in the fayth or no, and whether they thinke that Catholicke Church to be a ſenſible Church, which may be demonſtrate and poynted out as it were with a finger, or that it is onely a ſpirituall Church, intelligible, & knowen onely vnto God.

Images.

5. Whether they thinke that the Images of Saintes are Chriſtenly ſet in the Churches, and ought to be worſhypped of all true Chriſtians.

Whether ſoules be already iudged.

6. Whether that a man may beleue without hurt to his fayth, or note of hereſie, the ſoules of Peter and Paule, and of our Ladye, either to bee, or not to bee in heauen, and that there is yet no iudgement geuen vpon the ſoules departed.

7. Whether that a man may beleue without ſpot of hereſie, that our Lady remayned not alwayes a virgin.

Breaking of faſting dayes ſinne.

8. Whether holy dayes & faſtyng dayes ordeined and receiued by the Church, may be broken by any priuate man, at his will and pleaſure, without ſinne or obſtinacie.

9. Whether we are bound to be obedient vnto Prelates, Byſhops, and Kynges, by Gods commaũdement, as we are vnto our parentes.

10. Whether they beleue that the Churche doth well and godly in praying to the Saintes.

Chriſt not onely to be prayed to.

11. Whether they thinke that Chriſt onely ſhould be prayd vnto, and that it is no hereſie, if any man affirme that Saintes ſhould not be prayed vnto.

12. Whether they doe thinke all true Chriſtians to be by like right Prieſtes, and all thoſe to haue receiued the keyes of bindyng and looſing, at the hands of Chriſt, which haue obteined the ſpirite of God, and onely ſuch, whether they be lay men or Prieſtes.

13. Whether they beleue with their hart, that fayth may be without workes and charitie.

Prayer in a learned tongue.

14. Whether they beleue that it is more agreable to the fayth, that the people ſhould pray in their owne tongue, thẽ in a learned vnknowen tongue, & whether they commende the prayer in a ſtraunge tongue or no.

15. Whether they would haue the Maſſes and Goſpels openly to be read in Churches in the vulgare tongue, rather then in the Latin tongue.

16. Whether they commend that children ſhould onely be taught the Lordes prayer, and not the Salutation of the virgine, or Creede.

17 Whe-

Beades.

17 Whether they do thinke the woodden beades which the common people doth vſe, worthy to be denyed, or not.

18 Whether they do thinke the whole Scripture ought to be tranſlated into Engliſh, or that it ſhould be more profitable for the people, then as it is now read.

Orgaines.

19 Whether they would haue the Orgaines and all maner of ſongs to be put out of the Church of God.

20 Whether they do thinke that it perteyneth to the Byſhops to puniſhe any man with bonds or impriſonment, or that they haue any temporall power and authoritie.

21 Whether they thinke that cōſtitution to be godly, that no man ſhould preach in another mās dioces, wͭout letters of commendation, and licence obteyned of the Byſhop.

Purgatory.

22 Whether they thinke the vowes of religious men and priuate religion, to be conſtitute and ordeined by the ſpirit of God, neyther by any meanes to be repugnant to a free and perfect Chriſtian life.

23 Whether they beleue that we ſhould pray for the dead, or beleeue that there is a Purgatorie, or that we are bound by neceſſitie of faith, to beleeue neyther of them: but that it is free without ſinne, either to beleue it, or not to beleue it.

Philoſophy.

24 Whether they beleue that moral Philoſophy and natural, to preuaile any thing for the better vnderſtanding of the ſcriptures, & for the expoſition and defence of the truth.

25 Whether they thinke that the Popes indulgences and pardons are rather to be reiected then receiued.

26 Whether it be contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that Chriſtians ſhoulde by any meanes contend in the law, to ſeeke any maner of reſtitution.

27 Whether they beleeue all things perteining to ſaluation and damnation to come of neceſſitie, and nothing to be in our owne willes.

28 Whether they beleeue God to be the authour of euill, as well of the fault, as of the puniſhment.

Maſſe.

29 Whether they thinke Maſſe onely to be profitable to him which ſaith it, & whether euery mā may alter or leaue out the rite and order of the Maſſe, without hurt of fayth.

30 Whether they beleeue that there can be any morall vertues without the grace of Chriſtian liuing, or that the vertues which Ariſtotle hath ſet out, or rather fayned.

31 Whether they thinke it hereſie, to teache the people, that it is free to geue tythes vnto Prieſtes, or to any other poore man.

Images.

32 Whether they do thinke it more Chriſtianlike to take away the Images out of the Churches, or to permit them to adorne them and honour them.

33 Whether they thinke it the part of a Chriſtian man, that preachers ſhould exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worſhipping of reliques.

Reliques.

34 Whether that thou Thomas Bilney, being cited vpō hereſie to appeare before my Lord Cardinall, and before yͤ day of thy apparance, not hauing made thy purgatiō vpon thoſe poyntes that thou waſt cited, haſt preached openly in diuers Churches of the City and dioces of London, without ſufficient licence from the Byſhop, or any other.

Concerning the anſweares vnto theſe Articles, (gentle Reader) for ſo muche as in the moſt part of them, Bilney with Arthur ſeemed to conſent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and maner of qualifying) yet becauſe he did not expreſſely denie them, it ſhall not be needefull heere to recite them all, ſaue onely ſuche wherein he ſeemed to diſſent from them.

Anſwers to the Interrogatories aforeſaide.

To the firſt and ſecond Articles he anſwered affirmatiuely.

To the third he ſayd, I beleeue that many of the Popes Lawes are profitable and neceſſary, and doo preuayle vnto godlyneſſe, neyther in anye poynte are repugnant vnto the Scriptures, nor by anye meanes are to be abrogate, but of all men to bee obſerued and reuerenced. But touching all thoſe Lawes I can not determine: for, as for ſuch as I haue not read; I truſt notwithſtanding they are good alſo: and as for thoſe that I haue read, I did neuer reade them to the ende and purpoſe to reprooue them, but according to my power, to learne and vnderſtande them. And as touching the multitude of Lawes, S. Auguſtine in his time did much complayne, and Gerſon alſo, who marueiled that we could by any meanes lyue in ſafetie amongſt ſo many ſnares of conſtitutions, when as our forefathers being pure before their fall, could not obſerue one onely precept.

Againſt the multitude of lawes.

To the fourth Article he ſayde, that the Catholique Church can by no meanes erre in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and ſo knowen only vnto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwiſe no man ſhoulde be aſcertayned of an other mans ſaluation, or of his owne, but onely through fayth and hope. For it is written: No man knoweth whether he be woorthy of hatred or loue. It is alſo ſenſible, and may be demonſtrate ſo farre forth as it is ſufficient to eſtabliſh vs in all thyngs, that are to be beleeued and done: For I maye truely ſaye of the generall Councell being congregate in the holy Ghoſt, Beholde heere the Catholique Churche, denominating the whole by the moſt woorthy part.

The true church can not erre in faith

Eccle. 9.

To the fift Article, he aunſwered affirmatiuely in theſe words: Cum ſint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem, ſed prototypon.

To the ſixt Article he anſwered, that he did not beleeue that they are in heauen, being ſo taught by the ſcriptures, and holy Fathers of the Church.

To the ſeuenth Article he ſaid, that it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eight Article, whether a man may not obſerue the Feaſtes and Faſtes of the Churche preſcribed, hee thought that there is no man, but he ought to obſerue them.

To the ninth Article he ſaid, that we are likewiſe bound as vnto parents.

To the xiiij. Article he anſweared thus, the fourteenth Chapter of Saint Paule, in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians moueth mee to beleeue, that it is beſt, that the people ſhoulde haue the Lordes Prayer, and the Apoſtles Creede in Engliſh, ſo that their deuotion might the more be furthered by the vnderſtanding thereof, and alſo that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the Articles of their fayth: of the whiche it is to be feared, a great number are ignoraunt. Surely I haue heard many ſay, that they neuer heard ſpeake of the reſurrection of the body: and being certified thereof, but they became muche more apte and readye vnto goodnes, and more fearefull to doo euill.

Scripture to be in Engliſhe.

To the fifteenth Article he ſayde, he woulde wiſhe that the Goſpelles and Epiſtles ſhould be read in Engliſhe. For I woulde (ſayth Paule) rather haue fiue wordes, &c. That the Church might be edified, &c. And Chriſoſtome exhorteth his hearers to looke vpon bookes, that they might the better commit vnto memory thoſe thynges which they had heard. And S. Bede did tranſlate S. Iohns Goſpell into Engliſh.

1. Cor. 14.

S. Iohns Goſpel tranſlated into Engliſhe by Bede.

Touching the eighteenth Article, for the tranſlation of the Scripture into Engliſh, concerning the whole, he dyd partly doubt. Notwithſtanding he wiſhed that the Goſpels & Epiſtles of that day might be read in Engliſhe, that the people might be made yͤ more apt to heare Sermons. But here ſome wil ſay, there might alſo be daunger for errour. Wherunto he anſwered, But good & vigilant paſtors might eaſily helpe that matter, by adding the plaine interpretation of the fathers in the margents, in Engliſh, vpon the darke and obſcure places, which woulde put awaye all doubts. O how great profite of ſoules ſhould the vigilant paſtors get thereby, whiche contrarywiſe through their ſlothfulnes bring great ruyne and decay.

To the xxv. Article, as touching pardons, he ſayd, that as they be vſed, and haue too long ben, it were better that they ſhould be reſtrained, then yͭ they ſhould be any longer vſed as they haue bene, to the iniurie of Chriſtes paſſion.

The Popes pardons iniurious to Chriſtes paſſion.

Touching the xxvj. Article, he ſaid, that it is not againſt the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, to contende in the Lawe, ſo it be done with charitie. If Saint Auſten, and the reuerēd father Marcus Marulus did not erre, which graunted that libertie to the weake Chriſtians: albeit that true Chriſtians ought to geue eare vnto S. Paules ſayeng. Why doo yee not rather ſuffer iniurie? And to Chriſt hymſelfe, which ſaith: He that woulde contende with thee in the lawe, and take away thy coate, geue him thy cloke alſo.

How Chriſtians may goe to the lawe.

1. Cor. 6.

Touching the xxviij. he anſweared, that God is the authour of that puniſhment onely, but not of the offence, as Baſilius Magnus teacheth in his Sermon vpon theſe wordes of the Prophete: Non eſt malum in ciuitate quod non fecit dominus. And S. Auguſtine in another place (as I remember) prayeth: That he be not ledde into that temptation, that he ſhoulde beleeue God to be the authour of ſinne and wickednes.

Amos. 3.

¶ Heere enſueth a briefe ſummarie or collection of
certaine depoſitions, depoſed by the ſeuerall witneſſes
aforenamed, vpon certaine interrogatories miniſtred vnto them, for the inquirie of Maiſter Bilneyes doctrine and preaching.

First it was depoſed, that in his ſermō in Chriſts church in Ipſwich, he ſhuld preach and ſay, our ſauiour Chriſt is our mediatour betwene vs and the father: what ſhould

Depoſitions agaynſt M. Bilney.

we neede then to ſeeke any Saynt for remedy? wherefore it is great iniury to the bloud of Chriſt, to make ſuch petitions, and blaſphemeth our Sauiour.

That man is ſo vnperfect of himſelfe, that he can in no wiſe merite by his owne deedes.

...reſie in ...e Popes ...rch to ...eſie ...iſt onely ...e our ...iatour. ...hn 9. ...Frances ...wle re-...itteth 4. ...rts of pe-...nce: What ...mayneth ...n for Chriſt to ...mit.

Alſo that the cōming of Chriſt was long propheſied before, & deſired by the Prophetes: But Iohn Baptiſt being more thē a prophet, did not only prophecy, but with his finger ſhewed him ſaying: Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mūdi. Then if this were the very Lambe which Iohn did demonſtrate, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world, what iniury is it to our Sauiour Chriſt, that to be buryed in S. Frances cowle ſhould remit four partes of penance, what is then left to our Sauiour Chriſt, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world? This I will iuſtify to be a great blaſphemy to the bloud of Chriſt.

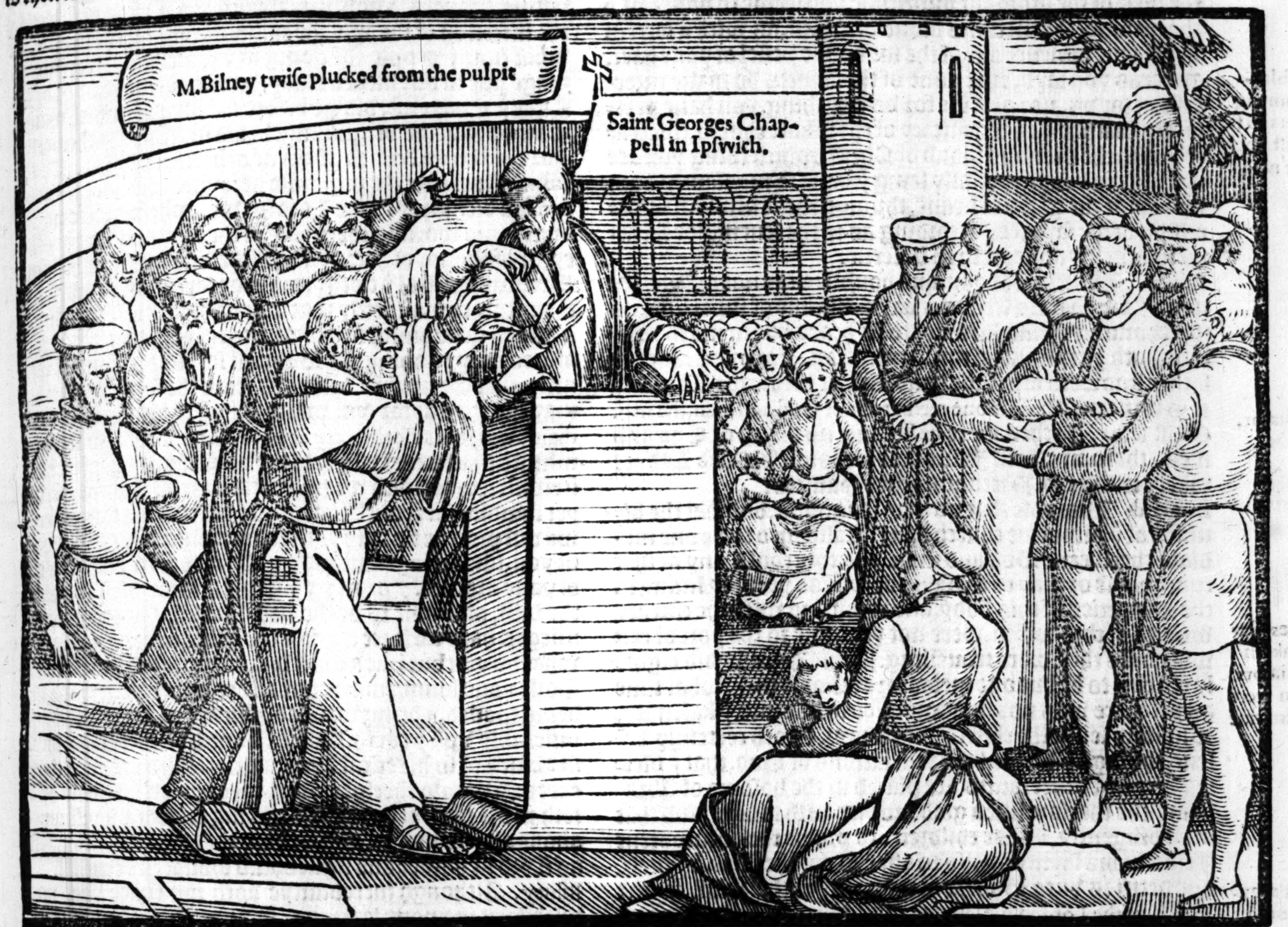
Againſt pilgrimage.

Alſo that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times paſt haue bene Antichriſtes, and now it hath pleaſed God ſomwhat to ſhew forth their falſhood and errors.

Againſt blinde miracles.

Alſo that the myracles done at Walſingham, at Caunterbury, & there in Ipſwich were done by the deuill, thorow the ſufferaunce of God, to blinde the poore people: and that the Pope hath not the keyes that Peter had, except he folow Peter in his liuing.

Moreouer, it was depoſed agaynſt him, that hee was notoriouſly ſuſpected as an hereticke, and twiſe pulled out of the pulpit in the dioces of Norwich.


M.Bilney twiſe plucked from the pulpit
Saint Georges Chappell in Ipſwich.

Alſo it was depoſed agaynſt him, that he ſhould in the pariſh church of Willeſdon, exhort the people to put away theyr Gods of ſiluer & gold, and leaue their offerings vnto thē, for that ſuch things as they offred, haue bene knowne oftentimes afterward to haue bene geuē to whores of the ſtewes. Alſo that Iewes and Saraſens would haue become chriſtē men long ago, had it not bene for the idolatry of Chriſten men in offring of candles, waxe, and money to ſtockes and ſtones.

The Idolatry of the papiſtes is a lette to the Iewes and Turkes, why they are not conuerted.

Ouer and beſides theſe cancelling matters, articuled & depoſed agaynſt him, here follow certeine other Articles, whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his ſermon, which he preached in the pariſh Church of S. Magnus, in Whitſon weeke, in the yeare of our Lord. 1527.

❧ Certayne other Articles producted agaynſt maiſter Thomas Bilney.

Articles.

FIrſt he ſayd, pray you only to God, and to no ſaints rehearſing the Letany, and when he came to Sancta Maria ora pro nobis, he ſayd, ſtay there.

He ſayd that Chriſten men ought to worſhip God only and no Sayntes.

He ſayd that Chriſtian people ſhould ſet vp no lightes before the Images of ſaynts, for ſayntes in heauen need no light, and the Images haue no eyes to ſee.

He ſayd, as Ezechias deſtroyd the braſen Serpent that Moſes made by the cōmaundemēt of God, euen ſo ſhould kinges and princes now a dayes deſtroy and burne the Images of Sayntes ſet vp in Churches.

One fiftie good popes ſince Chriſt

Theſe fiue hundred yeares there hath bene no good Pope, nor in all the time paſt, we can finde but fiftye, for they haue neither preached, ne liued well, or conformablye to theyr dignity: wherefore till now they haue borne the keyes of Symony. Agaynſt whom, good people, we muſt preache and teache vnto you. For we canne not come to them, it is great pitty, they haue ſore ſclaundered the bloud of Chriſt.

The people hath vſed fooliſhly of late, Pilgrimages, which for them had bene better to haue bene at home.

Many haue made certayne vowes, which be not poſſible for them to fulfill, and thoſe nothing meritorious.

The preachers before this haue bene Antichriſtes and now it hath pleaſed our Sauiour Chriſt, to ſhew their falſe errours, and to teach an other way and maner of the holy Goſpell of Chriſt, to the comfort of your ſoules.

The propheſie of Bilney.

I truſt that there ſhall and will come others beſides me, which ſhall ſhew and preach to you the ſame fayth and maner of liuing, that I do ſhew and preach to you, whych is the very true Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the mind of the holy fathers, wherby you ſhalbe brought from theyr errours, wherein you haue bene long ſeduced: for before this, there haue bene many that haue ſclaundered you, and the Goſpell of our Sauior Chriſt, of whom ſpake our Sauiour. Math. xviij. Qui ſcandalizauerit vnum de puſillis iſtis, qui in me credit. &c.

Theſe & many other ſuch like depoſitions were depoſed agaynſte him by the deponentes and witneſſes before ſworne, which wholy to recite, would be too long and tedious: wherfore theſe ſhall ſuffice at this time, being the principall matters, and in maner the effect of all the reſt. But now, before we will returne agayne to the order of hys examination, we thinke it good here to inferre a certaine Dialogue conteyning a communication betweene a Fryer named Iohn Bruſierd, and Mayſter Thomas Bilney, which we haue thought meet for this place, becauſe it was done in Ipſwich, and alſo about the time of theſe examinations: the Copy whereof we haue, written with the friers owne hand in Latine, the Copy whereof in Engliſh here enſueth.

A Dialogue.

¶ A Dialogue betwene Fryer Iohn Bruſierd, and Mayſter Thomas Bilney, in Ipſwich, concerning worſhipping of Images.

Bruſierd.

A Dialogue betweene Bilney and Frier Bruſierd.

ALthough you haue blaſphemed moſt pernitiouſly the immaculate flocke of Chriſt, with certayne blaſphemyes of yours: yet being moued partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your caſe & towardly diſpoſitiō, I am come hither to talke with you ſecretly, before the rumor be diſcloſed, vpon the conſideration of the threefolde errors which I ſee in you.

A great blaſphemy among the Fryers to ſet vp Christ onely to be our mediatour.

Firſt for that, when you began to ſhoot the dart of your peſtiferous error more vehemently thē you ought, agaynſt the breſt of the ignorant multitude, you ſeeme to poure vpō the ground, the precious bloud of Chriſt, as with a certein vehement violence out of the miſerable veſſel of your hart. Wheras you ſayd, that none of the ſayntes do make interceſſion for vs, nor obteine for vs any thing, you haue perilouſly blaſphemed the efficacy of the whole church, cōſecrated with the precious bloud of Chriſt. which thing you are not able to deny, eſpecially ſeing ÿ ſame ſo inceſſantly doth knocke at the gates of heauē, through the continuall interceſſion of the ſayntes, according as in the ſeuenfolde Letany manifeſtly appeareth to be ſeene.

Bilney. I maruell at you, and doubtles cannot marnell enough, but that the ſtrong & vayn cuſtome of ſuperſtitious mē, thinking themſelues not to be heard but in much babling, doth put an end of my admiration. For our heauenly father knoweth what we haue need of before we aſke. Alſo it is written: There is one mediatour of God and men, the man Chriſt Ieſus. If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Chriſt Ieſus, where is our bleſſed Ladye? where is then S. Peter and other Saintes?

One mediator, and no moe.

Bruſierd. I ſuppoſe that no man is ignorāt, but that the diuines of ÿ primitiue church haue all affirmed to be one mediator betweene God and man. Neither could any at that time prayſe or pray to the ſaynts, whē as yet they liuing in the calamities of this body, and wraſtling with the cōtrary windes of this world, were not yet come to the port of reſt wherunto they were trauelling. Paul (I graūt) did rightly affirme to be but one mediator of God & men, what time as yet there was no ſaint canoniſed or put into ÿ kalender. But now ſeing the church doth know, & doth certeinly beleue, through ÿ vndoubted reuelations of God, that ÿ bleſſed virgin & other ſaints are placed in the boſome of Abraham, ſhe therfore like a good mother hath taught, and that moſt diligently, vs her children, to prayſe the omnipotent Ieſus in his ſaynts: & alſo to offer vp by the ſame ſayntes, our petitiōs vnto God. Therof it is that the Pſal. ſayth: Prayſe ye the Lord in his ſayntes. Rightly alſo do we ſay and affirme, that ſayntes may pray for vs. One man may pray for another. Ergo, much more may ſaynts that do enioy the fruitiō of his high maieſty. For ſo it is writtē: God is my witnes whome I ſerue in my ſpirite, in the Goſpell of his ſonne, that without ceaſing I remēber you in my praier alwaies for you. &c.

The Popes Calender maketh moe Mediators now, then were in the Primitiue Church.

Note this argument, wee muſt prayſe God in his Saintes, Ergo, wee muſt pray to Saintes. Rom. 1.

Bilney. I marnell doubtleſſe, that you a man learned are not yet deliuered out of the confuſe dungeon of hereſie, through the helpe of the holy Goſpell: eſpecially ſeing ÿ in the ſame Goſpell it is written: Verely, verely, I ſay vnto you, what ſo euer you aske the father in my name, he will geue it vnto you. He ſayth not, whatſoeuer ye aſke the Father in the name of S. Peter, S. Paule, or other ſayntes, but in my name. Let vs, aſke therfore helpe in the name of him, which is able to obteine for vs of his father, whatſoeuer we aſke, leaſt peraduenture hereafter in the end of the world, at the ſtrayt iudgemēt we ſhall heare: Hitherto in my name ye haue asked nothing.

John 16.

In nomine meo.

Bruſierd. Where ye maruell (with what minde, I can not tel) that I being a learned man (as you ſay) am not deliuered yet frō the cōfuſe dungeon of hereſy, through the helpe of the goſpel: much more do you that are far better learned then I, cauſe me to maruel at your fooliſh admiratiō. Neither can I chuſe but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heauen of ſuch high miſteries, and yet ſee not thoſe thinges which be done here in the lower partes of terrene Philoſophy, for what a ridiculous thing is it, for a man to looke ſo long vpon the Sunne, that he can ſee nothing els but the Sunne, nor canne not tell whyther to turne him? Moreouer, what ſtudent is there in all Cambridge, be he neuer ſo young, that knoweth not, that the argumēt of authority brought out nagatiuely, hath no force?

Argumentum ad autoritate destructiue.

Bilney. So as the Phariſeis tooke Chriſt, you take my wordes much otherwiſe then I meant.

Bruſierd. Your words which wander farre from the ſcope of Scripture, I doe not like. What is in your meaning, and lyeth inwardly in your minde, I can not tell.

Bilney. Such as inuocate the helpe either of Chriſt, or of any other Saynt, for any corporal infirmity, to be deliuered frō the ſame, may be well reſēbled to delicate paciēts, who being vnder the hand of phiſitiōs, & hauing medicines miniſtred agaynſt theyr diſeaſes: not abiding the payn therof, rap all a ſūder: wherfore I ſay, no man ought to implore ÿ helpe of God or of any ſaynt, *for corporall infirmity.

Praying taking a way rall ties.

Bruſierd. O moſte pernicious & perilous hereſy of all that euer I heard. Thus you fleeing the ſmoke, fal into the fire, & auoiding the daunger of Scylla, you run vpō Caribdis. O hart of man wrapped in palpable darknes. I wiſh M. Bilney, that you would but once ſearch & ſet out the firſte origine of theſe rogatiō dayes: For ſo we read in ÿ churche ſtory, that they were firſt ordeyned by pope Gregory, with faſting, prayers, & holy proceſſions agaynſt the peſtilēce, by the infection of the ayre thē raigning among the people. At what time ÿ people thē going in ÿ proceſſion, a certeine Image like to our bleſſed Lady, painted wt the handes of S. Luke ÿ Euāgeliſt, did go before thē, about ÿ which image, in ÿ honor of the virgin, angels did ſing this Antheme: Regina cœli lætare. &c. O Queene of heauen be glad. To the which Antheme the pope alſo adioyned this: Ora pro nobis dominū. &c. Pray to the Lord for vs. Wherefore ſeeing the angels did worſhip the image of the glorious virgin Mary, in the honor of her: & ſeing moreouer ÿ holy father pope Gregory, with al ÿ clergy, did pray for corporall infirmity, it appeareth manifeſtly that we ought to worſhip ÿ ſaints, & alſo to geue honor in a maner to theyr Images: further alſo to pray to almighty God & al ſaints, for corporal infirmity, that we may be deliuered from the ſame, ſo that they may ſay the like for vs, which is ſaid in the Goſpell: Sende them away, becauſe they cry after vs. And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleaged out of the holy ſcripture, wherwith we might eaſily reſiſt this your error: yet ſtanding herewith content, as ſufficient at this preſent, we wil procede now to your ſecōd peſtiferous error, wherin you, like an ingrate child go about to teare out ÿ bowels of your mother. For in ÿ you ſay & affirme blaſphemouſly the biſh. of Rome to be the very Antichriſt, & that his pryuileges haue no force againſt the gates of hel: in ſo ſaying, what do you but like a moſt vnkinde and vnnatural child, ſpoile your louing mother of all her treaſures, & woūd her being ſpoiled, & being woūded, plucke out her bowels moſt miſerably vpō ÿ earth. But forſomuch as there is nothing ſo abſurd or ſo heretical but ſhalbe receiued of ſome itching eares: I would therfore now heare you declare, how he ſitteth in the tēple of god, as god, being exalted & worſhipped aboue all ÿ is named god, or how that he ſheweth himſelfe as Lord in power and ſignes, and wonders deceitfull.

*He neth abso lutely, out on.

Scylla and Charibdis be two gerous in the sea.

By this church sto rie, he mea neth by Legenda aurea, other wise called the legend of lyes.

The Popes Letanie at Rome.

Scripture well applyed.

Whether the Pope is Antichrist.

Bilney. Although incredulitye doth not ſuffer you, notwithſtanding your learning, to vnderſtand theſe thinges, yet I will goe about ſomething to helpe your incredulity herein, through the helpe of the Lorde, beſeeching you, ÿ ſetting all ſuperſtition aparte, you will vnderſtande thoſe thinges that are aboue, Do ye know the table of the tenne Commanndementes?

Bruſierd. According as the Catholique Doctours do expound them, I know them meanely. But how you do expound them, I cannot tell.

Bilney. And doe you knowe alſo the conſtitutions of men, which are deuiſed onely by the dreames of men, whereunto men are ſo ſtraightly bound, that vnder paine of death they are compelled to obſerue them?

Bruſierd. I knowe certaine ſanctions of the holy fathers, but ſuch as you ſpeake of to be deuiſed by mens dreames, I knowe none.

Bilney. Now then let vs ſet and compare theſe two together, & ſo ſhall you eaſily vnderſtand the Biſhop of Rome whom they call the Pope, to ſitte in the temple of God, as God, and to be extolled aboue all that is named God. It is written, The temple of the Lorde is holy, which is you. Therefore the conſcience of man is the temple of the holy Ghoſt: in whiche temple I will proue the Pope to ſit as God, and to be exalted aboue all that is called God. For who ſo contemneth the decaloge or the table of the commaundementes of God, there is but a ſmall punyſhment for him, neither is that puniſhment to death: but contrarywiſe he that ſhall contemne or violate the conſtitutions which you call the ſanctions of men, is coūted by all mens iudgement gilty of death. What is this, but ÿ high biſhop of Rome to ſit & to raigne in the temple of God, that is, in mans conſcience, as God?

2. Thessal.

1. Cor. 3.

The place of S. Paule expounded concerning Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, &c.

Bruſierd. Although this expoſition ſeemeth vnworthy for chriſtē eares, yet I would heare you further how he ſheweth himſelfe in ſignes and wonders deceitfull.

Bilney. Theſe wonders (whiche they call miracles) be wrought daily in the Church, not by the power of God, as many

Signes and myracles wrought by illusion.

many thinke, but by the illuſion of Satan rather, who (as the Scripture witneſſeth) hath bene loſe now abroad. 500 yeres, according as it is written in the booke of the Apocalips: After a thouſand yeares, Satan ſhalbe let looſe. &c. Neyther are they to be called miracles of true chriſten men, but illuſions rather, wherby to delude mens mindes, to make them put theyr fayth in our Lady, and in other ſaynts, and not in God alone, to whom be honor and glory for euer.

Apoc. 20.

We read of the lyke ſaying of an other Fryer Auguſtin of Antwerpe, teſtified by Eraſmus in his Epiſtles: who openly in the pulpit at Antwerpe preachyng to the people, wiſhing that Luther were there, that hee might byte out his throte with hys teeth. So doing he wold nothyng doubt with the ſame bloudie teeth to reſort to the aultar, and receiue the bodie of Chriſt. Eraſ. Epiſt. Lib. 16. Ad obtrectatorem.

Bruſierd. But that I beleue and knowe that God and all his Sayntes will take euerlaſting reuengement vppon thee, I woulde ſurely with theſe nayles of myne, be thy death, for this horrible and enorme iniury agaynſt the precious bloud of Chriſt. God ſayth, I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. And thou blaſphemeſt him, as though he ſhould lay priuy ſnares of death for vs ſecretly, that we ſhoulde not eſpye them. Whiche if it were true, we might well ſay then with Hugh de ſaynt Victore in this maner: If it be an error, it is of thee (O God) that we be deceiued, for theſe be confirmed with ſuch ſignes and wonders, which can not be done but by thee. But I am aſſured, it is vntrue, and hereticall: and therfore I will leaue this matter, and will talke with you concerning the merites of Sayntes. For once I remember, in a certayne Sermon of yours, you ſaid, that no Saint though his ſuffering were neuer ſo great, and his life moſt pure, deſerued anye thing for vs with God, either by his death or life, which is contrary to S. Auſten.

Bilney. Chriſt ſayth one thing, Saynt Auguſten another. Whether of theſe two ſhoulde we beleue? For Chriſt willing to deliuer vs out of this darck dungeon of ignorance, gaue forth a certayne parable of ten virgins, of which, fiue were fooles, and fiue were wiſe. By the fiue fooliſh virgins wanting the oyle of good workes, he meant vs all ſinners. By the wiſe Virgins he meant the companye of all holy Sayntes. Now let vs heare what the fiue wiſe Virgynes aunſwered to the fiue fooliſh, crauing oyle of them: No (ſay they) leaſt peraduenture wee haue not ſufficient for vs and for you. Get you rather to them that ſell, and buye of them to ſerue your turne. Wherfore, if they had not oyle ſufficient for themſelues, and alſo for the other, where then be the merites of Sayntes, wherewith they can deſerue both for themſelues and for vs? Certes I cannot ſee.

*God leadeth not into errour, but hath left hys ſcriptures, to lead vs into truth.

Math. 25.

Saintes haue not merites ſufficient for themſelues, much leſſe to ſpare to others.

Bruſierd. You wraſt the Scripture from the right vnderſtanding, to a reprobate ſenſe, that I am ſcarſe able to hold mine eyes frō teares, hearing with mine eares theſe wordes of you. Fare ye well.

¶ The Submiſsion of M. Thomas Bilney.

Bilney conuented againe before the Byſhop of London.

THe fourth day of Decēber, the biſhop of London with the other biſhops his aſſiſtauntes, aſſembled againe in the chapter houſe of Weſtminſter, whether alſo M. Bilney was brought, and was exhorted & admoniſhed to abiure and recant: who aunſwered that he would ſtand to his cōſcience. Then the Biſhop of London with the other Byſhops, Ex officio, did publiſh the depoſitions of the witneſſes, with his Articles and aunſweres, commaunding that they ſhould be read. That done, the Byſhop exhorted hym agayne to deliberate with himſelfe, whether he woulde returne to the Church, and renoūce his opinions or no, and badde him to depart into a voyd place, and there to deliberate with himſelfe. Which done, the Biſhoppe aſked him agayne if he would returne. Who aunſwered: Fiat iuſticia & iudicium in nomine domini, and being diuers times admoniſhed to abiure, he would make no other anſwere, but Fiat iuſtitia. &c. And hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea. Then the Byſhop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, ſayd: In nomine patris & filij & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. Exurgat Deus & diſsipentur inimici eius: and making a croſſe on his forehead and his breſt, by the counſell of the other Biſhops, he gaue ſentence againſt M. Bilney, being there preſent in this maner.

Bilney denyeth to recant.

Pſal. 118.

In nomine domini incipit omne malum.

I by the conſent and counſell of my brethren here preſent do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney who haſt bene accuſed of diuers Articles to be conuict of hereſy, and for the reſt of the ſentence, we take deliberation till to morow.

Bilney conuented againe before the Byſhop.

Bilney refuſeth againe to recant.

The 5. day of December the Byſhops aſſembled there agayne, before whom Bilney was brought, whom the byſhop aſked if he would returne to the vnity of the Church, and reuoke his hereſies which he had preached. Wherunto Bilney aunſwered, that he would not be a ſlaunder to the Goſpell, truſting that he was not ſeperate frō the Church, and that, if the multitude of witneſſes might be credited, he might haue 30. men of honeſt life on his part, agaynſt one to the contrary brought in agaynſt him: which wytneſſes, the Byſhoppe ſayd came to late, for after publication, they could not be receiued by the law. Then Bilney alleadging the ſtory of Suſan and Daniel, the Biſhop of London ſtill exhorted him to returne to the vnity of the Church and to abiure his hereſies, and permitted him to goe into ſome ſecret place, there to conſult with his frendes, till one of the clocke at after noone, of the ſame day.

Lyke Byſhops lyke lawes.

Bilney conuented the 3. tyme.

At afternoone, the biſhop of London agayne aſked him whether he would returne to the church and acknowledge his hereſies. Bilney aunſwered that he truſted he was not ſeperate from the Church, and required time and place to bring in witneſſes, which was refuſed. Then the Byſhop once agayne required of him whether he woulde turne to the Catholicke Church. Whereunto he aunſwered, that if they could teach and proue ſufficiently that he was cōuict, he would yelde and ſubmit himſelfe, and deſired agayne to haue time and ſpace to bring in agayne his refuſed witneſſes, and other anſwere he would geue none.

Bilneys witneſſes refuſed.

Then the Byſhop put M. Bilney aſide, and tooke coūſel with his felowes, and afterward calling in M. Bilney, aſked him agayne whether he would abiure: but he would make no other aunſwere then before. Then the Byſhoppe with the conſent of the reſt, did decree and determine that it was not lawfull to heare a petition which was agaynſt the law and enquiring agayne whether he would abiure, he aunſwered plainely no, and deſired to haue time to conſult with his frendes in whom his truſt was: and beynge once agayne aſked whether he would returne and inſtanly deſired thereunto, or els the ſentence muſt be read: he required the Biſhop to geue him licence to deliberate wyth himſelfe vntill the next morow, whether he might abiure the hereſies wherwith he was defamed, or no. The Biſhop graunted him, that he ſhould haue a litle time to deliberate with M. Dancaſter: but Bilney required ſpace till the next morow, to conſult with M. Farmar and Mayſter Dancaſter. But the Biſhop would not graunt him his requeſt, for feare leaſt he ſhould appeale. But at the laſt, the Biſhop enclining vnto him, graunted him two nightes reſpite to deliberate: that is to ſay, till Saterday at 9. of the clocke afore noone, and then to geue a playn determinate anſwere, what he would do in the premiſſes.

Bilney denyeth the third time to recant.

Dancaſter conferreth with Bilney.

The 7. day of December, in the yeare and place aforeſayd, the Byſhop of London, with the other Byſhops being aſſembled, Bilney alſo perſonally appered. Whom the Biſhop of London aſked, whether he would now returne to the vnity of the Church, and reuoke the errors and hereſies wherof he ſtood accuſed, detected, and conuicted. Who aunſwered that now he was perſwaded by Maiſter Dancaſter and other his frendes, he would ſubmitte hymſelfe, truſting that they woulde deale gently with him, both in his abiuration, & penaunce. Then he deſired that he might read his abiuration: which the Byſhop graunted. When he had read the ſame ſecretly by himſelfe, and was returned, being demaunded what he would doe in the premiſſes he aunſwered that he would abiure and ſubmitte himſelfe, and there openly read his abiuration, and ſubſcribed it and deliuered it to the Biſhoppe, which then did abſolue him: and for his penaunce enioyned him, that he ſhould abide in priſon, appoynted by the Cardinall, till he were by him releaſed: and moreouer, the next day he ſhoulde go before the proceſſion, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule, bare headed, with a Fagot on his ſhoulder, & ſhould ſtand before the Preacher at Paules Croſſe, all the Sermō time. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Bilney through infirmitie rather then by conuiction, recanteth.

Ex Regiſt. Lōd.

M. Bilney enioyned penance.

Here for ſo much as mention is made before, of v. letters or Epiſtles, whiche this good man wrote to Cutbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London, and by the ſayd Byſhop deliuered vnto the Regiſters, we thought good to inſert certayne thereof, ſuch as could come to our handes. The Copy of which letters, as they were written by him in Latin, becauſe they are in the former Edition to be ſeene and read in the ſame Latine, wherein he wrote them, it ſhall ſuffice in this booke to expreſſe the ſame onely in Engliſhe. Concerning the firſt Epiſtle, which conteyneth the whole ſtory of his conuerſion, and ſeemeth more effectual in the Latine, then in the Engliſhe, we haue exhibited it in the ſecond Edition, pag. 1141. and therefore haue here onelye made mention of the ſame briefely. The copy whereof beginneth thus.

¶ Reuerendo in Chriſto patri D. Cutb. Ton-
ſtallo, Lond. Epiſcopo, T. Bilnæus Salutem in
Chriſto, cum omni ſubiectione tan-
to preſuli debitam.

HOc nomine, pater in Chriſto obſeruāde, longe beatiorem me puto, quód ad tuæ Paternitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, ea vitæ integritate (quod om-

nes fatentur) vt ipſemet non poſsis (alioqui diuinarum in te dotium eſtimator non admodum magnificus) quoties tibi ſuccurrit,quanta tibi gratis fecerit Deus,in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum in corde tacitus exclamare: Fecit mihi magna qui potens eſt,& ſanctum nomen eius. In talem nunc me iudicem incidiſſe gratulor, ac Deo qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo. Et quanquam (teſtis eſt mihi Deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus, erroris mihi conſcius ſum, nedum hæreſeos aut factionis(quod calumniantur quidam, quæſtus ſui quàm animarum lucri auidiores) tamen ſupra modum lætor, diuina (haud dubiè)benignitate prouiſum eſt, vt ob veritatis teſtimonium,ad Tunſtalli tribunal ſiſterer: qui, ſi quis alius, optimè nouit, nunquam defuturos Iannes ac Iambres, qui veritatem reſiſtant: nunquam defuturos*Elymates,qui conentur ſubuertere vias domini rectas: denique nunquam defuturos Demetrios*Pythoniſſas, Balaamos, * Nicolaitas, Caynos, Iſmaeles, qui omnes, cum quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Ieſu Chriſti, auidiſsimè ſectentur & quærant,qui fieri poteſt vt Chriſtum ſincerè ac ſimpliciter annunciatum perferant. Nam ſi populus ſemel in Chriſtum pro ſe paſſum, ſolidè ac purè confidere occeperit, ruent mox in verè fidelium pectoribus, quæcunque hactenus pro Chriſto amplexi ſunt. Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Chriſtum eſſe,ſed regnum Dei in ſemetipſis eſſe. Tunc intelligent patrem neque in montibus Samariæ, neque Hieroſolymis adorandum eſſe, ſed in omni loco, in ſpiritu & veritate. Quod ſi fit, actum de lucris ſuis putabunt beſtiæ agri, quorum intereſt impleri illud Ezechielis 34. Diſperſæ ſunt oues meæ, eo quòd non eſſet paſtor, & factæ ſunt in deuorationem omnium beſtiarum agri,& diſperſæ ſunt. Errauerunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, & in vniuerſo colle excelſo & ſuper omnem faciem terræ; diſperſi ſunt greges mei, & non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo ſi quis requirere velit, ac in caulas Chriſti, vnitatem dico fidei, errabundos reducere, mox inſurgunt nomine Paſtores,ſed reuera lupi, qui non aliud de grege,quàm lac, lanam, pellem, quærunt, animas cum ſuas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo, Inſurgunt inquam, ac Demetrij inſtar exclamant: Hic hereticus vbiqui ſuadet auertitq́;multam turbam, dicens, quod non ſunt dij qui manibus fiunt.

Luke 1.

*Elymas magus. Act.13.

*Pithoniſſa. Act.16.

*Nicolaitæ. Apoc.2.

Ezech.34.

Pſeudopaſtores, veri Demetrij.

Hi ſunt,hi(pater colende)ſunt, qui ſub pretextu perſequendi Hereticos, ventris ſui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Chriſti. Qui quiduis potius ferre poſſunt, quàm purá Chriſti pro peccatis noſtris crucifixi,annunciationem .Hi ſunt quibus Chriſtus æternam minatur damnationé, cum ait: Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſei, Hypocritæ, qui clauditis regnum cœlorum ante homines: vos enim nó intratis, nec introeuntes ſinitis intrare. Hi ſunt qui, cum ipſe aliunde aſcenderunt,alios intrare non ſinunt. Quod patet,quia ſi quis per me, inquit Chriſtus, introierit, ſaluabitur, & ingredietur & egredietur, & paſcua inueniet, & hi non inueniunt paſcua(nunquam enim docét) & alios poſt ſe trahunt,vt non per Chriſtum, qui ſolus eſt oſtium per quod ad patrem peruenitur, ſed aliunde per opuſcula,quæ ouibus, tacito nonnunquam Chriſto, ſuadent, proponunt & iniungunt, ad ſuum potius quæſtum,quàm animarum ſalutem ſpectantes: hoc deteriores,quàm illi qui ſuper Chriſtum fundamentum edificant,lignum, fœnum, ſtipulam. Iſti fatétur ſe Chriſtum ſcire,ſed factis negant.Denique hi ſunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa annis duodecim ſanguinis profluuio vexata, omnia ſua conſumpſerat, nec adiumenti quicquam ſenſerat,ſed deterius ſe habebat, donec vix tandem ad Chriſtum venerat: quæ ſimulatq́; fimbriam veſtimenti eius in fide tetigerat,ſic ſanabatur,vt ſtatim in corpore idipſum ſentiret.O mutationem dexteræ excelſi:quam & ego miſer peccator non ſemel ſenſu, qui tamen antea quàm ad Chriſtum venire potui,ſic omnia mea inſumpſeram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confeſsionum auditores, vt parum mihi virium(alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniæ,ingenij item parum.Indicebát enim mihi ieiunia,vigilias, indulgentiarum,ac miſſarum emptiones,in quibus omnibus(vt nunc intelligo)ſua potius quærebant, quàm ſalutem animæ meæ languentis.

Math.23.

Iohn 10.

1.Cor.3.

Luke 8.

Sed tandem de Ieſu audiebam,nimirum tum,cum nouum Teſtamentum primum ab Eraſmo æderetur. Quod cum ab eo latinius redditum accepi, latinitate potius quàm verbo Dei(quod tunc quidnam eſſet prorſus neſciebam) allectus, emebam,prouidentia(ſine dubio) diuina, vt nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (vt memini)lectione, in hanc (o mihi ſuauiſsimam Pauli ſententiam) 1.ad Timo.1. Certus ſermo & dignus quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quòd Chriſtus Ieſus venit in mundum vt peccatores ſaluos faceret, quorum primus ſum ego. Hæc vna ſententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente ſic exhilerauit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conſcientia ſaucium ac pene deſperabundum, vt mox viſus ſum mihi, neſcio quantam intus tranquillitatem ſentire, adeò quòd exultauerunt oſſa humiliata. Poſtea Scriptura cœpit mihi dulcior eſſe melle ac fauo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia ieiunia, omnes vigilias, omnes miſſarum & indulgentiarum redemptiones, quæ ſine fiducia in Ieſum (qui ſolus ſaluum facit populum ſuum a peccatis ſuis) fierent: didici inquam,hæc omnia nihil aliud fuiſſe, quàm (quod ait Auguſtinus) celerem curſum extra viam: quàm perizomata illa ficulnea, quibus Adam & Eua verenda olim ſua fruſtrà tegere conati ſunt: nunquam prius trãquillati, quàm promiſsioni Dei de Serpentis capite, per mulieris ſemen Chriſtum, conterendo, credidiſſent: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac morſibus ſanari potui, quàm à Deo doctus eſſem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Chriſtus, Iohan.3. Sicut Moyſes exaltauit Serpentem in deſerto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, vt omnis qui credit in illum, non pereat, ſed habeat vitam eternam.

1.Tim.1.

Diuina Bilnæi conuerſio.

Iohan.3.

Hanc tandem ſublimem lectionem, quam nullus docere poteſt niſi Deus, qui hanc Petro reuelauit, vbi pro modulo gratiæ Dei mihi datæ, guſtare cepi, rogaui dominum vt augeret mihi fidem,ac tandem nihil magis optaui, quàm vt ſic reddita mihi lætitia ſalutaris ſui, ſpiritu me ſuo vtcunque confirmaret, vt virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto,docerem iniquos vias eius,quæ ſunt miſericordia & veritas, vt impij ad ipſum per me olim impium, conuerterentur. Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blaſphematur in me (hæc eſt vnica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Chriſtus, quem pro virili doceo, factum nobis a Deo patre, ſapientiam, iuſticiam ſanctificationem, redemptionem denique & ſatisfactionem. Qui factus eſt pro nobis peccatum. Id eſt, Hoſtia pro peccato,vt nos efficeremur iuſticia Dei per illum. 2. Cor. 5. Qui factus eſt pro nobis maledictum, vt nos a maledicto legis redimeret. Et qui non venit ad vocandum iuſtos, ſed peccatores ad penitentiam: iuſtos inquam, qui ſe ſanos putant & falſò putant (Omnes enim peccauerunt & egent gloria Dei, qua gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Ieſu.Rom 3.) quia omne genus humanum ſauciatum grauiſsime fuerat in eo,qui inter Hieruſalem & Hierico incidit in latrones. Ideo pro virili doceo, vt omnes primum peccata ſua agnoſcant ac damnent,deinde eſuriant ac ſitiant iuſtitiam illam, de qua Paulus loquitur. Rom.3.Iuſtitia Dei per fidem Ieſu Chriſti in omnes & ſuper omnes qui credunt in eum.Non eſt enim diſtinctio:omnes enim peccauerunt & egent gloria Dei, iuſtificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipſius,per redemptioné que eſt in Chriſto Ieſu. Quã qui eſuriunt ac ſitiunt, haud dubie ſic aliquando ſaturabuntur, quòd neque eſurient neque ſitient in eternum.

Pſal.14.

1.Cor.1.

2.Cor.5.

Galat.3.

Math.9.

Rom.3.

Rom.3.

Sed quoniam hanc eſuriem ac ſitim extinguere ſolet humanæ iuſticiæ ſaturitas, quam parat potiſsimum opuſculorum noſtrorum electiciorum fiducia,(qualia ſunt peregrinationes,veniarum redemptiones, cereorum oblationes,electa à nobis ieiunia, & interdum ſuperſticioſè, denique qualeſcunque (vt vocant)voluntariæ deuotiones,cõtra quæ loquitur Scriptura Dei. Deut. 4. 12. non facies quod tibi rectum videtur, ſed quod ego præcipio tibi, hoc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo inquam huiuſmodi opuſculorum mentionem nonnunquam facio: non ea (Deum teſtor) vnquam damnans, ſed eorum abuſum reprehendens, legitimum que vſum paruulis manifeſtum faciens, hortans, ne ſic his adhereant, vt his ſaturati (quod plærıq́; faciunt) Chriſtum faſtidiant.In quo feliciter valeat Paternitas tua.Et hæc omnium ſumma.Si indixeris mihi vt ſingula dilatem,non recuſabo, modo tempus mihi conceſſeris.Nam ſtatim hoc facere non eſt harum,quoad corpus, virium: paratus ſemper, ſicubi lapſus fuero, meliora doceri.

Deut.4.12.

Totus tuus T.Bilnæus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

❋ To the reuerent father in Chriſt, Cuthbert Biſhop of London,Thomas Bilney wiſheth health in Chriſt,with all ſubmiſsion due vnto ſuche a Prelate.

IN this behalfe (moſt reuerent Father in Chriſt) I think my ſelfe moſt happy, that it is my chaunce to bee called to examination before your Reuerence, for that you are of ſuche wiſedome and learninge, of ſuche integritye of lyfe (which all men doe confeſſe to bee in you) that euen your ſelfe can not chuſe (if ye doe not to lightely eſteeme Gods giftes in you) as often as you ſhall remember the great thinges whiche God hathe done vnto you, but ſtrayghte wayes ſecretlye in your harte, to hys hyghe prayſe, ſay: he that is mighty hath done greate thinges vnto me, & holy is his name. I reioyce, that I haue now happened vppon ſuch a iudge, & withall my harte giue thanks vnto God, whiche ruleth all thinges.

And albeit (God is my witnes) I knowe not my ſelfe giltye of any errour in my Sermons, neyther of any hereſie or ſedition, which diuers do ſclaũder me of, ſeeking rather their owne luker and aduauntage, then the healthe of ſoules: notwithſtãding I do exceedingly reioyce: that it is ſo foreſeene by Gods diuine prouidence, that I ſhoulde be brought before the tribunall ſeate of Tonſtall, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will neuer be wanting Iannes and Iambres, whiche will reſiſte the truthe: that there

Iannes and Iambres were two of Pharaos prieſtes which reſiſted Moyſes, but their names be not expreſſed in the 7. cha. of Exo. but onely in 2. Tim.3.

God neuer buildeth a church, but the deuill hath ſome chappell by.

*Elymas magus. Act.13.

*Pithoniſſa. Act.16.

Nicolaites of Nicolaus. Apoc.2.

Ezech.34.

there ſhall neuer be lacking ſome * Elematites, which will go about to ſubuert the ſtrayght wayes of the Lord : and tinually, that ſome Demetrius, *Pithoneſſe, Balaams, Nicolaites, Cayns, and Iſmaels, will be alwayes at hande which will greedely hunt and ſeeke after that which perteineth vnto themſelues, and not that whiche perteyneth to Ieſus Chriſt. How can it then be, that they can ſuffer Chriſt to be truly and ſincerely preached (For if the people begin once wholy in euery place, to put their confidence in Chriſt, which was for them crucified, then ſtraight wayes that which they haue hetherto embraced in ſtead of Chriſt ſhall vtterly decay in the hartes of the faythfull. Then they ſhall vnderſtand that Chriſt is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdome of God to be in themſelues. Then ſhall they playnly ſee that the Father is not to be worſhipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, neither at Hieruſalem, but in all places, in ſpirit and trueth. Which thing if it come once to paſſe, the beaſtes of the fielde will thinke all theyr gayne and lucre loſt. In whom the ſaying of Ezechiel is fulfilled: My ſheepe are diſperſed becauſe they had no ſhepheard, & are deuoured of the beaſtes of the field, & ſtrayd abroad: my flocke hath erred and wandred in euery mountaine, and vpon euery high hill, and is diſperſed throughout all the earth, & there is no man which hath ſought to gather thē together: no, there was no man which once ſought after them. But if any man would ſeeke to reduce thoſe which were gone aſtray into the folde of Chriſt, that is, the vnity of fayth: by and by, there riſe vp certein agaynſt him, which are named Paſtors, but in deed are wolues, which ſeeke no other thing of theyr flocke, but the milke, wooll, and fell, leauing both theyr owne ſoules, and the ſoules of theyr flocke, vnto the deuill.

Demetrius the ſiluer ſmith cryed out againſt Paul Act. 19.

Pretenſed Prieſtes and Prelates vnder colour of perſecuting heretickes, crucifie Chriſt, and treade downe his truth.

Iohn 10.

A wrong way to come to God by good works 1.Cor.3.

Theſe men (I ſay) riſe vp like vnto Demetrius, crying out, this hereticke diſſwadeth and ſeduceth much people euery where, ſaying: that they are not gods, which are made with hands. Theſe are they, theſe I ſay (moſt reuerent father) are they, which vnder the pretence of perſecuting heretikes, folow theyr owne licentious life : enemies vnto the croſſe of Chriſt, which can ſuffer and beare any thing rather, thē the ſincere preachinge of Chriſt crucified for our ſinnes. Theſe are they vnto whō Chriſt threatneth eternall dānation, where he ſayth: Wo be vnto you Scribes, Phariſeis, & hipocrites, which ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen before men, and you your ſelues enter not in, neither ſuffer thoſe which would enter, to come in. Theſe are they which haue come in another way, to the charge of ſoules, as it appeareth. For if any man (ſayth Chriſt) come in by me, he ſhall be ſaued, and ſhal come in and go out, and finde paſture. Theſe men do not finde paſture (for they neuer teach) & draw others after them, that they ſhould not enter by Chriſt, which alone is the dore, whereby we muſt come vnto the father : but ſet before the people an other way, perſwading them to come vnto God thorow good workes, oftentimes ſpeaking nothing at all of Chriſt, therby ſeeking rather theyr owne gayne and lucre: then the ſaluation of ſoules: in this poynt beyng worſe thē they which vpon Chriſt being the foundation, doe builde wood, hey and ſtraw. Theſe men confeſſe that they knowe Chriſt, but by theyr deedes they deny him.

Falſe prieſts and prelates compared to the Phiſitions, vpon whom the womā with the bloudie flixe, ſpent all her goods, and was not helped.

Bilney here ſpeaketh by his owne experience.

The end & effect of the Popes diuinitie.

Theſe are thoſe Phiſitions, vpon whom that woman which was 12. yeares vexed with the bloudy flixe, had conſumed all that ſhe had, and felt no helpe, but was ſtil worſe and worſe, vntill ſuche time as at the laſt, ſhee came vnto Chriſt, and after ſhe had once touched the hemme of his veſture through fayth, ſhe was ſo healed that by and by, ſhee felte the ſame in her bodye. O mighty power of the moſte higheſt : whiche I alſo miſerable ſinner, haue often taſted and felt. Which before that I coulde come vnto Chriſt, had euen likewiſe ſpent all that I had vppon thoſe ignoraunt Phiſitions, that is to ſay, vnlearned hearers of confeſſion ſo that there was but ſmall force of ſtrength lefte in me, (which of nature was but weake) ſmall ſtore of mony, and very litle witte or vnderſtanding : for they appoynted me faſtings, watching, buying of pardons, and Maſſes: in all which thinges (as I now vnderſtand) they ſought rather theyr owne gayne, then the ſaluation of my ſicke and languiſhing ſoule.

The firſt cōuerſion of M. Bilney by reading the newe Teſtament ſet out by Eraſmus.

But at the laſt I heard ſpeake of Ieſus, euen then when the new Teſtament was firſt ſet forth by Eraſmus. Which, when I vnderſtood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latine, then for the woorde of God (for at that time, I knew not what it ment) I bought it euen by the prouidece of God, as I do now well vnderſtand and perceiue: And at the firſt reading, as I remēber I chaunced vpon this ſentence of S. Paule (O moſt ſweet and comfortable ſentence to my ſoule) in hys firſte Epiſtle to Timothy and firſt chapiter : It is a true ſaying and worthy of all mē to be embraced, that Chriſt Ieſus came into the world to ſaue ſinners, of whom I am the chiefe and principall. This one ſentence, through Gods inſtruction and inward working, which I dyd not then perceiue, did ſo exhilerate my hart, being before wounded with the guilt of my ſinnes and being almoſt in deſpayre, that immediatly, I felt a maruelous comfort and quietneſſe, in ſo much, that my bruſed bones leapt for ioy.

Pſal.50.

After this, the Scripture began to bee more pleaſaunt vnto me thē the hony or the hony comb: wherin I learned that all my trauelles, all my faſting and watching, all the redemption of Maſſes and pardons, being done wythout truſt in Chriſte, which onely ſaueth his people from theyr ſinnes: theſe (I ſay) I learned to be nothing elſe but euen (as S. Auguſtin ſaith) a haſty and ſwift running out of the right way, or els much like to the veſture made of fig leaues, wherwithall Adam and Eue went about in vayne, to couer theyr priuities, and could neuer before obteyne quietnes and reſt, vntill they beleued in the promiſe of God, that Chriſt the ſeede of the woman, ſhould tread vpon the ſerpentes head : Neither could I be releued or eaſed of the ſharpe ſtings and bitings of my ſinnes, before that I was taught of God that leſſon, which Chriſt ſpeaketh of, in the third chapiter of Iohn: Euen as Moyſes exalted the ſerpent in the deſert, ſo ſhall the ſonne of man be exalted, that all which beleue on him ſhould not periſh, but haue life euerlaſting.

Al the trauailes of men, without Chriſt, are but an haſtie running out of the right way.

M. Bilney looking vp to the Braſen ſerpent. Iohn 3.

As ſoone as (according to the meſure of grace geuen vnto me of God) I began to taſt & ſauour of this heauenly leſſon, whiche no man can teache but onely God, which reueled the ſame vnto Peter: I deſired yͤ Lord to encreaſe my faith: and at laſt, I deſired nothing more, then that I being ſo comforted by him, mighte bee ſtrengthened by his holy ſpirit and grace from aboue, that I mighte teache the wicked his wayes, which are mercy and truth, and that yͤ wicked might be conuerted vnto him by me, which ſomtime was alſo wicked, whiche thing, whileſt that with all my power, I did endeuour before my Lord Cardinall and your fatherhoode, Chriſt was blaſphemed in me (and this is my onely comforte in theſe my afflictions) whome with my whole power I do teach and ſet forth. being made for vs by God his father, our wiſedome, righteouſnes, ſanctification, & redemption, and finally, our ſatiſfaction. Who was made ſinne for vs (that is to ſay a ſacrifice for ſinne) that we through him, ſhould be made the righteouſnes of God. Who became accurſed for vs, to redeeme vs from the curſe of the law: Who alſo came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentaunce. The righteous (I ſaye) which falſely iudge and thinke themſelues ſoe to bee (for all men haue ſinned and lacke the glorye of God, wherby he freely forgeueth ſinnes vnro all beleuers, through redemption which is in Chriſt Ieſu) becauſe that all mankinde was greuouſlye wounded in hym whiche fell amongeſt theeues betweene Ieruſalem and Ierico.

The wayes of the Lord, be mercy and truth.

1.Cor.1.

2.Cor.5.

Gal.2.

Math.9.

Rom.3.

And therfore with all my whole power I teach that all men ſhould firſt acknowledge theyr ſinnes and condemne them, and afterward hunger and thirſt for that righteouſneſſe, wherof Saint Paul ſpeaketh: The righteouſnes of God by faith in Ieſus Chriſt, is vpon all them which Beleue in him, for there is no difference all haue ſinned, and lacke the glory of God, and are iuſtified freely thoroughe his grace, by the redemption which is in Ieſus Chriſt. The which, who ſo euer dothe hūger or thirſt for, without doubte, they ſhall at the lengthe ſo be ſatiſfied, that they ſhall not hunger & thirſt for euer

The ſumme of all M. Bilneys teaching.

Rom.3.

But forſomuch as this hunger and thirſt was wont to be quenched with the fulnes of mans righteouſnes, which is wrought through the faith of our owne electe and choſen workes, as pilgrimages, buying of pardōs, offring of candles, electe and choſen faſtes, and oftentimes ſuperſticious, & finally all kinde of volūtary deuotions (as they call thē) againſt thē which gods word ſpeaketh plainely in yͤ fourth of Deut. and in the 12. ſaying: Thou ſhalte not doe that which ſeemeth good vnto thy ſelfe, but that whiche I commaunde thee for to doe, that do thou neither adding to, neither diminiſhing any thing from it: therefore I ſay oftentimes I haue ſpoken of thoſe woorkes, not condemning them (as God I take to my witneſſe) but reprouing theyr abuſe, making the lawfull vſe of them manifeſt, euen vnto children, exhorting all men not ſo to cleaue vnto them, that they being ſatiſfyed therewith, ſhould loath or waxe weary of Chriſt, as many do. In whom I bidde your Fatherhood moſt proſperouſly well to fare.

A difference betwene mans righteouſnes, and the righteouſnes of God. Voluntary deuotions ſpoke againſt.

Deut.4.12.

And this is the whole ſomme, If you will appoynt me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuſe to do it, ſo that you will graunt me time : For to doe it out of hand, I am not able for the weakenes of my body, being redy alwayes if I haue erred in any thing, to be better inſtructed.

An other letter or epiſtle of M. Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonſtall B of London.

An other letter of M. Bilney.

Malchus hearing of Sermons.

Notes and differences betwene the true and falſe church.

Albeit I do not remēber, reuerēt father in Chriſt, whether I haue either ſpoken or written, that the Goſpell hath not bene ſincerely preached now of long time, which your Lordſhippe ſeemeth to haue gathered eyther by ſome Momes and ſiniſter hearers of my Sermons, who lyke Malchus hauing theyr right eare cut off, onely bring theyr left eare to Sermons, or els by ſome wordes or writinges of mine, which haue raſhly paſſed me, rather then vppon any euill intent: yet for ſo much as in this behalfe, your reuerence doth commaund me, and that of a good minde. I truſt (for how can I thinke in Tonſtal any craft or doubleneſ to dwell:) I wil briefly declare vnto you, what I haue learned of God through Chriſt, in the Scriptures, & howe that the Doctors euen of great name & renowme, haue not taught the ſame of late in theyr ſermōs, referring or rather ſubmitting all things vnto your fatherly iudgemēt, which is more quicke and ſharpe, then that it can by any meanes be blinded, and ſo ſincere, that it will not in any point ſeek ſlaunder or diſcord. Therfore I do confeſſe that I haue oftē ben afraid, that Chriſt hath not bene purely preached now a long time. For who hath bene now a long ſeaſon offēded through him? who hath now this many yeares ſuffered any perſecution for the Goſpels ſake? where is the ſword which he came to ſend vpon the earth? And finally where are the reſt of the ſincere and vncorrupt fruites of the Goſpell? which, becauſe we haue not a long time ſeene, is it not to be feared that the tree which bringeth forth thoſe fruites hath now a long time bene wanting in our region or coūtrey? much leſſe is it to be beleued, that it hath bene nouriſhed amongeſt vs. Haue we not ſene all thinges quiet and peaceable a long time? But what ſayth the church? My grief moſt bitter, is turned to peace &c. But the malignant church ſayth: Peace, peace, and there is no peace: but onely that wherof it is written: When the mighty armed man kepeth his gates, he poſſeſſeth all thinges in quiet. But when he ſeeth, that he ſhal be vanquiſhed of a ſtronger then he him ſelfe is, he ſpoyleth and deſtroyeth all thinges. What now a dayes beginneth agayne to be attempted? I dare not ſay. God graunt vs grace that we doe not refuſe and reiect (if it bee Chriſt) him that commeth vnto vs, leaſt that we doe feele that terrible iudgement agaynſt vs: becauſe (ſayth he) they haue not receiued the loue of trueth, that they might be ſaued: therefore God will ſend vpon them the blindneſſe of errour, that they ſhall geue credite vnto lyes: O terrible ſentence. (whiche God knoweth whether a great number haue not alreadye incurred) that all they might bee iudged which haue not geuen credite vnto the trueth, but conſented vnto iniquity. The tyme ſhall come (ſayth he) when that they will not ſuffer the true doctrine to be preached. And what ſhall we thē ſay of that learning, which hath now ſo lōg time raigned and triumphed, ſo that no man hath once opened his mouth agaynſt it? Shall we think it ſound doctrine? Truely iniquity did neuer more abound, nor charity was neuer ſo cold. And what ſhould we ſay to be the cauſe therof? hath the cauſe bene for lacke of preaching agaynſt the vices of men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and greate Clearkes ſufficiently can witneſſe to the contrary. And yet all theſe notwithſtanding, we ſee the life and maners of mē do greatly degenerate from true Chriſtianity, and ſeme to cry out in deede, that it is fulfilled in vs, which God in times paſt threatned by his Prophet Amos, ſaying: Beholde, the day ſhall come (ſayth the Lord) that I will ſend hunger vpon the earth, not hunger of bread, neither thirſt of water, but of hearing the word of God, and the people ſhall be moued from ſea to ſea, and from the Weſt vnto Eaſt, and ſhall runne about ſeekinge for the word of God, but ſhall not finde it. In thoſe dayes the fayre Virgines and young men ſhall periſh for thirſt. &c. But now to paſſe ouer many thinges, whereby I am moued to feare, that the word of God hath not bene purely preached, thys is not the leaſte argument, that they whiche come and are ſent, and endeuour themſelues to preach Chriſt truely, are euyll ſpoken of for his name, which is the rocke of offence, and ſtumbling blocke vnto them which ſtumble vpon hys woorde, and doe not beleue on hym, on whome they are builded.

Eſay 38.
Iere. 6. 8.
Luke 11.

2. Theſſ. 2.

Notes and argumentes prouing, that it is not the true word of God, which hath bene preached in the Popes Church.

Amos 8.

This letter may well anſwere to the note of D. Saunders booke, intituled: The rocke of the Church. fol. 14. & nota. 5.

Apoc. 3.

But you will aſke who are thoſe men, & what is theyr doctrine? Truely I ſay, whoſoeuer entreth in by the doore Chriſt, into the ſheepfolde: which thing all ſuch ſhall do as ſeeke nothing els but the glory of God, and ſaluation of ſoules. Of all ſuch it may be truely ſaid, that whom yͤ Lord ſendeth, he ſpeaketh the woord of God. And why ſo? Becauſe he repreſenteth the Aungel of the church of Philadelphia, vnto whom Saynt Iohn writeth, ſaying: This ſayth he, which is holy and true, which hath the keyes of Dauid, whiche openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth. Behold, ſaith he ſpeaking in the name of Chriſt (which is the dore and dorekeper) I haue ſet before thee an open dore, that is to ſay, of the Scriptures opening thy ſenſes, that thou ſhouldeſt vnderſtand the Scriptures, and that, becauſe thou haſt entred in by me which am the dore: For whoſoeuer, entreth in by me which am the dore ſhalbe ſaued, he ſhall goe in and come out and find paſture, for the dorekeeper openeth the dore vnto him, and the ſheepe heare his voyce. But contrariwiſe, they whiche haue not entred in by the doore, but haue clymed in ſome other way, by ambition, auarice or deſire of rule, they ſhall, euen in a moment goe downe into hell, except they repent. And of them is the ſaying of Ieremy verefied: All beautye is gone away from the daughter of Syon, becauſe her princes are become lyke rammes, not finding paſture. And why ſo? Becauſe like theeues & robbers they haue clymed an other way, not being called nor ſent. And what meruaile is it, if they doe not preach, when as they are not ſent, but runne for lucre, ſeeking theyr owne glory, and not the glory of God and ſaluation of ſoules? And this is yͤ roote of all miſcheife in the Church, that they are not ſent inwardly of God. For without this inward calling, it helpeth nothing before God to be a hundreth times electe and conſecrate, by a thouſande Bulles, eyther by Pope, King, or Emperour. God beholdeth the harte, whoſe iudgementes are according to truth, howſoeuer we deceyue the iudgement of men for a tyme: which alſo at the laſt, ſhall ſee theyr abhomination. This (I ſay) is the originall of all miſchiefe in the Church, that we thruſt in our ſelues into the charge of ſoules, whoſe ſaluation and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the doore) we doe not thirſt nor ſeeke for, but altogether our owne lucre & profit.

Iohn 1

Who en- treth in the do who no

Lamen

Outward callyng by kynges and princes in Christen miniſtry auai- leth noth without inward cal- ling of G

The roote of all miſchie in the Church. Ex Prud io.

Hereupon it commeth, that wee knowe not howe to preach Chriſt purely: For how ſhould they preach Chriſt (ſaith the Apoſtle) except they be ſent? for otherwiſe many theeues and robbers do preach him, but with theyr lippes onely, for theyr hart is farre from him. Neither yet do we ſuffer thoſe which do know how to preach, but perſecute them, and go about to oppreſſe the Scriptures now ſpringing, vnder the pretence of godlineſſe, fearing (as I ſuppoſe) leaſt the Romaines ſhould come & take our place. Ah thou wicked enemy Herode, why art thou afrayd that Chriſte ſhoulde come? he taketh not away mortall and earthly kingdomes, which geueth heauenly kingdomes. O blindneſſe, O our great blindneſſe, yea more then that of Egypt? of the which if there be any that would admoniſh the people, by and by ſayth Pharao: Moyſes and Aaron, why do ye cauſe the people to ceaſe from theyr labours? and truely called theyr labours. Get you to your burdens: Lay more worke vpon them, and cauſe them to do it, that they harken not vnto lyes. Thus the people was diſperſed throughout all yͤ land of Egypt, to gather vp chaffe: I ſay to gather vp chaffe. Who ſhall graunt vnto vs the God ſhall ſay: I haue looked downe, and beholden the affliction of my people, which is in Ægypt, and haue heard theyr ſighes, and am come downe to deliuer them. But whether hath thys zeale caryed me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not ſay: it perteyneth to you, reuerent father, to iudge thervpon.

Lay thys letter aga Doct. Sau ders booke aforeſayd.

Exod. 5.

The perſe cuters of o time com pared to Pharao.

Now you do looke yͭ I ſhould ſhewe vnto you at large (as you write) how that they ought ſincerely to preach, to the better edefying hereafter, of your flocke. Here I cōfeſſe I was afraide, that you had ſpokē in ſome deriſion, vntill that I well perceiued, that you had written it with your owne hand. Then agayne, I beganne to doubte for what intent Tonſtall ſhould require that of Bilney: an old ſouldiour, of a young beginner: the cheife Paſtor of London, of a poore ſilly ſheepe. But for what intente ſo euer you did it, I truſt it was of a good minde. And albeit that I am weake of bodie, yet through the grace of Chriſt geuen vnto me, I will attempt this matter, although it doe farre paſſe my power: vnder the which burden, if I be oppreſſed, yet I will not deceiue you, for that I haue promiſed nothing, but a prompte and readye will to do that which you haue commaunded.

As touching that pertayneth to yͤ preaching of the Goſpell, I would to God you would geue me leaue priuately to talke wᵗ you, that I mighte ſpeake freely, that which I haue learned in the holy Scriptures for the conſolation of my conſciēce: which if you will ſo do, I truſt you ſhall not repent you. All things ſhalbe ſubmitted vnto your iudgement: who (except I be vtterly deceaued) will not breake the reede that is bruiſed, and put out the flaxe that is ſmoking, but rather, if I ſhalbe found in any error (as in deed I am a man) you as ſpirituall, ſhal reſtore me thorough yͤ ſpirite of gentleneſſe, conſidering your ſelfe, leaſt that you alſo be tempted: For euery Byſhop which is taken from among men, is ordayned for menne, not violentlye to aſſaulte thoſe which

Eſay 42.

Hebr. 5.

which are ignoraunt and do erre, for he hymſelfe is compaſſed in with infirmitie, that he beyng not voyde of euils, ſhould learn to haue compaſsion vpon other miſerable people.

I deſire you that you will remember me to morrowe that by your ayde, I may be brought before the tribunall ſeate of my Lorde Cardinall, before whome I had rather ſtand, then before any of his deputies.

Yours Thomas Bilney.

A letter of M. Bilney fruitfull and neceſſary for all Miniſters to read.

An other letter of M. Bilney, to Tonſtall Byſhop of Lōdon.

Preachers of the popes church leauing the worde of God, preach their owne traditions.

Prieſtes of the Popes church fewe learned in the Scriptures.

Most reuerent father, ſalutations in Chriſt. You haue required me to write vnto you at large, wherein men not preached as they ought, & how they ſhould haue preached better. This is a burdē too heauy for my ſtrength: vnder yͤ which if I ſhall faint, it belongeth to you which haue layd this burden vpon my ſhoulders, to eaſe me therof. As touching the firſt part, they haue not preached as they ought, which leauing the word of God, haue taught theyr own traditiōs, of yͤ whiche ſort there are not a few, as it is very euidēt, in yͭ they do report thoſe which preach yͤ worde of God ſincerely to teach newe doctrine. This is alſo no ſmal teſtimony therof, yͭ in al England you ſhal ſcarſe find one or two that are mightye in the Scriptures, and what meruaile is it if al godly things do ſeeme newe vnto them vnto whom the Goſpell is new and ſtraunge, being nouſled in mens traditions now a long tyme? would to God theſe thinges were not true, whiche I vtter vnto you, but alas they are to true.

Preachers in the popiſh tyme haue wraſted the Scriptures.

They haue alſo preached euill, which either haue wraſted the ſcriptures themſelues, or haue raſhly gathered thē out of olde rotten papers, being wraſted by others. And howe ſhoulde it bee but that they ſhoulde wraſt them, or els howe ſhuld they iudge them being falſly interpreted by others, when as they haue not once read ouer the bible orderly? Of this ſort there is truely a very great number, frō which number many great Rabines or maiſters ſhal hardly excuſe themſelues, whom the people haue hitherto reuerenced in ſtead of Gods. And theſe are they whiche nowe ſerue theyr bellies, ſeeking theyr owne glorye, and not the true glory of God, which might be ſet forth euen by Balaams Aſſe: muche leſſe then ought we to contemne ſuch abiectes which preach the worde of God. We haue (ſayth S. Paule) this treaſure in brickle veſſelles, that the glorye of the power might be of God and not of vs. God hath choſen the fooliſh thinges of the worlde, to confounde the wiſe: and the weake thinges God hath choſen to confound the mighty: and vile things of the world and deſpiſed, hath he choſen, and things that are not to bring to nought thinges that are, that no fleſh ſhoulde glory in his ſight. But now all men in a maner will be wiſe, & therfore they are aſhamed of the ſimple Goſpel, they are aſhamed truely to ſay with Paule: and to performe it in deede: I brethren whē I came vnto you, did not come with excellency of wordes, or of wiſedome preaching the teſtimony of Chriſt, for I eſteemed not my ſelfe to know any thing amongſt you, but onely Ieſus Chriſt and him crucified. O voyce of a true Euangeliſt! But now we are aſhamed of thys fooliſh preachyng, by the which it hath pleaſed God, to ſaue all thoſe which beleue in him & being puffed vp wͭ our own fleſhly minde, chuſe rather, proudly to walke in thoſe thinges whiche we haue not ſeene, preaching fables and lyes, and not the lawe of God, which is vndefiled, conuerting ſoules.

Balaams Aſſe is not to be deſpyſed ſettyng forth Gods word, ergo, much leſſe other abiectes.

1. Cor. 1.

1. Cor. 2.

Pſal. 18.

Ignorance of the lawe of God in Prelates noted.

Ezech. 3.

But how ſhould they teach the law of God, which they haue not once read in the bookes, much leſſe learned at the mouth of God? But in a Paſtor and a Byſhop this is required: Thou ſonne of man (ſayth God) lay vp in thy hart al my wordes which I do ſpeake vnto thee. &c. And ſhortly after hee ſayth: Thou ſonne of man, I haue ordayned and geuen thee a watchman vnto the houſe of Iſrael. I haue geuen thee ſayth hee, not comming in by ambition, nor thruſting in thy ſelfe, nor clyming in another way, but I gaue thee when thou lookedſt not for it, that thou ſhouldeſt attend thereupon and geue warning from the toppe of the watch Tower, if any enemies ſhoulde approche. I haue geuen thee vnto the houſe of Iſraell, and not the houſe of Iſraell vnto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt acknowledge thy ſelfe to be the ſeruaunt of the ſheepe, and not theyr Lorde, for I haue not geuen the ſheepe for the ſhepheard, but the ſhepheard for the ſheepe. He that ſitteth downe is greater then he that doth miniſter and ſerue vnto hym. whiche thinge was well knowen of hym which truely ſayde: Wee are your ſeruauntes for Chriſtes cauſe.

God geueth paſtours to his flocke: and not hys flocke to paſtours.

The congregation ſitteth downe: The paſtours bee but ſeruitors

Paſtours ſeruauntes to the congregation for Chriſtes cauſe, and not maiſters.

But for what purpoſe haue I geuen thee vnto yͤ houſe of Iſraell? That thou ſhouldeſt onely miniſter the Sacramentes, conſecrate wood, ſtones, & churchyardes? (this I take God to witneſſe with great ſighes and grones I write vnto you, pouring out before you the griefe of my hart. No truely. what then? Firſt followeth the office of the byſhop. Thou ſhalt heare the word of God out of my mouth. This is but a ſhort leſſon, but ſuche as all the world cannot comprehende, without they bee inwardly taught of GOD.

The true office of paſtors, well deſcribed out of Ezechiell.

And what els meaneth this, Out of my mouth thou ſhalt heare the word, but that thou ſhalt be taught of God. Therfore as many as are not taught of God, althoughe they be neuer ſo well exerciſed in the Scriptures by mannis helpe yet are they not watchmen geuen by God, and muche leſſe they which do not vnderſtand and know the Scriptures. And therfore ſuch as theſe be, leaſt they ſhould keep ſilence and ſay nothing, are alwayes harping vpon the traditiōs and doctrines of men, that is, lyes: for hee that ſpeaketh of himſelfe, ſpeaketh lyes. Of this it is written: They would be doctours of the lawe, not vnderſtandyng what they ſpeake neyther of whome they ſpeake, Such of neceſſitie they muſt all be, who ſpeake that with theyr mouth which they doe not beleue, becauſe they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are perſwaded in their harts, that it is true: and therefore they are to be accompted as ſheepe, although they boaſte themſelues to be ſhepheardes. But contrariwiſe touchyng the true and learned Paſtors geuen by God, it may be truly ſaid: we ſpeake that which we know, and that whiche we haue ſeene (euen with the infallible eyes of our fayth) we doe witneſſe: and theſe are neyther deceyued, neither do deceiue Moreouer, the deceiuers procede to worſe and worſe, erring themſelues, and bringing others alſo to errour, and becauſe they are of the worlde, the worlde doth willingly heare them. They are of the worlde (ſaith S. Iohn) and therefore they ſpeake thoſe thinges whiche are of the worlde, and the world geueth eare vnto them.

1. Tim. 1.

1. Iohn 1. The propertie of true paſtors.

1. Iohn 4.

Behold reuerent father, this is the touchſtone of oure daily preaching. Hath not the world geuen eare vnto thē now a long tyme with great pleaſure and delite? But the fleſh could neuer ſuffer yͤ preaching of the croſſe, nor yet the wiſedome of the fleſh, which is enemy vnto God, neyther is ſubiect vnto hys law, nor cannot be. And why then are they accuſed to be heretickes and Schiſmatickes, whiche will not ſeek to pleaſe men, but onely to theyr edifying? beyng mindfull of that place of Scripture: God hath diſpearſed the bones of them whiche pleaſe men, ſaying vnto them, ſpeake vnto vs pleaſaunt thinges. But nowe letting theſe matters paſſe, wee will come vnto the ſecond poynt, wherein you aſke how a man ſhould preach better: Forſooth, if wee had heard of him whō the father ſpake ſaying: This is my dearly beloued ſonne in whome I am well pleaſed, heare hym. Who alſo ſpeaking of hymſelf, ſaid it was meete that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer and riſe agayne the third daye from death and that in his name repentaunce and remiſsion of ſinnes ſhould be preached vnto all people. what other thing is that, thē the ſame which the other Euangeliſts do write: Goe ye into the whole world & preach the Goſpell vnto euery creature: he that beleueth and is Baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued. what can be more pleaſaunt, ſweete, or acceptable vnto afflicted conſciences being almoſt in deſpayre, then this moſt ioyfull tidinges?

A true note of ſincere doctrine.

Eſay. 30.

An information to preachers, to preach rightly.

Math. 28.

But here, whether Chriſt haue bene a long time heard I know not, for that I haue not heard all the preachers of England, and if I heard them, yet till it was within thys yeare or two, I could not ſufficiently iudge of them, But this I dare be bolde to affirme, that as manye as I haue heard of late preach (I ſpeake eūe of the moſt famous) they haue preached ſuche repentaunce, that if I had heard ſuche preachers of repentaunce in tymes paſt, I ſhoulde vtterly haue bene in deſpayre. And to ſpeak of one of theſe famous men (not vttering hys name) after he had ſharpely inueyed againſt vyce, (wherein he pleaſed euery godly man, for ſo much as it could not be ſufficiently cryed out vpon) hee concluded: behold (ſayd he) thou haſt lyen rotten in thyne own luſtes, by the ſpace of theſe 60. yeares, euen as a beaſt in hys own doung, and wilt thou preſume in one yeare, to go forward toward heauen, and that in thyne age, aſmuch as thou wenteſt backwardes from heauen towardes hell 60. yeares? Is not this thinke you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentaunce in the name of Ieſus? or rather to tread downe Chriſt with Antichriſtes doctrine? for what other thing did he ſpeake in effect, thē that Chriſt dyed in vayne for thee? He will not be thy Ieſus or ſauior, thou muſt make ſatiſfaction for thy ſelfe, or els thou ſhalt periſh eternally. Then doth S. Iohn lye which ſayth: Beholde the Lambe of God whiche taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde. And in other place: His bloud hath cleanſed vs from all our ſins And agayne: He is the propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole world. Beſides an infinit nūber of other places. what other thing is this, then that which was ſpoken by the

The preaching after the popes church, is all to beate downe, and not to lyft vp.

By this one you may ſee what all the reſt are.

Marke the maner of the common preaching of the papiſtes.

1. Iohn 1.

the holy Ghoſt, by the mouth of Peter, ſaying: There ſhall be falſe teachers that ſhall deny the Lord Ieſus, which hath redemed them. And what followeth vppon ſuch doctrine of Deuils ſpeaking lyes thorough hipocriſie? a conſcience diſpayring and without all hope, and ſo geuē ouer vnto al wicked luſtes, according to the ſaying of S. Paule: After that they be come to this poynt that they ſorow no more, they geue thēſelues ouer vnto wantonnes, to commit all kinde of filthines, euen with a greedy deſire: For ſeeing that it is impoſſible for them to make ſatiſfaction to GOD, either they murmure agaynſt God or els they doe not beleue hym to be ſo cruell as they do preach and declare him to be. The want of paper wyll not ſuffer me to write any more, and I had rather to ſpeak it in priuate talke vnto your ſelfe. wherunto if you would admit me, I truſt you ſhould not repent you thereof: and vnto me (Chriſt I take to my witnes) it would be a great comfort: in whom I wiſh you with all your flocke hartily well to fare.

The effect and end of the popes doctrine.

Your priſoner and humble beadman
vnto God for you. Tho. Bilney.

Bilney caſt downe with repentance.

Ex Latim. Serm. 7.

Thus haue you the letters, the abiuration and articles of Thomas Bilney. After which abiuration made about ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1529. the ſayd Bilney tooke ſuch repentaunce & ſorow, that he was neare the poynt of vtter diſpayre: as by ẏ wordes of M. Latimer, is credibly teſtified whoſe wordes for my better diſcharge, I thought here to annex, written in his ſeuenth Sermon preached before K. Edward, which be theſe: I knew a man my ſelfe, Bilney, litle Bilney ẏ bleſſed Martyr of God, who what time he had borne his fagot, & was come again to Cambridge, had ſuch conflictes within himſelfe (beholding this Image of death) that his friendes were afrayde to let him be alone. They were fayne to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comfortes would ſerue. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring thē vnto him, it was as though a man ſhould runne him thorough the hart with a ſword. Yet for all this, he was reuiued and tooke his death paciently, and dyed well agaynſt the tyrannicall ſea of Rome. Hæc Latim Serm. 7.

Agayn, the ſayd M. Latimer ſpeaking of Bilney in an other of his ſermons preached in Lincolnſhyre, hath theſe wordes following: That ſame M. Bilney, whiche was burnt here in England for gods words ſake, was induced and perſwaded by his frendes to beare a fagot at the tyme, when the Cardinall was aloft, and bare the ſwinge. Now when the ſame Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole yeare after, he was in ſuch an anguiſh and agony, that nothing did him good, neyther eating nor drinking, nor anye other communication of Gods worde: for he thought that al the whole Scriptures were agaynſt him, and ſounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time commoned wt him (for I was familiarly acquaynted with him) but all thinges whatſoeuer any man could allege to his comforte ſeemed vnto him to make agaynſt him. Yet for all that, afterward he came againe: God indued him with ſuch ſtrength and perfectnes of fayth: that he not onely confeſſed hys faith in ẏ Goſpell of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, but alſo ſuffered his body to be burned for that ſame Goſpels ſake, which we now preach in England. &c. Hæc ille, Ser. 8. fol. 132

Latimer called, and conuerted by Bilney.

Furthermore, in the firſt ſermon of the ſaid M. Latimer before the Dutches of Suffolk, fol. 5. he yet ſpeaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth: Here I haue (ſayth hee) occaſion to tell you a ſtory which happened at Cambridge M. Bilney or rather S. Bilney, ẏ ſuffered death for gods words ſake, the ſame Bilney was the inſtrument wherby God called me to knowledge. For I may thanke him next to God, for that knowledge that I haue in ẏ word of god. For I was an obſtinate papiſt as any was in Englande: inſomuch that when I ſhould be made bacheler of Diuinitie, my whole Oration went againſt Phillip Melancthon and agaynſt his opinions. Bilney heard me at that tyme, and perceaued that I was zelous without knowlege, and came to me afterward in my ſtudy, and deſired me for gods ſake to heare his confeſſion. I dyd ſo: and (to ſay ẏ trueth) by his confeſſion I learned more then afore in many yeres So from that tyme forward I began to ſmell the word of God, and forſake the Schooledoctors and ſuch fooleries. &c. And much more he hath of the ſame matter, which ye may ſee hereafter in the lyfe of M. Latimer.

Bilney returneth agayne from his abiuration.

By this it appeareth howe vehemently this good man was pearced with ſorow and remorſe for his abiuration, ẏ ſpace almoſt of 2. yeares, that is, from the yeare 1529. to the yeare 1531. It followed then that he by Gods grace & good counſayle, came at length to ſome quiet of conſcience, being fully reſolued to geue ouer his life for the confeſſion of that truth, which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in hys minde, and ſetting hys time he tooke his leaue in Trinitie hall at ten of the clocke at nyght, of certayne of hys frendes, and ſayd that he would go to Ieruſalem, alluding belike to the words & examples of chriſt in the Goſpel going vp to Ieruſalem, what time he was appoynted to ſuffer his paſſion. And ſo Bilney meanyng to geue ouer hys life for the teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell told his frends ẏ he woulde goe vp to Ieruſalem, and ſo would ſee thē no more, & immediately departed to Northfolk, & there preached firſt priuely in houſholdes to cōfirm the brethren and ſiſterne, and alſo to confirme the anchres whom he had conuerted to Chriſt. Then preached he opēly in ẏ fieldes, confeſſing his fact, and preaching publickely ẏ doctrine, which he before had abiured, to be the very trueth, & willed all men to beware by hym, and neuer to truſt to theyr fleſhly frends in cauſes of religion. And ſo ſetting forward in his iourny toward the celeſtiall Ieruſalem, hee departed from thence to the Anchres in Norwiche, & there gaue her a new teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, and the obedience of a Chriſtian man, whereupon hee was apprehended and caryed to priſon there to remayne, till ẏ blynde biſhop Nixe ſent vp for a writte to burne hym.

Nam fa
cius era
untis H
roſolym
Bilney g
eth vp to
Hieruſa

4. Orde
Fryers a-
gainſt Bil-
ney.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Fryers and religious men, with the reſidue of theyr Doctours, Ciuill and Canon reſorted to him, buſily labouring to perſwade hym not to die in thoſe opinions, ſaying he ſhoulde be damned body and ſoule, if he ſo continued. Among whome, firſt were ſent to him of the byſhop. Doct. Call miniſter: (as they call him) or Prouinciall of the graye Fryers: and Doct. Stokes an Auguſtine Fryer, who lay with hym in priſon in diſputation, till the writte came that he ſhould be burned. Doctor Call by the word of God, through the meanes of Bilneys doctrine, & good life, wherof he had good experience, was ſomewhat reclaymed to the Goſpelles ſide. Doct. Stokes remayned obdurate, and doth yet to this day, whoſe heart alſo the Lorde, if it be hys will, reforme & open the eyes of his old age, that he may forſake the former blyndnes of his youth. An other great doer agaynſt him, was one Fryer Byrd, with one eye, Prouinciall of the white Friers. This Byrde was a Suffragane in Couentry, and after, Biſhop of Cheſter, & was he that brought, apples to Boner, mentioned in the ſtory of Haukes. An other was a blacke Fryer, called Hodgekins, who after, being vnder the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, maryed, and afterward in Queene Maryes tyme, put away hys wyfe. Theſe 4. orders of Fryers were ſent (as is ſayd) to bayte Bilney: who notwithſtanding, as hee had planted hymſelfe vppon the fyrme rock of Gods word, was at a poynt, and ſo continued vnto the end.

Doct. Cal,
and Doct.
Stokes, ſe
to diſpute
with Bilne
Doct. Cal,
called by
Bilney.

Fryer Bir
buſie abou
Bilney.

Frier Hodg
kins a bla
Fryer, a-
gainſt Bil-
ney.

But here nowe commeth in ſir Thomas More trumping in our way, with hys paynted carde, & would needs take vp this Tho. Bilney from vs, and make hym a conuert after his ſecte. Thus theſe coated cardes, though they could not by playn ſcriptures conuince hym beyng aliue, yet now after hys death, by falſe play they will make hym theirs whither he will or no. This ſyr Thom. More in hys rayling preface before hys booke agaynſt Tindall doth challenge Bilney to hys catholicke Church, and ſayth that, not onely at the fyre, but many dayes before both in wordes and writing, reuoked, abhorred, and deteſted hys hereſies before holden. And how is this proued? by 3. or 4. mighty argumentes, as big as milpoſtes, fet out of *Vtopia, from whence, thou muſt know reader, can come no fittons but all fine Poetrie.

4. Reaſon
Syr Thom
More.
*Vtopia,
of More
phantaſie.
Aunſwere
to Syr Th
More.

Firſt, he ſayth, that certayne Norwichmen writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterward being therupon examined, were compelled to graunt, that he at his examination redde a bill, but what it was, they could not tel, for they ſtood not ſo neare, to heare hym. And albeit they ſtood not ſo neare, yet ſome of them perceaued certayne thinges there ſpoken, whereby they thought that he did reuoke. Some agayne added to thoſe things ſpoken certayne additions of their owne, to excuſe him from recantation.

Firſt to aunſwere hereunto, and to try out this matter ſomewhat roundly with M. More, let vs ſee with what conueyaunce he proceedeth in this narratiō. At his firſt examination (ſayth he) he waxed ſtiffe in hys opinions, but yet God was ſo good Lord vnto hym, that he was fully cōuerted to the true Catholicke fayth. &c. And when might thys goodly conuerſion begin? Many dayes (quoth he) before his burning. Here is no certayn day aſſigned, but many dayes lefte at large, that he might haue ẏ larger roume, to walke inuiſible. well then, but how many dayes coulde theſe be, I would fayne learne of M. More, when hee was not many dayes in theyr hands, no longer then they could ſende vpp to London for a writte to burne him? Belike

A lykely tale of M. More.

then ſhortly after his apprehenſion, at the firſt comming of the fryers vnto hym, by and by he reuolted. A ſtraunge matter, that he which 2. yeares before had layne in ſuche a burning hell of diſpayre, for his firſt abiuration, and could find no other comfort, but onely in returning to the ſame doctrine agayne, which before he had denyed, vtterly reſigning himſelfe ouer to death, and taking his leaue of his frendes, and ſetting his face with Chriſt purpoſely to goe to Hieruſalem, voluntarily there to fall into the handes of ẏ Scribes & Phariſies for that doctrines ſake, ſhould now ſo ſoone, euen at the firſt brunt, geue ouer to the contrarye doctrine agayne. It is not like. God was ſo good Lord vnto hym, ſayth M. More. That God was good Lord vnto him very true it is. But that God did ſo turne him in deede, to be a member of that Romiſh Churche, that hath not M. More yet ſufficiently proued. To affirme without proufe or demonſtration, in matters of ſtorye, it is not ſufficient. But what hath bene done in deede, that muſt be proued by good euidence and ſpeciall demonſtration of witneſſes, that we may certaynly know it ſo to be.

The firſt reaſon of M. More.

Read of Sinon in the 2. booke of Virgil: who craftely mixeth true things with falſe, to betray the Citie of Troye.

It followeth moreouer in M. More. And there lacked not ſome (ſayth he) that were ſory for it. No doubt, but if our Bilney had ſo relented, ſome would haue bene very ſorye therfore. But what one man in all this ſumme, in all Norwich was ſory that M. More muſt ſpecifie vnto vs before we beleue him: ſo well are we acquaynted with his Poeticall fictiōs But how els ſhould this narratiō of M. More ſeeme to runne with probabilitie, if it were not watered with ſuch additions? He addeth moreouer, and ſayth: And ſome wrote out of Norwiche to London, that he had not reuoked his hereſies at all, but ſtill did abide in them. This ſoundeth rather to come more neare to a truth. And here is a knack of Sinons arte, to interlarde a tale of vntrueth with ſome parcell of truth now and then among, that ſomethings being found true, may winne credite to the reſt which is vtterly falſe. And why then be not the letters of theſe Norwich men beleued, for the not recanting of Bilney? Becauſe (ſayth he) afterwarde they being called to examination: it was there prooued playnly to their faces, that Bilney reuoked. By whō was it proued? By thoſe (ſayth he) which at his execution ſtood by, and heard him read his reuocation hymſelfe &c. What men were theſe? or what were their names? or what was any one mans name in all the Cittie of Norwich, ẏ heard Bilney recant? There M. More will geue vs leaue to ſeek them out if we can, for he can name vs none. Well, & why could not the other part heare Bilney read hys reuocation as well as theſe? Becauſe (ſayth More) hee read ſo ſoftly, that they could not heare him.

M. More here painteth Antickes.

Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read his reuocation ſo ſoftly, that ſome could heare, ſome could not hear him thē this would be knowne, what was the cauſe why Bilney read his reuocation ſo ſoftly? which muſt needes be either for lacke of good will to read, or good voyce to vtter. If good will were abſent in reading that reuocation, then it appeareth ẏ he recanted againſt his owne minde and conſcience. If it were by imbecillitie of voyce & vtterance, thē how followeth it M. More in this your narration, where you ſay, that the ſayd perſons, whiche coulde not heare hym read the bill, yet notwithſtanding could heare hym rehearſe certaine other thinges ſpoken by him the ſame time at the fire, wherby they could not but perceaue well, that he reuoked his errors. &c. Ah M. More for all your pouder of experience, doe ye thinke to caſt ſuch a miſt before mens eyes, that we cannot ſee how you iuggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own narration? vnleſſe peraduenture you wil excuſe your ſelfe, per licentiam Poeticam, after the priuiledge of Poets and paynters, for as ye know the old liberty of theſe two. Pictoribus atque Poetis.

Quælibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.

Nowe if this vayne of yours, which ſo extremely rayleth and fareth agaynſt the poore Martyrs & ſeruauntes of Chriſt, be ſo copious that you dare take in hand anye falſe matter to proue, and to make men beleue, that Bilney dyed a Papiſt, yet the maner of handling hereof woulde haue required ſome more artificiall conueyaunce: Mendacem enim (vt ſcis) memorem eſſe oportet: that mē, although they ſee the matter to be falſe, yet might commend the workmanſhip of the handler, which (to ſay the trueth) neither hangeth wͭ it ſelfe, nor beareth any ſemblance of any truth. But becauſe M. More is gone and dead, I will ceaſe anye further to inſult vpon him, leaſt I may ſeeme to incur ẏ ſame vice of hys in mordendo mortuos. Yet for ſomuche as his bookes be not yet dead, but remayne aliue to the hurt of many, hauing therfore to do, not wͭ him, but with his book diſciples, this would I know how hangeth this geare together: Bilney was heard, and yet not heard hee ſpake ſo ſoftly & yet not ſoftly. Some ſayd he did recāt, ſome ſaid he did not recant. Ouer and beſides, how wil this be anſwered, that for ſo much as the ſayd Bilney (as he ſayth) reuoked many dayes before his burning, & the ſame was knowen to him at London, then how chaunced the ſame could not be as well knowne to them of Norwiche? who (as hys owne ſtory affirmeth) knew nothing therof before the day of his execution, then ſeeing a certayne bill in his hande, whiche ſome ſayd was a bill of his reuocation, ſome other heard it not. All this would be made playne, eſpeciallye in ſuch a matter as this is, which he knew himſelfe peraduēture to be falſe, at leaſt, he knew would be doubted, ſuſpected, and contraried of a great multitude.

Marke howe theſe thinges hang together.

The ſecond reaſon of M. More.

I paſſe now to hys ſecond reaſon, where he reporteth, that the ſayd Bilney forthwith vpon hys iudgement and degradation, kneeled downe in the preſence of all the people, and asked of the Chauncellour abſolution from the ſentence of excommunication, holding hym well content with hys death whiche hee confeſſed himſelfe to haue deſerued. &c.

Aunſwere.

As touching the pacient receiuing of hys death. I doe well aſſent, although I do not thinke that he had deſerued any ſuch for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the preſence of the people, vpon his iudgement and degradation, as I do not deny that he myght ſo do, ſo I ſuppoſe agayne the cauſe of hys kneeling not to be vnto the Chauncellour to aſke abſolution from hys excommunicatiō. And if he were aſſoyled frō hys excommunicatiō, yet doth it not thereupon followe that he recanted, no more then before, whē he came to M. Latimer in hys ſtudy, hūbly to be confeſſed & aſſoyled from hys ſinnes as the blindnes of ẏ tyme then led him. But whether he kneeled downe and was aſſoyled or no, neyther was I there to ſee hym, nor yet M. More hymſelfe. And therfore with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the ſame, vnleſſe hee brought better demonſtration for hys aſſertion then hee doth, hauing no more for himſelfe, but onely hys owne * ἀυτός ἔφη. And yet neuertheleſſe admit hee ſo did, being a man of a timorous conſcience of an humble ſpirite, and not fully reſolued touching that matter of the Church, yet it followeth not therby (as is ſayd) that he reuoked hys other Articles and doctrine, by hym before profeſſed.

* That is, he ſo ſayth.

The third reaſon of M. More.

The like anſwere may alſo be ſhaped to his third reaſon where he ſayth: that certayne dayes after hys iudgement, he made great labour that hee might receaue the bleſſed bodye of Chriſt in forme of bread, whiche the Chauncellour after a great ſticking a while, at length did graunt, perceiuing his deuotion thereto &c. Whereunto I aunſwere as before, that it is not vnpoſſible, but that Bilney might both heare Maſſe, and deſire to receaue the ſacrament: For in that matter it maye be, that he was not reſolued otherwiſe, then common cuſtome then led both hym and many other. Neyther doe I finde in all the articles obiected agaynſt Bilney, that euer he was charged with any ſuch opinion, concerning either the Maſſe or the Sacrament: whiche maketh me thinke, that hee was yet ignoraunt and alſo deuout as other then were.

Aunſwere.

The 4. reaſon of M. More.

Alſo fourthly, be it admitted, as M. More ſayth, that in receiuing of the ſacrament, he holdyng vp hys handes ſhould ſay the Collect: Domine Ieſu Chriſte: and comming to theſe wordes, eccleſiæ tuæ pacē & concordiam, he knocked vpon hys breſt, dyuers tymes repeatyng the ſame wordes. &c. al this beyng graunted to M. More, yet it argueth no neceſſarye alteration of hys former doctrine, which he preached and taught before And yet if I liſted here to ſtand dalying with M. More, in the ſtate inficiall, and deny that he affirmeth: how will hee make good that which he ſayth: He ſayth that Bilney kneeling before the Chauncellour, deſired abſolution: Then commyng to Maſſe full deuoutly, required to receaue the body of Chriſt in forme of bread, repeating diuers tymes the woordes of the collect: Domine Ieſu Chriſte &c. By what argument proueth he all this to be ſo? M. More in hys preface before ẏ book againſt Tindal ſo ſaith, Ergo it is certain. If M. More had neuer made fictions in hys writinges beſide, or had neuer broken the head of veritie, in ſo many places of hys bookes as I could ſhewe hym, then might this argument goe for ſomewhat. But here I aſke, was this M. More preſent at ẏ iudgement of Bilney? No, Or els what regiſters had he for hys direction? None. Or els by what witneſſes will he auouch this to be certayne? Goe, and ſeeke theſe witneſſes (good reader) where thou canſt finde them, for M. More nameth none. Onely becauſe M. More ſo ſaith, that is ſufficient. Well, geue this to M. More, (although hee hath crackt his credite ſo often, and may alwayes be bankrout) yet let his word go for paymēt at this time, & let vs imagine

Status inficialis, in Rhethoricke is when one ſtādeth to the deniall of the fact.

An argument of Mores authoritie.

M. Mores credit crackt.

giue all to be oracles, ẏ he ſayth: yet neuertheles, here muſt needes remaine a ſcruple. For what will M. More (or becauſe he is gone) what will his diſciples ſay to this, that if Bilney was before aſſoyled vppon his iudgement, as they pretend, howe was he then afterward degraded? what aſſoyling is this, to be forgeuē firſt, and then to be puniſhed after? Againe, if he were (as they ſurmiſe) conuerted ſo fully to the Catholicke fayth, and alſo aſſoyled, why then dyd the Chauncellour ſticke ſo greatly for a whyle, to houſell him with the body of Chriſt, in forme of bread? I am ſure that if Chriſt had bene here himſelfe in forme of his owne fleſhe, he would nothing haue ſtucke to receaue him, being ſo conuerted at the firſt.

The lawe of relapſe, Extrauag. de hæret, ſuper co.

Mores wordes in his preface.

The popes lawe diſagreeing from the condition of the true church of chriſt.

To be ſhort, if Bilney was ſo graciouſly reduced to ẏ holy mother the Catholicke Church, repenting his errors and deteſting his hereſies, & now being in no Purgatory, but being a very Saint in heauen, as ye ſay he is: why thē did ye burne him, whom you knew your ſelues ſhould be a Saint? Thus ye burne both Gods enemies, and Gods Saintes too, what cruel men are you? But here you wil alledge perhaps, your lawe of relaps, by the whiche the firſt fall is pardonable, but the ſecond fall into hereſie, is in no caſe pardonable: for ſo ſtandeth your lawe, I graunt. But how this law ſtandeth with ẏ true church of Chriſt, & with his word, now let vs reaſon. For this being a lawe not of politicke or ciuill gouernment, (where ſuche lawes be expedient for publicke neceſſitie) but onely being a law mere Eccleſiaſtical, what a cruell mother Church is this, which will not and cannot forgeue her children riſing and repenting the ſecond faulte or error committed, but needes muſt burne theyr bodyes, that theyr ſoules may be ſaued from ẏ paynfull Paſſion of Purgatory, whom neuertheleſſe they know forthwith ſhal be bleſſed in heauen? If God do ſaue them, why doe you burne them? If God doe pardon them why do you condēne them? And if this be the law of your Churche, according to your doctrine, to burne them at the ſecond time, though they be amended: how then doth this Church agree with the worde of Chriſt, and nature of his true ſpouſe, which onely ſeeketh repentaunce & amendment of ſinners? which once being had, ſhe gladly openeth her boſome, and motherly receaueth them, whenſoeuer they returne.

Hebr. 5.

Wherfore, if Bilney did returne to your Church (as ye ſay he did) then was your Church a cruell mother and vnnaturall, which would not opē her boſome vnto hym, but thruſt him into the fire whē he had repented. Furthermore how will you defend this law by the word of God, who in expreſſe wordes teaching all Biſhops and Paſtors, by the example of Chriſt the great Biſhop of our ſoules, (beyng compaſſed about with tentations, that he might haue the more compaſſion of them which be infirme) exhorted all other ſpirituall paſtors by the lyke example ſaying: Hebr. 5. For euery biſhop, whiche is taken from among men, is ordayned for men, in thinges pertayning to God, to offer giftes and ſacrifice for ſinnes, that he may be mercifull to the ignoraunt, and to ſuch as erre, for ſomuch as he himſelfe is compaſſed about with infirmitie &c. Beſides whiche Scripture, adde alſo that ſome Doctors of the Canon law, if they be well ſcande, will not deny but that they which be fallen in relapſe, whither it be verè, or fictè, yet if they earneſtly returne from theyr errors before the ſentence be geuen, they may be ſent to perpetual priſon in ſome monaſtery: &c. Wherefore, if Bilney dyd ſo earneſtly retract and deteſt his former opinions, ſo manye dayes (as More ſayth) before his ſuffering, then needed not he to ſuffer that death as he dyd, but might haue bene ſent to perpetuall priſon.

Bilney needed not to be burned by the ſentence of the Canon lawe.

Ex tractatu cuiuſdam Doct. Canoniſtæ.

M.Mores tale full of abſurdities.

Thus I although I need not to ſtand longer vpon this matter being ſo playn, and hauing ſayd inough: yet (briefly to repeate that before hath bene ſayd) this I ſay again: firſt if Thomas Bilney was aſſoyled from excommunication, and after that heard his Maſſe ſo deuoutly, and at the ende of the Maſſe, was confeſſed, and conſequently after confeſſion was houſeled, and laſtly aſked mercy for contemning of the Church, as M. More doth beare vs in hand (to ſee nowe howe this tale hangeth together) why then dyd the Chauncellour ſticke ſo greatly to geue hym the ſacrament of the aultar, whom he hymſelfe had aſſoyled, and receiued to the ſacrament of penaunce before, whiche is playne agaynſt the Canon lawes. Agayne the ſayd Thomas Bilney, if hee were nowe receaued to the mother Church by the Sacraments of penaunce and of the aultar: why then was he afterward diſgraded, and cut from the Church, ſith the Canon permitteth no degradation, but to them which onely be incorrigible? Furthermore, the ſayd Bilney, if he being conuerted ſo many dayes before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholicke fayth, was now no hereticke, howe then did the ſentence pronounce him for an hereticke? or finally how would they, or why could they burn him beyng a Catholicke, eſpecially ſith the Canon law would beare with him to be iudged rather to perpetuall priſon in ſome monaſtery, as is afore touched, if they had pleaſed?

A ſum aunſwere M.Mo in his de fence, lane Co

Wherefore in three wordes to aunſwere to M. More. Firſt all this tale of hys may be doubted, becauſe of ẏ matter not hanging together. Secondly, it may alſo well be denyed, for the inſufficiencye of probation, and teſtimonye. Thirdly, if al this were graunted, yet neyther hath maſter More anye great aduauntage agaynſt Bilney to reproue him to haue recanted: nor yet M. Cope againſt me, whiche by the authoritie of M. More ſeeketh to beare mee downe, and diſproue my former ſtory.

Mores ſequent nyed.

For be it graunted that Bilney at his death, did holde with the Maſſe, with confeſſion, and with the authority of theyr Romiſh Church, being an humble ſpirited man, and yet no further brought: yet all this notwithſtanding proueth not that he recanted. For ſo much as he neuer held nor taught any thing before agaynſt the premiſſes, therfore he could not recant that which he neuer did hold. For the better demonſtration whereof, I will recite out of the Regiſters, ſome part of his teaching and preaching, as was obiected agaynſt him by one Richard Nele, Prieſt: who among other witneſſes, depoſed agaynſt hym for preaching in the Towne of Wylſedone, theſe wordes folowing.

Ex Reg London 82.

Bilney againſt offeringes to images.

Put away your golden Gods, your ſiluer Gods, your ſtonye Gods, and leaue your offeringes, and lift vp your heartes to the ſacrament of the aultar. Alſo the ſayd Maiſter Bilney ſayde in hys Sermon: I know certayne thinges haue bene offered in ſuch places, whiche haue bene afterward geuen to whores, of the ſtewes, and I call them whores of the ſtewes that be naught of their lyuing &c. Ex Regiſt.

Item, by an other witnes named W. Cade, it was depoſed agaynſt him, thus to preache: That Iewes and Saracens would haue become Chriſten men long agoe, had not Idolatrye of Chriſten men beene, by offring of Candels, waxe, or money to the ſtockes, and the ſtones of Images ſet and ſtanding in the Churches. &c.

Bilney againſt Pilgrimage.

Item, by the ſayd deponent agaynſt Bilney: That the Prieſtes take awaye the offeringes, and hang them about theyr whores neckes: and after that, they take them agayne from the whores, if they pleaſe them not, and hange them vppon the Images, and is not that a great relicke, when it is hanged there agayne?

Item, by the ſayd deponent it was teſtified agaynſt Bilney: that goyng on Pilgrimage is nought, and that no man ſhuld vſe it, For it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, & giue ſomewhat in almoſe, and offer your hartes, wylles, and myndes, to the ſacrament, and leaue your Idolatry to Sayntes.

Item, by W. Nelmys of Wylſedone, that Bilney ſhoulde preach: They gilde theyr Gods, and beare them about, and men ſay, they do ſpeake: and if they do ſpeake, it is the deuill that ſpeaketh in them: and not God. &c.

Item, by Thomas Daly of Wilſedone, that Bilney thus preached. You come hither on pilgrimage to ſtockes and ſtones, You do naught: keepe you at home, and worſhip the ſacrament at home. &c.

Bilney agaynſt merites. Vide ſupra pag. 97

Item, by fryer Iohn Hogekyn, that Bilney thus preached at Ipſwich: The comming of our Sauiour Chriſt was long deſired, and by diuers and manye prophetes prophecied, that hee ſhould come. But Iohn the Baptiſt, more then a Prophet, did not onely prophecie, but with his finger ſhewed: Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. Then, if thys wer the very Lambe, which Iohn did demonſtrate, and ſhewed, whiche taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde, what iniurie is this Bull of the Byſhop of Rome to our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, that to be buryde in the Cowle of S. Fraunces, ſhould or may remit 4. partes of the penaunce? What is lefte to our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, which taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde? This will I iuſtifie to be a great blaſphemy agaynſt the blood of Chriſt. &c.

Bilney agaynſt mo mediatours then one.

Item, by an other Fryer Iulles, that Bilney thus preached: I truſt there ſhall and will come other beſide mee, the whiche ſhall ſhewe and preache to you the ſame fayth, and maner of liuing that I doe, which is the very true Goſpell of our Sauiour, whereby you ſhall be brought from your erroures, wherein you haue bene ſo long ſeduced: for before thys, there hath bene many, that hath ſclaundered you, and the Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſte. Of whome ſpeaketh oure Sauioure Chriſt. Mat. 18. Qui ſcandalizauerint vnum de puſillis iſtis qui crediderunt. &c.

Adde moreouer to theſe the teſtimonye of Richarde Seman: that Bilney in Ipſwich ſhoulde preache theſe wordes: Our Sauioure Chriſt is our mediatour betweene vs and the father: what then ſhould neede vs to ſeeke to anye Saynt for remedye, inferiour to Chriſt? Wherefore to make ſuche petition to anye, but to our Sauiour Chriſt, truſtyng therby to haue

remedy

remedie, doth great iniurie to the bloud of Chriſt, and deformeth our Sauiour Chriſt, like as, if a man ſhoulde take and ſtryke of the head, and ſet it vnder the foote, and to ſet the foote aboue.

Thus much being partly touched before, I thought here to inſinuate agayn out of the Regiſters, touching the opinions of Tho. Bilney. whereby may appeare the whole ſumme of his preaching & doctrine to proceed chiefly againſt Idolatry, inuocation of ſayntes, vayne worſhip of Images, falſe truſt to mens merites, & ſuch other groſſe points of religion, as ſeemed preiudiciall & derogatory to ẏ bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt. As touching the Maſſe, and Sacrament of the aultar, as he neuer varyed from himſelf, ſo he neuer differred therein frõ the moſt groſſeſt Catholickes. And as concerning his opinion of the Churche of Rome, how blinde it was at that tyme, may ſufficiẽtly appeare by hys owne aunſweres in tyme of hys abiuration, written with his owne hand in Latine, whiche I haue to ſhew, as followeth: Credo plæraſq; legis pontificias vtiles eſſe, neceſſarias, & ad pietatem quoq; plurimum promouentes, nec ſacris Scripturis repugnantes, imò ab omnibus plurimum obſeruãdas. &c. De omnibus nõ poſſum pronunciare, vtpote quas non legi, & quas legi, nunquã in hoc legi, vt reprehẽderẽ, ſed vt diſcerẽ intelligere ac pro virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legũ queſtus eſt ſuo tempore S Auguſtinus, & item Gerſonus, qui miratur quomodo nos poſt lapſum, inter tot laqueos Conſtitutionũ tuti eſſe poſſimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapſum, & vnicum præceptum non obſeruarint. &c.

Note here how groſſe Bilney was yet in the Sacrament.

Ex Regiſt. London. fol. 37.

Moreouer, concerning the authoritie of the keyes, thus he writeth, anſwering to hys 12. Article: Soli ſacerdotes ordinati ritè per pontifices, habent Claues, quarum virtute ligant & ſoluunt (* claue non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quam libet ſint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit miniſtrorum indignitas, q̃diu ab Eccleſia tolerantur. &c.

At hæc clauis errat perpetuò.

By theſe wordes of Bilney written by him in Latine, although it may be thought how ignorant & groſſe he was after the rudenes of thoſe dayes, yet by the ſame notwithſtanding it may appeare, how falſely he is noted & ſclaundered by M. More, and Cope my friend, to haue recanted the Articles, which he did neuer hold or mayntayne otherwiſe in all his life. And therefore (as I ſayde) though it be graunted to M. More, or in his abſence, to my friende Cope, that Bilney was aſſoyled, was cõfeſſed, & houſſeled before his burning, yet all this argueth not ẏ he recanted.

Contrarie reaſons to proue that Bilney dyd not againe recant.

Nowe that I haue ſufficiently (I truſt) put of the reaſons of M. More and of others, wherby they pretend falſly to face vs out, that Bilny the ſecond time agayne recanted at hys death: it remayneth on ẏ other part, that I likewiſe do inſerte my probations, wherby I haue to argue & conuince, that Bilney did not the ſecond time recant, as he is vntruely ſlaundered. And firſt I will begin euen wyth the words and teſtimony of M. Mores own mouth, who being Lord Chauncellour when meſſage was ſent to hym for a writte of diſcharge to burne Bilney, ſpeaking in this wiſe to the meſſengers, that came: Go your wayes (ſayd he) and burne hym firſt, and then afterwarde come to me for a bill of my hand. Which wordes may geue vs euidẽce enough, that Bilney was not thought then to haue recanted, for then ẏ Lorde Chauncellour woulde not haue bene ſo greedy and haſty (no doubt) to haue him diſpatched. And how ſtandeth this with M. Mores wordes now, whiche beareth vs in hand that he recanted many dayes before his burning?

Mores owne wordes agaynſt hymſelfe.

Proued by Byſhoppe Nixes wordes that Bilney dyd not recant at his burning.

The like euidence we may alſo take by the verdicte of the Biſhop himſelfe, that burned him, whoſe wordes were theſe. After he had burned him, and thẽ heard tell of Doct. Sharton: Chriſtes mother, ſayd he (that was his othe) I feare I haue burnt Abell, & let Cain go, &c. As who would ſay: I had thought before, that I had puniſhed Cain, and let Abell goe: but now I feare I haue burnt Abell, and let Cain eſcape. Wherby it is playn to vnderſtand what was the Byſhops iudgement of Bilney, before his burning: that is, that he was a Cain and the other an Abell. But after the burning of Bilney, the Biſhop hearing nowe of Sharton, turneth hys iudgement, and correcteth himſelfe ſwearing nowe the contrary: that is, leaſt hee had burned Abell, and let Cayn go.

Furthermore, where the Biſhop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abell, what doth this feare of the Byſhop import, but a doubting of hys minde vncertayne? For who feareth that wherof he is ſure? Wherefore ẏ caſe is playn ẏ Bilney at hys burning did not recant, as More reporteth: For then ẏ Biſh. knowing Bilney to dye a Catholick conuert, & a true member of the church, would not haue feared, nor doubted, but would haue cõſtantly affirmed Bilney to haue dyed a true Abell in deede. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney dyed an Abell, then the Biſhop by his owne confeſſion, muſt needes proue himſelf to be a Cain, which ſlue him. What more clearer probation could we bring, if there were a thouſande? Or what neede we any other, hauing this alone?

Cain burneth Abell.

Teſtimonies prouing that M. Bilney dyd not recant at his death.

Now for teſtimonie and witneſſe of this matter, to be produced, for ſomuch as M. More alledgeth none to proue that Bilney at hys death did recant: I will aſſay what teſtimony I haue on the contrary ſide, to auouch and proue that Bilney dyd not recant.

Witnes for Bilney.

Doct. Turner Dean of Welles.

And for ſomuch as Bilney was a Cambrige man, and the firſt framer of that Vniuerſitie in the knowledge of Chriſt, and was burned at Norwich, being not verie farre diſtant from Cambrige: there is no doubt, but among ſo many friendes as hee had in that Vniuerſitie, ſome went thether to heare, and ſee him. Of whom one was Thomas Alen felow thẽ of Penbroke Hall, who returning the ſame tyme, from Bilneyes burning, declared to Doct. Turner, Deane of Welles, being yet aliue (a man whoſe authoritie neither is to be neglected, nor credite to be diſtruſted) that the ſayde Bilney tooke his death moſt paciently, and ſuffered moſt conſtantly, without any recantation, for the doctrine which he before had profeſſed.

An other witnes for Bilney.

In the Citie of Norwiche Necton, and many other be now departed, which were then preſent at the burning of Bilney: neuertheleſſe ſome be yet aliue, whoſe witneſſes, if neede were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time ſhall require. In the meane tyme. at the writing hereof, here was one Tho. Ruſſell, a ryght honeſt occupyer, and a Citizen of Norwich, who lykewiſe beyng there preſent on horſebacke at the execution of thys godly man, beholdyng all things that were done, did neither heare hym recant any worde, nor yet heard of hys recantation.

An other witnes for Bilney.

I could alſo adde hereunto the teſtimonie of an other, beyng brother to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, named M. Baker, a man yet alyue, who beyng the ſame time preſent at the examinatiõ of Bilney, both heard him, and ſaw him, when as a certain Fryer called him hereticke. Whereunto Bilney replying agayne, made aunſwere: if I be an hereticke (ſayd hee) then are you an Antichriſt, who of late haue buried a certain Gentlewoman in your, in S. Fraunces coule, aſſuryng her to haue ſaluation thereby. Whiche fact, although the Frier the ſame tyme did deny, yet this cãnot be denyed, but Bilney ſpake theſe wordes: whereby he may eaſely be iudged to be farre from the mind of any recãtation: according as by the ſayd Gentleman, it is alſo teſtified, that after that, he neuer heard of any recantation that Bilney eyther ment or made.

One martyr witnes for an other martyr.

If I ſhould recite all, which here might be brought. I myght ſooner lacke rowme in my booke to conteine them, then names enough to fill vp a grand iurye. But what neede I to ſpend tyme about witnes, when one M. Latymer may ſtand for a thouſand, one martyr to beare witnes to an other? And though my frend Cope, preſſing me with the authoritie of M. More, ſaieth, that he will beleeue hym before me: yet I truſt, he will not refuſe to credite thys ſo auncient a Senior, father Latimer, being both in Bilneys time, and alſo by Bilney conuerted, and familiarly with hym acquaynted: who being the ſame time at Cambridge, I ſuppoſe would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, then maiſter More.

The teſtimonie of M. Latimer concerning M. Bilney.

Touchyng the teſtimoniall of whiche Latimer, I haue noted before, how he in ij. ſundrye places in his ſermons, hath teſtified of good Bilney, of that bleſſed Bilney of Saint Bilney, how he dyed paciently agaynſt the tyrannicall Sea of Rome. &c. And in an other Sermon alſo how the ſayd Bilney ſuffered hys body to be burned for the goſpell ſake. &c. Item, in an other place, howe the ſayde Bilney ſuffered death for Gods wordes ſake, vid. pag. 1008.

Vid. ſupra pag. 1008.

I may be thought perhaps of ſome, to haue ſtayed to long about the diſcourſe of thys matter. But the cauſe that moued, and halfe conſtrained me thereunto, was ſyr Tho. More, ſometimes Lord Chauncellour of England, & now a great Archpiller of all our Engliſhe Papiſtes, a man otherwiſe of a pregnaunt witte, full of pleaſaunt conceites, alſo for hys learning aboue the common ſort of his eſtate, eſteemed induſtruous, no leſſe in hys ſtudyes then wel exerciſed in hys penne. Who if hee had kept hymſelfe in hys owne ſhoppe, and applyed the facultie, being a laye man, whereunto he was called, and had not ouer reached hymſelfe to proue maystryes in ſuch matters, wherein hee had little ſkill, leſſe experience, and which pertayned not to his profeſſion, he had deſerued, not onely much more commendation, but alſo longer lyfe.

But for ſo muche as he, not contented with hys own vocation, hath with Oza reached out hys vnmeete hand to meddle with Gods Arkematters, wherein he had little cunning and while he thinketh to helpe religion, deſtroieth religion, and is an vtter enemy to Chriſt, and to his ſpirituall doctrine, and his poore afflicted Church, to the intent therefore that he being taken for a ſpeciall ringleader, and a chiefe ſtay in the Popes Church, might the better be knowen what he is, and that the ignorant and ſimple may ſee what little credite is to be geuen vnto him, as well in his other falſe facing out of matters, as namely in this preſent hiſtory of Bilneys recantation: I haue dilligently ſearched out and procured the true certificate of M. Bilneys burning, with all the circumſtaunces, and poyntes thereto belonging, teſtified not by ſomeſayes & by heareſeyes (as M. More vſeth) but truely witneſſed, and faythfully recorded by one, who as in a place and degree ſurmounteth the eſtate of M. More (though he were Lord Chauncellour) ſo beyng alſo both a ſpirituall perſon, and there preſent the ſame time, comming for the ſame purpoſe the day before, to ſee his burning, was a preſent beholder of things there done, ἀυτόπτης τε καὶ μάρτυς of Martyrdom, whoſe credite I am ſure will counterpeaſe with the credite of M. More. The order of which martyrdome was this, as followeth.

Doct. Parker Archb. of Canterbury, preſent witneſſe at the burning of Bilney.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doct. Pelles Doctour of law and Chaũcellour, firſt was degraded by Suffragan Underwoode, according to the cuſtome of ther popiſhe maner, by the aſſiſtaunce of all the Fryers and Doctours of the ſame ſute. Whiche done, he was immediately committed to the laye power, and to the two Sheriffes of the Cittie, of whome Thomas Necton was one. This Tho. Necton was Bilneys ſpeciall good frend, and ſory to accept hym to ſuch execution as followed. But ſuch was the tyrannye of ẏ tyme and dread of the Chauncellour and Fryers, that he coulde no otherwiſe doe, but neede muſt receiue him. Who notwithſtanding, as he could not beare in his conſcience himſelfe to be preſent at hys death: ſo, for the time that he was in hys cuſtody, hee cauſed hym to be more friendly looked vnto, and more holeſomely kept, concerning his dyet, then he was before.

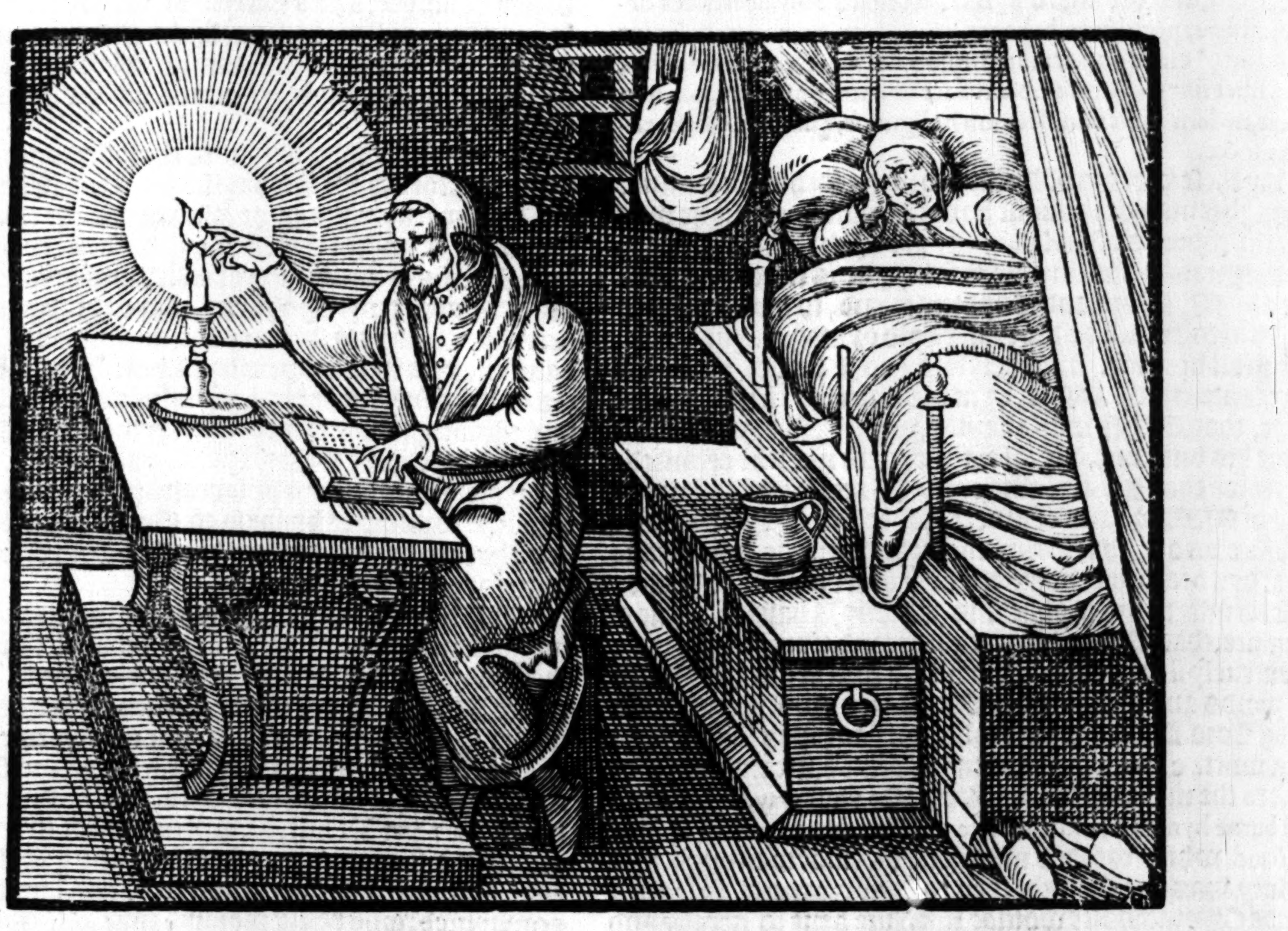
Tho.Ne Sherif Norwi

After this, the Friday following at night, whiche was before the day of his execution, being S. Magnus day and Saterday, the ſaid Bilney had diuers of his frendes reſorting vnto hym in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongſt whome one of the ſayd frendes finding hym eating of an Albrew with ſuche a cheerefull hart and quyet minde as he did, ſayd that he was glad to ſee hym at that time, ſo ſhortly before hys heauy and paynfull departure, ſo hartily to refreſh himſelfe. Wherunto he anſwered: Oh ſayd he, I followe the example of the huſbandmen of the countrey who hauing a ruinous houſe to dwell in, yet beſtowe coſt as long as they may, to hold it vp, and ſo do I now wyth this ruinous houſe of my body, and with Gods creatures in thankes to hym, refreſh the ſame as ye ſee. Then ſitting with his ſayde friendes in godly talke, to theyr edification ſome put him in minde that though the fire, which he ſhuld ſuffer the next day ſhould be of great heate vnto hys body, yet the comfort of Gods ſpirite ſhould coole it to hys euerlaſting refreſhing. At this word the ſaid Tho. Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as alſo he did diuers tymes beſides) and feelyng the heate thereof, O (ſayd he) I feele by experience, & haue known it long by Philoſophy, that fire by Gods ordinãce is naturally hoot, but yet I am perſwaded by Gods holye worde, and by the experience of ſome ſpokẽ of in the ſame, that in the flame they felt no heate, and in the fire they felte no conſumption: and I conſtantly beleue, that how ſoeuer ẏ ſtouble of this my body ſhalbe waſted by it, yet my ſoule and ſpirite ſhalbe purged thereby: a payne for the tyme, whereon notwithſtanding followeth ioy vnſpeakeable. And here he much entreated of this place of ſcripture: Noli timere quia redemi te & vocaui te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum tranſieris per aquas, tecum ero, & flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaueris in igne, non combureris & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus ſanctus Iſraell, ſaluator tuus. That is: Feare not, for I redeemed thee, and called thee by the name thou art myne owne. When thou goeſt through the water, I wyll be with thee, and the ſtrong floudes ſhall not ouerfloow thee. Whẽ thou walkeſt in the fire, it ſhall not burne thee, and the flame ſhall not kindle vpon thee, for I am the Lord the God, the holy one of Iſraell. Which he did moſt comfortably entreate of, as well in reſpect of hymſelfe, as applying it to the particular vſe of his frendes there preſent, of whome, ſome tooke ſuche ſweete fruite therein, that they cauſed the whole ſayd ſentence to be fayre written in Tables, & ſome in theyr bookes The comfort whereof (in diuers of them) was neuer taken from them to their dying day.

Anno 1531.

The good courage of Bilney before hys death.

A deſcription of the godly conſtancy of Thomas Bilney, who being in priſon, oftentimes prooued the fire with his finger.



Tho. Bilney being in priſon, diuers tymes proued the fire with his finger.

Bilney taſted the fire with his finger.

Eſay 43.

The Saterday next following, when the Officers of execution (as the maner is) with their gleaues and halbardes were ready to receaue hym, and to leade him to the place of execution without the Citty gate, called Byſhops gate, in a low valley commonly called the Lollards pit, vnder S. Leonards hyl enuironed about with great hylles (whiche place was choſen for the peoples quiet ſitting to ſee the executiõ) at the comming forth of the ſayd Thomas Bilney out of the priſon doore, one of hys frendes came to hym with few wordes, as he durſt, ſpake to hym & prayed him & in Gods behalfe, to be conſtant and to take his death as paciently as he could. Whereunto the ſayd Bilney aunſwered, with a quyet and milde countenance: Ye ſee when the Mariner is entred hys ſhyp to ſayle on the troublous Sea, how he for a while is toſſed in the byllowes of ẏ ſame but yet in hope that he ſhall once come to the quyet hauen, he beareth in better comforte, the perils whiche he feeleth: So am I now toward this ſayling, & what ſoeuer ſtorms

Conſtant Bilney exhorted to conſtancy.

I ſhall

Tho. Bilney going to hys death.

I ſhall feele, yet ſhortly after ſhall my ſhip be in the hauē: as I doubt not therof by the grace of God, deſiring you to help me wͭ your prayers to the ſame effect. And ſo he going forth in the ſtreetes, geuing much almes by the way, by the handes of one of his frendes, & accompanyed with one D. Warner Doct. of Diuinity and parſon of Wintertō, whom he did chuſe as his olde acquayntaunce, to be with him for his ghoſtly comfort: came at the laſt, to the place of execution, and aſcended downe from the hill to the ſame, apparelled in a lay mans gowne with his ſleues hanging downe, & his armes out, his heare being pitiouſly mangled at his degradation (a litle ſingle body in perſon, but alwaies of a good vpright countenaunce) and drew neare to the ſtake prepared, & ſomewhat tarying the preparation of the fyre, he deſired that he might ſpeak ſome wordes to the people, and there ſtanding, thus he ſayd:

The wordes of Tho. Bylney at the ſtake.

Good people, I am come hyther to dye, and borne I was to liue vnder that condition, naturally to dye againe, and that ye might teſtify that I depart out of this preſent life as a true Chriſtian man in a right beliefe towardes almighty God, I will rehearſe vnto you in a faſt fayth, the Articles of my Creede, and then began to rehearſe them in order as they be in the common Creede, with oft eleuating his eyes and handes to almighty God, and at the Article of Chriſtes incarnatiō hauing a litle meditation in himſelfe, & comming to the word Crucified, he humbly bowed himſelfe and made great reuerence, and then proceeding in the Articles and comming to theſe wordes, I beleue the Catholicke Church, there he pauſed and ſpake theſe wordes: Good people I muſt here confeſſe to haue offended the Church in preaching once agaynſt the prohibition of the ſame, at a poore Cure belonging to Trinity hall in Cambrige where I was felow, earneſtly intreated thereunto by the Curate and other good people of the pariſh, ſhewing that they had no Sermon there of lōg time before: & ſo in my conſciēce moued, I did make a poore collation vnto them, and thereby ranne into the diſobedience of certaine authority in the Church, by whom I was prohibited: howbeit I truſt at the generall day, charity that moued me to this acte, ſhall beare me out at yͤ iudgement ſeat of God: & ſo he proceeded on, without any maner of wordes of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his deth.

Tho. Bilney put to death preaching, being thereto deſired.

M. More proued a lyer by witneſſes preſent at Bilneys death

This once done, he put of his gowne, and went to the ſtake, and kneelyng vpon a litle ledge comming out of the ſtake, wheron he ſhould afterward ſtand to be better ſene, he made his priuate prayer wͭ ſuch earneſt eleuation of his eyes and handes to heauen, and in ſo good quiet behauior, that he ſeemed not much to cōſider the terror of his death, and ended at the laſt, his priuate prayers with the 143. Pſalme beginning Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obſecrationem meam. &c. That is, Heare my prayer O Lord, conſider my deſire: & the next verſe he repeated in deepe meditation thriſe: Et ne intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo Domine. i. And enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruaunt, for in thy ſight ſhall no man liuing be iuſtified, and ſo finiſhing that Pſalme he ended his priuate prayers.

Tho. Bilney praying at the ſtake. Pſal. 143.

After that, he turned himſelfe to the officers, aſking thē if they were ready, and they anſwered, yea. Whereupon he put of his iacket and doublet and ſtode in his hoſe & ſhirt, and went vnto the ſtake, ſtanding vpon that ledge, and the chayne was caſt about him, and ſtanding theron, the ſayd D. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, which ſpake but few wordes for weeping. Vpon whom the ſayd Tho. Bilney did moſt gently ſmile, & inclined his body to ſpeak to him a few wordes of thankes, and the laſt were theſe: O Maiſter Doctor, Paſce gregem tuum, Paſce gregem tuum, vt cum venerit Dominus, inueniat te ſic facientem. That is, Feede your flocke, feede your flocke, that when the Lord commeth, he may finde you ſo doing, and farewell good M. Doctour, and pray for me, and ſo he departed without any anſwere, ſobbing and weeping.

D. Warner taking his farewell of Tho. Bilney

The wordes of Tho. Bilney to Doct. Warner.

And while he thus ſtood vpon the ledge at the ſtake, certayne Friers, Doctours and Priors of theyr houſes beyng there preſent (as they were vncharitably and malitiouſly preſent at his examination and degradation. &c.) came to him and ſayd: O M. Bilney the people be perſwaded that we be the cauſers of your death, and that we haue procured the ſame, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw theyr charitable almes from vs al, except you declare your charity towards vs and diſcharge vs of the matter. Wherupon the ſayd Tho. Bilney ſpake with a loud voyce to the people, and ſayd: I pray you good people be neuer yͤ worſe to theſe men for my ſake, as though they ſhould be the authors of my death. It was not they, and ſo he ended.

The Fryers deſire Bilny to ſpeake for them.

Then the officers put reed and Fagots about hys body and ſet fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which ſparcled and deformed the viſour of his face, he holding vp his handes and knocking vpon his breſt, crying ſometimes Ieſus, ſometimes Credo. Which flame was blowne away frō him by the violence of the winde, which was that day & 2. or 3. dayes before notable great, in which it was ſayd that the fieldes were marueilouſly plagued by the loſſe of corne: and ſo for a litle pauſe, he ſtoode without flame, the flame departing & recourſing thriſe ere the wood tooke ſtrength to be the ſharper to conſume him: and thē he gaue vp the ghoſt, and his body being withered bowed downeward vpon the chayne. Thē one of the officers with his halbard ſmite out the ſtaple in the ſtake behinde him, & ſuffered his body to fall into the bottome of the fire, laying wood on it, and ſo he was conſumed.

The pacient death & Martyrdome of M. Bilney.

Thus haue ye (good readers) the true hiſtory, & Martyrdome of this good man, that is, of bleſſed Saint Bilney (as M. Latimer doth call him) without any recātation, teſtified and ratified by the authority aboueſayd. By the which authority and party being there preſent & yet aliue, it is furthermore conſtantly affirmed that Bilney not only did neuer recant, but alſo that he neuer had any ſuch bill, or ſcript or ſcrolle in his hand to read, either ſoftly, or apertly, as M. More per licentiā Poeticam, would beare vs downe. Wherfore euen as ye ſee M. More deale in this, ſo ye may truſt him in the reſidue of his other tales, if ye will.

Saint Bilney.

M. Mores falſe report refuted.

¶ Mayſter Stafford of Cambridge.

As the death of this Godly Bilney did much good in Northfolke where he was burnt: ſo his diligēt trauel, in teaching and exhorting other, and example of life correſpondent to his doctrine, left no ſmall fruite behinde him in Cambridge, beyng a great meanes of framing that Vniuerſity, & drawing diuers vnto Chriſt. By reaſon of whō, and partly alſo of an other called M. Stafford, the word of God begā there moſt luckely to ſpread, and many toward wittes to floriſh. In the company of whom was M. Latimer, D. Barnes, D. Thiſtell of Penbroke hall, M. Fooke of Benet Colledge, and M. Soude of the ſame Colledge, D. Warner aboue mentioned, with diuers other moe.

M. Bilney the cheife conuerter or Apoſtle of Cambridge.

This M. Stafford was then the publicke reader of the Diuinity lecture in that Vniuerſity. Who, as he was an earneſt profeſſour of Chriſtes Goſpell: ſo was he as diligēt a folower of that which he profeſſed, as by this exāple here folowing may appeare.

For as the plague was then ſore in Cambridge, and amongeſt other a certaine Prieſt called Syr Henry Coniurer lay ſore ſicke of the ſayd plague, M. Stafford hearyng therof, and ſeing the horrible daunger that his ſoule was in, was ſo moued in conſcience to helpe the daūgerous caſe of the Prieſt, that he neglecting his owne bodely death, to recouer the other from eternall damnatiō, came vnto him, exhorted and ſo labored him, that he would not leaue him, before he had conuerted him, and ſaw his coniuring bookes burned before his face. Which being done, maiſter Stafford went home, and immediatly ſickened, & ſhortly after moſt chriſtianly deceaſed. Ex fideli teſtimonio D. Ridlei, & Edmund. Epiſcoporum Lond.

The notable zeale of M. Stafforde, in ſauing a damnable Prieſt.

Concerning which M. Stafford, this moreouer is to be noted how that M. Latimer being yet a feruent and a zealous Papiſt, ſtanding in the Schooles when M. Stafford read, bad the Scholers not to heare him: and alſo preaching agaynſt him, exhorted the people, not to beleue hym, and yet the ſayd Latimer confeſſed himſelfe, that he gaue thankes to God, that he aſked him forgeueneſſe before hee departed.

M. Latimer aſketh M. Stafford forgeuenes.

And thus much by the way of good M. Stafford, who for his conſtant and godly aduenture in ſuch a cauſe, may ſeeme not vnworthy to goe with bleſſed Bilney, in the felowſhip of holy and bleſſed Martyrs.

¶ The ſtory of M. Symon Fiſh.

Before the time of M. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall, I ſhould haue placed the ſtory of Simō Fiſh with the booke called the Supplication of Beggars, declaring how and by what meanes it came to the kynges hand, and what effect therof folowed after, in the reformation of many thinges, eſpecially of the Clergy. But the miſſing of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great ſquare in our ſtory, though it be now entred here which ſhold haue come in ſixe yeares before. The maner and circumſtaunce of the matter is this:

M. Symon Fiſhe, author of the booke, called the ſupplication of Beggars.

After that the light of the goſpell working mightely in Germany, began to ſpread his beames here alſo in England, great ſtyrre & alteration folowed in the harts of many: ſo that colored hipocriſy, and falſe doctrine, & paynted holynes began to be eſpyed more and more by the reading of Gods word. The authority of the Biſhop of Rome, and yͤ glory of his Cardinals was not ſo high, but ſuch as had freſh wits ſparcled with Gods grace, began to eſpy Chriſt from Antichriſt, that is, true ſincerity, from counterfait religion. In the number of whom, was the ſayd M. Simon Fiſh, a gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the firſt yeare that this Gentleman came to Londō to dwel, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525. that there was a certayne play or interlude made by one M. Roo of the ſame Inne gentlemā, in which play partly was matter agaynſt the Cardinall Wolſey. And where none durſt take vpō thē to play that part, which touched the ſayd Cardinall, thys foreſayd M. Fiſh tooke vpon him to do it, wherupon great diſpleaſure enſued agaynſt him, vpon the Cardinals part: In ſo much as he being purſued by the ſayd Cardinall, the ſame night that this Tragedy was playd, was compelled of force to voyd his owne houſe, & ſo fled ouer the Sea vnto Tindall: vpon occaſion wherof the next yeare folowing this booke was made (being about the yeare. 1527.) and ſo not long after in the yeare (as I ſuppoſe) 1528. was ſent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Which book her brother ſeing in her hand, tooke it and read it, & gaue it her agayne, willing her earneſtly to geue it to the king, which thing ſhe ſo dyd.

Ex certa relatione, viuoq; teſtimonio propriæ ipſius coniugis.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord. 1528. The king after he had receiued the booke, demaunded of her who made it. Wherunto ſhe aunſwered and ſaid, a certayne ſubiect of his, one Fiſh, who was fled out of the Realme for feare of the Cardinall. After the king had kept the booke in his boſome 3. or 4. dayes, as is credibly reported, ſuch knowledge was geuen by the kinges ſeruaunts, to the wife of the ſayd Simon Fiſh, that ſhe might boldely ſend for her huſband, without all perill or daunger. Whervpon ſhe therby being incouraged, came firſt & made ſute to the king for the ſafe returne of her huſband. Who vnderſtanding whoſe wife ſhe was, ſhewed a maruellous gētle & chearefull countenance towardes her, aſking where her huſband was. She anſwered, if it like your grace, not farre of. Then ſayth he, fetch him, and he ſhall come and goe ſafe without perill, & no man ſhal do him harme, ſaying moreouer that he had much wrong that he was from her ſo lōg: who had bene abſent now the ſpace of two yeares and a halfe. In the which meane time, the Cardinall was depoſed, as is aforeſhewed, and M. More ſet in his place of the Chauncellorſhip.

The booke of the ſupplication of beggars geuē to the king.

Thus Fiſhes wife being emboldened by the kinges words, went immediatly to her huſband being lately come ouer, and lying priuily within a myle of the Courte, and brought him to the king: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530. When the king ſaw him, and vnderſtood he was the author of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenance: who after long talke: for the ſpace of 3. or 4. houres, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him and bad him take home his wife, for ſhe had takē great paynes for him. Who aunſwered the king agayne and ſaid, he durſt not ſo do, for feare of Syr Thomas More then Chauncellour, & Stokſley then Biſhop of London. This ſeemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

M. Fiſhe brought, and gently entertayned of the king.

The king taking his ſignet of his finger, wylled hym to haue him recommended to the Lord Chauncellor, charging him not to be ſo hardy to worke him any harme. M. Fiſh receiuing the kinges ſignet, went and declared hys meſſage to the Lord Chauncellour, who tooke it as ſufficient for his owne diſcharge, but he aſked him if he had any thing for the diſcharge of his wife: for ſhe a litle before had by chaunce diſpleaſed the Friers, for not ſuffering them to ſay theyr Goſpels in Latine in her houſe, as they did in others vnleſſe they would ſay it in Engliſh. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellor, though he had diſcharged the man, yet leauing not his grudge towardes the wife, the next morning ſent his man for her to appeare before him: who, had it not bene for her young daughter, which then lay ſicke of the plague, had bene like to come to much trouble. Of the which plague her huſband, the ſayd M. Fiſh deceaſing within halfe a yeare, ſhe afterward maryed to one M. James Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhams ſonne, a worſhypfull knight of Gloſterſhyre. The which foreſaid M. James Baynham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the proceſſe of this ſtory, ſhall appeare.

M. Fiſhe reſcued by the king.

Syr Thomas More perſecuteth M. Fiſhes wife.

M. Fiſhe dyeth of the Plague.

And thus much concerning Symon Fiſhe the author of the booke of beggars, who alſo tranſlated a booke called the Summe of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.

The ſumme of the Scripture tranſlated by M. Fyſhe.

Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys the kinges footman, touching the ſame matter.

This M. Moddys being with the king in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the ſeas, ſayd if it might pleaſe his grace to pardon hym, & ſuch as he would bring to his grace, he ſhoulde ſee ſuch a booke, as was maruell to heare of. The king demaunded what they were. He ſayd, two of your Marchauntes, George Elyot, & George Robinſō. The king poynted a time to ſpeake with them. Whē they came afore his preſence in a priuy cloſet, he demaūded what they had to ſay, or to ſhew him. One of thē ſaid yͭ there was a book come to their hāds, which they had there to ſhew his grace. When he ſaw it, he demaunded if any of them could read it. Yea ſayd George Elyot, if it pleaſe your grace to heare it. I thought ſo, ſayd the king, for if need were thou canſt ſay it without booke.

M. Moddys the kinges footman

The bo
of Begg
brough
the king
George
lyot and
George
Robin

The whole booke being read out, the king made a long pauſe, & then ſayd, if a man ſhould pull downe an old ſtone wall and begin at the lower part, the vpper part thereof might chaunce to fall vpon his head: and then he tooke the book and put it into his deſke, and commaunded them vpon theyr allegiance, that they ſhould not tell to any man, that he had ſeene the booke. &c. The Copy of the foreſayde booke, intituled of the Beggars, here enſueth.

The kin
anſwere
pon the
booke of
beggars.

¶ A certaine Libell or booke intituled the Supplication of Beggars, throwne and ſcattered at the proceſsion in Weſtminſter on Candlemas day, before king Henry the 8. for him to read and peruſe, made & compiled by M. Fiſh.

¶ To the king our Soueraigne Lord.

MOſt lamentably cōplayneth theyr wofull miſery, vnto your highnes, your poore daily bedemen the wretched hydious monſters, on whō ſcarſely for horror any eye dare looke, the foule vnhappy ſort of lepers, and other ſore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and ſick, that liue only by almes, how that their nūber is dayly ſo ſore increaſed, that all the almes of all the well diſpoſed people of this your realme is not halfe enough for to ſuſteine them, but that for very conſtraint, they dye for hunger. And this moſt peſtilent miſchiefe is come vpon your ſayd poore bedemen, by the reaſon yͭ there is in the times of your noble predeceſſors paſſed, craftely crept into this your realme, an other ſorte, not of impotent, but of ſtrong, puiſant, and counterfeit holy and idle beggars and vagabondes, which ſince the tyme of theyr firſt entry, by all the craft and wylines of Sathan, are now encreaſed vnder your ſight, not onely into a great number, but alſo into a kingdome.

A libell ca
led the ſu
plication
beggars.

Theſe are not the herdes, but yͤ raninous wolues, going in herdes clothing, deuouring the flock, Byſhops, Abbots, Priours, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffraganes, Prieſtes, Monkes, Canons, Friers, Pardoners & Somners. And who is able to number this idle rauenous ſort, which (ſetting all labour aſide) haue begged ſo importunatly, that they haue gotten into theyr hands, more thē the third part of all your Realme. The goodlyeſt Lordſhips, manors, landes, and territories are theirs. Beſides thys, they haue the x. part of all the corne, medow, paſture, graſſe, wood, coltes, calues, lambes, pigs, geeſe, and chickins. Ouer and beſides, the x. part of euery ſeruauntes wages, the x. part of wolle, milke, hony, waxe, cheeſe, and butter: yea & they looke ſo narowly vpon theyr profites, that the poore wiues muſt be countable to them for euery x. egge, or els ſhe getteth not her rightes at Eaſter, and ſhalbe taken as an hereticke. Hereto haue they theyr foure offering dayes. What money pull they in by probates of Teſtaments, priuy tithes, and by mens offrings to theyr pilgrimages, and at theyr firſt Maſſes. Euery man and childe that is buried, muſt pay ſomewhat for Maſſes and Diriges, to be ſong for him, or els they will accuſe theyr frendes and executors of hereſy. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confeſſions (and yet they will keepe thereof no counſell) by halowing of Churches, altars, ſuperaltars, Chappels, and belles, by curſing of men, and abſoluing them agayne for mony? What a multitude of money gather the Pardoners in a yeare? How much mony get the Somners by extortion in a yeare, by aſciting the people to the Commiſſaries Court, and afterward releaſing the apparaunces for money? Finally, the infinite number of begging Friers, what get they in a yeare?

Strong, va
ant, ſturd
& idle beg
gars.

More tha
the third
part of th
realme in
the ſpiri
mens ha

* Here if it pleaſe your grace to marke, you ſhall ſee a thing far out of ioynt. There are wythin your realme of England. 52000. Pariſhe Churches. And this ſtanding, that there be but x. houſholdes in euery Pariſhe, yet are there v.c. M. & xx. M. houſeholds. And of euery of theſe houſeholdes hath euery of the fiue orders of Friers, a peny

ny

* Peraduenture the common count of the p
ſhes of England, among men, and in Ma
the olde time ſo went. And albeit the ſayd
ſhes do not amoūt now to the ſame rate of
yet neuertheleſſe the number (no doubt) is
and therefore the quartarage of the Friers
not be litle, but riſeth to a great pennye th
the Realme. Whereupon the ſcope of this
reaſon foundeth to good purpoſe. For alth
he hit not perfectely on the iuſt ſummes,
cannot be denyed, but the Fryers had very
and much more, then they deſerued. A
neyther cā it be denyed, but the more they
the leſſe redoūded to the impotent needy
gars in deede. And what reaſon is it, th

aliaunt beggars, which mayworke, & yet will
edes be idle, ſhould reape any peece of the crop,
which beare no burden of the harueſt, but wil-
lly do ſit idle, & ſerue to no vſe neceſſary in the
mon wealth.

* Admitte the Summa totalis came not to ſo
uch, yet it came to more then the Friers deſer-
ed, which coulde well worke & would not, &
would needes begge, & needed not, wherof read
Hiſtoria the ſtorye of Armachanus.

* Oh greuous, &c. theſe words, ſayth M. More,
the ſoules themſelues did heare, euẽ into Purga-
tory. Belyke M. More himſelfe ſtoode behinde
Purgatorye doore the ſame time, or els howe
could he tell, that the ſoules did heare hym?

ny a quarter, for euery order: that is, for all the fiue orders, fiue pence a quarter, for euery houſe: that is, for all ẏ fiue orders, 20. d. a yeare of euery houſe. Summa, v. C. and xx. M. quarters of Angelles, that is, 260000. halfe Angels. Summa 130000. Angelles. Summa totalis, 430333. poundes. 6. s. 8. d. ſterling. wherof not 400. yeares paſſed, they had not one peny.

* Oh grieuous & paynfull exaction, thus yearely to be payde: from the which the people of your noble Predeceſſours the Kinges of the auncient Britaines, euer ſtoode free. And this will they haue, or els they will procure him that will not geue it to them to be taken as an hereticke. What Tyrannes euer oppreſſed the people, lyke this cruell and vengeable generation? what ſubiectes ſhallbee able to helpe theyr Prince, that be after this faſhion yearely poled? what good Chriſten people cã be able to ſuccour vs poore lepers, blynde, ſore, and lame, that bee thus yearely oppreſſed? Is it any meruayle that your people ſo complaine of pouerty? Is it any meruaile that the taxes, fifteenes and ſubſidies, that your grace moſt tẽderly of great cõpaſſion, hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatned ruine of theyr common wealth, haue bene ſo ſlouthfully, yea paynefully leuied ſeeing almoſt the vttermoſt peny that mought haue bene leuied, hath bene gathered before yearely, by this erronious inſatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the auncient Britons, ſhould euer haue bene able to haue brought theyr armies from ſo far, hether into your land, to haue conquered it, if they had had at that time ſuch a ſort of idle glottons to finde at home. The noble king Arthur had neuer bene able to haue caried his army to the foote of the mountaynes, to reſiſte the commining downe of Lucius the Emperour, if ſuch yearely exactions had bene taken of his people. The Greeks had neuer bene able to haue ſo long continued at the ſiege of Troy, if they had had at home ſuch an idle ſort of cormorantes to finde. The auncient Romaines had neuer bene able to haue put all the whole world vnder theyr obeyſaunce, if their people had bene thus yearely oppreſſed. The Turke now in your time ſhould neuer bene able to get ſo much ground of chriſtendome, if he had in his Empyre ſuch a ſort of Locuſtes, to deuoure his ſubſtaunce. Lay then theſe ſummes to the foreſayd third part of the poſſeſſions of the realme, that ye may ſee whether it draw nigh vnto the halfe of the whole ſubſtance of the Realme, or not: ſo ſhal ye finde that it draweth farre aboue.

He meaneth all this onely of idle Fryers.

Now, let vs then compare the number of this vnkinde idle ſort, vnto the number of the lay people, & we ſhall ſee whether it be indifferently ſhifted or not, that they ſhould haue halfe. Cõpare them to the number of men, ſo are they not the hundreth perſon. Compare them to men, womẽ & children, then are they not the foure hundreth perſon in nũber. One part therefore in foure hundreth partes deuyded, were to much for them, except they did labor. What an vnequall burthẽ is it that they haue halfe with the multitude, and are not the foure hundreth perſon of theyr number? What toung is able to tell that euer there was any commõ wealth ſo ſore oppreſſed, ſince the world firſt began?

An vnequal diuiſion that the Fryers ſhould haue halfe with the multitude, they being not the 4. hundreth perſon of the number.

And what doth all this greedy ſort of ſturdy, idle, holy theeues, with theſe yearely exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing but exempt themſelues from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but traſlate all rule, power, Lordſhip, authority, obedience and dignity, from your grace, vnto thẽ. Nothing but that al your ſubiectes ſhould fall into diſobedience and rebellion againſt your grace, and be vnder thẽ, as they did vnto your noble predeceſſor king John: which for becauſe that he would haue puniſhed certayne traytors that had conſpired with the French kyng, to haue depoſed him from his crowne and dignity (among the which a Clerke called Stephen, whom afterward agaynſt the kinges will, the Pope made Biſhop of Caunterbury, was one) interdited his land. For the which matter your moſt noble realm wrõgfully (alas for ſhame) hath ſtand tributary not vnto any kinde of temporal prince, but vnto a cruell deuiliſh bloudſupper, dronkẽ in the bloud of the Sayntes and Martyrs of Chriſt, euer ſince.

The rule of kinges empayred by the Popes Clergye.

Here were an holy ſort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could puniſh ſuch a righteous king, al his realme and ſucceſſion, for doing right. Here were a charitable ſort of holy men that could thus interdite a whole Realme, & plucke away the obedience of the people from their naturall liege Lord and king, for none other cauſe, but for his righteouſnes. Here were a bleſſed ſort, not of meeke heardes, but of bloudſuppers, that could ſet the French king vpon ſuch a righteous Prince, to cauſe him to loſe his crown and dignity, to make effuſiõ of the bloud of his people, vnles this good and bleſſed king, of great compaſſion, more fearing & lamenting the ſhedding of the bloud of his people, then the loſſe of his crowne and dignity, agaynſt all right and conſcience, had ſubmitted himſelfe vnto them.

K. Iohn ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the Pope, read before.

O caſe moſt horrible, that euer ſo noble a king, realme and ſucceſſion, ſhould thus be made to ſtoupe to ſuch a ſort of bloudſuppers. Where was his ſword, power, crowne, & dignity become, wherby he might haue done iuſtice in this matter? where was their obedience become that ſhoulde haue ben ſubiect vnder his high power in this matter? Yea where was the obedience of all his ſubiectes become, that for maintenance of the cõmon wealth ſhould haue holpen him manfully to haue reſiſted theſe bloudſuppers, to ẏ ſheding of theyr bloud? was it not altogether by theyr policy, tranſlated from this good king vnto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothing, but apply themſelues by all the ſleights they may, to haue to do with euery mans wife, euery mans daughter, and euery mans mayde, that cukoldry and baudry ſhould reigne ouer al, among your ſubiectes, that no man ſhould know his owne childe, that theyr baſtards might inherite the poſſeſſions of euery man, to put the right begotten children cleare beſide their inheritance, in ſubuerſion of all eſtates and godly order. Theſe be they that by their abſteining from Mariage, do let the generation of the people, whereby all the Realme at length, if it ſhould be continued, ſhalbe made deſert and inhabitable.

If this be not true in the whole, I would the greateſt part were not ſuche.

Theſe be they that haue made an 100000. idle whores in your realme, which would haue gotten their liuing honeſtly, in the ſweat of their faces, had not their ſuperfluous riches illected them to vncleane luſt and idlenes. Theſe be they that corrupt the whole generatiõ of mankind in your Realme, that catche the pockes of one woman, and beare them to another, that be burnt with one woman, & beare it to another, that catch the lepry of one woman, & beare it to another. Yea ſome one of them ſhall boaſt among his felowes, that he hath medled with an C. women. Theſe be they, ẏ when they haue once drawne mens wiues to ſuch incontinency, ſpẽd away theyr huſbands goodes, make the women to runne away from theyr huſbandes, yea, run away themſelues both with wife and goods, bringing both man, wife and children, to idlenes, theft and beggery. Yea, who is able to nũber the great and broad bottomles Oceane Sea, full of euils, that this miſchieuous and ſinfull generation may lawfully bring vpon vs vnpuniſhed.

100000, idle whores made in England by the Popes Clergye.

Where is your ſworde, power, crowne and dignitye become, that ſhoulde puniſh by puniſhment of death euen as other men are puniſhed, the felonyes, rapes, murthers, and treaſons cõmitted by this ſinnefull generatiõ? where is theyr obedience become that ſhould be vnder your high power in this matter? It is not altogether tranſlated and exempt from your grace vnto them? Yes truely. * What an infinite nũber of people might haue bene increaſed to haue peopled the Realme, if this ſort of folke had bene maryed like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? ſuch truly as was neuer ſince the world began, among the whole multitude of the Heathẽ, who is ſhe that will ſet her handes to worke, to get 3. d. a day, and may haue at leaſt 20. d. a day to ſleepe an houre wyth a Frier, a Monke, or a Prieſt? What is he that would labor for a groat a day, and may haue at leaſt 12. d. a day to be baude to a Prieſt, a Monke, or a Frier? What a ſort are there of them that mary Prieſts ſoueraigne Ladyes, but to cloake the Prieſtes incontinency, and that they may haue a liuing of the Prieſtes, thẽſelues for theyr labor? How many M. doth ſuch lubricity bring to beggery, thefte and idlenes: which ſhould haue kept their good name, & haue ſet themſelues to worke, had not beene this exceſſiue treaſure of the ſpiritualitye? what honeſt man dare take any man or woman into his ſeruice, that hath beene at ſuch a ſchoole with a ſpiritual man?

* The realme of England is diminiſhed & decaied by the nũber of 200000 perſons at leaſt, or els repleniſhed with ſo many whores & whoremaiſters, by reſtraining of mariage frõ prieſtes, Monkes, Friers, Nũnes, Colleges, Hoſpitalles, Beadmẽ, & ſuch like orders within the realm of England. The increaſe of which nũber might be recouered, and the realme more peopled, and alſo Gods Commaundements better kepte, if theſe vowes of bondage were broken, & matrimony permitted free to all men.

Prieſtes and Doues make foule houſes

Oh the greeuous ſhypwracke of the common wealth, which in auncient tyme before the comming of theſe rauenous wolues, were ſo proſperous, ẏ then there were but few theeues: yea theft was at that tyme ſo rare, that Cæſar was not compelled to make penalty of death vpon felony, as your grace may well perceiue in his inſtitutes. There

The Popes clergy a ſhipwracke to all common wealthes.

was

The cauſe of ſo many beggars, theeues and idle people in England.

The popes clergy ſtronger in Parliamente, then Princes, as hath appeared by their cruell lawes againſt the poore Goſpellers.

No lawe nor remedye againſt the clergie.

was alſo at that time, but few poore people, and yet thei did not begge, but there was geuen them enough vnaſked, for there was at that time, none of theſe rauenous wolues to aſke it from them, as it appeareth in the Actes of the Apoſtles. Is it any maruell though there be now ſo many beggers, theues, and idle people? Nay truely. What remedy? make lawes agaynſt them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not ſtronger in your owne Parliament houſe then your ſelfe? what a number of Biſhops Abbots and Priors, are Lordes of your Parliament? Are not all the learned men of your realme in fee with them, to ſpeake in your Parliament houſe for them agaynſt your crowne, dignity, and common wealth of your realme, a few of your owne learned Counſell onely excepted? What lawe can be made agaynſt them that may bee auayleable? Who is hee (though he be greued neuer ſo ſore) that for the murther of his aunceſter, rauiſhmēt of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, treſpaſſe, maime, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to theyr charge, by any way of action: and if he do, then is he by and by, by theyr wylines, accuſed of hereſy: yea they will ſo handle him ere he paſſe, that, except he will beare a Fagot for theyr pleaſure, he ſhalbe excommunicate, & then be all his actions daſhed.

All lawes and actions captiue to the clergy men.

Of Richard Hunne read before pag. 806

The ſtatute of Mortmayne.

Halfe the profite of the realme in the clergies handes.

So captiue are your lawes vnto them, that no man whom they liſt to excommunicate, may be admitted to ſue any actiō in any of your Courts. If any man in your Seſſions dare be ſo hardy to indite a Prieſt of any ſuch crime, he hath ere the yeare go out, ſuch a yoake of hereſye layd in his necke, that it maketh him wiſh that he had not done it. Your grace may ſee what a worke there is in Londō: how the Biſhop rageth for inditing of certayne Curates of extortion, & incontinēcy the laſt yere in the wardmote queſt. Had not Richard Hunne commenced action of Premunire againſt a Prieſt, he had bene yet aliue and no heretick at all, but an honeſt man. Did not diuers of your noble progenitors, ſeeyng theyr crowne and dignity runne into ruine, and to be thus craftily tranſlated into the handes of this miſchieuous generatiō, make diuers ſtatutes for the reformation thereof: among which the ſtatute of Mortmayne was one, to the intent that after that time they ſhould haue no more geuen vnto them? But what auayled it? haue they not gotten into theyr handes more landes ſince, thē any Duke in England hath, the ſtatute notwithſtandyng? Yea, haue they not for all that tranſlated into theyr handes from your grace, halfe your kingdome throughly, the onely name remayning to you for your aūceters ſake: So you haue the name and they the profit. Yea I feare, if I ſhould wey all thinges to the vttermoſt, they would alſo take the name vnto them, and of one kingdome make twayne: the ſpirituall kingdome as they call it (for they will be named firſt) and your temporall kingdome. And which of theſe 2. kingdoms ſuppoſe you, is like to ouergrow the other, yea to put yͤ other cleare out of memory? Truly the kingdome of the bloudſuppers, for to them is geuen daily out of your kingdome: and that that is once geuen them, commeth neuer from them agayne. Such lawes haue they that none of them may neither geue nor ſell nothing. What law can be made ſo ſtrong agaynſt thē, that they either with mony or els with other pollicy, will not breake or ſette at nought? What kingdome can endure, that euer geueth thus frō him and receiueth nothing agayne? Oh how all the ſubſtaunce of your realme, your ſword, power, crowne, dignity & obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the inſatiable whirlepole of theſe gredy goulfes, to be ſwallowed and deuoured.

The moſt good that the Popes clergye doth in England is to pray mēs ſoules out of Purgatorye.

Purgatory denyed.

* If the Pope may deliu... ſoules out of Purgatory f... money, hee may then as w... deliuer them without mo... if it pleaſed him.

Agayne, if he deliuer o... he can deliuer a thouſand... he can deliuer a thouſand, h... can deliuer all, and ſo mak... gaile deliuerie, and a clea... diſpatch of all Purgatory... if hee woulde: and if he w... not whē he may, thē is th... no charitye in him.

Neither haue they any other colour to gather theſe yearely exactions into their handes, but that they ſay they pray for vs to God, to deliuer our ſoules out of the paynes of Purgatory, without whoſe prayer they ſay, or at leaſt without the Popes pardon, we coulde neuer be deliuered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reaſon that we geue thē all theſe things, although it were a hūdred times as much. But there be many men of great litterature and iudgement, that for the loue they haue vnto the trueth and vnto the common wealth, haue not feared to put thēſelues into the greateſt infamy that may be, in abiection of all the world, yea in peril of death, to declare theyr opinion in this matter: which is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a thing inuented by the couetouſnes of the ſpiritualty, onely to tranſlate all kingdomes from other princes vnto thē, and that there is not one word ſpokē of it in all holy Scripture. They ſay alſo, that if there were a Purgatory, and alſo if that the Pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one ſoule thence: he may deliuer hym as well without mony, if he may deliuer one, he may deliuer a thouſād: if he may deliuer a thouſand, he may deliuer them al, and ſo deſtroy Purgatory, and then he is a cruell tyrant without all charity, if he keepe them there in priſon and in payne, tyll men will geue him money.

Chriſt ſub... mitted him... ſelfe vnder temporall gouernment. The cauſe touched, why the Popes clergy will not let the new Teſtament goe abroad in the mother tongue.

Likewiſe ſay they of all the whole ſort of the ſpiritualtye, that if they will pray for no man but for thē that geue thē money, they are tyrants & lacke charity, & ſuffer thoſe ſoules to be puniſhed and payned vncharitably for lacke of theyr prayers. This ſorte of folkes they cal hereticks, theſe they burne, theſe they rage agaynſt, put to open ſhame and make them beare Fagots. But whether they be heretickes or no, well I wot, that this Purgatory & the popes pardons are all the cauſe of the tranſlatiō of your kingdome ſo faſt into theyr handes: wherefore it is manifeſt, it can not be of Chriſt, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he himſelfe payd tribute to Ceſar, he tooke nothing frō him, but taught that the high powers ſhould be alwaies obeied, yea he himſelf (although he were moſt free Lord of al, & innocēt) was obedient vnto yͤ high powers vnto death. This is the great ſkabbe, why they will not let yͤ new teſtamēt go abroad in your mother toung, leaſt men ſhould eſpye that they by theyr cloked hypocriſy do tranſlate thus faſt your kingdome into their hādes: that they are not obedient vnto your high power: that they are cruell, vncleane, vnmercifull and hipocrites: that they ſeeke not the honor of Chriſt but theyr owne: that remiſſion of ſinnes are not geuen by the Popes Pardon, but by Chriſt, for the ſure fayth and truſt that we haue in him.

*M More here playeth the cauiller, not as the authour of the ſupplication is deſire leaue to raile of the whole clergie, as though the hypocriſie of the Friers could not otherwiſe be diſcloſed without railing of the Whole clergie.

Here may your grace well perceiue, that except you ſuffer their hipocriſy to be diſcloſed, all is like to runne into theyr handes, and as long as it is couered, ſo long ſhal it ſeme to euery man to be a great impiety, not to geue them. For this I am ſure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my Father: why may I not as well geue them as much as my father did? And of this minde I am ſure, are all the Lordes, knightes, ſquires, gentlemē, & yeomen in England: yea and vntill it be diſcloſed, all your people will think that your ſtatute of Mortmaine was neuer made with no good cōſcience, ſeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their ſoules out of Purgatory by geuing to the ſpiritualty, as theyr predeceſſors did in times paſt.

Of Doctor Alen the Cardinals Chauncellour read before, pag. 986.

Of this Doct. Horſey, the biſh. of London Chauncellour, read before pag. 807.

Wherfore, if you will eſchew the ruine of your crowne & dignity, let theyr hipocriſy be vttred, & that ſhalbe more ſpeedefull in this matter, then all the lawes that may bee made, be they neuer ſo ſtrong. For to make a law for to puniſh any offender, except it were more for to geue other mē an enſample to beware how they commit ſuch like, offence, what ſhould it auayle? Did not Doct. Alen moſt preſumptiouſly now in your time, agaynſt al his allegiance all that euer he could, to pull frō you the knowledge of ſuch plees, as belong vnto your high Courtes, vnto an other Court in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not alſo D. Horſey and his complices moſt heinouſly (as al the world knoweth) murder in priſon that honeſt Marchaunt Rich. Hunne, for that he ſued your writ of Premunire agaynſt a prieſt that wrongfully held him in plee in a ſpiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belonged vnto your high Courtes? And what puniſhment was there done, that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truely none, but that the one payd 500. pound (as it is ſayd) to the building of your chamber, & when that paymēt was once paſſed, the Captaynes of his kingdome (becauſe he fought ſo manfully agaynſt your crowne and dignity) haue heaped to him, benefice vpon benefice, ſo that he is rewarded * x. times as much. The other (as it is ſayd) payd 600. pound for him & hys complices: which for becauſe that he had likewiſe fought ſo manfully againſt your crown and dignity, was immediately as he had obteyned your moſt gracious pardon, promoted by the captaynes of his kingdome, wyth benefice vpon benefice, to the value of foure times as much. Who can take example of puniſhment, to beware of ſuche like offence? Who is he of their kingdome that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, ſeing the promotions that fell to theſe men for theyr ſo offending? ſo weake and blunt is your ſword to ſtrike at one of the offenders of this crooked and peruerſe generation.

* 10. tymes, that is, 10. times as much as he had in benefices before, & not as he payd to the king. And although theſe murtherers of Hunne were not recompenſed with 10. times, or with 4. tymes as much (which More denieth) yet can he neuer be able to denie the ſubſtance of the ſtory, that is, that Hunne by theſe was broughte to his death, & that they being put to their fines, wer afterward ſufficiently recompēſed with benefices vpon benefices.

Vnconuenient for a ſpirituall man to be Lord Chauncellour.

And this is by the reaſon that the chiefe inſtrument of your law, yea yͤ chiefe of your Councell and he which hath your ſword in his hand, to whom alſo all the other inſtrumentes are obedient, is alwayes a ſpirituall man, which hath euer ſuch an inordinate loue vnto his own kingdome that he will maintayne that, though all the tēporall kingdomes and common wealthes of the world, ſhould therefore ſore vtterly be vndone. Here leue we out the greateſt matter of all, leaſt that we declaring ſuch an horrible caren of euill agaynſt the miniſters of iniquity, ſhould ſeeme to declare the one onely fault, or rather the ignorance of our beſt beloued miniſter of righteouſnes, which is to be hid till he may be learned by theſe ſmall enormities that we haue ſpoken of, to know it playnly himſelfe.

More expoundeth this to meane the [illegible] of the Sacrament of the altar.

But what remedy to releue vs your poore, ſicke, lame, and ſore bedemen? To make many hoſpitals for the reliefe of the poore people? Nay truely. The moe the worſe, for euer the fat of the whole foũdation hangeth on the Prieſtes beardes. Diuers of your noble Predeceſſours, kinges of this realme, haue geuen landes to Monaſteries, to geue a certeine ſumme of mony yearely to the poore people, wherof for the aunciency of the time, they geue neuer one peny. They haue likewiſe geuen to them, to haue a certayne of maſſes ſayd dayly for them: wherof they ſay neuer one. If yͤ Abbot of Weſtminſter ſhold ſing euery day as many maſſes for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundatiõ a thouſand Monkes were to few. Wherefore, if your grace will build a ſure hoſpitall that neuer ſhall fayle, to releeue vs all your poore bedemen, then take frõ thẽ all theſe thinges. Set theſe ſturdy loubies abroad in the world to gette thẽ wiues of their owne, to get theyr liuing with theyr labor in the ſweat of their faces, according to the commaundement of God, Gen. 1. to geue other idle people by theyr example, occaſion to go to labor.

Prieſtes turne the Hoſpitals to their owne profite.

Tye theſe holy idle theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about euery market Towne, till they fall to labour, that they by theyr importunate begging, take not away the almes yͭ yͤ good chriſtẽ people wold geue vnto vs ſore, impotent, miſerable people, your bedemẽ. Thẽ ſhal as wel yͤ number of our foreſayd monſtrous ſort, as of the baudes, whores, theeues, and idle people decreaſe. Then ſhall theſe great yearely exactions ceaſe. Then ſhall not your ſword, power, crown, dignity, & obedience of your people be trãſlated from you. Thẽ ſhall you haue full obedience of your people. Then ſhall the idle people be ſet to worke. Then ſhall matrimony be much better kept. Then ſhall the generation of your people be encreaſed. Then ſhall your commons encreaſe in riches. Thẽ ſhall yͤ Goſpell be preached. Then ſhall none beg our almes frõ vs. Thẽ ſhall we haue enough and more then ſhall ſuffice vs: which ſhall be the beſt hoſpitall that euer was founded for vs. Thẽ ſhall we daily pray to God for your moſt noble eſtate lõg to endure.

What wealth and goodnes cõmeth to the realme, by putting out Monkes, Fryers, and Chauntries.

Againſt this booke of the Beggers aboue prefixed, being written in the time of the Cardinall, another contrary booke or ſupplication, was deuiſed and writtẽ ſhortly vpõ the ſame, by one ſir Thomas More knight, Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaſter, vnder the name and title of the poore ſely ſoules pewling out of Purgatory. In the which booke, after that the ſayd M. More writer therof, had firſt deuided yͤ whole world into foure partes, that is, into heauen, hell, middle earth, and purgatory: then he maketh the dead mens ſoules by a Rhetoricall Proſopopœa, to ſpeake out of Purgatory pynfolde, ſometimes lamentably complayning, ſometimes pleaſauntly dalying & ſcoffing at the authour of the Beggers booke, ſometymes ſcoldyng and rayling at him, calling him foole, witleſſe, frantike, an aſſe, a gooſe, a mad dog, an hereticke, & all that nought is. And no maruell, if theſe ſely ſoules of purgatory ſeme ſo fumiſh & teſty. For heat (ye know) is teſty, & ſoon inflameth choler, but yet theſe Purgatory ſoules, muſt take good heed how they call a man a foole, and hereticke ſo often. For if the ſentence of the Goſpell doth pronounce thẽ guilty of hell fyre, which ſay fatue, foole: it may be doubted leſt thoſe poore ſely melancholy ſoules of Purgatory, calling this man foole ſo oft as they haue done, doe bring themſelues therby out of purgatory fire, to the fire of hel, by yͤ iuſt ſentẽce of the goſpell; ſo that neither the 5. woundes of S. Fraunces, nor all the merites of S. Dominicke, nor yet of all the Friers can releaſe them poore wretches. But yet for ſo much as I doe not, nor cannot thinke, that thoſe departed ſoules, eyther would ſo farre ouerſhoote themſelues if they were in purgatory, or els that there is any ſuch fourth place of Purgatory at all (vnleſſe it be in M. Mores Vtopia) as Mayſter Mores Poeticall vayne doth imagine, I ceaſe therefore to burden the ſoules departed, and lay all the witte in maiſter More the authour and contriuer of this Poeticall booke, for not keeping Decorum perſonæ, as a perfect Poet ſhould haue done. They that geue preceptes of Arte, do note this in all Poeticall fictions, as a ſpecial obſeruation to foreſee and expreſſe what is conuenient for euery perſõ, according to his degree and condition to ſpeake and vtter. Wherefore if it be true that M. More ſayth in the ſequele of his booke, that grace & charity increaſeth in thẽ that lye in the paynes of Purgatory, then is it not agreable, that ſuch ſoules lying ſo long in Purgatory, ſhould ſo ſoon forget their charity, and fall a rayling in theyr ſupplication ſo fumiſhly, both againſt this man, with ſuch opprobrious & vnſitting termes, & alſo agaynſt Iohn Badby, Richard Howndon, Iohn Goose, Lord Cobham and other Martirs of yͤ Lord burned for his word: alſo agaynſt Luther, Williã Tindall, Richard Hunne and other moe, falſly belying the doctrine by them taught & defended: which is not like that ſuch charitably ſoules of Purgatory would euer doe, neither were it conuenient for them in that caſe, which in deede though theyr doctrine were falſe, ſhoulde redound to the more encreaſe of theyr payne. Agayne, where the B. of Rocheſter defineth the Aungels to be miniſters to Purgatory ſoules ſome will thinke peradnenture M. More to haue miſſed ſome part of his Decorum in making the euill ſpirite of the author & the deuill to be meſſenger betwene middle earth & Purgatory, in bringing tidinges to the priſoned ſoules, both of the booke, and of the name of the maker.

The ſupplication of Purgatorye, made by Syr Tho. More, agaynſt the booke of beggars.

Math. 5.

Vtopia that is to ſay, Nuſquam, no place.

A Poete ſayeth Horace, Reddere perſonæ ſit conuenientia cuiq.

Now, as touching the maner how this deuil came into Purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnaſhing his teeth, in lothe it maketh me to laugh, to ſee the merye Antiques of M. More. Belike thẽ this was ſome mery deuil, or els had eaten wͭ his teeth ſome Naſturcium before: which commyng into Purgatory, to ſhewe the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. But this was (ſayth he) an enuious and an enuious laughing ioyned with grinning and gnaſhing of teeth. And immediatly vpõ the ſame, was contriued this ſcoffing & rayling ſupplication of the pewling ſoules of Purgatory, as he himſelfe doth terme them. So then here was enuying, enuying, laughing, grinning gnaſhing of teeth, pewling, ſcoffing rayling, and begging and altogether to make a very black Sanctus in Purgatory. In deed we read in Scripture, that there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth in hell, wher the ſoules and bodyes of men ſhalbe tormented. But who would euer haue thought before, that the euill aungell of thys man, yͭ made the booke of Beggers, being a ſpirituall and no corporall ſubſtaunce, had teeth to gnaſhe, and a mouth to grinne? But where then ſtood M. More I meruaile all this meane while, to ſee the deuill laugh with hys mouth ſo wide, that the ſoules of purgatory might ſee all his teeth? Belike this was in Vtopia, where M. Mores Purgatory is founded, but becauſe M. More is hence departed, I leaue him wyth hys mery Antiques. And as touching his book of Purgatory, which he hath left behynde, becauſe Iohn Frith hath learnedly and effectuouſly ouerthrowne the ſame, I will therefore referre the reader to hym, while I repayre again (the Lord willing) to the hiſtory.

M. Mores Antickes.

Satan naſturciatur.

A Blacke Sãctus in Purgatorye.

The aunſwere of Iohn Fryth agaynſt M. Mores purgatorye.

After that the clergy of Englande, and eſpecially the Cardinall vnderſtood theſe bookes of the beggers ſupplications foreſayde, to be ſtrawne abroad in the ſtreetes of London, and alſo before the king, the ſayd Cardinall cauſed not onely his ſeruauntes dilligently to attend to gather them vp, that they ſhuld not come into the kynges hands but alſo when he vnderſtood, that the kyng had receaued one or two of them, he came vnto the kings Maieſtie ſaying: If it ſhall pleaſe your grace, here are diuers ſeditious perſons which haue ſcattered abroad bookes contaynyng manifeſt errours and hereſies, deſiring his grace to beware of them. Wherupon the king putting his hand in his boſome, took out one of the bookes and deliuered it vnto yͤ Cardinal. Thẽ the Cardinall together with hys biſhops, cõſulted how they might prouide a ſpeedy remedy for thys miſchiefe, & therupon determined to geue out a commiſſiõ to forbid the reading of all Engliſhe bookes, and namely thys booke of Beggers, and the newe Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation: which was done out of hand by Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London, who ſent out his prohibition vnto his Archdeacons, wͭ all ſpeede, for the forbiddyng of that booke and diuers other more: the tenour of whiche prohibition here followeth.

Prouiſiõ by the Byſhops, againſt Engliſh Bookes.

✲ A prohibition ſent out by Cutbert Tonſtall Byſh of London, to the Archdeacons of his dioceſſe, for the calling in of the new Teſtaments tranſlated into Engliſhe, with diuers other books: the Catalogue wherof hereafter enſueth.

CVthbert by the permiſsion of God, Biſhop of London, vnto our welbeloued in Chriſt the Archdeacon of London, or to his Officiall, health, grace & benediction. By the duty of our paſtorall office, we are bound diligently with all our power, to foreſee, prouide for, roote out, and putte away all thoſe things, which ſeme to tend to the perill & daunger of our ſubiectes, and ſpecially the deſtruction of theyr ſoules. Wherefore we hauing vnderſtanding by the reporte of diuers credible perſons, & alſo by the euident apparaunce of the matter, that many childrẽ of iniquity

A prohibition agaynſt Englyſhe bookes.

mainteiners of Luthers ſect, blinded through extreme wickednes wandring from the way of truth and the Catholicke fayth, craſtely haue tranſlated the new Teſtament into our Engliſh tongue, entermedling therwith many heretical Articles and erronious opinions, pernicious and offenſiue, ſeducing the ſimple people attempting by their wicked & peruerſe interpretations, to prophanate the maieſty of the Scripture, which hetherto hath remayned vndefiled, & craſtely to abuſe the moſt holy word of God, & the true ſence of the ſame: of the whiche tranſlation there are manye bookes imprinted, ſome with gloſes and ſome without, cõteining in the Engliſh toung that peſtiferous and moſt pernicious poyſõ diſperſed throughout all our dioces of London in great number: which truly without it be ſpedely foreſene, without doubt, will contaminate and infect the flocke committed vnto vs, with moſt deadly poyſon and hereſy, to the grieuous peril & daunger of the ſoules committed to our charge, and the offence of Gods diuine maieſty. Wherfore we Cuthbert the biſhop aforeſayd, grieuouſlye ſorowing for the premiſſes, willing to withſtand the craft & ſubtlety of the auncient enemy and his miniſters, which ſeeke the deſtruction of my flock, & with a diligent care, to take heed vnto the flock cõmitted to my charge, deſiring to prouide ſpedy remedies for the premiſſes, do charge you ioyntly and ſeuerally, & by vertue of your obedience, ſtraightly enioine & commaund you, that by our authority you warne or cauſe to be warned al & ſingular, aſwell exempt as not exempt, dwelling within our Archdeaconries, that within 30. dayes ſpace, whereof 10. dayes ſhalbe for the firſt 10. for the ſecond 10. for the third and peremptory terme, vnder payne of excommunication, and incurring the ſuſpitiõ of hereſy, they do bring in and really deliuer vnto our vicar general, all & ſingular ſuch bookes as conteine the tranſlation of the new Teſtament in the Engliſh tongue, and that you doe certefy vs or our ſayd Commiſſary, within 2. monethes after the day of the date of theſe preſents, duely, perſonally or by your letters, together with theſe preſentes, vnder your ſeales, what you haue done in the premiſſes, vnder payne of contempt. geuen vnder our ſeale, the 23. of October, in the 5. yeare of our conſecration an. 1526.

¶ The like Commiſſion in like maner and forme, was ſent to the three other Archdeacons of Middleſexe, Eſſex, and Colcheſter, for the execution of the ſame matter, vnder the Biſhops ſeale.

✻ The names of the bookes that were forbidden at this time, together with the new Teſtament.

Bookes condẽned and forbidden

THe ſupplication of Beggers.
The reuelation of Antechriſt, of Luther.
The new Teſtament of Tindall.
The wicked Mammon.
The obedience of a Chriſten man.
An introduction to Paules Epiſtle to the Romaynes.
A Dialogue betwixt the father and the ſonne.
Oeconomicæ Chriſtianæ.
Vnio diſsidentium.
Piæ Precationes.
Captiuitas Babilonica.
Ioannes Hus in Oſeam.
Zwinglius in Catabaptiſtas.
De pueris inſtituendis.
Brentius de adminiſtranda Republica.
Luther ad Galatas.
De libertate Chriſtiana.
Luthers expoſition vpon the Pater noſter.

¶ Beſides theſe bookes here before mentioned, within a ſhort time after, there were a great number more of other bookes in like maner prohibited by the kings proclamation: but yet by the Biſhops procurement. an. 1529. the Catalogue wherof with the names & the authors, are here to be ſene.

✻ Libri Sectæ ſiue factionis Lutherianæ importati ad ciuitatem London. per fautores eiuſdem Sectæ, quorum nomina & auctores ſequuntur.

IOannis Wycleffi viri pijſsimi dialogorũ libri quatuor, quorum primus diuinitatem & ideas tractat. Secundus vniuerſarum creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitijſq; ipſis contrarijs copioſiſsimè loquitur. Quartus Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſacraméta, eius peſtiferam dotationem, antechriſti regnum, fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocriſim demonſtrat.

De bonis operibus doctoris Ma. Lutheri.

Epiſtola Lutheri ad Leonem. x. ſummum Pontificem.

Teſſaradeca conſolatoria pro laborantibus & oneratis Mart. Lutheri.

Tractatus Lutheri de libertate Chriſtiana.

Sermo doctors Martini Lutheri.

Enarrationes M. Lutheri in epiſtolas D. Petri.

Reſpoſio Martini Lutheri ad librũ Magiſtri Bartholomei Catharinũ defenſoris Silueſtri Pontificis cum expoſita viſione Danielis 8. de an. Chriſti.

De operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.

Deutronomos Moſis ex Hebreo caſtigatus, cum annotationibus Martini Lutheri.

Lutheri Cathecismus Latina donatus ciuitate, per Iohannem Lonicerum.

Ionas Propheta, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.

In Epiſtolã Pauli ad Galathas, Martini Lutheri cõmmẽtarius.

Mart. Lutheri epiſtolarũ farrago pietatis & eruditionis plena, cum Pſalmorum aliquot interpretatione.

Enarrationes ſeu Poſtillæ Mart. Lutheri in lectiones qua ex Euãgelicis hiſtorijs, Apoſtolorũ ſcriptis, alijſq; ſacræ ſcripturæ literis deſumpta per vniuerſum annũ, tam diebus dominicis, quam diuorum memoriæ ſacris ſuper miſſam faciendam recitantur.

Concluſiones ſedecim R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri de fide & ceremonijs.

Eiuſdem de fide & operibus ſaluberrima declaratio.

Ceremoniarum eruditiſsima reſolutio, quid ſint & quomodo eis vtendum.

Concluſiones quinquaginta eiuſdẽ pro timoratis cõſcientijs.

Reſolutio Lutheriana ſuper propoſitionem ſuam. 13. de poteſtate Papæ.

Didimi Fauentini aduerſus Thomam Placentinũ, pro Martino Luthero Theologo oratio.

Enarrationes nouæ Domini M. Lutheri in Ionam Prophetã.

De votis monaſticis Martini Lutheri iudicium.

Enchiridion piarum precationum Martini Lutheri.

Conciunculæ quædam Martini Lutheri in deiparæ virginis & aliquot feſtos dies nuper è populari lingua latinè factæ.

In Eſaiam Prophetam cõmentarius Ioannis Oecolampadij.

In Danielem Prophetam Ioannis Oecolampadij libri duo.

Appologetica Ioannis Oecolampadij de dignitate Euchariſtiæ. Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis Cenæ alienum ſenſum inſerant.

De non habendo pauperum delectu, Ioannes Oecolãpadius.

In poſtremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariã, & Malachiam, commentarius Iohannis Oecolampadij.

Quid de Euchariſtia veteres tũ Græci, tum Latini ſenſerint dialogus, in quo epiſtolæ Philippi Melanctonis & Iohannes Oecolampadij inſertæ ſunt.

Apologetica Ioannis Oecolampadij de dignitate Euchariſtię.

Ioannes Oecolampadius de genuina verborum Domini, Hoc eſt corpus meum ſignificatione.

In epiſtolam Pauli Apoſtoli adnotationes à Ioanne Oecolãpadio recognitæ.

Accuta exegeſis id eſt expoſitio Euchariſtici negotij ad Martinum Lutherum Huldricho Zwinglio authore.

Complanationes Eſaiæ Prophetæ fœtura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zwinglium.

Farrago Annotationum in Geneſim, ex ore Hulderichi Zwinglij. Annotatiunculæ per Leonẽ Iudam, ex ore Zwinglij, in vtrãq; Pauli ad Corinthios Epiſtolam.

Ad Phillippenſes annotatiunculæ per Leonem Iudam, ex ore Huldrichi Zwinglij exceptæ,

Ad illuſtriſsimos Germaniæ principes Auguſta congregatos de conuitijs Eccij.

In Catabaptiſtarum Stropeas Elenchus Huldrichi Zwinglij.

De veteri & falſa religione Huldrichi Zwinglij commẽtarius.

Ad illuſtriſsimum cattorum principem Philippum, Sermones de prouidentia Dei, Huldricho Zwinglio autore.

Complanationes Ieremiæ Prophetæ fœtura prima, cum Apologia, per Huldricum Zwinglium.

Ad Theobaldi Bellicani & vrbani regij Epiſtolas reſpoſio Huldrichi Zwinglij.

Quo pacto ingenui adoleſcentes formãdi ſunt, præceptiones pauculæ, Huldricho Zwinglio autore.

Annotationes Iohãnis Bugehagij Pomerani in Epiſtolas Pauli ad Galatas, Epheſios, Phillippenſes, Colloſſenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, primam & ſecundam.

In Regum duos vltimos libros annotationes Ioannis Bugẽhagij pomerani poſt Samuelem, iam primum emiſſæ.

Iohannis Bugenhagij pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, & in Samuelem Prophetam, id eſt duos libros Regum.

De coniugio Epiſcoporum & diaconorum, ad venerandũ doctorem Wolfgangum Reyſenbuſts, per Ioannem Bugenhagiũ Pomeranum.

Explicatio breuis, ſimplex, & canonica libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris teſt. canonici libri expoſiti ſunt, autore Conrado Pelicanio.

Pſalterium Dauidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non eſſe ferendas in tẽplis Chriſtianorum imagines & ſtatuas coli ſolitas, autoribus eccleſiaſtis argentoraten.

Epiſtola Martini Buceri, Euangeliſtarũ enarrationes nuncupata. De Ebdomadis que apud Danielem ſunt opuſculũ, in quo tractatur de ſacrificio miſſæ abolendo, incerto autore.

Nouæ doctrinæ ad veterem collatio per Vrbanum Regium, in quo tractat de ſacris Eccleſiæ.

Collectaneæ cõmunium troporum ſacroſanctæ ſcripturæ, Bartholomeo Weſthemero collectore.

In epiſtolam ad Romanos, Andreæ Knophen Coſtermenſis interpretatio. Adiecta eſt Epiſtola à Phillippo Melancthone.

Loci vtriuſque teſtamenti cõplectentes præcipua capita totius Chriſtianiſmi, cum adiectis ſcholijs.

Epiſtola Pauli ad Titum iam recens per Iohannem Agrigolam ſcholijs nouis illuſtrata.

In Hoſeam Prophetam. 5. ſermones Capitonis.

Diſpoſitio orationis in Epiſtolam Pauli ad Romanos, Philippo Melancthone autore.

Sancti Pauli ad Coleſſenſes Epiſtola, cum cõmentarijs Philippi Milanctonis.

Noua ſcholia Philippi Melancthonis in Prouerbia Salomonis.

De autoritate, officio, & poteſtate Paſtorum eccleſiaſticorum, ex Philippi Melancthonis editione.

Philippi Melancthonis Annotationes in Ioannem.

Annotationes Philippi Melancthonis in Euangelium Mathæi.

Enarrationes perpetuæ in ſacra quatuor Euangelia per Martinum Bucerum.

In Sancti Pauli Epiſtolam ad Epheſeos, Martinus Bucerus.

In theophaniã, quẽ Sophoniam vulgo vocãt, Epitomographus, ad ebraicam veritatẽ verſus, per Martinum Bucerum.

Iob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij.

Eccleſiaſtes Salomonis cum commentarijs Ioannis Brentij.

In Diui Ioannis Euangelium Io. Brentij exegeſis.

Franciſci Lamberti Auinionenſis, in diui Lucæ Euãgeliũ commentarij.

Franciſci Lamberti commentarij de Prophetia, eruditione, & linguis, deq; litera & ſpiritu.

In regulam Minoritarũ, & cõtra vniuerſas perditionis Sectas, Franciſci Lamberti commentarij.

Eiuſdem libellus de differentia ſtimuli carnis Sathnæ nuncij, & vſtionis.

In Cantica Canticorũ Salomonis, libellũ quidẽ ſenſibus altiſſimis, in quo ſublimia ſacri coniugij myſteria quæ in Chriſto, & Eccleſia ſunt, pertractantur, Franciſci Lamberti commentarij

In Amos, Abdiam, & Ionam, Prophetas, commentarij Franciſci Lamberti.

Franciſci Lamberti cõmentarij in. iiij. vltimos Prophetas, nẽpe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam, & Malachiam.

Weſſellus de ſacramẽto Euchariſtiæ, & de audiẽda miſſa. Farrago Weſſelli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de prouidentia Dei, de dignitate & pietate Eccleſiaſtica, de Sacramẽto penitẽtiæ, & quæ ſũt claues Eccleſiæ, & de purgatorio.

Weſelli Epiſtola aduerſus M. Eugelbertum Lerdens, in qua tractatur quid ſit tenendũ de ſpirituũ & mortuorũ apparationibus, ac de ſuffragijs & celebrationibus.

Tractatur Weſſelli de oratione & modo orandi.

De Chriſti incarnatione, de magnitudine, & amaritudine dominicæ paſſionis, libri duo Wiſſelli Groningenſi authore.

In Dei gratiæ & Chriſtianæ fidei commendationem, cõtra falſam & phariſaicam multorum, de iuſticijs & meritis operũ doctrinam & gloriationẽ, fragmenta aliquot D. Iohannis Gocchij, nunquam ante hac excuſa.

Dialogus D. Iohannis Gocchij Mechlinienſis, de quatuor errorib. circa Euangelicam legem exortis.

Quod nõ ſit oneroſa confeſſio paradox. Ioannis Oecolãpadij.

De celibatu monachatu, & viduitate, Domino Andrea Caroloſtadio autore.

Franciſci Lamberti cõmentarij, de cauſis excæcationis multorum ſeculorum, ac veritate denuò & nouiſſimè dei miſericordia reuelata &c. Ex Regiſt. London.

The new Teſtament in the Catalogue aboue recited, began firſt to be tranſlated by William Tyndall, & ſo came forth in Print, about the yeare of our Lord. 1529. whereũ Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London, with Sir Thomas More being ſore agreeued, deuiſed howe to deſtroy yͤ falſe erronious trãſlation, as he called it. It happened that one Auguſtine Packington a Mercer, was then at Antwarpe, where the Biſhop was. This man fauoured Tyndall, but ſhewed yͤ contrary vnto yͤ Biſhop. The Biſhop being deſirous to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, cõmoned how that he would gladly buy the new Teſtaments, Packington hearing him ſay ſo, ſayd: my Lord I cã do more in this matter then moſt Marchants yͭ be heare, if it be your pleaſure: for I know the Dutchmen & ſtrangers that haue bought thẽ of Tyndall, and haue them here to ſell, ſo that if it be your Lordſhips pleaſure I muſt diſburſe money to pay for thẽ, or els I cannot haue them, & ſo I will aſſure you to haue euery booke of them that is printed & vnſolde. The Biſhop thinking he had God by the toe, ſayd: do your diligence gẽtle Maiſter Packington, get thẽ for me, & I wil pay whatſoeuer they coſt, for I entend to burne & deſtroy them all at Paules Croſſe. This Auguſtine Packington, went vnto William Tyndall and declared the whole matter, and ſo vppon compact made betweene them, the Biſhop of London had the bookes, Packington had the thankes, & Tindall had the money. After this Tindall corrected the ſame new Teſtaments agayn, and cauſed them to be newly imprinted, ſo that they came thicke and threefolde ouer into England. When the Biſhop perceaued that, hee ſent for Packington, and ſayde to him how commeth this yͭ there are ſo many new Teſtamentes abroad? you promiſed me that you would buy them all. Then aunſwered Packington: ſurely I bought all that was to be had, but I perceiue the haue printed more ſince. I ſee it will neuer be better ſo long as they haue letters and ſtamps, wherfore you were beſt to buy the ſtamps too, & ſo you ſhalbe ſure. At whiche aunſwere the Biſhop ſmiled and ſo the matter ended.

Auguſtine Packington, the Byſhop of Londons marchaunt.

In ſhort ſpace after: it fortuned yͭ George Conſtantine was apprehended by ſyr Thomas More, which was then Chauncellour of England, ſuſpected of certayne hereſies during the time that hee was in the cuſtodye of M. More. After diuers communications amongeſt other thinges M. More aſked of hym, ſaying: Cõſtantine I would haue thee playne with me in one thing that I will aſke, and I promiſe thee I will ſhew thee fauour in all other thyngs, wherof thou art accuſed. There is beyond the Sea, Tyndall, Ioye, and a great meany of you, I knowe they can not liue wout helpe. There are ſome that help and ſuccour them with money, and thou beyng one of them haddeſt thy part therof, and therfore knoweſt from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that helpe them thus? My Lord quoth Conſtantine, I will tell you truely: it is the Biſhop of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath beſtowed among vs a great deale of mony vppon new Teſtamentes to burne them, and that hath bene and yet is our only ſuccour and comfort: Now by my truth, quoth More I thinke euen the ſame, for ſo much I told the Biſhop before he went about it.

George Conſtantine.

Of this Georg Conſtantine moreouer it is reported by Syr Tho. More that he being taken and in holde, ſeemed wel content to renounce hys former doctrine, & not onely to diſcloſe certayne other of hys fellowes, but alſo ſtudyed & deuiſed, how thoſe books, which he himſelfe and other of his fellowes had brought and ſhipped, might come to the Biſhops hands to be burned, and ſhewed to the foreſayd Syr Tho. More Chauncellour, the ſhipmans name that had them, and the markes of the fardels, by the whiche the bookes afterward were taken & burned. Beſides this hee is reported alſo to haue diſcloſed diuers of his companiõs of whome ſome were abiured after, ſome had abiured before, as Rich. Necton, who was committed to Newgate vpon the ſame, and is thought there to haue dyed in priſon or els had not eſcaped theyr handes, but ſhould haue ſuffered burning, if the reporte of M. More be to be credited. More in hys preface agaynſt Tindall.

Out of Mores preface agaynſt Tyndall.

George Conſtantine, a diſcloſer of his fellowes.

Notwithſtanding the ſame Conſtantine afterward, by the helpe of ſome of hys frendes, eſcaped out of priſon ouer the ſeas, and after that, in the time of king Edward, was one of them that troubled the good Biſhop of S. Dauids which after in Queene Maryes tyme, was Burned. But of Conſtantine enough.

George Conſtantine a troubler of Ferrar Biſhop of S. Dauids.

Mention was made in the leafe before. pag. 1040. how the Byſhops had procured of the king a proclamation to be ſet forth in the yeare of our Lorde. 990. for the aboliſhing of diuers bookes aforenamed, and alſo for yͤ withſtanding of al ſuch as taught or preached any thing agaynſt the dignitie and ordinaunces of the Church of Rome. Vpon this proclamation inſued great perſecution and trouble againſt yͤ poore innocẽt flock of Chriſt, as here following you may ſee, with the ſayd proclamation alſo prefixed before yͤ ſame the tenour whereof is this.

⁂ A proclamation for reſiſting and withſtanding of moſt damnable hereſies, ſowen within this realme by the diſciples of Luther and other heretikes, peruerters of Chriſtes religion.

THe king our ſoueraigne Lord, of his moſt vertuous and gratious diſpoſition, conſidering that this noble realme of England, hath of long tyme continued in the true Catholicke fayth of Chriſtes religion, and that his noble progenitours, kinges of thys hys ſayd realme, haue before thys tyme made and enacted, many deuout lawes, ſtatutes and ordinaunces, for the mayntenaunce and defence of the ſayde fayth agaynſt the malicious and wicked ſectes of heretickes and Lollardes, who by peruerſion of holye Scripture, do induce the erroneous opinions, ſow ſedition amõg Chriſten people, and finally diſturbe the peace and tranquillitie of Chriſtẽ realmes, as late happened in ſome parties of Germany, where, by the procurement and ſedition of Martin Luther and other heretickes, wer ſlayn an infinite number of Chriſten people: cõſidering alſo, that as well by the corruption & malice of indiſ-

This proclamation was made throughout all England, the yeare of our Lorde 1519. and the 21. yeare of K. Henry. 8.

crete preachers, fautors of the ſayd erroneous ſectes, as by certayn hereticall and blaſphemous bookes lately made and priuily ſent into this realme, by the diſciples, fautors, & adherentes of the ſayd Martin Luther & other heretickes, the kings ſubiectes are like to be corrupted, vnleſſe his highnes (as the defenſor of the faith) do put to his moſt gracious helpe & authoritie royal, to the due & ſpeedy reformation thereof, his highnes therfore, lyke a moſt gracious Prince, of his bleſſed & vertuous diſpoſition, for the incomparable zeale, which he hath to Chriſtes religion & faith, & for the ſingular loue & affection that he beareth to all his good ſubiectes of this his realme, & ſpecially to the ſaluation of their ſoules, according to his office & duetye in that behalfe, willeth and intendeth to prouide with all cōuenient expedition, that this his noble realme may be preſerued frō the ſaid peſtiferous, curſed, & ſeditious errours. And for as much as his highnes is credibly informed, that ſome of the ſaid errours be already ſowen, & ſpread within this his realme, partly by the corruption of indiſcreete preachers, partlye by erroneous bookes, compiled, printed & written, as well in the Engliſh tongue, as in latine & other languages, repleat with moſt venemous hereſies, blaſphemies & ſlaunders, intollerable to the cleane eares of any good chriſten man: his highnes therfore, like a moſt gracious & chriſtian Prince, onely entending the ſauegarde of this his realme, the preſeruation of his ſubiectes, and ſaluation of their ſoules, willeth to put now in execution, with all diligence poſſible, all good lawes, ſtatutes and ordinaunces concerning the premiſſes before this time prouyded, made and ordeyned by hys moſt noble progenitors, kings of England, for that purpoſe & entent. Which lawes and ſtatutes by our ſoueraigne Lorde, and hys moſt honourable counſaile, by long and deliberate aduiſe for the extirpation ſuppreſſyng & withſtanding of the ſayd hereſies, haue bene ſeene, examined, & by them in euery part, thought good & neceſſary to be put in execution.

Wherefore his highneſſe chargeth and ſtraightly commaūdeth all and euery his Lordes ſpirituall and temporal, Judges, Iuſtices of peace, Shiriffes, Mayors, Baylifs, Conſtables, and all other hys Officers, Miniſters, and all his true and louing ſubiectes, that all fauour, affection, and partialitie layd apart, they effectually with all diligence and ſtudy, endeuour themſelues ſubſtantially for the executing of al and euery of the articles hereafter enſuyng, without diſſimulation, intermiſſion or excuſe, as they wil auoide hys high indignation and diſpleaſure.

Firſt, that no man within the kinges realme or other his domynions, ſubiect to his highnes, hereafter preſume to preach, teache, or informe any thing openly or priuily, or cōpile and write anye booke, or hold, exerciſe, or kepe any aſſembles or ſchooles, in any maner of wiſe, contrary to the Catholike faith, or determinatyon of holy church, nor that any perſon within this his ſayd realme & domininions, do preſume to preach openly or ſecretly, withoute they haue firſt obtained licēce of the Biſhop of the dioceſſe, where they entend to preach, curates in their pariſhes, perſons priuiledged, and other by the law of the church onely except.

Alſo that no mā wittingly hereafter fauour, ſupport, or maintain any perſon, which preacheth in forme aforeſayd, or maketh anye ſuch or like conuenticles and aſſembles, holdeth or exerciſeth any ſchooles, maketh, writeth, or publiſheth anye ſuche booke, teacheth, infourmeth, or ſtirreth the people or any of them, in anye maner of forme to the ſaid errours. Moreouer, that al & euery perſon and perſons hauing any bookes or writinges of any ſuche errors, erroneous doctryne and opinion, do deliuer or cauſe to bee deliuered effectually and actually, all and euerye ſuch bookes and writings, to the Biſhoppes of the dioces, or to the ordinary of the place, within 15. daies after this proclamation pronounced. And in caſe any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, condition, or degree ſoeuer they be, do or attempt any thing contrary to this Act and proclamation, or doe not deliuer or cauſe to bee deliuered ſuche bookes, within the time aforeſaid, that euery biſhop in his dioces, or ordinary, ſhal cauſe that perſon or perſons, and euery of them to be areſted in that behalfe diffamed or euidently ſuſpected, and detayne & kepe thē vnder ſafe cuſtody in their perſons, vntil ſuch time that the ſaid perſons & euery of thē, either haue purged thēſelues of the ſaid errors, or els do abiure the ſaid errōneous ſects, preachings, doctrines, or opinions, as the law of holye Churche doth require. Penaltye.

Furthermore, if any perſon by the law of holy Church be cōuicted before the biſhop of the dioces, or his Cōmiſſary in any caſe aboue expreſſed, that the ſaid Biſhop may kepe in priſon, the ſayd perſon or perſons ſo conuicted, as it ſhal ſeeme beſt to his diſcretiō, after the greuouſnes or qualitie of the crime, and further, may ſet a fine to be paid to the behouſe of the king, by the perſō or perſons conuicted, as it ſhalbee thought conuenient to the ſaide Byſhop hauing reſpect to the greuouſnes of the effence of the ſayde perſō or perſōs: the ſaid fine to be certified by the Biſhop, into the kings Eſchequer, ther to be leuied to the kings vſe, except in ſuch caſes in which by the lawes of holy church, the ſaid perſons conuict of hereſies, ought totally to be left to the ſecular iuriſdictiō.

Alſo, if any perſon within this his realme of England or other his dominions, be by ſentence iudicial conuicted of the ſaid preaching and doctrines prohibited, erroneous opinions, ſchooles & informations or any of them, and before the Biſhop, or his Commiſſary do abiure, according to the fourme of the lawes of holye churche, the foreſaid erroneous ſectes, doctrines, ſchooles, or informatiōs, or els be pronounced by the biſhops or their cōmiſſaries, after their abiuration by thē before made, to bee relapſed, ſo that after the lawes of holy church, they ought to be relinquiſhed to the iuriſdiction ſeculer (wherin faith is to be geuen to the Byſh. or his Cōmiſſaries in that behalf) then the Shiriffe of the Coūtie, Maior, Shirifes, or Maior and Baylifes of the ſame citie, towne or borough, next vnto the ſaid Biſhop or Commiſſaries ſhalbee perſonally preſent in the ſentence geuing, by the ſaid Biſhop or Cōmiſſaries thereunto required, and after the ſaid ſentence geuē, ſhal receiue the ſaid perſons and euerye of them, and put them to further excution, according to the lawes of this realme. Extra. de hæret, co. Shiriffes be preſent a the Senten

Alſo the Chauncellor, treaſurer of England, the Iuſtice of the one Bench and the other, Iuſtices of peace, Shirifes, Maiors and Bayliffes of cities and townes, and other Officers hauing gouernance of the people, which now be, or for the time, hereafter ſhall be, ſhal make othe in taking their charge and miniſtration, to put their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make vtterly to ceaſe, and deſtroy all maner of hereſies and errours, cōmonly called Lollardies, within the precinctes of their offices and adminiſtrations, from time to time with all their power.

Alſo they ſhal aſſiſt the Biſhoppes and their Commiſſaries, and them ſhall fauour and mayntaine as oftentymes as that to do, they or any of them, ſhal be required by the ſaid Byſhops or their commiſſaries, ſo that the Biſhops or their commiſſaries, ſhall beare & pay the reaſonable coſtes of the ſaid officers and miniſters, when and as often as they ſhall trauaile or ryde to arreſt heretickes and Lollardes, or to aſſiſt the ſaid Biſhops or Commiſſaries by vertue of the kings lawes and ſtatutes.

Moreouer the Iuſtices of the kings Bench, Iuſtices of peace, and Iuſtices of Aſſiſe ſhal inquire at their Seſſions and ſittings, of all thoſe that holde any errours or hereſies, and who be their mayntainers, receptors, fauourers and ſupporters, common wryters of bookes, as alſo of their ſermons, ſchooles, conuenticles, congregations, confederacies. Inquiſition at Seſſions.

Furthermore, if any perſon be endicted of any of the poynts abouesayd, the Iuſtices of the peace haue power to awarde agaynſt them A capias, and the ſhriues be bound to arreſt ſuch perſons ſo endicted, as ſone as they may be found by themſelues, or by their Officer s. And forſomuch as cogniſaunce of hereſie, errours, and Lollardies, appertayneth to the Iudge of holy church, and not to the Iudge ſecular, the perſons ſo indicted to bee deliuered to the biſhoppes of the places or their Commiſſaries, by indenture betweene them to be made within x. dayes after their arreſt, or ſooner if it can be done, thereof to be acquite or conuict by the lawes of holy church, in caſe that thoſe perſons be not endicted of other thinges, whereof the knowledge appeareth to the Iudges & Officers ſecular. In which caſe, after they bee acquite and deliuered afore the Iuſtice ſeculare, of thoſe thinges pertayning to the Iudge ſeculare that they be conueyed in ſafegarde to ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, and to them to be deliuered by Indentures (as is abouesaid) there to be acquite or conuicted of the ſaid hereſies, errours and Lollordies, (as is abouesaide) after the lawes of holy church. Prouided that the Inditementes be not taken in euidence, but for an information afore the Iudges ſpirytuall, againſt ſuch indicte, but that the Ordinaries cōmence their proces againſt thoſe indicts in the ſame manner as no inditement had bene, hauing no regard to ſuch inditements.

Moreouer, that no manner of perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree or condition he or they be, do from henceforth preſume to bring into this realme, or do ſell, receiue take or detayne anye booke or worke printed or written, whiche is made, or hereafter ſhall be made agaynſt the fayth Catholike, or againſt the holy decrees, lawes and ordinaunces of holy Church, or in reproche, rebuke, or ſlaunder of the kinge, his honourable counſayle, or hys Lordes ſpirituall or temporall. And in caſe they haue any ſuche booke or woorke, they ſhall incontinent, vppon the hauing of them, bring the ſayd booke or worke to the Biſhop of the dioces, without concealement or fraude: or if they know any perſon hauing any of the ſayd bookes, they ſhall detect them to the ſayd biſhoppe, all fauour or affection layde apart, and that they fayle not thus to do, as they will auoyd the kings high indignation and diſpleaſure.

The bookes whiche in this Proclamation generallye are reſtrayned and forbidden, be afterwarde in the Regiſter more ſpecially named by the Byſhops. Whereof the moſt part were in Latine, as are aboue recited, and ſome were in Engliſh, as theſe and other partly alſo aboue expreſſed.

A diſputation betwene the father and the ſonne.
A booke of the olde God and new.
Godly prayers
The Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony.
The burying of the Maſſe.
The ſumme of the Scripture.
Mattens and Euenſong, vij Pſalmes. and other heauenlye Pſalmes, with the commendations, in Engliſh.

An expoſition vpon the vij. Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth.
The Chapters of Moſes, called Geneſis.
The Chapters of Moſes, called Deuteronomos.
The Matrymonie of Tyndall.
Dauids Pſalter in Engliſh.
The practiſe of Prelates.
Hotlulus animæ in Engliſh.
A. B. C. againſt the Clergy.
The examination of William Thorpe. &c.

Although theſe bookes wythall other of the lyke ſort by the vertue of this proclamatiō were inhibited to al engliſh men to vſe or to reade: yet licence was graunted before, to ſir Tho. More by Tonſtall Biſhop of London, An. 1527. that he notwithſtādyng might haue and peruſe them, with a letter alſo ſent to him from the ſayd Biſhop, or rather by yͤ aduiſe of other biſhyps, deſiring him that he would ſhew his cunning and play the prety man, lyke a Demoſthenes, in expugning the doctrine of theſe bookes & opinions: who albeit he was no great diuine, yet becauſe he ſaw ſome towardnes in him by his booke of Vtopia, & other fine Poetrie of his, therefore hee thought him a meete man for their purpoſe, to withſtand the procedings of the Goſpel, either in making ſome apparance of reaſon agaynſt it, or at leaſt, to outface it and daſh it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked in his part, neyther good will nor labour to ſerue yͤ Biſhops turne, ſo farre forth as all his Rhethoricke coulde reache: filling vp with finenes of wit, and ſcoffing termes, where true knowledge and iudgement of Scripture dyd fayle: as by his workes & wrytings agaynſt Bilney, Tyndall, Frith, Fiſh, Barnes, Luther &c. may ſoone bee diſcerned, if the reaſons and maner of his hādling be wel waied: & rightlye examined with the touchſtone of the ſcryptures. But now to fall into our ſtory agayne:

M. More the Biſhops agent in cōfuting the Lutherans.

Vpon this fierce and terrible proclamatiō aforeſayde, thus deuiſed and ſet out in the kinges name, an 1529. the Biſhops which were the procurers hereof, had that now, which they would haue: neither dyd there lacke on their part any ſtudy vnapplyed, any ſtone vnremoued, any corner vnſearched, for yͤ diligēt execution of yͤ ſame. Wherupō enſued grieuous perſecution, & ſlaughter of the faythfull. Of whom the firſt that went to wrack was Thomas Bilney, of whō ſufficiently afore hath bene ſaid: & the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the ſtory here followeth.

¶Richarde Bayfield Martyr.

Rich. Bayfilde, martir.

FOlowing the order of yeres and of tymes, as the courſe of our hyſtory requireth, next after the conſummatiō of Tho. Bilney, wee haue to entreate of the Martyrdome of Rich. Bayfield, which in the month of Nouemb. the ſame yere, which was the yere of our Lord, 1531. was burned in Smithfield.

Maxwell & Stacie Londoners.

This Rich. Bayfield ſometime a Monke of Bury, was conuerted by D. Barnes, and ij. godly men of London, Brickemakers, M. Maxwell, and M. Stacy wardens of their company. Who were grafted in the doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, and through their godly conuerſation of lyfe, conuerted many men and women, both in London and in the countrey: and once a yeare of their owne coſt, went about to viſite the brethren and ſiſterne ſcattered abroad. Doctor Barnes at that tyme muche reſorted to the Abbey of Bery, where Bayfield was to one D. Ruffam, who had bene at Louaine together ſtudentes. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the Monke, was Chamberlaine of the houſe to prouide lodging for the ſtraungers, and to ſee them well enterteined: who delyted muche in Doctor Barnes talke, and in the other lay mens talke afore rehearſed, and at the laſt Doctor Barnes gaue him a new Teſtament in Latin, and the other two gaue him Tyndals Teſtament in Engliſh, with a booke called the wicked Mammon, and the Obedience of a chriſten man: wherein he proſpered ſo mightely in two yeares ſpace, that he was caſt into the priſon of his houſe: there ſore whipped, with a gagge in hys mouth and then ſtocked, and ſo continued in the ſame torment. iij. quarters of a yeare before D. Barnes coulde get him oute, whiche he brought to paſſe, by the meanes of D. Ruffam aforeſayd, & ſo he was committed to D. Barnes to goe to Cambridge with him. By that tyme hee had bene there a good while, he taſted ſo well of good letters, that hee neuer returned home agayne to his Abbey, but wēt to Londō to Maxwel and Stacy, and they kept him ſecretly a while, & ſo conueyed him beyond the Sea. D. Barnes beinge then in the Fleete for Gods word. This Bayfild mightely proſpered in yͤ knowledge of God, and was beneficiall to M. Tyndall and M. Frith, for hee brought ſubſtaunce wyth him, and was their owne hand, and ſolde all their workes and the Germaynes workes both in Fraunce & in England, and at the laſt comming to London to M. Smithes houſe in Bucklers Bury, there was he betrayed, & dogged from that houſe to his Bookebynders in marke lane, and there taken and caryed to Lollardes Tower, & from thence to the Colehouſe, by reaſon yͤ one perſon Patmore Parſon of Much Haddam in Eſſex thē lying in Lollards Tower, was in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Chriſt there confirmed by hym. This Parſon Patmore after lōg trouble was abiured and condemned by the Byſhops to perpetuall priſon and deliuered afterwarde by the kinges pardon. As more appeareth in the ſequele of hys ſtorye among abiurers &c. He was taken becauſe he maryed hys prieſt in thoſe dayes. He had alwayes corne plentye and when the markets were very deare, he would ſend plenty of hys corne thither to plucke downe the prices thereof,

Rich Bayfilde Monke and chamberlaine of the Abbey of Berye.

Rich. Bayfilde whypped & priſoned amōgeſt the Fryers.

Rich Bayfilde a maintayner of Tindall and Frythe.

Perſō Patmore died in Lollards tower.

This Richard Bayfilde being in the Colehouſe was worſer handled then hee was before in the Lollardes tower, for there he was tyed both by the neck, middle and legges, ſtanding vpright by yͤ walles, diuers times manicled, to accuſe other yͤ had bought hys books, but he accuſed none but ſtoode to his religion and confeſſion of his fayth vnto the very end, and was in the conſiſtorye of Pauſes, thriſe put to his triall, whether he would abiure or no. He ſayd he would diſpute for hys fayth, & ſo did to theyr great ſhame. Stokeſley then being his iudge, with the aſſiſtance of Wincheſter and other Biſhops, whereof here followeth now the circumſtance in order to be ſeene.

The cruell hādling of Richard Bayfilde in the Colehouſe.

The articles layd to Richard Bayfield, by the foreſayd Biſhops were theſe, an. 1531. Nouemb. x,

¶Articles layd to Richard Bayfield.

Articles obiected agaynſt Rich. Bayfilde.

FIrſt, that hee had bene many yeares a Monke profeſſed of the order of S. Benet, of S. Edmundes Bury in the dioceſſe of Norwiche.

2. That he was a prieſt and had miniſtred and continued in the ſame order, the ſpace of 9. or x. yeares.

3. That ſithens the feaſt of Eaſter laſt, hee being beyonde the ſea, brought and procured to haue diuers and manye bookes and treatiſes of ſundry ſortes, as well of Martyne Luthers owne workes, as of diuers other of hys damnable ſect, and of Oecolampadius the great heretique, and diuers other heretickes, both in Latine and Engliſhe, yͤ names of which bookes were contayned in a little bill written with hys owne hand.

4. That in the yeare of our Lord. 1528. he was detected & accuſed to Cutb. then B. of London, for affirming and holding certayne Articles contrary to the holy Churche, and ſpecially that all laud and prayſe ſhould be geuen to God alone and not to ſayntes or creatures.

A rancke hereſie in the Popes church, to geue al laude & praiſe to God alone.

5. That euery prieſt might preach the word of God by yͤ authoritie of the Goſpell, and not to runne to the Pope or Cardinals for licence as it appeared (ſayd they) by his confeſſion before the ſayd Byſhop.

6. That he iudicially abiured the ſayde articles before the ſayd Biſhop, and dyd renounce and forſweare them and all other articles contrarye to the determination of holye Church, promiſing that from thenceforth hee woulde not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a ſolemne othe vpon a booke, & the holy Euangeliſtes, to fulfill ſuch penaunce as ſhoulde be enioyned hym by the ſayd byſhop.

8. After hys abiuration it was enioyned to hym for penance that he ſhould goe before the croſſe in proceſſion, in the pariſh church of S. Buttolphes at Billings gate, and to beare a fagot of woode vpon hys ſhoulder.

9. It was enioyned hym in penaunce, that he ſhuld prouide an habite requiſite and meete for hys order and profeſſion, as ſhortly as he might, and that he ſhould come or go no where without ſuch an habite, the which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewiſe enioyned hym in penaunce, that ſometyme before the feaſt of the aſcention then next enſuing, hys abiuration, he ſhould goe home vnto the Monaſtery of Bury, and there remayne according to the vowe of hys profeſſion, which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appoynted by the ſayd biſhop of Londō to appeare before the ſayd byſhop, the 25. day of April, next after hys abiuration, to receiue the reſidue of his penance, and after hys abiuration, he fled beyond the ſea, and appeared not.

11. That the 20. day of Iune, next following hys abiuration, he did appeare before the ſayd Byſh. Tonſtall in the Chappell of the Byſhop of Norwiche hys place, and there it was newly enioyned hym in part of penaunce, that hee ſhuld prouide hym an habite cōuenient for his order, & profeſſion, wͭin 8. dayes then next following, whiche hee had not done.

That it was there agayne enioyned him, that he ſhould depart from the city, dioceſſe, & iuriſdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the ſpeciall licēce of the biſhop of London, or his ſucceſſor for the time being, which he had not fulfilled.

¶ The aunſwer of Richard Bayſield to the Articles prefixed.

The aunſwer of Rich. Bayſilde, to the Articles.

TO the firſt Article he confeſſed that hee was profeſſed a Monke in the monaſtery aforeſayd, in the yeare. 1414.

To the ij. Article he anſwered that he was a prieſt, and tooke orders. An. 1518.

To the third Article he confeſſed the bil and ſcedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought ouer the ſayde bookes and workes a yeare and a half paſt, & a great number of euery ſort. Being further demaunded for what intent he brought them into the realme, he aunſwered, to the intent yͭ the Goſpel of Chriſt might be ſet forward, and God the more glorified in thys realme amongſt Chriſten people, and that he had ſolde and diſperſed many of thoſe bookes before named, to ſūdry perſons within thys Realme, and to diuers of the dioceſſe of London. Being further demaunded whether Martin Luther were cōdemned as an heretike by the Pope, he anſwered that he heard ſay, that Martin Luther with all his ſect and adherents, were and are condemned as heretikes by yͤ Pope. And being demaūded, whether Zwinglius was of Luthers ſect: he aunſwered that he neuer ſpake with him. Being aſked whether Zwinglius was a Catholicke: hee aunſwered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the bookes contained in the ſcedules, did cōtain any errors in thē: he ſaid, he could not tell, neither could he iudge. Alſo he confeſſed that the common fame hath bene within theſe ij. or iij. yeres, that Oecolampadius & Zwinglius be heretikes: alſo yͭ ſuch as leane to Martin Luther be heretikes. Alſo he cōfeſſed that being beyond the ſea, he heard ſay before he brought into this realme the bookes cōtained in the ſaid bils, that yͤ king had by proclamation prohibited that no man ſhould bring into this realme any of Martin Luthers bookes, or of his ſect. which confeſſion thus ended, yͤ Biſhop appointed him to appeare the next day.

Saterday being the xj. of Nouember, Richard Baifield appeared & acknowledged the aunſwers, that he had made in the Seſſion the day before. which thing done, yͤ Officiall obiected the 4. Article vnto him: wherunto he aunſwered, yͭ he could not tell whether there be any hereſies in thē, for he had read no hereſies in thē. And being demaūded whether he had read any of thoſe bookes, he aūſwered, yͭ he had read yͤ greater part of thē here & there, but not throughout.

He was demaunded, whether he beleeued the forenamed bookes to be good, and of the true faith. Hee aunſwered that he iudged they were good, and of the true faith. Beyng enquired, what bookes he read in the realme, he ſayd that hee had read the newe Teſtament in Latine, and other bookes mencioned in the bils, but he read none traſlated: notwithſtanding he did confeſſe that he read a booke called Thorpe, in the preſence and audience of others, and alſo a booke of John Friths purgatory, which he had read to himſelfe alone as he ſayd, and alſo had read to himſelfe a booke called the practiſe of Prelates, & alſo ſaid, that he had read a booke called the parable of yͤ wicked Mammon, but in yͤ preſence and hearing of others, which he knew not.

The booke of Thorps examynation.
The booke of I. Fryth, agaynſt Purgatory.
The practiſe of Prelats, & wicked Mammon.
The booke of obedience.
The ſumme of holy Scripture.
A Dialogue betwene the plowman & the gentleman.

Alſo he confeſſed that he had read the obedience of a chriſtian man, and the ſumme of ſcripture among company, & alſo the dialogue betwixt the Plowman & the Gentleman among company, as he thought: alſo he had read a piece of yͤ anſwer of Tindall made to ſir Thomas More: likewiſe he had read the dialogue of Frith to himſelf: he had read alſo the Prologues of the v. bookes of Moſes contained in yͤ long ſcedule, and in company, as he thought.

All which bookes hee had read vnder maner aforeſayde within theſe ij. yeres laſt paſt. And as for yͤ new teſtament in engliſh, he read it before he had theſe bookes ſpecified in the ſcedules before rehearſed.

To the third article, as touching Zwinglius and others he ſuppoſed that they held yͤ ſame doctrine that Luther did but that he thought them to vary in ſome points.

The 16. day of Nouember, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the Biſhop, who inquired of him of what ſect Zwinglius was. He ſaid, he thought yͭ hee helde with Luther in ſome points &c.

Alſo he confeſſed that firſt he brought bookes of yͤ ſortes abouenamed into this realme, about Midſomer was xij. moneth, & landed them at Colcheſter, & afterward brought part of them to this city, & ſome hee diſperſed and ſolde in this city. The ſecond tyme that he brought bookes, was about all Hollowntide was xij. month, and landed them at S. Catherines, the which bookes yͤ L. Chaūcelor tooke frō him. Alſo that at Eaſter laſt, was the 3. time yͭ hee brought ouer the bookes now ſhewed vnto him, & cōtained in theſe two bils, & landed with them in Norffolke, & from thence brought them to the city of London in a male.

To the v. vj. and vij. articles, he aunſwered and confeſſed them to be true,

To the viij. he aunſwered, that it was enioyned him, as is cōteined in the article, yͤ which iniunction he fulfilled.

To the ix. he anſwered, that he did not remember it.

To the x. he anſwered, that it was adioined him that hee ſhould go to the Abbey of Bery, & there cōtinue: the which he ſaid he dyd 3. tymes, but he did not weare his Monkes cowle, as he was enioyned.

The xi. Article he confeſſed.

For the xij. Article, yͭ he did not weare his monkes habit according to the abiuration, he referred hymſelfe to yͤ actes whether he were ſo enioyned or no.

To yͤ xiij. Article he ſaid, yͭ he did not remēber yͤ contents therof, but referred him ſelfe to the actes. Notwithſtāding he confeſſed, that he had no licence of the Biſhop of Londō, to come to the citie or dioceſſe of London, nor to make anie abode there. Ex Regiſtro Lond.

¶ The ſentence geuen againſt him in a caſe of relapſe.

The ſente geuē againſt Richard Bayſilde.

IN the name of God Amen. we John by the ſufferance of God, Byſhop of London, in a caſe of inquiſition of hereſie and relapſe of the ſame, firſt begun before M. Rich. Forſard, Doctor of both lawes, our officiall, now dependynge before vs vndecided, againſt thee Rich. Bayfild Prieſt and Monke, profeſſed to the order & rule of S. Benedict, in the Monaſtery of S. Edmondes Bery, in the dioces of Norwich, and by the meanes of the cauſes within written vnder our iuriſdiction, & withal fauour rightly and lawfullye proceeding, with al fauour poſſible yͤ merites and circumſtances of the cauſe of this inquiſition heard, waied, vnderſtand & fully diſcuſſed by vs the ſaid Biſhop, reſeruing vnto our ſelues, yͭ which by lawe ought to bee reſerued: haue thought good to proceede in this maner to the pronoūcing of our definitiue ſentence.

The Primer and Pſalter in Engliſhe forbidden.

Forſomuch as by the Actes enacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged, & by thee iudicially confeſſed, we do finde that thou haſt abiured certaine errours & hereſies & damnable opinions, by thee confeſſed, aſwel particularly as generally, before our reuerent fellowe and brother, then thy Ordinary, according to the forme and order of the Churche and that one M. Luther together with his adherentes and complices, receiuers and fauourers what ſoeuer they bee, was cōdempned as an heriticke by the authoritie of Pope Leo the x. of moſt happy memory, and by the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke Sea, and the bookes & al writings, ſcedules and Sermons of the ſayde maiſter Luther, his adherentes and complices whether they be found in Latine or in anye other languages imprinted or tranſlated, for the manifold hereſies and errours, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproued, and vtterly reiected, and inhibition made by the authoritie of the ſaid Sea to al faithful Chriſtians, vnder the payne of excommunication and other puniſhments in that behalfe to bee incurred by the law, that no man by any meanes preſume to read, teache, heare, imprint, or publiſhe, or by any meanes do defend, directly or vndirectly, ſecretly or openly, in their houſes or in any other publike or priuat places, any ſuch maner of writings, bookes, errours or Articles, as are contained more at large in the Apoſtolike letters, drawne out in forme of a publicke inſtrument, wherunto and to the contents thereof, we referre our ſelues as farre as is expedient, and no otherwiſe: And for ſomuche as we doe perceaue that thou diddeſt vnderſtand the premiſſes, and yet theſe things notwitſtanding, after thy abiuration made (as is aforeſayd) thou haſt brought in diuers & ſundry tymes, many bookes of yͤ ſaid Martin Luther and his adherentes and complices, and of other heretickes, the names, titles, and authors of which bookes here follow and are theſe, Martine Luther of the abrogating of the priuate Maſſe. The declarations of M. Luther vpon the Epiſtles of Peter. Luther vppon the Epyſtles of Paule and Jude. Luther vppon monaſticall vowers. Luthers commentary vppon the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Galathians.

If Chriſt were before your eyes ye would not condemne this good man for theſe good books.

A catalogue of the books brought in by Richard Bayſilde.

Iohannes Oecolampadius vppon the expoſition of theſe words: Hoc eſt corpus meum. The Annotations of Oecolāpadius vpon the Epiſtles of Paule vnto the Romains, Oecolāpadius his Commētary vpon the 3. laſt prophets, Aggeus, Zacharie, and Malachie. The Sermons of Oecolampadius vppon the Catholicke Epiſtles of John. A booke of Annotations vpon Geneſis, gathered of Hulde-

ricus

cus Zwinglius. The Commentaries of Pomeran vppon foure chapters of the i. Epiſtle to the Corinth. Annotations of Pomeran vpon Deut. and Samuell. Pomeran vpon the Pſalmes. The Commentaries of Frances Lambert of Auinion, vpon the Goſpell of S. Luke. A Congeſt of all matters of Diuinitie by Fraunces Lambert. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert vpon the Prophet Ioel. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert vpō the Prophetes, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Ageus, Zacharias, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, and Oſee. A new Gloſe of Philip Melancton vpon the Prouerbes of Salomon. The Cōmentaries of Philip Melancton, vpon the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Coloſ. The Annotations of Philip Melancton, vpon the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Romans, and vpō ỷ Epiſtle to the Colo. Salomons ſentences tranſlated according to the Hebrew by Philip Melancton. Moſt wholeſome Annotations vpon the Goſpel of S. Marke, by Chriſtopher Hegendorphinus. The Cōmentaries of Iohn Brentius vpon Iob. The Commentary of Iohn Brentius vpō Eccleſiaſtes of Salomon. Homilies of Brentius vpō the Goſpel of S. Iohn. The Annotations of Andrew Althomarus, & Brentius vpon the Epiſtle of S. Iames. The Commentaries of Bucer vpon Sophonias. Bucer vpon the 4. Euangeliſtes. The proces Cōſiſtorial of the Martyrdome of Iohn Huſſe. A briefe commendatory of M. Luther vnto Otho Brunfelſius, as touching the life, doctrine and Martirdome of Iohn Hus. Felinus vpon the pſalter, his expoſition vpon Eſay, his expoſitions vpon Ieremie. Capito vpon Oſeas. Capito vpon Abacuc. Vnio diſsidentium. The Pandect of Otho. The Cataloge of famous men. An aunſwere of Tyndall vnto Syr Thomas More. A diſputation of Purgatory made by Ioh. Frith in Engliſh. A prologue to the v. booke of Moyſes called Deuteronomy. The firſt booke of Moyſes called Geneſis. A prologue to the iij. booke of Moyſes called Leuiticus. A prologue to the iiij. booke of Moyſes Num. A prologue to the ij. booke of Moyſes called Exod. The practiſe of prelates. The new Teſtament in Engliſh, with an introductiō to the Romaines. The parable of the wicked Mammon. The obedience of a Chriſtian man. A. B. C. of Thorpes. The Summe of Scripture. The primer in Engliſh. The Pſalter in Engliſh. A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Plowman: Of all which kynde of books both in Latin and Engliſh, tranſlated, ſet forth and imprinted, containing not only Lutherian hereſies, but alſo the damnable hereſies of other heretiks condemned, for as much as thou haſt brought ouer from the parties beyōd the Sea a great nomber into this Realme of England, & ſpecially to our Citie and Dioces of London, and haſt procured them to be brought and conueied ouer, alſo haſt kept by thee and ſtudied thoſe books, and haſt publiſhed & read them vnto diuers men, and many of thoſe bookes alſo haſt diſperſed and giuen vnto diuers perſons dwelling within our Citie and Dioces of London, & haſt confeſſed and affirmed before our Officiall, that thoſe books of M. Luther and other heretikes his complices and adherentes, and all the contentes in them are good & agreable to the true faith, ſaying thus, that they are good and of the true faith, and by this meanes and pretence, haſt commēded and praiſed M. Luther, his adherents and complices, and haſt fauoured & beleued their errors, hereſies and opinions: Therfore we Iohn the Biſhop aforeſaid, firſt calling vpon the name of Chriſt, and ſetting God only before our eyes, by the counſell and conſent of the Diuines, and Lawiers, with whom in this behalf we haue conferred, do declare and decree thee the foreſaide Richard Bayfild, otherwiſe called Somerſam, for the contempt of thy abiuration, as a fauorer of the foreſaid M. Luther, his adherentes, complices, fauourers, and other condemned hereticks, and for commending and ſtudying, reading, hauing, retaining, publiſhing, ſelling, giuing, and diſperſing the bookes and writinges, as well of the ſayd M. Luther, his adherentes and diſciples, as of other heretikes before named, and alſo for crediting, and maintayning the errours and hereſies, and damnable opinions contained in the ſaid books and writings, worthely to be and haue bene an hereticke, and that thou by the pretence of the premiſſes art fallen again moſt damnably into hereſie, and we pronounce that thou art and haſt bene a relapſed hereticke, and haſt incurred and oughteſt to incurre the payne and puniſhment of a relapſe, and we ſo decree & declare, and alſo condemne thee thereunto, and that by the pretence of the premiſſes, thou haſt euen by the law, incurred the ſentence of greater excommunication, and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to haue bene and to be excommunicate, and clearely diſcharge, exonerate and diſgrade thee from all priuiledge and prerogatiue of the Eccleſiaſticall orders, and alſo depriue thee of all Eccleſiaſticall office and benefice; alſo we pronounce and declare thee by this our ſentence or decree, the which wee here promulgate and declare in theſe writinges, that thou art actually to be diſgraded, depoſed, and depriued as followeth.

The Primer and Pſalter in Engliſhe forbidden.

If Chriſt were before your eyes ye would not condemne this good man for theſe good bookes.

In the name of God. Amen. We Iohn by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of London, rightly and lawfully proceeding in this behalfe, doe diuiſe thee Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somerſam, being pronounced by vs a relapſed hereticke, and diſgraded by vs frō all Eccleſiaſtical priuiledge, out of the Eccleſiaſticall Court, pronouncing that the ſecular power here preſent ſhould receiue thee vnder their iuriſdiction, earneſtly requiring and deſiring in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, that the execution of this worthy puniſhment, to be done vpon thee, and againſt thee in this behalfe, may be ſo moderated, that there be neither ouermuch crueltie, neither to much fauorable gentlenes, but ỷ it may be to the health and ſaluation of thy ſoule, and to the extirpation, feare, terrour, and conuerſion of al other herētickes vnto the vnitie of the Catholike faith. This our finall decree by this our ſentence definitiue, we haue cauſed to be publiſhed in forme aforeſaid.

The ſentence of degradation againſt bleſſed Bayſilde.

And they ſhall caſt you out of their Synagogue for my names ſake.

Monday the xx. of Nouember. 1531. In the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul before the ſaide Iohn Byſhop of London iudicially ſitting, being aſſiſted with Iohn Abbot of weſtminſter, and Robert Abbot of Waltham, Nicholas Prior of Chriſtes Church in London, theſe honorable Lordes being alſo preſent, Henry Earle of Eſſex, Richard Gray, brother of the Marques of Somerſet, Iohn Lambert Maior of London, Richard Greſham and Edward Altam Shrieffes (the which Maior and Shriues were required to be there preſent by the Byſhop of Londons letters hereafter written, and by vertue of a ſtatute of king Henry the fourth king of Englande) alſo in the preſence of diuers Chanons, the Chauncellour, Officiall, and Archdeacon of London, with the Byſhops Chaplaines, and a great number both of the Clergie and Laitie, Mathew Greſton the Regiſter beyng alſo there preſent: M. Rich. Bayfild aliâs Somerſam, was brought forth by Thomas Turnor the Aparator hys keeper, in whoſe preſence the tranſumpt of the Apoſtolicke Bull of Pope Leo the x. vpon the condemnation of Martine Luther and his adherentes, was brought foorth and ſhewed, ſealed with the ſeale of Thomas wolſey late Legate de Latere, and ſubſcribed with the ſigne and name of M. Robert Tunnes, publike Notary, and alſo the decree vpon the condemnation of certain bookes brought in by him, ſealed with the ſeale of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and ſubſcribed by three Notaries.

{ Anno. 1531. }

Of this ſtatute read before.

M. Rich. Bayfild agayne brought before the Byſhop.

Then the Byſhop of London repeated in effecte before him, his abiuration which he had before made, and other hys demerites committed and done, beſide his abiuration: and the ſayde Baifield ſaide, that he was not culpable in the articles that were obiected againſt hym, and deſired that the hereſies contained in the bookes whiche he brought ouer, might be declared in open audience. Then the Byſhop, after certeine talke had with the ſaide Bayfield as touching the deſert of his cauſe, aſked hym whether he could ſhewe any cauſe why he ſhould not be deliuered ouer vnto the ſeculer power, and be pronounced as a relaps, and ſuffer puniſhment as a relaps. The ſayd Baifield declared or propoūded no cauſe, but ſaid, ỷ he brought ouer thoſe bookes for lacke of money, and not to ſowe any hereſies. And incontinent the ſayd Bayfield with a vehement ſpirite (as it appeared) ſayde vnto the Byſhop of Lond. the life of you of the ſpiritualtie is ſo euill, that yee be heretickes, and ye doe not onely liue euill, but doe maintaine euill liuing, and alſo do let, that what true lyuing is, may not be knowen, & ſaide that their liuing is agaynſt Chriſtes Goſpell, and that their beliefe was neuer taken of Chriſtes Church. Then the ſayde Byſhop, after long deliberation had, for ſo much as the ſayd Rich. Bayfield (he ſayd) could ſhew no cauſe why he ſhould not be declared as relaps, he read the decree and ſentence againſt him: by the which amongeſt other thinges, he condemned him as an heretike, and pronounced him to be puniſhed with the puniſhment due vnto ſuch as fall againe into hereſie, and by his wordes did diſgrade him, and alſo declared that hee ſhoulde be actually diſgraded, as is more at large conteined in the long ſentence.

The ſaying of Rich. Bayſilde to the Byſhop of London.

Sentence againſt Rich. Bayſilde.

The foreſayd ſentence being ſo read by the Byſhop of London, he proceeded immediatly to the actual & ſolemne diſgradyng of the ſayd Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somerſam, and there ſolemnely and actually diſgraded him before the people, the which thing being done, he diſmiſſed him by the ſentence aforeſayd, from the Eccleſiaſticall Court. wherupon the ſecular power being there preſent, receiued him vnto their iuriſdiction, without any writte in that behalfe obtained, but only by vertue of the Byſhops letters by the ſtatute of kyng Henry the .4. in that behalfe prouided and directed vnto them vnder the Biſhops ſeale. The tenour of which letters here after folow.

✻ The Letters of requirie directed to the Maior and Shiriffes of the Citie of London, that they ſhould be preſent that day, when the ſentence ſhould be giuen, to receiue the heretike (as they called him) that was condemned.

The letters of requiry to the Maior and Shiriffes of London.

IHon by the permiſsion of God Byſhop of London, vnto our dearely beloued in Chriſt, the right honourable Lord Maior of the Citie of London, and the Shiriffes of the ſame, health, grace, and benediction. Whereas we haue already by our Vicar general proceeded in a certaine cauſe of hereſie and relaps into the ſame, againſt one Richayd Bayfilde, alias Somerſam, and intende vpon Monday next beeing the xx. day of this preſent moneth of Nouember, to giue a ſentence definitiue againſt the ſaide Richard Bayfild alias Somerſam, and to leaue and deliuer him ouer vnto the ſecular power: We require you the Lord Maior and Shiriffes aforeſaid, the Kinges Maieſties Vicegerentes, euen in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, that according to the forme and effect of the ſtatute of our moſt noble and famous prince in Chriſt our Lord, the Lord Henry the fourth by the grace of God late King of England, that you will be perſonally preſent in the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, with your fauourable ayde and aſsiſtance in this behalfe, the day that the ſentence ſhall be giuen, and to receiue the ſaid Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somerſam, after his ſentence ſo giuen, to diſcharge vs and our Officers, and to doe further according to the tenour and effect of the ſaide ſtatute, as farre as ſhal be required of you according to the Canonical Sanctions, and the laudable cuſtome of the famous kingdome of England, in this behalfe accuſtomed.

In witneſſe whereof wee haue ſet our ſeale vnto this preſent, Dated the 19 day of Nouember. An. 1531. and in the firſt yeare of our conſecration.

On Monday the xx. day of Nouember in the yeare aforeſaid, in the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, the byſhop of London calling vnto him Iohn Abbot of weſtminſter, Robert Abbot of waltam, Nicholas Prior of Chriſtes Church of the Citie of London, maiſter Iohn Coxe Auditor and Vicare generall to the Archebyſhop of Canterbury, Peter Ligham Official of the Court of Caunterbury. Thomas Baghe Chauncellour of the Church of S. Paules, william Clief, Archdeacon of London, Iohn Incent Chanon reſidentary of the ſame, william Brytton, Robert Birch, and Hugh Aprice, Doctours of both lawes, in the preſence of vs Mathew Greſton Regiſter, Antony Huſſy, Richard Martin and Thomas Shadwall publicke Notaries and Scribes appoynted in this behalfe, briefly rehearſed the aunſweres of the ſame Bayfild in effect, and his abiuration, & other his demerites by him done beſide his abiuration. The which religious perſons and other Eccleſiaſticall men aboue ſayd, thought it good and agreed ẏ the ſayd Byſhop ſhould proceede agaynſt hym in this caſe of relaps, and ſhould pronounce and giue forth the ſentence againſt him, in caſe aforeſaid, and ſo he was deliuered to the Shriffes to cary to Newgate, beyng commaunded to bring him againe vpon Monday following, into Paules vpper Queere, there to giue attendaunce vpon the byſhop of London with the reſidue till they haue done with him, & by and by the Sheriffes were commaunded to haue him into the Veſtry, and then to bring him forth agayne in Antichriſtes apparell to be diſgraded afore them. when he had diſgraded him kneeling vpon the higheſt ſteppe of the aultar, he took his Croſier ſtaffe, and ſmote him on the breaſt, that he threwe him downe backewardes, and brake his head that he ſounded, and when he came to himſelfe again, he thanked God that he was deliuered from the malignaunt Church of Antichriſt, & that he was come into the true ſincere Church of Ieſus Chriſt militaunt here in earth, and I truſt anone (ſaid he) to be in heauen with Ieſus Chriſt, & the Church triumphaunt for euer, and ſo was he lead forth through ẏ Queere to Newgate, and there reſted about an houre in prayer, and ſo went to the fire in his apparell manfully & ioyfully, and there for lacke of a ſpeedy fire, was two quarters of an houre aliue. And when the left arme was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, & it fell from his body, and he continued in praier to the end without mouing.

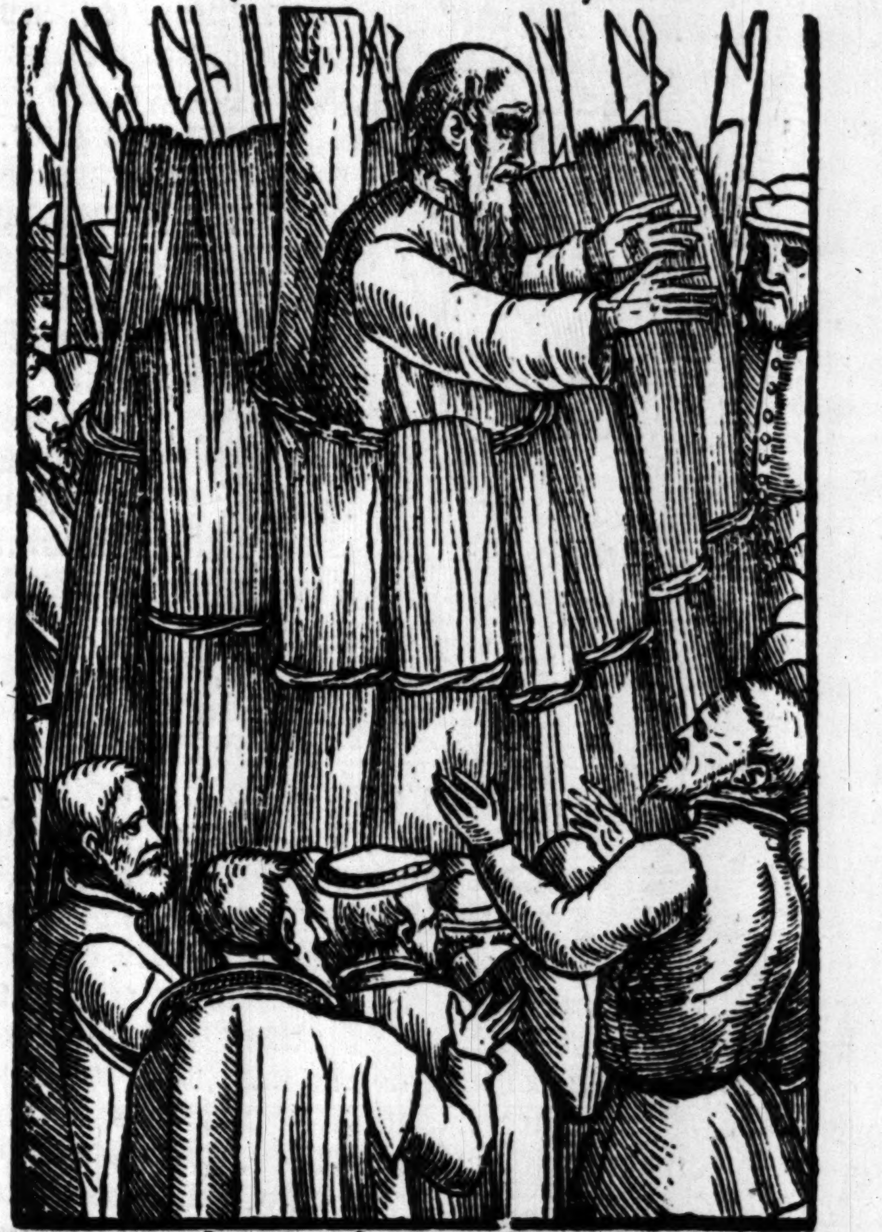
Rich. Bayfilde. geuen to the ſecular power.

Rich. Bayfilde diſgraded.

Bayfild throwē downe with the byſhops ſtaffe.

Syr Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceaſed not after his death, to raue in his aſhes, to prye and ſpie out what ſparkes he could finde of reproche and contumely, whereby to raſe out all good memory of his name and fame. In ſearching whereof, he hath found out two thinges to lay againſt him. The one is, that he ſaith, he went aboute to ſure himſelfe to two wiues at once, one in Brabant, an other in England. The ſecond, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in vtter diſpayre of his pardon, hee was content to forſweare his doctrine, & letted not to diſcloſe his brethren. For ẏ anſwere whereof, although there were no more to be ſayd, yet this were inough to ſay, that M. More thus ſayth of hym a man ſo blynded in the zeale of Popery, ſo deadly ſet againſt the one ſide, and ſo partially affectionate vnto the other, ẏ in them whom he fauoureth, he can ſee nothing but al fayre roſes and ſweete vertue: in the other which he hateth, there is neuer a thing can pleaſe his phantaſie, but al as blacke as pitch, vice, abhominatiō hereſie & folly, whatſoeuer they doe, or entend to doe. But as touching the defence of this Bayfield, as alſo of other moe, I will deferre the defence of them, to a ſeuerall Apology by it ſelf, hereaf (God willing) to be adioyned.

The Martyrdome of Richard Bayfield.



The Martyrdome & ſuffering of R. Bayfilde, Martyr.

M. More a partial iudge in matters of hereſie.

✻ Iohn Teukeſbery Leatherſeller of London Martyr.

IOhn Tewkſbery was conuerted by the reading of Tindals Teſtament, and the wicked Mammon. He had the Bible written. In all poyntes of religion he openlye did diſpute in the Byſhops Chappell in hys pallace. who in ẏ doctrine of iuſtification and all other articles of his fayth was very expert, and prompt in hys aunſweres, in ſuche ſort as Tonſtall and all his learned men were aſhamed, ẏ a Leatherſeller ſhould ſo diſpute with them, with ſuch power of the Scriptures and heauenly wiſedome, that they were not able to reſiſt hym. This diſputation continued a ſeuennight. The proceſſe of whoſe examinations, Articles and aunſweres, here follow as they are out of the biſhops Regiſter extracted.

Ioh. Tewkeſbery Leatherſeller of London, Martyr.

On wenſday the 21. day of Aprill, in the yeare of oure Lord. 1529. Iohn Stewkeſbery was brought into the Cōſiſtory at London before Cutbert Byſhop of London and his aſſiſtaunces, Henry Biſhop of S. Aſſe, and Iohn Abbot of weſtminſter. Vnto whom the Byſhop of London declared that hee had at diuers times exhorted hym to recant the errors and hereſies, whiche he held and defended, euen as hee did thē agayn exhort him, not to truſt to much to his own wit & learning, but vnto the doctrine of ẏ holy mother the Churche. who made aunſwere that in his iudgement, he did not erre from the doctrine of ẏ holy mother the Church. And at the laſt, being examined vppon errours, which (they ſayd) were in the ſayd booke called ẏ wicked Mammon, he aunſwered thus: Take ye the book and read it ouer, and I thinke in my conſciēce, ye ſhal finde no fault in it. And beyng aſked by the ſayd byſh. whether he dyd rather geue credite to hys book or to the Goſpell: he anſwered that the goſpell is and euer hath bene true. And moreouer being particularly examined what hee thought of this article, that the Iewes of good intent and zeale ſlue Chriſt, he anſwered, look ye the booke through, before and after, as it lyeth, and ye ſhall finde a better tale in it, then ye make of it, & further thought that whoſoeuer tranſlated ẏ new teſtament, and made the booke, meaning the wicked

Ex Regiſt. London.

The examination of Iohn Tewkeſbery before Tonſtall Biſhop of London.

Mammon, he did it of good zeale, and by the ſpirite of god.

Articles miniſtred to Iohn Tewkeſbery, out of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

Merites by working

Alſo being farther aſked by the ſayd Biſhop of Londō, whether he would ſtand to the contentes of his booke, hee aunſwered: looke ye the booke before and after, and I wyll be cōtent to ſtand to it. Thē being examined, whether that all good works muſt be done without reſpect of any thing, he aunſwere, that a man ſhould do good works for the loue of God only, & for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in heauen: for if he ſhould, it were preſumption. Alſo being demaunded whether that Chriſt with all his workes did not deſerue heauen. He anſwered and ſayd: that it was playne enough. Which thinges being done, the Biſhoppe ſayd further to Iohn Tewkeſbery thus: I tell thee before God and thoſe which are here preſent, in examination of my conſcience, that the Articles aboue named, and many other more conteined in the ſame booke, are falſe hereticall, and condemned by the holy Church: howe thinkeſt thou? And further, the ſayd Biſhop of London ſayd vnto him agayne: I tel thee before God and thoſe which are here preſent. &c. and ſo aſked him agayne what he thought of thoſe Articles. And after many exhortations, he commaunded him to aunſwere determinately vnder payne of the lawe, ſaying further vnto him, that if he refuſed to aunſwere, he muſt declare him an open and obſtinate heretick according to the order of the law. Which thinges ſo done, the Biſhop aſked Iohn Tewkeſbery agayne, whether the ſayd booke called the wicked Mammon were good?

The biſhops iudgemēt of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

The iudgemēt of Iohn Tewkeſbery of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

To which interrogatory he aunſwereth, that he thinketh in his cōſcience, there is nothing in the booke, but that which is true. And to this article obiected, that is, that faith onely iuſtifieth without workes, he aunſwereth that it is well ſayd. Wherunto the Biſhop inferred agayne, that the articles before obiected, with diuers other conteined in the booke called the wicked Mammon, were falſe, erronious, damnable and hereticall, and reproued and condemned by the Church: and before God and all thoſe that were preſēt, for the diſcharge of his conſcience, he had often & very gētly exhorted the ſayd Iohn Tewkeſbery, that he would reuoke and renoūce his errors, otherwiſe if he did intend to perſeuere in them, he muſt declare him an hereticke, which he would be very ſory to do. Theſe thinges thus done, the Biſhop oftentimes offered him, that he ſhould chooſe what ſpirituall or temporall man he woulde to be his Counſellor, and gaue him time as before, to deliberate with himſelf vntill the next ſitting.

An other examinatyō of Iohn Tewkſbery.

Alſo in the ſame moneth of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, the Biſhop of London Cutbert Tonſtal ſitting in the Conſiſtory, with Nicolas of Elye, Iohn of Lincolne, and Iohn of Bathe and Welles, &c. This Iohn Tewkeſbery was brought before them. After certeyne Articles being repeated vnto him, the Byſhoppe of London brought out before him a certeine booke called the wicked Mammon, aſking him whether the booke was of the ſame impreſſion and making, as was his booke that he had ſold to others. Who anſwered and ſayd, it was the ſame. Wherupon the biſhop of London aſked him agayn, whether the booke conteined the ſame errors or no. Who aunſwered agayne, ſaying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the Goſpell and tranſlation of the Teſtament, be not to your ſhame, and that ye be not in perill for it: for the cōdemnatiō of it, and of the other is all one, Further he ſaid, that he had ſtudyed holy Scripture by the ſpace of theſe 17. yeares, and as he may ſee the ſpottes of his face through the glaſſe, ſo in reading the new Teſtament he knoweth the faultes of his ſoule. Further, he was examined vpon certeine points and articles, extracted out of the ſayd booke of the wicked Mammon, as foloweth.

Articles extracted out of the booke of the wicked Mām̄ō.

His opinion of Anti chriſt. Antichriſt no outward thing but a ſpirituall thing.

FIrſt, that Antechriſt is not an outward thing, that is to ſay, a man that ſhould ſodenly appere with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him, but Antechriſt is a ſpirituall thing. Wherunto he anſwered and ſayd that he findeth no fault in it, Agayne it was demaunded of him touchyng the article, whether fayth onely iuſtifieth a man. To thys he ſayd, that if he ſhould looke to deſerue heauen by works, he ſhould do wickedly, for workes folow fayth, and Chriſt redemed vs all with the merites of his paſſion.

That the deuil holdeth our harts ſo hard, that it is impoſſible for vs to conſent to Gods law. To that he anſwered, that he findeth no fault in it.

No man iuſtified by merites.

That the law of God ſuffereth no merites, neither any man to be iuſtified in the ſight of God. To that he aunſwered, that it is playne enough conſidering what the law is, and he ſayth, that he findeth no ill in it.

The lawe requireth thinges vnpoſſible.

That the law of God requireth of vs thinges impoſſible. To that he anſwered, that the law of God doth commaund, that thou ſhalt loue God aboue all things, and thy neyghbors as thy ſelfe, which neuer man could doe, and in that he doth finde no fault in his conſcience.

No lawe to the iuſt man.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruite, ſo there is no law put to him that beleueth & is iuſtified throgh faith. To that he aunſwered and ſayd, he findeth no ill in it.

All good workes muſt be done without reſpect of any thing, or any profite to be had thereof. To that he aunſwered, it is truth.

Chriſt with all his workes did not deſerue heauen. To that he aunſwered, that the text is true as it lyeth, and findeth no fault in it.

The Saintes be frendes how & to whom.

Peter and Paule and Saynts that be dead, are not our frendes, but theyr frendes whom they did helpe when they were aliue. To that he ſayd, he findeth no ill in it.

The deuill not caſt out by mans merites.

Almes deſerueth no reward of God. To that he anſwered, that the text of the booke is true.

The deuill is not caſt out by merits of faſting or prayer. To that he anſwered, thinking it good enough.

The lawe worketh not in vs the loue of god.

We can not loue except we ſee ſome benefite and kindnes, as long as we liue vnder the law of God only, where we ſee but ſinne and damnation, and the wrath of God vpon vs, yea where we were damned afore we were borne. We cā not loue God, nor can not but hate him as a tyraunt, vnrighteous & vniuſt, and flee from him, as did Cain. To that he anſwereth, and thinketh it good & playne enough.

Man by nature is condemned.

We are damned by nature, as a tode is a tode by nature and a Serpent is a Serpent by nature. To that he anſwered it to be true as it is in the booke.

Item, as concerning the article of faſting. To that hee anſwered and ſayd, the booke declareth it ſelfe.

He meaneth by communication, not by vendication: and yet this pointe ſeemeth to be falſely gathered.

Euery one man is a Lord, of whatſoeuer another man hath. To that he anſwered, what lawe canne be better then that, for it is playnely ment there.

Loue in Chriſt putteth no difference betwixte one and another. To that he aunſwered and ſayde, it is playne enough of it ſelfe.

As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and waſhing of diſhes, there is no difference, as cōcerning ſaluation, and as touchinge the pleaſing of God To that hee aunſwered ſaying, it is a playne text, and as for pleaſing of God, it is all one.

For if they had knowen the lord of glory, they would not haue crucyfied him.

That the Iewes of good intent and zeale put Chriſt to death. To that he aunſwered, that it is true, and the text is playne enough.

Loe here is no ſcripture broug to reueale theſe opynions but onely authoritye to oppreſſe them.

The ſectes of S. Fraunces, S. Dominicke, and others be damnable. To that he anſwered and ſayd S. Paule repugneth agaynſt them. Which articles being ſo abiected & anſwere made vnto them by Iohn Tewkeſbery, the ſayd Biſhop of London aſked him whether hee woulde continue in his hereſyes and errors aboue rehearſed, or renoūce and forſake them. Who anſwered thus: I pray you reforme your ſelfe, and if there be any error in the booke, let it be reformed: I thinke the booke be good enough.

Further, the Biſhop exhorted him to recant his errors. To the which the ſayd Iohn Tewkeſbery aunſwered as is aboue written: to witte, I pray you reforme your ſelfe, and if there be any error in the booke, let it be reformed, I thinke it be good enough. Which thing being done, the biſhop appoynted him to determine better with himſelfe agaynſt the morow, in the preſence of M. Iohn Cox, Vicar generall to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, M. Galfride Warton, Rouland Philips, Wiliam Philow, and Robert Ridley, profeſſors of diuinity.

An other appearāce of Iohn Tewkeſbery.

The 13. day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lorde aboueſayde, in the Chappel within the Pallace of Londō, before Cutbert biſhop of Londō with his aſſiſtance, Nicolas, byſhop of Elye. &c. Tewkeſbery agayne appeared and was examined vpon the articles drawen out of the book, called the wicked Mammon, as foloweth.

Firſt, Chriſt is thine and all his deedes be thy deedes: Chriſt is in thee aud thou ſo knit in him inſeperably: neyther canſt thou be damned, except Chriſt be damned wyth thee, neither cāſt thon be ſaued except Chriſt be ſaued with thee. To this he anſwered, that he found no fault in it.

We are not ſaued by other mens prayers.

Item, we deſire one an other to pray for vs. That done, we muſt put our neighbour in remembraunce of his duty, and that we truſt not in his holyneſſe. To this he aunſwered, take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough.

Almes whom and how farre it profiteth.

Item, now ſeeſt thou what almes meaneth and wherfore it ſerueth. He that ſeeketh with his almes, more then to be mercifull: to be a neighbour, to ſuccour his brothers need: to do his duty to his brother: to geue his brother that he ought him: the ſame is blind & ſeeth not Chriſtes bloud. Here he anſwereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the booke, but all the booke is good, and it hath geuen him great comfort and light to his conſcience.

God to be ſerued and worſhipped onely, as he commaundeth otherwiſe not.

Item that ye do nothing to pleaſe God, but that he cōmaunded. To that he anſwereth and thinketh it good, by his truth.

Item, ſo God is honored on all ſides, in that we coũt him righteous in all his lawes and ordinaunces. And to worſhip him otherwiſe then ſo, it is Idolatry. To that he anſwered, that it pleaſeth him well.

The examination of theſe Articles being done, the Biſhop of London did exhort the ſayd Iohn Tewkeſbery to recant his errors aboueſayde: and after ſome other cõmunication had by the Biſhop with him, the ſayd Biſhop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appoynted him to determine with himſelfe againſt the next Seſſion, what he would do.

Iohn Tewkeſbery ſubmitteth himſelfe.

IN this next Seſſion he ſubmitted himſelfe and abiured his opinions, and was enioyned penaunce, as foloweth, which was the 8. of May.

In primis, that he ſhould keepe well his abiuration vnder payne of relaps.

Secondly, that the next Sonday folowing in Paules Church in the open proceſſion, he ſhould cary a Fagot, and ſtand at Paules Croſſe with the ſame.

That the wedneſday folowing he ſhould cary the ſame Fagot about Newgate market and Chepeſide.

That on Friday after, he ſhould take the ſame fagot agayne at S. Peters church in Cornehill, and cary it about the market of Ledenhall.

That he ſhould haue 2. ſignes of Fagots embrothered, one on his left ſleue, & the other on his right ſleue, which he ſhould weare all his life time, vnles he were otherwiſe diſpenſed withall.

That on whitſonday euẽ he ſhould enter into the Monaſtery of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and there to abide, and not to come out vnles he were releaſed by the biſhop of London.

That he ſhould not depart out of yͤ city or dioces of London, without the ſpeciall licence of the B. or his ſucceſſors, which penance he entred into the 8 day of May. an. 1229.

Tewkeſbery returned againe to the truth.

And thus much concerning his firſt examinatiõ, which was in the yeare. 1529. at what time he was inforced thorow infirmitye as is before expreſſed to retract and abiure his doctrine. Notwithſtãding, the ſame Iohn Tewkeſbery, afterward cõfirmed by the grace of God, and moued by yͤ example of Bayfild aforeſayd that was burned in Smithfield, did returne and conſtantly abide in the teſtimonye of the truth and ſuffered for the ſame. Who recouering more grace, & better ſtrength at the hand of the Lord, two yeares after being apprehended agayne, was brought before Syr Thomas More, and the Biſhop of Londõ, where certaine Articles were obiected to him: the chiefe wherof we intẽd briefly to recite, for the matter is prolixe.

In primis, that he confeſſeth that he was baptiſed, and intendeth to keepe the Catholicke fayth.

Articles agayne obiected to Tewkeſbery.

Secondly that he affirmeth, that the abiuration, othe, & ſubſcription that he made before Cutbert late Byſhop of London, was done by compulſion.

Thirdlye, that he had the bookes of the obedience of a Chriſtian man, and of the wicked Mammon in his cuſtody, and hath read them ſince his abiuration.

Fourthly, that he affirmeth that he ſuffered the two fagots that were embrothered vpon his ſleue, to be taken frõ him for that he deſerued not to weare them.

Fiftly, he ſayth that fayth onely iuſtifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixtly, he ſayth that Chriſt is a ſufficient Mediator for vs, & therfore no prayer is to be made vnto any Saynctes. Wherupon they layd vnto him this verſe of the Antheme. Salue Regina, aduocata noſtra. &c. To the which he aunſwered, that he knew no other Aduocate but Chriſt alone.

Chriſt is our Purgatorye.

Seuenthly, he affirmeth that there is no Purgatory after this life, but that Chriſt our Sauior is a ſufficient purgation for vs.

Eightly, he affirmeth that the ſoules of the faythful departing this life, reſt with Chriſt.

Ninthly, he affirmeth yͭ a prieſt by receiuing of orders, receiueth more grace, if his fayth be increaſed, or els not.

Tenthly, and laſt of all, he beleueth that the ſacrament, of the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt, is not the very body of Chriſt, in fleſh & bloud as it was borne of yͤ virgin Mary. Wherupon the Byſhops Chauncellor aſked the ſayd Tewkeſbery, if he could ſhew any cauſe why he ſhould not be takẽ for an hereticke falling into his hereſy agayne, and receiue the puniſhment of an hereticke. Wherunto he aunſwered, that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong agayne.

Then the Chãcellor cauſed the articles to be read opẽly, with the aunſweres vnto the ſame, the which the ſayde Tewkeſbery confeſſed, & therupon the Biſhop pronounced ſentence agaynſt him, & deliuered him vnto the Shyriffes of Londõ for yͤ time being, who were Rich. Greſhã, & Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield vpõ S. Thomas euen, being the 20. of Decẽber, in the yeare aforeſayd, the tenor of whoſe ſentence pronounced agaynſt hym by the Biſhop, doth here enſue word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. The deſeruinges and circũſtances of a certein cauſe of hereticall prauity, & falling again thereunto by thee Iohn Tewkeſbery of the Pariſh of S. Michaels in the Querne, of the City of Londõ, & of our iuriſdiction, appearing before vs ſitting in iudgement, being heard, ſeene, & vnderſtand, & fully diſcuſſed by vs Iohn by the ſufferance of God, biſhop of Londõ, becauſe we do find by inquiſitions manifeſtly enough, that thou didſt abiure freely & voluntarily before Cutbert, late Biſhop of Londõ thy ordinary, diuers & ſundry hereſies errors & damnable opinions, contrary to yͤ determination of our mother holy church, as well ſpeciall, as generall, & that ſince and beſide thy foreſaid abiuration, thou art agayne fallen into yͤ ſame damnable hereſies, opiniõs, & errors, (which is greatly to be lamẽted) & the ſame doeſt hold, affirme & beleue: we therfore Iohn the Biſhop aforeſayd, the name of God firſt being called vpon, & the ſame only God ſet before our eyes, & with the cõſell of learned men aſſiſting vs in this behalfe (with whõ in this cauſe we haue cõmunicated of our definitiue ſentence & finall decree, in this behalfe to be done) do intẽd to proceed & do proceed in this maner. Becauſe as it is aforeſayd, we do finde thee, the foreſayd Iohn Tewkeſbery of our iuriſdiction, to be a contẽner of the firſt abiuration, & moreouer, before & after the foreſaid firſt errors, and other dãnable opinions, to haue fallen & to be an hereticke fallen, & to haue incurred the payn of ſuch fallen hereticks: we do pronounce, determine, declare, & condemne thee of yͤ premiſſes, to haue incurred the dãger of the great excõmunication, & do pronoũce thee to be excõmunicated, & alſo do declare thee the ſayd Tewkeſbery ſo dãnably fallẽ agayne into hereſy, to be in the ſecular power & in their iudgemẽt, (as the holy Canons haue decreed) & here we do leaue thee to the foreſayd ſecular power & to their iudgement, beſeching them earneſtly in the bowelles of Ieſus Chriſt, that ſuch ſeuere puniſhment and execution as in this behalfe is to be done againſt thee, may be ſo moderated, that no rigorous rigor be vſed, but to the health and ſaluation of thy ſoule, and to the terror, feare, and rooting out of heretickes & theyr conuerſion to the Catholicke fayth & vnity, by this our finall decree, which we declare by theſe our writings.

In worde they pretend moderation, but their doinges be cleane contrary.

This foreſayd ſentence definitiue agaynſt Iohn Tewkeſbery was read and pronounced by the Biſhop of London, the 16, day of the month of December, the yeare aforeſayd, in the houſe of Syr Thomas More high Chauncellor of England, in the Pariſh of Chelſey. After the whych ſentence, the Sheriffes receiued the foreſayd Tewkeſbery into theyr cuſtody, and caried him away with them, and afterwardes burned him in Smithfield, as is aforeſayd, hauing no writ of the king for theyr warrant.

The death and martirdome of Iohn Tewkſbery.

✤ The apprehenſion of one Edward.
Freſe, a Paynter.

The ſtory Edward Freeſe.

EDward Freeſe was borne in Yorke, and was Prentiſe to a Paynter in the ſame Citty, and by the reaſon of working for his maiſter in Bearſy Abbay, or by ſome ſuch occaſion, was knowne vnto the Abbot of the ſame houſe, for he was a boy of a pregnaunt witte, and the Abbot fauored him ſo much, that he bought his yeares of his mayſter, and would haue made him a Monke. And the ladde not liking that kinde of liuing, and not knowing how to gette out, becauſe he was a Nouice, ran away after a long ſpace and came to Colcheſter in Eſſex, and remayning there according to his former vocation, was maried and liued like an honeſt man. After he had bene there a good time, he was hyred to paynt certayne clothes for the new Inne in Colcheſter, which is in the middle of the market place, & in the vpper border of the clothes, he wrote certeine ſentences of the Scripture, and by that he was plainely knowne to be one of them which they call heretickes.

The cauſe of the takyng of Edward Freeſe.

And on a time he being at his worke in the ſame Inne they of the Towne, when they had ſene his work, went about to take him, & he hauing ſome incling therof, thought to ſhift for himſelfe, but yet was taken forceably in yͤ yarde of the ſame Inne, & after this he was brought to London, and ſo to Fulham to the biſhops houſe, where he was cruelly impriſoned, with certein others of Eſſex, that is to wit one Iohnſon and his wife, Wylye, his wife and his ſonne, & father Bate of Rowſhedge. They were fedde with fyne manchet made of ſaw duſt, or at the leaſt, a great part therof, and were ſo ſtraightly kept, that theyr wiues and theyr frendes could not come at them.

Iohnſon & his wyfe, Wylye, his ſonne. Father Bate.

After the Painter had bene there a long ſpace, by much ſute he was remoued to Lollardes tower. His wife in the time of her ſute, whiles he was yet at Fulham, being deſirous to ſee her huſband, & preaſing to come in at the gate,

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being then bigge with child, the porter lift vp his foote and ſtroke her on the belly, that at lẽgth ſhe dyed of yͤ ſame, but the child was deſtroyed immediatly.

A cruell facte of the Byſhops porter.

After that, they were all ſtocked for a long time, & then
they were let loſe in theyr priſons againe. Some had horſe
locks on theyr legs, & ſome had other yrons. This painter
woulde euer be writing on the walles with chauke or a
coale, & in one place he wrote Doct. Dodipall would make
me beleue that the Moone were made of grene cheeſe. And
becauſe he would be writing many thinges, he was mani-
cled by the wreſtes, ſo long till the fleſh of his armes was
growne higher then his yrons. By the meanes of his ma-
nicles he could not kemme his head, and he remayned ſo
long manicled that his heare was felded together.

After the death of his wife, his brother ſued to the king
for him, and after long ſute, he was brought out in the
Conſiſtory at Paules, and as his brother did report, they
kept him three dayes without meate, before he came to his
anſwere. Then, what by the long impriſonment and much
euill handling, and for lack of ſuſtenaunce, the man was in
that caſe, that he could ſay nothing, but looke and gaſe vp-
on the people like a wilde man, and they aſked hym anye
queſtiõ, he could ſay nothing, but my Lord is a good man.
And thus, when they had ſpilt his body, and deſtroyed
his wittes, they ſent him backe agayne to Berſie Abbey,
but he came away againe from thence, and would not tary
amongeſt them: albeit he neuer came to his perfect minde,
to his dying day.

Crueltye ſhewed to the paynter.

His brother, of whom I before ſpake, whoſe name was Valentine Freeſe & his wife, gaue theyr liues at one ſtake in Yorke, for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt.

Valentine & his wife burned in Yorke.

Alſo the wife of the ſayd father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many ſupplications to the king, wythout redreſſe, & at the laſt ſhe deliuered one to his owne hands, and he read it himſelfe, whereupon ſhe was appoynted to go into Chaũcery lane, to one whoſe came (as is thought) was M. Selyard, & at the laſt, ſhe got a letter of the ſame Selyard to the Byſhop, and when ſhe had it, ſhe thought all her ſute welbeſtowed, hopinge that ſome good ſhoulde come to her huſband thereby. And becauſe the wicked officers in thoſe dayes, were crafty and deſirous of his bloud, as ſome others had proued theyr practiſe, ſome of her frendes would needes ſee the content of her letter, and not ſuffer her to deliuer it to the biſhop, & as they thought, ſo they found in deed, for it was after this maner.

Gods good prouydence.

After commendations had. &c. Looke what you can gather agaynſt Father Bate, ſend me word by your truſtye frend Syr william Sapy, that I may certify the kinges Maieſty. &c. Thus the poore woman, when ſhe thought her ſute had bene done, was in leſſe hope of her huſbandes life thẽ before. But within ſhort ſpace after, it pleaſed God to deliuer him: for he gate out in a darcke night & ſo was caught no more, but dyed within a ſhort time after.

A crafty letter of a wicked officer.

In this yeare alſo, as we do vnderſtãd by diuers notes of old Regiſters and otherwiſe, Frier Roy was burned in Portugale: but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death was, we can haue no vnderſtãding: but what his doctrine was it may be eaſely iudged by the teſtimonies, which he left here in England.

Roy burned in Portingale.

In yͤ beginning of this yeare which we are now about, through the complaynt of the Clergy made to the king, the tranſlation of the new Teſtament with a great number of other bookes, were forbiddẽ. For the Biſhoppes comming into Starre chamber the 25. day of May, and communing with the kinges Counſell, after many pretences and long debating, alledged that the tranſlation of Tindall and Ioy were not truely tranſlated, and moreouer that in thẽ were Prologues and Prefaces, that ſmelled of hereſy, and railed agaynſt the Biſhops, wherefore all ſuch bookes were prohibited, and commaundement geuen by the king to the byſhops, that they calling to them the beſt learned men of the Vniuerſities, ſhould cauſe a new tranſlation to be made, ſo that the people might not be ignorãt in the law of God. Notwithſtanding this commaundement, the byſhops did nothing at all, to the ſetting forth of any new tranſlation, which cauſed the people much to ſtudy Tyndals tranſlation, by reaſon whereof many thinges came to light, as ye ſhall hereafter heare.

The tranſlation of the newe teſtament inhibited by the Byſhops. The biſhops cõmaunded by the kyng to ſet forth a new tranſlatyõ of the newe teſtament.

This yeare alſo, in the moneth of May, the Byſhop of London cauſed all the new Teſtaments of Tindals tranſlation, and many other bookes which he had bought, to be brought vnto Paules Churchyard, and there openly to be burned.

¶ Iames Bainham Lawyer and Martyr.

Iames Bainham Gentleman, ſonne to one M. Bainhã a knight of Glocceſterſhyre, being vertuouſly brought vp by his parents, in the ſtudies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latine & the Greeke tongue. After that, he gaue himſelfe to the ſtudy of the lawe, beinge a man of vertuous diſpoſition, & godly conuerſation, mightely addicted to prayer, an earneſt reader of yͤ Scriptures, a great mainteiner of the godly, a viſitor of the priſoners, liberall to ſcholers, very mercifull to his clients, vſing equity and iuſtice to the poore, very diligent in geuing counſell to all the needy, widowes, fatherles, and afflicted, without mony or reward, briefely a ſingular example to al Lawyers.

Iames Baynham Martyr.

This M. Bainham, as is aboue noted, maryed the wife of Symon Fiſhe aforeſayd, for the which he was the more ſuſpected, and at laſt was accuſed to Syr Tho. More Chauncellor of England, and arreſted with a Sergeant at Armes, and caryed out of the middle Temple, to the Chauncellors houſe at Chelſey, where he continued in free priſon a while, till the time that Syr Tho. More ſawe hee could not preuayle in peruerting of him to his ſecte. Then he caſt him in priſon in his owne houſe, and whipped hym at the tree in his garden, called the tree of troath, and after ſent him to the Tower to be racked, and ſo he was, Syr Tho. More being preſent himſelfe, till in a maner hee had lamed him, becauſe he would not accuſe the Gentlemen of the Temple of his acquayntaunce, nor woulde not ſhewe where his bookes lay: and becauſe his wife denyed them to be at his houſe, ſhe was ſent to the Fleet, & their goodes confiſcate.

After they had thus practiſed agaynſt hym what they coulde, by tortures and tormentes: then was he brought before Iohn Stokeſly Biſhop of London, the 15. of December, an. 1531. in the ſayd towne of Chelſey, and there examined vpon theſe Articles and interrogatories enſuing.

First whether he beleued there were anye Purgatory of ſoules hence departed.

Interrogatoryes miniſtred to Baynham.

Wherunto he made aunſwere as foloweth: If we walke in light euen as he is in light, we haue ſociety together with him, and the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt his ſonne, hath clenſed vs from all ſinne. If we ſay we haue no ſinne, wee deceiue our ſelues and the truth is not in vs. If we confeſſe our ſinne, he is fathfull and iuſt, and will forgeue vs our ſinnes, and will purge vs from all our iniquityes,

2. Secondly, whether the Saynctes hence departed, are to to be honored and prayed vnto, to pray for vs.

Aunſwere.

To which he aunſwered on this wiſe: My litle children, I write this vnto you, that you ſinne not. If any man do ſinne, we haue an Aduocate with the Father, Ieſus Chriſt the iuſt, and he is the propitiation for our ſinnes, and not onely for our ſinnes, but alſo the ſinnes of the whole world. And further, vpon occaſion of theſe wordes: Omnes ſancti Dei orate pro nobis, being demaunded what he ment by theſe wordes. Omnes ſancti, he aunſwered: that he meant them by thoſe that were aliue, as S. Paule did by the Corinthians, and not by thoſe that be dead: for he prayed not to them (he ſayde) becauſe he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole church is gathered together, they vſe to pray one for an other, or deſire one to pray for an other, with one hart: and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled and not ours: and I pray, ſayd he, as our Sauior Chriſt prayd at his laſt houre. Father, take this cuppe frõ me if it be poſsible, yet thy will be fulfilled.

Omnes ſancti dei.

3 Thirdly, he was demaunded whether he thought that any ſoules departed were yet in heauen or no.

To this he anſwered and ſayd: That he beleued that they be there as it pleaſeth god to haue them, that is to ſay, in the faith of Abraham, and that herein he would: commit himſelfe to the Church.

Aunſwere. Soules departed.

4. Fourthlye, it was demaunded of him, whether hee thought it neceſſary to ſaluation, for a man to confeſſe his ſinnes to a Prieſt.

Aunſwere.

Whereunto his aunſwere was this: That it was lawfull for one to confeſſe and knowledge his ſinnes to another. As for any other confeſsion he knew none. And further he ſayd that if he came to a Sermon, or any other where, where as the worde of God is preached, and there take repentance for his ſinnes, he beleued his ſinnes, forthwith to be forgeuen of God, & that he needed not to go to any confeſsion.

Confeſſion and remiſſion of ſinnes.

5. Fiftely, that he ſhould ſay and affirme, that the truth of holy Scripture hath bene hid, and appeared not theſe 800. yeares, neither was knowne before now.

To this he ſayde: That he ment no otherwiſe, but that the truth of holy Scripture was neuer, theſe 800 yeares paſt, ſo plainly and expreſſely declared vnto the people, as it hath bene within theſe 6. yeares.

Aunſwere.

6. He was demaũded further, for what cauſe holy Scripture hath bene better declared within theſe 6. yeares, then it hath bene theſe 800. yeares before.

Aunſwere.

Wherunto he anſwered: To ſay playnly, he knew no mã to haue preached the word of God ſincerely & purely, and after the vayne of Scripture, except M. Crome and M. Latimer, and ſayd moreouer, that the new Teſtament now tranſlated into Engliſhe,

The truth of the Scripture, longe hyd.

doth preach and teach the word of God, & that before that time, men did preach but onely: that folkes ſhould beleue as the churche did beleue, and then if the Church erred, men ſhould erre to.

Two Churches.

Howbeit the church ſayd he, of Chriſt can not erre: & that there were 2. Churches, that is, the Church of Chriſt militant, and the Church of Antechriſt, and that this church of Antechriſt may & doth erre, but the Church of Chriſt doth not.

7. Seuenthly, whether he knew any perſon that dyed in the true fayth of Chriſt, ſince the Apoſtles time.

Aunſwere.

He ſayd: He knew Bayfild, and thought that he dyed, in the true fayth of Chriſt.

Aunſwere.

8. Eightly, he was aſked what he thought of Purgatory and of vowes.

Purgatorye.

He aunſwered: If any ſuch thing had bene moued to Saynct Paule of Purgatory after this life, he thought S. Paule would haue condemnede it for an hereſy. And when hee heard M. Crome preach and ſay, that he thought there was a Purgatory after this life, he thought in his minde that the ſayd M. Crome lyed, & ſpake againſt his conſcience, and that there was a hundreth moe, which thought the ſame as he did: ſaying moreouer that he had ſeene the confeſsion of M. Crome in print, God wot a very fooliſh thing, as he iudged.

Crome belyke was now ſlipte frō that he had before taughte.

Vowes.

And as concerning vowes, he graunted that there was lawfull vowes as Ananias vowed Act. 5. for it was in his owne power, whether he woulde haue ſolde his poſſeſsion or not, & therefore he did offend. But vowes of chaſtity, and all godlyneſſe is geuen of God by his aboundant grace, the which no man of himſelf can keep, but it muſt be geuē him of God. And therfore a Monke, Frier, or Nunne, that haue vowed the vowes of Religion, if they thinke, after theyr vowes made, that they can not keep theyr promiſes that they made at Baptiſme, they may go forth and mary, ſo that they keepe after theyr mariage, the promiſe that they made at Baptiſme. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vowes, but onely the vow of Baptiſme.

9. Ninthly, he was demaunded whether Luther beyng a Frier, & taking a Nunne out of religion, & afterward marying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered: That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no. He made aunſwere he could not ſay ſo.

As concerning the Sacrament of anneling, being willed to ſay his minde.

Aunſwere.
Extreme vnctiō.

He aunſwered & ſayd: It was but a ceremony, neither dyd he wotte what a man ſhould be the better for ſuch an oyling and annoynting The beſt was, that ſome good prayers he ſaw to bee ſayd thereat.

Aunſwere.

Likewiſe, touching the Sacrament of Baptiſme, hys wordes were theſe.

The ſacrament of Baptiſme.

That as many as repent, and do on them Chriſt, ſhalbe ſaued: that is, as many as die concerning ſinne, ſhall liue by fayth wyth Chriſt. Therefore it is not we that liue after that, but Chriſt in vs. And ſo whether we liue, or dye, we are Gods by adoption, & not by the water onely, but by water and fayth: that is by keping the promiſe made For ye are kept by grace and fayth, ſayth S. Paule, & that not of your ſelfe: for it is the gift of God.

He was aſked moreouer of matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace, being commaunded in the old law, and not yet taken away.

Aunſwere.

His anſwere was: that Matrimony is an order or law, that the Church of Chriſt hath made, and ordeined, by the which menne may take to them women and ſinne not.

Matrimonye.

Laſtly, for his bookes of ſcripture, & for his iudgemēt of Tindall, becauſe he was vrged to cōfeſſe the troth, he ſayd:

Aunſwere.
Reading of bookes forbiddē.

That he had the new Teſtament tranſlated into the Engliſh toūg by Tindall, within this moneth, and thought he offēded not God in vſing and keeping the ſame, notwithſtanding that he knewe the kinges proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at Paules croſſe. But for all that hee thought the word of God had not forbid it: confeſsing moreouer, that he had in his keeping within this moneth, theſe bookes: the wicked Mammon, the obedience of a Chriſten man, the practiſe of Prelates, the aunſwere of Tindall to Tho. Mores Dialogue, the booke of Frith agaynſt Purgatory, the Epiſtle of George Gee, aliâs George Clerke: adding furthermore, that in all theſe bookes he neuer ſaw any errors And if there were any ſuch in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the ſayde bookes. And as concerning the newe Teſtament in Engliſhe, he thought it vtterly good, and that the people ſhould haue it, as it is. Neither did he euer know (ſayde he) that Tindall was a noughtye felow. And to theſe anſweres he ſubſcribed his name. This examination (as is ſayd) was the 15. day of December.

M. Baynhā ſubmitteth himſelf.

The next day folowing, which was the 16. day of December, the ſayd Iames Bainham appeared agayn before the Biſhop of London, in the foreſayd place of Syr Thomas More at Chelſey, where, after the guiſe and forme of theyr proceedinges, firſt his former Articles with his aunſweres were agayn repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they aſked him whether he would perſiſte in that which he had ſaid, or els would returne to the Catholicke Church from whence he was fallen, and to the which he might be yet receiued, as they ſaid: adding moreouer many fayre intiſing & alluring wordes, that he would reconcile himſelf, ſaying the time was yet that he might be receiued: the boſome of his mother was open for him. Otherwiſe if he would continue ſtubbern, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to ſaue, or els vtterly to caſt himſelfe away. Which of theſe wayes he would take, the caſe preſent now required a preſent aunſwere, for elſe the ſentence definitiue was there ready to be read. &c.

Ex Regi
Lond,

To conclude lōg matter in few wordes, Bainhā wauering in a doubtfull perplexity betwene life on yͤ one hand, & death on yͤ other, at lēgth geuing ouer to the aduerſaries, gaue anſwere vnto thē that he was cōtēted to ſubmit himſelf, in thoſe things wherin he had offēded, excuſing that he was deceiued by ignorāce. Thē yͤ biſhop requiring him to ſay his mind plainely of his anſweres aboue declared demaūded what he thought therof, whether they were true, or no.

To this Bainham ſayd, that it was to high for him to iudge. And then being aſked of the Biſhop, whether there was any Purgatory, he aunſwered, and ſayd: he could not beleue that there was any Purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles being examined and demaunded, he grāted as foloweth: That he could not iudge whether Bayfild dyed in the true fayth of Chriſt or no. That a man making a vowe, can not breake it without deadly ſinne. That a Prieſte promiſing to liue chaſte, may not mary a wife. That he thinketh the Apoſtles to be in heauen. That Luther did nought in marying a Nunne. That a childe is the better for confyrmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man kepe bookes prohibited by the Church, the pope, the Biſhop, or the King, and ſayde that he pondered thoſe poyntes more now, then he did before. &c.

Upon theſe aunſweres the Biſhop thinking to keepe him in ſafe cuſtody, to further triall, committed him to one of the Counters.

Anno 153

Baynha
gayne
brought b
fore the
Byſhops
Chaūcel

The time thus paſſing on, which bringeth all thinges to theyr end, in the month of Febr. next folowing in yͤ yere of our Lord 1532. the foreſayd I. Bainham was called for again to the biſhops Cōſiſtory, before his Vicar general, & other his aſſiſtance: to whō Foxford the biſhops Chaūcellor recited again his articles & anſweres aboue mētioned, proteſting that he intēded not to receiue him to yͤ vnity of yͤ holy mother church, vnleſſe he knew the ſaid Bainhā to be returned again purely & vnfaynedly to the catholick faith, and to ſubmit himſelfe penitently to the iudgement of the Church. To whom Bainham ſpake in this effect, ſaying that he hath and doth beleue the holy Church, and holdeth the fayth of the holy mother the Catholicke Church.

Wherunto the Chaūcellor offring to him a Bill of hys abiuratiō, after yͤ forme of yͤ Popes church cōceiued, required him to read it. Who was cōtented & read to yͤ clauſe of yͤ abiuratiō, cōteining theſe wordes: I voluntarily, as a true penitēt perſō returned frō my hereſies, vtterly abiure. &c. & there he ſtaid & would read no farther, ſaying yͭ he knew not yͤ articles cōteined in his abiuratiō to be hereſy, therefore he could not ſee why he ſhould refuſe thē. Which done, yͤ Chaūcellor proceded to the reading of this ſētēce definitiue, cōming to yͤ place of this ſentēce: yͤ doctrine & determinatiō of the church. &c. & there pauſed, ſaying he would reſerue yͤ reſt till he ſaw his time. Whō then Bainhā deſired to be good vnto him, affirming that he did acknowledge yͭ there was a Purgatory: that yͤ ſoules of the apoſtles were in heauen. &c. Then began he agayne to read the ſentence but Bainham agayne deſired him to be good vnto him. Wherupon he ceaſed the ſentence, & ſayd that he would accept this his confeſſion for that time as ſufficient.

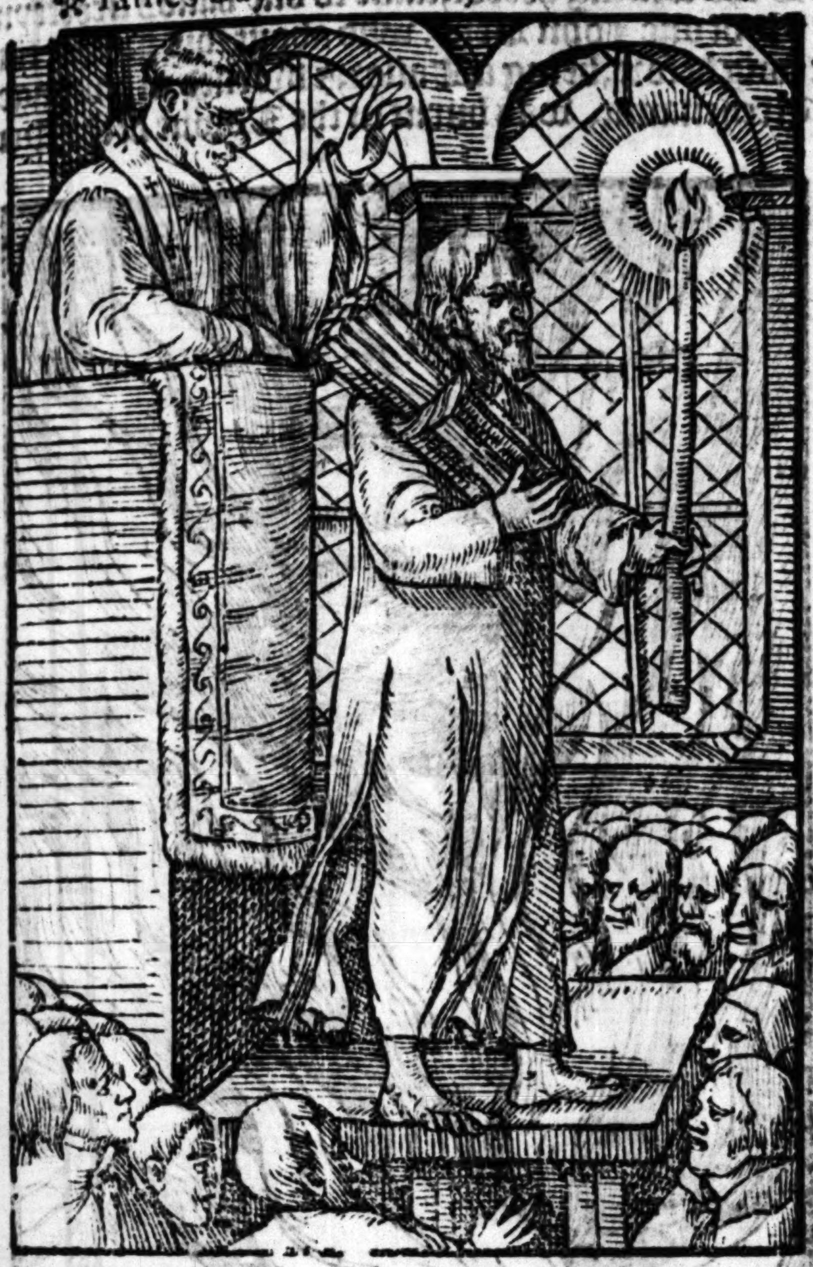
Baynha
agayne
brough
the Co
torye.
Baynha
loth to
iure.

So Bainhā for that preſent was returned to his priſon agayne. Who then the 5. day after, which was the 8. day of February, appeared as before, in the conſiſtory. Whom the foreſayd Chauncellor repeating agayne his articles & anſweres, aſked if he would abiure and ſubmit himſelf: who aunſwered that he would ſubmitte himſelfe, and as a good Chriſtian man ſhould. Agayne the Chauncellor the ſecond time aſked if he woulde abiure. I will (ſayd he) forſake all my Articles, and will meddle no more with them, & ſo being commaunded to lay his handes vpon the booke, read his abiuration opēly. After yͤ reading wherof he burſt out into theſe wordes, ſaying, that becauſe there were many wordes in the ſayd abiuration, which he thought obſcure & difficile, he proteſted that by his oth he intended not to go from ſuch defence, which he might haue had before his oth. Which done yͤ Chaūcellor aſked him why he made that proteſtation? Bainhā ſaid, for feare leaſt any man of ill will do accuſe me hereafter. Thē yͤ Chaūcellor taking yͤ definitiue, ſentēce in his hand, diſpoſing himſelf (as appeared) to read the ſame: well M. Baynham (ſayd he) take your othe, and kiſſe the booke, or els I will do mine office agaynſt you, & ſo immadiatly he tooke the booke in his hand and kiſſed it, and ſubſcribed the ſame with his hand.

Baynham enioyned penaunce.

Which done, the Chaũcellor receiuing the abiuratiõ at his hand, put him to his fine, firſt to pay xx. li. to the king. After that, he enioyned him penaunce, to goe before the Croſſe in proceſſion at Paules, & to ſtand before the preacher during the ſermõs at Paules croſſe, with a fagot vpõ his ſhoulder the next ſonday, & ſo to returne wͭ the Sumner to the priſon again, there to abide the biſhops determination: and ſo the 17. day of Febr. he was releaſed and diſmiſſed home. Where he had ſcarſe a moneth continued, but he bewayled his fact and abiuration, & was neuer quiet in mind & conſcience, vntill the time he had vttered his fall to all his acquayntance, and aſked God and all the world forgeuenes before the congregation in thoſe dayes, in a ware houſe in Bowlane: and immediatly the next ſonday after, he came to S. Auſtens, with the newe Teſtament in hys hand in Engliſh, and the obedience of a chriſten man in his boſome, and ſtoode vp there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly with weeping teares, that he had denyed God, and prayed all the people to forgeue him, and to beware of his weakeneſſe, and not to doe as he did. For ſayd he, if I ſhould not returne agayne vnto the truth (hauing the new Teſtament in his hand) this word of God would damne me both body and ſoule at the day of iudgement. And there he prayed euery body rather to dye by and by, then to do as he did: for he would not feele ſuch an hell againe, as he did fele, for all the worlds good. Beſides thys he wrote alſo certeine letters to the Biſhop, to his brother, and to others, ſo that ſhortly after he was apprehended, & ſo committed to the Tower of London.

※ Iames Baynham enioyned Penaunce.



Iames Baynham.

Anno 1532.

Baynham diſmiſſed out of priſõ.

Repentance of Baynham after his fall.

Baynham againe apprehended and caſt in the tower.

¶ The proces agaynſt Iames Baynham, in caſe of relapſe.

An other proceſſe agaynſt Iames Baynham. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

THe 19. day of Aprill. 1532. M. Rich. Foxford Vicar generall to the biſhop of London, accõpanied with certein Diuines, & Mathew Greſton the Regiſter ſitting iudicially, Iames Bainhã was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the tower, before whõ yͤ vicar general rehearſed yͤ articles cõteined in his abiuration before made & ſhewed him a bound booke, which the ſayd Bainhã acknowledged to be his owne writing, ſaying that it was good. Then he ſhewed him more of a certain letter ſent vnto the biſhop of Londõ, yͤ which alſo he acknowledged to be his: obiecting alſo to the ſayd Bainhã, that he had made & read the abiuration which he had before recited: ſhewing him moreouer certain letters which he had written vnto his brother, the which he confeſſed to be his owne writing, ſaying moreouer, that though he wrote it, yet there is no thinge in the ſame that is nought, if it be as my Lord Chauncellor ſayth. Then he aſked of Bainham how he vnderſtood this which foloweth, which was in his letters: yet coulde they not ſee nor know him for God, when in deed he was both God & man, yea he was three perſons in one, the father, the ſonne & the holy ghoſt: & Bainham ſayd it was nought. Which thinges thus done, there was further obiected vnto hym theſe wordes, that he had as leue pray to Ioane his wife, as to our Lady. The which article Bainhã denied. The ſayd Bainhã amongſt other talke as touching the ſacramẽt of yͤ alter, ſayd: Chriſtes body is not chewed wͭ teeth, but receiued by fayth. Further it was obiected agaynſt him, that notwithſtanding his abiuration, he had ſayd that the Sacrament of the altar was but a miſticall or memoriall body: yͤ which article Bainham denied. It was further layd vnto him, that he ſhould ſay, that S. Thomas of Caunterbury was a thiefe and murtherer, and a deuil in hel. Whereunto he anſwered thus, that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a murtherer, and if he did not repent him of his murther, he was rather a deuill in hell, then a ſaynt in heauen.

Anno 1532.

Articles falſlye depraued by the aduerſaryes.

Thomas Becket.

The 20. day of April, in the yere aforeſaid, yͤ ſaid Iames Bainhã was brought before the vicar generall in yͤ church of al ſaynts of Barking, where as he miniſtred theſe interrogatories vnto him. Firſt yͤ ſince yͤ feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt he ſayd, affirmed and beleued, that the ſacrament of the altar, was but a miſticall body of Chriſt, and afterwarde he ſayd, it was but a memoriall: yͤ which article Bainham denied. The the vicar general declared vnto him, that our holy mother yͤ catholick church determineth & teacheth in this maner: that in the ſacramẽt of the altar, after the wordes of conſecration, there remaineth no bread. The officiall aſked Bainhã whether he did ſo beleue or not. Whereunto Bainham anſwered, saying that S. Paul calleth it bread, rehearſing theſe words: Quotieſcunque comederitis panem hunc, & de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis: and in that poynt he ſayth, as S. Paul ſayth, and beleueth as yͤ church beleueth. And being demaunded twiſe afterward what he thought therin, he would geue no other anſwere.

An other appearaunce.

S. Paul calleth the ſacrament bread.

Item, that ſince the feaſt of Eaſter aforeſaid, he had affirmed & beleued that euery man that would take vpõ him to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt clearly, had as much power as the Pope. To the which article he aunſwered thus: He that preacheth the word of God, whatſoeuer he be, and liueth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looſeth both in heauen and earth. The which key is the ſame ſcripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to binde and to looſe, but by the key of the Scripture.

True preachers haue as much power of the keyes as the Pope.

Item, that he affirmed that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a thiefe and a murderer, & in hel. Whereunto he anſwered as before.

Articles falſlye depraued.

Item, that he ſayde he had as leue pray to Ioane hys wife, as to our Lady: the which he denyed as before.

Item, that he affirmed & beleued, that Chriſt himſelfe was but a man, the which article he alſo denyed.

The premiſſes thus paſſed, the vicar generall receiued Frances Realms, Iohn Edwards, Raphe Hilton, Iohn Ridly, Frances Dryland, and Raphe Noble, as witneſſes to be ſworne vpon the articles aforeſayd, and to ſpeake the truth before the face of the ſayd Iames Bainhã, in the preſence of M. Iohn Nayler Vicar of Barking, M. Iohn Rode Bacheler of diuinity, Williã Smith, Richard Gruel, Tho. Wimple, and Richard Bill.

Witnes agaynſt M. Baynham.

The 26. day of Aprill in the yeare aforeſayd, before M. Ioh. Foxford vicar general of the biſh. of Londõ, in yͤ preſence of Mathew Greſtõ Regiſter, and Nicolas Wilſon, & Will. Philley, profeſſors of diuinity, Iohn Oliuer, Williã Midleton, & Hugh Appriſe, doctors of the law, M. Richard Greſham Sheriffe of London, & a great cõpanye of others, Iames Bainham was brought forth by the Lieutenaunt of the Tower, in whoſe preſence the vicar general rehearſed the merites of the cauſe of inquiſition of hereſye agaynſt him, & proceded to yͤ reading of the abiuratiõ. And whẽ the Iudge read this article folowing conteined in the abiuration: Itẽ, that I haue ſaid that I wil not determine whether any ſoules departed be yet in heauen or no, but I beleue that they be there as it pleaſeth God to haue them, that is to ſay, in the fayth of Abraham: & I wote not whether the ſoules of the apoſtles or any other be in heauen or no. To this Iames aunſwered, that I did abiure, and if that had not bene, I would not haue abiured at all.

The laſt appearance of Iames Baynham.

Soules departed.

After all the articles were read conteined in the abiuration, & certeine talke had as touching the ſacrament of baptiſme, the ſayd Iames Bainham ſpake theſe words: If a Turke, a Iew, or Saraſen do truſt in God & keepe hys law, he is a good Chriſtian manne. Then the Officiall ſhewed vnto him the letters which he ſent vnto his Brother, written with his owne hand, and aſked him what he thought, as touching this clauſe folowing: Yet could they not ſee and know him for God, when in deed he was both God & man, yea he was three perſons in one, the father, yͤ ſonne and the holy ghoſt. Whereunto Bainham ſaid, that it

The ſacrament of Baptiſme.

The ſacrament of the aultar.

was nought, & that he did it by ignorance, & did not ouerſee his letters. Thē M. Nicholas wilſon amongeſt other talke as touching the ſacrament of the alter, declared vnto him that the church did beleue the very body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the alter. Bainham aunſwered: The bread is not Jeſus Chriſt, for Chriſtes body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread. Being further demaunded whether in the ſacrament of the altar, is the very body of Chriſt God and man in fleſh and bloud: after diuers doubtfull aunſweres, Bainham aunſwered thus: He is there very God and man in forme of bread.

This done, the Officiall declared vnto him the depoſitions of the witneſſes which were come in agaynſt him, & obiected vnto him, that a litle before Eaſter he had abiured all hereſies, as well particularly as generally. Then the ſayd vicar generall, after he had takē deliberation & aduiſe with the learned his aſſiſtantes, did proceed to the reading of the definitiue ſentence agaynſt him, & alſo publiſhed the ſame in writing: wherby amongeſt other thinges beſides his abiuration, he pronounced & condemned him as a relapſed hereticke, damnably fallen into ſundry hereſies, & ſo to be left vnto the ſecular power, that is to ſay, to one of ẏ Sherifs being there preſēt. After the pronoūcing of which ſentence, M. Nicolas wilſon counſelled & admoniſhed the ſaid James, ẏ he would conforme himſelf vnto the church. To whō he aunſwered, that he truſted that he is the very childe of God, which ye blinde Aſſes (ſayd he) doe not perceiue. And laſt of al, departing frō his iudgement, he ſpake theſe wordes: M. wilſon, nor you my Lord Chauncellor, ſhall not proue by ſcripture, that there is any Purgatorye. Then the ſentence of condemnation was geuen agaynſte him, the which here to repeat word for word, is not neceſſary, for ſo much as the tenour thereof is all one with that which paſſed before in the ſtory of Bayfeld, alias Somerſam. Here alſo ſhould enſue the letter of the Biſhop of Lōdon, directed vnto the Maior and Sheriffes of the ſame city, for the receiuing of him into their power, & that putting of him to death, the tenor wherof is alſo of like effect to that before written in the ſtory of Bayfeld. After this ſentence geuen, James Bainham was deliuered into the handes of Syr Richarde Greſham Sheriffe, then being preſent, who cauſed him by his Officers to be caryed vnto Newegate, & the ſaid James Baynham was burned in Smithfielde the laſt day of Aprill, in the yeare aforeſayd, at three a clocke at afternoone.

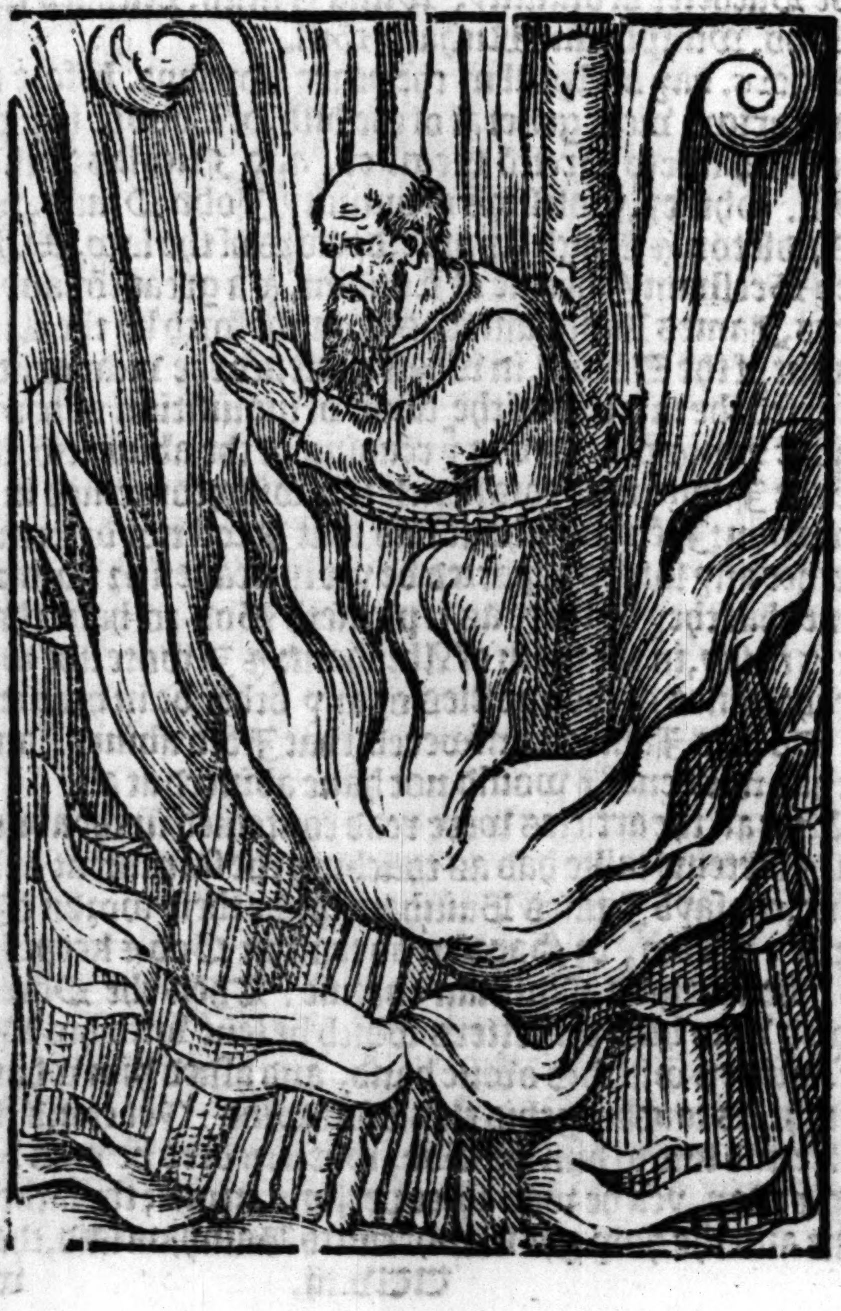
Sentence read againſt Baynhā,

The wordes of Iames Baynham to M. Willſon.

This M. Bainham during his impriſonment was very cruelly handled. For almoſt the ſpace of a fourtnight he lay in the biſhops colehouſe in the ſtockes, with yrons vpon his legs. Thē he was caryed to the Lord Chācellors, and there chayned to a poſt 2. nightes. Thē he was caryed to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by ẏ ſpace of a ſeuennighte. Thē to the Tower, where he lay a fourtnight ſcourged with whips, to make him reuoke his opinions. Frō thence he was caryed to Barking, thē to Chelſey, and there condemned, and ſo to Newgate to be burned.

The cruel handling of Baynhā.

¶ The burning of Iames Baynham.



The death and Martirdome of M. Iames Baynham.

Iames Baynham.

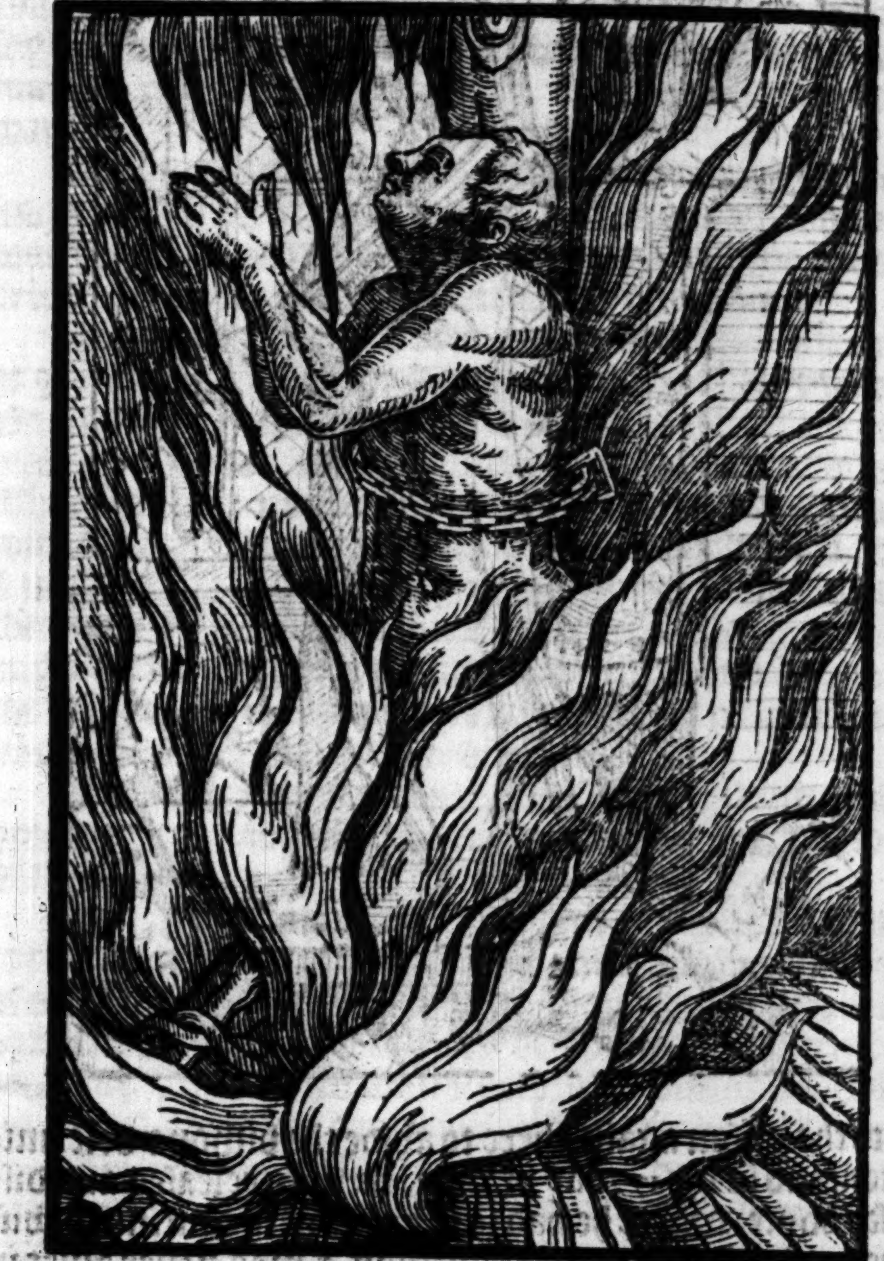
{ Anno. 1532. }

At whoſe burning here is notoriouſly to be obſerued, that as he was at the ſtake in the midſt of the flaming fyre which fire had halfe conſumed his armes & legs, he ſpake theſe wordes: O ye Papiſtes, behold, ye looke for miracles, and here now you may ſee a myracle, for in this fire J feele no more paine, then if J were in a bed of Downe: but it is to me as ſweet as a bed of roſes. Theſe words ſpake he in the middeſt of the flaminge fire, when his legges and hys armes (as J ſayd) were halfe conſumed.

A myracle and a wondrous ... of God to beholde.

¶ Iohn Bent Martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our handes a certeyn notice of one John Bent, who about this preſent time or not long before, being a Tailor, & dwelled in a village called Urchenaunt, was burnt in the Towne of the Deuiſes



within the country of wilkeſhire, for the denying of the ſacrament of the altar, as they terme it.

Ioh. Bent, Martyr.

Ioh. Bent, burnt at Deuiſe.

¶ One Trapnel Martyr.

Alſo much about the ſame tyme, was one Trapnell burned in a Towne called Brodford, within the ſame County.

Trapnell Martir, burnt at Brodford.

✻ The Hiſtory of three men hanged for the burning of the Rood of Douercourt, collected out of a letter of Robert Gardner, which was one of the doers of the ſame.

In the ſame yeare of our Lord 1532. there was an Jdoll named the Roode of Douercourt, whereunto was much and greate reſorte of people. For at that time there was great rumour blowne abroad amonges the ignorant ſort, that the power of the Jdoll of Douercourt was ſo greate, that no man had power to ſhutte the Church doore where he ſtood, and therefore they lette the Churche doore bothe nyght and daye continually ſtand open, for the more credite vnto theyr blinde rumour. Which once beyng conceyued in the heades of the vulgare ſort, ſeemed a great maruell vnto many men, but to many agayne, whom God had bleſſed with his ſpirite, was greatly ſuſpected, eſpecially vnto theſe, whoſe names here folow, as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eſtbergholt, Nicholas Marſhe of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whoſe conſciences were ſore burdened to ſee the honor and power of the almighty liuing God ſo to be blaſphemed by ſuch an Jdoll. Wherefore they were moued by the ſpirit of God, to trauell out of Dedham in a woondrous goodlye night, both hard froſt and fayre moone ſhine, although the nighe before, and the night after were exceeding foule and rayny. Jt was from the towne of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Roode ſtood x. miles. Notwithſtanding they were ſo willing in that theyr enterpriſe, that they went theſe x. myles without payne, and found the Church doore open, according to the blinde talke of the ignorant people: for there durſt no vnfaithful body ſhut it. Which happened well

Out of a letter of Robert Gardner, written to Chapman Londoner, and yet aliue.

The Roode of Douercourt.

Rob. King, Rob. Debnam, Nicholas Marsh, Martyrs.

The blinde opinion of the people.

Experience of falſe Idolatry.

wel for their purpoſe, for they founde the Idol, which had as much power to keepe the doore ſhut, as to keepe it open. And for proofe thereof, they tooke the Idol from his ſhrine, and caryed him a quarter of a myle from the place where he ſtoode, without any reſiſtaunce of the ſayd Idol. Whereupon they ſtrake fire with a Flint ſtone, and ſodenly ſet him on fire, who burned out ſo brym, that he lighted them homeward one good myle of the ten.

The Idoll ſet on a light fire.

This done, there went a great talke abroade, that they ſhould haue great riches in that place, but it was very vntrue, for it was not their thought or enterpriſe, as they themſelues afterward confeſſed, for there was nothing taken away but his coate, his ſhoes and tapers. The tapers did helpe to burne him, the ſhooes they had againe, and the coate one ſir Thomas Roſe did burn, but they had neither peny, halfe peny, golde, grote, nor iewel.

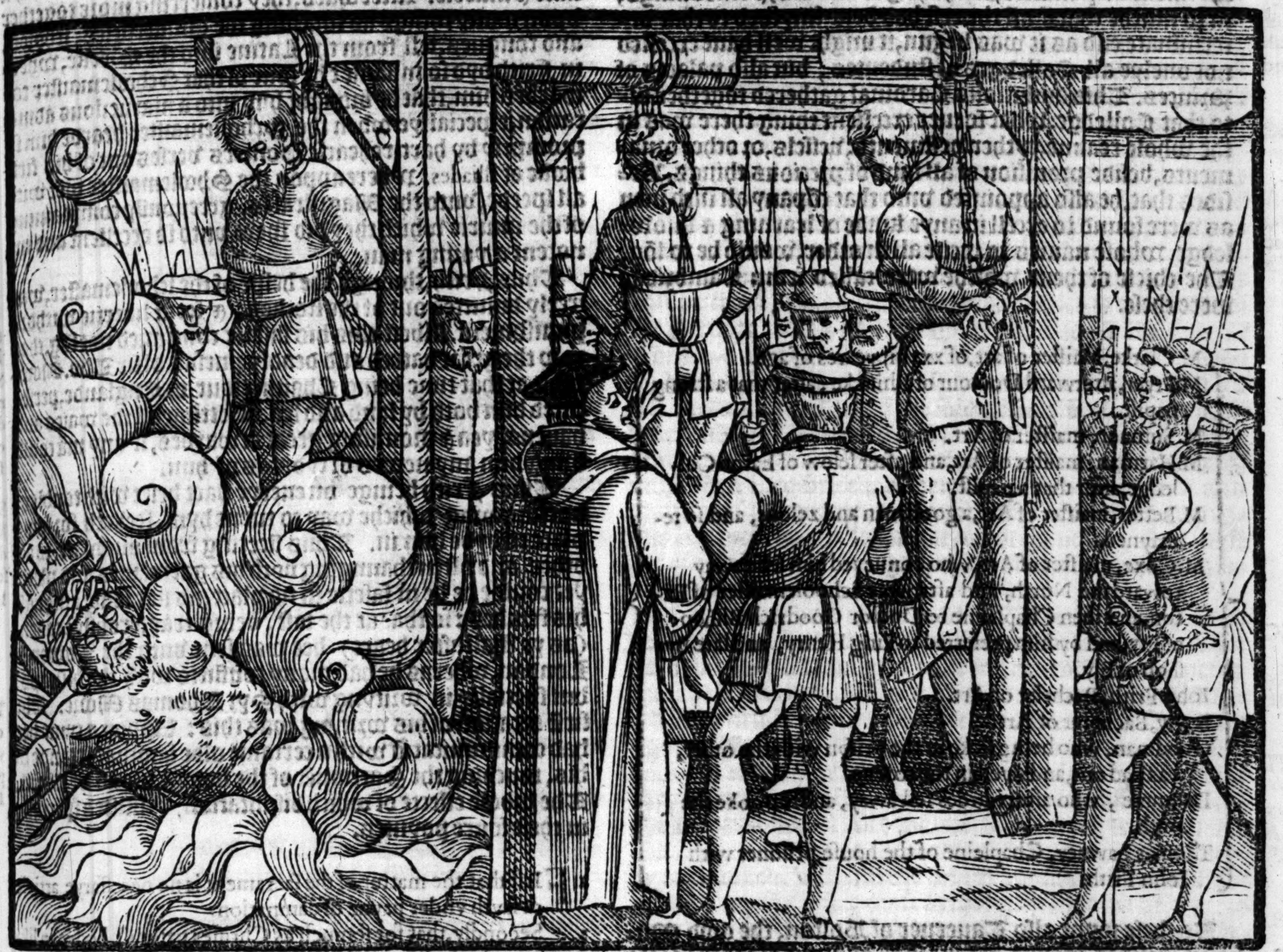
Falſe ſurmiſe alwayes ica-ly.

The right handling of an Idoll.

Notwithſtanding three of them were afterwarde indyted of felonie, and hanged in chaynes within halfe a yere after, or thereabout. Robert Kyng was hanged in Dedham at Burchet. Robert Debnam was hanged at Cattawaye Canſey: Nicholas Marſhe was hanged at Douercourt. Which three perſons, through the ſpirite of God at their death, dyd more edifie yͤ people in godly learning, then all the Sermons that had bene preached there a long tyme before.

Robert Kyng, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marſh Martyrs.

¶ Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marſhe hanged for taking downe the Roode of Douercourt.



Robart Gardner eſcaped.

The fourth man of thys companye named Robert Gardner, eſcaped their handes and fledde. Albeit he was cruelly ſought for, to haue had the like death, but yͤ lyuing Lord preſerued him, to whom be al honour & glory world without ende.

Ex teſtimonio ipſius Gardner. Images deſtroyed.

The ſame yeare, and the yeare before, there were manye Images caſt downe and deſtroyed in manye places: as the Image of the Crucifixe in the hygh waye by Cogſhall, the Image of ſaint Petronil in the Church of great Horkſleigh, the Image of ſaint Chriſtopher by Sudburye, and another Image of ſaint Petronil in a Chappell by Ipſwiche.

Alſo Iohn Seward of Dedham, ouerthrew a Croſſe in Stoke Parke, and tooke two Images out of a chappell in the ſame parke, and caſt them into the water.

¶ The ſtorie, examination, death, and martyrdome of Iohn Frith.

{Anno 153.}

Iohn Frith Martyr.

AMongeſt al other chaunces lamentable, there hath ben none a great tyme whiche ſeemed vnto me more greeuous, then the lamentable death and cruel handlinge of Iohn Frith, ſo learned and excellent a young man, which had ſo profited in al kind of learning and knowledge, that ſcarſely there was his equal amongeſt al his companions and beſides withal had ſuch a godlynes of lyfe ioined with his doctrine, that it was hard to iudge, in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly prayſe worthie in them both. But as touchinge his doctrine, by the grace of Chriſt, we will ſpeake hereafter. Of the great godlynes which was in him, this may ſerue for experiment ſufficiẽt for that notwithſtanding his other manifold and ſingular giftes & ornaments of yͤ mind in him moſt pregnant wherwithall he might haue opened an eaſie way vnto honor & dignitie, notwithſtanding he choſe rather wholly to conſecrate himſelfe vnto the Church of Chriſt, excellently ſhewing forth & practiſing in himſelfe the precept ſo highly cõmended of the Philoſophers, touching the life of man, which life they ſay, is geuen vnto vs in ſuch ſort, that how much better the man is, ſo much yͤ leſſe he ſhould liue vnto himſelfe, but vnto other, ſeruing for the common vtilitie, & that we ſhould think a greate parte of our byrth to be due vnto our parentes, a greater part vnto our country, & the greateſt part of all to be beſtowed vpon the Churche if we will be counted good men. Firſt of all he begã hys ſtudy at Cambridge. In whõ nature had planted being but a child maruelous inſtinctions & loue vnto learning, whereunto he was addict. He had alſo a wonderful promptnes of wit & a ready capacitie to receaue and vnderſtand any thing, in ſo much that he ſeemed not to be ſent vnto learning, but alſo borne for the ſame purpoſe: neyther was there any diligence wanting in him, equall vnto that towardnes, or worthy of his diſpoſition. Whereby it came to paſſe that he was not onely a louer of learning, but alſo became an exquiſite learned man. In the which exerciſe, whẽ he had diligently laboured certayn yeres, not without great profite both of Latine and Greeke, at the laſt he fell into knowledge and acquayntaunce with William Tindall, through whoſe inſtructions, he firſt receaued into his hart the ſeede of the Goſpell and ſincere godlines.

Iohn Fryth. firſt ſtudient in Cãbridge.

Commendation of Frythes learning.

At that time Tho. Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke prepared to build a Colledge in Oxford, maruelous ſumptuous which had the name & title of Frideſwide, but now named Chriſtes Church, not ſo much (as it is thought) for yͤ loue & zeale that he bare vnto learning, as for an ambitions deſire

The College in Oxford of Frydeſwide, now called Chriſtes Colledge.

ſire of glory & renoume, & to leaue a perpetual name vnto the poſteritie. But that building, he being cut of by ẏ ſtroke of death (for he was ſent for vnto ẏ king, accuſed vpon certaine crimes, and in the waye by immoderate purgations killed him ſelf) leaſt partly begun, partly halfe ended & vnperfect, and nothing els ſaue only the kitchin was fully finiſhed. Wherupon Rodulphus Gualterus a learned mā, being then in Oxford, & beholding the Colledge, ſayd theſe wordes in Latine. Egregium opus Cardinalis iſte inſtituit collegium, et abſoluit popinam. Howe large & ample thoſe buildings ſhould haue ben, what ſumptuous coſt ſhould haue bene beſtowed vpon the ſame, may eaſily be perceiued by ẏ that which is already buylded, as the kitchin, the hall, and certain chambers, where as there is ſuch curious grauing and workemanſhip of ſtonecutters, that all things on euery ſide did glitter for the excellency of the workmanſhip, for the fineſſe of ẏ matter, with the gilt antikes, & emboſſings, in ſo muche that if all the reſt had bene finyſhed to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well haue excelled not onelye all Colledges of ſtudentes, but alſo palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinal gathered together into that Colledge, what ſoeuer excellent thing there was in the whole realme, eyther veſtments, veſſels, or other ornaments, beſide prouiſion of all kind of precious things. Beſides that, he alſo appointed vnto that cōpany all ſuch men as were found to excell in anye kinde of learning & knowledge, whoſe names to recite all in order, would be to lōg. The chiefe of them whiche were called from Cambridge were theſe.

The ſaying of Rodolphus Gualterus touching the Cardinals Colledg.

M. Clarke, Maiſter of art, of xxxiiij. yeares of age.
M. Fryer, afterward Doctour of Phiſicke, after that a ſtrong papiſt.
M. Sumner, maiſter of Art.
M. Harman, maiſter of Art, and after felow of Eaton Colledge, after that a papiſt.
M. Bettes, maiſter of Art, a good man and zelous, and ſo remayned.
M. Coxe, maiſter of Art, who conueyed him ſelfe away toward the North, and aftrr was Schoolemaiſter of Eaton, and then Chaplayne to Doctor Goodrich Biſhop of Ely, and by him preferred to king Henry, and late Byſhop of Ely.
Iohn Frith, Bacheler of Art.
Bayly, Bacheler of Art.
Goodman, who being ſicke in the priſon with the other, was had out, and dyed in the towne.
Drumme, who afterwardes fell away, and forſooke the truth.
Thomas Lawney, Chapleine of the houſe, priſoner with Iohn Frith.

To theſe ioyne alſo Tauerner of Boſton, the good Muſitian, beſides manye other called alſo out of other places moſte pyked young men of graue iudgement and ſharpe wittes, who conferring together vpon the abuſes of relygion, being at ẏ time crept into ẏ Church, were therfore accuſed of hereſie vnto the Cardinall, and caſt into a priſon, within a deepe caue vnder the groūd, of the ſame Colledge where their ſalt fyſhe was layde, ſo that through the fylthie ſtinche thereof, they were all infected, and certaine of them taking their death in the ſame priſon, ſhortly vpon ẏ ſame being taken out of the priſon into their chambers, there deceaſed.

This Tauerner repented him very muche that he had made ſonges to Popiſhe ditties in the tyme of hys blindenes.

The troublers and examiners of theſe good men were theſe, Doct. London, Doctor Higdon, Deane of the ſame Colledge, and Doct. Cotteſford, Commiſſary.

Perſecuters.

Maiſter Clarke, maiſter Sumner, and Syr Bayly, eating nothing but ſaltfiſhe from Februarie, to the middeſt of Auguſt, dyed all three together within the compaſſe of one weeke.

M Clarke, M. Sumner, Syr Baily, killed through enpriſonment.

Maiſter Bettes a wittie man, hauyng no bookes foūd in hys chamber, through entreatie and ſuertie gote out of priſon, and ſo remaynyng a ſpace in ẏ Colledge, at laſt ſlipt away to Cambridge, and after was Chapleine to Queene Anne, and in great fauour with her.

Tauerner, although he was accuſed and ſuſpected for hidinge of Clarkes bookes vnder the bordes in his ſchoole, yet the Cardinal for his muſicke excuſed him, ſaying, that he was but a Muſitian, and ſo he eſcaped.

After the death of theſe men, Iohn Frith, with other, by the Cardinalles letter, which ſent word that he would not haue them ſo ſtraightly handled, were diſmiſſed out of priſon vpon condition, not to paſſe aboue ten myles out of Oxford. Which Frith after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, which bare then fagottes, went ouer the ſea, and after two yeares he came ouer for exhibition of the Prior of Reading (as is thought) and had ẏ Prior ouer with him.

Of this Dalaber reade more in the ſtory of Tho. Garret.

Beyng at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vacabond, & brought to examination: where the ſimple man whiche coulde not craftily enough colour him ſelfe, was ſet in the ſtockes. Where after he had ſitten a lōg time, and was almoſt pined with hunger, and woulde not for all that declare what he was, at the laſt hee deſired that the Schoolemaiſter of the towne might be brought to hym, which at that time was one Leonard Coxe, a mā very wel learned. As ſoone as he came vnto him, Frith by and by began in the Latine tongue to bewaile his captiuitie.

Iohn ſet in ſtockes Readi

Leonar Coxe, Schoole maiſter Reading

The Schoolemaiſter by and by beinge ouercome wyth his eloquence, did not onely take pitie and compaſſion vpon him, but alſo began to loue and embrace ſuch an excellent witte and diſpoſition vnlooked for, eſpecially in ſuch a ſtate & miſerie. Afterward, they conferring more together vpon many things as touching the Vniuerſities, ſcholes, and tongues, fell from the Latine into the Greeke, wherein Frith dyd ſo inflame the loue of that Schoolemaiſter towardes him, that he brought him into a marueilous admiration, eſpeciallye when the Schoolemaiſter hearde him ſo promptly by hart, rehearſe Homers verſes out of his firſt booke of Iliades. Whereuppon the Shoolemaiſter wēt with all ſpeede, vnto the Magiſtrates, greeuouſly complaining of the iniurie which they did ſhew vnto ſo excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the helpe of the ſchoolemaſter, was freely dimitted out of the ſtockes, & ſet at libertie without puniſhment. Albeit this his ſafetie continued not lōg, thorow the great hatred and deadly purſuit of ſir Tho. More, who at that time being Chauncelour of Englande, perſecuted him both by land and ſea, beſetting all the waies and hauens, yea & promiſing great rewardes, if any mā could bring him any newes or tydings of him.

John F through helpe of Schoolemaſter, deliuered out of the ſtockes.

Thus Frith beinge on euerye part beſet with troubles, not knowing whiche way to turne hym, ſeeketh for ſome place to hyde him in. Thus fleeting from one place to an other, and often chaunging both his garmentes and place, yet coulde he be in ſafetie in no place, no not long amongſt his frindes: ſo that at the laſt, being trayterouſlye taken, (as ye ſhall after heare) hee was ſent vnto the Tower of London, wheras he had many conflicts with the biſhops, but ſpecially in writyng with Syr Thomas More. The firſt occaſion of his writyng was this: Uppon a tyme hee had communicatiō with a certaine olde familiar freende of his, touching the Sacramēt of the body & bloud of Chriſt. The whole effecte of which diſputation, conſiſted ſpecially in theſe foure poyntes.

Syr Tho. More a deadly pe ſecuter of Iohn Fry

The oc of Fryth writing a gaynſt More.

1 FIrſt that the matter of the ſacrament is no neceſſarye article of fayth vnder payne of damnation.

2. Secondly, that for ſomuch as Chriſtes naturall bodye in like condition hath all properties of our bodye, ſinne onely except, it it cannot be, neyther is it agreable vnto reaſon, that he ſhould be in two places or moe at once, contrarye to the nature of oure bodye.

3. Moreouer it ſhall not ſeeme meete or neceſſarye, that wee ſhould in this place vnderſtand Chriſtes words, according to the literall ſenſe, but rather accordyng to the order and phraſe of ſpeache, comparing phraſe wyth phraſe, accordyng to the Analogie of the Scripture.

4. Laſt of all, how that it ought to be receaued accordyng to the true and right inſtitution of Chriſt, albeit that the order which at thys tyme is crept into the Church, and is vſed now a dayes by the Prieſtes, do neuer ſo much differ from it.

And for ſomuche as the treatiſe of this diſputation ſeemed ſomewhat lōg, his frend deſired hym that ſuch things as he had reaſoned vpon, he would briefly committe vnto writing, and geue vnto hym for the helpe of his memory. Frith, albeit he was vnwilling, and not ignoraunt howe daungerous a thing it was to enter into ſuche a contentious matter, at ẏ laſt notwithſtanding he being ouercome by the intreaty of hys frend, rather followed hys wil, then looked to his owne ſafegard.

The occa of Fryths writyng vppon th Sacrament

There was at that tyme in London a Taylor named William Holt, which fayning a great frendſhyp towarde this party, inſtantly required of him to geue him licence to read ouer that ſame writing of Frithes, whiche when hee vnaduiſedly dyd, the other by and by caryed it vnto More being thē Chauncellour, which thing afterward was occaſion of great trouble, and alſo of death vnto ẏ ſaid Frith. For More hauing gotten a copy of this booke, not onely of this Sicophant, but alſo two other copies, whiche at the ſame time, in a maner were ſent hym by other promoters he whetted his wittes, and called his ſpirites together as much

William Holte, a Iudas.

Syr Tho More Chau

much as he might, meaning to refute his opiniõ by a contrary booke.

The ſumme of Frythes booke of the Sacrament.

This in a maner was the whole ſumme of the reaſons of Frithes booke: Firſt to declare the Popes beliefe of the Sacrament, to be no neceſſary article of our faith, that is to ſay, that it is no article of our fayth neceſſary to be beleued vnder payne of damnation, that the Sacrament ſhould be the naturall body of Chriſt. Whych he thus prooueth: For many ſo beleue, & yet in ſo beleuing the Sacrament to bee yͤ naturall bodye, are not thereby ſaued but receyue it to their damnation.

The not beleuing the corporall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacraments, is no damnation.

Agayne, in beleuyng the Sacrament to bee the naturall body, yet that naturall preſence of his body in the bread, is not that which ſaueth vs, but his preſence in our harts by fayth. And likewiſe the not beleuing of his bodyly preſence in the Sacrament, is not the thynge that ſhall damne vs, but the abſence of him out of our hart, through vnbeliefe. And if it be obiected, yͭ it is neceſſary to beleue gods worde vnder payne of damnation: to that he aunſwereth, that the worde taken in the right ſenſe as Chriſt meant, mayntayneth no ſuch bodyly preſence as the Popes churche dothe teache, but rather a Sacramentall preſence. And that (ſaith he) may be further confirmed thus.

¶Argument.

None of the olde fathers before Chryſtes incarnation, were bound vnder paine of damnatiõ to beleue this point:

Ce All we be ſaued by the ſame fayth that the olde fathers were.

la

rent. Ergo, none of vs are bounde to beleue this point vnder paine of damnation.

The firſt parte (ſayth he) is euydent of it ſelfe. For howe coulde they beleue that which they neuer hearde nor ſawe?

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

The ſeconde part (ſayth he) appeareth plainly by ſaincte Auguſtine, writinge ad Dardanum, and alſo by an hundreth places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate thẽ this, that the ſame fayth yͭ ſaued our Fathers, ſaueth vs alſo. And therfore vppon the truth of theſe two parts thus proued, muſt the cõcluſion (ſaith he) nedes folowe.

¶An other Argument.

None of yͤ olde fathers before Chriſtes incarnation, did eate Chriſt corporally in their ſignes, but only miſtically & ſpiritually, and were ſaued:

Al we do eate Chriſt euen as they did, and are ſaued as they were:

Ergo, none of vs do eate Chriſte corporally, but myſtically, and ſpiritually in our ſignes as they did.

1. Cor. 10

Gen. 30.

Gen. 26.

Bread is called the bodye, as the Sacrament of circumciſion is called the couenaunt.

For the probation of the firſt part, Frith proceeding in his diſcourſe, declared howe the auncient fathers before Chriſtes Incarnation, dyd neuer beleue any ſuch poynt of this groſſe and carnall eating of Chriſtes bodye: and yet notwithſtanding they dyd eate hym ſpiritually, and were ſaued: as Adam, Abraham, Moſes, Aaron, Phinees, and other godly Iſraelites beſides. All whiche (ſayth he) dyd eate the body of Chriſt, and did drinke his bloud, as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was ſpiritual, pertaining onely to fayth, and not to the teeth: For they were al vnder the cloude, and dranke of the rocke which folowed them, this rocke was Chriſte, whiche was promyſed them to come into the worlde. And this promiſe was firſt made vnto Adam, when as it was ſayd vnto the Serpent: I will put hatred betweene thee and the woman, betweene her ſeede and thy ſeede &c. And afterward again vnto Abraham: In thy ſeede ſhall all people be bleſſed &c. Addyng alſo the Sacrament of Circumciſion, which was called the couenaunt, not becauſe it was ſo in deede, but becauſe it was a ſigne and a tokẽ of yͤ couenant made betwene God & Abrahã, admonyſhing vs therby how we ſhuld iudge & thinke touching the Sacrament of his body & blood: to wyt, that albeit it be called the body of Chriſt, yet we ſhould properly vnderſtãd therby yͤ fruit of our iuſtification, which plẽtifully floweth vnto all faithful by his moſt healthful body & bloud. Likewiſe the ſame promiſe was made vnto Moſes the moſte meeke & gentle captaine of the Iſraelites, which did not only him ſelf beleue vpõ Chriſt, which was ſo oftẽ promiſed, but alſo did prefigurate him by dyuers meanes, both by yͤ Manna whiche came downe from heauen, and alſo by the water whiche iſſued out of the rocke, for the refreſhing of the bodies of his people.

Manna, a figure of Chriſtes bodye.

The water of the rocke, a figure of Chriſtes bodye.

Bread & wine, a figure likewiſe of Chriſtes bodye.

1. Cor. 10.

Neyther is it to be doubted, but that both Manna and this water had a Propheticall myſterie in them, declaryng the very ſelfe ſame thing then, which the bread & the wyne do now declare vnto vs in the ſacrament. For this ſaith S. Auguſtine: Who ſoeuer did vnderſtand Chriſt in the Manna, did eate the ſpirituall foode that we do. But they which by that Manna ſought onely to fill their bellyes, did eate thereof, and are dead. So likewiſe ſayth he of the drinke: For the rocke was Chriſt. And by and by after he inferreth thus: Moſes dyd eate Manna and Phinees alſo, and many other alſo dyd eate therof which pleaſed God, and are not dead. Why? becauſe they did vnderſtand the viſible meate ſpiritually. They did ſpiritually hunger, and did ſpiritually taſte of it, that they might ſpiritually be ſatiſfied. They al did eat the ſame ſpirituall meat, and all did drinke the ſame ſpiritual drinke: al one ſpiritual thing, but not al one corporal matter (for they did eate Manna, and we an other thing) but the ſelfe ſame ſpiritual thing that we doe, and although they dranke the ſame ſpiritual drinke that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we an other: which neuertheles ſignified all one thing in ſpiritual effect. Howe did they drinke al one thing? The Apoſtle anſwereth: Of the ſpiritual rock which folowed them, for the rocke was Chriſt. And Bede alſo adding theſe wordes, ſayth: Beholde the ſignes are altered, and yet the fayth remaineth one. Thereby a man may perceiue that the Manna, which came downe from heauen, was the ſame vnto them, yͭ our Sacrament is vnto vs, and that by eyther of them is ſygnifyed that the body of Chriſt came downe from heauen, & yet notwithſtandyng neuer any of thẽ ſaid, that Manna was the verye bodye of Meſſias, as our Sacramentall bread is not in deede the bodye of Chryſt, but a miſtical repreſentation of the ſame. For lyke as the Manna whyche came downe from heauen, and the bread whych is receyued in the Supper, dothe nouriſh the bodye, euen ſo the body of Chriſt comming downe from heauen, and beynge geuen for vs, doeth quicken vp the ſpirites of the beleeuers vnto lyfe euerlaſtyng. Then if the ſaluation of both people be alyke, and their fayth alſo one, there is no cauſe why wee ſhoulde adde tranſubſtantiation vnto oure Sacrament, more then they beleeued their Manna to bee altered and chaunged. Moreouer, for becauſe they are named Sacramentes euen by the ſignificatyon of the name, they muſt nedes be ſignes of thinges, or els of neceſſitie they can be no Sacraments.

The old fathers did eate the ſame ſpirituall foode that we doe, but not the ſame corporall foode, For they did eate Chriſt in manna, we do eate him in bread.

Bede.

A ſimilitude betweene Manna, and the body of Chriſt.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

Three cauſes why Sacraments are ordayned, Auguſt. contra Fauſtum.

The 2. cauſe.

Sacramentes not to be worſhiped for the thinges.

The third cauſe.

But ſome may here obiect and ſay: If onely fayth, both vnto them & alſo vnto vs, be ſufficient for ſaluation, what need then any ſacraments to be inſtituted? He aunſwered that there are three cauſes why Sacramentes are inſtituted. The firſt S. Auſten declareth in theſe wordes, writing agaynſt Fauſtus: Men (ſayth he) cannot be knit together into one name of religion, be it true, or be it falſe, except they be knit by the ſocietie of ſignes and viſible ſacramẽts the power whereof doth wonderfully preuayle, in ſomuch that ſuch as contemne them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned, without the which godlines cãnot be made perfect. &c. An other cauſe is that they ſhoulde be helpers to grafte and plante fayth in our hartes, and for the confirmation of Gods promiſes. But thys vſe of Sacramentes many are yet ignoraunt of, and more there be whiche doe prepoſterouſly iudge of the ſame, taking the ſignes for the thinge it ſelf, and worſhipping the ſame: euen by like reaſon in a manner, as if a man would take the buſhe that hangeth at the Tauerne dore, and ſucke it for to ſlake hys thirſt, and will not go to the Tauerne where the wyne is. Thirdly, they do ſerue vnto this vſe, to ſtir vp the mindes and hartes of the faythfully to geue thanks vnto God for his benefites. And theſe in a maner are the principall poyntes of hys bookes.

More wryteth agaynſt Iohn Frythe.

Frythe aunſwereth to More.

Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury holpen by the booke of Iohn Frythe.

When More (as is before ſayd) had gotten a copye of this treatiſe, he ſharped his pen all that he might, to make anſwer vnto this yoũg man (for ſo he calleth him through out hys whole booke) but in ſuch ſort, that whẽ the booke was once ſet forth, and ſhewed vnto yͤ worlde, then he endeuoured himſelfe all that he might, to keepe it from printing, peraduenture leaſt that any copye therof ſhould come vnto Frythes handes. But notwithſtanding, when at the laſt Frith had gottẽ a copie therof by meanes of his frẽdes, he aunſwered him out of the priſon, omitting nothing yͭ any man could deſyre to the perfecte & abſolute handlyng of the matter. And as it were a great labour, ſo doe I thinke it not much neceſſarye to repeate all his reaſons and argumentes, or the teſtimonyes which he had gathered out of yͤ Doctors: ſpecially for ſo much as yͤ Archb. of Canterbury Cranmer, in his Apology agaynſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſeemeth to haue collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefeſt helpes from thence that he leaned vnto agaynſte the other: and I doubte muche whether the Archbiſhop euer gaue any more credite vnto any authour of that doctrine, then vnto this aforeſayde Frythe.

What dexteritye of wyt was in him, and excellencye of doctrine, it may appeare, not onely by his books which he wrote of the Sacrament, but alſo in them which he intituled of Purgatory. In the which quarrell he withſtode the violence of three moſt obſtinate enemies, yͭ is to ſay, of Rocheſter, More, and Raſtall, whereof the one by the helpe of the Doctors, the other by wreſting of the ſcripture, and the third by the helpe of naturall philoſophy had conſpired agaynſt him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not agaynſt two onely, but euen with them all three at once, did ſo ouerthrow & confound thē, yͭ he conuerted Raſtall to his part.

Rocheſter, More and Raſtall agaynſt Fryth.

Iohn Fryth conuerted Raſtall.

Beſides all theſe cōmendatiōs of this young man, there was alſo in hym a frendly & prudēt moderatiō in vttering of the truth, ioyned with a learned godlines. Which vertue hath alwayes ſo much preuayled in the Church of Chriſt, that without it all other good giftes of knowledge, be they neuer ſo great, cānot greatly profite, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God that all thinges in all places were ſo free frō al kind of diſſenſion, that there were no mention made amongeſt Chriſtians, of Zuinglians & Lutherians, when as neyther Zuinglius, neyther Luther died for vs, but yͭ we might be al one in Chriſt. Neither do I think yͭ any thing could happen more grieuous vnto thoſe worthy men, then theyr names ſo to be abuſed to ſects and factions, which ſo greatly withſtood and ſtroue agaynſt all factiōs. Neither do I here diſcourſe which part came nearest vnto the truth, neyther ſo raſhly intermedle in thys matter, that I will detract any thing from eyther part, but rather wiſh of God I might ioine either part vnto other.

The prudent temperance and moderation of Iohn Fryth.

But nowe for ſo much as we intreate of the ſtorye of Iohn Frith, I cannot chuſe but muſt needes earneſtly and hartily embrace the prudent and godly moderatiō which was in that man, who mainteyning this quarrell of the Sacrament of the Lords ſupper, no leſſe godly, then learnedly (and ſo as no man in a maner had done it more learnedly (and pithily) yet he did it ſo moderately, wout any cōtention, the he would neuer ſeeme to ſtriue agaynſt yͤ papiſtes, except he had bene driuen to it euē of neceſſitie. In al other matters, where neceſſitie did not moue hym to contend, he was ready to graunt all thinges for quietnes ſake, as hys moſt modeſt reaſons and aunſweres did declare.

For when as More diſputing in a certayne place vpon the Sacrament, layd agaynſt him yͤ authoritie of Doctour Barnes, for the preſence of the body and bloud in yͤ ſacrament, he anſwered vnto More & his companions, that he would promiſe vnder this condition, that yͤ ſentence of Luther & Barnes might be holdē as ratified, he would neuer ſpeake more words of it: for in that poynt they did both agree with him, that yͤ ſacrament was not to be worſhipped, & that Idolatrie being taken away, he was content to permit euery man to iudge of the ſacramēt, as God ſhould put into their harts: for then there remayned no more poiſon, that any man ought or might be afrayd on. Wherefore if they did agree in that which was the chiefe poynt of yͤ ſacrament, they ſhould eaſely accorde & agree in the reſt.

Iohn Frith ſpeaking according to that tyme, wiſhed the opynion of Luther might be receaued.

This muche he wrote in the treatyſe, entituled, The exile of Barnes agaynſt More. Which words of this moſt meeke martyr in Chriſt, if they woulde take place in the ſeditious dyuyſions and factions of theſe our dayes, wyth great eaſe and litle labour men might be brought to a vnitie in this controuerſie, and much more concord and loue ſhould be in the Church, & much leſſe offence geuen abrode then there is.

Moderation commended in matters of diſputation.

But to our ſtory againe of Iohn Frith, who after he had now ſufficiently contended in his wrytinges with More, Rocheſter, and Raſtal Mores ſonne in lawe, he was at the laſt caryed to Lambeth, firſt before the Biſhop of Caunterbury, and afterwarde vnto Croydon, before the Biſhop of Wincheſter to pleade his cauſe. Laſt of all, hee was called before the Byſhoppes in a common aſſemble at London, where as he conſtantly defended himſelfe, if he might haue bene heard.

Iohn Frith conuented before the Byſhops.

The order of his iudgement, with the maner of his examination and articles whiche were obiected againſt him, are compriſed and ſet forth by him ſelfe, in a letter written and ſent vnto his frendes, whileſt he was priſoner in the Tower.

¶ A Letter of Iohn Frith to his frendes, concerning his troubles: wherein after he had firſt with a briefe preface ſaluted them entring then into the matter, thus he writeth.

This letter is to be ſeene in the ende of that excellent & worthy worke which he made in the tower concerning the Sacrament of the bodye and bloud of chriſt.

I Doubt not deare brethē, but that it doth ſome deale vexe you, to ſee the one part haue all the wordes, & freely to ſpeake what they liſt, and the other to be put to ſilence, and nor to be hearde indifferently. But referre your matters to God, which ſhortly ſhal iudge after an other faſhion. In the meane time I haue written vnto you as briefly as I maye, what articles were obiected agaynſte me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that ye might vnderſtand the matter certainely.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two ſpecial articles, that is to ſay, of Purgatory, and of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

Purga

And firſt of all, as touching Purgatorie, they enquired of mee, whether I did beleue there was any place to purge the ſpotts and filthe of the ſoule after this life. But I ſaide that I thought there was no ſuch place. For man (ſaid I) doth conſiſt, and is made onlye of two partes, that is to ſay, of the body and the ſoule, wherof the one is purged here in this world, by the croſſe of Chriſt, which he layeth vpō euery childe that he receiueth: as affliction worldly oppreſsion, perſecution, impriſonment &c. and laſt of all the rewarde of ſinne, which is death, is layde vpon vs: but the ſoule is purged with the worde of God, which we receiue through faith, to the ſaluation both of bodie and ſoule. Now if ye can ſhewe me a third part of men beſide the bodie & the ſoule, I will alſo graūt vnto you the 3. place, which you do call Purgatorie. But ye cā not doo this, I muſt alſo of neceſsitie denie vnto you the Biſhop of Romes Purgatorie. Neuertheleſſe I count neither part a neceſſarie article of our faith, to be beleued vnder paine of damnation, whether there be ſuch a Purgarie or no.

Secondly, they examined me touching the ſacrament of the aultar, whether it was the very bodie of Chriſt, or no.

I anſwered, that I thought it was both Chriſts body & alſo our bodie, as Saint Paule teacheth vs in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our bodie, which being diuers and manye members, are aſſociate and gathered together into one felowſhip or bodie. Likewiſe of the wine which is gathered of many cluſters of grapes, & is made into one licour. But the ſame bread again, in that it is broken, is the bodye of Chriſt, declaringe hys bodye to bee broken and deliuered vnto death, to redeeme vs from our iniquities.

The Sa
mente
Chriſte
bodye.

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is diſtributed, it is Chriſtes bodye, ſignifying that as verilie as the Sacrament is diſtributed vnto vs, ſo verily as Chriſtes body & the fruit of his paſsiō dyſtributed vnto all faythful people.

In that it is receiued, it is Chriſtes bodie, ſignyfying that as verily as the outward man receiueth the ſacrament with his teeth & mouth, ſo verilye dooth the inwarde man through fayth receiue Chriſtes body and fruit of his paſsion, and is as ſure of it, as of the bread which he eateth.

Well (ſaid they) doeſt thou not thinke that his very naturall bode fleſhe, bloud and bone, is really conteyned vnder the Sacramente, and there preſent without all figure or ſimilitude? No, ſaid I, I do not ſo think. Notwithſtanding I would not that any ſhould count, that I make my ſaying (which is the negatiue) anye article of fayth. For euen as I ſay, that you ought not to make any neceſſarie article of the faith of your part (which is the affirmatiue) ſo I ſay againe, that we make no neceſſary article of the fayth of oure part, but leaue it indifferent for all men to iudge therein, as God ſhall open his hart, and no ſide to condemne or deſpiſe the other, but to nouriſh in all thinges brotherly loue, and one to beare an others infirmitie.

Tranſub
tiation.

After this they alleged the place of Saint Auguſtine, where he ſayth: Ferebatur In manibus proprijs. That is to ſay, hee was caryed in his owne handes.

Ferebatur
manibus
proprijs.

Whereunto I aunſweared, that Saynt Auguſtine was a playne Interpreter of hym ſelfe: for he hath in an other place: Ferebatur tanquam in manibus ſuis: That is to ſay, he was caried as it were in his owne handes: which is a phraſe of ſpeache, not of one that doth ſimply affirme, but onely of one expreſſing a thing by a ſimilitude And albeit that Saint Auguſtine had not thus expounded him ſelfe, yet he writing vnto Boniface, doth playnely admoniſh all men, that the Sacraments do repreſent and ſignifie thoſe things whereof they are Sacramentes, and many times euen of the ſimilitudes of the thinges them ſelues they do take their names: and therefore according to this rule it may be ſayd, he was borne in his owne handes, when as he bare in his handes the Sacrament of his body & bloud.

The pla
S. Augu
tine expo
ded.

Auguſtin
ad boni
ciū.

Then they alleaged a place of Chryſoſtome, whiche at the firſt bluſh maye ſeeme to make muche for them: who in a certaine Homilie vppon the Supper wryteth thus: Doeſt thou ſee bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught as other meats doe? No, God forbyd. For as in waxe when it commeth to the fire, nothing of the ſubſtaunce remayneth nor abydeth: ſo lykewiſe thinke that the miſteries are conſumed by the ſubſtaunce of the body &c.

The plac
Chryſo
anſwere

Theſe wordes I expounded by the wordes of the ſame Doctor, which in an other Homilie ſaith on this manner. The inward eies (ſaith he) as ſone as they ſee the bread, they flee ouer al creatures, and doe not thinke of the bread that is baken of the baker, but of the bread of euerlaſting lyfe, whiche is ſignifyed by the myſticall bread. Nowe conferre theſe places together, & you ſhall perceiue that the laſt expoundeth the firſt plainely. For hee ſayeth, Doeſt thou ſee the bread and wine? I aunſwere by the ſecond, nay. For the inwarde eyes as ſoone as they ſee the bread, do paſſe ouer all

Chriſoſtom expoundeth himſelfe.

creatures, and doe not anye longer thinke vpon the breead but vppon hym whiche is ſignified by the bread. And after thys manner he ſeeth it, and agayn he ſeeth it not: for as he ſeeth it with his outwarde and carnall eyes, ſo wyth his inwarde eye he ſeeth it not, that is to ſaye regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not vppon it, but is otherwyſe occupyed. Euen as when we play or doe anye thing els negligently, we commonly are wont to ſay, we ſee not what we do: not that in deede we doe not ſee that whiche we go about but becauſe our minde is fixed on ſome other thynge, and doth not attend vnto that whiche the eyes do ſee.

In lyke manner may it be aunſwered vnto that whiche followeth: Doe they auoyde from thee (ſayth hee) into the draught as other meates doe? I will not ſo ſay. For other meates paſsing through the bowels, after they haue of them ſelues geuen nouriſhment vnto the bodye, be voyded into the draught, but this is a ſpirituall meate, which is receiued by fayth, and nouriſheth both body and ſoule vnto euerlaſting lyfe, neyther is it at anye tyme auoyded as other meates are.

Argumentum ex Chriſoſt. The bellye of man cannot abyde any part of Chriſts body. The bellye of man auoydeth ſome part of euery thing that the mouth receaueth. Ergo, the mouth of man receaueth not the bodye of Chriſt.

And as before I ſayde, that the externall eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes beyng otherwiſe occupyed do not behold or thinke vppon, euen ſo our outward man doth digeſt the bread, and voyde into the draught but the inwarde man doth neyther regard nor thinke vppon it, but thinketh vppon the thinge it ſelfe that is ſignified by that bread. And therefore Chriſoſtome a little before the woordes whiche they alleadged, ſayth: Lifte vp your mynds and hartes. Wherby he admonyſheth vs to look vpon and conſider thoſe heauenly thynges whiche are repreſented and ſignified by the bread and wyne, and not to marke the bread and wyne it ſelfe.

Al miſteries to be ſeene with inward eyes.

Here they ſayde, that was not Chriſoſtomes minde: but that by this example hee declareth that there remayned no bread nor wine. I aunſwered, that was falſe: for the example that he taketh, tendeth to no other purpoſe, but to call away our ſpirituall eyes from the beholdyng of viſible thynges, and to tranſport them an other waye: as if the thynges that are ſeene, were of no force. Therefore he draweth awaye our mynde from the conſideration of theſe thinges, and fixeth it vppon him, whiche is ſignified vnto vs by the ſame. The very woordes whiche followe, ſufficiently declare thys to be the true meaning of the authour, where as he commaundeth vs to conſider all thynges with our inward eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually.

Chriſoſtom agaynſt the popiſh doctrine of the Sacrament.

But whether Chriſoſtomes woordes doe tend eyther to to this or that ſenſe, yet do they indifferētly make on our part agaynſt our aduerſaryes, which way ſo euer we doe vnderſtand them. For if he thought that the bread and wyne doe remayne we haue no further to trauayle: but if he meant contrariwyſe, that they doe not remayne, but that the natures of the bread and wyne are altered, then are the bread and wyne falſely named Sacramentes and myſteryes, whiche can be ſayd in no place to be in the nature of thynges: For that whiche is in no place, howe can it be a Sacrament, or ſupplye the roume of a myſterye? Finally, if hee ſpeake onely of the outwarde fourmes and ſhapes (as we call them) it is moſt certayne that they doe continually remayne, and that they by the ſubſtaunce of the bodye are not conſumed in anye place, wherefore it muſt neceſſarily followe the woordes of Chriſoſtome to be vnderſtanded in ſuche ſenſe as I haue declared.

The obiection of Chriſoſtom auoided by a Dilemma.

A queſtion aſked with the cauſe declared, why that ſeeing the matter of the ſacramēt it ſelfe, importeth neither ſaluation nor damnatyon, why then Frythe offereth himſelfe to death for the ſame.

Here peraduenture many would maruaile, that for ſomuch as the matter touching the ſubſtaunce of the Sacrament, beyng ſeperate from the articles of fayth, and binding no man of neceſsitie eyther vnto ſaluation or damnation, whether hee beleeue it or not, but rather may be left indifferently vnto all men, freely to iudge eyther on the one part or on the other, accordyng to hys owne mynde, ſo that neyther part do contemne or deſpiſe the other, but that all loue and charitie be ſtill holden and kept in this diſſenſion of opinions: what then the cauſe is, why I would therfore ſo willingly ſuffer death. The cauſe why I dye is this, for that I can not agree with the diuines & other head Prelates, that it ſhuld be neceſſarily determined to be an article of fayth, and that we ſhould beleeue vnder payne of damnation, the ſubſtaunce of the bread and wyne to be chaunged into the body and bloud of our ſauioure Ieſus Chriſte, the fourme and ſhape onely not being chaunged. Whiche thing if it were moſt true (as they ſhall neuer be able to proue it by any authority of the Scripture or Doctours) yet ſhall they not ſo bring to paſſe, that that doctrine, were it neuer ſo true, ſhoulde be holden for a neceſſarye article of fayth. For there are many thinges both in the Scriptures and other places, whiche we are not bounde of neceſsitye to beleeue as an article of fayth.

So it is true, that I was a priſoner and in bondes when I wrote theſe thinges, and yet for all that I will not holde it as an article of fayth, * but that you may without daunger or damnation, eyther beleeue it, or thinke the contrarie.

* This is to be weyed with tyme when Frythe wrote.

But as touchinge the cauſe why I cannot affirme the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, diuers reaſons doe leade me thereunto. Firſt, for that I do playnelye ſee it to be falſe and vaine, and not to be grounded vpon anye reaſon, either of the Scriptures, or of approued Doctours.

Three cauſes why tranſubſtātiation is not to be be beleued.

Secondly, for that by my exāple I woulde not be an author vnto Chriſtians to admit any thing as a matter of fayth, more then the neceſſary points of ther Creed, wherein the whole ſumme of oure ſaluation doth conſiſt, ſpecially ſuch thinges, the beliefe whereof haue no certaine argument of authoritie or reaſon.

The 2. cauſe.

I added moreouer, that their Church (as they call it) hath no ſuch power and authoritie, that it eyther ought or maye binde vs vnder the peril of our ſoules, to the beleuing of any ſuch articles.

Thirdlye, becauſe I will not for the fauour of our Diuynes or Prieſtes, be preiudiciall in this poynt, vnto ſo manye nations of Germaines, Heluetians, and other, whiche altogether reiecting the tranſubſtantiation of the bread and wyne into the bolye and bloud of Chriſt, are all of the ſame opinion that I am, as wel thoſe that take Luthers part, as thoſe which holde with Oecolampadius. Which thinges ſtanding in this caſe, I ſuppoſe there is no mā of any vpright conſcience, which will not allow the reaſon of my death, which I am put vnto for this only cauſe, that I do not think tranſubſtantiation, although it were true in deede, to be eſtablyſhed for an article of faith.

The third cauſe.

And thus muche hytherto as touching the articles and whole diſputation of John Frith, whiche was done wyth all moderation and vprightneſſe. But when as no reaſon woulde preuaile againſt the force and crueltie of theſe furious foes, the xx. day of June, in the yeare of oure Lorde, 1533. hee was brought before the Byſhoppes of London, Winchester, and Lincolne, who ſitting in Paules vpō Friday, the xx. day of June, miniſtred certaine interrogatories vpon the Sacrament of the Supper, and Purgatorie, vnto the ſayde Frith, as is aboue declared. To the whiche when he had anſweared & ſhewed his minde in forme and effect, as by his owne wordes aboue doth appeare, hee afterward ſubſcribed to his anſwears with his owne hand, in theſe wordes.

Ego Frithus ita ſentio, & quemadmodum ſentio, ita dixi, ſcripſi, aſſerui, & affirmaui.

That is to ſay.

I Frith thus doe thinke, and as I thinke, ſo haue I ſayde, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my bookes haue publiſhed.

The ſubſcriptiō of Iohn Fryth.

But when as by no meanes he coulde bee perſwaded to recant theſe articles aforeſaid, neither be brought to beleue that the ſacrament is an article of faith, but ſaid, Fiat Iudicium & iuſtitia: **he was condemned by the Biſhop of London to be burned, and ſentence geuen agaynſt him: the tenour whereof here enſueth.**

Iohn Fryth condemned.

The ſentence geuen againſt Iohn Frith.

In the name of God, Amen. We John by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of London, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly fauour by authoritie and vertue of our office, againſt thee John Frith, of our iuriſdictiō, before vs perſonally here preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlaundered of hereſie, hauinge hearde, ſeene, and vnderſtande, and with diligent deliberation wayed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merites of the cauſe, all thinges being obſerued which by vs in this behalfe, by order of law ought to be obſerued, ſittyng in our iudgement ſeate, the name of Chriſt being firſt called vppon, and hauing * God onely before our eyes, becauſe by yͤ actes enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine owne confeſſion iudicially made before vs, we do finde that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended dyuers errours and hereſies, and damnable opinions, contrarie to the doctrine and determinatiō of the holy Church, and ſpecially agaynſt the reuerende Sacrament, and albeit that we following the example of Chriſt, which woulde not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould conuert and lyue, **haue oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by al lawfull meanes that we coulde, and moſte wholeſome admonitions that we did knowe, to reduce thee againe to yͤ true fayth, and the vnitie of the vniuerſall Catholique Churche, notwithſtanding wee haue founde thee obſtinate and ſtiffe necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions & hereſies, and refuſing to returne againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the holy mother Church, and as the childe of wickedneſſe and darkeneſſe, ſo to haue hardened thy harte that**

Sentence againſt Iohn Frythe.

* As they had which crucified Chriſt.

that thou wylt not vnderſtande the voyce of thy ſheapeheard, which with a fatherly affection doth ſeeke after thee, nor wilt not be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions. We therefore Iohn the Biſhop aforeſaid, not willyng that thou whiche arte wicked, ſhouldeſt become more wicked, and infecte the Lordes flocke wyth thy hereſye, which we are greatly afrayde of, do iudge thee, and definitiuely condemne thee, the ſayde Iohn Frith, thy demerites and faultes beyng aggrauate through thy damnable obſtinacie, as gyltie of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate vnpenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to returne to yͤ lappe and vnitie of the holy mother Church, and that thou haſte bene, and arte by Lawe excommunicate, and pronounce and declare thee to be an excōmunicate perſon: alſo wee pronounce and declare thee to bee an heretique to be caſt out from the Church, and left vnto the iudgement of the ſecular power, and nowe preſentlye ſo do leaue thee vnto the ſecular power, and their iudgement, moſte earneſtly requiring them in the bowels of our Lorde Ieſus Chryſt, that this execution and puniſhment worthily to be done vppon thee, maye ſo bee moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleneſſe too muche mitigated, but that it may bee to the ſaluation of thy ſoule, to the extirpation, terrour, and conuerſion of heretiques, to the vnitie of the Catholique fayth, by this our ſentence definitiue or finall decree, which we here promulgate in this fourme aforeſayde.

Moderation pretended but none ſhewed.

Iohn Fryth deliuered to the ſecular handes.

This ſentence thus readde, the Byſhop of London directed hys letter to Syr Steuen Pecocke, Mayor of London, and the Sheriffes of the ſame Citie, for the receyuyng of the foreſayde Iohn Frith into their charge. Who being ſo deliuered ouer vnto them the fourth daye of Iulie, in the yeare aforeſayde, was by them caryed into Smithfield to be burned, and when he was tyed vnto the ſtake, there it ſufficiently appeared with what conſtancye and courage he ſuffered death: for when as the fagots and fire were put vnto hym, hee willingly embraced the ſame, therby declaring with what vprightneſſe of mynde he ſuffered hys death for Chriſtes ſake, and the true doctryne, whereof that daye hee gaue with his bloud, a perfect and firme teſtimonie. The wynde made hys death ſomewhat the more longer, which bare away the flame from him vnto his felowe that was tyed to his backe: but hee had eſtabliſhed hys minde with ſuch pacience, God geuinge hym ſtrength, that euen as though he had felt no paine in that long torment, he ſeemed rather to reioyce for his felow, thē to be careful for himſelfe.

The conſtant death of Iohn Fryth.

This truely is the power and ſtrength of Chriſt, ſtryuing & vanquiſhing in his Saintes: who ſanctifye vs together with them, and direct vs in all thinges to the glory of his holy name. Amen.

This day before the burning of theſe worthye men of God, the Biſhop of London certified king Henry the eight of his worthy, ye rather wooluiſh proceeding againſt theſe men: the tenour whereof, for as muche as it proceedeth as the other do before, we therefore omit it, referryng the reader to the ſame.

¶ Andrewe Hewet burned with Maiſter Frith.

Andrew Hewet, Martyr.

Anno. 1533.

Andrew Hewet, apprehended.

The man that gaue him this file was Valentine Freeſe the Painters brother, who was afterward with his wyfe burned in Yorke.

ANdrewe Hewet borne in Feuerſham, in the county of Kent, a yong man of the age of foure and twenty yeres, was apprentiſe with one maiſter Warren Taylor, in Watlyng ſtreete. And as it happened that hee went vppon a holy daye into Fleete ſtreate, towarde Saint Dunſtanes, he met with one William Holt, which was foreman with the kyngs Taylour at that preſent, called maiſter Malte: and beynge ſuſpected by the ſame Holt, (which was a diſſemblyng wretche) to be one that fauoured the Goſpel, after a litle talke had with hym, he went into an honeſt houſe about Fleete Bridge, whiche was a bookeſellers houſe. Then Holt thynking he had founde good occaſion to ſhew forth ſome fruit of his wickedneſſe, ſent for certaine offycers, and ſearched the houſe, & fyndinge the ſame Andrew, apprehended hym, and caryed hym to the Byſhops houſe, where he was caſt into yrons, and being there a good ſpace by the meanes of a certaine honeſt man, he had a File conueyed vnto hym, wherewith he fyled of his yrons, & when he ſpyed his tyme, he got out of the gate. But being a man vnſkilfull to hyde hym ſelfe, for lacke of good acquaintance he went into Smythfielde, and there mette with one Wythers, which was an hypocrite as Holt was, which Wythers vnderſtandynge howe he had eſcaped, and that hee knewe not whyther to goe, pretendyng a faire countenāce vnto hym, willed hym to go wyth him, promyſing that he ſhoulde bee prouyded for, and ſo kept hym in the countrey where he had to do, from Lowe Sunday til Whitſuntide, and then brought him to London, to yͤ houſe of one Iohn Chapman in Hoſier lane beſide Smithfielde, and there left him by the ſpace of two dayes.

Iohn C man.

W. Ho playeth Iudas.

Then he came to the ſayde Chapmans houſe againe, and brought Holt with hym. And when they mette wyth the ſayde Andrewe, they ſeemed as though they meant to doe hym verye much good: and Holt for hys part ſayd, that if he ſhould bryng any man in trouble (as the voyce was that he had done the ſayde Andrewe) it were pitie but that the earth ſhould open and ſwalow him vp: in ſo much that they would needes ſup there that night, & prepared meate of their owne charges. At nyght they came & brought certaine geaſts with them, becauſe they would haue the matter to ſeeme as though it had come out by others. When they had ſupped, they went their way, and Holt tooke out of his purſe two groates, and gaue them to the ſayde Andrewe, and embraced him in hys armes. As they were gone out, there came in one Iohn Tibaulde, whiche was baniſhed from his own houſe by an Iniunction, for he had bene foure times in priſon for Chriſtes Cauſe. And within an houre after that Holt and Wythers were gone, the Biſhoppes Chauncelour, and one called Sergeaunt Weuer came and brought with them the watche, and ſearched the houſe, where they founde the ſayde Iohn Chapman and the forenamed Andrewe, and Iohn Tibalde, whom they bounde wyth ropes, which Sergeaunt Weuer had brought with hym, and ſo caryed them vnto the Biſhops houſe: but Andrewe Hewet they ſent vnto the Lollardes Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibaulde aſunder, watched with two Prieſtes ſeruauntes. The next daye Byſhop Stokeſley came from Fulham, and after they were examined wyth a fewe threatnynge wordes, Chapman was commytted to the ſtockes with this threate, that hee ſhoulde tell an other tale, or els he ſhoulde ſitte there tyll hys heeles dyd droppe from hys arſe, and Tibaulde was ſhutte vp in a cloſe chamber, but by Gods prouiſyon hee was well deliuered oute of pryſon: albeit hee coulde not enioy hys houſe and lande, becauſe of the Biſhoppes Iniunction, but was fayne to ſell all that he had in Eſſex, for the tenour of hys Iniūction was, that he ſhould not come wythin ſeuen myles of hys owne houſe, and the foreſayde Chapman, after fiue weekes impriſonment (whereof three weekes he ſate in the ſtockes) by much ſuit made vnto the Lorde Chauncelour, whiche at that tyme was Lord Audley, after many threatnyngs was deliuered: but the ſayde Andrew Hewet after long & cruel impriſonment, was cōdemned to death, & burned with Iohn Frith: whoſe examination here foloweth.

Iohn Ty bauld times in bandes Chriſt.

Andrewe Hewet a gayne ta

Chapmā the ſtoc

Tibauld ioyned, to come within 7. myle of houſe.

Andrewe Hewet brought examined before the Biſhop.

The twentie day of the moneth of Aprill, Andrew Hewet was brought before the Chauncelour of London, where was obiected agaynſt hym, that hee beleeued the Sacrament of the aultar after the conſecration, to bee but a ſignification of the bodye of Chryſt, and that the hoſt cōſecrated was not the verye bodye of Chriſte. Nowe for ſo muche as thys article ſeemed haynous vnto them, theye woulde do nothynge in it without the conſent of learned counſayle. Whereupon the Byſhoppe of London, aſſociate with the Byſhops of Lincolne and Wincheſter, called him agayne before him. Where he being demaunded what hee thought as touchyng the Sacrament of the laſt Supper, aunſweared: euen as Iohn Frith doth. Then ſayd one of the Biſhoppes vnto hym: doſt thou not beleeue that it is reallie the bodye of Chriſte, borne of the virgin Marye? So (ſayth he) do not I beleue. Why not, ſayd the Biſhop? Becauſe (ſaith he) Chriſt cōmaunded me, not to geue credit raſhly vnto al mē, which ſaith: Behold here is Chriſt, & there is Chriſt, for many falſe prophets ſhal riſe vp, ſaith the Lorde.

Chriſt not to be beleeued to be really in Sacrament.

Hewet ned with Iohn Fry

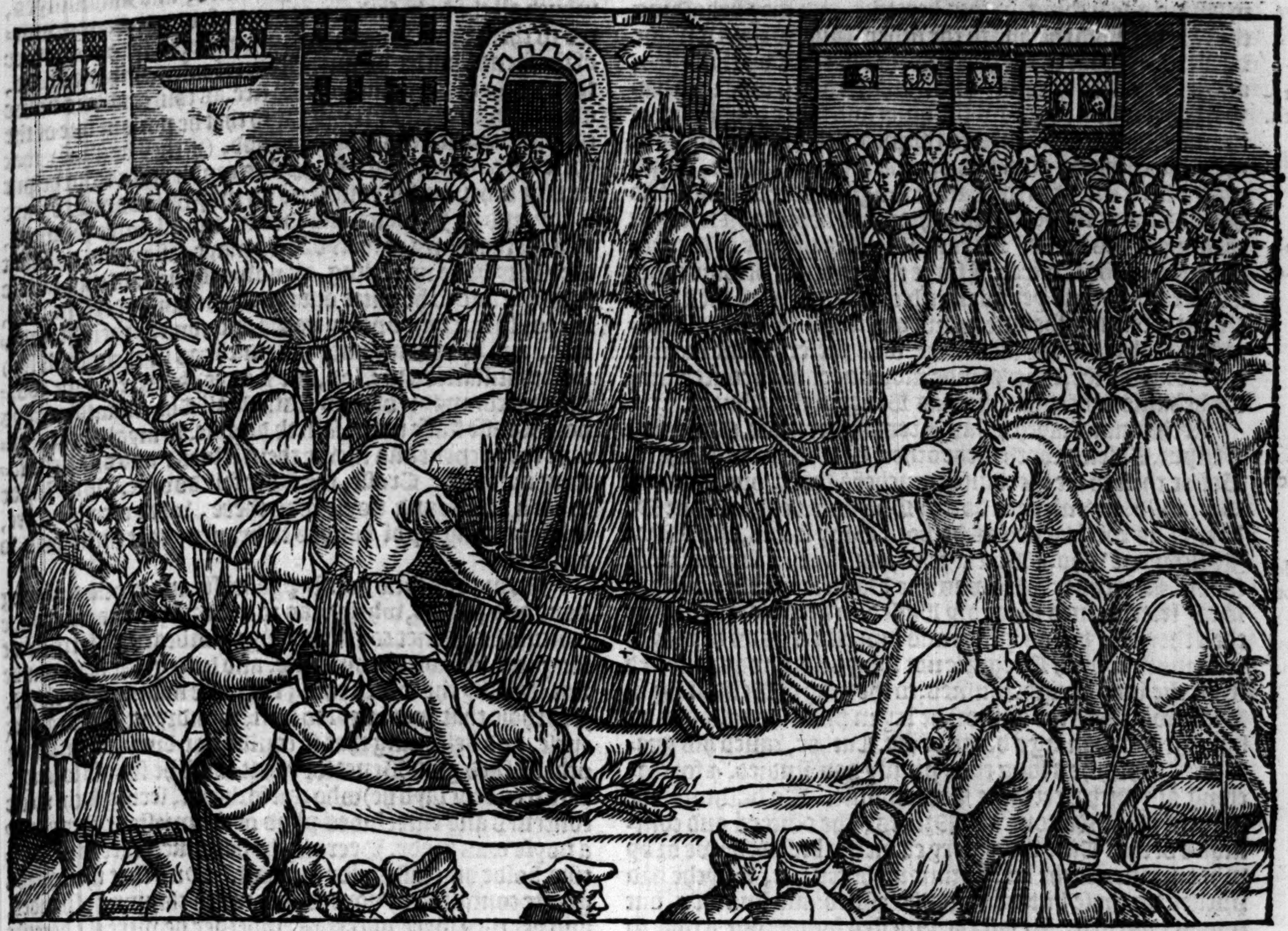
Hewet ſtant in Fayth.

Hewet deth with Iohn Fry

Then certayne of the Biſhoppes ſmyled at him, and Stokeſley the Biſhop of London ſayd: Why, Fryth is an heretique, and already iudged to bee burned, & except thou reuoke thyne opiniō, thou ſhalt be burned alſo wyth him. Truelye (ſayth hee) I am contented therewithall. Then the Biſhop aſked him if hee woulde forſake hys opinions, whereunto he anſweared, that he would do as Frith did. Whereupon he was ſent vnto the priſon to Frith, and afterwarde they were caryed together to the fire. The Byſhops vſed many perſwaſions to allure this good man frō the truth, to folow them: but he manfully perſiſting in the truth, would not recant. Wherfore the fourth day of Iuly at afternoone, he was caryed into Smythfilde with Frith, and there burned. When they were at yͤ ſtake, one Doctor Cooke a perſon in London, openly admoniſhed al the people, that they ſhould in no wiſe pray for them, no more thē they woulde doe for a dogge. At which wordes Fryth

smiling,

The burning of Iohn Frith, and Andrewe Hewet.



ſmiling, deſired the Lord to forgeue him. Theſe hys wordes did not a litle moue the people vnto anger, and not without good cauſe. Thus theſe two bleſſed Martyrs committed their ſoules into the handes of God.

The Hiſtorie of the perſecution and death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter, collected and teſtified by Iohn Vowel, alias Hoker.

Tho. Benet, of Excester, Martyr.

Tho. Benet. comming from Cambridge to Deuoſhyre.

Benet came to Exeter.

W. Strowde priſoned in Exeter for Gods word.

Thys Thomas Benet was borne in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the Vniuerſitie, there made mayſter of Arte, and (as ſome thinke) was alſo a Prieſt, a man doubtles very wel learned, and of a godly diſpoſition, being of the acquaintaunce and familiaritie of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious Martyr of Chriſte. Thys man, the more he did grow and encreaſe in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did miſlike and abhorre the corrupte ſtate of religion then vſed, and therefore thinking his owne countrey to be no ſafe place for hym to remaine in, and being deſirous to liue in more freedome of conſcience, he did forſake the Vniuerſitie, and went into Deuonſhire, in the yeare of our Lord. 1524. and firſt dwelled in a market towne named Torriton, both towne and countrey being to him altogether vnknowen, as hee alſo was vnknowen to al men there. Where for yͤ better maintenaunce of himſelfe and his wife, hee did practiſe to teache yong children, and kept a ſchole for the ſame purpoſe. But that Towne not ſeruing hys expectation, after hys aboade one yeare there, hee came to the citie of Exceter, and there hyring an houſe in a ſtreate called the Bocher rowe, did exerciſe the teaching of children, and by that meanes ſuſtayned his wife and familie. Hee was of a quiet behauiour, of a godly conuerſation, and a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offenſiue to no body. Hys greateſt delight was to be at all Sermones and preachings, whereof he was a diligẽt and an attentiue hearer. The time which he had to ſpare from teaching, he gaue wholely to his priuate ſtudie in the Scriptures, hauing no dealings nor cõferences wyth any body, ſauing with ſuche as hee coulde learne and vnderſtand to be fauourers of the Goſpell, and zelous of Gods true religion: of ſuche he would be inquiſitiue and moſt deſirous to ioyne him ſelfe vnto them. And therefore vnderſtandinge that one William Strowde of Newnham, in the Countie of Deuonſhire Eſquier, was committed to the Biſhops priſon in Exceter, vpon ſuſpition of hereſie, although he were neuer before acquainted to him, yet did he ſende his letters of comfort and conſolation vnto him. Wherein, to auoide all ſuſpition which myghte be conceiued of him, he did diſcloſe him ſelf, and vtter what he was, and the cauſes of hys being in the Countrey, wrytyng among other things theſe wordes: Vt ne ſcortator aut immundus eſſem, vxorem duxi, cum qua hiſce ſex annis, ab iſtorũ Antichriſtianorum manibus in deuonia latitaui. That is to ſay, becauſe I woulde not be a whoremonger, or an vncleane perſon, therefore I maried a wife, with whom I haue hidden my ſelfe in Deuonſhire, from the tyrannie of the Antichriſtians, theſe 6. yeares.

Benet why he maryed.

Antichriſtians are thoſe which are againſt Chriſt.

The godly zeale of Tho. Benet.

The Pope is Antichriſt.

But as euery tree and Hearbe hath hys due time to bryng forth his fruite, ſo did it appeare by thys man. For he daily ſeeing the glorye of God to be ſo blaſphemed, idolatrous religion ſo embraced and maintained, & that moſt falſe vſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome ſo extolled, was ſo greeued in conſcience, and troubled in his ſpirite, that he could not be quiet till he did vtter his minde therein. Wherefore dealing priuately with certaine of his frendes, he did plainely open and diſcloſe howe blaſphemouſly and abhominably God was diſhonoured, his worde contemned, and hys people whom he ſo dearely bought, were by blinde guides caried headlong to euerlaſting damnation, and therefore hee coulde no longer endure, but muſte needes and would vtter theyr abhominations, and for his owne parte, for the teſtimonie of his conſcience, and for the defence of Gods true religion, would yeelde hymſelf moſte patiently (as neare as God woulde geue him grace) to die and to ſhedde hys bloude therein, alleaging that his death ſhoulde be more profitable to the Churche of God, and for the edifying of his people, then his life ſhuld be. To whoſe perſwaſions when hys friendes had yeelded, they promyſed to pray to God for hym, that hee myght be ſtrong in the cauſe, and continue a faithfull ſouldiour to the ende. Which done, he gaue order for the beſtowing of ſuch bookes as he had, and very ſhortlye after, in the moneth of October, hee wrote his minde in certaine ſcrolles of Paper, whyche in ſecreate maner he ſet vp vpon the dores of the Cathedrall churche of the Citie, in which was wrytten: The Pope is Antichriſt, and we ought to worſhippe God onely, and no Saintes.

Benet ſetteth vp billes againſt the Pope.

Theſe bils being found, there was no ſmal adoe, and no litle ſearch made for the inquiry of the heretike that ſhould ſet vp theſe bils: and the Maior & his officers were not ſo buſie to make ſearches to find this heretike, but the biſhop and all his doctors were as hote as coales, & enkindled as though they had bene ſtong with a ſort of waſpes. Wherefore to kepe yͤ people in their former blindnes, order was taken that the doctors ſhould in haſt vp to the pulpit euery day, and confute this hereſie. Neuertheleſſe this Thom.

Benet almoſt taken in the church.

keping his own doings in ſecret, went the ſonday folowing to the cathedral church to the Sermon, and by chaunce ſate downe by 2. men, which were the buſieſt in al the city, in ſeking & ſearching for this heretike, and they beholding this Benet, ſayd the one to the other. Surely thys fellowe by all likelyhoode is the heretike that hath ſet vp the billes, and it is good to examine him. Neuertheles whē they had wel behelde him, and ſaw the quiet and ſober behauiour of the man, his attentiuenes to the preacher, his godlineſſe in the Church, being alwayes occupied in hys Booke, which was a Teſtament in the Latine tongue, were aſtonied and had no power to ſpeake vnto him, but departed & left hym reading in his booke. As touching this poynte of Benets behauior in the Church, I finde the reportes of ſome other a litle to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiuing the letters and wrytings of a certain miniſter, whych at the ſame time was preſent at the doynge hereof in Exeter, thus I finde moreouer added concerning the behauiour of this Thomas Benet in the Church.

The ſtoryes a little vary touching the taking of Benet.

Doctors & friers in Exeter.

Gregory Baſſed Fryer of Exeter.

At that time (ſayth he) as I remember, doct. Moreman Criſpin, Caſeley wyth ſuche other, bare the ſwinge there. Beſide theſe were there alſo preachers there, one Doctour Baſcauild, an vnlerned doctor God knoweth, and one D. Dauid, as wel learned as he, both Gray friers, and doctor I know not who, a Blacke frier, not much inferiour vnto them. Moreouer there was one Bacheler of Diuinitie, a Gray frier, named Gregory Baſſed, in deede learned more then they all, but as blinde and ſuperſtitious as he whych was moſt. Whych Gregorie not long before, was reuolted from the way of righteouſnes, to the way of Beliall: for in Briſtowe (ſayth the author) he lay in priſon long, & almoſt famiſhed, for hauing a booke of M. Luther, called his queſtions, which he a long time priuily had ſtudied, & for teaching of youth a certaine Catechiſme. To be ſhorte, the braines of the Canons and Prieſts, the officers and commons of that Citie were very earneſtly buſied, howe or by what meanes ſuche an enormious heretique, whyche had pricked vp thoſe billes, might be eſpied and knowen, but it was long firſt. At laſt the Prieſtes founde out a toye to curſe him what ſoeuer he were, with booke, bel and candle, which curſe at that day ſeemed moſt fearefull and terrible. The maner of the curſe was after this ſort.

The prieſtes curſe they cannot tell whom.

One of the Prieſtes, apparelled all in white, aſcended vp into the pulpit. The other rabblement, wyth certaine of the two orders of Friers, and certaine ſuperſtitious Monks of S. Nicholas houſe ſtanding round about, and the Croſſe (as the cuſtome was) being holdē vp, with holy candles of waxe fixed to the ſame, he began his ſermon wͭ this Theame of Ioſue: Eſt blaſphemia in Caſtris. There is blaſphemie in the armie: and ſo made a long proteſtation, but not ſo long as tedious and ſuperſtitious, and ſo concluded, that that foule and abominable heretike, which had put vp ſuch blaſphemous billes, was for that his blaſphemie, damnably accurſed, and beſought God, our Lady, S. Peter Patrone of that church, with all the holy companie of martyrs, confeſſors, and virgines, that it might be knowen what hereticke had put vp ſuch blaſphemous billes, that Gods people might auoide the vengeance.

The manner of the popes blacke curſe, with booke, bell, and candle.

Here is colde charitye.

Bleſſe, and curſe not, ſaith the Lorde, Curſe, & bleſſe not, ſaith the Pope.

The maner of the curſing of the ſayd Benet was maruelous to beholde, for as muche as at that time there was fewe or none, vnleſſe a Sherman or two (whoſe houſes I well remember were ſearched for billes at that time, and for bookes) that knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doeth bleſſe theyr curſes in ſuch caſes. Then ſayde the Prelate, by the authoritie of God the father almighty, and of the bleſſed virgin Mary, of S. Peter and Paule, and of the holy Saints, we excommunicate, we vtterly curſe and banne, commit and deliuer to the deuill of hell, him or her, what ſoeuer he or ſhee be, that haue in ſpite of God and of S. Peter, whoſe church this is, in ſpite of all holy ſaintes, and in ſpite of our moſt holy father the Pope Gods vicare heere in earth, and in ſpite of the reuerend father in God, Iohn our Dioceſane, and the worſhipfull Canons, Maiſters, and Prieſtes, and Clarkes, which ſerue God daily in this Cathedrall Church, fixed vppe with waxe ſuch curſed and hereticall Billes full of blaſphemie, vppon the doores of thys and other holy Churches wythin this Citie. Excommunicate plainely be hee or ſhee plenally, or they and deliuered ouer to the deuill, as perpetuall malefactors and ſchiſmatiques. Accurſed might they be, and geuen body & ſoule to the deuill. Curſed be they, he, or ſhee in Cities and townes, in fieldes, in wayes, in pathes, in houſes, out of houſes, and in all other places, ſtanding, lying, or riſinge, walking, running, waking, ſleeping, eating, drinking, and what ſo euer thing they doe beſides. Wee ſeparate them, him, or her, from the threſholde, and from all the good praiers of the church, from the participation of the holy maſſe, from all Sacraments, Chappels, and aultars, from holye bread, and holy water, from al ẏ merites of Gods prieſts, and religious men, and from all their Cloiſters, from all their pardones, priuileges, grauntes, and immunityes, whych all the holy fathers Popes of Rome haue graunted to them: and we geue them ouer vtterly to the power of the feend, and let vs quench their ſoules, if they be dead, thys night in the paines of hell fire, as this candle is nowe quenched, and put out (and wyth that he put out one of the candles) and lette vs praye to God, (if they be aliue) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is) ſo he put out the other candle) and lette vs pray to God and to oure Lady, and to S. Peter and Paule, and all holye Saintes, that all the ſenſes of their bodies maye faile them, and that they may haue no feeling, as nowe the light of this candle is gone (and ſo he putte out the thirde candle) except they, hee, or ſhee, come openly nowe and confeſſe their blaſphemie, and by repentaunce (as muche as in them ſhall lye) make ſatiſfaction to God, our Ladye, S. Peter, & the worſhipfull companie of thys Cathedrall Church, and as thys holy Croſſe ſtaffe nowe falleth downe, ſo myghte they, except they repent and ſhewe them ſelues: and one firſte taking away the Croſſe, the ſtaffe fell downe. But Lorde what a ſhoute and noyſe was there, what terrible feare, what holding vp of handes to heauen, that curſſe was ſo terrible.

Marke th apiſhe pa geantes of theſe Pa linges.

Tho. Be laughed their cu ſinge.

Tho. Be fetteth vp newe bil

Tho. Be taken by meanes of his boy ſet ting vp his Billes.

Now thys fond fooliſh phantaſie and mockerie beyng done and played, which was to a Chriſtian heart a thynge ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbear, but fel to great laughter, but within him ſelfe, and for a great ſpace coulde not ceaſe: by the which thing the poore manne was eſpyed. For thoſe that were next to him, wondryng at that greate curſe, and beleeuing that it coulde not but light on one or other, aſked good Benet for what cauſe he ſhould ſo laugh. My frendes (ſayd he) who can forbeare, ſeeing ſuche merie conceites and enterludes plaid of the prieſtes? Straitway a noyſe was made, Heere is the heretike, heere is the heretike, holde him faſt, holde him faſt. With that there was a greate confuſion of voyces, and much clapping of handes, and yet they were vncertain whether he were the heretike or no. Some ſay, that vppon the ſame he was taken and apprehended. Other report, that his ennemies being vncertaine of him, departed, and ſo he wēt home to his houſe. Where hee being not able to digeſt the lies there preached, renewed his former billes, and cauſed his boy early in the morning following, to ſet the ſayd billes vpon the gates of the Churchyarde. As the boy was ſetting one of the ſayde billes vpon a gate called the little ſtile, it chaunced that one W. S. going to the Cathedral church to heare a Maſſe called Bartons Maſſe, whych was then daily ſayd about 5. of the clocke in the morning, founde the boye at the gate, and aſking him whoſe boy he was, did charge him to be the heretike, which had ſet vp the billes vpon the gates, wherefore pulling downe the bill, he broughte the ſame together with the boy before the Maior of the citie, and thereuppon Benet being knowen and taken, was violently committed to warde.

Tho. Be willingly confeſſeth.

The cauſe why Benet ſet vp his billes.

On the morow began both the Canons and heades of the citie ioyned wͭ them, to fal to examination. With whom for ẏ day he had not much communication, but confeſſed & ſaid to them, it was euen I that put vp thoſe bils, and if it were to doe, I would yet doe it againe, for in them haue I written nothing but that is very truth. Couldſte not thou (ſaid they) as well haue declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting vp billes of blaſphemie? No (ſayd he) I put vp the billes that many ſhould read and heare what abominable blaſphemers ye are, and that they might the better knowe your Antichriſt the Pope to be the Bore out of the woode, which deſtroyeth & throweth downe the hedges of Gods church, for if I had ben heard to ſpeake but one worde, I ſhould haue bene clapped faſt in priſone, and the matter of God hidden. But now I truſt more of your blaſphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light, for God will ſo haue it, and no longer will ſuffer you.

Tho. Benet ſent to the Byſhops priſon.

Articles layd ag Benet.

The next day after he was ſent vnto the biſh. who firſt cōmitted him vnto priſon called the biſhops priſon, where he was kept in ſtocks & ſtrong yron, with as much fauour as a dog ſhuld find. Then the B. aſſociating vnto him one D. Brewer his chancelor, & other of his leude cleargy and friers, began to examine him & burden him, that cōtrary to the catholike faith, he denied praying to the ſaints, and alſo denied ẏ ſupremacie of the Pope. Whereunto he anſwered in ſuch ſober maner, & ſo learnedly proued & defended hys aſſertions, that he did not only confound and put to ſilence his aduerſaries, but alſo brought thē in great admiratiō of him, the moſt part hauing pitie & compaſſion on him. The friers tooke great paines with him, to perſwade hym from his erronious opiniōs, to recant & acknowledge his fault touching the billes, but they did but dig after day, for God had appoynted him to bee a bleſſed witneſſe of hys holye name, and to be at defiance withall their falſ perſwaſions.

Greg. Baſſet priſoned at Briſtowe.

Greg. Baſſet compelled by the Friers to recant.

To declare here with what crueltye the officers ſearched his houſe for bils and bookes, how cruelly and ſhamefully they handled his wife, charging her wᵗ diuers enormities, it were too long to write. But ſhe like a good woman tooke all thyngs patiently that they did to her: like as in other things ſhe was contented to beare the croſſe with hym, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to liue wyth courſe meate and drinke, that they myght be the more able ſomewhat to help the poore, as they did to the vttermoſt of their power. Amongſt all other prieſtes and Friers, Gregory Baſſet was moſt buſie with him. This Gregorie Baſſet, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleaſant tongue, and not long before, was faln from the truth, for the which hee was priſoned in Briſtowe long time, at whoſe examinatiō was ordeined a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren (as report went abroad) menaced him to burne his hands of, whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterward a mortall enemie to the truth al his life. This Gregorie (as it is ſayde) was feruent wyth the poore man, to pleaſe the Canons of that Churche, and marueilouſly tormented his braines, howe to turne hym from his opinions, yea and he was ſo diligent and feruent with him, that he wold not depart the priſon, but lay there night and day, who notwythſtanding loſte his labour: for good Benet was at a poynt not to deny Chriſt before men. So Gregory, as wel as yͤ other holy fathers, loſt his ſpurres, in ſo much that hee ſayde in open audience, that there was neuer ſo obſtinate an heretike.

Greg. Baſſet buſie agaynſt Tho. Benet.

The matter betweene Baſſet and Tho. Benet.

The principal poynt betweene Baſſet & hym, was touching the ſupremacie of the B. of Rome, whom in his bils he named Antichriſte, the thiefe, the mercenary, & the murtherer of Chriſtes flocke: and theſe diſputations laſted about 8. daies, where at ſundry times repaired to hym both the blacke and gray Friers, with prieſtes and Monkes of that Citie. They that had ſome learning, perſwaded hym to beleue the Church, and ſhewed by what tokens ſhee is knowen. The other vnlearned railed, & ſaid that the deuil tēpted him, and ſpit vpon him, calling him hereticke: who praied God to geue them a better mind, & to forgeue them: For (ſaide he) I will rather die, then worſhip ſuch a beaſt, the very whore of Babylon, and a falſe vſurper, as manifeſtly it doeth appeare by his doings. They aſked what he did, that he had not power and authority to do, being gods vicar? He doth (quoth he) ſell the ſacraments of the Church for mony, he ſelleth remiſſiō of ſinnes daily for mony, and ſo doe you likewiſe: for there is no day but yee ſay diuers Maſſes for ſoules in fained Purgatorie, yea, and yee ſpare not to make lying ſermons to yͤ people, to maintaine your falſe traditions and foule gaines. The whole worlde doth begin now to note your doings, to your vtter confuſion & ſhame. The ſhame (ſaide they) ſhalbe to thee and to ſuch as thou art, thou foule heretike. Wilt thou allowe nothyng done in holy Church? what a peruerſe heretike art thou? I am (ſayde he) no heretike, but a Chriſtian man, I thanke Chriſt, and with all my heart will allow all things done & vſed in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my ſoule: but I ſee nothing in your church, but that maintaineth the deuil. What is our church, ſayd they? It is not my church (quoth Benet) God geue me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plaine church of Antichriſt, the malignant church, the ſecond church, a denne of theeues, an awmry of poyſon, and as farre wide from the true vniuerſall & Apoſtolike churche, as heauen is diſtant from the earth.

Rayling agaynſt Benet.

The abuſes of the pope noted.

Selling of ſoules.

The popes Churche paynted in her colours.

Doſt not thou thinke (ſayde they) that we pertaine to the vniuerſal church? Yes (quoth he) but as dead mēbers, vnto whom the church is not beneficial, for your workes are the deuiſes of man, and your Church a weake foundation, for ye ſay & preach, yͭ the popes word is equall with Gods word in euery degree. Why (ſayd they) did not Chriſt ſay to Peter, To thee I will geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen? He ſaid that (quoth he) to al, as wel as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority geuen him then they, or els yͤ churches planted in euery kingdom by theyr preaching, are no churches. Doth not S. Paul ſay, Vpon the foundations of the apoſtles and prophets? Therefore I ſay plainly, that the church that is built vpon a mā, is the deuils church or congregation, & not Gods. And as euery Church this day is appoynted to be ruled by a biſhop or paſtor, ordeined by yͤ word of God in preaching & miniſtration of the ſacramēts vnder the prince the ſupreme gouernor vnder God: ſo to ſay, yͭ all the churches with their princes & gouernours be ſubiect to one biſhop, is deteſtable hereſie; & the pope your God chalenging this power to himſelfe, is the greateſt ſchiſmatike that euer was in the church, & moſt foul whore of whom Iohn in the Reuelation ſpeaketh.

The keyes not onely geuen to Peter but to all the Apoſtles.

The church builded vpon man, is the deuils Churche.

The Whore of Babilon.

O thou blinde & vnlearned foole (ſaid they) is not yͤ confeſſion & conſent of all the world as we confeſſe & conſent, yͭ the popes holines is the ſupreme head & vicar of Chriſt? That is (ſaide Benet) becauſe they are blinded & know not the ſcriptures, but if God wold of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his falſe ſupremacie would ſone decay. We thinke (ſaid they) thou art ſo malitious that thou wilt cōfeſſe no church. Loke (ſaide he) where they are that confeſſe the true name of Ieſu Chriſte, & where onely Chriſt is yͤ head, & vnder him the prince of the realm, to order al biſhops, miniſters, & preachers, and to ſee them doe their dueties in ſetting forth the only glory of God by preaching the worde of God, & where it is preached that Chriſt is our only aduocate, mediator, & patrone before God hys father, making interceſſion for vs, and where the true faith and confidence in Chriſtes death and paſſion, and his only merites and deſeruings are extolled, & our owne depreſſed, where the ſacrament is duly wᵗout ſuperſtition or idolatry adminiſtred in remembrance of his bleſſed paſſion and only ſacrifice vpon the croſſe once for all, and where no ſuperſtition raigneth, of that Church wil I be.

Conſent of the worlde.

Where the true Church is.

Doth not the Pope (ſayd they) confeſſe the true Goſpel? do not we all the ſame? Yes (ſayde he) but ye denie the frutes thereof in euery poynt. Yee builde vpon the ſands, not vppon the rocke. And wilt thou not beleeue in deede (ſayd they) that the pope is Gods vicare? No (ſayd he) in deede. And why, ſayde they? Becauſe (quoth hee) hee vſurpeth a power not geuen him of Chriſt, no more then to other Apoſtles, and alſo becauſe he doeth by force of that vſurped ſupremacie, blinde the whole world, and doeth contrary to all that euer Chriſt ordained or commaunded. What, ſayde they, if he do all things after Gods ordinance and cōmandement, ſhould he then be his vicare? Then (ſaide he) wold I beleue hym to be a good biſhop at Rome ouer hys owne Dioceſſe, and to haue no further power. And if it pleaſed God, I would euery biſhop did this in their dioceſſe: then ſhould we liue a peaceable life in the Church of Chriſt, and there ſhould be no ſuch ſeditions therein. If euery Biſhop would ſeke no further power then ouer his owne dioceſſe, it were a goodly thing.

The Pope not Gods Vicar and why?

What inconuenience followeth, that al Biſhops ſhould be ruled by man.

Nowe, becauſe all are ſubiecte to one, all muſt doe and cōſent to al wickednes, as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cauſe of greate Superſtition in euerye kyngdome. And what Biſhoppe ſoeuer he be that preacheth the Goſpel, & mainteyneth the truth, is a true Biſhop of yͤ church. And doth not (ſayd they) our holye father the pope mayntaine the Goſpell? Yes (ſayd he) I thinke he doth read it, & peraduenture beleue it, & ſo do you alſo, but neither he nor you do fixe the anker of your ſaluatiō therin. Beſides that ye beare ſuch a good wil to it, that ye keepe it cloſe, that no man may reade it, but your ſelues: & when you preach god knoweth how you handle it: in ſomuch that the people of Chriſt knoweth no Goſpel welneare, but the popes Goſpel, & ſo the blynd leade the blind, & both fall into yͤ pit. In the true Goſpell of Chriſt, confidence is none, but onely in your popiſh traditions and phantaſticall inuentions.

Thē ſaid a black Fryer to him, God knoweth a blockhead: doe we not preach the Goſpell dayly? Yes (ſayde he) but what preaching of the Goſpell is that, when therwyth ye extoll ſuperſtitious thinges, and make vs beleue yͭ we haue redemption through pardons and buls of Rome, à pœna & culpa, as ye terme it, and by the merites of your orders ye make many brethren and ſiſters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coates, and in ſhrift ye beguile them: yea and do a thouſand ſuperſtitious thinges more: a man may be weary to ſpeake of them: I ſee (ſayd the Fryer) that thou art a damned wretche: I will haue no more talke with thee.

The Popes goſpell.

Benet weary of the Fryers talke.

Then ſtept to hym a gray fryer, a doctor (God knoweth) of ſmall intelligence, & layd before hym great and many daungers. I take God to record ſayd Benet, my lyfe is not deare to me. I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, ſeing your deteſtable doings, to yͤ vtter deſtructiō of gods flock, & for my part, I can no longer forbeare: I had rather by death (which I know is not far of) depart this life, yͭ I may no longer be partaker of your deteſtable idolatries & ſuperſtitions, or be ſubiect to Antichriſt your pope. Our pope (ſaid the Fryer) is the vicar of God, & our waies are the wayes of God. I pray you (ſayd Benet) depart frō me, & tell not me of your wayes. He is onely my way which ſaith: I am the way, the truth and the life. In hys way will I walke, his doinges ſhall be my example, not yours, nor your falſe popes. His truth will I embrace, not the lyes and falſhood of you and your Pope. His euerlaſting life wil I ſeeke, yͤ true reward of all faithful people. Away frō me I pray you. Vexe my ſoule no lōger: ye ſhall not preuayle. There is no good exāple in you, no truth in you, no lyfe to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vaine then vanitie it ſelfe. If I ſhould heare & folowe you this day, euerlaſting death ſhould hang ouer me, a iuſt rewarde for all them that loue the life of thys worlde. Away from me, your company liketh me not.

Tho. Benet pacient & cōſtant.

Thus a whole weeke, nighte and day was Benet applied of theſe and ſuch other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done & ſaide to him in the time of his impriſonment, and yͤ hate of the people yͭ time, by meanes of ignorance, was hote againſt him: notwithſtanding they could neuer moue his patience. He aunſweared to euery matter ſoberly, and that more by the aid of Gods ſpirite, then by any worldly ſtudie. I thinke he was at the leaſt 50. yeres olde. Being in priſon, his wife prouided ſuſtenance for him, & when ſhee lamented, he comforted her, and gaue her many good and godly exhortatiōs, and prayd her to moue him nothing, to apply vnto his aduerſaries.

Sentence read againſt Tho. Benet.

Tho. Benet deliuered to the ſecular power.

Thus when theſe godly Canons & prieſtes wyth the monkes & friers had done what they could, and perceiued yͭ he would by no meanes relent, then they proceding vnto iudgement, drewe out their bloudy ſentence againſt hym, condemning him (as the maner is) to be burned. Whyche being done, and the wryt which they had procured De comburendo, being brought from London, they deliuered hym the 15. of Ianuary 1531. vnto ſir Tho. Denis Knyght, then ſherife of Deuonſh. to be burned. The milde martyr reioycing his ende to approche ſo neare, as the ſheepe before the ſhearer, yelded himſelfe wᵗ all humblenes to abide and ſuffer the croſſe of perſecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Liuerie dole, without Exeter, hee made his moſt humble confeſſion and praier vnto almighty God, and requeſted all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with ſuch grauitie and ſobriety, & wyth ſuche a pithie oration to ſeeke the true honouring of God, and yͤ true knowledge of him, as alſo to leaue the deuiſes, fantaſies, and imaginations of mans inuentions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were aſtonied & in great admiration: In ſo much that the moſte part of the people, as alſo the Scribe who wrote the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, did pronounce and confeſſe that hee was Gods ſeruaunt, and a good man.

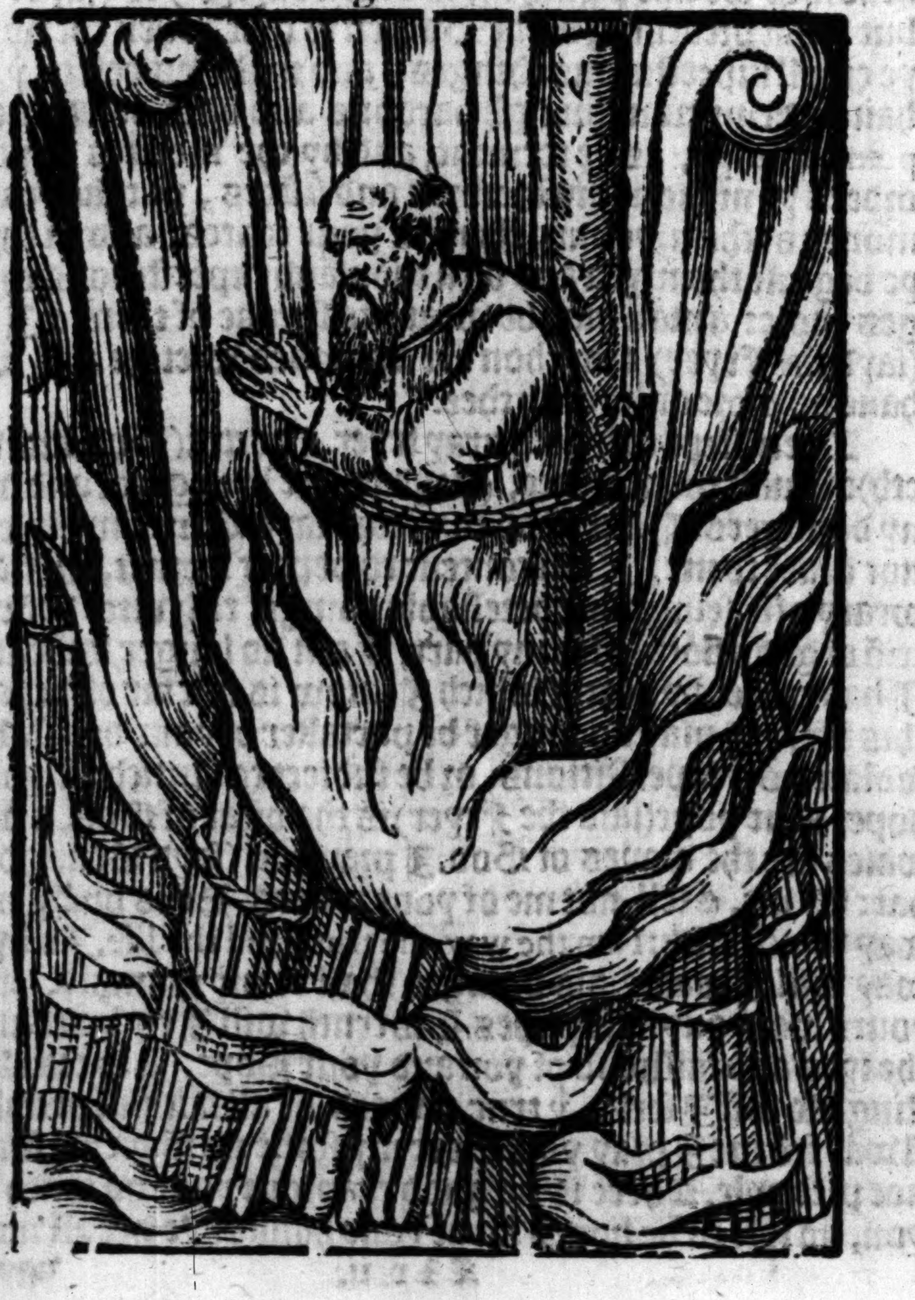
Tho. Benet brought to the place of executi- on

Tho. Benet refuſeth to pray to our Ladye. One Aduocate Chriſte.

Neuertheleſſe two Eſquiers, namely Thomas Carewe and Iohn Barnehouſe ſtanding at the ſtake by hym, firſte with faire promiſes & goodly wordes, but at length rough threatnings, willed him to reuoke his errours, and to call to our Ladie and the Saintes, and to ſay, Precor ſanctam Mariam & omnes Sanctos Dei. &c. To whome hee wyth all meekeneſſe anſweared, ſaying: No, no, it is God onely, vpon whoſe name we muſt call, and we haue no other aduocate vnto him, but onely Ieſus Chriſte: Who died for vs, and nowe ſitteth at the right hande of the father, to be an aduocate for vs, and by him muſt we offer & make our prayers to God, if we will haue them to take place and to be hearde. Wyth which anſwere the foreſayde Barnehouſe was ſo enkindled, that he tooke a furſe buſh vpon a pike, and being ſet on fire, thruſt it vnto his face, ſaying, Ah whoreſone heretike, pray to our Lady, and ſay, Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, or by Gods wounds I will make thee to do it.

A furſebuſh thruſt in his face becauſe he would not pray to our Ladye.

The burning of Thomas Benet.



The Martirdome of Tho. Benet.

To whom the ſayde Thomas Benet wyth an humble and a meeke ſpirite, moſt patiently anſweared: Alas Syr, trouble me not. And holding vp his handes, ſayde: Pater ignoſce illis. Whereuppon the Gentlemen cauſed the woode and furſes to be ſet a fire, and therewith this godly manne lifted vp his eyes and hands to heauen, ſaying, O Domine, recipe ſpiritum meum: and ſo continuing in his prayers, did neuer ſtirre nor ſtriue, but moſt patiently abode the crueltye of the fire, vntil his life was ended. For the which the Lord God be praiſed, and ſend vs his grace and bleſſing, that at the latter day we may with hym enioy the bleſſe and ioye prouided and prepared for the elect children of God.

The co ende and Martirdo of Tho. Benet.

This Benet was burned in a Ierkine of neates leather, at whoſe burning, ſuch was the deuiliſhe rage of the blinde people, that wel was he or ſhee that coulde catche a ſticke or furſe to caſt into the fire.

The king Proclama on. Vid ſupra pag. 991.

4. Eſd, 7.

Hitherto we haue runne ouer (good reader) the names, yͤ Acts and doings of them which haue ſuſteined death and the tormēt of burning for Chriſtes cauſe, through the rigorous proclamation aboue ſpecified, ſet out (as is ſayd) in the name of K. Henrie, but in dede procured by the Biſhops. Which proclamation was ſo ſtraitly looked vpon & executed ſo to the vttermoſt in euery poynt, by the ſayd popiſh Prelates, that no good man habens ſpiramentum, wherof Eſdras ſpeaketh) coulde peepe out wyth his head neuer ſo little, but he was caught by the backe, & brought eyther to the fire, as were theſe aboue mentioned: or els compelled to abiure. Wherof there was a great multitude, as wel men as women: whoſe names if they were ſought oute through al regiſters in England, no doubt it would make too long a diſcourſe. Neuertheleſſe omitting the reſt, it ſhal content vs at this preſent, briefly as in a ſhorte Table, to inſinuate the names, with the ſpeciall Articles, of ſuche as in the dioceſſe of London vnder Biſhop Stokeſley, were moleſted and vexed, and at laſt cōpelled to abiure, as heere vnder may appeare.

Mē abiu

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Geffrey Lome. 1528.	HIs Articles were theſe: For hauing and diſperſing certain bookes of Luther. Item, for tranſlatinge certaine chapters of his booke De bonis operibus. For holding that faith without works, is ſufficient to bring vs to heauen. That chriſten men ought to worſhip God onely and no Saintes. That chriſten men ſhuld not offer to images in churches, nor ſette any lyghte before them. That pardons granted by pope or biſhop do not profite man.
Sygar Nycolſon, Stationer of Cambridge. 1528.	His Articles were like: and moreouer, for hauing in his houſe certayne Bookes of Luther and other prohibited, and not preſentyng them to the Ordinarie. The handling of this man was too too cruell, if the reporte be true, that hee ſhoulde be hanged vp by thoſe partes, whych nature well ſuffreth not to be named.
Iohn Raymund a Dutchman. 1528.	For cauſing fiftene hundreth of Tindals new Teſtaments to be printed at Antwarpe, and for bringing 500. into England.
Paule Luther Gray Frier, and Warden of the houſe at Ware. 1529.	Hys Articles: For preachyng and ſayinge that it is pitie, that there be ſo manye Images ſuffered in ſo manye places, where as vndiſcreate and vnlearned people be: for they make their Prayer and Oblations ſo intirely and heartely before the Image, that they beleeue it to be the very ſelfe Sainct in heauen. Item, that if he knewe hys father and mother were in heauen, hee would counte them as good as S. Peter or Paule, but for the paine they ſuffred for Chriſtes ſake. Item, that there is no nede to go on pilgrimage. Item, that if a manne were at the poynte of drowning or anye other daunger: hee ſhoulde call onely vppon God, and no Sainct, for Saincts in heauen can not helpe vs, neither know no more what men do here in this world, then a man in the North countrey knoweth what is done in the South countrey.

Roger

A byll read by the preacher at the Spittell.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Roger Whaplod Merchaunt Taylor. 1529.	Roger whaplod ſent by one Thomas Northfolke vnto Doctor Goderige this Bill following to be reade at his Sermon in the Spittell: If there be anye well diſpoſed perſon willing to doe any coſte vppon the reparation of the Cunduite in Fleeteſtreete, let hym or them reſort vnto the adminiſtratours of the goodes and cattell of one Richarde Hunne, late Marchaunt Taylor of London, which died inteſtate, or els to mee, and they ſhall haue toward the ſame vj. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. and a better pennie, of the goodes of the ſayde Richarde Hunne: vppon whoſe ſoule, and all chriſten ſoules, Ieſu haue mercy. For the which Bill both whaplod and Northfolke were brought & troubled before the Biſhop, and alſo Doctour Goderige, which tooke a groate for reading the Bill, was ſuſpended for a time, from ſaying Maſſe, and alſo was forced to reuoke the ſame at Paules Croſſe, reading this Bill as foloweth.

It was the manner at this time to take money for reading of billes at Sermons. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

The reuocation of Doct. Wil. Goodrige read at Paules Croſſe.

Doct. Goodrige reuoketh his praying for the ſoule of Richard Hunne.

Maiſters, ſo it is that where in my late Sermone at S. Mary ſpittle, the Tewſday in Eaſter weeke laſt paſt, I did pray ſpecially for the ſoule of Richarde Hunne, late of London Marchant Tailer, an heretike by the lawes of holy Church iuſtly condemned, by reaſon whereof I greatly offended God and hys Churche, and the lawes of the ſame, for the which I haue ſubmitted mee to my Ordinarie, and done penaunce therefore: for as muche as peraduenture the audience that was there offended by my ſayde wordes, myght take any occaſion thereby to thincke that I did fauour the ſayd heretike or any other, I deſire you at the inſtance of almighty God to forgeue mee, and not ſo to thynke of me, for I did it vnaduiſedly. Therefore heere before God and you, I declare my ſelfe that I haue not fauoured him or any other heretike, nor heereafter intend to do, but at all times ſhall defend the Catholike faith of holy church, according to my profeſſion to the beſt of my power.

Via lata, Via anguſta.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Rob Weſt. Prieſt. 1529.	Abiured for Bookes and opinyons contrary to the Proclamation.
Nicholas Whyte of Rye. 1529.	Hys Articles: For ſpeaking againſt the Prieſtes ſaying of Mattens. For ſpeaking againſt praying for them that be deade: Againſte praying to God for ſmall trifles, as for the cowe caluynge, the henne hatching. &c. For ſpeakynge againſte the relique of S. Peters finger: Againſte oblations to Images: Againſte vowing of Pilgrimage: Againſt Prieſthoode: Againſt holy bread and holy water. &c.
Rich. Kitchin, prieſt. 1529.	His Articles: That pardons graunted by the Pope, are naughte, and that menne ſhould put no truſt in them, but onely in the Paſſion of Chriſte. That he being lead by the wordes of the Goſpell. Matt. 7. De via lata, & anguſta, and alſo by the Epiſtle of the Maſſe beginning: Vir fortiſsimus Iudas, hadde erred in the way of the Pope, and thoughte, that there were but two wayes and no Purgatorie. That men ought to worſhip no Images, nor ſet vp lights before them. That Pilgrimage doth nothing auaile. That the Goſpell was not truely preached for the ſpace of 300. yeares paſt. &c.
Wil. Wegen prieſt at S. Mary hill. 1529.	Hys Articles: That hee was not bounde to ſay hys Mattens nor other ſeruice, but to ſing with the Queere till they came to Prime, and then ſayinge no more ſeruice, thought he myght wel goe to Maſſe. That hee hadde ſaide Maſſe oftentimes, and hadde not ſayde hys Mattens and his deuine Seruice before. That hee hadde gone to Maſſe wythout Confeſſion made to a Prieſt. That it was ſufficient for a manne being in deadly ſinne, to aſke God mercy onely for his ſinne wythoute farther confeſſion made to a Prieſte. That hee helde agaynſte Pilgrimages, and called Images ſtockes and ſtones, and witches. Item, that he being ſicke, wente to the Roode of Sainte Margarete Patens, and ſayde before hym twenty Pater noſters, and when hee ſawe hymſelfe neuer the better, then he ſayde, a foule euill take him, and all other Images. Item, that if a manne keepe a good tongue in hys head, hee faſteth well. Item, for commending Luther to be a good manne for preaching twiſe a day. &c. For ſaying that the Maſſe was but a Ceremonie, and made to the entent that men ſhould pray onely. Item, for ſaying, that if a man had a paire of beades, or a booke in his hand at the church, and were not diſpoſed to pray, it was naught. &c.
Wil. Hale holywater clearke of Tolenham. 1529.	Hys Articles: That Offeringe of money and Candles to Images, dyd not auaile, ſith wee are iuſtified by the bloude of Chriſte. Item, for ſpeakynge againſte worſhipping of Saintes, and the Popes pardones. For ſayinge, that ſith the Sacramentes that the Prieſte doeth miniſter, bee as good as they, which the Pope doeth miniſter, he dyd not ſee but the Prieſt haſt as good authority as the Pope. Item, that a man ſhoulde confeſſe himſelfe to God only, and not to a Prieſt. &c.
Wil. Blomfeld Monke of Bury.	Abiured for the like cauſes.
Iohn Tyndall. 1530.	For ſending 5. markes to his brother wil. Tindall beyond the ſea, and for receiuing and keeping with him certayne letters from his brother.
Wil. Worſley Prieſt, & Hermite. 1530.	His Articles: For preaching at Haleſtede, hauing the Curates licence but not the Byſhops. Item, for preaching of theſe wordes: that no man riding on Pilgrimage, hauing vnder hym a ſoft ſaddle, and an eaſy horſe, ſhould haue any merite therby, but the horſe and the ſaddle &c. Item, for ſaying that hearing of Mattens and maſſe is not the thing that ſhall ſaue a mans ſoule, but onely to heare ẏ word of god.
Iohn Stacy Tyler. 1530.	Hys Articles were agaynſt Purgatory, whiche he ſayde to be but a deuiſe of the Prieſtes to get money. Againſt faſting dayes by mans preſcription: and choiſe of meates. Agaynſt ſuperfluous holydayes. Item, agaynſt Pilgrimage. &c.
Laurence Maxvvel Taylor. 1530.	His Articles: That the Sacrament of the alter was not the very bodye of Chriſt in fleſhe and bloud: but that he receiued hym by the word of GOD, and in remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion. Item, that the order of Prieſthood is no ſacrament. Tat there is no purgatory. &c.
Tho Curſon, Monke of Eaſtacre in Northfolke. 1530.	Hys Articles were theſe: For goyng out of the monaſtery and changing his weede, and letting hys crowne to grow, working abrode for his liuing, making copes and veſtimentes. Alſo for hauing the new Teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, and an other booke conteining certayne bookes of the old Teſtament, tranſlated into Engliſhe by certayne, whome the Papiſtes call Lutherans.

Perſons abiured.	with their Articles.
Tho.Cornwell, or Auſty. 1530.	Hys Articles: It was obiected, that hee beyng enioyned aforetyme by Richard Fitziames B. of London, for hys penaunce to weare a fagot bordered vppon his ſleeue vnder payne of relapſe, hee kept not the ſame, & therefore hee was condemned to perpetual cuſtody in the houſe of S. Bartlemew, from whence afterward he eſcaped and fled away.
Thomas Phillip. 1530.	Thomas Philip was deliuered by ſyr Thomas More, to biſhop Stokeſley by indenture. Beſides other Articles of Purgatorie, Images, the Sacrament of the altare, Holydaies, keeping of bookes, and ſuche like, it was obiected to him, that he being ſearched in the Tower, had founde aboute hym Tracies Teſtament, and in his chamber in the Tower was founde Cheeſe and Butter in Lent time. Alſo that hee had a letter deliuered vnto him goyng to the Tower. which letter, wyth the Teſtament alſo of Tracie, becauſe they are both worthy to be ſeene, we mynde (G O D willing) to annexe alſo to the ſtorie of thys Thomas Phillip. As hee was oftentimes examined before maiſter More and the Biſhop, he alwaies ſtoode to his denial, neither could there any thing be proued clearely agaynſte him, but onely Tracies Teſtamente and hys butter in Lente. One Stacie firſt bare witneſſe againſte him, but after in the Courte openly hee proteſted that he did it for feare. The Byſhoppe thē willing him to ſubmit him ſelf, & to ſweare neuer to holde any opinion cōtrarye to the determination of holye Church, he ſayde he would. And when the forme of hys abiuration was geuen him to read, he read it, but the Byſhop not content with that, wold haue hym to reade it openly. But that hee woulde not, and ſayde hee woulde appeale to the king ſupreame heade of the Churche, and ſo did. Stil the Byſhop, called vpon him to abiure. Hee aunſweared, that he would be obedient, as a Chriſten man ſhoulde, and that hee woulde ſweare neuer to holde any hereſie during his life, nor fauoure anye heretickes. But the Biſhop not yet contente, would haue him to reade the abiuration after the forme of the Churche conceaued, as it was geuen him. Hee aunſweared again that he would forſwear all hereſies, and that he woulde maintaine no hereſies, ne fauour any heretickes. The Byſhop with this woulde not be aunſweared, but needes would driue him to the abiuration formed after the Popes Church. To whome hee ſaid, if it were the ſame abiuration, that he read, he would not read it, but ſtand to his appeale made to the kinge, the ſupreame heade of the Churche vnder God. Againe, the Biſhop aſked hym, if he would abiure or not. Except (ſayd he) you will ſhewe me the cauſe, whye I ſhould abiure, I will not ſay yea nor nay to it, but will ſtand to my appeale, and required the Biſhop to obey the ſame. Then the Biſhop reading openly the Bil of excommunication againſt him, denounced him for contumax, and an excōmunicate perſon, chargyng all men to haue no company or any thyng to doe with him. After this excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeale, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abiured, I find no mention made in the regiſters.

❀ A letter directed to Thomas Phillip in the name of the brethren, and geuen him by the way going to the Tower.

THe fauour of him that is able to keepe you that you fall not, and to confeſſe your name in the kingdome of glorye, and to geue you ſtrength by his ſpirite to confeſſe him before all hys aduerſaries, be with you euer, Amen.

A letter by the co gregatio Tho. Phi lippe.

Syr, the brethren thincke that there bee diuers falſe brethren craftily crept in among them, to ſeeke out their freedome in the Lord, that they may accuſe them to the Lords aduerſaries, as they ſuppoſe they haue done you. Wherfore if ſo be it, that the ſpirit of God mooue you thereunto, they as counſailors deſire you aboue all things to be ſtedfaſt in the Lordes veritie without feare, for hee ſhall and will be your helpe according to his promiſe, ſo that they ſhall not miniſh the leaſt heire of your head without his will: vnto the which will, ſubmitte your ſelfe, and reioyce: for the Lorde knoweth how to deliuer the godly out of temptation, and howe to reſerue the vniuſt vnto the daye of iudgement to be puniſhed: and therfore, caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. And in that you ſuffer as a Chriſten man, bee not aſhamed, but rather glorify God on that behalfe: looking vpon Chriſt the authour and finiſher of our faith: which for the ioy that was ſet before hym, abode the Croſſe & deſpiſed the ſhame. Notwithſtanding, thoughe we ſuffer the wrong, after the example of our maiſter Chriſte, yet we be not bounde to ſuffer the wrong cauſe, for Chriſte hymſelfe ſuffred it not, but reproued him that ſmit him wrongfully. And ſo likewiſe ſayth S. Paule alſo: So that we muſt not ſuffer the wrōg, but boldly reproue them that ſit as righteous iudges, and do contrary to righteouſnes. Therfore according both to Gods law and mans, ye be not bounde to make no aunſwer in no cauſe, till your accuſers come before you. Which if you require, and thereon doe ſticke, the falſe brethren ſhall be knowne to the great comforte of thoſe that nowe ſtand in doubt whome they may truſt: and alſo it ſhall be a meane that they ſhall not craftily by queſtions take you in ſnares. And that you may this do lawfully, in the 20. chapter of the Acts it is wrytten. It is not the maner of the Romanes to deliuer any man that he ſhuld periſh before that he which is accuſed, haue his accuſers before hym, and haue licence to aunſwere for himſelfe, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accuſed. And alſo Chriſte will, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all things ſhall ſtande. And in the 5. chap. to Timoth. the firſt epiſtle it is written: Againſt a Seniour receiue none accuſation but vnder two or three witneſſes. A Seniour in this place is any man that hath an houſe to gouerne. And alſo their owne lawe is agreeable to this Wherefore ſeeing it is agreeable to the word of God, that in accuſations ſuch witneſſes ſhuld be, you may with a good cōſcience require it. And this the God of grace which hathe called you vnto his eternal glory by Chriſt Ieſu, ſhal his owne ſelfe after a little affliction, make you perfect, ſhal ſettle, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you, that to him may be glory and praiſe for euer. Amen.

2. Pet. 2. 1. Pet. 4. 1. Pet. 4. Heb. 12. Act. 23. Act. 25. Math. 18. 1. Tim. 5.

What is a Seniour by S. Paule.

Thus ye haue heard the letter deliuered to Th. Philip. Now followeth the Teſtament of William Tracie.

❀ Tracie his Teſtament.

A Little before this time, William Tracie a worſhypfull Eſquire in Gloceſterſhire, and then dwelling at Todington, made in his wil, that he woulde haue no funerall pompe at his burying, neither paſſed he vpon Maſſe, and farther ſayd that he truſted in God only, and hoped by him to be ſaued, and not by any Saint. Thys Gentlemā dyed, and his ſonne as executor, brought the will to the Byſh. of Canterbury to proue, which he ſhewed to the cōuocation, and there moſt cruelly they iudged that he ſhould be taken out of the ground and be brent as an hereticke, anno. 1532. This commiſſion was ſent to Doc. Parker Chauncellour of the Dioceſſe of Worceſter, to execute theyr wicked ſentence, whiche accompliſhed the ſame. The kynge hearynge his ſubiect to be taken out of the grounde and brent wythout his knowledge or order of his law, ſent for the Chancellour, and layde high offence to his charge: who excuſed him ſelfe by the Archbiſhop of Caunterburye whyche was late dead, but in concluſion it coſt hym C C C. pounde to haue hys pardon. The will and Teſtament of thys Gentleman thus condemned by the Clergie, was as here vnder foloweth.

M. Trac take vp ing dead and burn

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Tracie of Todington in the Countie of Glocester Eſquire, make my Teſtament & laſt wil, as hereafter foloweth. Firſt and before all other things, I commit my ſelfe vnto God & to his mercy, beleuing without any doubt or miſtruſt that by hys grace and the merits of Ieſus Chriſt, and by the vertue of his paſſion and of his reſurrection, I haue and ſhall haue remiſſion of all my ſinnes and reſurrection of body & ſoul, according as it is written: I beleue that my redemer liueth, & that in the laſt day I ſhall riſe out of the earth, and in my fleſh ſhall ſee my Sauiour: this my hope is laid vp in my boſome.

The teſtament of William Tracie. Iob. 9.

And touching the wealth of my ſoule, the faith that I haue taken and rehearſed is ſufficient (as I ſuppoſe) without any other mans workes or merites. My ground and beliefe is, that there is but one God and one Mediatour betweene God and man, which is Ieſus Chriſt: ſo that I accept none in heauen nor in earth to be Mediatour betwene me and God, but only Ieſus Chriſt: all other to be but as peticioners in receiuing of grace, but none able to geue influence of grace: And therefore will I beſtowe no part of my goodes for that entent that any man ſhould ſay or do, to helpe my ſoule, for therin I truſt onely to the promiſes of Chriſt: He that beleeueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued, and he that beleeueth not, ſhall be damned.

Marke.16.

As touching the burying of my body it auayleth me not whatſoeuer be done thereto, for S. Auſten ſayth De cura agenda pro mortuis, that the funerall pompes are rather the ſolace of them that liue, then the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therefore I remitte it onely to the diſcretion of mine executors.

Funerall pompes ſerue onely for the liuing, and geue no helpe for the dead.

And touching the diſtribution of my temporall goodes, my purpoſe is, by the grace of God, to beſtowe them to be accepted as the fruites of faith, ſo that I do not ſuppoſe ý my merite ſhall be by the good beſtowing of them, but my merite is the faith of Ieſus Chriſt onely, by whome ſuche workes are good according to the wordes of our Lorde: I was hungry and thou gaueſt me to eate, &c. And it foloweth: that ye haue done to the leaſt of my brethren, ye haue done it to me, &c. And euer we ſhould conſider that true ſaying: that a good worke maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good worke: for faith maketh the man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liueth by faith: and whatſoeuer ſpringeth not of fayth is ſinne, &c.

Our merites be onely our fayth in Chriſt.

Rom.14.

And all my temporall goodes that I haue not geuen or deliuered, or not geuen by writing of mine owne hande, bearing the date of this preſent writing, I doe leaue and geue to Margaret my wife, and to Richard my ſon, whom I make mine Executors. Witnes hereof mine own hand, the tenth of October, in the xxij. yeare of the reigne of King Henry the eyght.

This is the true copie of his will, for the whiche, as you heard before, after he was almoſt two yeares dead, they tooke him vp and burned him.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Iohn Periman Skinner. 1531.	Hys Articles were much lyke vnto the others before: Addyng moreouer, that all the Preachers then at Paules Croſſe, preached nothyng but lyes and flatterings, and that there was neuer a true Preacher but one: namyng Edward Crome.
Rob. Goldſton Glaſier. 1531.	His Articles: That men ſhould pray to God onely, and to no Saints. That Pilgrimage is not profitable. That men ſhould giue no worſhip to Images. Item, for ſayeng, that if he had as much power as any Cardinall had, he woulde deſtroye all the Images that were in all the Churches in England.
Laurence Staple Seruing man.	Hys Articles: For hauing the Teſtament in Engliſh, the fiue bookes of Moſes, the practiſe of Prelates, the ſumme of Scripture, the A B C. Item, about the burning of Baineham, for ſayeng: I would I were with Baynham, ſeeing that euery man hath forſaken him, that I might drinke with him, and he might pray for me. Item, that he moued Henry Tomſon to learne to reade the new Teſtament, calling it the bloud of Chriſt. Item, in Lent paſt, when he had no fiſh, he did eate egges, butter, and cheſe. Alſo about ſixe weekes before M. Bilney was attached, the ſayd Bilney deliuered to him at Greenewich foure new Teſtamentes of Tindals tranſlation, which he had in his ſleeue, and a budget beſides of bookes, whiche budget hee ſhortly after riding to Cambridge, deliuered vnto Bilney, &c. Item, on Fridayes he vſed to eate egges, & thought ý it was no great offence before God, &c.
Henry Tomſon Taylor. 1531.	Hys Articles: That which the prieſt lifteth ouer his head at the ſacring time, is not the very body of Chriſt, nor it is not God, but a thing that God hath ordeyned to be done. This poore Tomſon although at the firſt hee ſubmitted himſelfe to the Byſhop: yet they with ſentence cōdemned him to perpetuall priſon.
Iaſper Wetzell of Colen. 1531.	His Articles: that he cared not for goyng to the Churche to heare Maſſe, for hee could ſay Maſſe as well as the Prieſt. That he would not pray to our Lady, for ſhe could do vs no good. Item, beyng aſked if he would goe heare Maſſe, he ſayd he had as lieue go to ý gallowes, where the theeues were hanged. Item, beyng at S. Margaret Patens, and there holdyng his armes a croſſe, he ſayd to ý people, that he could make as good a knaue as he is, for he is made but of wood. &c.
Rob. Man, Seruyngman. 1531.	His Articles: There is no Purgatory. The Pope hath no more power to graunt pardon then an other ſimple Prieſt. That God gaue no more authoritie to S. Peter, thē to an other Prieſt. That the Pope was a knaue and his Prieſtes knaues all, for ſufferyng his Pardons to goe abroad to deceiue the people. That S. Thomas of Canterbury, is no Saint. That S. Peter was neuer Pope of Rome. Item, he vſed commonly to aſke of Prieſtes where he came, whether a mā were accurſed if he handled a chalice or no? If the Prieſt would ſay yea, then would he reply agayne this: If a man haue a ſheepes ſkinne on his handes, meanyng a payre of gloues, hee may handle it. The Prieſtes ſaying yea: wel then (quoth he) ye wil make me beleue, that God put more vertue in a ſheepes ſkinne, then he did in a Chriſtian mans hand, for whom he dyed.
Henry Feldon. 1531.	His trouble was, for hauyng theſe bookes in Engliſh: a proper Dialogue betwene a Gentleman, and a huſbandman. The ſumme of Scripture. The Prologue of Marke. A written booke conteinyng the Pater noſter, Aue Maria, and Credo in Engliſh. The ten Commaundementes, and the 16. conditions of Charitie.
Rob. Cooper, Prieſt 1531.	His Article onely was this: for ſaying that the bleſſyng with a ſhoe ſole is as good as the Byſhops bleſſing. &c.
Thomas Row. 1531.	His Articles were, for ſpeakyng agaynſt auricular Cōfeſſion, and Prieſtly penaunce, and agaynſt the preaching of the Doctours.
Wil. Walam. 1531.	His opinion: That the Sacrament of the aulter is not the body of Chriſt in fleſh & bloud, and that there is a God, but not that God in fleſh and bloud in the forme of bread.
Grace Palmer. 1531.	Witneſſe was brought agaynſt her by her neighbours Ioh. Rouſe, Agnes his wife, Iohn Pole of S. Oſithes, for ſaying: Ye vſe to beare Palmes on Palme Sonday: it ſkilleth not whether ye beare any or not, it is but a thyng vſed and neede not. Alſo ye vſe to go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of Walſingham, & other places: ye were better tarye at home, and geue money to ſuccour me and my children and other of my poore neighbours, then to goe thether: for there ye ſhall finde but a peece of tymber painted, there is neither God nor our Lady. Item, for repentyng that ſhe did euer light candles before Images. Item, that the Sacrament of the aulter is not the body of Chriſt: it is but bread which the Prieſt there ſheweth for a token or remembraunce of Chriſtes body.
	His Articles: That the Sacrament holden vp betwene the Prieſts hādes,

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Eating of egges made hereſie.

Prieſtes ſet more ſtore by a payre of gloues then they do by a lay mans hand.

Agaynſt bearing of Palmes.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Philip Braſier of Bockſted. 1531.	is not the body of Chriſt, but bread, and is done for a ſignification. That confeſſion to a Prieſt needeth not. That images be but ſtockes and ſtones. That pilgrimage is vayne. Alſo for ſayeng that when there is any miracle done, the Prieſts do noint the images, and make men beleeue that the Images do ſweate in labouring for them, and with the offerings the prieſts find their harlots.
Ioh. Fayreſtede of Colcheſter 1531.	Hys Articles: For words ſpoken againſt pilgrimage and images. Alſo for ſayeng theſe words: that the day ſhould come, that men ſhould ſay: curſed bee they that make theſe falſe gods, meaning images.
George Bull of Much hadham, Draper. 1531.	Hys Articles: That there be three confeſſions: One principall to God, another to his neighbour, whom he had offended: and the third to a Prieſt: and that without the two firſt confeſſions to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be ſaued. The third confeſſion to a Prieſt, is neceſſary for counſaile to ſuch as be ignorant and vnlearned, to learne howe to make their confeſſion with a contrite hart vnto God, and how to hope for forgeueneſſe: and alſo in what maner they ſhould aſke forgeueneſs of their neighbor, whom they haue offended, &c. Item, for ſayeng that Luther was a good man. Item, that he reported, through the credence and report of M. Patmore, Parſon of Hadham, yͤ where wickliffes bones were brent, ſprang vp a well or welſpring.
Ioh. Haymond Milwright. 1531.	His Articles: For ſpeaking and holding againſt pilgrimage and images, and againſt preſcribed faſting dayes. That Prieſts and religious men notwithſtanding their vowes made, may lawfully forſake their vowes and mary. Item, for hauing bookes of Luther, and Tyndall.
Rob. Lamb a Harper. 1531.	Hys Article: for that he ſtanding accurſed two yeares together, and not fearing yͤ cenſures of the Popes church, went about with a ſong in the cõmendation of Martine Luther.
Ioh. Hewes Draper. 1531.	Hys Articles: For ſpeaking againſt Purgatory, and Thomas Becket. Item, at the towne of Farnſham, he ſeeing Edward Frenſham kneeling in the ſtreet to a croſſe caried before a corſe, aſked, to whome he kneeled? He ſayd, to his maker. Thou art a foole (ſaid he) it is not thy maker, it is but a peece of copper or wood, &c. Item, for theſe words: Maiſters, ye vſe to go on pilgrimage: it were better firſt that yee looke vpon youre poore neighbours which lacke ſuccour, &c. Alſo, for ſayeng that he heard the Vicar of Croidon thus preache openly: That there is as much bawdry kept by going in Pilgrimage to Wilſedone or Mouſwell, as in the ſtewes ſide, &c.
Tho. Patmore Draper. 1531.	This Patmore was brother to mayſter Patmore Parſon of Hadham, who was priſoned in the Lollards tower for marying a Prieſt, and in the ſame priſon continued three yeare. This Patmore was accuſed by diuers witneſſes, vpon theſe Articles: That he had as leue pray to yonder hunter pointing to a mã painted there in a ſtayned cloth, for a peece of fleſh, as to pray to ſtockes that ſtand in walles meaning Images. Item, that men ſhould not praye to Saints, but to God only: for why ſhuld we pray to Saints (ſaid he) they are but blockes and ſtockes? Item, that the truth of Scripture hath bene kept from vs a long time, and hath not appeared till nowe. Item, comming by a tree wherein ſtoode an image, he tooke away the waxe which hanged there offered. Item, that he regarded not the place whether it was halowed or no, where he ſhould be buryed after he was dead. Alſo, in talke with the Curate of S. Peters, he defended that Prieſts might mary. This Patmore had long hold wyth the Byſhop of London. Firſt he would not ſweare infamia nõ præcedente. Then he would appeale to the King, but all would not ſerue. He was ſo wrapt in the Byſhops nets, that he could not get out, but at laſt he was forced to abiure, and fined to the King an C. pound.

A propheſie.

Three cõfeſſiõs.

A welſpring where Wickliffs bones were burned.

Againſt kneling to the croſſe.

Much Baudery in Pilgrymage.

The truth of Scripture a long time kepte from vs.

*Note in the communication betwene this Patmore, and the prieſt of S. Peters, that where as the prieſt obiected againſt him (as is in yͤ regiſter) that prieſts haue liued vnmaried, & without wiues theſe 1500. yeres in the Church: he & all other ſuch prieſtes therin ſay falſly and deceiue the people, as by ſtory is proued in this volume, that prieſts here in England had wiues by the law within theſe 500. yeres & leſſe.

A note.

The Pap ſay falſely that prie haue bene vnmaried theſe 150 yeares.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Simon Smith maiſter of Arte of Gunwell hall in Cãbridge, and Benore his wife. 1531.	This Simon Smith, and Benore his wife, were the parties, whome M. Patmore Parſon of Hadham aboue mentioned did mary, & was condemned for the ſame to perpetuall priſon. For the which mariage, both the ſayde Simon and Benore his wife were called to examination before the Byſhop, and hee cauſed to make the whole diſcourſe of all his doings, how, & where he maried. Then, after his mariage, how long he taried, whether he wente beyond Sea, where he was, and wyth whome. After his returne, whether he reſorted, how he liued, what mercery ware he occupied, what fayres he frequented, where he left his wyfe, how he caried her ouer, and brought her home agayne, and how ſhe was founde, &c. All this they made him confeſſe, & put it in their regiſter. And though they coulde faſten no other crime of hereſie vpon him, but onely his mariage: yet calling both him and her being greate with child to examination, they cauſed them both to abiure & ſuffer penaunce.
Tho. Patmore Parſon of Hadham. 1531.	This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the Parſonage of Hadham in Hertfordſhire, by Richard Fitz James, Byſhop of London, and there continued inſtructing and teaching his flocke during the time of the ſayde Fitz James, and alſo of Tunſtall his ſucceſſor, by the ſpace of ſixteene yeares or more, behauing himſelfe in life and conuerſation without any publike blame or reproch, vntil that John Stokeſley was preferred

vnto the ſayd Byſhopricke. who, not very long after his enſtalling, either for malice, not greatly lyking of the ſaid Patmore, or elſe deſirous to preferre ſome other vnto the benefice (as it is ſuppoſed and alleaged by his brethren in ſundry ſupplications exhibited vnto the King, as alſo vnto Queene Anne, then Marchioneſſe of Pembroke) cauſed him to be attached and brought before him, and then keepyng him priſoner in his owne Pallace a certayne tyme, afterwardes committed hym to Lollards tower, where hee kepte him moſt extreamely aboue two yeares, without fire or candle, or any other reliefe, but ſuch as his frends ſent him, not ſuffering any of them notwithſtanding, to come vnto him, no not in his ſicknes. Howbeit, ſundry times in the meane while he called him iudicially, eyther before himſelfe, or elſe his vicare generall Foxford, that great perſecutor, charging him with theſe ſundry Articles, viz. as firſt, whether he had bene at Wittenberge, 2. and had ſeene or talked with Luther, 3. or with any engliſh man abiding there, 4. who went with hym, or attended vpon him thether, 5. alſo what bookes he bought there either Lattin or Engliſh, 6. and whether he had read or ſtudied any workes of Luther, Oecolampadius, Pomeran, or Melancton. Beſides theſe,

Prieſts mariage.

theſe he miniſtred alſo other Articles vnto him, touching the mariage of Maiſter Symon Smith (before mentioned) wyth one Ioane Bennore, charging hym, that he both knewe of, and alſo conſented vnto theyr mariage, the one being a Prieſt, and his Curate, and the other hys maydeſeruant, and that he had perſwaded hys ſayde maydeſeruant, to marry with hys ſayde Curate, alleadging vnto her, that though it were not lawfull in Englande for Prieſtes to marry, yet it was in other Countreys beyonde Seas. And that after theyr ſayd marriage, he (knowing the ſame) did yet ſuffer the ſayde Smith to miniſter in hys cure, all Eaſter tyme, and fifteene dayes after: and that at theyr departure out of Englande, hee ſupped wyth them at the Bell in newe Fiſheſtreete, and agayne, at theyr returne into Englande, dyd meete them at the ſayde Bell, and there ſente vnto the ſayde Smyth a Prieſtes gowne.

He obiected moreouer agaynſte hym in the ſame Articles, that he had affyrmed at Cambridge, 1. that hee dyd not ſet a bottell of hay by the Popes or Byſhops curſſe: 2. and that God byndeth vs to impoſſible thynges that hee may ſaue vs only by hys mercy: 3. and alſo, that though yong children bee baptiſed, yet they can not be ſaued except they had fayth, 4. and laſtly, that it was agaynſt Gods law to burne Heretikes.

Vnto theſe Articles, after long impriſonment and greate threates of the Byſhop and hys Vicare, he at laſt aunſwered: makyng fyrſt hys appeale vnto the Kyng. wherein hee ſhewed, that foraſmuch as the Byſhop had moſt vniuſtly, and contrary to all due order of lawe and the equitie thereof, proceeded agaynſt hym, as well in falſely defaming hym wyth the cryme of Hereſie, wythout hauing any iuſt proofe or publicke defamation thereof, as alſo contrary to all iuſtice, keepyng hym in moſt ſtraight priſon ſo long tyme, (both to the great daunger of hys lyfe by greeuous ſickeneſſe taken thereby, as eſpecially to hys no ſmall griefe, that through hys abſence, hys flocke whereof hee had charge, were not fedde with the word of God and his Sacraments as he would) and then to miniſter vnto hym ſuche Articles, mingled wyth interrogatories, as neyther touched anye hereſie, nor tranſgreſſion of any lawe, but rather ſhewing a minde to picke quarels agaynſte hym and other innocent people. He therefore for the cauſes alleadged, was compelled and did appeale from hym and all hys officers, vnto the Kings Maieſtie, whome (vnder God) he had for hys moſt iuſt and lawfull refuge, and defender againſte all iniuries. From whyche appeale, although hee minded not at anye tyme to departe, yet, becauſe hee would not ſhewe hymſelfe obſtinate agaynſt the Byſhop beeing hys Ordinary, (although he had moſt iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect his vniuſt proceeding agaynſt hym) hee was neuertheleſſe content to exhibite vnto him this hys aunſwere. Firſte, that howſoeuer the Byſhop was priuately enformed, yet becauſe hee was not Publice diffamatus apud bonos & graues accordyng to lawe, he was not by the lawe bounde to aunſwere to any of thoſe Articles.

And as touching the firſt ſixe Articles (as whether he was at Wittenberge, and ſpake with Luther or anye other, or bought or read any of theyr bookes &c.) becauſe none of thoſe thyngs were forbidden hym by any lawe, neyther that he was publickly accuſed of them, (for that it was permitted to many good men to haue them) he was not bound to aunſweare, neyther was he to be examined of them. But as touching the marriage of Maiſter Simon Smyth with Ioane Bennore, he graunted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Mayſter Smyth, but that he gaue hys mayde counſayle thereunto, he vtterly denyed. And as concerning the contracting of the mariage betweene them, he thought it not at all againſt Gods lawe, who at the firſt creation made mariage lawfull for all men. Neither thought he it vnlawfull for him, after their marriage, either to keepe hym as hys Curate, or elſe to lend or geue him any thyng needefull, (wherein hee ſayde he ſhewed more charitie then the Byſhop, who had taken all thyngs from them) and therefore he deſired to haue it proued by the Scriptures, that Prieſts marriages were not lawfull. Againſt whome, Forford the Byſhops vicare often alledged generall Counſayles, and determinations of the Church, but no Scriptures, ſtill vrging hym to abiure hys Articles, which, Patmore long tyme refuſed, and ſtickyng a great while to his former aunſweres, at laſt was threatened by Forforde to haue the definitiue ſentence read agaynſt him. Whereupon he aunſwered that he beleued the holy Churche as a Chriſten man ought to do, and bycauſe it paſſed his capacitie he deſired to be inſtructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would beleue it: For he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a Prieſt mought marry a wife, howbeit by the lawes of ỹ Church he thought that a Prieſt might not marry. But the Chauncelor ſtill ſo vrged him to ſhew, whether a Prieſt mought marry ŵout offence to God, that at length he graunted that Prieſtes might not marry without offence to God, bycauſe the Church had forbidden it: & therfore a Prieſt could not marry without deadly ſinne. Now as touchyng the foure laſt Articles, he denyed that he ſpake thẽ as they were put agaynſt him: but he graunted that he mought perhaps ieſtyngly ſay, that a bottell of hay were more profitable to him, thẽ the Popes curſe: which, he thought true. Alſo to the ſecõd he affirmed, that God had ſet before vs, by his preceptes and commaundements the way to iuſtice: which way was not in mãs power to go and keepe, therfore Paule ſayth ad Gallathas 3. quod lex erat ordinata per Angelos, but yet to fulfill it, it was in manu (id eſt in poteſtate) interceſſoris: that none that ſhalbe ſaued ſhall accõpt their ſaluation vnto their own deedes, or thanke their own iuſtice in obſeruyng the law: for it was in no mans power to obſerue it. But ſhall geue all thankes to the mercies and goodnes of God, accordyng to the Pſalme: Laudate Dominũ omnes gentes: and accordyng to the ſaying of Paule, vt qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur: which hath ſent his ſonne to do for vs ỹ, which was not in our own power to do. For if it had bene in our owne power to fulfill the law, Chriſt had bene ſent to vs without cauſe, to doe for vs that thyng, which we our ſelues could haue done, that is to ſay, fulfill the law. As for the third he ſpake not, for he did neuer knowne that any may be Baptiſed without fayth: which fayth, inaſmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not bee geuen to peruulis? To the laſt, he ſayd, that if he ſpake it, he ment it not of thoſe that S. Barnard called heretickes, with more adulterers theeues, murtherers, with other opẽ ſinners which blaſpheme God by their mouthes, callyng good euill, and euill good, makyng light darkeneſſe, and darkeneſſe light: But he ment it of ſuch as men call heretickes, accordyng to the teſtimony of S. Paule, Act. 24. I liue after the way ſayth he that men call hereſie: whom, Chriſt doth foretell that ye ſhall burne & perſecute to death.

After theſe aunſweres thus made, the Byſhop with his perſecutyng Forforde, dealt ſo hardly with this good man, partly by ſtraight impriſonment and partly by threates to procede agaynſt him, that in the end he was fayne through humaine infirmitie to ſubmit himſelfe and was abiured, and cõdemned to perpetuall priſon: with loſſe both of his benefice, as alſo of all his goodes. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwardes made ſuch ſute vnto the Kyng, (by meanes of the Queene) that after three yeares impriſonment, he was both releaſed out of priſon, and alſo obtained of the Kyng, a Commiſſion vnto the Lord Awdeley beyng then Lord Chauncelor, and to Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cãterbury, and to Crumwell then Secretary, with others, to enquire of the iniurious and vniuſt dealynges of the Byſhoppe and his Chauncelor agaynſt the ſayd Patmore, notwithſtandyng his appeale vnto the kyng and to determine therof accordyng to true equitie and iuſtice: & to reſtore the ſayd Patmore agayne vnto his ſayd benefice. But, what was the ende and iſſue of this Commiſſion, we finde not as yet.

Perſons abiured.	with their Articles.
Iohn Row Bookebinder, a Frẽchman. 1531.	This man for byndyng, buyng, and diſperſing of bookes inhibited, was enioyned beſide other penaunce, to goe to Smithfield with his Bookes tyed about hym, and to caſt them in the fire & there to abide till they were all brent to aſhes.
Chriſtof. a dutchmã of Antwerpe. 1531.	This man, for ſellyng certeine new Teſtaments in Engliſh to Iohn Row aforeſayd, was put in priſon at Weſtminſter, and there dyed.

Chriſtopher a bookeſeller dyed in priſon.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
W. Nelſon Prieſt. 1531.	His crime was, for hauyng and buying of Peryman certain bookes of Luther, Tyndall, Thorpe. &c. and for reading and peruſing the ſame, contrary to the Kings proclamation: for the which he was abiured, he was Prieſt at Lith.
Tho. Eue Weauer. 1531.	His Articles: That the Sacrament of the aultar was but a memory of Chriſtes paſſion. That men were fooles to go on pilgrimage, or to ſet any candle before images. Item, it is as good to ſet vp ſtaues before the Sepulchre, as to ſet vp tapers of waxe. That Prieſtes might haue wiues.
Rob. Hudſon of S. Pulchers. 1531.	His Article: On Childermas daye (ſayth the Regiſter) he offred in Paules Churche at offering time, to the childe Byſhop (called S. Nicholas) a dogge for deuotion (as he ſayd) and meant no hurt, for he thought to haue offered a halfepeny, or elſe ẏ dogge, and thought the dogge to be more better then a halfpeny, and the dogge ſhould raiſe ſome profite to the child, and ſayd moreouer it was the tenth dogge, &c. Ex Regiſt.
Edward Hewet ſeruingman. 1531.	His crime: That after the Kynges proclamation he had and read the new Teſtament in Engliſh: Alſo the booke of I. Frith againſt Purgatory, &c.
Walter Kiry ſeruant. 1531.	Hys Article: That he, after the kings proclamation, had & vſed theſe bookes, the Teſtament in Engliſh, the ſumme of Scripture, a Primer and Pſalter in Engliſhe hidden in hys bedſtrawe at Worceſter.
Michaell Lobley. 1531.	His Articles: That hee beeing at Antwerpe bought certeine bookes inhibited, as the Reuelation of Antichriſt, the obedience of a Chriſtian man, the wicked Mammon, Frith againſt Purgatory. Item, for ſpeaking againſt Images and Purgatory. Item, for ſaying that Bilney was a good man, and dyed a good man, becauſe of a Bill that one did ſend from Norwich, that ſpecified that he tooke his death ſo pacientlye, and did not forſake to die wyth a good will, &c.
A boy of Colcheſter. 1531.	A boy of Colcheſter, or Northfolke brought to Richard Bayfield, a budget of bookes, about four dayes before the ſayd Bayfield was taken: for the which the lad was taken, & laid in the counter by M. More Chancellor, & there dyed.
Wil. Smith Taylor. 1531.	His Articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his houſe, Rich. Bayfield, and other good men. That he receiued hys bookes into hys houſe, and vſed much reading in the new Teſtament. He had alſo the Teſtament of William Tracy. He beleeued there was no Purgatory.
Wil. Lyncoln Prentiſe. 1532.	His Articles: For hauing and receiuing bookes from beyond the Sea, of Tindall, Frith, Thorpe, and other. Item, he doubted whether there were any Purgatory: whether it were well done to ſet vp candles to Saincts: to go on pilgrimage, &c.
Iohn Mell of Bockſted 1532.	His hereſie was this: for hauing and reading the new Teſtament in engliſh, the Pſalter in Engliſh, and the booke called A B C.
Iohn Medwell ſeruant to M. Carkit, Scriuener. 1532.	This Medwell lay in priſon xxiiij. weekes, till he was almoſt lame. Hys hereſies were theſe: That he doubted whether there was anye Purgatory. He woulde not truſt in pardons, but rather in the promiſes of Chriſt. He doubted whether the merites of anye but onely of Chriſt did helpe him. He doubted whether pilgrimages and ſetting vp of candles to images were meritorious or not. He thought he ſhould not put his truſt in any Saint. Item, hee had in his cuſtody the new Teſtament in Engliſhe, the examination of Thorpe, the wicked Mammon, a booke of Matrimony. Ex ipſius ſcedula ad Epiſc. Scripta.
Chriſtofer Fulman, ſeruāt to a Goldſmith. 1532.	This yong man was attached for receiuing certayne bookes at Antwerp of George Conſtantine, and tranſporting them ouer into England, and ſelling them to ſondry perſons, beeyng bookes prohibited by the proclamation. Item, he thought then thoſe bookes to haue bene good, and that he had bene in errour in times paſt.
Margaret Bowgas. 1532.	Her hereſies were theſe: Being asked if ſhe would go on pilgrimage, ſhe ſayd, I beleeue in God, and he can do me more good, then our Lady, or any other Sainct, and as for them, they ſhal come to me, if they will, &c. Then Richard Sharples Parſon of Millend by Colcheſter, asked her, if ſhee ſayde her Aue Maria, I ſay (ſayd ſhe) hayle Mary, but I will ſay no further. Then ſaid he, if ſhe left not thoſe opinions, ſhe would beare a fagot. If I do (ſaide ſhe) better then I ſhall: adding moreouer that ſhe would not go from that to die therefore. To whome the Prieſt aunſwered and ſayd, ſhe would be burned. Heereunto Margaret againe replyeng, asked the Prieſt, who made Martyrs? Tyrants (quoth the Prieſt) make Martirs, for they put Martirs to death. So they ſhall, or may me, quoth Margaret. At length with much ado, and greate perſuaſions, ſhe gaue ouer to Foxford the Chanceller, and ſubmitted her ſelfe.
Iohn Tyrel an Iriſhman of Billery key, Taylor.	His Articles were theſe: That the Sacramente of the aulter was not the body of Chriſt, but only a cake of bread. Furthermore the occaſion being asked, how he fell into that hereſie: he anſwered and ſayd, that about three weekes before Midſomer laſt paſt, hee heard M. Hugh Latimer preach at S. Mary Abchurch, that men ſhould leaue going in pilgrimage abroade, and do their pilgrimage to their poore neighbours. Alſo the ſayde M. Latimer in his Sermon, did ſet the Sacrament of the aulter at little.
William Lancaſter Taylor. 1532.	The cauſe layde to this man, was: That he had in his keeping the booke of Wickliffes wicket. Item, that he beleeued the Sacrament of the aulter after the words of conſecration not to be the body of Chriſt really, &c. Item, vpon the day of Aſſumption he ſayd, that if it were not for the ſpeech of the people, he would not receiue the ſacrament of the aulter.
Rob. Topley Frier. 1532.	His Articles. He being a Frier Auguſtine of Clare, forſooke his habite, and going in a ſecular mans weede, tenne yeares, married a wife called Margret Nixon, hauing by her a child: and afterward being brought before ẏ Byſhop, he was by him abiured and condemned to be priſoned in his former Monaſtery: but at laſt he eſcaped out, and returned to his wife agayne.
Tho. Topley Auſten Fryer at Stokeclare.	By the occaſion of this Rob. Topley aforeſayde, place is offered to ſpeake ſomething likewiſe of Tho. Topley his brother belike, and alſo a Frier of the ſame order & houſe of Stokeclare. This Tho. Topley had bene conuerted before, by one Richard Foxe, prieſt of Bumſtede, and Myles Couerdale, in ſo much that he being induced partly by them, partly by reading certayne bookes, caſt off both his order and habite, and wente lyke a ſecular Prieſte. Wherupon he was eſpied and brought to Cuthbert Byſhop of London, ann. 1528. before whome, this confeſſion he made, as followeth.

A dogge offered to S. Nicholas Byſhop.

Why then doth M. More ſay that Bilney recanted and dyed a good man, if theſe be puniſhed for commending him to dye a good mā. A ladde of Colcheſter dyed in priſon for bringing to Bayfilde his bookes.

Hereſy with the Pope, to truſt onely to the merites of Chriſt.

The

The recantation of Thomas Topley.

The recantatiō of Tho. Topley, Fryer.

Colloquia Eraſmi.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

All Chriſten men beware of conſentyng to Eraſmus fables, for by conſentyng to them, they haue cauſed me to ſhrinke in my fayth that I promiſed to God at my Chriſtenyng by my witneſſes. Firſt, as touchyng theſe Fables, I read in Colloquium by the inſtruction of Syr Richard Foxe, of certaine Pilgrimes, which (as the booke doth ſay) made a vowe to go to S. Iames, & as they wēt, one of them dyed & he deſired his felowes to ſalute S. Iames in his name: and an other dyed homeward, and he deſired that they would ſalute his wife and his childrē, and the thyrd dyed at Florence, & his felow ſayd he ſuppoſed that he was in heauen, and yet he ſayd that he was a great lyer. Thus I muſed of theſe opinions ſo greatly, that my mynde was almoſt withdrawne from deuotion to Saintes. Notwithſtandyng I cōfeſſed that the diuine ſeruice of them was very good, and is though I haue not had ſuch ſweetneſſe in it as I ſhould haue had, becauſe of ſuch Fables, & alſo becauſe of other fooliſh paſtimes, as dācing, tennes and ſuch other, which I thinke haue bene great occaſions that the goodnes of God hath bene voyde in me, and vice in ſtrength.

Wickliffes Wicket.

Moreouer, it fortuned thus about halfe a yeare agoe, that the ſayd Syr Richard went forth and deſired me to ſerue his Cure for him, and as I was in his chāber, I found a certain booke called Wickleffes wicket, whereby I felt in my cōſcience a great wauering for the tyme that I did read vpon it, and afterward alſo when I remembred it, it wounded my conſcience very ſore. Neuertheleſſe I conſented not to it, vntill I had heard him preach, and that was vpō S. Anthonies day: yet my mynde was ſtill much troubled with the ſayd booke (whiche did make the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, in forme of bread, but a remēbraunce of Chriſtes Paſſion) till I heard Syr Myles Couerdale preach, and then my mynde was ſore withdrawne from that bleſſed Sacrament, in ſo much that I tooke it then but for the remembraunce of Chriſtes body. Thus haue I wretchedly wrapped my ſoule with ſinne, for becauſe I haue not bene ſtedfaſt in yͤ holy order that God hath called me vnto by Baptiſme, neither in yͤ holy order that God & S. Auguſtine hath called me to by my Religion. &c.

Myles Couerdale.

M. Couerdale.

Furthermore he ſayd and confeſſed, that in the Lent laſt paſt, as hee was walkyng in the fielde at Bumſtede with Syr Myles Couerdale late Frier of the ſame order, goyng in yͤ habite of a ſecular Prieſt, which had preached the iiij. Sonday in Lent at Būſtede, they did cōmon together of Eraſmus workes, and alſo vpon cōfeſſion: the which Syr Myles ſayd & did hold, that it was ſufficient for a man to be contrite for his ſinnes betwixt God and his conſcience, without confeſſion made to a Prieſt: which opinion this reſpondent thought to bee true and did affirme and hold the ſame at that tyme. Alſo he ſayth that at the ſayd Sermon made by the ſaid Syr Myles Couerdale at Bumſtede, he heard him preache agaynſt worſhyppyng of Images in the Church, ſaying and preachyng that men in no wiſe ſhould honour or worſhyp thē: which likewiſe he thought to be true, becauſe he had no learnyng to defend it.

Wil. Gardiner Auſten Frier of Clare.

With this Topley I may alſo ioyne William Gardiner one of the ſame order, and houſe of Clare, who likewiſe by yͤ motion of the ſaid Rich. Foxe Curate of Bumſtede, & by ſhewyng hym certayne Bookes to read was brought likewiſe to the lyke learnyng & iudgement, and was for the ſame abiured by Cuthbert Byſh. the ſame yeare. 1528.

Richard Iohnſon of Bocſtede and Alyce his wife.

1531.

This Richard and his wife were fauourers of Gods word, and had ben troubled for the ſame of lōg time. They came from Saliſbury to Bocſtede by reaſon of perſecution, where they cōtinued a good ſpace. At lēgth by reſort of good men, they began to be ſuſpected, & ſpecially for a booke of Wickleffes wicket whiche was in their houſe, they were conuented before Stokeſly Byſhop of London, and there abiured.

Perilous dayes.

So great was the trouble of thoſe times, that it would ouercharge any ſtory to recite the names of all thē, whiche during thoſe bitter dayes before the cōming in of Queene Anne, either were driuen out of the Realme, or were caſt out frō their goodes and houſes, or brought to open ſhame by abiuration. Such decrees and Iniunctions then were ſet forth by the Byſhops, ſuch lawes and proclamations were prouided, ſuch watch and narrow ſearche was vſed, ſuch wayes were taken by force of othe to make one detect an other ſo ſubtelly, that vnneth any good mā could or did eſcape their handes, but either his name was knowen, or els his perſon was takē. Yet neuertheleſſe ſo mightely the power of Gods Goſpell did worke in the hartes of good men, that the nūber of them did nothyng leſſen for all this violence or policie of the aduerſaries, but rather increaſed in ſuch ſort, as our ſtory almoſt ſuffreth not to recite yͤ particular names of all and ſingular ſuch as then groned vnder the ſame Croſſe of affliction and perſecution of thoſe dayes: as of which number were theſe.

Perſons of Būſted abiured.

Arthur.
Geffray Lome.
Iohn Tibold, his mother, hys wife, his two ſonnes, and his two daughters.
Edmond Tibold, and his wife.
Henry Butcher, and his wife.
William Butcher, and his wife.
George Preſton, and his wife.
Ioane Smith, widow.
Robert Smith, her ſonne.
Richard Smith, her ſonne.
Margaret Smith, her daughter.
Elizabeth Smith, her daughter.
Rob. Hempſtede, and his wife.
Tho. Hempſtede, and his wife.
Iohn Hempſtede, his ſonne.
Robert fayre.
William Chatwals.
Ioane Smith widow, otherwiſe called Agnes widow.
Iohn her ſonne.
Thomas her ſonne.
Chriſtopher her ſonne.
Alyce her daughter.
Ioane her daughter.
Iohn Wiggen.
Nicholas Holdens wife.
Alyce Shypwright.
Henry Browne.
Iohn Craneford.

¶ All theſe were of the Towne of Bumſtede, who being detected by Syr Richard Foxe their Curate, and partly by Tibold, were brought vp to the Byſhop of London, and all put together in one houſe, to the number of xxxv. to be examined and abiured by the ſayd Byſhop.

Moreouer, in other townes about Suffolke and Eſſex, other alſo were detected, as in the towne of Byrbroke, theſe following.

Men & women of Eſſex & Suffolke troubled for the Goſpell.

Iſabell Choote widow.
Iohn Choote her ſonne.
William Choote her ſonne.
Chriſtopher Choote her ſonne.
Robert Choote her ſonne.
Margeret Choote her daughter.
Katherine her mayde.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Haruy, and his wife.
Agnes his daughter.
Thomas his ſonne.
Bateman, and his wife.
Iohn Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlyn, a ſpone maker.
Chriſtmas, and his wife.
William Bechwith, his wife, and his two ſonnes.
Iohn Pickas, and his wife.
William Pickas, his brother.
Girling, his wife, & his daughter.
Mathewes wife.
Iohnſon, his wife, and his ſon.
Thomas Hilles.
Roger Tanner.

Iohn Chapman.

Chriſtopher Rauen, and his wife.
Iohn Chapman, his ſeruant.
Richard Chapman, his ſeruant, and brother to Iohn Chapman.

who remaineth yet aliue, & hath bene of a long time a great harberour of many good men & women that were in trouble & diſtreſſe, & receiued thē to his houſe, as Tho. Bate, Simon Smith, the Prieſts wife, Roger Tanner, with a nūber mo, which ye may ſee & reade in our firſt edition, pa. 419.

Rich. Chapman.

Crueltie ſhewed for mercy.

¶ Touching this Richard Chapman, this by the way is to be noted, that as he was in his coate and ſhyrt enioyned bare head, bare foote, and bare legge, to go before the proceſſion, and to kneele vpon the cold ſteps in the Church all the Sermon time, a little ladde ſeeing him kneele vpon the cold ſtone with his bare knees, & hauing pitie on him, came to him, and hauing nothing elſe to geue him, brought him his cap to kneele vpon. For the which the boy immediatly was taken into the Veſtry, and there vnmercifully beaten for his mercy ſhewed to the poore penitent.

Beſides theſe, diuers other were about London, Colcheſter, and other places alſo partakers of the ſame Croſſe and affliction for the like cauſe of the Goſpell, in whiche number commeth in theſe which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, Prieſt.
Iohn Turke.
Robert Beſt.
William Raylond of Colcheſter.
Henry Raylond, his ſonne.
Marion Mathew, or Weſtden.
Dorothe Long.
Thomas Parker.
Alyce Gardiner.
Iohn Tomſon. } of Colcheſter.
Ioh. Bradley, and his wife. } of Colcheſter.
Iohn Hubert of Eſtdoneland, and his wife.
M. Forman, Bacheler of Diuinitie, Parſon of Hony lane.
Robert Necton.
Katherine Swane.
Maſter Cowbrige, of Colcheſter.
Wydow Denby.
Robert Hedill, of Colcheſter.
William Butcher, whoſe fathers graundfather was burned for the ſame Religion.
Abraham Water, of Colcheſter.
Robert Wygge.
William Bull.
George Cooper. } of London.
Iohn Toy, of S. Fayth.
Richard Foſter.
Sebaſtian Harrys, Curate of Kenſington.
Ex Regiſt. Lond.

¶ All theſe in this table conteined, were troubled and abiured, an. 1527. and 1528.

This Parker was abiured 24. yeares before this.

All these this table were trou bled & a iured, an. 1527.152

Perſõs abiured. Anno. 1532.

Ioh. Wyly the elder.
Catherine Wyly, his wife.
Io. Wyly, his ſonne.
Chriſtian Wyly, his wife.
W. Wyly, his ſonne.
Margaret Wyly, his wife.
Lucy Wyly.
Agnes Wyly, two yong gyrles.
An. 1532.

Theſe eight perſons were accuſed, an. 1532. for eating potage and fleſhmeate fiue yeares before, vpon S. Iames euen.

Alſo another time, vpon S. Peters euen, as Catherine Wyly dyd lye in childbed, the other wiues, with the two gyrles, were found eating altogether of a brothe made with the fore part of a racke of Mutton.

Item, the foreſayd Iohn Wyly the elder, had a Primmer in Engliſh in his houſe, and other bookes.

Alſo, he had a yong daughter of tenne yeares olde, which coulde render by hart the moſt part of the 24. Chapter of S. Mathewe. Alſo, could rehearſe without booke, the diſputation betweene the clarke and the Frier.

Item, the ſayde Iohn Wyly had in hys houſe a treatiſe of William Thorpe, and Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle.

¶ A note of Richard Bayfilde aboue mentioned.

Mention was made before of Richard Bayfild Monke of Bury, pag 1024. who in theſe perillous dayes, amongſt other good Saincts of God, ſuffered death, as yee haue heard, but how and by whome he was detected, hath not bene ſhewed: which nowe in ſearching out of Regiſters, as we haue found, ſo we thought good heere to adioyne yͤ ſame with the words & confeſſion of the ſame Edmund Peerſon, which detected him in maner as foloweth.

✱ The accuſation of Edmund Peerſon agaynſt Bayfilde.

The accuſation of Edmund Perſon, agaynſt Rich. Bayfilde.

The xiiij. day of September at iiij. of the clocke at after noone, the yeare of our Lord. 1527. Sir Richard Bayfilde ſayd that my Lord of Londons Commiſſary was a playne Phariſey, wherfore he would ſpeake with him, and by his wholeſome doctrine he truſted in God, hee ſhoulde make him a perfect Chriſten man and me alſo, for I was a Phariſey as yet, he ſayd.

Alſo he ſayde, that he cared not and if the Commiſſary and the Chauncellour heard him both, for the Chauncellour he ſayd, was alſo a Phariſey, and truſted to make him a Chriſten man.

Alſo he ſayd, he was entreated by his frends, and in maner conſtrayned to abyde in the Citie agaynſt hys will, to make the Chauncellour and many moe, perfect Chriſten men, for as yet many were Phariſeis, and knewe not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

Alſo he ſayde, that M. Arthur and Bilney were and be more pure and more perfecter in their liuing to God, then was or is the Commiſſary, the Chauncellour, my Lord of London, or my Lord Cardinall.

Commendation of Bilney and Arthur.

Alſo he ſayde, that if Arthur and Bilney ſuffer death in the quarels and opinions that they be in, or hold, they ſhal be Martyrs before God in heauen.

Alſo he ſayd, after Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet ſhould there be hundreths of men, that ſhould preach the ſame that they haue preached.

Alſo he ſayd, that he would fauour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their liuing to be ſo good: for they did weare no ſhyrtes of linnen cloth, but ſhyrts of heare, and euer were faſting, prayeng, or doing ſome other good deedes: and as for one of them, whatſoeuer he haue of money in his purſe, he will diſtribute it for the loue of God, to poore people.

Tim. 1.

Alſo he ſayde, that no man ſhould geue laud nor prayſe in no maner of wiſe, to no creature, nor to no Saint in heauen, but only to God. Soli Deo honor & gloria, that is, To God alone be all honour and glory.

The Godly courage of Rich Bayfilde.

Alſo he ſayd, ah good Sir Edmund, ye be farre from the knowledge and vnderſtanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Phariſey with many other of your company: but I truſt in God I ſhall make you and many other mo, good and perfect Chriſten men ere I depart from the Citie, for I purpoſe to reade a common lecture euery day at S. Foſters Church, which lecture ſhall be to the edifyeng of your ſoules that be falſe Phariſeys.

Alſo he ſayde, that Bilney preached nothing at Wilſedone, but that was true.

Alſo he ſayd, that Bilney preached true at Wilſedone, if he ſayd that our Ladyes crowne of Wilſedone, her rings & beades, that were offered to her, were beſtowed amongeſt harlots, by the Miniſters of Chriſtes Churche: for that haue I ſeene my ſelfe, he ſayd, heere in London, and that will I abide by.

The peop offrings beſtowed beſtowed vppon ha lots.

Alſo he ſayde, he did not feare to commen and argue in Arthur and Bilneys opinions and Articles, and if it were with my Lord Cardinall.

Alſo he ſayd, that he would hold Arthur and Bilneys opinions and Articles, and abyde by them that they were true opinions, to ſuffer death therfore: I know them (ſaid he) for ſo noble and excellent men in learning.

Alſo he ſayde, if he were before my Lord Cardinall, he would not let to ſpeake to him, and to tell hym that he hath done nought in priſoning of Arthur and Bilney, whyche were better diſpoſed in their liuings to God, then my Lord Cardinall, or my Lord of London, as holy as they make themſelues.

Alſo he ſayd, my Lord Cardinall is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the Commaundements of God: for Chriſt (he ſaid) neuer taught him to folow riches, nor to ſeeke for promotions nor dignities of this worlde, nor Chriſt neuer taught him to weare ſhoes of ſiluer and gilt, ſet with pearle and precious ſtones, nor Chriſt had neuer ij. croſſes of ſiluer, ij. axes, nor piller of ſiluer & gilt.

The Ca nals sho

Alſo he ſayde, that euery Prieſt might preach the Goſpell without licence of the Pope, my Lord Cardinall, my Lord of London, or any other man. And that would he abide by, and thus he verified it as it is written. Marke. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuerſum prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ. Chriſt commaunded euery Prieſt to go foorth thoroughout all the worlde, and preache the word of God, by the authoritie of this Goſpel, and not to runne to yͤ Pope, nor to no other man for licence, and that would hee abyde by, he ſayd.

Alſo he ſayd: wel Sir Edmund, ſay you what you will, and euery man, & my Lord Cardinall alſo, and yet will I ſay and abide by it, my Lord Cardinall doth puniſhe Arthur & Bilney vniuſtly, for there be no truer Chriſten men in all the world liuing, then they two be, and that puniſhment that my Lord Cardinall doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as who ſay, this maye I do, and thys will I do, who ſhall ſay nay, but he doth it of no iuſtice.

Alſo, about the xiiij. day of October laſt paſt, at iij. of the clocke at after noone, Syr Richarde Bayfilde came to S. Edmunds in Lumbardſtreete, where he founde me Syr Edmund Peerſon, Sir Iames Smith, and Syr Myles Garnet, ſtanding at the vttermoſt gate of the perſonage, & Syr Edmund ſayd to Syr Richard Bayfilde: how many Chriſten men haue yee made ſince yee came to the Citie? Quoth Sir Richard Bayfilde, I came euen now to make thee a Chriſten man, and theſe two other Gentlemen with thee, for well I know ye be all three Phariſeis, as yet.

Alſo he ſayd to Syr Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better Chriſten men then he was, or any of them that did puniſh Arthur and Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerſon.

Ten Dutchmen Annabaptiſts put to death. Seger, Derycke, Symon, Runa, Deryeke, Dominicke, Dauid, Cornelius, Elken, Milo,

And thus we haue, as in a groſſe ſumme, cōpiled together the names and cauſes, though not of al, yet of a great, anp to great a number of good men & good women, whych in thoſe ſorowful daies (from the yere of our Lord 1527. to this preſent yere 1533. that is, til the comming in of Queene Anne) were manifold wayes vexed and perſecuted vnder the tiranny of the Biſhop of Rome. where again we haue to note, that frō this preſent yeare of our Lord 1533. during the time of the ſayd Quene Anne, we read of no great perſecution, nor any abiuration to haue bene in the Church of Englande, ſaue onely that the Regiſters of London make mention of certaine Dutchmen, counted for Anabaptiſts, of whom 10. were put to death in ſondry places of the realme. an 1535. other 10. repented and were ſaued. where note again that 2. alſo of the ſaid company, albeit the diffinitiue ſentence was read, yet notwithſtāding were pardoned by the king, which was contrary to the Popes law.

Anno. 1533.

Complaynt of the Cōmons againſt the Clergy. Ex Edw. Hallo. A Parliament. an. 1534.

Now to procede forth in our matter, after that the Byſhops and heads of the clergy had thus a long time taken their pleaſure, exerciſing their cruell authoritie againſt the poore waſted flocke of the Lord, and began furthermore to ſtretch forth their rigour and auſteritie, to attach & moleſt alſo other greater perſons of the temporaltie: ſo it fell, that in ẏ beginning of the next or 2. yere following, which was an. 1534. a parlament was called by the king, about the 15. day of Jan. In the which parlament, the commons renuing their old griefes, complained of the cruelty of the Prelates & Ordinaries, for calling men before them Ex Officio. For ſuche was then the vſage of the Ordinaries and theyr Officials, that they would ſend for men, & lay accuſations to them of hereſie, onely declaring to them, that they were accuſed, and would miniſter Articles to them, but no accuſer ſhould be brought forth: wherby the cōmons was greuouſly anoyed & oppreſſed, for the party ſo acited, muſt eyther abiure, or do worſe, for purgatiō he might none make.

Crueltye of the Clergye againſt the temporaltie.

As theſe matters were long debating in the Common houſe, as laſt it was agreed, that the temporall men ſhould put their griefs in wryting, and deliuer them to the King. whereuppon the 18. day of Marche, the common ſpeaker accompanied wyth certaine Knights and Burgeſes of the common houſe, came to the Kyngs preſence, and there declared, how the temporal men of his Realme were ſore agreeued with the cruell demainour of the Prelates & Ordinaries, which touched theyr bodies and goodes ſo neare, that they of neceſſitie were inforced to make their humble ſute by their ſpeaker vnto hys grace, to take ſuch order and redreſſe in the caſe, as to his high wiſedome myghte ſeeme moſt conuenient. &c.

Vnto this requeſt of the commons, although the King at that time gaue no preſent graunt, but ſuſpended them with a delay, yet notwythſtanding this ſufficiently declared the grudging mindes of the temporal men, againſt the ſpiritualtie, lacking nothing but Gods helping hande to worke in the kings heart for reformation of ſuche things, whych all they did ſee to be out of frame. Neyther did the Lordes diuine prouidence faile in time of neede, but eftſones miniſtred a ready remedy in time expedient. He ſaw the pride and cruelty of the ſpirituall clergy grown to ſuch an height, as was intollerable. He ſawe againe and heard the groning hearts, the bitter afflictions of hys oppreſſed flocke, his truth decaied, his religion prophaned, the glorie of his ſonne defaced, his church lamentably waſted: wherfore it was high time for his high Maieſtie to looke vppon the matter (as he did in deede) by a ſtraunge & wonderous meanes, whych was through the kings diuorſement from Lady Katherine Dowager, and marying with lady Anne Bullen, in this preſent yeare: which was the firſt occaſion and beginning of all this publike reformation, which hath followed ſince in this Churche of England to thys preſent day, according as ye ſhall heare.

Gods helping hand in time of neede,

The mariage betwene king Henry VIII. and Queene Anne Bullen, and Queene Katherine diuorced.

Queene Anne maryed, and Lady Katherine diuorced,

IN the firſt entrie of this kings raigne, yee hearde before, pag. 800. howe after the death of Prince Arthur, the Ladie Katherine Princes Dowager and wife to Prince Arthur, by the conſent bothe of her father and of his, and alſo by the aduiſe of the nobles of thys realme, to the ende her dowrie might remaine ſtil within the realme, was eſpouſed after the deceaſe of her huſbande, to hys nexte brother, which was this king Henrie.

K. Henry maryeth his brothers wife.

This mariage ſeemed very ſtraunge and hard, for one brother to marie the wife of an other. But what can be in thys earth ſo harde or difficulte, wherewyth the Pope, the omnipotent Vicare of Chriſte, can not by fauour diſpenſe, if it pleaſe him? The pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Julius the ſecond, by whoſe diſpenſation, thys mariage, which neither ſenſe or nature wold admit, nor Gods lawe woulde beare, was concluded, approued and ratified, and ſo continued as lawfull, without any dout or ſcruple, the ſpace neare of 20. yeares, till about the time, that a certaine doubt began firſt to be moued by the Spanyards themſelues of the Emperours counſaile. An. 1523. at what time Charles the Emperour being here in England, promiſed to marye the Lady Mary daughter to the Kynge of England, with the which promiſe the Spanyardes themſelues were not well contented, obiecting this among many other cauſes, that the ſaide Ladie Marie was begotten of the king of England by his brothers wife.

The Pope diſpenſeth for the brother to mary the brothers wife.

The Spaniardes firſt doubted of the kings mariage.

Wherupon the Emperour forſaking that mariage, did couple himſelf with Lady Iſabel, daughter to king Emanuell of Portugall. Which Mariage was done in the yere of our Lorde 1526. After thys Mariage of the Emperour, the next yeare following, King Henrie being diſappoynted thus of the Emperour, entred talke, or rather was laboured too by the French Ambaſſadours, for the ſayde Lady Mary to be maried to the Frenche kinges ſonne, Duke of Orliance. Vpon the talke whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put of by a certaine doubt of the Preſident of Paris, caſting the like obiection as the Spanyardes had done before, that was, whether the Maryage betwene the king & the mother of this Lady Mary, which had bene his brothers wife before, were good or no. And ſo the mariage twiſe vnluckely attempted, in like ſorte brake of againe and was reiected: whych happened in the yere of our Lord. 1527.

The ſecōd doubt whether the Lady Mary was rightly borne.

The king vpon the occaſion hereof caſting many things in his minde, began to conſider the cauſe more depely, firſt with himſelfe, after with certaine of hys neareſt counſaile, wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked hys minde, wherof the one touched his conſcience, the other cōcerned the ſtate of his Realme. For if that Mariage wyth his brothers wife ſtode vnlawfull by the law of God, then neither was his conſcience cleare in reteining the mother nor yet the ſtate of the realme firme by ſucceſſion of the daughter. It happened the ſame tyme that the Cardinall which was then neareſt about the king, had fallē out with the Emperour, for not helping him to ẏ Papacy, as ye before haue heard: for the which cauſe he helped to ſet the matter forward, by all practiſe he might. Thus the king perplexed in his conſcience, and carefull for ẏ common wealth and partly alſo incited by the Cardinall, coulde not ſo reſt, but inquired further, to feel what the word of God & learning woulde ſay vnto it. Neither was the caſe ſo hard, after it began once to come in publicke queſtion, but that by the worde of God and the iudgements of the beſt learned clerkes, and alſo by the cenſure of the chiefe Vniuerſities of all Chriſtendome, to the number of .x. and moe, it was ſoone diſcuſſed to be vnlawfull.

Two perplexityes in the kings minde.

Cardinall Wolſey a helper to the kinges diuorce.

The iudgements of 10. or 12. Vniuerſityes agaynſt the kinges maryage.
Orleance
Paris.
Toulouſe,
Angiewe.
Bononye.
Padua.
The facultye of Paris.
Bytures.
Oxforde.
Cambridge.

All theſe cenſures, bookes and writinges of ſo manye Doctors, Clerks, and Vniuerſities ſent from all quarters of Chriſtendome, to the king albeit they might ſuffice to haue full reſolued and did in deede reſolue the kinges conſciēce touching this ſcruple of his mariage: yet would not he ſtreight way vſe that aduauntage whiche learning dyd geue him, vnles hee had withall the aſſent, as well of the Pope: as alſo the Emperour: wherein he perceaued no litle difficultie. For the Pope, he thought, ſeing the mariage was authoriſed before, by the diſpenſation of his predeceſſour, would hardly turne hys keyes about, to vndoe that which the Pope before him had locked: & much leſſe would he ſuffer thoſe keyes to be foyled, or to come in anye doubt which was like to come, if that mariage were prooued vndiſpenſable by Gods worde, which his predeceſſour, thorough his plenary power had licenced before. Againe the Emperour, he thought, would be no leſſe hard for his part on the other ſide, for as much as the ſayd Lady Katherine was the Emperours neare aunt and a Spaniarde borne. Yet neuertheles his purpoſe was to prooue and feele what they both would ſay vnto it, & therefore ſent Steuen Gardiner to Rome, to way with Pope Clement. To the Emperour was ſent Syr Nicolas Heruy knight, ambaſſador in the Court of Gaunt. Firſte Pope Clement, not weying belike, the full importaunce and ſequele of the matter, ſent Cardinal Campeius (as is ſayde) into Englande, ioyned with the Cardinal of Yorke.

Campeius the Popes Legate.

The kinges perſwaſion to the Legate.

At the comming of which Legates, the King firſt opening vnto them the griefe of hys conſcience, ſeemed wyth great reaſons and perſuaſions, ſufficiently to haue drawne the good will of thoſe two Legates to his ſide. Who alſo of their owne accord, pretended no leſſe but to ſhew a willing inclination to further the kinges cauſe. But yet the mouthes of the common people, and in eſpecial of women, and

Euill language of the people about the kinges diuorce.

ſuch other as fauoured the Queene, and talked their pleaſure, were not ſtopped. Wherefore, to ſatiſfie the blinde ſurmiſes, and fooliſhe communication of theſe alſo, who ſeeing the comming of the Cardinalles, caſt out ſuche leaude wordes, that the king woulde for his owne pleaſure haue an other wife, with like vnſeeming talke, he therefore willing that al men ſhould know the truth of his procedings, cauſed all his Nobilitie, Iudges, and Counſaillors, wyth diuers other perſons, to reſort to his Pallace of Bridewel the 8. day of Nouemb. An. 1529. where he openly ſpeaking in his great chãber, had theſe words in effect as followeth.

The kings Oration to his ſubiects.

OVr truſtie & welbeloued ſubiects, both you of the nobility, & you of the meaner ſort, it is not vnknowẽ both how that we, both by Gods prouiſion and true and lawfull inheritaunce, haue raigned ouer this realme of England, almoſt the terme of 20. yeares. During whiche time, we haue ſo ordered vs, thanked be God, that no outward enemy hath oppreſſed you, nor taken anye thing from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme, but we haue had victory & honor, ſo that we think that you nor none of your predeceſſors neuer liued more quietly, more wealthely, nor in more eſtimation vnder any of our noble progenitors. But when we remẽber our mortality, and that we muſt die, then we think that all our doings in our life time, are clearely defaced, & worthy of no memory, if we leaue you in trouble at the time of oure deathe, for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, ſee what miſchiefe and trouble ſhall ſucceede to you and to your children. The experience thereof ſome of you haue ſeene after the death of our noble grandfather, king Edward 4. and ſome haue heard what miſchief and manſlaughter continued in this realme betwene the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter: by the which diſſention, this realme was like to haue bene clearely deſtroyed.

And although it hath pleaſed almighty God to ſend vs a faire daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our greate comfort and ioy, yet it hath bene tolde vs by diuers great Clearks that neither ſhe is our lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wife, but that we liue together abhominably and deteſtably, in open adulterie: in ſomuch, that when our Ambaſſade was laſt in France, and motion was made that the Duke of Orleance ſhould marry our ſayde daughter, one of the chiefe Counſailours to the French king, ſayd: It were well done, to know whether ſhe be the king of Englands lawfull daughter or not, for well knowen it is, that he begot her on his brothers wife, which is directly againſte Gods law and his precept. Thinke you my Lords, that theſe words touch not my body and ſoule? Thinke you that theſe doings doe not daily and hourely trouble my cõſcience, and vexe my ſpirits? Yes we doubt not, but and if it were your cauſe, euery man wold ſeeke remedy, when the pearil of your ſoule, and the loſſe of your inheritance is openly laide to you. For this onely cauſe, I proteſt before God, and in the word of a Prince, I haue asked councell of the greateſt Clearkes in Chriſtendome, and for this cauſe I haue ſent for this Legate, as a manne indifferent onely to knowe the truth, and ſo to ſettle my conſcience, and for none other cauſe, as God can iudge. And as touching the Queene, if it be adiudged by the law of God that ſhe is my lawfull wife, there was neuer thing more pleaſant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the diſcharge and clearing of my conſcience, and alſo for the good qualities and conditions the which I know to be in her. For I aſſure you all, that beſide her noble parentage of the which ſhee is deſcended (as you well know) ſhe is a woman of moſt gentleneſſe, of moſte humilitie and buxumneſſe, yea and of all good qualities appertaining to nobilitie, ſhe is without compariſon, as I this 20. yeares, almoſte haue had the true experiment: ſo that if I were to mary againe, if the marriage might be good, I would ſurely choſe her aboue all other women. But if it be determined by iudgement that our mariage was againſt Gods law and clearely voyde, then I ſhall not onely ſorowe the departing from ſo good a Ladie and louing companion, but much more lamẽt and bewaile my infortunate chance that I haue ſo long liued in adultery to Gods great diſpleaſure, and haue no true heire of my body to inherite thys Realme. Theſe be the ſores that vexe my minde, theſe be the pãgs that trouble my conſcience, and for theſe greeues I ſeeke a remedy. Therefore I require of you all, as our truſt and confidence is in you, to declare to our ſubiects our minde and entent, according to our true meaning, and deſire them to pray with vs that the very truth may be knowen for the diſcharge of our conſcience and ſauing of our ſoule, and for the declaration hereof I haue aſſembled you together, and now you may depart.

The legates talke with the Queene.

Shortly after this Oration of the king, wherewith he ſtirred the harts of a number, then the two Legates, being requeſted of the king for diſcharge of his conſcience, to iudge and determine vpon the cauſe, went to the Queene lying then in the place of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed iudges indifferent betwene ẏ king and her, to heare and determine, whether the mariage betwene them ſtode with Gods law nor not, when ſhe vnderſtode the cauſe of their comming, being thereat ſomething aſtonied at ẏ firſt, after a litle pauſing with her ſelfe, thus ſhe began, anſwering for her ſelfe.

ALas my Lorde (ſaid ſhe) is it nowe a queſtion whether I be the kings lawfull wife or no, when I haue bene maried to hym almoſt 20. yeres, and in the meane ſeaſon neuer queſtion was made before? Diuers Prelates yet being aliue, and Lords alſo, and priuie cõuſailors with the king at that time, then adiudged our mariage lawful and honeſt, and nowe to ſay it is deteſtable and abhominable, I thinke it great maruel: and in eſpeciall when I conſider what a wiſe prince the kings father was, & alſo the loue & natural affectiõ, that K. Ferdinãdo my father bare vnto me. I think in my ſelf that neither of our fathers were ſo vncircumſpect, ſo vnwiſe, & of ſo ſmall imagination, but they foreſaw what might folowe of oure Mariage, and in eſpeciall the king my father ſent to the Courte of Rome, and there after long ſute, with great coſt and charge obteined a licence and diſpẽſation, that I being the one brothers wife, and peraduenture carnally known, might without ſcruple of cõſcience, mary with the other brother lawfully, which licẽce vnder lead I haue yet to ſhewe, which things make me to ſay, and ſurely beleue, that our mariage was both lawful, good and godly. But of this trouble I only may thanke you my L. Cardinal of Yorke. For, becauſe I haue wondered at your high pride and vaineglory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abhominable lecherie, & litle regarded your preſumptuous power and tyrãnie, therfore of malice you haue kindled this fire, & ſet this matter abroache, and in eſpeciall for the great malice that you beare to my nephewe the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worſe then a Scorpion, becauſe he woulde not ſatiſfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force, & therfore you haue ſaid more then once, that you wold trouble him and his frends: & you haue kept him true promiſe, for of all his warres & vexations, he onely may thanke you. And as for me his poore Aunt and kinſwoman, what trouble you haue put me too by this newe found dout, God knoweth, to whõ I commit my cauſe according to the truth. The Cardinal of Yorke excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that he was not the beginner nor the mouer of the doubt, and that it was ſore againſt his wil that euer the mariage ſhuld come in queſtion, but he ſayd that by his ſuperiour the B. of Rome, he was deputed as a iudge to hear the cauſe, which he ſware on his profeſſion to heare indifferently. But whatſoeuer was ſaid, ſhe beleeued him not, & ſo the Legates tooke their leaue of her & departed. Theſe words were ſpoken in French, & wrytten by Cardinal Campeius Secretarie, which was preſent, and afterward by Edward Hall tranſlated into Engliſh.

In the next yeare enſuing, an. 1530. at the blacke Fryers of London was prepared a ſolemne place for two Legates, who comming with their croſſes, pillers, axes, and all other Romiſh ceremonies accordingly, were ſet in two chayres couered with cloth of gold, and cuſhiõs of ẏ ſame. When all things were ready, then the king & the Queene were aſcited by Doct. Sampſon, to appeare before the ſaid Legates the 28. day of May: where (the commiſſion of the Cardinals firſt being read, wherein it was appoynted by the Court of Rome, that they ſhould be the hearers & iudges in the cauſe betweene them both) the king was called by name, who appeared by two Proctors. Then the Queene was called, who being accompanied with 4. Byſhops, and other of her counſayle, and a great company of Ladyes came perſonally her ſelfe before the Legates: who there after her obeyſance, with a ſadde grauitie of countenaunce, hauing not many wordes with them: appealed frõ the Legates, as iudges not competent, to ẏ court of Rome and ſo departed. Notwithſtanding this appeale, the Cardinals ſate weekely, & euery day arguments on both ſides were brought, but nothing definitiuely was determined.

As the tyme paſſed on, in the month of Iune, the king being deſirous to ſee an ende, came to the Courte, and the Queene alſo, where he ſtanding vnder his cloth of eſtate, vttered theſe or like wordes in effect as followeth.

MY Lordes Legates of the Sea Apoſtolicke, whiche be deputed iudges in this great and waighty matter, I moſt hartely beſeech you to ponder my mynde and intent, whiche onely is to haue a finall ende for the diſcharge of my conſcience: for euerye good Chriſten man knoweth what payne and what vnquietneſſe he ſuffereth which hath hys conſcience greeued. For I aſſure you on mine honour, that this matter hath ſo vexed my minde, and troubled my ſpirites, that I can ſcantly ſtudy any thinge, whiche ſhould be profitable for my realme and people, and for to haue a quietnes of body and ſoule, is my deſire and requeſt, and not for any grudge that I beare to her that I haue maryed, for I dare ſay, that for her womanhoode, wiſedome, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer Prince had ſuch an other, and therefore if I woulde willinglye chaunge I were not wiſe. Wherefore my ſuite is to my Lordes at this time, to haue a ſpeedie ende, according to right, for the quietneſſe of my minde and conſcience onely, and for no other cauſe, as God knoweth.

The Quene abideth by her appeale.

when the king had ſaid, the Queene departed without any thing, ſaying. Then ſhe was called, to know whether ſhe would abide by her appeale, or anſwer there before the Legates. Her Proctor aunſwered that ſhe would abide by her appeale. That notwythſtanding, the Counſaillers on both ſides euery day almoſt, met and debated this matter ſubſtātially, ſo yͤ at the laſt the diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was againſt the lawe of God, if ſhe were carnally known by the firſt brother, which thing ſhe clearly denied. But to that was anſweared, that prince Arthur her huſband confeſſed the act done, by certaine wordes ſpoken, which beinge recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather ſhould there be red, then by me here vttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of prince Arthur, ſhe thought and iudged that ſhe was with childe, and for that cauſe, the king was deferred from the title & creation of the Prince of wales, almoſte halfe a yeare, whych thing coulde not haue bene iudged, if ſhe had not bene carnally knowen.

Alſo ſhe her ſelf cauſed a bul to be purchaſed, in yͤ which were theſe wordes, Vel forſan cognitam, which is as much to ſay, as peraduenture carnally known, which wordes were not in the firſt Bull graunted by Iuly at her ſecond mariage, to the kinge, which ſeconde Bull with that clauſe was onely purchaſed, to diſpence wyth the ſecond matrimonie, although there were carnal copulation before, which Bul needed not to haue bene purchaſed, if there had ben no carnall copulation, for then the firſt Bull had bene ſufficient.

Queene Katherine carnally knowē by the kings brother.

Moreouer, for the more cleare euidence of thys matter that Prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the ſayd Lady Katherine his wife, it appeareth in a certaine booke of Recordes which we haue to ſhew touching this mariage, that the ſame time when Prince Arthur was firſte maryed with this Ladye Katherine daughter to Ferdinando, certaine Ambaſſadours of Ferdinando his Counſaile were then ſent hether into England for the ſayde purpoſe to ſee and to teſtifie, concerning the ful conſummation of the ſaid matrimoniall coniunction. Which Counſaillers here reſident, being ſolemnely ſworne, not onely did affirm to both their parentes, that the Matrimonie was conſummate by that acte: but alſo did ſend ouer into Spaine to her father, ſuch demonſtrations of their mutuall coniunction, as here I wil not name, ſparing the reuerēce of chaſt eares: which demonſtrations otherwiſe in thoſe Records being named and teſtified, do ſufficiently put the matter out of all doute and queſtion.

Beſides that, in the ſame recordes appeareth that both he and ſhe not onely were of ſuch yeares as were mete and able to explete the cōſummation hereof, but alſo they were and did lie together both here and in wales by the ſpace of 3. quarters of a yeare.

Out of a written booke of Recordes, containing certaine conferences betwixte the Cardinall and Queenes Katherines Amner about this matter, remaining in our cuſtodie to be ſeene.

Three reaſons for Queene Katherine.

Fiſher Biſh. of Rocheſter a great doer for Queene Catherine.

Thus when the Diuines on her ſide, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to perſwaſions of Natural reaſons, how this ſhould not be vndone for three cauſes. One was becauſe, if it ſhoulde be broken, the onely childe of the king ſhould be a Baſtard, which were a great miſchiefe to the realme. Secōdly, the ſeparation ſhuld be cauſe of great vnkindnes betwene her kinred and this Realme. And the third cauſe was, that the continuance of ſo long ſpace, had made the Mariage honeſt. Theſe perſwaſions with many other, were ſet forth by the Queenes Counſaile, and in eſpecial by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, which ſtoode ſtiffe in her cauſe. But yet Gods precept was not aunſwered, wherefore they left that ground and fel to pleading that the court of Rome had diſpenced with that Mariage. To this ſome Lawyers ſayde, that no earthly perſon is able to diſpence with the poſitiue law of God.

The ſearching of the kinges mariage brought moe thinges to lighte.

Cardinall Campeius ſlippeth frō the king.

When the Legates hard the opinions of the Diuines, and ſaw wherunto the end of this queſtion would tend, foraſmuch as men began ſo to diſpute of the authoritie of the Court of Rome, & eſpecially becauſe the Cardinal of York perceiued the king to caſt fauour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought beſt to wind themſelues out of that brake by time, & ſo Cardinall Campeius diſſembling the matter conueyed himſelfe home to Rome againe, as is partly aboue touched, pag. 187. The Kinge ſeeing himſelf thus to be differred and deluded by the Cardinals, tooke it to no litle griefe: whereupon, the fall of the Cardinall of Yorke folowed not long after.

The king ſendeth to the Emperour and the Pope.

The Popes aunſwere to the king.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 1530. Shortly after it happened the ſame yeare, that the king by hys Ambaſſadours was aduertiſed that the Emperoure and the Pope were both together at Bononie: wherfore he directed Sir Tho. Bullein late created Earle of wiltſhire, and Doctor Stokeſley (afterward Biſhop of London) and Doctor Lee (afterward biſhop of York) with his meſſage to the popes Court, where alſo the Emperor was. Pope Clement vnderſtanding the kinges caſe and requeſt, and fearing what might follow after, if learning and Scripture here ſhould take place againſt the authority of their diſpenſations, and moreouer doubting the Emperours diſpleaſure, bare him ſelfe ſtrange of from the matter, anſwearing the Ambaſſadors with this delay: that he preſently would not define in the caſe, but would heare the full matter diſputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do iuſtice.

The king gaue more to the Pope then he needed.

Although the king ought no ſuche ſeruice to the Pope, to ſtād to his arbitremēt either in this caſe, or in any other hauing both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his owne hands to warrant him: yet for quietnes ſake: and for that he wold not raſhly breake order (which rather was a diſorder in deede) he bare ſo long as conueniētly he might. At length, after long delaies and much diſſembling, when he ſaw no hope of redreſſe, he began ſomwhat to quicken & to looke about him, what was beſt both for his owne conſcience, and the ſtabliſhment of his realme, to do.

Gods prouidēce working meruelouſly in this matter.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 990.

Man purpoſeth but God diſpoſeth.

No man here doubteth, but that al this was wrought not by mans deuiſe, but by the ſecrete purpoſe of the Lord himſelfe, to bryng to paſſe further thinges (as afterwarde followed) whiche his diuine prouidence was diſpoſed to work. For els as touching the yͤ kings intent & purpoſe, he neuer meant nor mynded any ſuch thing as to ſeek the ruine of the pope, but rather ſought all meanes cōtrary, how both to ſtabliſh the Sea of Rome, & alſo to obteyne yͤ good will of the ſame Sea and Court of Rome, if it might haue bene gotten. And therefore intending to ſue his diuorſe frō Rome, at the firſt beginning: his deuiſe was by Stephen Gardiner his Ambaſſadour at Rome, to exalt the Cardinall of York, as is before ſhewed pag. 990. to be made pope and vniuerſall Biſhop, to the end that he ruling that Apoſtolicke ſea, the matter of his vnlawfull maryage, whiche ſo troubled his conſcience, might come to a quiet concluſion, without anye further rumor of the world. Which purpoſe of his if it had taken effect as he had deuiſed it, and the engliſh Cardinall had once bene made Pope, no doubt, but the authoritie of that ſea had neuer bene exterminate out of England. But God being more mercifull vnto vs, tooke a better way then ſo. For both without and contrarye to the kinges expectation, he ſo brought to paſſe, that neyther the Cardinall of Yorke was Pope (which ſhuld haue bene an infinite coſt to the king) and yet neuertheles the king ſped of his purpoſe too, and that much better then he looked for: For he was ridde, by lawfull diuorcement, not onely from that vnlawfull mariage which clogged his conſciēce but alſo from the miſerable yoke of the popes vſurped dominion, whiche clogged the whole realme, and all at one time.

The kinges prouerbe. Looke before.

Thus Gods holy prouidence ruling the matter (as I ſayd) when the king could get no faourable graunt of the Pope touching his cauſe being ſo good and honeſt, he was enforced to take the redreſſe of his right into his own handes, and ſeeing this * Gordian knotte would not be looſed at rome, he was driuē againſt his wil (as God would) to play the noble Alexander himſelfe, and with the ſword of his princely authority knapt the knot at one ſtroke clean a ſunder, looſing as it were with one ſolutiō, infinite queſtions. For where the Doctours and Canoniſtes had lōg diſputed, and yet could neuer throughly diſcuſſe the largenes and fulnes of the popes two ſwordes both temporall and ſpirituall: the king with one ſword did ſo cut of bothe cleane out of England, as ye ſhall ſee more anone. But firſt, the king like a prudent prince, before he would come to the head of the ſore, thought beſt to pare away ſuch rank fleſhe and putrified places as were about it, and therefore following his owne prouerbe, like as one goyng about to caſt downe an olde rotten wall, will not beginne with the foundation firſt, but with the ſtones that lye in the toppe: ſo he to prepare his way better vnto the Pope, firſt beganne with the Cardinall, caſtinge him by the lawe of Premunire, out of his goods & poſſeſſions, and ſo at lēgth by poyſoning himſelfe, he procured his owne death: which was in the yeare 1530. Thys done, ſhortly after about the the yeare 1532. the King to prouide by time agaynſte miſchiefes that might come from Rome, gaue forth eftſoones this proclamation as followeth.

* Gordium was a Citty in Aſia, where there was a knotte ſo faſt tyed, and folded ſo many wayes, that (as the ſaying was) whoſoeuer could looſe it, ſhould haue all Aſia. So Alexander comming to it when he could not looſe it with his hāds, he cutte it a ſunder with his ſworde.

A reſtraynte of the king that nothing ſhould be purchaſed from Rome.

THe kings highnes ſtraightly chargeth and commandeth, that no maner of perſon, what eſtate, degree, or condition ſo euer hee or they be of, doe purchaſe or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of Rome or els where, nor vſe and put in executiō, diuulge or publiſh any thing heretofore w thin this yeare paſſed, purchaſed, or to be purchaſed heereafter containing matter preiudiciall to the highe authoritie, iuriſdiction and prerogatiue Royall of thys hys ſayde realme, or to the lette, hinderaunce or impeachement of his graces noble and vertuous intended purpoſes in the premiſes, vppon paine of incurring his highnes indignation and impriſonment, and further puniſhment of their bodies for their ſo doing, at his graces pleaſure, to the dreadful example of all other.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

The whole clergy of England in the Premunire.

After this was done, the King then proceeding farther, cauſed the reſt of the ſpirituall Lordes to be called by proces into the kinges benche to make their appearaunce, for ſo much as the whole Clergie of Englande, in ſupporting and maintaining the power Legatiue of the Cardinall, by the reaſon thereof were all entangled likewiſe in the Premunire, and therefore were called into the kings benche, to aunſwere. But before the day of theyr appearaunce, the Prelates together in theyr conuocation, concluded among themſelues an humble ſubmiſſion in wryting, and offered the king for a ſubſidie or contribution, that hee woulde be their good Lord and releaſe them of the Premunire by Act of Parliament, firſt to be gathered in the prouince of Caunterbury a C. M. poundes. And in the Prouince of Yorke, xviij. hundreth, and xl. pound x. pence. The whyche offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promiſed. In this ſubmiſſion the clergie called the kyng ſupreme head of the Churche of Englande, whych thing they neuer confeſſed before: wherupon many things folowed, as after (God willing) ye ſhall heare.

The Clergy geueth to the king 11840, pound, to be releaſed from the Premunire.

But firſt, forſomuch as we are in hand nowe wyth the matter, we wil borow by the way, a few words of the reader, to ſpeake of this clergie money, of a 118840. pounds & x. pence, to be leuied to the king, as is aboue touched. For the leuying of which ſumme, an order was taken amonge the prelates, that euery B. in his Dioces ſhould call before him all the Prieſtes, Parſons, & Vicars, amongſt whome D. Stokeſley B. of London, a man then counted to be of ſome witte and learning, but of litle diſcretion and humanitie (which cauſed him to be out of the fauour of the common people) called before him all the Prieſtes wythin the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the firſt day of Sept. being Friday, in the Chapter houſe of S. Paule. At which day the prieſts appeared, and the Biſhops policie was to haue onely 6. or 8. prieſtes together, and by perſwaſions to haue cauſed them to graunt ſome portion toward the paiment of the foreſaid hundreth M. pound. But the number of the Prieſtes was ſo greate (for they were 6. hundreth at the leaſt, and with them came many temporall men to heare the matter) that the Biſhop was diſapoynted of his purpoſe. For when the Byſhops Officers called in certaine Prieſts by name into the chapter houſe, wyth that, a great number entred, for they putte the Biſhops Officers that kept the doore a ſide.

The biſhops policy with the Prieſts, for payment of the kinges money.

After this, the Officers got the dore ſhut againe. Then the Prieſtes without, ſayde: we will not be kept wythout, and our felowes be within: we know not what the biſhop will do with them. The temporall men being preſent, comforted and encouraged the prieſtes to enter, ſo that by force they opened the doore, and one ſtrake the Biſhops Officer ouer the face, and entred the Chapter houſe, and many tēporall men with them, and long it was ere any ſilēce could be made. At laſt, whē they were appeaſed, the biſhop ſtode vp and ſayd: Brethren, I maruell not a litle, why you be ſo heady, and know not what ſhalbe ſayd to you: therefore I pray you to keepe ſilence and to heare me paciently.

My frendes all, you knowe well that we be men fraile of condition and no Aungels, and by frailtie and lacke of wiſedome, wee haue miſdemeaned oure ſelfe towarde the king our ſoueraigne Lord and his lawes, ſo that all we of the Cleargie were in the Premunire, by reaſon whereof, all our promotions, landes, goodes and cattels were to hym forfaite, & our bodies ready to be inpriſoned: yet his grace moued with pitie and compaſſion, demaunded of vs what we could ſay, why he ſhould not extend his lawes vpō vs. Then the Fathers of the Cleargye humbly beſought hys grace of mercy. To whom he aunſwered that he was euer enclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences, we had litle penaunce: For where he might by the rigour of hys law, haue taken all our liuelode, goods and cattels, he was contented with one hundreth thouſand pounds to be payd in 5. yeres. And although that this ſumme be more then we may eaſely beare, yet by the rigor of his lawes we ſhoulde haue borne the whole burthen. Wherefore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liuelode & ſalarie toward the paiment of this ſumme graūted.

The biſhops perſwaſion to the prieſtes to helpe thē to pay there forfaite.

Then it was ſhortly ſayde to the Byſhop: My Lorde, twenty nobles a yeare is but a bare liuing for a Prieſt: for now vittaile and euery thyng is ſo deare, that pouertie, in maner, enforceth vs to ſay nay. Beſide that, my Lorde, we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medled neuer wyth the Cardinals faculties: let the Byſhoppes and Abbottes which haue offended, pay.

The prieſts anſwer to the biſh

Then the Biſhops Officers gaue to the Prieſtes hygh wordes, which cauſed them to be the more obſtinate. Alſo diuers temporall men whych were preſent, comforted the Prieſtes, and bade them agree to no paiment. In thys rumour, diuers of the Biſhops ſeruaunts were buffeted and ſtricken, ſo that the Biſhop began to be afraide, and wyth faire wordes appeaſed the noyſe, and for all things which were done or ſayd there, he pardoned them, & gaue to them hys bleſſing, and prayed them to departe in charitie. Then they departed, thinking to heare no more of the matter, but they were deceiued: For the Byſhop went to Sir Thom. More then being Lorde Chancellor (which greatly fauoured the B. and the clergy) and to him made a greeuous cōplaint, & declared the fact very greuouſly. Wherupon commaundement was ſent to ſyr Tho. Pargitor Maior of the Citie, to attache certaine prieſts and temporal men, and ſo 15. prieſtes & 5. temporall men were arreſted, of the whych, ſome were ſent to the Tower, ſome to the Fleete and other priſons, where they remained long after.

B. Stokeſ complain to Syr T More.

Certayne prieſtes temporall mē commi ted to pr

This being done in the yeare of our Lorde 1532. it followeth moreouer the ſame yeare, that diuers preachinges were in the realme, one contrary to another, cōcerning the kings mariage: and in eſpeciall one Thom. Abell Clerke, which was the Queenes Chaplaine, to pleaſe her withal, both preached and alſo wrote a booke in defence of the ſayd mariage: wherby diuers ſimple mē were perſuaded. Wherfore the king cauſed to be cōpiled and reduced into a boke, the determination of the vniuerſities, with the iudgemēts of great Clerkes, which booke being printed & ſet abroade, did againe ſatiſfie all indifferent and reaſonable perſones, which were not too much wedded to their willes.

Preachi againſt kinges ma mariage.

Mention was made a litle before, of a parlamēt begon the 15. day of January, An. 1533. in the which Parlament the cōmons had put vp a Supplication, complaining of yͤ ſtrait dealing of the Cleargie in their proceeding Ex officio. This cōplaint, although at the firſt it ſeemed not greatly to be tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of yͤ parlament, the time ſo wrought withall, that the King hauing more cleare vnderſtāding of the abuſes & enormities of the clergye, and in ſpeciall of the corrupt authoritie of the Sea of Rome, prouided certayne actes agaynſt the ſame: Firſt as concerning the lawes, decrees, ordinaunces and conſtitutions made and ſtabliſhed by the pretenſed authoritie of the Byſhops of Rome, to yͤ aduauncemēt of theyr worldly glory: yͭ who ſo did or ſpake any thing either agaynſt their vſurped power, or agaynſt yͤ ſayd lawes, decrees, or conſtitutiōs of theirs not approued nor groūded vpō holy ſcripture or els being repugnant to yͤ kings prerogatiue royal, ſhuld therfore ſtād in no danger nor be impeachable of hereſie. And likewiſe touching ſuch cōſtitutions ordinances, & canōs prouinciall or Synodall, which were made in this realm in yͤ conuocation of biſhops, being either preiudicial to yͤ kings prerogatiue, or not ratified before by the kinges aſſent, or being otherwiſe onerous to the king and his ſubiects, or in anye wiſe repugnant to the lawes and ſtatutes of this realme, they were committed to the iudgment of 32. perſons choſen by the king, out of that higher & lower houſe, to be determined either to ſtand in ſtrēgth, or to be abrogate at their diſcretions: and farther that all yͤ Clergy of this realme ſubmitting themſelues to the kyng ſhould and did promiſe in verbo Sacerdotij, neuer hereafter to preſume to aſſemble in theyr conuocations without the kinges writte, nor to enact or execute ſuche conſtitutions without hys royall aſſent. &c. Ex Statut. Henr. 8.

The wri ex officio, broke the king. Statut. an. Reg. He

An acte cerning popeſ

Decrees conſtit prouinci of this realme mitted to exami

Farther in the ſame Parliament was enacted and decreed, that in cauſes and matters happening in contention no perſon ſhould appeale, prouoke or ſue, out of the kinges dominions, to the Court of Rome, vnder payne of prouiſours, prouiſion, or Premunire.

No appeale Rome.

Item, in the ſame parliament was defined and concluded, yͭ all exportation of Annates and firſt fruites of Archbiſhoprickes and Biſhoprickes out of this Realme to the Sea of Rome, for any bulles, brieues, or palles, or expedition of any ſuch thing ſhould vtterly ceaſe.

Alſo for the inueſting of Archbiſhops, Biſhoppes, or other of any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, ſuch order in the ſayde Parlament was taken, that the king ſhould ſend a licence vnder the great ſeal, with a letter miſſiue, to the Prior and Couent, or to the Deane and Chapter of thoſe Cathedrall Churches where the Sea was vacant: by the vertue of which licēce or letters miſſiue, they within 12. daies ſhould choſe the ſaid perſon nominated by the king, & none other, and yͤ election to ſtand effectuall to all intents, which election being done, then the partie elect, making firſt his othe and fealty to the king, if it were a Biſh. that was elect, then the king by his letters patents, to ſignifie the ſayd election to the Archb. of that prouince, and 2. other Biſhops, or els to 4. biſhops within this realme, to be aſſigned to that office, without any other ſuing, procuring, or obtaining any bulles, breues, or other things from the Sea of Rome.

*Boner his pro before vera ad entia, that th rauinous pray of th pope, meth m much as the reucum The of Inn by th

Moreouer,

Peter pence ſtopped frō Rome.

Moreouer, againſt al other whatſoeuer intolerable exactions and great ſumnes of mony vſed to be paid out of this realme to the B. of Rome, in penſions, cenſures, Peterpence, procurations, fruites, ſuites for prouiſions & expeditions of bulles, for Archb. and Biſhops, for delegacies and reſcriptes in cauſes of contentions and appeales, iuriſdictions legatiue: alſo for diſpenſations, licences, faculties, graunts, relaxations, writtes called Perinde valere, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinit ſortes of bulles, breues, and inſtrumēts of ſundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited. In the ſaid Parlament it was ordained, ẏ all ſuch vncharitable vſurpations, exactions, penſions, cenſes, portions, and Peterpence wont to be paide to the ſea of Rome, ſhould vtterly ſurceaſe, and neuer more to be leuied: ſo that the king with his honorable counſaile ſhould haue power and authoritie from time to time, for the ordering, redreſſe, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, priuileges, &c. within this realme.

Peter pence how they came, & how long they continnued. Vide ſupra pag. 127. Vide ſupra. pag. 114.

Where is to be noted by the way, as touching theſe Peterpēce aforeſaide, that the ſame were firſt brought in and impoſed by K. Iua, about the yere of our Lord. 720. Which Iua K. of the Weſtſaxōs, cauſed through al his dominiō in euery houſe hauing a chimny, a peny to be collected & paid to the B. of Rome in the name of S. Peter, & therof were they called Peterpēce vide ſupra. pag. 127. The ſame likewiſe did Offa K. of Merciās after him, about the yere of our Lord. 794. vide pag. 114. And theſe Peterpence euer ſince, or for the moſt part, haue vſed of a long custome to be gathered and ſummoned by the Popes collectors here in England, frō the time of Iua aforeſaide, to this preſent Parlament. An. 1533.

Finally, by the authority of the Parlament it was conſulted and conſidered cōcerning the legalitie of the lawfull ſucceſſion vnto the crowne, in ratifying and inhabling the heires of the kings body and Queene Anne. In the whych parliament moreouer the degrees of mariage plainly and clerely were explaned and ſet forth, such as be expreſly prohibited by Gods lawes, as in this Table may appeare.

Statut. an. 31 Reg. Hen. 8.

Degrees prohibited to marrye.

A Table of degrees prohibited by Gods lawe to marrie.

The ſonne not to mary the mother, nor ſtepmother.
The brother not to mary the ſiſter.
The father not to mary his ſonnes daughter, nor his daughters daughter.
The ſonne not to mary his fathers daughter gotten by hys ſtepmother.
The ſonne not to mary his aunte, being either his fathers or his mothers ſiſter.
The ſonne not to mary his vncles wife.
The father not to mary his ſonnes wife.
The brother not to mary his brothers wife.
No man to mary his wiues daughter.
No man to mary his wiues ſonnes daughter.
No man to mary his wiues daughters daughter.
No man to mary his wiues ſiſter.
All theſe degrees be prohibited by the ſcripture.

Seperation. betweene the king and the Lady Catherine by acte of Parlyament.

All theſe things thus being defined and determined in this foreſaide Parliament, and alſo being in the ſame Parliamente concluded, that no man of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer, hath any power to diſpenſe wyth Gods lawes, it was therfore by the authoritie aforeſayd, agreeing with the authoritie of Gods word, aſſented that the maryage afortime ſolemniſed betwene the kyng and the Ladie Katherine, being before wife to prince Arthur the kynges brother, and carnally knowen by him (as is aboue proued) ſhould be abſolutely demed and adiudged to be vnlawfull and againſt the law of God, and alſo reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect: and that the ſeparation therof by Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Cant. ſhould ſtand good and effectuall to all intents: and alſo that the lawful matrimony betwene the king and the Lady Anne his wife ſhoulde be eſtabliſhed, approued, and ratified for good and conſonant to the lawes of almightye God. And further alſo, for the eſtabliſhing of thys kinges lawfull ſucceſſion, it was fully by the ſayd parliament adiudged that the inheritance of the crowne ſhuld remaine to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the King and Queene Anne his wife.

The mariage betwene the king and Queene Anne approued by publicke Parlyament the heyres of K. Henry and Queene Anne ratified by Parlament.

During the time of this Parliament, before the mariage of Queene Anne, there was one Temſe in the Common houſe, which mooued the Commons to ſue to the king, to take the Queene againe into hys companie, declaring certaine great miſchiefes like to inſue therof, as in baſtarding the Ladie Marie the kings onely childe, and diuers other inconueniences: which being reported to the kings eares, he ſent immediatly to ſyr Thomas Audley, Speaker then of the Parliament, expreſſing vnto hym amongeſt other matters, that he marueiled muche, why one of the Parliament did ſo openly ſpeake of the abſence of the Queene from him: which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (ſayde hee) hys ſoule, and wiſhed the Matrimonie were good, for then hadde he neuer bene ſo vexed in conſcience. But the Doctors of Uniuerſities (ſaid he) haue determined the mariage to be voide, and deteſtable before God, which grudge of conſcience (hee ſayde) cauſed hym to abſtaine from her companie, and no fooliſhe, nor wanton appetite. For I am (ſayde he) 41. yeare olde, at whyche age the luſt of man is not ſo quicke, as it is in youthe. And ſauing in Spaine and Portugale, it hath not bene ſeene, that one manne hath maried two ſiſters, the one being carnally knowen before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife, was ſo abhorred amongeſt al nations, that I neuer heard it, that any chriſtian man ſo did, but my ſelfe. wherefore ye ſee my conſcience troubled, and ſo I pray you report. And ſo the Speaker departing, declared to the Commons the kings ſaying.

The kinges wordes to Syr Tho. Audley ſpeaker of the Parliament.

The kinges workes to certaine of the cōmon houſe.

Not long after that, the Kinge perceiuing belyke the mindes of the Cleargy not much fauouring his cauſe, ſent for the Speaker againe and 12. of the Common houſe, hauing with him 8. Lordes, and ſayde to them: well beloued ſubiects, we had thought the Clergy of our realme had ben our ſubiects wholye, but nowe we haue well perceyued that they be but halfe oure Subiectes: yea, and ſcarce oure ſubiectes: For all the Prelates at their conſecration, make an othe to the Pope, cleane contrarye to the othe that they make vnto vs, ſo that they ſeeme to be hys ſubiectes and not ours: and ſo the King deliuering to them the Copie of both the othes, required them to inuent ſome order that he might not thus be deluded of his ſpirituall ſubiects. The Speaker thus departed, and cauſed the othes to be read in the Common houſe, the very tenor wherof here enſueth.

The ſpirituall men the Popes ſubiectes more then the kinges.

The othe of the Clergie to the Pope.

The othe which the Clergye commōly geueth to the Pope

I Iohn Biſhop or Abbot of A. from this houre forwarde, ſhall be faithfull and obedient to S. Peter, & to the holy church of Rome, and to my Lorde the Pope, and his ſucceſſours Canonically entring. I ſhall not be of counſaile nor conſent, that they ſhall looſe either life or member, or ſhall be taken or ſuffer anye violence, or any wronge, by any meanes. Their counſaile to me credited by them, their meſſengers or letters, I ſhall not willingly diſcouer to any perſon. The Popedome of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of S. Peter I ſhall helpe and retaine, and defende againſt all men. The legate of the ſea Apoſtolicke going & comming, I ſhall honourably entreat. The rightes, honours, priuiledges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and hys ſucceſſours, I ſhall cauſe to be conſerued, defended, augmented, & promoted. I ſhall not be in counſell, treatie, or any acte, in the which any thing ſhall be imagined againſt him or the Churche of Rome, their rights, ſtates, honours, or power: and if I knowe anye ſuch to be mooued or compaſſed, I ſhall reſiſt it to my power, and aſſoone as I can, I ſhall aduertiſe him, or ſuche as maye geue hym knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, ſentences, diſpoſitions, reſeruations, prouiſions and commandements Apoſtolike, to my power I ſhall keepe and cauſe to be kept of other. Heretikes, ſchiſmatikes, and rebels to our holy father and his ſucceſſors, I ſhall reſiſt and perſecute to my power. I ſhal come to the Synode whē I am called, except I be letted by a Canonicall impediment. The lights of the Apoſtles I ſhall viſite perſonally or by my deputie, I ſhall not aliene nor ſell my poſſeſſions, wythout the Popes councell, ſo God me helpe and the holy Euangeliſtes.

¶ This othe of the Clergie men, which they were wont to make to the Biſhoppe of Rome (nowe Pope quondam) was aboliſhed and made voyde by ſtatute, and a new othe miniſtred & confirmed for the ſame, wherein they acknowledged the King to be the ſupreame heade vnder Chriſte in this Church of England, as by tenor thereof may appeare here vnder enſuing.

The othe of the Clergie to the king.

Pope quondam. The othe of the Clergye to the king.

I Iohn B. of A. vtterly renoūce and clerely forſake al ſuch clauſes words, ſentences & grants, which I haue or ſhal haue hereafter of the Popes holines, of & for the biſhoprike of A that in any wiſe hath bene, is, or hereafter may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to youre highnes, your heirs, ſucceſſors, dignity, priuiledge or eſtate royal: and alſo I doe ſweare that I ſhalbe faithful and true: and faith and truth I ſhall beare to you my ſoueraigne Lord, and to your heires kings of the ſame, of life and limme, and earthly worſhip aboue all creatures, for to liue & die with you and yours againſt al people, and diligently I ſhalbe attendant to all your nedes and buſineſſe, after my wit and power, and your counſel I ſhall kepee and holde, knowledging my ſelfe to hold my Biſhopricke of you onely, beſeeching you of reſtitutiō of the temporalties of the ſame, promiſing (as before) that I ſhalbe faithfull, true, and obediēt ſubiect to your ſaid highnes, heires, and ſucceſſours during my life, and the ſeruices and other things due to your highneſſe, for the reſtitution of the temporalties of the ſame Biſhoprike, I ſhall truely do and obediently performe, ſo God me helpe and all Saintes.

Syr Tho. More.

Tho. Audeley made Lord Chauncellour.

These othes thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occaſion that the Pope loſt al his intereſt and iuriſdiction heere in Englande, wythin ſhorte while after. Upon the occaſion and reaſon whereof, the matter falling out more & more againſt the Pope, Syr Thomas More, of whome mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the Pope, & a heauy troubler of Chriſtes people, and nowe not liking well of this othe, by Gods good worke, was enforced to reſigne vp his Chauncelorſhip, and to deliuer vp the great ſeale of England into the kings hands. After whom ſucceeded ſyr Thomas Audley, Keeper of the great ſeale, a man in eloquence and giftes of tonge no leſſe incomparable, then alſo for hys godly diſpoſed minde, and fauorable inclination to Chriſtes religiō, worthy of much commendation.

The maryage of Queene Anne.

The great almes of Quene Anne.

Heath, Thirlby, L. Paget.

Lord Paget a mainteyner of D. Barnes.

These things being done in the parlament, the king wᵗin ſhort time after, proceeded to the mariage of the foreſayd lady Anne Bullen, mother to our moſt noble Quene now, who wᵗout all controuerſie was a ſpecial comforter & aider of all the profeſſors of Chriſtes goſpell, as well of the learned as the vnlearned: her life being alſo directed according to the ſame, as her weekely almes did manifeſtly declare: who beſides the ordinarye of a C. crownes, and other apparell that ſhe gaue weekely a yeare before ſhe was crowned, both to men and women, gaue alſo wonderfull much priuie almes to wydowes and other pore houſholders cōtinually til ſhee was apprehended, and ſhe euer gaue three or foure pounde at a time to the poore people, to buy them kine withall, and ſent her Subaimner to the townes about where ſhee lay, that the pariſhioners ſhould make a bill of all the poore houſeholders in their pariſh, and ſome towns receiued 7. 8. or 10. pound to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poore in the Townes were. Shee alſo maintained many learned mē in Cambridge. Likewiſe did the Erle of wilſhire her father, and the Lord Rochford her brother, and by them theſe men were brought in fauour wᵗ the king: of whome ſome are yet aliue and can teſtifie the ſame, which would to God they were nowe as great profeſſors of the goſpell of Chriſt, as then they appeared to be, which were D. Heath, and D. Thirlby: with whome was ioyned the L. Paget, who at that preſent was an earneſt proteſtant, & gaue vnto one Rainolde weſt, Luthers bookes, and other bokes of the Germaines, as Franciſcus Lambertus de Sectis, and at that time he red Melancthons Rhetorike openly in Trinitie hall in Cambridge, and was wᵗ his M. Gardiner a mainetainer of D. Barnes and all the Proteſtantes that were then in Cambridge, & holpe many religious perſons out of their cowles.

The praiſe of Quene Anne.

It hath bene reported vnto vs by diuers credible perſons which were about this Quene, and daily acquainted with her doings concerning her liberall and bountiful diſtribution to the pore, how her grace caried euer about her a certaine little purſe, out of the which ſhe was wont daily to ſcatter abroad ſome almes to the needy, thinking no day well ſpent, wherein ſome man had not fared the better by ſome benefite at her handes. And this I write by the relation of certain noble perſonages which were chiefe & principall of her waiting maides about her, eſpecially the Duches of Richmond by name.

The name of this gentlewoman was Maiſtres Wilkinſon.

The good order of the Court in Queene Annes tyme.

Alſo concerning the order of her ladies & gentlewomen about her, one that was her ſilkwoman, a Gentlewoman not nowe aliue, but of great credite and alſo of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time ſhe neuer ſaw better order amongſt the ladies & gentlewomē of the Courte, then was in this good Queenes dayes, who kepte her maides and ſuche as were about her ſo occupyed in ſowing and working of ſhirtes & ſmockes for the poore, that neither was there ſene any idlenes then amōgſt them, nor any leiſure to followe ſuch paſtimes as daily are ſeene now a daies to raigne in princes courtes.

The king diuorced from Lady Catherine & frō the Pope, both at one tyme.

Thus the king being deuorced from the lady Dowager his brothers wife, maried this gracious Lady, makyng a proſperous and happy change for vs, being diuorced from the foreſaide Princeſſe and alſo from the Pope both at one time. Notwythſtanding as good and godly purpoſes are neuer without ſome incommoditie or trouble following, ſo it happened in this diuorcement that the ſayde Princeſſe procuring from Rome the Popes curſe, cauſed both the king and the realme to be interdited, wherof more is hereafter to be ſpoken.

{ Anno 1533 }

Queene Anne crowned.

Queene Elizabeth borne.

In the meane time Quene Anne, ſhortly after her mariage, being great with childe, the next yeare followynge, which was 1533. after the firſt diuorcement publikely proclaimed, was crowned wyth high ſolemnitie at weſtminſter: and not long after her Coronation, the 7. day of September ſhe was brought a bed, and deliuered of a faire Lady, for whoſe good deliueraunce Te Deum was ſonge in all places, and great preparation made for the Chriſtening.

The Maior and his brethren with 40. of the chiefe Citizens were commaunded to be preſent withall the nobles and Gentlemen. The kings Pallace and all the wals betweene that and the Friers, was hanged with Arras, and the Friers Churche. Alſo the Fonte was of ſiluer, & ſtoode in the midſt of the Churche three ſteppes high, whych was couered with a fine cloth, and diuers Gentlemen wyth aprons and towels about their neckes, gaue attendance about it. Ouer the Fonte hong a faire Canapy of crimoſine Satten fringed wyth Golde. About it was a raile couered wyth ſaie. Betweene the Quire and the body of the church was a cloſe place with a pan of fire to make the childe ready in. These things thus ordered, the childe was brought into the Hall, and then euery man ſet forward. Firſt the citizens 2. and 2. Then the gentlemen, Eſquiers and Chapleins. Next after folowed the Aldermen and the Maior alone. Next the Maior folowed the kings Councell. Then the kings Chappel. Then Barons, Biſhops and Earles. Then came the Earl of Eſſex, bearing the couered Baſons gilte. After him the Marques of Exeter wyth the taper of Virgin waxe. Next him, the Marques Dorſet bearynge the Salte. Behinde him the Ladie Marie of Northfolke bearing the Chriſome which was very riche of Perle and ſtone. The olde Ducheſſe of Northfolke bare the childe in a Mantle of Purple Veluette, with a longe traine Furred with Ermine. The Duke of Northfolke with hys Marſhal rod, went on the right hand of the ſayde Ducheſſe, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hande. Before them went the Officers of armes. The Counteſſe of Kente bare the long traine of the childes mantell. Betwene the Counteſſe and the child, went the Erle of wilſhire on the right hand, and the Erle of Darby on the left hand, ſupporting the ſaid traine. In the middeſt ouer the childe was borne a Canapie by the Lord Rochford, the Lord Huſſey, the Lord william Haward, and the Lord Thomas Hawarde the elder. In this order they came vnto the Churche dore where the Biſhop of London mette it, with diuers Abbots and Byſhops, and began the obſeruances of the Sacrament. The Archbiſhop of Caunterbury was Godfather, and the olde Ducheſſe of Northfolke, and the old Marchioneſſe of Dorſet, widowes, were Godmothers, and the childe was named Elizabeth.

Cranme godfath to Quee Elizabe

After all thinges were done at the Churche doore, the child was brought to the Fonte & Chriſtened. This done, Garter the chiefe king of armes cryed aloud: God of his infinite goodnes ſend proſperous lyfe and longe, to the high and mighty princeſſe of England, ELIZABETH. Then the Trompettes blew, and the childe was brought vp to the aultare and immediately confirmed by the Archbiſhop, the Marchioneſſe of Exceter beyng Godmother. Then the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury gaue to the Princeſſe a ſtanding cup of Gold. The Ducheſſe of Northfolke gaue to her a ſtanding cup of Golde, fretted with Pearle. The Marchioneſſe of Dorſet, three gilte boles pounced, with a couer. The Marchioneſſe of Exceter, three ſtanding boles gilt & grauen with a couer. And ſo after a ſolemne bancket ended with Ipocras, wafers, and ſuch lyke in great plenty, they returned in like order agayne vnto the Courte, wyth the Princeſſe, and ſo departed.

The maid of Kent with her falſe faine hipocriſie apprehen

At the Maryage of this noble Lady, as there was no ſmall ioy vnto al good and godly men, and no leſſe hope of proſperous ſucceſſe to Gods true Religion, ſo in like maner on the contrarye parte, the papiſtes wanted not theyr malicious and ſecret attemptes, as by the falſe hipocriſie and fayned holyneſſe of a falſe fayned hipocrite this yeare before eſpyed & found out, may ſufficiently appeare what theyr deuiliſhe deuiſes and purpoſes were. For certayne Monks Friers, & other euill diſpoſed perſōs, of a deuiliſh intent, had put into the heades of many of the kinges ſubiectes, that they had reuelation of God and hys ſayntes, yͭ he was highly diſpleaſed wᵗ king Henry, for yͤ diuorcement of the Lady Katherine, and ſurmiſed amongſt other thyngs, that God had reuealed to a Nunne, named Elizabeth Barton, whome they called the holy maide of Kente, that in caſe the Kinge proceeded in the ſayde deuorce, hee ſhould not be king of this realme, one moneth after, and in the reputation of God, not one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton by falſ diſſimulation practiſed and ſhewed to the people, marueilous alteration of her viſage and other partes of her body, as if ſhe had bene rapt or in a traunce, & in thoſe fained traunces by falſe hipocriſie (as though ſhee had bene inſpired of God) ſhe ſpake many words in rebuking of ſinne, and reprouing the Goſpell whiche ſhee called hereſie, and among them vttered diuers thyngs to the great reproch of the king and Quene, & to the eſtabliſhing of Idolatrie, Pilgrimage, and the derogatiō of Gods glory: whych her naughtines being ſpied out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, the

Elizabeth Bartō with her falſe cōſpirators.

Lord Cromwell, and Maiſter Hugh Latimer, ſhee was condemned and put to death with certeyne of her affinitie and Councell in the moneth of Aprill, an. 1533. The names of which conſpiratours with her, were theſe: Edwarde Bocking, Monke of Canterbury, Richard Maſter, Perſon of Aldington, John Dering, Monke of Canterbury, Hugh Riche, Frier warden of the Gray Friers of Canterbury, Richard Riſby, Henry Gold, bacheler of Diuinitie, and Perſon of Aldermary, Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, John Adeſon Prieſt, his Chapleine, Thomas Laurence, the Byſhops Regiſter of Caunterbury, Edwarde Thwates, Thomas Abell. Of the which perſons, the ſayd Elizabeth Berton, Henry Gold, Richard Maſter, Edwarde Bocking, John Dering, Hugh Riche, Richarde Riſby, were attaynted of Treaſon by Acte of Parliament, and put to execution.

The reſidue as Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Golde, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Thwates, John Adeſon, Thomas Abell, being conuicte and atteynted of miſpriſon, were condemned to priſon, and forfayted theyr goodes & poſſeſſions to the King. Ex Statut an. 25 Reg Hen 8.

A marueilous iudgement of god againſt Pauier an open enemye to his worde.

Edward Hall, a writer of our Engliſhe Stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforeſayd, adioyneth next in his booke, the narration of one Pauier or Panic, a notorious enemie (no doubt) to Gods truth. Thys Pauier beyng the towne Clerke of the Citie of London, was a man (ſayth he) that in no caſe coulde abyde to heare that the Goſpell ſhoulde be in Engliſhe: In ſo much that the ſayd Hall hymſelfe heard hym once ſay vnto hym, and to other by, ſwearing a great othe: that if he thought the Kings highnes would ſet forth the Scripture in Engliſh, and let it be read of the people by his authoritie, rather thē he would ſo long liue, he would cut his owne throate, but he brake promiſe (ſayth Hall) for he dyd not cut his throate with any knife, but with an halter did hang himſelfe. Of what minde and intent he ſo did, God iudge.

Pauier a bitter enemy againſt Rich. Bayuham.

My information farther addeth this, touching the ſayd Pauier or Panie, that he was a bitter enemie, very buſie at the burning of Richard Bayneham aboue mentioned. who hearing the ſayd Baynham at the ſtake ſpeakyng againſt Purgatory and tranſubſtantiation: ſet fire (ſayd he) to this hereticke and burne hym. And as the trayne of gunpowder came toward the Martyr, he lifted vp his eyes and hands to heauen, ſaieng to Pauier: God forgiue thee, and ſhewe thee more mercy then thou doeſt to me. The Lord forgiue Sir Thomas More, and pray for me all good people: and ſo continued he praieng, till the fire tooke hys bowels and his head, &c.

Pauier a perſecutor hāged him ſelfe.

After whoſe Martyrdome, the next yeare folowing, this Pauier the towne Clerke of the Citie, went and bought ropes. which done, he went vp to an hygh garret in hys houſe to pray, as he was wont to doe, to a roode which he had there, before whom he bitterly wept: And as his own mayde comming vp found him ſo doyng, he bad her take the ruſtye ſworde, and go make it cleane, and trouble him no more, and immediately he tied vp the rope, and hoong himſelfe. The maydes hart ſtill throbbed, and ſo came vp, and founde him but newly hanged. Then ſhe hauing no power to helpe him, ranne crieng to the Church to her miſtres to fetch her home. His ſeruants and Clerkes he had ſent out before to Finiſbery, and to Maiſter Edney Sergeant to the Lord Maior, dwelling ouer Byſhops gate, to tary for him at Finiſebery Court till he came: but he had diſpatched himſelfe before, ſo that they might long looke for him before he could come. which was an. 1533.

The terrible hād of Gods iudgement vpon Foxford the Byſhops Chācellour.

To this ſtory of Pauier, may alſo be added the lyke terrible example of Doctor Foxford, Chauncellour to the Byſhop of London, a cruell perſecutor and a common butcher of the good Saincts of God: who was the condemner of all thoſe aforenamed, which were put to death, troubled, or abiured vnder Byſhop Stokeſley through all the dioces of London. This Foxford dyed about this preſent yeare and time: of whoſe terrible end it was then certainely reported and affirmed by ſuche as were of right good credite, vnto certayne perſons, of whom ſome be yet aliue, that he dyed ſodenly ſitting in his chayre, his belly being bruſt, and his guts falling out before him.

The death of W. Warham Archb. of Cant. Tho. Cranmer Archb. of Cant.

About the ſame time died alſo william warham Archbyſhop of Canterbury: in whoſe roume ſucceeded Thomas Cranmer, which was the Kings Chapleyne, and a great diſputer againſt the vnlawful mariage of Lady Katherine Princeſſe Dowager, being then ſo called by Act of Parliament.

Queene Catherine appealeth to Rome.

Ye heard before, how the Parliament had enacted, that no perſon after a certeine day, ſhould appeale to Rome for any cauſe. Notwithſtanding which Acte, ẏ Queene, now called Princeſſe Dowager, had appealed to the Courte of Rome, before that Acte made: ſo ẏ it was doubted, whether that Appeale were good or not. This queſtion was well handled in the Parliament houſe, but much better in the Conuocation houſe, and yet in both houſes it was alledged, yea and by bookes ſhewed, that in the Councels of Calcedone, Affrike, Toletane, and diuers other famous Councels in the primatiue Church, yea in the tyme of S. Auguſtine it was affirmed, declared, & determined that a cauſe riſing in one Prouince, ſhould be determined in the ſame & that neither the Patriarke of Cōſtātinople ſhould medle in cauſes moued in the iuriſdictiō of the Patriarke of Antioch, nor no Byſhop ſhould entermedle within an others Prouince or coūtrey. which thyngs were ſo clerkly opened, & ſo cūningly ſet forth to all intētes, ẏ euery mā that had witte, & was determined to folow ẏ truth, & not wilfully wedded to his owne mynde, might playnly ſee ẏ al appeales made to Rome, were clearely voyde & of none effect. which doctrines & coūſailes, were ſhewed to ẏ Lady Katherine Princeſſe Dowager, but ſhe (as womē loue to loſe no dignitie) euer continued in her old ſong, truſting more to the Popes partialitie, then to the determination of Chriſtes veritie.

Concluded by councells of the primitiue church, that nōe ſhould appeale out of their prouince.

Wherupon the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury Cranmer aboue named, accōpanied with ẏ Biſhops of Lōdon, winchester, Bathe, Lincolne, & diuers other great Clerkes in a great number, road to Dunſtable, which is vi. myle frō Ampthyl, where the Princeſſe Dowager lay: & there by a Doctor called Doctor Lee, ſhe was aſcited to appeare before the ſayd Archbyſhop, in cauſe of Matrimony, in the ſayd towne of Dunſtable: & at the day of appearaunce, ſhe would not appeare, but made default, & ſo was called peremptorily, euery day. xv. dayes together, and at the laſt, for lacke of appearaunce, & for contumacie, by the aſſent of all the learned men there beyng preſent, ſhe was diuorced from the kyng, & their Mariage declared to be voyde and of none effect: which ſentence geuen, the Archbyſhop and all the other, returned backe agayne.

Lady Catherine ſolemnly diuorced frō the king.

¶ where note that although this diuorce folowyng after the new Mariage, needed not at all to be made, the firſt Mariage beyng no Mariage at all before God, yet to ſatiſfie the voyce of the people, more then for any neceſſitie, the kyng was contented through the perſuaſions of ſome, ſo to doe. For els as touchyng God and conſcience, what great neede was of any diuorce, where before G O D, no Mariage was to be accounted, but rather an inceſtuous & deteſtable adultery, as the Act of Parliamēt doth terme it: But to our matter agayne.

A note.

After the diſſolutiō of this firſt Mariage made betwen the king & the Lady Princeſſe Dowager, ſhe neuertheleſſe bearyng a ſtout mynde, would not yet relēt, neither to the determination of the Uniuerſities, nor to the cēſure of the Clergy, nor of the whole Realme, but folowyng the coūſaile rather of a few Spanyardes, to moleſt the kyng & the realme by ſute, & meanes made to the Pope, procured certaine writynges, firſt of monition and aggrauation, thē of excommunication and interdiction to be ſent downe from Rome, wherein the Pope had interdicted both the kyng & the whole Realme. But the Popes Curſor beyng not the hardyeſt mā (belike) that euer ſhewed his head, thought it much more ſure for him to diſcharge his Popiſhe carrage without the kynges reach, & ſo keepyng himſelfe aloofe of (like a prety man) ſet vp his writynges in the Towne of Dunkirke in Flaunders. In the which towne, firſt vpon the Northdore of the Church was ſet vp a monition, that the kyng of England ſhould ſurceaſe the ſute of diuorce, the which John Butler Clerke, the Commiſſary of Calice, by commaundement tooke downe in a night.

Writinges ſet vp at Dunkirke againſt the king.

Ioh. Butler of Calis tooke downe the writte at Dunkirke againſt the King.

After that, before whitſonweeke there was ſet vp in the ſame place an excōmunication, aggrauation, regrauation, & interdiction. For the which alſo, the ſayd Butler by commaūdement was ſent to Dunkirke to take it downe. And becauſe the coūſell of Calice would be certified of his diligence therein, they ſent a ſeruaūt of the Lord Liſle, the Deputie of Calice, whoſe name was Cranuell, and vpon wenſday in whitſonweke, at vij. of the clocke in the mornyng, he tooke it downe whole and brought it with hym, & deliuered the ſame to the Lord Deputie aforeſaid. which was about the yeare. 1533.

K. Henry & the realme indicted by the Pope.

This beyng knowne & certified vnto the kyng, he was motioned by his counſell, that ſuch as were about her, and moued her thereto, ſhould be put frō her. And therfore the Duke of Suffolke was ſent to Bugden beſide Huntyngdō, where ẏ ſayd Lady Katherine lay, who perceiuyng her ſtomacke to cōtinue froward ſtill, in aūſweryng him with high wordes, & ſodenly ſo in a fury to part frō him into her priuy chamber, & ſhut the doore: brake vp the doore of her Court, & diſcharged a great ſort of her houſhold ſeruaūts, & yet left her a conueniēt number to ſerue her like a Princeſſe. They that remayned ſtill, were ſworne to ſerue her

The Lady Catherines court diſcharged.

as Princeſſe onely, and not as Queene. Of whome ſome ſayd they were once ſworne to ſerue her as Queene, and otherwiſe would not ſerue, and ſo were diſmiſſed. The other which were ſworne to ſerue her as Princeſſe, ſhe vtterly refuſed for her ſeruants, and ſo ſhe remayned wyth the fewer, liuing after this about the ſpace of two yeares.

¶ The aboliſhing of the Pope out of England.

Anno. 1534.

THeſe thinges thus finiſhed and diſpatched concerning the mariage of Queene Anne, and diuorce of Lady Katherine Dowager, next followeth the yeare 1534. In the which was aſſembled the hye Court of Parliamẽt againe after many prorogations, vpon the third day of February, wherein was made an Acte of ſucceſſion, for the more ſuretie of the crowne, to the which euery perſon being of lawfull age, ſhould be ſworne. During this Parliament time, euery Sonday preached at Paules croſſe a Byſhop, which declared the Pope not to be head of the Church.

Preaching againſt the Pope.

After this, Commiſſions were ſent ouer all England, to take the othe of all men and women, to the Act of ſucceſſion. At which, few repined, except D. John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, ſir Tho. More late Lord Chancellor, and D. Nicholas wilſon, parſon of S. Thomas Apoſtles in Londõ. wherfore theſe 3. perſons, after long exhortatiõ to thẽ made by ẏ Byſhop of Canterbury at Lambeth, refuſing to be ſworne, were ſent to the Tower, where they remained, & were oftentimes motioned to be ſworne: but the Biſhop and ſir Tho. More excuſed thẽ by their writings, in which they ſayd, that they had written before the ſayd Lady Katherine to be Queene, & therfore could not well go frõ that which they had written. Likewiſe the Doctor excuſed, that he in preaching had called her Queene, and therefore now coulde not withſay it againe: Howbeit at length he was well contented to diſſemble ẏ matter, & ſo eſcaped: but the other two ſtode agaynſt all the Realme in their opinion.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

The Byſhop of Rocheſter, & Sir Tho. More, ſent to the tower.

Fyſher byſhop of Rocheſter, & Sir Tho. More, refuſe to be ſworne.

From the moneth of Marche this Parliament farthermore was proroged to the iij. day of Nouemb. abouesaid. At what time, amongſt other diuers ſtatutes, moſt graciouſly and by the bleſſed wil of God it was enacted, that the Pope, and all his colledge of Cardinals, with his pardõs, Indulgences, which ſo long had clogged this Realme of England, to the miſerable ſlaughter of ſo many good men, & which neuer could be remoued away before, was now aboliſhed, eradicate, & exploded out of this land, & ſent home againe to their owne countrey of Rome, from whence they came, God be euerlaſtingly prayſed therefore, Amen.

¶ An Acte concerning the Kings highnes to be the ſupreme head of the Church of England, and to haue authoritie to reforme and redreſſe all errours, hereſies, and abuſes in the ſame. Cap. 1.

ALbeit the Kings Maieſty iuſtly and rightfully is and ought to be the ſupreme head of the Church of England, and ſo is recogniſed by the Clergy of this Realme in their Conuocations, yet neuertheleſſe for corroboration & confirmation thereof, and for encreaſe of vertue in Chriſtes Religion within this Realme of England, and to repreſſe & extirpe all errours, hereſies, and other enormities & abuſes heretofore vſed in the ſame: be it enacted by authoritie of this preſẽt Parliamẽt, ẏ the king our ſoueraigne Lord, his heires & ſucceſſours, Kings of this Realme, ſhal be taken, accepted, & reputed ẏ only ſupreme head in earth of ẏ Church of England, called Anglicana eccleſia, and ſhall haue & enioy annexed and united to the Imperial crowne of this realme, as wel ẏ title & ſtyle therof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, iuriſdictiõs, priuiledges, authorities, immunites, profites, and commodities to the ſayd dignitie of ſupreme head of the ſame Church belonging & apperteining: and ẏ our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord, his heires & ſucceſſours, Kings of this Realme, ſhal haue full power and authority from time to time, to viſite, repreſſe, redreſſe, reforme, order, correct, reſtraine, and amend all ſuche errours, abuſes, offences, contemptes & enormities, whatſoeuer they be, which by any maner of ſpirituall authoritie or iuriſdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repreſſed, ordered, redreſſed, corrected, reſtrained, or amended, moſt to the pleaſure of almighty God, the encreaſe of vertue in Chriſtes religiõ, and for the conſeruation of ẏ peace, vnitie, and tranquillity of this realme, any vſage, cuſtome, forreine lawes, forreine authoritie, preſcription or any thing or things, to the contrary hereof notwithſtanding.

The Kings Proclamation, for the aboliſhing of the vſurped power of the Pope.

The kinges proclamatiõ againſt the Pope.

TRuſtie and welbeloued, we greete you well, and where as not onely vpon good and iuſt and vertuous groundes and reſpects, edified vpon the lawes of holy Scripture, by due conſultation, deliberation, aduiſement, and conſent, as well of all other our nobles and commons temporall, as alſo ſpirituall aſſembled in our high Court of Parliament, and by authoritie of the ſame, we haue by good and wholeſome lawes and ſtatutes, made for thys purpoſe, extirped, aboliſhed, ſeparated, and ſeeluded out of this our Realme, the abuſes of the Byſhop of Rome, his authoritie and iuriſdiction of long time vſurped, as well vpon vs and our Realme, as vpon all other Kings and Princes and their Realmes (lyke as they themſelues haue confeſſed and affirmed) but alſo for as much as our ſayde Nobles and Commons both ſpirituall and temporall, aſſembled in our high Court of Parliament, haue vpon good, lawfull, and vertuous groundes, and for the publicke weale of this our Realme, by one whole aſſent, graunted, annexed, knit, and vnited to the Crowne Imperiall of the ſame, the title, dignitie, and ſtyle of ſupreme head or gouernour in earth immediately vnder God of the Church of England, as we be, and vndoubtedly haue hetherto bene, which title and ſtyle both the Byſhops and Cleargie of this our Realme, haue not only in conuocation, aſſembled, conſented, recogniſed, and approoued lawfully and iuſtly to apperteyne vnto vs, but alſo by word, othe, profeſsion and writing vnder their ſignes and ſeales, haue confeſſed, ratified, corroborated and confirmed the ſame, vtterly renouncing all other othes and obedience to any other foreyne Potentates, and all foreine iuriſdictions and powers, as well of the ſayd Byſhop of Rome, as of all other whatſoeuer they be, as by their ſayd profeſsions and writings corroborated with the ſubſcription of their names, and apenſion of their ſeales, more playnely appeareth: We let you witte, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commiſsion geuen vnto vs of Almighty God, and vpon a vehement loue and affection toward our louing and faithfull ſubiectes, perceiuing right well what greate reſt, quietnes, and tranquilitie of conſcience, and manyfold other commodities might inſurge and ariſe vnto them, if that the ſayde Byſhops and other of the Cleargy of this our Realme, ſhould ſet foorth, declare and preach to them the true and ſincere worde of God, and without all maner colour, diſsimulation and hypocriſie, manifeſt and publiſh the great and innumerable enormities and abuſes which the ſayde Byſhop of Rome, as well in the title and ſtyle, as alſo in authoritie and iuriſdiction of long time vnlawfully and vniuſtly hath vſurped vpon vs and our progenitours, and alſo other Chriſten Princes: haue therefore adreſſed our letters vnto the Byſhop of the dioces, ſtraightly charging and commaunding him in the ſame, that not onely he in his owne proper perſon, ſhall declare, teach, and preach vnto the people forthwith vpon the receat of our ſayd letters vnto him directed, euery Sonday and other high feaſtes through the yeare, the true, meere, and ſincere word of God, and that the ſame title, ſtile, and iuriſdiction of ſupreme head, apperteineth only to our Crowne and dignitie Royall, likewiſe as the ſayd Byſhop and all other the Byſhops of our Realme, haue by othe affirmed and confirmed by ſubſcription of their names, and ſetting to their ſeales, but alſo geue warning, monition and charge to al maner Abbots, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, Prouoſts, Parſons, Vicares, Curates, and all other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, within his ſayd dioceſſe, as well to teache, preach, publiſh, and declare in all maner Churches, our foreſayde iuſt title, ſtyle, and iuriſdiction, euery Sonday and high feaſt thorough the yeare, and further to moniſh and commaund all other Scholemayſters within his ſayd dioceſſe, to inſtruct and teach the ſame vnto the children committed vnto them, as alſo to cauſe all maner prayers, orizons, rubrickes, Canons of Maſſe bookes, and all other bookes in the Churches, wherein the ſayde Byſhop of Rome is named, or his preſumptuous and proud pompe and authoritie preferred, vtterly to be aboliſhed, eradicate, and raſed out, and his name and memory to be neuer more (except to hys contumely and reproch) remembred, but perpetually ſuppreſſed and obſcured: and finally to deſiſt and leaue out all ſuch Articles as be in the generall ſentence, which is vſually accuſtomed to be read four times in the yeare, and do tende to the glory and aduancemẽt of the Biſhop of Rome, his name, title, and iuriſdiction.

The ſtile of ſupreame head annexed to the crowne of England.

The Popes name and memorye aboliſhed.

Whereupon we eſteeming and reputing you to be of ſuch ſingular and vehement zeale and affection toward the glory of Almighty God, and of ſo faythfull, louing, and obedient harte towards vs, as ye will not only do and accompliſh with all power, wiſedome, diligence and labour, whatſoeuer ſhould or might be to the preferment and ſetting forwarde of Gods worde, but alſo practiſe, ſtudie, and endeuour your ſelfe, with all your pollicie, wit, power, and good will, to amplifie, defend, and mayntayne all ſuch intereſt, right, title, ſtile, iuriſdiction, and authoritie, as is in any wiſe apertaining vnto vs, our dignity, prerogatiue, & crowne imperiall of this our Realme, haue thought good & expedient, not only to ſignifie vnto you by theſe our letters, the particularities of the charge, monition, and commaundement geuen by vs vnto the ſayd Byſhop, as before is ſpecified: but alſo to require, and ſtraightly charge and commaund you, vpon payne of your allegeance, and as ye ſhall auoyde our high indignation and diſpleaſure at your vttermoſt perill, laieng apart all vayne affections, reſpects, or other carnall conſiderations, and ſetting onely before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignitie of your ſoueraigne Lord and King, and the great concord and vnitie, and ineſtimable profite and vtilitie, that ſhal by the due execution of the premiſſes, inſue to your ſelfe and all other faithfull and louing ſubiectes, ye make or cauſe to be made diligent ſearche and waite, and eſpecially in euery place of youre ſhirewicke, whether the ſaid Biſhop do truly, ſincerely, and without all maner cloke, colour, or diſsimulation, execute, and accompliſhe our will and commaundement, as is aforeſaid And in caſe ye ſhall heare, perceiue, and approuably vnderſtand, and know that the ſaid Biſhop, or any other eccleſiaſticall perſon within his dioces, do omit and leaue vndone any part or parcel of the premiſſes, or elſe in the execution and ſetting forth of the ſame, do coldly and fainedly vſe any maner ſiniſter addition, wrong, interpretation, or painted colour: then we ſtraightly charge & commaund you, that forthwith vpon any ſuch default, negligence, or diſsimulation of the ſaid Biſhop, or any other eccleſiaſticall perſon of his dioces, contrary to the true tenour, meaning, and effecte of the ſaide charge by vs to him appointed aforeſaid, yee doe make indelaidly, and with all ſpeede and diligence, declaration and aduertiſement to vs and our Counſell, of the ſaide defaulte, and of the behauiour, maner, and faſhion of the ſame.

And for as much as we vpon ſingular truſt, and aſſured confidence which we haue in you, and for the ſpeciall loue and zeale we ſuppoſe and thinke ye beare towards vs and the publicke and common wealth, vnitie, and tranquillitie of this our realme, haue ſpecially elected and choſen you among ſo many, for this purpoſe, and haue reputed you ſuche men, as vnto whoſe wiſedome, diſcretion, truth and fidelitie, we might commit a matter of ſuche great waight, moment, and importance, as whereupon the vnitie and tranquillity of our realme doth conſiſt, if ye ſhoulde contrary to our expectation and truſt which we haue in you, and agaynſt your duety and allegeance towards vs, neglect or omit to do with all your diligence and wiſedome, whatſoeuer ſhall be in your power for the due performance of our mind and pleaſure to you before declared in this behalfe, or halt, or ſtomble at any part or ſpecialtie of the ſame, be yee aſſured that we like a Prince of iuſtice, will ſo extremely puniſh you for the ſame, that all the worlde beſides ſhall take by you example, and beware contrary to their allegeance, to diſobey the lawfull commaundement of theyr ſoueraigne Lord and Prince in ſuch things: as by the faithfull execution whereof, ye ſhall not onely aduance the honor of Almightie God, and ſet foorth the maieſtie and Imperiall dignitie of youre ſoueraigne Lord, but alſo bring an ineſtimable weale, profite and commoditie, vnitie and tranquillitie, to all the common ſtate of this our Realme, whereunto both by the lawes of God, nature, and man, ye be vtterly bound.

Geuen vnder our ſignet at our Pallace
of Weſtminſter the 9. day of Iune.

Furthermore, that no man ſhall cauill or ſurmiſe thys fatall fall and ruine of the Pope, to haue come raſhly vpon the Kings owne partiall affection, or by any ſenſuall temeritie of a few, and not by the graue and aduiſed iudgement, approbation and conſent generally and publikely, as well of the nobles and commons temporal, as alſo vpon ſubſtantiall groundes, and the very ſtrength of truth, by the diſcuſſion and conſultation of the ſpiritual and moſt learned perſons in this Realme: it ſhall be requiſite moreouer to theſe premiſſes, to adioyne the words and teſtimonies alſo of the Byſhops owne othes and profeſſion made to the King, yelding and rendering vnto him only the ſtile of ſupreme head next vnder Chriſt, of the Church of England, all other ſeruice, ſubiection, and obedience to be geuen to any other forreine Potentate, which ſhould be preiudiciall to the Kings highnes in this behalfe beeing excluded, and that both frankely and freely, of their own voluntary motion, and alſo vppon the faith and fidelitie of their prieſthode, as by their owne words and handwriting may appeare, in forme as heere vnder followeth.

The othe of Steuen Gardiner to the King.

EGo Stephanus Wintonien. Epiſcopus pure, ſponte, & abſolute, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac ſpondeo, Illuſtriſsimæ veſtræ Regiæ maieſtati, ſingulari ac ſummo Domino meo, & patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ, Regi, fidei defenſori, Domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſupremo immediatè ſub Chriſto capiti, quod poſt hac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Prelato, nec Romano pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedientiam, &c.

In Engliſh.

he othe of teph, Gar- ner to the ing.

I Steuen Byſhop of Wincheſter, do purely of mine owne voluntary accord and abſolutely, in ÿ word of a Biſhop, profeſſe and promiſe to your princely maieſtie, my ſingular and chiefe Lord and Patrone, Henry the 8. by the grace of God King of England & of France, defendor of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, & in earth of the Church of England ſupreme head immediately vnder Chriſt, that from this day forward I ſhall ſweare, promiſe, geue, or cauſe to be geuē to no forreine Potētate, Emperour, King, Prince or Prelate, nor yet to the Byſhop of Rome, whō they call Pope, any othe or feaultie directly or indirectly, either by word or writyng, but at all tymes and in euery caſe & condition I ſhall obſerue, hold, & mainteyne to all effectes & intentes, the quarell & cauſe of your royall Maieſtie & your ſucceſſours, and to the vttermoſt of my power, ſhall defend the ſame agaynſt all manner of perſons whom ſoeuer I ſhall know or ſuſpect to bee aduerſaries to your Maieſtie or to your ſucceſſours, & ſhall geue my fayth, truth, & obedience ſincerely & with my very hart, onely to your royall Maieſtie, as to my ſupreme Prince. I profeſſe the Papacie of Rome not to be ordeined of God by holy Scripture, but conſtantly do affirme and openly declare and ſhall declare it to be ſet vp onely by mā, and ſhall cauſe diligently other men likewiſe to publiſh the ſame. Neither ſhall I enter any treatie with any perſon or perſons either priuely or apertly, or ſhall conſent thereto, that the Byſhop of Rome ſhall haue or exerciſe here any authoritie or iuriſdiction, or is to be reſtored to any iuriſdiction hereafter.

Stephen Gardiner aprenoun- renounceth the Pope.

Furthermore that ÿ ſayd Byſhop of Rome now being or any that ſhall ſucceede him hereafter, in the ſayd Sea, is not to be called Pope nor ſupreme Byſhop or vniuerſall Byſhop, nor moſt holy Lord, but onely ought to be called Byſhop of Rome and felow brother (as the old maner of the moſt auncient Byſhops hath bene) this I ſhall to my power openly mainteyne and defend.

Alſo I ſhall firmely obſerue & cauſe to bee obſerued of other, to the vttermoſt of my cunnyng, witte, & power, all ſuch lawes and Actes of this Realme, how and what ſoeuer, as haue bene enacted & eſtabliſhed for the extirpation and ſuppreſſion of the Papacie, and of the authoritie, and iuriſdiction of the ſayd Byſhop of Rome. Neither ſhall I appeale hereafter to the ſayd Biſh. of Rome, nor euer conſent to any perſon, that ſhall appeale to him, neither ſhall I attempt, proſecute or follow any ſute in the Court of Rome for any cauſe of right or Iuſtice to be had, or ſhall make aunſwere to any plee or action, nor ſhall take vpon me the perſon and office either of the plaintife or defendent in the ſayd Court. And if the ſayd Byſhop by his meſſenger or by his letters ſhall make any meanes or ſignificatiō vnto me of any matter what ſoeuer it be, I ſhall with all ſpeede & diligence make declaration & aduertiſement thereof, or cauſe that ſame to be ſignified, either to your princely maieſty, or to ſome of your ſecret coūſaile, or to your ſucceſſours or any of their priuy counſell: Neither ſhall I ſend or cauſe to be ſend at any tyme, any writing or meſſēger to the ſayd Byſhop or to his Court without the knowledge & cōſent of your maieſty or your ſucceſſours willyng me to ſend writing or meſſenger vnto him. Neither ſhall I procure or geue coūſaile to any perſō to procure bules, brieues or reſcriptes whatſoeuer, either for me or for any other, frō the ſayd Byſh. of Rome or his court. And if any ſuch ſhall be procured agaynſt my will & knowledge either in generall or in ſpeciall, or els whoſoeuer they ſhall be graunted vnto them, I ſhall vtter & diſcloſe the ſame, & not conſent thereunto, nor vſe them in any caſe, & ſhall cauſe them to be brought to your maieſtie or your ſucceſſours.

Furthermore for the confirmation hereof, I geue my fayth & truth by firme promiſe & in the fayth of a Byſhop that agaynſt this my foreſayd profeſſion, & promiſe made, I ſhall defēd my ſelfe by no diſpēſation, exception, nor any remedy or cautel of law or exāple, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I haue done or made any proteſtatiō in preiudice of this my profeſſion & promiſe here made: the ſame I do reuoke at this preſent & for euer hereafter, and here vtterly do renounce, by theſe preſents. Whereunto I haue ſubſcribed & vnder written the name both of my ſelfe & of my Byſhopricke, with my proper hand, & thereto alſo haue put to my ſeale, in perpetual & vndoubted teſtimony of the premiſſes. Geuen the x. day of February. an. 1534. & of our ſoueraigne Lord kyng Henry viij. 26.

Steph. Winton.

❧ The lyke othe of Iohn Stokeſley Byſhop of London.

I Iohn Byſhop of London, do purely, & of myne owne volūtary accord, & abſolutely in the word of a Byſhop profeſſe and promiſe to your princely maieſtie, my ſingular, and chief Lord and patrone Henry 8 by the grace of God kyng of England, and of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in earth of the ſame Church of Englād ſupreme head immediately vnder Chriſt. &c. Like to the othe before.

The othe of Stokeſley.

Ioan. London.

¶ The like othe and handwriting of Edward Lee, Archbyſhop of Yorke.

The othe of Lee Archb. of Yorke.

I Edward by the permiſsion of God, Archbyſhop of Yorke, doo purely of mine owne voluntary accord, and abſolutely, in the word of a Byſhop, profeſſe and promiſe to your royall Maieſtie, my ſingular and chiefe Lord and patrone, &c. In like forme to the othe before.

Edovardus Eborac.

The like othe and handwriting of Cuthbert Byſhop of Dureſme.

The oth of Tōſtal of Duriſme.

I Cuthbert by the permiſsion of God Byſhop of Dureſme, doo purely of mine owne voluntary accord, and abſolutely in the word of a Byſhop, profeſſe and promiſe to your royall Maieſtie, my ſingular and chiefe Lord and patrone, &c. As before.

Per me Cutbertum Dulnelm.

And ſo likewiſe all the other Byſhops after the ſame order and forme of othe were obliged and bound to the king, as to their ſupreme head of the Church of England immediatly vnder Chriſt renouncyng and abiuryng vtterly and voluntarily, the Popes too long vſurped iuriſdiction in this Realme: teſtifieng moreouer the ſame, both with their owne hand, and alſo with their ſeale.

Beſides theſe cōfirmations & teſtimonials of yͤ Biſhops aforeſayd, ye ſhall heare yet moreouer, the decree and publicke ſentence of the vniuerſitie of Cambridge written likewiſe and ſubſcribed & ſigned with the publike ſeale of their vniuerſitie, the tenor of which their letter heere followeth.

¶ A letter of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge againſt the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome.

Vniuerſis Sanctæ matris Eccleſiæ filijs, ad quos præſentes literæ peruenturæ ſunt, cœtus omnis regentium & non regentium Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, ſalutem in omnium ſaluatore Ieſu Chriſto. Cum de Romani pontificis poteſtate, &c.

In Engliſh.

A letter of the vniuerſitye of Cambridge.

To all and ſingular children of the holy mother Church, to whoſe hands theſe preſents ſhall come, the whole ſocietie of Regentes and not Regētes of the Vniuerſitie of Cābridge, ſendeth greeting in our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt. Where as now of late it hath riſen vp in queſtion among vs, concerning the power of the Biſhop of Rome, which he doth both claime to himſelfe by the holy Scripture ouer all prouinces & nations in Chriſtendome, and hath now of long time exerciſed in this realme of England: and forasmuch as our cenſure concerning the cauſe is required, to wit: whether the Byſhop of Rome hath any power or authoritie in this kingdome of England allotted to hym by God in the Scripture, more then any other forcine Byſhop, or no: we thought it therfore good reaſon & our duty, for the ſearching out of the veritie of the ſaid queſtion, that we ſhould employ therein our whole indeuour and ſtudy, whereby we might render and publiſh to the world, what our reaſon and cenſure is, touching the premiſſes. For therefore we ſuppoſe, that Vniuerſities were firſt prouided and inſtituted of Princes, to the end that both yͤ people of Chriſt might in the lawe of God be inſtructed, and alſo that falſe errours, if any did riſe, might through the vigilant care and induſtry of learned Diuines, be diſcuſſed, extinguiſhed, and vtterly rooted out. For the which cauſe, we in our aſſemblies and conuocations (after our accuſtomed maner) reſorting and conferring together vpon the queſtion aforeſayd, and ſtudiouſly debating and deliberating with our ſelues, how and by what order we might beſt procede for the finding out of the truth of the matter, and at length chooſing out certayne of the beſt learned Doctours and Bachelers of Diuinity, and other maiſters, haue committed to them in charge, ſtudiouſly to enſearch and peruſe the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certifie vs what is to be ſaid to the queſtion propounded.

* The cenſure of the vniuerſity of Cambridge againſt the Popes ſupremacye.

Forasmuch therefore, as we hauing heard, and well adviſed, and throughly diſcuſſed in open diſputations, what may be ſayd on both partes of the foreſayd queſtion, thoſe reaſons and arguments do appeare to vs more probable, ſtronger, truer, and more certaine, & ſounding much more neare to the pure and natiue ſenſe of Scripture, which do deny the Byſhop of Rome to haue any ſuch power geuen him of God in the Scripture. By reaſon & force of whych arguments, we being perſwaded and conioining together in one opinion, haue with our ſelues thus decreed to aunſwere vnto the queſtion aforeſayde, and in theſe writings thus reſolutely do aunſwere in the name of yͤ whole Vniuerſitie, & for a cōcluſion vndoubted, do affirme, approue, & pronounce, that yͤ Byſhop of Rome hath no more ſtate, authoritie, and iuriſdiction geuen him of God in the ſcriptures, ouer this Realme of Englād, then any other externe Byſhop hath. And in teſtimony and credence of this our aunſwere and affirmation, we haue cauſed our common ſeale to be put to theſe our foreſaid letters accordingly.

The byſ of Rom hath n more ſ in Eng then ſ ny other foreine ſhop.

At Cambridge in our Regent houſe. an. Domi. 1534.

¶ Steph. Wint. De Vera Obedientia.

You haue heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonſtal, & of Stokeſley, how of their voluntary mind, they made their profeſſion to the king, euery one ſeuerally, taking and accepting a corporall othe, vtterly and for euer to renounce and reiect the vſurped ſuperioritie of the Byſhop of Rome. Now for a further teſtimonie and declaration of their iudgementes and opinions whiche then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then preſent, ye ſhall heare ouer and beſide their othes, what the foreſayd Byſhops in their owne Bookes, Prologues, and Sermons do write, and publiſhe abroade in Printe, touching the ſayd cauſe of the Popes ſupremacie.

Steph. Wint. againſt mariage the king with his brothers wife, in booke De vera ob entia.

And firſt (God willing) to begin with Stephen Gardiners booke De vera Obedientia, we will briefly note out a few of his owne words, wherein with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not onely confuteth the Popes vſurped authority, but alſo proueth the Mariage betwene the King and Queene Katherine his brothers wife, not to be good nor lawfull, in theſe words:

Steph. Wint. De vera ob entia.

Of the which morall preceptes in the old law, to ſpeake of ſome (for to rehearſe al it needeth not) the Leuiticall preceptes touching forbidden & inceſtuous mariages, as farre as they concerne chaſt and pure wedlocke, wherin the Originall of mans increaſe cōſiſteth, are alwaies to be reputed of ſuch ſorte, that although they were firſt giuen to the Iewes: yet becauſe they apperteine to the law of nature, & expound the ſame more plainely vnto vs, therfore they belong as well to all maner of people of the whole world for euermore. In which doubtles, both the voyce of nature & Gods Commaundement agreeing in one, haue forbidden that which is contrary and diuers from the one, and from the other. And amongeſt theſe, ſith there is commaundement that a man ſhall not mary his brothers wife, what could the Kings excellent Maieſtie do otherwiſe, then he did by the whole conſent of the people, and iudgemēt of his Churche, that is, to be diuorced from vnlawfull mariage, and vſe lawful and permitted copulation, and obeieng (as meete it was) conformably vnto the commandement, caſt off her whome neither law nor right permitted hym to retayne, and take him to chaſte and lawfull mariage: wherein although the ſentence of Gods worde (whereunto all things ought to ſtoupe) might haue ſuffiſed: yet his Maieſtie was content to haue the aſſiſting conſents of the moſt notable graue men, and the cenſures of the moſt famous Vniuerſities of the whole world: and al to the entent, that men ſhoulde ſee he did that, both that he might doe and ought to do vprightly, ſeeing the beſt learned and moſt worthy men haue ſubſcribed vnto it, ſhewing therein ſuch obedience, as Gods word requireth of euery good & godly man: ſo as it may be ſaid, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly. Of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purpoſed to ſpeake, I could not paſſe this thing ouer with ſilence, whereof occaſion ſo commodiouſly was offered me to ſpeake.

Steph. Wint Dͤ vera ob entia.

Ste. Wint. againſt the kinges riage with his broth wife.

¶ Winchesters reaſons againſt the Popes ſupremacie.

Moreouer, the ſayde Gardiner in the forenamed booke De vera obedientia, what conſtancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earneſtly and pithely he diſputeth on the Kings ſide againſt the vſurped ſtate of the Biſhop of Romes authoritie, by the wordes of his booke it may appeare: whereof a breefe collection heere followeth.

Ste. Wi Luthera in his bo De vera bedienti

In the proceſſe of his foreſayd booke, he alledging the old diſtinction of the Papiſtes, wherein they geue to the Prince the regiment of things temporall, and to the church of things ſpiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the leſſer light, he confuteth and derideth the ſame diſtinction, declaring the ſword of the Church to extend no farther, then to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all preheminence to the ſword of the Prince, alleadging for this the Pſal. 2. And now you Kings be wiſe, and be learned you that iudge the earth, &c.

The ſw of the Church how fa extende

Pſal. 2.

Alſo the example of Salomon: who being a King, according

2. Par.

ding to his fathers appointment ordeined the offices of the Prieſts in their miniſteries, and Leuites in their order, that they mighte geue thankes, and miniſter before the Prieſts, after the order of euery day, and porters in their diuiſions gate by gate.

xod. 32. Reg. 22. Math. 10. Math. 14. ath. 16.

And ſpeaking more of the ſayd Salomon, he ſaith: For ſo commaunded the man of God, neither did the Prieſtes, nor Leuites omitte any thing of all that he had commaunded, &c.

Beſide this, he alleageth alſo the example of King Ezechias 2. Paralip. 28. He alledgeth moreouer the example and facte of Iuſtinian, whiche made lawes touching the faith, Byſhops, Clerkes, heretickes, and ſuch other.

Aaron, (ſaith he) obeyed Moſes. Salomon gaue ſentence vpon Abiathar the high Prieſt.

Alexander the King in the firſt of Machabees, writeth thus to Ionathas: Now haue we made thee this day the high Prieſt of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.

Then comming to the wordes of Chriſt, ſpoken to Peter, Math. 16. vpon which words the Pops pretendeth to builde all his authoritie: to thys he aunſwereth, that if Chriſt by thoſe wordes had limited vnto Peter any ſuche ſpeciall ſtate or preheminence aboue all princes, then were it not true that is written, Cæpit Ieſus docere & facere: for aſmuch as the words of Chriſt ſhould then be contrary to his owne factes and example, who in all his life neuer vſurped either to himſelf any ſuch domination aboue Princes, ſhewing himſelfe rather ſubiect vnto Princes, nor yet did euer permit in his Apoſtles any ſuch example of ambition to be ſeene: but rather rebuked them for ſeeking any maner of maioritie amongſt them.

The kinges ile and itle approued by Ste. Wint.

And where he reaſoneth of the Kings ſtyle and title, being called the King of England, and of Fraunce, defendour of the faith, Lord of Ireland, & ſupreme head in earth of the Church of Englande immediately vnder Chriſt, &c. thus he addeth his mind & cenſure, ſaieng that he ſeeth no cauſe in this title, why any mã ſhould be offended, that the King is called head of ỹ Church of Englãd, rather then of ỹ Realme of England, and addeth his reaſon thereunto ſaieng: If the Prince & King of England be the head of hys kingdome, that is, of all Engliſh men that be his ſubiects, is there any cauſe why the ſame Engliſh ſubiects ſhoulde not be ſubiect to the ſame head likewiſe in this reſpect becauſe they are Chriſtians, that is to ſay, for the title of godlynes, as though that God which is the cauſe of all obedience, ſhould now be the cauſe of Rebellion?

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation, ſayeng: To ſay (ſayth he) that a King is the head of the kingdome, and not of the Church, what an abſurde, and a fooliſh ſayeng is this?

The king is s well the head of the Church as f his kingdome.

And farther, adding for example, the ſubiection of the ſeruaunt and wife: If the ſeruaunt (ſaith he) be ſubiect to his maiſter, or wife to her huſbãd being infidels, doth their conuerſion afterwarde, or name of Chriſtians make them leſſe ſubiects, then they were before? As Religion therefore doth not alter the authoritie of the Maiſter ouer the ſeruaunt, nor the huſband ouer the wife: no more (ſayeth he) doth it betweene the Prince and ſubiects.

Paule making no exception nor diſtinction of ſubiection, ſaue only of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their Princes, and what Princes? Thoſe Princes which beare the ſworde. And although wee bee bound by the Scripture to obey our Byſhops and ſpirituall Paſtours of the Church, yet that obedience diminiſheth nothing the chiefe and head authoritie that ought to be giuen to the Prince, no more then the obedience of the ſeruant to his Maiſter, or of the wife to her huſband exempteth them from ſubiection due to their ſuperiour powers.

A rule of the lawe.

And heerewithall he inferreth a principle of the Lawe. Diuers Iuriſdictions (ſaith he) proceeding from one perſon do not marre nor hinder themſelues, but rather do confirme and fortifie one another.

Wyncheſters yſhe, that e Pope were Peters ucceſſor.

Againe, where as the Biſhop of Rome vnder the name of Peter doth appropriate to himſelfe the higheſt place in the Church, for that he is the ſucceſſour of Peter: thereunto he aunſwereth in one word, but in that one word he anſwereth enough and to the ful: I would (ſaith he) he were: for ſo in very deede he might well exceede & paſſe all kings and princes, if not in preheminẽce of dignitie, yet in admiration & excellency of vertue. In which kinde of ſuperioritie the Lord Chriſt would his Apoſtles and Miniſters to go before all Kings and Emperours in the whole world.

rgument. he prerogatiue was eué to him hich confeſſed. Fleſh bloud in eter did t confeſſe hriſt. Ergo e prerogatiue was t geuen to e fleſh and oud of eter.

After this, in proſecuting the argument of Peters confeſſion, he argueth thus and ſayth: That as fleſh and bloud did not reueile to Peter that confeſſion: ſo neither was that prerogatiue giuen to the fleſhe and bloud of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the ſpirit of Peter, whiche is to meane in reſpect of the ſpirituall confeſſion of Peter, and not in reſpect of any carnall place or perſon, &c.

Item, if the ſcholer ought not to be aboue the mayſter, how then could either Peter take that vppon him, which Chriſt his maiſter ſo conſtantly did refuſe, or how can the Byſhop of Rome now clayme that by ſucceſſion, whereof no example is to be founde either in the head, or his predeceſſor before him? For ſo we read in Euſebius, both of Peter, Iames, & Iohn, that they did arrogate no ſuch primacie vnto them, but were contẽt that Iames ſurnamed Iuſtus, ſhould be the Byſhop of the Apoſtles.

Primatus or Primacie, what it ſignifieth.

And as for the name and ſignification of the word Primatus i. primacie, if it be taken for the firſt nomination, or the firſt place giuen, ſo he grãunteth that Peter had the preferment of the firſt name and place in the order of the Apoſtles. But it foloweth not, that with this primacie he had alſo a kyngdome giuen. And though hee were byd of the Lord to confirme his brethren: yet was he not byd to exerciſe an imperie vpon his brethren, for ſo were they not his brethren, but his ſubiectes.

He ſayeth, confirme thy bretheren, but not thy ſubiectes.

Primus, Primatus. i. Primacie meaneth as much as the firſt ſtanding in vocatjon, and is the name of vertue & not of power.

Then Peter was Primus, that is, firſt or chief in the number of them which confeſſed Chriſt, it is not to be denyed. For firſt he confeſſed, firſt he taught the Iewes, firſt he ſtoode in defẽce of the veritie, and was the firſt and chief Prolocutor amongeſt them: but yet that maketh not, that he ſhould therfore vendicate a generall primacie and rule ouer all other ſtates, and poteſtates of the world, no more then Apelles becauſe hee is noted the firſt and chief of all Paynters, therfore he ought to beare rule ouer all Painters? or becauſe the Vniuerſitie of Paris is nominate for the firſt and chief of other Vniuerſities, ſhall therefore the French kyng, and all other Princes in their publicke adminiſtratiõ, wherein they are ſet of God, become ſubiectes and vnderlynges to that Vniuerſitie?

Thus after many other reaſons and perſuaſions conteined in the ſayd booke De obedientia (for I do but ſuperficially ſkimme ouer the toppe only of his probations and argumentes) finally in the end of his peroration, he cõcludeth the whole ſumme of his mynde, in this effect: firſt denying that the Biſhop of Rome had euer any ſuch externe iuriſdictiõ aſſigned to him abſolutely from God, to reigne ouer Kynges and Princes. For the probation wherof he hath alledged ſufficiently (as hee ſayth) the examples and doynges of Chriſt him ſelfe, whiche ought to be to vs all a ſufficient document.

And as concernyng the terme of Primacie, albeit it be vſed ſometyme of the Fathers, yet the matter beyng well conſidered and rightly expounded maketh nothing for the large dominion of the Byſhop of Rome, whiche now he doth vſurpe.

Alſo as for the prerogatiues graunted vnto Peter, by the whiche prerogatiues our Sauiour would crowne his owne giftes giuen vnto him, crownyng not the fleſh and bloud of Peter, but the marueilous teſtimony of his confeſſion, all this maketh nothyng for the Popes purpoſe.

Succeſſiõ of Peter.

Likewiſe as concernyng the locall ſucceſſion of Peter, ỹ Pope hath nothyng thereby to clayme. If he will be ſucceſſour of Peter, he muſt ſucceede him in fayth, doctrine, & conditions, & in ſo doyng, he neither will neither yet ſhall neede to ſeeke for honour, but ſhall be honored of all good men, accordyng as a good man ſhould be, and that much more then he beyng a good man would require.

Steph. Wint. taketh his vale of the Pope, but not his ultimum vale.

And thus Steph. wincheſter, takyng his leaue, & biddyng the Pope farewell, endeth with a frẽdely exhortatiõ, willyng him to be wiſe & circumſpect, & not to ſtriue ſtubburnely agaynſt the truth. The light of the Goſpell (ſayth he) ſo ſpreadeth his beames in all mens eyes, ỹ the works of the Goſpell be knowne, the myſteries of Chriſtes doctrine are opened: both learned and vnlearned, men & women beyng Engliſhmen borne, do ſee & perceiue, that they haue nothyng to doe with Rome nor with the Byſhop of Rome, but that euery Prince in his owne dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a Vicare of God, & Vicegerent of Chriſt in his owne boũdes. And therfore ſeyng this order is taken of God, that one in the Church ſhould beare the office of teachyng, an other ſhould beare ỹ office of rulyng, (which office is onely limited to princes) he exhorteth him to conſider the truth, and to folow the ſame, wherein conſiſteth our true and ſpeciall obedience. &c.

The office of teaching. The office of of Ruling.

To this booke of Stephen wincheſter De obedientia, we will adioyne for good felowſhyp, ỹ Preface alſo of Edmund Boner Archdeacõ then of Leyceſter, prefixed before the ſame, to the entẽt that the reader ſeyng the iudgemẽtes of theſe men as they were then, & agayne the ſodeine mutation afterward of the ſayd parties to the cõtrary opiniõ, may learne thereby what vayne glory and pompe of this world cã worke in the frayle nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to ſuſteine. The Preface of Boner before the ſayd booke of wincheſter De obedientia, proceedeth thus in effect, as foloweth.

¶ The Preface of Edmund Boner Archdeacon of Leyceſter, prefixed before Stephen Gardiners booke, De obedientia.

Boners preface before Wincheſters, booke of obedience.

Queene Anne.

The doctrine of the Goſpell.

See how theſe clawbackes can clung togeather in truth and in falſehood, and al to faſhiõ thẽſelues to the world and the time preſent.

FOr aſmuch as ſome there be, no doubt (as the iudgements of men be alwaies variable) which thinke the controuerſie which is betweene the Kings roiall Maieſtie, and the Biſhop of Rome conſiſteth in this point, for that his Maieſtie hath taken the moſt excellent and moſt vertuous Lady Anne to wife, which in very deede is farre otherwiſe, and nothing ſo: to the intente therefore that all true harty fauourers of the Goſpell of Chriſt, which hate not, but loue the truth, may the more fully vnderſtand the chiefe point of the controuerſie, and becauſe they ſhall not be ignoraunt what is the whole voice and reſolute determination of the beſt and greateſt learned Biſhops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that cauſe of Matrimony, but alſo in defending the doctrine of the Goſpell: heere ſhall be publiſhed the Oration of the Biſhop of Wincheſter (a man excellently learned in all kinde of learning) entituled DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, that is, concerning true obedience. But as touching this Biſhops worthy praiſes, there ſhall be nothing ſpoken of me at this time, not only becauſe they are infinite, but becauſe they are farre better knowne to all Chriſtendome, then becommeth me heere to make rehearſall. And as for the Oration it ſelfe (which as it is moſt learned, ſo it is moſt elegant) to what purpoſe ſhould I make any words of it, ſeeing it praiſeth it ſelfe inough, and ſeeing good wine needeth no tauerne buſhe to vtter it? But yet in this Oration, whoſoeuer thou art, moſt gentle Reader, thou ſhalt beſide other matters, ſee it notably and learnedly handled of what importaunce, and how inuincible the power and excellencie of Gods truth is: which as it may now and then be preſſed of the enemies, ſo it can not poſsibly be oppreſſed and darkened after ſuch ſorte, but it ſheweth it ſelfe againe at length, more glorious and more welcome. Thou ſhalt ſee alſo touching obedience, that it is ſubiect to truth, and what is to be iudged true obedience. Beſides this, of mens traditions, which for the moſt parte, be moſt repugnaunt againſt the truth of Gods law. And there by the way, he ſpeaketh of the Kings ſaid highnes mariage, which by the ripe iudgemente, authoritie and priuiledge of the moſt and principall Vniuerſities of the world, and then with the conſent of the whole Church of England, he contracted with the moſt excellent, and moſt noble Lady Queene Anne. After that, touching the Kings Maieſties title, as perteining to the ſupreme head of the Church of England. Laſtly of all, of the falſe pretenced ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome in the Realme of England, moſt iuſtly abrogated: and how all other Byſhops being felowlike to him in their function, yea and in ſome points aboue him within their owne prouinces, were before time bound to the King by their othe.

Mens traditons. The contents of Wincheſters booke De vera obedientia.

The kinges mariage with Queene Anne.

Supreme head.

The Biſhop of Roomes pretenſed ſupremacy.

Bouner knewe well what morſell would beſt pleaſe his father of Rome, & that mony & bribes would ſoone ſtoppe his mouthe.

* Seeing thou knewest the Pope to be ſuch a cruell tirant, why then wouldeſt thou againſt thy knowledge, become his ſlaughter man?

But be thou moſt ſurely perſwaded of this, good Reader, that the Biſhop of Rome, if there were no cauſe elſe but onely this mariage, would eaſely content himſelfe, ſpecially hauing ſome good morſell or other geuen him to chaw vpon. But when he ſeeth ſo mighty a King, being a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, ſo ſincerely and ſo hartely fauour the Goſpell of Chriſt, and perceiueth the yearely and great pray (ye ſo large a pray, that it came to as much almoſt as all the Kings reuenues) ſnapped out of hys hands, and that he can no longer exerciſe his tyranny in the Kings Maieſties Realme (* alas heeretofore, too cruell and bitter) nor make lawes as he hath done many to the contumelie and reproch of the Maieſtie of God, which is euident that he hath done in time paſt, vnder the title of the Catholicke Church, and the authoritie of Peter and Paule, (when notwithſtanding he was a very rauening Wolfe, dreſſed in ſheepes clothing, calling himſelfe the ſeruaunt of ſeruaunts) to the great damage of the Chriſten common wealth: heere, heere began all the miſchiefe, thereof roſe theſe diſcords, theſe deadly malices, and ſo great and terrible buſtling. For if it were not thus, could any man beleeue that this Iuppiter of Olympus (which falſely hath arrogated vnto himſelfe an abſolute power without controlment) woulde haue wrought ſo diligently by all meanes poſsible, to ſtirre vp all other Kings and Princes ſo traiterouſly againſt this ſo good and godly and ſo true a Goſpellike Prince, as he hath done? Neyther let it moue thee (gentle Reader) that Wincheſter did not before now, apply to this opinion, for he himſelfe in this Oration ſheweth the cauſe, why he did it not. And if he had ſayd neuer a word, yet thou knoweſt well what a witty part it is for a man to ſuſpend his iudgemente, and not to be too raſh in geuing of ſentence. It is an olde ſayd ſawe: Mary Magdalene profited vs leſſe in her quicke beliefe that Chriſt was riſen, then Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his aduiſed taking of leaſure, reſtored the matter. Albeit I ſpeake not this as though Wincheſter had not boulted out this matter ſecretly with hymſelfe before hand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago) but that running faire and ſoftly, he woulde firſte with his paynefull ſtudy, plucke the matter out of the darke, although of it ſelfe it was cleare enough, but by reaſon of ſondry opinions, it was lapped vp in darkenes, and then did he debate it wittely too and fro, and ſo at laſt after long and great deliberation had in the matter, becauſe there is no better counſeller then leaſure and time, he would reſolutely with his learned and cõſummate iudgement confirme it.

Wint. wryteth againſt the pope with aduiſed iudgement.

No ... matter ... writ... the B... of Ro...

Thou ſhouldeſt gentle Reader, eſteeme his cenſure and authoritie to be of more weighty credence, in as much as the matter was not raſhly and at all aduentures, but with iudgemente (as thou ſeeſt) and with wiſedome examined and diſcuſſed. And this is no new example, to be againſt the tyrany of the Byſhop of Rome, ſeeing that not only this man, but many men often times, yea and right great learned men afore now, haue done the ſame euen in writing, whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his ſleightes, falſhoode, fraudes, and deceiptfull wyles, openly knowne to the world. Therefore if thou at any time heeretofore haue doubted either of true obedience, or of the Kinges Maieſties mariage, or title, either elſe of the Biſhop of Romes falſe pretenſed ſupremacy, as if thou haddeſt a good ſmelling noſe and a ſound iudgemente, I thinke thou diddeſt not: yet hauing read this Oration, (which if thou fauour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome, and his Sathanicall fraudulente falſhode, ſhall doubtles wonderfully content thee) forſake thyne errour, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, conſidering with thy ſelfe, that it is better late ſo to doo, then neuer to repent. Fare thou hartily well moſt gentle Reader, and not only loue this moſt valiant King of England & of France, who vndoubtedly was by the prouidẽce of God, borne to defend the Goſpell, but alſo honor him and ſerue him moſt obediently. As for this Wincheſter, who was long ago without doubt reputed among the greateſt learned men, geue him thy good word wyth higheſt commendation. The end of Byſhop Boners Prologue.

Note,

The in... ſtant ... bilitye ... Wint, a... Boner,

What man reading and aduiſing this booke of Wincheſter De vera obedientia, with Boners Preface before the ſame, would euer haue thought, any alteration coulde ſo worke in mans hart, to make theſe men thus to turne the catte (as they ſay) in the panne, and to ſtart ſo ſodenly from the truth ſo manifeſtly knowne, ſo pithely proued, ſo vehemently defended, and (as it ſeemed) ſo faithfully ſubſcribed. If they diſſembled all this that they wrote, ſubſcribed, and ſware vnto: what periury moſt execrable was it before God and man? If they meant good fayth, and ſpake then as they thought, what peſtilent blindnes is this ſo ſodenly fallen vpon them, to make that falſe nowe, whiche was true before, or that to be now true, which before was falſe? Thus to ſay & vnſay, & then to ſay againe, to doe and vndo, & as a mã would ſay, to play faſt or looſe with truth, truly a man may ſay, is not the doing of a man, whiche is in any caſe to be truſted, whatſoeuer he doth or ſaith. But heere a man may ſee what man is of himſelfe, when Gods good humble ſpirit lacked to be his guide.

The ſer... of Tonſt... before the king, ma... on Palm... Sonday,

Furthermore, to adde vnto them, the iudgement alſo and argumentes of Tonſtall Biſhop of Dureſme, let vs ſee how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth, them in his Sermon made before King Henry vpon Palmeſonday, remayning yet in print. In the whiche Sermon, diſputing againſt the wrongfull ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome, he proueth by manifeſt groundes moſt effectuouſly, both out of the Scripture, auncient Doctors, and of Councels, not only that the Biſhop of Rome hath no ſuch authoritie by the worde of God committed to him, as hee doth chalenge: but alſo in requiring & chalẽging the ſame, he reproueth & condemneth him with great zeale & ardent ſpirit to be a proude Lucifer, diſobediente to the ordinarie Powers of God ſet ouer him, contrary to Chriſt and Peter, and finally in raiſing vp warre againſt vs for ye ſame: he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a moſt deteſtable ſower of diſcord, and murtherer of Chriſtian men.

The popes and Byſhops ought ... ſubiect ... their ſ... raigns. 1. Pet. 2.

FIrſt by the ſcripture he reaſoneth thus & proueth, that all good mẽ ought to obey the poteſtates, & Gouernors of ye world, as Emperours, Kings & Princes of all ſortes, what name ſoeuer the ſayde ſupreme powers do beare or vſe for theyr countreys in whiche they be, for ſo S. Peter doth playnely teach vs 1. Pet. 2. ſayeng: Be yee ſubiect to euerye humane creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be Kyng as chiefe head, or Dukes or Gouernours, &c. **So that S. Peter in his Epiſtle commaundeth all worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Miniſters of God, by all Chriſtian men. And according vnto the ſame, S. Paule Ro. 13. ſaith:** Let euery liuing man be ſubiect to the high powers, for the high powers bee of God, and who ſoeuer reſiſteth the high powers, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God, and purchaſeth thereby to himſelfe damnation, &c.

Whoſo... reſiſteth ... high po... ers, reſi... God. Th... Pope re... teth the highe p... ers: Er... the Po... reſiſteth God.

And in the ſame place of Tonſtall, it foloweth: and leaſt men ſhould forget their duetie of obedience to their Princes, it is thriſe repeated: that they be the miniſters of God, **whoſe place in their gouernance they repreſent: ſo that vnto them all men muſt obey Apoſtles, Patriarches, Primates, Archbyſhops, Biſhops, Prieſtes, and all of the Clergy, &c. And therefore (ſaith he) the Biſhop of Rome**

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Note.

The inconſtant mutabilitye of Wint. and Boner.

The ſermon of Tonſtall before the king, made on Palme Sonday.

That popes and Byſhops ought to be ſubiecte to theer ſoueraigns. 1. Pet. 2.

Whoſoeuer reſiſteth the high powers, reſiſteth God. The Pope reſiſteth the highe powers: Ergo, the Pope reſiſteth God.

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oweth to his ſeueraigne and ſuperior like ſubiection by the word of God, taught vnto vs by Peter and Paule, as other Biſhops do to theyr princes, vnder whom they be. &c.

Alſo, an other expreſſe commaundement wee haue of Chriſt. Luk. 22. who vpon the occaſion of his diſciples ſtriuing for ſuperioritye, diſcuſſeth the matter, ſaying on thys wiſe: The kinges of the people and nations haue dominion ouer them, and thoſe that haue power ouer them be called gracious Lords, but ſo it ſhal not be amongſt you. But whoſoeuer amongſt you is the greater ſhalbe as the yonger. And whoſoeuer amongſt you ſhall be chiefe, ſhalbe as a ſeruaunt and a miniſter. &c.

ke. 22.

And againe, Chriſt ſpeaking to Pilate of his kingdome declareth that his kingdome is not of this world, & therefore ſayth Tonſtall, thoſe that go about to make of Chriſts ſpirituall kingdome, a worldly kingdome, do fall into the error of ſome heretickes that looke that Chriſt after the day of iudgement, ſhall raign with all his ſayntes here in earth carnally in Hieruſalem, as the Iewes do beleue that Meſſias is yet to come and when he ſhall come, he ſhall raigne worldly in Hieruſalem.

hn. 18.

By theſe and ſuch other places it may well appere, that Chriſt neither before his incarnation, (as Tonſtall ſayth) nor after his incarnation, did euer alter the authoritye of worldly kinges and Princes, but by his owne worde, commaunded them ſtill to be obeyed of theyr ſubiectes, as they had bene in the auncient tyme before. &c. And for examples of the ſame, he alledgeth firſt yͤ example of Chriſt himſelfe. Mathew. 22. who being aſked of the Iewes, whether they ſhould geue tribute to Cæſar or no, he bad thē geue to Cæſar thoſe thinges that be his, and to God thoſe thinges that be his, ſignifying that tribute was due to Cæſar, and that theyr ſoules were due to God. &c.

ath. 22. xamples f Chriſtes mble ſub- ction.

Alſo, in the 17. of Mathew it appeareth that Chriſt bad Peter pay tribute for him and his Diſciples, when it was demaunded of him. And why? Becauſe he woulde not chaunge the order of obeyſaunce to worldly Princes due by theyr ſubiectes. &c.

ath. 17.

An other example of Chriſte he citeth out of the 6. of Iohn, where after Chriſt had fed fiue thouſand and moe, with a few loaues, and fewer fiſhes, and that the Iewes would haue takē him and made him theyr king, he fled from them, and woulde not conſent vnto them. For the kingdome (ſayth he) that he came to ſet here in earth, was not a worldly and temporall kingdome, but an heauenly and ſpirituall kingdome, that is, to raigne ſpiritually by grace and fayth in the hartes of all Chriſten and faythfull people, of what degree, or of what nation ſoeuer they be, and to turne al people and nations, which at his comming were carnall & liued after the luſtes of the fleſh, to be ſpirituall and to liue after the luſtes of the ſpirite, that Chriſt with his father of heauen, might reigne in the hartes of all men. &c.

hn. 6.

And here in theſe examples of Chriſtes humility, farther is to be noted, how Chriſt the ſonne of God did ſubmit himſelfe, not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but alſo deiected himſelfe and in a maner, became ſeruaunt to his owne Apoſtles: ſo far of was he from all ambitious and pompous ſeeking of worldly honor: For ſo appeared in him, not onely by waſhing the feet of his Apoſtles, but alſo the ſame time a litle before his paſſion, when the Apoſtles fell at contention among themſelues, who among thē ſhould be ſuperiour, he ſetting before them the example of his owne ſubiection, aſketh this queſtion: Who is ſuperiour, he that ſitteth at the Table, or he that ſerueth at the Table? Is not he ſuperior that ſitteth? but I am amongeſt you, as he that miniſtreth, and ſerueth. &c.

ke. 22.

The like examples Tonſtall alſo inferreth of Peters humility. For where we read in the Actes, how the Centurion a noble man of great age, did proſtrate himſelfe vpon the ground at the feete of Peter: then Peter not ſuffering that eftſoones tooke him vp and bad him riſe, ſaying: I am alſo a man as thou art.

amples of ers ſubction.. ct. 10.

So likewiſe did the Aungell, Apocalips. 19. and 22. to whom when Iohn would haue fallen downe to haue adored him which ſhewed him thoſe viſions, the Aungell ſayd vnto him: See thou do not ſo, for I am the ſeruaunt of God, as thou art. &c.

poc. 19. 22.

Agayne in the foreſaid Peter what an example of reuerent humility is to be ſene in this, that notwithſtādinge he with other Apoſtles hauing his commiſſion to go ouer all yet neuertheleſſe he being at Ioppa and ſent for by Cornelius, durſt not go to him, without the viſion of a ſheete let downe from heauen, by the which viſion he was admoniſhed not to refuſe the Gentiles: or els he knew in himſelfe no ſuch primacy ouer all people and places geuē vnto him, nor no ſuch commiſſion ſo large aboue the other. &c.

Furthermore, the ſayd Peter being rebuked of Paule his felow brother, tooke no ſcorne therof, but was content, ſubmitting himſelfe to due correction.

But here, ſayth Tonſtall, ſteppeth in the B. of Rome and ſayth that Peter had authority geuen aboue all the reſidue of the Apoſtles, & alledgeth the wordes of Chriſt ſpoken to him. Math. 16. Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I wil build my Church, & will geue to thee, the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde vpon earth, ſhall be bound in heauen. This ſayd Chriſt, ſayth the Pope, and S. Peter is buryed at Rome, whoſe ſuccour I am, and ought to rule the Church, as Peter did, and to be porter of heauē gates, as Peter was. &c.

The Popes obiections.

Math. 16.

And Chriſt ſayd alſo to Peter after his reſurrection: Feede my ſheepe, which he ſpake to him onely, ſo that thereby he had authority ouer all that be of Chriſtes flocke, and I as his ſucceſſour, haue the ſame. And therefore who ſo will not obey me, King or Prince, I wyll curſe hym, and depriue him of his kingdome or ſeigniory: For al power is geuen to me, that Chriſt hath, and I am his Vicare generall, as Peter was here in earth, ouer all & none but I, as Chriſt is in heauen.

Iohn. 21.

The ambitious pride of the Pope.

This ambitious and pompous obiection (ſayth Tonſtall) of the Pope, and his adherentes, hath of late yeares much troubled the world, and made diſſention, debate, and open warre in all partes of Chriſtēdome, & all by a wrong interpretatiō of the Scripture. Who if he would take thoſe places after the right ſenſe of them, as both the Apoſtles themſelues taught vs, and all the auncient beſt learned interpretours do expound them, the matter were ſone at a poynt. But otherwiſe, ſith they peruert the Scripture, and preach an other Goſpell in that poynt to vs, then euer the apoſtles preached, we haue therin a general rule to folow: That though an Aungell came from heauen, and woulde tell vs ſuch new expoſitions of thoſe places, as are now made, to turne the wordes, which were ſpoken for ſpirituall authoritye of preaching the word of God, and miniſtring of the Sacramentes to a worldly authority, we ought to reiect him, as S. Paule willeth vs Gala. 1.

The ſcriptures falſely peruerted by the pope.

Gal. 1.

To open therfore the true ſenſe of the Scripture in the places aforeſayd, and firſt to begin with the 16. Chapiter of Mathew here is to be obſerued, that the queſtion being put in generall of Chriſt to all his Apoſtles, what they thought or iudged of him, Peter aunſwering for them all, as he was alwayes ready to anſwere, ſayd: Thou art Chriſt, the ſonne of the liuing God. To whom Ieſus aunſwered agayne: Bleſſed be thou Symon the Sonne of Iona: for fleſhe and bloud hath not reueled this vnto thee, but my Father which is in heauen: And I ſay to thee, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle againſt it. That is to ſay: vpon this rocke of thy confeſſion of mee to be the Sonne of GOD, I will builde my Churche: for this fayth conteineth the whole ſummarye of our fayth and ſaluatiō, as it is written Rom. 10. The word of fayth, that we do preach is at hande, in thy mouth and in thine hart. For if thou confeſſe with thy mouth our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, & with thy hart do beleue that God raiſed him frō death to life thou ſhalt be ſaued &c. And this confeſſion being firſt vttered by the mouth of Peter, vpon the ſame confeſſion of his, & not vpon the perſon of Peter, Chriſt buildeth his Church, as Chriſoſtome expoundeth that place in the 26. Sermon of yͤ feaſt of Pentecoſt, ſaying: Not vpō the perſon of Peter, but vpō the fayth, Chriſt hath builded his church. And what is the fayth? This: Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God. What is to ſay, vpon this rocke? That is, vpon this confeſſiō of Peter. &c. And with this ſaying of Chriſoſtome, all aūcient expoſitors, ſayth Tonſtal treating that place, do agree, For if we ſhould expoūd that place, that the church is builded vpō the perſon of Peter, we ſhould put an other foūdation of the Church, then Chriſt, which is directly agaynſt S. Paule, ſaying: No man may put any other foundation, but that which is put already, which is Chriſt Ieſus. &c.

The place of Math. 16. expounded.

Rom. 10.

Faith, the mother of ſaluatiō. Peter the firſt confeſſor of Chriſt.

The church builded vppon the confeſſion of Peter, not vppon the Perſon of Peter.

1. Cor. 3.

And becauſe Peter was the firſt of all the Apoſtles, that confeſſed this, that Chriſt is the ſonne of God, by yͤ which fayth all men muſt be ſaued: thereof commeth the primacy, that is, the firſt place or ſtanding of Peter in the nūber of all the Apoſtles.

What is the primacye of Peter, and how it commeth.

And as Peter was the firſte of them that confeſſed Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, ſo was he moſt ardent in his fayth, moſt bolde and hardy in Chriſt, as appeared by his comming out of the ſhippe in the great tempeſt, and alſo moſt vehemēt in his mayſters cauſe, as appeared by drawing out his ſword, and after the Lords reſurrection, is declared in the 2. 3. 4. chapiter of the Actes: where as the Iewes withſtanding the Apoſtles preaching the fayth of Chriſt, Peter as moſt ardent in fayth, was euer moſt ready to defend the fayth againſt the impugners therof, ſpeaking for them all vnto the people. &c. and therfore hath theſe honorable names geuen him, by the auncient interpreters, yͭ ſome times he is called the mouth of the Apoſtles, yͤ chiefe of the Apoſtles, ſome time the Prince of the Apoſtles, ſome

The honorable names of Peter in the olde Doctors, how & wherfore they be geuen.

time the Preſident of the whole Church, & ſome time hath the name of primacy, or priority attributed to him.

And yet the ſayd Peter notwithſtanding theſe honourable names geuē vnto him, that he ſhould not haue a rule or a iudicial power aboue all the other Apoſtles, it is plain by S. Paule and many other.

Gala.2.

The authority of the Apoſtles all a like.

First, S. Paule Gal. 2. playnly declareth the ſame, ſaying: That as the Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, that is, of the Iewes, was geuen by Chriſt to Peter: ſo was the Apoſtleſhip of the Gentiles geuen to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paule knew no primacy of Peter concerning people & places, but amōg the Iewes. And therof S. Ambroſe expounding that place, ſayth thus: The primacy of the Iewes was geuen chiefely to Peter, albeit Iames and Iohn were ioyned with him: as the primacy of the Gētiles was geuen to Paule, albeit Barnabas was ioyned with hym: So that Peter had no rule ouer all.

Ambroſius.

Act.10.

Alſo in the Actes 10. when Peter was ſent for to Cornelius a Gentile, he durſt not go to him without a ſpeciall viſion geuen him from heauen by the Lord.

Epheſ.2.

The Church founded not of Peter onely, but of the Apoſtles.

Item, that all the Apoſtles had like dignity and authority, it appeareth by S. Paule Epheſ. 2. where he ſayth: Now ye are not ſtraungers, nor foreners but ye be Citizens wyth the Ssayntes and of the houſehold of almighty God, builded (ſaith he) vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles, and the Prophets, Chriſt being the corner ſtone: vpon whom euery edifice being builded, groweth vp to an holy tēple in our Lord. &c. Here he ſayth that they be builded, not vpon the foundation of Peter onely, but vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles, ſo that al they be in the foundation ſet vpon Chriſt the very rocke, wherupō ſtandeth the whole Church.

Apoc.21.

In the 21. chap. alſo of the Apoca. the new City, and the heauenly Hieruſalem of almighty God is deſcribed of the holy ghoſt, not with one foūdation onely of Peter, but with 12. foundations, after the number of the Apoſtles.

Cypria. lib. De ſimplic. Prelato.

Euery byſhop hath his parte wholy to himſelfe.

S. Cyprian Lib. De ſimplic. præl. geueth record likewiſe to the ſame, that the Apoſtles had equall power & dignitye geuen to them by Chriſt. And becauſe al ſhould preach one thing, therfore ẏ beginning therof firſt came by one which was Peter, who confeſſed for them all: That Chriſt was the Sonne of the liuing God, ſaying further, that in the Church there is one office of all the Biſhops, whereof euery man hath a part allowed wholy vnto him. Now, if the Biſhop of Rome may meddle ouer all, where hee will: then euery man hath not wholy his part, for the biſhop of Rome may alſo meddle in his part ioyntly, with him: ſo that now he hath it not wholy: which is agaynſt Cyprian.

Aug. in Ioan. tractat. 50.

S. Auſten likewiſe expounding the Goſpell of Iohn, in the 50. treaty, ſpeaketh there of the keyes of Peter. whiche he ſayth were geuen of Chriſt to Peter, not for himſelfe alonely, but for the whole Church.

Cyrillus in vlt. cap. Ioannis.

Paſce oues meas, maketh nothing for the Popes vniuerſall paſtoralitye.

Cyrillus expounding the laſt chapter of Iohn, & there ſpeaking of the wordes of Chriſt ſpoken vnto Peter, Feed my ſheepe. &c. thus vnderſtandeth the ſame: That becauſe Peter had thriſe denyed Chriſt, whereby he thought himſelfe he had loſt his Apoſtleſhip: Chriſt to comforte him agayne, and to reſtore him to his office that he had loſt, aſked him thriſe, whether he loued him, and ſo reſtored hym agayne to his office, which els he durſt not haue preſumed vnto, ſaying vnto him: Feed my ſheep. &c. With which expoſition the auncient holy expoſitors of that place, do likewiſe agree: So that by theſe wordes of feeding Chriſtes ſheep, the Biſhop of Rome can take no aduauntage to maintein his vniuerſall paſtoralty ouer all Chriſtian dominions.

Act.20.

ποιμαίνειν.

Agayne, where as the Biſhoppe of Rome ſayth, that Peter by theſe wordes of Chriſt ſpoken to him, hath a preheminence aboue the other, S. Paule Actes. 20. proueth the contrary: where he ſpeaking to the Biſhops aſſembled at Milete, ſayth to them: Take heed to your ſelues, and to all your flocke, in which the holy Ghoſt hath put you to gouerne. &c.

And Peter himſelfe likewiſe. 1. Pet. 5. ſayth: Ye that be Prieſtes feed the flocke of God amongeſt you &c.

Scriptures wrongfully alleaged, for the Popes ſupremacye.

So that by theſe Scriptures conferred together, it may appeare that neither the 16. Chapiter of Mathew nor the 21. of Iohn do proue that Peter had power, authority, or dignity geuen him of Chriſt, ouer all the other, that they ſhould be vnder him: and yet notwithſtādīg his primacy, in that he firſt of all the Apoſtles confeſſed Chriſt to be the Sonne of the liuing God (with the which confeſſion all the other Apoſtles did conſent, and alſo preached the ſame) ſtandeth ſtill· which confeſſion firſt by Peter made, al other that will be ſaued, muſt follow alſo, and be taught to confeſſe the ſame. And thus the Biſhop of Romes power ouer all, which he would proue by thoſe places wrongfully alledged for his purpoſe, vtterly quayleth, and is not proued. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctors.

Now farther proceding in this matter, the ſayd Tonſtall commeth to Councels and examples of the primitiue Church, as foloweth.

Exam of the mitiue Church gaynſt Popes premacy

Fauſtinus, Legate to the Byſhop of Rome in the vj. Councell of Carthage, alledged that the Biſhop of Rome ought to haue the ordering of all great matters in all places by his ſupreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alledgeth for him, and that vntruely, the fyrſt Councell of Nice, to make for his purpoſe. After this, whē the booke was brought forth, and no ſuch article found in it, but the contrary, yet the Counſell at that time, ſent to Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and Antioche, where the Patriarchall ſeas were, to haue the true copy of the Councell of Nice, which was ſent vnto them. And an other copy alſo was ſent from Rome whether alſo they ſent for ẏ ſame purpoſe.

The marye of Ro proued the Co cell of

After that the copy was brought to them, and no ſuch Article found in it, but in the fift chapter therof the contrary, that all cauſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhould either be determined within the Dioces, or els, if any were greued, then to appeale to the Counſell Prouinciall, and there the matter to take full end, ſo that for no ſuch cauſes men ſhould goe out of theyr Prouinces: the whole Counſell of Carthage wrote to Celeſtine at that time beyng Byſhop of Rome, that ſince the Counſell of Nice had no ſuch article in it, as was vntruly alledged by Fauſtinus, but the cōtrary, they deſired him to abſtein after, to make any more ſuch demaūd denouncing vnto him, that they would not ſuffer any cauſe great or ſmall, to be brought by appeale, out of theyr country, and thereupon made a law that no man ſhall appeale out of the country of Aphrike vpon payne to be denoūced accurſed. Wherewith the Biſhop of Rome euer after held him content, and made no more buſines with them ſeeyng he had nought to ſay for himſelfe to the contrary. And at this Counſell S. Auſten was preſent, and ſubſcribed the ſame. Read more herof pag 10.

The of Nic fiſed by Fauſti the Po Legat

The cle of N cene c The 4 Patriar equall i power,

It was determined alſo in the ſixte Article of the ſayde Counſell of Nice: that in the Orient the Biſhop of Antioche ſhould be chiefe: in Egypt the Biſhop of Alexandria: about Rome, the Biſhop of Rome, and like wiſe in other countryes, the Metropolitanes ſhould haue theyr preheminence: ſo that the biſhop of Rome neuer had medling in thoſe countryes.

And in the next Article following, the Byſhop of Hieruſalem (which City before had bene deſtroyed, and almoſt deſolate) was reſtored to his old prerogatiue, to be ẏ chiefe in Paleſtine and in the countrey of Iury.

Pope A tho ſub ted to t Empero

By this ye ſee howe the Patriarch of Rome duryng al thys tyme of the primitiue Churche, had no ſuch primacye preeminēt aboue other Patriaches, much leſſe ouer kinges and Emperors, as may appeare by Agatho Byſhoppe of Rome long after that, in whoſe tyme was the ſixt Councell generall. Whiche Agatho after his election: ſent to the Emperor thē beyng at Conſtantinople, to haue his electiō allowed before he would be conſecrate, after ẏ old cuſtome at that time vſed.

Pope V talian ſubiecte the Em rour. 63. Diſt. A gatho, 63. Diſt. cum lon

In like ſort, an other Biſhop of Rome called Vitalianus did the ſame, as it is written in the Decrees in the 63. Diſtinct. cap. Agatho.

The like did S. Ambroſe, and S. Gregory, before thē, as it is written in the chap. Cum longè, in the ſame. Diſtinct. During al which time, the byſhops of Rome folowed wel the doctrine of S. Peter and S. Paule left vnto them, to be ſubiectes and to obey theyr Princes.

Byſhop T ſtall a Luthera

Thus after that Byſhop Tonſtall playing the earneſt Lutheran, both by ſcriptures and auncient Doctours, alſo by examples ſufficient of the primitiue church, hath proued and declared, how the Byſhops of Rome ought to ſubmit thēſelues to theyr higher powers, vnder whom God hath appoynted euery creature in this world to obey: now let vs likewiſe ſee how the ſayd Byſhop Tonſtall deſcribeth vnto vs his diſobedience intollerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice moſt execrable.

The dience pride, malice the Pop deſcrib

And firſt ſpeaking of the diſobedience of Adam & Eue, then of the pride of Nabugodonoſor, & of Lucifer, at length he compareth the Biſhops of Rome to them all. Who fyrſt for diſobedience refuſe to obey Gods commaūdement, but contrary to his word, will be aboue theyr gouernours, in refuſing to obey them.

The pr the Po deſcrib

Secondly, beſide this rebellious diſobedience in theſe Biſhops of Rome not ſufferable, theyr pride moreouer ſo farre exceedeth all meaſure, that they will haue theyr princes, to whō they owe ſubiection, proſtrate vpon ẏ ground, to adore them by godly honor vpon the earth, and to kyſſe theyr feet, as if they were God, where as they be but wretched men, and yet they looke that theyr princes ſhould do it vnto them, and alſo all other chriſten men owing them no ſubiection, ſhould do the ſame.

And who be theſe I pray you, that men may knowe them? Surely (ſayth he) the Biſhoppes of Rome be theſe whom I do meane. Who following the pride of Lucifer theyr father, make themſelues fellowes to God, and do exalt theyr ſeate aboue the ſtarres of God, and do aſcend aboue the cloudes, and will be like to almighty God. The ſtarres of God be ment the aungels of heauen; for as ſtars doe ſhew vnto vs in part, the light of heauen, ſo do Aungelles ſent vnto men, ſhew the heauenly light of the grace of God, to thoſe to whom they be ſent. And the cloudes ſignified in the olde Teſtament the Prophettes, and in the new doe ſignify the Apoſtles and Preachers of the word of God. For as the cloudes do conceiue and gather in the ſkye moyſture, which they after poure downe vpon the ground to make it thereby more fruitfull: ſo the Prophets in the olde Teſtament, and the Apoſtles and Preachers in the newe, do poure into our eares the moyſture of theyr heauenly doctrine of the word of God, to make therewith by grace, our ſoules beinge ſeere and drye, to bring foorth fruit of the ſpirite. Thus doe all auncient expoſitours, and amongeſt them Saynt Auguſtine, interpret to be ment in Scripture, ſtarres and cloudes, in the expoſition of the 45. Pſalme.

he Pope xalted a-boue the loudes and he ſtarrs of eauen.

poc.19.22.

But S. Iohn the Euangeliſt writeth in the 19. chapter of the Apocalips, & in the 22. alſo, that whẽ he would haue fallen downe at the Aungels foote that did ſhew him thoſe viſions there written, to haue adored him with godly worſhip, the Aungell ſayd vnto him: See thou do not ſo, for I am the ſeruaunt of God as thou art. Geue adoration and Godly worſhip to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Biſhops of Rome ſuffering all men proſtrate before them to kiſſe theyr feet (yea the ſame Princes, to whom they owe ſubiection) do clime vp aboue the ſtarres and Aungels too, offering their feet to be kiſſed, with ſhoes and all. For ſo I ſaw my ſelfe being preſent, 34. yeares ago, whẽ Iulius the Biſhop of Rome ſtood on his feet, and one of his chamberlaynes held vp his ſkyrt becauſe it ſtood not (as he thought) with his dignity, that he ſhould do it himſelfe, that his ſhoo might appeare, whiles a noble man of great age did proſtrate himſelfe vpon the ground, and kiſſed his ſhoo: which he ſtately ſuffered to be done, as of ducty. Where me think I ſaw Cornelius the Centurion, Captayn of the Italians band, ſpoken of in the tenth Chapiter of the Actes, ſubmitting himſelfe to Peter, and much honoring him: but I ſaw not Peter there to take him vp, and to bidde him riſe, ſaying I am a man as thou art, as Saynt Peter did ſay to Cornelius: ſo that the Biſhops of Rome, admitting ſuch adoration due vnto God, doe clime aboue the heauenlye cloudes, that is to ſay, aboue the Apoſtles ſent into the world by Chriſt, to water the earthly and carnal hartes of men, by theyr heauenly doctrine of the word of God.

he Pope xalted a-boue An-gels.

he Pope limeth a-boue the A-poſtles.

Thus Biſhop Tonſtall hauing deſcribed the paſſing pride of the Pope, ſurmounting like Lucifer, aboue Byſhops, Apoſtles, Aungelles, and ſtarres of heauen, proceding then further to the latter ende of his Sermon, commeth to ſpeake of his rage and malice moſt furious and peſtilent, in that he being iuſtly put from his kingdome here: to wreake his ſpitefull malice, ſtyrreth vppe warre agaynſt vs, & bloweth ẏ horn of miſchief in geuing our land for a ſpoyle and pray to all, whoſoeuer at his ſetting on, will come and inuade vs. But let vs heare his owne wordes preaching to the king and all Engliſhmen, touchyng both the popes malice, and the treaſon of Cardinall Poole.

he Pope tirreth vp arre a-aynſt ngland.

he treaſon f Cardinal oole.

Now (ſayth he) becauſe he can no longer in this realm wrongfully vſe his vſurped power in all thinges, (as he was wont to do) and ſucke out of this Realme by auarice inſatiable, innumerable ſummes of money yearely, to the great exhauſting of the ſame: he therefore moued and replete with furious ire and peſtilent malice, goeth about to ſtyrre all Chriſten nations, that will geue eares to hys deuilliſh enchauntmentes, to moue warre agaynſt this realme of England, geuing it in pray to all thoſe, that by hys inſtigation will inuade it.

And here expounding theſe foreſayd wordes (to geue in pray) he declareth what great miſchiefe they conteyne, and willeth euery true Engliſheman well to marke the ſame. Firſt to make this realme (ſayth he) a pray to all vẽturers, all ſpoylers, all ſnappehaunſes, all forlornehopes, all cormorantes, all rauenors of the world, that will inuade this Realme, is to ſay: thou poſſeſſioner of any landes of thys Realme, of what degree ſoeuer thou be, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhalt be ſlayne and deſtroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by thoſe that will haue all for themſelues: & thou mayeſt be ſure to be ſlayne, for they will not ſuffer thee, nor none of thy progeny to liue to make any claime afterwarde or to be reuenged, for that were theyr vnſurety. Thy wife ſhalbe abuſed before thy face: thy daughter lykewiſe deflowred before thee: thy children ſlayne before thine eyes: thy houſe ſpoyled: thy cattell driuen away & ſold before thy viſage: thy plate, thy mony by force taken frõ thee, all thy goodes, wherin thou haſt any delight, or haſt gathered for thy children, rauened, broken and diſtributed, in thy preſence, that euery rauenour may haue his ſhare. Thou Marchaunt art ſure to be ſlaine, for thou haſt either money or ware, or both, which they ſearch for. Thou Byſhoppe or prieſt, whatſoeuer thou be, ſhalt neuer eſcape, becauſe thou wouldeſt not take the Biſhop of Romes part; and rebell agaynſt God and thy Prince, as he doth. If thou ſhalt flee and eſcape for a ſeaſon, whatſoeuer thou be: thou ſhalt ſee and heare of ſo much miſery and abhomination, that thou ſhalt iudge them happy, that be dead before: for ſure it is, thou ſhalt not finally eſcape: For, to take the whol realme in pray, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themſelues, as they will do if they can.

he Pope ueth ngland a-ay for a ay.

And the Biſhop of Rome now of late, to ſet forth hys peſtilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpoſe a ſubiect of this Realme, Reginald Poole comẽ of a noble blood, and therby the more errant traytor, to go about frõ Prince to Prince, and from country to countrey, to ſtyrre them to warre agaynſt this Realme, and to deſtroy the ſame being his natiue countrey: whoſe peſtilent purpoſe, the Princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abhomination, both for that the Biſhop of Rome (who being a Biſhop ſhould procure peace) is a ſtyrrer of warre: and becauſe this moſt errant and vnkind traytour is his miniſter to ſo deuiliſh a purpoſe, to deſtroy the coũtry that he was borne in, which any heathen man would abhorre to do.

Cardinal Poole traytor to England.

And ſo continuing in his diſcourſe agaynſt Cardinall Poole and the Biſhop of Rome for ſtyrring the people to warre and miſchiefe, he further ſayth, & ſayth truely, that for theſe many yeares paſt, little warre hath bene in theſe partes of Chriſtendome, but the Biſhop of Rome eyther hath bene a ſtyrrer of it, or a nouriſher of it, and ſeldome any cõpounder of it, vnleſſe it were for his ambition or profite. Wherfore ſince, as S. Paule ſayth, that God is not the God of diſſention but of peace, who commaundeth by hys word, peace alway to be kept: we are ſure that all thoſe, that go about to breake peace betwene Realmes, and to bring them to warre, are the childrẽ of the deuill, what holy names ſoeuer they pretend to cloke their peſtilent malice withall: which cloking vnder hipocriſy is double deuiliſhnes, and of Chriſt moſt deteſted, becauſe vnder his bleſſed name, they do play the deuils part.

The popes name and memory aboliſhed

1.Cor. 14.

And in the latter end of his Sermon concluding wyth the 39. Chapiter of Ezechiell, where the Prophet ſpeaketh againſt Gog and Magog, going about to deſtroy the people of God, and propheceyeth agaynſt them, that the people of God ſhall vanquiſh and ouerthrow them on the mountaynes of Iſraell that none of them ſhall eſcape, but theyr carcaſes ſhal there be deuoured of kytes, and crowes, and byrds of the ayre: ſo likewiſe ſayth he of theſe our enemies, wiſhing, that if they ſhall perſiſt in theyr peſtilent malice, to make inuaſion into this Realme, then theyr great Captayne Gog (the biſhop of Rome he meaneth) may come to them, to drinke with them of the ſame cup, which he maliciouſly goeth about to prepare for vs, that ẏ people of God might after quietly liue in peace,

Ezech.39.

The Pope compared to Gog.

We haue heard hetherto the othes, cenſures, and iudgementes of certayne particulare Byſhoppes of Yorke, of Wincheſter, of London, of Dureſme, and alſo of Edmund Bonor, Archdeacon then of Leyceſter, agaynſt the Popes vnlawfull vſurpatiõ. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and ſatiſfying of the Reader, it ſhall not be much out of purpoſe, beſides the conſent and approbatiõ of theſe aforeſayd, to inferre alſo the publicke and generall agreement of the whole Clergy of Englãd, as in a totall ſumme together, confirmed and ratified in theyr owne publicke booke, made and ſet forth by them about the ſame tyme, called then the Biſhops booke. In the which booke, although many thinges were very ſlender & vnperfect, yet as touching this cauſe of the Biſhop of Romes regalty, we wyll heare (God willing) what theyr whole opinion & prouinciall determinatiõ did conclude, according as by their own words in the ſame book, is to be ſene word for word, as followeth, ſubſcribed alſo with theyr owne names: the Catalogue of whom vnder theyr owne confeſſion, ſhall appere.

Teſtimonies out of the byſhops booke, againſt the Popes ſupremacye.

We thinke it conuenient, that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhal inſtruct and teach the people cõmitted vnto theyr ſpirituall charge, ẏ where as certayne men doe imagine and affirme, that Chriſt ſhould geue vnto the Byſhop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head & gouernor of all Prieſtes & Biſhops in Chriſtes Church, but alſo to haue and occupye the whole Monarchy of the world in his handes, and that he may therby lawfully depoſe kinges and Princes from theyr realmes, dominions, and ſeignories, and ſo transferre and geue the ſame to ſuch perſons as him liketh that is vtterly falſe and vntrue: For Chriſt neuer gaue vnto S. Peter, or vnto any of the Apoſtles, or their ſucceſſors, any ſuch authoritie. And the Apoſtles, S. Peter and S. Paule do teach and commaũd, that all Chriſten people, as well Prieſtes and Biſhops as others, ſhould be obediẽt and ſubiect vnto the Princes and Potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

How the Biſhop of Rome roſe by Ambition

And as for the Biſhop of Rome, it was many hũdreth yeares after Chriſt, before he could acquire or get any primacy or gouernaunce aboue any other Biſhops, out of hys prouince in Italy: ſith the which time he hath euer vſurped more and more. And though ſome part of his power was geuen vnto him by the conſent of the Emperours, Kinges and Princes, and by the conſent alſo of the Clergy in generall Counſels aſſembled: yet ſurely he atteyned the moſt part therof by maruellous ſubtlety and craft, and ſpecially by colluding with great kings and princes, ſometime trayning them into his deuotion by pretence and colour of holyneſſe and ſanctimony, and ſometime conſtrainyng them by force and tyranny. Whereby the ſayde Byſhops of Rome aſpired and roſe at length vnto ſuch greatnes in ſtrength and authority, that they preſumed and tooke vpon thẽ to be heads & to put lawes by thyr own authority, not onely vnto al other Biſhops within Chriſtẽdome, but alſo vnto the Emperours, Kings, & other the Princes and Lordes of the worlde, and that vnder the pretence of the authority committed vnto them by the Goſpell. Wherin the ſayd Biſhops of Rome do not onely abuſe and peruert the true ſenſe and meaning of Chriſtes word: but they do alſo cleane contrarye to the vſe and cuſtome of the primitiue Church: and ſo do manifeſtly violate, as wel the holy Canons made in the Churche immediately after the time of the Apoſtles, as alſo the degrees and conſtitutions made in that behalfe, by the holy Fathers of the Catholique church aſſẽbled in the firſt general councelles. And finally they doe tranſgreſſe theyr own profeſſion, made in theyr creation. For all the Biſhops of Rome alwayes when they be conſecrated and made Biſhops of that See, doe make a ſolemne profeſſion and vowe, that they ſhall inuiolably obſerue and keepe al the ordinances made in the eight firſt generall Councels: among the whiche it is ſpecially prouided & enacted, that al cauſes ſhal be finiſhed and determined within the prouince where the ſame begun, and that by the byſhops of the ſame prouince: and that no Byſhop ſhall exerciſe any iuriſdiction out of his owne dioces or prouince. And diuers ſuch other Canons were then made and confirmed by the ſayd councels, to repreſſe and take away out of the Church, all ſuch primacy and iuriſdiction ouer kinges and Byſhops, as the Byſhops of Rome pretend nowe to haue ouer the ſame. And we finde that diuers good fathers Byſhops of Rome did greatly reproue, yea and abhorre (as a thing cleane contrary to the Goſpel, and the decrees of the church) that anye Byſhop of Rome, or els where, ſhoulde preſume, vſurpe, or take vpon him the title and name of yͤ vniuerſal byſhop, or of the head of all prieſtes, or of yͤ higheſt prieſt, or any ſuch lyke title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, yͭ there is no mention made, neyther in Scripture, nor in the writinges of any Autenticall doctor or author of the Church, being within the tyme of the apoſtles, that Chriſt did euer make or inſtitute any diſtinction or difference to be in the preeminence of power, order or iuriſdiction, betweene the Apoſtles thẽſelues, or betweene yͤ biſhops themſelues, but yͭ they were all equall in power order, authoritie, & iuriſdiction. And that there is now and ſith yͤ time of the Apoſtles, any ſuch diuerſitie, or difference among the Biſhops, it was deuiſed by the ancient fathers of the primitiue Church, for the conſeruation of good order and vnitie of the Catholicke church and that eyther by the conſent and authoritie, or els at the leaſt by the permiſſion and ſufferaunce of the princes and ciuill powers for the tyme ruling. &c.

Fyrſt the generall Coũcell of Nice decreed, that the Patriarkes of Alexandria, & Antiochia, ſhould haue like power ouer the countreis about thoſe cities, as the Byſhops of Rome had ouer the countreis about Rome.

In the Councell of Mileuitane it was decreed, that if a clerke of Aphrick would appeale out of Aphrick vnto any Byſhop beyonde the ſea, he ſhould be takẽ as a perſon excommunicate.

In the generall Councel of Conſtantinople the firſte, it was likewiſe decreed, that euery cauſe betwene any perſons, ſhould be determined within the prouynces where the matters did lie: And that no Biſhop ſhoulde exerciſe any power out of his owne dioces or prouinc. And this was alſo the minde of holy S. Cyprian, & of other holy men of Aphrica.

To conclude therefore, the Pope hath no ſuch primacy geuen him, eyther by the wordes of Scripture, or by any generall Councell, nor by commõ conſẽt of the holy catholicke Church.

Concilium tertium. Carthaginenſe, cap. 26. Gregorius lib.4. epiſtolarum indictione 13. epiſt.13.

And ſhortly after followeth: And for the better confirmation of this part, we thinke it alſo conuenient, that all Byſhops and preachers ſhal inſtruct and teach the people cõmitted vnto theyr ſpirituall charge, that Chriſt did by expreſſe words prohibit, that none of his Apoſtles nor any of theyr ſucceſſors, ſhould vnder the pretence of the authority geuen vnto them by Chriſt, take vpon them yͤ authoritie of yͤ ſword: yͭ is to ſay, the authoritie of kings, or of any ciuill power in this world, yea or any authoritie to make lawes or ordinances in cauſes appertayning vnto ciuil powers. Truth it is, the prieſtes and byſhops may execute all ſuche temporall power & iuriſdiction, as is cõmitted vnto them by yͤ ordinance & authoritie of kings or other ciuil powers & by the conſent of the people (as officers and miniſters vnder the ſayd kinges and powers) ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the ſayd kinges and people to permit and ſuffer them ſo to vſe and execute the ſame. Notwithſtanding if anye biſhop of what eſtate or dignitie ſo euer he be, be he biſh. of Rome or of any other citie, prouince, or dioces, do preſume or take vppon him authoritie or iuriſdiction in cauſes or matters which appertayne vnto kinges and the ciuill powers and their Courtes, and will mayntayne or thinke that he may ſo do by yͤ authoritie of Chriſt and his Goſpell, although yͤ kings and princes would not permit and ſuffer hym ſo to doe: No doubt that Byſhop is not worthy to be called a Byſhop, but rather a tyranne & an vſurper of other mens rightes, contrary to the lawes of god, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwiſe then hee that goeth about to ſubuert the kingdome of Chriſt. For the kingdome of Chriſt in his Church is a ſpirituall, and not a carnall kingdome of the world, that is to ſay, the very kingdome that Chriſt by himſelf, or by his Apoſtles and diſciples ſought here in this worlde, was to bring all nations from the carnall kingdome of the prince of darkenes, vnto the light of hys ſpirituall kingdome, & ſo to raygne himſelfe in the harts of the people by grace, fayth, hope, and charitie. And therefore ſith Chriſt did neuer ſeeke nor exerciſe anye worldly kyngdome or dominion in this worlde, but rather refuſing and fleeing from yͤ ſame, did leaue the ſaid worldly gouernance of kingdomes, realmes, and nations, to be gouerned by Princes & potentates (in like maner as he did finde them) & commaunded alſo his Apoſtles and Diſciples to doe the ſẽblable, as it was ſayd before: what ſoeuer prieſt or biſhop will arrogate or preſume vpõ him any ſuch authoritie, and will pretende the authoritie of the Goſpell for his defence therin, he doth nothing els, but (in a maner as you would ſay) crowneth Chriſt agayne with a crowne of thorne, and traduceth & bringeth him forth agayne with his mantle of purpure vppon his backe, to be mocked and ſcorned of the world, as the Iewes did to their owne damnation.

The B of Rom iudged a tyrant vſurpe

This doctrine was ſubſcribed and allowed by the witnes and teſtimony of theſe byſhops and other learned mẽ, whoſe names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the Byſhops booke aforenamed.

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Teſtim of Biſh of Eng againſt Pope.

These were Doctours of Diuinitie, and of both Lawes.

Iudge now thy ſelfe (louing reader) per confeſſata & allegata: that is, by theſe thinges heretofore confeſſed, alledged, allowed, proued and confirmed, by penne ſet forth, by wordes defended, and by othe ſubſcribed by theſe Biſhops and Doctours, if eyther Martine Luther himſelfe, or anye Lutherane els could or did euer ſay more agaynſt yͤ proud vſurpation of the Biſhop of Rome, then theſe men haue done. If they diſſembled otherwiſe then they meant, who

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and ſeignories, and ſo tranſferre and geue the ſame to ſuch perſons as him liketh that is vtterly falſe and vntrue: For Chriſt neuer gaue vnto S. Peter, or vnto any of the Apoſtles, or their ſucceſſors, any ſuch authoritie. And the Apoſtles, S. Peter and S. Paule do teach and cōmaūd, that all Chriſten people, as well Prieſtes and Biſhops as others, ſhould be obediēt and ſubiect vnto the Princes and Potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

And as for the Biſhop of Rome, it was many hūdreth yeares after Chriſt, before he could acquire or get any primacy or gouernaunce aboue any other Biſhops, out of hys prouince in Italy: ſith the which time he hath euer vſurped more and more. And though ſome part of his power was geuen vnto him by the conſent of the Emperours, Kinges and Princes, and by the conſent alſo of the Clergy in generall Counſels aſſembled: yet ſurely he atteyned the moſt part therof by maruellous ſubtlety and craft, and ſpecially by colluding with great kings and princes, ſometime traynyng them into his deuotion by pretence and colour of holyneſſe and ſanctimony, and ſometime conſtrainyng them by force and tyranny. whereby the ſayde Byſhops of Rome aſpired and roſe at length vnto ſuch greatnes in ſtrength and authority, that they preſumed and took vpon thē to be heads & to put lawes by their own authority, not onely vnto al other Biſhops within Chriſtēdome, but alſo vnto the Emperours, Kings, & other the Princes and Lordes of the worlde, and that vnder the pretence of the authority committed vnto them by the Goſpell. wherin the ſayd Biſhops of Rome do not onely abuſe and peruert the true ſenſe and meaning of Chriſtes word: but they do alſo cleane contrarye to the vſe and cuſtome of the primitiue Church: and ſo do manifeſtly violate, as wel the holy Canons made in the Churche immediately after the time of the Apoſtles, as alſo the degrees and conſtitutions made in that behalfe, by the holy Fathers of the Catholique church aſſēbled in the firſt general councelles. And finally they doe tranſgreſſe their own profeſſion, made in their creation. For all the Biſhops of Rome alwayes when they be conſecrated and made Biſhops of that See, doe make a ſolemne profeſſion and vowe, that they ſhall inuiolably obſerue and keepe al the ordinances made in the eight firſt generall Councels: among the whiche it is ſpecially prouided & enacted, that al cauſes ſhal be finiſhed and determined within the prouince where the ſame begun, and that by the byſhops of the ſame prouince: and that no Byſhop ſhall exerciſe any iuriſdiction out of his owne dioces or prouince. And diuers ſuch other Canons were then made and confirmed by the ſayd councels, to repreſſe and take away out of the Church, all ſuch primacy and iuriſdiction ouer kinges and Byſhops, as the Byſhops of Rome pretend nowe to haue ouer the ſame. And we finde that diuers good fathers Byſhops of Rome did greatly reproue, yea and abhorre (as a thing cleane contrary to the Goſpel, and the decrees of the church) that anye Byſhop of Rome, or els where, ſhoulde preſume, vſurpe, or take vpon him the title and name of yͤ vniuerſal byſhop, or of the head of all prieſtes, or of yͤ higheſt prieſt, or any ſuch lyke title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, yͭ there is no mention made, neyther in Scripture, nor in the writinges of any Autenticall doctor or author of the Church, being within the tyme of the apoſtles, that Chriſt did euer make or inſtitute any diſtinction or difference to be in the preeminence of power, order or iuriſdiction, betweene the Apoſtles thēſelues, or betweene yͤ biſhops themſelues, but yͭ they were all equall in power order, authoritie, & iuriſdiction. And that there is now and ſith yͤ time of the Apoſtles, any ſuch diuerſitie, or difference among the Biſhops, it was deuiſed by the ancient fathers of the primitiue Church, for the conſeruation of good order and vnitie of the Catholicke church and that eyther by the conſent and authoritie, or els at the leaſt by the permiſſion and ſufferaunce of the princes and ciuill powers for the tyme ruling. &c.

How the Biſhop of Rome roſe by Ambition

Fyrſt the generall Coũcell of Nice decreed, that the Patriarkes of Alexandria, & Antiochia, ſhould haue like power ouer the countreis about thoſe cities, as the Byſhops of Rome had ouer the countreis about Rome.

In the Councell of Mileuitane it was decreed, that if a clerke of Aphrick would appeale out of Aphrick vnto any Byſhop beyonde the ſea, he ſhould be takē as a perſon excommunicate.

In the generall Councel of Conſtantinople the firſte, it was likewiſe decreed, that euery cauſe betwene any perſons, ſhould be determined within the prouynces where the matters did lie: And that no Biſhop ſhoulde exerciſe any power out of his owne dioces or prouinc. And this was alſo the minde of holy S. Cyprian, & of other holy men of Aphrica.

To conclude therefore, the Pope hath no ſuch primacy geuen him, eyther by the wordes of Scripture, or by any generall Councell, nor by cōmō conſēt of the holy catholicke Church.

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Iudge now thy ſelfe (louing reader) per confeſſata & allegata: that is, by theſe thinges heretofore confeſſed, alledged, allowed, proued and confirmed, by penne ſet forth, by wordes defended, and by othe ſubſcribed by theſe Biſhops and Doctours, if eyther Martine Luther himſelfe or anye Lutherane els could or did euer ſay more agaynſt yͤ proud vſurpation of the Biſhop of Rome, then theſe men haue done. If they diſſembled otherwiſe then they meant, who

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coulde euer diſſemble ſo deepely, ſpeaking ſo pithily? If they meant as they ſpake, who coulde euer turne head to tayle ſo ſodenly & ſo ſhortly as theſe men did? But becauſe theſe thinges we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them, let vs marke therefore theyr reaſons, and let the perſons goe.

And although the ſayd proufes and argumentes heretofore alledged, might ſuffice to the full diſcuſſion of this matter agaynſt ỳ Popes vſurped primacy: yet becauſe many do yet remayne, which will not be ſatiſfied, to refel therfore & confute this popiſhe article of the popes vayne and proud primacie, with as much matter and furniture of reaſons & allegations as the writinges and teſtimonies of theſe Biſhops and others do miniſter vnto vs: we mynde (the Lord willing) to annexe to theſe former confirmatiõs of the biſhops aforeſayd, an other ſupplement alſo of a certayne Epiſtle ſent by Biſhop Tonſtall, and by Iohn Stokeſley byſhop of London, to Cardinall Poole, for a more ample confutation of the vſurped power.

e epiſtle Tonſtall Stokeſly, Cardinal ole.

Concerning the argument of whiche Epiſtle, here is firſt to be vnderſtanded, that about thys time or not much ouer, Cardinall Poole brother to the Lord Montagew, was attaynted of high treaſõ, and fled away vnto Rome, where within a ſhort time after, he was made Cardinall of S. Mary Coſmeden: of whõ more is to be ſpoken hereafter, the Lord ſo permitting, when we come to the tyme of Queene Mary. In the meane tyme, hee remayning at Rome, there was directed vnto hym a certayne Epiſtle exhortatory by Stokeſley Byſhop of London, and Tonſtal Byſhop of Dureſme, perſwading hym to relinquiſhe and abandon the ſupremacy of the Pope, and to conforme himſelfe to the religion of his king. The copy of which his Epiſtle for the reaſons and argumentes therein contained about the ſame matter, we thought here not vnworthely to be put in, or vnprofitable to be read. The tenour wherof here followeth.

* The true copy of a certayne letter, written by Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of Dureſme, and Iohn Stokeſley Byſhop of London, to Cardinall Poole, prouing the Byſhop of Rome to haue no ſpeciall ſuperioritie aboue other Byſhoppes.

his letter as teſtified Cutbert onſtall to thew rchb. Canterry and hers to be s owne, out 14. yes before death. ead his yterous ration to Empeur in his oke intied, De cleſiæ ncordia, uing him ecke, the ſtruction king Hẽ and the hole alme of gland.

For the good will that we haue borne vnto you in times paſt as long as you continued the kinges true ſubiect, we cannot a little lament & mourne, that you neyther regarding the ineſtimable kindnes of the kings highnes heretofore ſhewed vnto you in your bringing vp, nor the honor of the houſe that you be come of, nor the wealth of the countrey that you were borne in, ſhould ſo decline from your duety to your prince, that you ſhuld be ſeduced by fayre words and vaine promiſes of the Biſhop of Rome, to winde with him, going about by all meanes to him poſſible, to pull downe and put vnder foote, your naturall Prince & Maiſter, to the deſtruction of the countrey that hath brought you vp, and for a vayne glory of a red Hat, to make your ſelfe an inſtrument to ſet forth his malice, who hath ſtyrred by all meanes that he could, all ſuch Chriſtiã Princes as would geue eares vnto him, to depoſe the kinges highnes from his Kingdome, and to offer it as a pray for them that ſhould execute his malice, and to ſtyrre if hee could his ſubiectes agaynſt him in ſtyrring and nouriſhing rebellions in his realme: where the office & duety of all good Chriſtiã men, and namely of vs that be prieſtes, ſhould be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietnes, all diſcord to concord, and in doing contrary, we do ſhew our ſelues to be but the miniſters of Satan, and not of Chriſt, who ordeined all vs that bee prieſtes, to vſe in all places the legatiõ of peace, & not of diſcord.

But ſince that can not be vndone that is done, ſecond it is to make amendes, and to followe the doing of the prodigall ſonne ſpoken of in the Goſpell: who returned home to his father, & was well accepted, as no doubt you might be, if you will ſay as he ſaid in knowledging your folly, and doe as he did, in returning home agayne from your wandring abroad in ſeruice of him, who little careth what come of you, ſo that their purpoſe by you bee ſerued.

ke. 15.

And if you be moued by your conſcience, that you can not take the king your mayſter as ſupreme head of the Church of England becauſe the Biſhop of Rome hath heretofore many yeares vſurped that name vniuerſally ouer all the Church, vnder pretence of the Goſpell of S Mathew, ſaying: Thou art Peter and vpon this rocke I will build my Church. Surely the text many of the moſt holy & auncient expoſitors, wholy doe take to be ment of the fayth, then firſt confeſſed by the mouth of Peter, vppon whiche fayth, confeſſing Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, the church is builded, Chriſte being the very loweſt foundation ſtone, whereupon both the Apoſtles themſelues, and alſo the whole fayth of the Churche of Chriſt by them preached through the world, is founded and builded, and other foundation none can be, but that onely as S. Paule ſayth: No other foundation can any man lay, beſides that which is layd, which is Chriſt Ieſus.

th. 18.

place of thew Tu Petrus pounded.

Cor. 3.

And where you thinke that the Goſpell of Luke proueth the ſame authority of the Biſhoppe of Rome, ſaying: Peter, I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth ſhoulde not fayle: and thou beynge once conuerted, confirme thy brethren, Surely that ſpeaketh onely of the fall of Peter knowne to Chriſt by his godly preſcience, whereof he gaue an inkling that after the time of his fal, he ſhould not deſpayre, but returne agayne and confirme his brethren, as he euer being moſt feruent of them, was wont to do. The place doth playnely open it ſelfe that it can not be otherwiſe taken, but thys to be the very meaning of it, and not to be ſpoken but to Peter: For els his ſucceſſours muſt firſt fayle in the fayth and then conuert, and ſo confirme theyr brethren.

e. 22. place of e expounded.

And where as you thinke that this place of the Goſpell of Iohn. Feede my ſheepe, was ſpokẽ onely to Peter, and that thoſe woordes make him ſhepheard ouer all, and aboue all: S. Peter himſelfe teſtifieth the contrary in his canonicall Epiſtle, where he ſayth to all prieſtes: Feede the flocke of Chriſt which is among you: which he bade them do by the authority that Chriſt had put them in, as foloweth: And when the chiefe ſhepheard ſhall appeare, ye ſhall receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glory.

The place of Iohn 21. expounded.

1. Pet. 5.

The ſame likewiſe Saynt Paule in the Actes, teſtifieth ſayinge: Geue heed to your ſelues and to the whole flocke, wherin the holy ghoſt hath ſet you to gouerne the church of God. Where, in the originall text, the word ſignifiyng Regere, to gouerne, ποιμαίνειν, is the ſame that was ſpoken to Peter, Paſce, Feede, for it ſignifieth both in the Scripture. And that by theſe wordes he was not conſtitue a ſhepheard ouer all, it is very playne by the facte of Saynct Peter, which durſt not enterpriſe much conuerſation among the Gentiles, but eſchewed it as a thing vnlawfull, and muche rather prohibited then commaunded by Gods law, vntill he was admoniſhed by the reuelation of the ſheete full of diuers viandes, mentioned in the Actes of the Apoſtles: where if Chriſt by theſe wordes, Feede my ſheepe, had geuen ſuch an vniuerſall gouernaunce to Peter, then Peter being more feruẽt then other of the Apoſtles to execute Chriſtes commaundement, woulde of his owne courage haue gone without any ſuch new admonition to Cornelius: except peraduenture you would ſay, that Peter did not vnderſtãd the ſayd wordes of Chriſt, for lacke of the light which the latter men haue obteined to perceiue, and thereby vnderſtand the wordes of Chriſt to Peter, better then Peter himſelfe did. And ſtraunge alſo it were to condemne Peter as an high Traytour to his mayſter, after his aſcention: as he in deede were worthy if hys mayſter had ſignified vnto him, that the Byſhops of Rome, by hys dying there, ſhoulde be heades of all the church, and he knowyng the ſame by theſe wordes, Feede my ſheepe, yet notwithſtandyng his mayſters high legacy and commaundement, woulde flee as he did, from Rome, vntill his mayſter encountring him by the waye, with terrible woordes, cauſed him to returne. And becauſe thys hiſtory peraduenture can not weigh agaynſt an obſtinate mynde, to the contrary. What ſhall we ſaye to the woordes of Saynt Ambroſe, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample primacy, was geuen to Paule, as to Peter? Vppon theſe woordes of Paule. He that wrought by Peter. &c. thus he writeth: Petrum ſolum nominat, & ſibi comparat, quia primatum ipſe acceperat ad fundandam Eccleſiam: ſe quoque pari modo electum vt primatũ habeat in fundandis Eccleſijs Gentium. &c. That is to ſay, He nameth Peter onely, and compareth him to himſelfe, becauſe he receiued a primacy to builde a church: and that he in like ſort was choſen himſelfe to haue a primacye in building the churches of the Gentiles. And ſhortly after it foloweth: Of thoſe (that is to ſay of the Apoſtles) which were the chiefeſt, his gift, he ſayth, was allowed, whither he had receiued of God, ſo that hee was founde worthy to haue the primacy in preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had in preaching to the Iewes. And as he aſſigned to Peter for his companions, thoſe whiche were of the chiefeſt men amongſt the Apoſtles, euen ſo alſo did he take to him ſelfe Barnabas, who was ioyned vnto him by Gods iudgement: and yet did hee challenge to himſelfe alone the prerogatiue or primacy which God had geuen him, as to Peter alone it was graunted among the other Apoſtles. So that the Apoſtles of the Circumciſion gaue theyr handes to the Apoſtles of the Gentyles: to declare theyr concorde in fellowſhippe, that eyther of them ſhould know that they had receiued the perfection of the ſpirite in the preaching of the Goſpell, and ſo ſhoulde not neede eyther other in any matter. And ſhortelye after ſayth Saynt Ambroſe, who durſte reſiſte Peter the chiefe Apoſtle, but an other ſuche a one, whiche by the confidence of his election might knowe himſelfe to be no leſſe, and ſo might reproue boldly that thing which he inconſiderately had done.

Actes. 20.

Actes. 10.

Of this flying away of Peter frõ Rome reade before pag. 34.

As great primacy geuen to S. Paule, as to Peter.

Equalitye of degree among the Apoſtles.

This equallity of dignity whiche Saynt Ambroſe affirmeth by ſcripture to be equally geuen to Peter and Paule, S. Cyprian and S. Hierome do extend to all the Apoſtles, Cyprian ſaying thus: Hoc erãt vtiq; & cæteri apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi, & honoris & poteſtatis: All the reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame that Peter was, being endued with like equality of honor and

Ciprian De ſimplicitate clericorum.

Contra Iouinianum.

and power. And S. Hierome thus: Cuncti Apoſtoli claues regni cœlorum accipiunt, & ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo fundatur: All the Apoſtles receiued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, & vpon them, as indifferently & equally, is the ſtrēgth of the Church grounded and eſtabliſhed. Which S. Hierome alſo, as well in hys Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to Tite, as in hys epiſtle to Euagrius, ſheweth that theſe primacies long after Chriſtes aſcention, were made by the deuiſe of men, which before by the common agreement and conſent of the Clergye, euery of the Churches were gouerned, yea the patriarchall Churches.

Cap. 1. ſuper Titum.

Difference betwixt Biſhops & Prieſts how it is come.

The wordes of S. Ierome be theſe: Sciant ergo epiſcopi ſe magis ex conſuetudine, quam diſpēſationis dominicæ veritate, preſbitteris eſſe maiores: Let the Biſhopps vnderſtand, that they bee greater then other Prieſtes: rather of cuſtome, then by the vertue and verity of the Lordes ordinaunce. And in his ſayd epiſtle to Euagrius he hath the like ſentence, and addeth thereto: Vbicunq; fuerit Epiſcopus, ſiue Romæ ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli. &c. Wherſoeuer a Biſhop be, either at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Conſtantinople, he is of all one worthynes, & of all one prieſthood, & that one was elected which ſhould be preferred before other, it was deuiſed for the redreſſe of ſchiſmes, leaſt any one chalenging to much to himſelf, ſhould rēt the church of Chriſt. Theſe wordes onely of S. Ierome, be ſufficient to prooue that Chriſt by none of theſe 3. textes (which be all that you & others do alledge for your opinion) gaue to Peter any ſuch ſuperiority, as the B. of Rome by them vſurpeth: and that Peter nor no other of the chiefe Apoſtles did vendicate ſuch primacy or ſuperiority, but vtterlye refuſed it, and therfore gaue preeminence aboue thēſelues, to one that though he be ſometimes called an Apoſtle, yet he was none of the 12. as Euſebius in the beginning of his ſecond book, called Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica, doth teſtify, alledging for him the great and auncient clerke Clemens Alexandrinus, ſaying thus: Petrus, Iacobus, ac Ioannes, poſt aſſumptionem Saluatoris, quamuis ab ipſo fuerant omnibus penè prælati, tamen non ſibi vindecarūt gloriam, ſed Iacobum qui dicebatur Iuſtus, apoſtolorum Epiſcopum ſtatuunt: Peter, Iames & Iohn, after Chriſtes aſcention into heauen, although they were by him preferred almoſt before all other, yet they chalenged not that glory to themſelues, but decreed that Iames, who was called Iuſtus, ſhould be chiefe biſhop of the Apoſtles. By theſe wordes it is cleare, that Iames was the biſh. of the apoſtles, not becauſe as ſome men do gloſe, he was elected by the Apoſtles, but becauſe he had thereby the primacy and honor of a biſhop in Ieruſalem, aboue the reſt of the Apoſtles.

Iames the iuſte made the biſhop of the Apoſtles.

Seing Paul was their primate of the Gentiles it is agaynſt reaſon that the Romās ſhould chalenge the primacye by Peter.

Lib. 3. Cap. 21.

And one thing is eſpecially to be noted, and alſo maruelled at, that the biſhops of Rome do challenge this primacy alonely by Peter, and yet S. Paule, which was his equal, or rather ſuperior by ſcripture, in his Apoſtleſhip amongſt the Gentiles, wherof Rome was the principall, ſuffered at Rome where Peter did, and is commonly in all the Romane Church, ioyned with Peter in all appellations and titles of preeminence, and both be called Principes Apoſtolorum: The chiefe of the Apoſtles. Vpon both is equally founded the Church of Rome. The accounting of the Biſhops of Rome, many yeares agreeth thereunto. For Euſebius ſayth, that Clemens tertius poſt Paulum & Petrum, pontificatum tenebat: Clement was the third Biſhop after S. Paule and Peter: reckoning them both as Biſhops of Rome, and yet therin preferring S. Paule: with like words, ſaying of Alexander biſhop of Rome: that Quinta ſucceſsione poſt Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernacula ſortitus eſt: Alexander obteined the gouernance of the people by ſucceſsion, the fiſt Biſhop after Peter and Paule. Irenæus alſo ſaith as Euſebius reciteth: that Fundata & ædificata Eccleſia, beati apoſtoli Lino officium Epiſcopatus iniungunt: After the Churche was once founded and builded, the holy Apoſtles charged Linus with the Biſhopricke. Whereby appeareth, that they both ioyntly conſtituted him biſhop of Rome, and receiued onely theyr Apoſtleſhip enioyned vnto them by Chriſt. And therfore if the biſhops of Rome chalenge any preheminence of authority by Peter, they ſhould as well or rather challenge the ſame by Paul, becauſe they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there ſuffered: reſigning firſt that Biſhopricke to Linus, and all at once.

Lib. 5. Cap. 6.

Euſeb. Lib. 3 Cap. 23.

The firſt foundation of a church maketh no primacye.

And if you will peraduenture leane to the former preaching there by Peter, which by Scripture can not be prooued, yet then at leaſt S. Paule and his ſucceſſours in Epheſus ſhould haue lyke primacy, becauſe he founded firſt that Church, though S Iohn after that did builde it, as witneſſeth Euſebius, ſaying: Eccleſia quæ eſt apud Epheſum, a Paulo quidem fundata eſt, à Iohanne verò ædificata: The Church which is at Epheſus, was founded of Paule, but it was builded of Saynt Iohn. And ſo Peter ſhould haue no other primacy in Rome, but as Paule had in Epheſus, that is to ſay: to be counted as the firſt Preacher and conuerter of the people there to the fayth of Chriſt. And aſwell might all the Biſhoppes of Epheſus, challenge the primacy of all nations, both Gentiles & Iewes by Saynt Paule the Apoſtle of the Gentiles theyr founder, as the Byſhoppe of Rome by S. Peter the Apoſtle onely of the circumciſion, in caſe he were the fyrſt founder, challenging primacy ouer all. But vndoubtedly this primacy ouer all, that the Byſhoppes of Rome of late doe challenge, was not allowed nor yet knowne nor heard of amongeſt the auncient Fathers though they had theyr church of Rome in high eſtimation, aſwell for the notable vertuous deedes that the Clergy did there ſhew and exerciſe aboundantly to theyr neighbors (as witneſſeth the ſayd Euſebius, alledging there the Epiſtle that Dioniſius Alexandrinus wrote to Soter Biſhop of Rome, teſtefying the ſame) as for that the Citty of Rome was the moſt ample and chiefe Citty of the world, witneſsing Saynt Cyprian, ſaying: Planè, quoniam pro magnitudine ſua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic maiora & grauiora commiſit: Certaynely, becauſe that Rome ought for the greatneſſe therof to excell Carthage, there Nouatus committed the greater and more greuious offences. Which Saynt Cyprian alſo, when he had ordeyned and appoynted certayne decrees and ſtatutes vnto the Biſhop of Rome, he did not ſubmitte them to his reformation or iudgement, but onely ſignified his owne ſentence to like him alſo: and yet adding thereunto, that if any Byſhops (meaning aſwell of Rome as of others) which were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwiſe thinke or doe, he would not then, that his ſentence ſhould be to them preiudiciall, neither woulde he thereby compell them to any thing: but would that they ſhould follow theyr owne myndes and cuſtomes: partly for that euery one of the Byſhops hath liberty of his owne will, and partly for that euery gouernor ſhall make an accompt to God of his owne deede, as it appeareth playnely in his Epiſtle to Stephanus and Iulianus. And in the 3. Epiſtle to Cornelius, towardes the end: ſpeaking of the appeale that one Felicißimus a Nouatian, after his condemnation in Affrica, made to Rome, he impugneth ſuch appeales, ſaying: Quia ſingulis paſtoribus portio gregis eſt aſſcripta, quam regat vnuſquiſque & gubernet, rationē ſui actus Domino redditurus. &c. Foraſmuch as euery paſtor hath his owne flocke committed to him, whiche euery one ought to rule and gouerne, and muſt geue account to the Lord of his adminiſtration, it is decreed of vs all, and we thinke it both meet & iuſt, that euery mans cauſe and plee ſhould there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent Clerke & Martir S. Cyprian would neuer haue eyther impugned theyr appeale to Rome from theyr owne primacies, or ſo earneſtly haue mainteined his determinations in the Councels of Affrike contrary to the opinion of the Biſhops of Rome, and to theyr cuſtomes, without any ſubmiſsion by word or writing, if the primacy ouer all, which the Byſhops of Rome doe challenge and vſurpe, had bene grounded vpon the playne ſcripures, as you with ſome others do think: & it is to be ſuppoſed alſo, that he would in all his Epiſtles haue called them Patres or Dominos, fathers or Lords, as Superiors, and not alwayes Fratres & collegas, brothers and felowes in office, as but onely his equalles.

Which thing yet more playnely doth appeare by the actes of the Counſels of Affrike in S. Auguſtines time, by the which it is euident, that though the fayth of Chriſt was by the Romaynes firſt brought into Affrike (as S. Auguſtine doth confeſſe) yet it was not read nor knowne, that the Biſhops of Rome vſed or challenged any ſoueraignty in Affrike, vnto this time. And yet then he did not challenge it by the right of Gods worde, but by the pretence of a certayne Canon ſuppoſed to be in the counſel of Nice: Which article coulde neuer be found, though it were then very diligently ſought for through all the principall Churches of the Eaſt and South: but onely was alledged of Iulius Biſhop of Rome, out of his owne Library. And you may be well aſſured, that if the ſcriptures had made for it, neyther the Byſhop of Rome woulde haue left that certayne proofe by ſcriptures, and truſted onely to the teſtimony of an Article of that Counſell, being in doubt and vnlikely to be found, nor yet S. Auguſtine with his holy and learned company, would haue reſiſted this demaūd, if it had bene either grounded vpon ſcriptures, or determined in that or other Councelles, or yet had ſtand with equity, good order or reaſon. Howbeit the largenes and magnificence of buildinges of that city, and the auncient excellency and ſuperiority of the ſame in tēporall dominiōs, was the onely cauſe that in the coūſels (where the Patriarchall ſeas were ſet in order) the Biſhop of Rome was lotted to the firſt place, and not by any ſuch conſtitution made by Chriſt as appeareth well by that, that Cōſtantinople being at the ſame time of this ordering of the Patriarchall ſeas, moſt amplye enlarged by the Emperors, being before a ſmall town & of no renowne, & by thē moſt magnificētly builded & aduaūced worldly with al titles, prerogatiues & priuiledges tēporal like vnto Rome, & therfore called Noua Roma, new Rome, was therefore aduaunced alſo to the ſecond ſea and place Antiochia in the Eaſt, (where S. Peter firſt tooke the chayre before he came to Rome, and where chriſten men had firſt theyr name geuen them) yea and Ieruſalem (which was the firſt mother Citty of our fayth, and where Chriſte himſelfe firſt founded the faith) & alſo Alexandria being recited to the 3. 4 and 5. places, becauſe at that time they were not in ſo hie eſtimation in the world, though in the faith of Chriſt all they were auncientes, and ſome of them mothers to Rome.

Truth it is, that the Biſhops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the fayth amonges themſelues, made ſutes to the Byſhop of Rome: but that was not for the ſuperiority of iuriſdiction ouer them, but becauſe they were greatly deuided, and thoſe coūtryes tries, as well byſhoppes as others much infected with the hereſies of the Arrians, whereof the Weſt was in a manner cleare, and among them of the Orient, none were counted indifferent to decide thoſe matters, but were al ſuſpected of affectiõ for one cauſe or other: Wherefore they deſired the opinions of the Biſhops of the Weſt, as indifferent, and not tangled with affections of any of thoſe partes, neither corrupted with any of the Arrians, as appeareth by the Epiſtles of S Baſil; written in all their names for the ſaide purpoſe. In the which alſo it is eſpecially to be noted, that their ſuite was not to the Biſhop of Rome ſingularly, or by name: but (as the titles do ſhew) to the whole congregation of the Biſhops of Italie, and Fraunce, or of the whole Weſt, and ſometime preferring the French and Italian Biſhops, ſaying, Gallis, & Italis and neuer naming the Romanes. And for a cleare proofe that the auncient fathers knewe not this premacie of one aboue all, we neede none other teſtimonie, but their determination in the Councel of Nice, that Alexandria, and Antiochia, and vniuerſally all other primates, ſhould haue the whole gouernance of their confine countries, like as the Biſhop of Rome had of thoſe that inhabited within his ſuburbes. And this determination proueth alſo, that your three Scriptures ment nothing leſſe, then this primacie ouer all. For God forbid that we ſhould ſuſpect that Councel as ignorant of thoſe plaine Scriptures, to the which ſith that time, all Chriſtendome hath leaned, as the anker of our fayth. And if you like to read the ancient Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories, there you may ſee, that Athanaſius and other patriarches did execute that primacie, as in making conſecrating, and ordering of Churches, Biſhops and Clerkes in their countries Eaſt and South, as the Byſhoppes of Rome in that time did in the Weſt and North.

The olde fathers neuer knew the Primacye of the church of Rome.

And if you woulde yet any thing obiect againſt any of theſe witneſſes, then for to eſchew contention, and for a finall concluſion, let the biſhop of Rome ſtand to his owne confeſsion made many yeres paſt by his predeceſſor Agatho to the Emperor Conſtantine, Heraclius, & Tiberius, in his Epiſtle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the Synodes which he thought to be vnder the See apoſtolicke: wherein ſoone after the beginning of the Epiſtle, he comprehendeth them all vnder the name of the byſhoppes dwelling in the North and Weſt partes of their Empire: So that there in his owne Epiſtle, he confeſſeth all his ſubiectes and obedienciaries to be onely of the North and Weſt: and ſo it appeareth euidently by his owne confeſsion, that neyther by Gods lawe nor mans law he had to do with any perſon of the Eaſt or South. And this his high ſouerainty ouer al, chalenged (as you and others ſay) by Scripture as by his own confeſsion doth appeare, is brought into a litle and a ſtraight angle. And this Agatho was not a man vnlearned, as appeareth by the actes of the vj. ſynode of Conſtantinople in the 4. act, wherein is written at large and expreſſed the ſaide Epiſtle and confeſsion. And the primacie of Peter, which auncient doctors ſpeake of, which was only in preaching and teaching the faith of Chriſt, which he firſt among all the Apoſtles, aud firſt of all mortall men, did expreſſe with his mouth, did after ſo adhere to his owne perſon, that it was neuer deriued either to any ſucceſſor, or to any other apoſtle, but chiefly to himſelfe: for all other afterwardes profeſsing the ſame, ſpake it according vnto him, who had profeſſed it before. Moreouer, al the Apoſtles (as S. Iohn ſaith) be foundations in the heauenlie Ieruſalem, and not Peter only. Alſo Cyprian affirmeth (as is aforeſaid) that all the apoſtles were of equall dignitie and power: whiche all ancient authors likewiſe doe affirme. For Chriſt gaue the apoſtles like power in the Goſpell, ſaying: Go and teach all nations baptiz ing them, &c. And S. Paul (as is ſaid before) knew no other primacie giuen to Peter to preache in any place, but among the Iewes as he himſelfe had among the Gentiles, as he writeth to Galat. Wheruppon S. Ambroſe writing (as is aforeſayde) affirmeth the ſame. And that the mother of all Churches is Ieruſalem (as afore is ſaide) and not Rome, the ſcripture is plaine, bothe in the Prophette Eſaye: Out of Syon ſhall the law proceed, and the word of the Lord out of Ieruſalem. Vpon the which place S. Hierome ſayth: In Hieruſalem primum fundata eccleſia, totius orbis eccleſias ſeminauit: Out of the Church being firſt founded in Hieruſalem, ſprong all other churches of the whole worlde.) And alſo in the Goſpell whiche Chriſt before his aſcenſion commaunded his Apoſtles to preache throughout al the world, beginning firſt at Ieruſalem: So that the byſhop of Romes vniuerſal power by him claymed ouer all, can not by any ſcripture be iuſtified: as if you haue read the auncient fathers expoſitions of the ſaid ſcriptures (as we ſuppoſe you haue, ſith your letters ſent hyther concerning this matter) and would giue more credence to their humble and plaine ſpeaking then to the latter contentious and ambitious writers of that high and aboue the Ideas of Plato his ſubtilitie (which paſſeth as you write) the lawiers learning and capacitie: we doubt not but that you perceiue and thinke the ſame.

In the tyme of Pope Agatho, the sea of Rome had no rule ouer the Eaſt and South churches.

Peters primacy hath no ſucceſſours.

Apoc.21.

Math.28.

Eſa.2.

A Prince may be head of his church and yet not preach nor miniſter Sacramentes.

And where you thinke that the king can not be taken as ſupreme head of the Church, becauſe he can not exerciſe the chiefe office of the Church in preaching and miniſtring of the ſacramentes: it is not requiſite in euerie bodie naturall, that the head ſhould exerciſe eyther all maner of offices of the body, or the chiefe office of the ſame. For albeit the head is the higheſt & chief member of the naturall body, yet the diſtribution of life to al the members of the body, as well to the head as to other members, commeth from the heart, and it is the miniſter of life to the whole body, as the chiefe act of the body. Neyther yet hath this ſimilitude his full place in a myſticall body, that a king ſhoulde haue the chiefe office of adminiſtration in the ſame: And yet notwithſtanding the ſcripture ſpeaking of king Saule, ſayth I made thee head amongeſt the tribes of Iſraell. And if a king amongeſt the Iewes were the head in the tribes of Iſraell, in the time of the lawe, muche more is a Chriſtian king head in the tribes of ſpirituall Iſraell, that is, of ſuch as by true fayth ſee Chriſt who is the end of the law. The office deputed to the byſhops in the miſticall body, is to be as eyes to the whole body, as almighty God ſaith to the prophet Ezechiell: I haue made thee an ouerſeer ouer the houſe of Iſraell. And what Byſhops ſoeuer refuſeth to vſe the office of an eye in the miſticall body, to ſhew vnto the body the right way of beleeuing and liuing, which appertayneth to the ſpirituall eye to doe, ſhall ſhew himſelfe to be a blinde eye: and if hee ſhall take anye other office in hand then appertayneth to the right eye, he ſhall make a confuſion in the body, taking vppon hym an other office then is geuen him of God. Wherfore if the eye will not take vpon him the office of the whole head, it may be aunſwered, it cannot ſo do, for it lacketh brayne. And examples ſhew likewiſe, that it is not neceſſary alway that the head ſhould haue the facultie or chiefe office of adminiſtration, as you may ſee in a nauie by ſea, where the admirall who is captayne ouer all, doth not meddle with ſtering or gouerning of euery ſhip, but euery mayſter particular muſt direct the ſhyp to paſſe the ſea in breaking the waues by his ſteryng and gouernaunce, whiche the admirall the head of all doth not hymſelfe, nor yet hath the facultie to doe, but commaundeth the mayſters of the ſhip to do it And likewiſe many a captayne of great armyes, whiche is not able, nor neuer coulde peraduenture ſhoote, or breake a ſpeare by hys own ſtrength, yet by his wiſedome and commaundement onely atchieueth the warres, and attayneth the victory.

Reg.15.

Ezech.3.

A biſhop is a eye in the head, but not the head of the myſtical bodye.

The office of a head ſtandeth not in doing but in cõmaunding.

Vnity what it is and wherein it conſiſteth.

And where you thinke that vnitie ſtandeth not onely in the agreeing in one fayth and doctrine of the Church, but alſo in agreeing in one head: if you meane the very & onely head ouer all the churche our Sauiour Chriſt: Whome the Father hath ſet ouer all the Churche: which is his body, wherein all good Chriſten men doe agree, therin you ſay truth. But if you meane of any one mortall man to be head ouer all the Church and that to be the biſhop of Rome, we do not agree with you: For you doe there erre in the true vnderſtanding of Scripture, or els you muſt ſay, that the ſayd Councell of Nice, and other moſt auncient did erre, which deuided the adminiſtration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the South from the North, as is before expreſſed, and that Chriſt the vniuerſal head is preſent in euery church, the Goſpell ſheweth: Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the middes of them. And in an other place: Behold, I am wyth you, vntill the end of the world. By which it may appeare chriſt the vniuerſall head, euery where to be with hys miſticall body the Church: who by hys ſpirite worketh in all places (how far ſoeuer they be diſtaunt) the vnitie and concorde of the ſame. And as for any other vniuerſall head to be euer all, then chriſt himſelfe, Scripture prooueth not, as it is ſhewed before. And yet for a further proofe, to take away the ſcruples, that peraduenture doe to your appearaunce riſe of certayne wordes in ſome auncient authors, and eſpecially in S. Cyprians epiſtles as that the vnitie of the church ſtood in the vnity with the biſhop of Rome, though they neuer call him ſupreme head, if you will wey and conferre all their ſayinges together, you ſhal perceiue that they neither ſpake nor ment otherwiſe, but whẽ the biſhop of Rome was once lawfully elected and enthroned, if then anye other woulde by faction, might force, or otherwiſe, (the other liuing and doing his office) enterpriſe to put him downe, and vſurpe the ſame Biſhopricke, or exerciſe the others office himſelfe, as Nouatianus did attempt in the tyme of Cornelius: then the ſayd fathers reckoned them Catholicks that did communicate with him that was ſo lawfully elected, and the cuſtome was, one primacye to haue to doe with an other, by congratulatorye letters ſoone after the certayntye of theyr election was knowne, to keepe the vnity of the Church: and that they that did take part or mayntayne the vſurper, to be ſchiſmatickes, becauſe that vſurper was a ſchiſmaticke: Quia non ſit fas in eadem eccleſia, duos ſimul Epiſcopos eſſe, nec priorem ligitimum Epiſcopum ſine ſua culpa deponi: Becauſe it was not lawfull for two Biſhoppes to be at once together in one Church, neyther the former Byſhop being lawfull, to bee depoſed without his fault were proued. And this is not a prerogatiue of the church of Rome, more thẽ of any other cathedrall, ſpeciall, patriarchall, or metropoliticall church, as appeareth in the third Epiſtle of the firſt booke, and in the eight of the ſecond, and of the fourth booke of S. Syprian to Cornelius.

Math.28.

Math.28.

Aunſwere to S.Ciprian.

The church of Rome hath no more prerogatiue, then any other Church.

The vnity of the church ſtandeth not in the vnyty of the biſhop of Rome.

Whoſe wordes and reaſons, although peraduenture they might ſeeme to conclude the vnitie of the Church in the vnitie of the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe they were al written to him in his own caſe, may as wel be written vnto any other biſhop lawfully choſen, who percaſe ſhould be likewiſe diſturbed as the biſhoppes of Rome then were by any factions of ambitious heretickes.

August. Epiſt. 162.

And where you thinke the name of ſupreme head vnder Chriſt, giuen and attributed to the kinges maieſtie, maketh an innouation in the Church, and perturbation of the order of the ſame, it can not be any innouatiõ or trouble to the church, to vſe the roume that God hath called him to, which good Chriſtian Princes dyd vſe in the beginning when faith was moſt pure, as S. Auguſtine ad Glorium & Eleuſium ſayth? Ait enim quidam, non debuit Epiſcopus pro conſulari iudicio purgari &c. One there is which ſaith, that a Biſhop ought not to haue ben put to his purgation before the iudgement ſeate of the Deputie, as though he him ſelfe procured it, and not rather the Emperour himſelfe cauſed this inquirie to be made, to whoſe iuriſdiction (for the which he muſt anſwere to God) that cauſe did eſpecially pertain. Chryſoſtome writeth of that Imperiall authoritie thus: Læſus eſt qui non habet parem vllum ſuper terram: ſummitas & caput eſt omnium hominum ſuper terram: He is offended that hath no peere at all vpon the earth, for he is the higheſt potentate, and the head of all men vpon earth. And Tertullian ad Scapalum ſaith: Colimus ergo & Imperatorem ſic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipſi expedit, vt hominem à Deo ſecundum, &c. We honour & reuerence the Emperour in ſuch wiſe, as is lawfull to vs and expedient to him, that is to ſay, as a man next and the ſecond to God, from whom he hath receiued all the power he hath: and alſo inferiour to God alone, whoſe pleaſure it is ſo to haue it: For thus is he greater then all men, whiles he is inferiour but to God alone.

The imperiall authority is next vnder God.

Tertull. in Apologet.

And the ſayde Tertullian in his booke apologeticall ſpeaking of Emperours, ſaith: Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium. &c. They knowe who hath giuen to them their gouernement: they know that God is he alone, vnder whoſe onely power they be, and take themſelues as ſecond to God, after whom they be cheſe before al other. Theophilacte alſo to the Rom. vpon this place: Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribꝰ ſubdita ſit: Saith the Apoſtle there teacheth euery mã, Siue ſacerdos ille ſit ſiue Monachus, ſiue Apoſtolus, vt ſe principibus ſubdat: that whether he be a prieſt or a monke, or an apoſtle, he ſhould ſubiect him ſelfe to princes. That is, although thou be an Apoſtle, an Euangeliſt, a Prophet, or whatſoeuer thou art, be ſubiect. Non enim (ſaith he) ſubuertit pietatem hæc ſubiectio: For this ſubiection ouerthroweth no godlines. And the Apoſtle ſayth not onely. Let him obey: but let him be ſubiect.

Theophil. in Rom.

1. Paral. 28.

And if the Apoſtles be ſubiect to princes, much more all Byſhoppes and Patriarkes, yea the Biſhoppes of Rome and all other.

2. Paral. 16.
2. Paral 19.

It is written alſo in the Chronicles: Dauid ſaid to Salomon, behold the prieſt and Leuites diuided in companies, to do all manner of ſeruice that pertaineth to the houſe of God. Alſo, Dauid did appoint chiefly to thanke the Lord, Aſaph and his brethren, &c And Ioſaphat the king did conſtitute Leuites and prieſtes, & the ancient families of Iſrael for the iudgement and cauſe of the Lord towardes all the inhabitants of the earth: and he charged them ſaying, thus ſhall ye do in the feare of the Lord, faithfully & in a perfect heart. Furthermore, Ezechias appointed the prieſtes and the Leuites in their order, to wayte by courſe euery man according to his office. And it followeth Ezechias gaue commandement to the people dwelling in Hieruſalem, that they ſhoulde giue their portions to the prieſtes and Leuites, that they might attend on the lawe of the Lord. Where it followeth alſo that by the precept of Ezechias the king, and of Azarias the biſhoppe of the houſe of the Lord all things were done to whom pertained al the diſpẽſatiõ the houſe of the Lord. And in the end it is ſaid: Ezechias did all theſe things in all Iurie: he wrought that which was good, right, & true before his Lord God in all the furniture of the miniſtery of the houſe of the lord, according to the law & ceremonies deſirous to ſeek his Lord God with al his heart, as he did and proſpered therein. Ioſias alſo did ordeine prieſtes in their offices, and commaunded many thinges.

Chron. 31.

Chron. 35.

By al which it may appeare, that Chriſtiã kings be ſoueraignes ouer the Prieſtes, as ouer all other their ſubiectes, and may commaunde the prieſtes to do their offices, as well as they do others: and ought by their ſupreme office, to ſee that all men of all degrees do their duties, whereunto they be called either by God, or by the king: and thoſe kinges that ſo do, chiefly do execute well their office So that the kinges highnes taking vppon him as ſupreme head of the Church of England, to ſee, that as well ſpiritual men as temporall, do their duties, dooth neither make innouation in the Church, nor yet trouble the order thereof: but doeth as the cheefe and beſt of the kinges of Iſraell did, and as all good Chriſtian kinges ought to doe. Which office good Chriſtian Emperours alwayes tooke vpon them, in calling the vniuerſal Councels of all countries in one place and at one time, to aſſemble together to the intent that all hereſies troubling the Church, might there be extirped: calling and commaunding as well the Biſhop of Rome, as other Patriakes and all primates, as wel of the Eaſt as of the Weſt, of the South as of the North, to come to the ſayd Counſelles. As Martianus the Emperour did in calling the great Counſell of Calcedon, one of the foure chiefe & firſt generall Councels, commaunding Leo then Biſhop of Rome to come vnto the ſame. And albeit Leo neither liked the tyme, which he would for a ſeaſon ſhoulde haue bene deferred: nor yet the place, for he wold haue had it in Italy, wheras the Emperour by hys owne commaundement had called it to Calchis in Aſia, yet he anſwered the Emperor, that he would gladly obey his commaundement, and ſent thither his agentes to appeare there for him, as doth appeare in the Epiſtles of Leo to Martiane then Emperoure. xli. xlvii. xlviij. and in the xlix Epiſtle to Pulcheria the Empres. And likewiſe deſireth Theodoſius the Emperour to commaund a Councell of Biſhops to be called in Italy, for taking away ſuch contentions and troubles, as at that tyme troubled the quietnes of the Churches. And in many moe Epiſtles of the ſame Leo, it doth manifeſtly appeare, that the Emperoures alwayes aſſembled generall Councels by theyr commaundementes. And in the ſixt generall Councel it appeareth very playnly, that at that time the Byſhoppes of Rome made no clayme, nor vſed anye title to call themſelues heades vniuerſall ouer all the Catholicke Churche, as there doth appeare in the ſuperſcription or ſalutation of the foreſayd Synodicall preamble, which is this word for word.

Gen… Co… calle… Emp…

To the moſt godly Lordes and moſt noble victors and conquerours, the welbeloued Children of God and our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, Conſtantine the great Emperour, and to Heraclius and Tiberius Ceſars, Byſhop Agatho the ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God, with all the conuocations ſubiecte to the Councell of the See apoſtolicke, ſendeth greeting. And he expreſſeth what Countryes he reckoned and comprehended in that ſuperſcription or ſalutation: For it followeth that thoſe were vnder hys aſſembly, whiche were in the North and Eaſt partes, ſo that at that time the byſhop of Rome made no ſuch pretence to be ouer and aboue all, as he nowe doth by vſurpation, vendicating to hymſelfe the ſpirituall kingdom of Chriſt, by which he raigneth in the heartes of all faythfull people, and then chaungeth it to a temporall kingdome ouer and aboue all kinges, to depoſe them for hys pleaſure, preaching thereby the fleſh for the ſpirite, and an earthly kingdome for an heauenly, to hys owne damnation, if he repent not. Where hee ought to obey hys prince by the doctrine of S. Peter in his firſt Epiſtle, ſaying: Be ye ſubiect to euery ordinaunce of man, for the Lordes ſake, whether it be to the king as to the chiefe, or vnto gouernours, as ſent of hym to the puniſhment of the euill doers, and to the prayſe of the good. Agayne S. Paule: Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers. With other thinges before alledged. So that this his pretenſed vſurpation to be aboue all kings is directly agaynſt the ſcriptures, geuen to the Churche by the Apoſtles: whoſe doctrine whoſoeuer ouerturneth, can be neyther the head, nor yet the leaſt member of the Church.

Pet.1.

Rom.1

Wherfore, albeit ye haue hetherto ſticked to the ſayd wrongfully vſurped power, moued thereto, as ye write, by your conſcience, yet ſithence now ye ſee further, if ye luſt to regarde the meere truth, and ſuch auncient anthours as haue bene written to you of in tymes paſt, we would exhorte you for the wealth of your ſoule, to ſurrender into the Byſhoppe of Romes handes, your redde hatte, by whiche he ſeduced you, truſtyng ſo to make you, beyng come of a noble bloud, an inſtrument to aduaunce his vayne glory, whereof, by the ſayd hat hee made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpoſe.

In whiche doyng yee ſhall returne to the truth, from whiche yee haue erred: doe your duetye to your ſoueraigne Lord, from whom ye haue declined, and pleaſe thereby almightie God, whoſe lawes ye haue tranſgreſſed, and in not ſo doyng, ye ſhall remayne in errour, offendyng both almightie God, and your naturall ſoueraigne Lord, whome chiefly yee ought to ſeeke to pleaſe. Which thyng, for the good mynde that we heretofore haue borne you, we pray almightie God of his infinite mercy, that you do not. Amen.

{ An… 153…

When all other kynges ſubiectes, and the learned of the Realme had taken and accepted the othe of the kynges ſupremacie, onely Fiſher the Byſhop of Rocheſter & Syr Thomas More refuſed (as is aforeſaid) to be ſworne: who therefore fallyng into the daunger of the law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the ſame. an. 1535. This Iohn Fiſher aforeſayd, had written before agaynſt Oecolampadius, whoſe booke is yet extant, and afterward agaynſt Luther.

Iohn F… Biſh… Roch… enem… Chri… Goſp…

Alſo amongeſt other his actes he had bene a great enemy and perſecuter of Iohn Frith, the godly learned Martyr of Ieſus Chriſt, whom hee and Syr Thomas More cauſed to be burned a yeare and a halfe before, and ſhortly after the ſaid fiſher, to his confuſion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton called the holy maid of Kent) and founde guiltie by act of Parleament, as is aboue recorded. For his learning and other vertues of life, this Biſhop was well reputed and reported of many, and alſo much lamented of ſome. But whatſoeuer his learning was, pitie it was, that he being indued with that knowledge, ſhould be ſo farre drowned in ſuch ſuperſtition: more pitie that he was ſo obſtinate in his ignoraunce: but moſt pitie of all that he ſo abuſed the learning he had, to ſuch crueltie as hee dyd. But thus commonly we ſee come to paſſe, as the Lorde ſaith: *That who ſo ſtriketh with the ſworde, ſhall periſhe with the ſworde*, and they that ſtaine their handes with blood, ſeldome do bring their bodies drie to the graue: as cōmonly appeareth by the end of bloudy tyrantes, and eſpecially ſuch as be perſecuters of Chriſtes poore members. In the number of whom was this Biſhop and ſir Thom. More, by whom good Iohn Frith, Teukeſbery, Thomas Hytten, Bayfild, with diuers other good ſaintes of God, were brought to their death. It was ſayde, that the Pope, to recompence Byſhop Fiſher for his faithfull ſeruice, had elected him Cardinal, and ſent him a Cardinals hat as farre as Calice, but the head it ſhould ſtand vpon, was as hie as London bridge, ere euer ẏ Popes hat could come to him. Thus Biſhop Fiſher and Syr Thomas More, which a litle before had put Iohn Frith to death for hereſy againſt the Pope, were themſelues executed and beheaded for treaſon againſt the king, the one the xxij. of Iune, the other the vi. of Iuly. ann. 1535.

oud re- ged with od.

ſhop Fy- er and Sir o. More, rſecutors.

ſhop Fy- er & Syr ho. More, headed.

Of ſir Tho. More ſome thing hath bene touched before, who was alſo recounted a man both wittie & learned, but whatſoeuer he was beſide, a bitter perſecuter he was of good men, and a wretched enemie againſt the truth of the Goſpel, as by his bookes leaft behind him maye appeare, wherein moſt ſlanderouſly and contumeliouſly he writeth againſt Luther Zwinglius, Tindal, Frith, Barnes, Bayfild, Bainham, Teukeſbery, falſely belying their articles & doctrine, as (God graunting me life) I haue ſufficient matter to proue againſt him.

e lying okes of r Tho. ore.

. More a rſecutour.

Briefly, as he was a ſore perſecuter of them that ſtoode in defence of the Goſpel: ſo againe on the otherſide, ſuch a blynd deuotion he bare to the Pope holy See of Rome, & ſo wilfully ſtoode in the Popes quarell againſt his owne prince, that he woulde not giue ouer tyll he had brought ẏ Scaffolde of the Towre hyll with the axe and all vppon his owne necke.

Edwarde Hall in his Chronicle writing of the death and manners of this Syr Thomas More, ſeemeth to ſtand in doubt, whether to call him a fooliſhe wiſe man, or a wiſe fooliſhe man. For as by nature he was indued with a great witte, ſo the ſame againe was ſo mingled (ſayth he) with taunting and mocking, that it ſeemed to them that beſt knewe him, that he thought nothing to be wel ſpoken, except he had miniſtred ſome mock in the communication: in ſo much as at his comming to the Tower, one of the officers demaunding his vpper garment for his fee, meaning his gowne, he anſwered that he ſhould haue it, and tooke him his cappe, ſaying it was the vppermoſte garment that he had. Likewiſe, euen going to his death, at the Tower gate a poore woman called vnto him, & beſought him to declare that he had certain euidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended, ſhe could not come by) and that he woulde intreat that ſhe might haue them againe, or els ſhe was vndone. He anſwered, Good woman, haue patience a little while, for the king is good vnto me, that euen within this halfe houre he will diſcharge me of all buſineſſes, and help thee him ſelfe. Alſo when he went vppe the ſtayre on the Scaffold, he deſired one of the Sheriffes officers to giue hym his hand to helpe him vp, and ſayde, when I come downe againe, let me ſhyft for my ſelfe ſo well as I can. Alſo the hangman kneeled downe to him, aſking him forgiuenes of his death, as the manner is. To whom he ſaid, I forgiue thee, but I promiſe thee, that thou ſhalt neuer haue honeſtie of ẏ ſtriking of my head, my neck is ſo ſhort. Alſo, euen when he ſhould lay downe his head on the block, he hauing a great gray beard, ſtriked out his beard, and ſaid to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer the block leaſt you ſhould cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his life.

More a ffer vnto death.

There is no doubt but that the Popes holines hath hallowed and dignified theſe two perſons long ſince, for Catholike martirs. Neither is it to be doubted, but after an hundred yeres expired, they ſhal alſo be ſhrined & portiſed, dying as they did in that quarrel of the church of Rome, ẏ is in taking the biſhop of Romes part againſt their own ordinary & natural prince. Whereunto (becauſe ẏ matter aſketh a long diſcourſe, & a peculiar tractation) I haue not in this place, much to contend with Cope my friend. This briefly for a *memorandum* may ſuffice, that if the cauſes of true martyrdome ought to be pondred, & not to be numbred, & if the end of martyrs is to be weyed by iudgement, & not by affection: then the cauſe and quarell of theſe men ſtanding as it doth, & being tried by Gods word, perhaps in ẏ Popes kingdome they may go for martirs, in whoſe cauſe they dyed: but certes in Chriſtes kingdome their cauſe wil not ſtand, how ſo euer they ſtand them ſelues.

Rocheſter, More. Exmew, Mydalemore, Nudigate, executed for treaſō.

The like alſo is to be ſaid of the three monkes of Charterhouſe, Exmewe, Middlemore, and Nudigate, who the ſame yeare in the moneth of Iune, were likewiſe attached and arrained at Weſtminſter, for ſpeaking certaine trayterous words againſt the kings crown and dignitie: for the which they were hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne, who alſo, becauſe Cope my good frēd doth repute & accept in the number of holy Catholique Martyrs, here would be aſked of him a queſtion: What Martyrs be they, which ſtanding before the iudge, denye their owne words and ſayings, and plead not giltie, ſo as theſe Carthuſians dyd: whereby it appeareth, that they would neither haue ſtand nor haue died in that cauſe as they did, if they might otherwiſe haue eſcaped by denying. Wherefore if my friend Cope had bene ſo well aduiſed in ſetting out his martyrs, as God might haue made him, he woulde firſt haue ſeene the true recordes, & ben ſure of the ground of ſuch matters wherupon he ſo confidently pronounceth, and ſo cenſoriouſly controlleth others.

Ex actis in termino Paſchæ. Anno. 27. Reg. Hen. 8.

In the ſame cauſe & quarell of treaſon alſo, the ſame yeare, a little before theſe aforeſaide in the moneth of Mey, were executed with the like puniſhmēt, Iohn Houghton, Priour of the Charterhouſe in London, Robert Laurēce Prior of the Charterhouſe of Belnaile, Auſten Webſter Prior of the Charterhouſe of Exham.

Beſide and with theſe three Priors, ſuffered likewiſe the ſame time two other Prieſtes, one called Reignolde, brother of Syon, the other named Iohn Haile vicare of Thiſtleworth.

9. Carthuſians dyed in priſon, refuſing the kinges ſupremacy.

Diuers other Charterhouſe monks alſo of Londō were then put in priſon, to the number of nine or tenne, and in the ſame priſon dyed, for whom we will (the Lorde wylling) reſerue an other place hereafter to intreate of more at large.

M. Copes 9. worthyes.

Copus in Dialog. 9. pag. 595.

In ẏ meane time, for ſo much as ẏ foreſaide Cope in his doughty Dialogues, ſpeaking of theſe nine worthies, doth commend them ſo highly, and eſpecially the three priors aboue recited, here by the way I would deſire maiſter Cope, ſimply and directly to anſwere me to a thing or two that I would put to him, and firſt, of this Iohn Houghtō that angelical Prior of the Charterhouſe, his olde companion & acquaintance of whō thus he writeth: *Atqui cum Ioannem illum Houghtonum cogito non tam hominem quàm angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cuius eminentes virtutes, diuinas dotes, & heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo vnquam poterit ſatis pro dignitate explicare, &c.* By theſe his owne wordes it muſt needes be confeſſed, that the authour of theſe Dialogues, who ſo euer he was, had well ſeene and conſidered the fourme and perſonable ſtature, proportion and ſhape of his excellent bodye, with ſuch admiration of his perſonage, that (as he ſayth) as oft as he calleth the ſaid Iohn Hughton to mind, it ſeemeth to him, euen as though he ſaw an angel in the ſhape and fourme of a man. Whoſe eminent vertues moreouer, whoſe diuine gifts, and heroical celſitude of mind, no man (ſaith he) may ſufficiently expreſſe. &c. And how old was this M. Cope then I would know, when he ſawe and diſcerned all this? For as I vnderſtand, M. Cope being yet at this preſent ſcarſe come to the age of xl. yeares, he could not be then aboue nine yeare olde (the other ſuffering ann. 1535.) in the which age, in my minde, M. Cope had ſmall diſcretion to iudge either of any ſuch angelical proportion of mans perſonage, or of his diuine qualities, and heroical celſitude of his mind, as yet he remembreth in his Dialogues. Which thing among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to ſuſpect, ẏ theſe Dialogues printed in Antwerp, ann. 1566. were brought ouer by M. Cope, there to be printed, but were penned & framed by an other *Pſeudocopus*, whatſoeuer, or in what Fleete ſo euer he was, vnleſſe my marks do greatly faile me. But as the caſe is of no great weight, ſo I let it paſſe, returning to other matters of more importance.

Copes Dialogues ſuſpected not to be his owne.

Shortly after, the ouerthrow of the Pope conſequently began by litle and litle to follow the ruine of Abbeyes & religious houſes in Englande, in a right order & methode by Gods diuine prouidence. For neither could the fall of Monaſteries haue followed after, vnleſſe that ſuppreſſion of the Pope had gone before, neither could any true reformation of the church haue bene attempted, vnles ẏ ſubuerſion of thoſe ſuperſtitious houſes had ben ioyned withal.

Suppreſſion of Abbeyes firſt beginneth in England

Whereupon the ſame yere in the moneth of October, the king hauing then Tho. Cromwell of his Counſel, ſent Doct. Lee to viſite the Abbeys, Priories, and Nunryes in all England, & to ſet at libertie all ſuch religious perſons, as deſired to be free, & all other that were vnder the age of 24. yeares: Prouiding withal yͤ ſuch Monkes, Chanons, & Fryers as were dimiſſed, ſhould haue giuen thẽ by the Abbot or Prior, in ſteede of their habite, a ſecular Prieſtes gowne, and xl. ſhillings of money: & likewiſe the Nunnes to haue ſuch apparel as ſecular women did then cõmonly vſe, and ſuffered to goe where they would. At which time alſo from the ſayde Abbeyes and Monaſteries were taken their chiefe iewels and reliques.

Religious men vnder age, let out of monaſteryes.

The king firſt beginneth with the iuels of Abbeyes.

Anno. 1536.

When the king had thus eſtabliſhed his ſupremacie, & all things were well quieted within the Realme, he like a wiſe prince, & hauing wiſe counſaile about him, forecaſting with himſelfe, what forreine daungers might fall vnto him by other countries about, whiche all were yet in ſubiection to the Biſhoppe of Rome, ſaue onely a fewe Germane princes, and miſdouting the malice of the pope: to prouide therefore by time for perilles that might enſue, thought good to keepe in by all meanes poſſible with other Princes.

A ſolemne proceſſion in Londõ for ioy of the French kings health.

And firſt to entertaine the fauour of the French king, who had ben ſicke a litle before, and now was lately recouered to health, in ſignification of publique ioy and frendſhip, the king cõmanded a ſolemne and famous proceſſion to be ordeined through the city of London, with the waits and children of Grammer ſchooles, with the maiſters and vſhers in their array: Then folowed the orders of the friers and Chanons, and the Priours with their pompe of Copes, Croſſes, Candleſtickes, and vergers before them. After theſe folowed the next pagean of Clerkes & prieſtes of London, all in Copes likewiſe. Then the monkes of Weſtminſter and other Abeys, with their glorious gardeuiance of Croſſes, Candleſtickes, and Vergers before them in like ſort. Laſt of all came the queere of Pauls, with their reſidenſaries, the Biſhop of London and the Abbots folowing after in their Pontificalibus. After theſe courſes of the Clergie, went the companies of the citie, with yͤ lord Maior & Aldermẽ in their beſt apparel, after their degrees And leaſt it might be thought this Proceſſion of the church of Lõdon, to make but a ſmall or beggerly ſhewe, the furniture of the gay Copes there worne, was counted to the number of 714. Moreouer, to fill vp the ioy of this proceſſion, and for the more high ſeruice to almightie God, beſide the ſinging queeres, & chaunting of the prieſtes, there lacked no minſtrels withal, to pipe at the proceſſions. Briefly here lacked nothing els, but only yͤ ordinãce to ſhoot of alſo. But becauſe that is vſed in the Proceſſions at Rome, therefore for difference ſake, the ſame is reſerued onely for the Popes owne Proceſſions, and for none other, in the moneth of October.

A pyping proceſſion.

This grand proceſſion was appointed, for a triumphe or a thankes giuing for the late recouerye of the Frenche kinges health, as is aforeſayd.

Ambaſſadours ſent to ſundry kinges.

Ouer and beſides this, the king to nouriſh and reteine amitie with kings and princes, leaſt the Pope being exiled now out of England, ſhould incite them to warre againſt him, directed ſundry Ambaſſadours and meſſengers with letters and inſtructions. To the Emperour was ſent ſyr Tho. Wyat, to the French king ſyr Fraunces Brian, and Doct. Edw. Foxe, who was alſo ſent to the Princes of Germanie, to the Scottes king was ſent ſir Raffe Sadler, gentleman of the kinges priuie chamber.

Syr Raffe Sadler ambaſſadour to the Scottes king.

In Scotlande the ſame time were caſt abroade diuers railing ballets, and ſlaunderous rimes againſt the king of England, for caſting of the Ladye Dowager, and for aboliſhing the Pope: for the which cauſe the foreſaid Sir Raffe Sadler being ſent into Scotland, with leſſons and inſtructions howe to addreſſe himſelfe accordingly, after he had obteyned acceſſe vnto the king, and audience to be hearde, firſt declareth the effectuous & harty cõmendations from the kinges maieſtie his graces vncle, and withal deliuered his letters of credence. Which done, after a fewe wordes of courtly entertainement, as occaſion ſerued him to ſpeake, the ſayde Syr Raffe Saddler obteining audience, thus beganne in the king his maiſters behalfe, to declare, as foloweth.

❧ The Oration of the kynges ambaſſadour.

The Oration of Sir Raffe Sadler to the Scottiſh king.

Wheras there is nothing after the glory of almighty God, in this world ſo much to be tendred by kings, Princes, or any honeſt perſons, or ſo highly to be regarded and defended, as their honor, eſtimatiõ, good fame & name, which whoſoeuer neglecteth, is to be eſteemed vnnatural, and vnleſſe a man labor to auoide and extinguiſh the falſe reportes, ſlanders, and diffamations made of him by malitious perſons, he may wel be ſuſpected, in cõſcience to condemne himſelfe: the king your vncle conſidering yͤ ſame, and hearing of ſundry ballets, criminations, and famous libels, made and vntruly forged and deuiſed in Scotland againſt his grace, by your graces ſubiectes, not only vpon truſt to find with your grace ſuch natural affection, frendſhip and amitie, as the nerenes of bloud betweene vncle & nephew, neceſſitude of reuerence, proximitie both of kinne & of dominions together doth require: but alſo vpon aſſurance, that your grace and wiſedome will conſider howe theſe ſlaunders and diffamations, although they were but againſt a priuate perſon, whatſoeuer he were, moſte commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and eſtate: as the diffamation of kinges toucheth kinges, and ſo of other degrees and dignities: doth ſend at this time to your grace, his nephewe (other he might haue ſent more worthy, but me at this time, for lacke of a better hath he ſente) to deſire, pray, and require your grace, that according as the nearenes of bloud, connexion of eſtate, & other things before expreſſed, of right and iuſtice do require: beſeeching your grace, gently to weigh and balaunce, & wel to ponder the malice of theſe the ſaide ſlaunderers, and to call in againe all the ſaide diffamatorie ballets, libels, and other writinges, puniſhing the authours and ſetters forth thereof according to their demerites: and furthermore to cauſe open proclamatiõs to be made through your realm, that none of your inhabitantes there ſhall in any manner wiſe ſo miſuſe himſelfe hereafter, vpon ſuch great payne and puniſhment, as to your grace and your Counſaile ſhal be thought conuenient for the tranſgreſſion thereof: ſo that other by their correction, and by the fearefull example of the penaltie, may beware howe to commit the like offence in time comming.

The example of ſuch ſlaunders is very pernicious to all kinges. For by ſuch ſlaunders of other princes, yͤ ſlaunderers take boldnes ſo to deale afterward with their own king, as they haue done with other, and the next ſtep from ſuch ſlaunderous words, is to attempt deedes, and ſo to fal to ſedition: of the importance and danger wherof no man is ignorant.

Wherefore, your grace, at the contemplation of your deare vncle, in tendering his proceedinges, ſhall doe well to follow therin the louing ſteppes of his good brother and allye the French king, who hath already at Roane and ſundry places els, cauſed certaine ſlaunderous preachers to be ſore puniſhed: and further directed commiſſions thorowe his Realme for repreſſing the ſame: As alſo other Princes ſhalbe readye (his Maieſtie truſteth) to doe the like in their dominiõs, if like occaſion ſhalbe giuen to require the ſame of them. In which in ſo doing, your grace may be aſſured in this your gentle dealing in that part, to winne your vncles moſt ſincere & kind hart, to yͤ encreaſe of your amitie and alliance, which, as to you ſhalbe moſte honorable, ſo ſhall it be no leſſe profitable vnto him.

And thus to conclude with the firſt part of my narration concerning the ſlaunderous and diffamatorie libelles, leaſte I ſhoulde ſeeme with prolixitie of matter more then needes, to abuſe your graces ſilence: I will nowe deſcende to the other point of that which I haue to vtter vnto your grace, as touching the Popes Nuntio or meſſenger. Of whoſe late arriuall, the kinges Maieſtie your vncle hauing partly intelligence, but not certainly knowing the ſpeciall cauſe of his comming from Rome, and yet fearing by the common bruite and talke of your ſubiects, what his arrande ſhould be,: that is to practiſe ſome annoyance by his pretended cenſures againſt the kinges Maieſtie your vncle: he therefore premoniſhing your grace before, as fearing the worſt, moſt iuſtly maketh his complaint thereof vnto your grace his nephewe, requiring you, that for as much as the foreſaide bruites and reportes are ſlaunderous to his Maieſtie: and ſeeing that neyther the Emperour, nor the Frenche king, nor any other Princes haue conſented therto, or vnderſtood thereof, the kings maieſtie therefore your vncle willing to ſtop thoſe brutes & talkes, deſireth & moſt hartily praieth your grace at his inſtant requeſt, to vouchſafe, to conſider & way. Firſt, the ſupremacie of princes by the holy ſcripture graunted vnto him & other princes in earth vnder Chriſt, vpon their churches.

Secondly to weigh what the Goſpel and Gods word calleth a Church.

Alſo what ſuperſtitions, idolatries, and blinde abuſes haue crept into all realms, to yͤ high diſpleaſure of almighty God by reaſon thereof.

Fourthly, what is to be vnderſtanded by the true cenſure or excommunication of the Church, and how no ſuch can be in yͤ power of the Biſhop of Rome, or of any other man, againſt his Maieſtie, or any other prince hauing ſo iuſte grounde to auoyde from the roote, and to aboliſh that execrable authoritie, which yͤ Biſhop of Rome hath vſurped and doth vſurpe vpon all princes, to their great detriment and dammage.

As touching the conſideration of which foure pointes, although the kinges maieſtie your vncle douteth not your grace to be furniſhed & prouided with ſufficiẽt knowlege, rightly to diſcerne and iudge vpon the ſame, yet if it ſhal ſo pleaſe your grace further to know your vncles mind touching the ſaid points, I aſſure your highnes in the behalfe of your foreſaid vncle his maieſtie, that he wil not ſtick to ſend vnto you ſuch learned, wiſe, and diſcrete men as ſhal amply enforme you thereof, and of ſuch other thinges as your grace hauing once a ſmacke therof, ſhall thinke moſt worthy for a prince to knowe.

His requeſt therefore to your highnes is, that you wil conſider of what moment and importance it ſhall be vnto your grace (hauing the Scottes your ſubiects ſo euill inſtructed in the premiſſes) for you to aſſent and agree to any ſuch cenſure, and ſo by ſuch example to giue ſuch an vpper hand ouer your ſelf and other princes, to that vſurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Chriſtendome, whereſoeuer yͤ true declaration of yͤ truth and word of God ſhall haue free courſe, to ſcourge them, vnleſſe they will adore, worſhip, and kyſſe the feete of that corrupt holineſſe, which deſireth nothing els but pride, and the vniuerſal thral of Chriſtendome vnder Romes yokes.

omes
kes.

But becauſe the cenſures of that Nuntio be not yet opened, but lye ſecrete and vncertaine vnder muttering, I ſhall ceaſe further to procede therein, tyl further occaſion ſhall miniſter to me more certaine matter for to ſay and to iudge. In the meane time for ſo much as it is moſt certainly come to the intelligence of the kings maieſtie, that yͤ Abbot of Arbroth ſhoulde be choſen of late and elected to be a Cardinal in this your Realme of Scotlande, his maieſtie therfore for the good loue & harty good wil he beareth vnto your grace, as yͤ vncle is boũd vnto yͤ nephew, knowing yͭ you as yet perceiue not ſo wel the hypocriſie and deceitfull guile and malice of the Romains and their practiſes, as he himſelf doth by his long experience: could not but hearing therof, aduertiſe your grace, that his aduiſe is, you ſhould not ſuffer any of your ſubiectes to take vpon him that red hatte of pride: whereby he ſhal incontinently, the ſame being receiued, (vnles he be of a contrary nature to any man that euer was yet of yͭ ſort) not only be in maner diſcharged of his obedienc, and become the biſhop of Romes true liege man: but alſo ſhall preſume of his Cardinalſhyp to be your fellow, and to haue the rule as well as you. Then ſhall the Biſhop of Rome creepe into your owne very boſome, know al your ſecretes, and at laſt, vnleſſe you wil be yoked, and ſerue their pleaſure in all points, your grace is like to ſmart for it. The thing perchance in the beginning ſhal ſeeme to your grace very honorable and pleaſant: but wiſdom would to beware of the taile, which is very black and bytter.

e Abbot
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His maieſties father, and Grandfather to your grace, had a Cardinal, whereof he was weary, and neuer admitted other after his deceaſe, knowing yͤ importable pride of them. In like maner alſo his highnes by the experience of one, hath vtterly determined to auoid al the ſort: So wel his grace hath knowen & experienced their miſchief, yoke, and thraldome, that thereby is layd vpon princes. By reaſon wherof, as his highnes is the more able by his owne experience to informe your grace: ſo of good will & meere propẽſitie of hart, cauſed partly by nature and kinne, partly by coniunction and vicinitie of dominions adioining ſo neare together, he is no leſſe ready to forewarn your grace before, wiſhing that God will ſo worke in your princely hart and noble ſtomake, that his maieſties monition & frendly warning, as it proceedeth from a ſincere affection and tender care of his part vnto his nephewe, ſo it maye preuaile and take place in your mind, that your grace wiſely in weighing with your ſelf, what ſupreme right princes haue and ought to haue vpon their Churches and landes where they gouern, & what litle cauſe the biſhop of Rome hath therto, to procede by vniuſt cenſures againſt thẽ: your grace may therin not only ſtand to the iuſt defence of your deare vncle, but alſo may endeuor to folow his ſteps therin, & to take his counſel, whiche he doubteth not, but ſhal redound not onely to your graces honour, to the benefite, weale, & profit of your realm & ſubiects, but eſpecially to yͤ glory of almighty God, and aduancement of his true religion.

And thus haue I expounded to your grace, the ſumme of my errand and meſſage from the kings maieſtie your vncle, who as he would be glad to be aduertiſed by anſwere, of your graces purpoſe, mind, and intention in this behalf ſo for my part, according to my charge and duetie, I ſhall be preſt and ready with al diligence, to giue mine attendẽce vpon your pleaſure for the ſame accordingly.

* The ſumme and effecte of the kinges meſſage ſent to the French kyng, in defence of his proceedinges.

The kinges meſſage to the French king.

THe king conſidering the preſent ſtate of his marriage which was not yet well digeſted ner accepted in the Courtes of other Princes: and alſo hauing intelligence of the ſtraight amitie intended by the marriages betweene yͤ Emperor and the French king, and alſo of the Popes inclination to pleaſure the Emperour, and further vnderſtãdyng of the order and meaning of the French kings counſell, not greatly fauouring his purpoſes, ſent therfore vnto Fraunce for his ambaſſadour Edw. Foxe doct. of Diuinitie, his Chaplaine and Cõſailour, with inſtructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper himſelf in thoſe the kinges affaires. The contentes of which his inſtructions came to this effecte: That the ſaide Edwaad Foxe, firſt declaring to the French king the moſt affectuous commendations made on the kinges behalfe, with declaration of the kings moſt entire and hartie good wil to vnderſtand of his proſperitie, & the good ſucceſſe of his affaires, which his maieſtie no leſſe deſired then his owne: and alſo after the kings letters being deliuered to him and to other perſonages of his Counſaile, then, after his acceſſe made vnto the king, ſhuld vtter and inſinuate vnto the king, his maiſters mind & intent in theſe thre ſpecial pointes folowing.

Three cauſes to be declared in the kinges defence.

The firſt was, to declare the iuſtnes of the kings cauſe, concerning the late marriage with queene Anne, & diuorcement of the king, from his brothers wife.

The ſecond, to ſignifie and expreſſe the iniuries done by the Pope, as afterward ſhall be declared.

The third was, to winne and allure to the kings deuotion the Chauncelour of Fraunce.

And as touching the declaration of the iuſtnes of the kinges cauſe, firſt he taking with him certayne bookes printed, conteyning the determinations of vniuerſities in that behalfe, with reaſons and authorities confirming the ſame, ſhould diſtribute the ſayd bookes to the Biſhop of S. Line, & to other biſhops, to Monſieur de Langez, & other of the kinges counſel moe, and to proue after the beſt faſhion, to obtaine their approbations of the ſame bookes, & with dexteritie to aſſay whether he could induce thẽ of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, and other learned men, to ſend forth this booke with their authorities and approbations. That done, thẽ he being acquainted with al thoſe points & articles of the kinges cauſe, in cõmunication and conference (as the caſe required) ſhoulde not onely make anſwere to ſuch things as ſhould be obiected, but alſo furniſh & mainteine the iuſtnes of that opinion, with his learning in ſuch ſort as he could beſt inuent and cogitate.

The Popes iniuryes donne to the king of England.

As touching the ſecond part which conteined the iniuries done by yͤ pope againſt the king the ſayd ambaſſador in that behalfe being a man no leſſe acquainted, then alſo wel beaten and ripe in the manifold miſbehauiours of the Pope, from the beginning of the cauſe, ſhuld declare & expreſſe to the French king, how iniuriouſly the ſayde Pope had demeaned himſelf toward the kinges highnes: firſt in ſending a commiſſion decretal, and then cõmaunding it to be burnt: as alſo in promiſing by ſchedule of his own hãd, not to cal the cauſe out of England: and moreouer approuing firſt yͤ iuſtnes of the kings cauſe, yet notwithſtanding afterward went from the ſame, and did contrary.

The Pope inconſtant in his deedes, & cõtrarye to himſelfe.

Touching all which iniuries receiued at the Popes hand, although the king had great cauſe iuſtly to complain yet other iniuries there were beſide theſe, wherewith the kyng moſt eſpecially was moued.

The Pope calleth and citeth the K. to Rome.

The one was for calling and cyting the kings highnes to appeare at Rome.

Two ſpeciall iniuries of the pope againſt the king.

The other was for reiecting the perſon of the kynges truſtie ſubiect and Chaplayne, maiſter Kerne his ambaſſadour, from making ſuch allegations, as to the king in that caſe apperteined; beſyde ſundry other no ſmal greues and inconueniences, which here might be ſhewed and alleged: But in theſe two eſpecial iniuries the kyng thought hymſelfe moſt chiefly touched, and agreeued. In opening & ripping vp of which iniuries, & firſt in the ſaid iniurious calling of the king to Rome, inſtructions were geuen to the ſaid ambaſſador to explicate the open violation therin, of yͤ moſt ancient and general councels, the Councel of Nice, the councel of Aphrike, & the councel of Milen. In which councels, the cõtrary was, for quietnes of the world, prouided & ordered: declaring withal, how agreeable yͤ ſame

The Pope violateth the Cõucells of Nice, Aphricke, and Mileuitaine.

is to all lawes, reaſon, & equitie, that Princes ſhold not be cõpelled to repaire to Rome, at the Popes calling, nor be bound in a matter of ſuch weight & moment, to ſend out of their realmes & dominions, the writings, inſtrumentes & monuments containing the ſecretes of their affayres, or to make & truſt a proctor being in ſo far diſtant parties, in a matter of ſuch importance, to abide & fulfill that which the ſaid Proctor ſhould agree vnto there. The matter and caſe wherof did not ſo much concerne yͤ eſtate of any one prince alone, as it touched the dignitie of al other Chriſten kings ſo neare, that vnles they wold ſuffer themſelues to be yoked with the Popes authoritie, it was tyme (in as muche as the Pope now made this enterpriſe on thẽ) to enſearch and know the bottom & ground both of his & of their authoritie: & if any thing by negligẽce or miſuſe had ben loſt, to recouer the ſame, rather then to ſuffer it to decaye any more. As touching al which greues, hurts, inconueniences, preiudice, & euil example which might thereof enſue, yͤ kinges highnes doubted not, but that his good brother the French king would aſſiſt and concurre with his highnes for maintenance and defence of the ſame.

The ſecond poynt to be declared.

The kinges Ambaſſadour could not be heard at Rome.

For declaration of the ſecond notable greefe and iniurie done by the Pope to the kings highnes, thus furthermore he was willed to inſinuate to the French kyng, what iniurie or rather contumelie the kinges highnes receyued at the Popes hand, in not ſuffering the kinges ſubiect & ambaſſadour to allege ſuch matter in defence of his Prince, as by law, reaſon, & equitie was to be heard and admitted, for as much as the ſayd ambaſſadour doctor Kerne the kings Chaplain being at Rome, at ſuch time as citations were there publiſhed againſt yͤ kings highnes, & vnderſtanding his grace by thẽ to be called before one Capaſucha, Deane of yͤ Rote, was there ready to make anſwer to the queens Agents cõplaint, & had by the aduice of other great learned men, conceyued a certaine matter cõteining cauſes reaſonable & lawful, why the kings highnes ſhuld not be boũd to appeare there, either by himſelf, or by his proctor. Which matter alſo he did exhibite on the kings behalfe, as a true ſubiect by law of nature is bound to mainteine & to allege in defence of his prince that is abſent, & ought by equitie to preſerue him frõ condemnation. And yet this notwithſtãdyng the ſaide Capaſuccha not regarding nor conſidering the matter alledged, demaunded whether the ſaid Doctor had any proxie from the king or no, for ſoch purpoſe, and vpon default and lacke of the ſayd Proxie (which was not neceſſary in this caſe) Proceeded in the principal cauſe. By reaſon wherof the ſayd doctor Kerne appealed to yͤ pope, alleging iniurie to be don, not only to the kings highnes, but alſo to himſelfe, for that ſuch matter as he did allege, was not cõſidered nor regarded, but proces made. To the which appellation, notwithſtanding the ſayd Capaſuccha gaue an ambiguous and a doubtfull anſwere, which was that as much as Doctor Kerne was by the lawe a lawfull perſon, ſo much he would giue place, & deferre appellationi, and otherwiſe not.

The pope would haue the king to appeare by proxie at Rome.

Thus vpon declaration of this doubtful anſwere, paſſed certaine daies, the ſaid Capaſuccha promiſing alwaies to open his ſayde anſwere and ſentence more plainly, and to giue a determinate reſolution. Which he neuertheleſſe did not, albeit he was diuers times vrged thervnto: but ſo paſſed the time, and ſodenly returned to proceſſe. Wherupon the ſayde Doctor Kerne appealed eftſoones againe, and put a ſupplication to the Pope, for admiſſion of the ſayde appeale. By reaſon whereof the matter was reaſoned in the ſignature. In which ſignature by no lawe it coulde be ſhewed why the ſaid doctor Kerne ſhould not be admitted to allege in defence of the kinges highnes, but onely yͭ they there amongſt themſelues being the greater nũber, which were of the Emperours dominions, and feede of him (amõg which was alſo the ſaid Capaſuccha) gaue their voices as the Pope ſayde, that Doctour Kerne ſhould not be hearde, Sine mandato Regiæ maieſtatis. Whereunto when Doctor Kerne replyed, ſaying: whatſoeuer they decreed or ſaid, there was no law to mainteine and heare it: it was ſaid againe by cardinall Anconitate, that the Pope might iudge after his conſcience. And vpon this reſolution, they determined there to proceede in the principall cauſe, vnles the king woulde ſende a Proxie, intending by this iniurie & wrong, to enforce his highnes to yͤ exhibitiõ of a Proxie there, to his highnes high preiudice, to the pernitious example of the like to be done to other Princes, and alſo to the derogation of the liberties & prerogatiues of his gratious Realme. Unto the obſeruation wherof his highnes is bound by his othe, and alſo by the ſame othe bounde to recouer and reſtore ſuch liberties and priuileges, as by any of his predeceſſours hath ben loſt, diminiſhed, or decaied in tyme paſt.

These with other like iniuries and wronges of the pope done to the king, the foreſayd ambaſſadour M. Foxe according as he had in charge and commiſſion, did declare open, and ſhew vnto the French king, to the intent to ſollicite the ſayd king, to do by his meditation, for the remedying and redreſſing of thoſe foreſayd iniuries and wrongful dealinges of the Pope in this behalfe.

Furthermore, for the thyrd purpoſe touching yͤ Chancellor of Fraunce, for aſmuch as hee was one of the chiefe perſonages whome the Frenche king moſt truſted in hys great affayres (by whoſe aduiſe all matters of learning were then conducted and trayned) the king thought it not vnprofitable, by all wayes and meanes to winne and allure his friendſhip and amitie alſo, vnto his deuotion, eyther that by his meanes and dexteritie the kinges purpoſes might be aduaunced the better: or at leaſt for a Ne noceat: yͭ is to mittigate and diminiſhe ſuch fauour as he by yͤ admirall or otherwiſe, was moued to ſhew to the Imperials. For the which cauſe the king committing in charge to hys ambaſſadour aforeſayd, willed and inſtructed hym howe and what to doe, and after what maner to attemperate himſelfe to all occaſions and times of opportunitie: as firſt to deliuer to him frõ the king, his letters of credence, and withall to declare and extend the kinges moſt effectuous commendations, with the harty good will, and ſincere affections whiche his hignes bare to the ſayde Cardinall Chauncellour of Fraunce, with no leſſe deſire alſo moſt gladly to do that thing which might be to his commoditie and benefite, according as the manifold pleaſures, gratuities, and kindnes done on his part for the kinges highnes did worthily deſerue. Then after ſuch wordes of mollification, to enter into further communication with him, in ſuch ſort as might beſt ſerue his honour.

And foraſmuch as the Cardinall was thẽ noted much to be moued with the affections of vayn glory, & couetous therfore amongſt other cõmunication, it was deuiſed to inferre mentiõ of the Papalitie, noting what wayes & meanes might be vſed to attayne vnto that dignitie. Wherein if the kinges hignes coulde ſtand him to anye ſteede, as he thought the perſon of the ſayd Chauncellour moſt meet for the ſame: ſo he would not fayle to moue and to procure it to the beſt furtheraunce of his aduauncement. And finally to declare how deſirous the kinges highnes was to retayne and make ſure vnto him, the amitie and friendſhip of the ſayd Chauncellour, and that hys hignes deuiſing by what meanes and wayes he might do the ſame (albeit his grace knew wel, that the fayth and ſinceritie of the ſayd Chauncellour towardes hys mayſter, was ſuch, as no gift, penſion, or other offer could aduance or increaſe that good will which for hys mayſters ſake, he would employ in the kinges highnes affayres) thought that for declaration of hys hartye good will towardes the ſayde Chauncellour, it were conuenient to offer vnto hym ſome yearely remembraunce. &c.

This was the ſumme and effect of the meſſage of the king ſent vnto the French king, and to other of his counſayle, by his ambaſſadour maiſter Edward Foxe, whiche was eſpecially to ſignifie and make manifeſt vnto the ſayd French king the vniuſt dealinges and preiudiciall proceedinges of the pope, in calling vp the king of Englande to appeare at Rome, by Proxie, which was derogatory to yͤ kinges dignitie and crowne, and alſo preiudiciall both to generall Councels of the primitiue tyme, and to the auncient lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme (as is afore declared) and no leſſe hurtfull for example to all other Princes and kinges likewiſe. &c.

This meſſage ſo done, ſhortly after was ſent to the ſaid french king, Stephen Gardinar biſh. of Wincheſter, with the kings anſwere and meſſage again on this maner: yͭ for ſo much as the ſaying of the Frenche king to the ambaſſadors was this: that notwithſtanding all the kings Realm ſhuld agree and condeſcend neuer ſo muche to yͤ right & title, which the ſucceſſion procreated of this his lawfull matrimony hath in this hys realme: yet when outward parties ſhall conceaue anye other or contrary opinion thereof great trouble and vexation might enſue. Wherunto the K. made anſwere agayne, declaring yͭ he could not but greatly marueyle, yͭ the king his brother being ſo wiſe a Prince, and there to well expert and learned in Chronicles and hiſtories, not onely of his owne realme, but alſo of all others, or any of his Counſayle, being men of ſuch experiẽce as they were taken to be, would thinke that the opinion & conſent of other outward Realms was ſo highly to be cõſidered and regarded of any prince or king, in ſtabliſhing or in executing of thinges which mighte be lawfully done, and which touched the preſeruation of the rightes, preeminences, dignitie, and ſtate of his realme, and did alſo notably conferre vnto the ſingular benefite and tranquillitie of the ſame, ſo as the wordes both of the ſayde king hys

Kinges in the right of their realms are not bou͂d to the agrement of outwarde realmes.

brother, and of the great maſter did pretend. Who furthermore were not ignoraunt them ſelues, that many thinges haue bene by hys noble progenitours kinges of Fraunce attempted and done, as well in caſes of matrimonie, as otherwiſe, which in ſome part in the opinion of ẏ Popes of Rome then being, & in ſome part in the opinion of diuers other outwarde princes, ſtates, ſeigniories, and common people haue bene thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable vnto them: and yet that notwithſtanding hys ſaid progenitors knowing them ſelues the proſecuting of thoſe cauſes to be beneficial to them and to the realm, haue not therfore deſiſted from their ſaid purpoſes, but diligētly employing their owne ſtrength and powers with the ſuccours of their frends, haue finally atchieued their ſayd enterpriſes, wythout requiring or greatly regarding the opinion or agreement therunto of outward princes.

The ouerture of the Chauncellour of Fraunce, to the king, to take indifferent iudges by the Popes authority.

The kinges aunſwere to the ouerture.

Againe, wheras the Chauncelour of France made thys ouerture to the ſayde Biſhop of Wincheſter, whether the kyng woulde be content to haue indifferent Iudges to be appoynted by the authoritie of the Pope, to determine his cauſe, wyth a commiſſion decretall from ẏ ſame, declaring Quid iuris. &c. The King by his ambaſſador therunto anſwearing, declared that the Pope hauing done vnto hym ſo notable and euidēt iniuries, as he had done, it were hys office and duetie, now to labor him ſelfe to ende this matter, and to ſtudie how to make due ſatiſfaction to God and his iuſtice, which hee hath tam indignis modis offended and violated, and to deliuer himſelfe out of the danger, and the perpetual infamie of the world, which he hath incurred by reaſon of theſe his moſt vngodly doings, and not to looke that the King ſhoulde make any requeſt or ſuite vnto hym therfore, or recompence for the ſame. &c.

Furthermore, where as the Pope, at the requeſt of the French king, had in open Conſiſtorie proroged execution of his cenſures and excommunication againſt the king vnto the firſt day of Nouember, and worde thereof was ſent to the king by his ambaſſadours, from the great maiſter of Fraunce, that the king mighte haue the ſayde prorogation made autentikely in wryting, if he woulde: The kyng anſwearing thereunto, thought it not vnprofitable, that hys ambaſſadors reſident in Fraunce, ſhould receiue vnto theyr hands, the poſſeſſion of the ſaide newe prorogation conceiued and wrytten in autentike forme and maner according to the order of the lawes.

The king requeſted by the Frēch king to relent to the Pope.

After this againe, came other letters to the King from Fraunce, namely frō the great maiſter of Fraunce, tending to this ende, that if the king would do nothing for the pope, (meaning by the reuocation of ſuch actes of parlament, as were made in the Realme of England, to the Popes preiudice) it were no reaſon, neither ſhoulde it be poſſible for the Frenche king to induce the Pope to any gratuitie or pleaſure for the king in his affaires.

The kinges aunſwere to the French kinges requeſt.

Whereunto the king anſwearing againe, ſendeth worde to the French king, truſting and hoping wel of the perfect frendſhip of the French king his good brother, that he will neuer ſuffer any ſuche perſwaſion to enter into hys breaſt, what ſoeuer the great maiſter or any other ſhall ſay to the contrary thereof, nor that he will require any thyng more of him to do for the Pope, Chauncelour or other, then hys Counſaile hath already deuiſed to be done in this behalfe: eſpecially conſidering the words of the ſayd French kings promiſe made before, as well to the Duke of Northfolke, as to the other Ambaſſadours, promiſing his frendſhip to to the King ſimply without requiring him to reuocate or infringe any ſuche acte or conſtitution made by the realme and Parlament, to the contrary: Perſwading moreouer, and laying before the eyes, as well of the Pope, as of the French king, howe much it ſhould redound to the Popes diſhonour and infamie, & to the ſclaunder alſo of his cauſe, if he ſhould be ſeene ſo to pact and couenaunt wyth the king vpon ſuch conditions, for the adminiſtration of that thing, which he in his owne conſcience hath reputed and adiudged to be moſt rightfull & agreeable to iuſtice and equitie, and ought of his office and duetie to do in thys matter ſimpliciter & gratis, and wythout all worldly reſpectes, eyther for the aduauncement of his priuate lucre and commoditie, or for the preſeruation of thys pretenſed power and authoritie. For ſurely it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope being minded and determined to geue ſentence for the inualiditie and nullitie of the kings firſt pretenſed matrimonie, hath conceiued and eſtabliſhed in hys owne conſcience a firme and certain opinion and perſwaſion, that he ought of iuſtice and equitie ſo to do.

The Pope ſeeketh not for iuſtice, but his owne lucre and commodity.

The Pope ſelleth iuſtice.

When to ſee the Pope to haue thys opinion in deede, and yet refuſe this to doe for the King, vnleſſe hee ſhall be come in for his benefite and pleaſure, Cedere iuri ſuo, and to doe ſome things preiudiciall vnto his ſubiects contrary to hys honour: it is eaſie to be foreſeene, what the world and the poſteritie ſhall iudge de tam turpi nundinatione iuſtitiæ, & illius tam foeda & ſordida lucri & honoris ambitione. And as for the kings part, if he ſhal not attaine now iuſtice at the mediation of hys good brother, knowing the Pope to be of this diſpoſition and determination in his heart, to ſatiſfie all his deſires, being moued thereunto by iuſtice, and that the let therof is no default of iuſtice in the cauſe, but onely for that the king woulde not condeſcende to hys requeſt: it is to the king matter ſufficient enough for diſcharge of hys conſcience to God and to the worlde, although hee neuer did execute in deede hys ſayde determination. For ſith hys corrupt affection is the onely impediment thereof, what neede either the king to require him any further to doe in the cauſe, or els his ſubiectes to doubte any further in the iuſtneſſe of the ſame.

The Pope doth agaynſt his owne conſciēce.

The Pope forgetteth his olde benefactors and frendes.

Albeit if reſpects to benefites & merites done towardes the Pope & the See of Rome, ſhould be regarded in the attaining of iuſtice in a cauſe of ſo high conſequencie as thys is, reaſon would, that if it would pleaſe the Pope to conſider the former kindneſſe of the King ſhewed vnto him in time paſt (whereof hee is very loth to enter the rehearſall, ne videatur velle exprobrare quæ de alijs fecerit bene) he ſhould not nowe require of him any newe benefite or gratuitie to be ſhewed vnto him, but rather ſtudie to recompence hym for the olde graces, merites, pleaſures, and benefites before receiued. For ſurely he thinketh that the Pope can not forget, howe that for the conſeruation of his perſon, his eſtate and dignitie, the king hath not heretofore ſpared for anye reſpecte, in vſing the office of a moſte perfecte and ſtedfaſte frend, to relinquiſh the long cōtinued good will eſtabliſhed betweene him and the Emperor, and to declare openly to all the world, that for the Popes ſake, and in default of hys deliuerance, he would become enemie to the ſayde Emperour, and to make againſt him actuall warre.

The benefites of the king vpon the Pope, when he was taken by the Duke of Burbone.

Beſides thys, the King hath not failed hym with right large and ample ſubuentions of money, for the better ſupporting of his charges, againſt the enterpriſes of the ſayde Emperour, combinding and knitting him ſelfe wyth the Frenche king, to procure the aduauncement of the ſayde Frenche kings armie into Italie, to the charges whereof, the king did beare little leſſe then the one halfe: Beſides notable loſſes ſuſteined as well in his cuſtomes, ſubſidies, and other dueties, as alſo to the no little hinderaunce and dammage of his ſubiects and marchauntes, occaſioned by diſcontinuance of the traffike and entercourſe heretofore vſed with the Emperours ſubiectes. In doing of al which thinges, the king hath not bene thus reſpectiue, as the Pope nowe ſheweth himſelfe towardes him, but lyke a perfect frend hath bene alwayes contented franckly, liberally, and openly to expone all his ſtudy, labour, trauayle, treaſure puiſſaunce, Realme and diuers ſubiectes for the Popes ayd, and ẏ mayntenance of the ſtate and dignitie of the Church and See of Rome. Which thinges although he doth not here rehearſe animo exprobandi, yet hee doubteth not, but the ſame weighed in the ballaunce of anye indifferent mans iudgement, ſhalbe thought to be of that weight & valure, as that he hath iuſtly deſerued to haue ſome mutuall correſpondencie of kindenes to be ſhewed vnto hym at ẏ popes handes: eſpecially in the miniſtration of iuſtice and in ſo reaſonable & iuſt cauſe as this is, and not thus to haue his moſt rightfull petition reiected and denyed becauſe he will not followe hys deſire and appetite in reuocating of ſuch actes as be here made & paſſed for the weale & commoditie of hys realme and ſubiectes.

All is loſt that is done for a church.

¶ Thus ye haue heard how inſtantly the king had laboured by the meanes of the french king, to the pope being then in Fraunce, for right and iuſtice to be done, for the diſſolution and nullitie of his firſt pretenſed matrimonye with hys brothers wife. Which when it could not be attayned at the popes handes, vnles the king would recompēce and requite the ſame by reuocating of ſuch ſtatutes as were made and enacted here in the high Court of Parliament, for the ſurety of ſucceſſion and ſtabliſhment of the Realme: what the king thereunto aunſwered agayne, ye heard, declaring that to be a farre vnequall recompence and ſatiſfaction for a thinge whiche ought of right and iuſtice to be miniſtred vnto him, that a king therefore ſhould reuocate and vndoe the actes and ſtatutes paſſed by a whole Realm contrary to hys owne honour, and weale of hys ſubiectes. &c.

The crafty packing of the Papiſtes.

Where is moreouer to be vnderſtanded, how that the Pope with all hys papiſtes, and the French king alſo, and peraduenture Stephen Gardiner too, the kynges owne Ambaſſadour, had euer a ſpeciall eye, to diſproue and diſapoynt ẏ kings ſucceſſiō by Queene Anne, whō they knew all to be a great enemye vnto the pope, thinking thereby, that if that ſucceſſion were diminiſhed, the popes kingdome might ſoone be reſtored agayn in England. But yet for all their vniuſt and craftie packing, they were throughe Gods prouidēce, fruſtrate of their deuiſed purpoſe. For although they ſo brought to paſſe the next yeare folowing, to adnulle the order of that ſucceſſion by a contrary Parlament: yet neither did they ſo adnihilate it, but that both K. Edwarde followed, yea and alſo the ſame ſucceſſion afterward by the ſaid king and other parlaments was reſtored againe, and yet (God be praiſed) hath hetherto raigned, & doth yet floriſh in the Realme of England.

The Papiſtes fruſtrate of their purpoſe.

Nowe, as wee haue declared the Kings doings in the Realme of Scotland and of Fraunce, proceding further in the kings proceedings wyth other Princes, let vs ſee how the king defended himſelfe and his cauſe before the Emperor, ſending his ambaſſador vnto him, vſing theſe wordes before his maieſtie, as here foloweth.

The Oration of the kings Ambaſſadour before the Emperour in defence of his cauſe.

The Oration of the Ambaſſadour to the Emperour.

SIr, the king my maiſter taking and reputing you as his perfect frende, confederate, and allye, and not doubting but you remembring the mutual kindnes betwene you in times paſt, wil ſhew your ſelf in all ocurrents to be of ſuch minde and diſpoſition, as iuſtice, truthe and equitie doeth require: hath willed me by his letters, to open and declare vnto you, what he hathe done, and in what wiſe hee hathe proceeded concerning ſuche Marriage as by many yeares was ſuppoſed to haue bene betwene your Aunte and hys grace. In which matter being two principall poyntes ſpecially to be regarded & conſidered: that is to ſay, the iuſtice of the cauſe, and the order of the proceſſe therein, hys highnes hath ſo vſed hym in both, as no man may right wiſely complaine of the ſame.

Diuiſions conſiſting in 2. partes.

The iuſtnes of the kinges cauſe.

Firſt, as touching the iuſtnes of the cauſe, that is to ſay, of that Mariage betwene him and your ſayde Aunte to be nought, and of no moment ne effect, but againſt the law of God, nature, and man, and indiſpenſable by the Pope, and in no wiſe vailable: his highnes hath done therein, aſmuch as becommeth him for diſcharge of hys cōſcience, and hath found ſo certain, ſo euidēt, ſo manifeſt, ſo open, and approued truth, as wherunto his maieſty ought of good congruence to geue place, & which by al other ought to be allowed and receiued, not as a matter doutful, diſputable, or depending in queſtion and ambiguitie: but as a plaine determined and diſcuſſed verity of the true vnderſtanding of gods word and lawe, which all Chriſtian men muſt follow and obey, and before all other worldly reſpects, prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if hys highnes had vſed only his owne particular iudgement & ſentence, or the minde only & opinion of his owne natural ſubiects, (althoughe the ſame might in his conſcience haue ſufficed) woulde not muche haue repugned, if ſome other had made difficulty to aſſent to him in the ſame, till further diſcuſſion had bene made thereupon. But now, foraſmuch as beſides hys owne certaine vnderſtanding, and the agreement of thys whole Cleargie to the ſame in both Prouinces of hys realme, his maieſtie hath alſo for him the determinatiōs of the moſte famous vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and moſt indifferent to pronounce and geue iudgement in this caſe, and among them, the Uniuerſitie of Bonony, (all feare of the Pope ſet apart) concluding againſt his power: and alſo Padua (the Uenetians threates not regarded) geuynge their ſentence for the truth & euident wordes of Gods law: there ſhould no man, as ſeemeth to him, gainſay or wythſtand, either in word or dede, the truth thus opened, but for his honor and duetie to the obſeruation of Gods law, willingly embrace and receiue the ſame.

Vniuerſities ſtāding with the kinges cauſe

According whereunto his grace perceiueth alſo aſwell in his Realme, as els where, a notable conſent and agreement amongeſt all Diuines, and ſuche as haue ſtudied for knowledge of Gods lawe without contradiction of anye number, vnleſſe it be ſuch applying their minde to yͤ maintenaunce of worldly affections, do either in defence of ſuch lawes as they haue ſtudied, eyther for ſatiſfaction of theyr priuate appetite, forbeare to agree vnto yͤ ſame. The number of whō is ſo ſmal, as in the diſcerning of truth, it ought not to be regarded in a caſe ſo plainly deſcribed and determined by Gods word, as thys is.

And if percaſe your Maieſtie heere not regarding the number, but the matter, ſhall ſeme to conſider in thys caſe, not ſo much who ſpeaketh, as what is ſpoken, to aunſwer thereunto, I ſay: Syr, the king my maiſter is of the ſame mind, for his own ſatiſfactiō, & taketh hymſelfe to be in the right, not becauſe ſo many ſayeth it, but becauſe hee being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Neuertheles, reaſon would, and enforceth alſo, that ſtraungers to the cauſe, and not parties therein, ſhould be induced to beleue that to be truth, that ſuch a number of Clearkes doe ſo conſtantly affirme, ſpecially not being otherwiſe learned to be iudges of theyr ſayings, as your maieſtie is not. And if you were, then could your highneſſe ſhew ſuch reaſons, authorities, and grounds as cannot be taken away, and be ſo firm and ſtable, as they ought not of Chriſten men in any part to be impugned, like as hath bene partly heretofore ſhewed by his ſondry ambaſſadours to your Imperiall maieſtie, and ſhuld eftſoones be done, were it not too great an iniury to yͭ is already paſſed in the Realme, to diſpute the ſame againe in any other countrey: which being contrarious to the lawes and ordinances of his realme, he truſteth your prudēcie will not require, but take that is paſt, for a thing done, and iuſtly done: and as for Gods part, to leaue hys conſcience to himſelf, qui Domino ſua ſtat aut cadit: and for yͤ worlde to paſſe ouer as a frend, that whych nothing toucheth you, and not to maruell though the ſaid king my maſter regarding the wealth of his ſoule principally, with the commodity of his perſon, and ſo great benefit & quiet of his realm, haue percaſe done yͭ he for his priuate fantaſie, woulde not had chaunced: like as his highneſſe alſo would wiſh it had not happened that ſuch cauſe had bene geuen vnto hym to compell him ſo to doe.

Both the number and matter maketh with the king.

But theſe things in their outward viſage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concerne the ſoule. Quid autem prodeſt homini ſi vniuerſum mundum lucretur, animæ vero ſuæ detrimentum patiatur. Primum quærite regnum Dei. &c. And yet neither his highnes ignorant what reſpect is to be had vnto the world: and how much he hath laboured and trauailed therein, hee hath ſufficiently declared and ſhewed to the world in his acts and proceedings. For if he had vtterly contemned the order and proceſſe of the worlde, or the frendſhippe and amitie of your Maieſtie: he needed not to haue ſent ſo often and ſundry Ambaſſates to the Pope, and to you both, nor continued and ſpente his time in delayes, as he hath done hetherto, but might many yeres paſt, haue done that he hath don now, if it had ſo liked hym, and with as litle difficulty then as nowe, if he would haue wythout ſuch reſpect, folowed hys pleaſure in that behalf. But now I doubt not, your maieſtie doth wel remember how often the king my maſter hath ſent vnto your highnes, and that your maieſtie hath heard alſo what ſutes hee hath made to the Pope, and how the ſayd Pope hath handled him again onely in delay and daliance, wyth open commiſſion geuen to his Legates to determine and geue ſentence for hym by a commiſſion decretall, and ſecretly to geue them inſtructions to ſuſpend and put ouer the ſame. By which meanes and other ſemblable, hee perceaued playnly himſelfe to be brought in ſuch a labirinth as going forward that way, he were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to ſteppe right forth at once to the mazes end, there to quyet and repoſe himſelfe at the laſt.

The ſecō parte of t Oration touching the mane of the king proceding

How the Pope da with the king by d layes.

And is it not tyme to haue end in ſeuen yeare, or els to ſeeke for it an other way? The pope hath ſhewed hymſelfe both vnwilling to haue an ende, and alſo ready and prone to do him iniurie, as well in citing hym to Rome, as alſo ſending forth certayne breues to his grace ſclaunderous, and for the iniuſtice and iniquitie of them, to himſelf diſhonorable: as he gaue hys highnes good and iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect, leaſt any end to be made at hys hand (if any he would make) might be in hys conſcience receiued and followed. For the pope doyng iniury in ſome poynt, why ſhould he be thought conuenient Iudge, not vſing hymſelfe indifferently in this matter, (as many moe particularities may be ſhewed and declared) conſidering, there is a generall Councell, willing al matters to be determined where they firſt began, and that the whole body of our Realm hath for the wealth of the ſame, by a law eſtabliſhed the determination of ſuch cauſes? By reaſon wherof the Biſhop of Canterbury as metropolitane of our Realme, hath geuen ſentence in due iudgement for the kinges partie. It is not to be aſked nor queſtioned, whether that matter hath bene determined after the common faſhion, but whether it hath in it common iuſtice, truth and equitie of Gods lawe. For obſeruatiō of the common order, hys grace hath done that lay in hym, and inforced by neceſſitie hath found the true order mayntainable by Gods worde & generall Councels which he hath in ſubſtaunce folowed with effect, and hath done as becommeth hym, tendring eyther Gods lawe, or hys perſon, or the wealth of hys Realme, like as he doubteth not but your maieſtie (as a wiſe Prince) remembring his cauſe from the beginning herebemo, will of your ſelfe conſider and thinke, yͭ among mortall men, nothing ſhuld be immortall, & ſuites muſt once haue an end: Si poſſis recte, ſi non, quocunque modo. And if he cannot as he would, his higneſſe thē to do as he may, & he yͭ hath a iourny to be perfited, muſt if he cānot go one way, aſſay an other. What ſoeuer hath bene herein done, neceſſitie hath enforced hym (that

This ge rall Co cell wa firſt Co cell of C ſtanti (that is to ſay Gods law) in the matter, and ſuch maner of dealing of the Pope, as hee hathe ſhewed vnto hym in the ſame, doing ſundry iniuries wout effect of iuſtice, wherein he promiſed the ſame. But as for the kings matter to the Pope: he ſhall entreat with him a parte. As touching your maieſtie, he taketh you for his frend, & as to a frend he openeth theſe matters vnto you, truſting to find your maieſty no les frendly hereafter vnto him, then he hath done heretofore.

The kinges diuorce iuſt.

The kinges mariage with Q. Anne lawfull.

By theſe matters thus paſſed and diſcourſed to and fro betwene the King and theſe forrain Princes aboue reherſed, many things are to be vnderſtāded of the reader, who ſo is diſpoſed to behold and conſider the ſtate & proceeding of publike affairs, as wel to the church apperteining, as to the common wealth. Firſt howe the king cleareth himſelfe both iuſtly and reaſonably for hys diuorce made wt the Lady Katherine the Emperors aunt. Secondly, how he proueth and defendeth his mariage with Queene Anne, to be iuſt & lawful, both by the authority of Gods word, and the comprobation of the beſt & moſt famous learned men and vniuerſities, and alſo by the aſſent of the whole realme.

The Pope ſuppreſſed.

The kinges title of ſupremacy.

Furthermore for the ſtabliſhing of the kings ſucceſſion in the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, for the ſuppreſſion of the pope, and vniting the title of ſupremacie vnto the kings Crowne, what order therein was taken, and what penaltie was ſette vppon the ſame, as may appeare by the Act of Parliament ſet forth. An. 1534. Ex Henr. Reg. 26. cap. 13. in theſe wordes following.

Statut. An. 26. Hen. 8. cap. 13.

Denying of the kinges ſupremacy made treaſō.

If any perſon or perſons after the 1. of Februarie next, doe maliciouſly imagine, inuent, practiſe, or attempt to depriue the king of the dignitie, title, or name of hys royall eſtate. &c. that then euery ſuch perſon and perſones ſo offending in any of the premiſſes, their aiders, counſellors, cōſenters, and abbettours being therof lawfully conuict, according to the lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme, ſhalbe reputed, accepted, and adiudged traytours, and that euery ſuche offence in any the premiſſes committed or done after the ſaid firſt day of February, ſhalbe reputed, accepted, and adiudged high treaſon: and the offenders, therein their aiders, conſenters, counſellors and abbettors being lawfully conuict of any ſuch offence, ſhall haue & ſuffer ſuch pains of death and other penalties, as is limited and accuſtomed in caſes of high treaſon.

Vppon thys and ſuche other Actes concluded in thoſe Parlamentes, what ſtomacke the Pope toke, what ſtirre hee kept, and what practiſes hee wrought wyth Cardinall Poole, to ſtirre vp other natiōs to warre againſt vs, what difficultie alſo there was wt the Emperor, with the French king, and with the king of Scottes about the matter, and what labour was vſed on the kings parte, to concile theſe Princes for hys owne indemnitie, to keepe him from their warres and inuaſions, and eſpecially to obtein the Popes approbation, and to auoide his cenſures of excommunication, and finally, what deſpitefull iniuries & open wronges the Pope wrought againſt hym, vpon the which Pope the king had beſtowed ſo much money, and great treaſors before, all this likewiſe by the premiſſes may appeare.

Wherefore, to end now with theſe, and to go forwarde in our ſtorie, as the order and computation of yeares doe giue, we haue now conſequently to enter into the ſtorie of the good Martyr of God, William Tindal, being this preſent yeare falſly betraied and put to death. Whych William Tyndall, as he was a ſpeciall organe of the Lord appoynted, and as Gods mattock to ſhake the inward rootes and foundation of the Popes proud prelacie: ſo the great prince of darknes, with his vnpious impes, hauing a ſpecial malice againſt him, left no way vnſought, how craftely to entrap him, and falſly to betray him, & maliciouſly to ſpil his life: as by the proces of his ſtory here folowing may apear.

¶ The life and ſtorie of the true ſeruaunt and Martyr of God William Tyndall: Who for his notable paines and trauell maye well be called the Apoſtle of England in this our latter age.

W. Tindall Martyr.

Anno 1536.

The firſt taſte of gods truth in Magdalen Colledge, by the meanes of M. Tindall.

William Tindall the faithfull Miniſter and conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought vp from a childe in the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, where he by long continuance grewe vp, and increaſed as well in the knowledge of tounges, and other liberall Artes, as eſpecially in the knowledge of the Scriptures: whereunto his mind was ſingularly addicted: In ſo much that hee lying then in Magdalene Hall, read priuely to certaine ſtudents and felowes of Magdalen Colledge, ſome parcell of Diuinitie: inſtructinge them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whoſe maners alſo and conuerſation being correſpondent to the ſame, were ſuche, that all they which knewe him, reputed and eſteemed hym to be a manne of moſt vertuous diſpoſition, and of life vnſpotted.

Thus he in the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde increaſing more and more in learning and proceeding in degrees of the ſchooles, ſpying his time, remoued from thence to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where after hee had likewyſe made his aboade a certaine ſpace, being nowe further ripened in the knowledge of Gods worde, leauing that Vniuerſitie alſo, he reſorted to one M. Welche a Knight of Glocceſterſhire, and was there Scholemaiſter to his children, and in good fauour with his maſter. This Gentleman, as he kept a good ordinarie commōly at his table, ther reſorted to him many times ſondry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, wyth other diuers Doctors and great beneficed men: who there together with M. Tindall ſitting at the ſame table, did vſe many times to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and of Eraſmus: Alſo of diuers other controuerſies and queſtions vpon the Scripture.

Tindall diſputing with the Doctours.

Then maiſter Tindall, as hee was learned and well practiſed in Gods matters, ſo he ſpared not to ſhewe vnto them ſimply and plainely hys iudgement in matters, as hee thought: and when as they at any time did varie from Tyndal in opinions and iudgement, he would ſhew them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifeſt places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and to confirme his ſayings. And thus cōtinued they for a certaine ſeaſon, reaſoning and contēding together diuers and ſondry times, till at lengthe they waxed weary, and bare a ſecrete grudge in their hearts againſt him.

Tindall inſtructeth M. Welch and his wyfe in the truth.

Not longe after thys, it happened that certaine of theſe great Doctours had inuited M. Welche and his wife to a banket: where they had talke at wil and pleaſure, vttering their blindneſſe and ignoraunce without any reſiſtance or gaineſaying. Then M. Welche and his wife commynge home and calling for M. Tyndall, began to reaſon wt him about thoſe matters, whereof the Prieſtes had talked before at their banket. M. Tyndall anſwering by ſcriptures, maintained the truthe, and reproued their falſe opinions. Then ſayde the Ladye Welche, a ſtoute and a wiſe woman (as Tyndall reported). Well (ſayd ſhee) there was ſuche a Doctour which may diſpend a C. li. and an other CC. li. & an other CCC. li. and what? were it reaſon, think you, that we ſhould beleue you before them? Maiſter Tindall gaue her no anſwere at that time, nor alſo after that (becauſe hee ſawe it would not auaile) he talked but little in thoſe matters. At that time hee was about the tranſlation of a booke called Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani, which being tranſlated, he deliuered to his maiſter and Ladie. Who after they had read & well peruſed the ſame, the Doctorly Prelates were no more ſo often called to the houſe, neyther had they the cheare & countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thyng they marking and well perceiuing, and ſuppoſing no leſſe but it came by the meanes of M. Tyndall, refrained them ſelues, and at laſt vtterly withdrew themſelues, and came no more there.

Enchiridion a booke of Eraſmus, tranſlated by Tindall.

The prieſtes ſtorme agaynſt Tindall.

As thys grewe on, the Prieſtes of the Countrey cluſtring together, began to grudge and ſtorme againſt Tindall, railing againſte him in Alehouſes and other places. Of whome Tyndall him ſelfe in his Prologue before the firſt booke of Moſes, this teſtifieth in his own wordes, and reporteth that he ſuffred much in that countrey by a ſort of vnlearned Prieſtes, being full rude and ignoraunt (ſayeth hee) God knoweth: which haue ſeene no more Latine then that onely which they read in their Porteſſes & Miſſalles: (whyche yet many of them can ſcarſely reade) excepte it be Albertus de ſecretis mulierum, in which yet thoughe they be neuer ſo ſorily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teache the midwiues, as they ſay: and alſo an other called Lynwood, a booke of conſtitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, cuſtomes, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the duetie of holy Church, to diſcharge theyr conſciences withall. For they are bound that they ſhal not diminiſh but encreaſe all things vnto ẏ vttermoſt of theyr powers, which pertaine to holy church. Thus theſe blind & rude Prieſtes flocking together to the Alehouſe (for that was their preaching place) raged and railed againſte him, affirming that his ſayings were hereſie: adding moreouer vnto hys ſayings of their owne heades: more then euer he ſpake, and ſo accuſed him ſecretely to the Chauncellour and other of the Biſhops Officers.

The rudenes of the countrey prieſtes.

Tindal troubled by the prieſts of the countrey.

Tindall called before the Biſhops Chauncellour.

It followed not long after this, that there was a ſitting of the biſhops Chauncellour appoynted, and warning was giuen to the prieſts to appeare: amongeſt whom M. Tindall was alſo warned to be there. And whether hee had any miſdoubte by their threatnings, or knowledge geuen hym that they woulde lay ſome thyngs to hys charge it is vncertaine: but certaine this is (as hee hym ſelfe declared) that he doubted their priuie accuſations: ſo yͭ he by the way in going thetherwards, cried in his mind hartily to God, to geue him ſtrength faſt to ſtande in the truth of his word.

Tindal could not haue his accuſers brought out.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the Chancellour, he threatned him greuouſly, reuiling and rating him as though he had ben a dog, & laide to his charge many thinges, whereof no accuſer yet coulde be broughte forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bring forth the accuſer) notwithſtanding that the Prieſts of the countrey the ſame time were there preſent. And thus M. Tindal after thoſe examinatiōs eſcaping out of their hands, departed home and returned to his maiſter againe.

One good olde Doctor amongſt many nought.

The Pope Antichriſt.

There dwelt not farre off a certaine Doctour that hadde bene an olde Chauncellour before to a Byſhop, who had bene of olde familiar acquaintance with M. Tyndall, and alſo fauoured him well. Unto whome M. Tyndall went and opened his minde vpon diuers queſtions of the ſcripture: for to him he durſt be bold to diſcloſe his heart. Unto whom the Doctor ſayd: doe you not knowe that the Pope is very Antichriſt, whome the Scripture ſpeaketh of. But beware what you ſay: for if you ſhall be perceiued to be of that opinion, it will coſt you your life: and ſayd moreouer, I haue bene an officer of his, But I haue geuen it vp and defie him and all his workes.

The blaſphemy of a blind doctour.

The popes lawe preferred before Gods lawe.

It was not long after, but M. Tindal happened to be in the companie of a certaine diuine recounted for a lerned man, and in commoning and diſputing with him, he droue him to that iſſue, that the ſayde great Doctor burſt out into theſe blaſphemous wordes, and ſayde: wee were better to be without Gods lawe then the Popes. M. Tyndall hearing thys, ful of godly zeale, and not bearing that blaſphemous ſaying, replied againe & ſayde: I defie the Pope and all his lawes: and further added, that if God ſpared hym life, ere many yeares he would cauſe a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did.

After this, the grudge of the prieſts increaſing ſtill more and more againſt Tyndall, they neuer ceaſed barking and rating at him, and laide many ſore thinges to hys charge, ſaying that he was an hereticke in Sophiſtry, an hereticke in Logicke, an hereticke in Diuinitie: and ſayde moreouer to him, that he bare himſelfe bolde of the Gentlemen there in that country: but notwithſtanding, ſhortly he ſhould be otherwiſe talked withal. To whom M. Tyndall anſwearing againe thus ſaid, that he was contented they ſhoulde bring him into any countrey in all England, geuing hym x. li. a yere to liue with, and binding him to no more but to teache children and to preache.

Tindall departeth from M. Welche.

To be ſhort, M. Tyndal being ſo moleſted and vexed in the countrey by the Prieſts, was conſtrained to leaue that country and to ſeke an other place: and ſo comming to M. Welche, he deſired him of hys good will, that hee myght depart from him, ſaying on this wiſe to him: Syr I perceiue I ſhall not be ſuffered to tary long heere in this countrey, neither ſhall you be able though you woulde, to keepe me out of the hands of the ſpiritualtie, & alſo what diſpleaſure might grow therby to you by keeping me, God knoweth: for the which I ſhoulde be right ſorie. So that in fine, M. Tindall with the good will of his maiſter, departed, & eftſoones came vp to London, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the country before, and ſpecially about the towne of Briſtowe, and alſo in the ſayde towne, in the common place called S. Auſtines Greene. At length he bethinking him ſelfe of Cutbert Tonſtall, then Byſhop of London, and eſpecially for the great commendation of Eraſmus, who in his annotations ſo extolleth him for his learning, thus caſt with himſelfe, that if hee might attaine vnto his ſeruice hee were a happy man. And ſo comming to Syr Henry Gilford the kings controller, and bringing with him an Oration of Iſocrates, which he had then trāſlated out of Greke into Engliſh, he deſired him to ſpeake to the ſayde B. of London for him. Which he alſo did, and willed him moreouer to wryte an Epiſtle to the Byſhop, and to go him ſelf with him. Which he did likewiſe, and deliuered his Epiſtle to a ſeruaunte of his, named William Hebilthwaite, a man of his olde acquaintaunce. But God who ſecretely diſpoſeth the courſe of things, ſaw that was not the beſt for Tyndals purpoſe, nor for the profite of hys Churche, and therefore gaue him to finde little fauor in the Biſhops ſight. The anſwer of whom was thys, that hys houſe was full, he had mo then he could wel finde, and aduiſed him to ſeeke in London abroade, where hee ſaide hee coulde lacke no ſeruice. &c. and ſo remained hee in London the ſpace almoſte of a yeare, beholding and marking wyth him ſelfe the courſe of the world, and eſpecially the demeanour of the preachers, howe they boaſted them ſelues and ſet vp their authoritie and kingdome: beholding alſo the pompe of the Prelates, wyth other thynges moe whiche greatly miſliked him: In ſo muche that he vnderſtode, not onely there to be no rowme in the Biſhops houſe for hym to tranſlate the new Teſtament: but alſo that there was no place to do it in al England. And therfore finding no place for his purpoſe within the realme, and hauing ſome ayde and prouiſion, by Gods prouidence miniſtred vnto hym by Humphrey Mummoth aboue recited, as you may ſee before, pag. 1076. and certain other good men, hee tooke hys leaue of the realme, & departed into Germanie. Where the good man being inflamed with a tender care and zeale of his countrey, refuſed no trauell nor diligence howe by all meanes poſſible, to reduce his brethren and coūtreymen of England to yͤ ſame taſt and vnderſtanding of Gods holy word and veritie, which the Lord had endued him withal.

Tindall cōmeth to London.

An oration of Iſocrates tranſlated out of Greeke into Engliſhe by W. Tindall.

Tindall ſueth to biſhop Tonſtall to be his Chaplaine.

Tonſtal refuſeth M. Tindall.

Tindall
parteth
Germany

The cau
mouing T
dall to
late the
Scripture
into the
Engliſh
tongue.

Whereupon he conſidering in his minde, and partely alſo conferring with Iohn Frith, thought wyth him ſelfe no way more to conduce therunto, then if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar ſpeach, that the poore people might alſo reade and ſee the ſimple plaine word of God. For firſt hee wiſely caſting in hys minde, perceiued by experience, how that it was not poſſible to ſtabliſh the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were ſo plainly layde before theyr eyes in theyr mother tongue, that they myght ſee the proceſſe, order, and meaning of the text: For els what ſoeuer truth ſhuld be taught them, theſe enemies of the truth would quenche it againe, either wyth apparant reaſons of Sophiſtrie, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture: either els iuggling with the text, expoūding it in ſuch a ſenſe, as impoſſible it were to gather of the text, if the right proceſſe, order, & meaning thereof were ſeene.

Hiding o
Scripture
the cau
miſchiefe

Againe, right wel he perceiued and conſidered this only, or moſt chiefly to be yͤ cauſe of all miſchief in the church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes: For ſo long the abhominable doings and idolatries maintained by the Phariſaicall Clergie, could not be eſpied, and therefore al theyr labour was wyth might & maine to keepe it downe, ſo that eyther it ſhould not be red at all, or if it were, they would darken the right ſenſe with yͤ miſt of theyr Sophiſtrie, and ſo entangle them whych rebuked or deſpiſed theyr abhominations, wyth arguments of philoſophie, and with worldly ſimilitudes, and apparant reaſons of naturall wiſedom: and with wreſting the ſcripture vnto their owne purpoſe, contrary vnto the proceſſe, order, and meanyng of the texte, woulde ſo delude them in deſcanting vppon it with Allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many ſenſes layed before the vnlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy hart, & were ſure that all were falſe that they ſaid yet couldeſt not thou ſolue their ſubtle ridles.

The new
teſtament
and the
bookes of
Moyſes
tranſlated
with Tin-
dalls pro-
logues.

For theſe and ſuch other conſiderations, this good man was moued (and no doubt ſtyrred vp of God) to tranſlate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the publicke vtility and profit of the ſimple vulgar people of the country: firſt, ſetting in hand with the newe Teſtament, whiche he firſt tranſlated about the yeare of our Lord 1527. After that he tooke in hand to tranſlate the olde Teſtament, finiſhing the fiue bookes of Moyſes, with ſondry moſt learned and godly prologues prefixed before euery one, moſt worthy to be read and read againe of all good Chriſtians: as the lyke alſo he did vpon the new Teſtament.

Hee wrote alſo diuers other workes vnder ſundry titles, among the which is that moſt worthy monument of his, intituled: The obedience of a Chriſtian man: wherin with ſingulare dexteritie he inſtructeth all men in the office and ductie of Chriſtian obedience, wyth diuers other treatiſes: as The wicked Mammon: The practiſe of Prelates, wyth expoſitions vppon certaine partes of the Scripture, and other Bookes alſo aunſwearing to Syr Thom. More and other aduerſaries of the truthe, no leſſe delectable, then alſo moſt fruitfull to be read, which partly before beyng vnknowen vnto many, partly alſo being almoſt aboliſhed and worne out by time, the Printer heereof (good Reader) for conſeruing and reſtoring ſuch ſingulare treaſures, hath collected and ſet forth in Print the ſame in one generall volume, all and whole together, as alſo the workes of Iohn Frith, Barnes, and other, as are to be ſeene moſt ſpecial and profitable for thy reading.

Theſe bookes of W. Tyndal being compiled, publiſhed & ſent ouer into England, it cannot be ſpoken what a dore of light they opened to the eies of the whole Engliſh nation, which before were many yeres ſhut vp in darkeneſſe.

Tindal
into Sa

Tindal
to An
twerp.

At his firſt departing out of yͤ realme, he toke his iorney into yͤ further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference wͭ Luther and other learned mē in thoſe quarters. Where, after yͭ he had continued a certen ſeaſon, he came down from thence into the netherlands, & had his moſt abiding in the town of Antwerp, vntil yͤ time of hys apprehēſiō: wherof more ſhalbe ſaid god willing hereafter.

Amongſt his other bokes which he compiled, one work he made alſo for the declaration of the ſacrament (as it was then called) of the alter: the which he kept by him, conſidering how the people were not as yet fully perſuaded in other matters tending to ſuperſtitious ceremonies & groſe idolatry, wherefore he thought as yet time was not come, to put forth that work, but rather that it ſhould hinder the people from other inſtructions, ſuppoſing that it woulde ſeme to them odious to heare any ſuch thing ſpoken or ſet forth at that time, ſounding againſte their great Goddeſſe Diana, that is, againſte their Maſſe, being had euery where in great eſtimation, as was the Goddeſſe Diana amongeſt the Epheſians whom they thought to come from heauen.

indal bea- ng with yme,

Wherfore M. Tindall being a man both prudent in his doings, and no leſſe zealous in the ſetting forth of Gods holy truth, after ſuch ſort as it might take moſt effect wyth the people, did forbeare the putting forth of that work, not doubting but by Gods mercifull grace, a time ſhuld come, to haue that abhomination openly declared, as it is at this preſent day: the Lorde almighty be alwaies praiſed therefore. Amen.

arckenes ateth ght,

athan an nemye to ll good urpoſes, pecially to e Goſpell.

These godly bookes of Tindall, and ſpecially the newe Teſtament of his tranſlation, after that they begā to come into mens handes, and to ſpread abroad, as they wroughte great and ſinguler profite to the godly: ſo the vngodly enuying and diſdaining that the people ſhould be any thing wiſer then they, & againe fearing leaſt by the ſhining beames of truth, their falſe hypocriſie & workes of darkeneſſe ſhould be diſcerned: began to ſtirre with no ſmall ado, like as at the birth of Chriſt, Herode & al Hieruſalem was troubled with him. But eſpecially Sathan the prince of darkenes, maligning yͤ happy courſe and ſucceſſe of the Goſpel, ſet to his might alſo, how to empeache and hinder yͤ bleſſed trauailes of that man: as by this, and alſo by ſondry other wayes may appeare. For at what time Tindall had tranſlated the fift booke of Moiſes called Deuteronomium, minding to Printe the ſame at Hamborough, hee ſailed thereward: where by the way vpon the coaſt of Holland, he ſuffred ſhipwracke, by the which he loſte all his bookes, wrytings and copies, and ſo was compelled to begin al againe a new, to his hinderāce and doubling of his labors. Thus hauing loſt by that ſhip, both money, his copies and time, he came in an other ſhip to Hamborough, where at his appoyntment M. Couerdale taried for him, and helped hym in the tranſlating of the whole 5. bookes of Moiſes, from Eaſter till Decemb. in the houſe of a worſhipfull widowe, Maiſtres Margaret van Emmerſon. Anno 1529. a greate ſweating ſickneſſe being the ſame time in the Towne. So hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerpe againe.

illiam indall loſt is bookes copies,by hipwracke.

. Couer- le a helper M. Tin- ll in the anſlation the teſta- ent.

Thus as Sathan is, and euer hath bene an enemy to all godly endeuors, and chiefly to the promoting & furtherance of Gods word, as by this & many other experimēts may be ſene: ſo his miniſters and members following the like qualitie of their maiſter, be not altogether idle for their partes: as alſo by the Popes Chapleins and Gods enemies, and by their cruell handling of the ſayde M. Tindall the ſame time, both here in England and in Flāders, may well appeare.

When Gods will was, that the newe Teſtament in the common tongue ſhould come abroad, Tindall the tranſlator therof added to the latter ende a certain Epiſtle, wherin hee deſired them that were learned to amende, if oughte were found amiſſe. Wherfore, if any ſuch default had bene, deſeruing correction, it had bene the parte of courteſie and gentleneſſe, for men of knowledge and iudgement to haue ſhewed their learning therein, and to haue redreſſed yͭ was to be amended. But the ſpiritual fathers then of the clergy being not willing to haue that booke to proſper, cryed out vpon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thouſande hereſies in it, & that it was not to be corrected, but vtterly to be ſuppreſſed. Some ſaid it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scripture into Engliſhe: ſome that it was not lawfull for the lay people to haue it in their mother tongue, ſome yͭ it woulde make them all heretickes. And to the intent to induce the temporall rulers alſo vnto theyr purpoſe, they made more matter, & ſaid, that it would make the people to rebel and riſe againſt the king. All this Tindall himſelfe in his own prologue before the firſt booke of Moſes declareth: and addeth further, ſhewing what great paines was taken in examining that tranſlation, & comparing it wyth their owne imaginations and termes, that with leſſe labor (hee ſuppoſeth) they might haue tranſlated them ſelues a great part of the Bible: Shewing moreouer, that they ſcāned and examined euery title and poynt in the ſaid tranſlation, in ſuch ſorte and ſo narrowly, that there was not one i. therein, but if it lacked a pricke ouer his heade, they did note it, and numbered it vnto the ignoraunt people for an hereſie. So great was then the froward deuiſes of yͤ Engliſh Clergy (who ſhould haue ben the guides of light vnto the people) to driue the people from the texte & knowledge of the ſcripture, which neither they would tranſlate themſelues, nor yet abide it to be tranſlated of others: to the intent (as Tindall ſayeth) that the worde being kept ſtill in darkneſſe, they might ſitte in the conſciences of the people through vaine ſuperſtition & falſe doctrine, to ſatiſfie theyr luſtes, their ambition, and vnſaciable couetouſneſſe, and to exalte theyr owne honour aboue King and Emperour, yea and aboue God him ſelfe. Hæc ille.

e practiſe popiſhe elates to pe the ripture m the ople.

The cauſes why the popes clergy could not abide the Scripture in the common tounge.

The Biſhops and Prelates of the realme, thus (as ye haue hard) incenſed and inflamed in their minds, although hauing no cauſe againſt the olde and newe Teſtament of the Lorde newly tranſlated by Tindall, and conſpiring together wͭ all their heads and counſails, how to repeale the ſame, neuer reſted before they had brought the king at laſt to their conſent. By reaſon wherof a proclamatiō in al haſt was deuiſed and ſet forth vnder publike authoritie: but no iuſt reaſon ſhewed, that the teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, with other workes mo both of his and of other wryters, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye hearde before, page 1018. Which was about the yere of our Lorde. 1527. And yet not contented heerewith, they proceeded further, howe to entangle him in their nettes, and to bereft him of his life. Which howe they brought to paſſe, nowe it remaineth to be declared.

The popiſhe prelates procured not onely the condemnation of M. Tindals bookes, but alſo burned both them and the teſtament, calling it Doctrinā peregrinam, ſtraunge doctrine.

In the regiſters of London it appeareth manifeſt, how that the Biſhops & ſir Tho. More hauing any poore man vnder Coram, to be examined before them, namely, ſuch as had bene at Antwerpe, moſt ſtudiouſly would ſearche and examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whom he hoſted, where aboutes ſtood the houſe, what was his ſtature, in what apparell he went, what reſorte he had. &c. All which things when they had diligently learned (as may appeare by the examination of Simon Smith, and others) then began they to worke their feates, as you ſhall heare by the relation of his owne hoſt.

Priuy conſpiracyon of the Byſhops againſt M Tindall.

William Tindall being in the towne of Antwerp, had ben lodged about one whole yere in the houſe of Thomas Pointz an Engliſhmā, who kept there an houſe of engliſh Marchauntes. About which time came thither one out of England, whoſe name was Henry Philips, his father being cuſtomer of Poole, a comely felow, like as he had bene a Gentleman, hauing a ſeruaunt with him: but wherfore he came, or for what purpoſe he was ſent thither, no man could tell.

The order and maner of taking of Tindal, teſtified by Poyntz his hoſt.

Maiſter Tindall diuers times was deſired forth to diner and ſupper amongſt marchants: by yͤ meanes wherof this Henry Philips became acquaynted with him, ſo that within ſhort ſpace M. Tindall had a great confidence in him: and brought him to his lodging to the houſe of Tho. Pointz, and had him alſo with him once or twiſe to dinner & ſupper, and further entred ſuch frendſhip with him that through his procurement, he lay in the ſame houſe of the ſayd Pointz: To whom he ſhewed moreouer his bookes and other ſecrets of his ſtudy, ſo litle did Tindall then miſtruſt this Traytor.

The frendſhip of Tindal ſhewed to Philips his bettayer.

But Pointz hauing no great confidence in the fellowe, aſked Mayſter Tindall howe hee came acquaynted wyth this Philips. Maiſter Tindall aunſwered, that he was an honeſt man handſomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz perceiuing that he bare ſuch fauor to hym, ſayd no more, thinking that hee was broughte acquaynted with him by ſome frend of his. The ſayd Phillippes beyng in the Towne iij. or iiij. dayes, vppon a tyme deſired Pointz to walke with him foorth of the Towne to ſhewe him the commodities therof, and in walking together wͭout the towne, had communication of diuers thinges, and ſome of the kinges affayres. By the whiche talke Pointz as yet ſuſpected nothing, but after by the ſequele of yͤ matter hee perceiued more what hee entended. In the meane time this he well perceiued, that he bare no great fauour, either to the ſetting forth of any good thing, either to the proceedinges of the king of England. But after when the time was paſt, Pointz perceiued this to be his mynde, to feele if he could perceiue by him, whether he might breake with him in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe hym to his purpoſe: for he perceiued before that he was monied & would that Pointz ſhould thinke no leſſe: but by whome, it was vnknowne: For hee had deſired Pointz before to helpe him to diuers things, and ſuch things as he named, he required might be of the beſt, for ſayd he, I haue money enough, But of this talke came nothing but yͭ men ſhould thinke he had ſome thinges to doe, for nothing els folowed of his talke. So it was to be ſuſpected, that Philips was

The Papiſts wil ſpare no coſt to fulfill their malicious enterpriſes.

Phillippes well monyed by the Engliſhe Byſhops.

in doubt to moue this matter for hys purpoſe to any of the rulers or Officers of the towne of Antwarpe, for doubt it ſhould come to the knowledge of ſome Engliſhmen, & by the meane therof, M. Tindall ſhould haue had warning.

So Phillippes went from Antwarpe to the Court of Bruxelles, whiche is from thence 24. Engliſhe miles, the K. hauing there no Ambaſſadour: for at that tyme the king of England and the Emperour were at a controuerſye for the queſtion betwixte the King and the Ladie Katherine, which was Aunt to the Emperor: and the diſcorde grewe ſo much, that it was doubted leaſt there ſhoulde haue bene warre betwene the Emperour and the king, ſo that Phillippes as a traitour both againſte God and the king, was there the better retained, as alſo other traitors moe beſides him: who after hee had betrayed maſter Tindal into their hãds, ſhewed himſelfe againſt the kings owne perſon, and there ſet forth things againſt the king, to make ſhorte, the ſaide Philips did ſo much there: that hee procured to bring from thence w̃ hym to Antwerpe that Procurour general, which is the Emperours Atturney, with other certain officers: as after followeth. The which was not done wyth ſmall charges and expences, from whome ſo euer it came.

Within a while after, Pointz ſitting at his dore, Phillippes man came vnto hym, and aſked whether Maiſter Tyndall were there, and ſayde his maiſter would come to hym, and ſo departed. But whether hys M. Phillippes were in the towne or not, it was not knowne: but at that time Pointz hearde no more, neyther of the maiſter nor of the man. Within 3. or 4. daies after, Pointz went forth to the Towne of Barrow, being 18. Engliſh miles from Antwerpe, where he had buſineſſe to doe for the ſpace of a moneth or ſixe weekes, and in the time of hys abſence, Henrie Philips came againe to Antwerpe to the houſe of Pointz, and comming in, ſpake with his wife, aſkinge her for M. Tindall, and whether he woulde dine there with him, ſaying: what good meat ſhall we haue? She anſweared, ſuche as the market will giue. Then went he forth againe (as it is thought) to prouide, and ſette the Officers whyche hee brought wyth hym from Bruxelles, in the ſtreete, and about the dore. Then about noone he came againe and went to M. Tindall, and deſired hym to lend him 40. ſhillings, for (ſayd he) I loſt my purſe this morning, comming ouer at the paſſage betweene this and Machelyn. So M. Tindall tooke him 40. ſhillings, the whych was eaſie to be had of him, if he had it: for in the wylie ſubtilities of this world he was ſimple and vnexperte.

Henry Philipes traytour and betrayer of M. Tindall.

The ſimplicity of M. Tindall.

Then ſayde Philips, M. Tindall you ſhall be my geſt here thys day. No ſayd M. Tindall, I goe forth thys day to dinner, and you ſhall go wyth me and be my geſt, where you ſhallbe welcome. So when it was dinner time, maſter Tindal went forth with Philippes, and at the going forth of Pointz houſe, was a long narow entrie, ſo that 2. could not go in a frount. M. Tindal would haue put Philippes before him, but Philippes woulde in no wiſe, but put M. Tindall afore, for that he pretended to ſhewe great humanitie. So maſter Tindall being a man of no greate ſtature, went before, and Philips a tall comely perſon folowed behinde him, who had ſet Officers on either ſide of the dore vpon 2. ſeates: which being there, might ſee who came in the entrie, and comming through the ſame entrie, Philips poynted with his finger ouer M. Tindals head downe to him, that the Officers which ſat at the dore, myght ſee that it was he whome they ſhuld take, as the officers that tooke M. Tindall, afterward tolde Pointz, and ſayde to Pointz whẽ they had laid him in priſon, that they pitied to ſee hys ſimplicitie when they tooke him. Then they tooke him and brought him to the Emperours Attourney or Procurour general, where he dined. Then came the Procuror general to the houſe of Pointz, and ſent away all that was there of maſter Tindals, as well his bookes as other things: and from thence Tindall was had to the Caſtle of Filforde, 18. Engliſh miles from Antwerp, and there he remained vntill he was put to death.

How Tindall was betrayed into his enemies handes.

Tindall had to the Caſtle of Fylforde.

Then incontinent by the helpe of Engliſh marchants, were letters ſent in the fauour of Tindall, to the Court of Bruxels. Alſo not long after, letters were directed out of England to the counſaile at Bruxels, and ſent to the marchauntes aduenturers to Antwerpe, commaunding them to ſee that with ſpeede they ſhould be deliuered. Then ſuch of the chiefeſt of the marchaunts as were there at that time being called together, required the ſayde Pointz to take in hãd the deliuerie of thoſe letters, w̃ letters alſo from them in the fauour of M. Tindall, to the Lorde of Barrowe and others, the which lord of Barrow (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Bruxels, as the chiefeſt conductor of the eldeſt daughter of the King of Denmarke, to be maried to the Palſgraue, whoſe mother was ſiſter to the Emperour, ſhee being chiefe Princeſſe of Denmarke. Who after he heard of hys departure, did ride after the next way, and ouertooke hym at Akon, where hee deliuered to him his letters. The which whẽ he had receyued and red, he made no direct anſwere, but ſomewhat obiecting, ſaid: there was of their countriemen that were burned in England not long before, as in dede there were Anabaptiſts burnt in Smithfield, and ſo Pointz ſaid to him: howbeit ſayd he, what ſo euer the crime was, if his Lordſhip or any other noble manne had wrytten, requiring to haue had them, he thought they ſhould not haue bene denied. Well ſayde he, I haue no leiſure to wryte, for the Princeſſe is ready to ride.

Letters ſent frõ England by the Lord Cromwell and others, in the behalfe of M. Tindall.

Then ſayde Pointz, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip, I will attẽd vpon you vnto ẏ next baiting place, which was at Maſtright. If you ſo doe, ſayde the Lorde, I will aduiſe my ſelf by the way what to write. So Pointz folowed him from Akon to Maſtright, the which are 15. Engliſh miles aſonder, & there he receiued letters of him, one to the counſel there, an other to the company of the marchants aduenturers, & an other alſo, to the Lord Cromwell, in Englãd.

Letters / the Lo / Barrow / the Lo / Crom / concer / M. Tin

So Pointz roade from thence to Bruxels, and then and there deliuered to the counſail, the letters out of England, wyth the Lord of Barrowes letters alſo: and receiued eftſones anſwer into England of the ſame by letters, which he brought to Antwerpe to the Engliſh marchantes, who required him to goe with them into England, and he very deſirous to haue M. Tindal out of priſone, lette not for to take paines with loſſe of time in his owne buſines and occupying, but diligently folowed with ẏ ſaid letters, which he there deliuered to the counſell, and was commanded by them to tary vntil he had other letters, of the which he was not diſpatched there in a month after. At length the letters being deliuered him, he returned againe & deliuered them to the Emperors counſell at Bruxels, and there taryed for anſwere of the ſame.

Poynt / with le / frõ Bar / to Engl

When the ſayd Pointz had taried 3. or 4. dayes, it was tolde him of one that belonged to the Chauncerie, that M. Tindall ſhoulde haue bene deliuered to him accordinge to the tenour of the letters: But Philippes being there, folowed the ſuite againſt maiſter Tindall, and hearing that hee ſhould be deliuered to Pointz, and doubting leaſte hee ſhuld be put from his purpoſe, he knew none other remedy but to accuſe Pointz, ſaying: that hee was a dweller in the towne of Antwerpe, and there had bene a ſuccourer of Tindal, and was one of the ſame opinion, and that all this was onely his owne labour and ſute, to haue M. Tindall at libertie, and no mans els.

The fal / Philips / gayn

Thus vppon hys information and accuſation, Pointz was attached by the Procurour generall, the Emperours Attorny, and deliuered to the keping of two Sergeants of armes: and the ſame euening was ſent to hym one of the Chancery with the Procuror generall, who miniſtred vnto hym an othe, that he ſhould truely make anſwere to all ſuche things as ſhoulde be inquired of hym, thinking they would haue had no other examinations of hym but of hys Meſſage. The next day likewiſe they came againe and had him in examination, and ſo fiue or ſixe daies one after an other, vppon not ſo fewe as an hundreth Articles, as well of the kings affaires as of the meſſage concerning Tindal of his aiders and of his religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procurer general drew 23. or 24. articles, and declared the ſame againſt the ſaid Pointz: the copy wherof he deliuered to him to make anſwer therunto, and permitted him to haue an Aduocate and Proctour, that is a doctour and Proctor in the lawe: and order was taken, that 8. dayes after, he ſhould deliuer vnto them his aunſwer, and from 8. daies to 8. daies, to procede til the proceſſe were ended: Alſo that he ſhould ſend no Meſſenger to Antwerpe, where as hys houſe was, beyng 24. Engliſhe miles from Bruxels, where he was priſonner, nor to any other place, but by the poſte of the towne of Bruxels: nor to ſende any letters, nor any to be deliuered to him, but writtẽ in dutch, and the Procurour generall, who was party againſt him, to reade them, to peruſe & to examine them thorowly, contrary to all right and equitie, before they were ſent or deliuered: Neither might any be ſuffred to ſpeake or talke w̃ Pointz in any other tongue or lãguage, except only in the Dutch tongue, ſo that his keepers who were Dutchmen, might vnderſtand what the contents of the letters or talk ſhould be, ſauing that at one certaine time the Prouinciall of the white friers came to dinner where Pointz was priſoner, and brought with him a yong Nouice being an engliſhman, whom the Prouinciall after dinner, of his owne accord, did bid to talke with the ſayde Pointz, and ſo wyth him he was licenced to talk. The purpoſe and great pollicy therin was eaſie to be perceiued. Betwene Pointz & the Nouice was much prety talke, as of ſir Tho. More, and of ẏ biſhop of Rocheſter, and of their putting to death: whoſe

Tindal, / Poyntz a / tached by / Philips.

Pointz / mined.

Talke b / twene / Poynt / a Noui

death he ſeemed greatly to lament, eſpecially dyeng in ſuch a quarell, worthy (as he ſaid) to be accounted for Martirs, with other noble doctrine and deepe learning in diuinitie, meete to feede ſwine withall. Such blindnes then in thoſe dayes raigned amongſt them. After this, Pointz deliuered vp his aunſwer to the Procurour generall, and then after, at the dayes appointed, went foorth with replication duplicke, with other aunſwers eche to other in writing what they could.

Poyntz troubled for M. Tindall.

As the Commiſſioners came to Pointz; Philips the traytour accompanied them to the dore in following the proceſſe againſt him, as he alſo did againſt M. Tindall, for ſo they that had Pointz in keeping, ſhewed hym. Thus Pointz for Maiſter Tyndall was ſore troubled, and long kept in priſon: but at length, when he ſaw no other remedie, by night he made his eſcape, and auoyded their handes.

But good Tyndall could not eſcape their handes, but remayned in priſon ſtill, who being brought vnto his aunſwere, was offered to haue an aduocate and a proctor: for in any criminall cauſe there, it ſhall be permitted to haue counſaile, to make aunſwere in the lawe. But he refuſed to haue any ſuch, ſayeng: that he would aunſwere for himſelfe: and ſo he did.

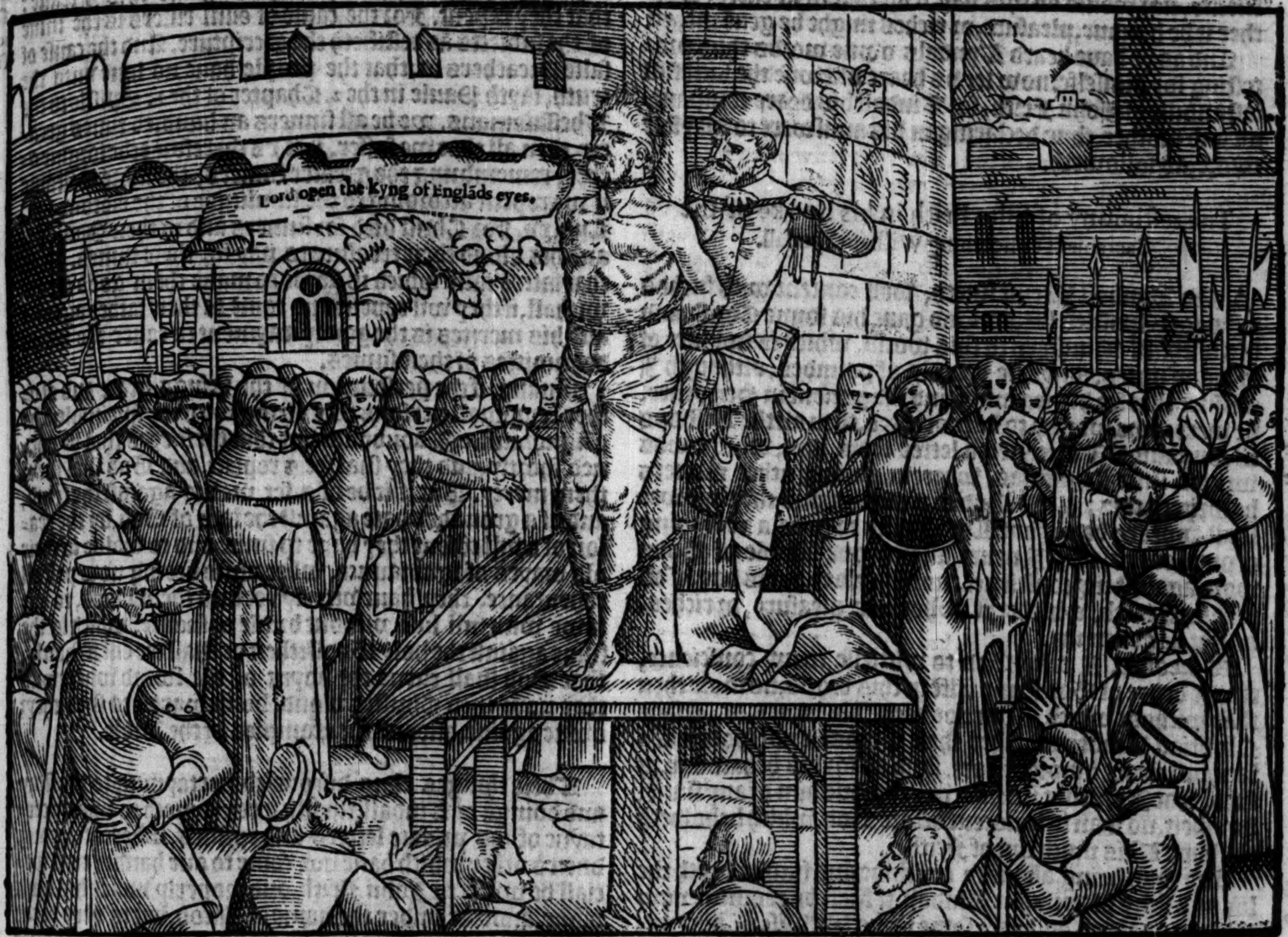
The condēnatiō of M. Tindall. The Martirdom of W. Tindall.

Anno 1536

At laſt, after muche reaſoning, when no reaſon woulde ſerue, although he deſerued no death, he was condemned by vertue of the Emperours decree made in the aſſemble at Auſbrough (as is before ſignified) and vpon the ſame, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to yͤ ſtake, and then ſtrangled firſt by the hangman, and afterward with fire conſumed in the morning at the towne of Filford, an. 1536. crieng thus at the ſtake with a feruente zeale, and a loud voyce: Lord open the King of Englands eyes.

The prayer of M. Tindall.

¶ The Martyrdome and burning of mayſter William Tyndall, in Flaunders, by Filford Caſtle.


Lord open the Kyng of Englāds eyes.

M. Tindall conuerted his keeper.

Such was the power of his doctrine, and ſinceritie of his life, that during the time of his impriſonment (whiche endured a yeare and a halfe) it is ſayde, hee conuerted hys keeper, his daughter, and other of his houſehold. Alſo the reſt that were with him conuerſaunt in the Caſtle, reported of him, that if he were not a good chriſten man, they could not tell whome to truſt.

Commendation of M. Tindall, by them that were about him.

The Procuror generall the Emperours Attourney being there, left this teſtimonie of him, that he was Homo doctus, pius, & bonus: that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man.

The ſame mornyng in which he was had to the fire, he deliuered a letter to the keeper of the caſtle, which yͤ keeper himſelfe brought to the houſe of yͤ foreſayd Pointz in Antwerpe, ſhortly after: which letter, with his examinatiōs & other his diſputations, I would might haue come to our handes: all which I vnderſtād did remaine, & yet perhaps doe, in the handes of the keepers daughter. For ſo it is of him reported that as he was in the Caſtle priſoner, there was much writyng, and great diſputation to and fro, betwene him and them of the Vniuerſitie of Louaine (which was not paſt ix. or x. myles from the place where he was priſoner) in ſuch ſorte, that they all had enough to do, and more then they could well weld, to aunſwere the authorities and teſtimonies of the Scripture, wherevpō he moſt pithely grounded his doctrine.

Gods iudgement vpon Philippes the betrayer of Tindall

Of Iudas that betrayed Chriſt, it is written: that he returned the money agayne to the Phariſeis, & afterward did hang him ſelfe: So Philippes this miſerable traytor, after he had bene receaued of Tyndal, & borrowed money of him, & yet betrayed him and purſued him to death: albeit he reioyced a while after yͭ he had done, yet yͤ ſaying ſo goeth, that he not long tyme after enioyed the price of innocent bloud, but was conſumed at laſt with lyce.

The worthy vertues and doings of this bleſſed Martyr, who for his paynefull trauailes, and ſingular zeale to his countrey, may be called in theſe our dayes, an Apoſtle of Englād, it were long to recite. Amongeſt many other, this becauſe it ſeemeth to me worthy of remembraunce, I thought not in ſilence to ouerpaſſe, which hath vnto me credibly bene teſtified by certaine graue Marchauntes, & ſome of thē alſo ſuch as were preſent the ſame tyme at the fact, and men yet alyue. The ſtory wherof is this.

There was at Antwerpe on a tyme, amongeſt a company of Marchauntes as they were at ſupper, a certaine iuggler, which through his diabolicall inchaũtementes or Art Magicall, would fetch all kyndes of viandes, & wyne from any place they would, and ſet it vpon the table incōtinent before them, with many other ſuch lyke thynges. The fame of this iuggler beyng much talked of, it chaunced that as M. Tyndall heard of it, he deſired certaine of the Marchants, that he might alſo be preſent at ſupper, to ſee him play his partes.

To be briefe, the ſupper was appointed, and the Marchauntes with Tyndall were there preſent. Then the iuggler being required to play his feates, and to ſhewe his cunning, after his wonted boldnes began, to vtter all that he could do, but all was in vaine. At the laſt, with hys labour, ſweating, and toyling, when he ſawe that nothyng would go forward, but that all his enchauntmentes were

The power of Gods ſaintes againſt the deuill.

voyde, he was compelled openly to confeſſe, that there was ſome man preſent at ſupper, which diſturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man euen in the Martyrs of theſe our dayes, can not lacke the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be deſired.

W. Tyndals workes looked for to be all ſet out in one volume.

As concerning ẏ workes and bookes of Tyndall, which extend to a great number, thou waſt tolde before (louyng reader) howe the Printer heereof mindeth by the Lordes leaue, to collect them all in one Volume together, and put them out in print. wherefore it ſhall not greatly at thys time be needefull to make any ſeuerall rehearſall of them.

The faithfull dealing of Tindall in tranſlating the newe teſtament.

And as touching his tranſlation of the new Teſtament, becauſe his enemies did ſo much carpe at it, pretending it to be ſo full of hereſies, to aunſwere therfore to their ſclanderous tongs and lieng lippes, thou ſhalt heare and vnderſtand, what faithfull dealing, and ſincere conſcience he vſed in the ſame, by the teſtimonie & allegation of his own words, written in his Epiſtle to Iohn Frith as foloweth: I call God to record againſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus, to geue a reckening of our doings, ẏ I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods word againſt my cõſcience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches might be geuẽ me, &c.

And as ye haue heard Tyndals owne words thus proteſting for himſelfe: now let vs heare likewiſe the faithfull teſtimonie of Iohn Frith, for Tindall his deare companion and brother, thus declaring in his aunſwere to mayſter More, as followeth.

The teſtimony of Iohn Frith in his booke of the Sacrament concerning William Tyndall.

The teſtimony of Iohn Frith, for Tindall.

AND Tyndall I truſt liueth, well content with ſuche a poore Apoſtles life, as God gaue his ſonne Chriſt, and his faithfull Miniſters in this world, which is not ſure of ſo many mites, as ye be yearely of poundes, although I am ſure that for his learning and iudgement in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted, then all the Biſhops in Englande. I receaued a letter from him, whiche was written ſince Chriſtmas, wherein among other matters he writeth this: I call God to record againſt the daye wee ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus to geue a reckening of our doings, that I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods word againſt my conſcience, nor woulde do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches, might be geuen me.

The wordes of Tindall written to Iohn Frith.

Moreouer, I take God to witneſſe to my conſcience, that I deſire of God to my ſelfe in this world, no more then that without which I can not keepe his lawes, &c. Iudge Chriſtian Reader whether theſe words be not ſpoken of a faithfull cleare innocent hart. And as for his behauiour, is ſuch, that I am ſure no man can reproue him of any ſinne, howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the hart. This much out of Frith.

Ex lib. Tind. praxit Prælatorum.

And thus being about to conclude and finiſhe wyth the life and ſtory of william Tindall, it ſhall be requiſite now that the Reader do heare ſome thing likewiſe of his ſupplication made to the King, and nobles of the Realme, as they are yet extant in his workes to be ſeene, and woorthy in all ages to be marked, the tenour whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Tyndals ſupplications to the King, Nobles, and ſubiects of England.

Tindals ſupplicatiõ to the king and ſtates of England.

I Beſeech the Kings moſt noble grace, well to conſider all the wayes, by the whiche the Cardinall, and oure holy Byſhops haue led hym ſince he was firſt King, and to ſee whereunto all the pride, pompe, and vaine boaſt of ẏ Cardinall is come, and how God hath reſiſted hym and oure Prelates in all their wiles. we hauing nothing to do at all, haue medled yet with all matters, and haue ſpente for our Prelates cauſes, more then all Chriſtendome, euen vnto the vtter beggering of our ſelues, and haue gotten nothing but rebuke and hate amõg all nations, & a mocke and a ſcorne of them, whom we haue moſt holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the ſaieng is) of late dayes made a play, or a diſguiſing at Paris, in whiche the Emperour daunſed with the Pope, and the French King, and weeryed them: the King of England ſitting on a hye bench, and lookyng on. And when it was aſked why he daunced not, it was aunſwered, that he ſat there, but to pay the minſtrels their wages. As who ſhoulde ſay, we payd for all mens dauncing. we monied the Emperour openly, and gaue ẏ french King double and treble ſecretly: and to the Pope alſo. Yea and though Ferdinandus had money ſent openly to blind the world withall, yet the ſaieng is through all Dutchland that we ſent money to the King of Pole, &c.

The king of England payes for all.

Furthermore, I beſeech his grace alſo to haue mercy of his owne ſoule, and not to ſuffer Chriſt and his holy Teſtament to be perſecuted vnder his name any longer: that the ſword of the wrath of God may be put vp agayne, which for that cauſe, no doubt, is moſt chiefly drawne.

The ſe petitio Tindall.

Thirdly, my petition is to his grace, to haue compaſſion on his poore ſubiectes, that the Realme vtterly periſh not with the wicked counſayle of our peſtilent Prelates. For if his grace, which is but a man, ſhould die, the Lords and commons not knowing who hath moſt right to enioy the crowne, the realme could not but ſtand in great daunger.

The thi petitio Tindall.

My fourth ſute and exhortation is to all the Lords temporall of the realme, that they come and fall before ẏ kings grace, and humbly deſire his Maieſtie, to ſuffer it to be tried, who of right ought to ſucceede: And if he or ſhee fayle, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly: and let all the Lords temporall be ſworne therto, and all ẏ knightes and ſquiers and gentlmen, and the commons aboue xviij. yeares old, that there be no ſtrife for the ſucceſſion. If they trie it by the ſword, I promiſe them, I ſee no other likelyhode but it will coſt the realme of England, &c.

The 4. pe tion of Ti dall.

Limitatio of ſucceſ to the Crowne.

I pray God this be n a propheſ agaynſt England.

Further, of all the ſubiects of England this I craue: that they repent. For the cauſe of euill rulers is the ſinne of the ſubiects as teſtifieth the Scripture. And the cauſe of falſe Preachers is, that the people haue no loue vnto the truth, ſayth Paule in the 2. Chapter of the 2. Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians. we be all ſinners an hundred times greater then all that we ſuffer. Let vs therefore eche forgiue other, remembring the greater ſinners, the more welcome if we repent according to the ſimilitude of the riotous ſon, Luk. xv. For Chriſt died for ſinners and is their Sauiour, and his bloud their treaſure to pay for their ſinnes. He is that fatted calfe which is ſlaine to make them good cheare withall, if they wil repent and come to their father agayne: and his merites is the goodly rayment to couer the naked deformities of their ſinnes.

The 5. petion of M. Tindall.

Finally, if the perſecution of the Kings grace and other temporall perſons conſpiring with the ſpiritualtie, be of ignoraunce, I doubt not but that their eyes ſhal be opened ſhortly, and they ſhal ſee & repent, and God ſhal ſhew them mercy. But if it be of a ſet malice againſt the truth, and of a grounded hate againſt the law of God, by the reaſon of a full cõſent they haue to ſinne and to walke in their old wayes of ignoraunce, whereunto beeing now paſt all repentance, they haue vtterly yeelded themſelues, to followe with full luſt without bridle or ſnaffle, which is the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt: then ye ſhall ſee euen ſhortly, that God ſhall turne the poynt of the ſword wherewith they now ſhed Chriſtes bloud, homewarde to ſhed theyr owne againe, after all the examples of the Bible.

Theſe thinges thus diſcourſed pertayning to the ſtory and doings of Tindall, finally it remayneth to inferre certayne of his priuate letters and epiſtles, whereof among diuers other which haue not come to our hands, two ſpeciall he wrote to Iohn Frith, one properly vnder his own name, another vnder the name of Iacob, but in very deede was written and deliuered to Iohn Frith, being priſoner then in the Tower, as ye ſhall further vnderſtand by the ſequeale heereafter. The copie and tenour of the Epiſtles heere followeth.

A letter ſent from Tyndall, vnto Mayſter Frith being in the Tower.

A letter of Tindall to M. Fryth.

THE grace and peace of God our Father, and of Ieſus Chriſte our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearely beloued brother Iohn, I haue heard ſay, how the hipocrits now that they haue ouercome that great buſines whiche letted them, or at the leaſt way, haue brought it at a ſtay, they returne to their olde nature againe. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordeyned to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory raigne ouer all.

Dearely beloued, how euer the matter be, commit your ſelfe wholy and onely vnto your moſt louyng Father, and moſt kynde Lorde, and feare not men that threate, nor truſt men that ſpeake faire: but truſt him that is true of promiſe, and able to make hys word good. Your cauſe is Chriſtes Goſpell, a light that muſt be fed with the bloud of fayth. The lampe muſt be dreſſed and ſnuffed dayly, and that oyle poured in euery euening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be ſinners, yet is the cauſe right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we ſuffer paciently and endure, that is acceptable to God: for to that end we are called. For Chriſt alſo ſuffred for vs, leauing vs an example that wee ſhould follow his ſteps, who did no ſin. Herby haue we perceiued loue, that he layd downe his life for vs: therefore we ought alſo to lay downe our liues for the brethren. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. For we ſuffer with him that wee may alſo be glorified with him: who ſhall chaunge our vile body,

Pet. 2.

1. Iohn 3.

Math. 5. Rom. 8. Phil. 3.

that it may be faſhioned like vnto his glorious body, according to the working wherby he is able euen to ſubiect al things vnto him.

oldnes of pirite.

Dearely beloued, be of good courage, and comfort your ſoule with the hope of this hye reward, and beare the image of Chriſt in your mortall body, that it may at his comming be made like to his immortall: and followe the example of all youre other deare breethren, which chooſe to ſuffer in hope of a better reſurrection. Keepe your conſcience pure and vndefiled, and ſay againſt that nothing. Sticke at neceſſary things, and remember the blaſphemies of the enemies of Chriſt, ſaieng: they finde [illegible] but that wil abiure rather then ſuffer the extremitie. Mo[illegible] death of them that come againe after they haue once [illegible], though it bee accepted wyth God, and all that beleeue, [illegible] it not glorious, for the hypocrites ſay, he muſt neede[illegible] helpeth not: But might it haue holpen, they would [illegible] hundreth times: but ſeeing it would not helpe them, [illegible] pure pride and meere malice together, they ſpake with [illegible] mouthes, that their conſcience knoweth falſe. If you geue y[illegible], caſt your ſelfe, yeeld your ſelfe, commit your ſelfe wholy a[illegible]ly to your louing father, then ſhall his power be in you and make [illegible] ſtrõg, and that ſo ſtrong, that you ſhall feele no payne: which ſh[illegible] be to another preſent death: and his ſpirite ſhall ſpeake in you, [illegible]nd teach you what to aunſwere, according to his promiſe. He ſhall ſet out his truth by you wonderfully, and worke for you aboue all that your hart can imagine: Yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all they can make, haue ſworne your death. Vna ſalus victis, nullam ſperare ſalutem: To looke for no mans helpe, bringeth the helpe of God to them that ſeeme to be ouercome in the eyes of the hypocrites: Yea, it ſhall make God to carry you through thicke and thinne for his truthes ſake, in ſpite of all the enemies of hys truth. There falleth not an heare till his houre be come: and when his houre is come, neceſsitie carieth vs hence though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then haue we a reward and thanke.

ounde not Conſcience, tanding pon things eceſſarye.

Death after enying euil poken of y the aduerſaryes.

Obedience o God.

To looke or no mans elpe, bringeth Gods elpe.

Conſtancye n ſtanding.

Patience in ſuffering.

Feare not threatening therefore, neyther be ouercome of ſweet words: with which twayne the hypocrites ſhall aſſayle you. Neyther let the perſuaſions of worldly wiſedome beare rule in your hart: no, though they be your friends that counſayle you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their viſure beguile your eyes. Let not your body faynt. He that endureth to the end, ſhall be ſaued If the payne be aboue your ſtrength, remember: Whatſoeuer ye ſhall aſke in my name, I will geue it you. And pray to youre father in that name, and he ſhall ceaſe your payne, or ſhorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of fayth, be with you, Amen.

Bilney.

Perſeuerãce to the ende.

Math.22.

William Tyndall.

Two haue ſuffred in Antwerpe, In die ſanctæ Crucis, vnto the great glory of the Goſpell: four at Ryſels in Flanders, and at Luke, hath there one at the leaſt ſuffered, and all the ſame day. At Roane in Fraunce they perſecute. And at Paris are fiue Doctors taken for the Goſpell. See, you are not alone: Be cheerefull and remember that among the hard harted in England, there is a number reſerued by grace: for whoſe ſakes if neede be, you muſt be ready to ſuffer. Sir, if you may write, how ſhort ſoeuer it be, forget it not, that we may knowe howe it goeth with you, for oure harts eaſe. The Lord be yet againe with you, with all his plenteouſnes, and fill you that you flowe ouer, Amen.

Two Martirs at Antwerpe. Foure Martyrs in Flaũders, & one at S. Luke. Perſecution at Roane. Fiue Doctors at Paris taken for the Goſpel.

If when you haue read this, you may ſend it to Adrian, do I pray you, that he may knowe howe that our harte is with you.

George Ioy at Candlemas being at Barrow, printed ij. leaues of Geneſ. in a great forme, and ſent one copy to the King, and another to the new Quene, with a letter to N. for to deliuer them: and to purchaſe licence, that he might ſo go through all the Bible. Out of this is ſprong the noiſe of the new Bible: and out of that is the great ſeeking for Engliſh bookes at all printers and bookebinders in Antwerpe, and for an Engliſh Prieſt that ſhould print.

This chaunced the 9. day of May.

Sir, your wyfe is well content with the will of God, and would not for her ſake haue the glory of God hindred.

William Tyndall.

Another notable and woorthy letter of Maiſter William Tyndall ſent to the ſayd Iohn Frith, vnder the name of Iacob.

¶ The grace of our Sauiour Ieſus, his pacience, meekeneſſe, humbleneſſe, circumſpection, and wiſedome, be with your hart, Amen.

An other letter of W. Tindal.

DErely beloued brother Iacob, mine harts deſire in our Sauiour Ieſus is, that you arme your ſelfe with pacience, and bee cold, ſober, wyſe and circumſpect, and that you keepe you alowe by the ground, auoiding hie queſtions that paſſe the common capacitie. But expound the law truly, and open the vayle of Moſes to condemne all fleſh, & proue all men ſinners, & all deedes vnder the law, before mercy haue taken away the cõdemnatiõ therof, to be ſinne and damnable: and then as a faythfull miniſter, ſet abroche the mercy of our Lord Ieſus, and let the wounded cõſciences drinke of the water of him. And then ſhall your preaching be with power, & not as the doctrine of the hypocrites: and the ſpirite of God ſhall worke with you, and all cõſciẽces ſhall beare record vnto you, and feele that it is ſo. And all doctrine that caſteth a miſte on thoſe two, to ſhadow and hide them I meane the law of God and mercy of Chriſt, that reſiſt you withall your power. Sacramentes without ſignification, refuſe. If they put ſignifications to them, receiue them, if you ſee it may helpe, though it be not neceſſary.

igh queſtions to be uoyded.

All deedes before they be iuſtified by faith are ſinne.

Preaching the lawe of God & mercy of Chriſt.

Sacraments without ſignifications to be refuſed.

Of the preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appeare no diuiſion among vs. Barnes will be whote agaynſt you. The Saxons be ſore on the affirmatiue, whether conſtant or obſtinate, I omitte it to God. Phillip Melancthon is ſayd to be with the French kyng. There be in Antwerpe that ſay, they ſaw him come into Paris with an C. and L. horſes, and that they ſpake with him. If the Frenchmẽ receiue the word of God, he will plant the *affirmatiue in thẽ. George Ioy would haue put forth a Treatiſe of the matter, but I haue ſtopt him as yet, what he wil do if he get money, I wot not. I beleue he would make many reaſons little seruing to the purpoſe. My mynd is, that nothyng be put forth till we heare how you ſhall haue ſped. I would haue the right vſe preached, and the preſence to be an indifferent thyng, till the matter might be reaſoned in peace at layſure, of both parties. If you be required, ſhew the phraſes of the Scripture, and let them talke what they will. For as to beleue that God is euery where, hurteth no man that worſhippeth him no where but within in the hart, in ſpirite and veritie: euen ſo to beleue that the body of Chriſt is euery where (though it cannot bee proued) hurteth no man that worſhyppeth hym no where ſaue in the faith of his Goſpell. You perceiue my mynde: howbeit if God ſhewe you otherwiſe, it is free for you to doe as he moueth you.

M. Tindall here beareth with tyme.

* By the affirmatiue he meaneth the opiniõ which M. Luther and the Saxons do holde of the ſacramẽt. M. Tindall againe beareth with tyme.

Vbiquitie cãnot be proued.

I geſſed long agoe, that God would ſend a daſing into the head of the ſpiritualitie, to catche them ſelues in their owne ſubtletie, and I truſt it is come to paſſe. And now me thinketh I ſmell a counſaile to be taken, litle for their profites in tyme to come. But you muſt vnderſtand, that it is not of a pure hart and for loue of the truth, but to aduenge them ſelues, and to eate the whores fleſhe, and to ſucke the mary of her bones. Wherefore cleaue faſt to the rocke of the helpe of God, and commit the ende of all thynges to him: and if God ſhall call you, that you may then vſe the wiſedome of the worldly, as farre as you perceiue the glory of God may come thereof, refuſe it not: and euer among, thruſt in, that the Scripture may be in the mother toung, and learnyng ſet vp in the Vniuerſities. But and if ought be required contrary to the glory of God and his Chriſt, then ſtand faſt, and commit your ſelfe to God, and be not ouercome of mens perſuaſions, whiche happely ſhall ſay: we ſee no other way to bryng in the truth.

Eating the Whores fleſhe, is to ſpoyle the Popes Church onely for the pray and ſpoile thereof.

Worldly wiſedome ſo farre as it may ſerue to Gods glory they be vſed.

Brother Iacob, beloued in my hart, there lyueth not in whom I haue ſo good hope and truſt, and in whom myne hart reioyſeth and my ſoule comforteth her ſelfe, as in you: not the thouſand part ſo much for your learnyng, and what other gifts els you haue, as that you will creepe allow by the ground, and walke in thoſe thynges that the conſcience may feele, and not in the imaginations of the brayne: in feare and not in boldneſſe: in open neceſſary thynges, and not to pronounce or define of hyd ſecretes, or thynges that neither helpe or hynder whether they be ſo or no in vnitie and not in ſeditious opinions: in ſo much that if you be ſure you know, yet in thynges that may abide layſure, you will deferre, or ſay (till other agree with you:) me thinke the text requireth this ſenſe or vnderſtãdyng: Yea and that if you be ſure that your part be good, and an other hold the contrary, yet if it be a thyng that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it paſſe, and referre the thyng to other men, and ſticke you ſtifly and ſtubburnely in earneſt and neceſſary thynges. And I truſt you bee perſwaded euen ſo of me. For I call GOD to recorde agaynſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus, to geue a reckenyng of our doynges, that I neuer altered one ſyllable of Gods word agaynſt my conſcience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleaſure, honour or riches, might be geuen me. Moreouer I take God to recorde to my conſcience: that I deſire of God to my ſelfe in this world, no more then that without which I can not keepe his lawes.

Low walking.

The vpright handling in the tranſlation of M. Tindall.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could helpe at hãd, and ayde you if neede required: I promiſe you I would not be farre of, and commit the ende to God: my ſoule is not faynt, though my body be wery. But God hath made me euill fauoured in this world, and without grace in the ſight of mẽ, ſpeachleſſe and rude, dull and ſlow wytted: your part ſhalbe to ſupply that lacketh in me, remembryng, that as lowlyneſſe of hart ſhall make you hygh with GOD, euen ſo meekeneſſe of wordes ſhall make you ſinke into the hartes of men. Nature geueth age authoritie, but meekeneſſe is the glory of youth, and geueth them honour. Aboundance of loue maketh me exceede in babling.

A low hart maketh a man high with God. Authority is the glory of age.

Meeknes is the glory of youth.

Syr, as concerning Purgatory, and many other things, if you be demaunded, you may ſay, if you erre, the ſpiritualtie hath ſo led you, and that they haue taught you to beleeue as you do. For they preached you all ſuch things out of Gods word, and alledged a thouſand textes, by reaſon of which textes you beleeued as they taught you. But now you finde thẽ lyers, and that the textes meane no ſuche things, and therefore you can beleeue them no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and beleeue no ſuch thing: howbeit you are ready to beleeue, if they haue any other way to prooue it, for without prooſe you can not beleeue them, when you haue found them with ſo many lies, &c. If you perceyue wherein we may helpe, other in being ſtill, or doyng ſomewhat, let vs haue word, and I will do mine vttermoſt.

My Lord of London hath a ſeruaunt called Iohn Tiſen with a red beard, and a blacke reddiſh head, and was once my ſcholler, he was ſeene in Antwerpe, but came not among the Engliſhmen: whether he is gone an Ambaſſadour ſecret, I wot not.

Purgatory hath no prooſe by Scripture.

The mighty God of Iacob be with you to ſupplant his enemies, and geue you the fauour of Ioſeph: and the wiſedome, and the ſpirit of Stephen be with your hart and with your mouth, and teach your lippes what they ſhall ſay, and how to aunſwere to all things. He is our God if we deſpaire in our ſelues, and truſt in hym: and his is the glory, Amen.

William Tyndall.

¶ I hope our redemption is nygh.

¶ This letter was written an. 1533. in the moneth of Ianuary. which letter although it do pretend the name of Iacob, yet vnderſtand (good Reader) that it was written in very deede to Iohn Frith, as is aboue tolde thee. For the more proofe and euidence whereof, read Frithes booke of the Sacramente, and there thou ſhalte finde a certayne place of this Epiſtle repeated word for word, beginning thus: I call God to record, againſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lorde Ieſus to geue a reckening of oure doings, that I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods word againſt my conſcience, &c. which Epiſtle Iohn Frith hymſelfe witneſſeth that he receaued from Tyndall, as in hys teſtimonie aboue appeareth.

¶ The death of the Lady Katherine and of Queene Anne.

{ Anno. 1536. }

The death of Lady Katherine, Princeſſe Dowagar.

The death of Queene Anne.

The ſame yeare in the which W. Tyndall was burned, which was the yeare of our Lord 1536. in the begynning of the yeare, firſt died Lady Katherine Princes Dowager in the moneth of Ianuary.

After whome the ſame yeare alſo, in the moneth of May next following, followed the death alſo of Queene Anne, who had now bene married to the King the ſpace of three yeares. In certeine records thus we finde, that the Kyng being in his Iuſtes at Greenewich, ſodenly with a fewe perſons, departed to Weſtminſter, and the next daye after Queene Anne his wife was had to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother, and certayne other: and the xix. day after was beheaded. The wordes of this worthy and Chriſtian Lady at her death, were theſe:

The wordes of Queene Anne at her death.

Good Chriſten people, I am come hether to die, for according to the Law, and by ẏ Lawe I am iudged to death, and therefore I will ſpeake nothing againſt it. I am come hether to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeake any thing of that, whereof I am accuſed and condemned to die, but I pray God ſaue the King, and ſende him long to raigne ouer you, for a gentler, or a more mercifull Prince was there neuer: and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and soueraigne Lord. And if any perſon will meddle of my cauſe, I require them to iudge the beſt. And thus I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I hartely deſire you all to pray for me. O Lord haue mercy on me. To God I commend my ſoule. And ſo ſhe kneeled downe, ſayeng: To Chriſt I commend my ſoule: Ieſu receiue my ſoule: repeating the ſame diuers times, till at length the ſtroke was geuen, and her head was ſtriken off.

Queene Anne beheaded. Commendatiõs of Quene Anne.

And this was the end of that godly Lady and Queene. Godly I call her, for ſundry reſpectes, whatſoeuer the cauſe was, or quarell obiected againſt her. Fyrſt, her laſt wordes ſpoken at her death, declared no leſſe her ſincere fayth and truſt in Chriſt, then dyd her quiet modeſtie vtter forth the goodneſſe of the cauſe and matter, whatſoeuer it was. Beſides that, to ſuch as wiſely can iudge vpon caſes occurrent, this alſo may ſeeme to geue a great clearing vnto her, that the King the third day after was maried in his whites vnto an other. Certaine this was, that for the rare and ſingular giftes of her minde ſo well inſtructed, and geuen toward God, with ſuche a feruent deſire vnto the trueth and ſetting foorth of ſincere Religion, ioyned wyth like gentlenes, modeſtie, and pitie toward all men, there hath not many ſuche Queenes before her borne the Crowne of England. Principally this one commendation ſhe left behinde her, that during her life, the Religion of Chriſt moſt happely floriſhed, and had a right proſperous courſe.

Many things might be written more of the manyfolde vertues, and the quiet moderation of her milde nature, how lowly ſhe would beare, not onely to be admoniſhed, but alſo of her owne accorde woulde require her Chapleynes playnely and freely to tell whatſoeuer they ſawe in her amiſſe. Alſo, how bountifull ſhee was to the poore, paſſing not only the common example of other Queenes, but alſo the reuenues almoſt of her eſtate: in ſo much that the almoſe which ſhe gaue in three quarters of a yeare, in diſtribution, is ſummed to the number of xiiij. or xv. thouſand pounds. Beſide the great peece of money which her grace intended to impart into foure ſundry quarters of the Realme, as for a ſtocke there to be employed to the behoofe of poore artificers and occupyers. Agayne, what a zelous defender ſhe was of Chriſtes Goſpell, all the world doth knowe, and her actes doe and will declare to the worldes ende. Amongſt which other her actes, this is one, that ſhee placed M. Hugh Latymer in the Byſhopricke of Worceſter, and alſo preferred Doctor Shaxton to his Byſhopricke, being then accompted a good man. Furthermore, what a true fayth ſhe bare vnto the Lorde, this one example may ſtande for many: for that when King Henry was with her at Wodſtocke, and there being afrayde of an olde blinde prophesie, for the which neyther he, nor other Kings before him, durſt hunt in the ſayde parke of Wodſtocke, nor enter into the Towne of Oxford, at laſt thorough the Chriſtian and faithfull counſayle of that Queene, he was ſo armed againſt all infidelitie, that both he hunted in the foreſayde parke, and alſo entred in the Towne of Oxford, and had no harme. But becauſe touching the memorable vertues of this worthy Queene, partly we haue ſayd ſomething before, partly becauſe more alſo is promiſed to be declared of her vertuous life (the Lord ſo permitting) by other who then were about her: I will ceaſe in this matter further to procede.

This I can not but meruayle, why the Parlament holden this yeare, that is, the xxviij. yeare of the King, (which Parliament three yeares before had eſtabliſhed and confirmed this Mariage as moſt lawfull) ſhoulde now ſo ſodeinly and contrary to their owne doings, repeale and diſable the ſayd Mariage agayne as vnlawfull, beeyng ſo lawfully before contracted. But more I meruayle, why the ſaide Parliament, after the illegitimation of the Mariage enacted, not contented with that, ſhould further procede, and charge her with ſuch carnall deſires of her body, as to miſuſe her ſelfe with her owne naturall brother the Lorde Rochford, and others, being ſo contrary to all nature that no naturall man will beleeue it.

But in this Acte of Parliament did lie (no doubt) ſome great miſtery, which heere I will not ſtand to diſcuſſe, but onely that it may be ſuſpected ſome ſecrete practiſing of the Papiſtes here not to be lacking, conſidering what a mightie ſtoppe ſhe was to their purpoſes and proceedings, and on the contrary ſide, what a ſtrong Bulwarke ſhe was for the maintenance of Chriſtes Goſpell and ſincere religion, which they then in no caſe could abide. By reaſon whereof, it may eaſily be conſidered that this Chriſtian and deuout Debora could lacke no enemies amongſt ſuch a number of Philiſtians, both within the Realme and without.

Agayne, neither is it vnlike but that Stephen Wincheſter, being then abroade in Ambaſſie, was not altogether aſleepe. The ſuſpition whereof may be the more coniecturall, for that Edmund Boner Archdeacon of Leiceſter, and then Ambaſſadour in Fraunce ſucceeding after Stephen Wincheſter, did manifeſtly detect him of plaine Papiſtrie, as in the ſequeale of their ſtories, when wee come to the time, more ample (the Lord graunting) ſhall be expreſſed.

And as touching the Kings minde and aſſent, although at that time through crafty ſetters on, he ſeemed to be ſore bent both againſt that Queene, and to the diſheriting of his owne daughter: yet vnto that former will of the King ſo ſet againſt her then, I will oppoſe againe the laſt will of the King, wherein expreſſely and by name he did accepte, and by plaine ratification did allow the ſucceſſion of hys Mariage to ſtand good and lawfull.

Furthermore, to all other ſiniſter iudgements and opinions, whatſoeuer can be conceiued of man againſt that vertuous Queene: I obiect and oppoſe againe (as in ſtede of aunſwere) the euident demonſtration of Gods fauour, in mainteining, preſeruing, & aduaunſing the offſpring of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH, nowe Queene, whome the Lord hath ſo meruailouſly conſerued from ſo manifold daungers, ſo royally hath exalted, ſo happely hath bleſſed with ſuch vertuous patience, and with ſuch a quiet reigne hetherto, that neither the reigne of her brother EDVVARD, nor of her ſiſter Mary, to her is to be compared, whether we conſider the number of the yeares of their reignes, or the peaceableneſſe of their ſtate. In whoſe royall and floriſhing regiment we haue to behold, not ſo much the naturall diſpoſition of her mothers qualities, as the ſecrete iudgemente of God in preſeruing and magnifieng the fruite and offſpring of that godly Queene.

Paulus Iouius can finde no whoredome in all Rome, but must come and pike matter where none is, in England.

The Proteſtantes of Germanye forſake king Henry for the death of Queene Anne.

And finally, as for the blaſphemous mouth both of Cardinall Poole, and of Paulus Iouius, that Popiſh Cardinall, who meaſuring belike other womē by his curteſanes of Rome, ſo impudently abuſeth his penne in lieng and rayling againſt this noble Queene: to aunſwere agayne in defence of her cauſe to that Italian, I obiect and oppoſe the conſent and iudgement of ſo many noble Proteſtants and Princes of Germany, who beeing in league before with King Henry, and minding no leſſe but to haue made him the head of their confederation, afterward hearing of the death of this Queene, vtterly brake from him and refuſed him, onely for the ſame cauſe.

The wily practiſes of the Papiſts.

But all this ſeemeth (as is ſaid) to be the drift of the wilie Papiſtes, who ſeeing the Pope to be repulſed out of England by the meanes chiefly of this Queene, and fearing alwayes the ſucceſſion of this Marriage in time to come: thought by ſiniſter practiſe to preuent that perill before, whiſpering in the Kings eares, what poſſibly they could, to make that Matrimonie vnlawfull, and all for the diſheriting of that ſucceſſion.

Gods prouidence ſtill diſapointeth the papiſtes.

The king maried Lady Iane.

Againe, Stephen Gardiner (who was a ſecret worker againſt that mariage, and a perpetuall enemie againſt Lady Elizabeth) being then abroade with the French Kyng and the great Maiſter of Fraunce, ceaſed not in his letters ſtill to put the King in feare, that the foreine Princes and powers of the world, with the Pope, woulde neuer be reconciled to the King, neither ſhould he be euer in any perfect ſecuritie, vnleſſe he vndid againe ſuch actes before paſſed for the ratification of that ſucceſſion. Which thing when they had now brought to paſſe after their owne deſire, that both now the Queene was beheaded, and Elizabeth the Kings daughter diſherited, they thought all things to be ſure for euer. But yet Gods prouidence ſtill went beyond them, and deceaued them. For incontinently after the ſuffering of Queene Anne, the King within three dayes after, maryed Lady Iane Semer, of whome came King Edward, as great an enemie to Gods enemie the Pope, as euer his father was, and greater too.

The ſeate of the beaſt darckned. Apoc. 16.

Ex Ioan. Sledano, Lib. 10.

In the meane time, as theſe troublous tumultes were in doing in England, Paule the third Biſhop of Rome, for his part was not behind to helpe forward for his own aduantage. Who ſeeing his vſurped kingdome & ſeate to be darkened in the countreys of Germany, & alſo in Englād, thought it high time to beſtirre him, and therefore, to prouide ſome remedy againſt further daungers, appointed a general Councel at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either perſonally to be there, or elſe to ſende their Ambaſſadours, vnder faire pretenſes, as to ſuppreſſe hereſies, and to reſtore the Church, and to warre agaynſt the Turke, &c. This Bull was ſubſcribed with the hands of 26. Cardinals, and ſet vp in diuers great Cities, that it might be knowne and publiſhed to the whole world. Unto the which Bull, firſte the Proteſtants of Germany doe aunſweare, declaring ſufficient cauſes why they refuſed to reſort to that Councell, being indicted at Mantua in the Popes owne Countrey. Whoſe declaration, with theyr cauſes graue and effectuall, being ſet forth in print, and in the Engliſh tongue, although they were worthy heere to be inſerted, yet for breuitie, and more ſpeede in our ſtory, I will pretermit the ſame, and only take the Oration or anſwere of our King heere: Wherein he likewiſe rendereth reaſons and cauſes moſt reaſonable, why he refuſeth to come or to ſend at the Popes call to his Councell, indicted at Mantua. Whoſe Oration or Proteſtation, becauſe it conteineth matter of ſome weight and great experience, I thought heere good to expreſſe, as foloweth.

¶ A Proteſtation in the name of the King, and the whole Counſaile, and Cleargy of England, why they refuſe to come to the Popes Councell at his call.

The kinges proteſtation why he ſendeth not to the Popes Councell.

The Popes craftes eſpyed.

SEing that the Biſhop of Rome calleth learned men from all parties, conducting them by great rewardes, making as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh moſt meet and moſt ready to defend fraudes and vntruthes: we could not but with much anxietie talk with our ſelues, what ſo great a preparance of wits ſhould meane. As chance was, wee geſſed euen as it folowed. We haue ben ſo long acquainted with Romaine ſubtilties and popiſh deceites, that we wel and eaſely iudged yͤ Byſhop of Rome to intend an aſſemble of his adherents and men ſworne to thinke all his luſts to be lawes. We were not deceiued. Paule the Byſhop of Rome hath called a Councell, to the which he knewe well either fewe or none of the Chriſten Princes coulde come. Both the time that he indicted it, and alſo the place where he appointed it to be, might aſſure him of this. But whether wandereth not theſe Popiſhe Bulles? whether go they not aſtray? what King is not cited and ſummoned by a proud Miniſter and ſeruant of Kings, to come to bolſter vp errours, fraudes, deceites, and vntruthes, and to ſet forth this feined generall Councell? For who will not thinke that Paule the Byſhop of Rome goeth ſooner about to make men beleeue that he intendeth a generall Councell, then that he deſireth one in deede? No, who can leſſe deſire it, thē they that do deſpaire of their cauſe, except they be iudges, and giue ſentence themſelues againſt their aduerſaries? We, which very ſore againſt our will, at any time leaue off the procurement of the Realme and cōmon weale, neede neither to come our ſelues, nor yet to ſende our procuratours thether, no nor yet to make our excuſe for either of both. For who can accuſe vs, that we come not at his call, which hath no authoritie to call vs?

The king not bound to come at the Popes call.

Who be they that haue place in the Popes Councell.

But for a ſeaſon let vs (as a ſorte of blyndlynges doe) graunt that he may call vs, and that he hath authority ſo to do: yet (we pray you) may not all men ſee, what auaileth it to come to this Councell, where ye ſhall haue no place, except ye be knowen both willing to oppreſſe trueth, and alſo ready to confirme and ſtabliſh errours? Do not all mē perceiue as well as we, with what integritie, fidelitie, and Religion, theſe men go about to diſcuſſe matters in controuerſie, that take them in hand in ſo troubleſome a time as this is? Is it not plaine what fruite the common weale of Chriſtendome may looke for there, where as Mantua is choſen the place to keepe this Councell at? Is there any Prince, not beeing of Italy, yea, is there any of Italy, Prince or other diſſenting frō the Pope, that dareth come to this aſſemble, and to this place? If there come none, that dare ſpeake for troden truth, none that will venture hys life, is it meruayle if the Biſhop of Rome being iudge, no man repining, no man gaineſaieng, the defenders of the Papacie obteine that Popiſh authority now quayling and almoſt fallen, be ſet vp againe?

The place of the Councell not indifferent.

No reaſon that the pope ſhould be iudge in his owne cauſe.

The Byſhop of Rome in learning and lyfe farre vnder other Byſhops.

Is this the way to helpe things afflict? to redreſſe troubled Religion? to lift vp oppreſſed truth? Shall men thys way know, whether the Romane Biſhops (which in very deede are, if yee looke either vpon their doctrine or life, far vnder other Biſhops) ought to be made like theyr felowes, that is, to be paſtours in their own Dioces, and ſo to vſe no further power: or elſe whether they may make lawes, not only vnto other Biſhops, but alſo to Kings & Emperours? O boldneſſe, meete to be beaten downe with force, and not to be conuinced with arguments. Can either Paule that now Lordeth, or any of his, earneſtly go about (if they alone, or at yͤ leaſt without any aduerſary, be thus in a corner aſſembled together) to heale the ſickeneſſes, to take away the errours, to plucke downe the abuſes that now are crept into the Church, and there be bolſtered vp, by ſuch Councels as now is like to be at Mantua?

Paule the Pope proleth for his owne profite.

England taketh her leaue of the Pope for euer.

England refuſeth the Popes marchandiſe.

It is very like, that theſe, whiche prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pul down all ſuch things, as their forefathers made, onely for yͤ increaſe of money. Where as their forefathers, whē their honour, power, primacy, was called into queſtion, woulde either in ſpite of Gods law, mainteine their dignity, or (to ſay better) their intollerable pride: is it like, that theſe will not trede in their ſteps, and make naughty new Canons, wherby they may defend old euil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care, either what they haue done, or what they intend to do hereafter, for as much as Englād hath taken her leaue of Popiſh crafts for euer, neuer to be deluded to them hereafter? Romaine Biſhops haue nothing to do with Engliſhe people: the one doth not traffike with the other: at yͤ leaſt, though they wil haue to do with vs, yet we wil none of their marchandiſe, none of their ſtuffe. We will receiue them of our Councell no more. We haue ſought our hurt, and bought our loſſe a great while too lōg. Surely their Decrees, either touchyng things ſet vp, or put downe, ſhall haue none other place in vs, then al Biſhops Decrees haue, that is, if we like them, we admit them: if we do not, we refuſe them. But leſt peraduenture mē ſhal think vs to folow our ſenſes too much, & that we, moued by ſmall or no iuſt cauſes, forſake the authority, cenſures, Decrees, and Popiſhe Councelles, wee thought it beſt heere to ſhew our mind to the whole world.

Wherefore we proteſt before God and all men, that we

embrace,

down of his vſurped power, and proud primacy: for expelling of hys vſurped iuriſdiction: and for deliuering of oure realme from his greeuous bōdage and pollage: who ſeeth not him euen inflamed wᵗ hatred againſte vs, and ẏ flames to be much greater, then he can nowe keepe them in? He is an open enemie, he diſſembleth no longer, prouoking all men by all the meanes that hee can to endammage vs and our countrey. Theſe 3. yeares he hath bene occupied in no one thing ſo much, as how he might ſtirre vp the commōs of England, now corrupting ſome with mony, ſome wyth dignities. Wee lette paſſe, what letters hee hath wrytten to Chriſten Princes: with howe great feruent ſtudy, he hath exhorted men to ſet vpon vs. The good Vicare of Chriſte, by his doing ſheweth how he vnderſtandeth the wordes of Chriſt. Hee thinketh, he playeth Chriſtes part well, when he may ſay as Chriſt did: Non veni pacem mittere in terram, ſed gladium: I come not to make peace in earth, but to ſende ſwordes about: and not ſuch ſwordes, as Chriſt would his to be armed with all, but ſuch as cruell manquellers, abuſe in the ſlaughter of theyr neighbours. Wee merueile little, though they vexe other Princes oft, ſeing they recompence our fauour ſhewed to them, wyth contumelies, our benefites with iniuries.

he hatred f the Pope gainst England.

he Pope ringeth ot peace ut the worde to he earth, therwise hen Christ id.

We will not rehearſe here, how many our benefites beſtowed vpon Romaine biſhops, be loſt. God be with ſuch vngrate carles, vnworthy to be nombred amongeſt men: Certes, ſuche that a man may well doubt, whether God or man hath better cauſe to hate them. But ẏ we haue learned to owe good wil, euē to them that immortally hate vs, what coulde we wiſh them ſo euill, but they haue deſerued much worſe: we wiſh them this hurt alone, that God ſend them a better minde. God be thanked, we haue made all their ſeditious ententes, ſooner to ſhew their great malice towardes vs, then to do vs much hurt: yet they haue well taught vs, euermore to take good heede of our ennemyes. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leaue their whelpes amongſt the lambes of our flocke. When we be weary of our wealth, wee will euen doe then, as they would haue vs now do. No, no, as long as we ſhal ſee his heart ſo good towardes vs, we truſt vppon hys warning, we ſhall well prouide to withſtand hys cruell malice. No, let him now, ſpende his deceites, when they can hurt none but ſuch as would deceiue, and are deceiued.

enefites ast away pon the ope.

They haue by ſundry waies, made vs priuy, howe much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts, to ſee the iudgement of Iulye, of Clement the 7. of Paule the 3. nothing to be regarded wᵗ vs. They be afraide, if wee ſhoulde ſuſtaine no hurt becauſe wee iuſtly reiected their primacie, that other Princes woulde begin to doe lykewyſe, and to ſhake of their ſhoulders, the heauy burthens that they ſo long haue borne, againſte Scripture, all right and reaſon. They be ſory to ſee the way ſtopped, ẏ now their tyranny, auarice, and pride cā haue no paſſage into England, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to toſſe, to trouble al men. They can ſcarſe ſuffer priuiledges, that is to ſay, licence to ſpoyle our Citizens, geuen them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorful cuſtome, to be taken frō them. They thinke it vnlawful, that we require things lawful of them that will be vnder no lawes. They thinke, wee doe them wrong, becauſe we will not ſuffer them to do vs wrong any longer. They ſee their marchandiſe to be baniſhed, to be forbidden. They ſee, that we will buy no longer, chalke for cheeſe. They ſee they haue loſt a faire fleſe, vengeable ſorie, that they can diſpatch no more pardons, diſpenſations, totquots, with the reſt of their baggage and tromperie. England is no more a babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they doe fooliſhly, that giue golde for leade, more weight of that then they receiue of this. They paſſe not, though Peter & Paules faces be grauen in the lead, to make fooles faine. No, we be ſorie that they ſhoulde abuſe holy Saints viſages, to the begiling of the world.

he Popes arles not eared in ngland,

he Popes rumpery ispatched ut of England.

olde geuē r leade.

Surely, except God take away our right wittes, not only his authority ſhalbe driuē out for euer, but his name alſo ſhortly ſhall be forgotten in England. Wee will from henceforth, aſke counſel of him and his, when we luſt to be deceiued, when we couet to be in error, when we deſire to offend God, trouth, and honeſty. If a man may geſſe the whole worke by the foundation, where deceits beginneth the worke, can any other then deceits be builded vpō thys foundation? What can you looke for in thys Mantuan councel, other then the oppreſſion of truth & true religion? If there be any thing well done, thinke as euery mā doth, biſhops of Rome to be accuſtomed to do a few things wel that many euill may the better be taken at theyr handes. They when they luſt, can yeelde ſome part of theyr ryghte. They are content, that ſome of their decrees, ſome of their errours & abuſes be reprehended: but they are neuer more to be ſcared, then when they ſhewe themſelues moſt gētle. For if they graunt a few, they aſke many: if they leaue a litle, they will be ſure of a great deale. Scarſe a man, he may know how to handle himſelf, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea when they bleſſe him: which ſeldome doe good, but for an intent to do euil. Certainly come who ſo will to theſe ſhops of deceits, to theſe faires of frauds, we wil loſe no parte of our right in comming at his call, that ought to be called, and not to call. We wil neither come at Mantua, nor ſend thether for this matter. &c.

od graũt.

e Popes ndation ll deceite.

e Pope h a fewe ges wel, many lls may better ceede.

The pope ought to be called and not to call.

And ſo the king proceeding in the ſayde hys Proteſtation, declareth moreouer, how the Pope, after he had ſummoned his Councell firſt to be kept at Mantua, the 23. of May, An. 1537. ſhortly after directed out an other Bull, to prorogate the ſame Councell to the month of Nouember, pretending for his excuſe, ẏ the Duke of Mantua woulde not ſuffer him to keepe any Councel there, vnles he maintained a number of warriors, for defence of the town. And therfore in his latter bull, he prorogeth this aſſemble, commaunding Patriarkes, Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Abbots, and other of the ſpiritualtie, by the vertue of obedience and vnder paine of curſing, to be preſent, but ſheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whether they ſhoulde come. And in very deede no great matter, though no place were named. For as good coūcel no where to be called, as where it could not be. And aſwell no place ſerued him, that intended no Councell, as all places. And to ſay truth, much better no place to be named, then to name ſuche, as he purpoſed not to come too: for ſo ſhoulde hee breake no promiſe, which maketh none. And ſo going forward in his oration, toward the latter ende, he thus inferreth by his wordes of Proteſtation, ſaying.

The Pope againe prorogeth his Councell.

No, we will the Pope and his adherents to vnderſtand that, that we oft haue ſayd, and now ſay, and euer will ſay: He nor his hath no authoritie, no iuriſdiction in England. Wee giue him no more then hee hath, that is neuer a deale. That which he hath vſurped againſt Gods lawe, & extorted by violēce, we by good right, take from him again. But he & his wil ſay: we gaue them a primacie. We heare them well. We gaue it you in dede. If you haue authority vpon vs, as long as our cōſent giueth it you, and you euermore wil make your plee vpon our conſent, then let it haue euen an ende, where it began: we cōſent no longer, your authoritie muſt nedes be gone. If we being deceiued by falſ pretenſe of euil alledged ſcriptures, gaue to you ẏ ye ought to haue refuſed: why may we not, our error nowe perceiued, your deceite eſpied, take it againe? We princes wrote our ſelues to be inferours to popes. As long as wee thought ſo, we obeyed them as our ſuperiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they haue no great cauſe to marueill, if we hereafter doe not as we did, both the lawes cyuill, and alſo the lawes of God, be on our ſide. For a free man borne doth not loſe his liberty, no nor hurt the plee of his libertie, though he write himſelfe a bond man.

Princes as they gaue the Pope primacye, ſo they take it frō him agayne.

Againe, if they leane to cuſtome, we ſend them to ſaint Ciprian, which ſaith that cuſtome, if trouth be not ioyned with it, is nothing, but erroris vetuſtas, that is, an old error. Chriſt ſayd: Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita: I am ẏ way trouth and life. He neuer ſayd: Ego ſum conſuetudo, I am the cuſtome. Wherfore, ſeeing cuſtome ſerueth you on ẏ one ſide, and Scripture vs vppon the other, are ye able to matche vs? In how many places doth Chriſt moniſh you to ſeek no primacie, to preferre your ſelues before no body: no, to be obedient vnto all creatures? Your old title, Seruus ſeruorum, euill agreeth with your new forged dignitie. But we will not tary in matters playne: we onely deſire God, ẏ Ceſar & other Chriſtian Princes, would agree vpō ſome holy Councell, where trouth may be tried and Religiō ſet vp, which hath bene hurt by nothing ſo ſore, as by general not generall Councels. Errours and abuſes grow to faſt. Erudimini, erudimini qui iudicatis terram: Get you learning you ẏ iudge the earth: & excogitate ſome remedy for theſe ſo many diſeaſes of ẏ ſick Church. They that be wiſeſt, do diſpayre of a generall Councel, wherfore we think it now beſt, that euery Prince call a Councell prouincial, and euery Prince to redreſſe his owne Realme. We make all men priuy, what we thinke beſt to be done for the redreſſe of religion. If they like it, we doubt not, but they wil follow it, or ſome other better. Our truſt is, that all Princes will ſo handle themſelues in this behalfe, that Princes may enioy their own, and Prieſts of Rome content themſelues with that they ought to haue. Princes as we truſt, will no longer nouriſh wolues whelpes: they wil ſubſcribe no more to popiſh pride, to the Papacie. &c.

Cuſtome.

The Popes title and his dignitye agree not to geather.

Beſt that euery Prince reforme his owne realme and tary not for generall Councells.

Fauour our doinges, O Chriſten Princes. Your honor & ancient Maieſtie is reſtored. Remēber, there is nothing pertaining ſo muche to a Princes honour, as to ſet forth truth, and to helpe religion. Take you heed that their deceite worke not more miſchief, then your vertue can doe good: & euerlaſting warre we would all Princes had with this Papacie. As for their Decrees, ſo harken to them, that if in this Mantua aſſemble, thynges be well done, ye take them, but not as authoriſed by them, but that trouth and thyngs that mainteyne Religiō, are to be taken at all mēs hādes. And euē as we will admit thynges well made, ſo if there be any thyng determined in preiudice of trouth, for maintenaūce of their euill grounded primacy, or that may hurt ẏ authoritie of kings, we proteſt vnto ẏ whole world, that we neither allow it, nor will at any tyme allow it.

Ye haue, Chriſten Readers, our mynde cōcernyng the generall Councell. we thinke you all ſee, that Paule & his Cardinals, Byſhops, Abbots, Monkes, Friers, with the reſt of the rablemēt, do nothing leſſe intēd, then the knowledge or ſearch of trouth. Ye ſee, this is no tyme meete, Mātua no place meete, for a generall Coūcell. And though they were both meete, yet except ſome other cal this Coūcell, you ſee, that we neither neede to come, nor to ſēd. You haue heard how euery Prince in his owne Realme, may quiet thynges amiſſe. If there be any of you, that can ſhew vs a better way, we promiſe wt all harty deſire, to do that, that ſhalbe thought beſt for the ſetlyng of Religion, & that we wil leaue our owne aduiſes, if any mā ſhew vs better. which mynde of ours, we moſt hartly pray G O D, that gaue it vs, not onely to encreaſe in vs, but alſo to ſend it vnto all Chriſten Princes, all Chriſten Prelates, and all Chriſten people.

A little before the death of Queene Anne, there was a Parliamēt at weſtminſter, wherin was geuē to the kyng by cōſent of the Abbots, all ſuch houſes of religiō, as were vnder 300. markes. which was a ſhrewde prognoſticate of the ruine of greater houſes, which in deede folowed ſhortly after, as was & might eaſely be perceaued before of many, who thē ſayd: that the low buſhes and brambles were cut downe before, but great okes would folow after.

The Papiſtes purpoſe diſapointed.
Queene Iane maryed to the king.

Although the proceedyng of theſe thyngs did not well like the myndes of the Popes frendes in Englād, yet notwithſtandyng they began agayne to take ſome breath of comfort, when they ſawe the foreſayd Queene Anne diſpatched. Neuertheleſſe they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe (as is aforeſhewed) and that doblewiſe. For firſt, after they had their willes of Queene Anne, the Lord rayſed vp an other Queene, not greatly for their purpoſe, with her ſonne kyng Edward. And alſo for that the Lord Crōwell the ſame tyme began to growe in authoritie. who like a mighty piller ſet vp in the Churche of Chriſt, was enough alone to confounde and ouerthrow all the malignant deuiſes of the aduerſaries, ſo long as God gaue him in lyfe here to continue: whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth more at large.

L. Cromwell groweth in authoritye.

Alteration of religion a little beginneth.

Shortly after this foreſayd Mariage of the kyng with this Queene Iane Semer aboue mentioned, in ẏ moneth of Iune, durying the continuation of the Parliament, by the conſent of the Clergy holdyng thē a ſolemne conuocation in the Church of S. Paule, a booke was ſet forth conteynyng certaine Articles of religon neceſſary to be taught to the people, wherein they intreated ſpecially but of three Sacramentes: Baptiſme, Penaunce, & the Lordes Supper. where alſo diuers other thynges were publiſhed concernyng the alteration of certaine pointes of Religion, as that certaine holy dayes were forbiddē, and many Abbayes began to bee ſuppreſſed. For the whiche cauſe, the rude multitude of Lincolneſhyre fearing the vtter ſubuerſion of their old Religion, wherein they had bene ſo long nouſled, did riſe vp in a great cōmotion, to the nūber well neare of 20. thouſād, hauyng for their Captaine, a Monke named D. Makerell, calling himſelfe then Captaine Cobler: but theſe rebels being repreſſed by the kyngs power, and deſiryng pardon, ſoone brake vp their aſſembly. For they hearing of the royal army of the king cōming againſt them wyth his owne perſone there preſent, & fearing what would follow of this, firſt the noble men and Gentlemen, which before fauoured them, began to withdraw themſelues, ſo that they were deſtitute of Captaines: and at the laſte, they in writing made certaine petitions to the king, proteſting that they neuer intended hurt toward his royal perſon. Theſe petitions the king receiued, and made thys anſwere againe to them as followeth.

Commotion in Lincolnſhire.

A monke ſtirrer of the cōmotiō.

The kings anſwere to the rebels.

The kinges aunſwere to the rebels.

FIrſt, we begin and make anſwere to the fourth and ſixt articles, becauſe vpon them dependeth much of the reſt. Concerning chooſing of Counſailours, I neuer haue red, heard, nor knowen, that Princes, Counſailours and Prelates, ſhould be appoynted by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were perſons meete, or of habilitie to diſcerne and chooſe meete and ſufficient Counſailours for a Prince: How preſumptuous then are ye the rude cōmons of one ſhire, and that one the moſt baſe of ẏ whole realme, and of the leaſt experience, to finde fault with your Prince, for the electing of his Counſailours and Prelates, and to take vpon you, contrary to Gods lawe, and mans lawes, to rule your Prince, whom ye are boūd by al law, to obey and ſerue with both your liues, landes and goodes, and for no worldly cauſe, to withſtand?

As to the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes & Monaſteries, we will that ye and al our ſubiects ſhould wel know, that this is graunted vs by all the nobles ſpirituall & temporall of thys realme, and by al the commons in the ſame, by Acte of Parlament, and not ſet forth by any Counſailour or Counſailours vpon their mere wil and fantaſy, as ye full falſely would perſwade our realme to beleeue.

For ſup- preſſi religio houſes.

And where ye alleage, that the ſeruice of God is muche diminiſhed, the trueth thereof is contrary: for there bee no houſes ſuppreſſed where God was well ſerued, but where moſt vice, miſchiefe, and abomination of liuing was vſed, and that doth well appeare by their owne confeſſions ſubſcribed wyth their owne handes in the time of their viſitations, and yet we ſuffred a great many of them (more then we needed by the Acte) to ſtand: wherin, if they amend not their liuing, we feare, we haue more to aunſwere for, then for the ſuppreſſion of all the reſt. And as for the hoſpitalitie for the reliefe of the poore, we wonder ye be not aſhamed to affirme, that they haue bene a great reliefe of poore people, when a great many or the moſt parte hath not paſt foure or fiue religious perſons in them, & diuers but one, which ſpent the ſubſtaunce of the goodes of their houſes in nouriſhing of vice and abhominable liuing. Nowe, what vnkindnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all our ſubiects that be of that minde, which hadde leuer ſuche an vnthriftie ſorte of vicious perſons ſhoulde enioye ſuche poſſeſſions, profites and emoluments, as grow of the ſayd houſes, to the maintenance of their vnthriftie life, then we your naturall Prince, ſoueraigne Lorde and King, whych doth & hath ſpent more in your defences of our owne, then ſixe times they be worth?

In theſe ſitation religio houſes, horrible to read what wi kedneſ abomina was the founde regyſte the viſi

As touching the acte of vſes, we maruaile what madnes is in your braine, or vpon what ground ye wold take authority vpon you, to cauſe vs to breake thoſe lawes and ſtatutes, which by all the noble Knightes and Gentlemen of this Realme (whom the ſame chiefly touched) hath bene graunted and aſſented too: ſeeing in no maner of things, it toucheth you the baſe commons of our realme.

The a vſes.

Alſo, the groundes of all thoſe vſes were falſe, and neuer admitted by law, but vſurped vpon the prince, contrary to all equitie and iuſtice, as it hath bene openly both diſputed & declared by all the well learned mē in the Realm of Englande, in weſtminſter Hall: whereby yee may well perceiue, howe madde and vnreaſonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the reſt, and howe vnmeete it is for vs, & diſhonorable, to graunt or aſſent vnto, and leſſe meete and decent for you in ſuch a rebellious ſort, to demaūde the ſame of your Prince.

As touching the fifteene which yee demaunde of vs to be releaſed, thinke yee that we be ſo faint hearted, that perforce ye of one ſhire (were ye a great many mo) could compell vs with your inſurrections & ſuch rebellious demeanour, to remitte the ſame? or thinke yee that any man will or may take you to be true ſubiects, that firſt make & ſhewe a louing graunt, and then perforce would compel your ſoueraigne Lord and King to releaſe the ſame? The time of paiment whereof is not yet come: yea and ſeeing the ſame will not counteruaile the tenth peny of the charges, whych we haue and daily do ſuſteine for your tuition & ſafegarde: make you ſure by your occaſiōs of theſe your ingratitudes, vnnaturalnes, and vnkindnes to vs now adminiſtred, ye geue vs cauſe (which hath alwayes bene aſmuche dedicate to your wealth, as euer was King) not ſo muche to ſet our ſtudy for ẏ ſetting forward of the ſame, ſeing how vnkindly and vntruly ye deale now wyth vs, wythout any cauſe or occaſion. And doubt yee not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnes in you to conſider your duetie of allegiāce to your king & ſoueraigne Lord, the reſt of our Realm (we doubt not) hath, & we and they ſhall ſo looke on thys cauſe, ẏ we truſt it ſhalbe to your confuſion, if according to your former letters you ſubmit not your ſelues.

The fiftene.

As touching the firſt frutes, we let you to witte, it is a thing graunted vs by Acte of Parlament alſo, for the ſupportation of part of the great and exceſſiue charges, which we ſupport & beare for the maintenaunce of your wealthes and other our ſubiects: and we haue knowen alſo that yee our commons haue much complained in times paſſed, that the moſt part of our goodes, landes, and poſſeſſions of the Realme, were in the ſpirituall mens handes: and yet bearing

The firſt

[be]aring vs in hande, that yee be as louing ſubiectes to vs as may be, yee can not finde in your hearts, that your Prince and ſoueraigne Lord ſhould haue any part thereof (and yet it is nothing preiudiciall vnto you our commons) but doe rebel and vnlawfully riſe againſt your Prince, contrary to the duety of allegiaunce & Gods commaundement. Syrs, remember your follies and traiterous demeanours, and ſhame not your natiue country of England, nor offend no more ſo greuouſly your vndoubted king & natural prince, which alwayes hathe ſhewed him ſelfe moſt louinge vnto you, and remember your duetie of allegiance, and that yee are bound to obey vs your king, both by Gods commaundement, and lawe of nature.

Wherfore we charge you eftſones vppon the foreſayde bondes and paines, that yee wythdrawe your ſelues to your owne houſes euery manne, and no more to aſſemble contrary to our lawes and your allegiaunces, and to cauſe the prouokers of you to thys miſchiefe, to be deliuered to our Lieutenaunts handes or ours, and you your ſelues to ſubmitte you to ſuche condigne puniſhment, as wee and our nobles ſhal thinke you worthy: for doubt you not els, that we & our nobles can nor wil ſuffer this iniury at your hands vnreuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of ſoueraignetie, & ſhew your ſelues as bounden and obedient ſubiects, and no more to entermeddle your ſelues from henceforth wyth the waightie affaires of the Realme, the direction whereof onely appertaineth to vs your king, and ſuch noblemen and counſailours, as we liſt to electe and chooſe to haue the ordering of the ſame.

And thus wee pray vnto almightie God, to geue you grace to doe your dueties, to vſe your ſelues towardes vs like true and faithfull ſubiectes, ſo as wee may haue cauſe to order you thereafter: and rather obediently to conſent amongeſt you, to deliuer into the hands of our Lieutenant, a hundreth perſons to be ordered according to their demerites, at our will and pleaſure, then by your obſtinacie and wilfulnes, to put your ſelues, your wiues, children, lands, goodes and cattels, beſide the indignation of God, in the vtter aduenture of total deſtruction, & vtter ruine, by force and violence of the ſword.

The commotion of Lyncolnſhire aſſwaged.

After the Lyncolneſhyre menne had receiued thys the Kynges aunſwere aforeſayd, made to theyr petitions, eche miſtruſting other, who ſhoulde be noted to be the greateſt medler, euen very ſodeinly they began to ſhrinke and out of hand, they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his owne houſe in peace: but the Captaines of theſe rebels eſcaped not all cleare, but were after apprehended, and had as they deſerued. Ex Edw. Hallo.

A Popiſhe inſurrection in yorkſhire.

After thys, immediately wythin ſixe dayes, vpon the ſame, followed a newe inſurrection in Yorkeſhire for the ſame cauſes, through the inſtigation and lying tales of ſeditious perſons, eſpecially Monkes and Prieſts, making them beleeue, that their ſiluer chalices, croſſes, iewels, and other ornaments ſhoulde be taken out of their Churches, and that no man ſhould be maried, or eate any good meate in his houſe, but ſhould geue tribute therfore to the King: but their ſpeciall malice was againſt Cromwell, and certaine other Counſailours.

The badges of the rebels.

The number of theſe rebelles were neare about 40. M. hauing for their badges the 5. woundes, wyth the ſigne of the Sacrament, and Ieſus wrytten in the middeſt.

A holy Pilgrimage.

This their deuiliſh rebellion, they termed by the name of a holy pilgrimage, but they ſerued a wrong and a naughty Saint. They had alſo in the field their ſtreamers and banners, whereuppon was painted Chriſt hanging vpon the Croſſe on the one ſide, and a chalice with a painted cake in it, on the other ſide, with other ſuch enſignes of like hypocriſie and fayned ſanctitie, pretending thereby to fight for the faith, and right of holy Church.

The kinges power agaynſt the rebels in the North.

As ſoone as the king was certified of this newe ſeditious inſurrection, hee ſent with all ſpeede againſt them, the Duke of Northfolke, Duke of Suffolke, Marques of Excetor, Earle of Shrewſbury & other, wyth a great armye, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

The blinde ſtubburnnes of ſuperſtitious people, rebelling where they haue no cauſe.

Theſe noble Captaines and Counſailours thus well furniſhed with habilement of warre, approching towarde the rebels, and vnderſtādіng both their number, and howe they were ful bent to battaile, firſt with policy went about to aſſay and practiſe how to appeaſe all without bloudſheding: but the Northern men ſtoutly and ſturdely ſtanding to their wicked cauſe and wretched enterpriſe, wold in no caſe relent frō their attempts: which when the nobles perceiued, & ſaw no other way to pacifie their furious mindes vtterly ſette on miſchiefe, determined vppon a battel. The place was appoynted, the day aſſigned, and the houre ſet, but ſee ẏ wonderous worke of Gods gracious prouidēce.

A great miracle of God in defēding the cauſe of his Goſpell.

The night before the day of battaile came (as teſtifieth Edward Hall) fell a ſmall raine, nothing to ſpeake of: but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very ſmall forde, and that men, in maner ẏ day before, might haue gone drie ſhod ouer, ſodenly roſe of ſuche a height, deepenes, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabite, could tell that euer they ſawe afore: ſo ẏ the day, euen when the houre of battayle ſhoulde come, it was impoſſible for the one army to come at the other.

After this, ẏ appoyntment made betweene both ẏ armies being thus diſappoynted, as it is to be thought, onely by God (who extended his great mercye, and had compaſſion on the great number of innocent perſons, that in that deadly ſlaughter had like to haue bene murthered) could take no place: then by the great wiſedome and policie of ẏ ſaid Captaines, a communication was had, & a pardon of the kings Maieſtie obteined, for al the captayns and chiefe doers of this inſurrection, and they promiſed ẏ ſuch thinges as they found themſelues agreeued with all they ſhoulde gently be heard, and theyr reaſonable peticions graunted, & that their articles ſhoulde be preſented to the king, that by his highneſſe authoritie, and wiſedome of his Counſayle, all thinges ſhoulde be brought to good order and concluſion: and with this order euery man quietly departed, and thoſe which before were bent as hote as fire, to fight, being letted therof by God, went now peaceably to their houſes, and were as cold as water. A Domino factum eſt iſtud.

Popiſhe prieſtes rebelling againſt the king.

In the time of this ruffle in Yorkeſhyre, and the king lying the ſame time at Windſore there was a Butcher dwelling within 5. miles of the ſaide towne of Windſore, whiche cauſed a Prieſt to preach, that all they that tooke part with the Yorkſhire men, whom he called Gods people did fight in Gods quarell: for the whiche both he and the prieſt were apprehended, and executed.

Diuers other prieſtes alſo, with other, about the ſame tyme committing in like ſorte treaſon agaynſt the king, ſuffered the like execution. Such a buſines had the Kyng then to ridde the realme from the ſeruitude of the Romiſh yokes.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam euertere ſedem.

But Gods hād did ſtill worke with all, in vpholding hys Goſpell and troden truth, againſt all ſeditious ſturres, cōmotions, rebellions, and what ſoeuer was to the contrary as both by theſe ſtoryes aforepaſſed, and by ſuche alſo as hereafter follow, may notoriouſly appeare.

Anno. 1537.

The yere next after this, which was of the Lord. 1537. after that great execution had bene done vpon certayne rebellious Prieſtes and a fewe other lay men, with certayne noble perſons alſo and gentlemen, amongeſt whome was the Lord Darcy, the Lorde Huſſy, Syr Robert Conſtable Syr Thomas Percy, Syr Frances Bygot, Syr Stephen Hameton, Syr Iohn Bulmer, and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempeſt, with the Abbottes of Gerney, and of Riuers. &c. in the month of October, the ſame yeare folowing, was borne Prince Edward. Shortly after whoſe birth, Queene Iane his mother, the ſecond daye after, dyed in childbed, & left the king agayne a widower, which ſo continued the ſpace of two yeres together. Vpon the death of whiche Queene Iane, and vppon the birth of prince Edward her ſonne, theſe two verſes were made which follow.

Prince Edward borne.

Queene Iane dyed in childebed.

Phœnix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Secula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.

These verſes were thought to be made by M. Armigyl Wade.

Here is by the waye to be vnderſtand, that during all this ſeaſon, ſince the time that the king of Englande had reiected the pope out of the Realme, both the Emperour, ẏ French king, and the king of Scottes, with other forreine potentates (which were yet in ſubiection vnder the Pope) bare no him do great good fauour inwardly, what ſoeuer outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking priuy ſetters on, nor ſecret working among themſelues, how to compaſſe vngracious miſchiefes, if God by cōtrary occaſions had not ſtopped their intended deuiſes. For firſt ẏ Pope had ſent Cardinall Poole to the French king, to ſtir him to warre agaynſt the realme of England.

The Pope ſtirreth warre agaynſt England by Cardinall Poole.

The Emperour, the French king, and the king of Scottes, ſet agaynſt the king of England.

Secondly where as the Frenche king, by treaty of perpetuall peace, was bound yearly to paye to the king of England at the firſt dayes of May, and Nouember about xcv. thouſand crownes of the ſumme, and odde mony, and ouer, that 10000. crownes at ẏ ſayd ij. termes, for recōpence of ſalt due, as the treates therof did purporte: that penſion remayned now vnpayed iiij. yeares and more.

Furthermore, the Emperour and the Frenche K. both reteined Granceter a traiterous rebell againſt the king, & condemned by Act of Parliament, with certayn other traitors moe, and yet would not deliuer him to the king at his earneſt ſuite and requeſt.

The Frenche king alſo digreſſing from his promiſe and treaty, made alliance wyth the Biſhop of Rome, Clement in marying the Dolphine to hys Niece, called Katherine de Medicis.

The ſayd Frenche kyng moreouer, contrary to his contracte made, married his daughter to the king of Scottes. All which were preiudiciall: and put the kinge (no doubt) in ſome feare and perplexity (though otherwiſe a ſtout and valiant Prince) to ſee the Pope, the Emperour, the French king, and king of Scottes ſo bent againſt him.

And yet all this notwithſtanding, the Lord ſtill defended the iuſtnes of his cauſe againſt them all. For although the French king was ſo ſette on by the Pope, and ſo linked in mariage with the Scots, and lacked nothing now but only occaſion to inuade the realme of England: yet notwythſtanding he hearing now of the birth of Prince Edwarde, the kinges ſonne by Queene Iane, and vnderſtandinge alſo by the death of the ſayde Queene Iane, that the Kyng was a widower, and perceiuing moreouer, talk to be that the king would ioyne in mariage with the Germains, began to ware more calme and colde, and to geue much more gentle wordes, and to demeane him ſelfe more curteouſly, labouring to mary the Queene of Nauare hys ſiſter to the king.

The Ambaſſadors reſident then in France for the king, were Ste. Gardiner, with Doctor Thirleby, &c. whyche Steuen Gard. what he wrought ſecreately for the Popes deuotion, I haue not expreſſely to charge him, whether he ſo did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But thys is certaine, that when D. Boner Archdeacon then of Leiceſter, was ſente into Fraunce by the Kinge (throughe the meanes of the Lord Cromwell) to ſucceede Steuen Gardinar in Ambaſſie, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1538. he found ſuch dealing in the ſayd Biſhop of Wincheſter, as was not greatly to be truſted, beſide the vnkynde partes of the ſayde Byſhop againſt the foreſayde Boner, comming then from the King and Lorde Cromwell, as was not to be liked.

{ Anno. 1538. }

Doct. Boner, the kyngs Ambaſſadour in Fraunce

Doct. Boner in the beginning a fauourer of the truth and a Lutherane.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, & few men peraduenture woulde beleeue, the brawling matters, the priuie complaints, the contentious quarels, and bitter diſſentiõs betwene theſe two, and eſpecially what deſpightful contumelies D. Boner receiued at the hands of Wincheſter. For vnderſtande (good Reader) that this doctor Boner all this while remained yet (as he ſeemed) a good man, and was a great furtherer of the kinges proceedings, and a fauourer of Luthers doctrine, and was aduanced only by the Lorde Cromwel, whoſe promotions here to reherſe: firſt he was Archdeacon of Leyceſter, perſone of Bledon, of Derham, Cheſwike, and Cheriburton. Then was made Byſhop of Hereford, and at laſt preferred to be Biſh. of London. The chiefe of which preferments and dignities were conferred vnto him only by the meanes and fauour of the L. Cromwel, who was then his chiefe and only patrone, and ſetter vp: as the ſaid Boner himſelfe in al his letters doth manifeſtly proteſt and declare. The Copies of which his letters I could heere produce and exhibite, but for prolonging my ſtory with ſuperfluous matter. Yet that the worlde and all poſteritie may ſee, how the comming vp of D. Boner was onely by the Goſpell (howſoeuer he was after vnkind vnto the Goſpell) this one letter of his, which I wil heere inſerre, written to the Lorde Cromwel out of Fraunce, may ſtand for a perpetuall teſtimonie, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

L. Cromwel the onely ſetter vp of Doct. Boner.

Doct. Boners cõming vp, was by the Goſpell.

✱ A letter of Doctor Boner the kings Ambaſſadour reſident in Fraunce, ſent to the Lord Cromwell, declaring the order of his promotions and comming vp.

Out of Boners owne hand writing.

MY very ſingular eſpeciall good Lord, as one moſt bounden, I moſt humbly commende mee vnto your honourable good Lordſhip. And wheras in times paſſed in hath liked the ſame, without any my deſertes or merites, euen only of your ſingular exceding goodnes, to beſtowe a great deale of loue, beneuolence, and good affection vpon me ſo poore a man, and of ſo ſmall qualities, expreſsing in deede, ſondry wayes, the good effectes therof to my great preferment, I was very much bounde thereby vnto your honourable good Lordſhippe, and thought it alway my duetie (as in deede it was) both to beare my true hart againe vnto your Lordſhip, and alſo, remembring ſuche kindnes, to doe vnto the ſame all ſuch ſeruice & pleaſure as might then lie in my ſmal power to do.

D. Boner cõfeſſeth himſelfe much bound to the L. Crõwell.

But where of your infinite & ineſtimable goodnes, it hath further liked you of late, firſt to aduance me vnto the office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as my ſoueraigne Lorde is, vnto the Emperour and French king, and next after to procure and obtayne mine aduauncement to ſo honourable a promotion as the Byſhoprike of Hereford: I muſt here knowledge the exceeding greatnes of your Lordſhippes benefite, with mine owne imbecillitie to recompence it, and ſay (as Virgil writeth) Grates perſoluere dignas non opis eſt noſtræ.

Boner pre-
ferred to
Byſhop
of Heref
by the L.
Crom

Surely my good Lorde, I neither am, neither ſhall be able to requite thus your Lordſhips moſte ſpeciall kindneſſe and bountifull goodnes at any time, vnleſſe I ſhoulde vſe that ciuile remeady called in law acceptilation, which great detters eſpecially, are accuſtomed to procure at the handes of their creditours: whereby yet neuertheles your goodnes the onely doer thereof, ſhould rather be encreaſed, then my duetie towardes the ſame, thereby diminiſhed. And ceſſio Bonorum (the onely extreeme refuge and helpe of poore detters deuiſed alſo in ✱ ciuile) myghte ſomewhat help herein, ſauing that it is not poſsible that I ſhall come Ad tam pinguem fortunam (Wherupon that remedy is grounded) whereby I may recompence and requite this dette worthely.

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So that in cõcluſion there reſteth this, that vnleſſe your Lordſhips ſelf do loſe me as you haue boũd me, I ſhal (and that ful gladly) remaine cõtinually your moſt boundẽ beadeſmen. And Syr I moſt humbly beſeeche your good Lordſhip, in the honor of God, ſeeing this thing is begonne, and auaunced onely by your goodneſſe and meanes you will to the entent the acte may be wholely your owne, ſtretche out your goodneſſe, not ſuffering the reſt to be perfited otherwiſe thẽ by your own hands: wherin as I muſt & ſhall knowledge my ſelfe to be exceedingly beholden vnto your good Lordſhippe: ſo ſhal the ſame more eſteeme and ſet by, during my life, hauing ſo attained it by your onely goodnes: And verely, if your good Lordſhip be not better to me heerein then I can, vnleſſe it be of your owne goodnes, deſire you, I knowe not howe I ſhall be able to ouercome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore, were right honeſt and good, yea, and ſuche as one of farre better qualities then I was or am of, ought therewith to haue beene contented, yet conſidering that of diuers of them, it is to witte, Leiceſter, Bledon, Derham, Cheſwicke, and Cherybutton, the firſt fruites, tenthes, and charges borne, I haue not receiued clerely one penie, I am now neuer a whit the more able to beare the great charges of this.

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I ſhall therefore herein and in all things els pertaining heereunto, ſeeing your Lordſhippe is ſo great a patrone, and will nedes binde me for euer to be your owne (as in deede I will) referre all together vnto your goodneſſe, beſeeching you to take the order and diſpoſition of all into your handes. I cannot tell whether the late Biſhop ſtandeth bounden for the firſt fruits, tenthes, or other dueties, which by ſtature may be demanded of his ſucceſſour, but I feare it greatly, and beſeeche your Lordſhip that I may be holpen therein. My charges nowe heere enforceth me the more to ſpeake and trouble your good Lordſhip, which at the beginninge are not a fewe, and yet not ended. Of my fidelitie to your good I haue of fiue hundreth crownes, remaining fortie, beſtowed vpon horſes, mule, mulet, raiment, and other neceſſaries, ſtanding detter to M Thirlby neuertheles, and alſo to M. Doctour Heynes for one hundreth markes or faſt vpon, to them both. And beſides this (ſuche is my chaunce nowe at the beginning) diuers of my ſeruauntes haue fallen ſicke, being in great pearill and daunger, putting me to no little charges.

Ouer and beſides theſe diſpleaſures comming vnto me, by not hauing their ſeruice, and other to keepe them, and alſo wantinge mine other ſeruaunts in Englande, which thoughe I haue ſent for them, yet neither they, neither my horſes or ſtuff are come, I muſt and doe take patience, truſting it will mende.

Vpon the cloſing vp of this letter and depeache of this bearer, God willing I will packe vp my geare, and to morow betime followe the French kinge, who yeſterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haſte towardes Paris. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and wel preſerue your good Lordſhip in health. At Bloyſe the 2. of September in the euening.

Scribled by the weary hand of him that is
bounden to be and is in dede, your Lord-
ſhips beadeſman & at commaundement.
Edmund Boner.

Diuers other Letters beſide this, of Doct. Boner remayne in wrytyng vpon the like effect and purport, which here alſo I might adde for a further demõſtration hereof: but this one in ſtede of many, may ſuffice. Now to our purpoſe agayne: which is to declare how this Doct. Boner in the tyme of his firſt ſpringyng vp, ſhewed him ſelfe a good man, & a faſt frend to the Goſpell of Chriſt & to the kyngs procedynges & contrariwiſe, how Steuen Gardiner did halt then both with God & with the kyng. Alſo what vnkyndnes and contumelies the ſayd Boner receaued at his handes: what rancour and hartburnyng was betwene them: and what complayntes the one moueth agaynſt the other, remaineth cõſequẽtly by their wrytyngs & recordes to be opened. For the more euident demonſtration whereof, they that haue the letters of yͤ ſayd Doct. Boner written from Fraunce to the kyng, and the Lord Cromwell may right well perceaue. And firſt to note what a Goſpeller he

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he was, in his letter from Roan, hee ſpeaking of hys truſtie companion, and bearer of hys letters (who was belike D. Heines) he geueth thys report both of him, and of hymſelfe, ſaying:

The wordes of Boner declaring himſelfe to be a Goſpeller.

If this bearer had beene ſo much deſirous to pleaſe the Emperour and followe his religion, as he was ſtudious to ſerue truely your grace: and to aduaunce the truthe: he had not wanted, &c. And againe:

Boner recompted a Lutherane.

And beſides that he hath not wanted the euil report of haughtie fellowes, naming him a Lutherane: wherein for companie I was ioyned, ſuch was their goodneſſe, &c.

Againe in an other letter written to the Lord Cromwel theſe wordes he hath, ſpeaking of his companion Doctor Heines:

Doct. Boner and Doct. Heynes noted for Lutheranes.

Eſpecially for that the ſaide D. Heines by his vprighte dealing herein, and profeſſing the truth, neither gate thanks nor reward, but was blaſed abroad by honeſt folks to be a Lutherane. The les hee pleaſeth in Spayne, the better argument it is, that his entent was to ſerue none but the kings highneſſe, and the truth, &c.

And furthermore in an other minute wryting to the L. Cromwel of Steuen Win. and of his churliſhnes toward him, thus he ſayth:

Wyncheſter agaynſt Boner.

And there founde I in M. Doct. Thirlby muche kindneſſe, and in the Biſhop of Wincheſter as little. &c. And in the ſame letter it followeth:

And if I had receiued any intertainement of the Biſh. of Wincheſter, I would likewiſe haue ſent you worde. I thanke God, I neede not, for I had nothing of him. &c.

Alſo in an other letter the ſayde Boner wryting to the L. Cromwel concerning one Barnabe, and him ſelf, what colde welcome they both had at the handes of Wincheſter, with theſe wordes folowing.

Ste. Wint. againſt Barnabe, becauſe the Lord Cromwell fauoured him.

And my good Lorde I beſeech you to continue your good fauour to this honeſt poore man Barnabe, who is body and ſoule aſſuredly your owne, and as well beloued of the B. of Wincheſter as I am: and of my trouth I ſuppoſe and beleue verely, one of the chief grudges the Biſhop hath againſt him, is becauſe your Lordſhip of your charitable goodnes doth loue and fauour him.

An other letter of Doctor Boner to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of Wincheſter, and alſo declaring how he was promoted by the ſayd L. Cromwell, to the Biſhopprike of Herforde.

MY very ſingular eſpeciall good Lorde, according to my moſt bounden duetie, I recommend me right humbly vnto your good Lordſhip, aduertiſing the ſame, that the 29. of the laſt, about 4. of the clocke at after noone, there arriued heere Bernabe wyth your Lordſhippes letters dated at Ewrige, the 24. of the ſame, and thinking that at his ſayde arriuall, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, M. Thirleby and I had bene all lodged together, where in very deede we had ſeuerall lodgings, he went ſtraight to the Biſhop of Wincheſters lodging (M. Thirleby and I beinge then walkinge in the fieldes) and the Biſhop incontinently enquired of him, not howe the kings grace did, as was his duetie: but (as Barnabe tolde me) inquired of him where he left the kings grace at his comming away whether hee had brought any letters for him: whether M. Brian and M. Wallop were in the Courte at his departing: and finally what newes wer in England. To the which queſtions, when Barnabe had made aunſwer, ſaying, that he left the kings grace at Byrling, and that M. Brian, and M. Wallop were in the Courte at his departing, and withall that hee had no letters from them, ne any other to him, and finally, for the newes that the kinges highnes had geuen me the Biſhoppricke of Herforde: the Biſhop (as Barnabe reporteth, and I doubt not but hee ſayeth truely) caſte downe his head, making a plaice mouth with his lippe, and afterwarde lifting vp his eyes and handes (as curſing the day & houre it chaunced) ſeemed ſo euill contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnabe drinke, or tarie ſupper, ne yet further common with him, but turning from him called one M. Medowe, and ſhewed him of the ſame tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heuily, ſemblably as he doeth euery thing, that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnabe perceiued that I was not there, and that alſo this comfortable countenaunce and good cheare made vnto him, he went thence and ſearched mee, who then was walking with M. Thirlby (as is afore) and by chance commoning with him of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, geuing him aduertiſement that he ſhould not be abuſed by the ſayde Biſhop, whome I ſayde made of him not for any harty loue I thought he bare vnto him, but either in deſpite of me, to whome hee thought it ſhoulde bee greatly diſpleaſaunt: either els vnder colour thereof, and by familiaritie, for to grope him and to ſerue his owne craftie purpoſes by him And ſone after the departure of M. Thirlby from me, who then went to the Biſhop to ſupper, I returned towardes my lodging, and by the way mette with Barnabe, whoſe ſalutation was after that ſorte, that it cauſed mee to wonder at it, eſpecially I hauing no expectation or hope of ſuche thing as he rehearſed vnto me. And ſurely my good Lord, I wold not beleue him in the thing he tolde, till I perceiued the ſame by the ſuperſcription of youre Lordſhips letter, which he afterwardes deliuered vnto me: declaring withall (to my great comforte) the proſperous eſtate of the kings highneſſe and of your good Lordſhip. Which known, I beſought almighty God to graunt the long continuaunce thereof, and alſo as was my duetie, did geue moſte humble thankes to the kings highneſſe and to your ſaide good Lordſhip. And hereupon, keeping your Lordſhips letters ſtill in my hands vnbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of M Thirleby which was in my way, to communicate theſe my newes and great good fortune with him, and not finding him there, I redde ouer your Lordſhips letters, ſending the ſame afterward to M. Thirlby, and perceiuing by Barnabe that he had other letters for me, which he tolde me he muſt deliuer vnto me ſecretely, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiuing them accordingly, did reade them ouer, both that your Lordſhips ſecond letter ſent to me, and alſo the other ſent to Maſter Wyat. &c.

The Biſh. of Wint. inquired not how the king did.

The playce mouth of Wyncheſter agaynſt Boner.

Ste. Wint. againſt Boners preferment.

Boner made Biſh. of Hertford.

See how Boner reioyceth at his great good fortune, as thoug he had not enough before hauing 4. liuinges and being meetely wel ſped for one man.

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden beadeſman, and alwayes at commaundement.
Edmund Boner.

When the king, by the aduiſe of the Lord Cromwel and other of his Counſaile had appoynted D. Edmunde Boner to returne from the Emperour, and to be reſident in Fraunce, in the place of Wincheſter and of Doct. Thirleby he ſent his letters to the ſayde B. of Wincheſter, and to M. Thirleby ſhewing his pleaſure vnto them in that behalf, with this clauſe in the ſame letters contained in expreſſe wordes as followeth:

And where the ſayde M Boner wanteth furniture of ſtuffe and plate meete for that office, our pleaſure is, that you M. Thirleby ſhall deliuer vnto him by indenture, al the plate you haue of ours in your cuſtodie, and that you my Lorde of Wincheſter ſhall furniſh him with all ſuche other ſtuffe, as ſhall be neceſſarie for hym. Wherein as you ſhall doe vnto vs pleaſure, ſo we ſhall be content at your returne, to ſatisfie you for the ſame. &c.

The kings pleaſure was not regarded of the Biſhop of Winchester.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter receiuing theſe letters from the king, and being lothe to come into England (what ſoeuer the matter was) alſo hearing that Doctoure Boner ſhould ſuccede him, his diſdainfull nature did ſtomack him exceedingly. But becauſe there was no other remedie but the kings commaundement muſt be done, firſt hee ſendeth the kings letter, with his alſo to the Emperors courte, vnto M. Boner, and to D. Heynes, willing them in all haſte to repaire to Lions wythin 2. dayes. Beſide theſe letters of Wincheſter, D. Thirleby adioyned his letters alſo wyth like quicknes to the ſaid D. Heyns and to Boner, the contents whereof here followeth:

The letter of Doct. Thirleby to Doct. Heynes and Boner.

Doct. Thirlebies quicke letter to D. Heines and Doct. Boner.

VVIth my hearty commendations, and the deſire of youre company, and nowe ſo muche rather that I ſhall thereby haue a great benefite, viz. the deliueraunce from trouble to eaſe, from a ſtraunge countrey to mine owne, from the waiting vppon *him that forceth as litle for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the ſeruice of him whoſe proſperitie and loue I accompte as my life: theſe ſhall be to pray you to make no leſſe ſpeede hether, then you would make to a good feaſt, when that you be hungrie. M. Boner ſhal know many things, but when you come I ſhal tel you more, ſo that you haſte you. Come I pray you, I woulde faine be at home. I ſaw not my *maſter theſe 4. monthes. When as you M. Boner ſhall come to Lions, it ſhalbe good to go to Bonuiſe, he is a good money maker: In faith I can write no more, but bidde you come hartily, haſtly I would haue written, and the ſoner, the better welcome to Lions, where this was geuen the laſt of Iuly.

By hym that hath loued you well,
and nowe will loue you better, if
you haſt you hether. Th. Thirlby.

* He meaneth here the French king.

* The king of England he meaneth.

At the recept of theſe letters, Doctor Boner and Doctor Heynes did putte themſelues in a readineſſe to repair incontinent vnto Lions, thinking there to haue found Win. and Thirleby, according to ẏ purport of their letters. But Wint. and Thirlby not abiding their comming, made haſt away from Lions to la Barella: where Boner riding in poſt after him, ouertooke hym. With whō what entertainment and talke he had, and what accuſations he laid to his charge, & what brauling words paſſed betwene them, and what great miſliking Boner had of him for ſpeciall cauſes heere in thys brabling matter, or brauling dialogue vnder following may appeare, which for thy recreation, and the further vnderſtanding of Wincheſters qualities, I wiſhe thee (louing Reader) to peruſe and conſider.

But firſt heere is to be noted, that the King and the L.

Cromwell, at what time they had appoynted D. Edmund Boner to be reſident ambaſſadour in Fraunce, required in their letters, that he ſhuld aduerſe them by wryting, what he miſliked in the doings and behauior of certaine perſons whom they did note then vnto him. whereupon the ſayde D. Boner ſendeth this declaration of Steuen Gardiner B. of wint. as followeth.

Out of the copy of Boners owne letters by his owne hand writing which I haue to ſhewe.

A declaration ſent by D. Boner to the Lorde Cromwel, deſcribing to him the euill behauiour of Steuen Winchester, with ſpeciall cauſes therein contained, wherfore and why he miſliked of him.

Complayntes of Doct. Boner agaynſt Steuen Gardiner.

FIrſt I miſlike in the B. of Wincheſter, that when any mã is ſent in the kings affaires, and by hys highneſſe commaundement, the Biſhoppe, vnleſſe he be the onely and chiefe inuentour of the matter and ſetter foorth of the perſon, he will not onely vſe many cauillations, but alſo vſe great ſtrangeneſſe in countenaunce and chere to the perſon that is ſent: ouer and beſides, as ſmall comfort and counſell as may be in the matter, rather diſſwading & encouraging the perſone earneſtly to ſet forthwarde his meſſage, then boldning and comforting him, as is his duety, with help & counſel to aduenture and do his beſt therein. The experience whereof I haue had my ſelfe with him, as wel at Roan the firſt time I was ſent to Rome, commanded by the kings highnes to come by him, and at Marſels, the time of the intimation of the kinges proteſtation, prouocation, and appeale, as alſo lately going to Nice, touching the generall Counſell, and the authority of the B. of Rome: and finally, nowe laſt of all, at my returne from Spaine, where neyther my diligence in comming to him and vſing him in the beginning with all the reuerence I coulde, neither the kings letters wrytten vnto him in fauour, ne yet other thinge coulde mollifie his hard heart, and cancred malitious ſtomacke, but that he woulde ſpitefully ſpeake, & vnkindly doe, as in deede he did, to his great ſhame and my diſhoneſty, as followeth.

The vaineglorious pride & ambition of the B. of Winchester.

What experiẽce Doct. Boner hath of Winchesters pride.

The cankred malicious ſtomacke of Winchester.

When riding in poſt I came to La Barclla, a poſt a this ſide Lyons, the 7. day of Auguſt, he being in bedde there, I taried till hee riſing vp and making himſelfe ready, came at laſt out to me, ſtanding and tarying for him in a ſeconde chamber, and at hys comming thether, he ſayd: what M. Boner, good morow. A Syr yee be welcome, and herewithall he put out his hand, and I kiſsing mine, tooke him by it, and incontinently after he ſayde: Come on, let vs goe and walke a while into the fields, and withall drew towardes the doore, preparing him to walke. To whome I ſayde, I woulde waite vpon him. His going to the fields (as appeared afterwards) was not ſo muche to walke, as to haue a place where hee myghte ſpeake loud, and triumph alone againſt me, calling in his wordes againe. If hee ſpake any amiſſe, or vtterly deny them if that made for his purpoſe. And by chaunce, rather then by good wiſedome, afore I went forth, I asked for M. Thirleby, and deſired I might ſee him, and ſpeake with him. The Biſhop that perceiuing, and withall that I ſtacke vpon it, he commaunded one of his ſeruauntes to call M. Thirleby, but yet afore his comming, the Byſhop could not be idle, but ſayd this to me:

The dialogue betweene Boner and Gardiner beginneth.

M. Boner, your ſeruaunt was yeſterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you. In good faith, ye can haue nothing of me. Nothing my Lord (quoth I) merely ſpeaking? Mary God forbid, that is a heauy worde, and much vncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and truſteth much vppon your goodneſſe, that hathe a great deale. In faith (quoth he) ye ſhall haue nothing of me, marie ye ſhall haue of M. Thirleby his cariage, mules, his bed, and diuers other things, that he may ſpare, and which hee hath kept for you. Well my Lord (quoth I) if I ſhal haue nothing of you, I muſt make as good ſhift as I can for my ſelf otherwiſe, & prouide it where I may get it. And heere the Biſhop, becauſe I would not geue hym thankes, for that thing which was not worthy thankes, and that alſo I woulde not ſhewe my ſelfe greatly contented and pleaſed, though I receiued nothing at his handes, hee began ſomewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him againe, that I wanted all thing ſauing money and good will to ſerue the kings highnes.

Winchester will do nothing for Doctor Boner.

Doct. Boner wil geue no thankes to winchester for nothing. Winchester beginneth to kindle.

Tell me one thing (quoth hee) that ye want. One thing quoth I? Mary, amongeſt many things that I want, I want naperye. That ſhall ye not neede (quoth he) heere in this countrey, and heere he began to tell a long tale, that none vſed that, but M. Wallop and he in the beginning: which is not true generally. And from this, hee began to goe, deſcending by his negatiues: my Mulettes (ſayth he) ye can not haue: for if ye ſhould, I muſt nedes prouide other for them againe: my Mulet clothes ye can not haue, becauſe mine armes are on them, not meete for you to beare: my raiment (I being a Biſhoppe) that is not meete for you: and ſo proceeding forth in the reſt, nothing had he for me, and nothing ſhuld I haue.

Winchesters negatiues.

And here came maſter Thirlby, who welcõmed me very gently, and after an honeſt ſorte: to whome the Biſhoppe rehearſeth againe his negatiues, and maketh a long diſcourſe, bringing in cõcluſion for all that hee coulde doe, that nothing I ſhoulde haue of him, and this rehearſed hee ſtill on ende, I am ſure aboue a doſen times, and that with a Pilates voice, ſo that all his companie ſtanding more then three or foure paire of buts length off, heard hym.

D. Thirleby preſent at this parle. The Pilates voice of Winchester.

When I ſawe that he would make no ende, but euer rehearſing one thing ſtill, I ſayd to him, my Lord, I beſeech you, ſeeing I ſhall haue nothing of you, but of M. Doctor here, let me geue him thãks that deſerueth it, and not trouble you therin no more, but leauing cõmunication therin, let me deſire and pray you, that we may common of the kings matters. And that I may haue therein knowledge as well of the ſtate thereof, as alſo of your counſaile in that behalfe. The Biſhop was ſo hoate and warme in hys owne matters, that he woulde not heare, but needes woulde returne againe, and ſhew why that I could haue nothing of him. My Lorde (quoth I) heere is ſtill on ende one tale, which mee thinketh, ſeeing that I vnderſtande it, ye neede not ſo oft to repeat it, eſpecially ſeeing that it commeth alwaies to this concluſion, that I ſhall haue nothing of you. Ye lye (quoth he) I ſayde not ſo. I report me (quoth I) to M. Thirleby heere preſent, whome I ſhall deſire to beare recorde of your ſadde and diſcrete honeſt behauiour wyth me. I ſay you lie (quoth he.) My Lord (quoth I) I thanke you.

Steuen Gar- diner mo respectin his owne matters then to the kinges affayres.

Ye lie q Wynchest

I do not ſay (quoth he) that yee ſhall haue nothing of me: but I ſay, ye can haue nothing of me. And though the one heere comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diuerſitie betwene theſe two maners of ſpeakings: I can ſpare nothing vnto you, and therfore yee ſhall haue nothing, and though I can ſpare you, yet you ſhall haue nothing: for in the one is an honeſtie in the ſpeaker, which would if he could doe pleaſure, and in the other, there lacketh that honeſtie.

Winchest olde sophi stication

My Lord (quoth I) to examine whether I ſhall haue nothing, becauſe ye can ſpare nothing: or ſhall haue nothing, though yee haue plentie, becauſe ye will I ſhall haue nothing, it ſhal not much helpe me in my iourney. Wherefore, ſeeing ye bide vpon this, that I ſhall haue nothing, I will thancke you for nothing, and prouide otherwiſe for my ſelfe. Torde in your teethe (quoth he) and prouide as ye will. Biſhoplike ſpoken, by my faith (quoth I) and well it becommeth you to ſpeake thus to me. Yea mary doth it become me (quoth he) and repeating the wordes againe, ſayd with a ſharp accent: haue nothing of me? Torde in your teethe. Wel my Lord (quoth I) this needeth not. ſauing that yee haue a full ſtomacke, and your witte abroad willingly hereby to eaſe your ſtomacke againſt me. Yes marie (quoth he) it needeth for me, though it needeth not for you, for I entende (quoth he) I woulde ye ſhoulde knowe it, to iuſtifie my ſelfe to the king in all things. If yee doe ſo (quoth I) ye ſhall doe the better. Nay (quoth hee) I doe it, and will doe it. Well (quoth I) ye are the more to be commended, if ye ſo can doe. Yes (quoth he) I can doe it.

Bishop l spoken.

The mel fluous and hony m thed wor of Win chester to Boner.

Nowe by my troth (quod I) ſeeing the kings highneſſe hath wrytten ſo tenderly for me vnto you, as appeareth by his highnes letters that his grace hath done: me thinketh, ye hauing ſo greate plentie of all things, and I ſo great neede thereof, comming poſte as I doe: yee goe about as euill to iuſtifie your ſelfe to the kinge, as any one that I haue ſeene: And iwiſſe my Lorde (quoth I) I wold haue reckened that, comming as I doe come, I ſhoulde haue bene both better welcome, and better entreated of you then nowe I am, euen and it had bene for no other reſpecte, then becauſe I am an Engliſhman.

I ſhall tell you (quoth he) for the kinges ſake, yee may looke to haue: but for your owne ſake yee gette nothing. Well (quoth I) then hauing nothing, I will geue no thankes at all, and hauyng any thing, I ſhall geue thankes to the king, and none to you. I tell you (quoth he) ye gette nothing. And I tell you againe (quoth I) that I will not thanke you for nothing: and heere his fleſh of hys cheeke began to ſwell and tremble, and he looked vpon me, as he woulde haue runne throughe me, and I came and ſtoode euen by him and ſayde: trowe you my Lorde (quoth I) that I feare your great lookes? Nay faith doe I not. Ye had neede to gette another ſtomacke to wherte vppon, then mine, and a better whetteſtone then any yee haue. For I aſſure you, yee ſhall not whet me to your purpoſe: and if yee knewe howe little I do ſette by this vnlouing and indiſcrete behauiour of yours, yee woulde not vſe it vppon me. And I ſhall tell you (quoth I) if I were not brideled, and had other reſpects both to the kings highnes my ſoueraigne Lord, and alſo to other that may commaund me, I would haue tolde you ere this time my minde after an other ſort. Tell me, quod hee? Toorde in your teethe. Well my Lorde (quoth I) ye woulde, I perceiue by you and by your woordes, prouoke mee to ſpeake as vndiſcretely and * bedlemly, as yee doe. But ſurely yee ſhall not, howe ſo euer yee ſhall ſpeake. But this will I tell you, I ſhall ſhewe howe I am handled of you. Marie ſpare not (quoth he,) Well my Lord (quoth I) you haue heere full well plaied the part of a Biſhoppe, and it is great ioy of you, that with this your furious anger and choller, ye can make al the companie here about you to be aſhamed of you, as I am ſure they are. And for my parte, if yee your ſelfe be not aſhamed, or comming to your ſelfe (for nowe your anger is ſuche that you heare not your ſelfe) be not diſpleaſed, I ſhall be aſhamed and pitie this your doing without wiſdome, and the oftner you vſe this maner, the more ſhall it be to your diſhoneſtie.

The th macke of Steph. Gardine gainst Bo ner.

The hye trembling and leap of his che & fleshe anger, did M. Bone so note in this Gardi ner, dispu ting with him in Ge many. Vid. Bon De Cel tu.

* Steph. Gardiner Bedlem- like.

All the company shamed of Gardiner talke.

Lo (quoth he) how fondly he ſpeaketh, as who ſayth, I were all in the blame. Will you not heare (quoth hee) this wiſe man? My Lord (quoth I) I woulde you could heare with indifferent eares, and

rablyng
r nothing.

he ſpiteful
okes of
incheſter.

and ſee with indifferent eyes your ſelfe. Ye haue made a brabling heere for nothing, and would that I would geue you thankes for that thing which maiſter Thirleby hath done for me. I looke for no thankes of you (quoth he) and ſayd withall looking ſpitefully, that he knew me well enough, and that he was not deceiued in me. Well (quoth I) and me thinke I know you well enough too, wherefore as ye ſay you are not deceiued in me, ſo I truſt I wyll not be deceyned by you. But I pray you ſir (quoth I) becauſe yee ſay ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceiued in me, how do you know me? for honeſt and true, or otherwiſe? If you do, ſay it, and I ſhall make aunſwere.

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I could not driue him to aunſwere heereunto, ſo that I ſuppoſe, eyther of hys owne naughtie nature he hath made me an image after his owne fantaſie, or elſe beleeued the report of ſuch in conditions, as he is hymſelfe, who in malice, I ſuppoſe, and diſdayne may be compared to the Diuell in hell, not geuing place to him in pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the prouiſion of the thouſand crownes. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while, afore they were come out: and further I ſayd, that ſeeing they had bene ſimpliciter geuen to me, I would neuer thanke him for them, but the Kings highneſſe: and I ſayd, that if they were twenty thouſand, he ſhould breake ſo many ſleepes afore he ſhould haue any part thereof, intreating me as he did. Well (quoth he) you haue them. That is truth (quoth I), and nothing thankefull to you.

Wyncheſter
utteth Bo-
er to his
hiftes for
rouiſion.

Why then (quoth he) ſeeing you haue heere diuers things of M. Thirlbies, and all other things are parabilia pecunia, whiche you haue, yee may make thereby good prouiſion for your ſelfe. That is truth (quoth I) and that can I and will do, though yee tell me not, ſeeing I haue nothing of you, and afore this, had prouided at Lions for all things neceſſary, if ye without neceſsitie had not made that great haſte to depart thence, enforcing mee thereby to follow you. And yet (quoth I) one thing may I tell you: yee are very deſirous I ſhould be prouided well for, as appeareth in that you haue taken away at Lyons one horſe that Fraunces had prouided for me, and alſo your ſeruaunt Mace hauing a horſe to ſell and knowing my neede, by your conſent hath ſold hys horſe to a ſtraunger, rather then he woulde ſell him to me, ſo that nothyng ſuffering mee to haue of you, and taking away that prouiſion which I make and go about to make, you well declare how hartily you deſire I ſhould be prouided for. In fayth (quoth he) chooſe you, ye may prouide and you will, and ſeeing your iourney hether from Lions is vayne, you may thether returne againe and make there prouiſion for your ſelfe. I thought (quoth he) departing from Lions, to haue made eaſie iourneys, and to haue followed the Court till you had come, and now come you ſquirting in poſt, and trouble all. I came foorth in poſt (quoth I) by the commaundement of the King my mayſter, and had libertie to returne at pleaſure by his graces letters, and ſeeing that I had no horſes for the iourney, me thought better to ride in poſt then go a foote. Well (quoth he) I will not departe hence this twelue month, except ye be otherwiſe prouided. Prouided (quoth I?) I muſt tary till I may be prouided for horſſes, if yee ſpeake of that prouiſion: and ſeeing that this riding in poſt greeueth you, it cauſeth mee to thinke you are loth to depart, and angry that I ſhall ſucceed you. I haue heere already two gownes, and a veluet iacket, ſo that you ſhall not be letted an houre by me.

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iſh dealyng
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cheſter.

Wyncheſter
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ceede him

I tell you (quoth he) yee ſhall otherwiſe prouide, or elſe I will not depart, For I tell you (quoth he) though yee care not for the Kings honour, but wretchedly doo lyue with tenne ſhillings a day, as ye did in yonder partes, you and your companion, I muſt and will conſider the Kings honor. And I tell you agayne (quoth I) I will and do conſider the Kings honour, as much as yee at anie tyme wyll do, and as ſory will be that it ſhould be touched by anie negligence or defaulte in mee: yea, and I ſay more to you (quoth I) though yee may ſpende farre aboue mee, I ſhall not ſticke if any thyng be to bee ſpente for the Kynges honour, to ſpende as liberally as you, ſo long as eyther I haue it, or can get it to ſpend. And whoſoeuer enformed you of the wretchedneſſe and ſpending ſcarcely of my companion and me in the partes where we haue bene, made a falſe lye, and ye ſhew your wiſedome full well in ſo lightly beleeuing and rehearſing ſuch a tale.

Wyncheſter
eproued to
is face of
alſe ſlaūder.

I can not tell (quoth he) but this was openly rehearſed by Mayſter Brians ſeruaunts at my table. Yea was (quoth I?) Yea mary was it (quoth he.) Now by my troth (quoth I) then was the fare that was beſtowed vpon them, very well caſt away. For of my fidelitie, that weeke that Mayſter Brian and his ſeruauntes were wyth vs at Villa Franca, it coſt my companion and me fiue and twentie pound in the charges of the houſe. This they ſay (quoth he.) Yea (quoth I) and therein they lye. And heere I ſhewed hym, that being well ſetled at Nice, and hauing made there good and honeſt prouiſion to our no little charges, M. Wyat woulde not reſt, till he had gotten vs to Villa Franca, where euen vppon the firſt word of M. Heynes, he was right well contente to take of vs xx. ſhillings by the day. Which was not during x. dayes: where at his comming to vs to Nice, himſelfe and all his ſeruaunts, & then tarieng with vs two dayes, we tooke not one peny of hym. And moreouer, at the departing of M. Wyat from Villa Franca, in poſt into Englād, we found our ſelues, our ſeruaunts, all M. Wyates ſeruauntes to the number of 16. all his acquaintaunce, whiche dinner and ſupper continually came to vs, ſometymes twelfe ſometymes ten, and when they were leaſt ſix or eight and for this, had not one peny of M. Wyat, and yet at our commyng from Barcelone where we taried about viii. dayes, we gaue to M. Wyat 28. li. and to his ſeruauntes v. li. beſides xl. ſhillynges that priuately I gaue to ſome beyng of gentle faſhion out of myne own purſe: ſo that I told him, it was neither M. Wyat, ne Maſon that found vs & our ſeruants, but we payed for the findyng of them, and here it chaunced to vs to haue all the charge and other men to haue all the thankes.

The Byſhop when he heard this, was amazed and ſtoode ſtill, finally ſaying: By my trouth (quoth hee) I tell you as it was told me, and Maiſter Doctour here can tell whether it was ſo or no. Yea and I will tell you more (quoth hee) they ſayd that Maiſter Heynes woulde haue bene more liberall a great deale, if you had not bene. Now by my trouth (quoth I) I ſhall therein make Maiſter Heynes himſelfe iudge thereof, who can beſt tell what cōmunication hath bene betwen him and me therein.

The Byſhop of Wincheſters wilde head.

Thinkyng that this communication had driuen the other matters out of the Byſhoppes wilde head, I helde my peace, and by and by was hee in hand agayne with them as euer hee was. My Lord (quoth I) I deſired ere while, your Lordſhyppe to make an ende of this communication, wherein the longer ye talke, the more ye make me beleeue that ye woulde, where ye haue ſpoken vndiſcretely, yea, and vnkyndely, not regardyng the Kynges Letters, with multitude of wordes and great countenaunce, I ſhould thinke ye had not done amiſſe: but ſurely you loſe your labour, for ye ſhall neuer make me thinke that ye are deſirous to do me pleaſure, neither for myne owne ſake, nor for the kynges. For if your wordes bee well wayed, I haue as much of you in deede for myne owne ſake, as I haue for the kynges ſake, that is nothing at all. Here both of vs were talking together, but I helde on ſtill, and euer enforced him to this: My Lord (quoth I) this is the thyng that I ſhall onely deſire of you: that where the kinges grace hath here in the French Court diuers affaires (as I take it) ye would therein inſtruct me of the ſtate therof, and geue me your beſt counſell and aduiſe: and this I proteſt vnto you, that if ye this will doe: I will attently heare you, and if ye will not, I ſhall with payne heare you in your other things, but I will make no aunſwere at all.

Wincheſter regarded not the kinges letters.

For all this, the Byſhoppe ended not, but in concluſion, when he ſawe by no meanes that he could induce me to aunſwere, he returned homewardes, and I brought him to his lodgyng and chamber. It beyng dinner tyme, and all thynges prouided, and ſtandyng afore him, and he turnyng his backe from me into a windowe. I at his turnyng towardes me agayne, put of my bonet, and ſayd: God be with you my Lord. He gaue no aunſwere to me at all, nor countenaunce, but ſuffered me to go. Whereupon, returnyng to my lodgyng, which was in Maiſter Thirlbyes chamber, I cauſed my dinner to be prouided, and when it was almoſt ready, the Byſhoppes Steward called Myrrell came for me, (whether ſent from the Byſhoppe or not. I cannot tell) and I told him, my dinner was prouided for, and withall, that my Lord his Maiſter had geuen me ſuch a breakefaſt, that I neede no dinner nor ſupper, and ſo the Steward drinkyng with me, returned agayne, and I went to dinner in Maiſter Thirlbyes lodgyng: and after dinner I went to the Byſhoppes lodgyng, who at my commyng very gētly put of his bonet, & ſo we walked together quietly a while and ſhortly after, the Byſhop began after this maner: Maiſter Boner, to day we commoned of prouiſion for you, and becauſe ye ſhall lay no blame vpō me, I will tell you what I will doe for you. I will prouide you mules, mulets, horſes, ſeruauntes, money, yea and all thynges that ſhalbe neceſſary. My Lord (quoth I) here is a large offer and a great kyndneſſe come vppon you. I maruell (quoth I) that I could heare nothyng of this, to day in the mornyng. I tell you (quoth he) this will I doe, for know you that I will conſider the kynges honour and pleaſure, and doubt not but the kyng will pay me agayne. My Lord (quoth I) I haue ſent my ſeruaunt already to Lyons, to make prouiſion for me, and I haue ſent other abroad here in the towne and countrey, to do the ſame: ye ſhall neuer neede to trouble your ſelfe herewith. I will (quoth he) You ſhall not ſay an other day, that ye could not be prouided for. My Lord (quoth I) let me haue inſtructions in the kynges matters, and as for other thynges I ſhall not aſke of you, becauſe this day ye made me ſo playne aunſwere. After much communication, I departed from him louyngly, tellyng him that I would be at Terrara that night where he intented to be lodged. And ſo the Byſhop biddyng me farewell, tooke ſoone after, his horſe ridyng to Terrara to bed.

Boner out ſcoulded by Wincheſter, and dryuen to ſilence. Doct. Boner taketh his leaue of Wincheſter.

Wincheſters good will come vpon him at laſt.

Wincheſters offer to Boner refuſed.

Wincheſter and Boner depart.

And by the way I ouer tooke him, and paſsing by, doyng my duety to him and to his company, I came to Terrara lodgyng at the poſt houſe, and euen as the Byſhop came into the

An other meeting of Wincheſter & Boner.

towne, ſtoode at the poſt houſe dore: To whome the Byſhop ſayd, we ſhall ſee you ſoone M. Boner. Yea my Lord (quoth I) thinking that thereby he had deſired me to ſupper, and at ſupper time I went to his lodging, hauing other to eate my ſupper at home, and glad he appeared to be, that I was come, making merry communication all ſupper while, but nothing at all yet ſpeaking to me, or giuing any thing to me, ſauing at the comming of the fruite, he gaue me a peare I trow, becauſe I ſhould remember mine owne countrey. After ſupper, he walked taking M. Thirlby with hym, and I walked with an Italian, being Embaſſadour for the Countie Mirandula, and after a good ſpace we returned, and bad the Byſhop good night.

Boner ſeemeth by this Peate to be a Worceſterſhire man.

I did not after that night dine nor ſup with the Biſhop, till hee came to Burges in Berry, where vpon the depeach of Fraunces, and cloſing vp of our letters ſent to the Kings highnes, the ſupper was ſo prouided, and ſet vpon the bourd and the Biſhop in waſhing, ſtanding ſo betweene me and the dore, that I could not get out: and there would he needes that I ſhould waſh with hym and ſup: and I ſuppoſe all the way from Barella to Bloys, he talked not aboue foure times with me, and at euery time ſauing at Molyns, (where he by mouth told me ſomewhat of the Kings affaires heere in Fraunce) and at Veronne, (when he aunſwering to my requeſts in writing, deliuered me his booke of his owne hand for mine inſtructions, the copie whereof is now ſent heere withall) there was quicke communication betweene vs. His talking by the way was with M. Thirleby, who I thinke, knoweth a great deale of his doing, and will if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainely to your Lordſhip. I my ſelfe was out of* credence with the Byſhop, not being appliable to his manners and deſires.

The ſtraūgenes betweene Wincheſter and Boner.
Wincheſters bookē of inſtructions to Boner.
Thyrlebye and Wincheſter great togeather.
* Why Boner was out of credite with Wyncheſter,
Wincheſters fleſhe trembled at the firſt comming of Doct. Thirleby to ſucceede him.

And ſurely, as M. Thirleby told me, at his firſt comming to Lyons, and then ſpeaking with the Biſhop, the Biſhop ſeemed to be ſo well content to returne, and ſo glad of his comming to ſucceede him, that his fleſhe in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the Biſhop make men beleeue, that he would gladly come home. Which thing beleeue it who will, I will neuer beleeue: for euer he was looking of letters out of England from M. Wallop, and M. Brian, whome he taketh for his great frends: and M. Wyat himſelfe reckoned that the Biſhop ſhould haue come into Spaine, or elſe my Lord of Durham, ſo that the Biſhop of Wincheſter euer coueted to protract the time, deſiring yet withall to haue ſome ſhadow to excuſe and hide himſelfe, as tarieng at Barella, he made excuſe by my not comming to Lyons, and comming to Varennes, and there hearing by the Embaſſadors of the Venetians a flieng tale of the going of the Frenche King towardes Bayon to meete the Emperour, by and by he ſaid: lo, where is mayſter diligence now? If he were now heere (as then I was that night) wee would to the Court and preſent him and take our leaue. But whē I in the morning was vp afore him, and ready to horſe, hee was nothing haſty. No, comming to Molyns afore him, and there tarrieng for him, the Frenche King lieng at Schauenna, three ſmall leagues off, hee made not halfe the ſpeede and haſte that hee pretended.

Wincheſter loth to returne into England.

Boner called M. diligence.

The ſecond complainte.

I miſlike in the Byſhop of Wincheſter, that he cannot be content that any ioined in commiſsion with him, ſhould keepe houſe, but to be at his table. Wherein eyther he ſearcheth thereby a vaine glory and pride to himſelfe, with ſome diſhonour to the King, as who ſaith, there were among all the Kings Embaſſadors, but one able to mainteine a table, and that were he: either elſe he doth the ſame for an euill entent and purpoſe, to bring them therby into his daunger, that they ſhall ſay and do as liketh him alone, which I ſuppoſe verily hath bene his entent.

Wincheſter would be alone.

The thyrd complaynte.
The Pompe and glory of Wincheſter.

I miſlike in the ſayd Biſhop, that where he for his owne pompe and glory, hath a great number of ſeruaunts in their veluets and ſilkes, with their chaines about their neckes, and keepeth a coſtly table, with exceſsiue fare, and exceeding expenſes many other waies: he doth ſay, and is not aſhamed to report, that he is ſo commaunded to do by the Kings grace, and that is his aunſwere commonly, when his frends telleth him of his great charges, and ſo vnder colour of the Kings commaundement and honour, he hydeth his pride which is heere diſdained.

The fourth complaynte.
Wyncheſter geuen more to hys owne affections, thē to the kings affayres.

I miſlike in the ſaid Biſhop, that he hauing priuate hatred againſt a man, will rather ſatisfie his owne ſtomacke and affection, hindering, and neglecting the Kings affaires, then relenting in any part of his ſturdy and ſtubburne will, geue familiar and harty counſaile (whereby the Kings highnes matters and buſines may be aduaunced and ſet foorth) to him that he taketh for his aduerſary.

The 5. cōplaint.
Wyncheſter ſuſpected to be imperiall.

I miſlike in the ſaid Biſhop, that he euer continually heere in this Court of Fraunce, made incomparably more of the Emperours, King of Portugals, Venetians, and Duke of Ferraries Ambaſſadours, then of any Frenchmen in the Court, which with hys pride cauſed them to diſdaine him, and to thinke that he fauoured not the French King, but was imperiall.

The 6. cōplaint.
Boner like a true Goſpeller complayneth of Papiſtes.

I miſlike in the Biſhop, that there is ſo great familiaritie and acquaintance, yea and ſuche mutuall confidence betweene the ſaid Biſhop and M. as naughty a fellow, and as very a Papiſt as any that I know, where he dare expreſſe it. The Biſhop in his letters to M. Wyat euer ſendeth ſpeciall commendations to Maſon, and yet refuſeth to ſend any to M. Heynes and me, being with M. Wyat, as we perceiued by the ſayde letters. And Maſon maketh ſuch foundation of the Biſhop, that he thinketh there is none ſuche. And hee telled me at Villa Franca, that the Byſhop vpon a time, when he had fallen out wyth Germaine, ſo truſted him, that weeping and ſobbing he came vnto him, deſiring and praieng hym that hee woulde ſpeake wyth Germaine, and reconcile him, ſo that no wordes were ſpoken of it, and what the matter was, hee would not tell me. That yong fellowe Germaine knoweth all, and Preſton which is ſeruaunt to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, ſhewed me one night in my chamber at Bloys after ſupper, that Germaine is euer buſie in ſhewing the Kings letters to ſtraungers, and that he himſelfe hath geuen him warning thereof. This thing Preſton told me the night before that the Byſhop departed hence, and when I woulde haue more of him therein, hee conſidering how the Bywop and I ſtoode, kept him more cloſe, and woulde ſay no further.

Winche ſuſpecte vntrue ling.

In this declaration of D. Edmund Boner ſente to the Lord Cromwell aboue prefixed, diuers things we haue to note: Firſt, as touching Steuen Gardiner, Biſh. of wint. heere we haue a plaine demonſtration of his vile nature and peſtilent pride, ioyned with malice and diſdaine intollerable: whereof worthely complaineth D. Boner aforeſayd, ſhewing ſixe ſpeciall cauſes, why and wherefore he miſliketh that perſon, according as he was willed before by the Kings commaundement ſo to do.

Things the fore declara to be n The ra and pri Steuen Gardine

Secondly, in the ſaid Steuen wint. this we haue alſo to note and vnderſtand, that as he heere declareth a ſecret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his booke De obedientia) to papiſtry, ioining part and ſide with ſuche as were knowne papiſts: ſo he ſeemeth likewyſe to beare a like ſecret grudge againſt the Lord Cromwell, and all ſuch whomſoeuer he fauoured.

1.

Steuen Gardiner reuolteth Papiſtry.

Thirdly, as concerning the forenamed D. Edmund Boner the author of this declaration, heere is to be ſeene and noted, that he all this while appeared a good man and diligent friend to the truth, and that he was fauoured of the Lord Cromwell for the ſame.

3.

Fourthly, that the ſaid D. Boner was not onely fauoured of the Lord Cromwell, but alſo by him was aduaunced firſt to the office of Legation, then to the Biſhoprike of Hereford, and laſtly to the Biſhoprike of London, whome the ſaid D. Boner in his letters agniſeth and confeſſeth to be his only Patron, and ſingular Mecænas.

4.
D. Boners comming vp onely by the Goſpell.

Which being ſo, we haue in this ſaid D. Boner, greatly to meruayle, what ſhould be the cauſe, that he, ſeing all his ſetting vp, making, and preferring, came only by the Goſpell and by thē of the Goſpels ſide, he being then ſo hated of Steuen Gardiner and ſuch as he was, being alſo at that time ſuch a furtherer and defender of the Goſpell (as appeared both by his Preface before Gardinars booke De obedientia, and by his writings to the Lord Cromwell, alſo by helping forward the printed Bibles at Paris) could euer be a man ſo vngratefull & vnkind, afterward to ioyne part with the ſaid Steuen Gardiner againſt the Goſpell (without ye which Goſpel, he had neuer come to be biſhop, neither of Hereford nor yet of London) and now to abuſe ye ſame biſhopricke of London to perſecute ye ſo vehemently, which before ſo openly he defended. Wherin ye ſame may well be ſaid to him in this caſe, yt he himſelfe was reported once to ſay to the french King in the cauſe of Grancetor: to witte, that he had done therein againſt his honour, againſt iuſtice, againſt reaſon, againſt honeſty, againſt frendſhip, againſt his own promiſe and his othe ſo often made, againſt his owne doctrine and iudgement, which then he profeſſed, againſt all truth, againſt the treates and leagues betwene him and his ſetters vp, and againſt all together, and to conclude, againſt the ſaluation of his owne ſoule.

5.

Boners owne wordes retorted againſt him ſelfe,

But to referre this to the booke of his accomptes who ſhall iudge one day all things vprightly, let vs procede further in ye cōtinue of this D. Boners legation. Who being now Ambaſſadour in the court of Fraunce (as he haue heard) had geuen in commiſſion from the king, to entreate with the French King for ſondry pointes, as for the printing of the new Teſtament in Engliſh, and the Bible at Paris: alſo for ſlanderous preachers, and malicious ſpeakers againſt the King: for goods of merchaunts taken and ſpoiled: for the kings penſion to be paid: for the matters of the Duke of Suffolke: for certaine priſoners in Fraunce. Item, for Grancetor the traitour, and certain other rebels to be ſent into England, &c. Touching all which affayres, the ſayd D. Boner did employ his diligence & trauaile to the good ſatiſfaction and contentment of the kings minde, and diſcharge of his duetie, in ſuch ſort as no default could be found in him, ſaue only that the French King one time tooke diſpleaſure with him, for that the ſaid Boner, beyng now made biſhop of Hereford, and bearing himſelf ſomewhat more ſeriouſly and boldly before the king in the cauſe

Printing the newe teſtament English the Byble Paris.

The dilligēce & of D. Bo in lega

Anno 1538.

of

The wordes of D. Boner ...ed to the ...ench king.

The French king diſpleaſed with Biſhop Boner.

Biſh. Boner bidden to write to his maiſter 3. thinges.

of Grancetor the traytour (wherein he was willed by the aduertiſement of the Kings pleaſure, to wade more deeply and inſtantly) vſed theſe wordes to the French King, as yͤ french king himſelf did afterward report them) ſaieng, that he had done in deliuerãce of that foreſaid Grancetor being an Engliſhman, agaynſt God, agaynſt his honor, agaynſt iuſtice, agaynſt reaſon, agaynſt honeſty, againſt friendſhip, againſt all law, againſt the treates & leagues betwene him and his brother the King of England, yea and againſt all together, &c. Theſe wordes of Biſhop Boner, although he denieth to haue ſpoken them in that forme and qualitie, yet howſoeuer they were ſpoken, did ſtirre vp the ſtomack of the French King, to conceiue high diſpleaſure agaynſt him, in ſo much that he anſwering the Lord Ambaſſadour againe, bad him write theſe three things vnto his maiſter.

Firſt, among other thinges that his Embaſſadour was a greate foole.

Secondarily, that he cauſed to be done better iuſtice there in his Realme in one houre, then they did in Englande in a whole yeare.

Thirdly, that if it were not for the loue of his maiſter, he ſhould haue an hundreth ſtrokes with an Haulbard, &c.

And furthermore, the ſayde Frenche King beſide thys, ſending a ſpeciall meſſenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to reuoke and cal this Ambaſſadour home, and to ſend him an other. The cauſe why the french King tooke theſe wordes of Biſhop Boner ſo to ſtomacke (as the L. Chauncelour ſaid) was this, for that the Kings of Fraunce ſtanding chiefly and in maner only vpon theyr honour, can ſuffer that in no caſe to be touched. Otherwiſe in thoſe wordes (if they had bene well taken) was not ſo much blame perchaunce, as boldnes, being ſpoken ſomwhat vehemently in his maiſters behalfe. But this one thing ſeemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this Byſhop and many other, that they in earthly matters, and to pleaſe terrene Kings, will put forth themſelues to ſuch a boldnes and forwardnes: and in Chriſtes cauſe the King of all kings, whoſe cauſe they ſhould onely attend vppon and tender, they are ſo remiſſe cold and cowardly.

Biſhops cõmonly bolder in Princes matters, then in the cauſe of Chriſt.

To theſe letters of the French King, the King of England ſent aunſwer againe by other letters, in which he reuoked and called home againe biſhop Boner, geuing vnto him about the ſame time, the Biſhopricke of London, and ſente in ſupply of his place, Sir Iohn wallop, a greate frend to Steuen Gardiner. whiche was in February, about the beginning of the yeare of our Lord 1540. Heere now followeth the othe of Boner to the King, when hee was made Byſhop of London.

¶ The othe of Doctor Edmund Boner, when hee was made Byſhop of London, agaynſt the Pope of Rome.

D. Boners othe againſt the Pope.

YE ſhall neuer conſent nor agree that the Byſhop of Rome ſhall practiſe, exerciſe, or haue any maner of authority, iuriſdiction, or power within this Realme, or any other the Kings dominion, but that you ſhall reſiſt the ſame at all times, to the vttermoſt of your power: and that from hencefoorth ye ſhall accept, repute, and take the Kings Maieſtie to be the only ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England, and that to your cunning, witte, and vttermoſt of your power, without guile, fraude, or other vndue meane, ye ſhall obſerue, keepe, mainteine, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and ſingular Actes and Statutes made and to be made within this Realme, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguiſhment of the Byſhop of Rome and his authoritie, and all other Actes and Statutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the Kings power of ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England, and this ye ſhall do agaynſt all maner of perſons, of what eſtate, dignitie, degree, or condition they be, and in no wiſe do, nor attempt, nor to your power, ſuffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, priuely or apertly, to the let, hinderance, dammage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any maner of meanes, or for any maner of pretenſe: And in caſe any othe bee made, or hath bene made by you to any perſon or perſons in maintenance or fauour of the Biſhop of Rome or his authority, iuriſdiction, or power, ye repute the ſame as vaine and adnihilate, ſo helpe you God, &c.

In fidem præmiſſorum ego Edmundus Boner, electus & confirmatus Londonenſis Epiſcopus, huic præſenti chartæ ſubſcripſi.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall matters. an. 1538.

Anno 1538.

It will be iudged, that I haue lingred peraduenture too much in theſe outward affaires of Princes and Ambaſſadours. wherefore, leauing with theſe by matters perteynyng to the Ciuill ſtate a while, I mynde (the Lord willyng) to put my ſtory in order agayne of ſuch occurrẽts as belong vnto the Church, firſt ſhewyng ſuch Iniunctions and Articles, as were deuiſed and ſet forth by the kyng, for the behoofe of his ſubiectes. wherein firſt is to be vnderſtãded, that the kyng, when he had taken the title of ſupremacie from the Byſhop of Rome, and had tranſlated the ſame to himſelfe, and was now a full Prince in his owne realme, although he wel perceiued, by yͤ wiſedome and aduiſe of the Lord Cromwell and other of his Cõſaile, that the corrupt ſtate of the Church had neede of reformatiõ in many thyngs: yet becauſe he ſaw how ſtubburne and vntoward the hartes of many Papiſtes were to be brought from their old perſuaſions and cuſtomes, and what buſineſſe he had with them, onely about the matter of the Popes title, he durſt not by and by reforme all at once (which notwithſtãdyng had bene to be wiſhed) but leadyng them fayre and ſoftely, as he might, proceeded by litle and litle, to bryng greater purpoſes to perfectiõ (which he no doubt would haue done, if the Lord Cromwell had lyued) and therfore firſt he began with a litle booke of Articles (partly aboue touched) bearyng this title. Articles deuiſed by the Kynges highneſſe, to ſtable Chriſten quietneſſe and vnitie among the people. &c.

The king and his counſaile bearing with the weakenes of the people.

The booke of articles deuiſed by the king for queitnes of the people. &c.

❧ Articles deuiſed by the kyng.

Of 3. Sacramẽts

IN the contentes of which booke, firſt be ſet forth the Articles of our Chriſtiã Creede, which are neceſſarely and expreſſely to be beleued of all men. Then with the kynges Preface goyng before, foloweth the declaration of iij. Sacramentes: to witte, of Baptiſme, of Penaunce, and of the Sacrament of the Aultar. In the tractation wherof, he altereth nothyng from the old trade receaued heretofore frõ the Church of Rome.

Further then, proceedyng to the order and cauſe of our iuſtificatiõ, he declareth, that the onely mercy and grace of the father promiſed freely vnto vs for his ſonnes ſake Ieſu Chriſt, and the merites of his Paſſion and bloud, be the onely ſufficient and worthy cauſes of our iuſtification: yet good workes with inward contrition, hope, and charitie, and all other ſpirituall graces and motions, be neceſſarily required, and muſt needes cõcurre alſo in remiſſion of our ſinnes, that is, our iuſtification: and afterward we beyng iuſtified, muſt alſo haue good workes of charitie, and obediẽce towardes God, in the obſeruyng and fulfillyng outwardly of his lawes and commaundementes. &c.

Of iuſtification.

As touching Images, he willeth all Byſhops & preachers to teach the people in ſuch ſorte, as they may know, how they may vſe them ſafely in Churches, and not abuſe them to Idolatry, as thus: that they be repreſẽters of vertue and good example, and alſo by occaſiõ, may be ſtyrrers of mẽs myndes, and make them to remember themſelues and to lamẽt their ſinnes, and ſo farre he permitteth them to ſtand in Churches. But otherwiſe, for auoydyng of Idolatrie, he chargeth all Byſhops & preachers diligently to inſtruct the people, that they cõmit no Idolatry vnto them, in ſenſyng of them, in kneelyng and offeryng to thẽ, with other like worſhyppynges, whiche ought not to be done, but onely to God.

Of Images.

And likewiſe for honoryng of Saintes, the Byſhops and preachers be commaũded to informe the people, how Saints hence departed ought to be reuerenced & honored & how not. That is, that they are to be prayſed & honored as the elect ſeruaũts of Chriſt, or rather Chriſt to be prayſed in them for their excellent vertues plãted in them & for their good example left vs, teachyng vs to lyue in vertue & goodnes, & not to feare to dye for Chriſt, as they did: & alſo as aduauncers of our prayers, in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any ſuch honour to be geuen vnto them, which is onely due to God: And ſo forth charging the ſayd ſpirituall perſons to teache their flocke that all grace and remiſſion of ſinnes, and ſaluation, can no otherwiſe be obteined, but of God onely, by the mediation of our Sauiour Chriſt, who is onely a ſufficient Mediatour for our ſinnes: and that all grace and remiſſion of ſinne muſt proceede onely by mediation of Chriſt and no other.

Of honoring of Saintes.

No mediation but by Chriſt.

From that, he commeth further to ſpeake of rites & ceremonies in Chriſtes Church, as in hauyng veſtimentes vſed in Gods ſeruice, ſprinklyng of holy water, geuyng of holy bread, bearyng of Cãdles on Candlemas day, taking of aſhes, bearyng of Palmes, creepyng to the Croſſe, ſettyng vp the Sepulcher, hallowing of the fonte, with other like cuſtomes, rites, & ceremonies, all which old rites and cuſtomes, the foreſayd booke doth not by and by repeale, but ſo farre admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembraunce of ſpirituall thynges: but ſo, that the people withall muſt be inſtructed, how the ſayd cere-

Of rites and ceremonyes.

monies conteine in them no ſuch power, to remitte ſinne, but onely that to be referred vnto God, by whome onely our ſinnes be forgeuen vs.

Of Purgatorye.

And ſo concluding with Purgatory, he maketh an ende of thoſe Articles, thus ſaieng thereof: that becauſe ŷ booke of Machabes aloweth praieng for ſoules departed, hee therefore diſproueth not that ſo laudable a cuſtome, ſo long continued in the Church. But becauſe there is no certeyne place named, nor kynde of paynes expreſſed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh neceſſarie ſuche abuſes clearely to be put away, which vnder the name of Purgatory haue bene aduaunced: as to make men beleeue, that by the Biſhop of Romes pardons, or by Maſſes ſayd, at Scala cœli, or other where, in any place, or before any Images, ſoules mighte clearely bee deliuered out of Purgatory, and from the paynes thereof, to be ſent ſtraight to heauen, and ſuch other like abuſes, &c.

The king and his counſaile bearing with the weakenes of the people.

The booke of articles deuiſed by the king for quietnes of the people. &c.

Milke for newe wainlinges.

And theſe were the contents of that booke of articles deuiſed, and paſſed by the Kings authoritie, a little before the ſtirre of Lincolneſhire and Yorkeſhire. Wherin, although there were many and great imperfections and vntruthes not to bee permitted in any true reformed Churche: yet notwithſtanding, the King and his counſaile to beare with the weakelings, whiche were newely weyned from their mothers milke of Rome, thought it might ſerue ſomwhat for the time, in ſteade of a little beginning, till better might come.

Iniunctions for abrogatyon certeine holydayes.

And ſo conſequently, not long after theſe Articles thus ſet forward, certeyne other Iniunctions were alſo geuen out about the ſame yeare, 1536. whereby a number of holy daies were abrogated, and eſpecially ſuch as fel in the harueſt time: the keping of which redounded greatly to ŷ hinderaunce of gathering in their corne, hay, fruite, and other ſuch like neceſſarie commodities. The copie and tenour of which Iniunctions I haue alſo hereunto annexed, as vnder foloweth.

¶ The Kings Iniunctions.

Iniunctions by the king.

FOraſmuch as the number of holy dayes is ſo exceſſinely growen, and yet daily more and more by mens deuotion yea rather ſuperſtition, was like further to encreaſe, that the ſame was and ſhould be not onely preiudiciall to the common weale, by reaſon that it is occaſion as well of much ſlouth and idlenes, the very nurſe of theeues, vagabunds: and of diuers other vnthriftines and inconueniences, as of decay of good miſteries & Artes profitable & neceſſary for the common wealth, & loſſe of mans foode, many times being cleane deſtroied through the ſuperſtitious obſeruance of the ſaid holydaies, in not taking the oportunity of good & ſerene weather, offered vpon the ſame in time of harueſt, but alſo pernicious to the ſoules of many men, which (being entiſed by the licencious vacation & libertie of thoſe holydaies, do vpon the ſame, commonly vſe and practiſe more exceſſe, riot, and ſuperfluitie, then vpon any other dayes. And ſith the Sabboth day was vſed and ordeined, but for mans vſe, and therefore ought to geue place to the neceſſitie and behoofe of the ſame whenſoeuer that ſhall occurre, much rather any other holyday inſtitute by man: It is therefore by the Kings highnes authoritie as ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England, with the common aſſent and conſent of the Prelates and Cleargie of this his Realme, in conuocation lawfully aſſembled and congregated, amongſt other things decreed, ordeyned and eſtabliſhed.

Feaſtes of dedication to be kept al vpon one day.

Firſt, that the feaſt of dedication of Churches, ſhall in all places through out this Realme, be celebrate and kept on the firſt Sonday of the moneth of October, for euer, and vpon none other day.

Church holydayes forbidden.

Item, that the feaſt of the patron of euerye Churche within this Realme, called commonly the Churche holyday, ſhall not frō henceforth be kept or obſerued as a holy day, as heretofore hath bene vſed, but that it ſhal be lawful to all & ſingular perſons reſident or dwelling within thys Realme, to go to their worke, occupation or miſtery, & the ſame truely to exerciſe and occupy vpon the ſayde feaſt, as vpon any other worke day: except the ſaide feaſt of Church holy day bee ſuche as muſt bee elſe vniuerſally obſerued and kept as a holyday by this ordinance following.

Holydayes in the harueſt time put downe.

Alſo that all thoſe feaſtes or holydayes, which ſhall happen to fall or occurre either in the harueſt tyme, whiche is to be counted from the firſt daye of Iuly, vnto the xxix. day of September, or elſe in the tearme time at Weſtminſter, ſhall not be kept, or obſerued frō henceforth as holydaies, but that it may be lawfull for euery man to go to his work or occupation vpon the ſame, as vppon any other worke day: except alwaies the feaſtes of the Apoſtles, of the bleſſed Virgin, and of Saint George: and alſo ſuch feaſtes as wherein the Kings highnes Iudges at Weſtminſter doe not vſe to ſit in Iudgement. All whiche ſhall be kept holy and ſolemne of euery man, as in time paſt, haue bene accuſtomed: Prouided alwaies, that it may be lawfull vnto all Prieſtes and Clerkes, as well ſecular as regular, in the foreſaid holydaies now abrogate, to ſing or ſay their accuſtomed ſeruice for thoſe holydayes, in their Churches: ſo as they do not the ſame ſolemnely, nor do ring to the ſame after the maner vſed in high holydayes, ne do commaund, or indict the ſame to be kept or obſerued as holydayes.

Finally, that the feaſtes of the Natiuitie of our Lord, of Eaſter day, of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptiſt, and of S. Michaell the Archaungell, ſhall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four generall offering dayes.

And for further declaration of the premiſſes, be it knowē that Eaſter tearme beginneth alwayes the xviij. day after Eaſter day, reckening Eaſter day for one, and endeth the Monday next folowing the Aſcenſion day.

Trinitie terme beginneth alwaies the Wedneſday next after the Octaues of Trinitie Sonday, and endeth the xj. or xij. day of Iuly.

Michaelmas terme beginneth the ix. or x. day of October, and endeth the xxviij. or xxix. day of Nouember.

Hilary terme beginneth the xxiij. or xxiiij. day of Ianuary, and endeth the xij. or xiij. day of February.

In Eaſter terme, vpon the Aſcenſion daye: in Trinitie terme, vppon the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt: in Michaelmas terme vpon Alhalow day: in Hilary Terme, vpon Candlemas day, the kings Iudges at Weſtminſter do not vſe to ſit in iudgement, nor vpon any Sonday.

Eaſter terme.

Trinitie terme.

Michael terme.

Hilary terme.

After theſe Articles and Iniunctions thus giuen out by the King & his Counſaile, thē folowed moreouer (as time ſerued) other Iniunctions moe, concerning Images, reliques, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of Pilgremages deuiſed, by ſuperſtition, and mainteined for luker ſake, alſo for the Pater noſter, Creede, and Gods Commandements, and the Bible to be had in Engliſh, with diuers other points moe neceſſary for Religion. The wordes of which Iniunctions heere alſo enſue.

✻ Other Iniunctions geuen by the authoritie of the Kings highnes to the Cleargy of this his Realme.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yere of our Lord god 1536. and of the moſt noble reigne of our ſoueraine Lord Henry the eight, King of England and of Fraunce, defendour of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in earth ſupreme head of the Church of England, the xxviij. &c. I Thomas Cromwell Knight, Lorde Cromwell, keeper of the priuie Seale of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lorde the King, and vicegerent to the ſame, for and cōcerning all his iuriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme, to the glory of Almightie God, to the Kings highnes honour, the publike weale of this Realme, and increaſe of vertue in the ſame: haue appointed and aſſigned theſe Iniunctions enſuing to be kept and obſerued of the Deane, Perſons, Vicares, Curates, and Stipendaries, reſident or hauing cure of ſoules, or anye other ſpirituall adminiſtration within this Deanry: vnder the paynes heereafter limited and appointed.

The firſt is, that the Deane, Perſons, Vicares, and other hauing cure of ſoule any where within this Deanrye ſhall faithfully keepe and obſerue, and as farre as in them may lye, ſhall cauſe to be kept and obſerued of all other, all and ſingular lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme, made for the aboliſhing and extirpatiō of the biſhop of Romes pretenſed and vſurped power, and iuriſdiction within thys Realme, and for the ſtabliſhment and confirmation of the Kings authoritie and iuriſdiction within the ſame, as of the ſupreame head of the Church of Englande, ſhall to the vttermoſt of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, ſincerely, and without any colour or diſſimulation, declare manifeſt, and open, by the ſpace of one quarter of a yeare nowe nexte enſuing, once euery Sonday, and after at the leaſtwiſe, twiſe euery quarter of a yeare, in their Sermōs, and other collations, that the Byſhop of Romes vſurped power and iuriſdictiō, hauing no eſtabliſhmēt, nor groūd by the lawe of God, was of moſt iuſt cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, and that therefore they owe vnto him no maner of obedience or ſubiection, and that the Kinges power is within his dominiō, the higheſt potentate & power vnder God to whome all men within the ſame dominion, by Gods commaundement, owe moſt loyaltie and obedience afore and aboue all other potentates in earth.

Item, whereas certeine Articles were lately deuiſed and put forth by the Kings highneſſe authoritie, and condiſcended vpō by the Prelates and clergy of this his Realme in conuocation (whereof part were neceſſary to be holden and beleued for our ſaluation, and yͤ other part do conſerne and touch certeine laudable ceremonies, rites, and vſages of the Churche, meete and conuenient to be kepte, and vſed for a decent and politike order in the ſame) the ſayde Deane, Parſons, Vicares, and other Curates, ſhall ſo open and declare in their ſermons and other collations, the ſaid Articles vnto them that be vnder their cure, that they may plainely know and diſcerne which of thē be neceſſarie to be beleued and obſerued for their ſaluation and whiche be not neceſſary, but only do concerne the decent and politike order of the ſaid Church, according to ſuche cōmandement & admonition, as hath bene giuen vnto them heretofore by the authority of the kings highnes in that behalfe.

e kinges articles to read to people.

Moreouer, that they ſhall declare vnto all ſuch as be vnder their cure, the Articles likewiſe deuiſed, put forth and authoriſed of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certayne ſuperſtitious holydaies, according to the effecte and purport of the ſame Articles, and perſuade their pariſhioners to keepe and obſerue the ſame inuiolably as things wholeſome, prouided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed by common conſent and publike authoritie for the weale cōmoditie, and profite of all this Realme.

ages abolished.

Beſides this, to the entent that all ſuperſtition and hypocriſie crept into diuers mens hartes, may vaniſh away, they ſhall not ſet forth nor extoll any images, reliques, or miracles, for any ſuperſtitiō or lucre, nor allure the people by any inticeatemēts, to the pilgrimages of any Saints, otherwiſe then is permitted in the Articles lately put foorth by the authority of the Kings Maieſty, and condeſcended vpon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realme in Conuocation, as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to geue this commoditie or that, ſeing all goodnes, health, and grace ought to be both loked and aſked for, onely of God, as of the very author of the ſame, and of none other, for without him it can not be geuen: but they ſhall exhort as well their pariſhioners, as other pilgrimes, that they do rather apply themſelues to the keeping of Gods commandements, and fulfilling of his works of charitie, perſwading them that they ſhall pleaſe God more by the true exerciſing of their bodily labor, trauaile or occupatiō, and prouiding for their families, then if they went aboute to the ſaid pilgrimages: and it ſhall profit more their ſoule health, if they do beſtow yͭ on the poore & needy, which they would haue beſtowed vpon the ſayd images or reliques.

lgrimages bidden.

Prayers in mother tongue.

Alſo in the ſame their Sermons and other collations, the Parſons, Vicares, and other Curates aforeſayd, ſhall diligently admoniſh the fathers and mothers, maiſters & gouernours of youth, being within their cure, to teache or cauſe to be taught, their children and ſeruaunts euen from their infancy, the Pater noſter, the Articles of our faith, and the ten commaundements in their mother tongue, and the ſame ſo taught, ſhall cauſe the ſayd youth oft to repeate & vnderſtād. And to the intent this may be the more eaſily done, the ſaid Curates ſhall in their ſermons deliberately and plainely recite of the ſayd Pater noſter, Articles, or commaundements, one clauſe or article one day, and an other another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little & little, and ſhall deliuer yͤ ſame in writing, or ſhew where printed bookes conteining the ſame, be to be ſolde to them that can read, or will deſire the ſame: and therto that yͤ ſaid fathers and mothers, maiſters & gouernours doe beſtowe their children and ſeruauntes euen from their childhoode, either to learning, or to ſome honeſt exerciſe, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counſayling, and by all the waies and meanes they may, as well in their ſaide ſermons and collations, as otherwaies, the ſaid fathers, mothers, maiſters, and other gouernours beeing vnder their cure and charge, diligētly to prouide and foreſee, that the ſaid youth be in no maner wiſe kept or brought vp in idlenes, leaſt at any time afterward, they be driuen, for lacke of ſome miſterie or occupation to liue by, to fall to begging, ſtealing, or ſome other vnthriftines, forasmuch as we may dayly ſee, through ſlouth & idlenes, diuers valiant men fall, ſome to begging, and ſome to theft & murder, which after brought to calamitie & miſery, impute a great part thereof to their frends and gouernours, whiche ſuffered thē to be brought vp ſo idlely in their youth, where if they had bene educated and brought vp in ſome good litterature, occupatiō or miſtery, they ſhould (being rulers of their owne familie) haue profited as well themſelues, as diuers other perſons, to the great commodity and ornament of the common weale.

bringing of youth ome arte ccupatió.

Alſo that the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates, ſhall diligently prouide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duely and reuerently miniſtred in their pariſhes. And if at any time it happen them other in any of the caſes expreſſed in the ſtatutes of this realme, or of ſpeciall licence geuen by the Kings Maieſtie, to be abſent frō their benefices, they ſhall leaue their cure, not to a rude and vnlearned perſon, but to an honeſt, well learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude & vnlearned of their cure, wholeſome doctrine, & reduce them to the right way, that they do not erre: and alwayes let thē ſee, that neither they nor their Vicares doe ſeeke more their owne profite, promotion or aduauntage, then the profite of the ſoules that they haue vnder their cure or the glory of God.

Placing of good vicars & Curats.

Item, that euery perſon or proprietary of any Pariſh Church within this realme, ſhall on this ſide yͤ feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula, next cōming, prouide a booke of the whole Bible both in Latin and alſo in Engliſh, and lay the ſame in the quire for euery mā that will, to looke and read thereon, & ſhall diſcourage no mā from the readyng of any part of the Bible either in Latin or Engliſh, but rather cōfort exhort, & admoniſh euery man to read the ſame, as the very word of God, & the ſpirituall foode of mās ſoule, whereby they may the better know their dueties to God, to their ſoueraigne Lord the kyng & their neighbour, euer gentlely and charitably exhortyng them, that vſing a ſober and a modeſt behauiour in the readyng & inquiſition of the true ſence of the ſame, they do in no wiſe ſtifly or egerly contēd or ſtriue one with another, about the ſame, but referre the declaration of thoſe places that be in controuerſie, to the iudgement of them that be better learned.

Euery pariſhe to prouide a Byble in Engliſhe.

Alſo the ſayd Deane, Perſons, Vicares, Curates and other Prieſtes ſhall in no wiſe at any vnlawfull tyme, nor for any cauſe then for their honeſt neceſſitie, haunt or reſort to any Tauernes or Alehouſes, and after their dinner and ſupper, they ſhall not geue themſelues to drinking or riot, ſpendyng their tyme idlely by day or by night, at tables or cardes playing, or any other vnlawfull game: but at ſuch tymes as they ſhall haue ſuch leyſure, they ſhall read or heare ſomewhat of holy Scripture, or ſhall occupy thēſelues with ſome honeſt exerciſe, & yͭ they alwayes doe thoſe thynges which appertaine to good congruence & honeſty, to profite of the cōmon weale, hauyng alwayes in mynde, that they ought to excell all other in puritie of life, & ſhould be example to all other, to lyue well and Chriſtianly.

Prieſtes not to haūt Alehouſes.

Furthermore, becauſe the goods of the Church are called the goodes of the poore, and in theſe dayes nothyng is leſſe ſeene then the poore to be ſuſteyned with the ſame, all Perſons, Vicares, Prebendaries, and other beneficed mē within this Deanery, not beyng reſident vpon their benefices, whiche may diſpend yearely xx. li. or aboue, either within this Deanry or els where, ſhall diſtribute hereafter yearely amongeſt their poore Pariſhioners or other inhabitauntes there, in the preſence of the Churchwardens, or ſome other honeſt men of the Pariſhe, the xl. part of the fruites and reuenues of their ſayd benefices, leaſt they bee worthely noted of ingratitude, which reſeruyng ſo many partes to thēſelues cannot vouchſafe to impart the xl. portion therof, amongeſt the poore people of that Pariſh, that is ſo fruitefull and profitable vnto them,

Parſons not reſident, to pay the 40. part to their paryſhes,

And to yͭ intent that learned men may hearafter ſpring the more, for the executyng of the ſayd premiſſes, euery Parſon, Vicare, Clarke, or beneficed man within this Deanry, hauyng yearely to ſpēd in benefices or other promotions of the Church, an C. poundes, ſhall geue competent exhibition to one Scholer, & for as many C. li. more as he may diſpēd, to ſo many ſcholers more ſhall geue like exhibitiō in the vniuerſitie of Oxford or Cābridge, or ſome Grammer Schoole, which after they haue profited in good learnyng, may bee parteners of their patrones cure and charge, as well in preaching, or otherwiſe in the execution of their offices, or may when neede ſhal be, otherwiſe profite the common wealth with their coūſell and wiſedome.

Euery beneficed man worth a hundreth pounde to finde a ſcholer at the vniuerſitye.

Alſo, that all Parſons, Vicares, and Clarkes, hauyng Churches, Chappels, or manſions within this Deanery, ſhall beſtow yearely hereafter vpon the ſame manſions or Chauncels of their Churches beyng in decay, the fift part of thoſe their benefices, till they ſhal be fully repayred, and the ſame ſo repayred they ſhall alwayes keepe and mainteine in good eſtate.

Beneficed men to mayntayne their manſions.

All which and ſingular Iniunctions ſhall be inuiolably obſerued of the ſayd Deane, Parſons, Vicares, Curates, Stipendaries, & other Clerkes and beneficed men, vnder payne of ſuſpenſion, and ſequeſtratiō of the fruites of their benefices, vntill they haue done their dueties, accordyng to theſe Iniunctions.

¶After theſe Iniunctions and Articles afore expreſſed (which were geuen about the yeare of our Lord. 1536. and 1537.) it was not aboue the ſpace of a yeare, but other Iniunctiōs alſo were publiſhed, to the further inſtruction of the people in the proceedynges of religion, whereby both yͤ Parſōs of Churches, & the Pariſhes together were enioyned to prouide in euery Church to be a Bible in Engliſh, alſo for euery Pariſhoner to be taught by the Miniſter,

ſter, to vnderſtand and ſay the Lords Prayer and Creede in their own vulgare tongue, with other neceſſary & moſt fruitefull Iniunctions, the tenour whereof here foloweth.

¶ Iniunctions exhibited. ann. 1538.

Iniunctions by the king.

IN the name of God Amen. By the authority & commiſſion of the moſt excellent Prince, Henry by the grace of God, King of England, & of France, defendour of yͤ faith, Lord of Ireland. and in earth ſupreme head vnder Chriſt, of the Church of England, I Thomas Lorde Cromwell, Lord priuie ſeale, Vicegerent to the kings ſaid highnes for all his iuriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme, do for the aduancement of the true honour of almighty God, encreaſe of vertue, & diſcharge of the Kings maieſtie, giue and exhibite vnto you N. theſe Iniunctiōs folowing to be kept, obſerued, & fulfilled vpō the paine hereafter declared.

Firſt, that ye ſhall truely obſerue and keepe all & ſingular the Kings highnes Iniunctions geuē vnto you heretofore in my name by his graces authority, not only vpon the paines therein expreſſed, but alſo in your default now after this ſecond monition continued, vppon further puniſhment to be ſtraightly extended towardes you by the Kings highnes arbitrement or his vicegerent aforeſayde.

For the Bible to be ſet vp in Churches.

Item, that ye ſhall prouide on this ſide the feaſt of N. next comming, one booke of the whole Byble of the largeſt volume in Engliſh, and the ſame ſet vp in ſome conueniēt place within the ſaid Church that ye haue cure of, whereas your pariſhioners may moſt cōmodiouſly reſorte to yͤ ſame & read it. The charges of which booke ſhal be ratably borne betwene you, the parſon and pariſhoners aforeſaid: that is to ſay, the one halfe by you, & the other halfe by thē.

Item, that yee ſhall diſcourage no man, priuely nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the ſayd Bible, but ſhal expreſly prouoke, ſtirre & exhort euery perſon to reade the ſame, as that which is yͤ very liuely word of God, that euery Chriſten perſons is bounden to embrace, beleeue, & folow, if he looke to be ſaued, admoniſhing them neuertheleſſe to auoyde all contention and alteration therein, and to vſe an honeſt ſobrietie in the inquiſition of the true ſence of the ſame, and to referre the explication of the obſcure places, to men of higher iudgement in ſcripture.

The Lordes praier to be learned in Engliſhe.

Item, that ye ſhall euery ſonday and holyday through the yeare, openly & plainly recite to your pariſhners, twiſe or thriſe together, or oftner if neede require, one Article or ſentence of the Pater noſter, or Creede in Engliſhe, to the entēt they may learne yͤ ſame by hart, & ſo frō day to day, to geue thē one like leſſon or ſentēce of the ſame, till they haue learned the whole Pater noſter, and Creede in Engliſhe by rote, and as they be taught euery ſentence of the ſame by rote, ye ſhall expound & declare the vnderſtāding of yͤ ſame vnto them, exhorting al parents and houſholders, to teach their children and ſeruants the ſame, as they are bound in conſcience to do: and that done, ye ſhall declare vnto them the tenne commandements, one by one, euery ſonday and holyday, till they be likewiſe perfect in the ſame.

Item, that ye ſhall in confeſſions euery Lent, examine euery perſon that commeth to confeſſion to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our faith, and the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, and heare them ſay the ſame particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye ſhall declare to them, that euery Chriſten perſon ought to know the ſame before they ſhould receiue the bleſſed Sacrament of the Alter, and moniſh them to learne the ſame more perfectly by the nexte yeare folowing, or elſe, like as they ought not to preſume to come to Gods bord without perfect knowledge of the ſame (and if they do, it is to the great perill of their ſoules) ſo ye ſhall declare vnto them, that yee looke for other Iniunctions from the Kings highnes by that time, to ſtay and repeale all ſuch from Gods bord, as ſhall be founde ignoraunt in the premiſſes: wherefore do ye thus admoniſh them, to the entent they ſhould both eſchue the perill of their ſoules, and alſo the worldly rebuke that they might incurre hereafter by the ſame.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, that ye ſhall make or cauſe to be made in the ſayd Church, and euery other cure ye haue, one Sermon euery quarter of a yeare at the leaſt, wherein ye ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpell of Chriſt, and in yͤ ſame exhort your hearers to the workes of charitie, mercy, and faith, ſpecially preſcribed and commaunded in ſcripture, & not to repoſe their truſt or affiance in other workes deuiſed by mens fantaſies beſides ſcripture: as in wandering to Pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to fained Reliques or Images, or kiſſing, or licking the ſame, ſaiyng ouer a number of beades not vnderſtanded ne minded on, or ſuch like ſuperſtition: for the doyng whereof, ye not onely haue no promiſe of reward in Scripture, but cōtrariwiſe great threats and maledictiōs of God, as things tending to Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, whiche of all other offences, God almighty doth moſt deteſt and abhorre, for that the ſame diminiſheth moſt his honour and glory.

Imag
led do

Item, that ſuche fayned Images as ye knowe in any of your cures to be ſo abuſed with Pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye ſhall for auoiding of that moſt deteſtable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take downe without delay, and ſhal ſuffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or Images of waxe, to be ſet afore any Image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth acroſſe the Church by the roodeloft, the light afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the ſepulchre: whiche for the adorning of the Church and diuine ſeruice, yee ſhall ſuffer to remayne ſtill, admoniſhing youre pariſhners, that Images ſerue for none other purpoſe, but as the bookes of vnlearned men that can no letters, wherby they might be admoniſhed of the liues and conuerſation of them, that the ſaide Images do repreſent. which Images, if they abuſe for any other intēt then for ſuch remembrances, they cōmit Idolatrie in the ſame to the great danger of their ſoules: and therfore the Kings highnes graciouſly tendering the weale of his ſubiects ſoules, hath in part already, & more will hereafter trauaile for the aboliſhing of ſuch Images, as might bee occaſion of ſo greate offence to God, and ſo great a daunger to the ſoules of his louing ſubiects.

Good
ſters to
placed.

Item, that in all ſuche benefices or cures, as yee haue, whereupon ye be not your ſelf reſident, yee ſhall appoynte ſuch Curates in your ſtead, as both can by habilitie, & will alſo promptly execute theſe iniunctions, and do their duty otherwiſe, that ye are bounden to do in euery behalfe accordingly, and profite their cure no leſſe with good example of liuing, then with declaration of the word of God, or elſe their lacke and defaults ſhall be imputed vnto you, who ſhall ſtraightly aunſwer for the ſame, if they do otherwiſe.

Item, that you ſhall admit no man to preach within anye of your benefices or cures, but ſuche as ſhall appeare vnto you to be ſufficiently licenced therunto by the Kings highnes or his graces authority, or the biſhop of yͤ dioces, and ſuch as ſhal be ſo licenced, ye ſhal gladly receiue, to declare yͤ word of God without any reſiſtance or cōtradictiō.

Pilgr
& Imag
bandon

Item, if ye haue heretofore declared to your pariſhners any thing to yͤ extolling & ſetting forth of pilgrimages, to fained reliques or images, or any ſuch ſuperſtitiō, ye ſhall now openly afore the ſame, recant & reproue yͤ ſame, ſhewing them (as the truth is) that you dyd the ſame vpon no ground of Scripture, but as being led & ſeduced by a common errour and abuſe crept into the Church, thorough the ſufferance and auarice of ſuch as felt profite by the ſame.

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Item, if ye do or ſhall know any within your pariſh, or elſewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in engliſh, or ſincerely preached, or of the executiō of theſe iniunctions or a fautor of the Biſhop of Romes pretenſed power, now by the lawes of this Realme iuſtly reiected and extirped: ye ſhall detect the ſame to the Kings highnes or his honourable Counſayle, or to his vicegerent aforeſayd, or to the iuſtice of peace next adioyning.

Regi
booke
uery p

Item, that you and euery Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, within this dioceſſe, ſhall for euery Church keep one booke of Regiſter, wherein ye ſhall write the day and yeare of euery wedding, chriſtening, & burieng, made within your pariſh for your time, & ſo for euery man ſucceding you likewiſe & alſo therin ſet euery perſons name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtined or buried, & for the ſafe keeping of the ſame booke, the pariſh ſhall be bounde to prouide of theyr common charges, one ſure coffer with ij. lockes and keies, whereof the one to remaine with you, and the other wyth the wardens of euery ſuch pariſh wherein the ſayd booke ſhall be layd vp: which booke ye ſhall euery Sonday take foorth, and in the preſence of the ſaide wardens, or one of them, write and record in the ſame, al the weddings, chriſtnings, and buriengs, made the whole weeke before, and that done, to lay vp the ſayd booke in the ſayde coffer as afore, and for euery time the ſame ſhall be omitted, the partie that ſhall be in the fault thereof, ſhall forfaite to the ſayd Church three ſhillings foure pence, to be employed on the reparation of the ſame Church.

Item, that ye ſhall once euery quarter of a yeare, reade theſe and the other former iniunctions geuen vnto you by authoritie of the Kings highnes, openly and deliberately before al your pariſhners, to the entent that both you may be the better admoniſhed of your ductie, and your ſaid pariſhners the more incited to enſue the ſame for their part.

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Item, for as much as by a lawe eſtabliſhed, euery man is bound to pay his tithes, no man ſhall by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, deteine their tithes, & ſo redub one wrong with another, or be his owne iudge, but ſhall truly pay yͤ ſame as hath ben accuſtomed to their perſons & curates, without any reſtraint or diminutiō: & ſuch lacke and default as they can iuſtly find in theyr parſons and curates, to call for reformation therof, at theyr Ordinaryes & other ſuperiors handes, who vpon complaint & due proofe therof, ſhall reforme the ſame accordingly.

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rogate.

Item, that no Perſon ſhall from henceforth alter, or chaunge the order and maner of any faſting day that is commaunded & indicted by ye church, nor of diuine prayer nor of ſeruice, otherwiſe then is ſpecified in ye ſayd iniunctiõs, vntill ſuch time as the ſame ſhall be ſo ordered & tranſpoſed by ye kings highnes authority, the Euens of ſuch ſayntes, whoſe holidayes be abrogated, only excepted, which ſhalbe declared henceforth to be no faſting dayes, except alſo the commemoration of Tho. Becket ſometime Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which ſhalbe cleane omitted, and in ſtead thereof, the feriall ſeruice vſed.

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Item, that the knolling of the Aues after ſeruice, & certayne other times, which hath bene brought in & begon by the pretence of ye B. of Romes pardon, henceforth be left & omitted, leſt the people do hereafter truſt to haue pardon, for the ſaying of their Aues betwene the ſayd knolyng, as they haue done in times paſt.

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Ite, where in times paſt, men haue vſed in diuers places in theyr Proceſſions, to ſing Ora pro nobis to ſo many ſaintes, that they had no tyme to ſing the good Suffrages, folowing: as Parce nobis Domine, and Libera nos Domine it muſt be taught and preached, ye better it were to omit Ora pro nobis, and to ſing the other ſuffrages being moſt neceſſary and effectuall. All which and ſinguler Iniunctions I miniſter vnto you and to your pariſhners by the kings highnes authority to me committed in this part, which I charge & commaund you by the ſame authority to obſerue and keep, vpon paine of depriuation, ſequeſtration of your fruits, or ſuch other cohercion as to the king or his vicegerent for this time being ſhalbe ſene conuenient.

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By theſe Articles and Iniunctiõs thus comming forth one after an other, for the neceſſary inſtruction of the people, it may appeare, how well the king deſerued then the title of his ſupreme gouernment, geuen vnto him ouer the church of England: by the which title and authority he did more good for the redreſſing and aduauncing of Chriſtes Church and religion here in England, in theſe three yeres, then the Pope, the great Vicar of Chriſt, wt all his biſhops and Prelates had done the ſpace of iij. hundreth yeares before. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and in his counſell, how by all wayes and meanes, to redreſſe religion, to reforme errors, to correct corrupt cuſtomes, to helpe ignoraunce, and to reduce the miſleadings of chriſtes flock drowned in blinde popery, ſuperſtition, cuſtomes & idolatry, to ſome better forme of more perfect reformatiõ. Wherevnto he prouided not only theſe articles, precepts, and iniunctions aboue ſpecified, to informe the rude people: but alſo procured the Biſhoppes to helpe forward in the ſame cauſe of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching & teaching of the people, according as ye heard before pag. 1024. how that in the yeare 1534. during all the whole time of the parliament, there was appoynted euery ſonday a Biſhop to preach at Paules Croſſe agaynſt the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome.

ead afore
g.1024.

Amongeſt which biſhops, Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, the kinges confeſſor, and a great perſecutor of ye poore flock of Chriſt (as is before ſufficiently recorded, pag. 952. made a Sermon before the king, vpon good Friday this preſent yere 1538. at Grenewich, ſeriouſly and effectuouſly preaching on the kinges behalfe, againſt the vſurped ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, the contentes of whoſe ſermõ wholy to expreſſe, were here to long & tedious. So much as may ſuffice for our purpoſe, I thought ſhould remayne to the poſterity, beginning at his Theame, whiche then he tooke in hand to entreat vpon, writtẽ in the 13. cha, to the Hebrues, as foloweth.

ad afore
g.952.

¶ The Sermon of Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, on good Friday, before the king at Grenewich. an. 1538.

Anno
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THe wordes of the Apoſtle are theſe: Habemus altare de quo edere non habent poteſtatẽ qui tabernaculo deſeruiunt. Quorum enim animalium infertur ſanguis pro peccato in ſancta per pontificẽ: horum corpora cremantur extra caſtra. Propter quod, & Ieſus extra portam paſſus eſt. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra caſtra, improperium eius portantes.

Theſe are the wordes of the Apoſtle. Many things conteined in few wordes, and the Engliſh thereof is this: We haue an aulter, we haue an aulter (ſayth the Apoſtle) an aulter, and a ſacrifice vpon this aulter. And they that ſerueth the Tabernacle, may not eat of this aulter, may not eat of the Sacrifice that is offred vpon this aulter. For the Apoſtle here (Per metonymiam) doth put the aulter for that that is ſacrificed vpon the aulter. The bloud of thoſe beaſtes that were ſlayne for the ſacrifice, was brought into the holy ſecret high place of the temple where the Arke was, betwene the high aultar (as ye will ſay) and the veile by the biſhop, & there offered vp for the ſinne of the people. The bodies of the beaſtes that were burned without the pauilions or tentes for the which, Propter quod, for which what? for the fulfilling of which miſtery. Alſo to verifie and fulfill the figure, and that the thing figured, might be correſpondent to the figure. Ieſus ſuffered without the gate, to ſanctify the people by his bloud. Let vs go out therefore and ſuffer with Chriſt bearing his opprobries and rebukes. Theſe be the wordes of the Apoſtle now taken.

I will by the helpe of our Lord God, declare theſe wordes in order, euẽ as they do ſtãd. Here is an aultar, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Byſhop which did offer this Sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a ſeruing of the Tabernacle, the bloud of the ſacrifice which was offered by the Byſhop for the ſinnes of the people, in the moſte holy place of the temple, and the bodies of the beaſtes (whoſe bloud was offered) were burned without the tentes. And this was done the x. day of the vij. moneth. Ye heare now the words of the Apoſtle. Wherin appeareth the manifeſt figure of the Paſsion of our ſauior Ieſus Chriſt, which we this day do honor.

In theſe wordes the Apoſtle toucheth the figure of the lawe. And bringeth it to a ſpirituall vnderſtanding. For it was commaunded in the law, in the booke of Numbers, that the x. day of the vij. moneth, in the feaſt that was called the feaſt of the propitiation, of mercy, of remiſsion, or the feaſt of purgation, when the people were purged. At which time, they ſhould take a calfe and a kidde, and ſlay them: whoſe bloud the onely Biſhop ſhould bring, In ſancta ſanctorum, into the moſt holy, ſolemne, and ſecret place of the temple: wherein the biſhop neuer came, vnleſſe he brought with him bloud, to offer in Sacrifice. Quia omnia ferè in ſanguine ſecundum legem mundabuntur, & ſine ſanguinis effuſione non fit remiſsio, ſayth the Apoſtle. Almoſt al thinges after the law, or in the law, were cleanſed in bloud, and by bloud: & without the effuſion of bloud, was no remiſsion. And in that place of the temple called Sancta Sanctorum, the Biſhop prayed and offered for the people. The fleſh and corps of the ſacrifice was burned without the tentes, without theyr pauilions. And it was not lawfull to any that did ſerue the tabernacle, to eat of the fleſh of that ſacrifice.

Num. 19.

Heb. 12.

Here is a manifeſt figure (as I ſayd) of the Paſsion of our Sauiour Chriſt. The aultar that was conſecrate and halowed in this ſolemnity of the bloud of the eternall Teſtament, was that holye croſſe that Chriſt ſuffered on. Which as on this day, he did conſecrate, hallow, dignifie and dedicate, and did adourne and decke the ſame with the members of his moſt precious body, more gloriouſly then if it had bene embrodered and inſert with precious ſtones. For as golde which is the moſt precious metall, is made more precious when it is ſet with precious ſtones, and is dignified therwith, whether it be aulter, Image, crowne, ring or owch: ſo was the aulter the holy Croſſe, beautified, dignified, adourned & made precious with the members of that moſt precious ſtone Chriſt, which is as Peter ſayth: Lapis viuus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a deo electus: probatus, angularis & præcioſus. This Chriſt is (he ſayth) the liuely ſtone, which men did reproue, which God did elect for the approued ſtone, for a corner ſtone, for the chiefe ſtone in the building of his church, for the ſtone that ioyneth the walles of the Church together, for the ſtone wherupon the fayth of Chriſt and his Church is builded. A precious ſtone, a ſtone of price, a ſtone of high value, far paſsing in the eſtimation of a good Chriſten man, all other precious ſtones in the world. This precious ſtone Chriſt, with the members of his moſt precious body, did decke, adourne, and made precious this aulter of the Croſſe, when his body was by the Iewes, with violency, extremely ſtrayned vpon the ſame, that all his bones (as teſtifieth the Prophet) mought be numbred. Vpon this aultar was the great Sacrifice of the world offered, Chriſt himſelfe. He was the Sacrifice, & he was the Prieſt. He offered vp himſelfe to God his father, for the ſinne of man. Obtulit ſemetipſum immaculatum deo, vt ſanctificaret iniquinatos, ſayth the Apoſtle. He offered himſelfe a pure, cleane, immaculate hoſte to God, to redeeme the world, to ſanctify ſinners, to iuſtify man.

1. Pet. 2.

The ſtone chriſt

Pſal. 21.

Chriſt the ſacrifice of the world.

This Chriſt the Biſhop of good thinges to come (as the Apoſtle witneſſeth) entred once into the place called Sancta Sanctorum, not onely of the temple, but in Sancta ſanctorum, into that holy place of places, into heauẽ. He entred with ſacrificed bloud like a Biſhop. Not with the bloud of goates or calues, not with the bloud of rammes or buls: but with his owne precious bloud. For if the bloud of goates and bulles, and the aſhes of the burned calfe ſprinckled abroad, were ſufficient to the making cleane of fleſh: how much more then, the bloud of Chriſt (who by the holy Ghoſt, did offer vp himſelfe to God, a moſt pure, moſt cleane, & immaculate ſacrifice) is able to purge, clenſe and make fayre our cõſciences frõ the works of death, and to liue in the liuing God?

Heb. 9.
Heb. 9.
Heb. 9.

This is our great biſhop, as the Apoſtle ſayth, Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetrauit cœlos, Ieſum filium dei. We haue

Leuit. 16.
Heb. 4.

Heb.5.

a great biſhop, which did penitrate the heauens whoſe name is Ieſus the ſonne of God. This is our great Byſhop, our high Byſhop,our vniuerſall Byſhop.This is the head byſhop of all Biſhops and of all the worlde, named God (as the Apoſtle ſayth) to be our great biſhop, properly called Summus pontifex, the higheſt Biſhop,the Biſhop of biſhops. For thys is he onely that is Summus,maximus & vniuerſalis pontifex.

The pride of the Pope.
The Pope blaſphemeth God.

No greater blaſphemie then in the Pope.

Ezech.42.

The biſhop of Rome therefore ought herein to be abaſhed,aſhamed,and to abhorre his owne pride.For in this he outragiouſly doth offend God and blaſphemeth him, in that he preſumeth to take this high name from our byſhop Chriſt: In that,he taketh away (as much as lyeth in him)the glory of God,the maieſty apertayning vnto Chriſt: In that he taketh vpon him theſe names onely appropriate vnto Chriſt,Summus pontifex,maximus pontifex,vniuerſalis pontifex: the higheſt Byſhoppe,the greateſt Byſhop, the vniuerſall Byſhop,the Byſhop of all the world. I much maruell how he dare be ſo bolde to vſurpe and take theſe great names vpon him. Greater blaſphemy cannot be;then to take frõ God, that that naturally belongeth vnto him: then to take from God, his glory and honor: then to vendicate and take vpon him ſuch high names, as beſeemeth no Chriſten man to vſurpe. God ſayd by his Prophet: Non dabo gloriam meam alteri: I will not geue my glory awai to any other,to any creature.He doth reſerue the glory,that laud & honor that belongeth onely vnto him,vnto himſelfe:no mã to attẽpt ſo far,no man to take ſo much vpõ him.

Peter neuer tooke vpon him at Rome, as the Pope doth.

Gregorius in Regiſtro.lib.4. indictione 30. Epiſt.38.

Idem.

Peter,Peter,thou waſt once Byſhop of Rome,and the firſt biſhop of Rome: Diddeſt thou euer take this name vpon thee, Sũmus, Maximus, Vniuerſalis? No, no, no. And why? For the holy ghoſt was in thee. Thou wouldeſt take no more vppon thee then God gaue thee. Thou waſt not deſirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou ſoughteſt for, was for the glory of God: as all that will read thy Sermons, thy Epiſtles, and thy life, ſhall ſoone perceiue. Looke a great number of Byſhops that next folowed Peter in the ſame See: what were they? holy Martyrs, holye Liuers, which neuer attempted thus farre.Let the Byſhop of Rome therefore knowledge his great fault, his high foly, his vnlawfull vſurpation, his vnprieſtly preſumption, and humble himſelfe to Chriſt and God his great Byſhop.Would God he would reforme himſelfe. Would God he would keepe himſelfe within that compaſſe of his authority, and no more to encroch vpon other mens iuriſdictions,but diligently keepe and ouerloke his owne dioces and be content with that, would God he would looke vpon hys predeceſſor S.Gregory in his Regiſter, which was a Byſhoppe of Rome,a holy man.Let him learne there how he did rebuke Iohn, that time the Biſhop of Conſtantinople,for taking on him ſo highly, in ſuch names vniuerſall Biſhop, higheſt Byſhop, greateſt Byſhop: and how he proued it to be agaynſt the lawe of God. Hee ſayth there in one place to this proud Biſhop Iohn, what anſwere ſhalt thou make in that ſtrait examination at that laſt iudgement, to Chriſt the head of the vniuerſal holy Chur. that goeſt about to haue ſubiecte vnto thee all the members of Chriſt, by taking on thee the name of vniuerſall Biſhop. In an other place agayne in the ſame booke he ſayth vnto him, who art thou that doeſt preſume to vſurpe a new name vpon thee, of vniuerſall Byſhop.contrary to the ſtatutes of the goſpell and decrees.

Heb.2.3.4.5.7.8.9.

The titles and properties attributed to Chriſt in the Scripture.

God forbid that euer this blaſphemy ſhould come in the hartes of Chriſtẽ people, in the which the honor of all prieſthoode is taken away, when a man ſhall raſaly and arrogantly take that name vpon him.Let this Biſhop of Rome therefore humble himſelfe vnto our great vniuerſall Byſhop Chriſt, humble himſelfe vnder the mighty hand of God,and know what the Apoſtle doth write of the honour and power of this Chriſt our great high Byſhop.He is(he ſayth)Pontifex miſericors,fidelis,potens,magnus, humilis, penetrans cœlum, compatiens infirmitatibus noſtris, offerens dona & ſacrificia pro peccatis noſtris, condolens ijs qui ignorant & errant: Qui poteſt ſaluum facere a morte, offerens preces & ſupplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis & exauditus eſt pro reuerentia ſua: Pontifex appellatus a deo. Pontifex ſanctus, innocens, impollutus, ſegregatus a peccatoribus,excelſior cœlis: Non habens neceſsitatem (quemadmodum alij)prius pro ſuis delectis hoſtias offerre,deinde pro populo: Põtifex ſedens in dextris dei interpellans pro nobis, emũdans cõſcientias noſtras ab operibus mortuis, intrans ſancta ſanctorum per proprium ſanguinem.Hic eſt pontifex confeſsionis noſtræ.

Miſericors.

Let all earthly Byſhops learne of this heauenly biſhop Chriſt. Some of theſe properties are appropriate and belongeth onelye to God and not to man.In ſome we ought to follow him.In ſome we can not,ne ought to do.This our high and great Biſhop is Miſericors (ſayth the Apoſtle) mercifull. A mercifull Biſhop,readye to forgeue, ready to remitte thoſe that haue offended him. He is not cruell, not vengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to folow him.

Potens.

He is Pontifex potens, a mighty Biſhop, mighty and full of power. We be but weake and feeble biſhops, not able to doe any thing but by his permiſsion and helpe.He is able to make ſick,to make whole:to make rich,to make poore:to ſet vp, to put down. Potens,a mighty byſhop,mighty and able to remit ſinne, to forgeue,to ſaue both body & ſoule from damnation. Potens,a mighty biſhop and full of power. No power in this world but of him. Omnis poteſtas a domino deo eſt. All power is of him. And as he himſelfe witneſſeth: Data eſt mihi omnis poteſtas in cœlo,& in terra.All power is geuen vnto me in heauen and in earth.Potens ſaluare a morte.He can ſaue the body, and ſaue the ſoule. He can deliuer the one,and deliuer the other from euerlaſting death.Who can forgeue ſinne but he? Quis poteſt dimittere peccatum niſi ſolus deus? Eſt potens.He is a mighty Byſhop. Of him & by him, Emperours, Kinges, Magiſtrates and Poteſtates, Byſhops, Prieſtes,with al other that haue power,haue theyr power and authority.Who is able to turne the winde? to make the winde blow or ceaſe but he? Who is able to ſay and proue, I will now haue it vayne, now cleare: the ſunne to ſhine, the water to flow,to ebbe, with ſuch other,but onely he.This is our mighty biſh, Pontifex potens,mighty,yea Omnipotẽs,almighty.He can do all.Nothing is to him impoſsible. Ipſe dixit & facta ſunt omnia. Mandauit & creata ſunt vniuerſa.Potens ergo eſt.He is a mighty biſhop. Wee are not ſo.

Fidelis Pontifex. He is a faythfull biſhop: faythfull. He is a faythfull biſhop to God,referring all laudes,all honour and glory to his father.In all thinges that he did,miracles or other,he tooke neuer the more vpon himſelfe. He was alſo a faythfull Biſhop to the world: For he did all that belonged to the office of a good Byſhop. The very office of a byſhop is, prædicare, orare & ſacrificare,ſiue offerre.To preach,to pray,to do ſacrifice or to offer. He preached to his people: He taught the worlde moſt wholeſome doctrine,whereby he called the people to God:he conuerted ſinners,he called them to penaunce. He made them weepe and lamẽt their ſinnes.They folowed his perſon,they folowed his word they folowed his enſample.They came out of all coſts to ſee him, to heare him, to learne of him. They forſooke meat and drinke, houſe and home,and folowed him whereſoeuer he went, as well in wildernes,as els where. In ſo much that after they had folowed him three dayes, he being moued with pity leaſt they ſhoulde periſh for lacke of food being in wilderneſſe farre from ſuccour, he fed them twiſe miraculouſly. Once in the deſert with fiue loaues and two fiſhes,he fed v.M.men,beſides women and children, and there were left xij.great baskets,xij. maundes full of the brokelets,and offals at that meale. At another time he fed in wilderneſſe to the number of 4. M. men beſides women and children, with ſeuen loues and a few litle fiſhes, and there was left of fragmentes,7 maundes full.

The ſecond office of a byſhop he fulfilled alſo: For he prayed. He was moſt deuout in prayer, ſo to teach all byſhops and Preachers not to preſume in theyr witte or learning,neither in their capacity,memory,fayre tongue or vtteraunce:but that the Preacher do ſtudiouſly apply his booke with all diligence to ſtudye how to ſpeake,what to ſpeake:afore whom he ſhall ſpeake: and to ſhape his ſermon after the audience. The preacher ought alſo beſides his ſtudy & preaching to pray.For by deuout prayer,he ſhal attein percaſe as much or more,as by ſtudy or learning.For without prayer the wordes will litle preuayle.Looke in Chriſt his life and thou ſhalt find,that in euery thing he wẽt about, he prayd, to ſhew the valiancy, the vertue and ſtrength of prayer: to ſhew our neceſsities, our weakenes & feblenes of nature.He prayd for his people (as Luke witneſſeth) the ſpace of one whole night. And what a maruailous deuout prayer made he for his people in the Mount the night afore his paſsion,whẽ the Chalice of death was repreſẽted vnto him:when he ſwet water & bloud? when he cried thriſe,Tranſeat à me Calix iſte: let this Chalice,let this paſsion & bloud,let the vertue therof paſſe from me vnto all mankinde. Let euery man haue the vertue and merite thereof: let it worke in all folkes:let euery faythfull man and woman be perteyner thereof: let it not be loſt, but worke to the worldes end. This was a maruellous deuoute mercifull prayer. And agayne he ſuffering and hanging on the croſſe,offered vp for his people,Preces & ſupplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis.He offred vp his praiers and ſupplications with a huge cry,with a piteous voyce,with a lamentable and deadly ſhrich, and with weeping teares to God his father,he hanging on the croſſe, euen when the ſpirit ſhoulde departe the body, not then forgetting his people at the houre when all the people forgetteth both the worlde and themſelues. Which cry was ſo huge and great,ſo maruelous and of that effect that the heauens trembled thereat, the Angels mourned for pity, the Sunne loſt his light, the vaile in the temple riued in two, the earth quaued, the ſtones rent aſonder and braſt in gobbetes, the graues opened,the dead bodies roſe to life.& appeared in the City.Centurio & thoſe that kept Chriſt to ſee the execution done, cried:Verè,filius Dei erat iſte: This was the vndoubted ſonne of God. His prayer and weeping teares were ſo pleaſaunt vnto the father,that it was heard: Exauditus eſt pro reuerentia ſua:He was heard & why? For it was ſo entire, ſo deuout,ſo reuerently done, in ſuch a maner and faſhion,with ſuch a zeale grounded vpõ ſuch a charity,ſuffering for our guilt, and not for his owne. And for that he did the very office of a byſhop, ſo entyrely to pray, and ſo reuerently to offer vp himſelfe in ſacrifice for his people, he was heard,he was heard, his prayer was heard of God. And that is the third property of a good Biſhop, to offer ſacrifice for his people. Euery Biſhop, euery Biſhoppe for his Dioceſanes and for the whole vniuerſall Church. In theſe three we ought as much as we may to folow Chriſt.

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Thus this Chriſt was and is Pontifex fidelis, a faythfull Byſhop. Faythfull, faythfull, in his word, true in his promiſe, deceyuing no man, but profiting all. In al that he did or ſpake, he ſought nothing his own glory, but the glory of God: teaching therby all Byſhops of the world in all that go about, to doe it to the laude, prayſe and glory of God. And herein we ought alſo to followe hym.

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Magnus Pontifex. He is the great Biſhop, the high Byſhoppe the ſupreme Byſhop, the vniuerſall Biſhop ouer all the world. No great biſhop but he. None high, none ſupreme nor vniuerſall Byſhop, but he.

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And herein the byſhop of Rome outragiouſly vſurpeth vpon God, as he doth vpon the world, to take the honor and names (onely to God appropriate) to himſelfe, and doth greuouſly blaſpheme and offend God therein. Greater blaſphemy can not be, then to aſcribe to God, that that no wayes belongeth vnto him, or to take frō God, that that is vnto him appropriate. It is meete therefore he do betimes and in ſeaſon, leaue his vniuſt encrochmentes both agaynſt his Lord God, and alſo agaynſt the world, leaſt he do prouoke God to poure out all his vialles of wrath vpon him: the Væs, I meane, the maledictions and vengeaunce that Iohn ſpeaketh of in the Apocalips. I woulde aduiſe hym to ceaſe the iniuries which he hath & dayly doth agaynſt the Chriſt our great high vniuerſall Byſhop, leaſt thou excommunicate and ſtrike him, leaſt thou ſhew thy wrath and iudgement agaynſt him and vtterly extinct his pride and ambitious pretenſed authority. For thou wilt be knowne, thou wilt be knowne to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great vniuerſall and ſupreme Byſhop, what ſo euer the biſhop of Rome ſhall attempt to the contrary: and thou wilt puniſhe his worldly arrogancy, and ſtrike when thou ſeeſt thy time. And though it be long ere thou ſtrike, yet let him beware, for ſtrike thou wilt if thou be vtterly prouoked: And when thou doeſt ſtrike, thy ſtroke is great, thy ſtroke is dreadfull and ſore. It vanquiſheth the body, it ſlayeth the ſoule, it damneth both. Beware therfore thou Biſhop of Rome, and be cōtent with thine owne dioces, with thine owne charge, as other Byſhops are with theyrs. For further then thine owne dioces, thy iuriſdiction doth not ſtretch.

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A maruellous blindneſſe in thee therefore, to take vpon thee to aunſwere for all the world, and art not able to aunſwere our great Biſhop Chriſt, for thy ſelfe at the dreadfull day of iudgemēt, when he ſhall aske but theſe few queſtions of thee Quomodo intraſti? Quomodo rexiſti? Quomodo vixiſti? Quomodo pauiſti? Quæ & qualia exempla dediſti? Quid ad meam gloriam feciſti? & huiuſmodi. How diddeſt thou enter into the Biſhopricke? by me or by the world? vnlawfully, or lawfully? by Symony, or freely by labour, by paction, or called God? Howe diddeſt thou rule thy cure thy dioces? Diddeſt thou pray for thy people? Diddeſt thou preach me to thy dioceſans? diddeſt thou geue them ghoſtly and bodely foode? diddeſt thou miniſter ſpirituall and ghoſtly ſalues (the Sacramentes I meane) to heale the ſores of theyr ſoules? How didſt thou liue? Didſt thou caſt away the care, the glory & pope of the world? Didſt thou folow me in humility, in charity in cōpaſſion, in pouerty, in cleanes, & in chaſt liuing?

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How diddeſt thou gouerne thy dioceſans? Diddeſt not thou make of all things that thou diddeſt meddle with a money matter in ſelling that which was not in thee to ſel nor geue, which thou calledſt thy pardons, thy commiſſions, thy breeues, thy delegacies reſeruations, exemptions, appellations, bulles, and diſpēſations? Diddeſt not thou vnder theſe pretenſes and like other doings, deceiue the world? What anſwere ſhalt thou make to this at that day, to our and thy great Byſhop Chriſt, when he ſhall viſite thee and all thy dioces, me and all my dioces, yea when he ſhall viſite all the world? What aunſwere ſhalt thou then make? I think verely thou ſhalt then haue enough to do, yea and more the thou canſt winde thy ſelfe out of, to make aunſwere for thy ſelfe, for thine owne dioces, and for thine owne dioceſans, though thou vſurpe not vpon other mens as thou doeſt. The Apoſtle writeth of Chriſt humbly, & calleth him, Magnum pontificem, the great biſhop. And he of Rome is not with this word contented, but will haue a higher word for him ſelfe, in the ſuperlatiue degree, Maximum pontificem Magnum. The greateſt Biſhop. Oh, where is the humbleneſſe and meekeneſſe that ſhould be in him? Alas, he that taketh on him to teach all the world, how can he for ſhame ſuffer ſuch blaſphemous words to paſſe in his name, to his great ſhame and rebuke, to the great daunger of his ſoule: and to the perillous enſample vnto other? Oh, fie vpon pride, it is a common prouerb pride will haue a fall.

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Our biſhop Chriſt was Humilis, meeke, lowly, & humble in hart. He rode not vpon any palfray nor couragious horſe, but vp on an Aſſe and that but once. He neuer was borne pompouſly abroad in a chayre, vppō mens ſhoulders. He neuer profered hys foote to any body to kiſſe. We read that he waſhed the feete of his Diſciples and wyped them. We read that Mary Magdalene proffered to haue kiſſed his feete, but he did prohibite her, ſaying: Noli me tangere: Touch me not. He would not ſuffer the woman thē to touch him. He neuer had garde to defend him. He neuer followed the pōpe of the world. He diſdained not to go vpon the groūd with his bare feet. What ſhall I ſay? He gaue enſamples enough to the Biſhop of Rome, to me and all Biſhops, to be meek and humble: he to know himſelfe, and we our ſelues, as if he and we diligently looke in ſcripture, we ſhall finde. And herein, in meeknes we are bound to folow him.

Math.20.

The humility of Chriſt.

Compatiens.

Compatiens infirmitatibus. This Byſhop Chriſt, had compaſſion of our infirmities of our frayltie. It is impoſſible for a man to know the afflictions of the miſerable perſon, that neuer ſuffered him ſelfe affliction, that neuer had experience of paynes, that neuer felt what payne ment. But this byſhop Chriſt had experiēce of our nature: how weake, how feeble the nature of man is: howe weake of himſelfe to doe any good worke without the helpe of God: how feeble to reſiſte temptations. Hee ſuffered and felte the infirmities and paynes of this naturall body. He hath therefore compaſſion vpon man, when he doth ſee him fall. He ſorroweth his ruine, teaching Biſhops in eſpecial afore all other, to haue cōpaſſion and pity vpon the ſinner, to helpe him ſpiritually, to cōfort him ghoſtly, to helpe him to ariſe from ſinne, to allure him to penance, to draw him to vertue, to make him know God, to feare his iuſtice, to loue his lawes, and thus to ſeeke all the wayes he and we can to ſaue the ſinners ſoule for whom he ſhall make aunſwere to God for his owne dioceſans: ſoule for ſoule, bloud for bloud, payne for payne, hell for hell, damnation for damnation. For which ſoule, our great Biſhop Chriſt (as the Apoſtle doth witneſſe) did offer giftes and ſacrifice himſelfe, hauing compaſſion of thē that by ignorance and by errour, did ſin & offend God. Euen when he was his greateſt agony vpon the croſſe, he cryed to his father: forgeue them father, forgeue thē, they know not what they do, they are ignoraunt people, they know not what is what, nor what danger they runne into by this entreating me. They know not theyr offences: forgeue them Father, forgeue them. In this compaſſion we ought alſo to follow our great Byſhoppe Chriſt.

Chriſt full of compaſſion.

Heb.5.

Luke.23.

Pontifex appellatus.

It followeth in the former letter: Eſt Pontifex appellatus à Deo. He is a Byſhop, and ſo named of God. He is the very Byſhop. He offered vppe the very ſacrifice, the ſacrifice of his owne moſt bleſſed body and bloud, whereby the ſinne of the world was put away. Euery Byſhop of the world is not named a Byſhop by God. For ſome commeth into that office, not by the holy ghoſt, not elect of God (as Iohn ſayeth) not entring in ouile ouium per oſtium, ſed aſcendens aliundè. Some there are that entreth into the folde of the ſheep of GOD, not by the dore. Some there be that entreth in, hauing charge and cure of ſoule, not by God: but by worldly meanes, by worldly labour, by importune ſutes and interceſſion of frendes, or by theyr owne vnlawfull labour, by ſimony, and ſuch other wayes. Such are not named Byſhops by God. Such entreth not by the dore, not by him that ſayth: Ego ſum oſtium. Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita. I am the dore, I am the way, I am the life, I am trueth, I am paſtor bonus, the very true and good Byſhop that entred by God. And all that entreth otherwiſe then by God, Chriſt calleth them fures & latrones, theues ſpoylers, raueners, deuourers, and deceiuers of the ſheepe. Theyr liuing ſhall declare the ſame. For ſuch as ſo wilfully do enter, do ſtudy theyr owne profites and commodities. Such receiueth the fruites and do nothing for them. Such ſuffereth theyr ſheepe to periſh for lacke of bodily and ghoſtly foode and ſuſteynaunce for lacke of preaching, for lacke of geuing good counſell, for lacke of good liuing, for lacke of good enſample. And ſuche, for the moſt part, liueth naughtily, carnally, fleſhly, viciouſly, pōpouſly, worldly, & not biſhoply nor prieſtly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Chriſt ſayth: Qui intrat per me, ſaluabitur, & ingredietur, & egredietur, & paſcua inueniet. He that entreth by me, ſhalbe ſaued. Et ingredietur, & egredietur. And he ſhall go in, and he ſhall go out. What is that to ſay: he ſhall goe in, and he ſhall goe out? I thinke he meaneth by going in, that he ſhall haue grace to enter ſtudiouſly into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to ſtudy, and to profite in the lawes of God. Et egredietur. And he ſhall explayne and truely interpretate and publiſh it vnto the people. Et paſcua inueniet. And he ſhall finde there plenty of ſpirituall food for himſelfe & for his people, to edify their ſoules, to inſtruct and call thē to the knowledge of God to feed thē plentifully, that they ſhall not lack neceſſaryes to their ſoules. Let vs therfore ſo liue, that we may be called Pōtifices appellati a Deo.

Iohn.10.

All biſhops be not called of God.

Iohn.10.

Iohn.14.

Hebr.7.

This our great Byſhop Chriſt is alſo: Pontifex, ſanctus, innocens, impollutus, ſegregatus à peccatoribus, excelſior cœlis, ſedens à dextris Dei, emundans conſcientias noſtras à peccatis, intrans ſancta ſanctorum per proprium ſanguinem. He is Sanctus. A holy Biſhop, and willeth vs to be holy in our conuerſation, applyeng our ſelues vnto godlyneſſe to the ſeruice of God, to lyue like byſhops, like prieſtes, pure, cleane, chaſte, deuout, ſtudious, faythfully labouring in his word, praying, doing ſacrifice, and euer to be godly and vertuouſly occupyed.

Sanctus.

He is Innocēs, an innocēt. He neuer ſinned, he neuer offēded in word, thought, nor deed, Innocens, noying no creature profiting

Innocens.

all folkes, meekely ſuffering aduerſities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproches, without grudge or contradiction. Innocens & ſimplex: ſimplex ſine plica. An innocēt, without pleit or wrincle. without error or doublenes, without hipocriſy or diſſimulation, without flattering or gloſing, without fraud or deceite: not ſeruing the body nor the world, but God. In this we ought alſo to follow our heauenly Biſhop.

Simplex.

Impollutus. He was vndefiled. He liued cleane without ſpot or blot, without wemme or ſtrayne. No immūdicity in him, no vncleanneſſe, nor filthineſſe: but all pure and cleane, chaſte and immaculate, all bright and ſhining in grace and godlineſſe: In ſo much that he was Segregatus à peccatoribus, cleane ſegregate from all kinde of vncleaneſſe, from all maner of ſinnes, and from ſinners. Segregate from them, not from theyr company: For as Mathew writeth: Publicans and ſinners came and eate and drank with him and his diſciples in the houſe of Leui. And he alſo came as a Phiſition, to heale the ſinner. And yet he was ſegregate from them, quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato: as touching theyr ill liuinges, not being participant with them in ſinne: but came onely to heale them, and to ridde them from ſinne and ſore of the ſoule. He entred the heauens, not with the bloud of kidde nor Goate, but with his owne proper bloud. For which and for his holyneſſe and perfectnes, Excelſior cœlis factus eſt. He is extolled and exalted aboue all the Aungels and beatitudes: aboue all the heauens ſitting on the right hand of the father. Whō all the heauenly creatures doe worſhip, honor and do reuerence vnto Where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediatour in hys manhead to his father for vs.

Impollutus.

Segregatus à peccatis.

Math.9.

Excelſior cœlis.

This our Biſhop purgeth our conſciences (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) he clenſeth our ſoules, he maketh vs inwardly beautious and fayre. The Biſhop of Rome lacketh manye of theſe notable vertues. He hath few or none of theſe properties, few or none of theſe qualities. He is (as we all are ſinners) a ſinner. To whom this word Magnus, great, is not conuenient, nor can be in him any wayes verified. For he cannot forgeue ſinne as our Byſhop doth, nor iuſtify as he doth, neither enter in Sancta Sanctorum, with his owne bloud, as he did. How can he then be called a great Biſhop that is (as we be all ſinners) a ſinner, a breaker of the lawes of God, and dayly doth or may fall and ſinne? And for that cauſe the law commaunded that euery biſhop and Prieſt ſhoulde firſt offer hoſtes and ſacrifice for his owne ſinnes and afterward, for the ſinnes of the people. How can he therfore be called a great Biſhop or Prieſt?

Magnus.

Our Biſhop we ſpeake of, is the very great biſhop. No dole, no fraude, no guile, was euer founde in his mouth. And when the Prince of the worlde the deuill, came to him, he coulde finde no poynt of ſinne in him. Wherefore Gabriell the Archaungell ſhewing his natiuity vnto Mary his mother, ſayd: Hic erit magnus, & filius altiſsimi vocabitur. He ſhalbe great and ſhalbe called the ſonne of God. And agayne it is written of him: Propheta magnus ſurrexit inter nos. A great Prophet is riſen among vs. Sinne maketh a man ſmall and litle: litle in reputation before God and man. Vertue maketh man great and of high reputation. Shew me one place in Scripture where you haue reedde, that a ſinner was called great? I trow it ſhall not be founde. Will you heare who were called great in ſcripture? It is written of Iſaac, quod proficiebat valde, & factus eſt magnus valde. He profited greatly in vertue, and was made great, great in reputation of the world. Moyſes was called Magnus, great for his vertue. Abraham and Iohn Baptiſt likewiſe. Now Ieſus our Biſhop is called magnus Epiſcopus, magnus Sacerdos. And after him neuer Byſhop called Magnus in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of man vnleſſe it be in compariſon one of an other (and ſo Payntes and holy Lyuers are called great in reſpect of ſinners, or other meane Liuers) but where Chriſt our Byſhop commeth: there he, not in compariſon of other, but ſimpliciter, by his owne magnitude and greatneſſe, and of himſelfe, euer was and is great, of whom it is written: A ſummo cœlo egreſsio eius: & occurſus eius vſque ad ſummum eius. And as the apoſtle alſo proueth in many places by expreſſe words. But now there is no Biſhop or Prieſt in this world, that may worthely of himſelfe be called great, nor ought to take this name Magnus vpon him.

Luke.1.

Luke.7.

No ſinner called great in the ſcripture.

Gene.26.

Exod.11.

Luke.1.

Pſal.18.

This is he therefore of whom it is written: Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis. The great Byſhoppe aboue all other. And as he is called and in very deed is, Paſtor paſtorum, Pontifex pontificum, Propheta prophetarum, Sanctus ſanctorum, Dominus dominantium, Rex regum: Ita & magnus magnorum eſt. And he is called the Heardeſman of heardeſmen, the Byſhop of Byſhoppes, the Prophet of prophetes, the Holy of holyeſt, the Lord of lordes, the King of kinges: euen ſo is he called, and verely is Epiſcopus magnus. Therefore the Prophet did adde, Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis, the great Byſhop or prieſt: great of himſelfe, great in vertue and power, great of himſelfe, and great in compariſon afore all other. And therfore the Apoſtle ſayd: Habemus Pontificē magnum, qui penetrauit cœlos IESVM filium DEI. We haue a great Byſhop, which did penetrate the heauens, Ieſus the ſonne of God.

Leuit.21.

Here may ye now ſee how the Byſhop of Rome doth wrongfully encroch vpon our great Byſhop Ieſus Chriſt, to take from him, not onely this name Magnus, and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, Videlicet, Maximus, Summus, Sanctus, Beatiſsimus, Vniuerſalis, and ſuch other. The greater, the higheſt, the holyeſt, the bleſſedſt, and vniuerſall in the ſuperlatiue degrees and yet there is no great Byſhop but Chriſt onely no ſupreme Byſhop, but he onely, none holy, none bleſſed, none vniuerſall Biſhop but only he. The B. of Rome, & all other biſhops are but vnderlinges & vnworthy ſuffragans vnto this Biſhop Chriſt.

The Pope enchrocheth vpon Chriſt.

This our Chriſt (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) is Pontifex noſtræ confeſsionis, the Biſhop whom we do confeſſe to be our great biſhop, our high biſhop, our ſupreme Biſhop, our holy, bleſſed and vniuerſall Biſhop. Which names are reſerued onely vnto Chriſt, and to no earthly Biſhop: Not to the Biſhop of Rome, not to the Biſhop of Ieruſalem, not to the Biſhop of Antioch, nor of Conſtantinople, nor to any other Biſhop. No earthly byſhop to preſume to take vpon him theſe high and holy names onely to God apropriate.

God of thy goodnes thou mayeſt and I truſt wilt once make this vayneglorious biſhop of Rome, firſt to know and knowledge thy ſonne Chriſt to be the onely ſupreme and vniuerſal biſhop of the world. Secondarily to know himſelfe, his weakeneſſe, his frailty and his preſumption. To know his office and bounden dutye vnto thee. To knowe his owne Dioces, and to vſurpe no further. Thirdly to haue a low, hūble, meek hart and ſtomacke: to feare thee God and thy iudgementes, to knowledge his owne faultes, and vſurpations, and to redreſſe the ſame.

Now to returne vnto our matter, it foloweth in ye letter firſt taken: De quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui tabernaculo deſeruiunt. &c. And thus much, out of Iohn Longlandes Sermon agaynſt the Pope.

You heard before by the kings Iniunctions aboue expreſſed, and directed out. an. 1538. how all ſuch Images & pictures, which were abuſed with pilgrimage or offrings of any Idolatry, where aboliſhed: by vertue of which Iniunction, diuers Idols & eſpecially ye moſt notable ſtockes of Idolatry, were taken downe the ſame yere. 1538. as the Images of Walſingham, Ipſwich, Worceſter, the lady of Wilſdon, Tho. Becket, with many moe, hauing engines to make their eies to open and role about, and other partes of theyr body to ſtyrre, and many other falſe iugglings, as the bloud of Hayles, & ſuch like, wherewith the ſimple people a long time had bene deceiued. All which were eſpyed out, and deſtroyed.

Among diuers other of theſe foule Idols, there went alſo in the ſame reckoning, a certayne olde Idolatrous Image in Wales named Daruell Gatheren: whiche in the moneth of May, in the yere aboue mētioned was brought vp to London and burnt in Smithfield. with the which Idol alſo was burnt the ſame time, and hanged for treaſon, Fryer Forreſt, of whom ſome mētion was partly touched before in the ſtory of Cardinal Wolſey.

¶ Frier Foreſt.

THis Foreſt was an obſeruaunt Frier, and had ſecretly in confeſſions declared to many of the kinges ſubiects, that the king was not ſupreme head, and being therof accuſed and apprehēded, he was examined how he could ſay that the king was not ſupreme head of the Church, when he himſelfe had ſworne to the contrary. He anſwered that he tooke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer conſented thereunto. And being further accuſed of diuers damnable Articles and thereupon conuicted, he gladlye ſubmitted himſelfe to abide the puniſhment of the Church. Vpon this his ſubmiſſion hauing more liberty then before he had to talke with whom he would he became as farre from his ſubmiſſion as euer he was. And when his abiuration was ſent him to read, he vtterly refuſed it and obſtinately perſeuered in his errours: wherefore he was iuſtly condemned, after hanged in Smithfield in chaynes vpon a gallowes quicke, by the middle & arme holes, and fire was made vnder him, and ſo was he conſumed and burnt to death.

In the place of execution there was a ſcaffold prepared for the kinges moſt honorable Counſell and the nobles of the Realme to ſitte vpon: to graunt him pardon, if he had any ſparke of repentance in him. There was alſo a pulpite prepared where ye right reuerēd father Hugh Latimer B. of Worceſter declared his errors, & manifeſtly confuted thē by the Scripture, with many godly exhortations to moue him to repentance. But he was ſo froward, that he neither would heare neither ſpeake. A litle before, the foreſayd Image called Daruel Gatheren cōming out of Wales, was brought to the gallowes, and there alſo with the foreſayd Frier (as is ſayde) was ſet on fire, whome the Welſhmen muche worſhipped, and had a Prophecye amongeſt them, that this Image ſhoulde ſet a whole foreſt on fyre. which prophecy toke effect, for he ſet this Fryer Foreſt on fire and conſumed hym to nothing. The Fryer when he ſaw the fire come, and that preſent death was at hand, he caught hold vpon the lader, and would not let it go, but ſo vnpaciently toke his death, as neuer any man that put his truſt in God at any time, ſo vngodly or vnquietly ended his life.

In the month of October & Nouember the ſame yere, ſhortly after the ouerthrow of theſe images and pilgrimages, folowed alſo the ruine of the Abbeis & religious houſes, which by the ſpeciall motion of the Lord Cromwel (or rather and principally, by the ſinguler bleſſing of almighty God) were ſuppreſſed, being geuen a litle before by acte of Parliament, into the kinges hand: wherupō not onely the houſes were raſed, but theyr poſſeſſions alſo diſparcled among the nobility in ſuch ſort, as all friers, monkes, Chanons, Nunnes, and other ſectes of religion, were then ſo roted out of this Realme from the very foundation, that there ſemeth by Gods grace, no poſſibility hereafter left for the generation of thoſe ſtraunge weedes to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Sauior Chriſt, in his Goſpell, ſaying: Euery plantation being not planted of my father, ſhalbe plucked vp by the rootes. &c.

The ruyne & diſſolutiō of Abbeyes & Monaſteryes in England.

Math. 15.

¶ The hiſtory of the worthy Martir of God Iohn Lambert, otherwiſe named Nicolſon, with his troubles, examinations and aunſweres, as well before the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury Warham, and other Biſhops: as alſo before K. Henry 8. by whom at length he was condemned to death & burned in Smithfielde. Ann. 1538.

Anno 1538.

Immediatly vpon the ruine and deſtruction of the monaſteries, the ſame yeare, & in the month of Nouember folowed the trouble and condemnation of Iohn Lambert yͤ faythfull ſeruaunt of Ieſus Chriſt, and Martyr of bleſſed memory. This Lambert being borne and brought vp in Northfolke, was firſt conuerted by Bilney, and ſtudied in the Uniuerſity of Cambridge. Where after that he had ſufficiently profited both in Latin and Greeke, and had tranſlated out of both tongues ſondry things into the Engliſh tongue, being forced at laſt by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the partes beyond the ſeas, to Tyndall and Frith, and there remained the ſpace of a yeare and more, being preacher and Chapleine to the Engliſhe houſe at Antwerpe, till he was diſturbed by ſir Thomas More, and by the accuſation of one Barlow was caried frō Antwerpe to London: where he was brought to examination firſt at Lambeth, then at the Biſhops houſe at Oxford, before Warham yͤ Archb. of Cant. and other aduerſaries, hauing 45. articles miniſtred agaynſt him, wherunto he rendred anſwere agayne by writing. The which anſweres for as much as they conteine great learning, & may geue ſome light to the better vnderſtanding of the common cauſes of religion now in controuerſy, I thought here to exemplify the ſame, as they came right happely to our handes. The copy both of the articles and alſo of his aunſweres, here in order foloweth.

Lambert preacher to the Englyſh houſe at Antwerpe.

Lambert brought frō Antwerpe to London.

Lambert accuſed by one Barlow.

¶ Articles to the number of 45. layd to Lambert.

Articles agaynſt Iohn Lambert.

In primis, whether thou waſt ſuſpecte or infamed of hereſy?

2. Whether euer thou hadſt any of Luthers bokes, and namely ſith they were condemned, & how long thou kepſt them, and whether thou haſt ſpent any ſtudy on them?

3. Whether thou waſt conſtitute prieſt, and in what Dioceſ, and of what biſhop?

4. Whether it be lawfull for a Prieſt to mary a wife, and whether a prieſt in ſome caſe be boūd by the law of God to mary a wife?

5. Whether thou beleueſt that whatſoeuer is done of man whether it be good or ill, commeth of neceſſity.

6. Whether the ſacrament of the aulter be a ſacrament neceſſary vnto ſaluation, and whether after the conſecration of the bread and wine done by the prieſt, as by the miniſter of God, there is the very body and bloud of Chriſt, in likenes of bread and wine?

7. Item, what opinion thou holdeſt touching the Sacrament of Baptiſme, whether thou doeſt beleue that it is a ſacrament of the Church, and a neceſſary ſacrament vnto ſaluation and that a Prieſt may baptiſe, and that the order of baptiſing ordeined by the church, is neceſſary and wholſome?

8. Item, whether you beleue that matrimony be a ſacrament of the church neceſſary to be obſerued in the church, & that the order appointed by the Church for the ſolemniſing therof, is allowable and to be holden.

9. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue orders to be a ſacramēt of the church, and that ſaying of maſſe ordeined by the Church, is to be obſerued of Prieſtes: whether it be deadly ſinne or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of Prieſthode, were inuented by mans imagination or ordeined by God?

Sacrament of orders.

10. Item, whether penaunce be a ſacrament of the Church and neceſſary vnto ſaluation: and whether auricular confeſſion is to be made vnto the prieſt, or is neceſſary vnto ſaluation: and whether thou beleueſt that a Chriſtiā is boūd, beſides contrition of hart, hauing the free vſe of an apte or meet prieſt, vnder neceſſity of ſaluation, to be confeſſed vnto a Prieſt and not vnto any lay man, be he neuer ſo good and deuout, & whether thou beleueſt that a Prieſt in caſes permitted vnto him, may abſolue a ſinner (beyng contrite and confeſſed) from his ſinnes, and enioine him wholſome penaunce?

Sacrament of penance.

11. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue and holde, that the ſacrament of confirmation & extreme vnction, be ſacramēts of the church, and whether that they doe profite the ſoules of them which receiue them, and whether thou beleueſt the foreſayde ſeuen ſacramentes, to geue grace vnto them that do duly receiue them?

Sacrament of confeſſion.

12. Whether all thinges neceſſary vnto ſaluation, are put in holy Scripture, and whether things onely there put be ſufficient, and whether ſome thinges vpon neceſſity of ſaluation, are to be beleued and obſerued, which are not expreſſed in Scripture?

Vnwritten verities.

13. Whether thou beleueſt that Purgatory is, and whether that ſoules departed be therin tormented and purged?

Purgatory.

14. Whether holy martyrs, apoſtles and confeſſors, departed from this world, ought to be honored and called vpon, and prayed vnto.

Praying to Saintes.

15. Whether the Sayntes in heauen, as Mediatours, pray for vs?

16. Whether thou beleueſt that oblations & pilgrimages, may be deuoutly and meritoriouſly done to the ſepulchres and reliques of ſayntes?

Pilgrimage.

17. Whether the faſt in Lent and other appoynted by the Canon lawe, and receiued in common vſage of Chriſtian people (vnleſſe neceſſitye otherwiſe requireth) are to be obſerued?

Lent faſt.

18. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worſhipful images be ſet in churches for the remembraunce of Chriſt and his ſayntes?

Worſhipping of Images.

19. Whether thou beleueſt that prayers of men liuing, doe profit ſoules departed and being in Purgatory?

20. Whether men may merite and deſerue both by their faſtinges and alſo by their other deedes of deuotion?

Praying for ſoules departed. Merites.

21. Whether thou doeſt beleue, that men prohibited of Biſhops to preach, as ſuſpect of hereſy, ought to ceaſe from preaching and teaching, vntill they haue purged thēſelues of ſuſpition before an higher iudge?

Preaching without lycence.

23. Whether thou beleueſt that it is lawfull for all Prieſtes freely to preach the word of God or no?

23. Whether thou beleueſt that it is lawfull for lay men of both kindes, that is to wit, both men and women to ſacrifice and preach the word of God?

Lay men to preach.

24. Whether excommunication denounced by the Pope agaynſt all hereticks, do oblige and bind them before God?

25. Whether euery prieſt is bound to ſay dayly his mattins and euenſong, according as it is ordeined by the church or whether he may leaue them vnſaid without offēce or deadly ſinne?

The Popes excommunication. Saying of Mattens.

26. Whether thou beleueſt that yͤ heds or rulers, by neceſſity of ſaluation, are boūd to geue vnto the people, holy ſcripture in theyr mother language?

Scripture in the mother tounge.

27. Whether is it lawful for the rulers for ſome cauſe, vpō theyr reaſonable aduiſement, to ordeine that the ſcripture ſhould not be deliuered vnto the people in the vulgar language?

28. Whether thou beleueſt that conſecrations, hallowings and bleſſings vſed in the Church are to be prayſed?

29. Whether thou beleueſt that the pope may make lawes, and ſtatutes, to bind all chriſten men to the obſeruaunce of the ſame, vnder payne of deadly ſinne, ſo that ſuch lawes & ſtatutes be not contrary to the law of God?

Making of lawes in the Churche.

30 Whether thou beleueſt, that the pope and other prelates & theyr deputies in ſpirituall things, haue power to excōmunicate Prieſtes, and lay people that are inobedient and ſturdy from entring into the church, and to ſuſpend or let them from miniſtration of the ſacramentes of the ſame?

31. Whether fayth only without good workes, may ſuffice vnto a man fallen into ſinne after his baptiſme for his ſaluation

Iuſtification.

uation and iuſtifying?

Difference betweene a Latine Prieſt and a Greeke Prieſt.

32. Whether a Prieſt marying a wife, and that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, and begetting alſo childrē of her without ſlaunder geuing, do ſinne deadly?

33. Item, whether a latin prieſt after he hath taken the order of prieſthod, being ſore troubled and ſtyrred with pricking of luſt and lechery, and therefore marying a wife for remedy of the ſame, do ſinne deadly?

Praying for Wickliffe, Hus and Hierome of Prage.

34. Item, whether thou didſt euer pray for Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, or Hierome of Prage cōdemned of hereſy in the Coūſell of Conſtance, or for any of them ſith they died, or whether thou haſt done opēly or ſecretly any dedes of charity for them, affirming them to be in bleſſe & ſaued?

35. Item, whether thou haſt recounted them or any of thē to be ſaints, and worſhipped them as ſayntes?

General Councels.

36. Item, whether thou doeſt beleeue, holde and affirme, that euery generall Coūſell, and the Coūcell of Conſtance alſo, do repreſent the vniuerſall congregation or church?

The Councell of Conſtance.

37. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue that the ſame things which the Counſel of Conſtance (repreſenting the vniuerſall church) hath approued, & doth approue for the maintenance of fayth, and ſoules health, that the ſame is to be approued and holden of all chriſtians?

38. Whether the condēnations of Iohn Wickliffe, I. Hus and Hierome of Prage, done vpon theyr perſons, bookes, and documents by the whole general coūſell of Conſtance were duely and rightly done, and ſo for ſuch, of euery catholick perſon, they are to be holden?

Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

39. Whether thou beleueſt that Ioh. Wickliffe of Englād Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage, were herettcks and for heretticks to be named, and theyr bookes and doctrines to haue bene and now be peruerſe, for the which books and pertinacy of theyr perſons, they are condemned by the holy counſell of Conſtance for heretickes?

40. Item, whether thou beleue or affirme, that it is not lawfull in any caſe to ſweare?

To ſweare.

41. Whether thou beleue that it is lawfull at the commaūdement of a iudge, to make an othe to ſay the truth, or any other othe in caſe cōuenient, and that alſo for purgation of infamy?

The number of Sacramentes.

42. Item, whether a chriſtian perſon deſpiſing the receipte of the ſacramentes of confirmation, extreme vnction, or ſolemniſing of matrimony, do ſinne deadly?

The power of Peter

43. Itē, whether thou beleeue, that S. Peter as Chriſtes vicar, haue power vpon earth to bind and loſe?

44. Item, whether the Pope ordinarily choſen for a time his proper name being expreſt, be the ſucceſſor of S. Peter?

The power of the Pope.

45. Item, whether thou haſt euer promiſed at any tyme by an othe, or made any confederacy or league with any perſon or perſons, that you woulde alwayes hold & defēd certein concluſions or articles, ſeming to you and your accōplices, right and cōſonant vnto the fayth, and that you certefye vs touching the order and tenor of the ſayd opinions and concluſions, and of the names and ſurnames of them that were your adherentes, & promiſed to be adherent vnto you in this behalfe?

¶ The aunſwere of Iohn Lambert to the first Article.

Aunſwere to the firſt Artycle.

The ſpeach of people diuers & inconſtant.

Iohn. 7.

VNto your firſt demaund wherin you do aſke, whether I was ſuſpect or infamed of hereſy. I anſwere that I am not certayne what all perſons at all ſeaſōs haue demed or ſuſpected of me, peraduenture ſome better, ſome worſe, like as ÿ opiniō of the people was neuer one, but thought diuerſly of all the famous prophets, & of the Apoſtles, yea and of Chriſt himſelfe: as appereth in S. Iohn, how, whē he came into Ieruſalem in the feaſt called Scenopegia, anon there aroſe vpon him a great noyſe, ſome ſaying that he was a very good man, other ſayd nay, & called him a ſeducer, becauſe he led the people frō the right waies of Moſes law, into error. Seing therfore that all men coulde not ſay wel by Chriſt, which is the author of verity and truth, yea the very truth it ſelfe, and likewiſe of his beſt ſeruāts: what ſhould I need to regard, if at ſome time, ſome perſon for a like cauſe ſhould ſuſpect of me amiſſe, and euill report of me. Seing moreouer it is ſayd in the Goſpell. Væ vobis, cum laudauerint vos omnes homines. &c. Woe be to you when all men ſpeak well of you: for ſo did theyr fathers to the falſe prophets. If therfore at any ſeaſon ſuch infamy was put vpon me, I am glad that I haue ſo litle regarded the ſame, that now I haue forgottē it. And though I did remember any ſuch, yet were I more then twiſe a foole to ſhew you thereof: for it is written in your owne law: Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum: No man is bound to bewray himſelfe. But this I enſure you, I was neuer ſo charged with ſuſpition or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any tyme, conuented and reproued afore any iudge afore that I was troubled for theſe cauſes, for which I was at the firſt put into your handes: and of them ſeing you could not prooue me faulty, I wonder why you would neuer yet pronoūce me quite and innocent, according as I haue euen lowely deſired of you, and required full inſtantly the ſame. But letting thoſe paſſe, you haue imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I thinke certaynely, that you coulde no more haue proued me culpable, thē you did in the firſt, that is, to wytt, no whit culpable in neither, had it not bene, that by long impriſonment you enforced me to tell what I thought in them, which I haue and will freely do: and that indifferently conſidered, I ſuppoſe ſhall not deſerue anye ſore puniſhment, vnleſſe you will beare the truth, whereunto I hope it ſhall not diſagree.

Luke. 6.

Prayſe of the worlde not to be regarded.

No man bound to bewray himſelfe.

¶ To your ſecond demaund, where you do inquire whether euer I had any of Luthers bookes, and namely ſith they wer cōdemned, and how long I kept them and whether euer I haue ſpent any ſtudy in thē? I ſay that in deade I haue had of them, and that both before they were condēned & alſo ſith, but I neither will ne can tell you, how long I kept them: but truth it is that I haue ſtudied vpon thē and I thanke God that euer I ſo did: For by them hath God ſhewed vnto mee, and alſo to an huge multitude of other, ſuch light, as the deceiueable darcknes of them (I beſeech God amend it) that name themſelues (but amiſſe) to be the holy Church, cannot abide. And that appeareth euidently, for they dare not ſtand to any triall. He coueteth aboue all things, as all his aduerſaryes do well know, ÿ all his writings & the writinges of all his aduerſaries myght be tranſlated into al languages, to the intent that al people might ſee & know, what is ſaide of euery part, wherby mē ſhould the better iudge what the trueth is. And in this me thinketh he requireth nothing but equity, for ÿ law would haue no body condemned, ne yet iuſtified, vntill his cauſe were both heard and knowne.

But the contrary part, I meane our ouer riche prelacy which is ſo drowned in voluptuous liuing that they can not attend to ſtudye Gods Scripture ne preach the ſame, which ſhould be the principall part of theyr office, abhorre this faſhion (albeit it is right indifferēt and full of equity) no leſſe thē they do abhor death. And no maruell for doubt leſſe if it ſo could be obteined, that the writinges of all parties might be openly ſeene and confered, we ſhoulde ſone ſee theyr ſleightly dealing and facing doctrine, with all other cloked abuſion, lightly ouerthrowne: As appeareth well in Almayne, for there be ÿ bookes of euery party ſene openly and tranſlated in the vulgar language, that al people may ſee and read vpon them: and ſo vpon the light of the books, they lightly folow the true light of Gods word refuſing the horror of darcknes and falſe doctrine, whereby before, they haue beene ſeduced from the right teaching and way ſhewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hundreth ne of a thouſand, but generally of whole Cities & countreies, both high and low, few or none except.

But our Prelates ſeeing thys, and that there dealinge ſhould, if this light were ſet vp, ſoone be detecte and diſcouered, haue ſent out commaūdements, that if any perſons ſhall aduenture to keepe any ſuch bookes, they ſhalbe, in ſo doing, excommunicate from God, and al his Saintes, and curſed as blacke as pitch, whether the bookes be in Latin, Engliſh, French, Dutch, or any other tongue: as in deede men ſeing the fruite conteined in them haue ſet them forth in all languages. But this ought not Chriſtē men to think any newelty, for ſo did theyr forefathers the Prelates in Chriſtes time, and after to the Apoſtles, yea and if it were well tried I thinke it ſhould be ſone founde out, that they haue ſo dealt euer ſince, vnto this daye. For when Chriſt went a bout preaching, the Scribes and Phariſeis whiche were Biſhops then & Prelates gaue a generall cōmaūdement, that whoſoeuer confeſſed him to be Chriſt, ſhould be curſed and put out of the Synagogue, ÿ we call the church, and ſo they were. Looke in the Actes of the Apoſtles, and you ſhall finde howe they were in like maner ſerued: yea looke in the olde Teſtament and you ſhall finde (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporall ruler at that ſeaſon, to haue the prophecy of Ieremy (for he of all other is moſt vehement agaynſt the diſſimulation of prieſtes) to be burned: why then ſhould we eſchew them or theyr workes, vnles we knew a better cauſe why, whom our prelates reiect and caſt away, ſeing they render no reaſonable cauſe of theyr enterpriſe? but preſuming of theyr power, without any due authority, that I can finde, graūted vnto them ſo to do, will, becauſe they ſo commaund, ſo haue all done, according to the tyrannicall ſaying (as I trow) of Sardanapalus: Sic volo, ſic iubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas: That is to ſay: So will I, ſo doe I commaund: and that my will for reaſon ſtand.

But I would to God ÿ ſuch knew what ſpirit they haue

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Chriſt, &
ſpirite of
Papiſtes
valyke.

in thē. For if they had in deed, the ſpirit which they claime & pretend to haue, I meane yͤ ſpirit of Chriſt, I dare ſay, it ſhould ſoone alter them from ſuch hautie language & doting, and cauſe them to turne a new leafe: for that ſpirite is ful of ſoftnes and lenitie, lowlines and humilitie, patience and temperancie, voyde of all wilfulnes & tiranny, yea, it ſhould cauſe them not to preuent, but eaſily to followe the counſaile and doctrine of Chriſtes Apoſtles, & holy ſaintes that be their interpretours. As S. Paul which writing vnto the Theſſalonians, would them all, to proue al things, and to retaine or hold that only, which is good, in refraining frō all that hath ſemblance of euil. And Saint Iohn would haue Chriſtian people, to try the ſpirite of them that ſhoulde ſpeake whether they were of God or no. Alſo he writing in another Epiſtle vnto a noble woman and vnto her children, ſayth, If any perſon ſhall come vnto you, bringing with them the doctrine that is not of Chriſt, receiue hym not into your houſe, ne make him any cheare. So that in this he would haue women to knowe the doctrine of Chriſt, and to loue that, refuſing to giue credence vnto forraine teaching, not ſauouring the ſame.

Theſſ.5.

riſtians
den to
ſpirites.
ohn.4.

ohn.1.

In the 1. Epiſtle alſo to the Corinthians, S. Paule writing in general to all the inhabitants of that city, ſaith: Brethren, be you not children in wit and vnderſtanding, but as concerning maliciouſnes, be you children. In wit I would haue you perfite: and why? Verily for none other cauſe, but that we ſhould (as he writeth vnto the Hebrues) haue diſcretion to iudge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and ſo to be like men differing from beaſts: according to yͤ ſaying of the prophet: See that ye be not like vnto an horſe or a mule which lacke vnderſtanding. And we ſhould pray with him in another Pſalme: O Lord teach me the way that I ſhould walke in, for I lift vp my ſoule vnto thee.

Cor.14.

al.32.

al.143.

riſoſt.
opere im-
fecto.

Saint Chryſoſtome according vnto this, in a certaine of hys Commentaries vpon Mathew, the booke is called Opus imperfectum, writeth after this faſhion, ſo neare as my remembrance doth ſerue, and certaine I am that I ſhall not miſreport him, and that I will be tried whenſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe you to bring the booke. The prieſtes that were Phariſes in the time (ſayth he) of Chriſte, made an ordinance, that who ſo euer ſhoulde knowledge Ieſus to be Chriſte ſhould be accurſed and excommunicate. If then the Phariſes or Prieſtes that now do occupy their rowmes ſhould make a like ordinance, becauſe they would not haue Chriſtes doctrine to be profeſſed for hindring of their lucre, ſhould we therefore giue in all poyntes credence vnto them, and leaue of to ſeeke after the knowledge of Chriſtes doctrine? Nay truely. Why (quoth he) ſhal we not be excuſed herein by ignoraunce, ſeeing we be foreſended by the rulers to haue knowledge? He aunſwereth no verily: for if (ſaith he) when thou deſireſt to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to ſee one merchaunts ware, but go from the firſt to the ſecond, from the ſecond to the third and ſo further, to knowe where is the beſt cloth and beſt cheape: thou vſing ſuch careful diligence for a temporal profite art well worthy great reproche, that wilt be more remiſſe and negligent for thy ſoule health. Seeke therfore about from one Doctor or teacher vnto an other, that thou mayeſt know who doth moſt duely and truely teache Chriſt, and him follow, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle: Prooue all and holde the good: and as it is ſayde in the Goſpell, that thou maiſt know: Qui ſunt probati nummularij, & qui non. That is to wit, know who be true or lawful chaungers or coyners, and who be not.

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t diſ-
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Theſſ.5.

ath.25.

hriſ.Ibid.

He alſo addeth another ſimilitude or parable. When thou goeſt (quoth he) a iourney, not knowing perfitely the way, thou wilt, leſt thou ſhould fayle of the right way, enquire of one man and after of an other, and if thou ſhouldeſt chaunce to go ſomewhat wyde, yet thou wilt not ſo leaue of the iourney vndone, but make inquiſition againe to come where thou wouldeſt reſt: So likewiſe (ſayth he) ought wee to ſeeke about intentiuely for the wealth of our ſoule: Qui ſunt probi clauigeri, & qui non, that is to ſaye, who are the right key bearers and who not: meaning thereby the key bearers, Chriſtes apoſtles, and bearers of his teſtimony or meſſage. Which ſaying, although it were written of no autenticall authour (howbeit it is written euen of him whome I ſhewed you in the ſayde worke) but vttered of one that were in little eſtimation, euery indifferent perſon hauing wit and reaſon, would aſſent (I doubt not) that it is full true.

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rome.

The ſame author alſo, in an Epiſtle which you ſhall find in a work called Pſegmata Chryſoſtomi, ſheweth (as I remember) how certain men deemed ill of him, for becauſe he did ſtudy Origenes workes, which afore was condemned for an heretick: but he maketh an Apologie to the ſame ſhewing that Chriſtian men ought not to be reprehended for ſo doing. In whiche Apologie he bringeth for his defence, the ſaying of Paul aboue rehearſed, Proue all thinges &c. Likewiſe did S. Hierome, I wote not well in what place of his works, but you ſhal find it in a treatiſe called vnio diſſidentium where he entreateth De mādatis hominū. When it was obiected agaynſt him that he retained by him the workes of Euſebius & of Origine, ſtudying vpon the he bringeth for him that it was ſo lawfull, the ſayde place of the Apoſtle, making therwith an aunſwere worthye to be greatly noted.

The ſame is alſo reported in the booke called Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, or els Hiſtoria Tripartita, I wote not now preciſely whether. So that theſe and other moe authorities of the ſcripture, and ſemblable enſamples of holy interpretours ſhall proue, that I and other may ſafely (no good law inhibiting, vnles conſtitutions Phariſaical) read and ſearch the workes, not onely of Luther, but alſo of all other, be they neuer ſo ill or good: namely ſeeing I am a Prieſt, whō the biſh. of Norwich ought not to haue admitted into orders, vnles he had ſeene me to haue had iudgement to diſcerne good from ill, neither ought any of you to geue orders to any ſuch, in whom you do not finde like habilitie for to iudge the light from darckenes, and the treuth from falſhood: and therefore if for this you would puniſh me, I cannot ſee but you ſhall condemne your ſelues, iudgyng rather of ſenſuall pleaſure then of equitie, which in men of your order, were a great ſhame and much vncomely.

¶ Vnto your third demaund, wherto you do aſke, whether I was conſtitute a Prieſt, and in what dioces, and of what Biſhop: I ſay that I was made Prieſt in Norwich and of the Biſhops Suffragan of the ſame Dioces.

Anſwere to the third article. Lambert made prieſt in Norwich.

¶ Vnto the fourth, wherein you do demaund, whether it be lawfull for a Prieſt to marry a wife, & whether a Prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the law of God to mary a wife: I ſay that it is lawfull, yea, and neceſſary for all men yͭ haue not geuen to them of God, the gifte of chaſtitie, to marry a wife, and that ſheweth both Chriſt and S. Paule. In yͤ 19. of Mathew Chriſt ſpeaking vnto the Phariſeis that came for to attempt him, in the concluſion, ſayth in this wiſe: Whoſoeuer, ſhall forſake hys wife except it be for fornication, & marieth an other, committeth adultery, and whoſoeuer maryeth her ſo forſaken, committeth addultery.

Aunſwere to the 4. article. Mariage of Prieſtes whether it be lawfull and expedyent.

Math.19.

With that ſpeaketh his diſciples: If thus the caſe ſtand betwixt a man and hys wife: it ſhall be hurtful and not expedient to contract matrimony. He made aunſwere: Euery man cannot away with that ſaying, but they vnto whome it is geuen of God: Meaning that euery man coulde not abide ſingle or vnmaryed, but ſuch vnto whome was was geuē of God a ſpecial grace ſo to continue. And if with your better aduiſe I might be ſomewhat herein bolde, I woulde ſuppoſe that where as he doth ſay: Non omnes ſunt capaces huius dicti (Euery man cānot away with that ſaying) thys worde Non omnes, ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in yͤ pſalme it is ſayd: Non iuſtificabitur in conſpectu tuo omnis viuens, It is meant that no perſon liuing ſhalbe iuſtified afore God. And in the Epiſtle to the Galathians, and to the Romanes where it is ſayd: Ex operibus, legis non inſtificabitur omnis caro. (By the works of the law, no fleſh ſhalbe iuſtified in his ſight) it is meant therby nulla caro, ſo that non omnis, after yͤ rule of equipollence, ſhould be taken foraſmuch as nullus: and then then the ſence ſhould be thus, Nulli ſunt capaces huius dicti niſi hi quibus datum ſit. No man can be capax of thys ſaying, or can ſo paſſe theyr life without mariage, except thoſe whiche haue it geuē them by a ſingular grace of God to liue chaſte.

Math.19.

Non omnes, taken vniuerſally in Scripture.

Gal 2.
Rom 9.

Chaſtity is a gifte onely of God.

Then he proceeded further ſaying, There be gelded men that ſo were borne from the mothers wombe, and there be ſome gelded men, that haue bene ſo made by men, and there be gelded men that haue ſo made themſelues, for loue of the kingdome of heauen. In concluſion he ſaith: who that receiueth this ſaying, thinking that it ſhould be vnexpedient for him to mary, and that he may liue chaſte thorowe yͤ gift geuen him of God, let him take it, and ſo liue. So he leaueth ſinglenes of lyfe to all mens election, without anye compelling them thereto.

Math.19. Gelded men three wayes to be taken in Scripture.

Singlenes ought not to be compelled.

Hereunto aſſenteth S. Paule, when that by many reaſons he had perſwaded the Corinthians to ſingle life. Finally, he concludeth thus: This (quoth he) ſay I vnto you willing yͭ which ſhuld be for your profite: but not to bring you in bondage. And a little afore: I would (quoth he) that all men were euen as my ſelfe am. But euery one hath a ſeueral gift of God one one wiſe, an other otherwiſe, ſhewing thereby, that vnto ſome it is geuen of God to liue continēt, and to other for to engender & procreate children, and therfore his will cannot come to effect. Whiche thinge you may eaſily perceaue in this: that after he had ſhewed forth hys good wiſhe and deſire, ſaying: Velim omnes homines. &c. I would that all men were euen as I am: hee putteth a coniunctiō aduerſatiue, that declareth an obſtacle or ſtop ſaying: Sed vnuſquiſque proprium donum habet. &c. But euery man hath hys proper gift of God.

1. Cor.7.

Mariage neceſſary for all men, whoſoeuer lacke continency of harte.

Upon this he proceedeth further, wherby you may apertly ſee, ẏ he would haue al men (none except) to mary wãting the gift of continencie. This (quod he) I ſay to the vnmaried and widowes: expedient it were for them to remaine as I do: but if they cannot liue continent, let thẽ contract mariage, for better it is to mary then to burne. This prooueth well that all prieſtes wanting continencie of heart, had neede to mary for to auoyd burning luſt, vnles they be inobedient to the mind of Chriſt, that ſpake in Paule, in obſeruing the traditions of men.

In the beginning alſo of the ſame Chapter alſo he ſaith: It is good that a man ſhould not deale with a woman. Notwithſtanding for auoyding fornication (quod he) let euery man haue his wife, and euery woman haue her husband. He ſayth here: Quiſque & quæque euery man and euery woman. And not quidam, nec quædam, ſome man nor ſome womã: He excepteth neither prieſt ne nunne, but euery one both man & woman is bound for auoyding of burning and fornication to mary, not hauing the gift giuen of chaſtitie.

Quiſque, Quæque, not quidam, quædam.

Diſt. 29.

The ſame alſo confirmeth your own law. diſt. 29. where it is written thus: Si quis diſcernit preſbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quòd offerre non debeat, anathema ſit. If any man do holde that a prieſt being maried, in that reſpect ẏ he is maried, ought not to miniſter in his function: be he accurſed. And in the 31. diſt. Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro ſuo fidelem, ac religioſam deteſtatur, aut culpabilem æſtimat, velut quæ regnum Dei introire non poſsit, anathema ſit. If any man ſhal find fault wͭ matrimony, and deteſt a faithfull and deuout woman lying with her huſband, and thinke her culpable, as one that could not therefore, enter into the kingdome of God: be he accurſed. And euery where elſe, ſuch like are to be ſeene.

Mariage leſte free by the Popes lawe. Diſt. 31.

Paphnutius.

Maryage permitted free by the Councell of Nice.

Moreouer, in hiſtoria tripartita, it is written, that a noble Martyr of Chriſt called Paphnutius, in Nicene Councell, when all other biſhops were purpoſed to haue enacted there that prieſtes ſhould liue vnmaried, this holy man reſiſted thẽ ſo mightily both with reaſons, and alſo with authority of ſcripture, that then their purpoſe altered, & their firſt deuiſe could not paſſe. And one authoritie I remẽber was this, which he borowed of Paul in the ſecond Epiſtle to Timoth. Your deuiſe (quod he) may haue a ſemblãce of holines: but in deed it ſhall be the deſtruction and vndoing of the ſame.

Les illuſtrarions de gaulles.

Moreouer, in one of the principall hiſtories of Fraunce called, Les illuſtrations de gaulles. Whoſoeuer pleaſe may there read it as it ſtandeth, within 6. leaues afore the end of the ſame: how the author with deepe ſorrow lamenteth the ordinance that decreed firſt, prieſts to liue vnmaried ſhewing, & that amply, the miſeries that haue enſued in Fraunce, therby imputing it vnto Calixt the pope: of whom he maketh a doleful mention in Meter, whereof the firſt I yet remember, And it is thus: O ſancte Calixte, totus mundus odit te. &c. O holy Calixte, al the world hateth thee. Which followeth in writing to all that luſt to behold therin. But what nede I to make longer treatiſe hereof, for ſo much as you do dayly both heare and ſee, what foule abhomination ariſeth in euery corner, of this pitious law made of men ẏ would preſume to be wiſer then God, thinking (as we euer do) that eyther he would not, or els for lack of wiſdom he could not ſhew vs a ſufficient law or way, to direct our lyfe and conuerſation, to come to the ioy and reſting place of him promiſed, and ſo of vs longed and looked for. Wherby we both be farre vnreaſonable in ſo deeming of him after our vnwiſe wit, and he much diſhonoured. The which I beſeech him to helpe, Amen.

Men will be wiſer then God.

Anſwere to the 5. Article.

Free will to deſerue ioy or payne.

¶ Unto the v. where ye do aſke, whether I beleeue that whatſoeuer it done of man, whether it be good or ill, commeth of neceſſity: that is (as you conſtrue) to wit, whether man hath free will, ſo that he may deſerue ioy or paine? I ſay (as I ſayd at the beginning) that vnto the firſt parte of your riddle, I neyther can, ne wil giue any diffinitiue anſwer, forſomuch as it ſurmounteth my capacitie, truſting that God ſhall ſende hereafter, other that ſhall be of better learning and wit then I, for to endite it. As cõcerning the ſecond part, wheras you do interpret, that is to ſay, whether man haue free will or no, ſo that he may deſerue ioy or payne: as for our deſeruing ſpecially of ioy, I thinke it very ſlender or none, euen when we do the very commandementes and law of God, and that am I taught by our ſauiour, in S. Luke where he ſayth thus: Which of you (quod he) hauing a ſeruaunt that hath eared your land, or fed your beaſtes, wil ſay vnto him, when he commeth home out of the field, go thy way quickly, & ſit down to thy meat: and rather will not ſay vnto him, make ready my ſupper, ſeruing me therat vntill I haue made an end thereof, and afterwarde take thy ſelſe meate and drinke. Thinke you that he is bound to thanke his ſeruaunt which thus ſhall doe his commaundement? I trowe (ſayth he) nay. Euen ſo you (ſayth he) when you haue done all thinges to you commaunded, ſay yet you be vnprofitable ſeruaunts, & haue done that which you were bound to do.

In which wordes you may clearly ſee, that he would not haue vs greatly eſteeme our merites, when we haue done that is commaunded by God, but rather reckoning our ſelues to be but ſeruaunts vnprofitable to God, for ſo much as he hath no neede of our wel doing, for his own aduauncement, but onely that he loueth to ſee vs doe well for our owne behoufe: and moreouer, that when we haue done his bidding, we ought not ſo to magnify, neither our ſelfe: ne our owne free will, but laud him with a meeke heart, thorowe whoſe benefite we haue done (if at any time we doe it) his lyking and pleaſure: not regarding our merite, but his grace and benefite. Wherby onely is done all that in any wiſe is to him acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attend our merites in doing the commandement of God, much leſſe ſhould we looke for merite, for obſeruing of our owne inuentions, or traditions of men, vnto which there is no benefite in all Scripture which Paul calleth ẏ word of truth and of faith, promiſed.

But here may be obiected againſt me, that the rewarde is promiſed in many places to them that do obſerue ẏ preceptes of God. That I affirm to be very ſooth. Notwithſtanding ſuch reward ſhall neuer be atteyned of vs, except by the grace and benefite of him, which worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well S. Auguſtine, S. Ambroſe, Fulgentius, with other, as you may ſee euery where in their workes, and ſpecially in the treatiſe called Vnio diſsidentium, wherein he entreateth de gratia & meritis. And of S. Auguſtine I remember ij. or iij. right notable ſentences concerning the ſame. One is in the 9. booke of hys Confeſſions, in this fourme: Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Quia verè non exquiris delicta vehementer fiducialiter ſperamus aliquem locum apud te inuenire indulgentiæ. Quiſquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita ſua, quid tibi enumerat niſi munera tua? O ſi cognoſcerent ſe omnes, & qui gloriatur in Domino gloriaretur: Woe be to the life of men, be they neuer ſo holy, if thou ſhalt examine them, ſetting thy mercy aſide. Becauſe thou doeſt not exactly examine the faultes of men, therefore we haue a vehement hope and truſt to find ſome place of mercy with thee. And whoſoeuer recounteth vnto thee his merites, what other thing doth he recount, but thy benefites? O would God all men would ſee and knowe them ſelues and that he which glorieth, would glorie in the Lord. Againe, in the firſt booke he ſayth thus vnto God: Nunquid inops es & gaudes lucris? Nunquid auarus & vſuras exigis? Superogatur tibi vt debeas? & quis habet quicquam non tuũ? Reddis debita nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens. Doth any man giue that he oweth not vnto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt be in his debte? and hath any man ought that is not thine? Thou rendreſt debt, and yet oweſt to no man. Thou forgiueſt debte, and yet loſeſt nothing. And therefore his vſuall prayer was this: Domine da quod iubes, & iube quod vis. Lord giue that thou commaundeſt, and commaund what thou wilt.

Alſo in the booke called, Manuale Auguſtini, or De contemplatione Chriſti, he ſayth in this wiſe: Tota ſpes mea eſt in morte Domini. Mors eius meritum meum, refugium meum, ſalus vita, & reſurrectio mea. Meritum meum miſeratio Domini. Non ſum meriti inops quamdiu ille miſerationum Dominus non defuerit. Et ſi miſericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego ſum in meritis. All my hope is in the Lordes death. His death is my merite, my refuge, my health and my reſurrection. My merites is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, ſo long as the Lord of mercie ſhal continue. And if ẏ mercies of the Lorde be great and riche, then am I alſo great and rich in merites.

And to conclude, they be Chriſtes owne merites and good works (as ſayth S. Ambroſe wel nigh euery where) that he worketh in vs, which he doth reward and crowne, and not ours, if one ſhould loke narowly vpon the thing, & ſpeak properly. Howbeit, they yet neuertheleſſe are ours by him, for ſo much as his mercifull bountie imputeth hys goods to be ours. So that in this, I wot not how other do meane, which luſt to ſel their merits vnto their neighbors that happely haue ſkarce enough for themſelues: but I do wholy deme & beleue, according as the ſcripture with theſe holy doctors, and ſuch other, do teach, wiſhing that men euer for good doing ſhould not ſo much (as the cõmon people doth) regard their merite or reward, for that is not the thing that engendreth the loue of god in vs, but rather maketh men to honour God in a ſeruile faſhion, & for the loue of themſelues in doing workes for loue of rewarde, or for dread of payne, more then becauſe it ſo pleaſeth God, & lyketh him: whereas if we regarded firſt (yea & altogether) that it is our duety to do wel (which is the keping of his cõmandementes) & that ſo we ſhould content his pleaſure.

rewarde

reward ſhould vndoubtedly enſue good deedes, although we minded no whit the ſame, as heat followeth euermore ỹ fire vnſeperate therefrom. And thus we ſhuld ſerue god with harty loue as children, and not for meed or dread, as vnlouing thraldes and ſeruauntes.

Concerning free will, I meane altogether, as doth S. Auguſtine, that of our ſelfe we haue no libertie ne habilitie to doe the will of God, but are ſubiect vnto ſinne & thraldes of the ſame, concluſi ſub peccatum, & venundari ſub eodem: Shut vp and ſold vnder ſinne, as witneſſeth both Eſay & alſo Paule, but by the grace of God, wee are rid and ſet at libertie, according to the portion that euery man hath take of the ſame, ſome more ſome leſſe.

¶ Whereas in your firſt demaund, you do enquire whether the ſacrament of the aulter be a ſacrament neceſſarye vnto ſaluation, and whether after the conſecration of the bread & wine done by the prieſt, as by the miniſter of God there is the very body and blood of Chriſt in likenes of bread & wine: I neither can ne wil anſwere one worde, otherwiſe the I haue told ſith I was firſt deliuered into your hands Neither woulde I haue aunſwered one whit thereunto, knowing ſo much at the firſt as I now doe, till you hadde brought forth ſome that would haue accuſed me to haue treſpaſſed in the ſame, which I am certayn you can not do, bringing any that is honeſt and credible.

¶ As concerning the other vi. ſacramentes, I make you that ſame anſwere that I haue done vnto the ſacramēt of the aulter, and none other. That is, I will ſay nothing vntill ſome men appeare to accuſe mee in the ſame, vnleſſe I know a more reaſonable cauſe then I haue yet heard, why I ſo ought to do. But as touching ỹ forme and faſhion, I ſhall anſwere willingly ſo farre forth as my rudenes will ſerue. I hold well that ſuch as be duely elect Miniſters in the Churche ought to baptiſe, except neceſſitie require otherwiſe and that the forme vſed in the Churche, is in mine opinion not vncommendable. Neuertheles it ſhould edifie muche more, if it were vttered in the vulgar language, and cauſe people in the Baptiſme of children, more effectuouſly to thank God for hys inſtitution and high benefite thereby repreſented.

In like condition do I alſo deeme of miniſtration in all the other, that it ſhould be expedient to haue thē miniſtred openly in ỹ vulgar lāguage, for the edifying of ỹ people. As concerning the forme vſed in matrimony, I lyke it right wel, and thinke it commendable, ſauing in all contreyes lightly Iudas hath ſet in his foote ouer farre, and taketh in hand to ſell his maiſter, accompanyed with Symon Magus: ſaying what will you geue me if I deliuer vnto you Chriſt? This is the ſaying of all them that require, without any lawfull authoritie, in ſome places, iiii. pence, in ſome vi. pence, in ſome more, in ſome leſſe, but in euery place lightly ſome mony: when a couple ſhould be maryed: and this they call the churches right. Moreouer ỹ they will not ſuffer mariage to be ſolemniſed at all times of the yeare, I thinke it ſtandeth not with Chriſtes rule, but rather is agaynſt the ſame: and that they will not ſuffer the banes vpon all holydayes to be proclaymed vnleſſe a diſpenſation for money be purchaſed therefore. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no mony ought to be geuen for this: no more ſhoulde anye be taken for anye other. But ỹ contrary is ſeene, whiche is great pitty, yea euen at the receiuing of the ſacrament of the aulter, prieſtes euery where vſe to clayme ſomewhat, and in ſome partes of the weſt countrey, no leſſe then ii. pence of euery pole.

¶ As touching prieſthood in the primitiue church, when vertue bare (as auncient Doctors do deeme, and ſcripture in mine opinion recordeth the ſame) moſt roume, there were no mo officers in the Churches of God, the byſhops and Deacons, that is to ſaye, miniſters: as witneſſeth beſide ſcripture full apertly, Hierome in his Commentaries vpon the Epiſtles of Paule, whereas he ſayth, that thoſe whome we call prieſtes were all one, and none other but Biſhops, and the biſhops none other but prieſtes, men auncient both in age and learning, ſo neare as could be choſen neyther were they inſtitute and choſen as they be nowe a dayes, with ſmall regard of a Biſhop or his Officer onely appoſing them if they can conſtrue a Collect, but they were choſen not onely of the B. but alſo to the conſent of ỹ people among whō they ſhuld haue their liuing, as ſheweth S. Cyprian: and the people (as he ſayth) ought to haue power to chuſe prieſtes ỹ be men of good learning, of good & honeſt report. But (alacke for pity) ſuch elections are now vaniſhed, and new faſhions brought in: which if we ſhould conferre to the forme of the election thereof vſed in the time of the apoſtle Paule, we ſhould finde no ſmall diuerſitie, but all turned vpſide downe. To conclude, I ſay the order or ſtate of prieſts & deacons was ordayned by God, but Subdeacons & Coniurers otherwiſe called Exorciſtes and Acolites, which we call Benet and Collect, were inſtitute by the inuention of men. And this you may finde in the law, Diſt. 21. and other places, where is written Subdiaconatus tempore Apoſtolorum non fuit ſacer. Subdeaconſhip in the time of the Apoſtles was no holy order.

Subdeaconſhip in the time of the Apoſtles no holy order.

Anſwere to the 10. Article. Auricular confeſſion not ordeyned by God.

¶ As touching eare confeſſion, I ſay, that the common faſhion now vſed was neuer ordeined by Chriſtes law, that is written in the Bible: neither can you proue by any authoritie of the ſame, that we ought to confeſſe all our offences particularly, with the circumſtances of all & of euery ſuch, to any man. Agayne, for the maintenaunce of this which I haue ſayd, you ſhal know that Chriſoſtome ſtandeth ſtifly with me in his Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to the Hebrues. In an homely alſo that he maketh vpon the Pſalme Miſerere. And moreouer in a Sermon that he maketh, De pœnitentia: beſide many other treatiſes, wherein he cōtinueth euer one, teſtifying in ſemblable wiſe,

Chryſoſt. in epiſt. ad Hed.

In Pſal. Miſerere Serm. de pœnitentia.

In like maner doth one of your principall Doctours, writing vpon your Canon lawe, named Panormitanus, teſtifie that it is made by the lawe of man, and not of God, in cap. Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. In the booke alſo called hiſtoria tripartita, you ſhal finde how it was firſt inſtitute (as I remember) and after vndone againe, becauſe of an huge vilany committed with a woman by a Miniſter of the Church thorow confeſſion.

Panormitanus Abbas in cap. omnis vtriuſque ſexus.

Hiſtoria tripartita.

Alſo it is mentioned in the ende of firſt Diſtinct. De pœnitentia, how the Greek Church, whome I thinke you do not note to be heretickes, will not yet hetherto allowe it. There are alſo many reaſons brought forth, both to proue that cōfeſſion made to a prieſt, ſhould not be neceſſary, & alſo that confeſſion made vnto God ſhould ſuffice, cōcluding in this wiſe: Quibus authoritatibus. &c. I coulde bringe forth other that be yet liuing men, of ſurmounting and excellent literature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reaſons, do ſhewe and confirme this my ſaying to be iuſt: but I keepe ſilence and will not name them, leaſt, I ſhould bring them in hatred. Notwithſtanding, I neuer ſayd, ne will ſay, but that men feeling themſelues agreeued in conſcience with ſome great tentatiō, had neede to go vnto ſuch, whom they know and truſt to be of ſtedfaſt credence, and to haue good ſkill in the law of God, opening their grief vnto them, to the entent they may know through councel, ſome eaſe and remedy thereof.

Diſt. de pœnitentia.

The Greeke Church alowed not confeſſion auricular.

But in this I meane not that they ought to goe vnto their Curate or to any other Prieſte, whoſe credence they deeme not all truſty, or their Councell not ſage, but to any other, whatſoeuer he be, whom they know moſte ſufficient in properties aboue ſhewed, when their Curate doth lacke them. And this thing is the moſte behouable, when men needing councell, be ſo voide of knowledge in Chriſtes lawe, that they cannot finde therein remedie themſelues. For the doctrine of Chriſte, if it were well knowen, conteineth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the minde, ſo that men by ſpirituall knowledge might eaſe themſelues.

Aſking councell in the Church is good, but is not tyed to any perſon.

To the other part of your queſtion, where ye do aſke whether a Prieſte in caſes vnto him limited, may looſe a ſinner confeſſed and contrite for his ſinne, inioyning hym holſome penaunce: I ſay that onely Chriſt looſeth a ſinner which is contrite, by his worde and promiſe, and the prieſt doth nothing but ſhew and declare the worde: Neyther doth declaration or miniſtery of the prieſt any whit auaile for to loſe any perſon, vnleſſe he that ſhould be loſed, geue credence vnto the word miniſtred and ſhewed by the prieſt which word or promiſe of Chriſt is called the word of reconciliation or atonement making betwixt God and man. And this teſtifieth S. Paul in the 2. to the Cor. where he ſayth in this wiſe: God hath reconciled vs vnto him thorough Ieſus Chriſt. See how it is God that looſeth vs from ſinne, which is to make reconciliation or atonemēt betwixt vs and him, and that thorow Chriſt, whom he cauſed to dye for the ſame purpoſe. And he (quoth S. Paul) hath ordayned vs Miniſters of the ſaid atonement. See howe Chriſtes Apoſtles called not themſelues the authors of binding and loſing, but Miniſters: for he (that is to wit, God) recōciled the world vnto him forgiuing their ſinnes. Where you may know what reconciling is. And hath committed (ſaith Paul) vnto vs to be meſſengers of the ſame worde or tidinges of atonement or reconciling.

The ſecond part of the queſtions, whether a prieſt loſeth a ſinner. Chryſt, and not the Prieſt, loſeth the ſinner

2. Cor. 5,

Chriſt onely loſeth vs frō ſinne.

The Apoſtles not the authors of binding and loſing but miniſters.

And thus the power whereby men are loſed from ſinne, is not the prieſts power you may know by the vulgar ſaying, which is right true: yea and with leaſure, I doubt not but ỹ I can ſhewe the ſame in the Decrees which is thus: Solus Deus remittit peccata. Only God forgiueth and pardoneth vs of our ſinnes. And this was preached at Pauls Croſſe the ſonday next after the Epiphany laſt, the Byſhop of London ſitting by: the Preacher ſpeaking after this forme, treating of this text: Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit

This ſaying is taken out of Peter Lombert, lib. and cited in the decrees.

Iohn. 1.

peccata mundi: Behold the lamb of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde. In that ſaid the preacher, teſtimony is geuen of Chriſt to be a Lamb, it is ſhewed yͭ he was an innocent man. But in yͭ it is ſayde, that he taketh away the ſinne of the world, is ſhewed that he was God, alleaging there for the confirmation of this part of his purpoſe, the vulgare ſaying aboue ſayde by me: Solus Deus remittit peccata. And the ſame propoſition, or an other equal with the ſame, vſeth Chryſoſtome in an Homely that is made vpon this text of Mathe. Vocabitur nomen eius Ieſus, &c. His name ſhalbe called Ieſus: for he ſhall ſaue his people from their ſinnes. Alſo Saint Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, vpon this texte, Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſæi, qui clauditis regnum cœlorum, &c. Woe be vnto you Scribes and Phariſeis, becauſe yee ſhutte vppe the kingdome of heauen before men, &c. As nere as my remembraunce doth ſerue me: or els in ſome other place, but in the ſame booke (as I ſuppoſe) he affirmeth that the keies of heauen are the worde & doctrine of God. This witneſſeth moreouer S. Gregory (I trow) in his booke called Paſtoralia, or els it is in an Epiſtle that he writeth, ad Epiſcopum Conſtantinopolitanum, in theſe wordes: Clauis appertionis eſt ſermo correctoris, qui increpando, culpam detegit, quam ſæpe neſcit qui perpetrauit. The key of looſing is the word of the corrector who rebuking doth diſcloſe the fault, whiche many times he knoweth not that committeth the ſame.

Math. 1.

Math. 23.

The keyes of bynding and looſing are the word of God. Greg. in Paſtor.

Saint Ambroſe agreeing to the ſame, ſayeth: Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. The worde of God forgiueth ſinne, But ſhal we then ſay, that Gods miniſters do not binde & loſe? I ſay no, not as the authors of ſo doing but they doe loſe and bind in like maner, as it is ſaid of Paul in the Act. of yͤ Apoſtles, where our Sauiour ſpake vnto him in this maner: I ſhal (ſayde our Sauiour) deliuer thee from the people and nations, vnto whom I ſend thee, that thou ſhouldeſt open their eyes, that they may be conuerted from darkenes to light. Here Paule is ſayd to open the eyes of mens hartes. Albeit to ſpeake properly, it is God that ſo doth: And therfore Dauid prayeth vnto him: Reuela oculos meos: Open mine eyes O Lorde. And in like maner it is ſpoken of Iohn Baptiſt in the 1. of Luke: that he ſhoulde goe before Chriſt in the ſpirite and power of Helias, and turne the hartes of the fathers to their children, and the vnbeleeuers to the wiſdome of the rightwiſe. Albeit to turne mens harts, and to worke in them belongeth vnto God. But ſo vſe we to ſpeake Metonymicè: As if your lordſhip had decreed me to be excommunicate, and thereupon ſhould ſende a commaundement to the perſon of Knoll to declare the ſame, the people would ſay that the perſon of Knol proclaiming your commaundement had accurſed me: but yet doth he not properly curſe me, but you rather, whē he in pronouncing the ſame, doth your act and commaundement, rather then his owne.

Ambroſe.

How miniſters bynde and looſe. Act. 26

Pſal. 119.

Luke. 1.

Metonymia is, a figure, when the name that properly belongeth to one, is inproperly tranſferred to an other thing.

Touching caſes limited to Prieſtes and Miniſters, for loſing from ſin, or binding in the ſame, I do know no ſuch thinges ſhewed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life. Neither can any man (I ſuppoſe) ſhew by authoritie therof, that one ſhould haue more or leſſe limited him, thē an other. And if you can or will thereby teache it me, I ſhall thank you for your doing, & pray god to acquit you.

Power in bynding & looſing, limited no more to one miniſter, then an other.

Concerning enioyning of penaunce, I know of none yͭ men need to admitte, nor you to put or enioyne the ſame except it be renouation of liuing, in caſting apart old vyce, & taking them vnto newe vertue: whiche euery true penytent entendeth, or ought to entend verily by the grace & aſſiſtance of our ſauiour Chriſt, to ſhew and performe.

Inioyning of penaunce.

¶ Unto the xi. I ſay, that grace is giuen vnto them, that duely receiue the Sacramentes of Chriſte and his church but whether by them or no, that I cannot define: for God ſendeth his grace where he pleaſeth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaſeth: ſo that it is at his arbitrement, how, and when. Moreouer, many a lewd perſō receiueth the ſacraments, that are deſtitute of grace, to their confuſion. So that I cannot affirme, that yͤ Sacramentes giueth grace: Yet in due receit of the Sacramentes, I ſuppoſe and thinke, that God geueth vnto them grace that ſo taketh thē, as he doth vnto al good, euen without thē alſo.

Anſwere to the 11. article.

Sacramentes, whether they geue grace or no

¶ Wheras in your xij. article you do aſke, whether al thinges neceſſary vnto ſaluation, are put in holy Scripture, & whether things only there put, be ſufficiēt, & whether ſome things vpō neceſſitie of ſaluatiō, are to be beleued & obſerued, which are not expreſſed in ſcripture: this is yͤ queſtiō, as great learned mē haue ſhewed me, whom I do coūt my frēds, ſith yͤ time I appeared at your lordſhips aſſignment before maiſter Doctor Leſſe, & maiſter Melling, & other in your chappell of Lambeth, when theſe queſtions were fyrſt propounded: this (I ſay) is the queſtion, whiche (as they told me) is the head and whole content of all other obiected agaynſt me. Yea this is both the helme and ſterne of al together, and that which they contended right ſore to impugne: but loue of the trueth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not ſuffer me to apply and yeld to their will, thinking quòd ſanctum eſt veritatem præferre amicitiæ, that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendſhip and amitie: And alſo, Si dextra manus ſcandalezet, deberet præſcindi & abijci: if the right hand offend, it ought to be cut off and caſt away.

Anſwere to the 12. article.

Doctor Leſſe. M. Melling.

But touching an aunſwere vnto this queſtion, I ſuppoſe verily, that if I had Saint Cyrils workes by me, I ſhould not nede to ſhew any other anſwer in this, then he hath ſhewed afore time, writing vpon this ſaying of S. Iohn: Sunt, & alia multa quæ fecit Ieſus, there are many things moe which Ieſus did. Notwithſtanding, for ſo much as euery man at all ſeaſons, cannot haue what he would, and therfore muſt make other ſhift: ſuch as he may I ſay (as I ſuppoſe) the firſt part of your queſtiō to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed: that is to wit, that al thinges needefull for mans ſaluation, be mencioned and ſhewed in holy ſcripture, and that the thinges onely there put, be ſufficient for the regiment of ſpirituall liuing & mans ſoule health. And in this ſhal you finde both the auncient Doctors ſtanding with me: and moreouer, the ſuffrage of holy writte, whoſe authoritie is of moſt ſoueraigne and vnfallible ſtedfaſtnes.

Looke what Saint Hierome ſayeth vpon this verſe: Dominus narrabit in ſcripturis pupulorum: The Lorde ſhall rehearſe it, when he writeth vp the people. Saint Ambroſe alſo in a treatiſe, De Paradiſo, doth ſhew likewyſe, where he bringeth this text of Paule written in the 2. to the Corinth. I am afraid leaſte it may by ſome meane be brought to paſſe, that as the Serpent deceiued Eue thorow wilines, ſo your mindes may be corrupt from the ſimple veritie that is in Chriſt. And alſo in his Commentaries vpon the epiſtle to the Coloſſ. vpon this text. In Chriſt Ieſus is all treaſure of wiſedome, and in other diuers places of the ſame worke.

S. Chryſoſtome alſo in his Commentaries vppon Paul declaring this ſaying: Omnis ſcriptura diuinitus inſpirata. &c. The whole Scripture giuen by inſpiration of GOD. &c. And in his Booke called Opus imperfectum, I wote not preciſely vpon what text, but there you ſhal finde, that he would haue a true preacher of gods law, not ſwaruing therefro, neither vpon the right hand, neither vpon yͤ left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Salomō: for he that ſhould therunto adde or withdraw, ſhould enterpriſe, as ſayeth Chryſoſtome, to be wiſer then God. Theſe or els ſuch like wordes doth he ſay. I will be demed by the booke brought forth, becauſe my remembraunce cannot retayne perfectly all ſuch thinges.

S. Cyprian mainteineth well the ſame in an Epiſtle that he writeth ad Cecilium fratrem. Which I would to God were in Engliſh, that al men might learn the deuout goodnes in it conteined. In the ſame he teacheth clearely, how we ought to heare Chriſt onely and his learning, not regarding ne attending to the traditions of men: lyke as he doth alſo in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of Saluation: the adminiſtration of righteouſnes, the word of truth, yea and the truth it ſelfe: the rod of direction: our ſpirituall food: the ſpirituall ſword that we ought to fight with againſt all temptations and aſſaultes of our ghoſtly enemies, the ſeede of God, the kingdome of heauen & keyes of the ſame: the power of God: the light of the worlde, which who ſo followeth, ſhal not be ouercome with darknes: the law of God: his wiſedome, and Teſtament. Of which wordes and ſuch like, euery one will giue matter of ſubſtantial argument, that we following the ſame doctrine onely, ſhall haue ſufficient ſafe conduict to come vnto the inheritaunce promiſed, albeit none other wayes or meanes were annexed with the ſame. And certaine I am that in this bleſſed doctrine of Chriſt is taught, howe we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we neede to do, as teſtifieth the Pſalme, in theſe wordes: Vniuerſæ viæ domini miſericordia & veritas, &c. All the wayes of the Lorde are mercie and truth. And agayne, the Prophet willing vs to do as he did, ſayth in this maner: Adhæſi teſtimonijs tuis domine, noli me confundere: I haue cleaued to thy teſtimonies O Lord, confound me not. In lyke maner the ſayd whole Pſalme warneth vs. Yea all the Scripture biddeth vs ſticke faſt to the ſteady and true worde of God: ſaying that he is verax, & viæ eius veritas: omnis autem homo vanitas & mendax: For he is true and all his wayes are trueth: but all men are vayne and lyers. For that is the ſure foundation, which cannot fayle them that grounde there vppon as reporteth Chriſt. Euery one (ſayth he) that heareth my words, & doth them, is like to a wiſe man that buildeth vppon a ſure foundation. And there ought to be none other foundation to chriſten men but only the vndoubted truth of Ieſus, to build our faith vpon, and direct our liuing thereafter, as ſheweth S. Paul ſaying: Fundamentū aliud nemo, &c. Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid which is Ieſus Chriſt. And likewiſe in the Epiſtle, vnto the Epheſians, where he ſayth: Iam non eſtis hoſpites & aduenæ ſed conciues ſanctorum, & domeſtici dei, &c. Nowe ye are no more ſtrangers and forreiners, but Citizens with the Saints and of the houſhold of God.

And in the ſame epiſtle S. Paul dilating of Chriſtes beneficence, ſheweth, how that he ordained in the Churche diuers officers, to the edifying of Chriſten people, that he calleth Chriſtes body, vntill all we may come vnto the vnitie of faith, which cometh by following of one doctrine which is Chriſtes, wherby wee may growe to bee perfect men, and that we ſhould not be here like to children caried about with euery winde of doctrine by deceipte and wilines of men that ſtudy to deceiue vs.

In like forme doeth he warne vs in the Epiſtle to the Hebrues, that we ſhould not be caried about as the wind with diuers and ſtraunge doctrines, but continue in that which euer continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all partes, and that at all times: not being chaungeable as mens conſtitutions be, whereof looke what one doth counſaile or ordaine to be of effecte, another annulleth the ſame, according as mens mindes doe alway alter and are full vnſtedy. Neither doe ſuch pertaine vnto all men, for the Greekes with other (whome the Pope, ne none of his people wil yet deny to be of Chriſtes Church) will in no condition admitte ſuch, neither for men to liue after them, nor to beleeue them as pertaining to theyr faith: But they allowe well the doctrine that perſeuereth euer one, and is immutable, as ſheweth Saint Paule ſaying: Ieſus Chriſt yeſterday, and to day is all one: and ſo euer ſhal be. He is white breade without any ſower leuen of Phariſaical traditions: veritie without guile, light without any darkenes: the very ſtraight way that hath neither hooke, ne croke. From this ought we not to turne neither vpon one hand, ne other, vnleſſe we will go from him that is our felicitie and anker of ſafetie.

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But what ſhould I more entreate of this, excepte I would recite all ſcripture, which in euery parte is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning vs to cleaue faſt vnto this way, which is the doctrine of the Goſpel: which God I beſeech him graunt vs all, both to knowe and loue, taking heede that in no wiſe wee be ſeduced therefro, by lawes & doctrines of men. Looke alſo in the ij. chap. to the Coloſſians, and in the epiſtle of Timothe and Titus. So that I conclude, in holy ſcripture to be conteined ſufficiently enough of doctrine, for the regiment and ſaluation of our ſoules. And this becauſe learned men do call the head Article laid againſt me: I would that all men ſhould well note it, and record my ſaying therin hereafter, whatſoeuer ſhall betide of me, for the truth is ſo in deed, that hereupon hangeth the ſumme of all. Therfore, I ſhall recite it once againe. I ſay that in holy Scripture, the doctrine there only contained, is ſufficient for the ſaluation of chriſten mens ſoules. God giue vs grace we may know it, to builde our faith ſtedfaſtly vpon the ſame in working thereafter.

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As touching the latter parte of your queſtion, I ſaye that there are many thinges both to be obſerued and to be beleeued, that are not expreſſed in ſcripture: as the Ciuill lawes of princes and comminalties ordeined for ciuill regiment of the body, and all other, ſo that they be not hurtefull to faith or charity, but helpful to the ſame, I recken that we ought to kepe them, not only for feare of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake, although ſuch ordinances be not expreſly and particularly in ſcripture expreſſed, for they are generally therin conteined and ſpoken of.

Moreouer, if you meane by this word expreſſed, that which in ſcripture is clearely ſhewed out, & appeareth euidently to euery reader or hearer ẏ hath but a mean vnderſtanding, ſo do I affirme ẏ there are ſome thinges which a man ought to beleeue, although they be not of him expreſſely vnderſtand: As I haue euer beleeued that the virgine Mary was and is a perpetuall virgine, and that the ſame might be gathered by the ſcripture. But if by this word expreſſed you meane comprehended, or conteined, (as me thinke the minde of him that wrote the demaunde ſhould be) ſo that he meaneth by this queſtion, thus: whether any thing ought to be obſerued and beleeued, whiche is not contained in Scripture and that vppon neceſſity of ſaluation) then I ſay, that there is nothing neither to bee obſerued ne to be beleued vpō neceſſitie of ſaluation, which is not conteined in Scripture, and mentioned in the ſame either generally or ſpecially. Yet do I not deny but other thinges are to be beleeued as I beleeued that Doct. warham was Byſhop of Caunterbury, ere euer I ſaw * your Lordſhip: and I beleue that I knew verily who was my father & mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they begot me, and ſuch like: and yet in ſuch pointes, although man haue not a ſtedy beleefe, he may be ſaued.

Aunſwere to the 13 article.
A Purgatorie in this world.

¶ To the xiij. where ye do aſke whether I beleeue ẏ purgatory is, and whether that ſoules departed be therein tormented & purged? I ſay that there is a Purgatory in this world, & that doth the ſcripture, and alſo the holy doctors call the fire of tribulatiō, through which al Chriſtians ſhal paſſe, as teſtifieth Saint Paul in the ſecond chapter of the ij. Epiſtle to Timoth. whoſe teſtimony is full notable and true, albeit that fewe do know it, and fewer peraduenture will beleeue it. Marke you the wordes (good people) and know that they be his, and not mine. They be thus: All that will godly liue in Ieſu Chriſte, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. In this Purgatory doe I nowe reckon my ſelfe to ſtande: God ſend me well to perſeuer vnto his honour. Of this ſpeaketh alſo S. Peter in theſe wordes which perteine to the inſtruction of all Chriſten people: Virtute Dei cuſtodimini per fidem ad ſalutem, quæ in hoc parata eſt vt patefiat in tempore ſupremo: in quo exultaris nunc, ad breue tempus, afflicti in varijs experimentis ſi opus ſit, quo exploratio fidei veſtræ multo precioſior auro quod perit, & tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in gloriam & honorem. Ye (quoth he) are preſerued thorowe the power of God by faith vnto ſaluation, which is prepared to be reuealed in the laſt time wherein yee nowe reioyce, though for a ſeaſon (if neede require) ye are ſundry waies afflicted and tormented, that the triall of your faith, being much more precious then gold that peariſheth, though it be tried with fire, might be founde vnto laude, glorie, and honour at the appearing of Ieſu Chriſte. &c. Other Purgatory knowe I none, that you can proue by Scripture, vnleſſe it be by one place of the ſame, whyche well examined, I trowe, ſhall make but little againſt me, for the maintenaunce of any other then I haue ſhewed.

2.Tim.2.
The Purgatory of Chriſtians.

1.Pet.1.

But what ſoeuer be brought againſt me, I truſte that holye Doctours ſhall by their interpretation, ſuſtayne the parte the which I do take vpon me, making aunſwere for me ſufficient, ſo that you ſhal ſay, it is no new thing which I haue or ſhall ſpeake: Yet that you ſhoulde ſee euen nowe ſomewhat wrytten of auncient Doctours concerning the ſame, I ſhall ſhewe you what I haue read in S. Auguſtine: firſt in a ſermon that he maketh De Ebrietate, in this wiſe, ſaying: Nemo ſe decipiat fratres: duo enim loca ſunt, & tertius non eſt viſus, Qui cum Chriſto regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo abſque vlla dubitatione peribit. That is to ſay: Brethren let no man deceiue himſelfe, for there be two places, and the third is not knowne. He that with Chriſt hath not deſerued to reigne, ſhall without doubt periſhe wyth the deuill. In an other alſo that he maketh, De vanitate huius ſeculi, it is ſayd thus: Scitote vos, quòd cum anima à corpore auellitur ſtatim in paradiſo pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certè pro peccatis, in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Eligite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum Sanctis, aut ſine fine cruciari cum impijs. Whiche is thus to ſay: Knowe you that when the ſoule is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for his good deedes, put in paradiſe, or els thrown hedlong into the dungeō of hell, for his ſinnes. Chooſe you nowe what ye liſt, and purpoſe while you be here in this life, either to ioy perpetually with Saints, or els to be tormented without end among wicked ſinners. Thus ſayeth holy Auguſtine.

No third place by S.Auguſtine

* What our deſeruing is S. Auguſtine declareth before in the 5. Article. Fol. 1074.

No Purgatory.]

To make an end, I hope ſurely ẏ by the ayde of our ſauiour, I ſhall come to heauen and reigne with Chriſt, ere that I ſhall feele any purgatory, beſide that I haue & ſhall ſuſteine in this life. And he that beleueth not ſtedfaſtly any other to be, ſhall yet be ſaued as well (and God woteth whether better or no, but I thinke no whit leſſe) as ſuche as teache the people or ſuffer them to be taught, that in going from this ſtatiō to that, from one altar to an other they ſhall cauſe ſoules to be deliuered: yea and as well ſuch as ſay that a man being buried in a gray Friers frocke, ſhall ſo haue remiſſion of the the third part of his ſinnes, as is graunted in a Bull vnto the ſayd Religion: and ſuch like. For as S. Auguſtine ſhall make with me in his book called Enchiridion, after he hath confuted the opiniō of ſome that in the church of Chriſt, liuing in miſchiefe vngraciouſly, taking therof no repentaunce, did yet falſly deeme that they ſhoulde be ſaued through the clenſing of purgatorye: where hee concludeth thus: Suche a thing after this life to be (ſayth he) is not incredible, but whether it be ſo or no, a doubt may be therof moued or a queſtion demanded. The ſame wordes doth he agayn recite in a booke called, Quæſtiones ad dulcium, or dulcitium I wotte not whether he is called, and there he intreateth the ſame more copiouſly: and would I might ſee the place once agayne.

The third part of ſinnes, forgeuen them, that be buryed in a gray Fryers weede.
Auguſt in Enchiridion.

To this agreeth S. Paule writing thus to the Cor. Omnes nos manifeſtari oportet coram tribunali Chriſti, vt reportet quiſque eapuæ fiunt per corpus, iuxta id quod fecit, ſiue bonum ſiue malum. For we muſt al appeare before the iudgement ſeat of Chriſt, that euery man may receiue the things which are done in his body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euill. And againe where he writeth vnto the Hebrues, I trow it be ſaid in this wiſe. Memores ſitis vinctorum tanquam vna cum illis vincti: eorum qui affliguntur veluti ipſi quoque verſantes in corpore: Remember thē that are in bondes, euen as though ye were bound with them: be mindfull of them which are in affliction, as if ye were alſo afflicted in the body.

Heb.13.

Aunſwere to the 14. article.

Prayingto Saintes.

To the 14. where you aſke whether holy Martyrs, Apoſtles, and Confeſſours departed from this worlde, ought to be honoured, called vpon, and praied vnto? I anſwere as touching the honouring of them, with the very wordes of S. Auguſtine in his booke, De Vera religione, in his laſt leafe, where he ſaith thus: Non ſit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum, Quia ſi piè vixerunt, non ſic habentur vt tales quærant honores, ſed illum à nobis coli volunt, quo illumināte lætantur * meriti ſui nos eſſe conſortes: honorandi ſunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem malè vixerunt ubicunque ſunt, non ſunt colendi. Agayne, a litle after the ſame, he ſaith: Nam idipſum actum eſt temporali diſpenſatione ad ſalutem noſtram, vt naturam humanam, ipſa Dei virtus & Dei ſapientia incommutabilis & conſubſtantialis patri & coæternus, ſuſcipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret id eſſe homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali & rationali colendum eſt: Hoc eſt, ipſos optimos angelos, & excellentiſsima Dei miniſteria velle credamus, vt vnum cum ipſis colamus Deum, cuius contemplatione beati ſunt: neque enim & nos videndo angelum beati ſumus, ſed videndo veritatem, qua ipſos etiam diligimus Angelos, & his congratulamur.

*Id eſt, eiuſdem meriti cuius ipſi ſunt participes.

Nec inuidemus ꝙ ea paratiores, vel nullis moleſtijs interpedientibus perfruūtur, ſed magis eos diligimus, quoniā & nos tale aliquid ſperare à cōmuni domino iuſsi ſum⁹. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non ſeruitute: nec eis templa conſtruimus. Nolunt enim ſe ſic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipſi cùm boni ſumus, templa ſūmi Dei eſſe nouerunt. Rectè itaq; ſcribitur hominē ab Angelo prohibitum ne ſe adoraret, ſed vnum Deum, ſub quo ille eſſet & conſeruus. Thus ſaith S. Auguſtine, handling the ſame matter a little after more at large.

Angels woulde haue no Temples builded to them.

The content of this vnto you I expound that knowe no Latine, for I couet that all perſons ſhoulde knowe both my thought in this, and all maner of doing, to the intent that of all perſons I would haue true report and teſtimony, what ſoeuer ſhal betide me. Saint Auguſtine in theſe wordes would haue, that we ſhould worſhippe no men departed, be they neuer ſo good and holy, for they ſeeke no ſuch honour, but would haue vs to worſhippe God alone: no nor yet no Aungell, ne honour the ſame, but onely the imitation of them, following their good actes in our liuing, as they followed our moſte mercifull God whiles they were aliue, not building Churches in the name or honour of them, for they woulde haue no ſuche honour done vnto them: it is to them no pleaſure, but contrariwiſe. No, the Aungels will not that we ſhoulde builde any Churches in reuerence of them, but woulde, that with them wee ſhoulde honour the originall marke, and performer of all. They refuſe all honour, ſauing that whiche is called honor charitatis, which is nothing els, but to be loued. Thus ſayth Saint Auguſtine. Whiche loue we ſhall teſtify in following their good actes, by helping the poore or helpeleſſe with almes and mercy, and dealing truely in worde and deede, according to our ſtate and calling, both towardes God and man. Which is no light matter to them that do conſider the thing well. But whoſoeuer ſhall truely and duely follow that trade, ſhall feele it (I dare ſay) as the burden of Chriſtes Croſſe was vnto him right weyghty and grieuous: when he bare it to Caluarie: ſauing that we neede not to feare for he hath promiſed to bee with vs in tribulation, to ridde vs from the ſame, For the Prophete Dauid ſayth: Cum ceciderit iuſtus non collidetur, quia Dominus ſupponit manum ſuam. That is to witte when a iuſt perſon beginneth to fall, hee ſhall not be borne flatte downe to be broken, for the Lord ſhall put his hand vnder him, to reare him vp againe. And in the Goſpell he biddeth: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati eſtis & ego reficiam vos. That is to ſay, Come you vnto me all that do trauaile and are ſore charged, and I ſhall comfort or refreſh you. Take my yoke vppon you, learning of mee, that am ſofte and meeke minded, and you ſhall finde eaſe thereby in your ſoules, for my yoke is eaſy, and my burden light. See you here, how he is euer ready to ſupporte them, that for truth ſhall ſuſtein the chargable and ſore vexations put vpon them of the world, which cannot endure the trueth to preuayle, and the vntruth to be diſcloſed.

Men departed are not to be worſhipped.

The beſt worſhipping of Saintes, is in following their good actes.

Pſal.35.

Math.11.

Inuocation.

As touching inuocation: that is to witte, calling, vpon them we haue in Scripture, how we ſhould call vpon almighty God in all neceſſities or tribulations. As in the Pſalmes euery where: as in this: Call vppon me in time of your tribulation, and I ſhal deliuer you. Marke howe he ſayeth, here call vppon me, appointing neyther S. Thomas ne maiſter Iohn Shorne Alſo in an other place: The Lorde is nigh vnto them that call vpon hym, that call vpon him truely, and with that he ſheweth who calleth truely vppon him, ſaying thus: He ſhall do the will or deſire of them that reuerenceth him, and ſhall heare graciouſly their prayer, and make them ſafe, for the Lord loueth al that loueth him, and all ſinners ſhall be deſtroyed.

And thus vſed ẏ holy prophets, Patriarcks, Apoſtles, & other good faithfull people in oldetime, in al tribulation & anguiſh, to reſort vnto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is ſhewed in other places in this wiſe: In my trouble I called vpon the Lord (ſaith Dauid) and he hearde me gratiouſly, when I was troubled, I cried vnto the Lorde and he mercifully heard me. Alſo I lift mine eyes vp vnto the mountaines but from whence ſhall helpe come vnto me, Myne helpe (quoth he) ſhall come from the Lorde that made both heauen and earth. I reade the firſt of theſe verſes in forme of interrogation, folowing ſaint Auguſtine which (as I remember) interpreteth it in this wiſe. If I recite not authorities in all places in the moſte perfite forme, I would pray you ſomewhat to pardon me, for you know I lacke bookes, and haue not them lying by me. Notwithſtanding I am certain I ſhal not decline much from him. The hylles toward the which Dauid did lift vp his eyes were Saintes and holy men, of whom when he could not haue his minde ſatiſfied, he turned another way, ſaying: from whence ſhall help come vnto me? Anone he remembring himſelfe better, ſued vnto God himſelfe, of whom incontinent he obteined the accompliſhment of his wiſh and ſo witneſſed the ſame for our inſtruction ſaying: Myne helpe is of the Lord, or commeth from the Lorde, which made heauen and earth. This interpretation (as neare as I remember) is after the minde of Saint Auguſtine: and I ſuppoſe verely, that it is not contrary vnto the mind of God ne diſagreeing with the ſequele of Scripture.

Alſo in this wiſe it is reported in the new Teſtament by authoritie reduced out of the olde, where it is written: Euery one that calleth vpon the name of the Lord ſhal be ſaued. And marke howe, cum * energia, it is ſaid: vpon the name of the Lord, without any ſending vs, either to S. Chriſtopher (though he be paynted neuer ſo ſtout) either to S. Patrickes purgatory in Ireland or to S. Iames in Galicia, in the yeare of grace, or yet to anye other ſainct or place: but would vs, ẏ we ſhuld call vpō almighty God, and vpon his name, for the loue that hee beareth to Chriſt, and is alway our Aduocate before our father: to purchaſe mercy for our ſinnes: and not for our ſinnes onely quoth S. Iohn. (who is ẏ writer of this ſaying and teſtimony) but alſo for the ſinnes of all the world. S. Auguſtine vppon the ſame noteth, that S. Iohn in that place, ſayth: we haue an Aduocate, and that Chriſt is Aduocate for him, like as he is for all other, to purchaſe mercy for him, like as hee doth for all other that ſhall be ſaued: and that Saint Iohn will not be knowne for our aduocate, but that Chriſt ſhoulde be taken for Aduocate of all.

S. Bede (as I remember) vppon the ſame, maketh as much for this purpoſe, as doth S. Auguſtine, or well more ſo that by courſe of ſcripture, we are taught to reſort for all ayde and reliefe (as I haue ſayd) vnto the head ſpring and fountayne of all comfort and mercye, as S. Paule calleth him, the father of mercies and of all comforte, which is readye to comforte vs in all tribulation: which (as the pſalme reporteth) healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy vppon al our iniquities. For he is ſweete (as is ſayd in an other place) and gentle, and many mercies are layd vp for all thoſe that call vpō him. Yet he ſheweth vs no where (I trow) of benefites that we ſhall purchaſe by praying vnto ſaintes departed, and if any perſon can or will vouchſafe to teach me that, by ſome authoritie of Scripture, I woulde thinke my ſelfe hyghly beholding to him, what ſoeuer hee were, eyther great or ſmall, young or olde: but I weene it cannot be.

I haue made truely long ſearch, yet could I neuer find any ſuch ſubſtantiall teaching. Howbeit, I offer my ſelfe euer to learne, and know that my rude witte, fooliſh youth vnexpert experience, and feeble diſcretion, had need of good inſtruction, as much as any other. Howbeit, I ſee (thanked be god) that ſometime he ſheweth ſome ſparcle of light and wiſedome to children, hiding the ſame from other that are reputed of higher prudence: ſo that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, ſeeing ſuche factes done of God before theyr face, and laugh thereat ſometime with indignation, as the Phariſeis did at the blinde man whom Chriſt had reſtored to ſight, where they ſaid to him

Thou caitiſe was borne blinde for thy ſinnes, and wilt thou teach vs, that are a great multitude of high officers of the temple, and Doctours to teach the law? As who would ſay, it becommeth thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marueill greatly at ſuche doing, for ſo much as S. Paule. 1. Corinthians. 1. ſheweth of like practiſe done in his time, and that he writeth for the inſtruction of all ages after enſuing, ſo that it perteyneth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our tyme, as it did to that it was firſt written in. The doctrine of Chriſtes croſſe, that is to wit, of the new teſtament, is to them that periſh foly, (ſayth he) but to vs that obtayne thereby ſaluation (meaning thereby, to ſuch as beleue) it is the might or power of God for it is written (ſayth he) by the Prophet Eſay: that God aforetime ſayd he woulde deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and the vnderſtanding or learning of the learned woulde he throw away and deſpiſe.

This prophecy alleged, Paule thought to be authority ſufficient to diſſwade the Corinthians from the fooliſh affiaunce, vaynglory or opinion that they had in men, whom they peraduenture euer highly eſtemed for their offices, or ſolemne titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the ſame: where are ye now (quoth he) the worldly wiſe, the ſcribes that is to ſay, Doctors and ſuch other like officers. Hath not god ſhewed the wiſedome of the world to be fooliſh & vnſauery? for after that by the wiſedome of God (which is ſhewed in Scripture I ſuppoſe) the world hath not ſtudied to knowe God, by wiſedome, it hath pleaſed God now to ſaue them that beleue: thorow the fooliſhnes of preaching. He calleth the word of God fooliſh preaching, not becauſe it was fooliſh, for afore he called it godly wiſedome, but he ſpake after the opinion of the that ſet litle or nought therby, eſteming it as Eſops Cocke did the precious ſtone, and as ſwine do pearles.

After long proces in the ſame matter, he cōcludeth thus Brethrē (ſayth he) you ſee your calling, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, are called to the beliefe of the Goſpel, not many mighty men, ne many of noble parentage: but thoſe that bee fooles after the eſtimation of the world, hath God choſen to cōfound the wiſe. &c.

Therfore, I ſay (as I ſayd afore) that thankes bee to God, albeit I am (as I ſhewed before) voyd of ſuch great prudency that other be well endued with, yet I ſee partly how theyr great reaſons be not very ſubſtantiall, wherby they contend by the treaty of reaſon, when authority fayleth thē, to ſhew, that we ought to pray to Sayntes departed, for to be Mediators for vs to Chriſt. And amōg other, this is one, that they leane much vpon bringing it forth ſo vſually that common people, well nigh altogether harpe vpon the ſame: Some fauoring, it other contrariwiſe eſteming it of no value.

The reaſon is this: If whē one ſhuld deſire to come to ÿ ſpeach of our ſoueraigne to obteine ſome bowne of hym, neede it were firſt to purchaſe the fauour of his Chamberlaines or ſome like officers to bring him to the kinges preſence, for els he may watch long in vayne, vntill he be full a colde, ere that he ſhall ſpeake with his grace and muche leſſe is hee like to obteine his petition. In likewiſe it fareth (as they ſay) betwixt God and vs: of whom if we ſhould purchaſe any benefite, we muſt firſt break vnto the Sayntes departed making them our frēdes to go betwext God and vs, as Mediatours, and Interceſſors. But ſuch (with theyr leaue I would ſpeake it) I thinke are deceyued, in that they reſemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious Prince (as I heare by common reporte he is) yet he is not in graciouſneſſe to be conferred with God: and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knewe of all thinges before the beginning of the world: and is euery where, to ſee, not onely our outwarde dealing, but alſo all ſecret thoughtes of all mens hartes, ſo that he needeth no Mediatours to enforme him of our deſires, as the king doth neede: And he is ſo full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly or as ſoone obtein of him that is for my behoofe, as I ſhoulde wynne by praying holy Sayntes to be interceſſors to him for me.

Therfore I paſſing ſuch apparant reaſons, take me to the enſample of antiquity, I meane of the Patriarches, Prophets, and the Apoſtles, and authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not ſo to feare, but may boldly reſort vnto Chriſt hymſelfe and his holy Father, for ſo much as he biddeth vs in theſe wordes and other lyke, ſo for to do. ſaying: Come vnto me all ye that trauell, are vexed, and ſore charged, and I will refreſh and eaſe you. Marke how he biddeth vs to reſort vnto himſelfe and that without feare. For he and his father which are all one, geueth aboūdantly of all goodnes, vnto all men, and vpbrayde no body for theyr vnworthineſſe. But if we entend to obteyne of hym, we muſt all doubtfulnes (as I ſayd afore) put a part, with a ſure confidence of his mercy, aſke of him that we woulde haue. So ÿ I leaue vnto other, what they luſt to doe, praying Ieſu, that we al may luſt for that, that is moſt pleaſing to him.

God in myghte mercy, & knowledge incomparable.

But I thinke, concerning my ſelfe, that according to Chriſtes owne cōmaundemēt, I may without any doubt caſting, reſort in all encombraunces, to ſeeke eaſe thereof, euen vnto himſelfe, and to his bleſſed father. Therefore he biddeth vs when we ſhould pray, to ſay after this faſhion: Our father which art in heauen. &c. For there is no creature ne creatures, that euer were or be, that hath more, nor ſo much, neither of might, wherby commeth hability to geue helpe: ne of mercy and tendernes, which ſhould make them willing in proportion agreable with hability: ne of knowledge, that ſhould teach to miniſter both the other, as is our Lord God: which not onely is almighty, all mercifull: and all wiſe: but alſo infinite in all theſe glorious properties, ſo that vndoubtedly he can, will, & beſt knoweth how to relieue and ſuccour vs in all neceſſity & anguiſh: vnto whom be honor without end for euer. Amen.

Might, mercy, knowledg, how when & whom to helpe.

The ſaying of a learned man.

One thing yet I will ſhewe you in thys caſe, of whych thing I was once aduertiſed by a great learned man, who (as I ſuppoſe) is nowe liuing, I will not name hym, leaſt I ſhould perhaps cauſe any diſpleaſure to be conceyued againſt him thorough my relation. The thing was this: I will (quoth he) pray vnto Saintes, but that ſhall be, when I thinke that God, either can not, or will not geue me my petition. But that (as I ſhewed in the conuocation houſe) ſhall neuer be, I hope. And therfore it is to me needleſſe to ſeeke any further about, ſtanding in ſuch truſt and beliefe, as I hope I haue found vpon Gods ſure promiſe.

Saintes are to be prayed to when God is not able or will not heare vs.

Anſwere to the 15. article.

¶ To the 15. Article, where you doe demaund whether the Saints in heauen, as Mediatours, pray for vs? I ſay, that I beleue Saintes in heauen do pray for vs, for I ſuppoſe they know that all mē generally liuing vpō earth, be wrapped in manifolde miſeries, like as they alſo were, theyr ſoules being impriſoned within theyr bodyes beyng mortall. Albeit I thinke they know not what particular miſeries men vpō earth be entangled and clogged with, as ſheweth Auguſtine, or els ſome other (as I thinke rather) vnder his name in a certayne worke, ſaying in this wyſe: Ibi ſunt ſpiritus defunctorum, vbi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eueniunt in iſta vita hominum. Quomodo ergo videt tumulos ſuos aut corpora ſua, vtrū abiecta iaceāt, an ſepulta? Quomodo interſunt miſeriæ viuorum, cum vel ſua ipſi mala patiantur ſi talia merita contraxerūt, vel in pace requieſcant, vbi mala nulla nec patiendo nec compatiendo ſuſtineant, liberati ab omnibus malis quæ patiendo & compatiendo cum hic viuerent, ſuſtinebant. The ſumme hereof is, that ſoules departed, fele nor know of no particular miſeries ſuſteined of men liuing in this world, wherby they ſhould neede to take eyther pacience, or els compaſſiō after theyr deceaſe. Yet forſomuch as they know in generall, that all men liuing are cladde with fraylety, & theyr charity is not miniſhed after they be hence departed, but increaſed, therfore I beleue verely that they do pray for vs as petitioners, but not as mediators, ſo far forth as I can ſee. For ſcripture vſeth to ſpeake but of one Mediatour, which I thinke, ſignifieth a maker of peace or atonemēt betwixt God the father and man. Record I take of Paul, which. 1. Tim. 2. ſayth: Vnus eſt deus, vnus eſt & mediator dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Ieſus, qui dedit ſemetipſū redemptionem pro omnibus. Eraſmus tranſlateth it, conciliator dei hominum. That is to ſay. There is one God and Mediatour or peace maker betwixt God and man, the man called Chriſt Ieſus, which gaue himſelfe for the redemption of all.

Saintes know no particular myſeryes on earth.

Saintes in heauen whether they pray for vs.

One Mediatour and what a Mediatour is. 1. Tim. 2.

1. Tim. 2.

Thus (I ſay) I beleue Sayntes in heauen do pray for vs, as petitioners, but not as Mediators. Yea, all they, I weene, do pray & long that the day of iudgement may ſoone come, according to the ſaying of Paule: Solicita creaturæ expectatio reuelationem filiorum dei expectat. The feruēt deſire of the creature waiteth whē the ſonnes of God ſhalbe reueled. And agayne: Omnis creatura congemiſcit, & nobiſcum parturit vſq; ad hoc tempus. Euery creature groneth with vs and trauelleth in payne together vnto this preſent. Which ſhalbe for the accompliſhmēt of glory both to them and to all other elect of god to be his children and coinheritors with Chriſt.

Rom. 8.

Anſwere to the 16. article.

¶ In the xvi. Article where you demaund whether I beleue that oblations and pilgrimages may be deuoutly & meritoriouſly done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Sayntes? I ſay, that what they may be, I can not perfectly tell: For God can ſo worke, that vnto thoſe, whome he hath choſē to be inheritors with him, all things ſhal turne to a good concluſion, as ſayth Saynt Paule to the Romanes in this wiſe: Vnto thoſe that loue God, all thinges ſhall well ſucceede and woorke together for their furtheraunce in goodneſſe. Of whom it is written in the Pſalme: Bleſſed is that nation that hath the Lord for their god, the people whom he hath choſen to be his inheritors: Yea theyr euil dedes ſhall not hurt them, but come wel to paſſe for the increaſe of vertue.

Rom 8.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

Pſal. 33.

Ezech. 33.

Luke.7.

For as it is ſayd in the Goſpell: Cui minus remittitur minus diligit. To whom leſſe is forgeuen, he loueth leſſe. And agayne, it hurted not Oneſimus, that he ran away from his mayſter Philemon, but God wrought, that by occaſion therof, he mette with Paule, which conuerted him to the fayth of the Goſpell, who before was without beliefe. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriouſly or no, I will not define: God wotteth. But this I ſay, that God did neuer inſtitute any ſuch thing in the new teſtament, which is the verity and rule of all Chriſten people to folow and beleue. Yea that onely is of perfect ſurety, and none other, but as it is agreable and hath ground of the ſame. And like as we haue no certayne doctrine inſtitute of Chriſt, ne his diſciples, teaching vs thus for to do: no more is there any merite appoynted of him therefore, as I ſhewed afore where I tolde my minde of our merites.

All thinges worke to the beſt to the godly.

Piè Pietas defined.

Moreouer, where ye put Piè, which I call deuoutly: very true deuotion (that is called in Latine Pietas) is that, which hath annexed therewith diuine promiſes for thys preſent life to come: as witneſſeth Paule. 1. Tim. 4. which is nothing els but the obſeruation of Chriſtes law, that in the Pſalme for the pureneſſe thereof, is called argentum igne examinatum, purgatum ſeptuplum: Siluer fined often and many times thorow fire. It hath no chaffe in it, as hath mennes traditions, but is pure and cleane wheate, as ſheweth Ieremy writing in this wiſe. Quid paleis ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad Prophetas, dicit dominus, qui furantur verba mea vnuſquiſque a proximo ſuo, & ſeducunt populum meum in mendacijs ſuis & in erroribus ſuis. What is the chaffe to the wheate? Therefore beholde, I will come agaynſt the Prophets, ſayth the Lord that ſteale my word euery one from his neighbour, and deceiue my people in theyr lies and in theyr errours. And this deuotion is that which S. Iames calleth the pure Religion of Chriſt, ſaying: Pure and immaculate religion afore God the father is, to viſite fatherleſſe children and widdowes in theyr vexation. Whereby he meaneth all needy people that are ſuccourleſſe and helpeleſſe, without counſell and other almes, according to our hability, whenſoeuer we ſee them in need or diſtreſſe.

1. Tim 4.

Pſal. 11.

Ierem. 23.

True deuotion or pure religion what it is.

Iac. 1.

Pure religion.

The other part of this Religion ſhewed by S. Iames is, That a man ſhould keepe himſelfe cleane from the world: and that doe they, which be not affectionate ſo vnto any thing therin, but that they haue the thinges of the world, or occupy the ſame by true dealing, ſo that they can finde in theyr hart to depart from them when God ſhal pleaſe, or charity ſo requireth.

1. Cor the 7.

Thus doing we ſhall follow the exhortation of bleſſed Paule, which writing to the Corinth. ſayth thus: Brethren the time is ſhort, this remayneth, that they whiche haue wiues ſhould be as they had them not: & thoſe that weepe, ſhould be as they wept not: and thoſe that buy, as if they were without poſſeſſion: and they that occupy this world, as though they occupyed it not: for the faſhiō of this world paſſeth away. And this meaneth none other thing, but that we ſhould not loue ne dread any worldly thing, paſſing meaſure or inordinatly, but God aboue all thinges, and all other thinges in him, or for him: & he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commaundement of Chriſt, ſpoken to the rich man in the Goſpell, where he ſayth: Goe and ſell all that euer thou haſt, and come folow me. For he hath ſold away al that euer he hath, that ſurely entendeth for the loue of Chriſt, to helpe the poore with all that he may. Voluntas reputatur pro facto: The will is accepted for the deed, as is ſayd commonly. And this ſaying both of Iame's, and alſo of the Euangeliſt, I think verely belongeth to al chriſten men that they ſhould performe it, none except, neyther lay man, ne women (as we vſe to ſay) but to them as well as to any whom we call religious.

Math. 19.

What it is to ſell away all for the Goſpell.

As cōcerning ẏ reliques & tombes of ſaints, I haue ſaid vnto your Lordſhip afore, what I do thinke of the milke of our Lady, ẏ bloud which they ſay, is at Hailes, Norwich & other places, wͭ ſuch other: wherof (I truſt) you doe know what ought to be done. And I beſech god you may do therin as your office doth require, ſo ſhewing example vnto other prelates, to follow your Lordſhip in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do, remembring alway, as Paule ſayth: the time is ſhort, and therefore it were good to ſet to hand in time.

Reliques and Tombes of Saintes.
Our Ladyes milke.
The bloud of Hayles.

Finally, holy Moyſes, when he died, would be ſo buried that no man ſhould know which was his graue, as it is witneſſed in the booke of Deuteronomy: & that (as the expoſitors teſtify) was becauſe ẏ Iewes which were prone to new fāgled worſhipping, ſhould not fall into Idolatry, worſhipping him as God, for the great and manifold myracles that were wrought by him while he was aliue.

Moyſes Tombe vnknowen.

To conclude, I ſay it is no poynt of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at ſaintes graues and reliques, are meritorious works, ne yet that there is any deuotiō in ſo doing: That is godly which is inſtitute by ſcripture. If you thinke contrary, I would deſire to know for mine inſtruction, what part of ſcripture ſhould make therfore, agaynſt me.

To thinke Pilgrimage to be meritorious, is no poynte of our beliefe.

¶ In the xvij. where you doe aſke, whether the faſt of lent, and other appoynted by the common law, and receaued in common vſage of Chriſten people (vnleſſe neceſſity otherwiſe requireth) are to be obſerued. I ſaye that in mine opinion they are to be obſerued, and faſtyng diſcretly done is commendable, for ſo ſhall a man auoyde ſlouth & be the more ready to ſerue God and alſo his neighbours: & therby tame the rebelliō of carnal concupiſcence, according to the ſaying of the Poet: Sine cerere & baccho friget venus: without wine & good fare, luſt wareth colde. And as ſayth Hierome: Venter mero eſtuans ſpumat in libidinem: The body enflamed with wine, burſteth out into luſt.

Yet ſhall not the breaking of theſe feaſtes make a man to do deadly ſinne, except in his minde be ſome other malicious affection therwith annexed, as raſhnes of minde, deſpite, or ſuch like, for ſo much as no poſitiue law of man, made without foundation of ſcripture, may binde any perſon: ſo that in breaking of ſuch, he ſhall therfore ſinne deadly. And of this ſort made by man, is the faſt of lent and other dayes ordeined in your lawes without authoritye of ſcripture, which willeth vs to faſt perpetually, eating and drinking, but when neede requireth (not for any voluptuouſnes, as many that recounteth themſelues great faſters, I feare haue done) yea and that ſparely, forſeeing alwaye that our ſtomackes be neuer cloied with dronkenſhippe or ſurfeiting, as is commaunded by our Sauior in Luke: but contrariwiſe, after the faſhion rather of a certayne Prince that is mentioned (I trow) in Valerius Maximus, that neuer roſe from his meales meat, with a full ſtomacke, but rather ſomewhat empty, or hungry: which, as the ſtory teſtifieth, cauſed him to liue ſo wonderfull a long ſeaſon, that a man could vnneth thinke it poſſible for ones life, to be ſo prolonged, had not ſuch a notable author reported it.

And (to tell the trueth) I ſuppoſe the prelates ſhoulde better haue perſwaded the people to pure faſting, by inſtāt preaching of the word of God, and fatherly exhortations, then by ordeining of ſo ſore a multitude of lawes and conſtitutions: For the nature of man is well deſcribed of Horace ſaying: Nitimur in vetitum ſēper, cupimuſq; negata. Looke what is forbid that we moſt deſire, and alwayes couet the things that be denyed vs. And in an other prouerbe: Funis plus æquo tēſus rumpitur. The rope by ouermuch ſtraining burſteth a ſonder. According to this, ſayd a good olde father in Cambridge, I remēber his ſaying well yet: He was an old Doct. of diuinity, whē a Legate came into England at a time, & he with certayne Biſhops, had ordeined that the dedication of al churches through England (as I remember) ſhould be kept holy & ſolemnized vpon one day, and prieſtes ſhould haue their gownes made cloſe before, with ſuch other like ordinances: he reſiſted, not condeſcēding to haue thē put in executiō, whē his Dioceſane required him, declaring howe this multitude of lawes pleaſed him not: For we had enough & aboundantly afore, adding this reaſon: Adam being in Paradiſe had but one law to obſerue, and yet he brake it: what other thing then ſhall this multitude do (quoth he) but multiply tranſgreſſion? For when a Fagot is bound ouer ſtrait the bond muſt breake.

God therfore I beſech him, ſend vs of the ſweet dew of his heauenly doctrine, to moyſten and ſupple the earthlye groūd of our hartes, that we may grow like faſhioned vnto him, putting apart our old Adam, with all his diſſimulation and paynted ſhew, that is much cauſed by humaine lawes and conſtitutions, and do vpon Chriſt, that is ẏ very truth and the way directing men to the ſame. Amen.

¶ Unto the xviij. where you aſke, whether it be laudable and profitable, that worſhipfull Images be ſet in churches for the remembraunce of Chriſt and his ſayntes? I ſay, that I know of no images that ought to be worſhipped, ſpecially made by the hand of men: for the Pſal. ſayth: Confuſion or ſhame be vpon them that worſhippe or make obeyſance vnto carued Images, & that glory in theyr pictures. Moreouer S. Auguſtine in his book de vera religione, ſayth thus: Let vs not haue deuotion in worſhipping the workes of men: or els thus, let vs not be bound to worſhip the workes of men, for the workemen are more excellent then the thinges which they make: whom notwͭſtanding we ought not to worſhip: The latin is thus: Non ſit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim ſunt ipſi artifices qui talia fabricantur, quos tamen colere non debemus.

Lactātius alſo maketh ſtrongly with the ſame. I can not without the booke recite his ſaying, for he teacheth largely of the ſame matter. Origē alſo contra Celſum (I trow) will likewiſe teſtify, where (as I remember) he concludeth, ſaying, that he would haue no Goldſmithes ne Grauers in a Communalty, for they do but litle profite or none thereto.

And S. Gregory that was chiefe, either inuentor that Images ſhould be ſet in churches, or els mainteiner therof, woulde not, as I haue read (I trowe it is in an Epiſtle which he writeth ad Seruum) haue them worſhipped.

And as concerning the exciting of mens memory, I would ſuppoſe, that if Chriſtes doctrine were ſo ſhewed and opened, that people might clearely vnderſtand it (and that is the principall office of prelats and curates to do, by diligent teaching therof) I thinke verely we ſhould haue litle need of any other Images, then that ſhould by wholſome doctrine be ſhewed vnto vs by word of mouth & writing: Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad comonefaciendum diſcipulos, quam viua vox. Nothing is ſo effectuall to excite the remembraunce of diſciples, as the liuely voyce of good teachers: as it is teſtified both by common report, and alſo by the ſentence of learned men.

So that I ſuppoſe, if this liuely doctrine of God had afore time bene apertly & diligently opened vnto the people, as curates ought to haue done, we ſhould haue ſuche prompte thereby, that we ſhould not need to contend for ſetting vp or taking downe of other dumme ſtockes & liueles ſtones, carued or made by men. And if prelates would begin to ſet vp Chriſtes word, which alas for pity, is not looked vpon, but rather troden downe & deſpiſed, ſo that many are not aſhamed to ſay, I will haue no more learning in Chriſtes law, then my predeceſſors, for they that magnifye it, muſt be ſore puniſhed, and taken for heretickes, with ſuch other greuous wordes) if this doctrine were yet ſet vp in Churches (I ſay) and truely opened, that all men myght haue theyr iudgement therby reformed and made cleare, I thinke we ſhoulde not greatly neede the profite that commeth by Images made of men, to excite our remembraunce to liue Chriſtenly.

For that word which came from the breſt of Chriſt himſelfe, and was written of other, that wrote and ſpake by the ſuggeſtion of his ſpirite the holy ghoſt, ſheweth full perfectly his bleſſed will, which is the true and certayne Image of his mind and deuiſe. If this therfore were diligently inculcate, I thinke we ſhould be transformed anewe, according to the minde of Paule, which writing to the Coloſſians, ſayth thus: See that you lye not one to an other, after that now you haue put of the olde man with his woorkes, and haue put vpon you the new man, which is tranſformed and renouate after the knowledge and Image of him that made vs. Yea, thus ſhould we all be docti à Deo: taught of God, as is ſayde in Iohn and all ſhould know God both ſmall and great, according to the promiſe recited in the Hebrues: yea thus ſhould we be reſtored to goodneſſe, that we ſhould haue the Image of God, carued in our hartes full expreſſely. For euery man is transformed into the faſhion of vertuous thinges that he is accuſtomed to read and heare. And therfore it were a greate grace, if we might haue the worde of God diligently and often ſpoken and ſong vnto vs in ſuch wiſe, that the people might vnderſtand it. Yea, then ſhould it come to paſſe, that craftes mē ſhould ſing ſpirituall pſalmes ſitting at theyr worke, and the huſbandman at his plough, as wiſheth S. Hierome.

Yea this holy Image of Chriſt, I meane his bleſſed doctrine, doth appoynt vs alſo to cōſider the works made by the hand of God, ſuch as no man can make like, wherby as ſayth S. Paule writing to the Romanes: The inuiſible power and diuinity of God is knowne and ſene by the creation of the world, of ſuch as will conſider his workes, that are therin by him made. Looke in the Pſalmes: Laudate Dominum de Cœlis: Cœli enarrant. &c. Prayſe ye the Lord, from heauē. The heauens declare the glory of God, with other. And theſe two Images, Gods workes, and his doctrine hath, ere any Images made by men were ſet vppe in Churches well and ſufficiently inſtructed the primitiue church, and ſhould yet inſtruct vs well, if they were well conſidered: ſo that we ſhoulde not neede ſo ſore to contend for ſetting vp of other made by men. Wherby I haue perceiued much hatred to ariſe, and no great profite: nor the ſcripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary. As concerning which matter I woulde your Lordſhyppe woulde pleaſe to reade the Epiſtle of Baruche once agayne, writing of the ſame matter.

Unto the xix. where you aſke, whether I beleue that prayers of men liuing do profite ſoules departed, & beyng in Purgatory? I made anſwere in the xiij. article.

Unto the xx. where you doe aſke, whether men merite and deſerue both by theyr faſting and alſo by other deedes of deuotion: I haue ſhewed what I do think therof, in the fift demaunde.

In the xxi. where you do aſke, whether I do beleue that men prohibited of biſhops to preach, as ſuſpect of hereſy, ought to ceaſe from preaching & teaching, vntill they haue purged themſelues of ſuſpicion, afore an higher Iudge: I ſay, that men may be wrongfully ſuſpected of hereſy, either becauſe they neuer thought to beleue ſuch errors, as men by falſe ſuſpition do deeme them to fauor: or els when men as well of high eſtate, as of low, by ſiniſter iudgemēt may thinke that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this ſpeaketh Eſay: Wo be to them (quoth he) that calleth the light darckenes, and the darckenes light: the truth falſehood, and falſehood truth: as the Byſhops and the Prieſtes, with theyr Oratour Tertullus, called Paule, ſaying thus before a Iudge called Felix, vnto whoſe Court they brought hym to be condemned to death: We haue (quoth they) gottē here a peſtilent felow, a ſower of ſedition or diſcord among all the Iewes of the worlde, and bringer vp of the Secte of the Nazarens, which was alſo minded to haue polluted our temple. &c. This is to call by peruerſe iudgement, trueth falſehoode. And thus did theyr predeceſſours ſpeake of the Prophets, yea and of Chriſt himſelfe, calling him a ſeducer and preacher of hereſy: which is written for our inſtruction. And men thus being ſuſpected (as I woulde none were) ought in no wiſe therefore to ceaſe neither from preaching, ne teaching.

Truth take many tymes for hereſie, and hereſy for truth.

Eſay.5.

Whether men prohibited, ought to ceaſe from preaching.

Actes 24.

Truth taken for falſhode.

Chriſt taken for a ſeducer.

In what cauſes, men forbidden, ought not to ceaſe from preaching.

Act.4.5.6.

Enſample of this we haue in the Actes of the apoſtles, where is ſhewed, that whē Peter & Iohn had done a myracle vpon a man that had bene lame frō his natiuity (whō by the power of Chriſt they healed, & cauſed to go where he pleaſed) the people hearing of this, came running about Peter & Iohn. Peter ſeeing this, did exhort the people in a ſermon, that they ſhould not thinke him & his felow S. Iohn, to haue done this wōderfull thing by their own power or holynes, but by the vertue of Chriſt, whom they & theyr head rulers had ſlayne.

Act.4.

While they were thus ſpeaking with the people, there came vpō them the prieſtes & officers of the temple accompanyed with the Saduces, being ſore diſpleaſed that they ſhould enterpriſe to teach the people, and preace that men ſhould ariſe from death by the name of Chriſt, whom they had cauſed to be crucified, and therewith they layd handes vpon them, and put them in warde vntill next day. The next day they ſent for the Apoſtles before them, demaunding by what power and in whoſe name they did this myracle: Peter made aunſwere, If you (quoth he) that are head rulers ouer the people, luſt by examination to knowe by what meanes we did it, we woulde you ſhould all know, that we did it through the name of Chriſt Ieſu of Nazareth, whom you did crucify: but God did cauſe him to ariſe agayne. In the vertue of hys name doth this man that afore was lame, now ſtand before you here both whole and ſound. For Chriſt is that high corner ſtone, whō you caſt away, which ſhould haue builded the peoples fayth vpon him, neither is there any ſaluation without him.

Peter and the Apoſtles prohibited by the Phariſeis to preach Chriſt.

These great men, ſeing that Peter ſpake ſo freely, and that he with his felow Iohn, were ſimple men, without any pompous apparel, or great garde of ſeruauntes, being like ideots, and men vnlearned wondred therat. At the laſt they did commaunde them to depart out of theyr Councell houſe, whiles they ſhould cōmon more largely of ẏ matter. Afterward they called ẏ Apoſtles afore them agayne, commaunding them that they ſhould no more preach ne teache in the name of Ieſus. But the Apoſtles aunſwered, ſaying: I beſeeche you iudge better: ought we to obey you more then God, or no? For certaynely we muſt needes teſtify of thoſe thinges which we haue both heard and ſeene. Then the head Prieſtes threatning them ſore, did geue them ſtrait charge, not to breake theyr precept, and ſo did let them goe, not knowing any cauſe why they might puniſh them: for they feared leaſt the people would haue taken part with the Apoſtles, for the people gaue glory to God for the myracle ſhewed by them.

Act.4.

Peter diſobeyed the precepte of the Phariſeis.

Notwithſtāding al theſe great threats Peter wrought miracles ſtill amongſt the people, doing thē to know that glory therfore ought to be geuē to Ieſus, by whoſe power and name they were done. Wherwith the harts of the people melted for ioy: ſo that they folowed after the Apoſtles, whyther ſoeuer they went.

Peter deliuered out of priſon.

The primate of the prieſtes hearing of this, and all that were about him, repleate with indignation, layd handes vpon the Apoſtles, putting them in the common Priſon. But the Aungell of God in the night opened the Priſon dores, and brought them out, ſaying: Goe you into the Temple, and ſtand there preaching vnto the people all the wordes of life. That is to ſay, Chriſtes doctrine: and ſo they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chiefe Prieſt, and they whom he vſed to haue about him, and called a Councell, in which were all the Prieſtes of Iſrael, or auncientes of Iſrael. So they ſent vnto the priſon houſe for to haue the apoſtles brought forth before them. When theyr ſeruauntes came to the priſon houſe, & found the apoſtles gone thence, they returned to theyr maiſters, ſaying: We found the priſon faſt ſhut round about in euery part, &

the keepers watching at the dores without, full diligently. But when we had opened the priſon, we could find no body within.

Act.5.

Then as the high prieſtes & officers of the temple heard this they were in a great perplexity, doubting what wold therof come. Then came one vnto them & ſhewed thẽ, ſaying: Behold, the men that ye put in priſon, are ſtanding in the temple preaching vnto the people. Then wẽt they thither, and brought the apoſtles with thẽ, without any violence: but they were afrayd leſt the people would haue beaten them downe with ſtones.

God to be obeyed more then men.
Act.5.

Then they cauſed the apoſtles to be brought into their Councell houſe, the high prieſt beginning his propoſition agaynſt the apoſtles in this forme: Haue we not ſtraytly commaunded you (ſayd he) that you ſhould not preach in the name of Chriſt? And ſee, you haue filled all Hieruſalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this mans bloud vpõ vs, that we ſhould vnrighteouſly haue cauſed him to ſuffer death? Then aunſwered Peter and the other Apoſtles, ſaying: We ought to obey God more then any man. The God of our fathers hath rayſed Ieſu from death, whom you did ſlay, hanging him vpon a tree. Him notwithſtanding hath G O D rayſed, and by his power aduaunced to be our king and Sauiour: by whom ſhalbe geuen to all Iſrael, that will take repentaunce, forgeuenes of ſinne.

These great rulers hearing this, their harts were therwith clouen a ſunder, and they cõſelled together for to ſlay the apoſtles. But one good man amõg theyr multitude aduiſed them otherwiſe, whoſe aduiſe they did approue. Thẽ they called the apoſtles againe afore them, cauſing them to be ſcourged, & charged them no more to preach in the name of Ieſu, and ſo did let them depart.

The counſell of Gamaliell.

Act.4.5.6.

Wrongfull prohibytion oughte not to ſtoppe the preaching of Gods worde.

Then went they away out of the Councell, reioycing that God had made thẽ worthye to ſuffer ſuch rebukes for his name ſake. But yet they neuer ceaſed to teach & preach of Ieſus Chriſt, euery day in the temple, and in all houſes that they came into. This is written in the 4.5. and 6. of the Actes of the apoſtles, & for our inſtruction, doubt you not: for ſuch practiſe is ſhewed in all ages. So that hereby you may ſee, when men be wrongfully ſuſpect or infamed of hereſy, and ſo prohibited by Biſhops for to preach the worde of God, that they ought for no mans commaundement to leaue or ſtop, though they do neuer purge themſelues afore them, for ſuch will admitte no iuſt purgation many times, but iudge in theyr own cauſes, and that as they luſt, which me thinketh, is not all comely. Therfore in the old law the prieſtes and other Iudges do ſit together, hearing of matters that were in controuerſy.

Popiſh prelates iudges in their owne cauſes.

Swiftnes of ſuſpition reproued.

Yet this I thinke reaſonable, that a man iuſtly and not cauſeleſſe ſuſpect, and namely if he be ſo found faultye of hereſy, ought to ceaſe from preaching, after he is inhibited, vntill he haue made his purgation before ſome Iudge. But in my rude opinion, it were neceſſary and conuenient that our heades ſhould not be ouer ready of ſuſpition, and ſo inhibiting men approued, from preaching, ſpecially in this Seſſion, when the people doth ſuſpect them to doe it more for loue of themſelues, and mainteining of their priuate lucre, or honor, then to do it for loue of God, and maintenance of his honor.

Anſwere to the 22.article.

In the xxii. where you demaund, whether I beleue that it is lawfull for all Priſtes freely to preache the woorde of God or no, and that in all places, at all ſeaſons & to al perſons to whom they ſhall pleaſe, although they be not ſent? I ſay, that prieſtes are called in Scripture by two diſtinct wordes, that is to wit, Præsbiteri & Sacerdotes. The fyrſt is to ſay, auncient men, Seniors, or elders: and by that word or vocable, are the ſeculer iudges or ſuch like head officers, ſometime alſo ſignified, as we reade in Daniel, that they were called, which defamed and wrongfully accuſed Suſanna: that this is ſeldome, and nothing ſo cuſtomably, as thoſe to be called Præsbiteri, which are ſet to be Prelates in the Church to guide the ſame by the word of God and his bleſſed doctrine, that is, the rodde of direction, and the foundation of Chriſtes fayth. And Prieſtes thus called Præsbiteri, in the Primitiue Church (what time were but few traditions and ordinaunces to let vs from the ſtrayt trade or inſtitution made by Chriſt and his Apoſtles) were the very ſame and none other, but Biſhops, as I ſhewed you in the firſt part of mine aunſwere, by authoritye of Saynt Hierome.

Prieſtes whether they ought to preach, though they be not ſent.

Epiſcopi. and Præſbyteri, all one.

Paul alſo recordeth the ſame right euidently in the firſt to Titus, in this fourme: I left thee Titus (quoth bleſſed Paule) behinde me in Crete, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in a due order, ſuch thinges as lacke or be not els perfectly framed, and that thou ſhouldeſt ſet prieſtes in euery towne, like as I did appoynt thee, if any be without reproche, or blameleſſe, the husbande of one wife, hauing faythfull children, not geuen to ryote, or that be not vnruely, for ſo ought a Biſhop to be. &c. Theſe are not my words, but S. Paules, in the Epiſtle to Titus, where you may ſee, that a prieſt called Præsbiter, ſhuld be the ſame that we call a byſhop, whom he requireth a litle after, to be able by wholeſome doctrine of Gods Scripture, to exhort the good to folow the ſame doctrine, & if any ſhall ſpeake agaynſt it, to reproue them thereby. And marke you how he would haue a biſhop (otherwiſe called an auncient man, or a prieſt) to make exhortation by holy ſcripture, & therby to reproue them that ſhall ſpeake agaynſt the truth, & not to condemne them by might or authority onely, or els by traditions of men made in generall Councels. And as many as are in this wiſe Prieſtes whiche are called commonlye Præsbiteri, otherwiſe Biſhops) ſuch as in the church are ſet to take cure of ſoule, and to be ſpirituall paſtors, ought to preach freely the word of God in all places and times conuenient, and to whom ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe thẽ, if they ſuppoſe and ſee that theyr preaching ſhould edify and profite.

Prieſtes haue two names in Scripture, Preſbyteri & Sacerdotes.

And where as you adde this particle: Though they were not ſent: I ſay, that all ſuche are choſen to be preachers, and therfore ſent: for of this ſpeaketh S. Gregorye in his Paſtorals, in this wiſe: Prædicationis quippe officium ſuſcipit, quiſquis ad ſacerdotium accedit. Whoſoeuer taketh prieſthood vpõ him, taketh alſo vpon him the office of preaching. Yea your lawe reporteth in like maner, Diſtinct.43. where it is thus ſayd: A Prieſt ought to be honeſt, that he may ſhew honeſty both in wordes and conditions. Wherfore it is ſayd in the Canticles: The Cheekes of the ſpouſe, that is to wit, of preachers, are to be compared to a Turtle doue.

Where is moreouer added: He muſt alſo haue the gift of teaching becauſe (as ſayth S. Hierome) innocent conuerſation, without ſpeach or preaching, how much it is auaylable by example geuing, ſo much doth it hurt agayn by ſilence keping: for wolues muſt be driuẽ away by barking of dogs & by the ſhepheards ſtaffe, which as ẏ gloſe ſheweth) ſignifieth preaching & ſharpe wordes of the prieſt. And this I vnderſtãd of ſuch as ſhould be prieſtes elect both by god and men, in Gods church, whoſe office is to preach.

And though many of them which now doe miniſter in the church, and are elect by biſhops, otherwiſe thẽ after the maner of Chriſtes inſtitution, and the forme of the primitiue Church, neither do, ne can preach: yet ought not the multitude of ſuch to be layd for an authority agaynſt me, or other that are compelled to ſhew the truth and right ordinance of the apoſtles, that was vſed afore time in the Primitiue church: God bring it in agayn. Neither ought we for the negligence of biſhops, which haue choſen ſuch an ignorant multitude (wherby the principal duty of prieſtes is growen out of knowledge) when we do ſhew you therof, to be ſo enforced by a booke othe, and therfore noted as heretickes, impriſoned, and burned.

Other be called prieſtes in the new Teſtament by thys word, Sacerdotes, that is to ſay (I thinke) ſacrificers. And thus as Chriſt was called Rex & Sacerdos, Kyng & Prieſte, ſo be all true Chriſten men in the newe Teſtament (as is teſtified. Apocal.1.) by Chriſt, made Kinges and Prieſtes. The wordes in the Apocal. be thus: To Ieſu Chriſt whyche hath loued vs, and waſhed vs from our ſinnes through his bloud, and made vs kinges and prieſtes vnto God euen his father, vnto him be glory and rule for euer and euer. Amen. Thus ſayth S. Iohn, ſpeaking of all Chriſten people. In like maner is it ſayde. 1.Peter.2. where he writeth vnto all Chriſten men: You (quoth he) be a choſen generation, a regall prieſthood, an holy people. S. Bede expounding the ſame (as my remembraunce doth ſerue) ſhall teſtify playnely with me. And S. Auguſtine I wot well, in diuers places recordeth, that all Chriſten men be ſo called, Regale Lacerdotium. And likewiſe doth Faber in his Commentaries vpon the ſame place. Whoſoeuer looketh vpon the treatiſe called Vnio diſsidentium, ſhall finde a multitude of auncient Fathers ſayinges declaring the ſame.

But this may yet ſeme a ſtrange thing & a new, that al perſons ſhould be called prieſts, & that in ſcripture, which can not lye. Truth it is in deede, it may ſeeme ſtraunge to diuers, as it did to me, and many other, when we read it firſt, becauſe we neuer read ne heard of the ſame before: and ſo did Chriſtes doctrine and his apoſtles ſeeme new to his audience, when he himſelfe preached.

Albeit he yet proued his doing and ſayinges by authority of the law and Prophetes, as is ſhewed in the firſt to the Romanes where Paule reporteth. That he was choſen a part to be a miniſter of the Goſpell that was promiſed before by the Prophettes. And our Sauiour teſtifieth the ſame in Saynt Iohn, ſaying to the Iewes: Thinke you not (quoth he) that I ſhall accuſe you before my Father? There is one to accuſe you, which is Moyſes, in whome ye doe truſt. But if you beleued Moyſes, you ſhould certaynely beleue me, for he writeth of me. &c. Likewiſe a litle aboue, he biddeth thẽ ſearch the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

But although theſe ſayinges doe ſeeme newe for lacke that we haue not had olde familiarity with Scripture, and vſage in reading the ſame, (God amend and help it, when it ſhall pleaſe him) yet truely ſo ſtandeth it written, as I haue ſayd, and ſo is interpreted by the Doctors aboue named, and ſo was it preached of a certayne Doctour alſo of Diuinity in London, the ſecond day of Aduent laſt paſt, in this ſentence. I wote not whether theſe were the ſelfe wordes or no. The church (quoth the doctor) is nothing els but the congregatiõ of faythfull people: and you all (quoth he to the people) are of the church, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And likewiſe we & all men are prieſtes, but yet are not all alike ordeyned Miniſters (ſayd he) for to conſecrate the body of Chriſt in the Churche. Thus ſayd the preacher: whom when I ſee oportunity, I dare be bolde to name. And theſe I ſay ought not all to preach openly in generall conuentions or aſſemblies, neither canne they, but they rather ſhould come to learne: yet priuatelye are they bound for inſtructions of theyr ſeruauntes, children, kinſfolke, and ſuch like, to ſpeak that ſhould be for the deſtruction of vice, and encreaſe or vpholding of vertue, whenſoeuer time and place ſo behoueth, as ſheweth Saint Paul, ſaying in this wiſe: You that are fathers, prouoke not your children to wrath or anger, but bring them vp in the doctrine and diſcipline of the Lord.

In the xxiij. where you doe aſke, whether I beleeue that it is lawefull for lay people of both kindes, that is to wit, both men and women, to ſacrifice and preach the word of God, I ſay that it is not meet for none, in mine opinion to preach openly the word of God, except they be choſen & electe to the ſame, either by God, or ſolemnly by men, or els by both, and therefore S. Paule calleth him ſelfe in all his Epiſtles, an Apoſtle of God, that is to wit, a meſſenger of God. And to the Galathians he writeth thus: Paule an Apoſtle, not ſent by men, nor by man, but by Ieſus Chriſt. Alſo to the Romanes: How ſhall men preach truely (quoth he) excepte they be ſent.

Notwithſtanding, I ſay this, both by ſupportation of Gods law, and alſo of lawes written in the Decrees, that in time of great neceſſity, laye people may preach, and that of both kindes, both men and women, as you may ſee in the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, whereas he ſayth: That it is a ſhame for a woman to ſpeake in a multitude or congregation. Yet in an other place he ſayth: That euery woman praying or prophecying, hauing nothing vpõ her head, doth diſhonor her head.

To this accordeth the propheſye of Ioel recited Act. 2. where in the perſon of God is ſayd thus: I ſhall poure out of my ſpirit vpon all fleſh, & both your ſonnes and your daughters ſhall prophecy. Thus did Anna the Propheteſſe daughter of Phanuel, geue prayſe vnto Chriſt in the Temple, & ſpake of him to all men of Hieruſalem, that looked after the redemtion of Iſrael.

This alſo doth yet ſpeake vnto vs in Scripture, the virgine Mary, by the ſong which ſhe made, that is dayly recited in the Church, called Magnificat. Yea Stephen alſo being no Prieſt, but a Deacon, made a wonderful good ſermon. Actes. 7. This alſo willeth your Decrees, Diſt. 9. de Conſe. where is thus ſayde: A woman although ſhee is learned & holy, may not preſume to teach men in the congregation, ne baptiſe, except neceſſity requireth. So that where need is, I ſhall adde this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the Lawe: like as a woman maye baptiſe, ſo may ſhe teach the worde of God, or preach, as is declared more playnely. Cap. 16. queſt. 1. & in Gloſa 1. Cap adijcimus diſt. 18. And I beſeeche God, that for lacke of true and well learned Officers, ſuche neceſſity doe not come now vpon vs, that ſuch ſhal need to take vpon them to preach.

There is a learned man, which in a Dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude Abbot & a Gentlewoman, hauing ſkill in learning, ieſteth, but with prety earneſt (as his maner is) and geueth a watch worde touching ſomewhat my purpoſe. It is in the end of the Dialogue. The gentlewoman aunſwering the Abbot, for that he had partly checked her, becauſe ſhe was quicke in vtterance of learning: Syr (quoth ſhe) if you continue therin ſo dull as you haue done and dayly do, the world perceiuing it (as they begin faſt to grow quicke in ſight) it is to be feared, leaſt they will ſette you beſide the ſaddle, and put vs in your roomes.

As concerning ſacrifice doing (ſo I doe vnderſtand by the word which you do vſe, Libare, not knowyng els what it ſhould meane) I ſay, that it is lawfull for all men and women to doe ſacrifice, of what ſort ſoeuer they be: but I meane not by ſacrifice doing, to ſay Maſſe, as prieſtes vſed to do, thereunto appoynted: but like as Chriſten people be Sacerdotes, that is to ſay, Sacrificers, as is ſhewed before, ſo ought they to offer, and do offer ſpirituall Sacrifices, as writeth S. Paule to the Romanes, ſaying: I beſeeche you brethren, for the loue of Gods mercy, that you wil geue your body a liuing ſacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reaſonable worſhipping. In that he ſayth our body ſhould be a ſacrifice, he would haue it ſlayne: for that was the maner, that all beaſtes that were wont to be ſacrificed ſhoulde be firſt ſlayne. But he ioyneth therewith, Liuing, ſaying: Geue your body to be a liuing ſacrifice. So that he would we ſhold continue to liue in this body to Gods pleaſure, but ſleeing the ciuill luſtes and appetites therof, and ſo ſhall our worſhipping be reaſonable, if we doe not geue vnto our reaſon ouer much of the bridle, whereby it may runne at ryot, folowing fleſhly concupiſcence, and wicked vanitye or arrogancy: as whẽ men will take in hand to deuiſe, by their owne wit, a more godly way of liuing, then is inſtitute by Chriſt (whiche is the wiſedome of his heauenly Father) ſayinge that his is not ſufficient enough for vs to follow. Of whome it is ſayd by the Prophet Eſaye in theſe wordes: This people approche neare vnto me, and honoureth me with their lippes, but theyr hart is farre from me: but they do worſhip me in vayn, teaching doctrines that are lawes or preceptes of men.

Sacrifice true & liuely.

Rom. 12.

Sacrifice of mortification.

Reaſonable worſhipping.

Eſa. 29.

Then Paul proceedeth, ſhewing of this Chriſtian ſacrifice, ſaying: And apply not your ſelues vnto the faſhion of this world, but be you tranſformed by renouation of your mind, that you may know what is the will of God, what is good acceptable, and rightfull afore him. See how he would haue vs do this ſacrifice, and mortify our luſts, in refuſing the corrupt faſhion and behauior of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the will of God, and following after the ſame.

Rom. 12.

An other maner of Sacrifice whiche he requireth, is, that we ſhoulde alwaye offer vnto God the Sacrifice of prayſe, that is to wit, the fruite of our lippes, that Oſee calleth, Vitulos Labiorum, geuing laude vnto his name: and that we ſhould not forget to doe good, and to be beneficiall to our neighbours, For in ſuch ſacrifice (ſayth he) GOD hath delight.

Sacrifice of prayſe. Vituli labiorũ. Oſe. 14. Hebr. 13.

Thus I ſay, that by playne ſuffrage of your law in the Decrees, and alſo of Scripture, lay perſons in neceſſity, & in time of need, may lawfully preach or ſhew the worde of God, and alſo do ſacrifice, but I thinke, except great neede require, they ought not ſo to do.

Thus haue you herein my minde, which if it be not firme and ſubſtantiall, I will yet reforme it when any better is ſhewed, as I will alſo do in all other thinges: for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit me thinke the decrees do paſſe euidently with me.

In the xxiiij. where you doe aſke, whether excommunication denounced by the Pope agaynſt all heretickes, do oblige and binde them before God: I ſay, that it byndeth them afore God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named, & if he denounceth them ſo to be, not of his owne proper head or affection onely: but with the conſent of other gathered with him in Chriſtes name, for the behoofe of Chriſtes Church: For ſo vſed S. Paule, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth, which had full horribly defiled his mother in law, as appeareth. 1. Cor. 5.

To the 24. article.

Excõmunycatiõ.

Excommunication requireth conſent of other.

1. Cor. 3.

And the ſame forme declareth the Goſpel. Mathew. 18. in theſe wordes: If thy brother hath treſpaſſed agaynſt thee, go and reproue him betwixt thee and him alone. If he wil heare thee, thou haſt ſo wonne thy brother. If he will not heare thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three, euery thing may be aſſured. If he will not heare them, ſhew it vnto the cõgregation. If he will not follow the minde of the congregation, let him be vnto thee as a paynime or a notable ſinner. For verily I ſay vnto you, whatſoeuer you ſhall binde vpon earth, ſhalbe boũd in heauen. So that ſuch excommunication ought to be done (as me thinketh) by the congregation aſſembled together with theyr paſtor, whoſe aduiſe they ought principally to eſteme and folow, if it be vertuous and godly.

Math. 18.

And thus is it conuenient to be done: For the Pope is made of fleſhe as well as other men, and therefore he may ſometime iudge awry, curſing the bleſſed, and bleſſing the curſed: and likewiſe may other Prelates iudging the Chriſten to be hereticks, and heretickes Chriſten. Of whõ it is alſo written in the prophecy of Ezechiel: Mortificabant animas, quæ non moriuntur, & viuificabant animas, quæ non viuunt: They ſlewe the ſoules of them that ſhould not dye, and gaue lyfe to the ſoules that ſhould not liue. As did the Phariſeis when they did caſt Chriſt out of the Vineyard, which ſignifieth the Churche. Marke. 11. And as our Sauiour propheſied in the xix. of Iohn, ſaying vnto his Diſciples: There ſhalbe (quoth he) ſome that ſhall excommunicate you, yea, and the time ſhall come, that who ſo euer ſhall ſlay you: ſhall thinke to doe honour to GOD, and this ſhall they doe vnto

The Pope may erre.

Ezech 13.

Mar. 11.

Iohn 19.

you, becauſe they do neither know my father nor me. Theſe wordes be written in the Goſpell of Iohn 19. wherby you ſee, that for lacke of knowledge of God, which is taught and ſene by the light of ſcripture, Chriſt prophecyed how lewd men ſhould lewdly excommunicate the good, yea & ſlea his true ſeruants, thinking through ſuch factes to pleaſe god, and to do him good ſeruice.

Oſe.4.

Wherfore ſed O Lord I beſeech thee, the knowledge of thee, to be dilated vpon earth, which Oſee bewayleth ſore, ſeing it abſent, wherby mens iudgement may be rectified, and ſo to do accordingly to the leading of the ſame.

To the 15. article.

In the 25. where you aſke, whether euery Prieſt is bound to ſay dayly his Mattins & Eueſong, according as it is ordeined by the church, or whether he may leaue them vnſayd, without offence or deadly ſinne? I ſay, that prayer in ſcripture is much commended, and many great and vnmeaſurable benefites are ſhewed to enſue thereupon, that men ſhould the more luſtily geue themſelues therto. With prayer doth S Paul bid vs to fight, in diuers places, cōtinuing in the ſame agaynſt our ghoſtly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus, when the Iſraelites fought in battaile agaynſt a nation of Infidels: I trow theyr Captayne was called Amalecke. Moyſes ſtood vpon a mountayne, to behold what ſhould be the concluſion, and lifting vp his handes, prayed that it might well ſucceed with the Iſraelites, but in long holding them vp, at laſt his feruour began to grow cold and faint, & his handes ſagged downward, and euer as his handes grew heauy (which ſignifieth, that his affection in praying abated & waxed colde) the Infidels preuayled: but as he kept them heaued vpward (wherby was meant intentiue prayer of a deuout mynde) he purchaſed victorye to the Iſraelites. Aaron and Hur, which indited the lawe to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, ſtood with Moſes, which alway, as they dyd ſee his armes to faynt, did vphold them, ſo that finally the victory came vnto Iſrael.

Exod.17.

The vertue of prayer.

Deuotion and knowledg to be ioyned together.

By Moſes is ſignified, as ſheweth great Clerkes, deuotion. By Aaron and Hur, the knowledge of Gods doctrine. Which two thinges (deuotion I meane & knowledge) all men had need to haue preſently with thē: for deuotion doth eleuate the mind to God: but knowledge doth ſuſteine or vphold the ſame, that it may with courage continue not falling down, but ſo alway doth incenſe and kindle it, that it mounteth vp into the preſence of our heauenly father, where they ſauour together farre more ſweetely then any fumigation either of Iuniper, Incenſe, or what ſoeuer els, be they neuer ſo pleaſaunt, doth ſauour in any mans noſe.

Rom.10.

Therefore S. Paule ſeing howe neceſſary the knotte of theſe two, deuotion & knowlege of Gods will was, which is ſhewed in ſcripture (as teacheth ſaynt Cyprian in theſe wordes: The will of God, ſayth he, is that whiche Chriſte both taught and wrought) Paul, I ſay, ſeing this, wiſhed to be excommunicate and ſeparate from God, for to haue the Iewes to come to the knowledge of Chriſtes Church, which is the onely right waye to ſaluation, for whome he prayed right ſtudiouſly, as appeareth a litle after, in the 10. chap. to the Romanes ſaying: I beare them recorde, that they haue a zeale & deuotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Chriſtes doctrine. &c. Where you may clearelye ſee how the Iewes (as S. Paule which is no lyer, recordeth here) had a zeal & deuotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. Moſes was amongeſt them, but Aaron was away: whoſe abſence payned Paul ſo ſore, that he rauiſhed with exceeding charity, wiſhed no ſmall harme vnto himſelf, vpon condition that the multitude of thē might be holpen, and haue better iudgement: euen to be ſeparated from God.

Moſes not to be without Aaron.

Deuotion without knowledge hurtfull.

It muſt nedes be thē greatly hurtfull, albeit men haue deuotion to be without the knowledge of God & his law, ſignified by Aaron.

Act.26.

S. Paule alſo before ye he came to knowledge had ſuch like deuotion himſelfe, as he reporteth. Actes. 26. in theſe wordes: All the Iewes (quoth he) haue knowne my liuing, that I haue led ſith I entred into mans age (which time as I remēber, is accounted from the xvj. or xviij. yeare of a mans life, in Latine he calleth it, adoleſcentia) which from the beginning thereof, was (ſayth he) at Ieruſalem among mine owne nation, that did know me afore alſo from the beginning, if they would ſay trueth, that I liued after the moſt ſtraiteſt order or ſect of our religion, being a Phariſy. And I (quoth Paul a litle after) thought to doe many thinges in fighting agaynſt the name of Ieſus Chriſt, yea and did alſo being at Ieruſalem, and I thruſt many Ayntes or holy men into priſon, hauing power geuen me therto of the high Prieſtes, and when they ſhoulde be put to death I gaue ſentence: and I (quoth he) was commonlye in all Sinagogues puniſhing them, and compelling them to blaſpheme (as meinie are fayne now a daies, when the Biſhops make them to abiure: and to deny the trueth of the Goſpell) yea moreouer did I (quoth Paule) rage agaynſt them, purſuing after them into ſtraunge landes.

The zeale of Saule withoute deuotion.

See what zeale Paul had to God, afore he was inſtructed in the doctrine of Chriſt. He thought to haue pleaſed god highly in perſecuting his ſeruants, of whom one was S. Steuen. He was then ſore blinded through ignorance, and wanted the aſſiſtance of Aaron. But anone, as Chriſt which is the true Aaron, had appeared to him, aſking hym and ſaying in a lamentable fourme: O Saule, Saule, why doeſt thou perſecute me, in troubling and ſtriking my ſeruauntes the members of mine owne body, of whom it is ſayd, He that ſmiteth you, ſhall ſmite the tender ball of mine eie: His hart fell (I dare ſay) ſo low as his body, that is, euen downe to the earth, repenting himſelfe full ſore, being redye to amend, and follow after a new way, as appeareth by hys aunſwere, where he ſayth: O Lorde what wilt thou haue me to doe? As though one woulde ſay: Nowe I ſee all that I thought to haue done afore of good intention, and good purpoſe or deuotion, hath deceiued me. I finde it otherwiſe. That which I eſteemed good, in very deede is, and was nought.

Zele
out
ledge.

Act.9.

Zach.2.

Teach me therfore good Lord (quoth he) a better way, & amend my iudgement, that mine owne will or intentiō forſakē, I may now follow thine, to pleaſe thee, & to do thy will. And ſo he came to Ananias, by the aſſignement of Chriſt, the thick filthines of his olde wayward iudgement, fell away, as appeareth by the droſſe or rubbiſh that came from his eyes, euen like ſcales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put vpon him a new iudgement, which is directed after the ſtrayt rule of the Goſpell. Whereby you may ſee that mens deuotion may oft beguile and ſeduce thē except knowledge do aſſiſt the ſame, for to ſuſteine & direct it: which knitte together, ſhall much ſtrengthen men in all trouble and temptations.

Deuotio
deceaue
thing.

So that it is much expedient for all mē, as nigh as they may, to haue prayer annexed with knowledge: & that ſheweth full notably Eraſmus, in the ſecond paſſage of Enchiridiō, where he teſtifieth but of eaſye liking, that he hath in ſaying of Mattins, yea rather contrariwiſe he ſheweth diſliking, and ſo he doth alſo in his expoſition of the fyrſt Pſalme: Beatus vir, where the text maketh agreeably for the ſame, it is written in this wiſe: Bleſſed is the man that hath not gone after the counſell of the wicked, and hath not ſtande in the way of ſinners, ne ſit in the chayre of peſtilence, but hath hys will in the law of God, and ſhall muſe or be occupyed in it both day and night.

Eraſmus
Enchiri

Saying of
Mattin

Pſal.1.

See howe the Prophete (whiche I doubt not but hee knew as perfectly that will and pleaſure of God, as euer did any pope or generall cōſell, or whatſoeuer they were beſide, that ordeined long ſeruice to be ſayd of Prieſtes) teſtifieth them to be bleſſed, that ſtudy and are exerciſed in the law of God both day and night, that is to wit, alwayes. A great promiſe put of God to ſuch bleſſed exerciſe, which we may call right deuotion, or true godlines. For Paule defining godlynes, ſayth thus: Pietas ad omnia vtilis eſt, vt quæ promiſsiones habeat præſentis vitæ & futuræ: That is to wit, Godlynes is profitable vnto all things, for that hath annexed thereto, promiſes of this life preſent, & of the life to come.

What i
godlyne
pietye.

1.Tim.

But no ſuch promiſe is made of God, I am certayne, to them that ſay dayly mattins. Neither are we certayne by the word of God, that we ſhal therfore be bleſſed of him, no more then we are certayne, that for ſaying ouer the xv. Oos, euery day once through an whole yeare, we ſhall apertly ſee our Lady to ayd vs afore our death, as it is teſtified in the Scripture of the Primer, but not by Scripture of the Bible: or that we ſhall haue a like benefite for ſaying of her Pſalter vpon the ten beades that commeth from the croſſed friers, or vpon the fiue beades halowed at ye Charter houſe, or faſting our Ladyes faſt, as men call it: ne for faſting on the wedneſday, as is ſhewed by a booke that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that luſteth, for it is neither the new Teſtament ne the olde.

No pro
of God
ſaying M
tens.

The 15.
Oos.

Our La
Pſalte

Faſting
Ladyes

They are condemned, you wote wel, & I perhaps ſhal haue a litle leſſe fauor becauſe I tell ye trueth freely, for ſuch thinges are called offenſiue. But would God, that all perſons ſo thinking, would remember what aunſwere Chriſt made vnto his diſciples in the 15. of Math. whē they came vnto him, and warned him to beware ſaying: You knowe that the Phariſeis are offended, hearing ſuch wordes ſpoken. I will leaue out Chriſtes aunſwere, leaſt I ſhould be thought ouer free and plain in tarying or vttering of abuſions, and ſpeake no further.

Math.1

A like demaund with aunſwere thereto annexed, ſhall you finde in the 11. of Luke, where Chriſt woulde not refrayne to ſpeake any deale more eaſily. Therefore I beſeech them that deeme me (God wotteth whether righteouſly or no) ſclaunderouſly to reuiſe the ſayde places, and they

Luke.

ſting
mmẽded.

thẽ councel me to do that ſhalbe moſt expedient to folow if their charitie will ſo require. Yet would I that all people ſhould knowe, that I do not reproue that ſaying of the xv. Oos, which (ſo farre forth as my remembrance doth ſerue) is a very good praier, or ſuch like prayers: ne would I that any perſon ſhuld think me to diſalow any diſcreet faſtings, for ſuch, not only preſent with you, but euen from hence abſent, haue I commended in earneſt ſpeaking, and ſo entẽd to do by the aſſiſtaunce of Gods grace. Neuertheles ſuch vain promiſes I do abhorre, as be with thẽ annexed, with the vpholders of the ſame. For ſuch doe cauſe vaine confidence in the people, withdrawing and ſeducing them from the right beleife of the Goſpel, (which Chriſten men ought onely to build their faith vpon) vnto new inuentions of vanitie. S. Paul calleth ſuch, old womens tales, where he writeth vnto Timothe, bidding him to beware of them, & to throw them away.

al.40.

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The Prophete Dauid likewiſe doth accord therunto, ſaying: Beatus vir cuius eſt nomẽ Domini ſpes eius & non reſpexit in vanitates & inſanias falſas: Bleſſed (quoth he) is the man that hath in the name of God his affiaunce or hope, and hath not looked backe to vanities and falſe dotages or madneſſe. And this I ſay againe, that the Mattens ſaying, hath no more promiſe of God made to the ſayers, then hath the other aboue named, for they were inſtitute by the fantaſie or mind of men, and not by yͤ rule of ſcripture. Neither do I thinke the prieſtes which wil truly follow the rule of God, written in the Bible, ought ſo to be charged or encombred with ſaying of them, that they thereby ſhould be hindered from yͤ ſtudy of that, which to know belongeth principally both to their owne ſoules ſaluation, and alſo to the diſcharge of their dutie, and which God moſt highly of Prieſtes doeth require, (I meane the ſtudy of his Goſpel) whereby they them ſelues ſhould be ſpiritually nouriſhed, and therafter ſhould fede Chriſtes flock, the congregation of his people, according to the ſaying of our Sauiour in Iohn. I (quoth he) am the doore, whoſoeuer ſhall come in by me, ſhal both come in, and goe out, and finde good paſture or feeding. That is to ſaye, who ſoeuer ſhall enter to be a paſtour or Miniſter in Chriſtes church or congregation by Chriſt, ſhal both enter into contemplation of Gods glory declared aboundantly in ſcripture, and after go forth and ſhew that ſame abroade to other for their wealth and edifying.

h.10.

ke.22.

To this accordeth that is written in Luke, whereas our Sauiour ſpeaketh to all his Churche ſignified in the perſon of Saint Peter. Peter (quoth he) I haue prayed that thy faith ſhould not fayle, and thou being conuerted, goe then about to confirme thy brethren So that he would haue Peter ſtabliſhed firſt in faith of his ſure doctrine, and then to go forth, as he did, to teache other to be grounded in the ſame likewiſe. And thus ought all prieſts to be called Presbyteri, which will be miniſters in the Church, for ſo biddeth S. Peter in his firſt Epiſtle, in the laſt chapter, ſaying thus: I beſeech the Prieſtes (quoth he) that are among you, I my ſelfe being a prieſt, and a witnes bearer of Chriſtes afflictions, and alſo a partaker of the glory which ſhalbe reuealed, ſee that you with all diligence doe feede the flock of Chriſt taking care of the ſame, not as enforced thereto, but willingly: not deſiring filthy lucre, but with a louing minde: neither as men exerciſing dominion ouer the children or inheritours of God, but ſo that you be paternes, or enſample giuers to the flocke. See, how he requireth of prieſtes that they ſhould ſpend all their diligence to feede Chriſtes flocke, and to ſhew good enſample of liuing, making no mention of long Mattens ſaying, which then were not mentioned nor ſpoken of.

Pet.5.

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our.

im.4.

.38.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this fourme: ignoraunce, ſayth the Lawe (marke it well I beſeeche you al) is the mother of all errours. which ought to be eſchewed eſpecially of Prieſts, that among the people of God haue taken vpon thẽ the office of preaching: prieſts are commaunded to reade holy Scriptures, as ſayth Paul the Apoſtle to Timothe: Giue heede to reading, exhortation, and teaching, and continue alwayes in the ſame. Let prieſts therefore knowe holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edifie all men both in knowledge of fayth, and in diſcipline of good workes. Theſe be the wordes of the lawe in the Decrees Diſt.38. where you ſee howe the Lawe lamenteth ignorance in al perſons, for it is the original of al errours. God ſend vs therfore the knowledge of his true goſpel. It biddeth that ignorance ſhould be vtterly eſchewed, and principally of prieſtes, whoſe labour and diligence ſhoulde be beſtowed al in reading of ſcripture, & preaching the ſame, bringing in for the ſame purpoſe, the ſaying of the Apoſtle, which willeth in like manner.

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Moreouer it requireth that prieſts ſhould giue al their ſtudy to edifie other in faith and vertuous liuing. whereof I do gather both by the ſaying of the Prophet, that willeth vs to be ſtudyous in the Law of God day and night, and by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, whiche woulde haue Timothe to be occupied euer in reading and teaching, and by the report of your owne Lawe, which ſaith likewiſe, that a prieſt ought to beſtow al his labor in reading & preaching. So that a prieſt ſet thus truely to ſtudye, that hee may ſtabliſhe himſelfe in the fayth of Chriſtes doctrine, intending after to helpe other with true preaching of the ſame, or doing other like deedes of charity, aſſigned in the law of god, ſhall not offend deadly, if ſo ſpending his time, he omitteth to ſay Mattens, which is an ordinaunce of men.

Negligence of Byſhops in making prieſtes noted.

Neuertheles concerning the huge multitude of ſuch as be now made prieſtes by negligent admiſſion of Biſhops, and their own preſumption, that labour to be made prieſts before they be any Clerkes, and ere euer they knowe what is the very office of a prieſt, do not feare to take vpon them, if they may attayne therto, to be a curate, they recke not of how many, , ſo they may get a good lumpe of mony, neuer minding after that the ſtudy of Scripture, after they are come to Dominus vobiſcum: for ſuch I doe think long mattens to be needfull, to reſtrayne them from other enormities that they ſhould elſe runne in. Of whiche you may be weary to ſee the experience thereof dayly ariſing. Yea and if ſuch woulde be content to admit it, I woulde euery one mattens were as long to them as fiue, except they could beſtow theyr time better.

To the 26. article

Scypture in the vulgare tongue.

The French Byble tranſlated into the French tongue, with the kinges priuiledge aboue 50. yeares before Lambertes time.

In the 26. where you doe aſke, whether I beleeue that the heades or rulers by neceſſity of ſaluation are bounde to geue vnto the people, holy ſcripture in their mother language? I ſay, yͭ I think they are bound to ſee that the people may truely know holy Scripture, & I do not knowe, how that may be done ſo well, as by geuing it to them truly tranſlated in the mother tongue, that they may haue it by thẽ at al times to paſſe yͤ time godly, when ſoeuer they haue leyſure thereto, like as they haue in Fraunce vnder yͤ French kings priuelege, & alſo with the priuiledge of the Emperour, and ſo do I knowe that they haue had it theſe 50. yeres and 4. in Fraunce at the leaſt, and it was tranſlated at the requeſt of a king called I trowe, Lewes, as appeareth by the priueledge put in the beginning of the booke.

The Pſalter tranſlated by the king of England into the Saxon tongue. Reade before pag.145.

S. Guthlakes Pſalter.

Bede tranſlated the Goſpell of S. Iohn into Engliſhe.

Ioh.3.

The cauſes why the Scripture is not ſuffered to come to lighte.

In like manner haue they it in Flanders, printed with yͤ priueledge of the Emperour. In almayne alſo and Italy & I ſuppoſe through all nations of Chriſtendõe. Likewiſe hath it bene in England, as you may finde in the Engliſhe ſtory called Polychronicon. There it is ſhewed, how whẽ yͤ Saxons did inhabite the land, the K. at that tyme, which was a Saxon, did himſelfe tranſlate the Pſalter into the language that then was generally vſed. Yea I haue ſeene a booke at Crowland Abbey, whiche is kept there for a relique, the booke is called S. Guthlakes Pſalter, and I ween verily it is a copy of the ſame, that the king did tranſlate, for it is neither Engliſh, Latine, Greeke, Hebrue, nor Dutch, but ſomewhat ſounding to our Engliſh, and as I haue perceiued ſith the time I was laſt there, being at Antwerpe, the Saxon tongue doth ſound likewiſe after ours, and it is to ours partly agreable. In the ſame ſtory of Polychronicon is alſo ſhewed, howe that S. Bede did tranſlate the Goſpell of Iohn into Engliſhe, and the author of the ſame booke promiſed that he would tranſlate into Engliſh all the Bible, yea and perhaps hee did ſo, but (I wot not howe it commeth to paſſe) all ſuche thinges be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are ſome walking priuily in darckenes, that will not haue theyr doyngs knowen. It is no lye that is ſpoken in the Goſpel of Iohn Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem: All that doth noughtily, hateth the light, and will not haue theyr doynges knowne. And therefore they keepe downe the light ſtrongly: for that opened and generally knowne, all wrongfull conueyance ſhould anone be diſcloſed and reproued, yea and all men ſhuld ſee anone, whether thoſe that hold agaynſt vnrighteouſnes, being therfore ſometime horribly infamed & ſclandered, named heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, were in deede as they be called or no.

Diuers ſuch teſtamentes are yet to be ſeene in diuers places, of a longe continuance.

Yea, moreouer I did once ſee a booke of the new Teſtament, whiche was not vnwritten by my eſtimation thys C. yeares, and in my minde, right well tranſlated after the example of that which is read in the church in Latine. But he that ſhewed it me, ſayd, he durſt not be knowne to haue it by him, for manye had bene puniſhed aforetime, for keeping of ſuch, and were conuict therefore of hereſie.

Errours found in the tranſlated teſtamẽt where none was. Malice neuer ſaith well.

Moreouer I was at Paules Croſſe, when the newe Teſtamẽt imprinted of late beyond the ſea, was firſt forefended, & truely my hart lamented greatly, to heare a great man preaching agaynſt it, whiche ſhewed foorth certayne thinges that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I yea, and not I, but likewiſe did many other thinke verily to be none. But (alacke for pittie) malice can not ſay well. God helpe vs all and amend it.

So that to conclude, I thinke verily it were profitable and expedient, that the holy Scripture were deliuered by authority of the head rulers, vnto the people truly trãſlated in the vulgar tongue, in like maner as it is in all other countries. And whereas you adde, whether they be bound by neceſſitie of ſaluation, to deliuer it to yͤ people? I wil not ſo narowly touch that point now, but I ſay, that they are bound by right & equity, to cauſe it to be deliuered vnto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying & conſolation, which the people by Gods grace, ſhould therof gather, that now it is like they want, & are deſtitute of.

To the 27. article.

In the. xxvij. where you doe demaunde, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for ſome cauſe, vpon their reaſonable aduiſement, to ordein that yͤ Scripture ſhould not be deliuered vnto yͤ people, in the vulgar language? al men may here ſee, that whoſoeuer deuiſed theſe queſtions, thought not contrary (whatſoeuer they will yet ſay) but that it is good for the people to haue the Scripture in the vulgare tongue, & that they thought, that I ſo ſaying could not be wel reproued, and therefore are laid out al theſe additions, as it were to ſnare and trappe me in: whether the heades be bound, and that by neceſſity of ſaluation, to deliuer it to the people: and whether for opportunitie of time, they may ordeyne to reſtraine it for ſome cauſe, and by ſome reaſonable aduiſement of them taken. Sed fruſtra iacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum: But without cauſe you ſpread the nette before the eyes of the byrdes or foules. I ſhewe you plainly, that notwithſtanding all theſe thinges, in mine opinion, it was not well done to inhibite it, and worſe, that the Biſhoppes haue not ſith amended it, if ſo be they could, that the people might haue it to vſe & occupie vertuouſly.

Whether for any cauſe the Scripture may be reſtrayned from the people.

Prouerb. 1.

And here I will adde one reaſon. The Scripture is the ſpiritual foode and ſuſtenaunce of mans ſoule. This is ſhewed to be true in many places of Scripture: like as other corporal meat is the foode of the body. Then if he be an vnkinde father that keepeth bodily meate awaye the ſpace of a weke or a moneth frõ his children, it ſhould ſeme that our biſhops be no gentle paſtors or fathers, that kepe away the fode of mens ſoules frõ them (ſpecially when other do offer the ſame) both mõthes, yeres, & ages. Neyther do I ſee any oportunity of time, or reaſonable aduiſement, that ſhould cauſe it to be withdrawn & taken away, but the contrary rather: for it is reſon cõuenient & needfull for men to eate their meate euer whẽ they are right hũgry, & bleſſed are they that hũger & thirſt after the word of god, which teacheth to know him, and to do his pleaſure at all times: for that we doe craue euery day in our Pater noſter ſaying: Giue vs Lord our heauenly bread.

A perfect reaſon why Scripture ought not to be withdrawen from the people at any tyme.

Math. 5.

In the. xxviij. where you doe aſke, whether I beleeue that conſecratiõs, halowings, & bleſſings vſed in yͤ church are to be prayſed? I ſay that I know not of al, & therfore I will not diſpraiſe thẽ, neither can I therfore ouer much ſpeake of them al, ſeeing I know them not: ſuch as are the halowing of belles, the halowing of pilgrims, when they ſhould go to Rome, the halowing of beades, and ſuch like. But thoſe which I am aduiſed of and do remember, be in myne opinion, good: ſuch as is this. when the prieſte hath conſecrated holy bread, he ſaith: Lord bleſſe this creature of bread, as thou did bleſſe the fiue loaues in deſart, that all perſons taſting therof may receiue health, &c. whiche I would euery man might ſay in Engliſh, when he ſhuld go to meate, I like it ſo well.

To the 28. artycle.

Halowinges & bleſſinges, ſome alowed, ſome not.

Halowing of bread.

Alſo this is a right good one, that is ſayd ouer him that ſhal read the Goſpell: The Lord be in your hart & in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and ſhew forth his bleſſed goſpel. which is alſo ſpoken ouer a preacher taking benediction, when he ſhall go into a pulpite. Al ſuch good thinges I like very well, and thinke them commendable, wyſhing therfore yͭ al people might know what they meane, that they with reioice of hart might pray ioyfully with vs, and delight in al goodnes: which ſhould be, if they were vttered in Engliſh, according to the minde of Saint Paule 1. Cor. 9. where he wiſheth, rather to ſpeake fiue woordes in the Church hartily with vnderſtanding, whereby other might haue inſtruction, then tenne thouſand wordes in a tongue vnknowen. Yea, to ſay truth, and truth it is in decde, that I ſhall ſay: a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is knowen, the further the vertue thereof ſpreadeth, and rooteth in mens hearts and remembraunce. God ſend therefore the blinde to ſee, and the ignoraunt to haue knowledge of all good thinges.

Bleſſing of hym that goeth to reade the Goſpell.

1. Cor. 2.

Thus I conclude that conſecrations, halowings, and bleſſinges vſed in the Churche (ſo farre foorth as I remember and knowe) be commendable. Of other I can giue no ſentence wiſhing euen as I truſt men ſhall once ſee it come to paſſe, that all good thinges may be ſong and ſpoken in our vulgar tongue.

In the xxix. where you do aſke, whether I beleeue that the Pope may make lawes and ſtatutes to binde all Chriſten men to the obſeruance of the ſame, vnder the payne of deadly ſinne, ſo that ſuch lawes and ſtatutes be not cõtrary to the law of God? I ſay, that if it be true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wit: Lawes be neuer confirmed vntill they be approued by common maners of thẽ that ſhal vſe them: then can not the Popes lawes bind all Chriſten men: for the Greekes, and the Bohemes will (as you do know ful wel) neuer admit them, but do refuſe thẽ vtterly, ſo that I do not finde, that his lawes may bind all Chriſten men.

Finally, I can not ſee, that he hath authority to make lawes, binding men to the obſeruance of them vnder pain of deadly ſinne, more then hath the king or the Emperour: and to ſay ſoth, I ſay (as I haue ſaid afore) I thinke verely that the Churche was more full of vertue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not very long agoe, but in the time of Conſtantine, if it be true that is reported in the Decrees Diſt. 15. ca Canones generalium,) then it hath bene ſith: God repayre it, and reſtore it again to the auncient puritie and perfection.

In the xxx. where you do aſke, whether I beleeue that the Pope and other prelats and their deputies in ſpiritual thinges, haue power to excommunicate Prieſtes, and laye people that are inobedient and ſturdy, from entring into yͤ church, and to ſuſpend or let them from miniſtration of the Sacramentes of the ſame? I thinke, that the Pope and other prelates haue power to excommunicate both prieſts and lay men, ſuch as be rebellious againſt the ordinance of God, and diſobedient to his law, for ſuch are ſundred from God, afore the prelates do giue ſentence, by reaſon of their ſinne and contumacie, according as it is ſaid in Eſay by almighty God: Your ſinnes (quoth he) do make diuiſion betwixt you and me. And the Prelates by right iudgement, ſhould pronounce of ſinners as they do find them, and that is, to pronounce ſuch to be excommunicat of God, and vnworthy to miniſter any Sacramentes, or to be conuerſant with Chriſten folke, that will not amende. For thus biddeth Paul. 1. Corinth. 5. If any amongeſt you called a brother, ſhall be a whoremonger, or a couetous perſon, or a worſhipper of images or Idolles, or a rayler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, ſee that with ſuch you eate no meate. Such ought to bee put out of the Churche, and not be ſuffered to come within it.

Eſa.

1. Cor.

I am not certaine that Prelats haue any ſuch power, And though they had, I doubt whether charitie ſhoulde permit them to ſhew it forth and execute it without ſingular diſcretion. For in Churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through the whiche the ſturdy comming thither and hearing it, might ſoone be ſmitten with compunction and repentance, and therupon come to amendement. This confirmeth well a lawe made in the Councel of Carthage, which is this: A Biſhop ought to prohibite no perſon to come into the Church, and to heare the word of God, whether he be Gentile or Iewe, or heretike, vntil the maſſe time of them that are called Catechumini de Conſe. diſtinct. 1.

Moreouer, where you ſpeake of Prelates Deputies, I thinke ſuche be but little behoueable to Chriſtes flocke. It were neceſſary and right, that as the Prelates themſelues wil haue the reuenewes, tythes, & oblations of their benefices, they them ſelues ſhould labour and teache diligently the word of God therefore, and not to ſhift the labor from one vnto an other, til all be leaſt (pitie it is) vndone. Such doth S. Iohn call, Fures & latrones: Theeues and murtherers, although they make neuer ſo goodly a worldly ſhew outward, and beare a ſtout porte.

This I ſaye that the Pope and other prelates haue power to excommunicate rebels againſt Gods ordinance, and to ſuſpend them frõ receiuing or miniſtring the ſacrament, but I am not ſure, that they haue power to forfend them from out of Churches, eſpecially when Gods word is there preached, vnles the ſinners be ſo ſore deſperat, that they ſcorne the ſame. And I would, that euery Prelate receauing his liuing of benefices, ſhould him ſelfe worke in the ſame, ſpecially in true preaching of Chriſtes doctrine, without winding his owne necke out of the yoke, & charging therwith, other called deputies or Vicares, Curates, and ſuce lyke. For God would haue euery man to get his liuing by ſweate of his owne face, that is to ſay, by his labour, according to his eſtate and calling. And like as euery workeman is worthy his meate: ſo contrariwiſe they that labour not, vnleſſe they be let by impotencie, are worthy to haue no meate, and much leſſe to take of thoſe, to whom they do no ſeruice. 50. or 40. pounde a yeare, for wayting after none other thing, then the Moone ſhining in the water. The Canon law maketh clearely with the ſame. Looke in the Decrees, Cap. 21. queſt. 2. Capitulo precipimns, and you ſhal ſhall finde plainly, as I ſay.

¶ In the xxxi. where you aſke, whether faith only without good workes, may ſuffice vnto a man fallen into ſinne after his Baptiſme, for his ſaluation and iuſtifying? I ſay, that it is the vſage of Scripture to ſay, that faith onely doeth iuſtifie and worke ſaluation, afore a man do any other good works, and that is ſhewed by many authorities both of ſcripture, & alſo of many holy Fathers, in a treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, which I would to Chriſt, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly tranſlated in Engliſh. And truely I do thinke in this matter (like as is here ſhewed by many authorities of holy fathers) that a mā fallē into ſinne after Baptiſme, ſhalbe ſaued through faith, and haue forgiuenes by Chriſtes paſſion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a mā hauing ſhort lyfe, lacketh leaſure to exerciſe other deeds of mercy. Notwithſtanding, true fayth is of ſuch vertue and nature, that when oportunity commeth, it can not but work plenteouſly deeds of charity, which are a teſtimony and witnes bearers of a mans true faith. This declareth S. Auguſtine vpon Iohn. I trowe it is where he expoundeth this text: Si diligitis me, precepta mea ſeruate: If you loue me keepe my commaundementes. Whereas within a little after he ſpeaketh in this wiſe, Opera bona non faciunt iuſtum, ſed iuſtificatus facit bona opera. That is to ſay, good workes make not a iuſt or righteous man, but a man once iuſtified, doth good workes.

¶ In the xxxii. where you aſke, whether a Prieſt marying a wife, & that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, & begetting alſo children of her without ſlaunder giuing, do ſinne deadly? I ſay, that he doth not ſo much offende, as thoſe, which in Wales (as I haue heard ſay) and alſo in many partes beyōd the Sea, or rather in all places, do giue openly diſpenſations for money, to Prieſtes to take concubines: neither doth he offende ſo much, as the purchaſers of ſuch diſpenſations: for they on euery hand, do clearly cōmit fornication and aduoutry, vtterly forefended by Gods law, and the Prieſt, of whom ſpeaketh your demaund, offendeth but mans law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written, I weene it be in a gloſe, and certainely I wote not whether it be in the text or no, I can lightly turn to it hauing a booke. The ſentence is thus: Presbyter fornicans eſt plus puniendus quàm vxorem ducens. That is to ſay, a prieſt doing fornicatiō, ought to be puniſhed more, thē one which hath married a wife. Finally I thinke ſuch a prieſt as before is named in your demaunde, ſinneth not deadly.

¶ In the xxxiii, where you aſke, whether a Latin Prieſt, after he hath taken the order of Prieſthode, being ſore and oft troubled and ſtirred with prickings of luſt or lechery, & therfore marying a wife for a remedy of the ſame, do ſinne deadly? I ſay, that a Latin Prieſt, and a Greeke Prieſt is al one before God, if they folow both one rule of Chriſt, left to vs in holy Scripture: neither doth Chriſt put any ſuch difference: but the one hath by that rule the ſame libertye, ẏ an other, and no more nor leſſe, for there is the ſame God in Greece, that is here: & hath left one way for vs to liue after, both here and there. And therfore, I can not ſee by his law, but that a Latin Prieſt may mary, as wel as they do. And if the Greeks ſhould not folow Chriſtes law in beleuing the ſame, and liuing thereafter, you would call them herretickes. But that will not the Pope haue done. Wherfore ſeeing they do let Prieſts mary, affirming it may ſo be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretiks: why ſhould other mē that ſay the ſame, be called herretiks, or be therfore burned? Therfore, folowing the law of God I make the ſame anſwere of a Latin Prieſt, that I made before of all Prieſtes, that a Prieſt not hauing the gift of chaſtitity, is bound to mary, for auoyding fornication.

¶ In the xxxiiii. where you do aſke, whether euer I prayed for Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, and for Hierome of Prage condemned of hereſie in the Councell of Conſtance, or for any one of them, ſith they died, and whether I haue openly or ſecretly done any deedes of charitie for them, affirming them to be in bliſſe and ſaued? I ſay, that I neuer prayed for any of them, ſo farre foorth as I can remember. And though I had, it foloweth not, that in ſo doing I ſhould be an herreticke. For you note well, that there is a mightie great countrie called Boheme, which yet do follow (as me ſay) that ſame doctrine which Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage taught their Aunceſtors, whom (as I trowe) neyther the Pope nor you do recount herretikes and infidels.

¶ In the 35. where you aſke, whether I haue recounted and ſayd them or any of them to be Saintes, and worſhipped them as Saintes? I ſay, that in ſuch ſecrete and hidde thinges, which I doe not perfectly knowe, I followe the Counceil of Paul, which biddeth that we ſhould not iudge ouer ſoone, but to abide (vnleſſe the thinges, whiche we ſhould paſſe vpon, be the more euident) vntill the comming of the Lord which ſhall illumine and ſhewe forth clearely thinges, that now lye hid in darcknes. Therefore hetherto haue I neither iudged with them, ne agaynſt them, but haue reſigned ſuche ſentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whoſe iudgement I wotte is infallible.

And where as you ſay, they were condemned of hereſie in the Councel of Conſtance, if ſo the counſell did right, God ſhall allow it (I doubt not) and that ſhall ſuffice to haue commendation of him: So that it is not neede to aſke of me, whether the acts of the ſame are cōmendable or no? Neither cā I geue any direct anſwere therto: for I do not verily know thē. And though I did, yet am not I verily perſwaded, that I becauſe the Councell hath condemned them, muſt therefore beleue them to be damned: for a Coūcell (as I weene) may ſometime ſlip beſide the right truth but what that Councell did in condemning them, I can not preciſely ſay: God wotteth. Yea and that one ſingular perſon may iudge more rightly, then a great multitude aſſembled in a Counſel, appeareth both by Gods law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you ſee by the Councell that is ſpoken of in the 11. of Iohn, where is ſhewed, that after our ſauiour had reſtored Lazarus to life the biſhops and Phariſeis then were gathered in a Coūcell ſaying: what ſhall we doe? Truth it is, that this man Ieſus doth many miracles, and if wee ſuffer him thus all the world will beleue him, whereupon the Romaines will come, and put vs out of Ieruſalē our dwelling place, and deſtroy our nation. At which time Cayphas did ariſe, ſhewing forth his ſentence, which the whole Councell did admitte.

Councels may ſometyme ſlippe awrye.

Iohn.11.

In likewiſe is ſhewed Actes. v. where in a Councell of the Biſhops and Prieſtes aſſembled to know what puniſhment ſhould be done vnto Chriſtes Apoſtles, for becauſe they preached in the name of Chriſt, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had cōmaūded the Apoſtles no more to ſpeake in Chriſtes name) there among a ſhrewde multitude of them, gathered together, did ariſe a certaine wiſe man, called Gamaliel (a pitifull thyng verely to ſee but one good man in ſuch a great Conuocation or Coūcell of Prieſts, ẏ ſhuld be ẏ lightes of vertue to all the people) which Gamaliel was a Doctour of the law, & had in good reputation among ẏ people: much like he was (as ſeemed to me) to Doct. Collet ſometyme Deane of Paules in London) while hee lyued. I may come no neare for to name ſome other of our tyme, leaſt I ſhould bee thought offenſiue. This Gamaliell did byd the Apoſtles go aſide, for a while, out of the Councell or conuocation houſe, & ſo he ſpake vnto the other Prieſtes or Biſhops in the Councell thus: You men (quoth he) of Iſraell, take heede to your ſelues what you ſhall do vpon theſe men the Apoſtles: For afore this tyme haue riſen one called Teudas, and after him an other named Iudas of Galilee, which haue turned the people after them: and in concluſion they periſhed, and all they that followed after them vaniſhed away. And now (quoth he) I ſay vnto you, refrayne from hurtyng theſe men, the Apoſtles, and let them alone, or ſuffer thē. For if this enterpriſe and worke that they haue made, be of men, vndoubtedly it ſhall periſhe, & be fordone: but if (quoth he) it be of God, you cā not fordoe it. And this I tell you (ſayd Gamaliell) leaſt you ſhould be founde to ſtriue and fight agaynſt God.

Actes.5.

Gamaliell and Doct. Collet compared togeather.

The councell of Gamaliell to the Phariſeis.

Unto this ſentence of Gamaliel did all the other of the conuocation or Parliament agree, and ſo they called in the Apoſtles of Chriſt afore them, cauſing them to be ſcourged and chargyng them, no more after to preache of Chriſtes name, and ſo did let them depart. This was vndoubtedly done in the tyme of our Sauiour and of his Apoſtles, and cauſed to be written for our comfort and learnyng: For the holy Ghoſt knew afore, that like practiſe ſhould come in ẏ latter tyme of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearely ſee, that Coūcels do not alway diſcerne with Chriſt, but ſometyme they may do agaynſt him. And therfore ſayd Dauid: Non ſedi cum cōcilio vanitatis, & cum iniquè agentibus non introibo. Odiui Eccleſiam malignantium, & cum impijs nō ſedebo: ſed lauabo inter innocentes manus meas. &c. I did not (quoth Dauid) ſitte with the aſſembly or Coūcell of vayne doers, or lyers, and I will not go in amōgeſt them that worke iniquitie: for I hate the conuocation of thē, that are malicious, or maligners, and amōgeſt the wicked will not I ſit: But I will waſh my handes among innocentes &c.

Councells goe not alwayes right.

Councels may and doe erre.

Pſal.26.

Alſo, in an other Pſalme he writeth thus: Dominus diſſipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, & concilia Principum: Cōcilium autem Domini, in æternum manet. &c. The Lord (quoth he) doth deſtroy or annihilate the Coūcell of the Gentiles, he reproueth the Councels of the people and of rulers. But the Councell or deuiſe of the Lord endureth euer, & the purpoſe of his minde abideth into the world of worldes. For that purpoſe doth S. Peter in the Actes of the Apoſtles alledge this verſe out of the Pſalme: Quare

Pſal.33.

fremue-

Pſal.2.
Eſay.1.

fremuerunt gentes, &c. Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vayne thinges,&c. Like vnto this is written Eſay.1. And you may ſee in the Councels of the Phariſes aboue ſhewed, that one ſingular perſõ may ſometime perceiue a thing more then a generalty or a multitude: for onely Gamaliel did ſee better what was behouable, thẽ could all the other there congregate.

Some one man ſometyme may ſee more then a whole Councel.
Diſt.31.cap Nicena.

Agreable vnto this wee finde in the Decrees Diſt.31. where it is written, that the Councell of Nice, willing to correct or amende the life of men of the Church, ordeined lawes called Canons or rules. And as they treated vppon ſuch ordinaunces, ſome thought it expedient to bring in a law, that Byſhops, Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhould not ly with their wiues, whom they had maried afore they were conſecrate into the order. With that aroſe Paphnutius a Confeſſor of Chriſt, and gayneſayde it, teſtifying that marriage was an honorable thing: ſaying alſo, that it is chaſtitie for a man to lye with his owne proper wife. And ſo he perſwaded the councel, that they ſhould cõſtitute no ſuch lawe, affirming, that it was a ſore matter, that they were minded to do, which ſhould be, either to the prieſts, or els to their wiues, an occaſion of fornicatiõ: and this was Paphnutius reaſon. The wordes of the Canon procede thus.

The ſtory of Paphnutius in Nicene Coũcell.

Chaſtity ſtandeth not by ſinglenes of life, but purenes of matrimonye.

This declared Paphnutius, he neuer being maried, nor hauing experience of Mariage, & ẏ Councell commended his ſentence, making no ſtatute in this matter, but put it to euery mans free wil and libertie, without any enforcemẽt or neceſſitie. These wordes ſtand (as I haue recited them vnto you) written in the Decrees, albeit they are ſomwhat otherwiſe rehearſed In hiſtoria tripartita, as I haue ſhewed before in the fourth Article. Upon, this, that Paphnutius did thus reſiſte and preuaile againſt all the other Councel, doth the Gloſe note in the ſame law: that one ſingular perſon may gaynesay or ſpeake againſt an vniuerſal generaltie, hauing a reaſonable cauſe on his ſide. Suffrage alſo of the ſame haue we in Abbot Panormitane, where he ſayth thus: I wold (quoth he) rather beleue one lay perſon, bringing for him authoritie of ſcripture, thẽ an vniuerſal Coũcell that ordeineth or defineth a thing, without ſcripture.

One mã hauing ſcripture with him, is more to be beleued then a whole Councell without Scripture.

Finally I ſay, that I neuer recounted them neither Saintes, ne deuils, but reſigned the iudgement thereof to God, neither haue I in earneſt reported thẽ the one, or the other. Neither haue done vnto them particular worſhip ſo farre forth, as I can remember,

To the 36. Article.

Whether euery generall councel repreſenteth the vniuerſall churche.

¶ In the xxxvi. where you do aſke, whether I beleeue hold, and affirme that euery generall Councel, & the Cõcel of Conſtaũce alſo do repreſent the vniuerſal congregation or Church? I ſay ẏ what ſuch Councels doe repreſent, I can not certainly tel, and therfore beleue neither yea, nor nay, neither can I therfore make any affirmation pro, & contra, with this demaund, or againſt it: and no maruell. For I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the ſame, ne yet any ſufficient reaſon. And me thinketh this (vnder correction I ſpeake) ẏ Councels might repreſent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the vniuerſal church, not being yet the ſame, as I wot wel they neither are ne were: For the Church I do take for to be al thoſe, that God hath choſen or predeſtinate to be inheritours of eternall bliſſe & ſaluation, whether they be temporall, or ſpirituall, king, or ſubiect, Biſhop, or Deacon, father or child, Grecian or Romaine. And this Church ſpreadeth through the vniuerſall world, whereas any do cal for help truly vpon the name of Chriſt: and there do they euer moſt grow & aſſemble commonly, where as his bleſſed word is purely & openly preached, & declared, for that is the reliefe of mans ſoule, whereunto all men louing their ſoules health, luſt to reſort & ſeek (as all thinges do naturally ſeeke after that, which ſhould nouriſh and prolong their life) for in it is ſhewed, that righteouſnes, which whoſoeuer doth thirſt after, and is an hungred for, ſhal come in the kingdom of heauen. Of this may wel the Prouerbe in the Goſpel (although it be applied to the iudgement of God, when he ſhal appeare in ẏ generall dome) be verified where ſoeuer is a dead carion, thether will ſoone be aſſembled Egles. That is to wit, whereſoeuer is declared by the courſe of Scripture, the benefites and commodities graunted to vs by Chriſts death, thether wil mẽ ſeke and flye, to know how they may enioy & attain them, which I beſeech him to graunt vs. Amen.

What is the Church.

He meaneth here the church inuiſible.

Luke.7.

To the 37. artycle.

Touching the authority of the coũcell of Conſtance.

¶ In the xxxvii. where you do aſke, whether I beleeue that the ſame thing, which the Councell of Conſtance repreſenting the vniuerſal Church hath approued and doeth approue for the maintenance of faith and ſoules health, is to be approued, and holden of all Chriſten people: and that which the ſame Councell hath condemned and doth condemne, to be contrary to faith and good maners, ought of ẏ ſame chriſten people to be beleued and affirmed for a thing condemned? I ſay, that whatſoeuer the ſame Councell, or any other haue aproued, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of al Chriſten people to be likewiſe approued, holden, & allowed. And again, whatſoeuer the ſame or any other hath condemned, being reprofe & condẽnation worthy, for becauſe it is hurtful to faith, or good liuing, I ſay, the ſame ought of al Chriſtẽ people to be condemned & reproued. But this ſurmounteth my knowledge, to diſcerne, in what wiſe their iudgement paſſed: whether with right, or vnright, for becauſe I neuer looked vpon their Acts, nether do I greatly couet for to do: wherefore I referre the determinatiõ to them, ẏ haue better aduiſed their doings, and thereby haue ſome more ſkill in them, then I.

In the xxxviii. you demaund, whether the condemnations of Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, done vpon their perſons, bookes, and documentes, by the holy generall Councel of Conſtance, were duly and rightfully done, and ſo for ſuch, of euery Catholike perſon, whether they are to be holden and ſurely to be affirmed? I aunſwer, that it paſſeth my knowledge, and I can not tel: thinking ſurely, ẏ though I am ignoraunt of the ſame, ſo ẏ I cannot diſcuſſe the thing determinately, yet my Chriſtendom ſhalbe therefore neuertheleſſe, and that I and all Chriſten men may well ſuſpend our ſentence being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one, ne the other, neither yea, nor nay.

In the xxxix. you aſk whether I beleeue hold, & affirm that Iohn Wickleffe of England, Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage, were herericks, and for hereticks to be named, and their books and doctrines to haue ben & now be peruerſe, for the which books & pertinacitie of their perſons, they are condemned by the holy Councel of Conſtance for heretikes? I ſay, that I know not determinately whether they be heretikes or no, ne whether their books be erroneous or no, ne whether they ought to be called heretickes or no.

¶ In the xl. where you aſke, whether I beleeue and affirme, that it is not lawful in any caſe, to ſweare? I ſay, ẏ I neither ſo do beleue, ne affirme, ne neuer did.

¶ In the xli. where you aſke, whether I beleue, that it is lawful at the commandement of a iudge, to make an oth to ſay the truth, or any other othe in a caſe conuenient, and that alſo for purgation of infamy, I anſwere that I neuer ſaide the contrary: but that I thinke and haue thought it lawful to giue an oth afore a iudge, to ſay the truth, if the iudge ſo require, and that by requeſt lawful and conuenient. As when a thing is in controuerſie betwixt two perſons, and therupon they ſue vnto a iudge for ſentence, when the iudge can none otherwiſe boult out the truth, he may require an oth. As when the two women, which contended before Salomon, to auoyde the cryme of murther, which the one had comitted in oppreſſing her child to death, and would haue put the ſame vpon the other, if Salomon could not by his wiſdome otherwiſe haue inueſtigated the truth, he might (I ſuppoſe) for to come by the more certaine information of the thing, haue cauſed one of them or both, ſeing it expedient for him, to ſweare, wherein the women had bene bound to obey him. But Iudges haue neede to be ſpare in requiring of othes: For in cuſtomable or oft Iuries, creepeth in alway betwixt times ſome periury, as ſheweth Chriſoſtome in wordes ſemblable to theſe, and thinges precious, through oft haunt or occupying, loſeth their eſtimation. And ſo reuerent othes vnaduiſedly required for euery trifle vſually, do cauſe men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I feare, to breake them.

Therfore in Almaine, they haue made of late (as I haue hard ſay by credible perſõs: which haue come from thence) many notable ordinances for the cõmon wealth within a while, & amongeſt other this is one: If a man be ſet for to enter plea againſt another in any town, the Peeres therof afore whom al actions are vſed to be debated, hearing ſuch a plea entred, ſhal cal the parties priuately together, before they come into any open Court. And the matter examined, they ſhal exhort them to let the plea ceaſſe without further proceſſe, ſhewing them ẏ great dammage both godly and worldly, comming of waging the law, and the great eaſe and commoditie, that is in agreement and concord. which exhortation they vſe to ſhew with ſo great grauity, and fatherly loue (ſuch wonders are wrought where the Goſpell hath free paſſage that very few will commence plea. And though any plea be commẽced, through ſuch ſage admonition it falleth lightly to ſequeſtration and arbitrement of neighbours, who do ſet the ſuters at vnitie, ere the matter do came to diſcuſſion in open Court.

Notwithſtanding if ſome be ſo frowardly minded (as in a multitude al are not one mans children, & therfore vnlike of intent) that they will needes proceede and follow ẏ law, they ſhal be heard to ſpeak their matters in opẽ court, and taught as the matter is moſt like to ſucceede, counſailed with new exhortation to ſtoppe their proceſſe. If they will not be perſwaded, & then the Iudges ſeeing the matter ſo ambiguous ÿ they cannot giue perfect ſentence therin, except by vertue of an othe made by one of the parties, they be firſt better certified. Then wil they ſhew the ſame before the ſuters, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to giue a ſolẽne oth for loue of winning ſome worldly profit: & how (vnleſſe ſuch as ſhal make it, be ÿ better ware to eſchew the ſame) they ſhal (beſide an euil exãple giuing to a multitude) worke thẽſelues happily ſhame or diſhoneſty.

Vpon this, they ſhal giue reſpite vntil a certaine day appointed, So that in the meane while the ſuters may take deliberation thereof, what is beſt to be done. If after this, they wil not thus reſt, at the day appointed, ſhal they come forth into a common place, and the great Bel of the Citie cauſed to be rõg, whereby the people ſhalbe warned, what they are about to do: and the people aſſembled, the Iudges ſhal in full chargeable & lamentable wiſe, charge the parties, vnder vertue of their othe, to make true relation of ÿ ſhalbe demaunded. So ÿ by reaſon of ſoberly & fatherly exhortations made of the Iudges or Peeres of the Towne, and perſwaſion of neighbours, and for auoyding of Gods diſpleaſure, and ſhame of men there is litle ſute in courts: & if at any time, any be made, they be lightly ſtopped. So that Iurie and ſwearing is well excluded and neede not much to be required.

...y and ...aring ...t exclu- ...out of ...rmanye.

This haue I ſhewed becauſe it pitieth me to heare and ſee the contrary vſed in ſome of our nation, & ſuch alſo as name themſelues ſpiritual men, and ſhould be head Miniſters of the Church, who incõtinent as any man commeth before them, anone they cal for a booke, and do moue him to ſweare, without any longer reſpite, yea & they wil charge him by vertue of the contentes in the Euangely, to make true relation of all that they ſhall demaunde him, he not knowing what they will demaunde, neither whether it be lawfull to ſhew them the truth of their demaundes or no: For ſuch things there be that are not lawful to be ſhewed. As if I were accuſed of fornication, & none could be found in me, or if they ſhold require me to ſweare to bewray any other that I haue known to offend in that vice, I ſuppoſe it were expedient to holde me ſtil, & not to folow their wil, for it ſhould be contrary to charitie, if I ſhould ſo aſſent to bewray them, that I nede not, and to whom perhappes, though I haue known them to offend, yet truſting of their amendment, I haue promiſed afore to keepe their fault ſecret without any diſcloſing of the ſame. Yea, moreouer, if ſuche Iudges ſomtime not knowing by anye due proofe that ſuch as haue to do afore them, are culpable wil enforce them by an othe, to detecte themſelues in opening before them their harts: in this ſo doing, I can not ſee that men nede to condeſcende in their requeſtes. For it is in the law (but I wotte not certainly the place) thus. Nemo tenetur prodere ſemetipſum, that is to ſay: No man is bound to bewray himſelfe. Alſo in another place of ÿ law it is written: Cogitationis pœnam nemo patiatur: No man ſhould ſuffer puniſhment of men for his thought. To this agreeth the common Prouerbe, that is thus: Cogitationes liberæ ſunt à vectigalibus. That is to ſay, thoughtes be free and nede to pay no tole. So that to conclude, I thinke it lawfull, at the commaundement of a Iudge, to make an othe, to ſay the truth, ſpecially if a Iudge requireth an othe duely, and in lawful wiſe, or to make an oth in any other caſe conueniẽt, and that alſo for purgation of infamie, when any infamie is lawfully layd againſt a man.

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¶ In the xlij. where you aſke, whether a Chriſten perſon deſpiſing the receite of the Sacramentes of confirmation, extreame vnction, or ſolemniſing of Matrimony, do ſinne deadly? I ſay like of the recite of them, as I haue ſayd be fore of the ſelfe thinges and none otherwiſe.

...the 42. ...cle.

¶ In the xliij. where you aſke, whether I beleeue, that S. Peter was Chriſtes Vicare, hauing power vpon earth to binde & loſe? I ſay, that I do not perceiue clearely what you meane by this terme Vicare: For Chriſt neuer called Peter, ne none other ſo in Scripture. If you meane thereby, that after the departing hence of Chriſt, when he was riſen from death in his immortall body, and ſo ſtyed into heauen, whereas he remayneth ſitting vpon ÿ right hand of his Father, that he ſo being away from hence, S. Peter occupied his roume: then I ſay, it is not vntrue but Peter in a maner (which I ſhal ſhew here vnder) was his Vicar, and like as Peter was his Vicar, euen ſo was Paule, and the other Apoſtles, and the one no leſſe then the other if it be true, that S. Cyprian doth write: whiche is alſo conſenting to Scripture. he ſayth thus: That Chriſte ſpake vnto Peter ſaying: I ſay (quoth our Sauiour,) that thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke of ſtone ſhall I builde my congregation, and the gates of hel ſhal not ouercome it. To thee will I giue the keies of heauen, & what thinges thou ſhalt binde vpon earth, the ſame ſhalbe bounde alſo in heauen: and what ſo euer thou ſhalt loſe vpon earth, ſhalbe loſed alſo in heauen. And to him after his reſurrection doth Chriſt ſay: feed my ſheepe.

...the 43. ...cle.

...ar of ...riſt.

...er no ...e vicar ...hriſt, ...Paule ...other ...ſtles. ...h. 16.

And albeit that hee gaue equall power vnto all his Apoſtles after his reſurrection, and ſaith: like as my Father ſent me, do I alſo ſend you: Take you the holy ghoſt: If you ſhal retayne to any man his ſinnes, they ſhalbe retayned: If you ſhal remitte to any man his ſinne, to him they ſhalbe remitted. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe he woulde declare vnitie, he ordayned by his authoritie, the originall of the ſame vnitie, beginning of one. The other Apoſtles truely were the ſame that Peter was, indued with equall partaking both of honor and authoritie, or power, but the beginning commeth of one that the congregation ſhoulde be ſhewed to be one. Theſe are the wordes of Cyprian in a treatiſe that is called, De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, wherein you may ſee that Chriſt made all the Apoſtles of equal honour and like authoritie. Notwithſtanding becauſe he would teſtifie the vnitie of his Church or Congregation, he ſpake, as it were alonely vnto Peter, when he ſayd: feede my ſheepe: And I ſhall geue thee Peter, the keyes of heauen: but in ſo ſaying, though the wordes ſeeme ſpoken to Peter onely, yet they were ſpoken vnto him, in that hee ſuſtayned the generall perſon of all the Church, being as it were a common ſpeaker for the ſame. So that in ſpeaking to him, Chriſt ſpake vnto all other the Apoſtles, vnto whome alſo he gaue all the ſame authoritie, that he gaue vnto Peter, as you may ſee both in theſe wordes of Cyprian, and alſo the ſame is clearely ſhewed out of S. Auguſtine in diuers places, but no where more playnly in a few wordes then in a treatiſe called de Agone Chriſtiano.

Cypria. de ſimplicitate Prelatorum.

Iohn. 20.

Vnitye.

The only perſon of Peter declareth the vnity of the Church.

Peter beareth the perſon of the whole Church.

Auguſt. de Agone Chriſtiano.

To this accordeth well that is writtẽ of Paule. Gal. 2. Ab his qui videbantur aliquid eſſe: quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert &c. Of thoſe Apoſtles (quoth Paule) which ſeemed to be of authoritie, I was not taught (what they were in tyme paſſed, it ſkilleth me nothing: God regardeth not the exterior appearaunce of man) neuertheleſſe they whiche appeared to be of price, ſhewed me no learning, nor gaue me no counſell: But contrary, when they had ſeene that the Goſpell of vncircumciſion was committed vnto me, like as the Euangely of circumciſion was vnto Peter for hee that was mightier then Peter concerning the Apoſtleſhip toward the Iewes was mighty alſo in me toward the Gentiles: Therfore, when Iames, Peter, and Ioh, which appeared to be as pillers, knew the grace geuen me, they gaue vnto me and Barnabe their right handes in ſignes of fellowſhip to be their partners, ſo that we ſhoulde exerciſe the office of Apoſtles among the Gentiles, as they dyd among the Iewes. Wherein you may clearely ſee, that Paule tooke no inſtruction of them whiche ſeemed to be in hygh authoritie, and that Peter Iames, and Iohn, which were noted principals, tooke Paule and Barnabas to be their mates and fellowes. which they woulde not haue done (I ſuppoſe, if they had knowne, that God had graunted to thẽ a prerogatiue ſingular to excell Paule, and to be his ſoueraigne: but according to the prerogatiue of God graunted, they might ſafely haue ſhewed it, and enioyed ÿ ſame: like as they did reioyce in other benefites graunted to them of God, to be miniſters in his churche for the ediſying of the ſame: and as S. Iohn calleth himſelfe the Diſciple loued of his maiſter Ieſus, and teſtifieth, how that vnto him Chriſt hanging vpon the Croſſe, did commit his bleſſed mother.

Gal. 2.

Apoſtles mates and fellowes togeather.

Moreouer, if theſe three Apoſtles, Iames, Peter, and Iohn, ſhould haue by humilitie, left out to make mention of their prerogatiue, when they tooke Paule and Barnabas into their fellowſhip: yet is it to be thought that Paule which vſeth neuer any inordinate arrogancie, writing the wordes aboue ſayd for the magnifying of his owne priuiledge and authority geuen him of God, woulde not haue ſuppreſſed and paſſed ouer their primacie vnſpokẽ of, with whome hee maketh here compariſon: for then it might be thought he were enuious, and to pyke away authority frõ other to himſelfe vnlawfull: that cannot ſo be. Moreouer he ſaith a little after the wordes afore rehearſed, that he reproued S. Peter euen before his face. Wherupon S. Hierome expounding the ſame Epiſtle, ſaith (as I remember) that Paule woulde not haue bene bolde ſo to do, except he had knowne himſelfe equall to Peter.

Obiection diſcuſſed.

Hierome.

Paule equall to Peter.

In the wordes alſo of Paule aboue written, this might be noted, as ſeruing to my purpoſe, that Peter had no preeminence or primacy aboue the other, for Iames is named afore hym, which Paule would not haue done, (I thinke) knowing Peter to be Iames ſuperiour. Therefore he making no ſuch variety in order, put Iames afore ſaying: And Iames, Peter and Iohn, that appeared the principals (quoth he) gaue vnto me and to Barnabe their right handes in ſigne of fellowſhip. Yet notwithſtanding Paule loued good order (I ſup-

Apoſtles equall together without any difference of ſuperyoritye.

Iames named before Peter.

(I ſuppoſe) as wel as any yͤ now are, which contendeth ſo ſore for ſuperiour roums & preeminencie claiming to be yͤ Apoſtles ſucceſſours. I wold it were ſo much for the common wealth of Chriſten people, as it is ſuſpect that they do it for vayneglory, and worldly lucre. According to this, ſhal you find. Acts xj. where is ſhewed, that after Peter by inſtinct of the holy Ghoſt, had gone vnto one of the Gentiles called Cornelius a pety Captaine, hauing the gouernaunce of an hundreth men, teaching him the wayes and doctrine of Chriſt, and Baptiſing him and other with him aſſembled, being like as he afore was, Paganes: the Apoſtles and other Chriſten brethren that were in Iewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Hieruſalem, they which held vpon Circumciſion, made none obeyſaunce vnto him (albeit I thinke verily he had more holines then euer had any other Pope) as the Emperor is fayne to do to yͤ Pope at his coronation, falling downe to kiſſe the Popes feete, or to hold the Popes ſtyrrup while he mounteth vpon his horſeback, according to the forme of law written: I am not certaine whether in the Decrees or els the Decretalles, or in both rather (for ſuch ordinaunces are inuiolable & worthy to be principally recorded) but they reaſoned ſore & diſputed both againſt S. Peter, and alſo his doing, ſaying: you haue gone amongſt them that you ought not haue had to do with, ne to haue medled among them, yͭ are men vncleane, becauſe they are vncircumciſed: yea & that is more, you haue eate & dronke with them. Peter mildly and coldly made aunſwer againe, rehearſing all the maner of his doing in order: ſhewing that he was ſo inſtruct to doe by mightie and cleare reuelations of God, & not by his owne fantaſie and pleaſure.

Contention about ſuperiority whence it proceedeth.
Act.11.

Emperours geue more obeyſance to the Pope, thẽ euer did the Apoſtles vnto Peter.

Difference betwene Peter and the Pope.

Peter was contẽt to be charged of the brethren.

The Pope requireth his feet to be kiſſed of Emperours.

Which aunſwere being heard, the other that afore had made ſore obiections againſt him (which were both of the Apoſtles, and other Chriſten brethren) were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gaue glory therefore to God, ſaying: Then God hath graunted alſo vnto the Gentiles to take repentaunce, and ſo to come to eternall lyfe. Where in you may ſee, that the other Apoſtles were as bold with Peter, as before is ſhewed of Paule, to diſpute againſt him. Neither were they therefore by Peter reproued of inobedience. He did not allege any preeminẽce or authoritie, to rebuke them for their complaining, as one wold ſay: why ſhould you that are my ſheepe, control me, that am the head of the church and your paſtor, or Chriſts general vicare, hauing both iuriſdiction temporal, and ſpiritual: with ſuch other like: but ſhewed them it was the will of God, that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tel them of eternal life, which God pleaſed to giue to them as well as to the Iewes. In token wherof the holy ghoſt did ſenſibly come among them, and ſo were they baptiſed.

Peter vicar of Chriſt no more then other Apoſtles.

Thus may you ſee, that if Peter were the Vicare of Chriſt, euen ſo likewiſe was Paule, and all the other Apoſtles. And I do not thinke contrary, but that Peter and all other of the Apoſtles were Chriſtes Vicares, if you meane by this word Vicar, a deputie or ſuch like for to preach his Euangelie (which is an office of al other moſt ſoueraigne) to miniſter Sacramentes, and to do other ſuch diuine ſeruice in Gods Church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Chriſts true Apoſtles, Biſhops, Prieſtes, Legates, or any ſuch like. Which authority was giuen thẽ by Chriſt after his reſurrection, when he ſayd vnto them theſe wordes: Peace be amongeſt you. Like as my father hath ſent me, ſo do I ſende you. Take you the holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer you ſhall forgiue, are forgiuen them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhall retayne, are retayned. And the ſame authoritie did they receiue when Chriſte ſpake vnto all the Church, after the mind of Saint Auguſtine and other, in Peter, ſaying: Peter feede my ſheepe.

Vicar of Chriſt.

Luke.24.

Ioh.21.

¶ In the xliiij. where you aſke, whether I beleeue, that the Pope ordinarly choſen for a time (his proper name being expreſſed, be the ſucceſſour of Peter, I ſay that it ſeemeth to me a thing of no great valew whether a man beleue ſo or no, I can not ſee yͭ it ſhould be numbred amongſt the Articles of our faith. Notwithſtanding I will ſhewe my rude thought in it, which is this.

To the 44. artycle.

The Pope may ſuccede in S. Peters ſteade or office, and do the ſame duly & diligently feding Chriſtes flocke, and ſhewing vertuous enſample of liuing to the ſame, & ſo doing, he may and ought to be thoght and named a true ſucceſſour of S. Peter. And thus is your Lordſhip, S. Peters ſucceſſour, performing the conditions aforeſaid, with otherlike properties requiſite to your order and duety: yea and as many other as do truly their duty and duely the office of a Byſhop. And otherwiſe may not the Pope be called the ſucceſſour of Peter, for becauſe he is entred into S. Peters office, not regarding to do that is requiſite for the ſame, not folowing yͤ trace of vertue, but the cõtrary. And then is he wrongfully named, if at any time ſuch be, which is not vnpoſſible. For what ſhould men cal thoſe Peters ſucceſſors, that play the pageants and folow with the conditions of Caiphas, Symon Magus, or Iudas? Such verely if any be, cannot rightfully claime to be Peters ſucceſſors, no more then the night may claime to be ſucceſſour of the day: for Peter was neuer ſo minded, ne taught them ſo. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peters aduerſaries, for ſo much as they do not his will, that is ſhewed by his owne actes and writing, but worke againſt the ſame. Of ſuch may be ſaide: Non Sanctorum filij ſunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum, ſed qui exercent opera eorum. That is to ſay, they are not all Saintes children, that occupy the rowms of Saintes, but they are their children, that exerciſe their works. Yea, of ſuch may be ſaid, that is written of S. Hierome. Al Byſhops (quoth he) are not Byſhoppes, marke you well Peter, but marke alſo Iudas. Behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Eccleſiaſtical dignitie maketh not a Chriſten man. Cornelius the Centurion being yet a pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the holy ghoſt. Contrariwiſe, Daniel being a child, condemneth Prieſtes, or auncient men. It is no eaſy thing (ſaith he) to ſtande in the rowme of Peter and Paul, & to kepe the ſeate of them now reigning with Chriſte: For vnſauery ſalt is nought els worth, but to be throwen out of the doores, and troden downe of hogges. This ſayth S. Hierome.

Succeſſion of Peter.
How the Pope may be a ſucceſſour of Peter.

Euery good Biſhop may be ſucceſſour of Peter.

Whereunto agreeth wel S. Auguſtine. Euery one (quoth he) that ſaith vnto you, Pax vobis, ought not to be heard, or to be beleeued, as a doue. Crows be fedde of dead carion: & ſo is not a doue: but liueth by the fruites of the earth. Her liuing is pure, innocent and hurtleſſe. Whereby you may ſee, that ill Biſhops are no Byſhops, and that they which folow no Saints in vertuous liuing, are not the ſucceſſors of Saints, but vnſauery ſalt, that is, neither of the church, ne ſhal come in heauen to reigne there with Peter & Paul, but be throwen out with great contẽpt. For God knoweth a doue from a crow, and an innocent liuer from a deuourer of carion. But ſuch as declare and ſhew good deeds, as the Saints did, be their childrẽ and ſucceſſours, and ſhal with them reigne in heauen.

So that to conclude, I ſay, that the Pope ordinarly choſen is the ſucceſſour of S. Peter, folowing S. Peters godly liuing. And els, except he ſtudy to do diligently, that he may be ſo called worthily, it ſhal be but a vaine name. For rather may he els be reputed an Image of a Pope, or of a Biſhop according as ſuch be called of the Prophet: O Paſtor & Idolum: O Idoll ſhepheards.

¶ In the xlv. where you aſke, whether euer I haue promiſed as any time by an othe, or made any confederacie or league with any perſon or perſons, that I would alway hold and defend certain concluſions or articles ſeeming to me and to my complices right & conſonant vnto the faith: and will that I ſhould certifie you of the courſe and forme of the ſaid opinions and concluſions by row, & of yͤ names and ſurnames of them that were to me adherent, & promiſed to be adherẽt in this behalf: I ſay, that I doe not remẽber, that euer I made pact or confederacie wͭ any perſon or perſons, ne made any promiſe by oth, that I would alway hold and defend any concluſions, or articles ſeming to me and other, right and conſonant to the faith, vnleſſe it hath chanced me to ſay in this forme: that I would neuer with the ayde of God, forſake ne decline from the truth, neither for feare, nor yet for loue of man or men.

Thus I haue perhaps ſayd in ſome time, or ſome place, becauſe I haue in deed ſo intended, and doe entend, Gods grace aſſiſting me. But I can not yet tell you, whether I haue ſo ſaid or no, nor to what perſõs, ne at what time, neither in what place. Neither I do reckẽ me to haue any cõplices, but ſuch as do loue me, and I them, for God and in God. And thoſe doe I recken all them that are or will be truly Chriſten, in calling vpon Chriſtes name. And concerning opiniõs or cõcluſions, I can tel you of none other, thẽ I haue ſhewed: the ſumme wherof I recken and think vtterly be concluded in two propoſitions, which both are written in the new Teſtament.

The firſt is in the Actes of the Apoſtles in this wiſe: Chriſtus eſt caput anguli, nec eſt in alio quoquam ſalus. Non enim aliud nomen ſub cœlo datum eſt inter homines, in quo oporteat nos ſaluos fieri. That is to ſay: Chriſt is the head corner ſtone of our faith, wherupon it ſhould be ſet and grounded: neyther is ſaluation in any other, for there is none other name vnder heauen geuen amongeſt men, wherein we may be ſaued. This is the one of the propoſitions, wherein is ingroſſed or cõprehended my ſaying, which S. Paul doth thus otherwiſe explicate: Chriſt is made of God our wiſedome, our righteouſnes, our purenes, or ſatiſfaction, and our redemption. And in an other place: There is none other foundation, that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is Chriſt Ieſus.

The other propoſition is written of the Prophete ſay, and recited of our Sauiour in the Euangelie of Mathew, in theſe wordes: Men doe worſhip me in vaine, teaching doctrines and preceptes, or lawes humaine. Of thys wryteth Paule very largely in diuers places, and euery where wel nigh. Amongeſt other, Colloſ.2. where he warneth the Coloſsians to take heede that no man do ſpoyle them, to ſteale them away, by Philoſophie or vaine deception, according to the conſtitutions of menne, and ordinaunces of thys worlde. Thus I doe certifie you of all the opinions and concluſions, whyche I entend, or haue entended to ſuſtaine, being contained in the two propoſitions aboue wrytten. Other holde I none, but ſuche as are mentioned in the Creede, both that is ſonge at Maſſe, and alſo in the other Creede, that all people do daily ſay euery day.

..19.

..loſſ.2.

Finally, that you require to knowe of the names and ſurnames, in order particularly of them, that be to me adherentes, or that haue promiſed me to be adherent in thys part: I ſay, that I knowe of none particular, that I remember, wythout I ſhoulde note vnto you a great multitude, whych you may know, and here of (I ſuppoſe) through all regions and realmes of Chriſtendom, that do thinke likewiſe, as I haue ſhewed, I weene the multitude mounteth nigh vnto the one halfe of Chriſtendome: and more ſhould doe likewiſe, by a great ſort within a while (I doubte not) but that our ghoſtly ennemie laboureth a maine, to haue the knowledge of the truthe ſuppreſſed, and letteth, that it can not come abroad for to be ſeene. I ſay therefore againe I know of no particular adherentes, ne of none that hath ſo promiſed me to be in theſe matters. And thogh I did, I would not (except I knew that charitie ſo required, which I do not finde yet hetherto) detect, ne bewray any one of them, for no mans pleaſure: For I am bound to obey God aboue men. Who be wyth vs, and graunt the truthe to be knowen. Amen.

..e number ..Goſpel- ..rs wel nye ..alfe Chri- ..endome.

..hn Lam- ..rt denieth .. detect any ..his othe.

Theſe aunſweres of Iohn Lambert, to the 45. Articles aboue expreſſed, were directed and deliuered to Doctoure Warham Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, as it appeareth, about the yeare of oure Lorde 1532. at what time, the ſayde Lambert was in cuſtodie in the Archbiſhops houſe of Otforde, beyng there deſtitute of all helpe and furniture of bookes, as by his owne wordes is to be gathered. But ſo the prouidence of God wrought for Lambert, that wythin ſhort ſpace after, An. 1533. the ſayde Archbyſhop Warham died: whereby it ſeemeth that Lambert for that time was deliuered. In this meane while Doct. Cranmer was ſent ouer in Ambaſſage, with the Earle of Wilſhyre, Doctoure Stokeſley, Doct. Kerne, Doctor Benet, and other learned men, to the byſhop of Rome lying then at Bonony, to diſpute the matter of the Kinges mariage, openly firſt in the Courte of Rome, then in the Courte of the Emperoure. Where after ſondry promiſſes, and appoyntmentes made, yet when the time came, no man there appeared, to diſpute with them, in theſe two propoſitions: 1. That no man, iure diuino, could or ought to marry his brothers wife. 2. That the Byſhop of Rome by no meanes oughte to diſpence to the contrary. But of this more copiouſly we will entreate (the Lordes grace permitting) in the ſequele of our ſtorie, comming to Doctour Cranmers life.

..eſe aun- ..weres of Lambert ..ere geuen .. Warham ..rchb. ..Cant.

..ambert of ..tford in ..ſtodye.

..he death .. Archb. ..arham.

..oct. Crā- ..er ambaſ- ..dour to ..e B. of ..ome.

..ranmer of- ..red diſpu- ..tions be- ..re the ..ope and ..mperour ..the kings ..uſe.

..wo pro- ..oſitions of ..ranmer.

After the death of William Warham, ſucceeded in that Sea the ſayde Doctour Cranmer. Lambert in the meane ſeaſon being deliuered, partly by the death of this Archbyſhop, partly by the comming in of Queene Anne, returned into London, and ther exerciſed himſelf about the Stocks, in teaching children, both in the Greeke, and latine toung. And for ſomuch as prieſts in thoſe dayes could not be permitted to haue wiues, he left his prieſthode, & applied him ſelfe to that function of teaching, entending ſhortly after alſo to be free of the grocers, and to be married. But God, who diſpoſeth al mens purpoſes after his ſecrete pleaſure, did both intercept his mariage, and alſo his freedome, and maried him to his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus, as now conſequently followeth to be declared.

..oct. Cran- ..er made ..rchbiſhop .. Canter- ..ury.

..ambert ..eliuered ..t of ..ſtody.

..ambert ..ught chil- ..ren about ..e ſtockes.

Anno 1538.

Thus then after that Iohn Lambert nowe had continued in thys vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no leſſe commoditie to the youth: it happened thys preſent yeare 1538. hee was preſent at a Sermone, in S. Peters Church at London. He that preached, was named Doctor Tailour, a man in thoſe dayes not farre diſagreeing from the Goſpell, and afterwarde in the tyme of King Edwarde was made Byſhop of Lincolne, and at laſt in the time of Queene Marie was depriued from the ſame, and ſo ended his life, among the confeſſours of Ieſu Chriſt.

..oct. Tailor .. of Lin- ..olne, who ..ter was ..epriued in ..Maryes ..me, and ..ed. 1554.

When the Sermon was done, Lambert hauinge gotten oportunitie, wente gently vnto the Preacher to talke with him, and vttered diuers arguments wherein he deſired to be ſatiſfied. Al the whole matter or controuerſy was concerning the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt. Taylor excuſing himſelfe at that preſent for other buſines, willed him to write his minde, and to come againe at more leiſure.

..ambert ..eketh con- ..ference with ..e prea- ..er.

..e firſt oc- ..ſion of ..mbertes ..uble.

Lambert was contented, and ſo departed. Who wythin a while after, when hee had written hys minde, came againe vnto him. The ſumme of his arguments were ten, whych he comprehended in wryting, approuing the truthe of the cauſe, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reaſon, and by the Doctours. The whyche arguments, although they came not all vnto our handes, yet ſuch menne as were preſent at thoſe affairs, reported thē to be of great force and authoritie. And of a few which were borne away in memorie, the firſte reaſon was thys, gathered vppon Chriſtes wordes, where it is ſayde in the Goſpell: Thys cuppe is the newe Teſtament.

Lambertes arguimentes.

And if (ſayeth he) theſe wordes do not chaunge neyther the Cup, neither the wine corporally into the newe Teſtament: by like reaſon it is not agreeable that the wordes ſpoken of the bread, ſhould turne the bread corporally into the body of Chriſt.

The wordes of conſecration chaunge not the cup: Ergo neyther do the wordes chaunge the bread corporallye into the body.

An other reaſon was thys: that it is not agreeable vnto a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherfore it muſt followe of neceſſity, that either Chriſt had not a naturall body, or els truely according to the common nature of a body, it cānot be preſent in two places at once, and much leſſe in many: that is to ſay, in heauen & in earth, on the right hand of hys father, and in the Sacrament.

One bodye can not fill many places at once naturally.

Moreouer, a naturall body can not be wythoute hys forme and ſhape, conditions, and accidents, like as the accidents and cōditions alſo can not be without their ſubiect or ſubſtaunce. Then, for ſomuch as in the ſacrament there is no qualitie, quantitie, or condition of the body of Chriſt, and finally no apparaunce at all, of fleſhe: who doeth not plainely perceiue that there is no tranſubſtantiate body of hys in the ſacrament? And to reaſon by the contrary: al the proper conditions, ſignes, and accidents whatſoeuer they be pertaining vnto bread, we do ſee to be preſent in the ſacrament, which can not be there wythout the ſubiect: therfore we muſt of neceſſitie confeſſe the bread to be there. Hee added alſo many other allegations oute of the Doctoures. But to be ſhort, this Taylor the preacher, whome I ſpake of before, willing and deſiring (as is ſuppoſed) of a good minde to ſatiſfie Lambert in this matter, amongeſt other, whome he tooke to counſayle, he alſo conferred with Doct. Barnes, which Barnes, although he did otherwiſe fauor the Goſpell, and was an earneſt preacher, notwithſtanding ſeemed not greatly to fauour this cauſe, fearing peraduenture, that it woulde breede ſome let or hinderaunce among the people, to the preaching of the Goſpell, whiche was now in a good forwardnes, if ſuche ſacramentaries ſhould be ſuffered: He perſwaded Taylor by and by to put vp the matter to Thomas Cranmer Biſhop of Caunterbury. And hereby may we ſee it truely verified, which Wil. Tyndall before writing to Iohn Frith, did note in Doct. Barnes, ſaieng: that D. Barnes will be whote againſt you, &c. pag. 154.

The formes can not be without the ſubiect.

D. Barnes.

Upon theſe originals, Lamberts quarell firſt beganne, and was brought vnto this point, that through the ſiniſter doing of many, it began of a priuate talke, to be a publicke and common matter. For hee was ſent for by the archbiſhop and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cauſe openly: for the archbiſhop had not yet fauoured ẏ doctrine of the Sacrament, whereof afterward hee was an earneſt profeſſour. In that diſputation, it is ſayd, that Lābart did appeale from the Biſhoppes, to the kinges Maieſtie. But how ſoeuer the matter was, the rumour of that diſputation, was by and by ſpread throughout the whole Court.

Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury fauoured not yet the Sacrament.

I told you before, how that king Henry for two yeres paſt ſhewing the part of an hard huſband, had beheaded Queene Anne his wife. Which dede did not onely greatly diſpleaſe the Germaine Princes (who for that onely cauſe had broken of the league with him, an. 1536. but alſo many other good men in England.

Moreouer, how that within a while after, Abbayes began to be ſubuerted, and all theyr goodes to be confiſcate and geuen abroad. For which cauſes, but eſpecially for the late aboliſhing of the biſhop of Rome, the commons had conceiued a very euill opinion of him, in ſo much as the ſeditiouſe ſorte rebelled agaynſt him.

At that time Stephen Gardiner then Biſhop of Wincheſter, was in authoritie amongſt the kings Counſellers who as he was of a cruell nature, ſo was hee no leſſe of a ſubtile and crafty witte, euer gapyng for ſome occaſion how to let and hinder the Goſpell: albeit a long time hee was not ſo greatly eſteemed with the king that hee coulde much preuayle to atchieue his conceaued purpoſe: But at length: vpon this matter aduiſing himſelfe, he thought he

Steuen Gardiner byſhop of Wincheſter.

had

The pernicious councell of the Biſhop of winchester.

had apt occaſion and oportunitie to accompliſh hys deſire. Neither did he forſlacke the occaſion miniſtred, but wente ſtraight vnto the kinge, priuely admoniſhing him, & wyth faire flattering words, geuing him moſt pernitious counſell, declaring howe great hatred and ſuſpition was raiſed vpon him, almoſt in all places.

Firſt, for aboliſhing the Biſhop of Romes authority, then for ſubuerſion of the monaſteries, and alſo for that the diuorcement of Queene Katherine was yet freſh in mens mindes: and nowe the time ſerued, if hee woulde take it, eaſely to remedy all theſe matters, and pacifie the myndes of them, whiche were offended with him, if onely in thys matter of Iohn Lambert, he woulde manifeſt vnto yͤ people, how ſtoutly he wold reſiſt hereticks: and by this new rumor he ſhould bring to paſſe, not onely to extinguiſh all other former rumors, and as it were with one nail to driue out an other, but alſo ſhould diſcharge himſelfe of all ſuſpition, in that he nowe began to be reported to be a fauourer of newe ſectes and opinions.

The nobles and Byſhops aſſembled to Lãbertes diſputation.

The king geuing eare more willingly, then prudently or godly to this Syrene, immediatly receiued the wicked counſaile of the Biſhop, and by and by ſent out a generall Commiſſion, commanding all the nobles and Biſhops of thys Realme, to come with all ſpeede, to London to aſſiſte the king againſt heretickes and hereſies, whych the kynge himſelfe would ſit in iudgement vpon.

Theſe preparations made, a day was ſet for Lambert, where a greate aſſembly of the nobles was gathered from all partes of the realme, not without much wõder and expectation in this ſo ſtraunge a caſe. All the ſeates and places were full of men round about the ſcaffold.

Lãbert brought before the king to diſpute.

By and by the godly ſeruant of Chriſt Iohn Lambert was brought from the priſon with a garde of armed men, euen as a Lambe to fight wᵗ many Lyons, and placed right ouer againſt where the kyngs royal ſeat was, ſo that now they taried but for the kings comming to the place.

At the laſt, the king himſelfe did come as iudge of that great controuerſie, with a great garde, clothed all in white, as couering by that colour and diſſimuling ſeueritie of all bloudy iudgement.

On his right hand ſate the Biſhops, and behind them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in purple, accordinge to the maner. On the left hand ſat the Peeres of the Realme, the Iuſtices, and other Nobles in theyr order: behynde whome ſate the Gentlemen of the kings priuie Chamber. And this was the manner and forme of the Iudgement, which albeit it was terrible inough of it ſelfe, to abaſh any innocent, yet the kings looke, his cruell countenaunce, and his browes bent vnto ſeueritie, did not a litle augmẽt this terrour, plainly declaring a minde ful of indignation farre vnworthy ſuch a Prince, eſpecially in ſuch a matter and againſt ſo humble and obedient a ſubiect.

The kings ſterne looke agaynſt Lambert.

When the king was ſet in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a ſterne countenance, and then turning himſelfe vnto his counſailours, he called forth D. Day Byſhop of Checheſter, commanding him to declare vnto the people, the cauſes of this preſent aſſembly and iudgement.

The Oration of Doctour Day.

The whole effect of hys Oration tended in a manner, to this poynt: That the king in this Seſſion woulde haue all ſtates, degrees, Byſhops and all other, to be admonyſhed of his will and pleaſure, that no man ſhould conceiue any ſiniſter opinion of hym, that nowe the authoritye and name of the Byſhop of Rome beyng vtterly aboliſhed, he woulde alſo extinguiſh all Religion, or geue libertie vnto heretickes to perturbe and trouble the Churches of England, wythout puniſhment, whereof he is the heade: and moreouer that they ſhoulde not thinke, that they were aſſembled at that preſent, to make any diſputation vpon the hereticall doctrine, but onely for thys purpoſe, that by the induſtrie of hym and other Byſhops, the hereſies of thys man heere preſent (meaning Lambert) and the hereſies of all ſuch like, ſhould be refuted or openly condemned in the preſence of them all.

The kinges wordes to Lambert.

When hee had made an ende of hys Oration, the King ſtanding vp vpon his feete leaning vpõ a cuſhion of white cloth of tiſſue, turning him ſelf toward Lambert with his browes bent, as it were threatning ſome greeuous thyng vnto him, ſayd theſe wordes: Hoe good fellow, what is thy name? Then the humble Lamb of Chriſt, humbly kneling downe vpon his knee, ſayd: My name is Iohn Nicolſon, although of many I be called Lambert. What (ſayde the king) haue you two names? I would not truſt you hauing two names, although you were my brother. Lambert, O moſt noble Prince, your biſhops forced me of neceſſitie to chaunge my name. And after diuers Prefaces and muche talke had in this maner, the king commaunded him to goe vnto the matter, and to declare hys minde & opinion what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the altare.

Then Lambert beginning to ſpeake for himſelfe, gaue God thankes which had ſo inclined the heart of the kinge, that he himſelf would not diſdaine to here and vnderſtand the controuerſies of Religion: for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the crueltie of the biſhops, that many good & innocent men in many places are priuely murthered and put to death without the kings knowledge.

But now for ſo much as that highe and eternall kyng of kyngs, in whoſe handes are the heartes of all Princes, hath inſpired and ſtirred vp the kings minde, that he hymſelfe will be preſent to vnderſtande the cauſes of hys ſubiectes, ſpecially whom God of his diuine goodneſſe hath ſo aboundantly endued with ſo great gifts of iudgement and knowledge, he doth not miſtruſt, but that God will bryng ſome great thing to paſſe through him, to the ſetting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting hys Oration: I came not hether (ſayd he) to heare mine owne praiſes thus painted out in my preſence, but briefly goe to the matter, wythout any more circumſtaunce. Thus hee ſpake in Latine.

But Lambert beynge abaſhed at the Kynges angrye words, contrary to al mens expectation, ſtaid a while conſidering whether hee myght turne him ſelfe in theſe great ſtraites and extremities.

But the king being haſty, with anger and vehemencie ſayde: why ſtandeſt thou ſtill? Aunſwere as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, whether doeſt thou ſay, that it is the body of Chriſt, or wilt deny it? And with that word the king lifted vp his cappe.

Lambert. I anſwere with S. Auguſtine, that it is the bodie of Chriſt, after a certaine maner.

The king. Anſwer me neither out of S. Auguſtine, neither by the authoritie of anie other, but tell me plainelie, whether thou ſaieſt it is the bodie of Chriſt, or no? Theſe words the king ſpake againe in Latin.

Lambert. Then I denie it to be the bodie of Chriſt.

The king. Marke well, for now thou ſhalt be condemned euen by Chriſtes owne words: Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterburie to refute his aſſertion: who firſt making a ſhort preface vnto the hearers, began his diſputation with Lambert, verie modeſtlie, ſaieng: Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled betwene vs indifferentlie, that if I do conuince this your argument to be falſe by the Scriptures, you will willinglie refuſe the ſame: but if you ſhall prooue it true by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the ſcripture, I do promiſe, I will willinglie embrace the ſame.

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Actes of the Apoſtles, where as Chriſt appeared vnto S. Paule by the way: diſputing out of that place, that it is not diſagreeable to the worde of God, that the bodie of Chriſt may be in two places at once, which being in heauen was ſeene vnto S. Paule the ſame time vpon earth: & if it may be in two places, why by the like reaſon, may it not be in many places?

In this maner the Archbiſhop began to refute the ſecõd argument of Lambert, which as we haue before ſaid, was written & deliuered by the ſaid Lãbert, vnto the preacher: for the king had firſt diſputed againſt his firſt reaſon.

Lambert aunſwered vnto this argument, ſaying: that the Minor was not thereby prooued, that Chriſtes bodye was diſperſed in two places, or more, but remained rather ſtill in one place, as touching the maner of his bodye. For the Scripture doth not ſay, that Chriſt being vpon earth, did ſpeake vnto Paule: But that ſodenly a lighte from heauen did ſhine rounde about him, and hee falling to the ground, heard a voyce ſayinge vnto him, Saule, Saule, why doeſt thou perſecute me? I am Ieſus whom thou perſecuteſt, &c. Here this place doth nothing lette, but that Chriſte ſittinge in heauen, myghte ſpeake vnto Paul, and be heard vpon earth, for they which were wyth Paule, verely heard the voyce, but did ſee no body.

The Archbiſhop on the contrary part, ſayd: Paule him ſelfe doth witneſſe. Actes 26. that Chriſte did appeare vnto him in the ſame viſion.

But Lambert againe ſayde, that Chriſt did witneſſe in the ſame place, That hee woulde againe appeare vnto hym, and deliuer him out of the handes of the Gentiles: Notwythſtanding we read in no place, that Chriſt did corporally appear vnto him.

Thus, when they had contended about the conuerſion of S. Paule, and Lambert ſo aunſwearinge for hym ſelfe, that the king ſemed greatly to be mooued therwith, and the Byſhop himſelfe that diſputed, to be entangled, and all the audience amaſed: then the Byſhop of Wincheſter, whych was appoynted the 6. place of the diſputation, fearing leaſt the argument ſhould be taken out of hys mouth, or rather being drowned wyth malice againſt the poore man, wythout the kinges commaundement, obſeruing no order, before the Archbiſhop had made an end, vnſhamefaſtly kneeled downe to take in hand the diſputation, alledged a place out of the 12. Chapter to the Corinthians, where S. Paule ſayeth: Haue I not ſeene Ieſus? And againe in the 15. chapter: He appeared vnto Cephas: and afterwarde vnto Iames, then to all the Apoſtles, but laſt of al, he appeared vnto me as one borne out of due time. &c.

Cor.15.

Hereunto, Lambert aunſwered, he did nothing doubt but that Chriſt was ſeene, and did appeare, but he did deny that hee was in two or in diuers places, accordinge to the maner of his body.

Then Wincheſter agayne, abuſinge the authoritie of Paule, repeateth the place out of the ſeconde Epiſtle to the Corinthians and 5. Chapter: And if ſo be, we haue knowen Chriſte after the fleſhe, nowe hencefoorth knowe wee hym ſo no more. &c.

int. reply-eth.

Cor.5.

Lambert aunſwered, that this knowledge is not to be vnderſtanded according to the ſenſe of the body, and that it ſo appeared ſufficiently by S. Paule, whyche ſpeaking of hys owne reuelation, ſayeth thus: I know not whether in the body or without the body, God knoweth, whiche was rapte into the thirde heauen, I knowe not, whether in the body or without, God knoweth. Whereby, euen by the teſtimony of S. Paule, a man ſhall eaſily gather, that in thys reuelation hee was taken vp in ſpirite into the heauens, & did ſee thoſe things, rather then that Chriſte came downe corporally from heauen, to ſhew them vnto him: eſpecially, for that it was ſaid of the Aungell: That euen as hee aſcended into heauen, ſo hee ſhould come againe. And S. Peter ſayeth, whom it behoueth to dwell in the heauens. And moreouer appoynting the meaſure of time, he addeth: Euen vntill that all things be reſtored. &c. Heere againe, Lambert being taunted and rebuked, coulde not be ſuffered to proſecute hys purpoſe.

ambert anſwereth Wint.

After the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter had done, Tonſtall Biſhop of Durham tooke hys courſe, and after a long preface, wherein he ſpake much of Gods omnipotencie, at the laſt he came to this poynt, ſaying: that if Chriſt could performe that which he ſpake touching the conuerting of hys body into bread, without doubt he would ſpeak nothyng, but that he would performe.

onſtall yſhop of Duriſme againſt Lambert.

Lambert anſweared, that there was no euidente place of Scripture, wherein Chriſt doth at any time ſay, that he woulde chaunge the breade into hys body: and moreouer, that there is no neceſſitie why he ſhoulde ſo doe. But thys is a figuratiue ſpeache, euery where vſed in the Scripture, whẽ as the name and appellation of the thing ſignified, is attributed vnto the ſigne. By whiche figure of ſpeache, circumciſion is called the couenaunt, the Lambe, the paſſeouer: beſide 600. ſuch other.

he anſwer f Lambert o Tonſtall. he figuratiue phraſe f the ſcripture to be marked,

Nowe it remaineth to be marked, whether wee ſhall iudge all theſe after the words pronounced, to be ſtraightway chaunged into an other nature. Then agayne began they to rage a freſhe againſte Lambert, ſo that if hee coulde not be ouercome wyth arguments, he ſhoulde be vanquiſhed with rebukes and tauntes. What ſhoulde he doe? He might well holde his peace like a Lambe, but bite or barke againe he could not.

Next orderly ſtepped forth the valiant champion Stokeſly byſhop of London, who afterward lying at ye poynte of death, reioyſed, boaſting, that in his life time he had burned 50. heretickes. Thys man amongeſt the reſidue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long proteſtation promiſed to proue, that it was not onely a worke of a diuine miracle, but alſo that it did nothing abhorre nature. For, it is nothing diſſonant from nature (ſayeth he) the ſubſtances of lyke things to be oftentimes chaunged one into an other: So that neuertheles, the accidentes doe remayne, all be it the ſubſtaunce it ſelfe, and the matter ſubiecte be chaunged. Then hee declared it by the example of water boylinge ſo long vppon the fire, vntill all the ſubſtance thereof be euaporate. Nowe (ſayeth he) it is the doctrine of the Philoſophers, that a ſubſtaunce can not be chaunged, but into a ſubſtaunce: wherefore we doe affirme the ſubſtaunce of the water, to paſſe into the ſubſtaunce of the aire. Notwythſtanding the qualitie of the water, which is moyſtneſſe, remaineth after the ſubſtaunce is chaunged, for the ayre is moiſt, euen as the water is.

he wicked oaſt of tokeſly.

he water the cold gument of tokeſly. One ſubſtance may e chaunged into an ther, but en the accidents hange alſo ith it.

When this argument was heard, the Byſhops greatly reioyſed, and ſodenly their countenance chaunged, as it were aſſuring themſelues of a certaine triumph and victory by this Philoſophicall tranſmutation of elements, and like as it had ben of more force, then Criſippus argument, which paſſed all maner of ſolution.

he biſhops riumphe efore the ictory.

Lambertes aunſwere was long looked for heere of all men. Who, aſſoone as he had obtained ſilence and liberty to ſpeake, firſt of all denied the Biſhoppes aſſumpte, that the moiſture of the water did remaine after the ſubſtance was altered. For all be it (ſayth he) that we doe graunt with the Philoſophers, the ayre to be naturall moiſt, notwythſtanding it hathe one proper and a diuers degree of moyſture, and the water an other. Wherefore, when as the water is conuerted into the aire, there remaineth moiſture, as you doe ſay, but that is not the moiſture of water, but the proper and naturall moiſture of the aire. Whereupon there is an other doctrine amongeſt the Philoſophers, as a perpetuall rule, that it can by no meanes be, that the qualities & accidents in natural things ſhould remaine in their owne proper nature, without their proper ſubiect.

amberts nſwere to tokeſly. aintes and ing aainſt Lambert.

Then againe the king and the Byſhops raged againſt Lambert, in ſomuch that he was not only forced to ſilence, but alſo might haue ben driuen into a rage, if his eares had not bene acquainted with ſuch tauntes afore. After this the other Biſhoppes, euery one in his order, as they were appoynted, ſupplied their places of diſputation.

There were appoynted ten in number, for the performing of this Tragedie, for his ten Arguments, which (as before we haue declared) were deliuered vnto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place, to repeate the reaſons and arguments of euery Byſhop: and no leſſe ſuperfluous were it ſo to doe, ſpecially for ſomuch as they were all but common reaſons, and nothing forceable, and ſuche as by the long vſe of diſputation haue ben beaten, and had little in them, either worthy the hearer, or the reader.

Ten diſputers agaynſt Lambert.

Lambert in the meane tyme beyng compaſſed in wyth ſo many and great perplexities, vexed on the one ſide with checkes and taunts, and preſſed on the other ſide, with the authority and threats of the perſonages, and partly being amazed with the maieſtie of the place in the preſence of the King, and eſpecially being wearied with longe ſtandinge, whych continued no leſſe then fiue houres, from twelue of the clocke, vntill fiue at nyght, being broughte in deſpayre that he ſhoulde nothing profite in thys purpoſe, and ſeeing no hope at all in ſpeaking, was at this poynt, that he choſe rather to holde his peace.

Lãmbert in great perplexity

Lambert kepeth ſilence when ſpeaking would do no good.

Whereby it came to paſſe, that thoſe Byſhoppes, which laſt of all diſputed with him, ſpake what they luſted wythout interruption, ſaue onely that Lambert now and then, would alledge ſomwhat out of S. Auguſtin for the defence of hys cauſe, in which author he ſeemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the moſt parte (as I ſayde) being ouercome with wearines and other griefes, he held his peace, defending himſelfe rather with ſilence, then with argumentes, which he ſaw would nothing at al preuayle.

At the laſt, when the day was paſſed, and that torches begã to be lighted, the king minding to breake vp this pretenſed diſputation, ſayd vnto Lambert in this wiſe: What ſayſt thou now (ſayd he) after al theſe great labours which thou haſt taken vpon thee, and all the reaſons & inſtructions of theſe learned men, art thou not yet ſatiſfied? wilt yu liue or dye? What ſayſt thou? Thou haſt yet free chooſe. Lambert aunſwered: I yelde and ſubmit my ſelfe wholy vnto the will of your Maieſtie. Then ſaid the king. Commit thy ſelfe vnto the handes of God, and not vnto myne.

The kinges wordes to Lambert.

Lambert, I commend my ſoule vnto the handes of God, but my body I wholy yeld & ſubmit vnto your clemency. Then ſayd the king, if you do committe your ſelfe vnto my iudgement, you muſt dye, for I will not be a patron vnto heretickes, and by and by turning himſelf vnto Cromwell, he ſayd: Cromwell: read the ſentence of condẽnation agaynſt him. This Cromwel was at that time the chiefe frend of the Goſpellers. And here is it muche to be maruailed at, to ſee how vnfortunately it came to paſſe in this matter, that through the peſtiferous & crafty counſaile of this one Biſhop of Wincheſter, Sathan (whiche oftentimes doth raiſe vp one brother to the deſtruction of an other) did here performe the condemnation of this Lambert by no other miniſters, then Goſpellers themſelues. Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer and Cromwell, who afterwardes in a maner al, ſuffered the like for the Goſpels ſake: of whõ (God willing) we will ſpeake more hereafter.

The king condemneth the Martir of Chriſt Iohn Lambert.

L. Cromwell commaunded by the king to read the ſentence.

This vndoubtedly was the malicious and crafty ſubtiltie of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whiche deſired rather, that the ſentence might be read by Cromwell, then by any other, ſo yt if he refuſed to doe it, he ſhoulde likewiſe haue incurred the like daunger. But to be ſhort, Cromwell at the kings commaundement taking the ſchedule of condẽnation in hand, read the ſame: Wherein was conteined the burning of heretickes, whiche either ſpake or wrote anye thing, or had any bookes by them, repugnant or diſagreeing from the Papiſticall Church, and theyr tradition, touching the ſacrament of the aultare: alſo, a decree that the ſame ſhoulde be ſette vppe vppon the Churche porches, and be read foure tymes euery yeare; in euery Churche

The crafty fetch of Steph. Wint.

The ſentence agaynſt Iohn Lambert.

The part of a good Prince, what to doe.

throughout the Realme, whereby the worſhipping of the bread ſhould be the more firmely fixed in the heartes of the people. And in this maner was the cõdemnation of Iohn Lambert, wherein great pitie it was, and muche to be lamented, to ſee the Kinges highneſſe that day ſo to oppoſe and ſet his power and ſtrength ſo fiercely and vehemently in aſſiſting ſo manye proude and furious aduerſaries, againſt that one poore ſeely ſoule, to be deuoured. whõ hys Maieſtie wyth more honour might rather haue aided and ſupported, being ſo on euery ſide oppreſſed and compaſſed about wythout helpe or refuge, amonge ſo many wolues and vultures, eſpecially in ſuche a cauſe tending to no derogation to him nor to his realme, but rather to the neceſſary reformation of ſyncere truth and doctrine decaied. For therein eſpecially conſiſteth the honour of Princes, to pity the miſerable, to relieue the oppreſſed, to reſcue the wrõgs of the poore, and to tender and reſpect the weaker parte, eſpecially where righte and truth ſtandeth with him: which if the King had done that day, it had ben, in my minde, not ſo much for the comforte of that poore perſecuted creature, as it woulde haue redounded to the immortall renoume of his Princely eſtate to all poſteritie.

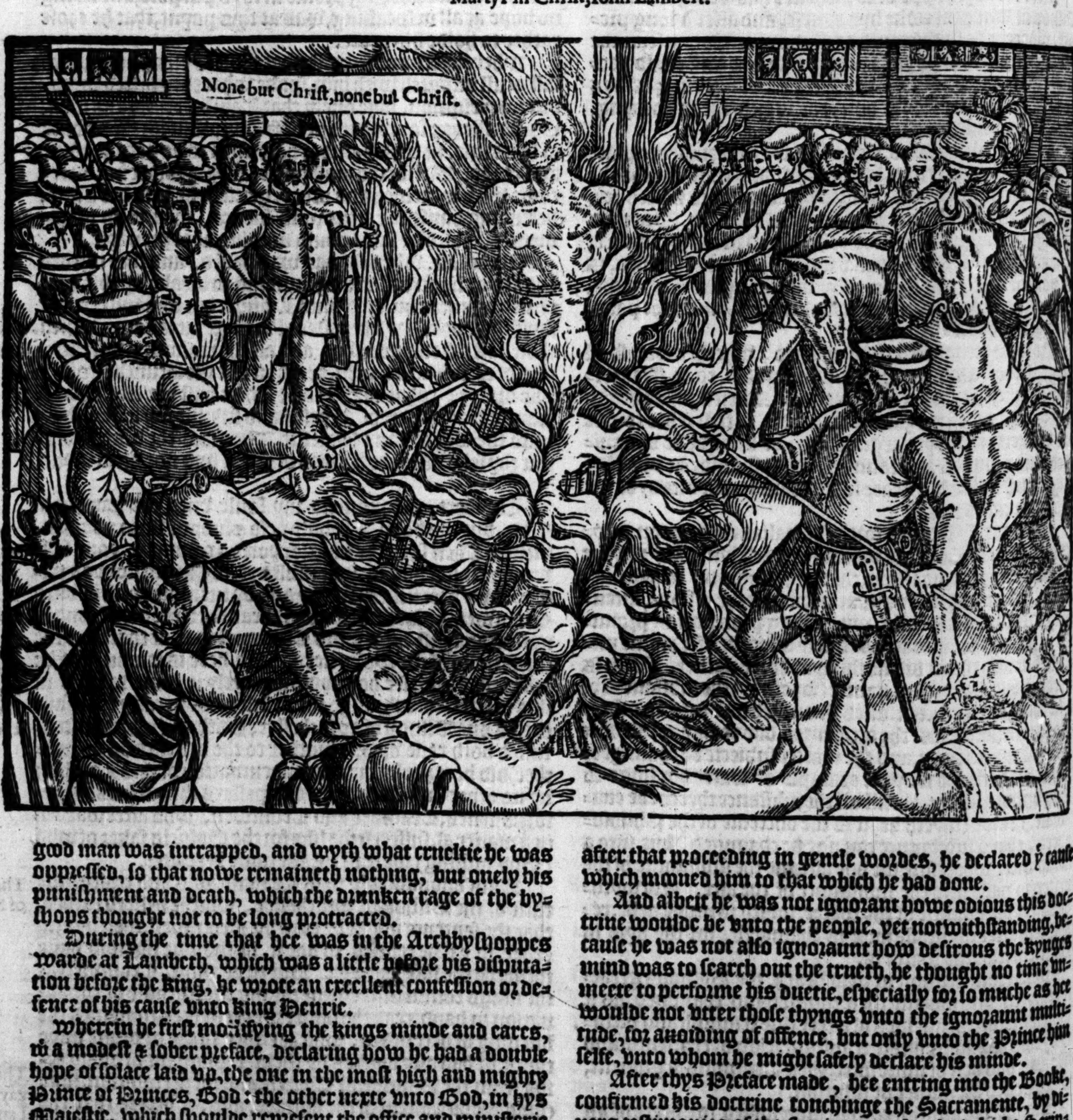
But thus was Iohn Lambert, in this bloudy Seſſion, by the king iudged and condemned to death, whoſe iudgement now remaineth with the Lord againſt that day, whẽ as before the tribunall ſeate of that great iudge, both princes and ſubiectes ſhall ſtande and appeare, not to iudge, but to be iudged, according as they haue done and deſerued. Ex teſtimonio cuiuſdam αυτόπτου. A.G.

And thus muche hetherto of Lambertes articles, aunſweres, diſputation, and his condemnation alſo. Nowe to proceede further to the ſtorie of his death.

Vpon the day that was appoynted for this holy martyr of God to ſuffer, he was brought out of the priſone at 8. of the clocke in the morning, vnto the houſe of the L. Cromwel, and ſo caried into his inward chamber, where as it is reported of many, that Cromwell deſired him of forgeuenes, for that he had done. Ther, at the laſt, Lambert being admoniſhed, that the houre of his death was at hande, hee was greatly comforted and cheared, and being brought out of the chamber into the Hal, he ſaluted the gentlemen, and ſate downe to breakfaſt wyth them, ſhewing no maner of ſadneſſe or feare. when as the breakfaſt was ended, he was caried ſtraight way to the place of execution, wher as hee ſhoulde offer hymſelfe vnto the Lorde a ſacrifice of ſweete ſauour, who is bleſſed in his Saintes for euer and euer. Amen.

As touching the terrible maner and faſhion of the burning of this bleſſed Martyr, heere is to be noted, that of all other, which haue beene burned and offered vp at Smithfielde, there was yet none ſo cruelly and piteouſly handled, as he. For after that his legges were conſumed and burned vp to the ſtumpes, and that the wretched tormentours and enemies of God had withdrawne the fire from him, ſo that but a ſmall fire and coales were left vnder hym, then two that ſtoode on eche ſide of him, with their Hallebardes pitched him vpon their pikes, as farre as the chaine wolde reache, after the manner & forme as here in this picture is deſcribed. Then hee lifting vp ſuch handes as hee had, and his fingers endes, flaming with fire, cried vnto the people in theſe wordes: None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt, and ſo being let downe againe from their Hallebardes, fell into the fire, and there gaue vp his life.

The order and maner of the burning of the conſtante Martyr in Chriſt, Iohn Lambert.


None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt.

Thus yee haue heard by what crafte and ſubtiltie thys good man was intrapped, and wyth what crueltie he was oppreſſed, ſo that nowe remaineth nothing, but onely his puniſhment and death, which the drunken rage of the byſhops thought not to be long protracted.

During the time that hee was in the Archbyſhoppes warde at Lambeth, which was a little before his diſputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confeſſion or defence of his cauſe vnto king Henrie.

Wherein he firſt mollifying the kings minde and eares, wͭ a modeſt & ſober preface, declaring how he had a double hope of ſolace laid vp, the one in the moſt high and mighty Prince of Princes, God: the other nexte vnto God, in hys Maieſtie, which ſhoulde repreſent the office and miniſterie of that moſt high Prince in gouerning here vppon earth: after that proceeding in gentle wordes, he declared yͤ cauſe which moued him to that which he had done.

And albeit he was not ignorant howe odious this doctrine woulde be vnto the people, yet notwithſtanding, becauſe he was not alſo ignoraunt how deſirous the kynges mind was to ſearch out the trueth, he thought no time vnmeete to performe his duetie, eſpecially for ſo muche as hee woulde not vtter thoſe thyngs vnto the ignoraunt multitude, for auoiding of offence, but only vnto the Prince him ſelfe, vnto whom he might ſafely declare his minde.

After thys Preface made, hee entring into the Booke, confirmed his doctrine touchinge the Sacramente, by diuers teſtimonies of the Scriptures, by the whiche Scriptures, hee proued the bodye of Chriſte, whether it riſeth, or aſcendeth, or ſitteth, or be conuerſant here, to be alwaies in one place.

Then he gathering together the mindes of the auncient Doctours, did proue and declare by ſufficient demonſtration, ỹ ſacrament to be a miſticall matter. Albeit hee ſo ruled himſelfe in ſuche temperaunce and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the holy ſacrament was the very naturall bodye of our ſauiour, and the wine hys naturall bloud, and that moreouer his naturall body & bloud were in thoſe miſteries, but after a certayne maner, as al ỹ auncient Doctours, in a maner do interprete it.

After this proteſtation thus made, hee inferreth ỹ ſentence of his confeſſion, as here followeth.

✽ A treatiſe of Iohn Lambert to the king.

treatiſe of
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ing.

CHriſt is ſo aſcended bodily into heauen, & his holy manhode thether ſo aſſumpt, whereas it doth ſit vppon the right hand of the father, that is to ſay, is with the Father there remanent and reſident in glory, that by the infallible promiſe of God, it ſhall not or cannot from thence return before the generall dome, whiche ſhall be in the ende of the world: And as he is no more corporally in the world, ſo cã I not ſee how he can be corporally in the ſacrament, or his holy ſupper. And yet notwithſtanding do I knowledge & confeſſe that the holy ſacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud is his very body & bloud in a certayne maner, which ſhall be ſhewed hereafter with your graces fauour & permiſſiõ, according to the wordes of our ſauiour inſtituting ỹ ſame holy ſacrament, & ſaying: This is my body, whiche is geuẽ for you. And agayne: This is my bloud which is of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes.

ath.26.

But now for approuing of the firſt part, that Chriſt is ſo bodily aſcended into heauen, and his holy manhoode ſo thether aſſumpte. &c. that by the infallible promiſe of God, he ſhall not, or cannot any more from thence boldly return before the generall dome, I ſhall for this alledge firſt the Scriptures, and following the authorities of olde holye Doctors, wt one conſent teſtifying with me. Beſides thys, I neede not to tel, that the ſame is no other thing, but that we haue taught to vs in theſe. 3. articles of our Creede: He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of GOD the father almightye, from thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead. For Chriſt did aſcend bodily, the God head which is infinite, vncircumſcriptible, repleniſhing both heauen and earth, being immutable, and vnmoueable, ſo that properly it can neither aſcend nor deſcend.

Scriptures affirming the ſame.

Act.1.

The Scriptures whych I promiſed to alledge for the confirmation of my ſayd ſentence, be theſe: Hee was lifted vp into heauen in their ſight, and a cloude receaued him from theyr eyes: and when they were looking vp into heauen, they ſawe two men &c. Heere it is euidently ſhewed, that Chriſt departed and aſcended in a viſible and circumſcripte body. That thys departing was viſible and in a viſible bodye, theſe wordes doe teſtifie: And when they were looking vppe. Whye ſtande ye heere looking vppe into heauen. And: euen as yee haue ſeene him. &c. That ſecondly it was in body, I haue afore proued, and moreouer the Deitie is not ſene, but is inuiſible, as appeareth: To God onely inuiſible. &c. and, He dwelleth in the inacceſſible lighte, whiche no man ſeeth nor may ſee. &c. Therfore the manhead and naturall body was aſſumpt, or did aſcend. That thirdly it was in a circumſcript body, appeareth manifeſtly in this. Firſt, ỹ his aſcenſion and bodily departing, cauſed them to loke vp. And ſecondly, that he was lift vp, that is to witte, from beneath or from a lowe. And thirdly, that a cloud receaued him. Where as no cloud nor cloudes can receiue or embrace the Deitie. &c.

.Tim.1.
.Tim.6.

I am faine to leaue out other euident Argumentes for the ſame purpoſe, leaſt I ſhoulde be ouer prolixe and tedious. It doeth there alſo further followe in like forme, how the Aungels made aunſwere to the Diſciples, ſaying: Yee menne of Galile, why ſtande yee gaſing into heauen? Thys Ieſus which is taken vppe from you into heauen, ſhall ſo come agayne, as you haue ſeene him going vppe into heauen. Here we ſee againe, that Ieſus is aſſumpte, or taken away into heauen. And then it muſt be from oute of the worlde, accordinge to that we read, Iohn 16. I went foorth from the father, & I came into the worlde. I leaue the worlde againe, and I go vnto the Father: That is not els, but as hee came from the father of heauen into thys worlde, in that he was incarnate & made man, for hys Godhead was neuer abſent, either from heauen, or yet from earth: euen ſo ſhoulde his manhoode leaue the worlde againe, to go to heauen. Moreouer, in that it is ſayde: So ſhall he come, is plainly teſtified, that hee is away, and nowe corporally abſent.

hn.16.

Finally, it is ſhewed further, after what maner he ſhal come againe, by theſe wordes: Euen as you haue ſeene hym going vp into heauen. Which is not els, but, as you did viſibly ſee him aſcend or go away to heauẽ, a cloud embraſing him and taking him from among you: euen ſo ſhal you viſibly ſee hym to come againe in the cloudes, as wee reade. Math. 26. You ſhall ſee the ſonne of man to come in the clouds of heauen. And againe, Math. 24. And they ſhall ſee the ſonne of man. Such other textes haue we full many, declaring my ſentence to be Catholicke and true. Of which I heere ſhall briefly note ſome places, and paſſe ouer them, knowing that a litle rehearſall is ſufficient to youre noble wiſedom. The places be, Marke 16. Luke 24. Iohn 13. 14. 16. and 17. Rom. 8. Epheſ. 1. and 2. and 2. Cor. 6. Hebr. 8. 9. 10. and 12. and 1. Theſſ. 4. and 1. Pet. 2. which all do teſtifie, that Chriſt hath bodily forſaken the world, departed from it vnto hys father, aſcended into heauen, ſitting ſtill vppon the ryghte hand of the father aboue all dominion, power, and principalitie, where he is preſent aduocate and interceſſor before hys father, and that he ſhall ſo bodely come againe, lyke as he was ſeene to depart from hence.

Math.26.
Math.24.

Nothing can better or more clearely teſtifie and declare, what is contained in the Sacrament of Chriſtes holy body and bloud, then do the words of Scripture, whereby it was inſtitute. Marke doth agree wyth Mathewe, ſo that in a maner he reciteth his very wordes. And no maruaile it is. For as the Doctours doe ſay, the Goſpell of Marke is a very Epytome or abridgement of Mathew. I ſhall therefore write the relations of them touching the inſtitution of this ſacrament together. The relation or teſtimonie of Mathewe is this: As they were eating, Ieſus tooke bread, and when hee had geuen thankes he brake and gaue to hys diſciples, and ſayde: Take, eate, this is my body. And taking the cup, and geuing thankes, hee gaue it to them, ſaying. drinke yee all of this, for this is my bloud of the new Teſtamẽt which is ſhed for manye, for the remiſſion of ſinnes. And I ſay vnto you, I will not drinke hencefoorth of this fruite of the vine, vntill that day, that I drinke it new with you in the kingdome of my father.

The Goſpell of Marke is as an abridgement of Mathew.

Math.26.

The teſtimonie or relation of Marke, is this: And as they did eate, Ieſus tooke the breade, and when hee hadde geuen thankes, he brake it and gaue it to them, and ſayde: Take, eate, thys is my body. And hee tooke the cuppe, and when hee hadde geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, and they all dranke of it, and hee ſayd vnto them: This is my bloud of the new Teſtament which is ſhed for many. Verely, I ſay vnto you, I wil drinke no more of the fruite of the vine vnto that day that I drinke it newe in the kingdome of God. Luke being the companion of Paule, as appeareth in the Actes, and 2. Timothie 4. doth ſo next agree with him in making relation of thys Supper, and holy inſtitution of the Sacrament. Hys relation or reporte is thys: When he had taken breade and geuen thankes, hee brake it and gaue to them, ſaying: This is my bodye which is geuen for you, doe thys in remembraunce of me. Likewiſe alſo after Supper, he tooke the cuppe, ſaying: This cuppe is the newe Teſtament in my bloude which is ſhedde for you.

Mark.14.

2.Tim.4.

Luke.22.

Paules teſtimonie doeth followe nexte, agreeablye to Luke, & it is thus: For I haue receiued of the Lorde, that which I alſo haue deliuered to you. That oure Lorde Ieſus Chriſte in the ſame night wherein he was betraied, tooke breade, and when hee had geuen thankes, he brake it and ſaid: Take, eate, this is my body which is broken for you: this doe ye in the remembraunce of mee. After the ſame maner alſo he tooke the cup when he had ſupped, ſaying: This cuppe is the newe Teſtament in my bloude: thys doe as oft as yee drinke it, in the remembraunce of me: for as often as ye ſhall eate this breade, and drinke this cuppe, ye ſhall ſhewe the Lordes death, till he come. By theſe teſtimonies ſhall I declare my ſentence to your grace, whiche I conceyue of the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes bleſſed body and bloude, and in all poyntes of difficultie, ſhall I annexe the very interpretation of the olde holy Doctours and Fathers, to ſhew that I doe not grounde any thing vpon my ſelf. Thereafter ſhall I adde certaine arguments, whiche I truſte ſhall clearely proue and iuſtifie my ſentence to be true, Catholike, and according both with God and his lawes, and alſo with the minde of holy Doctours.

1.Cor.11.

My ſentence is this, that Chriſt aſcended into heauen, and ſo hath forſaken the worlde, and there ſhall abide, ſitting on the right hande of hys Father, wythout retuening hether againe vntill the generall dome: at what time hee ſhall come from thence, to iudge the dead and liuing. This all do I beleue, done in his natural body, which he toke of the bleſſed virgine Marie hys mother, in the which he alſo ſuffered paſſion for our ſafetie & redemption vpon a croſſe: which died for vs & was buried: in which he alſo dyd ariſe againe to life immortall. That Chriſte is thus aſcended in his manhode and natural body, & ſo aſſumpt into heauen, we may ſoone proue, for as much as the godhead of him is neuer out of heauẽ, but euer repleniſhing both heauen and earth, and al that is beſides, being infinite and interminable or vncircumſcriptible, ſo that it neither cā properly eyther aſcende or deſcend, being without all alterations and vnmutable or vnmoueable.

Act.3.

So that now his naturall body being aſſumpt from among vs, and departed out of the worlde, the ſame can no more returne from thence vnto the ende of the worlde. For as Peter witneſſeth. Act.3. Whome the heauen muſt contayne vntill the time that all things be reſtored which God had ſpoken by the mouthe of all his holy Prophetes, ſince the worlde began. And the ſame doth yͤ Article of our Creede teach vs, which is: From thence (.i. from heauē) he ſhall come to iudge the quick and the dead. Which time Paule calleth the appearing of oure Lord Ieſus Chriſt. 1. Timoth.6.

1. Tim.6.

Seeing then, thys naturall body of our Sauiour, that was borne of hys mother Marie, being a Virgine, is all whole aſſumpt into heauē, and departed out of this world, and ſo, as ſayth S. Peter: He muſt remaine in heauen vntil the ende of the worlde, which he calleth the time when all thynges muſt be reſtored: This (I ſay) ſeene and beleeued according to our Creede and the Scriptures, I cā not perceiue how the naturall body of hym can contrariwiſe be in the world, and ſo in the Sacrament. And yet notwithſtanding is this true, that the holy Sacrament is Chriſtes body & bloude, as after ſhall be declared.

Doctors affirming the ſame.

Teſtimonies out of the doctors.

But firſte, for the eſtabliſhing of my former purpoſe, that the naturall bodye of our Sauiour is ſo abſent from thys worlde, and aſcended to heauen, that it can be here no more preſent vnto the generall dome, I wold beſeech your grace to conſider the minde and ſentence of olde holy Doctours, in thys purpoſe or matter, how agreably they teſtifie wyth that is tofore ſhewed. Amongeſt whom we haue firſt S. Auguſtine, wryting thus to Dardanus: Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, Creator eſt Chriſtus: Omnia enim per ipſum facta ſunt. Quod verò ad hominem. &c. Therefore as concerning the woorde, Chriſte is the Creator: all things are made by hym: but as touching man, Chriſte is a creature made of the ſeede of Dauid according to the fleſh, and ordained accordinge to the ſimilitude of manne. Alſo becauſe man conſiſteth of two thinges, the ſoule and the fleſh: in that hee had a ſoule, hee was penſiue and ſorrowfull vnto death, in that he had fleſh he ſuffered death. Neyther when wee call the ſonne of God Chriſt, wee do ſeparate hys manhoode, nor when we cal the ſame Chriſt the ſonne of manne, we doe ſeparate his Godhead from him. In that he was manne, he was conuerſaunt vppon the earth (and not in heauen where hee nowe is) when hee ſayde: no man aſcendeth vp into heauen, but he whych deſcended from heauen, the ſonne of manne whyche is in heauen. Although in that reſpect that he was the ſonne of God, he was in heauen, and in that he was the ſonne of man, he was yet in the earth, and as yet was not aſcended into heauē. Likewiſe in that reſpecte that he is the ſonne of God, he is the Lord of glory: and in that he is the ſonne of man, he was crucified. And yet notwythſtanding the Apoſtle ſayth: And if they had knowen the Lord of glory, they woulde neuer haue crucified him. And by this both the ſonne of man was in heauen, and the ſonne of God in that hee was man, was crucified vppon earth. Therefore as he might well be called the Lorde of glory being crucified, when as yet that ſuffering did onely pertaine vnto the fleſh, ſo it might well be ſayde: Thys day thou ſhalt be with mee in Paradiſe, when according to the humilitie of hys manhoode in his fleſh, hee lay in graue, and according to his ſoule hee was in the bottome of hell that ſame day. According to his diuine immutabilitie hee neuer departed from Paradiſe, becauſe he by his Godhead is alwaies euery wher. Doubt you not therefore that there is Chriſt Ieſus accordinge to hys manhoode, from whence he ſhall come. Remember it well, & kepe faithfully thy Chriſtian confeſſion: for he roſe from the dead, he aſcended into heauen, he ſitteth at the right hand of the father: neyther will hee come from any other place, then from thence to iudge the quicke and the deade. And he ſhall come, as the voice of the Angell beareth witneſſe, as he was ſeene to goe into heauen, that is to ſay, in the ſelfe ſame forme and ſubſtance of fleſh, wherunto vndoubtedly hee gaue immortalitie, but hee did not take away the nature therof: According to this fourme of hys fleſh he is not to be thought to be euery where And we muſt take heed that we doe not ſo affirme the diuinitie of his manhode, that we therby take away the truthe of his body. For it is not a good conſequente, that that thinge whych is in God, ſhoulde ſo be in euerye place as God. For the Scripture ſayeth very truely of vs, that in hym wee liue, mooue, and haue our being: and yet notwythſtanding wee are not in euery place as he is, but * that man is otherwiſe in God, becauſe that God is otherwiſe in man, by a certayne proper and ſingular maner of being: for God and man is one perſon, and onely Ieſus Chriſt is both. In that he is God, he is in euery place: but in that he is man, he is in heauen.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

Act.7.
* He meaneth Chriſt.

By whych wordes of holy Auguſtine, your grace may euidently ſee, that hee teſtifieth and teacheth the bleſſed bodye or fleſh of Chriſt to be no where elſe then in Heauen. For to it being aſſumpt or aſcended into heauen, God (as hee ſayeth) hath geuen immortalitie, but not taken awaye nature. So that by the nature of that holy fleſhe or bodye, it muſt occupie one place. Wherefore it followeth: According to thys fourme: that is to witte, of hys fleſhe. Chriſte is not to be thought to be in euery place. For if Chriſt ſhould in hys humanitie be euery where diffuſed or ſpreade abroade, ſo ſhoulde hys bodely nature or naturall bodye bee taken from hym. And therefore hee ſayeth: For wee muſte beware that we doe not ſo affirme the diuinitie of manne, that we do take away the humanitie of his bodie. But in that hee is God, ſo is hee euery where, according to my wordes before wrytten: and in that he is manne, ſo is he in heauen. And therfore it is ſayde: For God and man is one perſon, and onely Ieſus Chriſt is both. Hee in that he is euery where, is God: but in that hee is man, he is in heauen.

Chriſ body place.

And yet do we read agreeable to the ſame matter, more largely in the ſame Epiſtle, by theſe wordes: Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum vnigenitum Dei filium, equalem patri eundemque hominis filium, quo maior eſt pater, vt vbique totum, praeſentem eſſe non dubites tanquam Deum, & in eodem templo Dei eſſe tanquam inhabitantem Deum, & in loco aliquo coeli propter veri corporis modum. Thou ſhalt not doubt Chriſt our Lorde the onely ſonne of God, equall with his father, and the ſame being the ſonne of man whereby the father is greater, is preſente euery where as God, and is in one and the ſame Temple of God as God, and alſo in ſome place of heauen as concerning the true ſhape of hys body.

Thus finde we clearely, that for the meaſure of his very bodye, he muſt be in one place, and that in heauen, as concerning hys manhode, and yet euery where preſent in that he is the eternall ſonne of God & equall to his father. Like teſtimonie doeth he geue in the 30. Treatiſe that he maketh vpon the Euangelie of Iohn. Theſe be his wordes there written: Donec ſaeculum finiatur, ſurſum eſt Dominus, ſed etiam hic eſt veritas Domini. &c. Vntill the worlde be at an ende, the Lord is aboue, but heere is the truth of the Lorde alſo, for the body of our Lorde in which hee roſe, muſt be in one place; but hys trueth is abroad in euery place. The firſt parcell, that is, vntill the worldes ende, is ſo put, that it may ioyne to the ſentence going before, or elſe to theſe wordes following: The Lorde is aboue, &c. And ſo ſhoulde it well accorde to my ſentence before ſhewed; whyche is, the Lorde is ſo bodely aſcended, that in hys naturall body he cannot againe retourne from heauen vntill the generall dome.

Augu in Ioan. tr 30.

But howſoeuer the ſayde clauſe or parcel be applied, it ſhall not greatly ſkill: for my ſentence notwythſtādīg remaineth full ſted faſt. In ſomuch, as the ſcripture doth mention but of two Aduents or cominings of Chriſte, of which the firſt is performed in his bleſſed incarnation, and the ſecond is yͤ comming at the general dome. And furthermore, in this Article of our Creede: From thence ſhall hee come to iudge the quicke and the dead, is not onely ſhewed wherfore hee ſhall come againe, but alſo when he ſhall come agayne ſo that in the meane while, as yͤ other Article of our Crede witneſſeth: He ſitteth at the right hande of God his father, that is not els to ſay, thē he remaineth in glory with the father. Furthermore, euen as I haue before rehearſed the foreſaid authority of Auguſtine, ſo haue I read it in his Quinquagenes vpon a Pſalme, of whiche I can not now preciſely note or name the number. And the ſame words doth he alſo write in the Epiſtle to S. Hierome. So yͭ we may know he had good liking in it, that he ſo commonly doth vſe it, as his vſuall prouerbe or by word.

The reall preſence a gainſt the article of our C

In the ſame is alſo teſtified, that his bleſſed body can be but in one place, ſo that it being now according to the ſcripture and article of our beliefe or Creede, in heauen it cā not be in earth: and much les can it be in ſo vnnumerable places of the earth, as we may perceiue that the Sacrament is. Thus, although the body of our Sauior muſt be in one place, as he writeth agreably to yͤ ſaying of Peter: Whome the heauens muſte receiue vntill the time of the reſtitution of all thing: Yet as the wordes following make mention: Veritas autem eius vbique diffuſa eſt. But his veritie is ſcattered euerie where. This verity of Chriſt, or of his body, I do take to be that he in other places, doth call Virtus Sacramenti The vertue of the Sacrament. As in the 25. treatiſe vpon Iohn we finde thus written: Aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti. The Sacrament is one thing, & the vertue of the Sacrament, is an other thing. And againe: Si quis manducauerit ex ipſo, non moritur, ſed qui pertinet ad virtutē ſacramēti, nō qui pertinet ad viſibile ſacramētū. &c. If any mā eat of him he dieth not, but he meaneth of him, which doth apertain to the vertue of the ſacramēt, & not of him which perteineth to the viſible ſacramēt. And to declare what is the vertue of the ſacramēt, yͭ I coūt to be yͤ truth of the lord or of his body, he ſaith: Qui mādűcat int⁹, nō foris, qui

The bo Chriſt c but in on place at once,

The ve of Chri The ve of the S ment.

manducat in corde, non qui premit dente. He which eateth inwardly in ſpirit, not outwardly: he that eateth in hart, and not he which chawweth with teeth.

he veritye the Lord of his body expounded.

So that finally, this truth of the Lord or his body, which is diſperſed euery where abroade, is the ſpirituall profite, fruite, and comforte, that is opened, to bee receiued euery where of all men by faith in the veritie of the Lord, that is to witte, in the very and true promiſe or Teſtament made to vs in the Lordes body that was crucified and ſuffered death for vs, and aroſe againe aſcending immortall into heauen: where he ſitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his father, from thence not to returne vntill the generall dome or iudgement. This bodily abſence of our Sauiour is likewiſe clearely ſhewed in the 50. treatiſe that hee maketh vpon Iohn: where he doth expound this text: Ye haue the poore alwayes with you, but you ſhall not alwayes haue mee with you, to my purpoſe, that thereby I count and holde mine opinion to be rather Catholicke, then theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the ſame doth he confirme in his Sermons of the ſeconde and thirde Feries of Eaſter, and in ſo many places beſides forth, as here can not be recited, the number of them is ſo paſſing great.

uguſt. in Ioā. tract. 50.

With him conſenteth full plainely Fulgentius in hys ſecond booke, to Traſimundus, writing in this wiſe: Vnus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui eſt Deus immenſus ex patre. Vnus idemque ſecundum humanam ſubſtantiam, abſens coelo cum eſſet in terra, &c. One and the ſame man being locall, in that he is man which is God almighty of the Father. One and the ſame according to humane ſubſtance, being abſent from heauen when he was in the earth, and leauing the earth when he aſcended vp into heauen. But according to his diuine and almighty ſubſtance, neyther departing from heauen, when hee deſcended from heauen, neyther leauing the earth, when hee aſcended into heauen. The which may well be knowne by the vndoubtfull ſayeng of our Lord hymſelfe: which that he might the better ſhewe his humanitie occupyeng a place, ſayd vnto hys Diſciples: I aſcend vp vnto my father and your father, vnto my God and your God. Alſo when he had ſayde of Lazarus: Lazarus is dead, he adioyned ſayeng: And I am glad for your ſakes, that you may beleeue, becauſe I was not there. But ſhewing the greatenes of hys diuinitie, he ſayd to his Diſciples: Behold I am with you vnto the ende of the world. For how did he aſcend into heauen? but becauſe he is locall and true man? And how is hee preſent to hys faithfull, but becauſe he is almighty and true God? &c. In thys maner doth he procede forth, ſpeaking much, full agreeably to my ſentēce, which is now ouerlong here to write. But what can be ſayd more plainely in ſo few wordes making for me?

ulgentius Traſimū- um lib. 2.

Firſt he ſaith, that Chriſt being a man, is as concerning his manhead, locall, that is to ſay, conteined in one place. And to expreſſe that more clearely, he addeth to it, ſayeng: He is one and the ſame according to his humane ſubſtaunce, abſente from heauen when he was in earth, and leauing the earthe when he aſcended into heauen. Whereas he hath a contrary Antitheſis for the godly nature, to ſhew forth the firſt point the more effectually. The Antitheſis is thus: But according to his diuine and incomparable ſubſtaunce, neither leauing heauen when he deſcended from heauen, neither forſaking the earth whē he aſcended into heauen. Whereby is alſo confirmed, that I ſaid: Chriſt did deſcend and aſcend, as touching his humanitie, but not in his Deitie, which is immutable and vnmoueable: as we may perceiue by that he here doth call it, Almighty ſubſtance. Furthermore, to ſhew, that Chriſt (as touching his humane and naturall body) is locall, and in one place: he alleadgeth, and that right iuſtly, two textes of Scripture. The firſt is: I aſcend to my father, &c. And the ſecond is of Lazarus, I am glad for your ſakes, &c.

Chriſt in his umane bſtance is ocall.

Antitheſis, hat is to ſay ontrary poſition or relation.

Finally, he maketh this demaund: But how he did aſcend into heauen, but becauſe he is a locall and very man? Whereby we may ſee, that by this ſentence, Chriſt could not aſcend, except he had bene locall, that is, conteined in one place, and ſo very man. And that is according to S. Auguſtine, writing as is aboue ſhewed: And he ſhall ſo come (as the Angell witneſſeth) euen as you haue ſeene him going vp into heauen, that is to ſay, in the ſame forme and ſubſtance of his fleſh. According to this forme he is not ſpread abroade in euery place: for wee muſt beware that we do not ſo eſteeme his diuinitie, that we thereby doo take awaye the veritie of his bodie. So that they both do teſtifie, that Chriſt could not haue aſcended, except he had bene locall, that is to witte, conteined in one place, and very man: and that if he were not locall, he coulde not be a man. Wherefore Saint Auguſtine ſayeth further, ad Dardanum: Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nuſquam erunt, & quia nuſquam erunt, nec erunt. That is to witte: Take away localitie, or occupieng of place from bodies, and they ſhall bee no where: and for becauſe they ſhall be no where, they ſhall haue no being at all.

uguſt. e muſt ot ſo defēd hriſtes diuinitye, at we uſt deſtroy is humanitye.

uguſt ad ardanū. odyes cannot be without limitaō of place.

We therfore coueting to find Chriſt or his natural body, ſhould ſeeke for him in heauen, where his naturall manhood is ſittyng on ý right hād of his father. So willeth vs S. Ambroſe in the x. booke which he writeth vppon Luke, ſpeakyng of Chriſtes humanitie aſſūpt, in this wiſe: *Ergo,* nō ſupra terram, nec in terra, nec ſecundū carnem te quærere debemus, ſi volumus te inuenire. &c. Therefore we ought not to ſeeke thee vpon the earth, nor in the earth, neither accordyng to the fleſh, if we will finde thee: for now accordyng to the fleſh we do not know Chriſt. Furthermore, Stephē did not ſeeke thee vpon the earth, when that he did ſee thee ſtandyng on the right hand of God the Father. But Mary whiche ſought thee vppon the earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee becauſe hee ſought thee in heauen. Stephen amōgeſt the Iewes ſaw thee beyng abſent. &c. Thus we muſt ſeeke for the naturall body of Chriſt, not vppon the earth, but in heauen, if we will not be deceiued. And that doth he more largely ſhew in the ſame treatiſe, ſpeakyng thus of the veritie of Chriſtes body: Quomodo nō corpus quieſceret, in quo manebant inſignia vulnerum, veſtigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpanda obtulit? &c. How could it come to paſſe that the body could not reſt in the ſepulcher, in whiche the tokens of the woundes and ſcarres did appeare, which the Lord him ſelfe did offer to be touched (in whiche doyng hee did not onely ſtabliſh the fayth, but alſo augmēted deuotion?) Becauſe he would rather cary vp into heauen the woundes receaued for vs, and would not put them away, that he might preſent to God the Father, the price of our libertie. Such a one the Father doth place at his right hād, embracing the triumph and victory of our ſaluation, &c.

Ambroſe. in Lucam.

Gregory alſo in an Homely of Pentecoſt, ſayth agreably to the other, in theſe wordes: Quādo non maneret apud eos, qui aſcenſurus coelos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiſcū ſum omnibus diebus vſque ad conſummationem ſæculi? &c. When was it that he did not tary with them, which aſcending vp into heauen, promiſeth, ſaying: Behold I am here with you continually vntill the ende of the world? But the word incarnate tarieth and alſo goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarieth in Diuinitie. And therefore he ſayth that he tarried with them: euen he which was euer preſent with them ſtill by his inuiſible power, and now departed by his corporall preſence. Likewiſe doth he teſtifie in the Homely of Eaſter.

Gregor. in Homel. Pente.

With theſe doth Bede accord in an Homely of [illegible] in which he declareth this text. Ioh. 16. A litle while, and ye ſhall not ſee me: And agayne, a litle while and ye ſhall ſee me. And alſo in an Homely of the vigill of Pētecoſt. And who can otherwiſe ſay or thinke, knowyng the Scripture and our belief, but that the naturall body of Chriſt is ſo aſſūpt into heauen all whole, that it muſt there abide without returnyng, vntill the generall Iudgement. Notwithſtandyng, ſeyng this is the chief poynt whereupon I ſeeke to eſtabliſh my ſentence in this matter of the holy Sacramēt, that Chriſtes holy & naturall body is ſo aſſumpt into heauen, that there it muſt remayne all whole without returnyng vntill the generall dome: I will yet with the permiſſion of your grace, adde one or two Argumentes deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my ſentēce to be faythfull and Catholicke.

Bede in hom. in cap. 16. Ioan.

¶Argumentes out of Scripture.

Firſt, as Chriſt was encloſed and ſo borne about in the wombe of his mother beyng a Virgin vndefiled, and after was borne into this world, and put in a maunger, and ſo he growyng in age did abide in diuerſe places, but in one after an other, ſometime in Galile, ſometime in Samaria, ſometime in Iury, ſometyme beyond, & ſometyme on this ſide of Iordan, & conſequently he was crucified at Hieruſalem, there beyng encloſed & buried in a graue, frō whence he did ariſe, ſo that the aungels teſtified of him: He is riſen and is not here. Mathew. 28. and as at the tyme appointed, after his reſurrectiō, he was aſſumpt or lifted vp into heauen, from the top of the Mout of Oliuet, in the ſight of his Diſciples, a cloude compaſſing him about: Euen ſo ſhall he come from the ſame celeſtiall place corporally, as they did ſee him to depart out of the one place corporally, accordyng to the teſtimony of the aūgels. Actes. 1. So that in this we may vndoubtedly finde that Chriſt, as touchyng his manhead, can not be corporally in many & diuers places at once, and ſo to be corporally in his naturall body in heauen and alſo in the earth, and that it is moreouer, in ſo many partes of the world, as men haue affirmed.

Chriſt in his manhead not in many places at once.

Math. 28.

Actes. 1.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we ſhould ſpoyle Chriſt of the propertie of mans nature, which is to be in one place, whō the ſame Scripture doth perpetually witneſſe and teach to be man, & ſo to counfound the condition of his bodily nature, with the nature Diuine. Paul doth teach that Chriſt in mānhead, was made in all pointes lyke vnto his brethren, ſinne excepted: how then can his

The property of mans nature not to be ſequeſtred frō Chriſt.

body be in more places at once, vnlike vnto the naturall propertie of the bodies of vs his brethren? But heere do ſome wittie Philoſophers, yea, rather Sophiſters then Diuines, bring in to the anulling of Chriſtes humanitie, a ſimilitude of mans ſoule whiche beeing one, is yet ſo all whole in all our whole body, that it is ſaid to be all whole in euery part of the body. But ſuch ſhould remēber, that it is no conuenient ſimilitude which is made of things different and diuerſe in nature, ſuch as be the ſoule and body of man, to proue them to haue like properties. This is as if they woulde proue Chriſtes body to be of one nature and propertie with his ſoule, & that things naturally corporal, were not moſt diuers from creatures naturally ſpirituall.

Thinges corporall and thinges ſpirituall, not to be oompared.

Furthermore, if ſo it might be, that the body or fleſhe of Chriſt, were meerely ſpirituall, and full like vnto the ſubſtance of Angels, yet could it not in this wiſe follow, that his body could be euery where, or in diuers places at once. Wherefore ſuch ſubtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture ſhould well like vs, by whiche the olde Doctors do define, that the body of Ieſu exalted or aſſumpt into heauen, muſt be locall, circumſcript, and in one place: notwithſtanding that the veritie, ſpirituall grace, & fruite that commeth of it, is diffuſed and ſpread abroade in all places, or euery where. How coulde Chriſt corporally depart out of this world, and leaue the earth, if he in ỹ kinds of bread and wine be not onely corporally conteined and receiued, but alſo there reſerued, kept and encloſed? what other thing elſe do theſe words teſtifie, Iohn xiij. But Ieſus knowing that his houre was come, that he ſhould paſſe out of this world to his father, &c. And in like forme, Luke 24. And it came to paſſe, that as he bleſſed them, he departed from them, and was caried vp into heauen: what doe they ſignifie, if Chriſt went not verely out of this worlde, his naturall body being ſurely aſſumpt into heauen?

The body of Chriſt is locall and in one place. Iohn.13.

Luke.24.

They do therefore vndoubtedly declare that Chriſt, being very God and very man, did verely depart out of this world in his naturall body, his humanitie being aſſumpt into heauen, where it remaineth ſitting in glory wyth the father: where as yet his Deitie did not leaue the world, ne depart out from the earth. Paule doth ſay Philippians 2. that of ij. things he wiſt not which he might rather chooſe, that is to witte, to abide in the fleſh for preaching the Goſpell, or els to be diſſolued from the fleſh, ſeing that to abide with Chriſt is much and farre better. By the which Paule doth manifeſtly proue, that they bee not preſentlye with Chriſt, which yet do abide mortall in the fleſh. Yet they bee with Chriſt in ſuche wiſe, as the Scripture doth ſaye that the beleeuing be the Temple of Chriſt. And as Paule doth ſay 2. Cor. 13. Do you not know your ſelues that Ieſus Chriſt is in you? In which ſenſe he alſo promiſed to be with vs vnto the end of the world. Chriſt therefore muſt be otherwiſe in that place, in which the Apoſtle deſired to be with him, being diſſolued, and departed from his body, then he doth abide either in the ſupper, or elſe in any other places of the Churches. He therefore doth vndoubtedly meane heauen, which is the paradiſe of perfect bliſſe and glory: where as Chriſt being a victour, triumpher, and conquerour ouer death, ſinne, and hell, and ouer all creatures, doth reigne & remaine corporally. Thus do I truſt that your grace doth ſee my ſentence, this ſet forth to be right Catholicke, Chriſten, and faithfull, according to holy ſcripture, to holy Fathers, and to the Articles of our Chriſten beliefe. Whiche ſentence is thus: Chriſtes naturall body is ſo aſſumpt into heauen, where it ſitteth or remaineth in glory of the father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, from heauen returne, vntill the end of the world: and therefore can not the ſame naturall body, naturally be heere in the world, or in the Sacrament: For then ſhould it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be ſtill remaining in the world. It ſhould then be both to come, and alreadye come, which is a contradiction, and variaunt from the nature of his manhead.

Phil.2.

2.Cor.13.

The naturall body of Chriſt cannot be both in heauen and in earth locally.

The ſecond part of this matter.

The ſecōd part, how the naturall body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament.

Now my ſentence in the ſecond part of thys matter, is this (if ſo be your grace ſhall pleaſe to knowe it, as I your poore and vnworthy, but full true ſubiect, woulde with all ſubmiſſion and inſtance beſeech you to know it) I graunt the holy ſacrament to be the very and naturall body of our Sauiour, and his very naturall bloud, and that the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour, is in the Sacrament after a certaine wiſe, as after ſhall appeare. For ſo doe the words of the ſupper teſtifie: Take, eate, this is my body which is geuen for you. And againe: Drinke yee all of this, this is my bloud which is of the newe Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſsion of ſinnes. Of which words, ſeeing in them dependeth a greate triall and proofe of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them, is and hath bene all controuerſie of this matter, I therefore ſhall ſhewe the interpretation, that holy Doctours haue made of them, that as to me ſeemeth, be full worthy credite.

First, wee finde in the ſeconde booke of Tertullian which he writeth againſt Marcion: Ipſe Chriſtus nec panem reprobauit, &c. Chriſt did not reproue the bread, becauſe it doth repreſent his body. This Marcion, againſt whome Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneouſly reproue all creatures as euill. Whiche thing Tertullian doth improue by the Sacrament, ſaieng as is aboue written: Chriſt did not reproue the bread, which repreſenteth his body. As who woulde ſaye: If Chriſt had iudged the bread euill, then woulde hee not haue left it for a ſigne or ſacramente to repreſent his bleſſed body. Agreeably to the ſame doth hee alſo ſaye in the fourth booke made againſte the ſaide Marcion in theſe wordes: Chriſtus acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis, corpus ſuum illud fecit, &c. Chriſt made that ſame bread whiche he tooke and diſtributed to his Diſciples, his body, ſayeng: This is my body, that is to ſay, the figure of my body. But it could not haue bene a figure, vnleſſe it were the body of a very true thyng in deede. Furthermore, a voyde thing which is a phantaſie, could not receyue a figure or a forme. This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Chriſt had no naturall body, but a body phantaſticall. Which errour or hereſie, this famous Doctor Tertullian doth improue by the holy Sacrament, ſaieng as afore is written, That the Sacramente is a figure of Chriſtes body: Ergo, Chriſt had a very and true body. For a thing which is vaine and fantaſticall, can receiue no figure. So that in both places we may clearely perceiue his interpretation of theſe wordes: Thys is my bodye: Whiche interpretation is not new but authentike or full auncient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, becauſe none of the olde Doctours, whiche folowed him, did euer improue hym therefore, but rather haue folowed it, as appeareth by holy Auguſtine. In the Preface vpon the third Pſalme, doth the ſayde Auguſtine highly commend the wonderfull ſufferance of Chriſt, which ſo long did ſuffer and forbeare Iudas, as if hee had bene a good and an honeſt man: where as notwithſtanding he did knowe his trayterous thoughtes, when hee receyued hym to the feaſt or ſupper, in which he dyd commend and delyuer to his Diſciples, the figure of his body and bloud. The wordes of Auſten in Latine, be theſe. In hiſtoria noui Teſtamenti, ipſa Domini noſtri tanta & tam admiranda patientia erat, quòd eum tādiu pertulit tanquā bonū, &c. In the ſtory of the new teſtament, the patience of our Lorde was ſo great, and ſo to be marueiled at, becauſe hee ſuffered Iudas ſo long as a good man, when as he knewe his thoughtes when he receiued him to the feaſt, in the which he did commende and deliuer the figure of his body and bloud to his diſciples.

The ſame holy Doctour alſo wryting agaynſte Adamantius, ſaith thus: Non enim dubitauit Dominus dicere, hoc eſt corpus meum, cùm daret ſignum corporis ſui: For the Lorde did not doubt to ſay: This is my body, when he gaue a ſigne of his body. And for a further declaration of the ſame Chapter, he ſaith: Sic enim ſanguis eſt anima, quomodo petra erat Chriſtus, &c. For the bloud is ſo the ſoule, as the rocke was Chriſte. Notwithſtanding hee dothe not ſaye, that the rocke did ſignifie Chriſt: but he doth ſay that the rocke was Chriſt.

Expreſſely doth Auguſtine here call the ſigne of Chriſtes body, his body, playnely interpreting theſe words, This is my body, as both he and Tertullian did before.

Moreouer, he taketh theſe three ſentences: This is my body: The ſoule is the bloud: and Chriſt was the ſtone, to be of one phraſe, and to be like ſpeaches, or to be expounded, after one faſhion. And this texte: The rocke was Chriſte doth hee commonly thus expounde: The rocke did ſignifie Chriſt, as appeareth Lib. 18. de Ciuitate Dei. Cap. 48. Alſo in the booke of Queſtions vppon Geneſis, and in the booke of Queſtions vppon Leuiticus, handling the 28. Chapter of Iohn: and in his Sermon of the Annuntiation of oure Lady.

In like maner alſo Saint Hierome expoundeth it in the ſmall ſcholies, written vpon the firſt chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, and all other writers with one conſent, ſo far as I can reade: and ſo doth the text require it to be expounded. For Chriſte was not a naturall ſtone, as all men may well perceyue, and yet was hee the verye true ſtone figuratiuely, as Lyra ſayth: Solet res quæ ſignificat, nomine rei quam ſignificat, nominari: The thing which ſignifieth is wont to be called by the name of the thing whiche it doth ſignifie. And ſo is the ſtone ſignifieng Chriſte, called Chriſte, whiche thereby is ſignified. And as hee doth approoue this text, The ſtone was Chriſt, likewiſe doth hee expounde: The bloud is the ſoule, wyth the whiche hee dooth knit thys texte: This is my body, to be figuratiuely expounded, as they be. According to this, doth the holy Doctour

write,

his is my ody, a figu- atiue ſpeach ugust, in ſal. 50.

write. Pſalme 50. Niſi quis manducauerit carnem meam, non videbit vitam æternam, &c. Vnleſſe a man doo eate my fleſh, hee ſhall not ſee eternall life. They vnderſtoode that very fooliſhly, and conceyued the ſame carnally, and thought that oure Lorde woulde cutte awaye lumpes or peeces of his body, and geue to them. And they ſayd: This is an hard ſayeng. But they were hard of beliefe, and not the ſayeng. For if they had not bene hard, but meeke, they would haue ſayd to them ſelues: He ſpeaketh not this without a cauſe, but becauſe there is ſome hyd Sacramente or myſterie therein. They ſhoulde haue aboden with hym, eaſie of beliefe, and not hard, and then ſhoulde they haue learned of him that which other learned, that tarryed, after they were gone awaye.

he groſſe apernaites

In this may we ſee, that our Sauiour willeth his precious fleſh to be eaten. But for the maner of eating, is, and hath bene much controuerſie. The Iewes of Capernaum were offended with Chriſt, when he ſayd, he woulde haue his fleſh eaten: and except a man ſhoulde eate hys fleſh, hee could not come to lyfe eternall. They ſuppoſed groſſely, and vnderſtoode hym (if a man might ſo playnely ſpeake it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumpes and peeces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beaſtes, and ſo geue it them to eate of, as Auguſtine dooth heere ſay. And vpon this groſſe, or (as holy Auguſtine doth heere call it) fooliſh and fleſhly vnderſtanding, they were offended, and ſayde to him: This is a ſore or hard ſayeng. They did ſhoote foorth their bolt, and vnwiſe ſayeng ouer ſoone, and were offended before they had cauſe. They tooke that for hard and ſore, which ſhoulde haue bene paſſing pleaſaunt and profitable to them, if they would haue heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

And euen ſo now, that whiche in this matter maye appeare at the firſt bluſh, a ſore, ſtrange, and intollerable ſentence, for as much as we haue not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of long tyme ben beaten into our heads, and perſwaded to our mindes, yet by deliberation and indifferent, and abiding a triall of that which at the firſt may appeare ſore and intollerable, ſhal (I truſt) be found a ſweete truth, to ſuch ſpecially as your grace is, louing to heare & to knowe all truth. But the Capernaites were hard, as here ſayth Auguſtine, and not the worde. For if they had not bene hard, but ſoft and pacient to heare, they woulde haue ſaid in themſelues, Chriſt ſayeth not this without a cauſe, and there is ſome hid miſterie therein: and ſo by pacient tariance, they ſhoulde haue knowne the trueth, that they coulde not attaine to, for peruerſe haſtines, or haſte, which is a great ſtoppe and let of true iudgement. But the Diſciples taried paciently to heare further, and ſo did they knowe this ſpeach of Chriſt to be the words of life, that to the other, ouer readily departing from Chriſt, were words of death: For they tooke them literally and groſſely, and the letter (as Paule ſayth) ſlayeth.

aſtynes a reat hinde- ance of true dgement.

. Cor. 3.

But to ſhewe what the Diſciples remayning wyth Chriſt did learne, ſaint Auguſtine doth conſequently ſhew by the wordes of the Goſpell, ſaieng thus: Ille autem inſtruxit eos, & ait illis: Spiritus eſt qui viuificat, caro nihil prodeſt, &c. But he inſtructed them, and ſayd vnto them: The Spirite is that which geueth life, the fleſhe profiteth nothing. The words that I haue ſpoken vnto you, are ſpirite and life. Vnderſtand you that which I haue ſpoken, ſpiritually. You ſhall not eate this body which you ſee, neyther ſhall you drinke that ſame bloud which they ſhall ſhed foorth, that ſhall crucifie mee. I haue ſet foorth to you a certayne Sacrament or myſterie, which beeing ſpiritually vnderſtande, ſhall geue you lyfe: and although it be requiſite that this be celebrated viſibly, yet it ought to be vnderſtād inuiſibly. In thys do we ſee, that both Chriſt and Auguſtine would haue Chriſtes wordes to be vnderſtande ſpiritually, and not carnally: figuratiuely, and not literally, and therefore doth he ſay: You ſhall not eate this body whiche you ſee, neyther ſhall you drinke that ſame bloud which they ſhall ſhed foorth that ſhall crucifie mee. And what elſe is this, but that Chriſt would his body to be eaten, and his bloud to be drunken? But he would not his bodie to be carnally eaten, whyche was materially ſeene of them to whome he ſpake, nor hys materiall or naturall bloud to be carnally drunken, which hys crucifiers ſhoulde cauſe to iſſue from his naturall bodye crucified, as ſayeth Auguſtine: but hee ordeyned and willed his bodye and bloud to bee ſpiritually eaten and drunken in faith and beliefe, that his body was crucified for vs, and that his bloud was ſhed for the remiſſion of our ſinnes.

e wordes the ſacra- ent are to vnderſtād iritually.

e body of riſt is not be eaten ally.

This eating and drinking is nothing but ſuche true fayth and beliefe as is ſhewed. wherefore as Chriſt ſayth: He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, hath lyfe euerlaſtyng. Euen ſo doth he ſaye: He that beleeueth in mee, hath lyfe euerlaſtyng. And Saint Auguſtine agreeably to the ſame, treating vpon Iohn, doth ſay: At quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducaſti, &c. Why doſt thou prepare thy teeth and belly? Beleue, and thou haſt eaten. I do know that Chriſt ordeineth his Sacrament to be receiued and eaten, which is in a certaine wiſe called his body, as after ſhalbe more largely opened: but the ſame doth not feede ye mynde of them, except it be takē ſpiritually & not corporally. Heb. 13. It is good to ſtabliſh the hart with grace, & not with meat.

guſt. in

August. in Serm. de verbis Lucæ.

And S. Auguſtine aſſentyng to the ſame, doth ſay in a Sermō, that he maketh vpō theſe wordes, in the Goſpell of Luke: Lord teache vs to pray. Panem dixit, ſed Epiouſion, hoc eſt superſubſtantialem. &c. He ſayd bread, but ſuperſubſtantiall bread. This is not the bread, which goeth into the body: but that bread whiche doth ſatiſfie the ſubſtaunce of our ſoule. Our ſoules therfore, into whom nothyng corporall, can corporally enter, doth not carnally receiue the body & bloud of our Sauiour, neither did he ordeine his bleſſed body and bloud ſo to be eaten and drunken. Although our ſoules can not lyue, except they be ſpiritually fedde with the bleſſed body and bloud of him, ſpiritually eatyng and drinkyng them, in takyng alſo at tymes conuenient, the bleſſed Sacrament, whiche is truely called his body and bloud: Not that it is ſo really, but as is ſhewed by the interpretation both of Tertullian & Auguſtine, becauſe it is a ſigne or figure of Chriſtes body and bloud. And the ſignes or Sacramentes doth commonly, as ſayeth Auguſtine, both ad Bonifacium, and in his worke, De Ciuitate Dei, take their denomination of the thynges by them repreſented and ſignified.

The Sacrament truly called the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Sacraments take their denominatiō of the things which they repreſent.

But for ſomuch as ſome will obiect, that Auguſtine in the worde afore rehearſed, doth not ſpeake of eatyng the Sacrament, for the text of the Scripture, vpon the which he doth ground, is not ſpoken by eatyng the Sacrament, whiche text is this: Vnleſſe a man eate my fleſh. &c I aunſwere, that true it is, he began of ſpirituall eatyng, and thereto ſerueth the text recited. Neuertheleſſe, he meaneth that Chriſt is not ordeyned to be eaten, either without the Sacrament, or in the Sacrament, but ſpiritually of the faythfull: as more euidently doth appeare by theſe wordes there folowyng: Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendaui, quod ſpiritualiter intellectum viuificabit vos. &c. I haue commēded vnto you a Sacrament, which beyng vnderſtand of you ſpiritually, ſhall quicken you. Although it were neceſſary that the ſame ſhould be celebrated viſibly, yet notwithſtandyng it ought to be vnderſtand inuiſibly.

Obiection aunſwered.

Here doth hee ſhewe, that hee meaneth of eatyng, not without the Sacrament onely, but alſo in the Sacramēt. And therfore he doth not onely ſay, I haue commended vnto you a certaine Sacrament. &c. But he addeth moreouer. Although it is requiſite the ſame to be celebrate viſibly. How therfore can the eatyng of Chriſt, and the Sacramēt therof be viſibly celebrate, but in the Maundy, or in his Supper? which is celebrate viſibly in viſible thynges of bread and wine: which can not quicken or relieue vs and our ſoules, except they be vnderſtand and ſo recieued ſpiritually.

This is my body, expounded by Auguſt.

Furthermore, as concernyng the Expoſition of theſe wordes of the Supper, This is my body. &c. S. Auguſtine writyng to Bonifacius, ſayth thus: Sepè ita loquimur, vt Paſcha appropinquāte, craſtinam vel perendinam Domini paſſionem dicamus. &c. We vſe oftentimes this maner of phraſe, that when Eaſter doth approche, we name the day that commeth after, or the next day after that, the Paſsion of the Lord, when as he notwithſtandyng had ſuffered before that, many yeares: neither that Paſsion was done but once for all. So truly do we ſay vpon the Lordes day: This day the Lord hath riſen, when ſo many yeares are paſt ſince he roſe. Wherfore no man is ſo fonde, that he will reproue vs as lyers, for this maner of ſpeakyng, becauſe we call theſe dayes accordyng to the ſimilitude of thoſe, in which theſe thynges were done: ſo that it is called the ſame day which is not the ſame, but by courſe of tyme of the yeare commyng about, is like vnto it: and alſo becauſe that thing is ſayd to be done that day, through the celebration of the Sacramēt, whiche was not done that day, but long before that tyme. Was not Chriſt once offered vp in him ſelfe? And yet notwithſtandyng he is not onely offered vp in the Sacrament, in the ſolemne feaſtes of Eaſter, but euery day myſtically for the people. Neither doth he make a lye, which beyng demaunded, aunſwereth, that Chriſt is offered vppe. For if the Sacramentes had not a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe thynges whereof they are Sacramentes, then ſhould they be no Sacramentes at all. By reaſon of this ſimilitude or likeneſſe, Sacramētes oftentymes do receiue the names of the ſelfe ſame thynges, wherof they are Sacramentes.

Auguſt. ad Bonifacium.

Therefore, as after a certaine maner, the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, is the body of Chriſte, and the Sacrament of Chriſtes bloud, is the bloud of Chriſt: euen likewiſe the Sacrament of fayth, is fayth. For to beleue is none other thyng, then to haue fayth. And by this it is aunſwered, that the very infantes haue fayth, becauſe of the Sacrament of fayth, and conuert them ſelues vnto God, becauſe of the Sacrament of

How the ſacramēt of the body is the body of Chriſt after a certaine maner.

conuerſion: for the very anſweare it ſelfe doth appertayne vnto the celebration of the Sacrament: as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of Baptiſme. For he ſayth, We are buried by Baptiſme, into death. He doth not ſay, we haue ſignified a burieng, but he playnely ſaith we are buried. Therefore he named the ſacrament of ſo weightie a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing it ſelfe.

Nothing can be more playnely ſpoken, nor more agreeably to the natural vnderſtanding of the textes of the Supper, and to the expoſition afore ſhewed, of Tertullian and of himſelfe. For ſeeing that Chriſt is bodily in heauen, and ſo abſent from the earth, it is needefull to know, howe the holy Sacrament, which he doth call his body and bloud, ſhould be his body and bloud.

By Analogy of the ſcripture, ſpeaches muſt be expounded, one ſpeach by an other.

This holy Doctor therefore Auguſtine, doth this matter manifeſtly and ſincerely declare by other like ſpeaches, and firſt by common ſpeaches, and ſecondly by ſpeaches of Scripture. The common ſpeach is this: we do (ſayth he) vſe often to ſay, that when Eaſter doth approch to drawe nigh, to morrowe or the next daye, is the Lordes Paſſion, whereas he did ſuffer afore many yeares paſt, and that paſſion was neuer but once done.

The ſecond common ſpeache is, And of that Sondaye wee ſaye, that this day the Lorde did riſe from deathe, whereas ſo many yeares be yet paſt ſith the time he aroſe. wherefore, to conclude he ſaith: No man is ſo fooliſh, that he will reproue vs for ſo ſaieng, or to ſaye, that we haue lyed, for becauſe we do call theſe daies after the ſimilitude of thoſe, in which theſe things were done. So that it is called the ſame day, not for that it is the ſelfeſame, but by reuolution of time, like vnto it. And the reſurrection is ſayd to be done in the ſame day, through the celebrating of the Sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time afore paſt.

Chriſt is offered in the ſacrament miſtically, that is in remembrance of his oblation.

The third ſpeache: was not Chriſt offered vp once for all in his owne perſon? yet is he neuertheleſſe offered in the Sacrament myſtically for the people, not onely euery yeare at the feaſt of Eaſter, but alſo euery daye. Neyther doth he lie, which when he is demanded, ſhal anſwer, that he is offered vp or ſacrificed. For if the Sacramentes had not a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe thinges, of which they be Sacraments, then ſhoulde they be no Sacraments at all. By reaſon of which ſimilitude, they do for the moſt parte receiue the denomination or name of thoſe thinges ſignified. And therefore after a certaine maner, the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, is the body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Chriſtes bloud, is the bloud of Chriſt, and ſo alſo be the Sacraments of faith, called faith.

Quodam modo i. after a certeine maner.

This doth he yet proue by an other example of ſpeach, which is this: It is none other thing to beleeue, then to haue fayth. And therfore when anſweare is made, that the infantes haue fayth, which in deede haue it not in ful working, it is anſweared, that ſuche haue faith for the Sacrament of faith, and that they doo conuert themſelues vnto fayth, for the Sacrament of Conuerſion. For the very anſwere it ſelfe doth pertaine to the celebration of the Sacrament, &c. Thus doth it ſufficiently appeare, that as we vſe truely to call that good Friday, or the day of Chriſtes paſſion, which is not in deede the day of Chriſtes Paſſion, but onely a memoriall thereof once done for euer: and as we vſe to call the next Eaſter day, the daye of Chriſtes reſurrection, not becauſe that Chriſt in the ſame daye ſhall ariſe, but only for a memoriall of his reſurrectiō once done for euer, and that of long time paſſed.

The celebration of the ſacrament repreſenteth the oblation of Chriſtes body. The ſacramēt of Chrriſts body is not his body in deede, but in memoriall or repreſentation.

And Chriſt beeing offered vp once for all in his owne proper perſon, is yet ſayde to be offered vp, not only euery yeare at Eaſter, but alſo euery day in the celebration of the Sacrament, becauſe his oblation once for euer made, is thereby repreſented. Euen ſo (ſaith Auguſtine) is the Sacramēt of Chriſtes body, the body of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of Chriſtes bloud, the bloud of Chriſt, in a certayne wiſe or faſhion. Not that the Sacrament is his naturall body or bloud in deede, but that it is a memoriall or repreſentation thereof, as the dayes before ſhewed, be of his verye and naturall body crucified for vs, and of his precious bloud ſhed for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. And thus be the holy ſignes or Sacramentes truely called by the names of the very thinges in them ſignified. But why ſo? For they (ſaith Auguſtine) haue a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe things wherof they be ſignes or Sacraments, for elſe they ſhould be no Sacraments at all: And therefore do they commonly, and for the moſt part receiue the denomination of the things whereof they be Sacraments.

So that we may manifeſtly perceiue that he calleth not the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but as he ſayd before. But yet he ſayth in a certaine maner or wiſe: Not that the Sacramente abſolutely and plainely, is his naturall body or bloud. For this is a falſe argument of Sophiſtrie, which they call, Secundum quid ad ſimpliciter, that is to ſay, that the Sacramēt of Chriſtes body, is in a certaine wiſe, the body of Chriſte, Ergo, it is alſo playnely and expreſſely the naturall body of Chriſt. For ſuch an other reaſon might this be alſo: Chriſt is after a certayne maner, a Lion, a Lambe, and a doore: Ergo, Chriſte is a naturall Lion and Lambe, or materiall doore. But the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, is therefore called his body and bloud, becauſe it is thereof a memoriall, ſigne, ſacrament, token, & repreſentation, ſpent once for our redemption. which thing is further expounded by an other ſpeach, that he doth heere conſequently alledge of baptiſme: Sicut de ipſo baptiſmo apoſtolus dicit, &c.

The Apoſtle (quoth Auguſtine) ſayeth not, we haue ſignified buryeng, but he ſayeth vtterly, we be buried with Chriſt, For elſe ſhould all falſe Chriſtians be buried wyth Chriſt from ſinne, which yet do liue in all ſinne. And therfore ſaith Auguſtine immediately therupon, he called therfore the ſacrament of ſo great a thing, by none other name, then of the thing it ſelfe. Thus (O moſte gracious and godly prince) do I confeſſe and knowledge, that the bread of ẏ ſacrament is truely Chriſtes body, and the wyne to be truely his bloud, according to the wordes of thy inſtitution of the ſame Sacrament: but in a certaine wiſe, that is to wit, figuratiuely, ſacramētally, or ſignificatiuely, according to the expoſition of the Doctours before recited, & heereafter folowing. And to this expoſition of the old Doctours, am I enforced, both by the articles of my Creede, and alſo by the circumſtances of the ſayde Scripture, as after ſhall more largely appeare. But by the ſame can I not finde the natural body of our Sauiour to be there naturally, but rather abſent, both from the ſacrament, & from all the world, collocate and remaining in heauen, where he by promiſe muſt abide corporally, vnto the end of the world.

The ſame holy Doctor writing agaynſt one Fauſtus, ſayth in like manner: Si Machabæos cum ingenti admiratione præferimus, quia eſcas quibus nunc Chriſtiani licitè vtuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptiſmo Chriſti, pro Euchariſtia Chriſti, pro ſigno Chriſti, &c. If we doo preferre wyth greate admiration the Machabees, becauſe they would not once touche the meates which Chriſtian men now lawfully vſe to eate of, for that it was not lawfull for that tyme then beyng propheticall, that is, in the tyme of the olde Teſtament: how muche rather now ought a Chriſtian to be more ready to ſuffer all things for the Baptiſme of Chriſt, and for the Sacrament of thankeſgiuing, and for the ſigne of Chriſte, ſeeyng that thoſe of the old Teſtamente were the promiſes of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and theſe Sacramentes in the newe Teſtamente are the tokens of things complete and finiſhed? In this do I note, that according to the expoſitions before ſhewed, he calleth the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud, otherwiſe properly named Euchariſtia, ſignum Chriſti, and that in the ſingular number, for as much as they both do ſignifie welnigh one thing. In both them is teſtified the death of our Saueour. And moreouer, he calleth them Indicia rerum completarum: that is to wyt, The tokens or benefits that we ſhall receiue by the beliefe of Chriſte for vs crucified. And them doth he call vſually both the ſacraments, ſignum Chriſti, in the ſingular number. And as the ſame Saint Auguſtine in his fiftie treatiſe vpon the Goſpel of Saint Iohn teacheth, where he ſayeth thus: Si bonus es, ſi ad corpus Chriſti pertines, (quod ſignificat Petrus) habes Chriſtum, & in præſenti, & in futuro. In præſenti per fidem, &c. If thou be good, if thou pertayne to the body of Chriſt (which this word, Petrus, doth ſignifie) then haſt thou Chriſt both heere preſente, and in time to come: Heere preſente through fayth: heere preſente by the ſigne and figure of Chriſte: heere preſente by the Sacrament of Baptiſme: heere preſente by the meate and drinke of the altar, &c.

More there was that Iohn Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much onely came to our hands.

The death of Robert Packington.

AMong other actes and matters paſſed and done thys preſent yeare, which is of the Lorde 1538. heere is not to be ſilenced the vnworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, Mercer of London, wrought and cauſed by the enemies of Gods worde, and of all good proceedings. The ſtory is this: The ſaid Robert Packington, being a man of ſubſtance, and dwelling in Chepeſide, vſed euery day at fiue of the clocke, winter and Sommer, to goe to prayer at a Churche then called S. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercers Chappell. And one morning amongſt all other, being a great miſtie morning, ſuch as hath ſeldōe bin ſeene, euen as he was croſſing ẏ ſtreate from his houſe to the Churche, he was ſodenly murthered with a gunne, which of yͤ neighbours was plainly heard: and by a great nūber of labourers ſtanding at Soper lane end, he was both ſeene go forth of his houſe, and the clap of the gunne was heard, but the deede doer was a greate while vneſpied and vnknowne. Although manye in the meane time were ſuſpected, yet none could be founde faultie therein. The murtherer ſo couertly was conueied, tyll at length by the confeſſion of Doctour Incent Deane of Paules in his death bed, it was knowne, and by him confeſſed, yͤ he himſelfe was the authour thereof, by hiring an Italian for lx. crownes or thereabout, to do the feate. For the teſtimonie whereof, and alſo of the repentaunt wordes of the ſaid Incent, the names both of thē which heard him confeſſe it, and of thē which heard the witneſſes report it, remayne yet in memorie, to be produced, if neede required.

Doct. Incent Deane of Paules, murderer of Packington.

The cauſe why he was ſo litle fauored with the clergie, was this, for that he was knowen to be a mā of great courage, & one that could both ſpeake, & alſo would be heard: for at yͤ ſame time he was one of the burgeſſes of the Parlamēt for the city of Londō, & had talked ſomwhat againſt the couetouſnes & cruelty of the clergie, wherefore he was had in cōtempt with them, and was thought alſo to haue ſome talke with the King, for the whiche he was the more had in diſdaine with them, & murthered by the ſayde Doctour Incent, for his labour, as hath bene aboue declared.

And thus muche of Rob. Packington, whiche was the brother of Auſten Packington aboue mentioned, who deceiued biſhop Tonſtal, in bying the new tranſlated Teſtament of Tyndall. Whoſe pitious murther, although it was priuie and ſoden, yet hath it ſo pleaſed the Lorde, not to keepe it in darkenes, but to bring it at length to light.

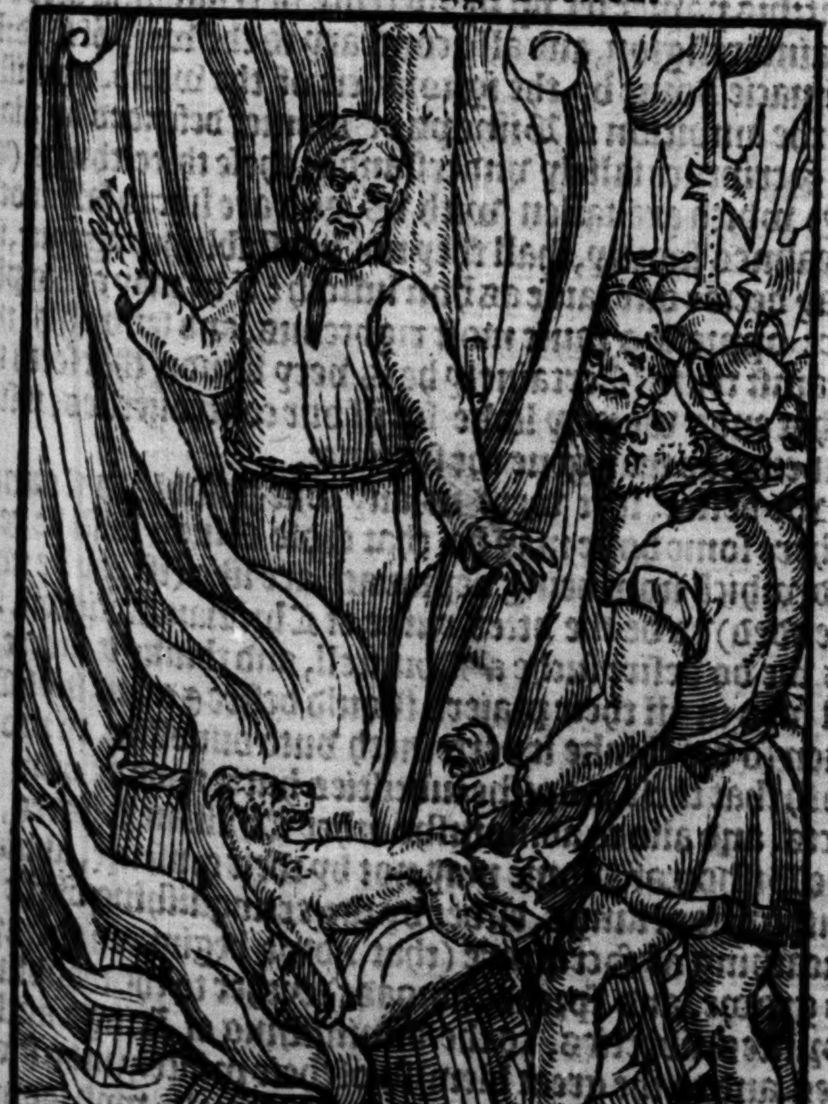
The burning of one Collins at London.

Collins with his dogge burned.

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, ſometime a Lawyer & a Gentleman, which ſuffered the fire this yeare alſo in Smithfielde, anno. 1538. whom although I do not here recite, as in the number of Gods profeſſed martyrs, yet neither do I thinke him to be cleane ſequeſtred from the companye of the Lordes ſanctd flocke and family, notwithſtanding that yͤ biſh. of Romes Church did condemne and burne him for an heretike: but rather do recount him therefore, as one belonging to the holy company of Saints. At leaſtwiſe this caſe of hym and of his end may be thought to be ſuch, as may well reproue and condemne their crueltie and madneſſe, in burning ſo without all diſcretion, this man being madde and diſtract of his perfect wittes, as he then was, by this occaſion, as heere followeth.

This Gentleman had a wife of exceeding beautie and comelines, but notwithſtanding of ſo light behaueour and vnchaſte conditions (nothing correſpōdent to the grace of her beautie) that ſhe forſaking her huſband, whiche loued her entirely, betoke her ſelf vnto another paramour. Which thing when he vnderſtood, he tooke it very greeuouſly and heauily, more then reaſon woulde. At the laſt being ouercome with exceedyng dolour and heauyneſſe, he fell mad, beyng at that tyme a ſtudent of the law in London. When he was thus rauiſhed of his wittes, by chaunce hee came into a Church where a Prieſt was a ſaying Maſſe, & was come to the place where they vſe to hold vp and ſhewe the Sacrament.

¶ Collins with his dogge burned.



Collins beyng beſide his wittes, ſeyng the Prieſt holdyng vp the hoſt ouer his head, & ſhewing it to the people, he in like maner counterfeityng the Prieſt, tooke vp a litle dogge by the legges, and held him ouer his head, ſhewyng him vnto the people. For this he was by and by brought vnto examination, and condēned to the fire, and was burned, and the dogge with him, the ſame yeare of our Lord in the which Iohn Lambert was burned. 1538.

Collyns burned for holding vp a dogge at Maſſe.

❀ The burnyng of Cowbridge at Oxford. anno. 1538.

With this foreſayd Collins, may alſo be adioyned the burnyng of Cowbridge, who likewiſe beyng mad, & beſide his right ſenſes, was either the ſame, or the next yeare folowyng, condēned by Longland, Byſhop of Lyncolne, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at Oxford. What his opinions and Articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearſe. For as he was then a man mad, and deſtitute of ſenſe and reaſon, ſo his wordes and ſayinges could not be ſound. Yea rather, what wiſe man would euer collect Articles agaynſt him, whiche ſayd, he could not tell what? And if his Articles were ſo horrible and madde, as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my iudgement, a man more fitte to be ſent to Bethlehem, then to bee had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reaſon is it to require reaſon of a creature madde or vnreaſonable, or to make hereſie of the wordes of a ſenſeleſſe man, not knowyng what he affirmed.

Cowbridge burnt at Oxforde.

Cope in hys Dialogues.

But this is the maner and propertie of this holy mother Church of Rome, that what ſoeuer commeth in their handes and inquiſition, to the fire it muſt. There is no other way: neither pitie that will moue, nor excuſe that will ſerue, nor age that they will ſpare, nor any reſpect almoſt that they conſider: as by theſe two miſerable examples both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appeare. Who rather ſhould haue bene pitied, and all wayes conuenient ſought, how to reduce the ſeely wretches into their right myndes agayne, according as the true Paſtours of Iſraell be commaunded by the ſpirite of God, to ſeeke agayne the thynges that be laſt, to bynd vp the thynges that be broken &c. and not ſo extremely to bruſe the thyngs that be bruiſed before. But to ende with this matter of Cowbridge, what ſoeuer his madneſſe was before, or how ſoeuer erroneous his Articles were (whiche for the fonde fantaſies of them, I do not expreſſe) yet as touching his end, this is certaine, that in the middeſt of the flame, he liftyng vp his head to heauen, ſoberly and diſcretly called vppon the name of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and ſo departed.

The right confeſſion of Cowbridge, at his departing.

¶ William Leiton and Puttedew Martyrs.

About the ſame tyme & yeare, or not much before, when Iohn Lābert ſuffered at London, there was one Puttedew alſo condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolke, who commyng into the Church, and merily tellyng the Prieſt, that after he had dronke vp all the wyne alone, he afterwarde bleſſed the hungry people with the emptie Chalice, was for the ſame immediatly apprehended, and ſhortly after burned, leauyng to vs an experiment. Quàm parum ſit tutum ludere cum ſanctis, as the olde ſaying was then: but rather as we may ſee now. Quàm male tutum ſit ludere cum impijs.

Puttedew Martired.

Prouer. Non eſt bonum ludere cum impiis.

The other, Williā Leyton, was a Monke of Aye, in the Countie of Suffolke & was burned at Norwich, for ſpeakyng agaynſt a certaine Idole, which was accuſtomed to be carried about the Proceſſions at Aye: & alſo for holding that the Sacramentall Supper ought to bee adminiſtred in both kyndes, about the yeare and tyme aforeſayd.

W. Leyten, Martyr.

¶ The burnyng of one Peke at Ipſwich.

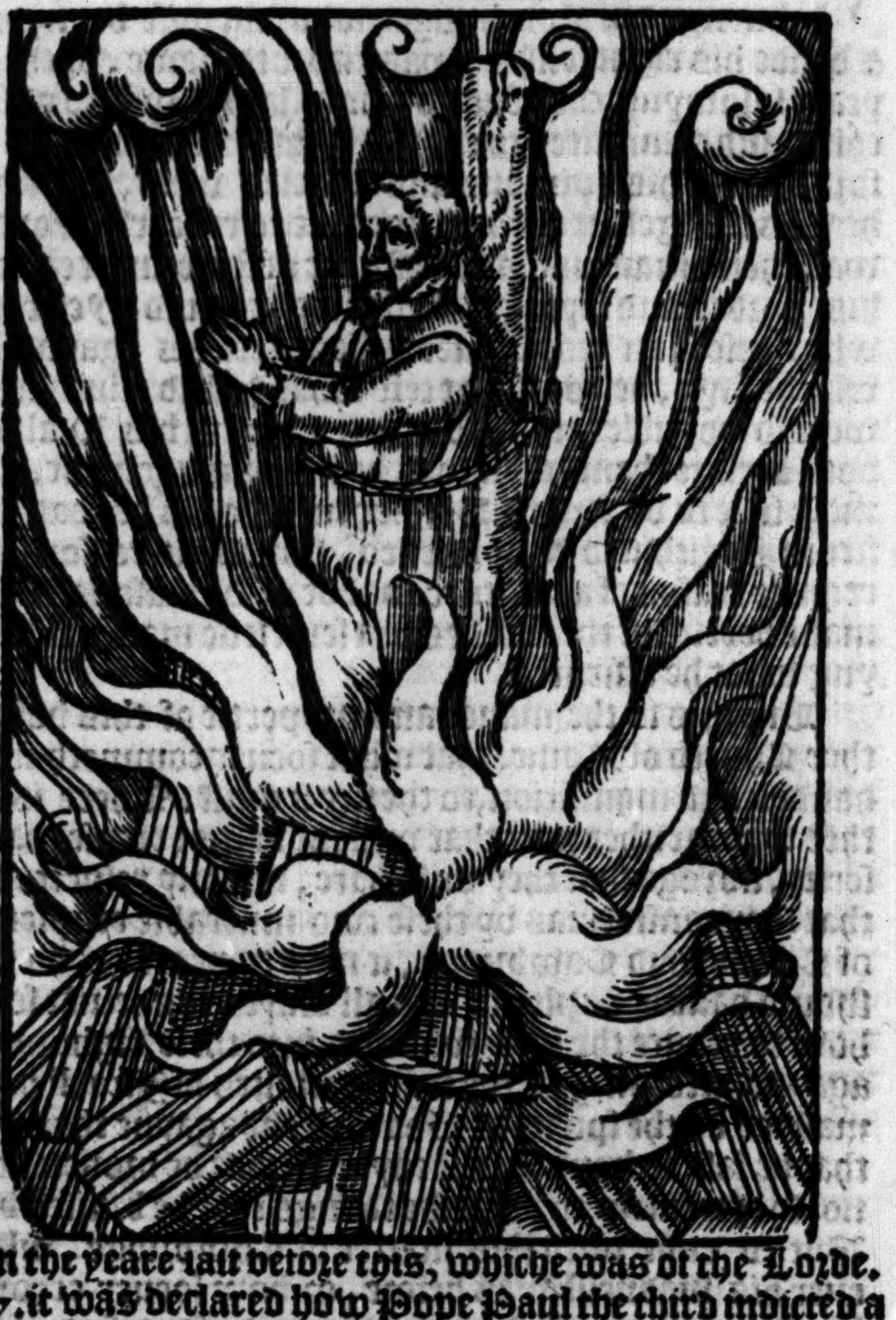
In the burnyng of an other Suffolke man, named N. Peke dwellyng ſometyme at Earleſtonhā, and burnt at Ipſwich, ſomewhat before the burnyng of theſe aforeſayd thus I finde it recorded and teſtified: That when as hee beyng faſt bound to a ſtake, and Furſe ſet on fire round about him, was ſo ſcorched, that he was as blacke as ſoote, one Doctour Redyng there ſtādyng before him, with Doctour Heyre and Doct. Spryngwell, hauyng a long white wande in his hand, did knocke him vpon the right ſhoulder

N. Peke burned at Ipſwich, Martyr.

der, and ſayd, Peke, recant, and beleue that the Sacrament of the aultar, is the very body of Chriſt, fleſhe, bloud, and bone, after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of Conſecration ouer it, and heere haue I in my hande to abſolue thee for thy miſbeliefe that hath ben in thee, hauing a ſcrole of paper in his hande. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, Peke anſweared, and ſayde, I defie it and thee alſo, & with a great violence he ſpit from him very bloud, whiche came by reaſon ỹ his vaynes brake in his body for extreame anguiſhe. And when the ſayde Peke had ſo ſpoken, then D. Reding ſayd: To as many as ſhall caſt a ſticke to the burning of this heretique, is graunted fortye dayes of pardon by my Lord Byſhop of Norwich. Then Barne Curſon, Sir Iohn Audley Knight, with many others of eſtimation being there preſent, did riſe from their ſeates, and wyth their ſwords did cut downe boughes, and throw them into the fire, and ſo did all the multitude of the people.

Forty dayes of pardon proclaymed for caſting ſticks into Pekes fyer.

Witnes Iohn Ramſey and others,
who did ſee this acte.



In the yeare laſt before this, whiche was of the Lorde. 1537. it was declared how Pope Paul the third indicted a general Councel to be holden at Mantua. Whereunto the King of England among other Princes being called, refuſed either to come or to ſende at the Popes call, and for defence of himſelfe, directed out a publique Apologie or Proteſtation, rendring iuſt and ſufficient matter, why neyther he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes commandement. Which Proteſtation is before to be read, page. 1084. This Councell appointed to begin the 23. daye of Maye, the yeare aforeſayde, was then ſtopped by the Duke of Mantua, pretending that hee woulde ſuffer no Councell there, vnleſſe the Pope would fortifie the Citie with a ſufficient armye, &c. For whiche cauſe the Pope proroged the ſayd Councell, to be celebrate in the moneth of Nouember folowing, appointing at ỹ firſt no certaine place. At length named and determined the citie of Vincence (lyeng within the dominion of the Venetians) to be the place for the Councell, whereunto when the King (the yeare next folowing, which is this preſent yeare of the Lorde 1538.) was requeſted by the Emperour and other ſtates, to reſort eyther hymſelfe, or to ſende: he agayne refuſing (as hee dyd before) ſendeth this Proteſtation in waye of defence and aunſwear for hymſelfe, to the Emperour and other Chriſten princes: the copie and effect whereof heere vnder foloweth, and is this.

Of this Coũcell of Mantua reade before 1084.

Henry the eight by the grace of God, King of Englande and Fraunce, &c. ſaluteth the Emperour, Chriſtian princes, and all true Chriſten men, deſiring peace and concord amongſt them.

{ Anno. 1538. }
The kings letter to the Emperor.

Whereas not long ſithens, a booke came forth in our and at our Counſailes names, which cõteined many cauſes why we refuſed the Councell, then by the Byſhop of Romes vſurped power firſt indicted at Mantua, to be kept the xxiij. day of May, after proroged to Nouember, no place appoynted where it ſhould be kept, and whereas the ſame booke doth ſufficiently proue, that our cauſe could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in ſuch a company of addict men to one ſect, nor in any other Councell called by his vſurped power: we thinke it nothing neceſſarie ſo oft to make newe proteſtations, as the Biſhop of Rome and his Courts by ſuttletie and craft, do inuent wayes to mocke the world, by newe pretenſed generall Councels. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe that ſome things haue now occurred, either vpon occaſion geuen vs by change of the place, or elſe through other conſideratiõs, which now being knowne to the worlde, may do muche good, we thought we ſhould do but euen as that loue enforceth vs, which we owe vnto Chriſtes fayth and religion, to adde this Epiſtle. And yet we proteſt, that we neyther put forthe that booke, neither yet wee woulde this Epiſtle to be ſet afore it, that thereby we ſhould ſeeme leſſe to deſire a generall Councell, then any other Prince or Potentate, but rather to be more deſirous of it, ſo it were free for all partes, and vniuerſall. And further, wee deſire all good Princes, Potentates, and people, to eſteeme and thinke that no Prince would more willingly be preſent at ſuch a Councell then we: ſuche a one we meane, as we ſpeake of in our proteſtation made concerning the Councell of Mantua.

Of this booke r before

The P doth b mocke t world his pre Counc

Genera Counce are to be wiſhed fo they migh be free v uerſally all partes.

Truely as our forefathers inuented nothyng more holyer then generall Councels, vſed as they ought to be, ſo there is almoſt nothing that may do more hurt to ỹ Chriſtian cõmon wealth, to ỹ faith, to our religion, then general Cõucels, if they be abuſed to lucre, to gaines, to ỹ eſtabliſhment of errours. They be called general, and euen by their name do admoniſh vs, that all Chriſten mẽ which do diſſent in any opinion, may in thẽ openly, frankly, & without feare of puniſhment or diſpleaſure, ſay their mind. For ſeeing ſuche thyngs as are decreed in generall Councels, touche equally all men that geue aſſent thereunto, it is meete that euery man may boldly ſay there, that hee thinketh. And verily we ſuppoſe, that it ought not to be called a generall Councell, where alonely thoſe men are heard, which are determined for euer, in all pointes, to defend the Popiſh parte, and to arme themſelues to fight in the Byſhop of Romes quarrell, though it were againſt God and his Scriptures. It is no generall Councell, neyther it ought to be called generall, where the ſame men be onely Aduocates and aduerſaries: the ſame accuſed and iudges. No it is againſt the lawe of nature, either that we ſhoulde condeſcend to ſo vnreaſonable a law againſt our ſelues, eyther that we ſhould ſuffer our ſelues to be lefte without all defence, and beeing oppreſſed with greateſt iniuries, to haue no refuge to ſuccour our ſelues at. The Byſhop of Rome and his, be our great enemies, as wee and all the world may well perceyue by his doings.

Nothing more p cious to the Ch then gen Councel if they be abuſed.

The Pop Counc are no ge rall Cou cels. The Pop in his C cels is the party acc ſed and al the iudge.

He deſireth nothing more then our hurt, and the deſtruction of our Realme: Do not we then violate the iudgement of nature, if we geue him power and authoritie to be our Iudge? His pretended honor firſt gotten by ſuperſtition, after encreaſed by violence, & other waies as euill as that: his power ſet vp by pretence of religion, in deed both againſt religion, and alſo contrary to the word of God: his primacie borne by the ignorancie of the world, nouriſhed by the ambition of Biſhops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falſely vnderſtande: theſe three things (wee ſay) which are fallen with vs, and are like to fall in other Realmes ſhortly, ſhall they not be eſtabliſhed agayne, if he may decide our cauſe as him luſteth? if he may at his pleaſure oppreſſe a cauſe moſt righteous, and ſet vp his, moſt againſt truth? Certainely he is very blinde, that ſeeth not, what ende we may looke for of our controuerſies, if ſuche our enemie may geue the ſentence.

A gayn reaſon he which our aduer ſhould al be our iudge. The Pope honor fi gotten by ſuperſ borne by ignoran nouriſhed by ambi increaſed violence fended by falſe vn ſtanding wreſting Scripture.

We deſire, if it were in any wiſe poſſible, a Councell, where ſome hope may be, that thoſe things ſhall be reſtored, which now being deprauate, are like (if they be not amended) to be the vtter ruine of Chriſtian Religion. And as we do deſire ſuche a Councell, and thinke it meete that all men in all their praiers ſhould deſire & craue it of God: euen ſo we thinke it perteineth vnto our office, to prouide both that theſe Popiſhe ſubtilties hurte none of oure ſubiectes, and alſo to admoniſhe other Chriſtian Princes, that the Biſhop of Rome may not by their conſente, abuſe the authoritie of kings, either by the extinguiſhing of the true preaching of Scripture (that nowe beginneth to ſpryng, to growe, and ſpreade abroade) eyther to the troubling of Princes liberties, to the diminiſhing of Kings authorities, and to the great blemiſh of their princely maieſtie. We doubt nothing but a Reader not parciall, wyll ſoone approue ſuch things as we heere write, not ſo muche for our excuſe, as that the worlde may perceiue both the ſundrye

Prouiſi to be ma agaynſt p piſhe ſu tylties.

decceiptes,

deceites, craftes, and ſubtleties of the papiſtes, & alſo how much we deſire that controuerſies in religion may once be taken away.

All that we ſayde there of Mantua, may here well be ſpoken of Vincence. They do almoſt agree in al poyntes. Neither is it like, that there will be any more at this Councell at Vincence, then were the laſt yere at Mantua. Truely he is worthy to be deceiued, ỳ being twiſe mocked, wyll not beware the third time. If any this laſt yeare made forth toward Mantua, and being halfe on theyr way, then perceiued that they had taken vpon them that iourney in vayne, we do not think them ſo fooliſh, that they will here after ride farre out of towne to be mocked. The time alſo and the ſtate of thinges is ſuch, that matters of Religion may rather now be brought further in trouble (as other thinges are) thē be commodiouſly intreated of and decided. For whereas in maner the whole world is after ſuch ſorte troubled with warres, ſo incombred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh, can there be any man ſo againſt the ſetling of religion, that he will thinke this time meet for a generall Councell? Undoubtedly it is meet that ſuch controuerſies as we haue with the Biſhop of Rome, be taken as they are, that is, much greater then that they may either be diſcuſſed in this ſo troubleſome a time, or els be committed vnto proctors, without our great ieopardy, albeit the time were neuer ſo quiet.

What other princes will doe, we can not tell: but we will neither leaue our realme at this time, neither wil we truſt any Proctor with our cauſe, wherein the whole ſtay and wealth of our Realme ſtandeth, but rather we will be at the handling thereof our ſelfe. For except both an other Iudge be agreed vpon for thoſe matters, and alſo a place more commodious be prouided for the debating of our cauſes, albeit all other thinges were as we would haue them, yet may we lawfully refuſe to come or ſend any to this pretended Councel. We will in no caſe make him our arbeter, which not many yeres paſt, our cauſe not heard, gaue ſentence agaynſt vs. We will that ſuch doctrine, as we folowing ỳ Scripture, do profeſſe, be rightly examined, diſcuſſed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the onely touchſtone of true learning.

We will not ſuffer them to be aboliſhed, ere euer they be dicuſſed, ne to be oppreſſed, before they be known: much leſſe we will ſuffer them to be troden down being ſo clearly true. No, as there is no iote in Scripture, but we will defend it, though it were with ieopardy of our life, and peril of this our Realme: ſo is there nothing that doth oppreſſe this doctrine, or obſcure it, but we will be at continuall warre therew. As we haue abrogated al old popiſh traditions in this our Realme, which eyther did help his tyranny, or encreaſe his pride: ſo if the grace of God forſake vs not, we will well foreſee, that no new naughty traditions be made with our conſent, to blinde vs or our Realme.

If mē will not be willingly blind, they ſhall eaſily ſee euen by a due and euident proofe in reaſon, though grace doth not yet by the word of Chriſt enter into them, how ſmall the authority of the Biſhop of Rome is, by the lawfull deniall of the Duke of Mantua for the place. For if the Biſhop of Rome did earneſtly intend to keepe a Councell at Mantua, and hath power by the law of God, to call Princes to what place him liketh: why hath he not alſo authority to chuſe what him liſteth: The Biſhop choſe Mantua: the Duke kept him out of it. If Paule the Biſhop of Romes authority be ſo great as he pretendeth, why could he not compell Fridericus the Duke of Mantua, that the Councell might be kept there? The Duke would not ſuffer it. No, he forbad him his towne.

How channceth it, that here excommunications flee not abroade? why doth he not puniſh this Duke? why is his power, that was wont to be more then full, here empty? wont to be more then all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vayn to a Councell, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place, to the which he calleth them? May not kinges iuſtly refuſe to come at his call, when the Duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooſeth? If other Princes order him as the Duke of Mantua hath done, what place ſhalbe left him, where he may keepe hys generall Councell?

Agayne, if Princes haue geuen him this authoritye to call a councell, is it not neceſſary, that they geue him alſo al thoſe thinges, without the which he can not exerciſe that his power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him to finde no place to call them vnto? Truely he is not wont to appoynt one of his owne cityes, a place to keep the Councell in. No, the good man is ſo faythfull and frendly toward other, that ſeldome he deſireth Princes to be his geſtes.

And admitte he ſhoulde call vs to one of his Cittyes, ſhoulde we ſafely walke within the walles of ſuch our enemies towne? were it meete for vs there to diſcuſſe controuerſies of Religion, or to keepe vs out of our enemies trappes? meete to ſtudy for the defence of ſuch doctrine as we profeſſe, or rather how we might in ſuch a throng of perilles be in ſafegard of our life? Well, in this one arte the Biſhop of Rome hath declared, that he hath none authority vpon places in other mens dominions, and therefore if he promiſe a Coūſel in any of thoſe, he promiſeth that, that is in an other man to performe, and ſo may he deceiue vs agayne.

Example that the Pope hath no power vpon places in other mens dominiōs.

Now if he cal vs to one of his owne townes, we be afrayd to be at ſuch an hoſtes table. We ſay, better to ryſe an hungred, then to go thence with our bellyes full. But they ſay, the place is found, we need no more to ſeek where the Coūcell ſhalbe kept. As who ſayth, that that chaunced at Mantua, may not alſo chaunce at Vincence: and as though it were very like, that the Venecians, men of ſuche wiſedome, ſhould not both foreſee, and feare alſo, that the wiſe Duke of Mantua ſemed to feare. Certes, when we thinke vppon the ſtate that the Venecians be in now, it ſeemeth no very likely thing, that they will eyther leaue Vincence theyr Cittye to ſo many Nations, wythout ſome great garriſon of ſouldiours, or els that they beyng els where ſo ſore charged already, will now nouriſh an army there?

Dilēma againſt the Pope.

Vincence a citye vnder the dominion of the Venetians.

And if they would, doth not Paule himſelfe grāt that it ſhould be an euill Preſident, & an euill example to haue an armed Councell?

How ſo euer it ſhall be, we moſt hartily deſire you, that ye will vouchſafe to read thoſe thinges that we wrote this laſt yeare, touching the Mantuan Councell. For we nothing doubt, but you, of your equity, will ſtand on our ſide agaynſt theyr ſubtlety and fraudes, and iudge (except we be deceiued) that we in this buſines, neither gaue ſo much to our affectiōs, neither without great and moſt iuſt cauſes, refuſed theyr Councelles, theyr Cenſures, and Decrees.

Whether theſe our writinges pleaſe all men, or no, we thinke we ought not to paſſe much. No, if that which indifferently is written of vs, may pleaſe indifferēt readers, our deſire is accompliſhed. The falſe and miſtaking of thinges by men parciall ſhall moue vs nothing, or els very litle. If we haue ſayd ought agaynſt the deceites of the Byſhop of Rome, that may ſeeme ſpoken too ſharpely, we pray you, impute it to the hatred we beare vnto vices, and not to any euill will that we beare him. No, that he and all his may perceiue that we are rather at ſtrife with his vices, then with him and his: our prayer is, that it may pleaſe God, at the laſt to open theyr eies, to make ſoft their hard hartes, and that they once may with vs (theyr owne glory ſet apart) ſtudy to ſet forth the euerlaſting glory of the euerlaſting God.

Thus mighty Emperour, fare you moſt hartily well, and ye Chriſten Princes the pillers, and ſtay of Chriſtendome, fare ye hartily well. Alſo all ye, what people ſo euer ye are, which do deſire that the goſpell, and glory of Chriſt may floriſh, fare ye hartily well.

As the Lorde of his goodnes hath raiſed vp Thomas Cromwel to be a frend and patrone to the Goſpell: ſo on the contrary ſide Sathan (which is aduerſary, and enemy to all good thinges) had his organe alſo, which was Steuen Gardiner, by all wyles and ſubtile means to impeach and to put backe the ſame. Who after he had brought his purpoſe to paſſe, in burning good Iohn Lambert (as ye haue hearde) proceeding ſtill in his craftes and wyles, and thinking vnder the name of hereſies, ſectes, Anabaptiſtes, & ſacramentaris, to exterminate al good bookes, and faithful profeſſours of Gods word out of England, ſo wrought with the king, that the next yeare following, which was of our Lord. 1539. he gaue out theſe Iniunctions, ỳ copy and contentes wherof I though here alſo not to be pretermitted, and are theſe.

⁂ Certayne other Iniunctions ſet forth by the authority of the King, agaynſt Engliſh bookes, ſectes, and Sacramentaries alſo, with putting downe the day of Thomas Becket.

FIrſt, that none without ſpecial licence of ỳ king, tranſporte, or bring from outward parties into England, any maner of Engliſhe bookes, neither yet ſell, geue, vtter, or publiſhe any ſuche, vpon payne to forfeyte all their goode and cattelles, and their bodies to be impriſoned, ſo long as it ſhal pleaſe the kinges maieſtie.

{ Anno. 1539. }

Item, that none ſhal print, or bring ouer any Engliſh bookes with annotations or Prologues, vnles ſuch bookes before be examined by the kings priuy Counſell, or others appoynted by his highneſſe, and yet not to put therto theſe wordes: Cum priuilegio Regali, without adding, Ad imprimendum ſolum: neither yet to print it, without the kinges priuiledge be printed therewith in the Engliſh tongue, that all men may read it. Neyther ſhall they print any tranſlated booke, without the playne name of the tranſlator be in it, or els the printer to be made the tranſlatour, and to ſuffer the fine and puniſhment therof at the kinges pleaſure.

No bookes to be tranſlated, without the name of the tranſlator.

Engliſhe bokes of ſcripture forbidden to be printed.

Item, that none of the occupation of Printing ſhall within the Realme, print, vtter, ſell, or cauſe to be publiſhed any Engliſhe bookes of Scripture, vnleſſe the ſame be firſt viewed, examined, and admitted by the kings highneſſe, or one of his priuy Counſell, or one Byſhop within the Realme, whoſe name ſhall therin be expreſſed, vpon payne of the kinges moſt high diſpleaſure, the loſſe of their goodes and cattels, and priſonment, ſo lõg as it ſhall pleaſe the king.

Agaynſt Sacramentaryes.

Item, thoſe that be in any errours, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptiſtes, or any other, or any that ſell bookes, hauing ſuch opinions in them, being once knowne, both the bookes and ſuch perſons ſhalbe detected and diſcloſed immediatly vnto the kinges Maieſty, or one of hys priuye Counſell, to the intent to haue it puniſhed without fauor, euen with the extremity of the law.

No man to diſpute of the Sacrament.

Item, that none of the kings ſubiects ſhall reaſon, diſpute, or argue vpon the ſacramẽt of the aulter, vpon paine of loſing theyr liues, goodes and cattels, without all fauor, onely theſe excepted that be learned in Diuinitye: they to haue theyr liberty in theyr ſcholes and appoynted places, accuſtomed for ſuch matters.

Holy bread and holy water, with other rites of the Church eſtabliſhed.

Item, that holy bread and holy water, proceſſion, kneling, and creeping on good Friday to the croſſe and Eaſter day, ſetting vp of lights before the Corpus Chriſti, bearing of candles on Candlemas day, Purification of women deliuered of child, offering of Criſomes, keeping of the foure offering dayes, paying theyr tithes, and ſuch like ceremonyes muſt be obſerued & kept, till it ſhall pleaſe the king to chaunge or abrogate any of them. This article was made for that the people was not quieted and contẽted (many of them) with the ceremonies then vſed.

Maryed prieſtes puniſhed.

Finally, all thoſe Prieſtes that be maryed, and openly knowne to haue theyr wiues, or that hereafter do intẽd to marry, ſhall be depriued of all Spirituall promotion, & from doyng any duety of a Prieſt, and ſhall haue no maner of office, dignity, cure, priuiledge, profit, or commodity in any thing appertaining to the Clergy, but from thenceforth ſhalbe taken, had, and reputed as lay perſons, to all purpoſes and intentes: and thoſe that ſhall after thys proclamation marry, ſhall runne in his graces indignatiõ, and ſuffer puniſhment and impriſonment at his graces will & pleaſure.

Difference to be taught betwene things commaũded of God, and ceremonyes vncommaunded.

Item, he chargeth all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Prouoſtes, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, & other Miniſters, and euery of them in their own perſons, within their cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and ſet forth to the people, the glory of God, & trueth of his word: and alſo conſidering the abuſes & ſuperſtitions that haue crept into the hartes and ſtomackes of many, by reaſon of their fond ceremonies, he chargeth them vpon payn of impriſonment at his graces pleaſure, not onely to preach and teach the word of God accordingly, but alſo ſincerely and purely, declaring the difference betwene things commaũded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in theyr church then vſed, leaſt the people therby might grow into further ſuperſtition.

Thomas Becket noted of ſtubberneſſe.

Item, for as much as it appeareth now clearely, that Thomas Becket ſometime Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, ſtubbernely withſtanding the wholeſome lawes eſtabliſhed agaynſt the enormityes of the Clergy, by the kynges highneſſe noble Progenitour King Henry the ſecond, for the common wealth, reſt, and tranquility of thys Realme, of his froward minde fledde the Realme into Frãce, and to the Biſhop of Rome, maynteyner of thoſe enormityes, to procure the abrogation of the ſayd Lawes, (whereby aroſe much trouble in this ſayd Realme) and that his death which they vntruely called Martyrdome, happened vpon a reſcue by him made, and that (as it is written) he gaue opprobrious wordes to the Gentlemen, which then counſelled him to leaue hys ſtubberneneſſe, and to auoyde the commotion of the people riſen vppe for that reſcue, and he not onely called the one of them bawde, but alſo tooke Tracie by the boſome, and violently ſhooke hym, and plucked hym in ſuch maner, that he had almoſte ouerthrowne him to the pauement of the church, ſo that vpon this fray, one of theyr companye perceiuing the ſame, ſtrake him, and ſo in the thronge Becket was ſlayne: and further, that his canonization was made onely by the Byſhop of Rome, becauſe he had bene a champion to maynteyne his vſurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquitye of the Clergy.

For theſe and for other great and vrgent cauſes long to recite, the kinges Maieſty by the aduiſe of hys Counſell, hath thought expedient to declare to hys louyng ſubiectes, that notwithſtanding the ſayd canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conuerſation, wherby he ſhould be called a Saynt, but rather eſteemed to haue bene a rebell and traytor to his Prince.

Therefore his grace ſtraytly chargeth and commaundeth, that from henceforth the ſayd Thomas Becket ſhall not be eſteemed, named, reputed, and called a Saynt, but Biſhop Becket, and that his Images and Pictures thorow the whole Realme ſhalbe pluckt downe and auoyded out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the dayes vſed to be feſtiuall in his name, ſhall not be obſerued, nor the ſeruice, office, Antiphons, Collectes, & prayers in his name read, but raſed & put out of all the bookes: & that all other feſtiuall dayes already abrogated, ſhalbe in no wiſe ſolemnized, but his graces ordinaunces, and iniunctions therupon obſerued, to the intẽt his graces louing ſubiectes ſhalbe no longer blindly ledde & abuſed to commit Idolatry, as they haue done in tymes paſſed, vpõ payne of his maieſtyes indignation, & impriſonment at his graces pleaſure.

Finally his grace ſtraightly chargeth and commaundeth that his ſubiects do keep and obſerue all and ſinguler his iniunctions made by his maieſty, vpon the payn therin conteined.

Here foloweth how religion began to goe backeward.

TO many which be yet aliue, & can teſtify theſe thinges, it is not vnknowne, how variable the ſtate of Religiõ ſtood in theſe daies: how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth: what chaunces and chaunges it ſuffered. Euen as yͤ king was ruled and gaue eare ſometime to one, ſome time to an other, ſo one while it went forward, at an other ſeaſon as much backeward agayne, and ſometime clean altered & changed for a ſeaſon, according as they could preuayle which were about the king. So long as Queene Anne liued, the Goſpell had indifferent ſucceſſe.

After that ſhe, by ſiniſter inſtigation of ſome about the king was made away, the cauſe of the goſpell began again to incline, but that the Lord then ſtirred vp yͤ Lord Cromwell, oportunely to helpe in that behalfe. Who, no doubt did much auayle for the encreaſe of Gods true Religion, & much more, had brought to perfection, if the peſtilent aduerſaryes maligning the proſperous glory of the Goſpel, by cõtrary practiſing had not craftily vndermined him and ſupplanted his vertuous proceedings. By the meanes of which aduerſaries it came to paſſe after the taking away of the ſayd Cromwel, that the ſtate of Religion more and more decayed, during all the reſidue of the raygne of king Henry.

Among theſe aduerſaries aboue mentioned, yͤ chief captain, was Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wint. who with his confederats and adherentes, diſdayning at the ſtate of the L. Cromwel, and at the late mariage of the Ladie Anne of Cleue (who in the beginning of the yere of our Lord. 1540. was maried to the king) as alſo greued partly at the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, and fearing the growing of the Goſpell, ſought al occaſions how to interrupt theſe happy beginnings, and to traine the king to their owne purpoſe. Now what occaſion this wilye Wincheſter found out to worke vpon, ye ſhall heare in order as followeth.

It happened the ſame time that the Lorde Cromwell for the better eſtabliſhing of ſincere religion in this realm, deuiſed a mariage for yͤ king to be concluded betwene him & the Lady Anne of Cleue, whoſe other ſiſter was already maried vnto the duke of Saxony. By this mariage it was ſuppoſed that a perpetual league, amitie, and ally ſhold be nouriſhed between this realm and the princes of Germany, & ſo therby godly religion might be made more ſtrong on both parts againſt the biſhop of Rome, and his tyrannical religion. But the diuel euer enuying the proſperity of the goſpell, layd a ſtumbling blocke in that cleare way, for the king to ſtumble at. For when the parentes of the noble lady were commoned withall for the furtherance of yͤ ſayd mariage, among others of her frends, whoſe good wil was required, yͤ duke of Saxony her brother in law miſliked yͤ mariage, partly for that he wold haue had her beſtowed vpon ſome prince of Germany more nigh vnto her ſiſter, & partly for other cauſes, which he thoght reaſonable. Wherupon it followeth that the ſlacknes of the Duke in that behalfe being eſpyed, crafty Wincheſter taking good holdfaſt

thereon

therby, ſo alienated the kinges mind from the amity, that ſemed now to begin and grow betwene the Duke and the king, that by the occaſion thereof, he brought the king at length cleane out of credit with that religiō and doctrine, which the duke had then mayntained many yeares before. Thus wily winchester with his crafty fetches partly vpon this occaſion aforeſayd, & partly alſo by other peſtilent perſwations creping into the kinges eares ceaſed not to ſeeke all meanes how to worke his feat & to ouerthrow Religion, firſt bringing him in hatred with the Germane Princes, then putting him in feare of the Emperor, of the French king, of the Pope, of the king of Scottes, and other forraigne powers to riſe agaynſt him, but eſpecially of Ciuil tumultes & commotions here within this realme (which aboue all thinges he moſt dreaded) by reaſon of innouation of religiō and diſſoluing of Abbies: and for aboliſhing of rites, and other cuſtomes of the Church, ſticking ſo faſt in the mindes of the people, that it was to be feared, leaſt theyr hartes were or woulde be ſhortly ſtyrred vp agaynſt him, vnleſſe ſome ſpedy remedy were to the contrary prouided: declaring moreouer what a daungerous matter in a common wealth it is to attempt new alterations of any thing, but eſpecially of Religion. Which being ſo, he exhorted the king for his owne ſafegard and publicke quiet and tranquility of his realme, to ſee betime how and by what pollicy theſe ſo manifold miſchiefes might be preuēted. Agaynſt which no other way nor ſhift could better be deuiſed, then if he would ſhew himſelf ſharp and ſeuere agaynſt theſe new Sectaryes, Anabaptiſtes, & Sacramētaries (as they called them) & would alſo ſet forth ſuch Articles, confirming the auncient & Catholick faith, as whereby he might recouer agayne his credence with Chriſten Princes, and whereby all the world beſides, might ſee and iudge him to be a right and perfite Catholicke. By theſe & ſuch like crafty ſuggeſtions, the king being to much ſeduced and abuſed, began to withdraw his defēce from the reformation of true Religion, ſuppoſing thereby to procure to himſelfe more ſafety both in his owne realme, and alſo to auoide ſuch daungers, which otherwiſe might happen by other Princes, eſpecially ſeing of late he had refuſed to come to the generall Councell at Vincence, being thereto inuited both by the Emperor, & other forraigne potētates, as ye haue heard before. And therfore, although he had reiected the Pope out of this Realme, yet becauſe he woulde declare himſelfe neuertheleſſe to be a good Catholicke ſonne of the mother Church, and a withſtander of new innouations and hereſies (as the blinde opinion of the world did then eſteme them) firſt he ſtretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert, then after he gaue out thoſe Iniunctions aboue prefixed: & now further to encreaſe this opinion with all men, in the yeare next folowing, which was of the Lorde. 540. through the deuiſe and practiſe of certayne of the Popes factors about him, he ſūmoned a ſolemne Parliamēt to be holden at Weſtminſter the 28. day of Aprill, of all the ſtates and Burgeſes of the Realme: Alſo a Synode or conuocation of all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other learned of the Clergy of thys Realme to be in like maner aſſembled.

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e wicked ncell of ph. Gar- er, and her about king.

e king a- ſed by ked coū- ll.

Anno. 1540. Popes ty fac- in Eng- d.

The Acte of the vi. Articles.

6. Ar- s.

In which Parliamēt Synode, or conuocation, certein Articles, maters and queſtions, touching religiō, were decreed by certein prelates, to the nūber eſpecially of 6. commonly called the 6. Articles (or the whip with 6. ſtringes) to be had & receiued among the kings ſubiects in pretence of vnity. But what vnity therof folowed, ẏ groning harts of a great number, and alſo the cruell death of diuers both in the dayes of K. Henry, & of Queene Mary, can ſo well declare, as I pray God, neuer the lyke be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of theſe wicked articles in the bloudy act contemed, although it be worthy of no memory amongeſt chriſten men, but rather deſerueth to be buried in perpetuall obliuion, yet for that the office of hiſtory, compelleth vs therunto, for the more light of poſterity to come: faythfully and truly to compriſe thinges done in the church, as well one as another, this ſhalbe briefely to recapitulate ẏ ſumme & effect of the foreſayd 6. articles, in order as they were geuen out, and hereunder do folow.

The firſt Article.

ation.

The firſt Article in this preſent Parliament accorded and agreed vpon, was this: that in the moſt bleſſed Sacramēt of the aultar, by the ſtrength and efficacy of Chriſtes mighty worde (it being ſpoken by the prieſt) is preſent really vnder the forme of bread and wine, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, conceiued of the virgine Mary: and that after the cōſecration there remayneth no ſubſtaunce of bread or Wyne, or any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of Chriſt God and man.

The 2. Article.

Secondly, that the communion in both kindes, is not neceſſary ad ſalutem, by the law of God to all perſons: and that it is to be beleued & not doubted of, but that in the fleſh, vnder forme of bread, is the very bloud, & with the bloud, vnder forme of wine, is the very fleſh as well aparte, as they were both together.

The ſacrament in both kindes excluded.

The 3. Article.

Thirdly, that prieſtes after the order of prieſthoode receiued as afore, may not mary by the law of God.

The 4. Article.

Fourthly, that the vowes of chaſtity or widowhead, by mā or woman made to God aduiſedly, ought to be obſerued by the law of God: and that it exempteth them from other libertyes of chriſten people, which without that they might enioy.

Aduiſedly, that is made, aboue the age of 21. yeares, prieſtes onely excepted.

The 5. Article.

Fiftly, that it is meete and neceſſary, that priuate Maſſes be continued and admitted in this engliſh Church and congregation, as whereby good Chriſtē people, ordering themſelues accordingly, do receiue both godly & goodly conſolations and benefites: And it is agreable alſo to Gods law.

By theſe benefites of priuate maſſes, is ment, the helping of ſoules in Purgatory.

The 6. Article.

Sixtly that auricular confeſſion is expedient and neceſſary to be retayned, and continued, vſed and frequented in the Church of God.

The 6. Article.

After theſe Articles were thus concluded and cōſented vpon the Prelates of the Realme craftely perceiuing that ſuch a foule & violent act could not take place or preuayle, vnleſſe ſtraight and bloudy penalties were ſet vpon them, they cauſed through theyr acuſtomed practiſe to be ordeyned and enacted by the king and the Lordes ſpirituall, and temporall, and the commons in the ſayd Parliament, as foloweth.

The penalties vpon the 6. Articles.

That if any perſon or perſons within this Realme of England, or any other the kings dominions, after the xij. day of Iuly next comming by word, writing, imprinting, ciphring, or any otherwiſe, ſhuld publiſh, preach, teach, ſay affirme, declare, diſpute, argue or holde any opinion, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, vnder forme of bread and wine (after the conſecration therof) there is not preſēt really, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, conceiued of the virgin Mary, or that after the ſayd conſecration, there remayneth any ſubſtaunce of bread or wine, or any other ſubſtance but the ſubſtāce of Chriſt, god and mā, or after the time aboueſayd, publiſh, preach, teach, ſay, affirme, declare, diſpute, argue, or hold opinion, that in ẏ fleſh, vnder forme of bread, is not the very bloud of chriſt or that with the bloud of Chriſt, vnder the forme of wine, is not the very fleſh of Chriſt, aſwell aparte, as though they were both together: or by any of ẏ meanes aboueſayd or otherwiſe, preach, teach, declare, or affirme the ſaid ſacrament to be of other ſubſtance then is aboueſayd, or by any meane contemne, depraue, or deſpiſe the ſayd bleſſed ſacrament: that then euery ſuch perſon, ſo offēding their ayders comforters, counſellers, conſenters and abetters therein (being therof conuicted in forme vnder written, by the authority aboueſayd) ſhould be deemed and adiudged heretickes, and euery of ſuch offence ſhould be adiudged manifeſt hereſy: & that euery ſuch offender and offenders, ſhould therfore haue & ſuffer iudgemēt, execution, payn & paynes of death, by way of burning, without any abiuratiō, benefite of the cleargy, or Sanctuary, to be therfore permitted, had, allowed, admitted or ſuffered: and alſo ſhould therfore forfeit and loſe to the kinges highneſſe, his ayres and ſucceſſors, all his or theyr honors, manors, caſtles, landes tenementes, rentes, reuerſions, ſeruices, poſſeſſions, & all other his or theyr hereditaments, goods and cattell, termes and freeholdes, whatſoeuer they were, which any ſuch offence or offēces, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any caſes of high treaſon.

The penaltyes vpon the 6. articles.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Suffering without any abiuration.

Loſſe of goodes.

Opinion againſt the Sacrament of the aultar made treaſon.

The penalty of the laſt v. Articles.

And as touching the other v. articles folowing, the penalty deuiſed for them, was this: That euery ſuch perſon or perſons, which do preach, teach, obſtinately affirme, vphold, mainteine or defend, after the 12. day of Iuly, the ſayd yeare any thing contrary to the ſame, or if any being in orders or after a vow aduiſedly made did mary, or make mariage, or contract matrimony, in ſo doing ſhould be adiudged as felones, and loſe both life, and forfeit goodes, as in caſe of felony, without any benefite of the clergye, or priuiledge of the Church or of Sanctuary. &c.

The penalties of the laſt 5. articles.

Item, that euery ſuch perſon or perſons, which after yͤ day aforeſayd, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or otherwiſe, did publiſh, declare, or holde opinion contrary to the 5. articles aboue expreſſed, being for any ſuch offēce duely conuict or attainted, for the firſt time, beſides the forfayt of all his goodes and cattell and poſſeſſions what ſo euer, ſhould ſuffer impriſonment of his body at the kings pleaſure: & for the ſecond time, being accuſed, preſented, & therof conuict, ſhould ſuffer, as in caſe aforeſayd of felony.

Item, if any within order of priſthood, before the time of the ſayd Parliament, had maryed or contracted Matrimony, or vowed widowhead, the ſayd matrimony ſhould ſtand vtterly voyd and be diſſolued.

Item, that the ſame daunger that belonged to prieſtes marying theyr wiues, ſhuld alſo redound to the womē maryed vnto the Prieſtes.

Inquiſition vpō the 6. articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectuall execution of the premiſes, it was enacted by the ſayd Parliament, that full authority of Inquiſition of all ſuch hereſyes, fellonies and contemptes, ſhould be committed and directed down into euery ſhyre, to certayn perſons ſpecially therunto appointed: of the which perſons three at leaſt (prouided alwayes the Archbiſhop or biſhop, or his Chauncellor, or his Commiſſarie to be one) ſhould ſitte foure times at leaſt, in the yeare, hauing full power to take information & accuſation by the depoſitions of any two lawfull perſons at the leaſt, as well as by the othes of xij. men, to examine and inquire of all and ſinguler the hereſyes, fellonyes and contempts aboue remēbred, hauing alſo as ample power to make proces agaynſt euery perſon or perſons indited, preſented, or accuſed before them: alſo to heare & determine the foreſayd hereſyes, fellonyes, contempts and other offences, as well as if the mater had bene preſented before the Iuſtices of peace in their Seſſions: And alſo that the ſaide Iuſtices in theyr Seſſions, & euery Steward or vnderſteward, or his Deputy in theyr law daies, ſhould haue power by yͤ othes of xij. lawfull men to enquire likewiſe of all & ſingular the hereſyes, fellonyes, contemptes and other offences, and to heare and determine the ſame, to all effectes of this preſent Acte. &c.

A bloudy inquiſition.

Prouided withall that no perſon nor perſons therupō accuſed, indited, or preſented, ſhould be admitted to chalēge any that ſhoulde be enpanelled for the triall of any matter or cauſe, other thē for malice or enuy: which chalēge ſhould forthwith be tryed in like maner, as in caſes of felony. &c.

Prouided moreouer that euery perſon that ſhoulde be named Commiſſioner in this inquiſition, ſhould firſt take a corporall oth, the tenor of which oth here enſueth.

* The oth of the Commiſsioners.

The othe geuen to the Commiſsioners, to enquire vppon true Chriſtians.

YE ſhall ſwere, that ye to your cunning, witte and power, ſhall truely and indifferently execute the authority to you geuen by the kinges Commiſsion, made for correction of heretickes & other offenders, mentioned in the ſame Commiſsion without any fauor, affection, corruption: dread or malice, to be borne to any perſon or perſons, as God you helpe, and all Payntes.

Stat. an. 31. Reg Henr. 8.

And thus much briefly collected out of the act and Originals, which more largely are to be ſene in yͤ ſtatute an. 31 Reg. Henr. 8. concerning the ſixe Articles, which otherwyſe for the bloudy cruelty thereof are called the whip with ſixe ſtringes, ſet forth after the death of Queene Anne, and of good Iohn Lambert, deuiſed by the cruelty of yͤ Biſhops, but ſpecially of the Biſhop of Wint. and at length alſo ſubſcribed by K. Henry. But herein, as in many other partes moe, the crafty pollicy of that Biſhop appeared, who like a lurking Serpent, moſt ſlyly watching his time, if he had not taken the king comming out vpon a ſoddayne, there where it was (I ſpare here to report as I heard it) it was thought and affirmed by certaine, which then were perteining to the king, that Wincheſter had not obteined yͤ matter ſo eaſely to be ſubſcribed as he did.

Truth in danger, left deſolate.

Cranmer ſtood openly in the Parliament. againſt the 6. articles.

These ſixe Articles aboue ſpecified, although they conteined manifeſt errours, hereſies, and abſurdities agaynſt all Scripture and learning (as all men hauing any iudgemēt in Gods word may plainly vnderſtand) yet ſuch was the miſerable aduerſity of that time & the power of darckenes, that the ſimple cauſe of truth and of religion, was vtterly left deſolate and forſakē of all frends. For euery man ſeing the kinges minde ſo fully addict vpon politicke reſpectes to haue theſe articles to paſſe forward, few or none in all that Parliament would appeare, which either could perceiue that was to be defended, or durſt defend that they vnderſtood to be true, ſaue onely Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who then being maryed (as is ſuppoſed) like a conſtant Patron of Gods cauſe, toke vpon him the earneſt defence of the trueth oppreſſed in the Parliamēt, three dayes together diſputing againſt thoſe ſixe wicked articles, bringing forth ſuche allegations and authorities, as might eaſely haue helped the cauſe niſi pars maior viciſſet, vt ſæpe ſolet, meliorem. Who in the ſayd diſputation, behaued himſelfe with ſuch humble modeſty, and with ſuch obedience in wordes toward his Prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but the cauſe of almighty God, that neither his enterpriſe was miſliked of the king, & agayne his reaſons and allegatiōs were ſo ſtrong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherfore the king (who euer bare ſpeciall fauour vnto him) well liking his zealous defēce, onely willed him to depart out of the Parliament houſe, into the Councell Chamber, for a time (for ſauegarde of his conſcience) til the Acte ſhould paſſe and be graunted: which he notwithſtanding, with humble proteſtation refuſed to do.

After the Parliament was finiſhed & that matter concluded, the king conſidering the conſtant zeale of the Archbiſhoppe, in defence of his cauſe, and partly alſo weighing yͤ many authorities, & reaſons wherby he had ſubſtantially confirmed the ſame, ſent the Lord Cromwell (which within few dayes after was apprehended) the ij. dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and all the Lordes of the Parliament, to dine with hym at Lambeth, where they ſignified vnto him that it was the kinges pleaſure that they all ſhoulde in his hignes behalfe, cheriſh, comfort & animate hym, as one that for his trauell in that parliamēt had declared himſelfe both greatly learned, and alſo a man deſcreet & wyſe, and therfore they willed him not to be diſcouraged in any thing that was paſſed in that Parliament contrary to hys allegations. He moſt humbly thanked firſt yͤ kinges highnes, of his ſinguler good affection towardes him, and them all for theyr paynes, adding moreouer, that he ſo hoped in God that hereafter his allegations and authorities ſhould take place, to the glory of god, & commodity of the realme, which allegations and authorities of his, I wiſh were amongeſt vs extant to be ſeene and read, no doubt but they would ſtand in time to come in great good ſtead, for yͤ ouerthrow of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforeſayd.

Allegations agaynſt the vi. Articles.

IN the meane while for ſo much as the ſayd hereticall articles are not ſo lightly to be paſſed ouer, wherby yͤ rude & ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceiued in the falſe & erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they haue bene in times paſt, for lack of right inſtructiō, and experience of the auncient ſtate, & courſe of times in our foreelders dayes I thought therefore (the Lord therunto aſſiſting) ſo much as antiquity of ſtories may helpe to the reſtoring agayn of truth and doctrine decayed, to annexe hereunto ſome allegations out of auncient recordes, which may geue ſome light to the conuincing of theſe newfangled Articles and hereſies aboue touched.

And firſt as touching the Article of tranſubſtantiation wherin this Parliament doth enact that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very naturall body of Chriſt the ſelfe ſame which was borne of the virgin Mary: and that in ſuch ſort as there remayneth no ſubſtance of bread & wine, after the Prieſtes conſecration, but only the body & bloud of Chriſt, vnder the outward formes of bread and wine: Firſt here is to be noted, that this monſtrous article of theyrs, in that forme of wordes as in ſtandeth, was neuer obtruded, receiued, or holden either in the Greek Church, or in the Latine Church vniuerſally for a Catholicke, that is, for a generall opinion or article of doctrine, before yͤ time of the Laterane Counſell at Rome, vnder Pope Innocent the 3. an. 1216.

And for ſo much as it hath bene a common perſuaſiō amongeſt the moſt ſort of people, that this article in yͤ forme of wordes as here ſtandeth is & hath bene, euer ſince Chriſt his time, a true Catholick, & generall doctrine, commonly receiued and taught in the Church, being approued by the Scriptures and doctors, and conſent of all ages vnto this preſent time. To the entent therfore that the contrary may appere, & the people may ſee how far they haue herin bene beguiled: we will here (Chriſt willing) make a litle ſtay in our ſtory, & examine this foreſayd article by true antiquity and courſe of hiſtoryes, to try whether it be a doctrine old or new.

Now therfore, for yͤ better diſcuſſing of yͤ matter, let vs firſt orderly and diſtinctly aduiſe the wordes of the Article, the contents of which Article conſiſt in 2. parts or mēbers. In the firſt whereof is noted to vs a preſence of a thynge which there was not before. In the ſecōd is noted a priuation or abſence of a thing which there before was preſent.

The preſence is noted by theſe wordes of the Article where is ſaid, that in the bleſſed Sacrament, by the wordes pronounced, is preſent the naturall body and bloud of our

Sauior, vnder ÿ formes of bread and wine: ſo that in theſe wordes, both the ſacrament, & the naturall body is imported neceſſaryly to be preſẽt. For els, how can ÿ natural body of Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wine, if the Sacrament there were not preſẽt it ſelfe? or how can a thing be ſayd to be in that, which is not there? wherfore, by theſe wordes, both the Sacrament and alſo the body muſt neceſſaryly haue theyr beyng and preſence, the one being in the other. And this preſence both of the Sacrament, and of the body, being rightly taken, may right well ſtand together, the Sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the body of Chriſt to the inward eyes of fayth and mouth of the ſoule.

wo things eſent in e ſacra- ent the ing that reſẽteth, the thing reſented.

And therefore touching theſe prepoſitions in thys Article (In) and (Vnder) if queſtion be aſked in what is the body of Chriſt, it may be well aunſwered, in the Sacrament to the eyes of our fayth, like as the outward ſacrament is alſo preſent to the outward eyes of the body. Agayne, if the queſtion be aſked vnder what is the body of Chriſt? it may be well aunſwered, vnder the formes of bread and wine, ſo as the Doctors did take the formes, to meane the outward elements and natures of the Sacrament, and not the accidences.

(In)
(Vnder)

And thus, to the firſt part of the article beyng well expounded, we do aſſent, and confeſſe the ſame to haue bene the true Catholick opinion approued by the auncient Doctors and conſent of all times, euen from the firſt inſtitutiõ of this Sacrament.

e preſẽce the natu- l body of riſt well pounded y be unted in e ſacra- ent.

But as concerning the ſecond member or part of ÿ article, which taketh away all preſence and ſubſtance of bread from the Sacrament: to that we ſay, that firſt it ſtandeth not with theyr owne article. Secondly, that it ſtandeth not with the doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it ſtandeth not with antiquity, but is meerly a late inuention.

bſence of ead in the ament. e article the ſacra- t agreeth with it lfe.

And firſt that it agreeth not with theyr owne Article, it is manifeſt. For whereas in the former part of their article, they ſay that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in the bleſſed Sacrament, vnder the formes of bread & wine, how can the naturall body of Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament, if there remayne no ſacrament? or howe can any ſacramẽt of ÿ body remayne, if there remayne no ſubſtaũce of bread which ſhould make the ſacrament? For how can the body of Chriſt be in that thing, which is not? or how cã the ſacrament of the body haue any being, where the ſubſtance of bread hath no being.

e body of riſt can be in the crament his body.

For firſt, that the body it ſelfe can not be the ſacrament of the body, it is euident of it ſelfe.

Secondly, that the accidẽces of bread without the ſubſtance of bread, can not be any Sacrament of Chriſtes body, certayne it is and demonſtrable by this argument.

e accidẽ- of the dy cannot the ſa- ment of riſtes na- all body.

Argumentum a definitione.

Ca- A ſacrament is, that beareth a ſimilitude of that thing wherof it is a Sacrament.

meſt- Accidences bere no ſimilitude of that thing, which is there ſignified.

res. Ergo, Accidences can in no wiſe be a Sacrament.

cramentes hey had ſimili- e with thinges ich they reſent, y were Sacra- nts. Aug. Bonif. ſt. 23.

Wherfore vpon this argument being thus concluded, vpon the ſame this alſo muſt nedes folow.

¶ Argument,

Da- In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, the thing that repreſenteth muſt nedes beare a ſimilitude of the thing repreſented.

ti- The ſubſtance of bread in the Sacrament, is onely that whiche beareth the ſimilitude of Chriſtes body.

j. Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread, muſt needes be in the Sacrament.

e reſem- ance be- ne the rament, the bo- Chriſt, ſiſteth in : that as bread & ke geue yſhmẽt our out- life he body bloud of riſt doe iſhe vn- ſpirituall

And therfore by this demonſtratiõ, it is apparant, that theſe ij. partes in the Article aforeſayd, are euil couched together, wherof the one muſt nedes deſtroy the other. For if the firſt part of the Article be true, that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, vnder the formes of bread and wine, and ſeing the Sacrament wherein the body of Chriſt is preſent, muſt nedes be the ſubſtance of bread and not the accidences onely of bread, as is aboue proued, then the ſubſtance of bread can not be euacuated from the Sacrament, and ſo the ſecond member of the Article muſt nedes be falſe.

Popiſh nce in acra- t and ubſtã- on can ſtand ather.

Or if the ſecond part be true that there is no ſubſtaunce of bread remayning, and ſeing ther is nothing els to make the ſacrament of the naturall body of Chriſt, but onely the ſubſtaunce of bread, for as much as the accidences of bread can make no Sacramẽt of Chriſtes body, as is aboue ſhewed: then taking away the ſubſtance of bread, the firſt part of the article muſt needes be falſe, which ſayth that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament forſomuch as the ſubſtance of bread being euacuated, there remaineth no Sacrament, wherin the body of Chriſt ſhould be preſẽt.

2. Secondly, that it diſagreeth from the whole order and courſe of the ſcriptures, it is ſufficiently explaned before, in the treatiſe of Iohn Lambert, vpon the Sacrament. pag. 1099. as alſo in other ſũdry places in this volume beſides.

The article of tranſubſtantiatiõ diſagreeth from the ſcripture.

3. Thirdly, that the ſayd Article of tranſubſtantiation is no auncient nor authentike doctrine in the church publickly receiued: but rather is a nouelty lately inuẽted, reaching not much aboue ÿ age of 3. or 4. hundred yeares or at moſt aboue the the time of Lanfrancus an, 1070. it remayneth now to be proued,

The doctrine of tranſubſtãtiatiõ, is but a late opinion, and ſtandeth with no antiquity.

Wherin firſt may be ioyned this iſſue, that this monſtrous paradoxe of tranſubſtantiation was neuer induced or receiued publickely in the church, before the time of the Laterane Councell, vnder Pope Innocentius the 3. ann. 1216. or at moſt before the time of Lanfrancus, the Italian, Archbiſhop of Cant. 1070.

Lanfrancus was an Italiã & Biſhop of Canterbury, about the yeare of our Lord 1063.

In which time of Lanfrancus, I denye not, but that this queſtion of tranſubſtantiation began to come in controuerſy, and was reaſoned vpon, amongeſt certaine learned of the clergy. But that this Article of tranſubſtantiation was publickely determined, or preſcribed in the church for a general law or Catholick doctrine of all men, neceſſaryly to be beleued, before the time of the forſayd Innocentius the 3. it may be doubted, and alſo by hiſtories of tyme proued to be falſe.

Innocent 3. was Biſhop of Rome an. 1215.

And though our aduerſaryes ſeeme to alledge out of the olde Doctours certayne ſpeeches and phraſes, which they wraſt and wring to theyr purpoſes: wherin they ſay: that the bread is called, is beleued, & is the body of Chriſt that of bread is made the body of Chriſt: that the bread is chaunged, altered, or conuerted to the body of Chriſt, or is made to be his body, that the creatures be conuerted into the ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſt: that the bread and wine doe paſſe into the diuine ſubſtaunce, with ſuch other like ſentences: and beare themſelues bragge vpon the ſame as thought thys doctrine of tranſubſtantiation ſtood vpon ÿ conſent of the whole vniuerſall Church, of all ages and times of nations and people, and that the iudgement of the Church was neuer other then this: and yet if the olde Doctors ſayings be well weyed, and the diſcourſe of times by this hiſtorye well examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of tranſubſtantiation hath no ſuch ground of conſent and antiquity as they imagine: nor yet that any hereſy or treaſon was made of denying of tranſubſtantiatiõ before ÿ time of Innocentius the 5. or at the furtheſt of Lanfrancus, as is aforeſayd: about the which time Sathan the old Dragon was propheſied by the Apocalips to be let loſe, to ſeduce the world.

Phraſes of the doctors ſpeaking of the ſacrament.

The Papiſtes falſely pretende antiquity for their tranſubſtantiation.

For probation whereof, firſt I will beginne with the time of Tertullian, and of Auguſtine: which both doe teach the Sacrament to be a figure, a ſigne, a memoriall, & repreſentation of the Lordes body, and knewe no ſuche tranſubſtantiation: & yet were no traytors nor heretickes.

Doctors agaynſt tranſubſtãtiatiõ.

Tertullian.
Auguſt.

Neyther was S. Ambroſe any hereticke or traytour, where he writeth theſe wordes: Vt ſint, quæ erant, & in aliud conuertantur. &c. Which wordes Lanfrancus coulde not aunſwere vnto any otherwiſe, but by denying them to be the wordes of Ambroſe.

Ambroſe.
¶ Anno 408.

Gelaſius was byſhop of Rome, and liued about 500. yeares after Chriſt, and ſpeaketh of a tranſmutation of the bread and wine into the diuine nature, but there expounding himſelfe, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, ſo that he expreſſely ſheweth the elementes of bread & wine, notwithſtanding to remayne ſtill in their proper nature, with other wordes moe, very playne, to the ſame effect: vnto the which words Contarenus in the aſſemble of Rateſbone, could not well aunſwere, but ſtood aſtonied.

Gelatius lib. contra Eutichẽ. Anno 500.

Theodoretus likewiſe ſpeaking of the viſible ſimboles, hath theſe words: μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους. i. after the ſanctification they remayne in theyr former ſubſtaunce, figure and forme. &c.

Theodoretus ſecund. dial. contra Eutichẽ.

Ireneus, where he ſayth, that the bread broken and the cuppe mixt, after the vocation of God, ceaſe to be cõmon bread any more, but are the Euchariſt of the body and bloud of Chriſt: and explicating his wordes more playnely addeth moreouer, that the Euchariſt conſiſteth in 2. things, one being earthly, which is bread & wine: the other heauenly: which is the bodye and bloud of Chriſt. &c. declareth in theſe woordes, both his owne opinion playnely, & alſo teacheth vs what was then the doctrine of his time.

Ireneus.

Heſichius lib. 20.in Leuit.cap. 8.

Heſichius alſo who was 500.yeares after Chriſt where he ſpeaketh of the ſayd miſtery, quòd ſimul panis & caro eſt. i.which he ſayth to be both fleſh, and bread, declareth thereby two ſubſtances to be in the Sacrament. By the whiche we haue to vnderſtande, that tranſubſtantiation in hys age was not crept into the Church: and yet neyther heresy nor treaſon therefore was euer layd to his charge for ſo ſaying.

¶ Anno.500. Emiſſenus de cõſecra. Diſtinct. 2. Quia corpus

Emiſſenus, comparing a man conuerted to Chriſt, by regeneration, vnto the holy miſteryes conuerted into the body and bloud of our Lord, expreſſeth playnly, quod in exteriori nihil additum eſt, & totum in interiori mutatum eſt. That is, that outwardly nothing is chaunged, and that all the chaunge is inward. &c. wherin (no doubt) he ſpake playne agaynſt this Article, and yet no man in all that age did accuſe him therfore either to be hereticke or traytor.

Here might be added the wordes of Fulgentius, Hic calix eſt nouum Teſtamentum, id eſt. Hic calix quem vobis trado, nouum Teſtamentum ſignificat. i. This cup is the new Teſtament: that is, this cup which I deliuer vnto you, ſignifieth the new Teſtament.

Bede alſo who liued about the yeare 730. writing vpõ the pſalme 21. hath theſe wordes: Edent pauperes. &c. Pauperes id eſt mundi contemptores, edent quidem realiter, ſi ad ſacramenta referantur, & ſaturabuntur æternaliter, qui intelligent in pane & vino viſibiliter ſibi propoſito, inuiſibile ſcilicet corpus verum, & ſanguinẽ verum domini, quæ verus cibus & verus potus ſunt, quo non venter diſtenditur, ſed mens ſaginatur. &c. that is: Poore men, to wit, deſpiſers of the world, ſhall eat in deed really, if it be referred vnto the Sacramentes, and ſhalbe filled eternally, becauſe they ſhall vnderſtand in bread and in wine, beyng viſibly ſet before them, a thing inuiſible, to wit, the true body and true bloud of the Lord, which are true meat, & true drinke, wherwith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nouriſhed.

And thus in theſe wordes of Bede likewiſe is to be vnderſtand, that no tranſubſtantiation, as yet in his time was receiued in the Church of England.

Haymo. ¶ Anno.800.

Long it were to ſtand vpon all particulars. Briefely to conclude, the farther the church hath bene from theſe our latter dayes, the purer it was in all reſpectes, and eſpecially touching this barbarous article of trãſubſtãtiation. We will now draw more neare our owne time, cõming to the age of Bertrame, and of Haimo, who were about the yeare of our Lord 810. vnder Carolus Magnus.

By whoſe writings it is euident, that the church was infected as yet with no ſuch phantaſy of tranſubſtantiatiõ neither did any almoſt, dreame of taking away ye ſubſtance of bread from the Sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and other which liued in that age, doe attribute to the Sacrament, the honorable name, and reuerence (as we alſo doe) of the Lordes body and bloud: yet they exclude not from thence all ſubſtaunce of mete & bread & leaue the bare accidences, as our new come Catholickes do, as by the wordes of Haymo doth appeare. Where he folowing the wordes of Bede, ſheweth alſo the cauſe, why it is ſo called by the name of the Lordes body.

Haymo de Sermonum proprietate lib.5.cap. 11.

Quia (ſayth he) panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti congruenter nuncupatur: Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur. That is: Becauſe bread confirmeth the hart of man, therefore it is called conueniently the body of Chriſt, and becauſe wine worketh bloud in the fleſhe of man, thereof is it referred to the bloud of Chriſt. What canne be more effectually ſpoken to proue the ſubſtaunce of breade there to remayne? For take away the ſubſtance of bread & wine, what is in the accidences left, that can confirme mãs hart, or ingender bloud in the fleſh. And therefore ſeeyng there muſt nedes ſomething remaine, that muſt be referred to Chriſtes body & bloud in that Sacramẽt, it either muſt be the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, or els it canne be no Sacrament. And furthermore, ſpeaking of the viſible thinges which are ſanctified how and whereunto they be conuerted, he ſayth: that by the holy ghoſt they paſſe to a Sacrament of the Lordes body.

Haymo lib. 7. in eccleſiaſ. cap. 8.

And likewiſe the ſame Haymo in an other place, ſpeaking of the fruites of the earth, that is, of corne and wyne, declareth, how our Sauiour making of them an apt miſtery, cõuerteth them to a Sacrament of his body and bloud, &c. Lib. 7. in Eccleſiaſt. cap. 8.

Bertramus likewiſe, as he liued in the ſame age, ſo in like ſort he ſhewed his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For as Haymo writing in theſe words declareth, quia aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud virtus ſacramenti: ſacramentum enimuero percipitur, virtute Sacramenti interior homo ſatiatur, that is: the ſacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the ſacramẽt is an other thing: for the ſacrament is receiued with the mouth, but with the vertue of the Sacrament, the inward man is ſatiſfied.

Haim. ibid.

So after like maner, Bertramus according to ye ſame, thus writeth: Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis miniſterium Chriſti corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis ſenſibus oſtendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat. &c. That is: the bread, which by the miniſtery of ye prieſt is made the body of chriſt doth import one thing outwardly to the ſenſes of man, & an other thing it ſpeaketh to the mindes of the faythfull. Outwardly it is bread, the ſame as was before, the ſame forme is pretended, the coulour appeareth, the ſame taſte remayneth. But inwardly there is an other matter fare more precious, and more excellent, becauſe it is heauenly, which is the body of Chriſt, that is ſeene, not with the outwarde eyes of the fleſhe, but with the ſyght of a faythfull minde. &c.

¶ An. Bertra. de corp. & ſang. domi.

We will now procede to the teſtimonye of Rabanus Maurus byſhop of Mentz & ſcholer ſomtime to Alcuinus in Paris, an engliſh man: who liuing alſo in the ſame age with Haymo and Bertrame, (which was 800. yeares after Chriſt) geueth the like teſtimony of this doctrine in his booke of Inſtitutions. Where he aſking the queſtion, why the Lord would geue the miſteries of his body and bloud, then vnder ſuche thinges as might be kept and reſerued whole with great honor: thus he aunſwereth agayne: The Lord (ſayth he) would rather that the Sacramentes of his body and bloud ſhould be receiued with the mouth of the faythfull, and made to be theyr food, that by the viſible action, the inuiſible effecte might be ſhewed: For like as materiall meate outwardlye nouriſheth and quickeneth the body, ſo alſo the word of God inwardly nouriſheth and ſtrengtheneth the ſoule. For man lyueth not onely by bread, but by euery word proceeding from the mouth of God.

Raban[...] Mauru[...] ſhop of Mentz. An.800.

Raban[...] inſtitu[...] cap.[...]

And after foloweth: For this bread and drink, ſignifieth the eternall ſociety of the head, and of the members together.

And agayne: For the Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is an other thing. The Sacramẽt is receiued with the mouth, with the vertue of the Sacrament the inwarde man is nouriſhed: For the Sacrament is turned to the nouriſhmẽt of the body, but the vertue of the Sacrament, the dignity of eternall life is gotten.

Wherfore, like as the ſame is turned into vs, when we eate of it: ſo alſo are we turned into the body of Chriſt, when we liue obediently and godly. &c. Who ſeeth not by theſe wordes of this Byſhoppe, what forme of doctrine was then in the Church receiued concerning this article of the Sacramẽt, much diuers from this our groſſe opinion of tranſubſtantiation.

With the ſayd Rabanus alſo accordeth an other of the like ſtanding and alſo doctrine, called Chriſtianus Druthmerus: who writing vpon Math. The wine (ſayth he) doth chere and cheriſh the bloud, and therfore not incõueniently the bloud of chriſt is figured therby: for whatſoeuer procedeth frõ him to vs it chereth vs with true gladnes, & encreaſeth al goodnes vnto vs.

And a litle before, the ſayd Druthmarus ſayth: The Lorde gaue to his Diſciples the Sacrament of his body, to the remiſsion of ſinnes, and keeping of charity, that they alwayes remembring his doing, might do that in figure, which he ſhould doe for them. This is my body (ſayth he) that is, in Sacrament. This Druthmarus liued alſo in the time of Carolus Magnus, as witneſſeth Abbas Spaynehemenſis.

After Bertamus was Ioannes Scotus, or els as ſome call him, Ioannes Erigena, a man well accepted with Carollus Caluus, and afterward with Lodouicus Balbus, about the yere of our Lord 880. He wrote a Booke De corpore & ſanguine Domini, ſo affirming therein, & teaching, as he knew that Bertramus had taught a litle before in Fraunce. This booke ye pope cauſed to be condemned in Vercellenſi Synodo, Of the life and conuerſation of this Iohannes Scotus, & alſo of hys death, read before, pag. 146.

In the yere of our Lord. 950. liued Odo Archbyſhop of Cãterbury, in whoſe time it appeareth in the catholickes owne confeſſion, that many prieſts then affirmeth, that the bread and wine after conſecration, did remayn in their former ſubſtance, and that the ſayd myſteries were onely a figure of the body and bloud of Chriſt, as we finde it witneſſed by Oſberne himſelfe, who did write the liues of Odo, Dunſtane, and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfrãke Archbyſhop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anſelmus Chaplain. The wordes of Oſberne be theſe: Hoc ferè tempore, quidam clerici maligno errore ſeducti, aſſeuerare conabantur panem & vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, poſt conſecrationem, in priori ſubſtantia manere, & figuram tantummodo eſſe corporis & ſãguinis Chriſti. &c. That is: About this time (ſaith Osbern, writing in the daies of Lanfrak) certaine of the Clergy, being ſeduced by wicked errour, did hold and maintein, that bread and wine, which are ſet vpon the aulter, after the conſecration do remaine in their former ſubſtaunce, and are but onely a figure of the body and bloude of Chriſte. &c. And no doubt but at that time, the common opinion of moſt of the Clergye was ſo that the Sacrament was the bodye and bloud of Chriſt, and that the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine notwithſtanding were not tranſubſtantiate, as the Romiſh Catholikes do now teach. But this is the guiſe of theſe men that in their writinges and ſtories, ſtil they diminiſh the better number, wherby their faction may ſeeme euer to be the bigger and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then receiued in the Churche, he inferreth mention of certaine of the Cleargy.&c.

lying mi- cle to oue tran ſtantiatiō

And as he fayleth in the number of theſe Clergymen which then held againſt tranſubſtantiation, ſo he vpholdeth the ſame with as lying a miracle: which miracle hee faineth to be wrought the ſame time, for the conuerſion of the ſayd Clergy men, by the bloud dropping out of the hoſt at Maſſe, as Odo was breaking the hoſt ouer the chalice. At the ſight wherof, firſt Odo himſelfe (ſaith he) wept for ioye, ſeeing his petition accompliſhed, which he ſo earneſtly praied for. Secondarily, all thoſe Clergie men (ſaith he) which before beleeued not this tranſubſtantiation, by & by were conuerted, and bleſſed the archbiſhop that euer he was borne, deſiring him to pray againe, that the bloud might returne to his former ſhape, & ſtreight it was done. And this was the miracle: which ſeemeth as true, as that which W.Malmesbury writeth of the ſayde Odo, howe by his prayers, he cauſed a ſworde to come flying from heauẽ into king Æthelſtanes ſcabbard whẽ he had loſt his owne, as he ſhould fight aginſt Analanus: or els as that miracle where the ſayd Odo is ſaid to couer and defend the church of Caunterbury, that no droppe of raine could touch it, ſo long as the roofe thereof was in making. Ex W.Malmesb. Vid ſup.pag.151.

Malmeſ.

ead afore pg.151.

In the which ſo miraculous a myracle, many things are to be marueiled. Firſt I maruel, that at this great myracle of the Archb. in his Cathedral Church, amongeſt ſo many ſinging men, we read of no Te Deum ther to be ſong, after the doing thereof.

eaſons and roufes al- aged a ayuſt this yracle.

Secondly I maruell, that thoſe Prieſtes and Clerkes, which then denied tranſubſtantiation, were ſuffered to be ſo neare the Archb. at his Maſſe, and that they were not committed rather to ward like heretickes and traitours, if this Article of tranſubſtantiatiō had ben then ſuch a Catholike doctrine, and ſo publikely receaued in the Church as they ſay it was.

Thirdly I maruel, ſeeing the time of myracles is expired, we hauing the ſcriptures to guide vs, why ẏ Archbyſhop would ſeeke to miracles and apparitions to conuert men, rather then to the lawe and Prophets, according as we are commaunded, eſpeciall hauing no ſuch example of all the olde Doctors, which in confutatiō of ſo many erroneous opinions, yet neuer ſought to ſuch myracles, or blynde meanes,

he authors f this fabu- us miracle o not agree ith in hemſelues.

Fourthly, I maruel much at the diſcrepance in telling this tale, betwene Oſbern and the other which ſince haue written Legendes of Odo. For wheras Oſbern ſpeaking of certaine Prieſtes, nameth no place, but leaueth the matter at large, and ſpeaketh abſolutely: quidam clerici: all other which haue ſince written the Legendes of Odo, doe tell this tale againſt certaine Prieſts of Caunterbury, adding to the wordes of Oſberne, quidam Clerici Cantuarienſes But to conuict the falſhode of them all, as well Oſberne as of the reſt, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oſwald together, more auncient then this of Oſberne, written (as it may ſeeme) in the time of Ælfricus Archb. of Canterbury & Elphege then Biſhop of wincheſter, wherin mention is made in deede of this miracle, but after an other ſort, then this of Oſberne, & to an other purpoſe, then to diſſwade certaine prieſtes infected with that errour frō the opiniō before declared: which is only brought to ſhew the holines of Odo: as comonly the maner of Legendes is to do. So that in this olde Legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo diſcloſed the matter not to many prieſts of England, that were in that error as Oſborne would: ſed vocat protinus fidelem ſeruum, qui cominus erat, & miraculum ſecretè demonſtrat, &c. that is, but called vnto him a certaine faithful ſeruaunt, which was neare about him, and ſhewed vnto him the miracle ſecretly. wherupon the Prieſt (ſayth the Legende) muche reioyced at the holines of Odo, and deſired him to make his prayer to almighty God, that the body might returne againe to the former ſhape. &c. Out of this old lying Legend, Oſberne, and other likewiſe that followed him, ſeemeth to haue takẽ this tale: ſo that out of the errour of one (as the maner is) ſpringeth the errour of a number mo.

ying Le- endes.

But this much more I marueil, why this miracle is not ſtored in Henry Huntington, which profeſſedly writeth of ſuch miracles, nor in Rog. Honeden, and ſuch other: but onely in ſuch blinde Legendes, which commonly haue no ſubſtance of veritie, nor certeinetie of time or writer, to know when, and by whom they were written, and for the moſt part are ſtuffed with lying viſions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Oſberne, were true ẏ for the conuerting of Prieſtes of England, whiche would not beleue tranſubſtantiation, this bloud did drop out of the hoſte (of the which bloud peraduenture came the bloud of Hales) and that by the ſight thereof the Prieſtes eftſoone were all conuerted (as Oſberne pretendeth) how then came it to paſſe, that after the time of Odo, in the daies of Elfricus, which was after him Archb. of Canterbury, ẏ third from Dunſtane, and fourth from Odo, not onely the Prieſtes of England, but alſo the Archbiſhop himſelf, wer not yet brought to the beliefe of this tranſubſtantiatiō, but taught the very ſame doctrine of the ſacrament thẽ, which we doe nowe: as moſt clearly appeareth both by the Epiſtles and Homelies of the foreſayde Archbiſhop Elfricus, whiche herunder, for the more euidence (Chriſt willing) wee will annexe.

Ælfricus Archb. of Cant. ¶ Anno. 996. Capgraue in vita Oſwaldi Epiſc. Wigorn.

This Elfricus, as ſayth Capgraue, in the life of Oſwald biſhop of worceter, was firſt Abbot of S. Albones and after made archbiſhop of Canterbury, about the yere of our Lord 996. in the time of king Etheldred, & of wulſinus B. of Scyrburne, Elfricus alſo (as witneſſeth wil. of Malmeſbery, in Vita Adelmi) was Abbot of Malmeſbery. Furthermore the ſayd wil. of Malmeſbery writing of Elfricus Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, ſaith that he was before biſhop of welles, and afterward archbiſhop of Cãterbury. So that Elfricus was Archbiſhop of Canterbury, it is out of al ambiguitie. But whether Elfricus which was Abbot (of whom we doe here intreate) were the ſame Archbiſhop, or not, by this diuerſitie of Capgraue & Malmeſbery, it may be doubtful. But whether, he were or no, to this our preſent purpoſe is not greatly materiall, for ſo much as the ſaid Elfricus, & Elfricus (although they were diuers perſons yet were they both in one age, and liued in one time together.

W.Malmeſberienſ. in vita Adelmi.

The writinges of Ælfricus authentike.

Furthermore, the ſame Elfricus (of whome nowe we ſpeake) of what calling ſoeuer he was, yet notwithſtanding hee was of ſuche eſtimation and good liking in thoſe dayes among the moſt learned, that for his learnyng authoritie, and eloquence, hys writings were accepted and authoriſed among ẏ Chanons & conſtitutions of ẏ Church in that time, as hereby may appeare: For where as the biſhops and Prieſtes before the comming of william Conquerour had collected together a certayn booke of Canons and ordinaunces, to gouerne the Clergie, gathered out of generall and particular councels, out of the bookes of Gildas, out of the pœnitentiall bookes of Theodorus Archbyſhop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbertus arch biſhop of Yorke, out of the Epiſtles of Alcuinus, as alſo out of the writynges of the olde Fathers of the primitiue Church, &c. among the ſame Canons & Conſtitutions be placed theſe two Epiſtles of the ſayd Elfricus here vnder folowing, wherof the one was ſent to wulſinus Byſh. of Scyrburne, the other to wulſtane Archb. of Yorke, as yet are to be ſene in ij. bookes belongyng to the Library of the Church of worceter, the one written in the old Saxones tongue intituled Be pꞃeoꞅꞇ ꞅinoþe, the other for the moſt part in Latine, with this title: Admonitio ſpiritualis doctrinæ. which booke of Saxon Canons & Conſtitutions belongyng ſometyme to wulſtane Byſhop of worceter, was geuen by him as for a great iewell, to the Church of worceter, as by the ſame booke appeareth.

A booke of Canons in the Saxons tongue.

Ex Archiuis Eccleſiæ Wigornenſis.

Moreouer, beſides this booke of worceter aboue touched, there is yet extant alſo another like booke of Canons belōgyng to the Church of Exeter, wherein the ſame two Epiſtles of Elfricus be conteined in the old Saxon tōgue, and alſo in Latine, and preſcribed yearely to be read to the Clerkes and Prieſtes of that Church: which booke in like maner was geuen to the Church of Exeter by Leofricus the firſt, and moſt famous Biſhop of that ſea.

Ex archiuis eccleſiæ Exoniẽſis.

The bookes of Sermons tranſlated by Ælfricus out of Latine, into the Saxons ſpeach.

Of this Elfricus further is to be vnderſtanded, that hee tranſlated two bookes of 80. ſermons out of Latin, into the Saxon ſpeach, vſed then orderly to be read in Churches on ſondayes & other feſtiual dayes of the yeare, as by his own words may appeare in the end of one of ẏ ſaid books of ſermons, whoſe woordes be theſe: Fela ꝼæᵹeꞃe ᵹoꝺꞅpell ƿe ꝼoꞃlæꞇaþ on ðiꞅum ðihꞇe. þa mæᵹ aƿendan ꞅe ðe ƿile; Ne duꞃꞃe ƿe ðaꞅ boc na micle ꞅpiþoꞃ ᵹelænᵹan. ðẏleꞅ þe heo unᵹemeꞇeᵹoꝺ ꞅẏ. ⁊ mannum æþꞃæꞇ ðuꞃh hiꞃe micelniꞅꞅe aꞅꞇiꞃiᵹe; we let paſſe many good Goſpels whiche he that lyſt, may tranſlate. For we dare not enlarge this booke muche further, leſt it be ouergreat, and ſo be a cauſe of lothſomnes to men, through the bignes therof. &c.

Alſo in an other place he confeſſeth the ſame of himſelfe: whoſe wordes in the preface before his grammer be theſe.

80. Sermons tranſlated by Ælfricus into the Engliſh or Saxon tongue.

Ic Ælfric ƿolde þa listlan boc aƿendan to engliscum gereorde of ðam stæf cræfte ðe is gehaten grammatica. syððan ic tƿa bec aƿende on hund eahtatigum spellum; I Elfrike was deſirous to turne into our Engliſh tongue from the arte of letters, called grammer, this little booke, after that I had tranſlated the two bookes of fourescore ſermons, &c.

4. Epiſtles written of Ælfricus in the Saxon or Engliſh tongue.

Of his Epiſtles eſpecially we read of foure, which he wrote. One to the monkes of Egneſham. De conſuetudine monachorum. An other to wulſtane Arch. of Yorke, wherin is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The thirde, he wrote againſt prieſtes marriage, to one Sygeferth, with whom there was a certaine Anker abiding, which defended the marriage of prieſts, affirming it to be lawfull. The fourth, he wrote to wulſinus B. of Scyrburne, touching the matter of the ſacramēt. In the which epiſtle he taking occaſion by a certaine abuſe in his time, which was, that prieſts on Eaſter day filled their houſel boxe, and ſo kept it for the ſpace of the whole yeare, till Eaſter came againe, for ſicke perſons, writeth vppon that occaſion, in theſe wordes as follow in his owne Saxons tongue.

A writing of Aelfrike to wulfſine.

The wordes of Ælfricus writtē to Wulfſine Biſhop of Scyrburne, agaynſt tranſubſtātiatiō.

Man sceal healden þæt halige husel mid mycelre gymene ⁊ ne forhealdan hit. ac halgian oþer edniƿe to seocum mannum. a. embe vii. niht. oððe embe xiiii. niht ꝥ hit huru fynig ne sy. forðon ðe eal sƿa halig bið ꝥ husel ðe nu to dæg ƿæs gehalgod. sƿa ꝥ ðe on easterdæg ƿæs gehalgod; Ðæt husel is Cristes lichama na lichamlice ac gastlice; Na se lichama ðe he on ðroƿode. ac se lichama ðe he embe spræc. ða ða he bletsode hlaf ⁊ ƿin to husel anre nihte ær his ðroƿunge. ⁊ cƿæþ be þam gebletsode hlaf. ðis is min lichama. ⁊ eft be ðam halgan ƿine. ðis is min blode þe bið for manegum agoten on synna forgifenesse; Vnderstandaþ nu ꝥ se drighten ðe mihte aƿendon ðone hlaf ær his ðroƿunge to his lichaman. ⁊ ꝥ ƿin to his blode gastlice. þæt se ylca dæghƿamlice bletsaþ ðurh sacerda handa hlaf ⁊ ƿin to his gastlican lichaman. and to his gastlican blode.

The ſame in Engliſh.

An epiſtle of Ælfricke to Wulfſine.

The ſacrament is the Lords bodye, not bodely, but ghoſtly.

Men ſhal reſerue more carefully that holy houſell, & not reſerue it to long, but halow other of new for ſicke men alwayes within a week or a fortnight, that it be not ſo much as hory. For ſo holy is the houſel which to day is halowed, as that which on Eaſterday was halowed. That houſel is Chriſtes body not bodily but ghoſtly. Not the body which he ſuffred in, but the body of which he ſpake, when he bleſſed bread and wine to houſel the night before his ſuffring, and ſayd by the bleſſed bread: this is my body, & agayn by the holy wine, this is my bloud, which is ſhed for many in forgiuenes of ſinnes. Underſtand now that the Lord, who could turne that bread before his ſuffering to his body, and that wine to his bloud ghoſtly, ẏ the ſelfe ſame Lorde bleſſeth daily through the prieſtes handes, bread and wine to his ghoſtly body, and to his ghoſtly bloud.

After this Epiſtle aboue prefixed of Elfricus, written to wulſinus B. of Shireburne, concerning the ſacramental bread, how it is not Chriſtes body, lichamlice that is, bodily, or (as we terme it now) really: and alſo howe the ſame ought not to be ouerlong kept in ẏ pixe: here followeth further an other epiſtle of the ſayd Elfricus written to wulſtane Archb. of Yorke, both reprehending ẏ ſaid abuſe aboue touched, and alſo conteining matter more at large againſt the bodily preſence in the ſacramental bread. The copy of his epiſtle, both in his owne Saxon, and in our Engliſh here followeth.

An other Epiſtle of Aelfricus againſt the bodily preſen
to Wulſtane Archbiſhop of Yorke.

SVme preostas gefyllað heora husel box on ea
⁊ healdaþ ofer tƿelf monaþ to untrumum man
sƿylce ðæt husel sy haligre ðonne oþer. Ac hi doþ
ƿislice. forðam he hit ƿannað. oððe mid ealle forƿ
on sƿa langum fyrste. ⁊ he bið þonne scyldig sƿa sƿ
sægþ seo boc; Se ðe husel forhylt. oððe hit forƿ
oððe mis eton. oððe oðre nytenu. sceaƿa þa pœn
tialem. hƿæt he sægðe þisum; Eal sƿa halig is ðæt
ðe bið gehalgod to dæg. sƿa ðæt ðe bið gehalgod on
halgan eastor dæge; Healdaþ forþig ic bidde þone hal
Cristes lichaman mid maran ƿisdome to seocum
num fram sunnan dæge to sunna dæge on sƿiþe cl
boxe. oððe be ðam mæstan feoƿertyne niht and ði
hit þonne. and lecgað ðær oþer; ƿe habbaþ by
ðam on Moyses bocum. sƿa sƿa God sylf bebea
Moyses æ. ðæt se sacerd sceolde on ælcum sæte
dæge settan tƿelf hlafas on ðam tabernaculo ealle
bacene. ða ƿæron gehatene Panes propoſitionis. and
sceoldon ðær standan on ðam Godes getælde oð ofer
sæternes dæg. ⁊ etan hi ðonne ða sacerdas sylfe. ⁊ s
tan ðær oðre; Sume preostas nellað ðicgan ðæt hu
ðe hi halgiaþ; Nu ƿille ƿe eoƿ secgan. hu seo boc se
þam; Presbyter missam celebrans. ⁊ non audens sa
ficium accusante conscientia sua anathema est;
mæsse preost ðe mæssaþ. and ne dear ðæt husel ðicg
ƿat hine scyldigne. se is amansumod; Læsse pleoh is
ðigenne ðæt husel. ðonne to halgienne; Se ðe tuƿa
gaþ ane ofletan to husle. se bið þam gedƿolan gelice.
an cild fullaþ tuƿa; Crist sylf gehalgod husel ær
ðroƿunge. he bletsode ðone hlaf. ⁊ to bræc þus cƿæ
ðe to his halgum apostolum. etaþ ðisne hlaf. hit is
lichama: and he eft bletsode ænne calic mid ƿine and
heom ðus to. drincaþ ealle of ðisum. hit is min
blode ðære niƿan gecydnysse. ðe bið for manegu
goten on synna forgyfenysse; Se drihten þe hal
husel ær his ðroƿunge, and cƿæþ ꝥ se hlaf ƿære his
lichama. and þæt ƿin ƿære ƿitodlice his blod. se ha
dæghƿamlice þurgh his sacerda handa hlaf to his li
man. ⁊ ƿin to his blod on gastlicere geryne. sƿa sƿ
rædaþ on bocum; Ne bið se liflica hlaf lichamlice sƿ
ah se ylca lichama. ðe Crist on ðroƿode; Ne ðæt
ge ƿin nis þæs hælendes blod þe for us agoten ƿæs on
chamlice þinge. ac on gastlicum andgyte; Ægþe
soþlice se hlaf his lichama. and ꝥ ƿin eac his blod sƿa
heofonlica hlaf ƿæs. ðe ƿe hataþ manna. ðe feoƿerti
ara afedde Godes folce. ⁊ þæt hlutre ƿæter ƿæs
lice his blod. ðe arn of ðam stane on ðam ƿæstene
Sƿa sƿa Paulus aƿrat on sumon his pistole: Omnes
noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducauerunt: & o
eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt. &c. Ealle ure
æton on ðam ƿæstene þone ylcan gastlican mete. ⁊
gastlican drenc druncon; Hi druncon of þam ga
stane. ⁊ se stane ƿæs Crist; Se apostol sæde sƿa
nu gehyrdon þæt hi ealle æton ðone ylcan ga

mete, and hi ealle druncon ðone gaſtlican drenc ; Ne cwæð he na lichamlice. ac gaſtlice ; Næs Criſt ða gyt geboren. ne his blod næs agoten. ða þæt Iſrahela folc geæt ðone mete. ⁊ of ðam ſtane dranc. ⁊ ſe ſtan næs lichamlice Criſt ðeah he ſwa cwæde ; Hit wæron ða ylcan gerynu on ðære ealdan æ. ⁊ hi gaſtlice getacnodon þæt gaſtlice huſel ures hælendes lichaman. ðe we halgiaþ nu.

The ſame in Engliſh.

epiſtle Elfricke Wulſtane, ding the rament the Lords dye.

Some Prieſts fil their boxe for houſel on Eaſter day, and ſo reſerue it a whole yere for ſicke men, as though that houſel were more holy then any other. But they do vnaduiſedly, becauſe it waxeth hory, or altogether rotten by keping it ſo long ſpace: and thus are they become giltie, as þ booke witneſſeth to vs. If any do kepe þ houſell to long or loſe it or myſe or other beaſtes doe eate it, ſe what the penitential booke ſaith by this: So holy is altogether that houſel, which is halowed to day, as that which is halowed on Eaſter day. wherefore I beſeech you to keepe the holy body of Chriſt with more aduiſement: for ſick men, frō Sonday to Sonday, in a very cleane boxe: or at the moſt not to keepe it aboue a fortnight, and then eate it, laying other in the place. we haue an example hereof in Moiſes books, as God him ſelfe hath commanded in Moyſes law, how the Prieſtes ſhould ſet euery Saterday, twelue loaues al new baked, vpon the tabernacle: the which were called Panes propoſitionis: and thoſe ſhoulde ſtand thereon Gods tabernacle, till the next Saterday, and then did the Prieſts themſelues eate them, and ſet other in the place. Some Prieſtes will not eate the houſell, which they do hallowe: But we wil now declare vnto you how the booke ſpeaketh by thē: Presbyter miſſam celebrans, & non audens ſumere ſacrificium, accuſante conſcientia, anathema eſt. The Prieſte that doeth ſay maſſe and dare not eate the houſel, his conſcience accuſing him, is accurſed. It is leſſe daunger to receiue the houſel, then to hallowe it. Hee that doth twiſe halow one hoſt to houſel, is like vnto thoſe hereticks, who doe chriſten twiſe one childe. Chriſt himſelfe bleſſed houſel before his ſuffering: he bleſſed the bread and brake it, thus ſpeaking to his Apoſtles: Eate this bread, it is my body. And againe, he bleſſed one Chalice with wyne, & thus alſo ſpake vnto them: Drinke ye al of this, it is mine owne bloude of the newe Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the forgiueneſſe of ſinnes. The Lord which hallowed houſel before his ſuffering, & ſaith that the bread was his own body, & that the wyne was truly his bloud, haloweth daily by the handes of the prieſte, breade to his body and wine to his bloud in ghoſtly myſtery, as we read in bookes. And yet notwithſtanding that liuely bread is not * bodily ſo, nor the ſelf ſame body that Chriſt ſuffered in: nor that holy wine is the Sauiours bloud which was ſhed for vs in bodily thinge: but in Ghoſtly vnderſtanding. Both be truely, þ bread is his body, & that wine alſo is his bloud, as was the heauenly bread, which we call manna that fedde forty yeares Gods people. And the cleare water which did then runne from the ſtone in the wilderneſſe, was truely his bloud, as S. Paul wrote in one of his Epiſtles: Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducauerunt, & omnes eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt, &c. Al our fathers did eat in the wildernes the ſame ghoſtly meat, and dranke þ ſame ghoſtly drinke. They dranke of that Ghoſtly ſtone, and that ſtone was Chriſt. The Apoſtle hath ſaide (as you nowe haue heard) that they all did eate the ſame ghoſtly meate, & they all did drinke the ſame ghoſtly drinke. And he ſaith not bodily, but ghoſtly. And Chriſte was not yet borne, nor his bloud ſhedde, when that the people of Iſrael did eate that meat and dranke of that ſtone. And the ſtone was not bodily Chriſt, though he ſo ſaid. It was the * ſame myſtery in the olde lawe, and they did ghoſtly ſignifie that ghoſtly houſell of our Sauiours body which we conſecrate nowe.

Bodely ſence de. ed.

That is, a ſtery of e ſame g that s in the law.

Beſides theſe Epiſtles aboue prefixed, of Elfricus to Wulfſinus, and Wulfſtane, whiche fight directly againſt tranſubſtantiatiō, mention was touched alſo before of certein Sermons to the number of lxxx. tranſlated by the ſaid Elfricus, out of Latine into the Saxon, that is, into our Engliſh tongue, as ye partly haue heard before. Of the which lxxx. Sermons, xxiiij. were chiefly ſelected, to bee read, as in ſtede of Homilies, or treatiſes, vnto the people: in ſuch order, as the firſt xij. Sermons or treatiſes, intreating of general matters (as De initio creaturæ, de auguriis, de die iudicij, vnius confeſſoris, de vaniloquio & negligentia, de auaritia, de falſis dijs, &c.) were apointed to be read at pleaſure, & at the diſcretion of the Miniſter. The other xij. ſermons were preſcribed of proper feaſts: (as De annuntiatione beate Mariæ, de natiuitate domini, de circumciſione domini, de Epiphania, de purificatione ſanctæ Mariæ. Dominica prima in Quadrageſima, Dominica palmarum Die Paſcæ &c. whereof this teſtimony remaineth in þ ſame book yet to be ſene both in the Saxon tongue, and alſo in the Preface of the latter xij. Sermons in Latine, in theſe wordes following: In hoc codicillo continentur ſermones Anglice, quos accepimus de libris quos Abbas Anglicè tranſtulit. &c.

Sermons ſlated of La- into on by ple of ſpeciall red out of Sep

Furthermore as touching theſe lxxx. Sermons aforeſayd, which Elfricus tranſlated into Engliſhe, here is to be vnderſtanded, that in the ſaid Sermons vſed then orderly to be recited to þ people, there is one appointed to be red in die Sancto Paſcæ, that is, vpon Eaſter day, which Sermon being tranſlated by the ſayd Elfricus, we haue here exhibited both in Saxon ſpeache and in Engliſh, to the entent, that the Chriſten and indifferent reader peruſing the ſame, may iudge therby, how the fantaſtical doctrine of trāſubſtantiation, in thoſe daies of Elfricus & before his time, was not yet receiued nor knowen in the Churche of England: for ſo much as the ſayd Sermon being in Latine before, doth leaue vnto vs an euident declaratiō, what was the common opinion of this Sacrament in the Church receaued: before that Elfricus did euer ſet hande to tranſlate the ſame out of the Latin.

And though the Latin copies and exemplars of theſe foreſaid Sermons, are not remaining in our Libraries, let þ be no maruel to thee, louing reader: but vnderſtand therby the craftie packing of the Popes Clergie, who in the time of Lanfrancus, & Pope Innocent, ſtudying by al meanes, how to preſerue and further this their newcome doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, did aboliſh and raſe out of Libraries and Churches, all ſuch bookes which made to the contrary. And therefore becauſe Lanfrancus and other Italian Prieſtes here in England vnderſtood not þ Saxon bookes as they did the Latine, all that whiche they vnderſtoode, they made away. The Saxon bookes, becauſe they knewe them not, they let remaine, And this is the cauſe why our Latine copies now are not to be found. which to be true by iij. reaſons coniectural it may probably be ſuppoſed.

The Latine bookes written agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, craftely by the Papiſtes aboliſhed.

Firſt, for that theſe Saxon Sermons being tranſlated out of the Latine (as ye haue heard by the wordes of Elfricus already proued) onely we ſee the Saxon bookes reſerued: of the Latin none doth appeare.

Three coniectures prouing that the Papiſtes haue made away of purpoſe the olde Latine bookes againſt their tranſubſtantiation.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certaine peece or fragment of an epiſtle of Elfricus in the Library of Worceter, wherin, ſo muche as maketh agaynſt the matter of tranſubſtantiation, we haue found in the middle of the ſaid Latin epiſtle, vtterly raſed out, ſo that no letter or piece of a letter doth there appeare. The wordes cut out, were theſe: Non eſt tamen hoc ſacrificium corpus eius, in quo paſſus eſt pro nobis neq; ſanguis eius quem pro nobis effudit: ſed ſpiritualiter corpus eius efficitur & ſanguis, ſicut Manna quod de cælo pluit, & aqua quæ de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus &c. 1. Notwithſtanding this ſacrifice is not the ſame body of hys, wherin he ſuffered for vs, nor the ſame bloud of hys: whiche he ſhed for vs but ſpiritually it is made his body and bloud as that Manna whiche rayned from heauen and the water whiche did flowe out of the rocke, as Paule. &c. Theſe wordes ſo raſed out are to be reſtored agayne by an other Saxon booke found in Exceter. By the raſing of whiche one place, it may eaſily be coniectured, what theſe practiſers haue likewyſe done in the reſt.

The words craftely raſed out by the Papiſtes, & reſtored agayne by the Saxon booke of Exeter.

Thirdly by one Italian tricke of Polydore Virgill in our daies, the properties and doinges of all other Italian papiſts of elder time, may partly be coniectured. For ſo I am informed by ſuch, as preciſely will affirme it to be true þ when Polydore being licenſed by the king to viewe and ſearche all Libraries, had once accompliſhed his ſtorye by the help of ſuch books as he had compiled out of Libraries in þ end, when he had taken out what he would: like a true factor for þ popes own tooth, he piled his bookes together & ſet them al on a light fire. For what cauſe he ſo did, I can not certaynly pronounce: but who ſo conſidereth well his religion, may ſhrewdly ſuſpect him. For a probatiō, whereof, this may ſerue for a ſufficient tryall: that whereas of all other writers of hiſtoryes that haue bene in Englād, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Raſtall, More, Leland, Balle, Halle, & ſuch other, ſome of their bookes which they then occupyed yet remayn in hands to be ſeene. Onely of ſuche books, as Polydore vſed and which paſt his handes, what Engliſhe man is he that hath ſeene, or can ſhewe me one? whereby it may wel be thought, the foreſaid information to be true. As alſo by this one Italian tricke of Polydore, may other Italians likewiſe be ſuſpected, in making away ſuch Latin books within this land, as made not for their purpoſe. But for ſo much as thoſe Latine bookes be nowe aboliſhed, and can not be had, let vs returne to our Saxon tongue agayne, and ſee what this Saxon ſermon of Elfricus tranſlation, doth ſay for tranſubſtantiation: The copy whereof here enſueth.

An Italiā tricke of Polydore Virgill, to burne his bookes, which he had gotten into his handes.

¶A Sermon

* * *

¶ A Sermon tranſlated out of Latin into the Saxon tongue by Ælfricus, againſt Tranſubſtantiation. An. 996.

In die Sancta Paſca.

¶ The Alphabet of the Saxon tongue.

d. f. g. r. ſ. t. w. y. z.

¶ a. b. c. ꝺ. e. ꝼ. ȝ. h. i. l. m. n. o. p. ꞃ. ꞅ. ꞇ. u. ƿ. x. ẏ. ʒ.

Abbreuiations.

Æ. Th. Th. S. W. and. th th.

Æ. Ð. þ. Ꞅ. ƿ. ⁊. ð. ꝥ.

This Sermon was vſuall to be read in the Church here *in England in the Saxons time. An. 366.*

MEn ða leofostan. ȝelome eoƿ is ȝesæd ẏmbe ures hælendes æriste. hu he on þisum andƿeardan dæȝe æfter his ðroƿunȝe mihtiȝlice of deaþe aras; Nu ƿille ƿe eoƿ ȝeopenian ðurh Godes ȝife be þam halȝan husle ðe ȝe nu toȝan sceolon. ⁊ ȝeƿissian eoƿer andȝẏt ẏmbe ðære ȝerẏnu. æȝðer ȝe æfter þære ealdan ȝecẏþnẏsse. ȝe æfter þære niƿan. ðẏlæs, ðe æniȝ tƿeonunȝe eoƿ derian mæȝe be ðam liflicum ȝereorde; Se almihtiȝa God bebead þam heretoȝan on Eȝẏpta lande. ꝥ he sceolde bebeodan Israhela folce. ꝥ hi namon æt ælcum heorþe anes ȝeares lambe on þære nihte þæ hi ferdon of þam lande to ðam behatenan earde. ⁊ sceoldon ꝥ lambe Gode ȝeoffrian. ⁊ sẏþþan sniþan. ⁊ ƿẏrcan rode tacn on heora ȝedẏrum. ⁊ oferslegum mid ðæs lambes blod. etan sẏþþan þæs lambes flæsc ȝebræd. and ðeorfe hlafas mid feldlicre lactucan; God cƿæþ to Moẏsen. ne ete ȝe of þam lambe nan ðinȝ hreaƿ. ne on ƿætere ȝesoþen ac ȝebræd to fẏre; Etaþ ꝥ heafod. ⁊ þa fet. ⁊ ꝥ inneƿearde. ne his nan þinȝ ne belife oþ merȝen. ȝif ðær hƿæt to lafe sẏ. forbærneþ ꝥ. þicȝaþ hit on þas ƿisan; Beȝẏrdaþ eoƿere lendenu. and beoþ ȝescode. habaþ eoƿ staf on hande. ⁊ etaþ hrædlice. ðeos tid is Godes færeld; And ƿearþ ða on ðære nihte ofsleȝen on ælcum huse ȝeond eal Pharaoes rice. ꝥ frumcennede cild. and ƿæs ꝥ Godes folc Israhel ahred fram þam ferlican deaþe. ðurh ðæs lambes offrunȝe. and his blodes mearcunȝe; þa cƿæþ God to Moẏsen. healdaþ ðisne dæȝ on eoƿrum ȝemẏnde. ⁊ freolsiaþ hine mærlice on eoƿrum cẏnrenum mid ecum biȝencȝe. ⁊ etah ðeorfne hlaf sẏmle seofan daȝas æt þisre freols tide; Æfter ðissere dæde lædde God ꝥ Israhela folc ofer þa readan sæ. mid drium fotum. ⁊ adrencte ðær on Pharao. ⁊ ealne his here samod ðe heora ehton. ⁊ afedde sẏþþan ꝥ Israhela folc feoƿertiȝ ȝeara mid heofonlicum biȝleofan. ⁊ him forȝeaf ƿeter of heardum stan clude, oð ꝥ hi comon to þam behatenum eþele; Sume þas race ƿe habbaþ ȝetrahtnod on oþre stoƿe sume ƿe ƿẏllað nu ȝeopenian. ꝥ þe belimpþ to þam halȝan husle; Cristene menn ne moton healdan nu þa ealdan æ lichamlice, ac him ȝedafenaþ ꝥ hi cunnon hƿæt heo ȝastlice tacnie; ꝥ unscæþþie lambe þe se ealde Israhela þa ofsnaþ. hæfde ȝetacnunȝe æfter ȝastlicum andȝẏte Cristes ðroƿunȝe se þe unscæþþiȝ for ure alẏsednisse his haliȝe blod aȝeat; Be þam sinȝaþ Godes ðeoƿas æt ælcere mæssan. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; ꝥ is on urum ȝereorde. ðu Godes lamb ðe ætbretst m earde sẏnna ȝemiltsa us; ꝥ Israhela folc ƿearþ a fram þam færlicum deaþe. ⁊ fram Pharaoes ðeoƿte þæs lambes offrunȝe. ðe hæfde ȝetacnunȝe Cris ðroƿunȝe. ðurh þa ƿe sind alẏsede fram þam ecum d ⁊ ðæs reþan deofles anƿealde. ȝif ƿe rihtlice ȝelẏf ðone soþan alẏsend ealles middan eardes hælend Crist ꝥ lamb ƿæs ȝeoffrode on æfnunȝe. ⁊ ure hælend ðro de on ðære sixtan ẏlde þissere ƿorulde; Seo ẏld is teald to æfnunȝe þises ateoriȝelican middan earde; H mearcodan mid þæs lambes blode on heora ȝedẏrum. ouersleȝum tau. ꝥ is rode tacen. ⁊ ƿurdon sƿa ȝe fram þam enȝle. ðe acƿealde ðæra Eȝiptiscra frumcen nedan cild; And ƿe sceolon mearcian ure forƿearde hea fod. and urne lichaman mid Cristes rode tacne. ꝥ ƿe be on ahredde fram forƿẏrde. ðonne ƿe beoþ ȝemearco æȝþer ȝe on foran heafde ȝe on heortan mid blode drihtenlicam ðroƿunȝe; ꝥ Israhela folc æt þæs lamb flæsc on heora easter tide þa þa hi ahredde ƿurdon. ⁊ þicȝaþ nu ȝastlice Cristes lichaman. and his blod drinc ðonne ƿe mid soþum ȝeleafan ꝥ haliȝe husel ðicȝaþ; Ðo ne timan hi heoldon him to easter tide seofan daȝas m micclum ƿurþmẏnte ðe hi ahredde ƿurdon ƿiþ Pharao of ðam earde ferdon. sƿa eac cristene men healdaþ Cri stes ærist us to easter tide ðæs seofan daȝas. forþa þe ƿe sint ðurh his ðroƿunȝe ⁊ ærist alẏsede. ⁊ ƿe beo ȝeclænsode ðurh ðæs halȝan husel ȝanȝes. sƿa Cri sẏlf cƿæþ on his ȝodspelle; Soþ soþ ic eoƿ secȝe. nabbe ȝe lif on eoƿ. buton ȝe eten min flæsc. and drincon m blod; Se ðe et min flæsc. ⁊ min blod drincþ, he ƿunaþ o me and ic on him. ⁊ he hæfþ ꝥ ece lif ⁊ ic hine arære on endenextan dæȝe; Ic eom se liflica hlaf ðe of heofon astah. na sƿa sƿa eoƿere forþ fæderas æton ðone heo fonlican hlaf on ƿestene. ⁊ sẏþþan sƿulton; Se ðe et þis ne hlaf. he leofaþ on ecnẏsse; He halȝod hlaf ær his ðro ƿunȝe. ⁊ todælde his discipulum ðus cƿeþende; Etaþ ðis ne hlaf hit is min lichama. ⁊ doþ ðis on mẏnum ȝemẏn de; Eft he bletsode ƿin on anum calice. ⁊ cƿæþ; Drinc ealle of ðisum. ðis is min blod ꝥ he bið for maneȝum a ȝoten on sẏnna forȝẏfenẏsse; Ða apostoli dẏd sƿa sƿa Crist het. ꝥ hi halȝodon hlaf. ⁊ ƿin to husle e sẏþþan on his ȝemẏnde; Eac sƿẏlce heora æfter ȝen ȝan. and ealle sacerdas be Cristes hæse halȝiaþ hlaf ⁊ to husle on his naman mid ðære apostolican bletsun Nu smedon ȝehƿilce men oft. and ȝit ȝelome smea hu se hlaf ðe bið of corne ȝeȝearcod. and ðurh fẏr hætan abacen maȝe beon aƿend to Cristes lichaman. o ðe ꝥ ƿin ðe bið of maneȝum berium aƿrunȝen. ƿeo aƿend ðurh aniȝre bletsunȝe to drihtnes blod; Nu s ȝe ƿe ȝehƿilcum mannum ꝥ sume ðinȝ sind ȝecƿede Crist ðurh ȝetacnunȝe. sume ðurh ȝeƿissum ðin Soð ðinȝ is. and ȝeƿis ꝥ Crist ƿæs of mædene acen and sẏlf ƿilles ðroƿode deaþ. and ƿæs bebẏrȝed. an ðisum dæȝe of deaþ aras; He is ȝecƿeden hlaf ðurh tacnunȝe. and lambe. ⁊ leo. ⁊ ȝehuelles; He is hlaf ȝ ten. forþan ðe he is ure lif and enȝla; He is lamb ȝ en for his unscæððinisse; Leo for ðære strencþe, ðe oferswiþe ðone strangan deofol; Ac swa ðeah æfter soþum gecynde nis Crist naþor ne hlaf, ne lamb, ne leo; Hƿi is ðonne ꝥ halige husel gecƿeden Cristes lichama. oððe his blod, gif hit nis soþlice ꝥ ꝥ hit gehaten is; Soþlice se hlaf, and ꝥ ƿin ðe beoþ ðurh sacerda mæssan gehalgode oðer ðing he æteoƿiað menniscum andgitum ƿið utan, ⁊ oþer ðing hi clipiað ƿiþ innan geleafullum modum; ƿiþ utan hi beoþ geseƿene hlaf ⁊ ƿin ægðer ge on hiƿe ge on sƿæcce, ac hi beoþ soþlice æfter ðære halgunge Cristes lichama. ⁊ his blod ðurh gastlice gerynu; Hæðen cild biþ gefullod, ac hit ne bræt na his hiƿ ƿið utan ðeah ðe hit beo ƿiþ innan aƿend; Hit bið gebroht synfull ðurh Adames forgægednysse to ðam fant fate; Ac hit biþ aþƿogen fram eallum synnum ƿið innan. ðeah ðe hit ƿiþ utan his hiƿ ne aƿende; Eac sƿylce ꝥ halige fant ƿæter ðe is gehaten lifes ƿylspring. is gelic on hiƿe oðrum ƿæterum, ⁊ is underþeod brosnunge. ac ðæs halgan gastes miht genealæcð ðam brosnigendlicum ƿætere, ðurh sacerda bletsunge. and hit mæg syþþan lichaman, and saƿle aðƿean fram eallum synnum ðurh gastlice miht; Efne nu ƿe geseoþ tƿa ðing on ðisum anum gesceafte; Æfter soþum gecynde. ꝥ ƿæter is brosniendlic ƿæte. ⁊ æfter gastlicre gerynu hæfð halƿende mihte; Sƿa eac gif ƿe sceaƿiaþ ꝥ halige husel æfter lichamlicum andgyte. ðonne geseo ƿe ꝥ hit is gesceaft brosniendlic ⁊ aƿendlic; Gif ƿe ða gastlican miht þær on tocnaƿaþ ðonne undergite ƿe ꝥ ðær is lif on. and forgifþ undeadlicnysse. ðam ðe hit mid geleafan ðicgaþ; Micel is betƿux þære ungeseƿenlicā mihte þæs halgan husles. ⁊ þam geseƿenlican hiƿe agenes gecyndes; Hit is on gecynde brosniendlic hlaf. ⁊ brosniendlic ƿin. and is æfter mihte Godcundes ƿordes. soþlice Cristes lichama ⁊ his blod. na sƿa þeah lichālice ac gastlice; Micel is betƿux þam lichamā ðe crist on þroƿode. ⁊ þam lichamā þe to husle bið gehalgod; Se lichama soþlice þe crist on ðroƿode ƿæs geboren of Marian flæsc. mid blod ⁊ mid banum. mid felle ⁊ mid sinū, on menniscū limū. mid gesceadƿisre saƿle gelifæst ⁊ his gastlica lichama. þe ƿe husel hataþ is of manegum cornum gegaderod. butō blod. ⁊ bane. limleas. ⁊ saƿulleas. ⁊ nis forþi nan þing ðær on to understandenne; Sƿa hƿæt sƿa on ðam husle is þe us lifes edƿist forgifþ. ꝥ is of þære gastlicā mihte, ⁊ ungeseƿenlicre fremminege; Forþi is ꝥ halige husel gehatē gerynu, forþā þe oþer þing is þæron geseƿen, ⁊ oþer þing undergitē; ꝥ ꝥ ðær geseƿen is hæfþ lichamlic hiƿ ⁊ ꝥ ꝥ ƿe ðær on understandað hæfþ gastlice mihte; ƿitodlice Cristes lichama ðe deaþ ðroƿode. ⁊ of deaþ aras, ne sƿylt næfre heonon forþ. ac is ece ⁊ unþroƿiendlic; ꝥ husel is hƿilƿendlic. na ece; Brosniendlic, ⁊ bið stycce mælum todæled; Betƿux toþum tocoƿen. and in to ðam buce asend. ac hit bið þeah hƿæþere æfter gastlicre miht on ælcum dæle eall; Manega underfoþ ðone halgan lichaman. ⁊ he bið sƿa þeah on ælcum dæle eall æfter gastlicre gerynu; þeah sume men gesceote læsse dæl ne bið sƿa ðeah namare miht on þam maran dæle ðonne on ðam læssan, forðan þe hit bið on ælcum men ansund æfter þære ungeseƿenlican mihte; ðeos gerynu is ƿedd. and hiƿ; Cristes lichama is soþfæstnysse; Ðis ƿedd ƿe healdað gerynelice. oð ꝥ ƿe becumon to ðære soþfæstnysse. ⁊ ðonne bið þis ƿedd geendod; Soþlice hit is sƿa sƿa ƿe ær cƿædon Cristes lichama. and his blod. na lichamlice ac gastlice; Uton nu gehyran ðæs Apostoles ƿord embe ðas gerynu; Paulus se apostol cƿæð be ðam ealdan folce Israhela. ðus ƿritende on his pistole to geleaffullum mannum; Ealle ure forðfæderas ƿæron gefullude on ƿolcne. and on sæ. and eall hi æton ðone ylcan gastlican mete. ⁊ ealle hi druncon ðone ylcan gastlican drenc; Hi druncon soþlice of æfter filigendan stane. ⁊ se stan ƿæs Crist; Næs se stan þe ꝥ ƿæter. of fleoƿ lichamlice crist. ac he getacnode crist. ðe clypode ðus to eallum geleaffullum mannum sƿa hƿam sƿa ðyrste come to me and drince; ⁊ of his innoþe fleoƿþ lifelic ƿæter; þis he sæde be ðam halgan gaste ðe ða underfengon. ðe on hine gelyfdon; Se apostol Paulus cƿæð ꝥ ꝥ Israhela folc æte ðone ylcan gastlican mete. ⁊ drunce ðone ylcan gastlican drenc. forðan ðe se ylca heofonlica mete ðe hi afedde .xl. geara, ⁊ ꝥ ƿæter ðe of þan stane fleoƿ. hæfde getacnunge cristes lichaman. ⁊ his blodes. ðe nu beoþ geoffrode dæghƿamlice on Godes cyrcan; Hit ƿæron ða ylcan ðe ƿe nu offriað. na lichamlice. ac gastlice; ƿe sædon eoƿ hƿene ær ꝥ Crist halgode hlaf ⁊ ƿin ær his ðroƿunge to husle. ⁊ cƿæð. ðis is min lichama. ⁊ min blod; Ne ðroƿode he ða gyt. ac sƿa ðeah he aƿende ðurh ungeseƿenlice miht ðone hlaf to his agenum lichama. ⁊ ꝥ ƿin to his blod; sƿa sƿa he ær dyde. on ðam ƿestene ærðan ðe he to men geboren ƿurde. ða ða he aƿende ðone heofonlican mete to his flæsc. ⁊ ꝥ floƿende ƿæter of ðam stane to his agenum blode; Fela manna æton of ðam heofonlican mete on ðam ƿestene. ⁊ druncō ðone gastlicā drenc. ⁊ ƿurdon sƿa ðeah deade. sƿa sƿa Crist sæde; Ne mænde Crist ðone deaþ ðe nan man forbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde ðone ecan deað ðe sume of ðam folce for heora geleafleste gearnodon; Moyses ⁊ Aaron. ⁊ manega oðre of ðam folce ðe God gelicodon. æton ðone heofonlican hlaf. ac hi næron deade ðam ecum deað. ðeah ðe hi gemænum deaþ forþ ferdon; Hi gesaƿon ꝥ se heofonlica mete ƿæs geseƿenlic, and brosniendlic. ac hi understodon gastlice be ðam geseƿenlicum þinge. ⁊ hit gastlice ðigdon; Se hælend cƿæþ. se ðe æt min flæsc. and drincþ min blod. he hæfþ ece lif; Ne het he na etan ðone lichaman. ðe he mid befangen ƿæs. ne ꝥ blod drincan. ðe he for us ageat. ac he mænde mid ðam ƿorde ꝥ halige husel. þe gastlic is his lichama ⁊ his blod. ⁊ se þe þæs onbyrigþ mid geleaffulre heortā. he hæfþ ꝥ ece lif; On þære ealdan æ geleaffulle men offrodon Gode mistlice lac. þe hæfdō to ƿeardre getacnunge cristes lichama. þe sylf for urum synnū syþþan geoffrode his heofonlicō fæder to onsægednysse; ƿitodlice þis husel þe nu biþ gehalgode æt godes ƿeofode. is gemynd cristes lichaman þe he for us geoffrode. ⁊ his blodes þe he for us ageat. sƿa sƿa he sylf het. doþ ðis on minum gemynde; Æne ðroƿode crist þurh hine sylfne ac sƿa þeah dæghƿomlice bið his þroƿung geedniƿod ðurh gerynu þæs halgan husles æt þære halgan mæssan; Us is eac to smeagenne, ꝥ ꝥ halige husel is ægðer ge Cristes lichama. ge ealles geleafulles folces. æfter gastlicre gerynu; Swa swa se wisa Augustinus be þam cwæþ; Gif ge willaþ understandan be Cristes lichaman; gehyraþ þone apostol Paulũ þus cweþende; Ge soþlice sindon Cristes lichama. ⁊ leomu; Nu is eower gerynu geled on Godes mysan. and ge underfoþ eower gerynu to þam þe ge sylfe sind; Beoþ ꝥ ꝥ ge geseoh on ðam weofode. ⁊ underfoþ ꝥ ꝥ ge sylfe sind; Eft cwæþ se apostol Paulus be þisum. we manega syndon an hlaf. ⁊ an lichama; Vnderstandaþ nu. ⁊ blissiah. feala sindan hlaf. ⁊ an lichama on Criste; He is ure heafod. ⁊ we sind his lima; Ne biþ se hlaf of anum corne. ac of manegum; Ne ꝥ win of anre berian. ac of manegum. Swa we sceolon eac habban annysse on urum drihtne. swa swa hit awriten is be þam geleaffullan weorode. ꝥ hi wæron on swa micelre annysse. swilce him eallũ wære on sawul. ⁊ an heorte; Crist gehalgode on his beode þa gerynu ure sibbe. ⁊ ure annisse. se þe underfehþ þære annysse gerynu. ⁊ ne hilt ðe ne bend ðære soþan sibbe. ne underfehþ he na gerynu for him sylfũ. ac gecyðnysse togeanes him sylfum; Micel God bið cristenum mannum. ꝥ hi gelome to husle gan. gif hi unscæþþignysse on heora heortan beraþ to þam weofode. gif hi ne beoh mid leahtrum ofsette; þam yfelan men ne becymþ to nanũ gode. ac to forwyrde. gif he þæs halgan husles unwurþe onbyrigþ; Halige bec beodaþ ꝥ man gemænge wæter to þam wine ðe to husle sceal. forþan ðe ꝥ wæter hæfþ ðæs folces getacnũge. swa swa ꝥ win Cristes blodes; and forþi ne sceal naþor butum oþrum beon geoffrode. æt þære halgan mæssan. ꝥ Crist beo mid us. ⁊ we mid Criste. ꝥ heafod mid þam leonum. and þa leomu mid þam heafode; We woldon gefyrn trahtnian be ðam lambe ðe se ealde Israhel æt heora eastertyde geoffrodon. ac we woldon ærest eow gereccan ymbe þas gerynu. ⁊ syþþan hu hit man þicgan sceal; ꝥ getacniendlice lamb wæs geoffrode æt heora eastertide. ⁊ se apostol Paulus cwæþ on þisum dæghwerlicum pistole. ꝥ crist is ure eastertide. se ðe for us wæs geoffrod. ⁊ on þisũ dæge of deaþ aras; Israhel þigde þæs lambes flæsc. swa swa God bebead. mid þeorfum hlafũ. ⁊ feldlicum lactucũ. ⁊ we sceolon þicgan ꝥ halige husel cristes lichaman. and his blod buton beorman yfelnysse ⁊ manfulnysse; Swa swa se beorma awent þa gesceafta of heora gecynde. swa awẽdaþ eac leahtras þæs mãnes gecynde frã unscæþþignysse to gewemmednysse; Se apostol tæhte ꝥ we sceoldon gewistfulliã na on yfelnysse beormã. ac on þeorfnyssũ sifernysse. ⁊ soþfæstnysse; Lactuca hætte seo wyrt þe hi etan sceoldon mid þã þeorfum hlafum. heo is biter on þicgen; ⁊ we sceolon mid biternysse soþre behreowsunge ure mod geclænsian. gif we willaþ cristes lichaman þicgan; Næs ꝥ Israhela folc gewunod. to hreawũ flæsc. þeah þe God him bebude. ꝥ hi hit hreap ne etõ. ne on wæter gesoden. ac gebræd to fyre; Se wile þicgã Godes lichamã hreawne. se þe buton gesceade wenþ ꝥ he wære anfeald mã us gelice. ⁊ nære God; and se þe æfter mennischum wisdom wyle smeagan ymbe þa gerynu cristes flæsclicnysse, he deþ swylce he seoþe þæs lambes flæsc on wætere. forþã þe wæter getac-

naþ on ðissere stowe mennisc ingehid; Ac we sceolon w
ꝥ ealle þa gerynu cristes mennischysse wæron ge
þurh mihte þæs halgan gastes. þonne þicge we his lic
gebrædne to fyre. forþan þe se halga gast com on f
hiwe to þam apostolũ on mistlic gereordũ; Israhel
old etan þæs lambes heafod. ⁊ ða fet. ⁊ ꝥ innewearde
nan þing belifan ne moste ofer niht; Gif þær hwæt
lyfe. forbærnan ꝥ on fyre. ⁊ ne tobræcan þa baan; Æ
gastlicum andgite we etaþ þæs lãbes heafod. ðonne we
derfoþ cristes godcundnysse on urũ geleafan; Eft
ne we his mennisnysse mid lufe underfoþ, ðonne ete we
lambes fet. forþan þe Crist is angin ⁊ ende. God ær e
worulda. ⁊ man on ðissere worulde geendunge; Hwæt is
lãbes innewearde buton cristes digelan bebodu þa we e
þõne we lifes word mid grædignysse underfoþ; Nan
ne moste þæs lãbes belifan oþ mergẽ. forþã þe godes
das sind to smeagenne mid swa mycelre carfulnysse.
ꝥ ealle his beboda mid andgite ⁊ weorce beon asmeade
nihte ðises andweardã lifes. ærþã þe se endenexta dæg
gemænelican ærystes ætcowige; Gif we þonne ealle þa g
rynu cristes flæsclicnysse þurh smeagan ne magon, þon
ne sceole we þa lafe betæcan þæs halgan gastes mihte m
soþre eadmodnysse. ⁊ na to dyrstelice ymbe þa deop
digelnysse ofer ures andgytes mæþe smeagan; Hi æt
ꝥ lamb mid begyrdum lendenũ; On lendenum is seo ga
nysse þæs lichaman ⁊ se ðe wile ꝥ husel ðicgan he sceal ge
wrydã þa galnysse. ⁊ mid clænnysse þa halgan ðigene on
fon; Hi wæron eac gescode; Hwæt sind gescy butõ
ðra nytene hyda; We beoþ soplice gescode. gif we efen
caþ mid urũ fereld ⁊ weorce forþfarenra manna lif
þe Gode geþugon þurh gehealdsumnysse his beboda;
hæfdõ him stæf on handa æt þæra þigene; Se stæf geta
naþ gymene. ⁊ hyrdnysse; þa þe bet cunnõ ⁊ magõ
lõ gymã oþra mãna. ⁊ mid heora fultume under
þã gemettũ wæs bebodẽ ꝥ hi sceoldõ caflice etã. for
þe God onscunaþ þa sleacnysse on his þegnũ. ⁊ þa þe hi
þe mid modes caffnesse þæs ecan lifes myrhþe secaþ; Hi
awritẽ. Ne elca þu to gecyrrãne to God. ðy læs þe se t
ma losie þurh þa sleacã elcũge; þa gemettã ne moston
lãbes ban scænã. ne þa campã þe crist ahengõ ne mo
tobræcan his halgã sceancã. swa swa hi dydõ þæra tw
sceaþena þe him on twa healfa hangodon. ac drihten a
deaþ gesũd butõ ælcere forwrotodnysse; ⁊ hi sceolõ
seõ æt þã micclã dome hwæne gewundodõ wælhreowlice
rode; þeos tid is gehatẽ on ebreis cũ gereorde Pasca
is on ledẽ Trãsitus. ⁊ on englisc færeld. forþã ðe on
dæge ferde godes folc frã egipta lãda ofer ða readã
frã þeowte to þã behatenã earde; ure drihten ferde ea
þisne timã. swa swa se godspellere Iohns cwæþ frã þisũ
ðã earde to his heofonlicũ fæder; we sceolõ fyliã ur
de. ⁊ farã frã deofle to crist. frã þissere unstæþþig
wuld. to his staþelfæstã rice. ac we sceolõ ærest on
andweardã life farã frã leahtrũ to halgũ mægnũ. frã
þeawũ to godũ þeawũ. gig we willaþ æfter þisũ lænã lif
tobã ecã. ⁊ æfter urũ ærist to hælẽd crist; he us g
to his lifligẽdã fæder. þe hine sealð for urũ synnũ to
Si him wuldor ⁊ lof. þære weldæda on ealra worulda. Am

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Sermon on Eaſter day.

A Sermon
n old Saxon
tongue tran-
lated into
Engliſhe.

MEn beloued, it hathe bene often ſayde vnto you about our Sauiours reſurrection, howe hee on this preſent day, after his ſuffering mightely roſe from deathe. Nowe will we open vnto you through Gods grace, of the holye houſell, which ye ſhould nowe go vnto, and inſtruct your vnderſtanding about this myſterie, both after the olde couenaunt, and alſo after the newe, that no doubting maye trouble you about thys liuely foode. The almightye God bad Moſes hys Captaine in the Lande of Egypt, to commaund the people of Iſrael to take to euery family a lamb of one yere old, the night they departed out of the countrey to the land of promiſe, and to offer that lambe to God, and after to cutte it, and to make the ✠ ſigne of the Croſſe wyth the lambes bloud vpon the ſide poſtes, and the vpper poſt of theyr dore, and afterwarde to eate the Lambes fleſh roſted, and vnleauened bread with wilde lettiſſe, God ſayeth vnto Moyſes: Eate of the Lambe nothing rawe, nor ſodden in water, but roſted at the fire. Eate the heade, the feete, and the inwardes, and lette nothing of it be left vntill the morning, if anye thing therof remaine, that ſhall you burne with fire. Eate it in this wiſe: Girde your loynes, and doe your ſhoes on your feete, haue you ſtaues in your handes, and eate it in haſte. The tyme is the Lordes Paſſeouer. And there was ſlaine on that night in euery houſe through oute Pharaos raigne, the firſte borne childe: and Gods people of Iſrael were deliuered frō that ſodaine death through the Lambes offering & his bloudes marking. Then ſayde God vnto Moyſes. Keepe this day in your remembraunce, and holde it a great feaſte in your kindredes wyth a perpetuall obſeruation, and eate vnleauened breade alwayes ſeuen dayes at this feaſte. After thys deede, God led the people of Iſrael ouer the red Sea with drye foote, & drowned therein Pharao and all his army together with theyr poſſeſſions, and fedde afterward the Iſraelites 40. yeares, wyth heauenly foode, and gaue them water out of the hard rocke, vntill they came to the promiſed land. Parte of thys ſtorie we haue treated off in an other place, partly we ſhall nowe declare, to witte, that which belongeth to the holye houſell. Chriſten men may not nowe keepe that olde lawe bodely, but it behoueth them to knowe what it Ghoſtlye ſignifieth. That innocent Lambe which the old Iſraelites did then kil, had ſignification after Ghoſtly vnderſtāding, of Chriſtes ſuffering, who vnguiltie ſhedde his holy bloud for our redemption. Hereof ſing Gods ſeruaunts at euery * Maſſe, Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis. That is in our ſpeach: Thou Lambe of God that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world, haue mercy vppon vs. Thoſe Iſraelites were deliuered from that ſodaine deathe, and from Pharaos bondage by the lambes offeryng, which ſignified Chriſtes ſuffering: through which we be deliuered from euerlaſting death, and from the deuils cruell raigne, if we rightly beleue in the true redemer of the whole world Chriſt the Sauiour. That Lambe was offered in the euening: and our ſauiour ſuffered in the ſixt age of this world. This age of this corruptible worlde is reckened vnto the euening. They marked with the lambes bloud vppon the dores, and the vpper poſtes * Thau, that is the ſigne of the croſſe, and were ſo defended from the Angels that killed the Egyptians firſt borne childe. And wee * ought to marke our foreheades and our bodies with the token of Chriſtes roode, ẏ we may be alſo deliuered from deſtruction, when we ſhalbe marked both on forehead, and alſo in heart with the bloude of oure Lordes ſuffering. Thoſe Iſraelites dyd eate the lambes fleſh at their Eaſter time, when they were deliuered, and we receiue ghoſtly Chriſtes body, & drynke his bloude, when we receiue with true beliefe, that holye houſell. That time they kept with them at Eaſter 7. daies with great worſhip, when they were deliuered from Pharao, and went from that land. So alſo Chriſten men keepe Chriſtes reſurrection at the time of Eaſter theſe 7. dayes, becauſe throughe his ſuffering and riſing we be deliuered, and be made cleane by going to this holy houſel, as Chriſt ſayeth in hys Goſpell: Verely, verely I ſay vnto you ye haue no life in you excepte yee eate my fleſh and drinke my bloud. He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my bloude, abideth in mee, and I in him, and hath that euerlaſting life, and I ſhall raiſe him vp in the laſt day. I am the liuely bread that came downe from heauen: not ſo as your forefathers did eate that heauenly breade in the wilderneſſe, and afterwarde died. Hee that eateth this breade, liueth for euer. Hee bleſſed breade before his ſuffering, and deuided it to hys Diſciples, thus ſayinge: Eate of thys breade, it is my body, and doe this in my remembraunce. Alſo hee bleſſed wyne in one cuppe, and ſayd: Drinke ye all of this: This is my bloude that is ſhedde for manye, in forgeueneſſe of ſinnes. The Apoſtles did as Chriſt commanded, that is, they bleſſed breade and wine to houſel againe afterward in his remembraunce.

✠ This ſigne of the croſſe is beſide the text, but here we muſt beare with the ignorance of that time.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 14.

Exod. 17.

* This Maſſe was not the lyke to theſe our Popiſhe & blaſphemous maſſes now.

* This Hebrewe letter [Thau] was not marked for the ſigne of the croſſe but for the word (Torat) that is, the law of God the firſt letter for the whole world.

Ezech. 9.

* That one-
y croſſe is it
wherewith
we are mar-
ed, that S.
Paule ſpea-
eth of E-
he. 2.
Chriſt re-
onciled
oth to God
one body
horough
is croſſe.

ohn. 6.

ath. 26.
e. 22.
arke. 14.
Cor. 11.

Euen ſo alſo their ſucceſſours and all prieſtes by Chriſtes commaundement do bleſſe bread and wine to houſel in his name wyth the Apoſtolicke bleſſing. Nowe menne haue often ſearched and doe yet often * ſearch, how bread that is gathered of corne, and through fires heate baked, may be turned to Chriſtes body; or howe wine that is preſſed out of many grapes is turned through one bleſſing, to ẏ Lords bloud. Now ſay we to ſuch men, that ſome thinges be ſpoken of Chriſt by * ſignification, and ſome be thinges certayne. True this is and certayne that Chriſt was borne of a mayd, and ſuffered death of his owne accord, and was buryed, and on this day roſe from death. He is ſayde to be bread by ſignification, and a Lambe, & a Lyon, & a mountayne. He is called bread, becauſe he is our life and angels lyfe. He is ſayd to be a Lambe for his innocencie: a Lyon for ſtrength wherewith he ouercame the ſtrong deuil. But Chriſt is not ſo notwithſtanding after true nature, neither bread, nor a lambe, nor a lyon. Why is then the holy houſel called Chriſtes body, or his bloud, if it be not truely that it is called? Truely the bread and the wine which in the ſupper by the prieſt is hallowed, ſhewe one thing without to humaine vnderſtanding, and an other thing within to beleuing mindes. Without they be ſeene bread and wine both in figure & in taſte, & they be truely after theyr hallowing Chriſtes body and his bloud through ghoſtly miſtery. An heathen childe is chriſtened, yet hee altereth not his ſhape without, though he be chaunged within. He is brought to ẏ fontſtone ſinfull through Adams diſobedience: howbeit he is waſhed frō all ſinne within, though he hath not chāged his ſhape without. * Euen ſo the holy font water that is called the wellſpring of life, is like in ſhape to other waters, and is ſubiect to corruption, but ẏ holy ghoſtes might commeth to the corruptible water through the prieſts bleſſing, and it may after waſh the body and ſoule from al ſin, through ghoſtly might. Behold now we ſee two things in this one creature: after true nature, ẏ water is corruptible moyſture, and after ghoſtly miſtery, hath wholſom vertue. So alſo if we behold the holy houſell after bodily vnderſtanding, then we ſee that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we knowledge therein ghoſtly might, thē vnderſtand we that life is therein, and that it geueth immortalitie to thē that eate it with beliefe. Muche is betwixt the inuiſible might of the holy houſel, and the viſible ſhape of proper nature. It is * naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, & is by might of Gods word truely chriſtes body and bloud, not ſo notwithſtādīg bodily, but ghoſtly. Much is betwixt the * body of Chriſt which he ſuffered in, and the body that is hallowed to houſel. The body truly that Chriſt ſuffered in, was borne of the fleſh of Marie wᵗ bloude and with bone, with ſkin and with ſinewes, in humaine lims, with a reaſonable ſoule liuing, and his ghoſtly body, which we call the houſel, is gathered of many cornes, without bloud and bone, without limme, wᵗout ſoule, and therefore nothing is to be vnderſtand therein bodely, but all is ghoſtly to be vnderſtande. Whatſoeuer is in that houſel, which geueth ſubſtaunce of life that is of the ghoſtly might, and inuiſible doing. Therefore is that holy houſell, called a myſterie, becauſe there is one thing in it ſeene, and an other thing vnderſtanded. That which is there * ſeene, hath bodely ſhape: and that we do there vnderſtande, hath ghoſtly might. Certainely Chriſtes body whyche ſuffered death and roſe from death neuer * dieth henceforth, but is eternal and vnpaſſible. That houſel is temporal, not eternal, * corruptible and dealed into ſundrye partes chewed betweene teeth and ſent into the belly: howbeit neuertheleſſe after ghoſtly myght it is all in euery parte. Many receiue that holy body: and yet notwithſtandinge, it is ſo all in euery part after ghoſtly myſterie. Though ſome chewe the leſſe, yet is there no more might notwithſtādīg in the more parte, then in the leſſe, becauſe it is whole in all men after the inuiſible might. This myſterie is a * pledge and a figure: Chriſtes body is truth it ſelfe. Thys pledge we doe kepe myſtically, vntill that we be come to the truth it ſelfe, and then is this pledge ended. Truely it is ſo as we before haue ſayde, Chriſtes body and his bloude: not bodily, but ghoſtly. But now here the Apoſtles wordes about this miſterie. Paul the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the old Iſraelites thus writing in his epiſtle to faithful men: Al our forefathers were baptiſed in the cloud and in the ſea, and all they did eate the ſame ghoſtly meat, & dranke the ſame ghoſtly drinke. They drank truly of the ſtone that followed them, and that ſtone was Chriſt. Neither was that * ſtone then from which the water ran bodily Chriſte, but it ſignified Chriſte, that calleth thus to all beleuing and faithful men: Who ſoeuer thirſteth, let hym come to mee and drinke, and from his bowelles ſhall flowe liuely water. This he ſayd of the holy Ghoſt, whych they receiued who beleeued on him. The Apoſtle Paul ſayth: that the Iſraelites did eate the ſame ghoſtly meat, & dranke the ſame ghoſtly drinke,

* Note how Chriſtes words were taken by ſignification before Berēgarius time.

* A neceſſary diſtinction.

Why is the houſell called chriſts body, when it is not ſo truely?

Iohn. 6.

* The water in baptiſme, and bread & wine in the Lordes ſupper compared.

* No tranſubſtantiation.

* Difference betwixt Chriſts naturall body, and the Sacrament thereof.

* 1. Difference.

* Not the body that ſuffered is in the houſell.

* 2. Difference.

* 3. Difference.

* 4. Difference.

Math. 15.

* 5. Difference.

1. Cor. 10.

* Note this expoſition which is now a dayes thought newe.

Iohn. 4.

becauſe that heauenly meate that fed them 40. yeares, and that water which from the ſtone did flowe, had ſignification of Chriſtes body and hys bloud, that now be offred daily in Gods Church. It was the ſame which we now offer, not bodely, but ghoſtly.

We ſaid vnto you ere while, that Chriſt halowed bread and wine to houſell before his ſuffering, and ſayde: Thys is my body and my bloud, Yet he had not then ſuffered: but ſo notwithſtanding he *turned through inuiſible mighte, the bread to his owne bodye: and that wine to his bloud: as he before did in the wildernes, before that he was borne to be a man, when he *turned ẏ heauenly meate to his fleſh, and the flowing water from that ſtone to his owne bloud. Very many did eate of that *heauenly meat in the wildernes, and drinke the ghoſtly drinke: and were neuertheleſſe dead, as Chriſt ſayd. And Chriſt meant not ẏ death whych none can eſcape, but that euerlaſting death which ſome of that folke deſerued for theyr vnbelief. Moyſes and Aaron, and many other of that people which pleaſed God, did eate that heauenly bread: and they died not ẏ euerlaſting death, though they died the common death. They ſawe that the heauenly meate was viſible and corruptible, & they ghoſtly vnderſtood by that viſible thing, and ghoſtly receiued it. The Sauiour ſayeth: Hee that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath euerlaſting life. And he bad them not eate that body wherewith hee was encloſed, nor to drinke that bloude which he ſhed for vs: but he meant with thoſe wordes that holy houſell, which ghoſtly is his body and his bloud, and hee that taſteth it with beleeuing heart, hathe that eternall life. In the olde lawe faithfull men offred to God diuers Sacrifices, that had *foreſignification of Chriſtes bodye, which for our ſinnes he himſelfe to his heauẽly father hath ſince *offered to ſacrifice. Certainly this houſell which we do now halow at Gods alter, is a *remembrance of Chriſtes body which he offered for vs: and of hys bloud whych he ſhed for vs: So he himſelfe commaunded: Doe thys in my remembraunce. Once ſuffered Chriſte by hym ſelfe, but yet neuertheleſſe hys ſuffering is daily renued at thys ſupper, through myſterie of the holy houſell. Therefore we ought to conſider diligently: howe that this holy houſell is both Chriſtes bodye, and the bodye of all *faithfull menne, after ghoſtly myſterie. As wiſe Auguſtine ſayeth of it: If ye wil vnderſtand of Chriſtes body, here the Apoſtle Paule thus ſpeaking. Yee truely be Chriſtes body and his members. Nowe is your myſterie ſette on Gods table, and ye receiue youre myſterie, which myſterie ye your ſelues be. Be that which ye ſee on the altare, and receiue that which yee your ſelues be. Againe the Apoſtle Paule ſayeth by it: We manye be one bread, and one bodye. Vnderſtande nowe and reioyce, many be one bread, and one body in Chriſt. He is our heade, and we be his limmes: and the bread is not of one corne, but of many: nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So alſo we all ſhoulde haue one vnitie in our Lorde, as it is wrytten of the faithfull armie, how that they were in ſo great an vnitie, as though al of them were one ſoule, and one heart. Chriſte hallowed on hys table the myſterie of oure peace and of our vnitie. He which receiueth that myſterie of vnitie, & keepeth not the bonde of true peace, receiueth no myſterie for himſelfe, but a witneſſe againſt himſelfe. It is very good for Chriſten men, that they goe often to howſell, if they bring with them to the alter, vngiltines and innocẽcy of hart: if they be not oppreſſed with ſinne. To an euil man it turneth to no good, but to deſtruction, if hee receyue vnworthely that holy houſell. Holy *bookes commaund that water be mingled to that wine which ſhall be for houſell, becauſe the water ſignifieth the people, & the *wine Chriſtes bloud, and therefore ſhall neither the one wythout the other be offered at the holy maſſe, that Chriſt may be wyth vs, and we with Chriſt, the head with the limmes, and the limmes with the head. Wee woulde before haue intreated of the Lambe whyche the olde Iſraelites offered at theyr Eaſter time, but that we deſired firſt to declare vnto you of this myſterie, and after how we ſhould receiue it. That ſignifying lambe was offered at the Eaſter, And the Apoſtle Paule ſayeth in the Epiſtle of this preſent day, that Chriſt is our Eaſter who was offred for vs, and on this day roſe from death. The Iſraelites did eate the Lambes fleſhe as God commaunded, with vnleauened bread and wilde lettiſſe: *ſo wee ſhoulde receiue that holy houſell of Chriſtes body and bloud without the leauen of ſinne, and iniquitie. As leauen turneth the creatures from their nature: ſo doth ſinne alſo chaunge the nature of manne from innocencie to vncleanneſſe. The Apoſtle hath taught howe we ſhoulde feaſt, not in the leauen of the euilneſſe, but in the ſweete doughe of puritie and truth. The herbe which they ſhould eate with the vnleauened bread is called lettiſſe, and is bitter in taſte. So we ſhould with bitterneſſe of vnfained repentaunce purifie oure minde, if wee will eate Chriſtes bodye. Thoſe Iſraelites were not woonte to eate rawe fleſhe, and therefore God badde them to eate it neyther raw nor ſodden in water, but roſted with fire. He ſhal receiue the body of God rawe, that ſhal thinke without reaſon, that Chriſt was onely manlike vnto vs, and was not God. And he that will after mans wiſedome ſearch ẏ myſtery of Chriſts incarnation, doth like vnto him that doth ſeeth lambes fleſhe in water, becauſe that water in this ſame place ſignifieth mans vnderſtanding: but we ſhould vnderſtand, that all the miſtery of Chriſtes humanitie was ordered by the power of the holy Ghoſt: and then eate we his body roſted with fire becauſe the holy ghoſt came in fyry lykenes to the Apoſtles in diuers tonges. The Iſraelites ſhould eate the lambs head, and the feete: and the purtenaunce, and nothing therof muſt be lefte ouer night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burne that in the fire: and they breake not the bones. After Ghoſtly vnderſtanding we doe eate the lambes head, when wee take holde of Chriſtes diuinitie in our beliefe. Agayne when we take holde of his humanitie with loue, then eate we the lambs feete, becauſe that Chriſte is the beginning and end, God before all worlde, and man in the end of this worlde. What bee the lambes purtenaunce but Chriſtes ſecrete precepts, and theſe we eate when we receiue with the greedines the word of life. There muſt nothing of the lambe be left vnto the mornig, becauſe that all Gods ſayings are to bee ſearched with great carefulneſſe: ſo that all his precepts may be knowen in vnderſtanding and deede in the nyght of this preſent life, before that the laſt day of the vniuerſall reſurrection doe appeare. If wee cannot ſearche out throughly all the myſterie of Chriſtes incarnation, then ought we to betake the reſt vnto ẏ might of the holy ghoſt with true humilitie, and not to ſearch raſhly of that deepe ſecretenes aboue the meaſure of our vnderſtanding. They did eate the Lambes fleſh wyth theyr loynes girte. In the loynes is the luſt of the bodye, and he whiche will receyue that houſell, ſhall couer or wrap in that concupiſcence, and take with chaſtitie that holy receite. They were alſo ſhod. What be ſhoes but of the hides of dead beaſts? We be truely ſhod if we match in our ſteppes and dedes, the life of mẽ departed this life, which pleaſe God with keeping of hys commandements. They had ſtaues in their handes when they did eate. This ſtaffe ſignifieth a carefulnes & diligent ouerſeeing. And all they, that beſt knowe and can, ſhoulde take care of other men, and ſtay them vp with theyr helpe. It was inioyned to the eaters ẏ they ſhould eat the lambe in haſte, for God abhorreth ſlouthfulneſſe in his ſeruaunts, and thoſe hee loueth, that ſeeke the ioye of euerlaſting lyfe with quickenes, and haſt of minde. It is written: Prolong not to turne vnto God, leaſt the time paſſe away throughe thy ſlow tarrying. The eaters mought not breake the lābs bones. No more mought ẏ ſouldiers that did hang Chriſt, breake his holy legges, as they did of the two theeues that hanged on either ſide of him. And the Lord roſe from death ſounde without all corruption: and at the laſt iudgement they ſhall ſee him, whom they did moſt cruelly wounde on the croſſe. This time is called in the Ebrue tongue Paſca, & in Latine Tranſitus, and in Engliſh a Paſſeouer, becauſe that on this day the people of Iſrael paſſed from the land of Egypt ouer the red ſea: from bondage to the lād of promiſe. So alſo did our Lorde at this time departe as ſayeth Iohn the Euangeliſte, from thys world to hys heauenly father. Euen ſo we ought to folow our head, and to goe from the deuill to Chriſte: from thys vnſtable worlde, to hys ſtable kingdome. Howbeit we ſhoulde firſte in this preſente lyfe departe from vice to holy vertue: from euill manners to good manners, if we wil after this our lente life goe to that eternall life, and after our reſurrection, to Chriſt. He bring vs to hys euerlaſtinge father, who gaue hym to deathe for our ſinnes. To hym be honour and praiſe of well doynge world wythout ende. Amen.

Math.26.
Luke.22.
Marke.14.
* Now we eate that body which was eaten before he was borne by faith.
* Here is no tranſubſtantiation.
* Mantua.
Iohn.6.
*What body the faithful do now eate.
*A ſignification before Chriſt.
* A ſacrifice in Chriſtes tyme.
* A remẽbraũce of Chriſt.
Math.26.
Hebr.10.
*The houſell is alſo the body of al faithfull men.
* No ſcripture inforceth the mixture of water with the wine.
* The wine ſignifieth Chriſtes bloud.
*How we ſhould come to the holy communion.
Exod.12.

And thus I ſuppoſe, it ſtandeth cleare & euidently proued by courſe of al theſe ages afore recited, from the time of Tertullian and Auſten vnto the daies of this Elfricus aboue mencioned, and after him, that this newcome miracle of tranſubſtantiation was not yet crept into the heades of men, nor almoſt came in any queſtion amongſt learned mẽ nor was admitted for any doctrine in the Churche, at leaſt for any general doctrine of all men to be receiued, til a M. yeare compleate after Chriſte, that is, till that Sathan began to be let at large. Apoca. 20. For who euer heard in all the primitiue Churche, or euer reade in the workes of the old ancient Doctors this queſtion once to be aſked, or diſputed, whether any ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in the Lordes Supper? Or what manne was euer ſo doltiſh to beleeue any ſuche thyng, or euer called hereticke for not beleuing the ſame, before the time of ſeduction that is

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before the 1000. yeares aforeſayd were expired.

Wherefore they that ſtand ſo much vppon the antiquity of this Article as a doctrine which hath euer ſince Chriſtes time bene receaued in the Church, taught by the Apoſtles, beleued of all Catholickes, and confirmed by conſent of all ages, of Councels, of natiōs, and people vnto this preſent day: theſe I ſay, either ſhewe them ſelues very ignoraunt in hyſtories and in all ſtate of antiquitie or els moſt impudently they doe abuſe the ſimple credulitie of the people.

They that thinke tranſubſtantiation to be otherwiſe then a new doctrine, are ignorant of hiſtories and antiquity.

To procede now farther in this diſcuſſion of antiquitie, it followed, that after the time of Elfricus aforeſayde, this matter of tranſubſtantiation began firſte to be talked off, & to come in queſtion among a few ſuperſtitious monkes: ſo that as blindnes and ſuperſtition began more and more to encreaſe, ſo the ſayd groſſe opinion ſtill more and more, both in number and authoritie preuailed, in ſo muche that about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. the denying of tranſubſtantiation began to be counted hereſie.

Tranſubſtantiation when it firſt came in queſtion.

And in thys number firſte was one Berengarius a Frenche man, and Archdeacon of Angeowe, whyche of all Chriſten men, which we read of, was firſt called and counted an hereticke for denying of tranſubſtantiation, & troubled for the ſame, as ye ſhall heare.

Berengarius the firſt that euer was counted hereticke for denying trāſubſtantiation.

This Berengarius liued in the time of Pope Leo 9. Victor, and Nicholas 2. which was about the yeare of our Lorde. 1060. Albeit I doe finde our wryters heere in ſome diſcrepaunce. For the moſt of them doe holde, that he firſte recanted vnder Pope Leo 9. in the Councel of Vercellenſe: and afterwarde againe vnder Pope Nicholas 2. about the yeare 1062. as is to be gathered of Gratian, De conſecrat. diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius, where he ſayth, that Pope Nicholas did ſend about to Biſhops and Archbyſhops, the Copie of his recantation.

Vide Bulling. De origine erroris, & Chronic. Bibliandri.

Acta Concilij Romæ habiti contra Berengarium.

Againe, by the Actes of the Councell of Rome, it there appeareth, that the ſayd Berengarius made this hys ſayde laſt recantation vnder Pope Hildebrande. called Gregory 7. But this difference of times is no great matter to ſtand vpon. The truth of the ſtory is this: that when Berengarius had profeſſed the truth of the ſacrament, & had ſtande in the open confeſſion therof, according to the auncient veritie of the doctrine receaued in the Churche before, he was ſo handled by certaine malignaunt & ſuperſtitious monks that what by euill entreatie, and what for feare of deathe (ſuch is the weake frailty of man) he began to ſhrinke, and afterward did in deede recant the truth.

Of theſe malicious ennemies againſte Berengarius, the chiefeſt troubler was Lancfranke, Abbot of Codune, afterward Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Guimond monke, likewiſe firſt of the abbey of Leufrede, & afterward Archb. of Auerſane: Algerius alſo monke of Corbein: Fulbertus alſo monke and byſhop: and Hildebrand ſometime monke of Cluniake, and then Archdeacon of Turon, & afterward Biſhop of Rome.

By theſe and ſuch other monkes of the like fraternitie, the errour and hereſie of tranſubſtantiation began firſte to be defended, and partes publikely in wryting to be taken about that matter. Of the which ſides and partes, the firſte that began to ſet vp that faction by wryting, ſeemeth to be Paſchaſius, who was a little before Berengarius aboute the time of Bertrame: and likewiſe Lancfrancke the firſte that brought it into England.

Lancfrancke a perſecutor of Berengarius.

Paſchaſius the firſt beginner of the faction of tranſubſtantiation.

On the contrary ſide againe, the firſte that was openly impugned and troubled for denying tranſubſtantiation, was this Berengarius: with whom Lancfranck alſo was ſuppoſed at the firſt beginning to holde and take part, but afterward to cleare himſelfe, he ſtoode openly againſt hym in the Councell, and wrote againſt him.

It foloweth then in the Acte of the Councel, that when the Synode of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together aſſembled, ẏ greater number (ſaith the ſtorie) did holde, that the breade and wine were turned ſubſtantially into the body and bloud of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding (ſayeth he) diuers there were in the ſayde Councel whych helde the contrary wyth Berengarius, but at laſte were driuen to geue ouer. Berengarius amonge the reſt, after he had long ſtand in the conſtant defence of the truth, at laſt relented to their willes, confeſſing his errour where none was, and deſired pardon of the Councell. And thys was (as ſeemeth to W. Malmeſb.) hys firſte geuing ouer, who afterwarde returning to hymſelfe agayne after the death of Pope Leo, and pricke with the ſtinge of conſcience, was driuen againe to recogniſe the truthe, whych he before had denied.

Ex W. Malmeſb.

The Pope (ſayeth Malmeſb.) perceauing this, would not leaue him ſo, but ſent into Fraunce, Hildebrande hys Cardinall Chaplaine (as meete a mate for ſuch a feate, as was in all Satans courte) and made him with a wany and to come againe coram nobis: who ſo handled Berengarius and bringing hym before the face of the Councel holden at Turon, that he made him to ſay, erraui, once again: againſt whome ſtoode vp in that Councell Lanfrancus, and Guimundus aforeſaid, impugning his aſſertion. And thus ſtādeth the narration of W. Malmeſbery. But by the actes of ẏ Councel of Rome appeareth an other declaration, which is, that thys latter recantation of Berengarius ſhoulde be at Rome vnder Hildeb; and, being then Pope, in the yere of our Lord. 1076. and in the moneth of February, and that in the ſayde Councell holden in Eccleſia Saluatoris, thys recantation of, Ego Berengarius, was made, and he enioyned by the ſayd Pope Hildebrand, vpon hys oth, neuer hereafter to teache or diſpute contrary to that faith of the Sacrament there holden. &c.

The ſtory & cantation f Berengaus declad by W. almeſb. e geſtis nglorum, .3.

The order of his recantation declared. Ex actis Romani Concilij.

Againe, Henry Bullinger in his booke, De origine erroris, following belike ſome other authour, expreſſeth the order of the foreſayd recantation after thys ſorte, and ſayeth, that in the time of Pope Leo. 9. Anno. 1051. there was a Romane Councell holden at Vercellenſe, in the whyche Councell Lanfrancke beinge then preſent, the Booke of Ioh. Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Alſo Berengarius was ſent for, who ſeeing the preiudiciall proceeding of that Councell, refuſed himſelfe to come, but ſent two Clerkes, which openly there defended hys cauſe and quarell, and were for the ſame committed vnto priſon. Such is the freedome of the Popes generall Councels, to priſons and violence to defend their verities. Againſt the doings of this Councel notwithſtanding, the French men ſtoode ſtiffe, both at Angew, and Turon, wyning and conſenting wyth Berengarius.

The order of the ſayd recantation reported out of Henr. Bulling. De origine erroris. cap. 10.

Concilium Vercellenſe.

Not long after this, died Pope Leo, and after him ſucceded Pope Victor, by whom an other Synode was kept at Florence, where the Actes and doings of the foreſayde Councel of Vercellenſe, were confirmed, and a Legate alſo appointed to be ſent to Turon in Fraunce. This legate was Hildebrand aboue mentioned, who calling the clergy of Fraunce together in a Synode, fell there in hande wyth the cauſe of the Sacrament. Berengarius not being ignoraunt of theſe Romaine Councels, ſo kept himſelfe, that in all his action, he would geue none other anſwere, but that he beleeued and conſented with the faith of the Catholicke Churche: & ſo for that time did fruſtrate the purpoſe of the councel, rather deluding the practiſes of his ennemies, then freely confeſſing the ſimple truth.

Concilium Florentinum.

Concilium Turonenſe.

Againe, after Victor came Pope Nicholas 2. who congregating an other Councell at Rome, An. 1058. ſent for Berengarius there to appeare, who being preſent, argued what he could, for the iuſtneſſe of his cauſe, but all woulde not ſerue: In the Popes generall Councels, ſuch a ſtroke and maſterſhip beareth authoritie aboue veritie. Berengarius being thus borne downe on euery ſide by might & ſuperioritie, when no remedye woulde ſerue, but hee muſte needes recant againe (for the law of relapſe was not yet in ſeaſon) he deſired to know what other confeſſion of the ſacrament the Pope woulde require of him, beſides ẏ whych hee hadde there confeſſed. Then Pope Nicolas committed that charge to Humbart a Monke of Lotharinge, and after a Cardinall, ẏ he ſhould draw out in formable wordes, the order of his recantatiō, after the preſcription of Rome, whych hee ſhoulde reade and publickely profeſſe before the people. The forme of which words is regiſtred in the Decrees, De conſecrat. diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius. &c. The effecte whereof is thys: That hee pretendeth with heart and mouth, to profeſſe, that he acknowledging the true, catholicke, and Apoſtolicall faith, doth execrate all hereſie, namely, that, wherewyth hee hath lately bene infamed, as holding that the bread and wine vpon the Altare, after the conſecration of the Prieſt, remaine onely a Sacrament, and are not the very ſelfe body and bloude of oure Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, neither canne be handled or broken wyth the prieſtes handes, or chewed with the teethe of the faithfull, otherwiſe then onely by maner of a Sacrament Conſenting now to the holy and Apoſtolicall Church of Rome, he profeſſed wyth mouth and heart, to holde the ſame faith touching the Sacraments of the Lordes maſſe, which the Lorde Pope Nicholas, with his Synode heere preſent doth holde, and commaundeth to be holden by hys Euangelicall and Apoſticall authoritie, that is, that the bread and wine vpon the Altar, after conſecration are not only a Sacramēt, but alſo are the very true and ſelfe body, and bloud of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, and are ſenſibly felt and broken with handes, and chewed with teethe: ſwearing by the holy Euangeliſtes, that whoſoeuer ſhall holde or ſay to the contrary, he ſhal holde them perpetually accurſed, and if he himſelfe ſhall hereafter preſume to preach or teach againſt the ſame, he ſhall be content to abide the ſeueritie and rigour of the Canons. &c.

Concilium Romanum ſub Nicol. 2.

Might beareth downe right.

The laſt recantation of Berengarius.

Humbertus author of the decree. Ego Berengarius.

De conſecra. Diſt. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.

The effecte of Berengarius recantation.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly ſorte: ſo it gaue to the cōtrary part no litle triumph, wherby euer ſince they haue taken the greater courage to tread downe the truth.

before the 1000. yeares aforeſayd were expired.

They that thinke tranſubſtantiation to be otherwiſe then a new doctrine, are ignorant of hiſtories and antiquity.

Wherefore they that ſtand ſo much vppon the antiquity of this Article as a doctrine which hath euer ſince Chriſtes time bene receaued in the Church, taught by the Apoſtles, beleued of all Catholickes, and confirmed by conſent of all ages, of Councels, of natiõs, and people vnto this preſent day: theſe I ſay, either ſhewe them ſelues very ignoraunt in hyſtories and in all ſtate of antiquitie or els moſt impudently they doe abuſe the ſimple credulitie of the people.

Tranſubſtantiation when it firſt came in queſtion.

To procede now farther in this diſcuſſion of antiquitie, it followed, that after the time of Elfricus aforeſayde, this matter of tranſubſtantiation began firſte to be talked off, & to come in queſtion among a few ſuperſtitious monkes: ſo that as blindnes and ſuperſtition began more and more to encreaſe, ſo the ſayd groſſe opinion ſtill more and more, both in number and authoritie preuailed, in ſo muche that about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. the denying of tranſubſtantiation began to be counted hereſie.

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And in thys number firſte was one Berengarius a Frenche man, and Archdeacon of Angcowe, whyche of all Chriſten men, which we read of, was firſt called and counted an hereticke for denying of tranſubſtantiation, & troubled for the ſame, as ye ſhall heare.

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Lancfrancke a perſecutor of Berengarius.

Of theſe malicious ennemies againſte Berengarius, the chiefeſt troubler was Lancfranke, Abbot of Codune, afterward Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Guimond monke, likewiſe firſt of the abbey of Leufrede, & afterward Archb. of Auerſane: Algerius alſo monke of Corbein: Fulbertus alſo monke and byſhop: and Hildebrand ſometime monke of Cluniake, and then Archdeacon of Turon, & afterward Biſhop of Rome.

Paſchaſius the firſt beginner of the faction of tranſubſtantiation.

By theſe and ſuch other monkes of the like fraternitie, the errour and hereſie of tranſubſtantiation began firſte to be defended, and partes publikely in wryting to be taken about that matter. Of the which ſides and partes, the firſte that began to ſet vp that faction by wryting, ſeemeth to be Paſchaſius, who was a little before Berengarius aboute the time of Bertrame: and likewiſe Lancfrancke the firſte that brought it into England.

On the contrary ſide againe, the firſte that was openly impugned and troubled for denying tranſubſtantiation, was this Berengarius: with whom Lancfranck alſo was ſuppoſed at the firſt beginning to holde and take part, but afterward to cleare himſelfe, he ſtoode openly againſt hym in the Councell, and wrote againſt him.

Ex W. Malmeſb.

It foloweth then in the Acte of the Councel, that when the Synode of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together aſſembled, ẏ greater number (ſaith the ſtorie) did holde, that the breade and wine were turned ſubſtantially into the body and bloud of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding (ſayeth he) diuers there were in the ſayde Councel whych helde the contrary wyth Berengarius, but at laſte were driuen to geue ouer. Berengarius amonge the reſt, after he had long ſtand in the conſtant defence of the truth, at laſt relented to their willes, confeſſing his errour where none was, and deſired pardon of the Councell. And thys was (as ſeemeth to W. Malmeſb.) hys firſte geuing ouer, who afterwarde returning to hymſelfe agayne after the death of Pope Leo, and pricktc with the ſtinge of conſcience, was driuen againe to recogniſe the truthe, whych he before had denied.

The ſtory & cantation f Berengaus declad by W. almeſb. geſtis glorum, b. 3.

The Pope (ſayeth Malmeſb.) perceauing this, would not leaue him ſo, but ſent into Fraunce, Hildebrande hys Cardinall Chaplaine (as meete a mate for ſuch a feate, as was in all Satans courte) and made him with a wany and to come againe coram nobis: who ſo handled Berengarius and bringing hym before the face of the Councel holden at Turon, that he made him to ſay, erraui, once again: againſt whome ſtoode vp in that Councell Lanfrancus, and Guimundus aforeſaid, impugning his aſſertion. And thus ſtãdeth the narration of W. Malmeſbery. But by the actes of ẏ Councel of Rome appeareth an other declaration, which is, that thys latter recantation of Berengarius ſhoulde be at Rome vnder Hildeb; and, being then Pope, in the yere of our Lord. 1076. and in the moneth of February, and that in the ſayde Councell holden in Eccleſia Saluatoris, thys recantation of, Ego Berengarius, was made, and he enioyned by the ſayd Pope Hildebrand, vpon hys oth, neuer hereafter to teache or diſpute contrary to that faith of the Sacrament there holden. &c.

The order of his recantation declared. Ex actis Romani Concilij.

The order of the ſayd recantation reported out of Henr. Bulling. De origine erroris. cap. 10.

Againe, Henry Bullinger in his booke, De origine erroris, following belike ſome other authour, expreſſeth the order of the foreſayd recantation after thys ſorte, and ſayeth, that in the time of Pope Leo. 9. Anno. 1051. there was a Romane Councell holden at Vercellenſe, in the whyche Councell Lanfrancke beinge then preſent, the Booke of Joh. Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Alſo Berengarius was ſent for, who ſeeing the preiudiciall proceeding of that Councell, refuſed himſelfe to come, but ſent two Clerkes, which openly there defended hys cauſe and quarell, and were for the ſame committed vnto priſon. Such is the freedome of the Popes generall Councels, to priſons and violence to defend their verities. Againſt the doings of this Councel notwithſtanding, the French men ſtoode ſtiffe, both at Angew, and Turon, ioyning and conſenting wyth Berengarius.

Concilium Vercellenſe.

Not long after this, died Pope Leo, and after him ſucceded Pope Victor, by whom an other Synode was kept at Florence, where the Actes and doings of the foreſayde Councel of Vercellenſe, were confirmed, and a Legate alſo appointed to be ſent to Turon in Fraunce. This legate was Hildebrand aboue mentioned, who calling the clergy of Fraunce together in a Synode, fell there in hande wyth the cauſe of the Sacrament. Berengarius not being ignoraunt of theſe Romaine Councels, ſo kept himſelfe, that in all his action, he would geue none other anſwere, but that he beleeued and conſented with the faith of the Catholicke Churche: & ſo for that time did fruſtrate the purpoſe of the councel, rather deluding the practiſes of his ennemies, then freely confeſſing the ſimple truth.

Concilium Florentinum.

Concilium Turonenſe.

Againe, after Victor came Pope Nicholas 2. who congregating an other Councell at Rome, An. 1058. ſent for Berengarius there to appeare, who being preſent, argued what he could, for the iuſtneſſe of his cauſe, but all woulde not ſerue: In the Popes generall Councels, ſuch a ſtroke and maſterſhip beareth authoritie aboue veritie. Berengarius being thus borne downe on euery ſide by might & ſuperioritie, when no remedye woulde ſerue, but hee muſte needes recant againe (for the law of relapſe was not yet in ſeaſon) he deſired to know what other confeſſion of the ſacrament the Pope woulde require of him, beſides ẏ whych hee hadde there confeſſed. Then Pope Nicolas committed that charge to Humbart a Monke of Lotharinge, and after a Cardinall, ẏ he ſhould draw out in formable wordes, the order of his recantatiõ, after the preſcription of Rome, whych hee ſhoulde reade and publickely profeſſe before the people. The forme of which words is regiſtred in the Decrees, De conſecrat. diſt 2. Ego Berengarius. &c. The effecte whereof is thys: That hee pretendeth with heart and mouth, to profeſſe, that he acknowledging the true, catholicke, and Apoſtolicall faith, doth execrate all hereſie, namely, that, wherewyth hee hath lately bene infamed, as holding that the bread and wine vpon the Altare, after the conſecration of the Prieſt, remaine onely a Sacrament, and are not the very ſelfe body and bloude of oure Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, neither canne be handled or broken wyth the prieſtes handes, or chewed with the teethe of the faithfull, otherwiſe then onely by maner of a Sacrament Conſenting now to the holy and Apoſtolicall Church of Rome, he profeſſed wyth mouth and heart, to holde the ſame faith touching the Sacraments of the Lordes maſſe, which the Lorde Pope Nicholas, with his Synode heere preſent doth holde, and commaundeth to be holden by hys Euangelicall and Apoſticall authoritie, that is, that the bread and wine vpon the Altar, after conſecration are not only a Sacramẽt, but alſo are the very true and ſelfe body, and bloud of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, and are ſenſibly felt and broken with handes, and chewed with teethe: ſwearing by the holy Euangeliſtes, that whoſoeuer ſhall holde or ſay to the contrary, he ſhal holde them perpetually accurſed, and if he himſelfe ſhall hereafter preſume to preach or teach againſt the ſame, he ſhall be content to abide the ſeueritie and rigour of the Canons. &c.

Concilium Romanum ſub Nicol. 2.

Might beareth downe right.

The laſt recantation of Berengarius. Humbertus author of the decree. Ego Berengarius.

De conſecra. Diſt. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.

The effecte of Berengarius recantation.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly ſorte: ſo it gaue to the cõtrary part no litle triumph, wherby euer ſince they haue taken the greater courage to tread downe the truth.

It happened ſhortlye after this, that Hildebrande the Popes graunde Captaine, in the behalfe of hys Mayſter Pope Nicolas, went in warfare againſt the Normandes: which warre being finiſhed, ſhortly after, he ſet vppon a new viage to fight for Pope Alexander, againſt Cadolus: which victory being alſo atchieued, it was not long, but he put the new Pope Alexander beſide the cuſhion, and was made Pope himſelfe: ſo that during the buſie ſtirre of theſe warres, the Popes holineſſe had no laiſure to attende the debating of this controuerſie of the Sacrament.

Concilium Romanum. 3.

At length, when al was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he woulde be, hys reſtleſſe brayne coulde not be vnoccupied, but eftſoone ſummoneth a new Councell at Rome in the Church of Laterane, to reuiue agayne the olde diſceptation of Berengarius, about the yeare (as ſome holde) 1079.

Thus Berengarius beyng toſte by theſe Monkes and Phariſeis, was ſo confounded, and bayted on euery ſide, that partly for worldly feare, ſtraining him on the one ſide, partly for ſhame and griefe of conſcience, that he had nowe twiſe renied the truth, on the other ſide, that the man (as is of hym reported) after theſe ſuche turbulent tragedies, forſaking his goods, his ſtudies, learning, and former ſtate of life, became a labourer, and wrought wyth hys handes for liuing, all the reſidue of his life.

The true opiniō and iudgement of Berengarius of the ſacramēt. Ex lib. Lancfranci. Archiepiſc. contra Bereng.

The opinion which Berengarius ſuſtained touchyng the Sacrament (as by his owne wordes in Lancfranckes booke may appeare) was thys: The ſacrifice of the Churche conſiſteth of two things: The one viſible: the other inuiſible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thing (which is to meane, the body of Chriſte) if it were here preſent before our eyes, it were a thing viſible & to be ſene: but being lift vp into heauen, and ſitting on the right hand of his father, to the time of reſtoring of all thing (as S. Peter ſayeth) it can not be called downe from thence. For the perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God and man: the Sacrament of the Lords table conſiſteth of bread and wine, which being conſecrate are not chaunged, but remaine in their ſubſtances, hauing a certaine reſemblance or ſimilitude of thoſe things, whereof they be ſacraments, &c. Ex Lib. Lancfranci.

The doctrine of Berengarius falſely ſclaundered.

By theſe wordes of Berengarius doctrine, all indifferent readers may ſee & iudge, that he affirmed nothing but that was agreable to the holy ſcripture, beleuing wyth S. Auſten, and all other auncient elders of the Churche, that in the holy ſupper all faithful beleuers be refreſhed ſpiritually, with the body & bloud of the Lord, vnto euerlaſting life. Wherefore moſt impudently they doe miſreporte hym (as they doe many other beſides) whych falſely lay to hys charge, as though his teaching ſhould be, that in the ſacred ſupper of the Lord, nothing els were receiued of ẏ faithful, beſides onely ẏ bare ſignes, which is the bread & the wine.

And nowe that you haue ſeene the doctrine of Berengarius, let vs alſo take a vewe of the contrary teaching of Lanfrancus and his fellowes, conferring and comparyng together the inſtitution of the one ſide, with the inſtitution of the other, to marke and cōſider whych of them ſoundeth nearer to the truth of the ſcriptures. The wordes of Lanfrancke be theſe:

The groſſe opinion of Lancfrancus and the Papiſtes, concerning the Sacrament,

I beleue the earthly ſubſtances, which vpon the Lordes table are diuinely ſanctified, through the miniſtration of the Prieſt, to be conuerted vnſpeakeably, incomprehenſibly, and miraculouſly by the operation of Gods mightye power, into the eſſence of the Lordes body, the outward formes only of the things themſelues, and certaine qualities reſerued, and that for two reſpectes: The one, leaſt the ſight of the rawe and bloudy fleſh might otherwyſe make men to abhorre from eating thereof: for that they whiche beleeue the thinge they ſee not, might haue the greater merite for their beliefe. The conuerſion of which earthly ſubſtances into the eſſence of the Lordes body, notwithſtanding, yet is the ſelfe ſame body of the Lorde in heauen, and there hathe hys eſſentiall being at the right hande of hys father immortall inuiolate, perfect, vndeminiſhed, and vncorrupted: ſo that truely it may be affirmed, the ſelfe ſame body both to be receiued of vs, and yet not the ſelfe ſame. The ſelf ſame, I meane, as touching the eſſence, propertie, and vertue of his true nature: and yet not the ſelfe ſame as touching the formes of breade and wine, and other outwarde qualities incurring to our outwarde ſenſes. &c. And thus haue ye the confeſſion of Lancfranke Archb. of Cant.

The impious & groſſe opinion of Guimundus of tranſubſtantiation.

From thys confeſſion of Lancfranke, the opinion and aſſertion alſo of Guimundus Archb. of Auerſane, doth nothing differ in groſeneſſe and impietie, but rather paſſeth the ſame, thus affirming and defending: That the bodye of Chriſt is preſſed, and torne with teethe euen like as it was felt and touched with the handes of Thomas.

And moreouer, the ſayde Guimundus (if his booke be not rather counterfaited at Louaine) in the ſame place anſwearing to an obiection put out, that it is not lawfull for Chriſte to be torne in pieces with teethe, doubteth not to pronounce that whether we take tearing for hard bitinge, or ſoft biting, it is not repugnant nor diſagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing therunto) the body of Chriſt may be touched with handes, bitten wyth mouth, cruſhed, yea and deuided in pieces, wyth hard or ſoft preſſing of the teeth: and that, as hee was bruſed vppon the croſſe, accordinge to the Prophete, ſaying: Hee was bruſed for our iniquities, &c. ſo the ſame body for the health of the faithfull, may deuoutly be torne and rent with theyr teethe any thynge to the contrary notwythſtanding. &c. Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol. 30. Judge now all good ſtudious readers, what is to be thought of this kinde of doctrine, and howe thys opinion cohereth with the infallible voyce of Gods worde, ſaying: Exod. And of him ye ſhall not breake a bone. &c.

Ebr. 9.

The grea confirmati of this do trine of tra ſubſtantia tion was b myracles. A miracle to proue tranſubſtantiation.

Thys rude and miſhapen doctrine of theſe Monkes, concerning tranſubſtantiation, as ye haue heard, whē and by whome it began firſt to be broached: ſo if ye would now know by what learning and ſcriptures they did confirme, and eſtabliſh the ſame, ye muſt here thinke and vnderſtād, howe their chiefeſt groundes and ſubſtaunce to perſwade the people was at this time, certain myracles by them forged, and publiſhed both in theyr wrytings and preachings whereof one was the ſame of Odo aboue recited, whyche Oſberne, or ſome other monkiſh Legend inuented of him, howe he ſhoulde ſhewe vnto certaine the hoſt turned into the likeneſſe of fleſh and bloude droppinge into the chalice for the conuerſion of thoſe clearkes, whiche before woulde not beleeue it.

Ex Oſbern lib. 2. de Dunſtan.

An other myracle to proue tra ſubſtantiati on.

An other like miracle is alſo told by the ſayde Oſberne of Dunſtane in this order, how the ſayd Dunſtane appeared to a certaine lame crepill in the nyght, willing hym to reſort vnto his tombe, to haue hys limmes again reſtored. Which crepil, according as he was willed, after he had ther continued praying for health a lōg time, and could not obtaine, began to returne home againe after long tarying, without all hope of recouery. To whom the ſayd Dunſtane appearing againe by the way, aſked from whence hee came, and whether he woulde. The crepill anſwearing, declared how he came thether vppon hope of health, where hee had long taryed, and becauſe he could finde no recouerie, therfore he nowe was returning home. To whome then ſayde Dunſtane: I am (ſayeth he) Dunſtane the fellowe ſeruant of all Gods ſeruants, and haue bene occupied with certain neceſſary buſines, for the which I could not be preſent ther with my children. For Elfrike (ſayde hee) otherwiſe ſurnamed Bata hathe attempted to diſherite my churche, but I haue ſo ſtopped him, that he could not preuaile.

By this it appeareth that Ælfri the tranſla tor of the Saxon Se mon, wa Archbiſh of Cant

An other l ing myra of Paſcha to proue tranſubſta tiation.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like ſtampe are rife in popiſh ſtories, counterfayted & forged vnder diuers and ſondry names, ſome referred to Gregory, ſome to Paſchaſius, and to other moe, whiche to recite all, would fill a whole ſea full of lyes & fables. Among many, one is thus inuented of Paſchaſius. There was a Prieſt, ſayth hee, of Almain, named Plegildus, who did ſee and handle wyth his hands, viſibly the ſhape of a childe vpon the aulter & ſo after he had imbraced and kiſſed him, it returned againe to the likenes of bread, as hee ſhoulde come to the receiuing therof. This miracle when it was obiected againſt Berengarius, he merely deriding the blinde fable, aunſwered in theſe wordes: Specioſa inquit, pax nebulonis, vt cui oris præberet baſium, eo dentium in ferret exitium. That is, A goodly peace quoth he of a falſe verlet, that whō he before kiſſed with his mouth, by & by he goeth about to teare him with his teeth.

An other Monkiſhe miracle to proue tra ſubſtantiati on.

An other miracle is reported of a Iew boy, who vpon a time entring into the Churche, with an other Chriſtian lad which was his play fellow, ſaw vppon the altar a little childe broken & torne in peeces, and afterward by portions to be diſtributed among the people. Which ſight when the young Iew comming home had told vnto his father to be true and certayne, hee was for the ſame, condemned to be burned. Thus he being incloſed in a houſe, and the dore faſt where he ſhould be burned, he was founde and taken out from thence by the Chriſtians, not onely aliue, but alſo hauing not one heare of his heade blemiſhed wt the flames about him. Who then being of the Chriſtians, demaunded howe he was ſo preſerued from the burning fire: there appeared (ſayd he) to me a beutiful woman ſitting on a chair, whoſe ſonne the childe was, which was before deuided & diſtributed in the Church among the people, who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and wyth her gowne ſkirtes kepte the flame from mee, ſo that I was preſerued thereby from periſhing. &c. Belike theſe Monkes lacked miracles among the Chriſtians, when they were faine to borow ſuch figmentes of the Iewes to proue their fayned tranſubſtantiation.

Ex W. Malmesb.

And theſe commonly were then the argumēts of theſe Monkes, wherwith they perſwaded the people to beleeue their tranſubſtantiation. But to leaue theſe monkes fictions, & to returne againe to Berengarius, thus Malmeſbury of him reporteth, that after he had once or twiſe recāted (as is aforeſayde) yet notwythſtanding this doctrine of the Sacrament ſtill remained in the minde of his hearers. And how ſo euer the tirāny of the Pope did driue him through feare to denye his opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet notwithſtanding after hys death he lacked not his well willers. In the number of whom was Hildebertus Biſhop Cenomanenſis, whoſe verſes in commendation of his maſter, I thought here not vnworthy to be preſerued, being otherwiſe rare peraduenture to be founde in our ſtorie wryters.

Verſes in praiſe of Berengarius.

Verſes in commendation of Berengarius.

QVem modo miratur, ſemper mirabitur orbis,
Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit:
Quem ſacræ fidei faſtigia ſumma tenentem,
Tandem extrema dies abſtulit auſa nefas.
Illa dies damnoſa dies, & perfida mundo:
Qua dolor & rerum ſumma ruina fuit.
Qua ſtatus eccleſiæ, qua ſpes, qua gloria cleri,
Qua cultor iuris iurè ruente ruit.
Quicquid Philoſophi, quicquid cecinere Poetæ,
Ingenio ceſſit eloquioquè ſuo.
Sanctior & maior ſapientia, maius adorta,
Impleuit ſacrum pectus & ora Deo.
Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompſit:
Singula factori ſic ſtuduere ſuo.
Vir ſacer & ſapiens, cui nomen creſcit in horas:
Quo minor eſt quiſquis maximus eſt hominum.
Qui cenſus peperit paucos, ſeruauit honores:
Cui potior pauper diuite, iuſque lucro.
Cui nec deſidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:
Nec tumidum fecit multus & altus honos.
Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit:
Sed doluit quoties cui daret hæc, aberat.
Qui non ceſſauit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec inops, dando pauper & ipſe fuit.
Cuius cura ſequi naturam legibus vti,
Et mentem vitijs, ora negare dolis:
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falſo,
Nil vacuum ſenſu dicere vel facere:
Lædere nec quemquam, cunctis prodeſſe, fauorem
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui veſtis textura rudis, cui non fuit vnquam,
Ante ſitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem pudor hoſpitium ſtatuit ſibi, quamq; libido
Inceſtos ſuperat, tam ſuperauit eam.
Quem natura parens cum mundo contulit, inquit,
Degenerant alij, naſcitur iſte mihi:
Quæque vagabatur & penè reliquerat orbem,
Incluſit ſacro pectore iuſtitiam.
Vir ſacer à puero, qui quantum præminet orbi
Fama, adeò famæ præminet ipſe ſuæ.
Fama minor meritis cùm totum peruolet orbem,
Cùm ſemper creſcat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque grauis, vir ſic in vtroque modeſtus,
Vt liuor neutro rodere poſſit eum.
Liuor enim deſtet, quem carpſerat antea, nec tam
Carpſit & odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat:
Quàm prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiſcit,
Et queritur celeres huius abiſſe dies.
Vir verè ſapiens & parte beatus ab omni:
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Poſt obitum ſecum viuam precor ac requieſcam,
Nec fiat melior ſors mea ſorte ſua.

Althoughe in this time of Berengarius, whyche was about the yeare of oure Lorde. 1060. (as ye haue heard) this errour of tranſubſtantiation began to growe in force and ſtrength, by the ſupporting of certaine popiſhe monkes aboue rehearſed, as Lancfrancus, Guimundus, Algerius, Hugo, Biſhop of Lincolne. Fulbertus, (of whom it is ſaid in ſtories, that our Ladie gaue him ſucke being ſicke, wyth her owne breſtes) and ſuch other: yet notwythſtanding, all this while the ſayd Tranſubſtantiatiō was decreed for no publicke law, nor doctrine to be holden by any general cōſent, either of the Church of Rome, or any other Councell, before the Councel of Laterane, vnder Pope Innocent the 3. who in the yeare of our Lorde. 1215. celebrating in the church of Laterane, a generall councel of 1300. biſhops, enacted there diuers conſtitutions, as of yerely cōfeſſion, and the communion to be vſed of the whole multitude once a yeare through euery pariſh church.

Tranſub. tantiation ſt decreed a general w by pope nocent 3. The general Councell of aterane.

Item, for the recouery of the holy land, with a ſubſidie alſo to be leauied for the ſame.

Item for the aboliſhing of the bookes and wrytinges of Ioachim Abbas, and alſo the opinions of Almaricus afore mentioned: notwithſtanding that ẏ ſaid Ioachim did ſubſcribe with his owne hand that he held the ſame doctrine, which was in the church of Rome, and alſo ſubmitted hys bookes to be preſented to the Sea of Rome, there to bee corrected or approued. And yet was he iudged though not an heretike yet to be erroneous, & eſpecially in thoſe bokes which he wrote againſt Peter Lombard, called afterward the maſter of Sentence.

Ex Antonin. part. 3. tit. 19. c. 1.

In the ſayde Councel, beſides diuers other conſtitutions and the Articles of the Creede there in order repeated, as appeareth, Extr. De ſumma trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. 1. firmiter, there was alſo enacted, decreed, and eſtabliſhed the fayth and beliefe of Tranſubſtantiation, in theſe wordes following.

Extrau De Sum. trin. cap. 1. firmit. credimus.

There is one vniuerſall Church of the faithful, without which none can be ſaued, in the which Church the ſelf ſame Ieſus Chriſt is both Prieſt and alſo the ſacrifice, whoſe body and bloude are truly contained in the Sacrament of the aulter, vnder the formes of breade and wine, the breade being tranſubſtantiated into the body and the wine, into the bloud, by the power and workinge of God: ſo that to the accompliſhing of thys myſterie of vnitie, wee might take of his, the ſame which he hath taken of ours. And thys ſacrament none can make or conſecrate, but hee that is a prieſte lawfully ordained, according to the keyes of the Church, whych Ieſus Chriſt hath left to his Apoſtles, and to their ſucceſſours. &c.

The wordes of the Councell whereby tranſubſtantiation was firſt eſtabliſhed.

And thus was the foundation layd for the building of tranſubſtantiatiō, vpon the conſent of theſe foreſayd. 1300. Byſhops, in the yeare of our Lorde aboue ſpecified, vnder pope Innocentius, and the doctrine therof intruded for an article of fayth into the church, neceſſarily to be beleeued of all men vnder payne of hereſie.

But yet all this while, notwithſtanding that the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine was nowe baniſhed out of the ſacrament, and vtterly tranſcorporated into the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes very body and bloud: yet was not this body eleuated ouer the prieſtes head nor adored of the people till the dayes of pope Honorius the 3. ſucceeding after Innocentius, who by his counſaile likewiſe commaunded adoration and eleuation to be ioyned with tranſubſtantiation as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth an other.

Eleuation and adoration brought in by Pope Honorius the 3.
¶ Anno. 1220.

Agayne, the ſayd ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper being now conſecrated, tranſubſtantiated, eleuated and adored yet it was not offered vp for a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, nor for a remedye of the ſoules in Purgatory, nor for a merite operis operati, ſine bono motu vtentis. &c. before that other popes comming after, added ſtill new aditions to the former inuentions of theyr predeceſſours.

And thus haue you the whol order and origine of theſe Idolatrous partes of the maſſe deſcribed by theyr times & ages, whiche firſt began with conſecration and the forme therof, which were wordes of the Canon. Then came trāſubſtantiation by Innocentius, and after eleuation & adoration by Honorius, and laſt of all came the oblation meretorious and propitiatory for the quicke and dead in remiſſion of ſinnes, Ex opere operato.

Conſecration.
Tranſubſtantiation.
Eleuation.
Adoration.
Oblation.

Which thinges being thus conſtituted by the to muche vſurped authority of the church of Rome, ſhortly after followed perſecution, tyranny and burning among the chriſtians, firſt beginning with the Albingenſes, and the faythfull congregation of Tholouſe, neare about the tyme of the ſayd Innocentius, as is afore remembred. pag. 271.

Perſecution firſt beginning in theſe latter dayes.

And thus much for the firſt article of tranſubſtantiatiō which (as ye haue heard) was not admitted into ẏ Church for any generall doctrine of fayth, before the yeare and time aboue aſſigned, of pope Innocent the third, and therefore if any haue bene otherwiſe perſwaded, or yet doe remayne in the ſame perſwaſion ſtill of this doctrine, as though it had bene of a longer cōtinuance then frō the time aboue expreſſed, let him vnderſtand that by ignoraunce of hyſtories he is deceiued, and for the more ſatiſfyinge of his mynde, if he credite not me, let him beleeue the wordes of one of hys owne catholike ſort, Iohn Duns I meane, who in hys 4. booke wryting of Tranſubſtatiation, in what time and by whoſe authority it was firſt eſtabliſhd, hath theſe words, which alſo are before mentioned, pag. 257. Theſe woordes of the Scripture might be expounded more eaſily and more plainly wythout tranſubſtantiatiō: but the Church did chuſe thys ſence, whych is harder, being thereto mooued (as ſeemeth) chiefly becauſe men ſhoulde holde of the Sacraments, the ſame whyche the Churche of Rome doth holde. &c. And further in the ſame place the ſayde Duns expounding himſelfe what hee meaneth by the churche of Rome, maketh there expreſſe mention of the ſayde Innocentius the 3. and of thys Councell of Laterane. &c.

Read before pag. 271.
Read before pag. 257.
Ioh. Duns, in li. 4. lib. Sentent.

And furthermore, to the entent that ſuch as be indifferent ſeekers of the trueth, may be more amplie ſatiſfied in

Eraſm. lib. Annot. in 1. Cor. cap. 7.

Serò.

this behalfe, that this tranſubſtantion is of no antiquitie, but of a late inuention: I wil alſo adioyne to this teſtimonie of Iohan. Scotus, the iudgement and verdite of Eraſm. lib. Annot. where he wryteth in theſe wordes: In Synaxi tranſubſtantiationé ſerò definiuit Eccleſia. Diu ſatis erat credere ſiue ſub pane conſecrato, ſiue quocunq; modo adeſſe verum corpus Chriſti. &c. That is, In the ſacrament of the communion, the church cõcluded tranſubſtantiatiõ but of late dayes. Long before that it was ſufficient to beleue the true body of Chriſt to be preſent eyther vnder bread, or els by ſome maner. &c.

The ſecond Article.

The ſecond article of both kindes.

As touching the ſeconde Article, which debarreth from the lay people the one halfe of the Sacramente, vnderſtanding that vnder one kind, both partes are fully contained, for ſo much as the world wel knoweth that thys Article is but young, inuented, decreed, and cõcluded no longer ſince then at the Councel of Conſtance, not paſt 200. yeres agoe: I ſhal not nede to make any long ſtanding vpon that matter, eſpecially for that ſufficient hath bene ſaid therof before in our long diſcourſe of the Bohemians ſtory, pag. 611.

Read afore pag. 611.

The reaſons and obiections of the Papiſtes againſt both kindes.

Firſt, lette vs ſee the reaſons and obiections of the aduerſaries in reſtraining the Laitie from the one kynde of this Sacrament. The vſe (ſay they) hath bene ſo of longe continuaunce in the Churche. Whereunto we aunſweare, that they haue no euident nor authentike example of anye auncient cuſtome in the church, which they can produce in that behalfe.

Luke. 24.

Item, where they alledge the place of S. Luke, where Chriſt was knowen in breaking of bread. &c. citing moreouer many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to aunſwer therunto, although wee doe not vtterly repugne, but that ſome of thoſe places may be vnderſtanded of the Sacrament, yet that beynge graunted, it followeth not therefore, that one parte of the Sacrament was only miniſtred to the people without the other, when as by the common vſe of ſpeach, vnder the naming of one part, the whole action is meant. Neither doth it followe, becauſe that breade was broken among the brethren, therefore the cuppe was not diſtributed vnto them. For ſo we finde by the wordes of S. Paule, that yͤ vſe of the Corinthians was to communicate not onely in breaking of bread, but in participating the cuppe alſo, The cup (ſayeth he) which we participate. &c.

1. Cor. 10.

Alſo after the Apoſtles, in the tyme of Cyprian, of Hierome, of Gelaſius and other ſucceſſiuely after them, it is euident yͭ both the kindes were frequented in the Churche. Firſt Cyprian in diuers places declareth that the ſacramẽt of the bloud was alſo diſtributed. How do we (ſayth he) prouoke them to ſtand in the confeſſion of Chriſt, to the ſheding of their bloud, if we deny vnto them the bloud of Chriſt when they prepare themſelues to the conflict?

Cypria. lib. 1. Epiſt. 2. De laicis Martyribus Scriberis.

Hieronimus in Sophon cap. 3.

The wordes of Hierome are plaine. Prieſtes (ſayth he) whiche miniſter the Euchariſt, and deuide the bloude vnto the people.

In Hiſtor tripart. lib. 9.

In hiſtoria tripartita, it was ſayde to yͤ Emperour Theodoſius, how will you recine the body of the Lord, with ſuch bloudy handes, or the cup of hys precious bloud, with that mouth, which haue ſpilled ſo much innocent bloud?

De conſecrat.

In the Canon of Gelaſius, and in the Popes own decrees, theſe wordes we read: We vnderſtand that there be ſome whych receauing onely the portion of the Lordes bodye, doe abſtaine from the cuppe of hys ſacrate bloud, to whom we enioyne, that either they receaue the whole Sacrament in both the kinds, or els that they receaue neither: for the diuiding of that whole & one Sacrament cannot be done without great ſacriledge, &c. So that thys decree of Pope Gelaſius being contradictorie to the councell of Conſtance, it muſt follow, that either yͤ pope did erre, or els the councell of Conſtance muſt needes be a ſacrilegious Councel, as no doubt it was.

The Councell of Conſtance a ſacrilegious Councell.

The forbidding of both kindes of the Sacramẽt hath no ground of auncient cuſtome.

The like teſtimonie alſo appeareth in the Councell of Toletane, that the laitie did then communicate in bothe kindes, beſides diuers other olde preſidẽts, remaining yet in the churches both of Germanie and alſo of Fraunce, declaring likewiſe the ſame.

No cuſtome may derogate from the Lordes expreſſe commaũdement.

And thus it ſtandeth certain and demonſtrable by manifolde probations, how farre this newfound cuſtome differeth from all antiquitie and preſcription of vſe and time. Againe, although the cuſtome therof were neuer ſo auncient, yet no cuſtome may be of that ſtrength to gainſtand or countermaunde the open and expreſſe commaundement of God, which ſayeth to all men: Bibite ex hoc omnes. Drincke yee all of this. &c.

The Lordes teſtament ought not to be altered for any reſpecte.

Againe, ſeeing the cup is called the bloude of the newe teſtament, who is hee that dare or can alter the Teſtament of the Lorde, when none may be ſo hardy to alter the Teſtament of a man, being once approoued or ratified?

Further, as concerning thoſe places of Scripture before alledged, De fractione panis, that is, of breaking of bread, wherupon they thinke themſelues ſo ſure that the Sacrament was then miniſtred but in one kinde: To aunſwere thereunto, firſt we ſay, it may be doubted whether all thoſe places in Scripture, De fractione panis, are to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly, the ſame beyng geuen vnto them, yet can they not inferre thereby, becauſe one parte is mentioned, that the full Sacrament therefore was not miniſtred. The common maner of the Hebrue phraſe is, vnder breaking of bread to ſignifye generally the whole feaſte or ſupper: as in the Prophete Eſay, theſe wordes, Frange eſurienti panem tuum, doe ſignifie as well geuyng drinke as bread, &c. And thirdly howſoeuer thoſe places, De fractione panis be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather againſt them. For if the Sacrament were adminiſtred amongſt them in fractione panis. i. in breakinge of breade, then muſt they nedes graũt, that if bread was there broken. Ergo, there was breade, forasmuche as neither the accideners of bread without breade can be broken, neither can the naturall body of Chriſt be ſubiect to any fraction or breakyng by the Scripture, which ſayeth: And yee ſhall breake no bone of him. &c. Wherfore take away the ſubſtance of breade, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body, neither yet the accidences wythout their ſubſtance can be broken, neither agayne will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken? And what then was it in thys their Fractione panis, that they did breake, if it were not Panis, that is, Subſtantia panis quæ frangebatur? To conclude, if they ſay that this fraction of bread was a Sacramentall breaking of Chriſtes bodye, ſo by the like figure let them ſaye that the being of Chriſtes naturall body in the Sacrament is a Sacramental being, and we are agreed.

In fractione panis.

Exod. 12.

The naturall body of Chryſt may not be broken.

Accidences no man can breake.

No bread is there to be broken: Ergo there is nothing in the Sacrament broken.

An other obiection agaynſt both kindes.

Item, they obiecte further and ſay, that the churche vpon due conſideration may alter as they ſee cauſe, in rites, ceremonies and Sacraments.

Aunſwere.

1. Order.
2. Example.
3. commaundement.

Aunſwer. The inſtitution of this ſacrament ſtandeth vpon the order, example, & commandement of Chriſt. This order he tooke: Firſt he deuided the breade ſeuerally frõ the cuppe, and afterward the cuppe ſeuerally from the breade. Secondly this he did not for any neede on his behalfe, but onely to geue vs example how to do the ſame after him, in remembraunce of his death to the worldes ende. Thirdly, beſide this order taken, and example left, hee added alſo an expreſſe commaundement: Hoc facite, Doe thys. Bibite ex hoc omnes. Drinke ye all of this. &c. Againſt this order, example, and commaundement of the Goſpel, no Church nor councell of men nor aungell in heauen hath any power or authoritie to change or alter, according as we are warned: If any bring to you any other Goſpell beſide that ye haue receiued, holde him accurſed. &c.

Galat. 1.

An other obiection agaynſt both kindes. Act. 2.

Item, an other Obiection. And why maye not the Churche (ſay they) as well alter the fourme of thys Sacramente, as the Apoſtles did the fourme of Baptiſme, where in the Actes S. Peter ſayth: Let euery one be baptiſed in the name of Ieſu Chriſt. &c.

Aunſwere.

The Apoſtles changed not the forme of Baptiſme.

Aunſwere. Thys text ſayeth not, that the Apoſtles vſed thys fourme of baptiſing: I baptiſe thee in the name of Chriſt. &c. but they vſed many times this manner of ſpeache, to be baptiſed in the name of Chriſte, not as expreſſing thereby the formable wordes of baptiſing, but as meaning this, that they would haue them to become members of Chriſte, and to be baptiſed as Chriſtians, entring into his baptiſm, and not only to the Baptiſme of Iohn: and therfore, althoughe the apoſtles thus ſpake to the people, yet notwithſtanding when they baptiſed any themſelues, they vſed (no doubte) the forme of Chriſt preſcribed, and no other.

Item, among many other obiections, they alledge certaine perils and cauſes of waight and importance, as ſpilling, ſheding, or ſhaking the bloud out of the cuppe, or ſouring, or els ſticking vpon mens beardes. &c. for the which they ſay it is wel prouided, the halfe communion to ſuffice. Wherunto it is ſoone aunſwered, that as theſe cauſes were no let to Chriſt, to the Apoſtles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the Primitiue Churche, but that in theyr publike aſſemblies they receiued al the whole Communion, as well in the one part as in the other: ſo neither be the ſayd cauſes ſo important nowe, to adnull and euacuate the neceſſarye commaundement of the Goſpell, if we were as carefull to obey the Lorde, as wee are curious to magnifie oure owne deuiſes, to ſtrayne gnattes, to ſtumble at ſtrawes, and to ſeeke knottes in ruſhes, whych rather are in oure owne phantaſies growing, then there where they are ſought.

Mans curioſity in magnifying his owne deuiſes aboue God.

In ſumma, diuers other obiections and cauillations are in Popiſh bookes to be ſound as in Gabriell the difference made betwene the laitie and Prieſts, alſo the diſtinction vſed to be made betweene the Prieſtes communion and the laicall communion. where is to be vnderſtand, that when Prieſts were bidde to vſe the laicall communion, thereby was ment not receauing vnder one kinde as lay men doe nowe, but to abſteyne from conſecrating, and onely to receaue as the lay men then did. Some alſo alledge certeyne ſpeciall or particular examples, as of the cuppe onely ſeruing for the bread, or of the bread only ſent to certeine ſicke folke for the cuppe. And heere they inferre the ſtory of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whoſe mouth the Sacrament of bread, whiche ſhe onely receaued without the cuppe, was turned to a ſtone, &c. other alledge other priuate examples likewiſe of infants, aged mē, ſicke perſons, men excommunicate, phrentickes and madde men, or men dwelling farre off from Churches, in mountaynes or wildernes, &c. All which priuate examples neither make any inſtance againſt the auncient cuſtome of publicke congregations frequented from the Apoſtles time, and much leſſe ought they to derogate from the expreſſe and neceſſarye precept of the Goſpell which ſaith to all men without exception: Hoc facite, &c. Bibite ex hoc omnes, &c.

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The third Article.

Priuate Maſſes, trentall Maſſes, and dirige Maſſes, as they were neuer vſed before the time of Gregory, vi.C. yeares after Chriſt: ſo the ſame do fight directly agaynſte our chriſtian doctrine, as by the definition therof may wel appeare: The Maſſe is a worke or action of the prieſt, applied vnto men for meriting of grace, Ex opere operato, in the which Action the Sacrament is firſt worſhipped, and then offered vp for a ſacrifice for remiſſion of ſinnes, à pœna & culpa, for the quicke and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agreeth with their owne teaching: ſo there is no part thereof which diſagreeth not from the rules of chriſtian doctrine, eſpecially theſe, as followe.

3. arti=

inition
e Maſſe

1. The firſt rule is: Sacramentes be inſtituted for ſome principall end and vſe, out of the which vſe they are no ſacraments. As the ſacrament of Baptiſme is a Sacrament of regeneration, and forgiuenes of ſinnes to the perſon that is Baptiſed. But if it be caried about to be worſhipped and ſhewed to other as meritorious for their remiſſion, and regeneration, to them it is no ſacrament.

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trine.

2. No ſacrament nor ceremonie doth profite or conduce, but them only which take and vſe the ſame.

e 2. rule.

3. Only the death of Chriſt, and the worke of his ſacrifice vppon the croſſe is to be applied to euery man by faith for ſaluation and health of his ſoule. Beſide this worke alone, to apply any action or worke of Prieſt or any other perſon, as meritorious of it ſelfe, and conducible to ſaluation, to ſoules health, or to remiſſion of ſinnes, it is Idolatrie and derogatorie to the Teſtamente of God, and to the blood of Chriſt preiudiciall.

e 3. rule.

4. To make Idoles of ſacramentes, and to woorſhyp dumbe things for the liuing God, it is Idolatry. Fugite Idola, &c. 1. Cor. 10.

e 4. rule.
Cor. 10.

5. Euery good worke whatſoeuer it be that a man doth, profiteth onely himſelfe, and cannot be applied to other men, Ex opere operato, to profite him vnto merite or remiſſion, only the Actions of Chriſt except.

e 5. rule.

6. No man can apply to an other the ſacrifice of Chriſtes death by any worke doing: but euery man muſt apply it to himſelfe by his owne beleeuing. Iuſtus ex fide ſua viuet. Habacuc. 2.

e 6. rule.

7. The Sacrifice of Chriſtes deathe dothe ſaue vs freely by it ſelfe, and not by the meanes of any mans working for vs.

e 7. rule.

8. The Paſſion of Chriſt once done and no more, is a full and a perfecte oblation and ſatiſfaction for the ſinnes of the whole world, both originall and Actuall: by the vertue of which Paſſion, the wrath of God is pacified toward mankind for euer, Amen.

e 8. rule.

9. The Paſſion of Chriſt once done is onely the obiect of that faith of ours whiche iuſtifieth vs and nothing elſe. And therefore whoſoeuer ſetteth vp any other obiect, beſide that Paſſion once done, for our faith to apprehend and to behold the ſame, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatrie.

e 9. rule.

Againſt all theſe rules, priuate Maſſes directly doe repugne. For firſt beſide that they tranſgreſſe the order, example, and commaundement of Chriſt (which diuided the bread and cup to them all) they alſo bring the Sacramente out of the right vſe wherunto principally it was ordeined. For where as the vſe of that Sacrament is principally inſtituted for a teſtimoniall and remembraunce of Chriſtes death, the priuate Maſſe transferreth the ſame to an other purpoſe, either to make of it a gaſing Idoll, or a worke of application meritorious, or a ſacrifice propiciatory for remiſſion of ſinnes, or a commemoratiō for ſoules departed in Purgatory, accordyng as it is written in their Maſſe booke: Pro quorū memoria corpus Chriſti ſumitur, Pro quorū memoria ſangnis Chriſti ſumitur. &c. Where as Chriſt ſayth contrary, Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.

The Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper put out of his right vſe by priuat maſſes.

Furthermore, the Inſtitution of Chriſte is broken in this, that where the Communion was giuē in common, the priuate Maſſe ſuffereth the Prieſt alone to eate & drink vp all, and when he hath done, to bleſſe the people with the emptie cuppe.

Chriſtes memory put out in dirige maſſes.

Secōdly, whereas Sacraments properly profite none but thē that vſe the ſame in the priuate Maſſe the Sacramēt is receaued in the behoofe not onely of him that executeth, but of them alſo that ſtand lookyng on, & of them alſo which be farre of, or dead and in Purgatory.

Thirdly, whē by ẏ ſcripture nothyng is to be applyed for remiſſion of our ſinnes, but onely the death of Chriſt, cōmeth in the priuate Maſſe as a worke meritorious done of the Prieſt, which beyng applyed to other, is auayleable Ex opere operato, both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done, ad remiſſionem peccatorum.

A ſupplication.

Fourthly, priuate Maſſes & all other Maſſes now vſed of the Sacramēt make an Idol, of commemoration make adoration, in ſtead of a receauyng, make a deceauyng, in place of ſhewing forth Chriſtes death, make new oblation of his death, & of a cōmuniō, make a ſingle ſole ſupping. &c

Adoration.

Oblation.

Fiftly, whereas in this generall frayltie of mans nature, no mā can merite by any worthynes of workyng for him ſelfe, the Prieſt in his priuate Maſſe taketh vpon him to merite both for him ſelfe, and for many other.

Meriting for other.

Sixtly, it ſtandeth agaynſt Scripture, that the Sacrifice and death of Chriſt can bee applyed any other wiſe to our benefite and iuſtification, then by fayth: wherfore it is falſe that the action of the Maſſe can apply the benefite of Chriſtes death vnto vs, Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis vel ſacrificantis.

Opus operatum.

Seuenthly, where as the benefite of our ſaluatiō and iuſtifiyng ſtandeth by the free gift & grace of God through our fayth in Chriſt: contrary the application of theſe Popiſh Maſſes ſtoppeth the freeneſſe of Gods grace and maketh that this benefite muſt firſt come through ẏ Prieſtes handes and his opus operatum, vnto vs.

Priuate maſſes againſt the free grace of God.

The eight contrarietie betweene priuate Maſſe, and gods word, is in this: That where the ſcripture ſayth Vnica oblatione cōſummauit eos, qui ſanctificantur in perpetuum With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be ſanctified for euer: agaynſt this rule the priuate Maſſe proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a dayly oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finiſhed, newe to be done agayne: And finally, that which was inſtituted onely for eating and for a remembraunce of that oblation of Chriſt once done, the Popiſh Maſſe, maketh an oblation and a new ſatiſfaction dayly to be done, for the quicke and the dead.

Heb. 10.

To cōclude theſe both priuate and publicke Maſſes of Prieſtes, turne away the obiect of our fayth from the body of Chriſt crucified, to the body of Chriſt ſacrifiſed in their Maſſes. And where God annexeth the promiſe of iuſtification, but onely to our fayth in the body of Chriſt crucified: they do annexe promiſe of remiſſiō a pœna & culpa, to the body in their Maſſes ſacrificed, by their application: beſides diuers other horrible and intolerable corruptions whiche ſpryng of theſe their priuate and publicke Maſſes, whiche here I leaue to other at their leyſure further to conceaue and to conſider. Now let vs proceede to the other Articles folowyng.

Priuate maſſes turne our faith from Chriſtes body crucified, to Chriſt ſacrificed in their maſſes.

¶ The fourth and fift Articles of vowes and Prieſtes Mariage.

As we haue diſcourſed before by hiſtories and order of tyme, the antiquitie of the iij. former Articles aboue mentioned, to witte, of trāſubſtātiation, of the halfe cōmunion and of priuate Maſſes, ſo now commyng to the Article of vowes and of Prieſtes mariage, the reader will looke perchaunce to be ſatiſfied in this likewiſe, as in the other before & to be certified from what cōtinuaunce of tyme theſe vowes & vnmaried lyfe of Prieſts haue continued. wherein although ſufficient hath bene ſayd before in the former proceſſe of this hiſtory, as in the life of Anſelmus. pag. 195. alſo of Pope Hildebrād, pag. 175. &c. yet for the better eſtabliſhing of ẏ readers mynde agaynſt this wicked article of Prieſts mariage, it ſhalbe no great labour loſt, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractatiō of this matter, either what before hath bene ſayd, or what more is to be added.

The 4. and 5. articles of vowes & prieſts maryage.

Read afore pag. 195.

Read afore pag. 175.

Prieſts mariage firſt forbidden by Anſelmus in England.

Ex Henr. Huntingt. lib. 7. De hiſtoria Anglorum.

And to the entent that the world may ſee and iudge the ſayd lawe and decree of Prieſts ſingle ſole life, to be a doctrine of no auncient ſtanding heere within this Realme, but only ſince the time of Anſelmus, I will firſt alledge for me the wordes of Henr.Huntyngton.lib.7. De hiſtoria Anglorum heere following.

Eodem anno ad feſtum Michaelis tenuit Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Concilium apud Londonias: In quo prohibuit ſacerdotibus Anglorum, vxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſſimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum: ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent, &c. That is, The ſame yeare at the feaſt of S. Michaell. Anſelme the Archbyſhop of Canterbury held a Synode at London: In the which Synode he forefended Prieſtes heere in Englande to haue wiues, which they were not inhibited before to haue. Which conſtitution ſeemed to ſome perſons very pure and chaſte. To otherſome againe it ſeemed very dangerous, leaſt while that men ſhould take vpon them ſuch chaſtitie more then they ſhould be able to beare, by that occaſion they might happily fall into horrible filthines, whiche ſhoulde redound to the exceeding ſlaunder of chriſtian profeſſion, &c.

The wordes of Huntington.

Prieſts not reſtrayned from wiues before Anſelmus time.

Albeit I deny not but before the time alſo of Anſelmus, both Odo, and after him Dunſtane Archb. of Canterbury, and Ethelwold B. of Wincheſter, and Oſwold B. of Worceſter in the dayes of King Edgar, anno. 963. as they were all Monkes themſelues, ſo were they great doers againſt the marriage of prieſts, placing in Monkes in Churches and Colledges, and putting out the married Prieſts, as ye may read before pag. 153. Yet notwithſtãding neither was that in many Churches, and alſo the prieſts then married, were not conſtrayned to leaue their wyues, nor theyr roumes, but onely at their owne choyce. For ſo writeth Malmeſbury in vita Dunſtani: Itaq; clerici multarum Eccleſiarum, data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, ceſſere, &c. That is: Therefore diuers & ſondry clerkes of many Churches, being put to their choice, whether to chaunge their weede, or to part from their places, wente their waies, &c. So alſo Elfricus after them (of whome mention was made before) was ſomewhat buſie in ſetting forward the ſingle life of Prieſtes, and Lanfrancus lykewiſe. But yet this reſtreynt of Prieſtes lawfull marriage was neuer publickely eſtabliſhed for a lawe heere in the Church of England, before the cõming of Anſelme in the daies of William Rufus, & king Henry 1. writing in theſe wordes: Boldly I commaunde by the authoritie which I haue by my Archbiſhoprike, not only within my Archbiſhoprike, but alſo throughout England, that all Prieſts that keepe women, ſhall be depriued of their Churches, and al eccleſiaſticall benefices, &c. As ye may reade more at large before, page. 196. whiche was much about the ſame time whẽ as Hildebrand alſo at Rome begã to attempt the ſame matter, as before hath ben ſhewed: & alſo beſides him were other Popes mo, as Innocent the 3. Pope Nicholas the 2. and Calixtus the 2. by whome the acte againſt Prieſts mariage was brought at length to his ful perfectiõ, and ſo hath cõtinued euer ſince.

Read afore pag. 153.

Malmeſb. in vita Dunſtani.

Prieſtes firſt reſtrayned from their wiues generall in England.

Read afore pag. 196.

Long it were and tedious to recite here all ſuch conſtitutions of Councels prouinciall and generall, namely of yͤ councel of Carthage, & of Toledo, which ſeemed to worke ſomething in that behalf, againſt the matrimony of prieſts. Againe, longer it were to number vp the names of al ſuch biſhops and prieſts, which notwithſtãding haue bin maried ſince that time, in diuers countreys, as more amplye ſhall be ſhewed (the Lord willing) in the ſequele hereof. In the meane ſeaſon, as touching the age & time of this diueliſh prohibition for prieſts to haue their wiues, thys is to be found by credible proofes, and conferring of hiſtories, that in the yeare of our Sauiour 1067. at what time Pope Hildebrand began firſt to occupy the Papall chayre, this othe began firſt to be taken of Archbiſhops and Byſhops, that they ſhould ſuffer none to enter into the miniſterie, or into any eccleſiaſticall function hauing a wife: and lykewiſe the Clergie to be bound to promiſe the ſame.

Ex actis Synodi Mediolanenſis.

And this was (as I ſaid) about the yeare of our Lorde, 1067. well approued and teſtified by courſe of hyſtories. Whereby appeareth the propheſie of S. Paule truely to be verified, ſpeaking of theſe latter times. 1. Tim. 4. where he writeth in theſe wordes. The ſpirit ſpeaketh playnely, that in the latter times, there ſhall ſome depart from the faith, harkening vnto ſpirits of errour, and to doctrines of deuils, forbidding to marry, and commaunding to abſtayne from meates, whiche the Lord hath created to be taken with thankeſgeuing, &c.

S. Paule propheſieth of forbidding of mariage.

In this propheſie of S. Paule ij. things are to be obſerued: Firſt the matter which he propheſieth of, that is, the forbidding of mariage, and forbidding of meates, whiche God generally hath left free to all men. The ſecond thyng in this propheſie to be noted, is the time whẽ this propheſie ſhall fall, that is, in the latter times of the worlde. So that this concurreth right well with theſe yeares of Pope Hildebrand aforeſayde, beeing a thouſande yeares complete after the Aſcenſion of our Sauiour: ſo that they may well be called the latter times.

S. Paules propheſie foũd true for the count of tymes.

This propheſie of S. Paule thus ſtanding (as it doth) firme and certain, that is, that forbidding of mariage muſt happen in the latter times of the world, then muſt it nedes conſequently follow therby, that the maried life of prieſtes is more auncient in the Church, then is the ſingle life, then the law I meane commaunding the ſingle life of Prieſts. Which may ſoone be proued to be true, by the true count of times, and ſearch of hyſtories.

For firſt at the Councell of Nice, it is notorious that this diueliſh law of mariage to be reſtrained, was ſtopped by Paphnutius.

2. Before this Councell of Nice, in the yeare of our Lord 180. we reade of Polycrates B. of Epheſus, who diſſenting from Pope Victor about a certaine controuerſie of Eaſter day, alledgeth for himſelfe how his progenitours before him 7. together, one after another, ſucceded in that ſeate, and he now the 8. after them was placed in the ſame: vſing this his diſcent of his parents, not only as a defence of his cauſe, but alſo a glory to himſelfe, &c.

3. Pope Syricius about the yeare of our Lord 390. wrote to the prieſts of Spaine about the ſame matter of putting their wiues from them, if his Epiſtle be not counterfeyte. Theſe Spaniſh prieſtes had then with them a Byſhop of Terragon, who aunſwering to Syricius in this behalfe, alledged the teſtimonies of S. Paule, that Prieſtes might lawfully retaine their wiues, &c. To this Syricius replyed againe (if his writing be not forged) moſt arrogantly and no leſſe ignorauntly, reprouing the Prieſts that were maried, and for the defence of his cauſe, alledged this ſentence of S. Paule: Si ſecundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini. That is: If ye ſhall liue after the fleſh, ye ſhall die, &c. Whereby may appeare not onely howe they in Spaine then had wiues, but alſo how blinde theſe men were in the Scriptures, which ſhewed themſelues ſuch aduerſaries againſt Prieſts Mariage.

4. To be ſhort, the further we go & nearer to the auncient time of the church, the leſſe auncient we ſhall finde the depriuation of lawfull matrimony amongſt chriſtian miniſters, beginning if we will, with the Apoſtles, their examples and Canons, who although were not all maried, yet diuers of them were, and the reſt had power and libertie to haue and keepe their wiues, witneſſing S. Paule, where he writeth of himſelfe: Non habemus poteſtatem ſororem mulierem circumducendi ſicut & reliqui Apoſtoli? That is to ſay: haue not we power to leade about a ſiſter to wife, as alſo the other Apoſtles haue? Whereby is to be ſeene, both what he might do, and what the other Apoſtles did. Alſo Clemens Alexandrinus, whiche was CC. yeares after Chriſte, Lib. Strom 7. denieth not but that Paul was maried beyng an Apoſtle, as well as Peter and Philp. And as the ſayde Apoſtles in their doctrine admoniſhe all men to marrie that can not otherwiſe doe, ſayeng to euery one beeyng in daunger of temptation: Vnuſquiſque ſuam vxorem habeat ne tentet vos Satanas, &c. That is, Let euery man haue his owne wife, leaſt Sathan tempt you, &c. So likewiſe the ſame Apoſtles in their Canons (as in the Popes Decrees cited) do preciſely charge, that no Biſhop nor prieſt, ſhoulde ſequeſter from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, ſaieng: If anye ſhall teach that a prieſt for religion ſake, ought to contemne his owne wife, let him be accurſed, &c.

As for the Gloſe there in the margent, whiche expoundeth this word contemning for exhibiting things neceſſarye for her ſuſtenance, all the worlde may ſee that to bee a Gloſe of meere Sophiſtry. And becauſe I haue here made mention of Clemens Alexandrinus, it ſhal not be to our purpoſe impertinent, to inferre the wordes of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend Prieſts lawfull matrimonie, againſt certayne vayne boſters of virginitie in his time. Dicunt glorioſi iſti iactatores, ſe imitari dominum, qui neque vxorem duxit, neque in mundo aliquid poſſedit: ſe magis quam alios Euangelium intellexiſſe gloriantes. That is: Theſe glorious braggers doe vaunte themſelues to bee the followers of the Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet poſſeſſed anye thing heere in the worlde, &c. And it followeth: Eis autem dicit ſcriptura, deus ſuperbus reſiſtit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde neſciunt cauſam cur dominus vxorem non duxerit primum quidem propriam ſponſam habuit eccleſiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, vt opus haberet etiam adiutore aliquo ſecundum carnem, &c. To theſe the Scripture maketh aunſwere: God withſtandeth the proude, and geueth grace to the humble. Agayne, they conſider not the cauſe why the Lorde tooke no wife. Firſt he had his owne peculiar ſpouſe: which is yͤ Church. Moreouer, neither was he as a common man, that hee ſhoulde ſtand in ſuch neede of a helper after the fleſhe, &c. And in the ſame booke a little after alleadging againſt them that abhorre matrimonie, he inferreth the wordes of S. Paule: how that in the latter dayes ſome ſhall fall from the faith attending to ſpirits of errour, and to doctrine of deuils, forbidding to marry, and to abſteyne from meates, &c. Which place of Saint Paule, Clement heere applieth not againſt the Nouatians, and them that condemne matrimony in generall in all men, as naught: but he applyeth it only againſt ſuche, as forbid mariage in part, and namely in Prieſts, &c.

...n.4.

...cilium ...grenſe.

This Clement wrote after Chriſt two hundreth yeres, and yet if we come downeward to lower times, we ſhall finde both by the Councell of Gangren CCC. yeares, and alſo by the Councel of Nice CCCC. yeares after Chriſte, the ſame libertie of prieſtes mariage eſtabliſhed and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The wordes of Gangren Councell be theſe: Si quis diſcernit Præsbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, & ab eius oblatione ideo abſtinet, anathema ſit, &c. That is: If any do iudge that a Prieſt for his mariage ſake, ought not to miniſter, and therefore doth abſtaine from the ſame, let him be accurſed.

...ncilium ...ſtanti... ...olitanū. ...inct. 35. Quoniā.

Moreouer, proceeding yet in times and Chronicles of the Church, we ſhall come to the ſixt Councell called Synodus Conſtantinopolitana, almoſt ſeauen C. yeares after Chriſt: the wordes of the which Councell be alleadged in the Decrees, and be theſe in Latine. Quoniam in Romani ordine canonis eſſe cognouimus traditum, eos qui ordinati ſunt Diaconi vel Presbyteri, confiteri quod non ſuis iam copulentur vxoribus, antiquum ſequentes canonem Apoſtolicæ diligentiæ & conſtitutiones ſacrorum virorum, legales nuptias amodo valere volumus, nullo modo cum vxoribus ſuis eorum connubia diſſoluentes, aut priuantes eos familiaritate adinuicem, in tempore oportuno, &c. That is: Becauſe in the order of the Romaine Canon, we know it ſo to be receaued, that ſuch as be Deacons and Prieſtes, ſhall profeſſe themſelues to haue no more copulation with their wiues, we following the auncient Canon of the diligent Apoſtles and conſtitutions of holy men, enact that ſuche lawfull mariage, from henceforth, ſhall ſtande in force, in no caſe diſſoluing theyr coniunction with their wiues, neither depriuing them of their mutuall ſocietie and familiaritie together, in ſuche time as they ſhall thinke conuenient, &c. Hetherto ye haue heard the decree: heare now the penaltie in the ſame decree and diſtinction conteined. Si quis igitur præſumpſerit contra Apoſtolicos canones aliquos Præsbyterorum & Diaconorum priuare à contactu & communione legalis vxoris ſuæ deponatur, &c. That is: If any therefore ſhal preſume, againſt the Canons of the Apoſtles, to depriue either prieſt or Deacon from the touching and companye of his lawfull wife, let him be depriued. And likewiſe this Prieſt and Deacon, whoſoeuer for religion ſake ſhall put away his wife, let him be excommunicate, &c. And the Councell of Gangren ſayth: let him be accurſed. By theſe wordes of the Councell recited, ſixe things are to be noted.

...dem. ...thinges in ...s Coun... ...ll to be ...ted,

1. Firſt, how this Councell calleth ye Mariage of prieſtes lawfull, contrary to theſe vj. articles, and to a certeyne late Engliſhe writer of our countrey, entituling his booke againſt the vnlawfull mariage of Prieſts.

2. In that this Councell ſo followeth the Canons of the Apoſtles, and conſtitutions of holy men: we haue to vnderſtand, what the cenſure both of the Apoſtles: and determination of other holy men were therein.

3. If the Iniunction of this Councell, agreeyng thus with the Apoſtles and holy men, ſtode with truth, the contrary Canon of the Romaines, and alſo of theſe ſixe Engliſh articles, muſt needes be condemned of errour.

4. By this Councell appeareth that ſo long time, almoſt 700. yeares after Chriſt, this prohibition of Prieſtes mariage was not yet entred into the Orient Churche, but ſtoutely was holden out.

5. By the Romane Canon heere mentioned (which began with Gregorius 600. yeares after Chriſt, a little before this Councell) it can not be denied, but the Churche of Rome began then to diſceuer, not onely from the veritie, but alſo from the vnitie of all other Churches, following the Apoſtolicke doctrine. Albeit the ſaid Romane Canon, at that time ſtode not long, but was ſhortly diſanulled by the ſayd Gregorius agayne by the occaſion of infants heads found in his fiſh pond, whereof (Chriſt willing) more ſhal be ſpoken heereafter.

...e crafty ...king of ...Ro... ...nes in ...preſſing ... counter ...ing the ...nons of ...uncels.

6. Sixtly, heere is to be noted & remembred the craftie falſe packing, and fraude of the Romaines: which in the Latine booke of Councels, in diuers new impreſſions, haue ſuppreſſed this Canon, becauſe belike, it maketh little to their purpoſe: plaieng much like with this, as Pope Zoſimus Bonifacius and Celeſtinus played with ye ſixt councel of Carthage, which for their ſupremacy would haue forged a falſe Canon of Nice, had not the Councell ſent to Cōſtantinople for the true exemplar therof & ſo proued them open lyers to their faces. So likewiſe this Canō aboue mētioned although it be omitted in ſome bookes, yet beyng found in the auncient & true written copies beyng alledged of Nilus a Greeke Byſhop of Theſſalonica. CC. yeare tofore and moreouer beyng found & alledged in the Popes own booke of Decrees Diſtin. 31. muſt needes conuince them of manifeſt theft & falſehoode. Thus it may ſtand ſufficiently proued that ye depriuation of Prieſtes lawfull mariage all this ſpace was not entred into the church neither Greeke nor Latin, at leaſt tooke no ful poſſeſſion before Pope Hildebrandus tyme. Anno Domini. 1070 and eſpecially Pope Calixtus time Anno Domini. 1120. which were the firſt open extortors of Prieſtes mariage.

Diſt. 31.

Hildebrand and Calixtus firſt extorters of Prieſtes lawfull mariage.

Auentinus a faythfull writer of his tyme writyng of the Councell of Hildebrand, hath theſe wordes: Sacerdotes illa tempeſtate publicè vxores, ſicut cæteri Chriſtiani habebant filios procreabant, ſicuti inſtrumentis donationū quæ illi templis, Myſtis, & Monachis fecere: vbi hæ nominatim cum coniugibus teſtes citantur, & honeſto vocabulo Præſbiteriſſæ nūcupantur, inuenio. Cæſar tum. &c. That is: In thoſe dayes Prieſtes commonly had wiues as other Chriſtē men had, and had children alſo, as may appeare by auncient inſtrumentes, & deedes of gift, which were then giuen to Churches to the Clergy and to religions houſes in the whiche inſtrumentes both the Prieſtes and their wiues alſo with them (which there be called Preſbyteriſſæ) I finde to be alledged for witneſſes. It happened moreouer ye ſame tyme (ſayth Auentine) that the Emperour had the inueſtyng of diuers Archbyſhopryckes, Byſhopryckes, Abbayes and Nunries within his dominions, Pope Hildebrand diſdaynyng agaynſt both theſe ſortes aforeſayd, that is, both againſt them that were inueſted by the Emperour and alſo agaynſt all thoſe Prieſtes that had wiues, prouided ſo in his Coūcell at Rome, that they which were promoted by the Emperour into liuyngs of the Church were counted to come in by Symony: the other which were maryed Prieſtes were counted for Nicolaitanes. Wherupon pope Hildebrād writyng his letters to ye Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, and other great Prelates, and Potētates: namely to Bertholdus, Zaringer, to Rodolphus of Sueuia, to Welphon of Bauaria, to Adalberon, and to their Ladyes, and to diuers other to whom he thought good: alſo to Byſhops, namely, to Otto Byſhop of Conſtance, with other Prieſtes and lay people, willeth them in his letters to refuſe and to keepe no company with thoſe Symoniake, and thoſe Nicolaitane Prieſtes (for ſo were they termed then, which had either any Eccleſiaſticall liuyng by the Emperour, or els which had wiues to auoyd their Maſſes: neither talke, neither to eate nor drinke with them, nor once to ſpeake to them, nor to ſalute them, but vtterly to ſhunne them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwiſe thē they would eſchue the plague or peſtilence.

Auentinus in hiſtor. Bonorum

Simoiacke Prieſtes, Nicolaitan Prieſtes.

By reaſon whereof enſued a mighty ſchiſme and affliction among the flocke of Chriſt, ſuch as lightly the lyke hath not bene ſeene. For the Prieſtes went agaynſt their Byſhops, the people agaynſt the Prieſt, the laytie agaynſt the Clergy: briefly all ranne together in heapes & in confuſion. Men and women, as euery one was ſet vpon miſchief, wickedneſſe, contention and auarice, tooke thereby occaſion vpon euery light ſuſpition, to reſiſte their Miniſter, to ſpoyle the goodes of the Church. The vulgare people contemned the Prieſtes which had maryed wiues, deſpiſed their Religion, and all thynges that they dyd: yea and in many places would purge the place where they had bene, with holy water, and brent their Tithes. Alſo ſuch was the miſchief of them, that they would take the holy myſteries, whiche thoſe maryed Prieſtes had conſecrated, and caſt them in the dyrt, & tread them vnder their feete: For ſo then had Hildebrand taught them, that thoſe were no Prieſtes, neither that they were Sacramentes, whiche they did conſecrate. So that by this occaſion, many falſe Prophets roſe, ſeducing the people from the truth of Chriſt, by forged Fables, and falſe miracles, and feyned Gloſes, wraſtyng the Scriptures as ſerued beſt for their owne purpoſes. Of whom few there were that kept any true chaſtity. Many could make glorious boaſtes & brags thereof, but the greateſt part vnder the ſhew & pretence of honeſty & purenes of life cōmitted inceſt, fornication, adultery, euery where almoſt, and no puniſhment was for the ſame. &c. Thus much out of Auentinus Lib. 5. Annal.

Ex Auentino Annal. Bonorū lib. 5.

To this teſtimony of Auentinus aboue mentioned, we will alſo adioyne the recorde of Gebuilerus a writer of this our latter tyme, and one alſo of their owne crewe, who doth teſtifie that in tyme of the Emperour Henricus the fourth, an. 1057, the number of 24. Byſhops both in Germany, Spayne, and in Fraunce, were maryed, with the

Gebuilerus.

Iſidorus de vita clericorum.

Clergy

Cleargie alſo of their dioces.

Of the which Spaniſh Byſhops we reade alſo in Iſidorus, whiche wrote more then ſixe hundreth yeares after Chriſt (and the place alſo cited in the Popes Diſtinctions) in his booke De clericorum vita, how they ought eyther to leade an honeſt chaſte life, or elſe to keepe themſelues within the bande of matrimonie, &c. whereby is declared the ſingle life of Prieſts, eyther to be then voluntary, or elſe their mariage not to be reſtrained as yet, by any law.

Diſt. 23. cap. Ius igitur.

Moreouer, ſuch Caliſtian Prieſtes as be nowe adayes, counting Prieſts mariage as a new deuiſe, and not ſtanding with auncient times, let them looke vpon the Decree of Pope Symmachus, and anſweare there to the Gloſe. Diſt. 81. where it is written: Let Prieſts be all reſtrained from the conuerſation of all women, except it be their mother, ſiſter, or their owne wife, &c. Where the gloſe in the margent, geueth a note, ſaieng: Hic loquitur ſecundum antiqua tempora.

Caliſtian prieſts, that is, of Calixtus ſecte, who chiefly forbad prieſtes mariage.

Thus if either the voyce of ſcripture might take place with theſe men which be ſo rigorous againſt Prieſtes mariage: or if the examples of the Apoſtles might moue them (whome S. Ambroſe witneſſeth to haue bene all married, except onely Paule and Iohn) or elſe if the multitude of maried Biſhops and Prieſtes might preuaile with them, heere might be rehearſed:

All the Apoſtles were maried, except Iohn and Paule. Ex Ambroſe. 2.Cor.11.

That Tertullian was a married Prieſte, as witneſſeth Hierome.

Ex Epiſt Hilarij ad Abram filiã.

Spiridion Byſhop of Cyprus, had wife and children.

Hylary Byſhop of Poytiers, was alſo maried.

Gregory Byſhop of Nyſſa.

Ex Ruffino. lib.2.cap.9.

Gregory Byſhop of Nazianzum.

Proſper Byſhop of Rhegium.

Cheremon Byſhop of Nylus. All theſe were married Byſhops.

Ex Nazianzeno.

Of Polychrates, and his 7. aunciters Byſhops and maried men, we ſpake before.

Epiphanius Byſhop of Conſtantinople in Iuſtinians tyme was the more commended, becauſe his father & aunciters before him, were Prieſts and Byſhops marryed.

Ex Nouel. conſtit.3. ¶ Finali.

Hierome ſayth, that in his time, Plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia. That is, many Prieſtes were then married men.

Ex Hiero. aduerſus Iouinian. lib. 1. Diſtinct.56. Hoſius.

Pope Damaſus reciteth vp a great number of Byſhops of Rome, which were Prieſts ſonnes, as:

Ex Vicelio de ſacrificio miſſæ.

Syluerius. an. 544.
Deus dedit, aboute the yeare 622.
Adrianus 2. aboute the yeare 873.
Foelix 3. about the yeare 474.
Hoſius.
Agapetus. an. 534.
Gelaſius, 484.
Bonifacius.
Theodorus, whoſe Father was Byſhoppe of Hieruſalem, aboute the yeare 634.
Ioannes 10. an. 924.
Ioannes 15. the ſonne of Leo a Prieſt, aboute the yeare 984.
Richarde Archdeacon of Couentry.
Henry Archdeacõ of Huntingdon.
Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage.
Tho. Archbiſhop of Yorke, ſonne of Sampſon Byſhop of Worceſter.

And howe many other Byſhops and Prieſtes in other countreys beſides theſe Biſhops of Rome, might be annexed to this Catalogue, if our leaſure were ſuch, to make a whole beaderole of them all?

In the meane time the wordes of Siluius Cardinall, & afterward B. of Rome, are not to be forgotten, whiche he wrote to a certeyne frende of his, whiche after his orders taken, was diſpoſed to mariage. To whome the foreſayde Syluius aunſwereth agayne in theſe wordes folowing: Credimus te vti non inſulſo conſilio, ſi cum nequeas continere, coniugium quæris: quamuis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antequam initiaueris ſacris ordinibus. Sed non ſumus dij omnes qui futura proſpicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum eſt, vt legi reſiſtere nequeas, melius eſt nubere quàm vri, &c. That is: We beleeue that you in ſo doing, follow no ſiniſter counſayle, in that you chooſe to be maried, when otherwiſe you are not able to liue chaſte. Albeit this counſayle ſhould haue come into your heade, before that you entred into Eccleſiaſticall orders. But we are not all gods to foreſee before, what ſhall happen heereafter. Now for ſo much as the matter and caſe ſtandeth ſo, that you are not able to reſiſt the lawe, better it is to marry then to burne, &c.

Ex Ænea Siluio. Epiſt. 321.

All theſe premiſſes well conſidered, it ſhall ſuffice, I truſt though no more were ſayd, to proue that this generall law and prohibition of prieſts mariage pretended to be ſo auncient, is of no ſuch great time, nor lõg continuance of yeres as they make it, but rather to be a late deuiſed doctrine gendered by the Monkes, and grounded vpõ no reaſon, law nor ſcripture, but that certeine, which be repiners againſt the truth, do racke and wraſt a few places out of Doctors and ij. or iij. Councels for their pretenſed purpoſe. whoſe obiections and blinde cauillations, I as profeſſing heere but to write ſtories, referre to the further diſcuſſion of Diuines: in whoſe bookes this matter is more at large to bee ſought and ſearched. In the meane ſeaſon ſo muche as appertayneth to the ſearching of times and antiquitie, and to the conſeruation of ſuch Actes and monuments as are behoueable for the Churche, I thought heereunto not vnprofitable to be adioined a certaine Epiſtle learned and auncient of Voluſianus, Biſhop ſometimes of Carthage, tending to the defence of Prieſts lawfull wedlocke, which Æneas Syluius in Deſcriptione Germaniæ, alſo Illyricus in Catal. and Melancth. Lib. De coniugio do father vpon Huldericus Byſhop of Auguſta, in the time of Pope Nicholas 2. but as I finde it in an old written example, ſent by Iohn Bale to Math. Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as it is ioyned in the ſame booke: ſo it beareth alſo the ſame title and name of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage: ioining alſo withall, another Latine Epiſtle, whiche perhaps hath not bene ſeene in Print before. The Copies of which both Epiſtles as being pertinent to the purpoſe preſent, heere vnder enſue in forme as foloweth.

¶ The epiſtle in Latin of Voluſianus, or as ſome thinke of Huldericus Byſhop of Auguſta, to Pope Nicholas, agaynſt the forbidding of Prieſtes Mariage.

Epiſtola Voluſiani Carthaginenſis Epiſcopi ad Nicolaum Romanorum Epiſcopum.

¶ Hæc eſt reſcriptio Voluſiani Carthaginenſis Epiſcopi, in qua Papæ Nicolao de continentia clericorum, non iuſtè ſed impiè, nec canonicè, ſed indiſcretè tractanti ita reſpondit.

Nicolao Domino & patri peruigili ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Prouiſori, Voluſianus ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem vt filius, timorem vt ſeruus.

CVm tua, ô Pater & Domine, decreta ſuper clericorum continentia nuper mihi tranſmiſſa, à diſcretione inuenirem aliena, timor me turbauit cum triſtitia. Timor quidem propter hoc, quod dicitur, paſtoris ſententia, ſiue iuſta, ſiue iniuſta timenda eſt. Timebam enim infirmis Scripturæ auditoribus, qui vel iuſtæ vix obediunt ſententiæ, ne iniuſtam conculcantes liberè, oneroſa, imò importabili paſtoris præuaricatione præcepti, ſe obligarent. Triſtitia verò vel compaſsio, dum conſiderabam, qua ratione membra cauere poſſent, capite ſuo tam graui morbo laborante. Quid enim grauius quid totius Eccleſiæ compaſsione dignius, quàm te ſummæ ſedis Pontificem, ad quem totius Eccleſiæ ſpectat examen, à ſancta diſcretione vel minimum exorbitare? Non parum quippe ab hac deuiaſti, cum clericos, quos ad abſtinentiam coniugij monere debebas, ad hanc imperioſa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim meritò communi omnium ſapientum iudicio hæc eſt violentia, cum contra Euangelicam inſtitutionem, ac ſancti Spiritus dictationem, ad priuata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda?

Cum ergo plurima veteris ac noui Teſtamenti ſuppetant exempla, ſanctam (vt noſti) diſcretionem docentia, tuæ rogo ne graue ſit paterniati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginæ interſeri. Dominus quidem in veteri lege ſacerdoti coniugium conſtituit, quod illi poſtmodum interdixiſſe non legitur. Sed idem in Euangelio loquitur: Sunt eunuchi, qui ſe caſtrauerunt propter regnum cælorum, ſed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui poteſt capere, capiat. Qua propter Apoſtolus quoque ait: De virginibus præceptum Domini non habeo, conſilium autem do. Quitiam iuxta prædictum Domini, non omnes hoc conſilium capere poſſe conſiderans, ſed multos eiuſdem conſilij aſſentatores hominibus, non Deo, pro falſa ſpecie continentiæ placere volentes, grauiora vides committere, patrum ſcilicet vxores ſubagitare, maſculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere: ne morbi huius aſperſione ad uſque peſtilentiam conualeſcente, nimium ſtatus labefactetur Eccleſiæ totius: Propter fornicationem, dixit, vnuſquiſque ſuam vxorem habeat. Quod ſpecialiter ad laicos pertinere, iidem mentiuntur hypocritæ: qui licet in quouis ſanctiſsimo ordine conſtituti, alienis tamen vxoribus non dubitant abuti. Et quod flendo cernimus, omnes in ſupradictis ſæuiunt ſceleribus. Hi nimirum non rectè Scripturam intellexerunt, cuius mamillam quia durius preſſêre, ſanguinem pro lacte biberunt. Nam illud Apoſtolicum: Vnuſquiſque ſuam habeat vxorem, nullum excipit verè, niſi profeſſorem continentiæ, vel eum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate præfixit.

Quod nihilominus tuam, Pater venerande, condecet ſtrenuitatem, vt omnem qui tibi manu vel ore votum faciens continentiæ, poſtea voluerit apoſtatare, aut ad votum exequendum ex debito conſtringas, aut ab omni ordine, canonica autoritate deponas: & hoc vt viriliter implere ſufficias, me omneſque mei ordinis viros adiutores habebis non pigros. Verùm vt huius voti neſcios omninò ſcias non eſſe cogendos, audi Apoſtolum dicen-

tem ad Timoth: Oportet (inquit) Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem eſſe, vnius vxoris virum. Quam ſententiam ne quis ad ſolam Eccleſiam verteret, ſubiunxit: Qui autem domui ſuæ præeſſe neſcit, quomodo Eccleſiæ Dei diligentiam habebit? Similiter inquit: Diaconi ſint vnius vxoris viri, qui filijs ſuis bene præſint, & ſuis domibus. Hanc autem vxorem à ſacerdote benedicendam eſſe, ſancti Syluestri Papæ decretis ſcio te ſufficienter docuiſſe. His & huiuſmodi ſanctæ Scripturæ ſententijs, Regulæ clericorum ſcriptor non immeritò concordans, ait: Clericus ſit pudicus, aut certè vnius matrimonij vinculo fœderatus. Ex quibus omnibus veraciter colligit, quòd Epiſcopus & Diaconus reprehenſibiles notantur, ſi in mulieribus multis diuiduntur. Si verò vnam ſub obtentu religionis abijciunt, vtrunque, ſcilicet Epiſcopum & Diaconum, ſine graduum differentia, hic Canonica damnat ſententia: Epiſcopus aut Preſbyter vxorem propriam nequaquam ſub obtentu religionis abijciat, ſi verò reiecerit, excommunicetur: & ſi perſeuerauerit, deijciatur. Sanctus quoque Auguſtinus, ſanctæ diſcretionis non inſcius: Nullum, inquit, tam graue facinus eſt, quin admittendum ſit, vt deuitetur peius.

Apoſt.

Legimus præterea in ſecundo Tripartitæ Eccleſiaſticæ libro hiſtoriæ, quòd cum Synodus Nicæna hæc eadem vellet ſancire decreta, vt videlicet Epiſcopi, Præsbyteri, Diaconi, poſt conſecrationem à proprijs vxoribus vel omninò abſtinerent, vel gradum deponerent: ſurgens in medio Paphnutius, (ex illis Martyribus quos Maximus Imperator, oculis eorum dextris euulſis, & ſiniſtris ſuris inciſis, damnauit) contradixit, honorabiles confeſſus nuptias, ac caſtitatem eſſe dicens connubium cum propria vxore: perſuaſitque Concilio ne talem ponerent legem: grauem aſſerens eſſe cauſam, quæ aut ipſis, aut eorum coniugibus occaſio fornicationis exiſteret. Et hæc quidem Paphnutius, licet nuptiarum expers, expoſuit: Synoduſque eius ſententiam laudauit, & nihil ex hac parte ſanciuit, ſed hoc in vniuſcuiſque voluntate, non in neceſſitate dimiſit.

rule Auſten bed, is for Papiſts, mitte mariage prieſtes, that a- ry, So- trye, & lyke conueni- ſhould w, as do,

Sunt verò aliqui, qui ſanctum Gregorium ſuæ ſectæ ſumunt adiutorem: quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quòd periculoſum huius hæreſis decretum à S. Gregorio factum, condigno pœnitentiæ fructu poſtmodum ab eodem ſit purgatum. Quippè cùm die quadam in viuarium ſuum propter piſces miſiſſet, & allata inde plus quam ſex millia infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus pœnitentia ingemuit, & factum à ſe de abſtinẽtia decretũ, tãtæ cædis cauſam cõfeſſus, cõdigno illud, vt dixi, pœnitentiæ fructu purgauit: ſuoque decreto prorſus damnato, Apoſtolicum illud laudauit conſilium: Melius eſt nubere quàm vri: addens ex ſua parte: Melius eſt nubere, quàm mortis occaſionem præbere. Hunc forſitan rei euentum ſi illi mecum legiſſent, non tam temerè, credo, iudicarent, Dominicum ſaltem timentes præceptum: Nolite iudicare, vt non iudicemini. Inde Paulus dicit: Tu quis es, qui iudicas alienum ſeruum? ſuo Domino ſtat, aut cadit. Stabit autem: potens eſt enim Dominus ſtatuere illum. Ceſſet ergo ſanctitas tua cogere, quos tantùm deberet admonere: ne priuato (quod abſit) præcepto, tam veteri quàm nouo contrarius inueniaris teſtamento. Nam, vt ait ſanctus Auguſtinus ad Donatum: Solum eſt quòd in tua iuſticia pertimeſcimus, ne non pro lenitatis Chriſtianæ conſideratione, ſed pro immanitate facinorum cenſeas coercendum. Quod te per ipſum Chriſtum ne facias obſecramus: ſic enim peccata compeſcenda ſunt, vt ſuperſint quos peccaſſe pœniteat. Illud etiam Auguſtini volumus te recordari, quod ait: Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate: & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter. Idem de eodem: In timore Chriſti in nomine Chriſti exhortor: Quicunque non habetis temporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicunque habetis, in eis non præſumatis. Dico autem, non ſi iſta habetis, damnamini: ſed ſi in iſtis præſumatis, damnamini: ſi propter talia magni vobis videamini: ſi generis humani conditionem communem propter excellentem vnitatem, obliuiſcamini. Quod nimirum poculum diſcretionis ex illo fonte Apoſtolicæ hauſerat prædicationis: Solutus es ab vxore, noli quærere vxorem: alligatus es vxori, noli quærere ſolutionem. Vbi & ſubditur: Qui habent vxores, ſint tanquam non habentes: & qui vtuntur mundo, tanquam non vtantur. Idem dicit de vidua: Cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino. Nubere in Domino eſt, nihil in contrahendo cõnubio quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare. Ieremias quoq; ait: Nolite cõfidere in verbis mendacij, dicẽtes: Templũ Domini, templum Domini, tẽplum Domini eſt. Quod Hieronimus exponens: Poteſt (inquit) & hoc illis virginibus conuenire, quæ iactant pudicitiam ſuam impudenti vultu: præferunt caſtitatem, cum aliud habeat conſcientia: & neſciunt illam Apoſtoli definitionem de virgine, vt ſit ſancta corpore & ſpiritu. Quid enim prodeſt corporis pudicitia, animo conſtuprato, ſi cæteras virtutes, quas Propheticus ſermo deſcribit, non habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videmus, & quia diſcretionem, licet in hac re neglectam, in alijs tamen vitæ tuæ conſtitutionibus eam honeſtè conſeruatam non ignoramus: huius intentionis prauitatem te citò correcturum non deſperamus. Et ideo non quanta poſſumus grauitate, iſtam licet grauiſſimam negligentiã corripimus, vel iudicamus. Quanquam enim ſecundũ vocabula quæ vſus obtinuit, ſit Epiſcopatus Præsbyterio maior: tamen Auguſtinus Hieronymo minor eſt, & à minori quolibet non eſt refugienda correptio: præſertim cum is qui corripitur, & contra veritatem, & pro hominibus niti inuenitur. Neq; enim, vt ait ſanctus Auguſtinus ad Bonifaciũ: Quorumlibet diſputationes, quamuis catholicorũ & laudatorum virorum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: vt non liceat nobis ſalua honorificentia, quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorũ ſcriptis improbare atq; reſpuere, ſi fortè inuenerimus quòd aliter ſenſerint quàm veritas habeat, diuino adiutorio vel ab alijs intellecta, vel à nobis. Quid autem veritati magis contrariũ, quàm hoc, quòd cum ipſa veritas de continentia loquens, nõ vnius hominis, ſed omnium planè (non excepto numero profeſſorum continentiæ) dicat: Qui poteſt capere, capiat: iſti (neſcitur vnde inſtigati) dicant: Qui non poteſt capere, feriatur anathemate?

Gregorics. 1.Cor.7. Math.7. Rom.14. Auguſtinus. 1.Cor.7. Hierony.

Math.19.

Quid verò per homines fieri poteſt ſtolidius? quid diuinæ maledictioni obligatius, quàm cum aliqui, vel Epiſcopi videlicet, vel Archidiaconi, ita præcipites ſint in libidinem, vt neq; adulteria, neque inceſtus, neque maſculorum (proh pudor) turpiſſimos amplexus ſciant abhorrere: caſta clericorum cõiugia ſibi dicant fœtere, & ab eis non veræ iuſticiæ compaſſione, ſed falſæ iuſticiæ dedignatione, non vt conſeruos rogent cõtinere, ſed vt ſeruos iubeant ac cogant abſtinere? Ad cuius imperij, ne dicam conſilij, tam fatuam, tamq; turpẽ addunt ſuggeſtionem, vt dicãt: Honeſtius eſt pluribus occultè implicari, quàm apertè in hominũ vultu & conſcientia cum vna legari. Quod profectò nõ dicerent, ſi ex illo & in illo eſſent, qui dicit: Væ vobis Phariſæis, qui omnia facitis propter homines. Et per Pſalmiſtã: Qui hominibus placent, confuſi ſunt, quoniam Dominus ſpreuit eos. Hi ſunt, qui prius deberent nobis perſuadere, vt in cõſpectu eius, cui omnia nuda & aperta ſunt, erubeſcamus peccatores eſſe, quàm in conſpectu hominũ mundi eſſe. Licet ergo merito ſuæ prauitatis, nullius conſiliũ mereantur pietatis, nos tamẽ memores humanitatis diuinæ, eis conſilium authoritatis nunquam à pietate vacantis, per viſcera miniſtramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe: Eiice primùm hypocrita trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc perſpicies vt eiicias feſtucã de oculo fratris tui.

Turpis Papiſtarum vox. Pſal.53.

Math.7.

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod Dominus dicit de muliere: Qui ſine peccato eſt veſtrûm, primus in eam lapidem mittat, quaſi diceret: Si lex iubet, ſi Moſes iubet, iubeo & ego, ſed competentes legis miniſtros exigo. Attendentes, quid adducitis, attendite quæſo & quid eſtis: quia, ſi te ipſum, vt ait Scriptura, perſpexeris, nulli vnquam detraxeris. Significatum eſt autem nobis de quibuſdã eorum, quod tanta apud ſe intumeſcant elatione, vt gregem Domini, pro quo boni paſtores animas non dubitant ponere, iſti verberibus etiam abſq; ratione præſumant laniare. Quorum ſentẽtiam S. Gregorius nimium deplorans ait: Quid fiet de ouibus, quando paſtores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, niſi qui ſæuit? quis verò perſecutorẽ iudicabit, niſi qui dorſũ ſuũ ad flagella patienter miniſtrauit? Operæ præcium eſt autẽ, vt audiatur, quo fructu tantũ Eccleſię Dei inducabant ſcandalũ, tantũ cleris deſpectum, & ab ipſis Epiſcopis, & ab eorum infidelibus patiatur. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitauerim, de quibus Paulus Apoſtolus dicit ad Timotheum: Quia in nouiſsimis temporibus diſcedẽt quidam a fide, attendentes ſpiritibus erroris, & doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocriſi loquentium mendacium, & cauteriatam habentium conſcientiam, prohibentium nubere.

Iohn.8.

Chriſtus legem non ſoluit, ſed competentes exigit.

Gregorius.

1.Tim.4.

Hic eſt autem, ſi diligẽter inſpiciatur, totius eorum manipulus zizaniæ, totius euentus inſaniæ, vt dum clerici licita vnius mulieris cõſortia, Phariſaico deuicti (quod abſit) furore, relinquere cogãtur, fornicatores & adulteri & aliarum prauitatum turpiſsimi miniſtri cum ipſis efficiantur. Qui hanc in Eccleſia Dei hæreſim, ſicut cæci duces cæcorũ machinantur, vt videlicet illud impleatur quod Pſalmiſta eis, vt pote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur: Obſcurentur oculi eorum ne videant, &c. Quia ergo nemo, ô Apoſtolice, ignorat, quòd ſi tu per tui decreti ſententiam, tantam futuram eſſe peſtilentiam ſolitæ diſcretionis claritate perſpexiſſes, nũquam quorumlibet tam prauis ſuggeſtionibus conſenſiſſes: debitæ tibi ſubiectionis fidelitate conſulimus, vt vel nũc ad tanti ſcandali ab Eccleſia Dei propulſionẽ euigiles: & qua noſti diſcretionis diſciplina, Phariſaicã ab ouili Dei extirpes doctrinã, ne ſcilicet vnica Sunamitis, adulterinis diutius vſa maritis, gentem ſanctam, regale ſacerdotium, per irrecuperabile à ſponſo Chriſto videlicet, auellat diuortium: dum nemo ſine caſtimonia, non tantum in virginali flore, ſed etiam in coniugali habita coniunctione, viſurus ſit Dominum noſtrum: qui cum Deo patre & Spiritu ſancto viuit & regnat per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

Ex cœlibatu Sacerdotum qui fructus oriantur.

Pſal.69.

As touchyng the antiquitie of this Epiſtle aboue prefixed it appeareth by the copie which I haue ſene, & receaued of the aboue named Matthew Archbyſhop of Canterbury, to be of an old & auncient wrytyng, both by the forme of the characters, and by the wearyng of the Parchment, almoſt conſumed by length of yeares and tyme.

And as concernyng the author therof, the ſuperſcription (if it be true) playnely declareth it to be the Epiſtle of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage. Albeit heretofore it hath com-

commonly bene taken and alleaged by the name of Huldericus Byſhop of Auguſta, and partely appeareth to be ſo, both by the teſtimony of Æneas Syluius, in Deſcriptione Germaniæ, who in the ſaid treatiſe affirmeth that Huldericus Byſhop of Auguſta, did conſtantly reſiſt the Pope aboliſhing the mariage of Prieſts, &c. and alſo by the recorde of Illyricus, teſtifieng that the ſaid epiſtle not only remaineth yet to this day in old monumentes, but alſo that hee himſelfe did ſee two exemplars of the ſame, both pretending the name of the ſayde Huldericus to bee the author. Notwithſtanding this copie heere aboue prefixed, beareth the title not of Huldericus Biſhop of Auguſta, but of Voluſianus Biſhop of Carthage in Aphricke, as ye may ſee by the wordes of the preamble, ſayeng, This is the reſcripte of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage, vnto Pope Nicholás concerning Prieſts not to be reſtrayned from lawfull marriage, &c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas this was to whõe theſe epiſtles were written, it is not plainely ſhewed in the ſame, but that by probable coniecture it may be geſſed rather to be Pope Nicholas 2. for ſo much as in his time, Prieſtes mariage began ſomewhat earneſtly to be called in, more then at other times before.

Read before pag. 139.

Now as touching the Engliſh of this Latine epiſtle aboue exhibited, foraſmuch as the ſame is before inſerted, page 157. we will referre the reader vnto the ſame place. wherein if the tranſlation of the Engliſh doe ſwarue any thing from the Latin heere aboue prefixed, the cauſe was, for that the Latine copie which heere we follow, came not before to our hands.

¶ Another epiſtle of the ſaid Voluſianus, concerning marriage not to be reſtrayned from prieſtes and miniſters of the Church.

Rom.8.
Rom.11.
Rom.9.

CVm ſub liberi arbitrij poteſtate creati ſimus, & non ſub lege, ſed ſub gratia, qualiter creati ſumus, viuamus. Vos qui continentiæ legem nobis inuitis, imponitis, liberi arbitrij nos poteſtate priuatis. Quod nolumus velle, & quod volumus nolle cogendo imperatis, & imperando cogitis: & legis vinculo, à quo ipſa gratia nos in libertatem liberati ſumus, alligare, & ſpiritum ſeruitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipſamque gratiam, ſine qua nihil facere poſſumus, omninò euacuare ſatagitis, ita vt (ſicut ait Apoſtolus) ipſa gratia iam non ſit gratia, & Dei donum non ſit Dei donum: Et non ex Deo ſed ex homine, nec ex vocante, ſed ex operante: cum idem Apoſtolus dicat: Quia non eſt volentis neque currentis, ſed Dei miſerentis.

1. Liberum arbitrium.
2. Gratia.
3. Mandatum.

Nam cùm ſint tria principalia & quaſi effectiua, per quæ omnis anima humana capax & compos rationis, quicquid ſpiritalis boni apprehendere & percipere poteſt, apprehendit & percipit, & ſine quibus nihil prorſus capere poſsit: liberum arbitrium videlicet, Mandatum, & gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona à malis decernimus atque eligimus: mandato ad omnia facienda prouocamur ac incitamur: gratia promouemur & adiuuamur) horum omnium tamen gratia Domina & Magiſtra & quaſi præpotens imperatrix & Regina eſt, ad cuius nutum cætera pendent, & ab ea vim & efficaciam expectant, & ſine illa nihil præualent, ſed quaſi ſtolida & mortua, ſicut materia ſine forma, iacent & ſubiacent. Loco enim materiæ, ſecundum propoſitiónem aliquam, liberum arbitrium poſſumus accipere non incongruè: Gratiam verò, loco formæ: Mandatum autem quod medium eſt quaſi inſtrumentum, ad vtrunque reſpicere, quo ſummus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quaſi ſtolidam materiam moueat & promoueat, & formam gratiæ illi componat. Et ſicut materia ſine forma eſt horrida & deformis: ita liberum arbitrium eſt horridum & deforme ſine gratia ſuperueniente ſe mouente & promouente, mandato medio quaſi inſtrumento (vt diximus) interueniente. Quod ergò forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam ſimilitudinem eſt gratia: & quod materia ſub forma, hoc idem eſt libera voluntas ſub gratia. Et item, quod eſt inſtrumentum ipſorum, hoc eſt mandatum ad vtrunque iſtorum. Inſtrumentum namque ſordidam materiam, & horridam atque aſperam, obſcuram, & quaſi cœcam emaculat & expolit, & claram, planam ac lucidam, forma ſuperueniente, reddit. Sic & mandatum, liberum arbitrium ſordidum & horridum, aſperum & incultum, obſcurum & cœcū, nitidat, comit, lenit, & excolit, lucidat, & illuminat: ſicut Propheta dicit: præceptum domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, ſplendore gratiæ ſuperueniente. Et ſicut materia & inſtrumentum ſine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas & mandatum ſine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum ſine gratia præueniente & ſubſequente poteſt? Gratia namque ad liberum arbitrium, mandatum quaſi nuntium ac famulum mittit; mandatum liberum arbitrium prouocat atque quaſi ſopitum excitat, vt ad bona facienda euigilet & exurgat, viamque ei quam peragere debeat, quaſi cœco deducendo demonſtrat. Quorum vtrunque, ſi à gratia deſeritur, nihil omninò per ſe poteſt. Quod ſi conatur, deficit, non proficit, neque etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si præſumit, non aſſumit, ſed potius totam operam & laborem fruſtra conſumit. Cùm enim mandatum, ſeu per hominem ſiue per Angelū mittitur, & etiam liberum arbitrium ſeu humano ſeu angelico mandati nuntio cōmouetur, prouocatur, & inſtruitur, niſi diuina gratia comitetur, præueniat, & ſubſequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè homini in paradiſo poſito mandatū quod audiuit: Ex omni ligno Paradiſi comede, de ligno vero ſcientiæ boni & mali ne comedat? Nihil prorſus ad ſalutem, ſed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia ſaluatrix & auxiliatrix defuit, quā ille iniuſtè ſuis viribus fiſus, cōtempſit. Aut quid valuit Iſraelitico populo in Eremo cōſtituto, mandatū legis quod per Moyſe accepit, cui obedire neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi qui Dominū ſequi ſuo arbitrio, & nō illius vocatione præſumit dicens: Domine, ſequar té quocunq; ieris. Ex multis alijs diuinæ ſcripturæ locis noui & veteris Teſtamenti demōſtrari poteſt, quòd neq; mandatū, neque liberū arbitriū per ſe quicquā valet, niſi diuina gratia præueniendo & ſubſequendo adiuuet. Cùm igitur continentiæ bonū, imò omne bonū ſit ſolius diuinæ gratiæ donū, nec per mandatum, nec per liberū arbitriū cōprehendatur, errant & fruſtrà laborant qui ſe ſuis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc inuitis & nolentibus imperant, & nō ſpōtaneè ſed coactè in Sacrarium Dei dona offerre ſuadent, neſcientes aut obliti illius quod Dominus Moyſi & Moyſes à Domino præcepit dicens: Separate apud vos primitias Domino: quiſque voluntarius & bono animo offerat eas Domino. Quid eſt ſeparare apud vos primitias Domino, niſi ſtudioſa cogitatione & meditatione in cordibus veſtris tractare, & cum diſcretione deponere & diuidere, quid Domino de theſauro cordis noſtri valeamus offerre? Si enim rectè offeras & non rectè diuidas, peccaſti. Et quid eſt prono animo offerre, niſi quod ait Pſalmiſta: voluntariè ſacrificabo tibi? Et Apoſtolus: Non ex triſtitia aut neceſsitate: Hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon, Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, & in omni Dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, & in exultatione ſanctifica decimas tuas, & in bono oculo facito adinuentioné manuū tuarū. Et Apoſtolus Iacobus: Nō amat Dominus (inquit) coacta ſeruitia. Et, maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligenter, i. nō curioſè neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus inuitos aliquid offerre non iubet; ita vos inuitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere, prohibet per eundem Moyſen vbi ait: Ne facias Calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniā proximo facere, eſt eū non cōpatiendo & miſerando corrigere de peccato: ſed dedignando & exprobrando & detrahendo arguere & accuſare, & non in ſpiritu lenitatis inſtruere, ſed in ſpiritu aſperitatis & auſteritatis deſtruere, cum Apoſtolus dicat: Si præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui ſpirituales eſtis inſtruite huiuſmodi in ſpiritu lenitatis, conſiderans teipſum ne & tu tenteris. Vi opprimere proximū, eſt vltra vires ſuas aliquid exigere, & onus quod portare nō poteſt imponere, imponétibus fortaſsis importabile, cùm Dominus de Phariſæis ad Diſcipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibeat dicens: Super cathredam Moyſi ſedent Scribe & Phariſæi, &c. Et Apoſtolus Petrus: Paſcite (inquit) qui in vobis eſt, gregem Domini, prouidentes, non coactè, ſed ſpontaneè, ſecundū Dominum: neque turpis lucri gratia, ſed volūtariè: neque dominantes in Clero, ſed forma eſtote gregi ex animo. Hic paſtor paſtorū, princeps Apoſtolorū, quid cæteri paſtores vel Apoſtoli debeant facere, quomodo gregé Domini ſibi creditum tractare, apertè & piè demonſtrat atque inſinuat, & quantam ſolicitudinem & compaſsionem erga ſubditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat: & omnem poteſtatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitionem cupiditatis, quam quidam in ſubditos ſibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliminat, & eos non dominos, ſed patres ſubditorum debere eſſe pronunciat: neque eis aliquid typo potentiæ imperare, ſed zelo pietatis admonere & obſecrare iuxta vires vniuſcuiuſque ſecundum Dominum, non ſecundum ſuæ voluntatis arbitrium vel poteſtatis imperium: & illis formam eſſe gregi debere, vt quid alijs imperant, ipſi priores faciant, & non minus exemplis quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo, inquit: non ex imperio: ex voluntate, non coactione: ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plærique qui zelo cupiditatis, nó charitatis accenſi, alijs imperant quod implere non valent: & dum lucrum animarum querere ſe ſimulant, lucrum potius terrenum captant. Quod bene Baalam propheta exprimit, qui prophetiæ donum & benedicendi gratiam quam diuinitus acceperat, non ad vtilitaté aliorum, ſed ad vſum ſuæ cupiditatis vertit: & ſicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere ſe oſtendunt, & dū meliores alijs ſe videri volunt, hoc præſumptione quadam & temeritate agunt, & ideo in ipſo præſumptionis ſuæ & temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit Apoſtolus: Qui zelum Dei habent, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam. Zelum Dei ſecundum ſcientiam eſt habere, prouidè & cōſulte in diuinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profectio Oza ſimilitudinem gerit, qui dum Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, inclinatum parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mortuus cecidit. Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari, eſt legem Domini quam ipſi ſacerdotes portare & tenere debent, ab eis nō obſeruando contradici, & quaſi à recto ſtatu in diuerſam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adiutor dei interpretatur, erigere tentat: Quia ſunt quidā Prelati, qui dum ſacerdotalem ordinem, ipſam legem diuinā maligno exceſſu vel leuiter à ſitæ rectitudinis vta quaſi inclinare & in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem caſtigare

Liberum arbitrium locum Materiæ tenet: Gratia locum Formæ.

Mandatum loco inſtrumenti

Pſal. 19.

Liberum arbitrium et Mandatum ſine Gratia nihil valent.

stigere & corrigere magis virtutis suæ ostentatione quàm diuina emulatione præsumunt, & quia hoc inconsultè agunt dum adiutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumq; mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt & alij qui nullam infirmitatis humanæ considerationem, nec vllum misericordiæ respectum & compassionis affectũ habent, & cum Apostolo dicere nescientes: Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Dum se subditis non conditione qua pares, sed authoritate qua superiores sunt, conferunt, atq; magistri videri, & plus præesse quàm prodesse cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, & eos sibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenæo in Euangelio legitur, quem angariauerunt persecutores Domini vt tolleret crucem eius. Cuius etiam nomen huic figuræ conuenienter aptatur. Simon namq; interpretatur obediens. Simon verò, id est obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur cum subiecti quiq; à suis magistris vi dominationis vel authoritatis, vel anathematis pressi, & eis obedire compulsi, crucem continentiæ patiuntur inuiti: ipsamq; crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipsam plus ad perniciem suam, quàm ad salutem portant, nec ipsa cruce peccato moriuntur, sed potius ipsi peccato viuificantur; Nam & alia peccata grauiora exindè oriũtur. Inhibito enim naturali vnius mulieris coniugio, surrepit non naturalis, sed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio; surrepit illicita & damnabilis, non legitima sed contra legem alienæ vxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam & meretricabilis nefanda pollutio: quin etiam abominabilis omnibus parentalis incestatio, vel aliarum multarum immundiciarum vel libidinum à diabolo inuentarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Vnde Loth de Sodomitico incendio Angelo domini educente ereptus, & vxoris consortio viduatus, dum sua infirmittais cõscius ad montana non ausus est Angelo monente ascendere, ipse in Segor parua ciuitate quæ iuxta erat, elegit habitare, ipso Angelo præcipiente & sic ad eum loquente: Salua animam tuam; noli respicere post tergum, sed in monte saluum te fac, ne & tu simul pereas. Cui dixit Loth: Quæso Domine mi, quia inuenit seruus tuus gratiam corã te vt saluares me: non possum in monte saluari, ne fortè apprehẽdat me malum & moriar. Est Ciuitas iuxta hic ad quam possum fugere parua, & saluabor in ea. Quid est quod Loth à Sodomis fugiens præcipiente Angelo vt in monte saluaretur, montem ascẽdere quia ibi mori timebat, noluit, sed Segor paruã ciuitatem iuxtà montem positam, vt in ea saluaretur, ad habitandum elegit, nisi quicunq; fidelium Sodometicæ libidinis incendium & periculum euadere cupiens, dum celsitudinẽ virginalem non valet, & castitatis vidualis timet ascendere ne in ea periclitetur, ad cõiugalem copulam cùm ad vtramq; continentiam paruula est & vtriq; proxima, confugit? Namq; post continẽtias supradictas, hæc castitas probatur laudabilis, & non priuatur præmio regni cœlestis. Ad hanc castitatem, qui non potest continere, iubetur accedere & in ea saluari, ne fortè si montem ascenderit, apprehendat eum malũ & moriatur, & ne, si continentiam non sibi diuinitus concessam, suis viribus obtinere tentauerit, malum incontinentiæ vel fornicationis vel aliquarum supradictarum pestium eum apprehendat, & in eis mortaliter pereat. Sunt enim multi qui dũ infirmitatem suam non considerant, & dum maiora se apprehendere conantur, ipsa sua præcipitatione retroacti, in deteriora labuntur: quia dum maiora inconsultius ambiunt, minora quæ tenere videbantur, amittunt. Quod sanè exemplo ipsius Loth apertè demonstratur: qui dum relicta Segor quam ad habitandum elegerat, & in qua saluari petierat, in montem ascendit, ibiq; mansit, in incestum filiarum suarum, ipsarum surreptione corruit, sicut scriptura dicit. Ita namq; scriptum est: Ascendit Loth de Segor & mansit in monte, dederuntq; filia patri suo bibire vinum nocte illa, & ingressa est maior, dormiuitq; cum patre. Quod nequaquam sibi contigisset, si in Segor in qua saluari poterat, ad præceptum Angeli, sicut ille postulauerat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod sibi ab Angelo concessum fuerat, dereliquit, & quod concessum non fuerat, id postea sua voluntate contra præceptum Angeli præsumpsit, salutis suæ dispendium pertulit, & graue incestus peccatum incurrit. Sic plerisq; contingit, qui dum quod sibi concessum est à Deo relinquunt, & id quod sibi concessum est ambiunt, & illud quod sibi concessum est perdunt, & illud quod sibi concessum non est, aprehendunt. Quia sunt nonnulli, qui dum coniugalem vitam quæ sibi concessa est, & in qua saluari possent, vel inuiti vel volentes deserunt, & maiori profectus desiderio cælibem vitam actitare satagunt, salutem quam in illa habere poterant, perdunt, & periculum maximum in ista incurrunt, & ex quo proficere conabantur, magis deficiunt (& sicut supradiximus) in maioris ruinæ voraginem vergunt. Quod bene Doctor gentiũ Paulus cõsiderans, & infirmis quibusq; benignè prospiciens Corinthijs super his scriptis suis se consulentibus, ita rescripsit dicens: De quibus autem scripsistis mihi: bonum homini est mulierẽ non tangere: propter fornicationem autem vitandam, vnusquisq; vxorem suam habeat, & vnaquæq; virum. Et vxori vir debitum reddat: similiter vxor viro. Et post pauca, Nolite (inquit) fraudari inuicem, nisi fortè ex consensu ad temptus, vt vacetis orationi: & iterum reuertimini in idipsum ne tentet vos Satanas propter incõtinentiam vestram: quoniam, sicut ait Poeta, non omnia possimus omnes: Et sicut Apostolus in superioribus dixit: Quia non est volentis neq; currentis, sed Dei miserentis: Et alibi: Quia vnicuiq; nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Hanc mensuram vnicuiq; tenendam nec transgrediendam esse, docens mox intulit: Volo autem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, sed vnusquisq; proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidẽ sic, alius autem sic: Quia videlicet mensura nos arcendos, & debere esse contentos in sequentibus intimauit dicens: Vnumquẽq; sicut vocauit Deus, ita ambulet. Et vnusquisq; in qua uocatione vocatus est, in hac permaneat apud Deum. Et hoc idem repetit paulò inferius causa confirmationis: Vnusquisq; in quo vocatus est frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatem humanã videbat non posse tollerare incentiua * gemini caloris, nisi per gratiam Dei, neq; vincere pugnam carnis aduersus spiritum: & quia sic ipse dixit de se alibi: Videbam aliam legẽ in mẽbris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meæ, hoc se misericorditer, & compatiẽter, & vnanimiter, nõ regulariter neq; imperatiuè dixisse, sicut in alia epistola, mõstrauerat, vbi ait: Humanũ dico propter infirmitatem carnis vestræ. Et in hac ipsa paulò superius in eodem schemate, vbi ait: Hoc autem dico secũdum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium, subdendo demonstrat: De virginibus autem preceptũ Domini non habeo, consilium do tanquã misericordiã consecutus, vt sim fidelis. Id est, ea misericordia qua mihi Dominus consuluit quando ad fidem me vocauit, & sibi fidelem fecit, & ego alijs consulo & eandem misericordiã illis impendo. Et quoniam bonũ est vtrumq; cũ vxore esse & sine vxore esse, & cũ viro esse & cũ viro non esse, neq; peccatum est vel cum vxore esse vel cũ viro esse, mox subinfert dicẽs: Estimo ergò bonũ esse propter instantẽ necessitatẽ: quoniã bonũ est homini esse sic. &c.

Rom.9.
Ephes.4.
Quisque intra mensuram suã se contineat.
1.Cor.7.
* Forte legendũ ingeniti.
Rom.6.
1.Cor.7.

Quid est propter instantem necessitatem? Quę est necessitas instans, nisi infirmitas præsens? Vel necessitas instans, est necessitas vrgens & cogens prout necessitas extiterit vel coegerit. Vel instantem necessitatem dicit illius temporis necessitatem & angustiam quæ tunc extabat & eum cogebat vt talia scriberet & eis sic indulgeret causa scilicet vitandæ fornicationis quæ tunc temporis acciderat, & aliarum multarum fornicationum supradictarum quæ accidere possent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc incœpit, & sibi scribentibus rescripsit, & Corinthijs in superioribus huius epistolæ vehementer inuectus, in hæc verba prorupit: Quid vultis? In verga veniam ad vos, an in charitate & spiritu mansuetudinis? Omninò auditur inter vos fornicatio, & talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita vt vxorẽ patris sui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo necessitatem vitandę fornicationis dico bonum esse homini sic esse, vt si continere non potest, nubat, vel vxorem accipiat. Quod exponendo subdit: Alligatus es vxori? Noli quęrere solutionem. Solutus es ab vxore? Noli querere vxorem. Si autem acceperis vxorem, non peccasti. Et si nupserit virgo, non peccauit. Et hic iterum non imperando sed indulgendo & compatiendo se dixisse ostendit: Ego autem vobis parco, id est, infirmitati vestrę cedo. Hoc itaq; in potestate voluntatis vniuscuiusq; posuit vtrum velit eligire: nec se dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quo eum astringat & teneat, inijcere, consequenter subiungens: Portò, hoc ad vtilitatem vestram dico: non vt laqueum vobis inijciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, & quod facultatem præbeat Dominum obsecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam superius hortatus fuerat, & quos consortio vxoriæ coniunctionis impediri, vel sollicitos esse nolebat. Alijs verò ita dicit: Si quis autem turpem videri se existimat super virginem suam, quod sit superadulta, & ita oportet fieri; quod vult, faciat: non peccat si nubat. Et iterum: vtrunq; bonum esse, vnum tamen melius esse cõcludendo confirmat: Igitur qui matrimonio coniungit virginem suam, benè facit, & qui non iungit melius facit. Quod concordatur superiori sententiæ vtriq; sexui datæ, in qua ait: Si acceperis vxorem non peccasti, & si nupserit virgo non peccauit. Si ergo virum accipere vxorem, & virginem nubere, iuxta Apostolum peccatum non est, & beatitudinem non aufert, sed affert: & quia vterq; bene facit, ideo ambo beati: nos qui vxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut si Apostolus vnicuiq; propter fornicationem vxorem suam habere indulget & permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem massa sumus, & carnem peccati ex carne Adæ peccatricem traximus, & continere non possumus, propter eandem causam & secundum eandem indulgentiam vxores habere non permittimur, & habitas dimittere angariamur? Aut itaq; vxores nobis habere imitãtes Apostolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem massa non esse docete, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, & permissionem non esse concessam ab Apostolo, demonstrate. Quod opinor dicturi estis, quia hæc indulgentia non fuit data ab Apostolo clericis aut alicui nostri ordinis, sed solis laicis. Quod ex verbis Apostoli vel ex circumstantia epistolę non potest defendi, cùm nulla ibi certa distinctio vel denominatio habeatur personarum vel graduum siue professionum, nec ipse discernit seu nominibus seu officijs vel qui sibi scripserunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipse rescribebat, nisi tantũ generaliter omni Ecclesiæ Corinthiorum, sicut ipse in principio huius epistolę his verbis demõstrat: Paulus vocatus Apostolus Christi Iesu per volũtatẽ Dei, & Sostenes frater, Ecclesię Dei quę est Corinthi, sanctificatis in Christo Iesu, vocatis sanctis, cũ omnibus qui inuocant nomẽ Domini. [Et post nonnulla alia, quę cõpendij causa hic rescidimus, haud ita multum ad rem atti-

Necessitas instans apud Paulum quæ sit.
1. Cor. 4.
1. Cor.7.
1. Cor.
1. Cor.1.

nentia, ſubinfert mox ad hunc modum:] Infirmitatem noſtrā vos cōſiderate, ac miſerari rogamus, & ne ei violentiā inferatis ſupplicitér imploramus. Nam ſicut iam ſatis ſuperius inculcauimus vobis, nullꝰ ad cōtinētiā inuitus debet compelli. Neq; hoc genus virtutis vlli per legem Dei neceſſario imparatū eſt, ſed volūtaria deuotione Domino offerendū, dicēte ipſo de hoc, Euangelio: Nō omnes capiunt verbū iſtud, ſed quibus datū eſt. Ad quā tamē benigna mox exhortatione eos qui poſſūt inuitat dicēs: Qui poteſt capere capiat. Vndē gratiā diſtinctionis nō Moyſes fœminalibus veſtire Aaron & filios eius iubetur, vt de prioribus dicitur: veſtiet iſs Aarō fratrē tuū & filios eius cū eo: ſed, facies (inquit) fœminalia linea vt operiant carnē turpitudinis ſuæ. Ipſi (inquit) operiant carnē turpitudinis ſuæ, tu fœminalia pontifici & filijs eius facies: tu caſtitatis regulam docebis: tu abſtinendum ab vxorio complexu eis qui Sacerdotio functuri ſunt, intimabis: nulli tamē violentū huiuſmodi continentiæ iugū imponens: ſed quicunque Sacerdotes fieri ac miniſterio altaris ſeruire volūt, ipſi ſua ſponte vxori ſerui eſſe deſiſtant. Quod vbi perfecerint, atq; ſuſcepto ſemel continentiæ propoſito, miniſtros ſe Sanctuarij atq; Altaris fore conſenſerint, aderit diuina gratia quæ velut cæteris illis habitū Sacerdotibus cōgruū imponens, quomodo viuere vel docere debeant, abundanter inſtituit. Qui ſenſus ſubſequentibus quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus poſt pauca ſubiungit: Cùmq; laueris patrē cū filijs aqua, indues Aaron veſtimentis ſuis, id eſt, linea & tunica, & ſuperhumerali, & rationali, quod ſtringes balteo, & pones tiaram, & oleum vnctionis fundes ſuper caput eius, atq; hoc ritu conſecrabitur. Filios quoq; illius applicabis & indues tunicis lineis, cingeſq; Aaron balteo, ſcilicet & liberos eius, & impones eis Mitras, eruntq; Sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua: Namq; hic de fœminalibus à Moyſe accipiēdis præcipitur. Vndè liquidò conſtat quod ſe hoc genere veſtimēti ipſe prius Aaron ac filij eius induerant, & ſic ad manum Moyſi lauādi, inducendi, vngendi & conſecrandi intrabant. Hic apertè oſtenditur & docetur nulli continentiæ iugum inuito imponendum, ſed à Deo prompta & deuota volūtate accipiendum. Quod & Dionyſius Areopagita theoſophus, id eſt Deū ſapiens, Pauli Apoſtoli Diſcipulus, & ab eo Athenienſium Archiepiſcopus ordinatus, in epiſtola quadam ad Pymtum Gnaſiorum Epiſcopum miſſa, in qua plurima de nuptijs & caſtitate commemorat, ſicut Eccleſiaſtica refert hiſtoria, monet, & precatur illum ne grauia onera diſcipulorū ceruicibus imponat, neue fratribus neceſſitatē copulæ caſtitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum pereclitatur infirmitas. Atq; Pymtus Dionyſio reſcripſit ſententiā ſe conſilij melioris quod ipſe dabat, amplecti. Hoc itidem & Paphnutius vir diuiniſſimus atq; caſtiſſimus, cùm in Niceno Concilio (vt in tripartita hiſtoria inuenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere Sacerdotibus voluiſſent, in mediū eorū zelo humanæ infirmitatis cōmotus & cōſcius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogauit: quin potius in voluntate vniuſcuiuſq; ponerent exorauit, ne fortè per hoc locum darent & occaſione adulterio & fornicationi. Hac namq; cautela ſancti viri in religione vtebantur, vt cùm de inſtructione & ædificatione ſubditorū aliquid agerent, & eos ad meliorē vitā de diuinis præceptis cōmoneri facerēt, cū patientia & manſuetudine potius obedienda præciperēt, quam cū potentia & auſteritate imperarēt, nullūq; inuitū ſibi obedire cōpellerent. Quorū vos exempla ſequentes qui eorum loco tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem ſarcinam quæſumus imponatis, ne imprecatione dominica cū phariſæis & legiſperitis ſuſcipiamini, in qua ait: Ve vobis legis periti, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non poſſunt portari, & ipſi vno digito veſtro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorū Iſrael aſcendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorū qui præſūt operibus. Neq; vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de vtero matris ſic nati ſunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violēter ab hominibus facti ſunt, ſed potius eos eunuchos, qui ſeipſos ſua ſponte eunuchizauerunt propter regnum cœlorum: neue ſacris ordinibus & diuino myſterio propter nos tantū, calumniā faciatis vel interatis, qui propter noſtram vitam improbā illud hominibus cōtemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibitis: ac per hoc vitā improbam infamatis, & odorem noſtrū corā Pharone & ſeruis eius tætêre facitis. Quod vos non rectè, ſi dici liceat (ne moleſtè accipiatis) videtur nobis, facere, & cōtra diuinā authoritatē & Canonicam regulā hoc ꝙ facitis, eſſe: cùm Dominus per legiſlatorem dicat: Turpitudinē matris tuę nō reueles, & ignominia eius ne diſcooperias: Mater noſtra Eccleſia eſt: Filij huius matris, quiquè fideliū ſunt. Cuius tamē materna appellatio, maximà in Sacerdotibus eſt. Nam ipſi, generant fideles, & verbo prædicationis, & ſacramento Baptiſmatis. An non mater erat quæ dicebat: Filioli mei quos iterum parturio? Turpitudo ergo & ignominia matris noſtræ reprehēſibilis eſt actio Sacerdotalis vitę. Quæ turpido tunc reuelatur, & ignominia diſcooperitur, cū ſacerdotalis vita publicè infamatur. Quod vos nimirū facitis, qui fragilitatē noſtrā quaſi hactenus latentē & coopertam (quia eā nullus ita cognouerat) hominibus diffamatis, & propter eā diuina myſteria vel miniſteria aſpernāda ſancitis. Quaſi ad ea pertineat pollutio aliena, & ea polluat & cōmaculet immūdicia noſtra cū Pſalmographus dicat: Lex domini immaculata. Aut quaſi illi noſtro cōtagio cōtaminētur, quia ea ex noſtro ore & ex noſtro officio adipiſcūtur. Quod ſi ita dicitis eſſe, nequaquā diſcipulis & turbis de Phariſæis Dominꝰ præciperęt: Omnia quęcūq; dixerint vobis, ſeruate & facite. Et rurſus, ſi ita eſſet nequaquā Dominus Iudam quē furē eſſe ſciebat & proditorē ſuū futurū, cum diſcipulis alijs ad prædicandū mitteret, neq; poteſtatē ſigna faciendi & ſanitates donādi, neq; ad communionem ſacroſanctæ cœnę cū admitteret. Et ſi immūdicia noſtra diuina myſteria vel miniſteria & eorū capaces & auditores inficeret & deterioraret, nequaquā Dominus Leproſū quē mūdauerat, tāgeret, neq; ei oſculū daret, & nequaquā cū Simone alio Leproſo mādūcaret, & nequaquā à Maria peccatrice pedes ſuos oſculari, & lachrymis lauari, & capillis tergi, & caput ſuum vngi permitteret. Hinc ſacrorum Canonū veneranda authoritas ſanxit, nullū qui etiam ab hæretico ſacramēta dominica rectè perceperit, vllatenus ipſa hęretica prauitate corrumpi, nec vlla ſacramēta illius cōtagione cōmaculari. Vndè Romana Eccleſia Anaſtaſium Papam in quadam epiſtola ad Anaſtaſium Imparatorem directa, decreuit & ſcripſit, quòd nullū de his vel quos baptizauit Acatius, vel quos Sacerdotes vel Leuitas ſecundū Canones ordinauit, vlla eos ex nomine Acatij portio lęſionis attingat, quo forſan per iniquum tradita ſacramēti gratia minus firma videatur. Nā & baptiſmū (quod procul ſit ab Eccleſia) ſiue ab adultero, ſiue à fure datū fuerit, ad percipientē non minus peruenit illibatum. Quid vox illa quæ ſonuit per colūbā? Omnē maliciā vel maculā humanę pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur: Hic eſt qui baptizat. &c. Nā ſi viſibilis ſolis iſtius radij cū per loca fœtidiſſima tranſeunt, nulla cōtactus inquinatione maculantur: multo magis virtus illius qui iſtū viſibilē ſolē fecit, nulla myſterij dignitate cōſtringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in Eccleſia miniſter pro officio ſuo videtur operari, hîc totū cōtinetur implēdo diuinitatis effectu. Ita ille per quē Chriſtꝰ loquitur Paulus, affirmat: Ego plātaui, Apollo rigauit: ſed deus incrementum dedit. A Deo nō quęritur quis vel qualis pręd icet: ſed ſic pręd icet, vt inuidos etiā bene de Chriſto pręd icare confirmet. Tanta eſt namq; diuinæ potentia graciæ, vt per malos acquirat bonos, & per reprobos & improbos acquirat & colligat probos. His itaq; authoritabus & alijs prædictis rationibus perſuaderi debetis, neq; nos à diuini officij celebritate arcere, neq; illos quorū nihil intereſt, ab eius cōmunione ſuſpēdere. Quodſi mali ſumus, nobis ipſis ſumus. & plus nobis quàm alijs nocemus: & quos fortaſſè malos conſpicitis, quid boni interius habeāt, ignoratis. Sūt enim pleriq; quos de incōtinētia iudicatis, qui cōtinētiores ſūt quàm illi quos de cōtinentia glorificatis. Qui habemus vxores, iuxta Apoſtolū tanquā non habemus. Quum videlicet cōtinētiā quia nobis nō poteſtis dare, orate nobiſcū & pro nobis, vt ille nobis donet, cuius hoc donū noſcitur eſſe, & ſine quo nemo poterit cōtinēs eſſe. Aliter enim illā habere nō poſſumus niſi ex totis precordijs illum oremus cuius hoc donū eſſe cognoſcimus. Et hoc ipſū (inquit Salomō) eſt ſapientia, ſcire cuius hoc donum eſt, & quoniam ſuper hoc nihil eſt,

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

Foraſmuche as we are created vnder the power of *free will, & not vnder the law but vnder grace let vs ſo liue as we are created. You which lay vpon vs the law of continency agaynſt our will, do depriue vs of the liberty of free will. You commaund vs, and by commaunding compell vs to will that we would not, & not to will that we would do. You binde vs to the law, from the which by grace we are made free: and you conſtrayne vs to receiue the ſpirit of bondage agayn to feare: and go about to make the grace of God of no effect, without the which we can do nothing, ſo that, as the Apoſtle ſayth: Grace is now no grace: and the gift of God is not the gift of God. And not of God, but of mā: not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh where as the Apoſtle ſayth: It is not in him that willeth, nor in hym that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy.

For where as there be three principal & effectual things wherby euery humane ſoule endued with reaſon apprehēdeth & perceiueth whatſoeuer ſpirituall thing it is able to apprehend and perceiue, and without the which it can perceiue nothing: the which three thinges be theſe; to wit free will, the cōmaundement, and grace (for by free wil we diſcerne and choſe the good from the euill: by the commaūdement we are prouoked and ſtyrred vp to do all thinges: by grace we are furthered & holpen to performe the ſame) yet of all theſe, grace is the Lady & Maiſtres, and as a mighty Empreſſe and Queene, vpon whoſe becke the other doe wayte and geue attendance, receiuing of her both ſtrength and efficacy, and without her can do nothing, but remayne as thinges of themſelues dull and dead, much like as amongſt the Philoſophers, their Materia without Forma, being thereto adioyned. For in the ſtead of Materia, we maye, after a maner not vnfitly place free will: and in the place of Forma we may ſet grace, & the commaundement (which is the meane betwene them both, as a certayne inſtrumēt) to haue reſpect to both: whereby the principall Artificer which is God, furthereth and ſetteth forward free will as a rude dul matter, applieth to it his grace as ỹ forme thereof. And like as the ſayde Materia without Forma, is rude and ſhapeleſſe, ſo free wil is a thing rude and deforme, if it

be not holpen with grace comming therunto, to moue it & to further it, the commaundement cōming as a meane betwene them both in the ſtead of the inſtrumentall cauſe, as is before ſayd.

Therfore like as Forma is in reſpect of Materia, the like reſemblaunce beareth free will in reſpect of grace. And agayne, as Materia is in reſpect of Forma, the ſame alſo is free will in reſpect of grace. And as the inſtrument ſerueth betwene the foreſayd Materia and Forma, ſo doth the commaundement betwene free wil and grace. The inſtrument comming and working vpon the ſayd Materia being of it ſelfe bugle, rugged, and a thing without all ſhape and faſhion, doth forme it, ſhape and poliſh it, and maketh it hanſome, ſightly, lightſome, bright and cleare: euen ſo likewiſe the commaundement comming and working vpon free will, being of it ſelfe, a thing rude, groſſe, vnſhapen & deformed, blind and obſcure, doth clarify it, decke & adorne it, bewtifye and lighten it through the brightneſſe of grace comming vnto it, according to the ſaying of the Prophet: The commaundement of the Lord is bright and cleare, geuing light to the eyes.

And as the matter & the inſtrument without the forme can do nothing, euen ſo free will and the commaundement without grace haue no power to worke. For what can eyther free will or the commaundement do except they be holpē with grace both going before and folowing? For grace ſendeth the commaundement as a meſſenger and miniſter to free will: the commaundement prouoketh free wil and ſtyrreth it vp, as out of a ſleepe to do good workes and leadeth it as a blind man, by the hand, teaching him the way wherin to go. Which both if they be deſtitute of grace, are able of themſelues to do nothing. And if they beginne, yet they proceede not, neither do they performe or accōpliſh any thing: and if they preſume, it proſpereth not, and is but labor loſt. For where the commaundement commeth eyther by man or by Angell: and alſo where free will is moued, prouoked and enformed either by the motion of man or of Angell, yet vnleſſe Gods grace go withal preuenting and folowing the ſame what is it able to do? For whē man was put in Paradiſe, what auayled him the commaundement which he heard: Thou ſhalt eate of euery tree of Paradiſe, but onely of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, thou ſhalt not eate. Which commaundement wrought not to his ſaluation but to his condemnation. And why? becauſe grace that ſaueth and helpeth, was wanting, which he preſuming vainly vpon his owne ſtrength deſpiſed. Or what did the commaundement of the law geuen by Moyſes, profite the people of Iſrael in the wilderneſſe, which law they refuſed to obey? Or what profite wrought it to hym which preſumed to folow the Lord of his owne free will and not of the Lordes calling, ſaying vnto him: Lord I wil folow thee whether ſoeuer thou goeſt. By theſe and many other places of holy Scripture both of the olde and newe Teſtament, it may be proued that neyther the commaundement nor free will haue power to worke of themſelues, vnleſſe they be holpen by Gods grace preuenting and folowing them.

Seing therfore the gift of continency, as all other gifts be, is the gifte onely of Gods grace, and commeth not by the commaundement nor by free will: they erre therfore & ſtriue in vayne which labour to obteyne it by theyr owne power. And much more they alſo do erre, whiche by force conſtrayne men agaynſt their will therunto, mouing thē to offer giftes into the ſanctuary of God, not of theyr own accord but by coactiō, either not knowing or els not remēbring the ſaying of the Lord to Moyſes: Seperate amongeſt you the firſt fruites vnto the Lord, and let euery man of his owne voluntary and willing minde, come and offer the ſame vnto the Lord. What is this, to ſeparate with you the firſt fruites to the Lord, but onely to wey and conſider diligently in your hartes, and with diſcretion to lay downe and ſeparate vnto the Lord, what we ought to preſent vnto him out of the treaſure of our hart? For if thou offer rightly & doeſt not rightly deuide, thou ſinneſt. And what is to offer with a willing and ready minde, but as the pſalmiſt ſayth: I will offer ſacrifice vnto thee willingly and chearefully: And the Apoſtle ſayeth: Not grudgingly or of neceſſity: for God loueth a chearefull geuer. And Salomon ſayth: Geue the Lord his glory with a good and free hart, and in euery gift thou geueſt, ſhew a ioyfull countenaunce, and ſanctify thy tythes with gladnes: and with a chearefull eye do all that thou takeſt in hand. And the Apoſtle Iames ſayth: The Lord loueth not conſtrayned ſeruice. And curſed be he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently, that is, not carefully and with a willing minde.

Wherfore, as the Lord willeth vs not to offer any thing to him agaynſt our willes: ſo doth he forbid vs to compell any man to offer any thing agaynſt their wils by the foreſayd Moyſes where he ſayth: Thou ſhalt not do thy neighbour wrong, neither oppreſſe him with violence. To do wrong to thy neighbour, is to correct him for his ſinne not of any compaſſion or mercy towardes him, but to reproue him and to cauſe him in diſdayning, vpbrayding, & rebuking him: not to informe him in the ſpirite of lenity: but to deſtroy him in the ſpirit of bitternes and rigour, as the Apoſtle ſayth: If a man be taken in any fault, you that are ſpirituall informe ſuch in the ſpirite of lenity, conſidering thy ſelfe leaſt thou alſo be tempted.

Leuit.9.

Gal.6.

To oppreſſe our neighbor with violence, is to exact any thing of him aboue his power, & to lay vpon him more then he is able to beare, and more peraduenture then they thēſelues are able to weeld, which lay it vpon him. Whereas the Lord ſpeaking of the Phariſes to his diſciples, forbiddeth them the ſame, ſaying: The Scribes and Phariſes doe ſitte vpon the chayre of Moyſes, &c. And the Apoſtle Peter: Feed (ſayth he) as much as in you lyeth, the Lordes flocke, prouiding for them, not by conſtraint, but willingly after a godly ſort, and not for filthy lucre, but of a readya minde: not as though ye were Lordes ouer the Clergy, but be you as an example to the flocke of good will.

1.Pet.5.

This ſhepheard of ſhepheardes and Prince of the Apoſtles doth playnely and euidently declare and inſinuate what all other Paſtors and Apoſtles ought to do: how to entreat the flocke of the Lord committed vnto them, and what great care and compaſſion of minde they ought to haue towards theyr Cure: and remoueth farre out of their harts all power of Tyrannicall Lordſhip and all ambitiō, which ſome do exerciſe with gredynes vpon thoſe that are committed to their charge, and pronoūceth that they ought not to be Lordes, but fathers ouer their flocke: and not imperiouſly to commaūd them, as exerciſing ſtately authority and power vpon them, but gētly to admoniſh them and beſeech them in the zeale of piety, according to the ſtrength of euery perſon, after the Lord, and not after the affection of theyr owne will, or ambiciouſly ſetting forth theyr own power and iuriſdictiō, and that they ought to be an example to the flocke, doing firſt themſelues that thing, whiche they commaund others, and ſo to teach them no leſſe by examples then by wordes. Willingly (ſaith he) and not by cōſtraynt: of charity, & not for gredy gayne. For there be many which being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of couetous gredines and ambition, commaūd others that which they are not able to accompliſh, and while they pretend to ſeeke the gayne of ſoules, they hunt and ſeek rather for worldly lucre. Which Baalam the Prophet did well expreſſe: who conuerted the gift of prophecy, and the grace of bleſſing which he had receiued of God, not to the profite of others, but to his owne commodity.

Lordſhip ouer the clergy forfended.

Num.22.

And ſome there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretēd to do it with the zeale of God: and whiles they would ſeeme to be better then other, this they doe with a certayne preſumption & raſhnes, and ſo fall in their owne preſumption and temerity. Of whome the Apoſtle ſpeaketh: Which haue a zeale of God, but not according to knowledge. To haue a zeale of God, according to knowledge, is to do any thing in Gods matters prudently and circumſpectly. Of whom Oza beareth a type and reſemblaunce: who whiles that he went about with his hand to ſtay the Arke of the Lord ſtaggering a litle by reaſon of the kicking of the Oxen which caried it, fell downe therfore dead. The Arke of the Lorde to ſtagger or miſcarye by the kickyng of the Oxen, ſignifieth the law of the Lord (which the prieſtes themſelues ought to beare and hold vp) to be contraried of them in not obſeruing the ſame, & to be turned out of the right courſe to the contrary part, which Oza, who is interpreted to be a helper of god, attempteth to hold vp. For there be certayne Prelates, which while they ſee the order of prieſthod by ſome enormity or exceſſe, to ſtrayne the law of God neuer ſo litle out of the right courſe, and labor to redreſſe and rectify that miſorder, rather by vayne oſtentation of theyr owne ſtrength, then for any pure zeale to God, while they thus preſume inordinately to do, thinking to ſeme to be the helpers of God, many times do mortally fall, and incurre therby great daunger and perill.

Rom.10.

Zeale without knowledge what it is.

2.King.6.

Oza puniſhed for holding vp the Arke.

Some other alſo there be whiche hauing before theyr eies no conſideratiō of mans infirmity neither being touched with any reſpect of mercy and compaſſion, nor knowing how to ſay with the Apoſtle: Who is infirme and I am not infirme? theſe whiles they compare themſelues to ſuche as be vnder theyr charge, not in condition wherein they are equall, but in authority wherein they are ſuperiours, & couet to be theyr mayſters, & more to rule ouer them then to profite them, they oppreſſe the weakeneſſe of thē by force and violence of authority, and compell them to theyr obedience: which is rightly figured by the fact, which is reade in ỹ Goſpell of Symon Cyrenæus, whom the perſecutours

Luke.23.

of the Lord conſtrayned to take vp the Croſſe of Chriſt. Whoſe name alſo doth fitly agree wyth ſame figure. For Simon by interpretation is called obedient. Symon then, that is to ſay, the obedient man is forced to beare þ Croſſe of the Lord, when as ſubiectes being conſtrayned of theyr mayſters by the rigour either of Lordſhip, or authority, or feare of theyr curſe, and ſo compelled to obey them, are dryuen to ſuſtain the Croſſe of continency agaynſt theyr wils: who neither do loue the Croſſe which they beare, becauſe they beare it rather to theyr deſtruction thẽ to theyr health: neither by bearing the Croſſe, do dye vnto ſinne, but by the bearing therof are rather quickned vnto ſinne. For ther of ryſe diuers other more greuous ſinnes. For by the inhibiting of lawfull and naturall mariage with one woman, riſeth the vnnaturall and moſt execrable Sodomiticall fornication: riſeth alſo the vnlawfull and damnable defiling of other mens wiues: riſeth furthermore curſed and whoriſh filthines and pollution: and moreouer riſeth moſt abhominable inceſt agaynſt all nature, with theyr owne kindred, with a heape of manifolde other filthy abhominatiõs and lecherous pollutions, whereby the frayle infirmity of man is brought (no doubt) into great perill.

What inconuenience riſeth of coacted matrimony.

Wherefore Loth being deliuered from the burning of Sodome through the guiding of the Lordes Aungell, and bereued of the felowſhip of his wife, whiles that he cõſidering his owne infirmity durſt not aſcend vnto the mountaine as the Angell badde him, did chooſe rather to dwel in Segor a litle City nere by, the Aungell thus bidding hym and ſpeaking vnto him: Saue thy ſoule and looke not behinde thee, but ſaue thy ſelfe in the mountayne leaſt thou alſo periſh. To whome Loth aunſwered: I pray thee Lord, becauſe thy ſeruant hath found ſuch grace in thy ſight that thou wilt ſaue me, I can not be ſaued in the mountayne, leaſt perhappes ſome euill take me and I dye: There is a litle City hereby whereunto I may flye and may be ſaued in it.

Gen.19.

Lothes refuſing to goe vp to the mountaine, what it meaneth.

What meaneth this that Loth flying from Sodome by the commaundement of the Aungell to be ſaued in þ mountayne, would not aſcend vp to the hill fearing there to periſh but did choſe rather to dwell in Segor a ſmall Cittye neare vnto the hill, there to be ſaued, but that euery faythfull man coueting to eſchue the burning & daunger of Sodomiticall luſt, while neither he is able to mount vp to the toppe of virginity, and alſo is afeard to aſcend to the mountayne of the ſtate of widowhood leaſt he periſh therein, flyeth therfore to the ſtate of matrimony, which is a ſmall cõtinẽcy in reſpect of the other two, & alſo nere vnto thẽ both. For after thoſe two kindes of continencye, this chaſtity is alſo proued to be laudable, & is not depriued of the reward of the kingdome of heauen.

The chaſtitye of of mariage, as neare to heauen as virginitye.

Unto this chaſtity, he is commaũded to flie which can not otherwiſe cõteine, & to be ſaued in it, leaſt peraduẽture if he clime vp to the moũt, he fall into inconueniency & periſh therin: that is, leaſt if he ſhall attempt to obtein by his owne ſtrength the contenencye whyche is not geuen vnto him of God, the euill of incontinency or fornication, or of ſome of the other euilles afore rehearſed, do fall vpon him, and ſo he periſh in them mortally. For there be many who while they conſider not their owne infirmity, & while they ſtriue to atchiue greater thinges thẽ they are able to reach in this theyr climing do fall headlong into worſe inconuenience, and while they fooliſhly ſeeke for great thinges, doe loſe the leſſe, which before they ſeemed to haue. Whych we may well vnderſtand by the example of Loth aforeſayde: Who what time he left the ſmall Cittye Segor, which he choſe before to inhabite, in the which he ſought to be ſaued: went vp to the mountayne and there abyding fell into the ſtolne inceſt of his owne daughters, as the ſcripture witneſſeth, ſaying: Loth went vp from Segor and remayned in the mountayne, and his daughters gaue to theyr father wine to drinke that night. And the elder of them went and lay with her father. Which thing had not happened vnto him, if he had kept himſelfe ſtill in Segor, where he might haue bene ſaued at the bidding of the Aungell, as he himſelfe required. But becauſe he forſooke that, which was graunted to hym of the Aungell, and preſumed to that vpon his owne will, contrary to the precept of the Angel, which was not grauted: therfore he fell into great daunger of his ſoule & committed the greuous ſinne of inceſt.

Euery mã ought to be contented with his owne gifte.

No otherwiſe doth it happẽ to many other, who while either they forſake þ thing which is graunted thẽ of God, or ambitiouſly clime after that which is to thẽ not graunted, both they loſe that which they had graunted vnto thẽ, and fall into that which to them was not graunted. For diuers there be which while they forſake eyther willyngly or agaynſt theyr will, the maryed life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be ſaued, and ſtriue with a preſũptuous deſire to lead a ſingle life, both they loſe that health and ſafety, whych they might haue had in one, and incurre great daunger in the other: ſo that whereby they ſuppoſe moſt to gayne, by the ſame they loſe & fall into the pit of greater ruine. Which thing S. Paule þ Doctor of the Gentiles well conſidering, and tenderly prouiding for the infirmity of the weake Corinthiãs writing to him for counſell touching this matter, did write to them agayne in this wiſe, ſaying: As concerning the thinges whereof ye wrote vnto me, as it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Neuertheleſſe to auoyd whoredome, let euery man haue his wife and let euery woman haue her huſband. Let the huſband geue vnto his wife due beneuolẽce: likewiſe alſo the wife vnto her huſband. And a litle after: with draw not (ſayth he) your ſelues one from an other, except it be with conſent for a time, that you may geue your ſelues vnto faſting and praier and afterward come together agayne leaſt Sathan tempte you for your incontinencye. For as the Poet ſayth, we can not all do all thinges, and as the Apoſtle ſayth: It is not in him that willeth not in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy. Alſo an other place: For to euery one of vs is geuen grace according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. And that euery one of vs ought to keepe and not to tranſgreſſe this meaſure, he teacheth anone after ſaying: I wiſh that all men were as I my ſelfe am but euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, an other after that.

And that we are to be kept within our compaſſe, and meaſure, and ought therewith to be content, hee teacheth moreouer as followeth: Let euery man abide in that vocation wherein he is called, And ſhortly after, for confirmatiõ thereof, hee repeteth the ſame agayne and ſayth: Let euery man wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord And becauſe he perceaued that the infirmitie of man was not able to ſuſteine the burning motiõs and heates of nature ſtyrring in a man, but onely by the grace of God, neither to be able to conquere the fleſhe fighting agaynſt the ſpirite, according to that whiche he ſayth of himſelfe in an other place: For I ſee an other Lawe in my members rebelling agaynſt the Lawe of my minde, he therefore of mercy and compaſſion, as condeſcending vnto their weakenes: and not by rigour of law and force of commaundement, thus ſayde. As alſo in an other place in his Epiſtles he ſpeaketh in like wordes ſaying: I ſpeake thus groſſly after the maner of men, becauſe of the infirmitie of your fleſh. And in this foreſaid Epiſtle, moreouer a litle before, vſing the ſame maner of ſpeach, he ſaith, Thus I ſay to you as of fauour and not of commaundement. And adding moreouer, he ſheweth: As touching virgines I haue no commaundement of the Lord, but onely do geue counſell, as one that haue found mercy with God, that I ſhoulde be faythfull. That is, after the ſame mercy wherwith the Lord hath informed and inſtructed me when he called me to the fayth, and made me faythfull to hym: ſo I likewyſe doe geue counſell to other and ſhewe the ſame mercy to them.

And forasmuch as both are good: to witte to haue a wife or not to haue: to haue a huſband or not to haue: neither is there anye ſinne in hauing wife or huſband: ſhortly after he inferreth ſaying: I ſuppoſe therefore this to be good for the preſent neceſsitie: I meane, that it is good for a man ſo to be: What meaneth this, for preſent neceſſitie? What is this neceſſitie preſent, but preſent infirmitie? or els inſtant neceſſitie, compelling to doe, as þ order of neceſſitie requireth. Or els he meaneth by this preſent neceſſitie, the diſtreſſe of that time which then was inſtant, and compelled him to write, and ſo to beare with them which was for the auoyding of the fornicatiõ amongſt them, and many other kinds of filthines aboue touched which might haue happened. For the which fornication he tooke occaſion to write vnto the Corinthians and to anſwere to theyr letters: and therfore he vehemently agaynſt the ſayd Corinthians in þ former part of the ſayd Epiſtle vttereth theſe words: What will you ſhall I come to you with a rod? or in loue and in the ſpirite of meekenes? There is heard among you to be fornication, & ſuch fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one ſhould haue his own fathers wife. &c. And therfore for this neceſſity of auoyding ſuch fornication, he ſaith: It is good for a man ſo to be: that he which cannot cõteine, ſhould mary & take a wife. Which afterward he expoũdeth thus inferring: art thou boũd to a wife? ſeek not to be loſed. And if thou be loſed frõ a wife ſeek not a wife. But if thou takeſt a wife thou ſinneſt not, and if a virgine mary, ſhe ſinneth not. &c. And that he ſpake not thys by way of commaunding, but of ſufferance and compaſſion, he ſheweth plainly in theſe words folowing: But I ſpare you: that is to ſay, I beare with your infirmity: & therfore he leaueth it in the free power and will of euery man, to chuſe what he beſt liketh, Neither doth he inforce any man (he ſayth) violently, nor charge them with any ſtrait commaundement, and therfore addeth theſe words folowing: And this I ſpeake for your owne commodity, not to tangle you as in a ſnare, but for that it is good and honeſt for you, that you may ſerue the Lord without ſeparation.

This he ſayth to them whom before he exhorted to cõtinency, and whom he woulde not to be let or troubled by matrimoniall coniunction. But to other he ſayth thus: If any man thinke that it is vncomely for his virgin to remayne ouer long vnmaried, and if neede ſo require, let him doe what he thinketh good, he ſinneth not: let them mary: And agayne both be good, he ſaith, but yet the one to be better he concludeth ſaying: Therefore he that ioyneth in Matrimony his virgin doth wel, but he that doth not doth better. Which agreeth wel with the text aboue, ſpeaking of both kindes, as well the man as the woman, where he ſayth: If thou take a wife thou ſinneſt not, and if the virgin take a husband ſhe ſinneth not.

If therfore it be no ſinne for the man to take a wife, nor for the virgine to take a husband, after the apoſtles mynd, neither doth diminiſh theyr felicity, but rather encreaſe it, & for as much as both do well, & ſo both be bleſſed: we then which take wiues for our infirmity, what doe we ſinne in hauing them? Or if the apoſtle do ſuffer & permit to euery man for the auoyding of fornication to haue his wife, we then which come of the ſame lumpe or maſſe & taking our ſinnefull fleſh of the ſinnefull fleſh of Adam, are not able otherwiſe to conteine, why are we not permitted for yͤ ſame cauſe & by the ſame permiſſiõ, to haue likewiſe our wiues, but are enforced to forſake them being maryed?

Wherfore either do you permit vs, folowing the apoſtle, to haue our wiues, or els teach vs that we come not of the ſame maſſe, either els ſhew vs that the ſame ſufferaũce & permiſſion is not graũted to vs by the Apoſtle which is graunted to other. Which cauſe peraduenture you wil thus pretend: that this ſufferance was graunted of the Apoſtle, not to the clergy or to any of our order, but only to lay mẽ. Which cannot well be defended neyther by the wordes of the Apoſtle, nor by any circumſtaunce of his Epiſtle for as much as there is no certayne diſtinction or denomination either of perſõs or degrees, or profeſſions there mẽtioned, neither doth he make any difference either in names or offices of men, either of them which wrote vnto him either of thoſe perſons of whom he wrote, or els of thoſe to whõ he anſwereth, but onely in general to the whole church of the Corinthians, as he himſelf in the beginning of his Epiſtle purporteth in theſe wordes: Paule called the Apoſtle of Ieſus Chriſt, by the will of God & Soſthenes his brother to the church which is at Corinth, ſuch as be ſanctified in Chriſt Ieſus, called ſayntes, with all that inuocate the name of the Lord. &c. [And after a few other wordes, which here for breuityes ſake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpoſe pertinent: thus he inferreth:]. Theſe premiſſes being then wel conſidered, we beſech you to haue regard & compaſſiõ of our infirmity, moſt humbly deſiring you, not to oppreſſe vs with this violence. For as we haue ſufficiently before proued, no man ought to be cõſtrayned vnto continency agaynſt his wil, neither is thys kind of vertue commaunded of God to any man, of neceſſity, but onely of voluntary deuotion to be offred vnto the Lord: as he himſelfe ſpeaketh in the Goſpell: All men can not receiue this ſaying, but to whom it is geuen. Whereunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, ſaying: He that is able to receiue this, let him receiue it. &c.

Wherfore for diſtinctions ſake Moyſes is not himſelfe commaũded to cloth Aaron and his ſonnes with breches as in theſe wordes going before: Thou ſhalt cloth with theſe Aaron thy brother, and his ſonnes with him. &c. But he thus ſayth: Thou ſhalt make linnen breches that they thẽſelues may couer the filth of theyr fleſh. That they themſelues (ſayth he) may couer the filth of theyr fleſh. Thou (ſayth he) ſhalt make the breches for the biſhop and his ſonnes: thou ſhalt teach the rule of chaſtity: thou ſhalt exhort them to abſteine from the company of theyr wiues, which ſhall do the prieſtes office: Yet laying vpon none violently the ſayd yoake of continency, but whoſoeuer ſhalbe prieſts and ſhal ſerue the aulter, ſhall of their owne accord ſurceaſe from the vſe of matrimony: which when they ſhall do, & of theyr owne voluntary conſent ſhall take vpon them the purpoſe of cõtinency to ſerue the aulter, then ſhall the grace of God be preſent, which as it did apparell thoſe other prieſtes aforeſayd with attyre for thẽ conuenient: ſo ſhall it inſtruct theſe aboundantly how they ought to liue and to teach. And this ſence well agreeth with the text that foloweth, ſaying: And when thou ſhalt waſh the father and his ſonnes with water, thou ſhalt take the garmentes, that is, the ſtrayt coat, the tunicle & the breſtlappe, and put them vpon Aaron, & gird them to him with a brodered girdle of the Ephod. Then thou ſhalt put the myter vpon his head, and ſhalt put the holy crowne vpon the miter, and thus ſhall he be conſecrated. Alſo thou ſhalt bring his ſonnes and put coates vpon them, and ſhalt gird them with girdles, both Aaron & his ſonnes, and ſhalt put bonettes on them, and the Prieſtes office ſhalbe theirs for a perpetuall law.

Thus then you ſee a commaundement of receiuing the linnen breches of Moyſes. Wherby it playnely appeareth, that Aaron and his ſonnes, firſt did apparrell themſelues with this kind of apparell, and ſo entred in to be waſhed, inducted, annointed & cõſecrated by the hands of Moyſes.

The place of Moyſes Exod. 29. applyed.

By the which we are playnely taught, that the yoke of continency is not to be inforced vpon any man againſt his will, but is to be receiued of God with a prõpt & a deuout will. Which thing alſo Dyoniſius Areopagita that godly wiſe man, the Diſciple of S. Paule and ordeined of hym B. of Athenes, in a certayne Epiſtle of his ſent to Pymtus B. of the Gnaſians, in which he toucheth many things of mariage and chaſtity (as is in yͤ Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory rehearſed) doth admoniſh the ſayd Pymtus, and prayth him that he will lay no grieuous burthens vpon the neckes of the Diſciples, neither inferre any neceſſity of compelled chaſtity vpon the brethren, whereby the infirmity of ſome of thẽ might be in daunger. And Pymtus anſwering to Dyoniſius agayn, ſheweth himſelf willing to embrace the ſentẽce of his wholeſome cõucell. The ſame alſo did Paphnutius, the diuine & chaſte biſhop, who in yͤ cõucell of Nice (as the Tripertite hiſtory doth ſhew vs) when the fathers, which there were preſent went about to reſtrayne Prieſtes from mariage: he riſing vp amongſt thẽ & moued with the zeale of mans infirmity, deſired thẽ that they would not ſo doe, but rather to leaue it vnto the voluntary diſcretiõ of euery man, leaſt in ſo doing they might peraduenture geue occaſion of adultery and fornicatiõ. For thoſe holy men did thẽ vſe this cautele and moderation in religion, that whẽ they treated any thing concerning inſtructiõ and edification of the people, and would haue them ſtyrred vp to a better life by godly inſtructions, they would rather perſwade things to be obſerued with patience and lenity, then commaund with rigour and authority: neither would they compell any man to theyr obedience agaynſt his will.

Ex hiſtor. Tripartita.

The ſpirite of lenitye requyred in Biſhops.

Whoſe examples you alſo folowing, which ſucceede in their rowme and name, do you not lay vpõ vs infirme perſons, ſuch importable burthẽs, leſt you be partakers with the Phariſyes and lawyers of the Lords curſe: who ſaith: Woe to you lawyers which lay burthens vpon men, which they can not beare, and you your ſelues touch not the burdens wyth one finger. And leaſt the cry of the children of Iſrael aſcend vp to the Lord for the cruell dealing of them which are ouerſeers of the workes: Neither do you make ſuch Eunuches which are ſo borne from theyr mothers wombe, or ſuch Eunuches which are violently made by men, but rather thoſe Eunuches which of theyr owne accord haue gelded themſelues for the kingdome of heauẽ. Neither do you bring vpon the holy order of Gods miniſters for vs only, ſuch an offence and ſclaunder, that for our wicked life you make the miniſtery to be deſpiſed of others, while you wil not ſuffer them either to heare vs, or to receiue the ſacramentes of vs, infaming therby our lewd life, & cauſing the ſauor of vs to ſtinke before Pharao, & his ſeruants. Wherin it ſemeth to vs that you deale not ſoundly & vprightly, if a man may ſo ſay (I pray you take it in good worth, that I ſpeak) & alſo to be agaynſt yͤ authority of Gods word, & the canonicall conſtitutions which you doe: where as the Lord ſayth by Moſes the lawgeuer: the ſhame of thy mother thou ſhalt not diſcloſe, & her ignominy thou ſhalt not diſcouer. Our mother is yͤ church: yͤ ſonnes of this mother be all the faythfull, which name yet moſt fitly is appropriate vnto prieſtes: for they do beget yͤ faythfull, both by yͤ word of preaching & ſacramẽt of baptiſme. Was not he to be coũted a right mother: who ſayd, my litle children of whom I trauell in byrth agayne? The ſhame & ignominy of our mother, what is it but the reproueable conuerſation of the life of prieſts which ſhame & ignominy is thẽ reueiled, whẽ yͤ life of prieſts is publickly infamed. Which thing you do, yͤ diſcouer & notify vnto men our fragility, lying before as hyd & couered, becauſe before it was not known & for the ſame you bring yͤ holy miniſtery & miſteries of god into cõtẽpt & hatred: as though the polluted life of other did any thing pertaine thereto to pollute the ſame, & as though our vncleannes did any thing blemiſh thẽ, or diminiſh the purenes therof, where as the Pſalmiſt ſayth: The law of the Lord is pure and immaculate: Or as though they were any whitte polluted by our infection, which do receiue the ſayd miſteries either by our mouth, or by our miniſtery. Which if you graunt to be ſo, then the Lord would neuer haue ſpokẽ ſo to his diſciples & the people, touching the Phariſeis, ſaying: Whatſoeuer they bid you obſerue, that obſerue and do.

Luke. 11.

Exod. 3.

Read the Canõs of the Apoſtles. Can. 22.

Math. 19.

Exod 5.

Leuit. 18.

Gal. 4.

Pſal. 18.

And agayne, if it were ſo, the Lord would not haue ſet forth Iudas, whom he knew ſhould betray him, with the other Diſciples to preach, neither would haue committed to him the power of working myracles, & of geuing health nor admitted him to the Communion of the Supper. And if our impurity ſhuld infect our holy miſteries or miniſtrations, and make them worſe that heare and receaue the

Math. 23. The wickednes of the Miniſters make not the miniſtery worſe ſame then the Lord would neuer haue touched the Leper whom he had healed, neither woulde he haue kiſſed hym, neyther would haue eaten with Symon an other Leper, neyther would haue ſuffered his feet to be kiſſed, and with the teares to be waſhed, and with the heare to be dryed, & his head to be annoynted of Mary the ſinner.

Therfore the holy Canons haue thus decreed, that no man which rightly receiueth the Lordes Sacramentes of an heretique, ſhoulde be therefore any thing corrupted by his hereticall prauity, nor the ſayd Sacramentes ſhoulde be any whitte diſtayned by the infection of him. wherevpon the Church of Rome in a certayne Epiſtle directed vnto Anaſtaſius the Emperour, by Anaſtaſius the Pope, did ſo ordeine and write, that none of all them whom Acatius did baptiſe, or whom he ordeined Canonically to be prieſtes or Leuites, ſhoulde be any thing hurt by the name of the ſayd Acatius: ſo that thereby the Sacramentes which by him were miniſtred, ſhould ſeme the leſſe firme and effectuall. For the ſacrament of Baptiſme alſo being miniſtred of an adulterer or a thiefe (which God forefend to be in the Church) doth come vnto the receiuer neuer a whit the worſe. what meant that voyce which ſounded by the Doue, but that it excluded all euill and impurity of the corruption of man: in the which it is declared and ſayde: This is he which baptiſeth. &c. For if the beames of this viſible Sunne paſſing by the filthy places, receiue no ſpot of filthineſſe thereby, much more the grace of him which made this viſible Sunne, is not tyed to any worthineſſe of our workes. what ſoeuer therfore any miniſter of the Church worketh in his functiõ to the behoofe of the people, all that taketh his effecte by the operation of God. Thus witneſſeth Paule by whom Chriſt ſpeaketh: I haue planted, and Apollo hath watered, but it is the Lord that hath geuẽ the encreaſe. God regardeth not ſo much, who or what maner of perſon doth preach, but that he ſo preach, that he may confirme thẽ that be nought, and cauſe them to preache well of Chriſt. For ſuch is the operation of Gods mighty grace, that by euill men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked perſons he getteth and gathereth together thoſe that be good.

Math.3.

.Cor.3.

By theſe and ſuch other reaſons and authorities aboue alledged, you ought to be perſwaded, neyther to abandon vs that be marryed, from the adminiſtration of diuine ſeruice, nor yet to excommunicate ſuch, to whom the matter nothing perteineth, from the communion thereof. And if we be euill, we are euill to our ſelues, and hurt our ſelues more then others. And ſuch as you ſuppoſe peraduenture to be vitious, yet may haue ſome good thing inwardly whiche you know not of.

1.Cor.7.

For many there be whom you iudge to be incontinent, which liue more chaſtly then they whom you ſo greatly extoll for their continency. we that haue wiues, according to the Apoſtles minde, ſo haue them as though we had them not. which gift of continency for as much as you can not geue vs, pray therfore with vs and for vs, that he wil geue it vnto vs, who only is the giuer therof, & without whom no man is able to liue continently. For otherwiſe we can not haue it, vnles we pray vnto him frõ the bottom of our hartes, who is knowne to be the author and geuer therof. And this ſame (ſayth Salomon) is wiſedome, to know whoſe gift it is: neither is there any gift aboue this.

Sap.8.

These two Epiſtles written to Pope Nicolas vnder the title of Voluſianus, geueth vs to vnderſtande by the contentes thereof, firſt that he himſelfe was then a marryed Biſhop.

Secondly, that the liberty of Prieſtes marriage ought not to be reſtrayned by any generall Law, of compulſion: but to be left to euery mans free choyſe and voluntary deuotion.

Thirdly the ſayd Epiſtles being written to Pope Nicolas (if the title be true) declare, that this law prohibiting the lawfull matrimony of Churchmen, began firſt in thys Popes times generally to be enacted.

Diſt.32. Præter. Flac. Illyric. Cent.9. cap.10. Ioan. Baleus, De ſcriptoribus Centur.2.

A doubt diſcuſſed whether this Nicolas, was 1. or 2. to whom Voluſianus wrote.

Diſt.32. Nullus.

And although it be not here expreſſed, which Pope Nicolas this was, yet by the circumſtaunce of time, and eſpecially by the wordes of Pope Alexander 1. Diſtinct. 32. Præter, it may probably be eſteemed to be Nicolas. 2. and not Nicolas the firſt, as ſome do ſuppoſe amongſt whom is Illyricus in Centur. 9. cap. 10. and alſo Iohn Bale, De Scriptoribus Cent.2. with certayne other: from whoſe iudgementes although I am loth to diſſent, yet notwithſtanding modeſtly and freely to vtter herein my opinion, thys I ſuppoſe, that if the trueth of this matter were throughly tryed, it might peraduenture be found, that they be herein deceiued, and al by miſtaking a certayne place of Gracian. For the better explanation wherof, here is to be vnderſtãded, that amongeſt the diſtinctions of Gracian there is a conſtitution, Diſt. 32. Nullus, the tenour wherof is this: Nullus Miſſam audiat Præſbiteri, quem ſcit Concubinam indubitanter habere, aut ſubintroductam mulierem. &c. That is: That no man ſhall heare maſſe of any Prieſt, whome he knoweth vndoubtedly to haue a Concubine, or a woman priuily reſorting to him. &c.

This Decree for as muche as Gracian doeth alledge vnder the name and title of Pope Nicolas, not namynge what Nicolas he was, therefore Iohn Bale and Illyricus, one folowing the other, and they both folowing Volaterane Lib. 22. doth vouch this conſtitution vpon Nicolas the firſt. The wordes of Volateran be theſe, writing of Nicolas the firſt: Multa hic vtilia conſtituit, inter quæ, nequis Concubinam habenti præsbitero aut ſacrificanti intereſſet, vt teſtatur Gracianus. &c.

In like effect folow alſo the wordes of Illyricus afore ſayd: Decretum fecit, ne quis à Sacerdote Sacramentum ſuſcipiat, quem ſciret habere Concubinam, ſeu vxorem, and alledgeth, as Volaterane doth, the ſayd Diſtinction of Gratiam Diſtinct. 32. Nullus. In alleadging whereof both they ſeme to be deceiued, miſtaking belike one Nicolas for an other, as may be proued, & made good by three or foure reaſons.

First, by the wordes of Pope Alexander the ſecond, in the next Chapiter folowing, who being the ſucceſſour of Leo and Nicolas the ſecond, vſeth the ſame wordes in his Sinode of Mantua (which Gracian referreth vnto Nicolas, and proſecuteth the ſame more amply and fully alledging moreouer the former conſtitution of both his predeceſſours Pope Leo and Nicolas: whiche by all ſtoryes are knowne to be Leo the nynth and Nicolas the ſecond, which both were next before him. The wordes of Alexander. 2. be theſe: Præter hoc autem præcipiendo mandamus, vt nullus Miſſam audiat præsbiteri quem ſcit Concubinam habere indubitanter, vel ſubintroductam mulierem, vnde etiam ſancta Synodus hoc capitulum ſub excommunicatione ſtatuit, dicens: Quicunque Sacerdotum, diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, poſt cõſtitutum beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtri ſancti Leonis Papæ & Nicolai, de caſtitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit. &c. By the which words ſpeaking of Nicolas his predeceſſor it is euident to vnderſtand this to be Pope Nicolas the ſecond, which was his next predeceſſor and not Pope Nicolas the firſt, who was about 200. yeares before him.

The ſecond reaſon, I take out of the next Chapter of Gracian going before, where he allegeth agayne the ſame Nicolas writing to Otho Archbiſhop. which Otho was then in the time of this Nicolas the ſecond Archbiſhop of Colen, and was afterward in the Counſell of Mantua, vnder Pope Alexander 2. teſte Ioan. Quintio, Iure conſulto, wherby it muſt needes be graunted, that this was Nicolas the ſecond, and not the firſt.

The third coniecture or reaſon is this, for that Pope Nicolas the firſt neuer made any ſuch Act or Decree, the Prieſtes that were entangled with a Concubine, ſhoulde neither ſing Maſſe, nor that any ſhould reſort to heare the Maſſe of ſuch. &c. but rather the contrary. For ſo we reade in the hiſtory of Antoninus, and in the Decrees 15. q. 8. Sciſcitantibus. Sciſcitantibus vobis ſi à ſacerdote qui fuerit comprehẽſus in adulterio, ſiue de hoc ſola fama reſperſerit, debeatis Cõmunionem ſuſcipere, nec ne, reſpondemus: Non poteſt aliquis quantumcunque pollutus ſit, ſacramenta diuina polluere, quæ Purgatoria cunctarum contagionum exiſtunt. &c.

And yet more playnely alſo afterward he ſayth: Conſulendum decernitis vtrum præsbiterum habentem vxorem debeatis ſuſtentare & honorare, an à vobis preijcere? In quo reſpondemus, quoniam licet ipſi valdè ſint reprehenſibiles, vos tamen conuenit Deum imitari, qui ſolem ſuum oriri facit ſuper bonos & malos: deijcere enim à vobis eos non debetis. Diſtinct. 18. Conſulendum. &c. That is: Where ye demaund concerning the Prieſt that hath a wife, whether ye ought to ſuſteine him, and honour him, or reiecte him from you, we aunſwere, That albeit they be very much blame worthy, yet ye ought to be folowers of God, which maketh his ſunne to riſe both vpon the good, and vpon the badde. And therefore ye ought not to reiect ſuch away from you. &c.

And this Nicolas, Antoninus confeſſeth playnely to be Nicolas ÿ firſt. wherby it is not onely not vnlike, but alſo moſt certayne that Nicolas the firſt was not the father of this conſtitution, either to exterminate marryed prieſtes from theyr churches, or to excommunicate the people from receiuing their Communion, much leſſe then frõ hearing theyr ſeruice.

Fourthly, for as muche then as it is vndoubted that Nicolas 2. and Alexander 2. through the inſtigation of wicked Hildebrand, were the authors of that conſtitution, whereof Gracian ſpeaketh, it remaineth playne by the wordes of Voluſianus, in the latter end of his Letter, (wherein (wherin he maketh mention both of diſcharging the prieſt from ſingyng Maſſe, & the people from hearing) that the ſaide Epiſtle was written, not to Pope Nicolas the firſt but to the ſecōd, for becauſe both theſe were decreed againſt maried prieſtes vnder Nicolas.2. and Alexander.2. as is afore declared.

And further, leaſt my iudgement herein ſhould ſeeme to ſtand alone and ſingular, without ſome to take my part, I will here produce for me a Pariſian Doctour, and a famous Lawyer, Ioannes Quintius aboue mentioned, who in his booke De Clericorum moribus, plainely accordeth with mine opinion, touching this Nicolas authour of the Decree aforeſaide, where he writeth in theſe wordes: Nicolaus Papa Othoni Colonienſi Archiepiſc.&c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine pontifices Primum, ſecundumúe oportuit eſſe, qui hæc reſcripſerit, ille Romanus, anno. 860. hic Burgundus, ann.1059. Reliquos Ninolaos anteceſsit Gratianus, qui ſcripſit hæc, anno. 1150 Poſteriorem fuiſſe credo, qui in Panomiæ lib.3. Tit. de lapſis, nominatur Nicholaus iunior, cuius eſt & aliud Decretum ſequens.&c. That is to ſay in Engliſh: Pope Nicolas writing to Otho Archebiſhop of Colen. Gloſ. There haue bene in all, fiue Popes called by this name of Nicolas. Of the whiche fiue, this Nicolas the writer hereof muſte bee eyther the firſt, or ſeconde: the one a Romane, anno. 860. the other a Burgundian, ann.1059 or. 1060. the other Nicolas liued after Gratian, who wrote in the yeare. 1150. In my iudgement I ſuppoſe this to be Nicholas the ſeconde, which in the thirde booke of the Lawes called Pannomiæ. Tit. de lapſis, is named Nicolas the younger. Which Nicholas alſo is authour of the next Decree that followeth.&c.

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Wherfore if any man ſhal obiecte hereafter, that becauſe Gratian in the Diſtinction aforeſayde, nameth Pope Nicolas abſolutely without any additiō, it is therfore to be taken for Nicolas the firſt: vnto this obiection I ſet here theſe two Lawiers to anſweare. Vnto whoſe aunſweare this I adde alſo, that the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his Diſtinctions is, that when he ſpeaketh of Popes, as of Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius, and ſuche other, verye ſeldome he expreſſeth the difference of their names. So in the Diſt.18. Præſbyteris, where he bringeth in the Decree of Pope Calixtus in like maner againſt the Matrimonie of Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, he addeth therto no diſcrepance of his name: and yet al the world knoweth, that this was Calixtus the ſecond, & not the firſt, &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters (no doubt) by their title appeare to be written by Voluſianus. Moſt certaine this is, by whō ſo euer they were written, fruitfull Epiſtles they are, and effectual to the purpoſe.

...iection
...ſwered.

But leaſt wee ſhall ſeeme to muche to digreſſe from our purpoſe, let vs returne to the ſtory & time of Nicolas ȳ ſecond againe, which was about the yeare, as is ſaid. 1060, a litle before Hildebrand was Pope. which Hildebrande, albeit he was then but a Cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all thinges, and concluded what him liſted in the Church of Rome, and alſo made Popes, whom he would, as appeared both by this Nicolas, & alſo Pope Alexander which followed him. pag. 174. So that this diſſolution of prieſts mariage began ſomwhat to kindle vnder this pope Nicolas, through the peſtilent meanes of Hildebrand, and after him increaſed more vnder Pope Alexāder, as appeareth by the Synode holden at Millane, an. 1067. but moſte of al it burſt out vnder the ſayd Hildebrand himſelfe being Pope, the yeare (as is ſayd) 1076.

...d afore
...174.

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...Voluſi-
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Although as touching this prohibition of prieſtes to be maried, I am not ignoraunt, that certaine of the contrary faction, in ſearching out the reache and antiquitie of this tradition, for prieſtes to abſtaine from wiues, doe referre the ſame to the time of the ſeconde Councell of Carthage, which was about ȳ time of Pope Syritius, a great enemy to Miniſters wyues, as appeareth Diſtinct.84. Cum præterito. Yet notwithſtanding to the ſame may be aunſwared, that this was no vniuerſall or generall Councel, but ſome particular Synode, and therfore of no ſuch great forceable authoritie.

...4.cap.
...præte-

2 Secondly, the ſame Synode being about the time of Pope Syritius, who was a capitall enemy againſt prieſts marryage: may ſeeme to draw ſome corruption of the time then preſent.

...ilium
...g.2.

3 Thyrdly, neither is it vnpoſſible, but as diuers baſtard Epiſtles haue bene falſely fathered vpon certaine auncient Biſhoppes of the Primitiue Churche, and diuers Canons alſo (as of the Councell of Nice) haue bene corrupted by Byſhoppes of Rome, ſo ſome falſehode likewiſe or forgery might be vſed in this ſeconde Councell of Carthage.

4 Fourthly, although no falſe conueyance had ben vſed therein, yet for ſo much as the ſayd Canon of this ſecōd Councell of Carthage doth miſreport and falſifye the Canons of the Apoſtles, in ſo doing it dooth iuſtly diminiſhe his owne credite.

5 Fiftly, ſeeing the foreſayde Canon of this ſeconde Councel of Carthage tendeth cleane contrary to the Canons of the Apoſtles, to the Councel of Gangra, and other Councels moe, and commaundeth that, whiche they doe accurſe, the authoritie thereof ought to haue no great force, but rather may be reiected.

6 Finally, though this conſtitution of the Councell of Carthage, were perfectly ſounde, without all corruption, yet plaine and euident it is by this Voluſianus, Byſhop alſo of Carthage, that the ſame conſtitution tooke no great holde in the Churche, for ſo muche as we ſee, that both this Voluſianns was married after that in Carthage him ſelfe, and alſo beſides him many hundreth yeares after, Marriage was a common matter through moſte Churches of Chriſtendome, amongeſt Biſhoppes and prieſts, as partly before hath beene declared. And more maye be ſeene in hyſtories, what great tumultes and buſines was long after that in Hildebrandes time, and after him alſo amongeſt the Clergy men, both in Italie, Spayne, France, and in al quarters of Chriſtendome, for ſeperating prieſtes from their libertie of marrying.

Prieſtes and Byſhops maried long after the Councell of Carthage.

And againe, if this tradition concerning the vnmarryed life of Prieſtes had ſtand vpon ſuch an olde foundation from the ſecond Councel of Carthage (as they pretend) what needed then in the time of Pope Nicolas. 2. Pope Alexander. 2. Pope Gregory. 7. and other Popes after them, ſo much labour to be taken, ſo many Lawes and decrees to be deuiſed & enacted, for the aboliſhing o prieſts marriage, if the ſame had bene of ſuch a long antiquitie as they would make men beleeue?

By theſe thinges conſidered it may appeare, that this diſtraction of Prieſts marriage, by publique Lawe compelling them to ſingle life, was nether receiued for a ful law generally to be obſerued in the Church of Rome, but only ſince the beginning of Hildebrand, that is, ſince theſe fiue hundred yeares.

The generall law forbidding Prieſts to mary, when it firſt beganne.

Aboute whiche time firſte is to be noted, that vnder Pope Leo and this Pope Nicolas, Cranzius, and certayne Germaine Chronicles doe ſaye, that Symonie and Prieſtes Marriage were prohibited. This Pope Leo was. an. 1051.

After him Pope Nicolas (to whom the foreſaid Letter of Voluſianns ſeemeth to be written) made this ordinaunce: Vt nullus miſſam audiat præſbyteri quem ſcit concubinam indubitanter habere aut ſubintroductam mulierem. Et mox: Quicunque Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, poſt conſtitutum beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtris ſanctiſſ. Papæ Leonis, de caſtitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliqueret, ex parte omnipotentis Dei & authoritate beati Petri & pauli præcipimus, & omninò contradicimus vt Miſſam non cantet &c. That is, What ſoeuer prieſt Deacon, or Subdeacon, according to the conſtitution of Pope Leo our predeceſſour, conſerning the chaſtitie of Clerkees, ſhal openly mary a Concubine, or ſhal not put her away beyng married in the behalfe of almighty God &c. we vtterly charge and forbid the ſame, that he ſing no Maſſe, nor read the Goſpell or Epiſtle at Maſſe, nor execute any diuine ſeruice. &c. And this was about the yeare of our Lord. 1058.

Ex Romana Sinodo.4.

Although in this conſtitution of Pope Nicolas, thys word Concubine may be vnderſtanded for no wife, but ſo as Gratian vnderſtandeth it in the 16. Canon of the Apoſtles in theſe wordes: Concubina verò intelligenda eſt præter vxorem: That is, for one beſides a mans wyfe. Then after this Pope Nicholas, comming pope Alexander, and ſpecially Pope Hildebrand, do expound this Concubine forbidden, for a wiſe, and ſuch prieſtes as be marryed, they expound them for Nicolaitans: for ſo we read in the Synode of Millane, vnder Pope Alexander the ſecond: Nicholaitæ autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra caſtitatis Eccleſiaſticæ regulam fœminis admiſcentur. &c.

Concubinæ.

Diſt.33.quis.

Ex Sinod. Medlolanenſ.

And further it followeth in the ſame Synode: Nicolaitarum quoque hæreſin nihilominus condemnamus, & non modo præſbyteros, ſed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ab vxorū, vel concubinarum fœdo conſortio noſtris ſtudijs, in quantum nobis poſſibilitas fuerit, arcendos eſſe promittimus &c.

Maried Prieſtes called Nicolaitás.

And after it followeth in this wiſe: Si hæc de Simoniaca & Nicolaitarum hæreſi delenda & funditus deſtruenda fideliter non obſeruauero, ab omnipotenti Deo & omnibus Sanctis ſim excommunicatus et anathematizatus, & ab omni Chriſtianorum conſortio inueniar alienus.

And moreouer it followeth vpon the ſame: Anathematizo quoque omnes hæreſes extollentes ſe aduerſus ſanctam Catholicam et Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, ſpecialiter vero et nominatim Simoniacam hæreſin: deindé Nicolaitarum æquè abominabilem hæreſin, quæ impudéter latrat, ſacri altaris Miniſtros

Ibidem.

debere vel poſſe licenter vti coniugibus, quomodo & laicos, &c. As much to ſay in Engliſh, as, I doe accurſe all hereſies extolling thēſelues againſt the holy catholike and Apoſtolike church, but eſpecially and namely, the hereſie of Simonie: and in like maner, the abominable hereſie of the Nicolaitanes, whiche impudently barketh, that the Miniſters of the holy aultar may & ought to vſe wiues lawfully, as well as lay men, &c. And thus much concerning the Synode of Millain, vnder Pope Alexander. 2. ann. 1067.

The Synode of Millaue agaynſt prieſts mariage. ¶1067.

Nexte after this Alexander, roſe vppe Pope Hildebrand, of all other, the chiefeſt and moſt principal enemy agaynſte Prieſtes Marriage. For whereas all other approued Canons and Councelles were contented, that any Clergie man hauing a wife before his entring into his miniſterie, might enioy the libertie of his marriage, ſo that he married not a widowe, or a knowen harlot, or kept a Concubine, or were twiſe married, nowe commeth in Pope Hildebrande, making Prieſtes Marriage to be hereſie, and further enacting: That what ſoeuer Clerke, Deacon, or Miniſter had a wife, what ſo euer ſhe was, (mayde or other) either before his orders, or after, ſhould vtterly put her from him, or elles forſake his Miniſterie. &c.

Pope Hildebrand the greateſt enemye to prieſts mariage.

1. Tim. 4.

Although notwithſtanding the greateſt parte of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters ſeeing this ſtraunge doctrine and proceedinges (whiche Saint Paule expreſſely calleth the doctrine of Deuilles) did what they coulde to withſtande the ſame. Of whom Lambertus Scafnaburgenſis thus writeth: Aduerſus hoc Decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem planè hæreticum, & veſani dogmatis eſſe clamitans, qui oblitus ſermonis Domini, quo ait: Non omnes capiunt hoc Verbum: Qui poteſt capere, capiat, &c. Et Apoſtoli: Qui ſe non continet nubat: Melius eſt nubere, quàm vri, Violenta exactione homines viuere cogeret ritu Angelorum. Quod ſi pergeret, malle ſe ſacerdotium, quàm coniugium deſerere, &c. In Engliſh thus: Agaynſte this Decree, the whole number of the Cleargie did vehemently ſtorme and grudge, crying out vppon him, as a pernicious heretique, & one that maynteyned phantaſticall doctrine: who forgetting what the Lorde ſayth: All men can not take this worde: Hee that can take it, let him take it. And alſo what the Apoſtle ſayeth: Who ſo can not otherwiſe conteyne let him marrye, better it is to marry then to burne, &c. Yet notwithſtanding woulde bynde men to liue like Aungelles. Who if he continued as he beganne, they woulde (they ſayd) ſooner forſake the order of Prieſthode, then their order of Matrimony, &c.

Ex Lamberto Schafnaburgēſi.

Math. 19.

The Councel of Rome againſt prieſtes mariage vnder Pope Hildebrand. ¶1074.

Which Hildebrand, all this notwithſtanding, yet ceaſed not ſtill to call vpon them, and to ſende to the Biſhops euery where to execute his commaundement with all ſeueritie, threatning to lay the Apoſtolicall Cenſure vppon them, if otherwiſe they ſhewed not their diligence there in to the vttermoſt. Ex Lamb. This was, ann. 1074. Of the ſame Hildebrande, Radulphus de Diceto alſo writing hath theſe wordes:

Ex Radulpho de Diceto.

Gregorius Papa ſeptimus Hildebrandus, celebrata Synodo, Symoniacos anathematizauit, vxoratos ſacerdotes à Diuino remouit officio, & Laicis Miſſam eorum audire interdixit, nouo exexemplo, & (vt multis viſum eſt) inconſiderato præiudicio, contra ſanctorum patrum ſententiam, &c. The Engliſh is this: Pope Gregorie the ſeuenth called Hildebrand holding a Synode, accurſed, ſuch as committed Simonie, and remooued married Prieſtes from ſaying ſeruice, forbidding alſo the lay men to heare their Maſſe, after a new and ſtrange example, & as many thought, after an vnconſiderate preiudice, againſt the ſentence of holie fathers.

And thus much for the antiquitie of bringing in the ſingle life of Prieſts, which firſt ſpringing from the tyme of Pope Nicholas and Alexander 2. began firſt with a cuſtome, and afterward was brought into a lawe, chieflie by Pope Hildebrand, and ſo ſpread from Italie into other countries, and at length into England alſo, albeit not without much adoe, as ye ſhall heare, the Lord willing.

In the meane while as Pope Nicolas and Hildebrand were buſie at Rome, ſo Lanfranke Archb. of Canterbury likewiſe was doing here in England about the ſame matter, although he began not altogither ſo roughlie as Pope Hildebrand did, for ſo it appeared by his Councell holden at Wincheſter: where though he inhibited ſuch as were Prebendaries of cathedrall churches to haue wiues, yet did he permit in his Decree, that ſuch Prieſts as dwelt in townes and villages, hauing wiues, ſhould reteine them ſtill, and not to be compelled to be ſeparate from them: and they which had none, ſhould be inhibited to haue: enioyning moreouer the Biſhops thus, to foreſee hereafter, that they preſumed not to admit into order, any prieſts or Deacons, vnleſſe they ſhould firſt make a ſolemne profeſſion to haue no wiues.

Lanfrancks law for Prieſtes not to marye.

The words of the Councell be theſe: Decretumque eſt, vt nullus Canonicus vxorem habeat, ſacerdotum verò in caſtellis & in vicis habitantium habentes vxores, non cogantur vt dimittāt, non habentes, interdicantur vt habeant: & deinceps caueant Epiſcopi, vt Sacerdotes vel Diaconi non præſumant ordinare, niſi profiteantur vt vxores non habeant, &c.

And here to note by the way of the ſaid Lanfranke, for all his glorious gaye ſhew of his monkiſh virginitie and ſingle life, yet he eſcaped not altogither ſo vnſpotted for his part, but that the ſtorie of Mathew Paris, writing of Paulus Cadonenſis, whom Lanfranke preferred ſo gladly to be Abbot of S. Albons, thus reporteth of him: Paulus (inquit) Monachus Cadonenſis Archiepiſcopi Lanfranci nepos, iure, aliquorum relationibus, conſanguinitate propinquior, &c. That is, Paule a Monke of Cadune, and nephew of the Archbiſhop Lanfranke, yea as ſome ſay further, more neere in bloud to him, then ſo, &c.

Then after Lanfranke, came Anſelme into the Sea of Canterbury, who taking to him a ſtouter ſtomacke, more fiercelie and egerlie laboured this matter, in abrogating vtterly the mariage of prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, and of the vniuerſall clergy, not permitting as Lanfranke did, Prieſts that had wiues in villages and townes, to keepe them ſtill, but vtterly commanding, and that vnder great paine, not onelie Prieſts and Deacons, but Subdeacons alſo (which is againſt the Councell of Laterane) which were already maried, to be ſeperated, and that none ſhould be receiued into order hereafter, without profeſſion of perpetuall chaſtitie.

And yet notwithſtanding, for all this great bluſtering and thundering of this Romiſh Μισόγαμος, the Prieſts yet ſtill holding their owne, as well as they could, gaue not much place to his vnlawfull Iniunction, but kept ſtil their wiues almoſt two hundred yeares after, refuſing and reſiſting of long time, the yoke of that ſeruile bondage, to kepe ſtill their freedome from ſuch vowing, profeſſing, and promiſing, as may well appeare by thoſe Prieſts of Yorke, of whom Gerardus Archbiſhop of Yorke ſpeaketh, writing to Anſelme in theſe wordes: Sitio Clericorum meorum integritatem, ſed præterquam in paucis admodum, vt Aſpidis ſurditatem, vel fabuloſi cuiuſdam Prothei mutabilitatem inuenio. Varijs linguarum aculeis, minas, modò conuitia infligunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores ſunt, tolero. Illud omninò graue genus mali eſt, quod hi qui quaſi in ſinu meo ſunt, qui Canonicorum nomine gaudent canones aſpernant, aduerſus concilij noſtri ſtatuta, quaſi Sophiſtici diſputatores argumētantur, profeſsiones verò mihi penitus abnegant Canonici illi, qui ſine profeſsione ad ſacros ordines inordinabiliter ſunt prouecti, & qui in presbyteratu vel Diacopatu conſtituti, vxores ſiue Concubinas in publico hactenus habuerunt, ab Altari nulla ſe reuerentia continuerunt. Cum verò ad ordines aliquos inuito, dura ceruice nituntur, ne inordinando caſtitatem profiteantur. In engliſhe thus: I much deſire the puritie of my clergye men. Howbeit except it be in very few, I finde in them the deafenes of the ſerpent aſpis, and the inconſtancie of Protheus that the Poets fable ſpake of. With theyr ſtinging tongues they caſt out ſome while threates, ſome while tauntes and rebukes. But this greeueth mee leſſe in them that be further off. This greeueth mee moſt of all, that they whiche be of mine owne Church as in myne owne boſome, and prebendaryes of myne owne See, contemne our Canons, and argue like Sophiſticall diſputers, agaynſt the ſtatutes of our Councell. The prebendaries which vnordinately haue bene taken into orders heretofore without making vow or profeſſion, refuſe vtterly to make profeſsion to me. And they that be prieſtes or Deacons, hauing maryed before openly wyues or Concubines, will not be remoued for anye reuerence from the Aultare. And when I call vpon any to receaue order, ſtyffely they deny to profeſſe chaſtitie in theyr ordering &c.

Thus for al their rigorous auſteritie by this Anſelme in forcing his Decree made at London, agaynſt the marriage of Prieſts, yet the ſame had no great ſucceſſe, neither in his life time, nor after his life. For although ſondry prieſtes, during his life tyme, were cōpelled by his extremitie, to renounce theyr wyues, yet many denyed to obey him.

Diuers were contented rather to leaue theyr benefices, then their wiues. A great number were permitted by king Henry, for mony to enioy theyr wiues. Which was ſo chargable vnto them, (ſayth Edmer in his 4. booke) that at length two hundreth prieſtes, in theyr Albes and Prieſtly veſtementes, came barefoote to the kings Pallace, crying to hym for mercy, and eſpecially makyng theyr ſute to the Queene, who vſing much compaſſion towardes them, yet durſt not make for them any interceſſion.

Anſelme at this time was ouer the Sea, making his voyage to the pope. Who hearing hereof, writeth to the King, declaring that ſuche forfaytures appertayned nothing to him. But onely vnto Biſhops, and in theyr default to the Archbiſhops. Whereof read more, pag. 194. So wilfull was the blinde zeale of this Prelate, agaynſt all reaſon, againſt nature it ſelfe, againſt the example of his forefathers againſt publique cuſtome of his owne tyme, againſt the doctrine of the Apoſtles, the conſtitution of Councels againſt all honeſtie, and all Gods forbode, that he neither at the contemplation of the king, nor at the crying out and publike dolour of ſo many prieſts, nor yet moued with the letters of Pope Paſchalis himſelf (who putting him in remembraunce of ſo many prieſts ſonnes, willed him to conſider the neceſſitie of the tyme, pag. 196.) would yet nothing relent from his ſtubborne purpoſe, vnto his latter ende. In whom, as many great crimes may iuſtly be noted, ſo of all other, this is moſt principally in him to be reprehended: for that he ſeeyng and perceauing what Sodomiticall feditie and abhomination, with other inconueniences, did ſpring incontinently vpon this his Diabolicall doctrine, yet for all that would not giue ouer his peſtilent purpoſe.

For ſo the ſtorie recordeth, that when Anſelme had eſtabliſhed his Synodall conſtitution, in ſeperating prieſts from their wyues (which was, anno. 1103.) not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of Sodomitrie, which then beganne ſpecially to raigne in the Clergie, after this inhibition of matrimonie.

Whereupon Anſelme was conſtrained to call an other Councell at Paules within London, to prouide for this miſchiefe. In which Councell this Act was made: Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, & eos in hac voluntate iuuantes, graui anathemate dãnamus, donec pœnitentia & confeſsione abſolutionem mereantur, &c. All them that commit the vngracious ſinne of Sodomitrie, and them alſo which aſsiſt them in this their wicked purpoſe, with greeuous curſe we doe condemne, till ſuch tyme as they ſhall deſerue abſolution by penaunce and confeſsion, &c.

Thus ye haue heard what abhominable wickedneſſe enſued after that prieſts were debarred from mariage, and what ſore puniſhment was deuiſed by this maidenly prelate, for extirping that ſinful wickednes: in the aboliſhing whereof, more wiſelie he ſhould haue remooued away the occaſion whereof he was the authour himſelfe, then by penaltie to ſuppreſſe it, which he could neuer do.

Now let vs heare further, what folowed in that worthy Councell: Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, ſtatutum eſt, ſiquidem fuerit perſona religioſi ordinis, vt ad nullum amplius gradum promoueatur, & ſi quem habet, ab illo deponatur. Si autem laicus, vt in toto Regno Angliæ legali ſua condignitate priuetur. Et ne huius criminis abſolutionem, ijs qui ſe ſub regula viuere vouerunt, aliquis niſi Epiſcopus deinceps facere præſumat Statutum quoque eſt, vt per totam Angliam in omnibus Eccleſijs, & in omnibus diebus Dominicis, excommunicatio præfata publicetur ac renouetur, &c. Which is as much to ſay in Engliſh: It is enacted, that whoſoeuer ſhall be publikely knowen to be guiltie hereof, if he be a religious perſon, he ſhal from thence forth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath alreadie, ſhall be taken from him. If he be a lay perſon, he ſhall be depriued of all his freedome within the whole realme of England. And that none vnder a biſhop ſhal preſume to aſſoyle ſuch as haue bene Monkes profeſſed, of that treſpaſſe. It is alſo enacted, that euery ſonday in the yeare, and in euery pariſh church in England, this generall curſe aforeſayd ſhall be publiſhed and renewed, &c. Ex Rog. Houed. & Epiſt. Anſelm. 278.

Is not here (trowe you) good diuiſion of Iuſtice, that lawfull wedlocke of prieſts can find no grace nor pardon, yea, is made now hereſie: where adulterie & horrible Sodomitrie is waſhed away with a little confeſſion? And ſee yet what foloweth more. After that this penall curſe ſhuld now go abroad and be publiſhed in churches, the monkes perceiuing this matter to touch them ſomewhat neare, whiſpered in Anſelmus eare, perſwading him that ẏ publication of that Acte might growe to great danger and inconuenience, in opening the vice which before was not knowen: in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort tyme after, that curſe was called in againe.

And ſo curſed Sodomitrie & adulterie paſſed free without puniſhment, or word ſpoken againſt it, where contrary godly matrimonie could find no mercy.

Now what reaſons and arguments this Anſelme ſucked out of the Court of Rome, to prooue the matrimonie of prieſts vnlawfull, were it not for combring the Reader with tediouſnes, here would be ſhewed. Briefly, the chiefe grounds of all his long diſputation, in his booke entituled, Offendiculum Sacerdotum, betweene the maiſter and ſcholer, come to this effect.

Argument.

Prieſts of the old law, during the tyme of their miniſtration, abſteined from their wyues:

Ergo, Prieſts in the tyme of the Goſpel, which euery day miniſter at the aulter, muſt neuer haue any wiues.

The reaſons and argumentes of Anſelme againſt the marriage of Prieſtes.

Another Argument.

Moſes, when he ſhould ſanctifie the people, goyng vp to the hyll, commaunded them to ſequeſter themſelues from their wiues three dayes:

Ergo, Prieſts that muſt be ſanctified to the Lord always ought to liue chaſte alwaies without wiues.

Another Argument.

Dauid before he ſhould eat of the ſhewbread, was aſked whether he and his company had bene without the company of their wyues three dayes:

Ergo, Prieſts that be continually attending vpon the table and ſacraments of the Lord, ought neuer to haue company with any ſuch.

Another Argument.

Oza, which put his hand to the Arke, was ſlaine therefore, as it is thought, becauſe he lay with his wife the night before: 2.King.6.

Ergo, Prieſts whoſe hands be alwayes occupied about the Lordes ſeruice, muſt be pure from company of wife, or any woman.

Another Argument.

Nadab, and Abiud, which ſacrificed with ſtrange fire, were deuoured therefore, becauſe they companied with their wiues the ſame night: Num.4.

Ergo, Prieſts and ſacrificers muſt haue no wyues to company with all.

Another Argument.

The prieſts of the Gentiles, in old tyme when they ſacrificed to their idoles, are ſayd to lye from their wiues:

Ergo, much more the prieſts that ſacrifice to the liuyng God, ought ſo to do.

Another Argument.

Chriſt was borne of a Virgin, Chriſt liued euer a virgin, and commaundeth them that will ſerue him, to folow him. Qui mihi miniſtrat, me ſequatur: id eſt, Si vis mihi miniſtrare, me caſtè viuendo imitare. Iohn.12.

Ergo, Prieſts that haue wyues are not meete to ſerue hym.

1. Cor. 7.

Let euery man haue his owne wyfe for auoydyng of fornication.

The expoſition of Anſelme.

That is meant and granted of the Apoſtle, onely to lay men: Hoc ſolis laicis eum conceſsiſſe, nemo ignorat.

The groſſe expoſitions of Anſelme, vpon the wordes of S. Paule.

1. Cor. 7.

Melius eſt nubere quàm vri: It is better to marrie then to burne.

The expoſition.

Melius, id eſt, leuius eſt legitimæ vxori nubere, quàm vri, id eſt, quàm alienarum mulierum concupiſcentia conſumi. It is a lighter fault to marrie one lawfull wife, then to be conſumed with concupiſcence of ſtraunge women.

1. Timoth. 3.

Oportet eſſe epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem, vnius vxoris virum. &c. A Biſhop oughte to be vnreprooueable, the husbande of one wife. &c.

The expoſition.

Præcipit Apoſtolus, ne quis ad ſacerdotium accedere præſumat, niſi is qui non niſi vnicam vxorem laicus habuiſſet: Accepto autem ordine, nunquam ei carnis commixtione ſe copularet, tantum vitæ neceſſaria ei ſubminiſtraret: That is, The Apoſtle here commaundeth, that none ſhoulde preſume to be Prieſt, but hee who being a laye manne before, hathe had no more but one wife: And after he be made prieſte, not to couple him ſelfe anye more with her, but onely to miniſter to her, thinges neceſſary for her liuing. &c.

And finally after theſe thynges thus diſputed, and alleged, the ſaid Anſelme concludeth the matter with this final cenſure and determination, as foloweth: Per hoc autem

quòd

The concluſion or cenſure of Anſelme vpon maried Prieſtes.

quod ſacras veſtes induunt, vel ſacra vaſa tangunt, Chriſto violenter manus iniijciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præſumunt, Chriſtum quodam modo viſibiliter in altari crucifigunt. Legitur miniſterium eorum, Chriſti perſecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur: In Engliſh thus: In that theſe men (hee ſpeaketh of maried Prieſts) do put on the holy veſtments, or do touch the holy veſſels, they do lay violent hands vpon Chriſt. And in that they preſume impudently to offer, they do in a maner viſibly crucifie Chriſt vpon the aulter. The miniſtery of ſuch is read to be a perſecution, or rather a crucifieng of Chriſt, &c.

Aunſwere to Anſelmes reaſons.

Loe here the mighty reaſons, the ſtrong timbered arguments, and the deepe diuinitie wherewith this Anſelm and all other that drawe after his ſtring, goe about to impugne the lawfulneſſe of Prieſtes mariage. Becauſe the Iſraelites when they ſhould appeare before the Lorde at Mount Sinai, were commanded to kepe frõ their wiues three dayes: and bicauſe the Prieſts of the old Law in doing their function, as their turne came about, refrained the companie of their wiues for that preſent tyme: Ergo, prieſts of the new lawe muſt at no tyme haue any wiues, but liue alwayes ſingle, &c.

And why might not Anſelme as wel argue thus: The people of Iſrael approching to the Mounte, were commaunded in like ſorte to waſhe their garmentes: Ergo, Prieſtes of the newe Lawe, which are occupied euery day about the Aultar, ought euery day to waſhe all their garments.

Moſes approching to the preſence of the Lorde in the buſh, was commanded to put of his ſhoes: Ergo, Prieſtes of the new lawe, which are euer approching to the preſence of their God, ſhould neuer weare ſhoes.

Of king Dauid and his company, which but once in all their lyfe did eate of the ſhewbread, it was demanded by the high Prieſt, whether they had kept them from theyr wyues three dayes before: Ergo, Kinges and the people of the newe Teſtament, which euery yeare eate the breade of the Lordes borde, more precious then euer was that Panis propoſitionis, ſhould abide all their life wiueleſſe and vnſpouſed.

A tyme for all thinges.

But here Anſelme ſhould haue conſidered by theſe Scriptures, howe we are taught not to put awaye oure wyues, but wiſelie to diſtinct tymes, when and howe to haue them. For as Salomon teacheth, to be a tyme for all things: ſo is there a time to marrie, and a time not to marrie, a time to reſort, a tyme to withdraw, a tyme of company, a time of abſtinence and prayer, which S. Paul calleth, πρὸς καιρὸν, and as he ſpeaketh of a tyme of prayer and abſtinence, ſo he ſpeaketh alſo of a tyme of reſorting together, and addeth the cauſe why: Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam veſtram, &c. That is, Leaſt Satan (ſaith he) tempt you for your incontinencie.

1. Cor. 7.

And thus ſhould Anſelme with Salomon & Paul, haue conſidered the order and diſtinction of tymes. Oftentymes in ſcripture that is commanded to ſome, and at ſometime, which extendeth not to others. And that which for a tyme is conuenient, is not by and by alwayes conuenient. Neither that which for a tyme is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for euer. Neither ought ſpeciall examples, to breake generall orders: neither agayne doe extraordinarie prohibitions, make an vniuerſall rule.

Speciall examples breake no generall orders.

Separatiõ of the Iſralites from their wiues for 3. dayes is no argument that Prieſtes ſhould neuer marrye.

They were then commaunded to ſequeſter themſelues from their wiues at the comming of the Lorde: not that the comming of the Lorde did breake wedlocke, but his commaundement did bynd obedience: and therfore obeied they, becauſe they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their wyues, but onely to ſeperate themſelues for a tyme, and that not for monethes and yeares, but onely for three dayes, which abſtinence alſo was enioined them, not in the preſence, nor at the appering of the Lord, but three dayes before his deſcendyng to them on the hill. whereby it appeareth, that the vſe of their wedlocke, neither diſpleaſed God being preſent, nor yet did driue his preſence away when he was come: for he remained there preſent amongeſt them on the hill xl. dayes notwithſtanding.

Furthermore, this time of ſeparation from their wiues, as it was expreſlie commanded to them by God: ſo was it not long nor tedious, but ſuch as was neither hard for them, nor vnconuenient for the time: giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand, how to vſe ſeparation in wedlocke wiſelye, that is, neither at no time, nor yet too long.

Separation in wedlocke, how it is to be vſed.

For as they do not well, which neuer follow the tyme of S. Paule, called πρὸς καιρὸν, for abſtinence and prayer: ſo do they worſe which fall into that παντοχρόνιον, whereof S. Paule againe giueth vs warning, Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam veſtram. But worſt of all do they, which ſo ſeparate their wiues cleane from them, and ſo abiure all matrimonie, that they fall headlong into the diuels pitfall of fornication, and all filthie abhomination. And therfore the Lord foreſeyng the perill thereof, ſaid vnto the people: Eſtote parati in diem tertium, & ne appropinquetis vxoribus veſtris, &c. Appointyng in deede a ſeparation from their wyues, but yet knowyng the infirmitie of man, limiteth the tyme withall, addyng, In diem tertium, and goeth no further.

He ſaith not, as Anſelme ſaid in the Councel of Wincheſter: Iurabunt præsbyteri, diaconi, & Subdiaconi, vxores ſuas omnino abiurare, nec vllam deinceps cum eis conuerſationem habere, ſub diſtrictione cenſuræ, &c.

The like order alſo was taken by the Lorde with the prieſts of the old Teſtament, who although they were enioyned to withdraw themſelues from their wiues duryng the tyme of their prieſtly ſeruice: yet for auoyding fornication, they were permitted to haue their wyues notwithſtanding. So that both their abſenting from their wyues ſerued to ſanctification, and their reſorting agayne vnto them, ſerued to auoid adultery and fornication.

But here our prieſtly prelates will obiect, that bicauſe they be continually conuerſant about the prieſtly function therfore a perpetuall ſanctification is of them ſpecially required. whereunto I anſwer.

1 Firſt, the prieſtly function of thoſe high prieſts ſacrifiſing for the people in the old lawe, repreſenteth onely the function of Chriſt the high prieſt ſacrifiſing for the ſinnes of the world, which truly and onelie perfourmed that pure chaſtitie in his ſanctified body, which the law then in thoſe prieſts prefigured.

2 Secondarilie, ſpeaking now of the Prieſtes of the newe Teſtament (and ſpeaking properly) the Scripture knoweth nor admitteth no Prieſt to ſacrifice to God for the ſinnes of man, but only the high king and prieſt Chriſt Ieſus.

3 Thirdly, vnto that prieſt all other be but ſeruaunts and Miniſters: of whome, ſome be Apoſtles, ſome Prophetes, ſome Euangeliſtes, ſome Preachers, hauyng the gyft of vtteraunce, ſome Interpreters and Doctours, hauyng the gyft of vnderſtandyng, ſome Deacons ſeruyng the Lordes borde. The office of all whome chiefly conſiſteth in miniſtring the word, next in adminiſtring the Sacraments.

4 Fourthly, for ſo much as in theſe principally aboue all other, pureneſſe and ſanctification of lyfe is required, as much and more too, then was in the Prieſtes of the olde Law, from whom all fornication, adulterie, inceſt, and vncleanneſſe of lyfe ought moſt to be baniſhed: therefore in theſe eſpecially aboue the Prieſtes of the olde Law, matrimonie and ſpouſage is moſt requiſite and conueniẽt, who ſo euer he be, which otherwiſe can not conteine, accordyng to the Apoſtle, ſaying: Vnuſquiſque vxorem ſuã habeat propter fornicationem.

5 Fiftly, neyther is this matrimonie in theſe, any hinderance to their ſanctification before God, but rather furthereth & helpeth their ſanctification, foraſmuch as where matrimonie is not, there commonly raigneth adulterie, fornication, and all kindes of filthineſſe accordyng to the true ſayeng of Bernard: Tolle de Eccleſia honorabile connubium & thorum immaculatum, nonne reples eam concubinarijs, inceſtuoſis, ſeminifluis, mollibus, maſculorum concubitoribus & omni denique genere immundorum? That is, Take frõ the Church honourable mariage, and the bed vndefiled, ſhalt thou not repleniſh it with Concubinaries, with inceſtuous perſons, Sodomiticall vices, and finally with all kynd of beaſtly filthineſſe?

The truth of which ſaying, lacketh no kynde of examples for confirmation, if we liſted here to ranſack the liues of theſe glorious deſpiſers of matrimony, euen from Lanfrank the firſt ringleader of this daunce here in England, with * Paulus Monke of Cadone his Nephew, whome Mathew Paris miſdoubted to be his owne ſonne, vnto Steuen Gardiner with his gouldelockes, the author and workemaiſter of theſe ſixe articles. But to the reaſons of Anſelme hitherto ſufficient, which of themſelues be ſo friuolous and groſſe, that only to recite them, is enough to confute the ſame.

Permitting therefore the reſt to the diſcuſſion of Diuines, it ſhall ſuffice for our purpoſe, profeſſing here to write ſtories, to declare and make manifeſt by proceſſe of tymes & hiſtories, that this cruell lawe compelling miniſters of the church to abiure matrimonie, entred not into this land before Lanfranke and Anſelme his ſucceſſor, as both may appeare by the multitude of prieſts ſonnes lawfully begotten in matrimonie, and ſucceeding in the churches here of England, teſtified by the epiſtle of Pope Paſchalis to Anſelme, before, pag. 196. and alſo may appeare likewiſe by the Councell of Anſelme holden at Wincheſter which partly was touched before, and now the full act we haue more largely expreſſed to be read and ſeene of all poſteritie, as vnder followeth.

The Acte againſt Prieſtes mariage concluded in the Councell at Wincheſter, vnder Anſelme, An.1104.

HÆc ſunt ſtatuta de Archidiaconibus, Præsbyteris, & Canonicis in quocunque gradu conſtitutis, quę Wintoniæ ſtatuerunt Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, & cum eo Girardus Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis, & omnes alij Angliæ Epiſcopi, in præſentia glorioſi Regis Henrici, aſſenſu omnium Baronum ſuorum. Statutum eſt vt Pręsbyteri, & Diaconi caſtè viuant, & fœminas in domibus ſuis non habeant præter proxima conſanguinitate ſibi iunctas, ſecundum hoc quod ſancta Nicena Synodus definiuit. Illi verò præsbyteri, diaconi, ſiue ſubdiaconi, qui poſt interdictum Londonenſis Concilij, fœminas ſuas tenuerint vel alias duxerint, ſi elegerint in ſacris ordinibus remanere, iurēt quòd cum eis carnale commertium non habebunt amplius. Statutum eſt etiam vt prędictę fœminæ in domo cum eis ſcienter non conueniant, neque huiuſmodi fæminę in territorio Eccleſiæ habitent. Si autē propter aliquam honeſtam cauſam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis teſtibus extra domum colloquantur. Si verò in duobus aut tribus legitimis teſtibus vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorū accuſatus fuerit, quòd hoc ſtatutum tranſierit, purgabit ſe adiunctis ſecum ordinis ſui idoneis teſtibus, ſex ſi pręsbyter, quinque ſi diaconus, quatuor ſi ſubdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hęc purgatio defecerit, vt tranſgreſſor ſacri ſtatuti iudicabitur. Illi verò pręsbyteri qui diuini altaris & ſacrorum ordinum contemptores præelegerint cum vxoribus ſuis habitare, à diuino officio remoti, extra *horum ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadem ſententia Archidiaconos & Canonicos omnes complectitur & de abiurandis vxoribus, & de vitanda earum conuerſatione, & de diſtrictione cenſurę ſi ſtatuta tranſgreſſi fuerint. Iurabunt & Archidiaconi omnes quòd pecuniam non accipient pro tolleranda tranſgreſſione huius ſtatuti. Sed neque vllo modo tollerabunt pręsbyteros vxoratos cantare, vel vicarios habere, & quòd ipſi non diſſimulabūt per Archidiaconos ſuos hoc inquirere, & fideliter epiſcopis ſuis renunciabunt, & attentē, & fideliter de exequenda huius rei vindicta Epiſcopos ſuos adiuuabunt. Qui verò Archidiaconus vel Diaconus hoc iurare noluerit, Archidiaconatum vel Diaconiam irreparabiliter perdet. Præsbyteri verò qui relictis vxorib⁹ Deo & ſacris ordinibus ſeruire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio ceſſantes, pro ſe vicarios habebunt, iniuncta eis pœnitentia ſecundum quod Epiſcopis eorum viſum fuerit.

And yet this vnreaſonable ſtatute of Anſelme, ſo diligently defenſed with ſharpe cenſures and penalties, had no great ſpeed, neither in the lyfe tyme of the ſaid Anſelm, nor long after his death, but that diuers prieſts notwithſtanding kept ſtill their wiues, or that after his death, they returned to their wiues agayne, through the ſufferance of the famous & learned king named then Henry Bewclark who ſomthing ſtayed the opportunitie of this mōkiſh prelate, and willed that prieſts ſhould kepe both their wyues and theyr Churches, as they did before in Lanfrankes dayes.

Then after Anſelme followed Radulphus Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in whoſe time was no great ſturre againſt the Prieſtes that were married. About the tyme of this Archbiſhop, king Henry called a Counſaile at London, where he obtained of the ſpiritualtie a graunt to haue the puniſhment of maried prieſts (which the ſpiritualtie afterward did much repent) whereby the prieſts paying a certaine to the king, were ſuffered to retaine their wiues ſtil, as is aboue ſtoried, pag. 294.

Next after this Radulph, then ſucceeded williā Turbile, ſurnamed De Turbine, who renued againe the conſtitution of Anſelme againſt maried prieſts, eſpecially by the helpe of Joannes prieſt and Cardinall of Crema ẏ Popes Legate, ſent the ſame tyme into England, anno. 1129. Of which Cardinall Cremenſis, becauſe enough hath bene before declared, how after his ſtout replying in the councell of London, againſt the maried ſtate of prieſtes, exclaiming what a ſhamefull thing it was, to riſe from the ſides of an whore, to make Chriſtes body, the night followyng was ſhamefully taken with a notable whore, &c. as is apparant before, pag. 294.

I will therefore paſſe ouer that matter, returnyng againe to william the Archbiſhop, who with the Cardinall Legate aforeſaid, although he buſily occupied himſelfe in repriuing the matrimonie of prieſtes: in ſo much, that he would geue thē no longer reſpit to put away their wiues but from Michaelmas to Saint Andrewes day followyng, yet could he not bryng hys purpoſe to paſſe, but that the prieſts ſtill continued with their wiues by the Kyngs leaue, as the Saxō ſtory plainly recordeth in theſe words:

Ðiꞅ bebeð ꞅe Aꞃcebiꞅcop ƿilliam oꝼ Cantoꞃbꞃiᵹeꞅ. ⁊ ealle ða leod Biꞅcopeꞅ ða ða ƿæꞃon on Enᵹelond, ⁊ ne ꝼoꞃꞅtod noht ealle ða bodlaceꞅ. eall heoldon heꞃ ƿiꝼeꞅ be ðæꞅ Kinᵹeꞅ leue. ꞅpa ꞅpa hi eaꞃ didon; That is to ſay in Engliſh, This William the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhops which were in England did commaund, and yet all theſe decrees and biddings ſtood not: all hled their wyues by the kings leaue, euen ſo as they before did, &c. So hard was this cauſe to be wonne, that the Archb. at length gaue it ouer, and left the cōtrouerſie wholy vnto the kyng. whereupon he decreed that the Prieſtes ſhould remaine with their wyues ſtill. And ſo continued they after that, in the tyme of Theobaldus after hym, of Thō. Becket, Rich. Baldwine, Steuen Langton, Rich. Edmund, Boniface, Peccham, and other, during welnere the tyme after Anſelme, 200. yeares.

Cronic. Saxonic.

The prieſts kept their wiues contrary to the Archbiſhops commandement.

¶ An. 25. Hen. 1.

And leaſt the quarelling aduerſary beyng peraduenture diſpoſed here to cauill, ſhould obiect and ſay, that ſuch marriage among the Spiritual men might be priuate and ſecrete, but not openly knowen, nor quietly ſuffered by any lawe of this Realme: to auoyde therefore what maye be by them obiected, I thought it good, and as a thyng neyther impertinent nor vnprofitable to this ſtorye, and for the further ſatiſfiyng of the Readers mynde herein, to inferre and make knowen by good recorde, not onely that the libertie of marriage amongſt ſpirituall men, hath continued within this Realme duryng the tyme aforeſayde, (videlicet) two hundred yeares or thereabouts, after Anſelme, and that not in ſecrete wiſe, but alſo openly, and beyng knowne, the ſame to be ſuffered and lawfully allowed of, in ſuch ſort, as both they, their wiues, children, and aſſignes might enherite and enioye landes, tenementes, and other hereditamentes, by waye of feoffament, deede of gyfte, or any other aſſuraunce, in ſuche ſorte, manner, and fourme, as laye men, their heyres and aſſignes at this day lawfully may doe. As by diuers writinges and inſtrumentes ſhewed vnto vs at the writyng hereof, by diuers men (whoſe names hereafter follow) ſome to this day remaining fayre ſealed, ſome by antiquitie and long keping, much worne, and their ſeales mouldred and waſted, is very euident and manifeſt to be ſeene. The copies whereof beyng by vs truely and faithfully excerpted out of the very originals (beyng yet extant) we haue here vnder inſerted, as followeth.

Prieſtes with wiues how long they continued in England afer Anſelme.

¶ Certayne Inſtrumentes and Euidences of auncient recorde, declaryng the marriage of prieſtes to haue ſtande in tymes paſte, both with ancient cuſtome, & publike lawes of this Realme.

SCiant pręſentes & futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwille miles conceſsi, dedi, & hac pręſenti charta mea confirmaui Stephano de Saxlingham Clerico, & Matildę vxori ſuę pro homagijs & ſeruitijs ſuis, & pro ſex marcis argenti quas mihi dederunt in *gerſumam, vnam peciam terrę arabilis, quæ iacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter meſuagium Galfridi Sulyard, & cœmeterium Eccleſię de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Ioannis de Neuton, & abuttat ſuper regiam ſtratam verſus orientem, & ſuper terram quę fuit Henrici Popiltele verſus occidentem: Habend. & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis illis & heredibus ſuis aut quibuſcunq; dare, legare, vendere vel aſſignare voluerint, in quocunq; ſtatu fuerint, liberè, quietè, in feodo, perpetuè & hereditariè Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hęredib⁹ meis duos denarios, ſcilicet ad feſtū ſancti Andreæ denariū & ad natiuitatē ſancti Iohānis baptiſtæ vnū denariū. Et ad ſcutagium domini regis quando euenit vnum obolum tantū & non amplius pro omnibus ſeruitijs, conſuetudinibus, ſectis curiæ, & exactionibus ſecularibus. Et ego Williel. de Blunwell, & hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædictam peciam terrę pręnominatis Stephano & Matildę vxori ſuę & hæredibus ſuis, aut cuicunq; dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint contra omnes gentes tam Iudęos quam Chriſtianos in perpetuum per pręfatum ſeruitium. Et vt hæc conceſsio & donatio rata ſit & ſtabilis in perpetuum, hanc cartam ſigillo meo roboraui: His teſtibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reyneſtorpe, Ioanne de Neuion, Willielmo Canebot, Ioan. filio Simonis, Milone le Moch, Radulpho de Kinegham, Willielm. de Campo, Thomę Croce, Andr. Waleys, Willielm. Valiant, & alijs.

Carta feoffament. Williel. de Blunwille milit. fact. Stephan. de Saxlingham Clerico & Matilde vxori ſuæ, de terris in Newton in Com. Norff.

¶ This ſayd peece of Euidence called a deede of Feoffement of lands remaineth in the keeping of Thomas Blūdeuill of Neuton Flotman in the Countie of Northfolke Eſquier at this preſent (videlicet) 22. die Nouembris, Anno

R.Eliza

One peece of Euidence in the cuſtody of M. Tho. Blundeuil.

R.Eliz.R.decimo.Et anno Dom. 1567. **who (I knowe) will not refuſe to ſhew the ſame to any man that ſhall deſire the ſight thereof.**

1. Other deedes and inſtruments of lyke antiquitie, declaring the ſame, receiued of Maiſter Iohn Forde.

Carta Williel. Filij Walteri de Ridware fact. Ioan.de Edinghall Clerico & Matildæ vxori ſuæ de terris in Edinghall in Com.Darb.

SCiant omnes præſentes & futuri quòd ego Williel filius Walteri, dominus de Ridware Hamſtall, conceſsi, & tradidi Ioanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal Clerico, & vxori ſuæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, vnam dimidiam virgatam terræ in Edinghall, cum omnibus pertinentijs in toftis & croftis, pratis & paſturis in villa & in territorio de Edinghall: illam ſcilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit: Habend. & tenend. de me & de hæredibus meis ſibi & vxori ſuæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum liberè & quietè, benè & pacificè, &c. Et ego vero Williel. & hæred. mei prædict dimidiam virgatam terræ cum pertinentijs prædict. Ioanni & vxori ſuæ prædict. ad totam vitam eorũ contra omnes gentes Warrantizabimus, &c. In huius conceſsionis & traditionis robur & teſtimonium vterq; noſtrum alterius ſcripto ſigillum ſuum appoſuit: His teſtibus, Roberto Saluein de Haſelour Andrea Saluein de eadem, Ioanne filio Radulphi de Edinghall, Richardo de Ykebrom, Roberto de Fryeford, & alijs.

2. An other euidence touching the ſame, of lands in the Countie of Leiceſter.

Carta feoffament. Radulphi Wiſcarde de Sceyle fact. Agneti de Willintona & pueris ſuis de Williel. perſona de Lollinton procreat.

*Note the wife and children of this Perſon of Lollington being knowen, might enioy & enherite according to this deede.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd Ego Radulphus filius & hæres Ioannis Wiſcarde de Sceyle dedi, & conceſsi, & hac mea præſenti carta cõfirmaui Agneti de Welintona vnam acram terræ in territorio de maiori Sceylæ quæ iacet ſuper le Wouelondis, inter terram monachorum de Miriuall, extendentem ſe ad vnum caput ſuper foreram monachorum de Miriuall, & aliud caput verſus villam de Sceyle: Habendum & tenendum de me & hæredibus meis vel aſsignatis & eorum hæredibus prædict. Agneti de Welintona & pueris ſuis de Will. Perſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo primogenito, ſi ſuperuixerit matri ſuæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri eius. Poſtea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori. Deinde ſororibus eorum ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit. Ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram cum pertinentijs licentialiter ſine omnî recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda: & quòd hæredibus vel aſsignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſsidẽtis remaneat vlterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, bene & in pace iure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis vel aſsignatis meis & eorum hæredibus vnum obolum argenti ad paſcha, pro omnibus ſeruitijs, & exactionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, legatis, tallagijs, & omnimodis ſectis comitatus, hundredorũ & curiæ meæ & hæredum meorum, & aliorum, & ſeruitijs forinſecis vel exigẽtijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæredes mei vel aſsignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentijs, prædict. Agneti & filijs ſuis & filiabus poſt deceſſum prędict. Agnetis, ſingulis eorum de dicta perſona genitis vni poſt alterũ ſucceſsiuè, & hæredibus vel aſsignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſsidentis (vt prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et vt hæc omnia ſupradicta rata & inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, præſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſsione corroboraui: His teſtibus, Willielmo tunc Perſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorpe, Richardo & Roberto filijs ſuis Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle, Willielmo filio ſuo, Ioanne filio Raduiphi Aky, Williel, Clerico de eadem, & multis alijs.

3. An other euidence of like effect.

Carta Radulphi Wilcarde de Sceyle fact. Agnet. de Willington & pueris ſuis de Wiliel. Perſona de Lollinton procreat de terris in Sceyle in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant pręſentes & futuri. quòd ego Radulphus Wilſcharde, filius & hæres Ioannis Wilſcardi de Sceyle, dedi & conceſsi, & hac mea præſenti carta confirmaui Agneti de Willington, quatuor acras & vnam rodam terræ meæ arabilis in campo de maiori Sceyle. Quarum vna acra iacet ſuper Wodde Hulles, &c. [Et Paulo infra:] Habend & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus, prædict. Agnetæ de Willington & pueris ſuis de Willielmo perſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo primogenito ſi ſuperuixerit matri ſuæ, deinde Galfrido fratri eius, poſtea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori, deinde ſororibus eorum ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit, ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram cum pertinentijs, licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda, & quod hæredibus vel aſsignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis remaneat vlterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, benè, & in pace iure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus, vnum obolum argenti ad paſcha, aut vnum par albarum chirothecarum de præcio vnius obuli apud Sceyle ad voluntatem ſoluẽtis, pro omnibus ſeruitijs & exactionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, legatis, talliagijs & omnimodis ſectis comitatus hundredorum & curiæ meæ & hæredum meorum & aliorum, & ſeruitijs forinſecis vel exigentijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæredes mei vel aſſignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinẽtijs, prędict. Agneti & filijs eius & filiabus poſt diſceſſum prædict. Agnetis ſingulis eorum de dicta perſona genitis vni poſt alterũ ſucceſſiuè, & hęredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimę poſſidentis (vt prędictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et vt hæc omnia ſupradicta, rata & inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, præſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſſione corroboraui: His teſtibus, Will. tunc Perſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorpe, Rich & Rob. filijs ſuis. Hen. filio Perſonę de Sceyle, Ioãne filio, Radulphi Aky, de eadem, Rob. Haſtyng, Williel. Grym, & alijs.

4. An other euidence vpon the like matter.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, illud meſuagium quod Matheus Gilbert quondã de me tenuit in paruo Apilby, in longitudine iuxta altam viã: tenendum & habendum de me & hæredibus meis, ſibi & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus, & cui vel quibus communibus horis quandocunq; dare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, bene & in pace, &c Et ego prædict. Henricus & heredes mei prædictum meſuagium cum omnibus aiſiamentis & pertinentijs ſuis præfatis, Henrico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis (vt ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum &c. Vt hæc omnia ſubſcripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne de Norton, Willielmo Huelen de Apilby, &c.

5. An other euidence touching the lyke.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quòd ego Rogerus Peſcher de Apilby dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico, & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, viginti buttes terræ arabilis cum pertinentijs ſuis in territorio de Apilbe. Quarũ tres buttes iacent ſuper Brodelein, &c. [Et Paulo poſt: Tenend. & habend. prædict. Henrico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis, cui vel quibus in ſanitate vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, bene & hæreditariè in perpetuum, &c. Et ego prædictus Rogerus Peſcher & hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentijs ſuis vbicunq; memoratis, Henrico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis (vt ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, & in omnibus & per omnia acquietabimus & defendemus in futurũm, &c. Vt hæc mea donatio, conceſſio, & cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuũ, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum pro me & hęredibns meis dui apponendum, fide mediante: His teſtibus, Williel. de Meycham, Ioanne filio Henrici de Norton, &c.

6. An other euidence touching the ſame, of lands in the Countie of Darb.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Willielmus filius & heres quondam Williel. Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, & omninò quietum clamaui de me & hęredibus meis in perpetuum Nich de Crumford pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam idem Nicholaus mihi præ manibus donauit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs & edificijs, & cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in omnibus rebus & locis, ſine aliquo retinemento, quæ & quas habuit iure hæreditario in feodo de Banquel. per Williel. de Banquel Clericum quondam patrem meum, Habend. & tenend. ipſo Nicholao & hæredibus ſuis vel aſſignatis in feodo & hæreditate de capitali Domino de Banquel, liberè, benè, quietè, & in pace cũ omnibus libertatibus & aiſiamentis in omnibus locis & ſingulis ad prædicta terras & tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Banquel & terra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Williel. nec hæredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine noſtro ius vel clameum in prædictis terris & tenementis, gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs, edificijs, & omnibus pertinentijs ſuis de cætero habere, exigere, vendicare vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædict terris & tenementis capitali domino 7. ſolidos, 3 denarios & obulũ argenti annui redditus ad terminos ſtatutos Paſchatis, & S. Michaelis. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic ſcripto pręſenti ſigillum meum appoſui & munimenta inde eidem Nicholao tradidi: His teſtibus, domino Ioanne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo vicario de Banquel, Mathæo de Reynedon, Mathæo Drabill, Elio de Banquell Clerico, Richardo de Yollegrane, Rogero Filio Yoke, & alijs.

7. Another Euidence concerning the lyke,

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Williel. filius & hæres quondam Willielmi Mahenmey de Banquet Clerici, dedi, conceſsi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui de me & hæredibus meis in perpetuum, Nicholao de Crumford pro quadā ſumma pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, vnum capitale meſuagium ędificatum, & vnam bouatam terræ, cum prato & omnibus pertinent. ſuis ſine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bouatam terræ cum pertinentijs quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit & tenuit in villa & territorio de Banquell: & octo acras terræ arabilis, & vnam particulam prati diuiſim iacentes in campis de Banquell.&c. Habend & tenend. ipſo Nicholao & hęredibus ſuis vel ſuis aſsignatis in feodo & hęreditate, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus, & aiſiamentis in omnibus rebus & locis infra villā de Bāquel & extra, ad pręd. terras & tenementa cum pertinentijs pertinētibus de capitali domino de Banquel.&c. Et ego Williel. & hęredes mei omnia prędicta terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinent. ſuis vt (prędictum eſt) dicto Nicholao & hęredibus ſuis vel ſuis aſsignatis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium pręſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtib⁹, Domino Ioanne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo Vicario de Banquel, Math. de Reynedon, Math. Drabill, Elio de Banquel, Rich. de Yolgraue, Rogero Filio Yoke de Banquel, & alijs.

8. An other euidence concerning the like.

Sciant præſentes & futuri quòd nos Thomas de Billeſton Clericus & Leticia vxor mea, dedimus, conceſsimus, & hac præſenti carta noſtra confirmauimus Gerardo Filio Alexādri de Wiſton & Cicilie vxori ſuæ, omnia illa burgagia, meſuagia: gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, parta & edificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſeruitijs, paſcuis, communis, paſturis & cęteris omnib. pertinentijs ſuis in feodo de Banquel, quæ habuimus ex dono & feofamento dicti Gerardi: Habendum & tenendum dictis Gerardo & Ciciliæ vxori ſuæ ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis & hęredibus noſtris, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs: faciendo inde annuatim nobis & hęredibus noſtris, prædict Gerardus & Cęcilia ad totam eorum vitam, vnum denarium argenti ad feſtum S. Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris capitali Domino feodi illius ſeruitia, inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et nos verò prædicti Thomas & Leticia & noſtri hæredes omnia prædicta burgagia, meſuagia, gardina curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata & edificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſeruitijs, paſcuis, communis paſturis, & cæteris omnibus pertinentijs ſuis prædictis Gerardo & Cæcilię ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimoniū huic præſenti cartę noſtræ ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus: His teſtibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Corterrel. Wil de Cruford. Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Crumford in Banquel, Rad. Bercario in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem, & alijs.

9. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Vniuerſis ad quos pręſens ſcriptum peruenerit, Leticia quæ fuit vxor Thomæ de Bylleſton, ſalutem in domino. Noueritis me in pura viduitate mea conceſsiſſe & confirmaſſe pro me & hęredibus meis Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyſton, & Cæciliæ vxori ſuæ omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in Banquell, quę idem Gerardus & Cicilia vxor eius habent ex conceſsione Thomæ de Bylleſton quondam viri mei. Habendū & tenendum eiſdem Gerardo & Ciciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem de me & hæredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis: faciendo inde mihi & hæredibus meis vnum denariū argenti ad feſtum S. Michaelis, & faciendo inde pro me & hęredibus meis capitalibus Dominis ſeruitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et ego præfata Leticia & hæredes meis prędicta tenementa cum pertinent. prædictis Gerardo & Ciciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium pręſentibus ſigillum meum appoſui. His teſtibus Rob le Walley, Rob. le Taylor, & alijs. Datum apud Banquell, die veneris proximo poſt feſtum Annunciationis beatę Mariæ, anno regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi nono.

10. An other euidence touching the like matter.

Sciant pręſentes & futuri quòd ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, conceſsi, & hac præſenti mea carta confirmaui Ioanni de Bradburne Clerico & Alicię vxori ſuę, & hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeūtibus, vnam particulam curtilagij mei (videlicet) centum pedes in longitudine, & triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentis & aiſiamentis, eidem placeæ pertinētibus: Habendum & tenendum eidem Ioanni & Alicię & eorum hæredibus legitime procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hęredibus meis vnum florem Roſę ad feſtum Natiuit. S. Ioannis Baptiſtę pro omnibus. Et ego prędictus Williel Basket & hęredes mei prędictam placeam cum aiſiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & contra omnes gentes defendemns. Et ſi contingat (quòd abſit) quòd prędictus Ioannis & Alicia ſine hęredibus de corporibus eorum legitimè procreatis obierint, quòd prędicta placea ſine alicuius cōtradictione reuertatur. Et vt hęc mea donatio, cōceſsio, & præſentis cartę meę confirmatio rata ſit & ſtabilis permaneat, huic pręſenti cartę ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Richardo de Longdun, Rob. Brag, Rog. Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Ioanne Glākirion & alijs. Datum apud Yelgraue in feſto S. Ioannis ante portam Latinam. Anno Domini 1313.

Dated An. 1314. which was An. R. Edw. R. 1. octauo.

11. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Sciant pręſentes & futuri quòd ego Rogerus le Potter hæres Aliciæ filię Williel. de Downedale de parua Ridware dedi, cōceſsi, & hæc pręſenti carta mea confirmaui magiſtro Richardo de Hampton Clerico & Margaretę vxori eius, & hęredibus vel aſsignatis prędicti Rich omnes terras & tenementa mea quę habeo in diuerſis locis in feodo de parua Ridware: Habend. & tenend. omnes prędictas terras & tenementa cum pertinentijs eorū prædictis Rich. & Margaretę vxori eius & hęredibus vel aſsignatis prędicti Rich. de capitali Domino feodi illius per ſeruitia debita & de iure conſueta, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum. Et ego verò prædictus Rogerus & hæredes mei omnes prędictas terras & tenementa cum omnibus partinentijs eorum, prædictis Rich. & Margaretę vxori eius & hęredibus vel aſsignatis prędicti Rich. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic pręſenti cartę ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Iulian, Roberto Ka, Edmund le Walſhemon, Williel. le Flecher, & alijs. Datum apud paruam Ridware die Lunę proximo poſt feſtum S. Gregorij Papę, Anno regni Regis Edwardi 3 poſt Conqueſtum 28.

Scriptum Rogeri le Potter fact. M. Rich. de Hampton Clerico & Margareta vx. eius, de terris in feodo de parua Ridware in Com. Staff.

Dated An. R. Edw. R. 3. 28. which was An. 1353.

¶ The originals of theſe 11. peeces of euidences laſt recited I receiued, in the writing of this ſtory, of a right honeſt and worſhipfull Gentleman called M. Iohn Forde, a ſtudent of the lawes in the Inner Temple: in whoſe handes (I truſt after the finiſhing of this ſtory) ſhal remaine to be ſeene of them that ſhall deſire the ſame.

M. Iohn Ford hath 11. peeces of Euidences for prieſtes mariages.

1. The copies of other Euidences touching the ſame matter, receiued of Maſter Iohn Hunt.

Sciant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Phillippus Poupu de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſsi, & hac præſenti carta mea cōfirmaui Henrico de Denardiſtone Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, pro ſeruitijs eorum & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentijs, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout bundæ teſtantur, in campo vocato Grenecroſt, in villa de parua Bradley, iacentem inter terram meam ex parte vna, & terram prædicti Henrici ex parte altera, vno capite abuttante ſuper Cœmeterium de parua Bradley, & alio capite abuttante ſuper terram prædicti Henrici: Habend. & tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico & Aliciæ vxori eius, hæred. & aſsignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicunq; vel quibuſcunq; dict. peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent: dare, vendere, legare vel aſsignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iurè benè, in pace in perpetuum & hereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi ſeruitium inde debitum & conſuetum, videlicet vnum obulum ad Natiuitatem beati Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſeruitijs, conſuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarum ſectis, & ſecularibus demaund. Et ego prædict. Phil. hered. & aſsignat. mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent, prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ vxori eius, heredibus & aſsignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Petro de Walpol. Rich. de Hanuile. Williel. Waſtell, Hugone Waſtell, Thoma de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, & alijs.

Carta feoffa. Phil. poup. de parua Bredley; fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, de terris in Grenecroſt, in villa de parua Bradley in Com. Suff.

2. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Omnibus Chriſti fidelib⁹ ad quos præſens ſcriptum peruenerit, Williel. le Bygod, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. Nouerit vniuerſitas veſtra me dediſſe, cōceſsiſſe, remiſiſſe, ac omninò tam pro me quam pro hęredibus meis in perpetuum, quietū clamaſſe Hērico de Denardiſton Clerico & Alicię vxori eius, hered. & aſsignat. eorum totum ius & clameum quòd habui vel habere potui aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagijs, wardis, releuijs, eſchaetis, libertatibus & omnibus pertinent. ſuis, quę in aliquo modo ſeu tempore facere debuerunt vel conſueuerunt pro terris & tenement. quę quondam fuerunt Rich. Poupy in villa de parua Bradley, & in alijs terris & tenement, quę vel quas prędict. Henr. & Alicia tenent vel tenuerunt de me ſeu de feodo meo die confectionis pręſentium in prędicta villa de parua Bradley: Ita quòd ego Williel prędict. nec hęred mei nec aliquis nomine noſtro amodò in pręmiſsis aliquid iuris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vendicare poterimns in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic pręſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne Maueyſin, Rich Berçar. Henr. Maueyſin, Ioh. Berçar, Williel. Waſtel, Hug. Waſtel. Wil. Attegrene, Walt. Berçar, & alijs.

Carta relaxationis Williel. le Bygod tunc Domini de parua Bradley fact. Henrico Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, & eorum hæredibus.

3. An other euidence touching the like matter.

Carta Reginaldi filij Iordani Wethreſfeld fact. Henrjco de Denardiſtõ Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, de terris in parua ley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Reginaldus filius Iordani de Wethresfeld, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea cõfirmaui Hé. de Denardiſtõ Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius pro homagis & ſeruitijs eorum, & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in *gerſumam, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibns ſuis pertinentijs, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, in villa de parua Bradley, in campo vocato heldhey, iacẽtem inter terram Williel. de Mampford quondam, & terram Ioannis le Rede quondam, ex parte vna in longitudine, & tertam Richar. de Hanuyle ex altera, & abuttat ad vnum caput ſuper terrã Ioannis le Lumbard, & aliud caput ſuper cãpum vocatum Crõdon, cum ſepibus & foueis & omnibus alijs pertinentijs, ad dictã terram ſpectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me hæredibus & aſsignatis meis, prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ vxori eius, heredibus & aſsignatis dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict, Henr. prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentijs prædict. dare vendere vel aliquo modo aſsignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iure, benè, in pace & hereditariè; Reddendo inde annuatim mihi hæredibus, & aſsignat. meis, vnàm roſam ad feſtum natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſeruitijs, conſuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarum ſectis & ſecularibus demaundis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, heredes, & aſsignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædictam terram cum ſepibus & foueis & omnibus alijs pertinentijs prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ vxori eius, heredibus, & aſsignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. ſeruitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne Maueyſin, Petro de Walepol. Ricard. de Hanuyle, Ricard. Bercar, Hen. Maueyſin, Ioanne Bercar, Williel. Waſtel, Hugone Waſtel, Thom. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, & alijs.

* Gerſuma ſignifieth money payd before hand. which we call a fine.

4. An other euidence of like effect.

Carta Rich. Hanuile de parua Bradley fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius & eorum hæredibus de terris in parua Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Richard. de Hanuyle de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſsi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henr. de Denardéſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, cũ omnibus pertinent, in parua Bradley in campo vocato Mortecroſt, pro homagijs & ſeruitijs eorũ, & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, iacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex vtraq; parte, & vnum caput abuttat ſuper campum vocat. Wodcraft. Habend. & tenend. de me, hæred. vel aſsignatis meis, ipſis, hæred. & aſsignat. eorum, vel cuicunq; vel quibuſcũq; dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinẽtijs, dare, vẽdere, legare, vel aſsignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iure benè, in pace & hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad feſtum Sancti Michaelis vnum denarium, & ad Paſcha vnum denarium pro omnibus ſeruitijs conſuetudinibus, auxilijs, Curiæ ſectis & ſecularibus demaundis. Et ego prædict. Ricar. hæred. & aſsignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentijs prædictis, Henrico & Aliciæ vxori eius, hæred. & aſsignat. eorum per prædictum ſeruitium cõtra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillũ meũ appoſui: His teſtibus, Petro de Walepol, Williel. Waſtel, Hugone Waſtel, Ric. Bercar, Henr. Maueyſin, Ioanne Bercar, Rob. de Ponte, Williel. Picot, & alijs.

5. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Scriptũ Mathei de Raclide, fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius de terris in parua Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quòd ego Mathæus de Racliſde dedi, conceſsi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Amiciæ vxori eius, hæred. & aſsignat. dict. Henrici, vnam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Ricard. de Hanuyle ex vna parte, & terram dict. Henrici de Denardiſton ex alia parte, & vnam caput abuttat ſuper viam vocatam Lebreddich, & aliud caput ſuper terram Ricar. de Hanuyle antedict. Habend. & tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, & cuicunque vel quibuſcunque prædictus Henr. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel aſsignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iurè, benè, in pace, hæreditariè in perpetuũ: faciendo capitali Domino feodi ſeruitia inde de iure debita & conſueta. Et ego prædict. Mathæus & heredes mei prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. (vt prædictum eſt) prædict. Henr. & Aliciæ, hered. & aſsignat. dict. Henr. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſygillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ricard. de Hanuyle, Ioanne de Stonham, Ioanne Godfrey, Williel. Waſtel. Clement. de Bures, & alijs. Datum apud paruam Bradley, die Lunæ in quindena Sancti Michaelis. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi, octauo.

Dated An. R. Edw. R. 2. 8. which was An. D. 1315.

6. An other euidence touching the ſame.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Richardus de Louerhal de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſsi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Amiciæ vxori eius, & hæred. dict. Henr. vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Peterfeld, inter terram Henrici Coſin ex vna parte, & terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, vno capite abbuttante ſuper croftam Williel. Attegaene, & alio capite ſuper le Ouerhallmede: Habend. & tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, prædict. Henr. & Aliciæ & hered. dict. Henr. cuicunque & quibuſcunque dictam peciam terræ dare, vẽdere, vel aſsignare voluerint, liberè, quietè iure, benè, in pace, hereditariè, in feodo & in perpetuum: faciẽdo eidem capitali Domino feodi ſeruitia inde de iure debita. Et conſueta Et ego prædict. Ricar. & hered. mei pręd. peciam terræ præd. Henr. & Aliciæ & hered. dict. Henr. & ſuis aſsignat. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ricar. de Hanuyle, Ioanne Godfrey, Ioanne de Stonham, Williel. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Williel. Aleyne, & alijs. Datum apud paruam Bradley die dominica proxima poſt feſtum Paſchale. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi. 10.

7. An other euidence touching the like matter.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd Ego Clemens de Cloptone, conceſsi, dedi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Ioanne de Boſco de Coulynge Clerico & Baſiliæ vxori eius & hæredibus præd Ioannis, tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs in Coulynge, ſiue ſit ibi maius ſiue minus prout ſimul iacent inter terram domini Roberti de Aſpal ex parte vna, & terram quõdam Ioannis le Pogeys ex alia, vno capite abuttante ſuper viam communem, & alio ſuper terram quondam prædict. Ioannis Pogeys: Habend. & tenend. prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. prędict. Ioanni & Baſilię & hered prædict. Ioannis de capitalibus Domini feodi illius per ſeruitia inde debita & de iure conſueta. Et ego prędictus Clemens & heredes mei, prædictis Ioanni & Baſiliæ & hęred. prędict. Ioannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic pręſenti chartæ ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Thoma de Caldebeke, Ricard. Farewell, Ioanne de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, & Williel. le Paumer. Datum apud Coulynge die dominica proxima poſt feſtum Sancti Lucæ Euangeliſtæ. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regi, Edwardi, tertiodecimo.

¶ All the Originals of theſe ſeuen ſeuerall peeces of Euidences, ỹ true copyes whereof are here before inſerted and laſt recited, at this preſent (videlicet) this 23. of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord. 1575. are in the cuſtody and do remayne among the Euedences, and writinges of Iohn Hunt of Eſſe alias Aſhen, in the Countie of Eſſex Eſquire, and are pertayning, and belonging to his Mannor of Ouerhall, alias Parua Breadley aforeſayd, in the County of Suffolke. At whoſe handes they are eaſily at this preſent and long time (I truſt) after the writing of this hiſtorye, ſhall remayne to be ſeene, of good record, if any man eyther be deſirous of ỹ ſight thereof, or doubtfull of the truth of the ſame.

Although theſe Inſtrumentes and Euidences aboue here ſpecified, be of themſelues euident & playn enough, ſo that no man can reaſonable obiect any thing to the contrary: yet to ſtop the mouthes of all ſuche wranglers and cauillers, who being ſatiſfied with no truth, wil here peraduenture take ſome occaſion vpon this word Clericus, ſo oftentimes named in theſe Euidences aforeſayd, to obiect ỹ this word may as well be taken for other, as for Prieſtes therefore, to preuent the cauilling obiections of ſuch, thys ſhalbe briefly to reply thereunto, that in the cõmon lawes of this realme, in all giftes or feoffmentes made to any ſpirituall perſon (vnles he be ſome graduate of Diuinitie in ỹ ſchooles) the ſayde ſpirituall perſon is named by no other terme, but by ỹ word Clericus: as by diuers places, as well in the printed bookes, as in old Regiſters and writings of the Lawyers, as well in the common law, as Statute law remayneth of Recorde very euident to be ſeene. Some ſpecial notes wherof as well for the eaſe of the Reader in the ſearch of the ſame, as alſo for the further ſatiſfying of ſome who peraduenture ſhall want the bookes, I thought good here to exhibite in forme and tenour as foloweth.

Certaine notes how this word Clericus is taken in the Lawe bookes.

SI Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad Coronã pertineat, areſtatus fuerit, & poſtmodum per pręceptum domini regis in Balliũ traditus, vel replegiatus extiterit, ita quòd

hi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium eum habeant coram Iuſticiarijs, non amercientur de cætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium, nec alij plegij ſui, ſi corpus ſuum habeât coram Iuſticiarijs, licet coram eis propter priuilegium clericale reſpondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter Ordinarios ſuos.

An other Note.

Rex & anteceſſores ſui a tempore cuius contrarij memoria non exiſtit, vſi ſunt quòd Clerici ſuis immorantes obſequijs, dum obſequijs illis intenderint, ad reſidentiam in ſuis beneficijs faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in præiudicium Eccleſiaſticæ libertatis quòd pro Rege & republica neceſſarium inuenitur.

An other Note.

Clericus ad Eccleſiam confugiens pro felonia, pro immunitate Eccleſiaſtica obtinenda, ſi aſſerit ſe eſſe Clericum, regnũ non compellatur abiurare, ſed legi regni ſe reddens, gaudebit Eccleſiaſtica libertate, iuxta laudabilem conſuetudinem regni hactenus vſitatam.

An other Note.

Appellatori in forma debita tanquam Clerico per Ordinarium petito libertatis Eccleſiasticæ beneficium non negabitur.

In the Statute intituled Articuli Cleri, made onely for the benefite of the Clergie. An.R.Edwardi.R. 2.nono. are diuers notes to like effect.

But what nedeth many arguments for the prouſe hereof? The Statutes and law bookes of this Realme are very full of them in diuers and many places, beſides the preſidents, for the forme of geuing of benefices, whereof none are capable, but ſuch as are ſpiritual men & of the Clergie, wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or terme in the Latin toung, then Clerici, for the moſt part, not in the kyngs owne graunt or the Lord Chauncellours, or any other ſubiectes of his, as very well appeareth both by diuers olde wrytten Preſidents whych haue bene ſhewed vnto me, & alſo by the formes of preſentations collected & ſet forth for the inſtruction of ſuch as are ignoraunt, or not very perfite in the order of them, in a Printed booke called The booke of ſundrie Inſtrumentes. In whyche fourme in the ſayd booke the words in the kings graunt be theſe: Rex Reuerendiſsimo in Chriſto.&c. ad Eccleſiam Parochialem de N. veſtræ dioceſis modo per mortem vltimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad noſtram donationem pleno iure ſpectantem, dilectum Capellanum noſtrum A.B.Clericũ, intuitu charitatis vobis præſentamus, & mandamus vti dictum A.Capellanum noſtrum ad præfatam Eccleſiam admittere, eumque Rectorem eiuſdem inſtituere, cum ſuis iuribus.&c.

But if the preſentation be from a Knight, an Eſquier, or a Gentleman, then theſe words Capellanum noſtrum are alwayes left out, as in the ſayd booke apeareth in this ſort. Reuerendo in Chriſto patri.&c. A.B.de N.ad Eccleſiam de N predictam veſtræ dioc.modo per mortem T.D.vltimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad meam præſentationem pleno iure ſpectantem, dilectum mihi in Chriſto Iacobum P.Clericum veſtræ paternitati præſento, humiliter rogans quatenus prefatum I. ad dictam Eccleſiam admittere, ipſumque in Rectorem eiuſdem Eccleſiæ inſtitui & induci facere velitis cum ſuis Iuribus & pertinentijs vniuerſis.&c. As in the ſaide booke is more at large to be ſene or peruſed.

Thus I doubt not, louing reader, but by theſe ſo plaine Euidences aboue prefixed, thou haſt ſufficiently to vnderſtand, that thys violent reſtrainte of Prieſtes lawful Mariage wythin this Realme of England, is of no ſuche long reach and antiquitie, as hath bene thought of many, and al by reaſon of ignorãce of hyſtories, and courſe of times. So that briefly as in a Summary Table to comprehende that whole effect hereof:

Firſt about the yeare of our Lord. 946. to the profeſſion of ſingle life, and diſplacing of mariage began to come into exãple here in England, by reaſon of S. Benets monks, which then began to encreaſe hereabout the time of King Edgar, and eſpecially by the meanes of Oſwald biſhop of Yorke, Odo and Dunſtane, Archbiſhops of Canterburie, and Ethelwolde Biſhop of wint. ſo that in diuers Cathedral churches, and biſhops Seas, monkes with theyr profeſſed ſinglenes of life, crept in, & maried Miniſters (which were then called ſecular Prieſtes) with their wiues out of ſondry Churches were diſpoſſeſſed not from wyues, but onely from their places: and yet not in all Churches, but onely in certaine, whereof read before, page 198.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope Nicolas 2. An, 1060, of Alexander, and Hildebrande, came into ye ſea of Canterbury an other Monke called Lanfranke, who alſo being a promoter of thys profeſſed chaſtitie, made the Decree more generall, that all Prebendaries being maried in anye Churches, ſhoulde be diſplaced: yet the Prieſtes in Townes and villages ſhoulde not be compelled to leaue theyr maried wiues, vnleſſe they would.

Laſt of all folowed monkiſh Anſelme. an. 1106. by whõ was made this law of Wincheſter aforeſayd, that Prieſts, Archdeacons, Deacons, & ſubdeacons, whiche had wyues & ſpiritual liuing, ſhoulde be put from them both, and alſo that none after ſhuld be admitted to their orders, but ſhuld firſt profeſſe ſingle life, that is, to liue without wiues. And thus much concerning prieſtes mariage forbidden. ¶1166.

Let vs adde moreouer to theſe euidences aboue rehearſed, for more confirmation of the ancient vſe and liberty of prieſts mariage an other teſtimonie or two out of like ancient records with like plaine wordes declaring vnto vs, howe the matrimony of Prieſts, before the time of Lanckfranke aforeſaid was no ſtraunge example in the Church, and firſt we wil inſerre the words of an old Martyrologe pertaining to the Recordes of Canterburie. The wordes of whych Martyrologe be theſe.

Ex antiq. Martyrilogio Eccleſiæ Cant.

Lanfrancus Archiep. reddidit Eccleſię S. Andreę, quia de iure ipſius Eccleſię antiquitus fuerunt, in Suthrege, Mutelac, Lõdoniæ, monaſterium Sanctę Mariæ, cum terris & domibus, quas Liuingus Pręsbyter & vxor illius Londonię habuerunt.

Liuingus Præſbiter cum vxore.

To this alſo may be adioyned an other like antiquitie out of an olde wrytten hiſtory belonging to the church of S. Aſſaph, after the time of Lanfranke, as foloweth.

Anno Domini, 1261. ex antiq. libro
Aſſaphenſi manu ſcripto.

De Clerico vxorato receptante publicè *forbonizatum ſcienter, & poſsit contra ipſum probari, nobis videtur quòd tenetur reſpondere in foro Eccleſiaſtico. Si verò facit reſidentiam in terra principis, & cõtingat ipſum mulctari, tota mulcta ſua principi debetur. Si verò reſidentiam in terra Epiſcopi facit, mulcta diuidatur inter Epiſcopum & Principem. Si verò vxor alicuius talis ſcienter vel nolenter in eius abſentia receptauerit, Mulier in foro Eccleſiaſtico reſpondeat, & Clericus ratione ſui facti, nõ puniatur, nec pro ea (niſi velit) reſpondere cogatur.

¶Forbonizatum is a Saxõ terme and ſignifieth as much, as a man outlawed.

Neither is the teſtimonie of Mantuanus vnworthye alſo hereunto to be added, wryting in the life of Hilarius Biſhop of Pictauium, as followeth.

Ex Mantuano.

Integras vitę, legum prudentia cultus
Cœlicolûm, tutela inopum, diadema, pedumq;
Pictauienſe tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum viuis tibi, ſorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente, tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obſtitit vxor
Legitimo coniuncta toro, non horruit illa
Tempeſtate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tędas.
Sola erat in pretio, quę nunc incognita virtus
Sordet & attrito viuit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quę ſunt conubia contra,
Eſſe malas quidam perhibent Prudentia patrum
Non ſatis aduertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuſet,
Quid valeat natura pati. Ceruicibus, aiunt,
Hoc inſuaue iugum noſtris imponere Chriſtus
Noluit, iſtud onus quod adhuc quàm plurima monſtra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius eſſe volunt, qua lex diuina ſinebat
Iſſe via, veterumq; ſequi veſtigia patrum:
Quorum vita fuit melior cum coniuge, quàm nunc
Noſtra ſit excluſis thalamis & coniugis vſu.

The ſixt Article touching Auricular confeſsion.

Of confeſſion three kindes we find in the ſcriptures expreſſed and approued. The firſt is our confeſſion priuately or publikely made vnto God alone: and thys confeſſion is neceſſary for all men at all times. Wherefore S. Iohn ſpeaketh: If we confeſſe our ſinnes, he is faythfull to forgeue vs.&c.

Three kindes of confeſſion: Confeſſion to God. 1.Iohn.1.

The ſecond is the confeſſion which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confeſſion alſo hath place when any ſuch thing is committed, whereof riſeth a publicke offence and ſclaunder to the Church of God: As amples of penitentiaries in the primitiue Church, & Melciades and other. &c.

Priuate confeſſion to our brother.
Math.5.

The thirde kinde of confeſſion is that, which we make priuately to our brother. And thys confeſſion is requiſite, whẽ either we haue iniuried or by any way damnified our neighbor, whether he be rich or poore. Wherof ſpeaketh the Goſpel: Go aud reconcile thy ſelfe firſt vnto thy neighbour.&c. Alſo S. James: Confeſſe your ſelues one to another.&c. Or els this confeſſion may alſo haue place, whẽ any ſuch thing lieth in our conſcience, in the opening whereof we ſtande in neede of the counſell & comfort of ſome faithfull brother. But herein muſt we vſe diſcretiõ in auoiding theſe poyntes of blinde ſuperſtition. Firſt that we put therein no neceſſitye for remiſſion of our ſinnes, but to vſe therein oure owne voluntarye diſcretion, according as we ſee it expedient for the better ſatiſfying of our troubled minde. The ſecond is, that we be not bound to any ennumeration of our ſinnes. The thirde, that we tie not our ſelues to any one perſone, more then to an other, but to vſe therein our free choyſe, whome we thinke can geue vs the beſt ſpirituall counſell in the Lord.

Iacob.5.

Certaine pointes of ſuperſtition to be auoyded in priuate confeſſion.

But as there is nothyng in the Churche ſo good and ſo ghoſtly, which through peuiſhe ſuperſtitiõ either hath not, or may not be peruerted: ſo thys confeſſion alſo hath not lacked his abuſes. Firſt the ſecret confeſſion to God alone, as it hath ben counted inſufficient, ſo hath it ben but lightly eſteemed of many. The publike confeſſion to the congregation hathe bene turned to a ſtandinge in a ſheete, or elſe hath bene bought out for money. Furthermore, the ſecreat breaking of a mans minde to ſome faithful or ſpiritual brother, in diſcloſing hys infirmitie or temptatiõs, for counſel and godly comfort, hath bene turned into auricular confeſſion in a Prieſtes eare for aſſoyling of his ſinnes. In the which auriculare cõfeſſion, firſt of the free libertie of the penitent in vttering his griefs, they haue made a mere neceſſitye, and that vnto ſaluation and remiſſion of ſinnes. Secondly, they require withal, ennumeration and a full recitall of all ſinnes whatſoeuer: both great and ſmall, alſo beſids yͤ neceſſity of this eare confeſſiõ, they adde therto a preſcription of time, at leaſte once in the yeare for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confeſſed: making moreouer of the ſame a ſacrament. And laſtly, where as before it ſtoode in the voluntary choyſe of a man to open his hart to what ſpirituall brother he thought beſt, for an eaſement of his griefe & ghoſtly conſolation, they binde him to a Prieſt (vnleſſe ſome Frier come by the waye to be his ghoſtly father) to whome he muſt needes confeſſe all, whatſoeuer he hath done, and though he lacke the key of knowledge, and peraduẽture of good diſcretion, yet none muſt haue power to aſſoyle him, but he through the authority of hys keyes.

4. or 5. abuſes in auricular confeſſion.

1. neceſſity.
2. Enumeration of ſinnes.
3. Preſcription of tyme,
4. Confeſſion made a Sacrament.
5. To a Prieſt onely.

And this manner of confeſſion, ſay they, was inſtituted by Chriſte, and hys Apoſtles, and hathe bene vſed in the Church euer ſince to this preſent day. Which is a moſt manifeſt vntruth, and eaſie by ſtoryes to be conuinced.

Socrat. Lib.5. cap.19.
SoZo. Lib.7. cap.16.

For Socrates lib.5.cap.19. Sozom. lib.7. cap.16. in yͤ booke of Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, do geue vs plainly to vnderſtand, that thys Auricular confeſſion neuer came of Chriſte, but onely of men.

Beat. Rhenanus in argum. libel. Tertulliani de penitentia.

Item, in the time of Tertullian, Beat. Rhenanus teſtifieth, that there was no mention made of thys Auriculare confeſſion. Which may well be gathered thereof, for that Tertullian wryting vpon repentaunce, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Chriſoſt. in Pſa. 30. hom.1.

Item, in the tyme of Chryſoſtome, it appeareth there was no ſuch aſſoyling at the Prieſts hands, by theſe wordes where he ſayeth: I require thee not that thou ſhouldeſt cõfeſſe thy ſinnes to thy fellowe ſeruaunt. Tell them vnto God, who careth for them.

Chryſoſt. in hom. de penit. & confeſſione.

Item, the ſayde Chryſoſtome in an other place wryting vpon repentance, and confeſſion: Let the examination of thy ſinnes, and thy iudgement (ſayth he) be ſecrete and cloſe without witneſſe. Let God onely ſee and heare thy confeſsion. &c.

De penit. diſt.1. Petrus in Gloſa.

Item, in the time of Ambroſe, De pœnit. Diſt.1. Petrus, the gloſe of the Popes owne decrees recordeth: That the inſtitution of Baptiſme was not then begonne, which nowe in oure dayes is in vſe.

De penit Diſt.5 in principio.

Item, it is truely ſayd therfore of the Gloſe in another place, where he teſtifieth: That this inſtitution of penance began rather of ſome tradition of the vniuerſall church, then of any authoritie of the new Teſtament, or of the olde. &c.

Eraſm. in Schol. in Epitaphium fabiolæ.

The lyke alſo teſtifieth Eraſm. wryting vpon Hierome in theſe wordes. Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum inſtitutam fuiſſe. &c. That is: It appeareth, that in the time of Hierome, this ſecrete confeſsion of ſinnes was not yet ordained, whiche the church afterwarde did inſtitute holeſomely, if out Prieſts and lay men woulde vſe it rightly. But heerein, diuines not conſidering aduiſedly what the olde doctours do ſay, are much deceiued. That which they ſay of general and open confeſsion, they wraſt by and by to this priuie and ſecrete kinde of confeſsion, which is farre diuers, and of an other ſort. &c.

The like teſtimony may alſo be taken of Gracian himſelfe, who ſpeaking of confeſſion vſed then in hys tyme, leaueth the matter in doubtfull ſuſpenſe, neither pronouncinge on the one ſide, nor on the other, but referreth yͤ matter to the free iudgement of the Readers, which the acte of theſe ſix Articles here enioyneth as neceſſary, vnder paine of death.

Briefly, in fewe wordes to ſearche out and notifie the very certaine time, when this Article of eare confeſſion firſt crept into the Church, & what antiquitie it hath in following the Iudgement of Ioannes Scotus, and of Antoninus, it may be well ſuppoſed, that the inſtitution thereof tooke his firſt origine by Pope Innocent the thirde, in hys Councell of Laterane, An.1215. For ſo we reade in Ioannes Scotus Lib.4. Sent. Diſt.17. Artic.3. Præcipua autem ſpecificatio huius præcepti inuenitur in illo cap. Extra. de pœnit. & remiſs. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus. &c. And after in the ſame Article it followeth: Nam ex prima inſtitutione Eccleſiæ non videntur fuiſſe Diſtincti proprij ſacerdotes. Quando enim Apoſtoli hinc & inde ibant prædicando verbum Dei. &c. By the which wordes it appeareth that there was no inſtitution of any ſuche confeſſion ſpecified before the conſtitution of Innocentius the thirde.

But more plainly the ſame may appeare by the wordes of Antoninus in 3. parte Hiſtor. Whyche be theſe Innocentius tertius in Concilio generali prædicto, circa Sacramenta confeſſionis & communionis ſic ſtatuit: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus fidelis, poſtquam ad annum diſcretionis peruenerit, omnia peccata ſua ſolus ſaltem ſemel in anno confiteatur proprio ſacerdoti, & iniunctam ſibi pœnitentiam proprijs viribus ſtudeat adimplere, alioqui & viuens ab ingreſſu Eccleſiæ arceatur, & moriens Chriſtiana careat ſepultura. Vnde hoc ſalutare ſtatutum frequenter in Eccleſijs publicetur: ne quiſquam ignorantiæ cœcitate velamen excuſationis aſſumat. &c. That is to ſay. Pope Innocent the 3. in hys generall Councell aforeſayde, touching the Sacraments of confeſſion and the communion, made this conſtitution as followeth. That euery faithfull perſon, both man & woman, after they come to the yeares of diſcretion, ſhall confeſſe all their ſinnes by themſelues alone, at leaſt once a yeare, to their owne ordinarie prieſt, and ſhall endeuour to fulfil by their owne ſtrength, their penance to them enioyned. Or els who ſo doth not, ſhall neither haue entraunce into the Churche being aliue, nor being dead ſhall enioy Chriſtian buriall. Wherefore rhis wholeſome conſtitution we wil to be publiſhed often in the Churches, leaſt any manne throughe the blindeneſſe of ignoraunce maye make to them ſelues a cloke of excuſe. &c. And thus much hetherto we haue alledged by occaſion incident of theſe ſixe Articles for ſome part of confutation of the ſame, referring the reader for the reſt, to the more exquiſite tractation of Diuines, whyche profeſſedlye wryte vpon thoſe matters.

In the meane time, for aſmuche as there is extante in Latin a certaine learned Epiſtle of Philippe Melancthon, wrytten to king Henrye againſte theſe vj. wicked Articles aboue ſpecified, I thought not to defraud the reader of the fruit therof, for his better vnderſtanding and inſtruction. The tenour and effect of hys Epiſtle tranſlated into Engliſh, thus followeth.

The Copie of Melancthons Epiſtle ſent to king Henry, againſt the cruel Acte of the vj. Articles.

Moſte famous and noble Prince, there were certayne Emperours of Rome, as Adrianus, Pius, and afterward the two brethren Verus and Marcus, which did receiue gently the Apologies and defences of the Chriſtiãs: whych ſo preuailed with thoſe moderate Princes, that they ſwaged theyr wrath againſt the Chriſtians, and obtained mitigation of theyr cruell Decrees. Euen ſo, for aſmuch as there is a Decree ſet forth of late in your Realme againſt that doctrine whyche we profeſſe, both godly and neceſſary for the Churche, I beſeeche your moſte honourable Maieſtie fauorably both to read & conſider this our complaint, eſpecially ſeeing I haue not onely for our owne cauſe, but much rather for the common ſauegarde of the Churche, directed this my wryting vnto you. For ſeyng thoſe heathen Princes did bothe admitte and allowe the defences of the Chriſtians, how much more is it beſeeming for a king of Chriſtian profeſſion, and ſuch a one as is occupied in yͤ ſtudies of holy hiſtories, to heare the complaints and admonitions of the godly in the Churche? And ſo muche the more willingly I wryte vnto you, for that you haue ſo fauorably heeretofore receiued my letters, to a ſingular declaration of your *beneuolẽce towardes me. This alſo giueth me ſome hope that you wil not vnwillingly read theſe things, for aſmuch as I ſee that the very phraſe & manner of wryting doth playnly declare, not your ſelfe, but onely the byſhops to be the authors of thoſe articles and decrees there ſet forth: Albeit, through theyr wily and ſubtile ſophiſtications, they haue induced you (as it happened to manye other worthy princes beſides you) to condeſcend and aſſent vnto thẽ: as the rulers perſwaded Darius beyng otherwiſe a wiſe and a iuſt prince, to caſt Daniel vnto ẏ Lyons.

It was neuer vnſeemely for a good prince to correct & reforme cruell and rigorous lawes (as it is commõly ſaid) to haue a ſecond viewe and ouerſight of things before paſſed and decreed.

The wiſe Athenians made a Decree when the Cittye of Mitilene was recouered, which before had forſaken thẽ that all the Citizens there ſhould be ſlayn, and the citty vtterly deſtroied. Wherupon there was a ſhip ſent forth with the ſame commaundement to the armye. On the nexte morow the matter was brought agayne before the ſame iudges, and after better aduiſe taken, there was a contrary decree made, that the whole multitude ſhould not be put to ẏ ſword, but a fewe of the chiefe authors of theyr rebellion, ſhould be puniſhed and the Citty ſaued. There was therefore an other ſhip ſent forth wᵗ a countermaund in all haſte to ouertake and preuent theyr former ſhip, as alſo it happened. Neither was that noble citty which then ruled and reigned farre and wide, aſhamed to altar and reform their former Decree. Many ſuche examples there be, the moſt part wherof, I am ſure are wel knowne vnto you. But in the Church eſpecially, Princes haue many times altered & reformed their Decrees, and Nabuchodonoſor & Darius. There was a Decree ſet forth in the name of Aſſuerus, cõcerning the killing of the Iewes. That Decree was afterwardes called in again. So did Adrianus and Antoninus alſo correct and reforme their Decrees.

Therefore, although there be a decree ſet forth in England, which threatneth ſtraunge puniſhmentes and penalties, diſagreeing from the cuſtome of the true Church, and ſwaruing from the rules & Canons thereof: yet I thought it not vnſeemely for vs to become peticioners vnto you, for the mitigation of theſe your ſharpe and ſeuere procedings. The which when I conſider, it greeueth my minde, not onely for the perill and daunger of them which profeſſe the ſame doctrine that we doe, but alſo I doe lament for youre cauſe, that they ſhould make you an inſtrument and a miniſter of their bloudye tyrannie and impietie. And partly alſo I lament, to ſee the courſe of Chriſtian doctrine peruerted, ſuperſtitious rites confirmed, whoredome and lecherous luſtes maintained.

Beſides al this, I here of diuers good mẽ, excelling both in doctrine and vertue, to be there deteined in priſonne, as Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton and others, to whom I wiſh ſtrength, pacience, & conſolation in the Lord. Unto whom albeit there can nothyng happẽ more luckely or more gloriouſly, then to geue their liues in the confeſſion of the maniſeſt truth and veritie: yet would I wiſh that you ſhould not diſtaine your handes with the bloude of ſuch menne: neyther woulde I wiſh ſuche Lanternes of lyght in youre Churche, to be extinguiſhed: neither theſe ſpitefull & malicious Phariſeis, the enemies of Chriſte, to haue their wils ſo much fulfilled. Neither againe woulde I wiſh that you ſhoulde ſo muche ſerue the will and deſire of that Romiſhe Antichriſt, which laugheth in his ſleeue to ſee you nowe to take part with him, againſt vs hoping well by the helpe of his biſhops, to recouer againe his former poſſeſſiõ, whych of late by your vertuous and godly meanes be loſt. He ſeeth your Biſhops, for the time, loyall vnto you, and obſequious to obey your wil: but in heart he ſeeth them linked vnto him in a perpetual bond of fidelitie and obedience. In all theſe feates and practiſes, the Romiſh Biſhops are not to ſeeke. They ſee what great ſtormes and blaſtes heretofore they haue paſſed by bearing & ſuffering. They ſee that great things be brought to paſſe in time. Neither doe they forget the olde verſe of the Poete.

Multa, dies variuſque labor mutabilis æui
Retulit in melius.

Manye good and learned men in Germanie conceiued of you great hope, that by your authoritie and example other Princes alſo woulde be prouoked to ſurceaſe likewiſe from their vniuſt crueltie, and better to aduiſe them ſelues for the reformation of errours crept into the Church: truſting that you woulde be as a guide and Captaine of that godly purpoſe and enterpriſe. But nowe ſeeing theſe your contrary proceedings, wee are vtterly diſcouraged: the indignation of other Princes is confirmed: the ſtubburneſſe of the wicked is augmented: and olde and great errors are thereby ſtabliſhed.

But heere your Byſhops will ſay agayne (no doubte) that they defende no errours, but the very truthe of Gods holy worde. And although they be not ignoraunt that they ſtriue in very dede, both againſt the true word of God, and the Apoſtolicke Churche, yet like craftie Sophiſters, they can finde out faire gloſes, pretending a goodly ſhewe outwardly, to colour their errours and abuſes.

And this ſophiſtication not onely now in England is had in great admiration, and eſteemed for great wiſedom, neither in Rome only raigneth, where Cardinal Conterenus, Sadolet, and Cardinall Poole, goe about to paynte out abuſes wyth newe colours and goodly gloſes: but alſo in Germany diuers noble men are likewiſe corrupted and ſeduced wᵗ the like ſophiſtication. And therefore I nothing maruell that ſo manye there wyth you bee deceiued wyth theſe craftie iugglinges. And although you for your parte, lacke neyther learning nor iudgement, yet ſome times we ſee it ſo happen, that wiſe men alſo be caried away by faire and colourable perſwaſions, from the veritie. The ſaying of Simonides is praiſe worthy: Opinion (ſayeth hee) manye times peruerteth veritie. And many times falſe opinion hath outwardly a fairer ſhewe, then ſimple truthe. And ſpecially it ſo happeneth in caſes of religion, where ẏ deuil transformeth himſelfe into an Angel of light, ſetting forth with all colourable & goodly ſhewes, falſe opinions. Howe faire ſeemeth the gloſe of Samoſatenus, vppon the Goſpell of S. Iohn: In the beginning was the word. &c. and yet is it full of impietie, but I omitte forreine examples.

The Biſhops maintaine errors againſt their knowledge.

Falſehood often times beareth a fayrer ſhew the truth.

Iohn. 1.

In theſe articles of yours, how many thinges are craftely & deceitfully deuiſed? Confeſſion ſayth the article, is neceſſary, & ought to be retayned. And why ſay they not plainly, that the rehearſing & numbring vp of ſinnes is neceſſary by Gods word? This the biſhops knew wel to be very falſe, & therfore in the article they placed their wordes generally, to bleare ẏ eies of the ſimple people, that whẽ they heare confeſſion to be neceſſary, they ſhuld thereby thinke the enumeration of ſinnes to be neceſſary by Gods worde.

Confeſſion.

The like legerdimaine alſo they vſe in the article of priuate Maſſes, albeit the beginning the ſayd article conteyneth a maniſeſt vntruth, where they ſay that it is neceſſary to retayne priuate Maſſes. What man in all the primitiue Churche, more then 4. hundreth yeares after the Apoſtles time, did euer ſo ſay or thinke, at what tyme there were no ſuche priuate Maſſes vſed? But afterwarde in the proceſſe of the Article, folowe other blinde ſophiſtications, to make the people beleeue that they ſhould receiue by them, diuine conſolations and benefites. And why doe they not plainely declare what conſolations and benefites thoſe be? The Biſhops here do name no application and merite, for they knowe that they can not be defended. Yet they dally wyth gloſing wordes, whereby they may winde out and eſcape, if any ſhould improue their application. And yet notwithſtanding they would haue this their application to be vnderſtanded and beleeued of the people. They woulde haue this Idolatrous perſwaſion confirmed: to witte, that thys ſacrifice doth merite vnto others, remiſſion A pœna & culpa: releaſe of all calamities, and alſo gaine & luker in common trafficke, and to conclude, what ſoeuer els the carefull heart of man doth deſire.

Priuate Maſſes.

By application of maſſes is ment when the paſſion and merites of Chriſt is applied to any by the vertue of the Maſſe.

The lyke Sophiſtication they vſe alſo, where they ſay that Prieſts mariage is againſt the law of God. They are not ignoraunt what S. Paule ſayth: A Biſhop oughte to be the husband of one wife: and therefore they know right well that Mariage is permitted to Prieſtes by the law of God. But becauſe nowe, they ſay, they haue made a vowe, they goe craftely to worke, and doe not ſay that prieſts for their vowes ſake can not marrie, but plainely geue out the Article after this ſorte: that Mariage of Prieſtes is vtterly againſt the lawe of God. Againe, what impudencie and tyranny do they ſhew moreouer, when they compell mariages to be diſſolued, and command thoſe to be put to death, whych will not put away their wiues, and renounce theyr matrimony? wher as the vow of Prieſts, if it had any force at all ſhould extend no further but onely to put them from the miniſterie if they would mary. And this (no doubt) is the true meaning of the Councels and Canons.

Prieſtes mariage.
1. Tim. 3.

O curſed Byſhops. O impudent and wicked Wincheſter, who vnder theſe colourable fetches, thincketh to deceiue the eyes of Chriſt, and the iudgements of all the godly in the whole worlde. Theſe things haue I wrytten that you may vnderſtand the crafty ſleights, and ſo iudge of the purpoſe and pollicie of theſe Byſhops. For if they woulde ſimply and hartely ſearch for the truth, they would not vſe theſe craftie colluſions and deceitfull iugglings.

Wincheſter cunning in the arte of iugling, called deceptio viſus.

The worde of God ought ſimply to be handled without all ſophiſtrye.

This Sophiſtication, as it is in all other affaires pernitious and odious, ſo aboue al things, moſt ſpecially it is to be auoyded in matters of Religion: wherein it is a heynous impietie to corrupt or peruert the pure word of God. And heereof the Deuill whiche is called Diabolus, ſpecially taketh his name, becauſe he wraſteth the word of God out of mennes hearts by ſuch falſe iuggling and ſophiſtical cauillations. And why do not theſe Biſhops as well plainely vtter and confeſſe that they will abide no reformation of doctrine and Religion in the Church, for that it ſhall make againſt their dignitie, pompe & pleaſure? why do not their adherents alſo, and ſuch as take their part, plainly ſay that they will retaine ſtill thys preſent ſtate of the Churche for their owne profite, tranquilitie, and maintenaunce? Thus to confeſſe, were true and plaine dealing.

The cloked hipocriſie of falſe Papiſtes.

Now, whiles they pretende hypocritically a falſe zeale and loue to the truth and ſincere Religion, they come in wt their blinde ſophiſtications, wherwith they couer their errours: for their Articles ſet forth in thys act be erroneous, falſe & impious, how glorious ſoeuer they ſeme outwardly. Wherfore it were to be wiſhed that theſe biſhops would remember Gods terrible threatning in the prophet Eſay: Wo to you (ſayeth he) which make wicked lawes. What wil you doe in the day of viſitation and calamitie to come? &c. Woe vnto you that call euill good, &c.

Eſa 10.
Eſa. 5.

Mans traditions counted for Gods ſeruice.

Now to come more nere to the matter which we haue in hande: this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkenes hath bene in the church of Chriſt. Mens traditions not onely haue bene a yoke to good mens conſciences, but alſo (which is much worſe) they haue bene reputed for Gods holy ſeruice, to the great diſworſhip of God. There were vowes, thyngs bequeathed to churches, diuerſitie of garments, choice of meats, long babling prayers, pardõs, image worſhip, manifeſt idolatry committed to ſaints, the true worſhip of God and true good workes not knowen. Briefly, little difference there was betwixte the Chriſtian and heathen religion, as ſtil is yet at Rome, to this preſent day, to be ſene. The true doctrine of repentance, of *remiſſion of ſinnes, whych commeth by the faith of Chriſt, of iuſtification of faith, of the difference betweene the lawe and the goſpell, of the right vſe of the Sacramẽts, was hid and vnknowen. The keyes were abuſed to the maintenance of the Popes vſurped tyrannie. Ceremonies of mens inuention were much preferred before ciuile obedience and dueties done in the common wealth.

The filthy life of the Clergy, for lackee of mariage.

Unto theſe errours moreouer was ioyned a corrupte life, full of all lecherous and filthy luſtes, by reaſon of the law forbidding Prieſtes to marrie. Out of thys miſerable darknes, God ſomething hath begon to deliuer his church through the reſtoring againe of true doctrine. For ſo wee muſt needes acknowledge, that theſe ſo great and long feſtred errors haue not ben diſcloſed and brought to light by the induſtry of man, but thys light of the Goſpel, is onely the gift of God, who nowe againe hath appeared vnto the Church. For ſo doth the holy Ghoſt prophecie before, how in the later times the godly ſhould ſuſtaine ſore & perillous conflicts with antichriſt, foreſhewing that he ſhould come, enuironed with a mighty and ſtrong army of Biſhoppes, hypocrites and Princes: that he ſhould fighte agaynſte the truth, and ſlay the godly.

This reſtoring of the Goſpell is onely of God and not of man.

And that now all theſe things are ſo come to paſſe, it is moſt euident, and cã not be denied. The tirannie of the byſhop of Rome hath partly brought in errors into yͤ church, partly hath confirmed them, & nowe maintaineth the ſame with force and violence, as Daniel well foreſhewed. And muche we reioyced to ſee you deuided frõ him, hoping and truſting well that the Church of England would now floriſh. But your Byſhops be not deuided from the Romiſh Antichriſt: his Idolatrie, errours, and vices they defende and maintaine with tooth and naile: for the Articles nowe paſſed, are craftely picked out. They confirme all humane traditions in that they eſtabliſh ſolemne vowes, ſingle life and auricular confeſſion. They vpholde and aduaunce not onely their pride and authoritie, but all errours wythal, in retaining the priuate Maſſe.

By the 6. Articles all errours and traditions are maintayned.

Thus haue they craftily prouided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignitye & wealth may ſtill be vpholden. And this to be the purpoſe of the biſhops, experience it ſelfe doth plainly teach vs. Nowe what man will not lament to ſee the glory of Chriſt thus to be defaced? For (as I ſayde before) this matter concerneth not onely theſe Articles whyche be there enacted, but all other Articles of ſound doctrine are likewiſe ouerthrown, if ſuch traditions of men ſhalbe reputed as neceſſary, and to be retained. For why doeth Chriſte ſay? For they worſhip me in vaine wyth the precepts of men? or why doth S. Paule ſo oft deteſt mennes traditions?

Marke. 7.

It is no light offence to ſet vp new kindes of worſhipping and ſeruing of God without his worde, or to defend the ſame. Such preſumptiõ God doth horibly deteſt, which wil be knowen in his word onely. He wil haue none other Religions inuented by mans deuiſe: for els all ſorts of religions of all nations might be approued & allowed. Leane not (ſayth he) to thine owne wiſdome. But he ſent Chriſt, and commaundeth vs to heare him, & not the inuention of ſubtile and politike heads, which apply religion to their own luker and commoditie.

God will not be worſhipped but after his worde.
Prou. 3.

Furthermore, priuate Maſſes, vowes, the ſingle life of Prieſtes, numbring vp of ſinnes to the Prieſte, wyth other thinges moe, being but mere ordinaunces of men, are vſed for Gods true ſeruice and worſhip. For although the Supper of the Lorde was truely inſtituted by Chriſte, yet the priuate maſſe is a wicked prophanation of the Lords ſupper. For in the Canon what corruption is cõtained in this, where it is ſaid that Chriſt is offered, and that the worke it ſelfe is a ſacrifice which redemeth the quicke and the deade? Theſe things were neuer ordained of Chriſt: yea manifold wayes they are repugnaunt to the Goſpell. Chriſt willeth not him ſelfe to be offered vppe of Prieſtes, neither can the worke of the offerer or of the receiuer, by any meanes, be a ſacrifice. This is manifeſt Idolatry, and ouerthroweth the true doctrine of faith, and the true vſe of the Sacraments. By faith in Chriſt we are iuſtified, and not by any worke of the Prieſt. And the Supper is ordained that the Miniſter ſhould diſtribute to others, to the intent that they repẽting for their ſinnes, ſhoulde be admoniſhed firmely to beleeue the promiſes of the Goſpell to pertaine vnto them: Heere is ſette a plaine teſtimonie before vs, that we are made the members of Chriſt, and waſhed by hys bloude.

Agaynſt p
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of the L
Supper.

And thys is the true vſe of that Supper, whyche is ordained in the goſpel, and was obſerued in the primatiue Churche 300. yeares and more, from the which we oughte not to be remoued. For it is plaine impietie to transferre the Lordes inſtitution to any other vſe, as wee are taughte by the ſeconde commaundement. Wherefore theſe priuate Maſſes, for aſmuche as they ſwarue from the right inſtitution of Chriſt manifold waies, as by oblation, ſacrifice, application, and many other ways beſides, they are not to be reteined but to be aboliſhed. Flie (ſayeth S. Paule) from al Idolatrie. In theſe priuate maſſes muche Idolatrie is committed, which we ſee our biſhops now ſo ſtoutly to defẽd: and no maruell. For in the latter times yͤ ſcripture plainly ſheweth that great Idolatrie ſhall raigne in the Church of God. As Chriſt himſelfe alſo ſignifieth, ſaying: When ye ſhal ſee the abhomination of deſolation, which is foretold of the Prophet Daniel, ſtanding in the holy place, he that readeth, lette him vnderſtande. And Daniel in the 11. chapter. And he ſhall worſhip the God Maozim in his place, and ſhall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. Both theſe places ſpeake of the maſſe.

Sacram
ought n
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ued out
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1. Cor

Math. 24.

Dani.

Thys kinde of worſhip and horrible prophanation of the Sacrament, God abhorreth. For howe many ſundry kindes of manifeſt impiety are here committed in this one action of the Maſſe? Firſt, it is ſet forth to ſale. Secondly, they that are vnworthy, are compelled to receyue whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied for meritorious and ſatiſfactorie for the quicke and the deade. Fourthly, many thynges are promiſed thereby, as proſperous nauigation, remedies againſt diſeaſes both for manne and beaſt, wyth other infinite moe. Theſe be moſt manifeſt and notorious abhominations. But beſides theſe, there be other alſo no leſſe to be reprehended, whych the ſimple people doe not ſo plainly ſee. Such worſhipping and ſeruing of God is not to be ſet vp after the phantaſie of men.

What im
ety is in
Maſſe.

Wherfore they do wickedly when they offer ſacrifice to God without his commaundement. For when of this woorke they make a ſacrifice, they imagine that priuate Maſſes are to be done, becauſe God would be worſhipped after this ſorte, And we ſee that Maſſes are bought with gold and ſiluer, great riches and ſumptuous charges: alſo the Sacrament to be caried about in gold and ſiluer to be worſhipped, whereas the ſacrament was neuer ordeined for any ſuch purpoſe. Wherfore ſeeing the commandement of God biddeth, flie from Idolatry, priuate Maſſes are not to be maintained. And I maruell what they ſaye that ſuch priuate Maſſes are neceſſarily to be reteyned, when it is euident that in the olde time there was none ſuch. Shal we thinke that thinges perteining to the neceſſary worſhip of GOD, could ſo long be lacking in the primatiue Church 300. yeares after the Apoſtles and more? what can be more abſurde and againſt all reaſon?

No pri
Maſſes
in the ol
tyme.

We ſee theſe priuate Maſſes to be defended with great labour and much a doe: of ſome, for feare leſt their gayne ſhould decay: of ſome, becauſe they would ſerue the affection of the vulgare people (whiche thinketh to haue great ſuccour therby, and therefore are loth to leaue it) rather then for any iuſt cauſe or reaſon to lead them. But howſoeuer they do, a moſt manifeſt & euident cauſe there is why theſe priuate Maſſes ought to be aboliſhed. For firſt their application vndoubtedly is wicked: neither doth the work of the prieſt merite any grace to any perſon, but euery one is iuſtified by his owne fayth. Neither againe would God haue any man to truſt vpon any ceremony, but only to the benefite of Chriſt. And moſt certaine it is, that the application of theſe Maſſes for the dead, is ful of great errour and impietie.

But

lication e Maſſe latrous.

But here come in blinde gloſes (albeit to no purpoſe) to excuſe this application. For vniuerſally amongeſt all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwiſe, but that thys worke is auaylable for the whole Church? Yea the Canon of the Maſſe it ſelfe declareth no leſſe. And why then doe ſome of theſe craftie ſophiſters dally out the matter wyth their gloſing wordes, deniyng that they make any application of their Maſſes, when they know full well that the errour of the people is confirmed by this their doing: although they themſelues do thinke otherwiſe? Albeit how few be there in very deede which do otherwiſe thinke?

e olde ution Chriſt is to be red by inuen- s.

We ought not to diſſemble in Gods matters. Let vs vſe them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the auncient cuſtome of the primitiue Church doth leade vs. Why ſhould any man be ſo preſumptuous to ſwerue from auncient cuſtome? why now do they defend the errours of other which haue peruerted the inſtitution of Chriſt?

Now, although ſome perhaps wil pretend and ſay, that he maketh no application of his Maſſes, yet notwithſtanding he ſo dealeth in handling the ceremony priuately by himſelfe, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high ſeruice done to God, and ſuche as God requireth: whiche is alſo erroneous and to be reproued. For why, no ſeruice nor worſhip perteining to God ought to bee ſet vp by mans deuiſe, without the commaundement of God.

Wherefore I beſeeche you for the glorye of Chriſt, that you will not defend the article of this Acte cõcerning theſe priuate Maſſes, but that you will ſuffer the matter to bee well examined by vertuous and learned men. All thinges that we here with vs do, we do them by euident & ſubſtantiall teſtimonie of the primitiue Church, which teſtimonie I dare bee bolde to ſet againſt the iudgementes of all that haue ſince followed, ſuch as haue corrupted the aunciente doctrine and old rites with manifold errours.

ainſt wes of eſtes gle life. he commõ our con- ning wes.

As touching the other articles, they haue no neede of any long diſputation. Vowes that be wicked, fayned, and impoſſible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt, but thys is the common perſwaſion of all men touching vowes, that all theſe wilworkes deuiſed by man, are the true ſeruice and worſhip of God: and ſo thinke they alſo whyche ſpeake moſt indifferently of them. Other adde thereunto more groſſe errours, ſaying, that theſe works bring wyth them perfection, and merite euerlaſting life. Now all theſe opinions the Scripture in manye places doth reproue. Chriſt ſaith: They woorſhip me in vayne wyth the preceptes of men. And Paule ſayth, that theſe obſeruations be the doctrine of deuils: for they aſcribe to the power and ſtrength of man, falſe honour, becauſe they are taken for the ſeruice of God: they obſcure faith and the true worſhipping of God. Item, the ſayd Paule to the Coloſſ. ſayth: Let no man deceyue you by fayned humilitie, &c. Why make you Decrees? &c. wherfore theſe corrupt traditions of men are in deede a wicked and deteſtable ſeruice of God.

rke.7. Tim.4.

oloſſ.

Unto theſe alſo are annexed many other corrupt & wicked abuſes. The whole order of Monkery, what ſuperſtition doth it conteine: what prophanations of Maſſes, inuocation of Saints, colours & faſhions of apparell, choiſe of meates, ſuperſtitious prayers without all meaſure? Of which cauſes euery one were ſufficient, why theſe vowes ought to be broken. Beſides this, a greate part of men are drawne to this kinde of life chiefely for the bellyes ſake, and then afterward they pretend the holines of their vowe and profeſſion.

auſes why wes ght to be oken.

Furthermore, this vowe of ſingle life is not to all men poſſible to be kept, as Chriſt himſelfe ſait: All men do not receiue this. Such vowes therefore whiche without ſinne can not be performed are to be vndone, but theſe things I haue diſcuſſed ſufficiently in other of my workes.

ath.19.

But this cauſeth me muche to maruell, that this vowe of Prieſtes in your Engliſh Decree, is more ſtraite and hard, then is the vowe of Monkes, whereas the Canons themſelues doe bind a Prieſt no farther to ſingle life: but onely for the time that he remaineth in the miniſtery. And certeynely it made my hart to tremble when I reade thys Article which ſo forbiddeth matrimony, and diſſolueth the ſame being contracted, and appointeth moreouer the puniſhment of death for the ſame. Although there haue bene diuers godly Prieſts which in certeyne places haue bene put to death for their mariage, yet hath neuer man hetherto bene ſo bold to ſtabliſh any ſuch lawe. For euery man in a maner, wel perceiued that all well diſpoſed and reaſonable perſons would abhorre that crueltie: and alſo they feared leaſt the poſteritie woulde thinke euill thereof. Who would euer thinke, that in the Church of Chriſt, wherein all lenitie towarde the godly ought moſt principally to be ſhewed, ſuch cruelties and tyrannie could take place, to ſet forth bloudy lawes to be executed vpon the godly for lawfull matrimonie?

e 6. arti- s make e vowe of ieſtes as ight as e vowe of onkes, hich is trary to ir owne e.

lawe of th euer bliſhed Prieſtes riage, be- re the 6. ticles

Why Prieſtes vowes ought not to ſtand.

But they brake their vowes, will the Byſhoppes ſay. For (as I ſayd) that vow ought not to ſtãd ſeing it is turned to a falſe worſhyp of God, & is impoſſible to be kept. Agayne, although it ſtoode in force, yet it ſhould not extend to thẽ which forſake the miniſtery. Finally, if the Biſhops here would haue a care and regarde to mens conſciences, they ſhould then ordaine Prieſtes without any ſuch profeſſion or vow makyng, as appeareth by the old Canons, how that many were admitted to the miniſtery without profeſſing of any vow, and the ſame afterward, when they had maried their wiues, to haue remayned in the miniſtery, as is teſtified Cap. Diaconi. Diſtinct. 28.

Diſt. 28. cap. Diaconi.

Certainely what here I may cõplayne, I can not tell. Firſt, in this Article I can not impute it to ignorãce that they do. For no man is ignorãt of the commaundemẽt of God, which ſayth: Let euery man haue his wife for auoydyng of fornication. Agayne, who is ſo blynd but he ſeeth what a life theſe vnmaried Prieſtes do liue? The complayntes of good mẽ are wel knowen. The filthynes of yͤ wicked is to to manifeſt. But peraduenture your Byſhops holding wͭ the ſect of Epicures, doe thinke that God is not offended with filthy luſtes. Which if they ſo thinke, then doe we ſuſteine doubtleſſe a hard cauſe where ſuch muſt be iudges.

Biſhops reſtraine Prieſtes mariage againſt all reaſon and excuſe.

I am not ignoraunt that this ſingle life is very fitte to ſet out the glory and brauery of Byſhops and Colledges of Prieſtes, & to mainteine their wealth and portely ſtate, and this I ſuppoſe to be the cauſe why ſome do abhorre ſo much that Prieſtes ſhould be maried. But O Lamentable ſtate of the Church, if lawes ſhuld be ſo forced to ſerue, not the veritie and the will of God, but the priuate gayne and commoditie of men. They erre which thinke it lawfull for them to make lawes repugnaunt to the commaũdement of God & to the law of nature, ſo that they be profitable to attaine wealth and riches. And of trouth frõ my very hart I do mourne & lament, right noble Prince, both for your ſake & alſo for the cauſe of Chriſtes Church. You pretende to impugne and gayneſtãd the tyrãny of the Romiſh Byſhop, and truly do call him Antichriſt, as in deede he is: & in the meane tyme you defẽd and maintaine thoſe lawes of that Romiſh Antichriſt, which be the ſtrength & ſinowes of all his power, as priuate Maſſes, ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, & other ſuperſtitions. You threaten horrible puniſhmentes to good men and to the mẽbers of Chriſt, you violently oppreſſe and beare down the veritie of the Goſpell begynnyng to ſhyne in your Churches. This is not to aboliſh Antichriſt, but to eſtabliſh him.

Complaint of vniuſt lawes ſeruing to the luker of mẽ againſt the glory of God.

I beſeech you therfore for our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that you file not your conſcience in defendyng thoſe Articles which your Byſhops haue deuiſed and ſet forth touchyng priuate Maſſes, Auricular confeſſion, vowes, ſingle life of Prieſtes, & prohibition of the one halfe of the Sacrament. It is no light offẽce to eſtabliſh Idolatry, errours, crueltie the filthy luſtes of Antichriſt. If the Romane Byſhop ſhould now call a Councell, what other Articles chiefly would he deuiſe and publiſh vnto the world, but the very ſame which your Byſhops haue here enacted.

Underſtand and conſider I pray you, the ſubtile traynes and deceites of the deuill, whiche is wont firſt to ſet vpon and aſſayle the chief gouernours. And as he is the enemy of Chriſt from the begynnyng of the world, ſo his chief purpoſe is by all craftie and ſubtile meanes, to worke continuely agaynſt Chriſt in ſparſing abroad wicked opinions and ſetting vp Idolatry: and alſo in pollutyng mãkind with bloudy murthers and fleſhly luſtes: in the workyng wherof he abuſeth the policies and wittes of hypocrites: alſo the power and ſtrength of mighty Princes: as ſtories of all tymes beare witnes what great kyngdomes & Empires haue ſet themſelues with all might & maine, agaynſt the poore Church of Chriſt.

The ſubtiltye of Sathan in abuſing the power of Princes to maintaine his kingdome.

And yet notwithſtãding God hath reſerued ſome good Princes at all tymes, out of the great multitude of ſuch giants, and hath brought them to his Church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worſhyp: as Abrahã taught Abimelech, Ioſeph the Egyptian kynges: and after them came Dauid, Ioſaphat, Ezechias, Ioſias excellyng in true godlyneſſe: Daniell conuerted to the knowledge of God the kynges of Chaldea & Perſia. Alſo Britãny brought forth vnto the world the godly Prince Conſtantine. In this number I wiſhe you rather to be, then amongeſt the enemyes of Chriſt, defiled with Idolatry & ſpotted with the bloud of the godly: of whom God will take puniſhment, as he doth many tymes forewarne, and many examples do teach.

Example of good Princes.

Yet agayne therefore I pray and beſeeche you for our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that you wil correct and mitigate this Decree of yͤ Byſhops: In which doyng you ſhall aduaũce the glory of Chriſt, and prouide as well for the wealth of your owne ſoule, as the ſauegarde of your Churches.

Let the hartie deſires of ſo many godly men through the whole worlde, moue you, ſo earneſtly wiſhing that ſome good Kings woulde extend their authoritie to the true reformation of the Church of God, to the aboliſhing of all Idolatrous worſhip, and the furthering of the courſe of the Goſpell. Regarde alſo and conſider I beſeeche you, thoſe godly perſons, which are with you in bands for the Goſpels ſake, being the true members of Chriſt.

He meaneth Shaxtō, Latimer Cromer, and others.

And if that cruell Decree be not altered, the Byſhops will neuer ceaſe to rage agaynſt the Churche of Chriſte without mercy or pitie. For them the deuill vſeth as inſtrumentes and miniſters of his furie and malice agaynſt Chriſt. Theſe he ſtirreth vp to ſlay and kill the members of Chriſt. whoſe wicked and cruell proceedings and ſubtile ſophiſtications, that you wil not prefer before our true and moſt righteous requeſt, all the godly moſt humbly & hartily do pray & beſeech you. which if they ſhall obteyne, no doubt but God ſhal recompence to you great rewards for your pietie, and your excellēt vertue ſhalbe renowmed both by penne and voyce of all the godly, whiles the world ſtandeth. For Chriſt ſhall iudge all them that ſhall deſerue either well or euill of his Church. And whiles letters ſhal remaine, the memoriall worthy of ſuch noble deſerts, ſhall neuer dye or be forgotten with the poſteritie to come. And ſeing we ſeeke the glory of Chriſt, and that our Churches are the Churches of Chriſt, there ſhall neuer be wantyng ſuch as both ſhall defend the righteous cauſe, and magnifie with due commendation ſuch as haue well deſerued, & likewiſe ſhal condemne the vniuſt crueltie of the enemies.

The deuils inſtrumentes by whom he worketh.

Chriſt goeth about hungry, thirſtie, naked, priſoned, complaining of the raging furie of the Biſhops, and of the wrongfull oppreſſion and crueltie of dyuers Kyngs and Princes, entreating that the members of his body be not rent in peeces, but that true Churches may be defended, & his Goſpell aduanced. This requeſt of Chriſt to heare, to receiue, and to embrace, is the office of a godly Kyng, and ſeruice moſt acceptable vnto God.

☞ Intreating a little before, page 1143. of certayne olde inſtrumentes for proofe of Prieſtes lawfull Marriage in times paſt, I gaue a little touch of a certayne recorde taken out of an olde Martyrologe of the Church of Cant. touching Liuingus a prieſt, and his wife, in the time of Lanfrancke. Wherein I touched alſo of certain lands and houſes reſtored againe by the ſaid Lanfrancke to the Church of S. Andrew. Now for aſmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands, and partly conſidering the reſtoring of the ſayde landes, to be to Chriſtes Churche in Canterbury, and not S. Andrew in Rocheſter: and alſo for that I haue founde ſome other preſidentes approouing the lawfull Mariage of Prieſtes, and legitimation of theyr children, I thought good for the more full ſatiſfying of the reader, to enter the ſame, as followeth.

Liuingus Prieſt, and his wife.

❧ A note out of an old Martyrologe of Caunterbury.

Ex Archiuis. Eccleſ. Cant.

OBijt Guillielmus Rex Anglorum, &c. Hic reddidit Eccleſiæ Chriſti omnes ferè terras, &c. **That is:** After the death of William King of England, the ſayd Lanfrancke reſtored agayne to Chriſtes Church in Canterbury, all the landes whiche from auncient memory vnto theſe latter dayes, haue bene taken away from the right of the ſayd Church. The names of which landes be theſe: In Kent, Raculfe, Sandwich, Rateburch, Wodetun, the Abbay of Limming, with the lands and cuſtomes vnto the ſame monaſterye belonging, Saltwude, &c. (Stocke and Denentun, becauſe they belonged of olde time to the Churche of S. Andrewe, them he reſtored to the ſame Churche.) In Sutherey, Murtelac, the Abbay of S. Mary in London, with the landes and houſes which Liuingus Prieſt, and his wife had in London. All theſe Lanfrancke reſtored agayne for the health of his owne ſoule, freely, and without money, &c.

S. Andrewes. Church in Rocheſter.

Liuingus Prieſt & maried man.

❧ A note for the legitimation of Prieſtes children, ex termino Michael. Anno 21.

Henr. 7. fol. 39. page. 2.

M. 21. H. 7.

A Deacō taketh a wife, hath iſſue & dyeth, the iſſue adiudged not Baſtarde.

NOte, that in the xix. yeare of this King, in an Aſſiſe at Warwicke, before Syr Guye Fairfax, and Syr Iohn Vauiſour, it was found by Verdite, that the father of the tenaunt had taken the order of Deacon, and after married a wife, and had iſſue, the tenaunt dyed, and the iſſue of the tenaunt did enter. Vpon whome the pleyntiſe did enter as next heyre collaterall to the father of the tenaunt. Vpon whome he did reenter, &c. and for difficultie, the Iuſtices did adiourne the Aſſiſe. And it was debated in the Eſcheker chamber: If the tenaunt ſhall be a Baſtard, &c. And heere by aduiſe it was adiudged that he ſhall not be baſtard, &c. ¶ Frowicke chiefe Iuſtice ſayd to me in the xix. yeare of Henry the vij. in the common place, that he was of counſayle in this matter, and that it was adiudged as before, which Vauiſour did graunt. ¶ And Frowicke ſayd, that if a Prieſt marry a wife, and hath iſſue and dyeth, his iſſue ſhall inherite, for that the eſpouſals be not voyde but voydable. ¶ Vauiſour: if a man take a Nunne to wife, this eſpouſall is voyde.

☞ Note, that in the latter Impreſſion of Henry the vij. yeares of the lawe, this word Prieſt in this caſe aforeſayd in ſome bookes is left out: whether of purpoſe or by negligence, I leaue it to the Reader to iudge.

❧ Another note for legitimation of Prieſtes children.

AD Curiam generalem D. Philippi & D. Mariæ Dei gratia, &c. xvj. die Iulij, Anno Reg. dict. Regis & Reginæ, primo & tertio irrotulatut ſic. Præſentatum eſt per totum homagium quòd Symon Heynes* Clericus diu antè iſtam Curiam, vid. per duos annos iam elapſos, fuit ſeſitus ſecundum conſuetudinem huius Manerij in dominio ſuo vt de feodo, de & in duabus acris terræ, percellis de xxxv. acris & dimidij terræ, nuper in tenura Ioannis Heynes. Ac de & in vno tenemento vocat. Bernardes nuper in tenura Ioannis Cotton, Ac de & in lvij. Acris & iij. rodis terræ & paſturæ, ſiue plus ſiue minus, prout iacent in campis de Myldenhall prædicta in diuerſis pecijs, vt patet in Curia hic tenta die Iouis proximo poſt feſtum Sancti Lucæ Euangeliſtæ, An. regni Regis Henrici viij. xxxviij. Necnon de & in xij. acris terræ natiuæ iacentibus in Townefield & Twamelfield in diuerſis pecijs. Ac de & in quatuor Acris & dimidio terræ iacentibus in Myldenhall prædicta. Ac de & in quinque rodis terræ iacentibus in Halywelfield. Qua propter præmiſſa, idem Symon nuper habuit ex ſurſum redditione Willielmi Heynes prout pater in Curia hic tenta die Martis proximo poſt Dominicam in Albis Anno regni Regis Edwardi vj. primo. Et ſic ſeſitus idem Symon de omnibus ſupradictis præmiſſis inde obijt ſolus ſeſitus. Et quòd Ioſeph Heynes eſt filius & hæres eius propinquior, & modo ætatis quinque annorum & amplius. Qui quidem Ioſeph præſens hic in Curia in propria perſona ſua, petit ſe admittie ad omnia ſupradicta præmiſſa tanquam ad ius & hæreditatem ſuam. Et D. Rex & D. Regina ex gratia ſua ſpeciali, per Clementum Heigham militem Seneſcallum ſuum, conceſſerunt ei inde ſeſinam tenendam ſibi, hæredibus, & aſſignatis eius, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. Regis & D. Reginæ ſecundum conſuetudinem huius Manerij, per ſeruitia & redditus inde debita, &c. Saluo iure, &c. Et dat Domino Regi & D. Reginæ v. lib. de fine pro ingreſſu ſuo habendo, & fidelitas inde reſpectuatur quouſque, &c. Et vlterius conſideratum eſt per Curiam quòd dict. Ioſeph eſt infra ætatem vt præfertur. Ideo determinatum eſt & conceſſum eſt per conſenſum Curiæ quòd Ioanna Heynes nuper vxor prædicti Simonis, ac mater predicti Ioſeph habebit cuſtodiam eiuſdem Ioſeph, quouſque idem Ioſeph peruenerit ad ſuam legitimam ætatem.

Concerning theſe vj. Articles paſſed in this Acte aforeſayd in the 21. yeare of King Henry, ſufficiently hetherto hath bene declared, firſt what theſe Articles were: ſecondly by whom and from whom chiefly they proceded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant and contrarious to true doctrine, chriſtian religion, and the word of God, to nature alſo it ſelfe, all reaſon and honeſty, and finally to the auncient lawes, cuſtomes, and examples of our forelders during the daies of a thouſande yeares after Chriſt they were. Fourthly, yee haue heard alſo what vnreaſonable and extreme penaltie was ſet vpon the ſame, that a man may deeme theſe lawes to be written not wyth the inke of Steuen Gardiner, but with the bloud of a Dragon, or rather the clauſe of the Diuell. The breach whereof was made no leſſe then treaſon and felony, and no leſſe puniſhment aſſigned thereto then death.

Beſides all this, the wordes of the Acte were ſo curious and ſubtile, that no man could ſpeake, wryte or cyphar againſt them, without preſent daunger, yea ſcarcely a man might ſpeake any word of Chriſt and his Religion, but he was in perill of theſe vj. Articles. Ouer & beſides, the Papiſtes began ſo finely to interprete the Act, that they ſpared not to indite men for abuſing their countenance & behauiour in the Church. So great was the power of darkeneſſe in thoſe dayes. And thus much concerning this Acte.

Beſides theſe vj. Articles in this foreſaide Acte concluded, there was alſo another conſtitution annexed withall, not without the aduiſe (as may ſeeme) of the Lord Cromwell, which was this: that Prieſtes and Miniſters of the Church, ſeing now they would needes thēſelues be bound from all Matrimony, ſhould therefore by law likewiſe be bound to ſuch honeſty and continencie of life, that carnally they ſhould vſe & accuſtome no maner of woman maried or ſingle, by way of aduoutrie or fornication: the breache whereof, for the firſt tyme, was to forfaite goodes, & to ſuffer impriſonment at the Kings pleaſure: and for the ſecond time, being duely conuicted, it was made felonie as the other were.

In this conſtitution, if the Lord Cromwell and other good men of the Parliament might haue had their wyll, there is no doubt, but the firſt crime of theſe concubinarye Prieſts, as well as the ſecond, had had the ſame penaltie, as the other vj. Articles had and ſhould haue bene puniſhed with death. But Steuen Gardiner with his felowe Byſhops, who then ruled all the roſte, ſo baſted this extraordinarie Article with their accuſtomed ſhiftes, that if they were taken and duely conuicte for their not caſtè nor cautè, at firſt time it was but forfaite of goodes. Alſo for the ſecond conuiction or atteinder, they ſo prouided that the next yeare folowing, that puniſhment and paine of death by Acte of Parliamente, was cleane wiped away and repealed. And why ſo? Becauſe (ſayeth the Statute) that puniſhment by payne of deathe is very ſore, and much extreme, therefore it pleaſeth the Kyng, wyth the aſſente of the Lordes, that that clauſe aboue written concerning felonie, and paynes of deathe, and other penalties and forfaitures, for and vpon the firſt and ſeconde conuiction or atteynder of anye Prieſte or woman, for anye ſuche offences (of whoredome or aduoutrie) aforeſayde, ſhall be from hencefoorth voyde and of none effecte, &c. So that by this ſtatute it was prouided, for all ſuche votaries as liued in whoredome and adulterie, for the firſt offence to loſe his goodes and all his ſpirituall promotions except one. For the ſecond, to forfaite all that he had to the King. For the third conuiction to ſuſteyne continuall impriſonment.

Statut.an. Reg. Hen.8.c.10.

he Acte a- inſt the horedome Prieſtes alified, & ter what aner.

In theſe vngodly proceedings of the Popes Catholicke Clergie, two things we haue to note.

1. Firſt, the horrible impietie of their doctrine, directly fighting againſt the expreſſe authoritie of God & his word, foraſmuch as that which God permitteth, they reſtrayne: that which he biddeth, they forbid. Habeat, ſayeth he: non habeat ſay they, taking exceptions agaynſte the worde of the Lord. That which he calleth honorable and vndefiled, they call hereſie: that which he cōmendeth and inſtituteth, they puniſh with paynes of death. Not onely the Prieſtes that marry, but them alſo that ſay or cyphre that a Prieſte may marry, at the firſt they kill as felons. Neither can any Miſerere take place for chaſte and lawfull wedlocke: where as cōtrariwiſe a ſpirituall man may thriſe defile his neighbours wife, or thriſe deflowre his Brothers daughter, and no felonie at all layde to his charge. What is this in plaine words to ſay, but that it is leſſe ſinne thriſe to commit aduoutry, then once to marry.

he mani- ſt impiety the popes ctrine, ſcloſed.

2. The ſeconde is to be noted, how theſe paynted hypocrites doe bewray their falſe diſſembled dealinges vnawares, with whome a man might thus reaſon. Tell vs you Prieſts and votaries, which ſo preciſely flie the ſtate of Matrimonie, intende you to liue chaſte, and are able ſo to do without wiues, or do you keepe your ſelues chaſte & honeſt without them, and without burning, or not? If ye be not able, why then mary you not? why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you thoſe vowes, which you can not performe? or why do you not breake them being made, falling thereby in daunger of breakyng Gods commandemēt, for keeping your owne? If you be able, and ſo do intend to cōtinue an honeſt and a continent conuerſation without wiues, then ſhall I aſke of you, according as Doct. Turner grauely & truely layeth to your charge: why do you ſo carefully prouide a remedie by your lawes aforehand for a miſchiefe to come, whiche you may auoide if ye liſt, vnleſſe eyther ye liſted not to ſtand, though ye might, or elſe ſaw your owne infirmitie, that you could not though ye would? And therefore fearing your owne weake fragilitie, you prouide wiſely for your ſelues aforehand, that where other ſhall ſuffer paines of death at the firſt for well doing, you may fall thriſe in abhominable adultery, and yet by the law haue your liues pardoned.

Dilemma, gainſt vota- rs that vill not arry.

Doct. Tur- er huntyng he Romiſh oxe.

And heere commeth out your owne hypocriſie by your ſelues bewrayed. For where as you all confeſſe, that you are able to liue chaſte if ye wil without wiues, this moderation of the lawe prouided before againſt your aduouterous incontinencie, playnely declareth that eyther ye purpoſe willingly to fal, or at leaſt ye feare and ſtand in doubt not to be able to ſtand. And why then do you ſo confidently take ſuch vowes vpon you, ſtanding in ſuch doubt and feare for the performance thereof?

And be it to you admitted that all do not fall, but that ſome keepe their vow, though ſome viciouſly run to other mens wiues and daughters: then here againe I aſke you, ſeeing theſe vicious whorehunters and aduouterous perſons amongſt you, do liue viciouſly (as you can not deny) and may do otherwiſe if they liſt (as you cōfeſſe) what puniſhmēt then are they worthy to haue, which may liue cōtinent and wil not, neither yet will take the remedy prouided by God, but refuſe it? which beyng ſo, then what iniquitie is this in you, or rather impietie inexcuſable againſt God and man, to procure a moderation of lawes for ſuch, and to ſhew ſuch compaſſion and clemēcie to theſe ſo heynous adulterers, whorehunters, and beaſtly fornicators, that if they adulterate other mens wiues neuer ſo oft, yet there is no death for them: and to ſhew no compaſſion at all, nor to finde out any moderation for ſuch, but at the very firſt to kill thē as felons and heretickes, which honeſtly doe mary in the feare of God, or once ſay that a Prieſt may mary? How can ye heare be excuſed. O you children of iniquitie? what reaſon is in your doyng, or what truth in your doctrine, or what feare of God in your harts? You that neither are able to auoyde burnyng & pollutiō without wedlocke, nor yet will receaue that remedy that the Lord hath giuen you, how will you ſtand in his face, whē hee ſhall reuele your operations and cogitations to your perpetuall confuſion, vnleſſe by tyme ye conuert and repent? And thus beyng aſhamed of your execrable doyngs I ceaſe to defile my penne any further in this ſo ſtinkyng matter of yours, leauyng you to the Lord.

he Pa- iſtes be- ray their vne hipo- ſie.

The impiety of the Papiſtes inexcuſable.

It was declared before, pag. 1136. that what tyme theſe vi. Articles were in hand in the Parliament houſe, Cranmer then beyng Archbyſhop of Canterbury onely withſtode the ſame, diſputyng iij. dayes agaynſt them: whoſe reaſons and Arguments I wiſh were extant and remaynyng. After theſe Articles were thus paſſed and concluded, the kyng, who alwayes bare eſpeciall fauour vnto Cranmer, perceiuyng him to bee not a litle diſcomforted therewith ſent all the Lordes of the Parlament, and with them the Lord Cromwell, to dyne with him at Lambeth (as is afore declared) and within few dayes alſo vpon the ſame, required that he would geue a note of all his doings and reaſonynges in the ſayd Parlament, whiche the ſayd Cranmer eftſoones accompliſhed accordyngly, drawyng out his reaſōs & allegations, the copy whereof beyng fayre written out by his Secretary, was ſent and deliuered vnto the kyng and there remayned.

Read afore pag. 1130.

Cranmers reaſons and allegations againſt the 6. articles, writtē to the king.

Now after theſe thynges thus diſcuſſed as touchyng the vi. wicked Articles, it foloweth next, in returnyng to the order of our ſtory agayne, to declare thoſe thynges, which after the ſettyng out of theſe Articles enſued, commyng now to the tyme and ſtory of the Lord Cromwell, a man whoſe worthy fame and deedes are worthy to lyue renowmed in perpetuall memory.

¶The hiſtory concernyng the lyfe, actes, and death of the famous and worthy Counſailour Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earle of Eſſex.

Thomas Cromwell although borne of a ſimple parentage, and houſe obſcure, through the ſingular excellencie of wiſedome and dexteritie of witte wrought in him by God, coupled with like induſtrie of mynde and deſertes of lyfe, roſe to hygh preferrement and authoritie, in ſomuch that by ſteppes and ſtayres of office and honour, he aſcended at length to that, that not onely he was made Earle of Eſſex, but alſo moſt ſecret and deare Counſellour to kyng Henry, and Vicegerent vnto his perſon, which office hath not commonly bene ſupplied, at leaſt not ſo fruitfully diſcharged with in this Realme.

The ſtory of the Lord Thomas Cromwell.

The baſe degree of the L. Cromwell recompenſed with noble Ornamentes.

Firſt as touchyng his byrth, he was borne at Putney or thereabout, being a Smithes ſonne, whoſe mother maried after vnto a ſhyreman. In the ſimple eſtate & rude begynnyngs of this man (as of diuers other before him) we may ſee and learne that the excellencie of noble vertues & heroicall prowelſes, which aduaunce to fame and honour, ſtād not onely vpon byrth & bloud, as priuileges onely intayled appropriat to noble houſes: but are diſpoſed indifferently & procede of the gift of God, who rayſeth vp the poore obiect many tymes out of the donghill, & matcheth him in throne with Peeres and Princes. Pſal. 113.

As touching the order and maner of his comming vp, it would be ſuperfluous to diſcourſe what may be ſayd at large: onely by way of ſtory it may ſuffice to giue a touch of certaine particulars, and ſo to procede. Although the humble condition and pouertie of this mā was at the begynnyng (as it is to many other) a great let & hinderaūce for vertue to ſhew her ſelfe, yet ſuch was the actiuitie and forward rypenes of nature in him ſo pregnaūt in witte & ſo ready he was, in iudgemēt diſcret, in toung eloquent, in ſeruice faythfull, in ſtomacke couragious, in his penne actiue, that beyng conuerſaūt in the ſight of mē, he could not long be vneſpied, nor yet vnprouided of fauour & helpe of frēdes to ſet him forward in place and office. Neither was any place or office put vnto him, whereunto he was not apt & fit. Nothyng was ſo hard which with witte and induſtrie he could not cōpaſſe. Neither was his capacitie ſo

Commendation of the L. Cromwell.

good, but his memorie was as great in reteining whatſoeuer he had atteined. which well appeared in cannyng the text of the whole new Teſtament of Eraſmus tranſlation without booke, in his iourney going and comming from Rome: whereof ye ſhall heare anone.

Tho. Cromwell learned the new Teſtament in Latin without booke.

Thus in hys growing yeares, as he ſhot vp in age, and ripenes, a great delite came in his mynde to ſtray into foreine countreys, to ſee the world abroade, and to learne experience: whereby he learned ſuch toungs and languages, as might better ſerue for his vſe hereafter.

And thus paſſing ouer his youth, being at Antwerpe, he was there reteined of the Engliſhe Marchauntes to be their Clerke or Secretary, or in ſome ſuche lyke condition placed perteining to their affaires.

The towne of Boſten.

It happened the ſame time, that the Towne of Boſton thought good to ſend vp to Rome, for renuing of their two Pardons, one called the great Pardon, the other the leſſer Pardon. which thing although it ſhould ſtand them in great expenſes of money (for the Popes Marchaundiſe is alwayes deare ware) yet notwithſtanding ſuch ſweeteneſſe they had felt thereof, and ſuch gayne to come to theyr Towne by that Romiſh Marchandiſe (as all ſuperſtition is commonly gaynefull) that they like good Catholicke Marchauntes, and the Popes good cuſtomers, thought to ſpare for no coſte, to haue their leaſes agayne of theyr Pardons renewed, whatſoeuer they payde for the fine. And yet was all this good Religion then: ſuche was the lamentable blindnes of that time.

The popes marchaundiſe deare ware.

Superſtition commonly is gaynfull.

The popes leaſes of pardons.

This then being ſo determined & decreed amongeſt my co͂utreymen of Boſton, to haue their pardo͂s needes repaired & renewed from Rome, one Geffray Chãbers with another cõpanion was ſent for yͤ meſſengers, with writings & money, no ſmall quãtity, well furniſhed, & with all other things appointed, neceſſary for ſo chargeable & coſtly exployt, who cõming in his iorney to Antwarpe, & miſdoubting himſelfe to be too weake for the compaſſing of ſuche a weightie peece of worke, cõferred & perſwaded with Tho. Cromwell to aſſociate him in that legacie, and to aſſiſt him in the contriuing thereof. Cromwell although perceauing the enterpriſe to be of no ſmall difficultie, to trauerſe the Popes Court, for the vnreaſonable expenſes amõgſt thoſe greedy cormorantes, yet hauing ſome ſkill of the Italian toung, and as yet not grounded in iudgement of religion in thoſe his youthfull daies, was at length obteined and content to giue the aduenture, and ſo tooke his iourney toward Rome. Cromwell loth to ſpend much time, & more loth to ſpend his money: and againe perceiuing that the Popes greedy humor muſt needes be ſerued wyth ſome preſent or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to caſt with himſelfe, what thing beſt to deuiſe, wherein he might beſt ſerue the Popes deuotion.

Cromwell goeth to Rome.

At length, hauing knowledge how that the Popes holy tooth greatly delited in new fangled ſtraunge delicates, and dayntie diſhes, it came in his minde to prepare certeine fine diſhes of gelly, after the beſt faſhion, made after our countrey maner heere in Englande, which to them of Rome was not knowne nor ſeene before.

This done, Cromwell obſeruing his time accordyngly, as the Pope was newly come frõ hunting into his pauillion, he with his companions approched with his engliſh preſents brought in with a threemans ſong (as we call it) in the Engliſh tongue, and all after yͤ Engliſh faſhion. The Pope ſodenly marueiling at the ſtraungenes of the ſong, and vnderſtanding that they were Engliſhmen, and that they came not emptie handed, willed them to be called in. Crõwell there ſhewing his obediẽce, & offering his iolye iunkets, ſuche as Kings and Princes only (ſayd he) in the realme of Englãd vſe to feede vpon, deſired yͤ ſame to be accepted in beneuolent part, which he and his cõpanions as poore ſuters vnto his holines, had there brought and preſented, as nouelties meete for his recreation, &c.

Cromwels preſentes to the Pope.

Cromwell a ſuter for Boſton Pardons.

Pope Iulius ſeing the ſtraungenes of the diſhes, commaunded by and by his Cardinall to take the aſſay. who in taſting thereof, liked it ſo wel, and ſo likewiſe the Pope after him, that knowing of them what their ſutes were, and requiring them to make knowen the making of that meate, he incontinent without any more adoe, ſtamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the leſſer.

Boſton pardons obtayned at Rome.

And thus was the iolye pardons of the Towne of Boſton obteyned as you haue heard, for the maintenaunce of their decayed porte. The copie of which Pardons (which I haue in my handes) briefly comprehended, commeth to this effect: That all the brethren and ſiſters of the gylde of our Lady in S. Botulphes church at Boſton, ſhould haue free licence to chooſe for their confeſſor or ghoſtly father, whome they woulde, eyther ſeculare Prieſte, or religious perſon, to aſſoyle them plenarely from all their ſinnes, except only in caſes reſerued to the Pope.

The effect and contentes of Boſton pardons.

Alſo ſhould haue licence to carry about with them an aultar ſtone whereby they might haue a Prieſt to ſay them Maſſe, or other diuine ſeruice, where they would, without preiudice of any other Church or Chappell, though it were alſo before the day, yea and at three of the clocke after midnight in the Sommer tyme.

Furthermore, that all ſuche brethren and ſiſters of the ſayd gilde, which ſhould reſort to yͤ chappel of our Lady in S. Botulphes Church at the feaſt of Eaſter, Whitſontide, Corpus Chriſti, the Natiuitie or Aſſumption of our Lady, or in yͤ Octaues of them, the feaſt of S. Michaell, and firſt Sonday in Lent, ſhould haue Pardon no leſſe then if they themſelues perſonally had viſited the Stations of Rome.

Prouided that euery ſuch perſon, man or woman, entring into the ſame gilde, at his firſt entraunce ſhould giue to the finding of vij. Prieſts, xij. Querceſters, & xiij. beademen, and to the lightes of yͤ ſame brotherhoode & a Grammer ſchole, vj. ſhillings viij. pence, and for euery yeare after, xij. pence.

And theſe premiſſes being before graunted by Pope Innocentius, and Pope Iulius 2. this Pope Clement alſo confirmed, graunting moreouer, that whatſoeuer brother or ſiſter of the ſame gylde thorough pouertie, ſickenes, or any other let could not reſort perſonally to the ſaide chappell, notwithſtanding he ſhould be diſpenſed withall, as well for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, cenſures Canonicall whatſoeuer, only the vowe of going the Stations of Rome, and going to S. Iames of Compoſtella excepted, &c.

He alſo graunted vnto them power to receaue full remiſſion A pœna & culpa once in theyr lyfe, or in the houre of death.

Item, that hauing their aultar ſtone, they mighte haue Maſſe ſayd in any place, though it were vnhallowed. Alſo in the time of interdict, to haue Maſſe or any Sacramente miniſtred: and alſo being departed, that they might be buried in Chriſten buriall notwithſtanding the interdict.

Extending moreouer his graunt, that to all ſuch brethren and ſiſters, in reſorting to the foreſayd Chappell of our Lady vpon the Natiuitie, or Aſſumption of our Lady, giuing ſupportation to the ſayd Chappel, at euery ſuch Feſtiuall daye, to haue full remiſſion of all their ſinnes. Or if they for any impediment could not be preſent at the Chappell aforeſayd, yet if they came to their owne Pariſh Churche, and there ſayd one Pater noſter, and Aue Maria, they ſhould enioy the ſame remiſſion aboue ſpecified: or whoſoeuer came euery Friday to the ſame Chappell, ſhould haue as much remiſſion, as if he went to the Chappell of our Lady called Scala cœli.

Furthermore, that whatſoeuer Chriſtẽ people, of what eſtate or cõdition ſoeuer, either ſpirituall or tẽporal, would ayde & ſupport the chamberlaines or ſubſtitutes of yͤ foreſayd gylde, ſhould haue fiue hundreth yeares of pardon.

Item, to all brothers and ſiſters of the ſame gylde was graunted free libertie to eate in time of Lent, or other faſting dayes, egges, milke, butter, cheeſe, and alſo fleſhe, by the counſaile of their ghoſtly father and phiſition, without any ſcruple of conſcience.

Item, that all partakers of the ſame gylde, and beyng ſupporters thereof, which once a quarter, or euery Friday or Saterday, either in the ſaid Chappell in S. Botulphes Church, or any other Chappell, of their deuotion ſhall ſay a Pater noſter, Aue Maria, and Creede, or ſhall ſay or cauſe to be ſayde Maſſes for ſoules departed in paynes of Purgatory, ſhall not onely haue the full remiſſion due to them which viſite the Chappell of Scala Cœli, or of S. John Lateran, but alſo the ſoules in Purgatory ſhall enioy full remiſſion, and be releaſed of all their paynes.

Item, that all the ſoules departed of the brothers and ſiſters of the ſayde gylde: alſo the ſoules of their fathers and mothers ſhall be partakers of all the prayers, ſuffragies, almoſes, faſtings, maſſes, and mattens, pilgrimages, and of all other good deedes of all the holy Churche militant for euer, &c.

Theſe indulgencies, pardons, grauntes, and relaxations, were geuen and graunted by Pope Nicholas the fift, Pope Pius 2. Pope Sixtus, and Pope Iulius the ſecond, of which Pope Iulius it ſeemeth, that Cromwell obteyned this Pardon aforeſaide about the yeare of oure Lorde 1510. which Pardon againe afterward through the requeſt of King Henry, an. 1526. was confirmed by Pope Clement the ſeuenth. And thus much concerning the pardon of Boſton, renued by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Iulius the ſecond.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no ſound taſte nor iudgement of Religion, but was wylde & youthfull, without ſence or regard of God and his worde as he himſelfe was wont ofttimes to declare vnto Cran-

Cromwell in the rs of the ice of rbon be- ying ome.

mer Archbiſhop of Cant. ſhewing what a ruffine he was in his yong dayes, and how he was in the warres of duke Bourbon at the ſiege of Rome, alſo what a great doer he was with Geffray Chambers in publiſhing and ſettyng forth the pardon of Boſton euery where in Churches as he went, and ſo continued, till at length by learnyng the texte of the newe Teſtament without booke, of Eraſmus tranſlation in his going and comming from Rome (as is aforeſayd) he began to be touched and called to better vnderſtanding.

Cromwell eiued in- the Car- nalls ſer- ce.

In this meane tyme Thomas Woolſey Cardinall of Yorke began to beare a great port in England, and almoſt to rule all vnder the King, or rather with the King, ſo that the freſheſt wittes, and of beſt towardnes, moſt commonly ſought vnto him. Among whome was alſo Thomas Cromwell to his ſeruice aduaunced, where he continued a certayne ſpace of yeares, growing vp in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be ſollicitour to the Cardinall.

Cromwell ollicter to e Cardi- all.

Cromwell ore, and Gardiner, mpanions the Car- nalls ouſe.

There was alſo about the ſame tyme, or not much different, in the houſhold of the ſayd Cardinall, Tho. More, afterward knight and Chauncelour of England: & Steuē Gardiner Byſhop after of Wint. and of the Kings Coūſaile. All theſe three were brought vp in one houſhold, and all of one ſtanding almoſt together. Whoſe ages as they were not greatly diſcrepant, nor their wittes much vnequall: ſo neither was their fortune and aduauncementes greatly diuers, albeit their diſpoſitions and ſtudies were moſt contrary. And though peraduenture in More and in Gardiner there was more arte of letters, and ſkill of learning: yet notwithſtanding there was in this mā a more heauenly light of minde, & more prompt & perfect iudgement, eloquence equall, and as may be ſuppoſed, in thys man more pregnant: and finally in him was wrought a more heroicall and princely diſpoſitiō, borne to greater affayres in the common wealth, and to the ſingular helpe of many.

A compari- on betwene Cromwell More, and Gardiner

Small Mo- naſteryes ſuppreſſed by the Car- dinall.

It happened that in this meane ſeaſon, Cromwell was placed in this office to be ſollicitour to the Cardinall, the ſaid Cardinal had then in hand the building of certeine Colledges, namely his Colledge in Oxforde, called then Frideſwide, now Chriſtes Churche. By reaſon whereof, certayne ſmall monaſteries and priories, in diuers places of the realme, were by the ſaide Cardinall ſuppreſſed, and the lands ſeaſed to the Cardinals hāds. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell. In the expedition whereof he ſhewed himſelfe very forward, and induſtrious, in ſuch ſort as in yͤ handling thereof, he procured to himſelfe much grudge with diuers of the ſuperſtitious ſorte, and with ſome alſo of noble calling about the King. And thus was Cromwell firſt ſet a worke by the Cardinall, to ſuppreſſe religious houſes, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525.

Cromwell firſt ſet a worke by the Cardi- all to ſup- preſſe religi- ous houſes.

As this paſſed on, it was not long, but the Cardinall whiche had gotten vp ſo high, began to come downe as faſt, firſt from the Chauncellorſhip (in whiche roome was placed Sir Tho. More, as is aforeſayd) then he fell into a Premunire: So that his houſhold being diſſolued, Tho. Cromwell amongſt other, laboured alſo to be reteyned into the Kings ſeruice.

Syr Chri- topher ales hel- er of Cromwell to the king. Cromwell ommended o the king y Sir Chri- topher ales M. of e Rolles. Cromwell omplayned f to the ing.

There was at the ſame tyme one Syr Chriſtopher Hales Knight, Maiſter of the Rolles, who notwithſtanding was then a mightie Papiſt, yet bare he ſuche fauour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the King, as a man moſt fitte for his purpoſe, hauing then to do againſt the Pope. But heere before is to be vnderſtand, that Cromwel had greatly bene complained of, and diffamed by certeine of authority about the King, for hys rude maner and homely dealing in defacing the Monkes houſes, & in handling of their aultars, &c. wherfore yͤ king hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to deteſt yͤ mention of him: neither lacked there ſome ſtanders by, who with reuiling words ceaſed not to encreaſe and inflame yͤ kings hatred againſt him. What their names were, it ſhall not neede heere to recite. Among other there preſent at the ſame hearing, was the Lorde Ruſſell Earle of Bedforde, whoſe life Cromwell before had preſerued at Bononye, through politicke conueyance, at what time, the ſaid Earle comming ſecretly in the kings affaires, was there eſpyed, and therefore being in great daunger to be taken, through the meanes and pollicie of Cromwell eſcaped.

he Lord uſſel Earle f Bedforde, rough the olicy of romwell, ſcaped at onoie. he Lorde uſſel com- endeth romwell o the king.

This Lord Ruſſell therefore not forgetting the olde benefites paſt, & with like gratitie willing againe to requite that he had receaued, in a vehement boldnes ſtoode forth, to take vpon him the defence of Thomas Cromwel, vttering before the king many commendable words in the behalfe of him, and declaring withall how by his ſingulare deuice and policie, he had done for him at Bononie, beyng there in the Kings affaires, in extreame perill. And for as much as now his Maieſtie had to do with the Pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none ſo apt for the kynges purpoſe, which could ſay or do more in that matter, then could Thomas Cromwell, and partly gaue the kyng to vnderſtand wherein. The kyng hearyng this, & ſpecially markyng the latter end of his talke, was contēted and willyng to talke with him, to heare and know what he could ſay.

This was not ſo priuily done, but Cromwell had knowledge incontinent, that the kyng would talke with him, & whereupon: & therfore prouidyng before hand for matter, had in a readyneſſe the copie of the Byſhops othe, which they vſe cōmonly to make to the Pope at their conſecration: and ſo beyng called for, was brought to the king in his garden at Weſtminſter, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

Cromwell brought to talke with the king.

Cromwell after moſt loyall obeyſaūce, doyng his duetie to the kyng, accordyng as he was demaunded, made his declaration in all pointes, this eſpecially making manifeſt vnto his highnes, how his Princely authoritie was abuſed within his own Realme, by the Pope & his Clergy, who beyng ſworne vnto him, were afterward diſpenſed from the ſame, & ſworne a new vnto the Pope, ſo that he was but as halfe kyng, and they but halfe his ſubiectes in his owne land: which (ſayd he) was derogatorie to his crowne, and vtterly preiudiciall to the common lawes of his Realme: Declaryng therupō how his Maieſtie might accumulate to himſelfe great riches, ſo much as all yͤ Clergy in his Realme was worth, if it ſo pleaſed him to take the occaſion now offered. The kyng geuyng good eare to this, and likyng right well his aduice, required, if he could auouch that which he ſpake. All this he could (he ſayd) auouch to be certaine, ſo well, as that he had the copie of their owne othe to the Pope, there preſent to ſhewe; and that no leſſe alſo he could manifeſtly proue, if his highneſſe would geue him leaue: & therewith ſhewed the Byſhops othe vnto the kyng.

Cromwels wordes to the king, concerning the premunire of the Clergy.

The kyng folowyng the veyne of his counſayle, tooke his ryng of his finger, & firſt admittyng him into his ſeruice, ſent him therewith to the Conuocation houſe among the Byſhops. Cromwell commyng with the kynges ſignet boldly into the Clergy houſe, and there placyng himſelfe among the Byſhops (W. Warham beyng then Archbyſhop) begā to make his Oration, declaryng to them the authoritie of a kyng, and the office of ſubiectes, and eſpecially the obedience of Byſhops & Churchmen vnder publicke lawes, neceſſaryly prouided for the profite & quyet of the cōmon wealth. Which lawes notwithſtandyng they had all tranſgreſſed, & highly offended in derogation of the kynges royall eſtate, fallyng in the law of Premunire, in that not onely they had conſented to the power Legatiue of the Cardinall, but alſo in that they had all ſworne to the Pope, contrary to the fealtie of their ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, & therfore had forfeyted to the kyng all their goodes, cattels, landes, poſſeſſions, and whatſoeuer liuynges they had. The Byſhops hearyng this, were not a litle amaſed, and firſt began to excuſe and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had ſhewed them the very copie of their othe made to the Pope at their cōſecration, and the matter was ſo playne, that they could not deny it, they begā to ſhrinke, and to fall to entreatie, deſiryng reſpite to pauſe vpon the matter. Notwithſtandyng the end thereof fell ſo out, that to be quite of that Premunire, by Act of Parliament, it coſt them to the kyng for both the prouinces, Canterbury and Yorke, no leſſe then. 118840. poundes, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1530. whereof before you may read more at large, pag. 1020.

Cromwell ſent by the king to the conuocation houſe.

For the copie of the Biſhops oth to the Pope read before pag. 1025.

The clergy condemned in the Premunire.

Syr Tho. Cromwell made knight and M. of the kinges Iewel houſe.

After this. an. 1522. Syr Thomas Cromwell growyng in great fauour with the kyng, was made Knight & Maiſter of the kynges Iewell houſe, & ſhortly after was admitted alſo into the kynges Coūſaile, which was about the commyng in of Queene Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within two yeares after the ſame. an. 1524. he was made Maiſter of the Rolles, Doct. Taylor beyng diſcharged.

Cromwell made M. of the Rolles.

Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

Thus Cromwel ſpringyng vp in fauour and honour, after this, in the yeare. 1527. a litle before the byrth of kyng Edward, was made Knight of the Garter, & not long after, was aduaunced to the Earledome of Eſſex, and made great Chamberlaine of England. Ouer and beſides all which honours, he was conſtitute alſo Vicegerent to the kyng, repreſentyng his perſon. Whiche office although it ſtandeth well by the law, yet ſeldome hath there bene ſene any beſides this Cromwell alone, either to haue ſuſteined it, or els to haue ſo furniſhed the ſame with counſayle and wiſedome, as Cromwell did. And thus much hytherto cōcernyng the ſteppes and degrees of the Lord Cromwels riſyng vp to dignitie and high eſtate.

L. Cromwell made Earle of Eſſex, great Chamberlaine of England and Vicegerent to the king.

Now ſomewhat would be ſayd likewiſe of the noble

Actes,

The actes and doinges of the L. Cromwell, deſcribed.

Actes, the memorable examples, and worthy vertues not drowned by eaſe of honour in him, but encreaſed rather, & quickened by aduauncemẽt of authority & place, to work more abundantly in the common wealth. Among yͤ which his woorthy actes and other manyfolde vertues, in thys one chiefely aboue all other riſeth his commendation, for his ſingular zeale and laborious trauaile beſtowed in reſtoring the true Church of Chriſt, and ſubuerting the Synagogue of Antichriſt, the Abbeyes, I meane, and religious houſes of Friers and Monkes. For ſo it pleaſed almighty God by the meanes of the ſaid Lord Cromwell, to induce the King to ſuppreſſe firſt the Chauntries, then the Friers houſes and ſmall Monaſteries, till at length all the Abbeys in England both great and leſſe, were vtterly ouerthrowne and pluckt vp by the rootes. The which acte and enterpriſe of him, as it may geue a preſident of ſingular zeale to all Realmes chriſtened, which no Prince yet to this day ſcarſe dare folow: ſo to this Realme of Englande it wrought ſuch benefit & commoditie, as the fruite thereof yet remayneth, and will remayne ſtill in the Realme of Englande, though we ſeeme little to feele it. Rudely and ſimply I ſpeake what I ſuppoſe, without preiudice of other which can inferre any better reaſon. In the meane time my reaſon is this: that if God had not raiſed vp thys Cromwell as he did, to be the inſtrument of rooting out of the Abbeyes and Celles of ſtraunge religion, what other men ſee, I know not: for my part I neuer yet ſaw in thys Realme any ſuch Cromwell ſince Cromwels time, whoſe hart and courage might not ſooner haue bene ſubuerted with the money and bribes of Abbots, then he to haue ſubuerted any Abbey in all England.

The L. Cromwel a profitable inſtrument in ſuppreſſing Abbayes.

The defence of the L. Cromwell for ouerthrowing the Abbayes.

But heere I muſt of neceſſitie anſweare the complaynt of certayne of our countrey men. For ſo I heare of many, the ſubuerſion of theſe Monaſteries to be reprehended, as euill and wicked. The building (ſay they) mighte haue bene conuerted vnto ſchooles and houſes of learning. The goodes and poſſeſſions might haue bene beſtowed to much better and more godly vſe of the poore, and mainteining of hoſpitalitie. Neyther do I denie, but that theſe thyngs are well and godly ſpoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole hart, if I did not conſider heerein a more ſecret and deeper meaning of Gods holy prouidence, then at the firſt bluſh peraduenture to all men doth appeare.

The abhominable life in Monaſteryes, bewrayed by their owne confeſſiõ.

And firſt to omit the wicked and execrable life of theſe religious orders, ful of al feditie, & found out by the Kings viſitours, and in their Regiſters alſo recorded, ſo horrible to be heard, ſo incredible to be beleeued, ſo ſtinking before the face of God and man, that no maruayle it is if Gods vengeance from heauen prouoked, woulde not ſuffer anye ſtone or monument of theſe abhominable houſes to be vnplucked vp. But (as I ſayd) letting theſe things paſſe vnder chaſte ſilence, whiche for very ſhame will abhorre any ſtorie to diſcloſe: let vs now come to the firſt inſtitution of theſe orders and houſes of Monkerie, and conſider howe and to what end they were firſt inſtituted and erected here among the Saxons, at the firſt foundation of them, about the time 666.

Read afore pag. 133. 134.

The firſt beginning of religious houſes in the time of the Saxons.

In the former parte of thys Hyſtorie, declaration was made before, page 133. 134. firſt by whome, and at what time theſe Monkiſh houſes heere in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of Saint Benet, and brought in by Auguſtine) began firſt to be founded, as by Auguſtine the Monke, Furſeus, Medulphus, Aidanus, Ceadda, king Wlferus, Oſwius, Elfreda, King Oſwys daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botulphus, Edeldreda, King Oſwald, Edgar, Erkenewaldus Biſhop, Ethelwoldus Biſhop of wincheſter, Oſketellus Archbiſhop of Yorke, Oſwaldus Biſhop of worceſter, Leſwinus Byſhop of Dorceſter, Dunſtane, and diuers other.

The ende and cauſe of building religious houſes.

The end and final cauſe why they were builded, appeareth in ſtories to be, pro remiſsione & redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio & liberatione animæ: pro amore cœleſtis patriæ: in eleemoſinam animæ: in remiſsionem criminum: pro ſalute Regnorum: pro ſalute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrum, & ſororum noſtrarum parentum, & omnium benefactorum: in honorem glorioſæ Virginis, &c. As may appeare in auncient hiſtories, in olde Charters and donations vnto religious houſes, and in the Chronicle of Ingulphus, as alſo all other ſtories be full of the ſame.

The damnable doctrine and inſtitutions of religious ſectes and orders.

So King Ethelſtane for killing his brother Edwyne, builded two Monaſteries, Midleton, and Michelneye, for his ſoule, page. 152. which doctrine and inſtitution, for ſo much as it tendeth and ſoundeth directly againſt the foundation of Chriſtian religion, againſt the Teſtamẽt of God, the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, the freedome of our redemption, and free iuſtification by fayth, it is therfore to be condẽned as execrable and horrible, as euil or worſe then the life of the perſons, and not only worthy to be ſuppreſſed to the foundation, but to be marueiled rather that God woulde ſuffer it to ſtand ſo long. Albeit Gods mighty vengeance and ſcourge hath not ceaſed from time to time, to worke againſte ſuche impious foundations from the time of their firſt ſetting vp. For beſides the inuaſions of the Danes, (whiche may ſeeme to be ſtirred vp of God, eſpecially for the ſubuerſion of Abbeyes) let old hyſtories be ſearched, what Monaſterie almoſt in all this Realme, was eyther leaſt by the Danes, or reedified agayne after the Danes, but by ſome notorious caſualty of fire ſent by Gods hand, it hath bene burnt vp.

Gods con- tinu- agaynſt Abbeys.

Ex Ch Geru Ingulp Peterb row. Walſin Weſtm Houed Galfr Conti Fabian Williel Malm

Firſt, the Monaſterie of Caunterbury, called the houſe of S. Gregory, was burnt, an. 1145. and afterward againe burnt, an. 1174. Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

The Abbey of Croyland alſo was twiſe burnt. Ex hiſt. Ingulphi.

The Abbey of Peterborow twiſe ſet on fire, an. 1070. Ex Chron. Peterb.

The Abbey of S. Maries in Yorke burnt, with the hoſpitall alſo.

The Abbey of Norwich burnt.

The Abbey of S. Edmunds Bury burnt and deſtroyed. Ex Chron. S. Edmund.

The Abbey of worceſter burnt.

The Abbey of Glocceſter was alſo burnt.

The Abbey of Chicheſter burnt.

The Abbey of Glaſtenbury burnt.

The Abbey of S. Mary in Southwarke burnt.

The Church of the Abbey at Beuerley burnt.

The ſteeple of the Abbey of Eueſham burnt.

Abbeyes burnt and plagued with fire.

These, with many other monaſteries mo, God brought downe to the ground, ſo that few or none of all the Monaſticall foundations in all England, either before the Conqueſt eſcaped the hands of the Danes and Scottes, or elſe after the Conqueſt eſcaped deſtruction of fire, and that not without iuſt cauſe deſerued: for as the trade of their lyues was too too wretched and beſtiall, ſo the profeſſion of their doctrine was intollerable, fraught with all ſuperſtition, full of much Idolatrie, and vtterly contrary to the grace of the Goſpell and doctrine of Chriſt.

The doctr of the monkes worſe th their liue

Furthermore, the more theſe Abbeyes multiplyed, and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption ſtill they drew vnto them. And albeit we reade the name of Monkes to haue continued from the old auncient time, yet notwithſtanding the Monkes of thoſe dayes were not like to the Monkes of our time, nor their houſes then, like to our Abbeyes nowe. So we reade of the Monkes of Bangor before the comming of Auguſtine: but thoſe Monkes got their liuing with toyle and labour of their hands, and had no other lands nor lordſhips to liue vpõ. Againe, neither were they as Miniſters then, but as Laye men: according as Hierome deſcribeth the Monkes of his time, ſayeng: Monachus non docentis, ſed plangentis habet officium. And againe he ſayeth: Alia cauſa eſt Monachi, alia Clerici. Clerici oues paſcunt. Ego paſcor. That is, A Monkes office is not to preache, but to mourne. The ſtate of a Monke is one thing, and the ſtate of a Prieſt is another. Prieſtes feede the flocke of Chriſt. I am fedde, &c.

16. q. 1. Mo chus, 16. q. 1. Al cauſa. Gl 62.

Ex Chro Ingulph Abbot Croyla

Alſo in the ſtorie of Ingulphus Abbot of Croylande, thus I finde, an. 1075. In Croylandiam primum inſtallatus inueni tunc in iſto Monaſterio Croylandẽſi Monachos numero, 62. Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum Monaſteriorum Monachos noſtri capituli conprofeſſos, &c. That is, Being inſtalled in the Abbey of Croyland, I found there to the number of lxij. Monkes. Of which Monkes, foure of them were laye breethren, beſides the Monkes of other Monaſteries, which were alſo profeſſed to our Chapter, &c.

Lay men ceued for Monkes monaſt

Monks bidden t intermed in eccleſi ſticall ma ters.

The like matter alſo appeareth in the fourth Canon of the Councell of Chalcedon, where it is prouided Ne Monachi ſe Eccleſiaſticis negotijs immiſceant, &c. Et Leo Epiſt. 62. Vetat Monachos & laicos etſi ſcientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi. Whereof reade more page. 154.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that Monkes in the firſte perſecutions of the Primitiue Church were lay men, and companies of Chriſtians aſſociating themſelues together, eyther for feare of perſecution, or for eſchewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterward in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Chriſtianitie, the monkes yet keeping their name, & growing in ſuperſtition, woulde not ioyne with other Chriſtians, but keepe ſtill their brotherhodes, diuiding themſelues from other Chriſtians, and profeſſing a kinde of life ſtraunge and diuers from the common trade. Vpõ this diuerſitie of life and profeſſion, folowed alſo like diuerſitie of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this moreouer came in the rule of S. Benedict,

Monkes uers fro ther tradi Monke uers fr ther in parell.

Benedict, enioyning to them a preſcribed forme of goyng, of wearing, of watching, ſleeping, riſing, praying, of ſilẽce, ſole life and diet, and all thinges almoſt differing from the vulgar ſort of common Chriſtians.

Whereby men ſeeing theyr auſterity, beganne to haue them in great admiration. And thus growing vp in opinion of holines, of lay men and laborers they came at length to be Clergy men, and greateſt doers of all other in Chriſtes religion: In ſo muche that at laſt there was none reputed almoſt for a religious man or perfect chriſtian vnles he were a monk: neither almoſt was any aduaũced to any dignity of the Church, but either he was a monke, or afterward he put on a monkes weede: According as in the ſtories of this Realme is to be ſeene, howe in the tyme of Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of Ethelwold Byſhop of Worceſter, and of Oſwald Biſhop of Wincheſter, Pope Iohn. 13. writing to king Edgar, willed him in hys letters, to ſee in his Cathedrall Churches none to be promoted to be Biſhops, but ſuch as were of the Monaſticall religion, and willed him moreouer to exclude the ſecular prebendaries at Wincheſter, and to place in Monkes, and that none of the ſecular Clerkes there ſhould be choſen biſhop, but either taken out of the ſame Couent of that churche, or of ſome other Abbey.

So was alſo king Henry the ſecond commaũded to do in the houſe of Waltham, where the ſecular Canons were remoued out, and regular Canons intruded. The ſame did Oſwald Biſhop with the Church of Worceter, likewiſe in their Sees did Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Oſketellus Archbiſhop of York, Ethelwold Biſhop of Worceſter (who in ſtorye is reported to be Multorum fundator Monaſteriorum,) Leſwinus alſo Biſhop of Dorceſter, with other Biſhops moe about the time and raign of king Edgar. Odo Archbiſhop of Caunterbury before Dunſtane, an. 934. after his election refuſed to take that dignity vpon him, before he had receiued the habite of a monk in the Abbey of Florence in Fraunce, becauſe as the ſtory telleth (if it be true) Nullus ad id tempus niſi monachali ſchemate indutus, Archiepiſcopus fuiſſet. &c. That is, Becauſe all the Archbiſhops of Caunterbury before him, had bene Monkes. &c. In like maner Baldwinus alſo an. 1114. after he was elected Archb. of Caunterbury, tooke vpon him the habite and profeſſion of Mereton Abbey. And ſo did Reginaldus his next ſucceſſor after him. &c.

Guliel. ...meſb. in Odo-

...Neabur- ...lib. 4. ...33.

As concerning therfore the origene of Monks, ye haue heard how firſt they began of lay mẽ onely, leading a ſtraiter life from the ſociety of other perſons, who then folowing the rule of S Benet, were called regulars & votaries, and yet all this while had nothing to do with any Eccleſiaſticall miniſtery, til the time of Pope Bonifacius ẏ fourth an. 606. who then made a decree, that monkes might vſe the office of preaching, of the chriſtening, of hearing confeſsions and aſſoyling thẽ of their ſinnes, differing from prieſtes onely in this, that they were called Regulares, and prieſtes were called Seculares, the monkes were votaries, the prieſtes had free liberty to haue wiues, til the time of Lanfranke and Anſelme, as is aforeſayd. Albeit Athanaſius in his Epiſtle Ad Dracontium, witneſſeth alſo, that he knewe Monkes in the olde time and Biſhops, which were maryed and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance & ſuperſtition with time encreaſed, ſo the number and ſwarme of monkes ſtill more and more multiplied, in ſuch ſort, as not onely they thruſt out ſecular Prieſtes frõ their houſes, but alſo out of them were made, Popes, Cardinalles, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, to gouerne Churches. Of which nũber began Auſten the firſt Archbiſhop of the See of Cant. and the moſt part of all other Arbiſhops after him, vntill the time of the Conqueſt, and after.

All this while the Friers were not yet come, neyther the diſcipline of S. Dominike, nor the Teſtament of S. Fraunces, nor the order of the Auſten brothers, nor of the Carmelites was yet heard of. Which laſt of all came in wt theyr pageans, and played theyr part likewiſe, an. 1220. being much more full of hipocriſy, blindneſſe, Idolatry, and ſuperſtition, then were the monkes: So that, what with monkes of ẏ one ſide, & wt the friers, of the other ſide while all thinges were ruled by the Rules of S. Benet, by ẏ Canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominike, and by the Teſtament of S. Fraunces, Chriſtes Teſtament was trode vnder foote, the rule of Gods word neglected, true Chriſtian religion defaced, fayth forgotten, the right way of ſaluation aboliſhed, ſound doctrine oppreſſed, Chriſtes ſeruants perſecuted, and the peoples ſoules vncomforted: yea and the true Church of Chriſt almoſt cleane extirped, had not almighty God (who can not forgette his promiſe, prouided remedy in time, in rayſing vp this Cromwel his ſeruaunt, and other like champions, to cut vppe from the roote of the houſes of them, which otherwiſe would vtterly haue rooted vp the houſe of the Lord, & had ſubuerted a great part already.

Wherefore, whoſoeuer findeth himſelfe agreeued with Cromwels doinges in ſuppreſſing theſe Monaſteryes of Monkes and Fryers, let him wiſely conſider with hymſelfe, firſt the doctrine, lawes and traditions of theſe men, which he ſhall find rebelling to the religion of Chriſt, pernitions to our ſaluation, derogatory to Chriſtes glory, full of much blaſphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewiſe wel aduiſe the horrible and execrable liues of theſe Cloyſterers, or at ẏ leaſt ſearch out the rolles and regiſters of matters found out by inquiſition in king Henry the eight his dayes, agaynſt them: which here is not to be ſpoken of, vnles we will ſpeake as Mathew Paris ſpeaketh of the Court of Rome: Cuius fœtor vſque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat: That is, Whoſe filthy ſtinch (ſaith he) did breath vp a moſt peſtiferous fume, euen vnto the cloudes of heauen. &c.

The lyfe of Monkes and Fryers conſidered.

All which thinges well conſidered, what maruell is it then, if God of his iuſt iudgement did ſet vp the foreſayde Lord Cromwell to deſtroy theſe ſinfull houſes, whõ theyr owne corruptions could ſuffer no longer to ſtand? And as touching the diſsipation of theyr landes and poſſeſſions to the handes of ſuch as they were beſtowed vpon: if it ſo pleaſed the king in beſtowing thoſe Abbey landes vpon his Nobles and Gentlemen, either to reſtore them againe vnto them from whence they came, or els to gratifie hys nobility, by that meanes of pollicye not to miſlike his doings, what is that to Cromwel? But they might (ſay you) haue bene much better employed to other more fruitfull vſes. Briefely to aunſwere thereunto, what may be done preſently in a common wealth, is not enough to ſay: but what may alſo folow muſt be conſidered. If thys throwing downe of Abbeys had happened in ſuch free and reformed cities or countryes, as are amongeſt the Germanes, where the ſtate gouerned & directed by lawes, rather then by rulers, remayneth alwayes alike and vnmutable, who doubteth but ſuch houſes there ſtanding ſtill, ẏ poſſeſſions might well be tranſpoſed to ſuch vſes aboueſayd, without any feare or perill? But in ſuche Realmes and Kingdomes as this, wher Lawes and Parliamentes be not alwayes one, but are ſubiect to the diſpoſition of the prince: neither is it certayne alwayes what Princes maye come: ẏ ſureſt way therfore to ſend Monkery & Popery packing out of the realme, is to doe with their houſes and poſſeſſions as king Henry here did, through ẏ motion of ẏ counſell of Cromwell. For els who ſeeth not in Queene Maries time, if either the houſes of monkes had ſtand or their landes had bene otherwiſe diſpoſed then into the handes of ſuch as they were, how many of them had bene reſtored & repleniſhed agayn wt monkes & fryers, in as ample wiſe as euer they were? And if Dukes, Barons and the Nobilities ſcarſe were able to retayne the landes and poſſeſſions of Abbeyes diſtributed to them by king Henry, from the deuotion of Queene Mary, ſeeking to build agayne the walles of Hierico, what then ſhoulde the meaner ſorte haue done, let other men coniecture. Wherfore it is not vnlike, but that Gods heauenly prouidence did well foreſee and diſpoſe theſe thinges before by this man, in workyng the deſtruction of theſe Abbeyes: whereupon, as often as he ſent out any men to ſuppreſſe any monaſterie, hee vſed commonly to ſend them with this charge, that they ſhuld throw downe thoſe houſes euen to the foundation.

The Lord Cromwell defended in ſuppreſſing Abbayes.

Diſsipation of Abbay landes in England expedient.

The vtter ruine of Monaſteryes, was Gods worke.

Which wordes although may ſeeme percaſe to ſome to be cruelly ſpoken of hym: yet contrariwiſe doe I ſuppoſe the doing thereof not to be without Gods ſpeciall prouidence and ſecret guiding: Or els we might peraduenture haue had ſuche ſwarmes of fryers and monkes poſſeſſed in theyr neſtes agayne, before this day in England, in ſo great a number, that tenne Cromwels afterward vnneth ſhould haue ſuffered to haue vnhouſed them.

Wherfore, if the plantation which the Lord God neuer planted, be pluckt vp by the rootes, let God alone wyth his working, and let the monaſteries goe.

Math. 15.

Now that you haue ſeene, what this Malleus Monachorum hath done in defacing the Sinagogue of the pope: let vs ſee how the ſayd Cromwell againe did trauayle in ſetting vp Chriſtes church and congregation.

Malleus Monachorum Cromwellus.

After that the biſhop of Romes power and authoritye was baniſhed out of England, the biſhops of his ſect neuer ceaſed to ſeeke all occaſion, how eyther to reſtore hys head agayne, being broken and wounded, or at the leaſt to keepe vpright thoſe thinges which yet remayned: wherein although theyr labours were not altogether fruſtrate, yet had they brought much more to paſſe, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not reſiſted continually theyr enterpriſes.

Cromwell the Forte & defence of the Church.

It happened, that after the aboliſhing of the Pope,

An aſſembly of learned men appoynted by the king.

Cromwel with Alex. Aleſius reſort to the aſſembly.

certayne tumultes began to riſe about religion. wherupō it ſeemed good vnto king Henry, to appoynt an aſſemblye of learned men and Biſhops, which ſhould ſoberly & modeſtly entreat and determine thoſe thinges which perteyned vnto Religion. Briefely, at the kinges pleaſure all the learned men, but ſpecially the Biſhops aſſembled, to whō this matter ſeemed chiefely to belong. Cromwell thought alſo to be preſent himſelfe with the Byſhoppes, who by chaunce meeting with Alexander Aleſius by the way, a Scottiſh man, brought him with him to the conuocation houſe, where all the Biſhoppes were aſſembled together. which was in the yeare. 1537. The Biſhops and Prelates attending vppon the comming of Cromwell, as he was come in, roſe vp, and did obeyſaunce to him as to their vicar generall, and he agayn ſaluted euery one in theyr degree, and ſate downe in the higheſt place at the table, according to his degree and office, and after him euery biſhop in his order, and Doctours. Firſt ouer agaynſt him ſate the Archb. of Canterbury, then the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhops of London, Lincolne, Saliſbury, Bath, Ely, Herford, Chycheſter, Norwich, Rocheſter and worceſter. &c. There Cromwel in ẏ name of the king (whoſe moſt deare and ſecret Counſellour at that preſent he was, and Lorde priuy Seale, and vicar generall of the realme) ſpake theſe wordes in maner folowing.

Cromwells Oration to the byſhops.

Right reuerend fathers in Chriſte: The kinges maieſty geueth you high thankes that ye haue ſo diligently without any excuſe, aſſembled hither according to his commaūdement. And ye be not ignoraunt that ye be called hither to determine certayne controuerſies, which at this time be moued concerning the chriſtian Religion and fayth, not onely in this Realme, but alſo in all nations through the world. For the king ſtudyeth day and nyght to ſet a quietneſſe in the Churche, and he can not reſt, vntill all ſuch controuerſies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you & of his whole Parliament. For although his ſpeciall deſire is to ſet a ſtay for the vnlearned people, whoſe cōſciences are in doubt what they may beleue: and he himſelfe by his excellent learning, knoweth theſe controuerſies wel enough, yet he will ſuffer no common alteration, but by the conſent of you and of his whole Parliamēt. By the which thing ye may perceiue both his high wiſedome, and alſo his great loue towarde you. And he deſireth you for Chriſtes ſake, that all malice obſtinacy, and carnall reſpecte ſet apart. ye will frendly and louinglye diſpute among your ſelues, of the controuerſies moued in the Churche, and that ye will conclude all thinges by the woord of God, without all brawling or ſcolding: neither will his maieſtye ſuffer the Scripture to be wraſted and defaced by any Gloſes, any papiſticall Lawes, or by any authority of Doctours or Counſelles, and muche leſſe will he admitte any articles or doctrine, not conteyned in the Scripture, but approued onely by continuaunce of time and olde cuſtome, and by vnwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know wel enough that ye be bound to ſhew this ſeruice to Chriſt and to his Church, and yet notwithſtanding his maieſtye will geue you high thankes, if ye will ſette and conclude a godly and a perfect vnity: whereunto this is the onelye way and meane, if ye wil determine all thinges by the Scripture, as God commaundeth you in Deuteronomie, whiche thing hys maieſty exhorteth and deſireth you to do.

The kinges requeſt to the Biſhops.

When Cromwel had ended this his Oration, the Byſhops roſe vp altogether, geuing thankes vnto the kings maieſty, not for his great zeale toward the church of chriſt and alſo for his moſt godly exhortation, worthy ſo Chriſtian a prince.

Immediately they roſe vp to diſputation, where as Stokeſly Biſhop of London, firſt of all, being the moſte earneſt champion & maynteyner of the Romiſh Decrees, (whō Cromwel a litle before had checked by name, for defending vnwritten verities) endeuoured himſelfe with all his labour and induſtry, out of the olde Schole Gloſes, to maynteyne the ſeuen Sacramentes of the Churche. The Archb. of Yorke, Lincolne, Bath, Chicheſter, & Norwiche alſo fauoured his part and ſect. On the contrary part, was the Archb. of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Ely, Harford, and worceſter, with many other.

Stokeſly defendeth the 7. Sacramentes.

After much communication had on either part, & that they had long contended about the teſtimonyes of the Doctors, which as it ſeemed vnto them, diſſented & diſagreed among themſelues, the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury at the laſt ſpake and ſayd thus vnto them.

The Archb. of of Canterburies Oration to the Byſhops.

It beſemeth not men of learning and grauity to make much babling and brawling, about bare wordes, ſo that we agree in the very ſubſtance & effect of the matter. For to brawle about words is the property of Sophiſters & ſuch as meane deceit & ſubtlety, which delight in the debate and diſſenſion of the world, & in the miſerable ſtate of the Churche: and not of them whiche ſhoulde ſeeke the glory of Chriſt, and ſhould ſtudy for the vnitie & quietnes of the Church. There be waighty controuerſies nowe moued and put forth not of ceremonies and light thinges, but of the true vnderſtanding, and of the right difference of the lawe, and of the Goſpell: of the maner and waye how ſinnes bee forgeuen of comforting doubtfull and wauering conſciences, by what meanes they may be certified, that they pleaſe God, ſeeing they feele the ſtrength of the lawe, accuſing them of ſinne: of the true vſe of the Sacramentes, whether the outward worke of thē doth iuſtifie man, or whether we receaue our iuſtification by fayth. Item, which be the good workes, and the true ſeruice and honour which pleaſeth God: and whether the choyſe of meates, the difference of garmentes, the vowes of Monkes and prieſtes, and other traditions which haue no worde of God to confirme them: whether theſe (I ſay) be right good workes, and ſuche as make a perfect Chriſtian man or no. Item, whether vayne ſeruice, and falſe honouring of God, and mans traditions, doe binde mens conſciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and ſuch other (whiche cannot be proued to be inſtitute of Chriſt, nor haue anye worde in them to certifie vs of remiſſion of ſinnes) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptiſme and the ſupper of the Lord or no?

Theſe be no light matters, but euen the principall poyntes of our Chriſtian religion. Wherfore we contēd not about words and titles, but about high and earneſt matters. Chriſt ſaith. Bleſſed be the peacemakers, for they ſhalbe called the ſonnes of God. And Paule writing vnto Timothie, commaunded Byſhops to auoyde brawling and contention about wordes, whych be profitable to nothing but vnto the ſubuerſion and deſtructiō of the hearers: and moniſheth him ſpecially, that he ſhould reſiſt with the ſcriptures whē any man diſputeth with him of the fayth: and he addeth a cauſe wheras he ſayth: Doing this thou ſhalt preſerue both thy ſelfe, & alſo them which heare thee: Now if ye will folow theſe Counſellers, Chriſt and Paul, all contentiō and brawling about words muſt be ſet apart, and ye muſt ſtabliſh a godly and a perfecte vnity and concorde out of the Scripture. Wherfore in this diſputatiō, we muſt firſt agree of the number of the Sacramentes, and what a Sacrament doth ſignify in the holye ſcripture, & when we call Baptiſme & the Supper of the lord, Sacramentes of the Goſpell, what we meane thereby. I know right well, that S. Ambroſe and other Authors call the waſhing of the Diſciples feete and other thinges, Sacramentes: which I am ſure you your ſelues woulde not ſuffer to be numbred among the other Sacramentes.

When he had ended his Oration, Cromwel commaunded Aleſius which ſtode by (whome he perceiued to geue attentiue eare to that which was ſpokē) to ſhew his mind and opinion, declaring to the Biſhops before, that he was the kinges ſcholer, and therefore deſired them to be contented to heare him indifferently.

Aleſius after he had firſt done his duety vnto the Lord Cromwell, and to the other Prelates of the Church, ſayde in this wiſe.

Right honorable & noble Lord, and you moſt reuerend Fathers and Prelates of the Churche, although I come vnprepared vnto this diſputatiō yet truſting in the ayd of Chriſt which promiſeth to geue both mouth and wiſedome vnto vs when we be required of our fayth, I wil vtter my ſentence and iudgement of this diſputation. And I thinke that my Lord Archbiſhop hath geuen you a profitable exhortation, that ye ſhould firſt agree of the ſignification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a ſacrament, a ceremony inſtitute of Chriſt in the goſpell, to ſignify a ſpecial or a ſinguler vertue of the goſpell, and of godlines (as Paule nameth remiſſion of ſinnes to be) or whether ye meane, euery ceremony generally, which may be a tokē or a ſignification of an holy thing, to be a ſacrament. For after this latter ſignification, I will not ſticke to graunt you that there be ſeuen Sacramentes and more too, if ye wyll. But yet Paul ſeemeth to deſcribe a ſacrament after the iuſt ſignification, where as he ſayth: That Circumciſion is a token & a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of fayth. This definitiō of one particular ſacrament, muſt be vnderſtand to perteyne vnto all ſacramentes generally, for the Iewes had but one Sacrament onely, as all the ſophiſtical writers do graūt. And he deſcribed Baptiſme after the ſame maner, in the fifte to the Epheſians, whereas he ſayth. That Chriſt doth ſanctify the Church (that is to ſay, all that be baptiſed through the bath of water in the word of life. For here alſo he addeth the word & promiſe of God vnto the ceremonye. And Chriſt alſo requireth fayth, where he ſayth: Who ſoeuer beleueth, and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued.

And S. Auguſtine deſcribeth a Sacrament thus: The word of God comming vnto the element, maketh the ſacrament. And in an other place he ſayth; A ſacrament is a thing wherin the power of God, vnder the forme of viſible thinges, doth worke ſecretly ſaluation. And the Mayſter of the Sentences doth deſcribe a Sacrament no otherwyſe. A Sacrament (ſayth he) is an inuiſible grace, and hath a viſible forme: and by this inuiſible grace, I meane (ſayth he) remiſſion of ſinnes. Finally Saynt Thomas denyeth that any man hath authority to inſtitute a Sacrament. Now if ye agree vnto this definition of a Sacrament, it is an eaſye thing to iudge of the number of Sacramentes which haue the manifeſt word of God, and be inſtitute by Chriſt to ſignify vnto vs the remiſſion of our ſinnes.

ds word d promiſe ng with outward emony, keth a crament. definition a Sacra- ent. o man h power make any acrament.

S. Auguſtine ſayth, that there be but two ſuch Sacramentes, in the .cxviij. Epiſtle to Ianuarius. His wordes be theſe: Firſt, I would haue thee to vnderſtand the ſumme and effect of this diſputation, which is this: that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt (as he himſelfe ſayth in the Goſpell) hath ladē vs, but with a light and eaſy yoke or burden. Wherefore he hath knit together the felowſhip of his new people with Sacraments, very few in nūber, very eaſy to be kept: & very excellent in ſignification, which be Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord, and ſuch other, if there be any moe commaunded in the holye Scripture, thoſe excepte which were burdens for the ſeruitude of the people in the olde law, for the hardnes of theyr hartes. &c. And agayne in the iij. booke of the learning of a Chriſtian man, he ſayth: The Scripture hath taught vs but few ſignes, as be the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the ſolemne celebration and remembraunce of the body and bloud of the Lord. &c.

guſt. ad nuarium piſt. 118.

Chriſtes Church arged but th few & ſie Sacra- entes.

guſt. de octrina Chriſtiana. b. 3.

Then the Biſhop of London which could ſcarſly reſtrayne himſelfe all this while, and now could forbeare no longer, brake out in this maner. Firſt of al (ſaith he) where you alledge, that all the Sacramēts which are in yͤ church inſtituted by Chriſt himſelfe, haue eyther ſome manyfeſt ground in the Scriptures, or ought to ſhew forth ſome ſignification of remiſſion of ſinnes, it is falſe and not to be allowed.

okeſly re- yeth a- ynſt Ale- m.

Then ſayd Aleſius, that he would proue it, not only by manifeſt authority of ſcriptures, but alſo by euident teſtimonies of auncient Doctors and ſcholewriters.

But the Biſhop of Herford which was then lately returned out of Germany (where he had bene Ambaſſadour for the king to the Proteſtantes) being moued with the biſhop of Londons frowardnes, turning himſelfe firſt to Alexander Aleſius, willed him not to contend with the Byſhop in ſuch maner, by the teſtimonies of Doctors & ſcholemen, forſomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they ſtedfaſt among themſelues in all poyntes, but do vary and in many poyntes are vtterly repugnant. Wherfore if this diſputation ſhalbe decided by their minds and verdites, there ſhalbe nothing eſtabliſhed neither ſhal appeare any way of agrement to follow. Furthermore we be cōmaunded by the king that theſe controuerſies ſhould be determined onely by the rule and iudgement of yͤ ſcripture. This he ſpake vnto Aleſius. Then he turning himſelfe vnto the Biſhops, likewiſe admoniſhed them with a graue and ſharpe Oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

e Biſhop Herford eaketh.

octours to be t vnto in tters of th. that they y in the lues.

Thinke ye not (ſayd he) that we can by any Sophiſticall ſubtilties ſteale out of the world agayne, the light which euery man doth ſee. Chriſt hath ſo lightned the worlde at this time, that the light of the Goſpell hath put to flight all miſty darckeneſſe, and it wil ſhortly haue the higher hand of all clouds, though we reſiſt in vayn neuer ſo much. The lay people do now know the holy ſcripture better then many of vs. And the Germanes haue made the text of the Bible ſo playne and eaſye by the Hebrue and Greeke tongue that now many thinges may be better vnderſtand without any gloſes at all, then by all the commentaries of the Doctours. And moreouer they haue ſo opened theſe controuerſyes by theyr writinges, that women and children may wonder at the blindneſſe and falſehood that hath bene hitherto. Wherefore ye muſt conſider earneſtly, what ye will determine of theſe controuerſies, that ye make not your ſelues to be mocked and laughed to ſcorne of al the world, and that ye bring them not to haue this opinion of you, to thinke euer more hereafter, that ye haue neyther one ſparke of learning, nor yet of godlines in you. And thus ſhall ye looſe all your eſtimation and authority with them, which before tooke you for learned men, and profitable members vnto the common wealth of Chriſtendome. For that whiche you doe hope vpon, that there was neuer hereſy in the Church ſo great, but that proceſſe of time with the power and authority of the Pope hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpoſe. But ye muſt turne your opinion, and thinke this ſurely, that there is nothing ſo feeble and weake, ſo that it be true, but it ſhall finde place, and be able to ſtand agaynſt all falſhood.

e Oratiō Foxe Bi- p of Her vnto Biſhops

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e faithful gence of Ger- es in ſlating Bible.

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Truth is the daughter of time, & time is the mother of trueth. And whatſoeuer is beſieged of truth, cannot long continue, and vpon whoſe ſide truth doth ſtand, that ought not to be thought trāſitory, or that it will euer fall. All things cōſiſt not in paynted eloquence and ſtrength or authority. For the trueth is of ſo great power, ſtrength & efficacy, that it can neither be defended wyth wordes, not to be ouercome with any ſtrength, but after ſhe hath hidden her ſelfe long, at length ſhe putteth vp her head and appeareth, as it is written in Eſdras: A king is ſtrong, wine is ſtronger, yet women be more ſtrong, but truth excelleth all.

Truth daughter of time.

The nature of truth.

3. Eſd. 4.

To this effect in a maner, & much more, did he ſpeake and vtter in that conuocation, both copiouſly and diſcretly. Through whoſe Oration, Aleſius being encouraged, proceded further, to vrge the Biſhop with this argument.

* The Argument in forme.

Ba- Sacramentes be ſeales acerteyning vs of Gods good wil:
ro- Without the word there is no certaynty of Gods good wille
co. Ergo, without the word there be no Sacraments.

Sacramentes be ſeales certyfiing vs of Gods good will.

The firſt part of this reaſon is S. Paules owne ſaying, the fourth to the Romanes, where he ſayth: That circumciſion is a token and a ſeale of the righteouſnes of fayth. Ergo, it requireth faith to certify mans hart of the will of god. But the word of God is the foundation of fayth as Saint Paule witneſſeth. Rom. 10. Fayth commeth by hearing, and hearing commeth by the worde of God. For the minde muſt be taught & inſtructed to yͤ will of God by the word, like as the eye is taught and inſtructed by the outward ceremony. And ſo Paule by that ſaying confuteth this opinion, that the Sacramentes ſhould make men righteous & iuſt before God, for yͤ very outward work, without faith of them that receiue them.

Rom. 4.

The word is the ground of faith. Rom. 10.

Ex opere operato.

And after this manner doth Paule ſpeake vnto the Epheſians: that Chriſt doth ſanctify his church through the bath of water in the word of life. And for as much as he ioyneth the word vnto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifeſtly teach that the word of God is the principall thing, and euen as it were the very ſubſtaunce & body of the Sacrament: and the outward ceremony to be nothing els then a token of that liuely inflamation whych we receiue through fayth in the word and promiſe. Saint Paule alſo in miniſtring the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper, doth manifeſtly adde the woordes of Chriſt: He tooke bread (ſayth he) and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it and ſayd, take ye this, and eate ye this, for it is my body. Item, Do ye this in my remembrance. Beſide this he teacheth euidently yͭ onely Chriſt and none but he had power to inſtitute a ſacrament: & that neither the Apoſtles, nor the Church hath any authority to alter or to adde any thing vnto his ordynaunce, whereas he ſaith: For I haue receiued of the Lord that which I deliuered vnto you. &c. To what purpoſe ſhoulde he go about to mooue the people to beleue him and to winne theyr hartes with this proteſtation, if it had bene lawefull for him to haue made any ſacramentes, or to haue altered the forme and maner of miniſtring this ſacramēt, as ſome men both wickedly and ſhameleſly do affirme, that the Apoſtles did alter the forme of Baptiſme.

Eph. 5.

Sacramentes onely to be gathered out of the word of God.

The inſtitution of Chriſt ought not to be altered 1. Cor. 11.

When he had ſpoken thus much, the B. of Londō dyd interrupt him, and ſayd: Let vs graūt that the ſacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are you farre deceiued, if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which euery ſowter and cobler doe reade in theyr mother tongue. And if ye thinke that nothing pertayneth vnto the Chriſtian fayth, but that onely that is written in the Bible, then erre ye playnely with the Lutherans. For S. Iohn ſayth: that Ieſus did many thinges which be not written. And S. Paul commaundeth the Theſſ. to obſerue and keep certeine vnwritten traditions & ceremonies. 2. Theſ. 2. Moreouer he himſelfe did preach not the ſcripture onely but euen alſo the traditions of the Elders. Act. xvi. Finally we haue receiued many things of the Doctors & Councels by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet for as much as the olde Doctors of the Churche do make mention of them, we ought to graunt that we receiued them of the Apoſtles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the word of God vnwritten.

The aunſwere of the Biſhop of London agaynſt Aleſius.

Iohn. 21. 2. Theſſ. 2.

Actes. 16. Vnwritten verities and traditions of fathers in equall force with Gods written word.

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell, the Archbiſhop, with the other Biſhops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the goſpel, heard this, they ſmiled a litle one vpō another, forasmuch as they ſaw him flee euen in yͤ very beginning of the diſputation, vnto his old ruſty ſophiſtry and vnwritten verities. Then Aleſius would haue proceded further with the Biſhop to haue confuted this blaſphemous lye, but the Lord Cromwell bade him be cōtent, for

The vnwritten word of God. Stokeſly laughed to ſcorne.

the time began to go away, and it was xij. of the clock, and thus he made an end wͭ his proteſtation. Right reuerend mayſter Biſhop, you deny that our chriſten fayth and religion doth leane only vpō the word of God which is written in the Bible, which thing if I can proue and declare, then you will graunt me that there be no ſacramentes, but thoſe that haue the manifeſt word of God to confirme thē. Unto this he did conſent, and then immediatly that aſſemble was diſſolued for that day.

The next day when the Biſhops were ſet agayne, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſending his Archdeacon, commaunded Aleſius to abſtayne from diſputation, wherupon he wrote his minde, and deliuered it vnto Cromwell, who afterward ſhewed the ſame vnto the Biſhops. Thus through the induſtry of Cromwell, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religiō could not wholy be reformed, yet at that time there was ſome reformation had throughout all England.

The publicke care of Cromwell for the cōmō wealth.

How deſirous and ſtudious this good Cromwel was in yͤ cauſe of Chriſts religiō, exāples need not to be broght. His whole life was nothing els, but a continuall care and trauell how to aduaunce and further the right knowledge of the Goſpell, and reforme the houſe of God: As by ſo many Proclamations aboue ſpecified by his meanes ſet forth, may well appeare, wherein firſt he cauſed the people to be inſtructed in the Lordes Prayer, and Creede in Engliſh, then procured the Scripture alſo to be read and ſet forth in the ſame language, for euery Engliſh man to vnderſtand: after that to reſcue the vulgar people from damnable Idolatry, cauſed certaine of the moſt groſſeſt pilgrimages to be deſtroyed. And further for the more commodity of the poore ſort, which get their liuing with their dayly labor & worke of their handes, he prouided that diuers idle holidayes were diminiſhed. Item he procured for thē liberty to eate egges and whitmeat in Lent. Furthermore by him it was alſo prouided for yͤ better inſtruction of the people, that beneficed mē ſhould be reſident in their Cures and pariſhes, there to teach and to keepe Hoſpitality, with many other thinges els moſt fruitfully redreſſed for the reformation of Religion and behoofe of Chriſtes Church: as by the Proclamatiōs, Iniunctions, and neceſſary articles of Chriſtian doctrine aboue ſpecified, ſet forth in the kings name, by his meanes, may more aboundauntly appeare. pag. 1069, 1070. &c.

Read afore pag. 1069. 1070. 1071, 1072. &c.

Now to adioyne withall his priuate benefites in helping diuers good men and women at ſundry times out of troubles and great diſtreſſes, it would require a long diſcourſe. Briefly his whole life was ful of ſuch examples, being a man to that intent ordeined of God (as his deedes well proued) to do many men good, and eſpecially ſuch as were in daunger of perſecutiō for religions ſake. Amongſt other infinite ſtories, one or two examples ſhall ſuffice for a teſtimony of his worthy doinges.

¶ How Cromwell holpe a poore woman with childe, out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent.

A ſtory of one Frebarnes wyfe, longing for a peece of meate in Lent,

Perſecuters.	Perſecuted.	The cauſe.
Fiſhers wife of Harneſey. D. Cockes. Biſhop Stokeſley. Holland his Sumner. M. Garter, king of Armes.	Thomas Frebarne and his Wife.	IN the yeare of our Lord. 1538. Syr william Formā being Maior of the citye of London, three weekes before Eaſter, the wyfe of one Tho. Frebarn dwelling in Pater noſter row, being wͭ childe, lōged after a morſell of a pigge, and told her minde vnto a Mayde dwelling in Abchurch lane, deſiring her, if it were poſſible, to helpe her vnto a piece. The mayd perceiuing her

earneſt deſire, ſhewed vnto her huſbād, what his wife had ſayd vnto her, telling him that it might chaunce to coſt her her life and the childes too whiche ſhe went withall, if ſhe had it not. Uppon this Thomas Frebarne her huſbande ſpake to a butter wife which he knew, yͭ dwelled at Harnſey, named goodwife Fiſher, to helpe him vnto a pigge for his wife, for ſhe was with childe, & longed ſore to eate of a pigge. Unto whome the ſayde goodwife Fiſher promiſed that ſhe would bring him one the Friday folowing, and ſo ſhe did, being ready dreſſed and ſcalded before. But when ſhe had deliuered him the pigge, ſhe craftily conueyed one of the pigges feete, & caried it vnto Doctor Cockes, at that time being Deane of Caunterbury, dwelling in Iuy lane, who at that time of his dinner, before certain geſtes which he had bidden, ſhewed his pigs foot, declaring who had the body therof: and after that they had talked theyr pleaſure, & dinner was done, one of his geſtes being landlord vnto Frebarne aforeſayd, called M. Garter, & by his office king of Armes, ſent his man vnto the ſayd Frebarne, demaunding if there were no body ſicke in his houſe. Unto whom he aunſwered, that they were all in good health, he gaue God thankes. Then ſayde he agayne, it was tolde hys Mayſter that ſome body was ſicke, or els they would not eate fleſh in Lent. Unto whom Frebarne made aunſwere, that his wife was with childe, and longed for a piece of a pigge, and if he could get ſome for her, he would. Then departed his Landlordes man home agayne.

And ſhortly after his Landlord ſent for him. But before that he ſent for him, he had ſent for the biſhop of Londons Sumner, whoſe name was Hollōd, & whē this Frebarne was come, he demaunded of him, if he had not a pig in his houſe, which he denyed not. Then commaunded Mayſter Garter the ſayde Sumner called Hollond, to take him, and goe home to hys houſe, and to take the Pygge, and carry both him and the Pigge vnto Doctour Stokeſley his Mayſter, being then Biſhop of London, & ſo he did. Then the Biſhop being in his chamber, with diuers other of the Clergy, called this Frebarne before him, and had him in examination for this pigge, laying alſo vnto his charge, that he had eaten in his houſe that lent, powdred beefe and Calues heades. Unto whom Frebarne anſwered. My Lord, if the heades were eaten in my houſe, in whoſe houſes were the bodyes eaten? Alſo if there be eyther man or woman that can proue, that either I, or any in my houſe hath done as your Lordſhip ſayth, let me ſuffer death therfore. You ſpeake (ſayd he) agaynſt pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, holy water, nor yet goe on Proceſſion on Palme Sonday: Thou art no Chriſtian man. My Lord, ſayd Frebarne, I truſt I am a true Chriſten man, & haue done nothing neither agaynſt Gods law nor my princes.

In the time of this his examination, which was during the ſpace of two houres, diuers came vnto the biſhop, ſome to haue theyr childrē confirmed, & ſome for other cauſes. Unto whom as they came, hauing the pig before hym couered, he would lift vp the cloth and ſhew it them, ſaying: How thinke you of ſuch a felow as this is? is not this good meate, I pray you, to be eaten in this bleſſed time of Lent, yea and alſo powdred Beefe and Calues heades too beſide this?

After this the Biſhoppe called his Sumner vnto him, and commaunded him to go and carry this Thomas Frebarne and the pig openly thorow the ſtreetes, into the olde Bayly, vnto Syr Roger Chomley, for the Biſhop ſayd, he had nothing to do to puniſh him, for that belonged vnto yͤ ciuill magiſtrates, and ſo was Frebarne caryed wͭ the pyg before him, to ſir Roger Chomleis houſe in the old Baily, & he being not at home at that time, Frebarne was broght likewiſe back agayne vnto the biſhops place with the pig, and there lay in the porters lodge till it was 9. a clocke at night. Then the biſhop ſent him vnto the Counter in the Poultry by the Sumner and other of his ſeruauntes.

The next day being Saterday, he was brought before the Maior of London & his brethren, vnto Guild hall, but before his comming, they had the pig deliuered vnto them by the Biſhops officer. Then the Maior and the Benche layd vnto his charge (as they were informed from the Biſhop) that he had eaten powdred beefe and Calues heades in his houſe the ſame Lent, but no man was able to come in that would iuſtify it, neither could any thing be found, ſaue onely the Pig, which (as is before ſayd) was for the preſeruation of his wiues life, and that ſhe went withall. Notwithſtanding the Maior of London ſayde, that the Monday next folowing, he ſhould ſtand on the Pillary in Cheapeſide, with the one halfe of the pig on the one ſhoulder, and the other halfe on the other.

Then ſpake the wyfe of the ſayd Frebarne vnto the Maior and the Benche, deſiring that ſhe myght ſtand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they tooke a ſatten liſt, & tide it faſt about the pigs neck, and made Frebarne to cary it hanging on his ſhoulder vntill he came vnto the Counter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wyfe of this Priſoner tooke with her an honeſt woman, the wyfe of one Michaell Lobley, whiche was well acquaynted with diuers in the Lord Cromwelles houſe, vnto whom the ſayde woman reſorted for ſome helpe for this priſoner, deſiring them to ſpeake vnto theyr Lord and Mayſter for his deliueraunce out of trouble.

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It happened that the ſame time came in Doctour Barnes and Mayſter Barlowe, who vnderſtandyng the matter by Lobleys wife, went vp to the Lord Cromwell, and certified him therof: who vpon their requeſt, ſent for the Maior of the City of London: but what was ſayd vnto the Lord Maior, is vnknowne, ſauing that in the after noone of the ſame day, the wife of the perſon aforeſayd reſorted agayne vnto the Lord Maior, ſuyng to get her huſband deliuered out of priſon, declaring how that ſhe had 2. ſmall children, and had nothing to helpe her and them, but onely her huſband, who laboured for theyr liuings. Vnto whom the Maior aunſwered, what come ye to me? You are taken vp with the Kinges Counſell. I ſuppoſed that you had come to deſire me that your huſbande ſhould not ſtand vpon the Pillary in Cheapeſide on Monday next, with the one halfe of the pyg on his one ſhoulder and the other halfe on the other. Alſo the Maior ſayd vnto her, that he could not deliuer him without the conſent of the reſt of his brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day folowing, which was Sonday, to reſort vnto Paules to Saint Dunſtones Chappell, and when he had ſpoken with his brethren, he woulde then tell her more. Other anſwere could ſhe get none at that time. Wherfore ſhe went vnto M. Wilkenſon, then being Shereffe of London, deſiring him to be good vnto her, and that ſhe might haue her poore huſband out of priſon. Vnto whom M. Wilkenſon anſwered: O woman, Chriſt hath layd a piece of his croſſe vpon thy necke, to proue whether thou wilt helpe hym to beare it or no, ſaying moreouer to her, that if the Lord Maior had ſent him to his Counter, as he ſent him to his brothers, he ſhould not haue taryed there an houre, and ſo cõmaunded her to come the next day vnto him to dinner, and he would do ẏ beſt for her he could. So the next day came, & this woman reſorted again to M. Wilkenſõs, according as he bad her, who alſo had bidde diuers geſtes: vnto whõ he ſpake in her behalfe. But as they were ſet at dinner, and ſhe alſo ſitting at the table, whẽ ſhe ſaw the hote fiſh come in, ſhe fell downe in a ſwound, ſo that for the ſpace of two houres ſhe could keepe no life in her. Wherefore they ſent her home to her houſe in Pater noſter row, and then they ſent for the Midwife, ſuppoſing that ſhe would haue bene deliuered incontinent of her childe that ſhe went with, but after that ſhe came ſomewhat agayn to her ſelfe, where ſhe lay ſicke and kept her bed the ſpace of xv. weekes after, being not able to helpe her ſelfe, but as ſhe was helped of others, during the time of xv. weekes.

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Now to ſhew further what became of this Pig, wherof we haue ſpoken ſo much, it was carryed into Finſburye field by the Biſhop of Londons Sumner, at his maiſters commaundement, and there buried. The Monday folowing, being the fourth day after that this priſoner aforeſayd was apprehended, the Maior of London, with the reſidue of his brethren being at Guild hall, ſent for the priſoner aforenamed, and demaunded ſureties of him for his forth cõming, what ſo euer hereafter ſhould or might be layd vnto his charge, but for lacke of ſuch ſuretyes as they required vpon his owne band, which was a Recogniſaunce of twenty pound, he was deliuered out of theyr handes. But ſhortly after that he was deliuered out of this his trouble, mayſter Barter, of whome we haue ſpoken before, beyng his landlord, warned him out of his houſe, ſo that in foure yeares after, he could not get an other, but was conſtrayned to be within other good folkes, to his great hindraunce and vndoing.

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Hard it were and almoſt out of number to rehearſe the names and ſtories of all them, which felt the gentle helpe of this good man in ſome caſe or other. Where might be remembred the notable deliueraunce of one Gray, a Smyth of Biſhops Starford, who being accuſed for denying ẏ ſacramẽt of the aulter to be our Sauior, was ſent vp for the ſame to Londõ and there ſhould haue bene condemned to be burnt, but that by the meanes of the L. Cromwell, he was ſent home agayne and deliuered. One other example, though it be ſomewhat long with the circũſtances and all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretary that thẽ was to Doctor Cranmer Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, which Secretary is yet aliue, and can beare preſent record of the ſame.

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¶How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmers Secretary.

MEntion was made before how king Henry in ẏ yeare of his reigne 21. cauſed the 6. Articles to paſſe, much agaynſt the mind and contrary to the conſẽt of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Crãmer, who had diſputed three daies againſt the ſame in the Parliament houſe, with great reaſons and authorities. Which Articles after they were graunted and paſt by the Parliamẽt, the king for the ſinguler fauor which he euer bare to Cranmer, and reuerence to his learning, being deſirous to know what he had ſayd and obiected in the Parliamẽt agaynſt theſe Articles, or what could be alleged by learning agaynſt the ſame, required a note of the Archbiſhop of his doings, what he had ſayd and oppoſed in the Parliament touching that matter. And this word was ſent to him from the king by Cromwell, and other Lordes of the Parliament whom the king then ſent to dine with him at Lambeth, ſomewhat to comfort agayne his greued mind, and troubled ſpirits as hath bene aboue recited. pag. 1136.

The Archb. Cranmer diſputed 3. dayes in the Parliament againſt the 6. Articles.

Wherupon when his dinner was finiſhed, the next day after the Archbiſhop collecting both his argumẽts, authorities of ſcriptures, and Doctors together, cauſed his Secretary to write a fayre booke therof for the king, after this order. Firſt the Scriptures were alleadged, then the Doctors, thirdly folowed the Argumentes deducted from thoſe authorities. This booke was written in his Secretaryes Chamber. Where, in a by Chamber lay the Archbiſhops Almoſiner. When this booke was fayre writtẽ, and whiles the Secretary was gone to deliuer the ſame vnto ẏ Archbiſhop his maiſter, who was (as it then chaunced) ryddẽ to Croydon: returning backe to his chamber, found hys doore ſhut, and the key caryed away to London by the Almoſiner.

The name of this Secretary was M. Rafe Morice, being yet aliue.

At this ſeaſon alſo chaũced the father of the ſayd Secretary to come to the City, by whoſe occaſion it ſo fell out, that he muſt nedes go to London. The booke he could not lay into his chamber, neither durſt he commit it to any other perſon to keepe, being ſtraitly charged in any cõditiõ of the Archbiſhop his maiſter, to be circumſpect thereof, ſo that he determined to go to his father and to keep the book about him. And ſo thruſting the booke vnder his girdle, he went ouer vnto Weſtminſter bridge with a ſculler, where he entred into a whirry that went to London, wherein were 4. of the Garde, who ment to land at Paules wharfe and to paſſe by the kinges highneſſe, who then was in hys Barge with a great number of Barges and boates about him, then baiting of Beares in the water ouer agaynſt the banke.

Theſe foreſayd yeomen of the gard, when they came agaynſt the kinges Barge, they durſt not paſſe by towards Paules wharfe, leaſt they ſhould be eſpyed, & therfore entreated the Secretary to goe with them to the Bearebayting, and they would finde the meanes being of the garde to make rowme and to ſee all the paſtime, the Secretary perceiuing no other remedy, aſſẽted therto. Whẽ the whirry came nye the multitude of the boats, they with pollaxes got in the whirry ſo farre, that being compaſſed with many other whirryes and boates there was no refuge if the Beare ſhould breake looſe and come vpon them, as in very deede within one pater noſter while, the Beare brake loſe and came in to the boate where the yeomen of the gard were and the ſayd Secretary. The gard forſooke the wherry and went into an other barge, one or two of them leaping ſhort, and ſo fell into the water. The Beare and the dogs ſo ſhaked the whirry wherin the Secretary was, that the boate being ful of water, ſoncke to the ground, & being alſo as it chaũced an ebbing tide, he there ſate in the end of ẏ whirry vp to ẏ middle in water. To whõ came the Beare and all the dogges. The Beare ſeking as it were aide and ſuccor of him, came backe with his hinder parts vpon him and ſo ruſhing vpõ him, the booke was loſed frõ his girdle and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

Talle yemen but ill keepers.
A Bearebayting vpõ Thamis before the king.
The booke of D. Cranmer agaynſt the 6. articles loſt in the Thamys.

The flying of the people, after that the beare was loſe, from one boat to an other, was ſo comberous, that diuers perſons were throwne into the Thames, the king commaunding certayne men that could ſwimme, to ſtrip them ſelues naked and to helpe to ſaue them that were in daunger. This paſtime ſo diſpleaſed the king that he bad away away, with the Beare, and let vs all go hence.

The Secretary perceiuing his booke to fleete away in the Thames, called to the Bearward to take vp ẏ booke, When the Bearward had the booke in his cuſtody, being an errant Papiſt, farre from the Religion of his Myſtres (for he was the Lady Elizabethes Bearward, now the Queenes maieſty) ere that the Secretary could come to land, he had deliuered the booke to a Prieſt of his owne affinity in Religion ſtanding on the bancke, who reading in the booke and perceiuing that it was a manifeſt refutation of the 6. Articles, made much a doe and tolde the Bearward that whoſoeuer claymed the booke, ſhould ſurely be hanged. Anone the Secretary came to the Bearward for his booke. What quoth the Bearward, dare you chalenge

This Beareward was Princeſſe Elizabethes ſeruaunt.

D. Cranmers booke agaynſt the 6. Articles. deliuered to a Popiſhe prieſt.

this booke? whoſe ſeruaunt be you? I am ſeruaunt to one of the Coūſell, ſayd the Secretary, and my Lord of Caunterbury is my maiſter. Yea mary, quoth the Bearward, I thought ſo much. You belike I truſt, quoth the Bearward, to be both hanged for this booke. Well (ſayd he) it is not ſo euill as you take it, and I warrant you my L. will auouch the booke to the kinges Maieſty. But I pray you let me haue my booke, and I will geue you a Crowne to drink. If you would geue me v. C. crownes, you ſhall not haue it, quoth the Bearward. With that yͤ Secretary departed from him, & vnderſtanding the malicious frowardnes of the Bearward, he learned that Blage the Grocer in Cheapeſide might doe muche with the Bearward, to whom the Secretary brake this matter, requiring hym to ſend for the Bearward to ſupper, and he would pay for yͤ whole charge therof, and beſides that rather thē he would forgo his book after this ſort, the Bearward ſhould haue xx. ſhillinges to drinke. The ſupper was prepared. The Bearward was ſent for, and came. After ſupper the matter was entreated of and xx. ſhillings offered for the book. But do what could be done, neither frendſhip, acquayntaunce, nor yet reward of mony could obteine the book out of his handes, but that the ſame ſhoulde be deliuered vnto ſome of the Counſell that woulde not ſo ſleightly looke on ſo waighty a matter, as to haue it redeemed for a ſupper or a piece of money. The honeſt man M. Blage with many good reaſons would haue perſwaded him not to be ſtiffe in his owne conceit, declaring that in the end he ſhoulde nothing at all preuayle of his purpoſe, but be laught to ſcorn, getting neither peny nor prayſe for his trauel. He hearing that, ruſhed ſodenly out of the doores from his friend M. Blage without any maner of thankes geuing for his ſupper, more like a Bearward then like an honeſt man. Whē the Secretary ſaw yͤ matter ſo extremely to be vſed againſt him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practiſing of entreaty with the Bearward, as with him that ſeemed rather to be a Beare himſelfe then the Maiſter of the beaſt, determining the next morning to make the L. Cromwell priuy of the chaunce that happened.

So on the next day, as the Lord Cromwell went to yͤ Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter vnto him & how he had offered him xx. s for the finding therof. Where is the felow, quoth the Lord Cromwell? I ſuppoſe, ſayd the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attēding to deliuer the booke vnto ſome of the Counſell. Well ſayd the Lord Cromwell, it maketh no matter: go with me thether and I ſhall get you your booke agayne. When the Lorde Cromwell came into the hall of the Court, there ſtood the Bearward with the booke in his hand, wayting to haue deliuered the ſame vnto Syr Anthony Browne, or vnto the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as it was reported. To whom the Lord Cromwell ſayd, come hither felow. What booke haſt thou there in thy hand? and with that ſnatched the booke out of his hand, and looking in the booke, he ſayd, I know this hand well enough. This is your hand, ſayd he to the Secretary. But where haddeſt thou this booke, quoth the Lord Cromwel to the Bearward? This Gentleman loſt it two dayes agoe in the Thames ſayde the Bearward. Doeſt thou know whoſe ſeruaunt he is, ſayd the Lord Cromwell? He ſayth, quoth the Bearward, that he is my Lord of Canterburies ſeruaunt. Why then dyddeſt not thou deliuer to him the booke, whē he required it, ſayd the L. Cromwell. Who made thee ſo bold as to deteine and withhold any booke or writing from a Coūſellers ſeruaunt, ſpecially being his Secretary? It is more meete for thee to medle with thy Beares thē with ſuch writing, & it were not for thy maiſters ſake, I would ſet thee faſt by the feet, to teach ſuch malepert knaues to meddle with Counſellers matters. Had not mony bene well beſtowed vpon ſuch a good felow as this is, that knoweth not a Councellers man frō a Coblers man? And with thoſe wordes the Lord Cromwell went vp into the kinges chamber of preſence and the Archbiſhops Secretary with him, where he found in the chamber the Lord of Caunterbury. To whō he ſayde, my Lord I haue founde here good ſtuffe for you (ſhewing to him the paper booke that he had in his hand) ready to bring both you & this good felow your mā to the halter, namely if the knaue Bearward now in the Hall, might haue well compaſſed it. At theſe wordes the Archbiſhop ſmiled and ſayd, he that loſt the booke is lyke to haue the worſe bargayne, for beſides that he was well waſhed in the Thames, he muſt write the booke fayre agayne: & at thoſe wordes the Lord Cromwell caſt the booke vnto the Secretary ſaying, I pray thee Morice go in hād therwith by & by with all expedition, for it muſt ſerue a turne. Surely my Lord, it ſomwhat reioyſeth me, quoth the L. Cromwell, that the verlet might haue had of your man xx. s. for the booke, and now I haue diſcharged the matter with neuer a peny. And ſhaking him wel vp for his ouermuch malepartnes, I know the felow wel enough (quoth he) there is not a rancker Papiſt within this realme, thē he is, moſt vnworthy to be ſeruaunt vnto ſo noble a Princeſſe. And ſo after hūble thanks geuen to the Lord Cromwell, the ſayd Morice departed with his booke, which when he agayne had fayre written, was deliuered to the kinges Maieſty by the ſayd Lord Cromwell, within 4. dayes after.

The Beareward wayting to geue Cranmers booke to the Councell.

The L. Cromwell getteth the booke from the Beareward.

The wordes of the L. Cromwel to the Archb. Cranmer.

* The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his olde frendes aud benefactours.

IT is commonly ſene, that men aduaūced once from baſe degree, to ample dignityes do riſe alſo with fortune into ſuch inſolency and exaltatiō of mind, that not only they forget themſelues what they were, & from whence they came but alſo caſt out of remembraunce al their old frendes and former acquayntance, which haue bene to them before beneficiall. Frō which ſort of men, how farre the curteous condition of this chriſten Earle did differ, by diuers examples it may appeare. As by a certain poore woman keping ſome tyme a vitailing houſe about Hownſloe, to whom the ſaid Lord Cromwell remayned in debt for certayne old reckonings, to yͤ ſumme of xl. s. It happened that the L. Cromwel with Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cāterbury, riding thorow Cheapeſide toward the Court, in turning his eye ouer the way, and there eſpying this poore woman, brought now in need & miſery, eftſones cauſed her to be called vnto him. Who being come, after certayn queſtions aſked of her if ſhe were not ſuch a womā, and dwelling in ſuch a place. At laſt he demaunded, if he were not behind for a certayne payment of mony betwene him and her. To whō ſhe with reuerent obeiſance, confeſſed that he ought her money for a certayn old reckoning which was yet vnpayd, wherof ſhe ſtoode now in great neceſſity, but neuer durſt call vpō him nor could come at him for to require her right. Thē the L. Cromwell ſending the poore woman home to hys houſe, and one of his ſeruants withall, that the Porter ſhould let her in, after his returne from the Court, not onely diſcharged the debte which he ought, but alſo gaue her a yearely penſion of foure poundes, and a liuery euery yeare while ſhe liued.

The like curteſy the ſaid L. Cromwell ſhewed alſo to a certayne Italian, who in the city of Florence, had ſhewed him much kindnes in ſuccoring and relieuing his neceſſity as in this ſtory following may appeare. Which ſtorie ſet forth and compiled in the Italian tong by Bandello, & imprinted at Luke by Buſdrago, an. 1554. I thought here to inſert, with the whole order and circumſtance therof, as it is reported.

Not many yeares paſt, ſayth the author, there was in Florence a merchant whoſe name was Fraunces, deſcended from the noble & auncient family of the Freſcobaldes: this Gentleman was naturally indued with a noble & liberall minde, vnto whome alſo through proſperous ſucceſſe and fortunate lucke in his affayres and doings, much aboundaunce of riches increaſed, ſo that he grew in great wealth, hauing his cofers repleniſhed wͭ many heapes of much treaſure. He according to the cuſtome Marchauntes, vſed his trade into many countries, but chiefely into England, where long tyme he liued ſoiourning in London, keping houſe to his great commendation and prayſe.

It happened, that Fraunces Freſcobald being in Florence, there appeared before him a poore yong man, aſking his almes for Gods ſake. Freſcobald as he earneſtly beheld this ragged ſtripling, who was not ſo diſguiſed in his tottered attire, but that his countenaunce gaue ſignificatiō of much towardnes & vertue in him, with cōformity of maners agreing to the ſame, being moued with pity, demaūded of what coūtry he was, & where he was borne. I am Syr (quoth he) of England, & my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, & by his occupation a cloth ſherer. I am ſtraied from my country, and am now come into Italy with the campe of frenchmē, that were ouerthrowne at Garilyon, where I was the page to a footman, carying after him his pike and burganet. Freſcobald partly conſidering the preſent ſtate of this yong man, and partly for the loue he bare to the engliſh natiō, of whom he had receiued in times paſt ſondry pleaſures, receiued hym into his houſe, & with ſuch curteſy interteined his geſt, as at his departure whē he was in mind to returne to his coūtry, he prouided ſuch neceſſaries as he any way neded. He gaue him both horſe & new apparrel, & 16. duckats of gold in his purſe, to bring him into his coūtry. Cromwell rendering his harty thanks, tooke leaue of his hoſt & returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage & heroicall ſpirite, geuen to enterpriſe great matters, very liberall, a graue Counſeller, &c. But to our purpoſe.

At what tyme Cromwell was ſo highly fauoured of his prince, and aduanced to ſuch dignitie as is aforeſaid, Frãces Freſcobald (as it many tymes happeneth vnto Merchants) was by many miſfortunes and great loſſes, caſt backe and become very poore. For according to conſcience and equitie, he payd whatſoeuer was due to any other frõ himſelf, but ſuch debts as were owing vnto him, he could by no meanes obtaine: yet calling further to remembrance that in England by certaine merchants there was due to him the ſumme of 15000. ducates, he ſo purpoſed with him ſelf, that if he could recouer that mony, he would well content himſelf, and no longer deale in the trade of merchants but quietly paſſe ouer the reſt of his dayes.

All things prepared for his iourney, he ſetting forward towards England, at laſt arriued at London, hauyng vtterly forgotten what curteſie long before hee had ſhewed to Cromwel, which is the property alwayes of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefites he hath ſhewed to other, but to kepe in mind continually what he hath receiued of other. Freſcobald thus being now arriued at Lõdon, and there trauelling earneſtly about his buſineſſe, it chanced him by the way to meete with this noble man, as he was riding toward the court. Whome, as ſoone as the ſayd lord Cromwell had eſpied, and had earneſtly beheld, he bethought with himſelfe that he ſhould be the man of Florence, at whoſe hands in tymes paſt he had receyued ſo gentle entertainment, and thereupon ſodenly alighting (to the great admiration of thoſe that were with him) in hys armes he gently embraced the ſtranger, and with a broken voyce ſcarce able to refraine teares, he demaunded if he were not Frances Freſcobald the Florẽtine. Yea ſir (he anſwered) and your humble ſeruant. My ſeruant (quoth Cromwell?) no, as you haue not bene my ſeruant in times paſt, ſo will I not now account you otherways then my great and eſpeciall frend, aſſuring you that I haue iuſt reaſon to be ſory, that you knowing what I am (or at the leaſt what I ſhould be) will not let me vnderſtand of your arriuyng in this land, which known vnto me, truely I ſhould haue payd part of that debte which I confeſſe to owe you: but thanked be God I haue yet tyme. Well ſir, in concluſion, you are hartilie welcome. But hauing now waightie affaires in my princes cauſe, you muſt hold me excuſed, that I can no longer tary with you. Therfore at this tyme I take my leaue, deſiring you with the faithfull mynde of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my houſe to dinner, and then in remounting on his horſe, he paſſed to the Court. Freſcobald greatly merueiling with himſelfe who this Lord ſhould be, at laſt after ſome pauſe, hys remembraunce better called home, he knewe hym to be the ſame, whome long before (as you haue heard) he had releeued in Florence, and thereat not a little ioyed, eſpecially conſidering how that by his meanes he ſhould the better recouer his duety.

The houre of dinner drawing neere, he repayred to the houſe of this honourable Counſellour, where walkyng a while in his baſe Court, he attended his commyng. The Lord ſhortly returned from the Court, and no ſooner diſmounted, but he agayne embraced this Gentleman with ſo frendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admirall and all the other noble men of the Court beyng then in his cõpany, did not a little maruell thereat.

Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceyued, he turnyng towardes them, and holding Freſcobald faſt by the hand: do ye not meruaile my Lordes (quoth he) that I ſeeme ſo glad of this man? This is he by whoſe meanes I haue atchieued the degre of this my preſent calling: and becauſe ye ſhall not be ignoraunt of hys curteſie when I greatly neded, I ſhall tell it you: and ſo there declared vnto them euery thing in order, accordyng as before hath bene recited vnto you. His tale finiſhed, holdyng him ſtill by the hand, he entered his houſe, and commyng into the Chamber where his dinner was prepared, he ſate hym downe to the Table, placing his beſt welcomed gueſt next vnto him.

The dinner ended, and the Lordes departed, he would know what occaſion had brought Freſcobald to London. Fraunces in few wordes opened his cauſe, truely tellyng, that from great wealth he was fallen into pouerty, and that his only portion to maintayne the reſt of his life, was xv. thouſand Ducates which were owyng him in england and two thouſand in Spaine. Whereunto the lord Cromwell anſweryng agayne, ſayd, touching the things Maiſter Freſcobald that be already paſt, although it can not now be vndone by mans power, nor by pollicye called agayne, which hath happened vnto you by the vnſtable cõdition and mutabilitie of this world altering to and fro: yet is not your ſorrow ſo peculiar to your ſelfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall loue, I muſt alſo bewaile with you this your ſtate and condition, which ſtate and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of iuſt heauines, yet notwithſtanding, to the intent you may receaue in this your heauy diſtreſſe ſome conſolatiõ for your old curteſie ſhewed to me in tymes paſt, the lyke curteſie now requireth of me agayne, that I likewiſe ſhould repay ſome portion of that debt wherin I ſtand bound vnto you according as the part of a thankfull man byndeth me to do in requiting your benefites on my part heretofore receiued. And this further I auouch in the word of a true frend that during this life and ſtate of myne, I will neuer fayle to do for you, wherein my authoritie may preuaile to ſupply your lacke and neceſſitie. And ſo let theſe fewe wordes ſuffice to giue you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the tyme no longer.

Then taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, whence, after that euery man by his commandement was departed, he locked faſt the dore. Thẽ opening a coffer full heaped with treaſure, he firſt tooke out ſixtene Ducates, and deliueryng them to Freſcobald, he ſayd: loe here (my friend) is your mony which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here other tenne which you beſtowed in my apparell, with ten more that you diſburſed for the horſe I rid away on. But cõſidering you are a merchant, it ſeemeth to me not honeſt to returne your money without ſome conſideration for the long detainyng of it. Take you therefore theſe 4. bags, and in euery of them is 400. ducates, theſe you ſhall receiue and enioy from the hands of your aſſured friend.

Example of a faythful debter.

The Lorde Cromwelles vſury.

Freſcobald, although from great welth he was brought to a lowe ebbe, and (almoſt) an vtter decay, yet expreſſyng the vertue of a modeſt mynde, after gentle thankes geuen to the Lord Cromwell for his exceedyng kyndneſſe ſhewed, curteouſly would haue refuſed that which was offered, had not the other enforced him agaynſt his will to receiue it.

This done, he cauſed Freſcobald to geue him a note of the names of all his debters, and the ſumme that from euery of them was owyng him. This ſcedule he deliuered to one of his ſeruants, vnto whom he gaue charge diligẽtly to ſearch out ſuch men whoſe names therein was conteined, if they were within anye part of the realme, & then ſtraightly to charge them to make payment of thoſe ſums within fiftene dayes, or els to abide the hazard of hys diſpleaſure. The ſeruant ſo well performed his maiſters cõmandement, that in very ſhort tyme they made payment of the whole ſumme: and if it had lyked Freſcobald ſo to haue demanded, they ſhould haue anſwered to the vttermoſt ſuch commoditie, as the vſe of his money in ſo many yeres would haue giuen him profit: but he contẽted with his principall, would demaund no further. By which meanes he gate both harty loue and great eſtimation, and the more, for that he was ſo deare to the Lord Cromwell, and ſo highly eſteemed of him.

Kindnes requited with kindnes.

Modeſtie in an Italian.

And during all this tyme, Freſcobald continually lodged in the houſe of the lord Cromwel, who euer gaue hym ſuch entertainment as he had right well deſerued, and oftentimes moued him to abide in England, offering him the lone of 60000. Ducates, for the ſpace of 4. yeare, if he would continue and make his banke in Londõ. But Freſcobald, who deſired to returne into his country, and there quietly to continue the reſt of his lyfe, with the great fauor of the Lord Cromwell, after many thankes for his high and noble entertainment, departed towardes hys deſired home, where richly arriuing, he gaue himſelfe quietly to lyue. But this wealth he ſmall time enioyed, for in the firſt yeare of his returne he dyed.

The Ducates after the Italian count, came much neare to our Engliſhe crownes.

So plentifull was the life of this man in ſuch fruites full of ſingular gratitude and curteſie, that to rehearſe all, it would require to long a tractation. Yet one example amongſt many other I may not ouerpaſſe, whereby we may euidẽtly conſider or rather maruell at the lowly mind of ſuch a perſon, in ſo high a ſtate and place of honor. For as he comming with other of the Lordes of the Counſayle and Commiſſioners, to the houſe of Shene, about the examination of certaine Monkes which there denied yͤ kings ſupremacie, after the examination done was there ſittyng at dinner, it chaunced him to ſpie a farre off, a certain poore man which there serued to ſweepe their Sels and cloiſter, and to ring the bels. Whome when the Lord Cromwell had well aduiſed, he ſent for the poore man to come vnto him, and before all the table moſt louingly and friendly, calling him by his name, tooke him by the hand, and aſked how he did, with many other good wordes, and turnyng therewith to the Lordes: My Lordes (quoth he) ſee you this poore man. This mans father hath bene a great frend to mee in my neceſſitie, and hath giuen me many a meals meat. Then ſaid he vnto the poore man, come vnto me and

An other example of the kinde and lowly minde of the Lord Cromwell.

I will prouide for thee, and thou ſhalt not lacke ſo long as I liue. Such as were there preſent and ſaw and heard the ſame, report it to be true.

Three thinges in the L. Crõwell.
1. Zeale.
2. Wiſedome.
3. Authoritye.

In this worthy and noble perſon, beſides diuers other eminent vertues, iij. things eſpecially are to be conſidered to wit, flouriſhing authoritie, excelling wiſedome and feruent zeale to Chriſt and to his Goſpell. Firſt, as touchyng his feruent zeale in ſetting forward the ſinceritie of Chriſten faith, ſufficient is to be ſeene before by the iniunctions proclamations, and articles aboue ſpecified, that more can nor almoſt be wiſhed in a noble man, and ſcarſe the lyke hath bene ſeene in any.

The wiſedome & policy of the L. Cromwell.

Secondlye, for his wiſedome and pollicie no leſſe ſingular, ioyned with his chriſten zeale, he brought great things to paſſe, as well on this ſide the ſea as in the other partes beyond. But eſpecially his working was to nouriſh peace abroad with foreine realmes, as may well by the kings letters and inſtructions ſent by his meanes to his Ambaſſadors reſident both with the Emperour the French king and the king of Scots, and alſo with ẏ Pope appeare. In all whoſe courtes, ſuch watch and eſpiall he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there anye ſparke of miſchiefe kindling neuer ſo little againſt ẏ kyng and the realme, which he by wit and pollicie did not quēch and keepe downe. And where pollicie would not ſerue to obteine peace, yet by mony he bought it out: ſo that during all the tyme of Cromwels proſperity, the king neuer had warre with any foreine nation: notwithſtandyng, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the kings of Fraunce and Scotland were mightily bent and incenſed agaynſt hym.

The L. Crom. a continual nouriſher of peace.

The authority of the L. Cromwel employed to the publicke commodity of the realme.

Thus, as the prudent pollicie of this man was euer circumſpect abroad, to ſtay the Realm from foreine warres: ſo his authoritie was no leſſe occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: Firſt, in hampering the popiſh prelates and diſappointing their ſubtile deuiſes: ſecondly, in brideling and keping other vnruly ſubiects vnder ſubiection and diſcipline of the lawes. Wherby, as he was a ſuccour and refuge to all godly perſons, ſo was he a terror to the euill doers: ſo that not the preſence of him onely, but alſo the hearing of the comming of Cromwell brake many fraies, and much euill rule: as well appeared by a certeine notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of ruffins in the ſtreete of London called Pater noſter rowe. Where cartes were ſet on both ſides of purpoſe, prepared to encloſe them, that none might breake in to part them. It happened, that as this deſperate ſkirmiſh ſhould begin, the Lord Cromwell comming the ſame time from the Court through Paules churchyard, and entering into Chepe, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and becauſe of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the little conduit, and ſo come vpon them through Pannier Alley.

A ſkirmiſh or fray in Pater noſter rowe, ſtopped by the comming of the L. Cromwell.

Thus as the conflict began to waxe hote, and the people were ſtanding by in great expectation to ſee them fight, ſodenly at the noice of the Lord Cromwels commyng, the campe brake vp and the Ruffins to go, neither could the cartes kepe in thoſe ſo couragious campers, but well was he that firſt could be gone. And ſo ceaſed this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, only through the authoritie of the Lord Cromwels name.

A ſtory betwene the L. Cromwel and a Ruffin.

One example more of the like affinitie commeth here in mynd, which ought not to be omitted, concernyng a certaine ſeruing man of the like ruffenly order, who thinking to diſceuer himſelfe from the common vſage of all other men in ſtrange newfanglenes of faſhions by himſelfe (as many there be whom nothing doth pleaſe, which is dailie ſeene and receiued) vſed to go with his haire hangyng about his eares downe vnto his ſhoulders, after a ſtrange monſtrous maner, counterfeiting belyke the wyld Iriſh men, or els Crinitus Ioppas, which Virgil ſpeaketh of, as one wearie of his owne Engliſh faſhion: or elſe as one aſhamed to be ſeene lyke a man, would rather go like a woman, or lyke to one of the Gorgon ſiſters, but moſt of all lyke to hymſelfe, that is, lyke to a Ruffin, that could not tell how to go.

The Ruffin with the long heare.

As this Ruffin ruffling thus with his locks was walkyng in the ſtreetes, as chance was, who ſhould meet him but the Lord Cromwell, who beholding the deforme and vnſeemly maner of his diſguiſed goyng, full of much vanitie and hurtfull example, called the man to queſtion with him whoſe ſeruaunt he was, which being declared, then was demanded, whether his maiſter or any of his felows vſed ſo to go with ſuch haire about their ſhoulders as he did, or no? which when he denied, and was not able to yeld any reaſon for refuge of that his monſtruous diſguiſing, at lēgth he fell to this excuſe that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell anſwered agayne, that for ſo much as he had made himſelf a votarie, he would not force him to breake his vowe, but vntill his vow ſhould be expired, he ſhould lye the meane tyme in priſon, and ſo ſent him immediately to the Marſhalſey: where he endured, till at length this intonſus Cato beyng perſwaded by hys maiſter to cut his haire, by ſute and petition of frends, he was brought agayne to the Lord Cromwell with his hed polled according to the accuſtomed ſort of his other felowes, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Hereunto alſo pertaineth the example of frier Bartley, who wearing ſtill his friers coule after the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, Cromwell commyng thorough Paules churchyard, and eſpieng him in Rheines his ſhop, yea ſaid he, will not that coule of yours be left of yet? And if I heare by one a clocke that this apparel be not changed, thou ſhalt be hanged immediatly for example to al other. And ſo putting his coule away, he neuer durſt weare it after.

If the ſame Lorde Cromwell which could not abyde this ſeruyng man ſo diſfigured in his haire, were now in theſe our dayes aliue with the ſame authoritie, which then he had, and ſaw theſe new fangled faſhions of attire, vſed here amongſt vs both of men and women, I ſuppoſe verily, that neither theſe monſtruous ruffes, nor theſe prodigious hoſe, and prodigall or rather hyperbolicall barbarous breeches (which ſeeme rather lyke barels then breeches) would haue any place in England. In which vnmeaſurable exceſſe of veſture, this I haue to maruell: firſt how theſe ſeruing men, which commonly haue nothyng els but their wages, and that ſo ſlender and bare, cā maintaine ſuch ſlops, ſo huge and ſo ſumptuous, which cōmonly ſtand them in more, then their three yeares wages doe come vnto. Secondly I maruell, that their maiſters and Lordes (who ſhall yeld to God account of their ſeruaunts doings) do not ſearch and trie out their ſeruants walkes, how they come by theſe expenſes, wherewith to vpholde this brauerie, ſeing their ſtipendary wages, and all reuenues els they haue, will not extend thereunto. Thirdlye, this moſt of all is to be marueiled, that magiſtrates which haue in their hands the ordring and guiding of good laws do not prouide more ſeuerely for the needfull reformation of theſe enormities. But here we may well ſee, & truly this may ſay that England once had a Cromwell.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy Counſellour by his prudent pollicie, his graue authoritie and perfect zeale wrought and brought to paſſe in the publicke Realme, and eſpecially in the Church of England, what good orders he eſtabliſhed, what wickednes and vices he ſuppreſſed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuſes he broght to light, what crafty iuglings what idolatrous deceptions, and ſuperſtitious illuſiōs he detected and aboliſhed out of the Church. What poſteritie will euer thinke the Church of the Pope pretendyng ſuch religion, to haue bene ſo wicked, ſo long to abuſe the peoples eyes, with an old rotten ſtocke (called the Rode of grace) wherein a man ſhould ſtand incloſed with an hundreth wyers within the rode, to make the Image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lippe, to mooue and ſhake his iawes according as the valew was of the gift which was offred? If it were a ſmall piece of ſiluer, he would hang a frowning lippe, if it were a piece of gold, then ſhould his iawes go merily. Thus miſerablye was the people of Chriſt abuſed, their ſoules ſeduced, their ſenſes beguiled, and their purſes ſpoiled, till this Idolatrous forgerie at laſt, by Cromwels meanes was diſcloſed, and the image with all his engines ſhewed openly at Paules croſſe, and there torne in pieces by the people. The like was done by the bloud of Hales, which in like maner by Cromwell was brought to Paules croſſe, & there proued to be the bloud of a ducke.

Who would haue iudged, but that the mayd of Kent had bene an holy woman and a propheteſſe inſpired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules croſſe to bee a ſtrong whore.

What ſhould I ſpeake of Daruel Gartheren, of the rood of Cheſter, of Thom. Becket, our Lady of Walſingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which ſtockes and blockes of curſed idolatrie, Cromwell ſtirred vp by the prouidence of God, remooued out of the peoples way, that they might walke more ſafely in the ſincere ſeruice of almighty God.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus bleſſedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, and purging ẏ church of Chriſt, it happened to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there enuy creepeth in, and where true pietie ſeeketh moſt after Chriſt, there ſome perſecution followeth withall.

Thus (I ſay) as he was labouring in the commō welth and doyng good to the poore afflicted saintes, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enimies ſo wrought, continually hunting for matter againſt him, that they neuer ceaſed, till in the end they by falſe traines and crafty ſurmiſes, brought him out of the kings fauour.

ph. Gar- chieſe my to L. Cró- ll.

The chiefe and principall enimie againſt him, was Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who euer diſdayning and enuieng the ſtate and felicitie of the Lord Cromwell, and now taking his occaſion by the mariage of lady Anne of Cleue, beyng a ſtranger and forreiner, put in the Kings eares what a perfect thing it were for the quiet of ỹ realm, and eſtabliſhment of the kings ſucceſſion, to haue an Engliſh Queene and Prince that were meere Engliſh: ſo that in concluſion the kings affection, the more it was diminiſhed from the late married Anne of Cleue, the leſſe fauour he bare vnto Cromwell. Beſides this Gardiner, there lacked not other backe friends alſo and ilwillers in the court about the king, which little made for Cromwell both for his religion which they maligned, and for other priuate grudges alſo incident by the way.

Ouer and beſides all which, it is moreouer ſuppoſed, that ſome part of diſpleaſure might ryſe agaynſt hym, by reaſon of a certaine talke, which happened a little before at Lambeth, at what tyme the king after the makyng of the vi. Articles, ſent the ſayd Lord Cromwell his Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of Northfolke & Suffolke, with all the Lordes of the Parliament to Lambeth, to dyne with the Archbiſhop (who mightily had diſputed and alledged in the Parliament agaynſt the ſaid Articles) to cheare and comfort his daunted ſpirits agayne.

talke twene the Cromwel rteine of Lordes ambeth.

There the ſaid Cromwell with the other noble Lordes ſitting with the Archbiſhop at his table in talke, as euerie lord brought forth his ſentence in commendation of Cranmer, to ſignifie what good will both the kyng & they bare vnto him: among the reſt one of the company entring into a compariſon betweene the ſayd Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Wolſey late Cardinall of Yorke, declared in his iudgement, that Cranmer was much to bee preferred for his myld and gentle nature, where as the Cardinall was a ſtubburne and a churliſh prelate, and one that could neuer abide any noble man, and that (ſayd he) know you well enough, my Lord Cromwell, for he was your Maiſter, &c. At theſe wordes the Lord Cromwell beyng ſomewhat touched to heare the Cardinals ſeruice caſt in hys teeth, inferred agayne, ſaying: that he could not deny but he was ſeruant ſometyme to Cardinall Wolſey, neyther did repent the ſame, for he receiued of hym both fee, meate, and drinke, and other commodities: but yet he was neuer ſo farre in loue with hym, as to haue wayted vpon him to Rome, if he had bene choſen Pope, as he vnderſtoode that he would haue done if the caſe had ſo fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell ſtill perſiſted, affirmyng the ſame, and ſhewyng moreouer what number of Florens he ſhould haue receyued, to be his Admirall, and to haue ſafe conducted hym to Rome, in caſe he had bene elected Biſhop of Rome. The partie not a little moued with theſe wordes, told hym, he lyed. The other agayne affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and hygh wordes roſe betwene them. Which contention although it was through intreatie of the Archbiſhop and other nobles ſomewhat pacified for the tyme, yet it might be, that ſome bitter roote of grudge remayned behynd, which afterward grew vnto him to ſome diſpleaſure. And this was, an. 1540, in the moneth of Iuly. Ex teſtimonio, Secretarij. Cantuar.

Anno 1541. Parlia-

After this, the next yeare followyng, which was 1541. in the month of Aprill was holden a Parliament, which after diuers prorogations was continued till the moneth of Iuly the ſayd yeare. In the which month of Iuly, the Lord Cromwell beyng in the counſaile chamber, was ſodenly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. Whereat, as many good men which knewe nothyng but truth by him did lament, and prayed hartily for him, ſo moe there were on the contrary ſide that reioyced, eſpecially of the religious ſort, and of the clergy, ſuch as had bene in ſome dignitie before in the Churche, and nowe by hys meanes were put from it. For in deed, ſuch was hys nature, that in all his doyngs he could not abyde any kynde of Poperie, nor of falſe religion creepyng vnder hypocriſie, and leſſe could abyde the ambitious pryde of Popiſhe Prelacie, which profeſſing all humilitie, was ſo elated in pride, that kinges coulde not rule in their owne Realmes for them. Theſe ſnuffing Prelates as he could neuer abide ſo they agayne hated him as much, whiche was the cauſe of ſhortnyng his dayes, and to bryng him to his ende: So that the xix. day of the moneth aforeſaid, he was attainted by Parliament.

Lord mwell chẽded.

Crimes and accuſatiõs brought agaynſt the L. Cromwell.

In the which Atteinder diuers and ſondry crimes ſurmiſes, obiections and accuſations were brought againſt hym but chiefly and aboue all other, he was charged and accuſed of hereſie, for that he was a ſupporter of them (whõ they recounted for heretikes) as Barnes, Clarke, and many other, whom he by his authoritie and letters written to Shiriffes and Iuſtices in diuers Shires reſcued and diſcharged out of priſon. Alſo that he did euulgate & diſperſe abroad amongſt the Kings ſubiects, great numbers of bookes, conteinyng (as they ſaid) manifeſt matter of much hereſie, diffidence, and miſbeliefe. Item, that he cauſed to be tranſlated into our Engliſh tongue, bookes compriſing matter expreſly againſt the Sacrament of the aulter, & that after the tranſlation thereof, he commended and mainteyned the ſame for good and chriſtian doctrine.

Ouer and beſides all this, they brought in certaine witneſſes (what they were, the atteinder expreſſeth not) which moſt eſpecially preſſed (or rather oppreſſed) him with heinous wordes ſpoken agaynſt the king in the Church of S. Peter the poore, in the moneth of March, in the xxx. yeare of the kings raigne. Which wordes if they be true, as the Atteinder doth purport, three things I haue here much to meruaile at. Firſt, if his aduerſaries had ſo ſure holde and matter againſt hym, then what would moue thẽ to make ſuch haſtie ſpeede in all poſt haſte, to haue him diſpatched and rid out of the way, and in no caſe could abyde hym to come to his purgation? which if he might haue done, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but he would eaſily haue cleared himſelfe thereof.

Witneſſes agaynſt Cromwell ſuſpected.

Secondly, this I maruell, that if the wordes had bene ſo hainous againſt the kyng, as his enemies did pretend, why then did thoſe witneſſes which heard thoſe words in S. Peters Church, in the xxx. yeare of the kyngs raigne, conceale the ſayd wordes of ſuch treaſon ſo long, the ſpace almoſt of ij. yeares, and now vttered the ſame in the xxxij. yeare of the kings reigne, in the moneth of Iuly.

Thirdly, here is agayne to be marueled, if the king had known or beleued theſe words to be true, and that Cromwell had bene in deede ſuch a traytour to his perſon, why then did the kyng ſo ſhortly after lamẽt his death, wiſhing to haue his Cromwell aliue agayne? what Prince will wiſh the lyfe of hym whom he ſuſpecteth vndoubtedly to be a traitor to his life and perſon? wherby it may appeare what iudgement the King had of Cromwell in himſelfe, howſoeuer the parliament by ſiniſter information was otherwiſe incenſed to iudge vpon him.

What miſchiefe malicious make bates make in a commõ wealth.

Examples of mẽ falſely accuſed, & wrongfully iudged.

Such malicious makebates about Princes and parliaments, neuer lacked in common weales. By ſuch kyng Ethelſtane was incenſed to kill his brother Edwine, pag. 159. So was king Edward 2. depoſed. So likewiſe when king Richard 2. was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accuſations were layd againſt him in the Parlament? So was Humfrey the good Duke of Glouceſter, the kings vncle, by Henry Beauford biſhop of Wincheſter and other in the Parliament holden at Bery, arreſted as a traitour, and falſly made away, pag. 160. What great treaſon was in the words of him, who dwelling in Chepe ſide at the ſigne of the Crowne, ſayd merily to hys ſonne, that if he liued, he would make him heyre of the crowne: & yet was he therefore atteinted and iudged for a Traytor? pag. 701. In the tyme of king Henry the 8. how was that Parliament incenſed, wherein both Queene Anne was falſly condemned, and Queene Elizabeth her daughter, as falſly diſherited? To omit here the Attainder of the Duke of Buckingham wrought by the Cardinall of Yorke: Of the lord Cobham likewiſe, and ſir Roger Acton, pag. 150 If the cauſe of the lord Henry late Earle of Surrey were well tried out, peraduenture no ſuch hainous purpoſe of any treaſõ ſhuld be found therin as than was made. Who incenſed ỹ late Duke of Somerſet to behead his own brother, but ſuch makebates as theſe? And afterward whẽ the ſayd Duke himſelfe was attainted for a traytor and condẽned for a felon, a briber and extorcioner: how was the parliament then incenſed? Adam Damlip receyued of Cardinall Poole at Rome, but a ſely crowne in way of almes, and therfore by meanes of Steuen Gardiner was atteinted for a traytor. George Egles did but read ſome tyme in woods and by the ſaid Gardiner was alſo condemned and ſuffered as a traytor.

Authority of Parliamentes.

Not that I here ſpeake or meane agaynſt the hygh courtes of Parliamentes of thys our Realme, neceſſarilye aſſembled for the common wealth, to whom I always attribute their due reuerence and authoritie. But as it happeneth ſometimes in generall Councels, which though they be neuer ſo generall, yet notwithſtanding ſometimes they may and do erre in waightie matters of religion: ſo lykewiſe they that ſay, that Princes and Parliaments may be miſinformed ſometimes, by ſome ſiniſter heds, in matters ciuill and politike, do not therein derogate or empaire the high eſtate of parliaments, but rather geue wholſome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumſpect and vigilant what counſell they ſhall admit, and what witneſſes they do credit. For priuate affection which commonly beareth a great ſtroke in all ſocieties & doings of men, creepeth ſometymes into ſuch generall Councels, and into Princes Courtes alſo, either to much amplifying things that be but ſmall, makyng mountaynes of molehils, or els to much extenuating thyngs that be of themſelues great and waightie, according as it is truely ſaid of the Poete Iuuenal: Dat veniam coruis, vexat cenſura columbas, or as our Engliſh Prouerbe ſheweth: As a man is friended, ſo is his matter ended: And where the hedge is lowe, a man may lightly make large leapes: or rather to ſpeake after the Frenche phraſe: Qui ſon chien veult tuer, la rage luy met ſus. That is: He that is diſpoſed to haue hys dogge killed, firſt maketh men beleeue that he is madde. And thus much hauing declared touching the matter of his accuſation, the reſt I referre to the high Parliament of that mightie king, who ſhall one day bring all things to perfect light.

A French prouerb.

In the meane ſeaſon, howſoeuer the cauſe of the Lorde Cromwell ſtandeth, true or falſe, this is certain, that Steuen Gardiner lacked not an head, nor yet priuie aſſiſters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their tyme, when as the kyng being diſpoſed to marrie an other wyfe, which was the Lady Katherine Hawarde, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, did repudiate Lady Anne of Cleue, which otherwiſe is to be thought during the lyfe of Cromwell, could not ſo well be brought to paſſe.

Lady Anne of Cleue diuorced from the king.

But theſe things beyng now done and paſt, let vs paſſe them ouer and returne agayne from whence we digreſſed, that is to the lord Cromwell beyng now atteinted & committed to the Tower. who ſo long as he went with full ſayle of fortune, how moderately, and how temperatly he did euer beare himſelfe in his eſtate, before hath ben declared. So now the ſaid lord Cromwell, always one man, by the contrary wynd of aduerſitie being ouerblowen, receiued the ſame with no leſſe conſtancie, and patiẽce of a chriſtian hart. Neither yet was he ſo vnprouided of counſaile and forecaſt, but that he did foreſee this tempeſt long before it fell, and alſo prepared for the ſame for two yeares before ſmelling the cõſpiracie of his aduerſaries, & fearing what might happen, he called vnto him his ſeruants, and there ſhewing vnto them in what a ſlippery ſtate hee ſtood, and alſo perceiuing ſome ſtormy weather already to gather, required them to looke diligently to their order and doings, leaſt through their default any occaſion might riſe agaynſt him. And furthermore, before the tyme of his apprehenſion, ſuch order he tooke for his ſeruants, that many of them, eſpecially the yonger brethren which had little els to take vnto, had honeſtly left for thẽ in their frends hands to relieue them, whatſoeuer ſhould him befall.

The Chriſtẽ pacience of the L. Cromwell in his aduerſity.

Cromwell foreſeeing & preparing of his trouble before it fell.

Cromwel good to his ſeruantes.

Briefly, ſuch a louyng and kynd maiſter he was to his ſeruauntes, that he prouided aforehand almoſt for them all: In ſo much, that he gaue to twelue children which were his Muſitians, twenty pound a peece, and ſo cõmitted them to their friends. Of whom ſome yet remayne aliue, who both enioyed the ſame, and alſo geue recorde of this to be true.

Furthermore, beyng in the tower a priſoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiauntly he behaued hymſelfe, how grauely and diſcretely he annſwered and entertayned the commiſſioners ſent vnto him, it is worthy noting. Whatſoeuer articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing vnto him, either concerning matters eccleſiaſticall or temporall, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furniſhed in euery condition then they themſelues.

Amongſt the reſt of thoſe Commiſſioners which came vnto him: one there was, whom the Lord Cromwell deſired to cary for him a letter to the kyng, which when he refuſed, ſayeng that he would cary no letter to the king from a traytor: then the Lord Cromwell deſired him at leaſt to do from him a meſſage to the king. To that the other was contented, and granted, ſo that it were not agaynſt his alleageance. Then the Lord Cromwell taking witneſſe of the other Lordes, what he had promiſed: You ſhall commend me (ſayd he) to the Kyng, and tell hym: By that he hath ſo well tryed, and throughly proued you as I haue done, hee ſhall finde you as falſe a man as euer came about hym.

Besides this, he wrote alſo a letter from the Tower to the kyng, whereof when none durſt take the cariage vpon him, ſir Rafe Sadler (whom he alſo had preferred to the kyng before, beyng euer truſty & faythfull vnto hym) went to the king to vnderſtand his pleaſure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not. Which, when ỹ kyng had graunted, the ſayd M. Sadler as he was required, preſented the letter vnto the king, which he commaunded thriſe to be red vnto him, in ſo much the kyng ſeemed to be moued therewith.

Syr Rafe Sadler, the L. Crõwels truſty frend.

Notwithſtanding, by reaſon of the Acte of parliament afore paſſed, the worthy and noble Lorde Cromwell oppreſſed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not comming to his anſwer, the 28. day of Iuly, an. 1541. was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower hill, where he ſayd theſe wordes followyng.

I am come hither to die, and not to purge my ſelfe, as ſome thinke peraduenture that I will. For if I ſhould ſo do, I were a very wretch and a miſer. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my lord God that hath appointed me this death for myne offence. For ſithens the tyme ỹ I haue had yeares of diſcretion, I haue lyued a ſinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aſke him hartelie forgiuenes. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I haue bene a great traueller in this world, & being but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithens the tyme I came thereunto, I haue offended my Prince, for the which I aſke him hartily forgiuenes, and beſeech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgiue me. And now I pray you that be here, to beare me record. I dye in the catholike fayth, not doubting in any Article of my faith no, nor doubting in any ſacrament of the church. Manye haue ſlaundered me, and reported that I haue bene a bearer of ſuch as haue mainteined euill opinions, which is vntrue. But I confeſſe, that like as God by his holy ſpirit doth inſtruct vs in the truth, ſo the deuill is ready to ſeduce vs, & I haue bene ſeduced, but beare me witnes that I die in the catholike faith of the holy church. And I hartily deſire you to pray for the kings grace, that he may long lyue with you in health and proſperitie: and that after him his ſonne prince Edward that goodly impe, may long raigne ouer you. And once again I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſh, I wauer nothing in my faith. And ſo making his prayer, kneling on his knees he ſpake theſe words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A prayer that the Lord Cromwell ſayd at the houre of his death.

O Lord Ieſu, which art the onely health of all men liuing, and the euerlaſting life of them which die in thee: I wretched ſinner do ſubmit my ſelfe wholy vnto thy moſt bleſſed will, and being ſure that the thing cannot periſh which is committed vnto thy mercy, willingly now I leaue this fraile and wicked fleſhe in ſure hope that thou wilt in better wiſe reſtore it to me agayne at the laſt day in the reſurrection of the iuſt. I beſeech thee, moſte merciful lord Ieſus Chriſt, that thou wilt by thy grace make ſtrõg my ſoule againſt all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy againſt all the aſſaults of the deuill. I ſee and knowledge that there is in my ſelfe no hope of ſaluation, but all my cõfidence, hope and truſt, is in thy moſt mercifull goodneſſe. I haue no merites nor good works, which I may alledge before thee. Of ſinnes and euill workes (alas) I ſee a great heape: but yet thorough thy mercy I truſt to be in the number of them to whome thou wilt not impute their ſinnes: but wilt take and accept me for righteous and iuſt, and to be the inheritour of euerlaſting lyfe. Thou mercifull lord waſt borne for my ſake, thou didſt ſuffer both hunger and thirſt for my ſake: thou didſt teach, pray, and faſt for my ſake all thy holy actions and workes thou wroughteſt for my ſake: thou ſuffredſt moſt grieuous paines and tormentes for my ſake: finally, thou gaueſt thy moſt precious body and thy bloud to be ſhed on the croſſe for my ſake. Nowe moſt mercifull Sauior, let al theſe things profit me, that thou frely haſt done for me, which haſt geuen thy ſelfe al ſo for me. Let thy bloud cleanſe and waſh away the ſpots and foulenes of my ſinnes Let thy righteouſnes hide and couer my vnrighteouſnes. Let the merites of thy paſsion and bloudſheding be ſatiſfaction for my ſinnes. Geue me Lord thy grace that the faith of my ſaluation in thy bloud wauer not in me, but may euer be firme and conſtant. That the hope of thy mercy and life euerlaſting neuer decay in me, that loue waxe not cold in me. Finally, that the weaknes of my fleſhe be not ouercome with the feare of death. Graunt me mercifull Sauiour, that when death hath ſhut vp the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my ſoule may ſtill behold and looke vpon thee, and when death hath taken away the vſe of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and ſay vnto thee: Lord into thy hands I commend my ſoule, Lord Ieſu receaue my ſpirit. Amen.

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly & louingly exhorted them that were about him on the ſcaffold, he quietly committed his ſoule into the hands of God, and ſo paciently ſuffred the ſtroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miſer, which very vngodly performed the office.

Of

¶ Of the Bible in Engliſh printed in the large volume, and of Edmund Boner preferred to the Biſhoprike of London, by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell.

ABout the time and yere, when Edmund Boner biſhop of Hereford, & ambaſſadour reſident in Fraunce, begā firſt to be nominate & preferred by the meanes of the lord Cromwel to the biſhoprike of London: which was, anno. 1540. it happened that the ſaid Thomas Lord Cromwell and Erle of Eſſex, procured of yͤ king of england his gracious letters to the French king to permitte and licence a ſubiect of his to imprint the Bible in Engliſh within the vniuerſitie of Paris becauſe paper was there more meete and apte to be had for the doing therof, then in the realme of England, & alſo that there were more ſtore of good workmen for the readie diſpatch of yͤ ſame. And in like maner at the ſame time the ſaid king wrote vnto his ambaſſadour, who then was Edmund Boner Biſhop of Herford lying in Paris, that he ſhould ayde and aſſiſt the doers thereof in all their reaſonable ſutes. The which Biſhop outwardly ſhewed great friendſhip to yͤ merchants that were the imprinters of the ſame, and moreouer did diuers and ſundrie times call and commaunde the ſaid perſons, to be in maner daily at his table both dinner and ſupper, and ſo much reioyced in the workemanſhip of the ſaid Bible, that he himſelfe would viſite the imprinters houſe, where the ſame bibles were printed, & alſo would take part of ſuch dinners as the Engliſhmen there had, and that to his coſt, which, as it ſeemed he little wayed. And further the ſayd Boner was ſo feruent that he cauſed the ſaid Engliſhmen to put in print a new teſtament in engliſh & latine, and himſelfe took, a great many of them and payd for them & gaue them to his friends. And it chaunced the meane time, while the ſaid Bible was in printing, the king Henry the 8. preferred the ſaid Boner from the ſaid biſhopricke of Herford, to be biſhop of Londō, at which time yͤ ſaid Boner according to the ſtatute law of England, tooke his othe to the king, knowledging his ſupremacie, and called one of yͤ aforeſaid Engliſhmen that printed yͤ bible, whom he then loued, although afterward vppon the change of the worlde he did hate him as much, whoſe name was Richard Grafton: to whom the ſaid Boner ſaide when he tooke his othe, maiſter Grafton, ſo it is, that the kings moſt excellent maieſtie hath by his gracious gift preſented me to the Biſhopricke of London, for the which I am ſory, for if it would haue pleaſed his grace, I could haue bene well content to haue kept mine old biſhopricke of Herford. Then ſaid Grafton I am right glad to heare of it, and ſo I am ſure will bee a great number of the Citie of London: for though they yet know you not, yet they haue heard ſo much goodnes of you frō hence, as no doubt they wil hartily reioyce of your placing. Then ſaid Boner, I pray God I may doe that may content them, and to tel you M. Grafton. Before god (for that was commonly his othe) the greateſt fault that I euer found in Stokeſley, was for vexing and troubling of poore men, as Lobley the bookebinder and other, for hauing the ſcripture in engliſh, and God willing he did not ſo much hinder it, but I wil as much further it, and I wil haue of your Bibles ſet vp in the Church of Paules, at the leaſt in ſundrie places ſixe of them, and I will pay you honeſtly for them and giue you hartie thankes. Which wordes hee then ſpake in the hearing of diuers credible perſons, as Edmund Stile Grocer, and other. But now M. Grafton at this time I haue ſpecially called you to be a witnes with me that vpon this tranſlation of Biſhops Sees, I muſt according to the ſtatute take an othe vnto the kings maieſtie knowledging his Supremacie, which before God I take with my heart and ſo thinke him to be, and beſeech almightie God to ſaue him, and long to proſper his grace: holde the booke ſirah, and reade you the oth (ſaid he) to one of his chapleins, & he layd his hand on the booke and ſo he tooke his othe. And after this he ſhewed great friendſhip to the ſaide Grafton, and to his partener Edward Whitchurch, but ſpecially to Myles Couerdail, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

Now after that the foreſaid letters were deliuered, the French kyng gaue very good wordes, and was well content to permit the doing therof. And ſo the printer went forward and printed forth the booke euen to the laſt part, and then was the quarell picked to the printer, and he was ſent for to the inquiſitors of the fayth, and there charged with certaine articles of hereſie. Then were ſent for the Engliſhmen that were at the coſt and charge thereof, and alſo ſuch as had the correction of the ſame, which was Myles Couerdale, but hauing ſome warning what would folow the ſaid Engliſhmē poſted away as faſt they could to ſaue themſelues, leauing behynd them all their Bibles, which were to the number of 2500. called the Bibles of the great volume, and neuer recouered any of them, ſauing that the Lieſtenaunt criminal hauing them deliuered vnto hym to burne in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert place, was ſomewhat moued with couetouſnes, and ſold 4. great dry fattes of them to a Haberdaſher to lap in caps, and thoſe were bought againe, but the reſt were burned, to the great and importunate loſſe of thoſe that bare the charge of them. But notwithſtandyng the ſayd loſſe after they had recouered ſome part of the foreſayde bookes, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the ſaid Engliſhmen went agayne to Paris, & there got the preſſes, letters, and ſeruants of the aforeſayd Printer, and brought them to London, and there they became printers themſelues (which before they neuer entended) and printed out the ſaid Bible in London, and after that printed ſundry impreſſions of them: but yet not without great trouble and loſſe, for the hatred of the biſhops namely, Steuen Gardiner, and his fellowes, who mightily did ſtomacke and maligne the printing thereof.

English Bibles burnt at Paris.

How Grafton & Whitchurch became printers.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the ſtory, thou haſt louyng Reader, to note and vnderſtand that in thoſe daies there were ij. ſundry Bibles in Engliſh, printed and ſet forth, bearing diuers titles, and printed in diuers places. The firſt was called Thomas Mathews Bible, printed at Hambrough, about the yeare of our Lord, 1532. the corrector of which print was then Iohn Rogers, of whom ye ſhall heare more Chriſt willing hereafter. The Printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the tranſlation of this Bible, the greateſt doer was in deede William Tyndall, who with the helpe of Miles Couerdale had tranſlated all the bookes thereof, except onely the Apocrypha, and certaine notes in the margent which were added after. But becauſe the ſaid William Tyndall in the meane tyme was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to thē which had the doing thereof, to chaunge the name of William Tyndall, becauſe that name then was odious, and to farther it by a ſtrāge name of Thomas Mathew, Iohn Rogers the ſame time beyng corrector to the print, who had then tranſlated the reſidue of the Apocripha, and added alſo certaine notes thereto in the margent, and therof came it to be called Thomas Mathewes Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and preſented to the Lord Cromwell, & the Lord Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the ſayd Cromwell preſented it to yͤ kyng, and obteined that the ſame might freely paſſe to be read of hys ſubiectes with hys graces licence: So that there was Printed vpon the ſame booke, one lyne in red letters with theſe wordes: Set forth with the Kings moſt gracious licence.

Tho. Mathewes Bible, by whom and how.

The Byble preſented to the king by the Lord Cromwell. The Byble put forth with the kinges priuiledge.

The ſetting forth of this booke did not a little offend the Clergy, namely, the Biſhop aforeſayd, both for the Prologues, & ſpecially becauſe in the ſame booke was one ſpecial table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the ſcriptures for the approbation of the ſame, & chiefly about the ſupper of the lord and mariage of prieſts, and the maſſe, which there was ſaid not to be found in Scripture.

Furthermore, after the reſtraint of this foreſayde Bible of Mathew, another Bible began to be printed at Paris, an. 1540. which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The Printers whereof were the foreſayde Richard Grafton, and Whitchurche which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the lord Cromwell. The chiefeſt overſeer was Myles Couerdale, who taking the tranſlation of Tyndall, conferred the ſame with the Hebrue, and amended many things.

An other Byble of the great volume printed at Paris.

In this Bible, although the former notes of Thomas Mathew was omitted, yet ſondry markes & handes were annexed in the ſides, which ment that in thoſe places ſhuld be made certeine notes, wherwith alſo the clergy was offended, though the notes were not made.

The Byſhops offended at the Byble tranſlated into Engliſhe.

After this, the biſhops bringing their purpoſe to paſſe, brought the Lord Cromwell out of fauour, and ſhortly to his death: and not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the tranſlation of the Bible, and of yͤ preface of the ſame, and then was the ſale of the Bible commaunded to be ſtayed, the B. promiſing to amend & correct it, but neuer performing the ſame: Then Grafton was called, & firſt charged with the printing of Mathewes Bible, but he being fearful of trouble, made excuſes for himſelfe in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purpoſed to make. To the which he aunſwered, that he knewe none. For his purpoſe was to haue retayned learned men to haue made the notes, but when he perceyued the kynges maieſtie, and his Clergye not willing to haue any, he proceded no further. But for al theſe excuſes, Grafton was ſent to the Fleet, and there remayned

The ſale of the Byble ſtayd by the king through the Byſhops meanes.

Rich. Grafton impriſoned for printing the Bible.

mayned vi. wekes, and before he came out, was bound in CCC. li that he ſhould neither ſell, nor imprint, or cauſe to be imprinted any moe Bibles, vntill the king & the clergy ſhould agree vpon a tranſlation. And thus was the Bible from that tyme ſtayed, during the raigne of Kyng Henry the viij.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had loſt their Bibles, they continued ſuiters to Boner, as is aforeſaid, to be a meane for to obteyne of the French king their bookes agayne: but ſo long they continued ſuters, and Boner euer fed them with faire wordes, promiſing them much, but did nothing for them, till at the laſt Boner was diſcharged of his ambaſſade, and returned home, where he was right ioyfully welcomed home by the lord Cromwell, who loued him dearely, and had a maruelous good opinion of him. And ſo long as Cromwell remained in autoritie, ſo long was Boner at his beck and friend to his friends, and enimy to his enimies: as namely, at that tyme to Gardiner B. of wincheſter, who neuer fauoured Cromwell, & therefore Boner could not fauour him, but that he and wincheſter were the greateſt enemies that might be. But ſo ſoone as Cromwell fel, immediatly Boner and wincheſter pretended to be the greateſt men that liued, and no good word could Boner ſpeake of Cromwell, but the lewdeſt, vileſt, and bittereſt that he could ſpeake, calling him the rankeſt heretike that euer liued: and then ſuch as the ſayd Boner knew to be in good fauour with Cromwell, he could neuer abide their ſight. Inſomuch, as the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the abouenamed Grafton, who before had bene very familiar with Boner, met with the ſayd Boner ſodenly, and ſayd vnto hym, that he was ſory to heare of the newes that then was abroad. what are they, ſayd he? Of the apprehenſion of the L. Cromwell, ſayd Grafton. Are ye ſory for that (ſayd he?) It had bene good that he had bene diſpatched long ago. with that Grafton looked vpon hym and knew not what to ſay, but came no more to Boner. Howbeit afterward the ſayd Grafton beyng charged for the imprinting of a ballet made in the fauour of Cromwel was called before the Councel, where Boner was preſent and there Boner charged hym with the wordes that hee ſpake to hym of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the lord Awdeley, who then was Lord Chauncellor, right diſcretly and honourably, cut of the matter, and entered into other talke.

Edm. Boner a great frend to L. Cromwell, al the tyme of his proſperitye.

Steph. Gardiner and Boner of enemyes made frendes.

Doct. Boner altereth his frendſhip & religion.

Doctor Boner agaynſt the L. Cromwell.

The hiſtory of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, diuines.

Like as in forreine battails the chiefe poynt of victorie conſiſteth in the ſafetie of the Generall or captayne: euen ſo when the valiaunt ſtanderd bearer and ſtay of the church of England, Tho. Cromwell I meane, was made away, pitie it is to behold, what miſerable ſlaghter of good men and good women enſued thereupon, whereof we haue now (Chriſt willing) to entreat. For wincheſter hauyng now gotten his full purpoſe & free ſwinge to exerciſe his crueltie, wonder it was to ſee that Aper Calydonius, or (as the ſcripture ſpeaketh) that Ferus ſingularis, what troubles he raiſed in the Lordes vineyard. And leaſt by delayes he might looſe the occaſion preſently offered, he ſtraight wais made his firſt aſſaultes vpon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret and william Hierome, whom in yͤ very ſame moneth within ij. dayes after Cromwels death, he cauſed to be put to execution. whoſe hiſtories ſeuerally to comprehend, firſt of all we will ſomewhat ſpeake of Barnes D. of diuinitie, whoſe perticular ſtory here followeth.

Rob. Barnes, T. Garret, W. Hierome Martyrs.

Pſal. 40.

This Barnes, after he came from the Vniuerſitie of Louaine, went to Cambridge, where he was made Prior and maiſter of the houſe of the Auguſtines. At that tyme the knowledge of good letters was ſcarcely entred into the Vniuerſitie, all things beyng full of rudenes and barbaritie, ſauing in very few, which wer priuy and ſecret. wherupon Barnes hauing ſome feeling of better learning and authors, began in his houſe to read Terence, Plautus, & Cicero, ſo that what with his induſtry, paines & labours, and with the helpe of Tho. Parnell his ſcholer, whom he brought from Louane with him, reading Copia verborum & rerum, he cauſed the houſe ſhortly to floriſh with good letters, and made a great part of the houſe learned (which before were drowned in barbarous rudeneſſe) as M. Cambridge, maiſter Felde, M. Colman, M. Burley, M. Couerdall, with diuers other of the Vniuerſitie, that ſoiourned there for learnings ſake. After theſe foundations laid, then did he read openly in the houſe, Paules Epiſtles, and put by Duns and Dorbel, and yet he was a queſtionarye himſelfe: and onely becauſe he would haue Chriſt there taught and his holy word, he turned their vnſauory problemes and fruitles diſputations to other better matter of the holy ſcripture, & thereby in ſhort ſpace he made diuers good diuines. The ſame order of diſputatiō which he kept in his houſe, he obſerued likewiſe in the vniuerſitie abrode whē he ſhuld diſpute with any man in the commō ſcholes. And the firſt man that aunſwered Doctor Barnes in the Scriptures, was Maiſter Stafford for his forme to bee Bacheler of diuinitie, which diſputation was marueilous in the ſight of the great blynde Doctors, and ioyfull to the godly ſpirited.

Robert Barnes Prior of the houſe of Auguſtines in Cambridge.

Thomas Parnel a Londoner borne, ſcholer to Barnes, M. Cambridge, M. Field, M. Colman, M. Couerdall. Bachelers of diuinity.

Thus Barnes what with his reading, diſputation and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching euer againſt biſhops and hypocrites, and yet did not ſee his inward & outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good M. Bilney, with other (as is aforeſayd in the lyfe of M. Bilney) conuerted him wholy vnto Chriſt.

The firſt ſermon that euer he preached of this truth, was the Sonday before Chriſtmas day, at S. Edwardes church longing to Trinitie hall in Cambridge, by yͤ Peaſe market: whoſe theame was the epiſtle of the ſame ſonday, Gaudete in domino, &c. and ſo poſtilled the whole epiſtle, folowyng the ſcripture and Luthers poſtill, and for that ſermon he was immediatly accuſed of hereſie by ij. fellowes of the kings hall. Then the godly learned in Chriſt both of Penbroke hall, S. Iohns, Peter houſe, Queenes colledge, the Kings colledge, Gunwell hall, & Benet college, ſhewed themſelues & flocked together in open ſight, both in the ſcholes, and at open Sermons at S. Maries, and at the Auſtens, and at other diſputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The fi Sermo Doct.B preach defen the tru

The houſe that they reſorted moſt commonly vnto, was the white horſe, which for deſpite of them to bryng Gods word into contempt was called Germany. This houſe eſpecially was choſen becauſe of them of S. Iohns. The kings colledge, and the Queenes colledge, came in on the backe ſide. At this tyme much trouble began to enſue. The aduerſaries of D. Barnes accuſed him in the Regēt houſe before the Vicechancelor, where as his articles were preſented with him & receyued, he promiſing to make anſwer at the next conuocation, and ſo it was done. Then Doctor Nottoris a ranke enemy to Chriſt, moued Doct. Barnes to recant, but he refuſed ſo to do: which appeareth in hys booke that he made to king Henry the 8. in Engliſh, confuting the iudgement of cardinall wolſey, and the reſidue of the Biſhops papiſticall, and ſo for the tyme ſtoode ſtedfaſt. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preachyng agaynſt another, in trying out of Gods truth, vntil within vj. dayes of Shrouetyde. Then ſodenly was ſent downe to Cambridge a ſergeaunt of armes called maiſter Gibſon, dwelling in ſ. Thomas Apoſtles in Londō, who ſodēly areſted D. Barnes openly in the conuocatiō houſe, to make all other afraid: and priuily they had determined to make ſearch for Luthers bookes, and all the Germaines workes ſodenly.

Trouble mongeſt Cambri men for Goſpell.

D.Barn areſted M.Gib

But good D. Farman of the Queenes Colledge, ſent word incontinently thereof, to the chambers of thoſe that were ſuſpected, which were in number xxx. perſons. But God be prayſed they were conueied, by that tyme that the ſergeant at armes, the Vicechauncelor and the Proctours were at euery mans chamber, goyng directly to the place where the bookes lay (wherby it was perceiued that there were ſome priuy ſpies amongſt that ſmall company) and that night they ſtudied together and gaue him his anſwer, which anſwer he caried with him to Londō the next morning, which was Tueſday before Shroueſonday, & came on the wedneſday to London, & lay at M. Parnels houſe by the ſtockes. In the morning he was caried by the Sergeant at armes to cardinal wolſey to weſtminſter, waytyng there all day, and could not ſpeak with him til night. Then by the reaſon of D. Gardiner Secretary to the cardinall (of whoſe familiar acquaintance he had bene before) and M. Foxe M. of the wardes, he ſpake the ſame nyght with the cardinal in his chamber of eſtate, kneeling on his knees. Then ſayd the cardinall to them, is this D. Barnes your man that is accuſed of hereſie? Yea, and pleaſe your grace, and we truſt you ſhall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wiſe.

Search i Cambri for book

Falſe br thers.

D.Barn brought London.

D.Gard Secret to the C dinall.

what M. doctor (ſayd the cardinal) had you not a ſufficient ſcope in the ſcriptures to teach the people, but that my golden ſhewes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my goldē cuſhiōs, my croſſes did ſo ſore offēd you, that you muſt make vs Ridiculum caput amongſt the people. we were iolily yͭ day laughed to ſcorne. Verily it was a ſermon more fitter to be preached on a ſtage, thē in a pulpit: for at the laſt you ſayd, I weare a payre of red glooues, I ſhould ſay bloudye glooues (quoth you) that I ſhould not be cold in the midſt of my ceremonies, And he anſwered. I ſpake nothing but the

The ta betwe Cardi Wolſ D.Bar

the truth out of the ſcriptures, according to my conſcience and according to the old Doctors: and then did hee deliuer him vi. ſheetes of paper written to confirme and corroborate his ſayinges.

He receaued them ſmiling on him, and ſaying, we perceiue then that you intend to ſtand to your Articles and to ſhew your learning.

Yea ſayde Barnes that I doe intend by Gods grace, with your Lordſhips fauour.

He anſwered, ſuch as you are do beare vs litle fauour & the catholicke church, I will aſke you a queſtion. whether do you thinke it more neceſſary that I ſhould haue al this royaltie, becauſe I repreſent the kings maieſties perſon in all the hie courtes of this realme, to the terrour & keeping downe of all rebellions, treaſons, traytors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this common wealth, or to be as ſimple as you would haue vs, to ſell al theſe foreſayd thinges, and to geue it to the poore, whiche ſhortly will piſſe it agaynſt the walles, and to pull awaye this maieſtie of a princely dignitie, which is a terrour to all the wicked, and to follow your counſell in this behalfe.

he preten- ed reaſons the Car- nal where- he main- ned his mp.

He anſwered I thinke it neceſſary to be ſold and geuen to the poore. For this is not comely for your calling, nor yͤ kinges maieſtie is not mayntayned by your pompe & pollaxes, but by God, who ſayth: Per me reges regnant. Kinges and theyr maieſties raigne and ſtand by me.

Then anſwered he: Lo M. Doctors, here is the learned the wiſe man that you told me of. Then they kneeled down and ſaid: we deſire your grace to be good vnto him, for hee will be reformable.

D.Gardiner ſuter for arnes.

Then ſayd he, ſtand you vp, for your ſakes & the Vniuerſitie we wil be good vnto him. How ſay you M. doctor do you not knowe that I am Legatus de latere, and that I am able to diſpenſe in all matters concerning religion wͭin this realme, as much as the pope may? He ſayd, I knowe it to be ſo.

will you then be ruled by vs, & we will do al thinges for your honeſty, and for the honeſty of the Vniuerſitie?

He anſwered, I thanke your grace for your good wil, I will ſticke to the holy ſcripture and to Gods booke, according to the ſimple talent that God hath lent me.

Aunſwere well ſayd he, thou ſhalt haue thy learnyng tryed to the vttermoſt, and thou ſhalt haue the law.

Then he required him that he might haue iuſtice wyth equitye, and forthwyth he ſhoulde haue gone to the tower, but that Gardiner & Foxe became his ſureties that nyght, and ſo he came home to M. Parnels houſe again, and that night fell to wryting againe and ſlepte not, M. Couerdale, M. Godwin & M. Feld being his wryters: and in yͤ morning he came to Yorke place to Gardiner and Fox, and by & by he was committed to the Sergeant of armes to bring hym into the chapter houſe at weſtminſter before the Byſhops, and the Abbot of weſtminſter called Iſlip.

tilliard mē xamined r Lollardy

The ſame time when D. Barnes ſhould appeare before the cardinall, there were 5. Stilliard mē to be examined for Luthers bookes and Lollardy, but after they ſpied Barns they ſet the other aſide, and aſked the Sergeaunt of armes what was his errand. He ſayd he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined of hereſie, and preſented both hys Articles and hys accuſers. Then immediatly after a little talke, they ſware him & laid his articles to him. who lyke as he anſwered the cardinal before, ſo ſayd he vnto them, & then he offred the booke of his probations vnto them. who aſked hym whether he had another for himſelf, and he ſaid, yea, ſhewing it vnto them. who then tooke it from him, & ſaid they ſhould haue no laiſure to diſpute with him at that preſent for other affaires of the kings maieſtie, which they had to do, and therfore bad him ſtand aſide. Then they called the Stilliarde men againe one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the M. of the Fleete, and they were committed al to the Fleete. Then they called D. Barnes again, and aſked him whether he would ſubſcribe to his Articles or no, and he ſubſcribed willingly: and then they committed him and yong M. Parnel to the Flete alſo wyth the other. There they remayned till Saterdaye in the morning, and the warden of the Flete was commanded that no man ſhould ſpeake with hym.

he Still- rd men cō- itted to e Fleete.

.Barnes ith yonge arnell cō- itted to e Fleete.

On the ſaterday he came againe afore them into yͤ chapter houſe, and there with the ſtilliard men remained till 5. a clocke at night. And after long diſputations, threatnings, & ſcornings, about 5. a clocke at nyghte, they called hym, to know whether he would abiure or burne. He was then in a great agony, & thought rather to burn thē to abiure. But thē was he ſent again to haue yͤ counſel of Gard. and Fox, & they perſuaded him rather to abiure thē to burn, becauſe (they ſaid) he ſhuld do more in time to come, & with diuers other perſwaſions that were mighty in the ſight of reaſon & fooliſh fleſh. Vpon that, kneeling vpon his knees, he conſented to abiure, and the abiuration put in hys hande, hee abiured as it was there wrytten, and then hee ſubſcribed wyth hys owne hand: and yet they would ſcarcely receyue hym into the boſome of the Churche, as they termed it. Then they put hym to an oth, and charged him to execute, doe, and fulfill all that they commaunded him, and he promiſed ſo to doe.

.Barnes & e Stilliard ē brought gayne be- re the Cardinall.

D. Barnes perſwaded by Gardiner and Foxe, to abiure.

Then they commaunded the warden of the Fleete to carye hym with his fellowes to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in cloſe pryſon, and in the morning to prouide 5. fagots for D. Barnes, and the 4. Stilliard men. The 5. Stilliard man was commanded to haue a taper of 5. poūd waight to be prouided for him, to offer to the roode of Northen in Paules, and all theſe things to be ready by 8. of the clocke in the morning, and that hee with all that he could make, with bils and gleaues, and yͤ knight marſhall withal his tipſtaues that he could make, ſhuld bring them to Paules and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all readye by theyr houre appoynted in Paules church, the church being ſo full that no man coulde get in. The Cardinal had a ſcaffold made on the top of the ſtaires for himſelfe, with 36. Abbots, mitred Priors and byſhops, and he in his whole pompe mitred (whiche Barnes ſpake againſt) ſate there inthronized, his Chapleins and ſpirituall doctors in gownes of damaſke and ſatine, and he hymſelfe in purple, euen like a bloudye Antichriſte. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the ſtaires alſo, for the B. of Rocheſter to preache againſt Luther and Doctor Barnes: and great baſkets full of bookes ſtanding before them within the railes, which was commaunded after the great fire was made afore the roode of Northen there to be burned, and theſe heretikes after the ſermon to goe thryſe about the fire, and to caſt in theyr fagots.

D. Barnes & the Stilliard men beare fagottes.

Now while the ſermon was a doing, D. Barnes and the ſtilliard men were commanded to knele downe & aſke God forgeuenes, the catholike church and cardinals grace and after that hee was commaunded at the ende of the ſermon to declare that he was more charitablier hādled, then he deſerued or was worthy (hys hereſies were ſo horrible and ſo deteſtable) and once againe kneeled downe on hys knees, and deſiring the people of forgeueneſſe and to praye for him, and ſo the cardinal departed vnder a canapie with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the ſecond gate of Paules, and then he tooke his mule, and the mitred men came backe againe. Then theſe poore men being commanded to come downe from the ſtage (whereon the ſweepers vſe to ſtande when they ſweepe the Church) the Byſhops ſate them downe againe and commanded the knight marſhall and the warden of the Fleete with theyr company to carie them aboute the fire, and ſo were they brought to the biſhops, and there for abſolution kneeled downe. where Rocheſter ſtode vp and declared vnto the people how many dayes of pardon and forgeuenes of ſinnes they had for beyng at that Sermone, and there did aſſoyle D. Barnes wyth the other, and ſhewed the people that they were receiued into the church agayne.

Dayes of pardon geuen for hearing a Popiſhe Sermon.

This done, the warden of the Fleete and the Knyght Marſhall were commanded to haue them to the Fleete againe, and charged that they ſhould haue the libertie of the Flete as other priſoners had, and that theyr frends myght reſort vnto them, and there to remaine till the Lorde Cardinals pleaſure was knowen.

After that Barnes there in the Fleete had cōtinued the ſpace of halfe a yeare, at length beyng deliuered, was committed to be free priſoner at the Auſten friers in London. When thoſe Caterpillers and bloudy beaſts had there vndermined hym, they complained againe to their Lord cardinall. wherupon he was remoued to the Auſten Fryers of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himſelf vnderſtāding nothing therof, but ſuppoſing ſtill yͭ he ſhuld there remaine and continue in free priſon, at laſt one M. Horne, who had brought hym vp, and was his ſpeciall frende, hauing intelligence of the writte which ſhould ſhortly be ſent downe to burne him, gaue him counſaile to faine him ſelfe to be deſperate, and that hee ſhoulde wryte a letter to the Cardinal and leaue it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whether he was gone to drown hymſelf, & to leaue his clothes in the ſame place: and there an other letter to be left to the Maior of the towne to ſearch for hym in the water, becauſe hee had a letter written in parchment about hys necke, cloſed in waxe, for the Cardinall, whyche would teach all men to beware by hym. Vppon thys, they were 7. dayes in ſearching for hym, but hee was conueyed to London in a pore mans apparel, and ſo taried not there but tooke ſhipping and went by long Seas to Antwerpe, and ſo to Luther, and there fell to ſtudie till hee had made aunſwere to all the Biſhops of the Realme, and had made

Doct. Barnes fayned himſelfe to be drowned.

a Booke intituled, Acta Romanorum pontificum. And an other booke wyth a ſupplication to king Henrie. Immediatly it was tolde the Cardinall, that he was drowned, and he ſayde, Perit memoria eius cum ſonitu. But thys did lyghte vppon hymſelfe ſhortly after, whyche wretchedly dyed at Leiceſter.

Doct. Barnes ſent Ambaſſadour from the king of Denmarke to king Henry, into England.

In the meane ſeaſon D. Barnes was made ſtrong in Chriſt, and got fauour both of the learned in Chriſte, & forreine Princes in Germanye, and was great wyth Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Iuſtus Ionas, Hegendorphinus and Æpinus, and with the Duke of Saxon, and the king of Denmarke, which king of Denmarke in the tyme of More and Stokeſley ſent hym wyth the Lubeckes, as an Ambaſſadour, to king Henry the viij. He lay wyth the Lubeckes Chauncellor at the Stilliard.

Syr Thomas More ſought the death of Doct. Barnes.

Syr Tho. More then Chancelour, woulde fayne haue entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great frende. And ere he went, the Lubeckes & he diſputed wyth the Biſhops of this realme in defence of the truth, and ſo he departed agayne wythout reſtrainte wyth the Lubeckes. After hys going againe to wittemb. to the Duke of Saxon, and to Luther, hee remained there to ſet forwardes hys workes in Printe that he had begon, from whence hee returned againe in the beginning of the raigne of Queene Anne, as other did, & continued a faythfull preacher in this Citie, being all her time wel entertained and promoted. After that, he was ſent Ambaſſador by K. Henrye the 8. to the Duke of Cleue, for the marriage of ẏ Lady Anne of Cleue, betwene the king and her, and was wel accepted in that Ambaſſade and in all hys doings, vntil the time that Ste. Gardiner came out of Fraunce: but after he came, neither religion proſpered, nor the Queenes maieſtie, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers, who after the marryage of the Ladie Anne of Cleue, neuer ceaſed vntill hee had grafted the mariage in an other ſtocke, by the occaſion wherof he began his bloudy broyle.

Doct. Barnes returned agayne into England in the tyme of Queene Anne.

Doct. Barnes ſent Ambaſſadour by king Henry, to the Duke of Cleue.

For not long after, Doctor Barnes with hys brethren were apprehended and caryed before the kyngs maieſtie to Hampton courte, and there he was examined. Where the kynges maieſtie ſeeking the meanes of his ſafety, to bring Winte. and hym agreed, at Wyncheſters requeſt, graunted him leaue to go home with the biſhop to cōferre with him and ſo he did. But as it happened they not agreeing, Gardiner and his cōpartners ſought by al ſubtil meanes, how to entangle and to entrappe them in further danger, which not long after was brought to paſſe. For by certaine complaintes made to the kinge of them, they were enioyned to preache 3. ſermones the next Eaſter folowing at the Spittle. At the which ſermones, beſides other reporters whych were thether ſent, Ste. Gardiner alſo was there preſent ſitting with the Maior, either to beare recorde of theyr recantation, or els as the Phariſeis came to Chriſt, to trippe them in their talke, if they had ſpokē any thing awry. Whē theſe 3. had thus preached their Sermons, among whome Barnes preaching the firſt ſermon, and ſeeing Ste. Gardiner there preſent, humbly deſired him in the face of al the audience, if he forgaue hym, to holde vp hys hande, and the ſayd Gardiner thereupon held vp his finger: yet notwithſtanding ſhortly after by the meanes of the ſayd reporters, they were ſent for to Hampton Courte: who from thence were caryed to the tower by Syr Iohn Goſtwike. From whence they neuer came out till they came to theyr death, as hereafter Chriſt willing ſhall more appeare.

And thus hetherto concerning the hyſtorye of Barnes. Nowe let vs likewiſe conſider the ſtorye and doinges of Thomas Garet.

The ſtory of Tho. Garret or Garrerd, and of his trouble in Oxford, teſtified and recorded by Antony Dalaber, who was there preſent the ſame tyme.

Tho. Garret brought bookes to Oxford.

ABout the yere of our Lord 1526. Maiſter Garret Curate of Hony Lane in London, came vnto Oxford, and brought with him ſondry bookes in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the firſt parte of Vnio diſſidentium, & Tindals firſt tranſlation of the new Teſtament in Engliſh, the which bookes he ſold to diuers ſcholers in Oxford.

Garret ſought for at London.

After he had ben there a while, and had diſpatched thoſe bookes, newes came from London that hee was ſearched for through al London to be apprehended and taken as an heretike, and to be impriſoned for ſelling of thoſe hereticall bookes (as they termed them) becauſe they ſpake agaynſte the vſurped authoritie, and erroneous doctrine of the B. of Rome, and his no leſſe impure and filthy Synagoge. For it was not vnknowen to Cardinall Wolſey, and to the B. of London, and to other of that vngodly generation, that M. Garret had a great number of thoſe bookes, and that he was gone to Oxford to make ſale of them there, to ſuche as he knew to be the louers of the Goſpel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a priuie ſearche through all Oxford to apprehende and impriſon hym, and to burne all and euery hys foreſayd bookes and him to, if they could: ſo burning hote was their charitie. But yet at that time one of the foreſayde Proctours, called M. Cole of Magdalene colledge, who after was croſſe bearer vnto Cardinal Wolſey, was wel acquainted with M. Garret, and therefore he gaue ſecret warning vnto a frende or two of M. Garret of this priuie ſearch, and willed therefore that he ſhuld forthwith as ſecretly as he could, depart out of Oxford, for if he were taken in the ſame ſearch, no remedy but he ſhoulde be forthwith ſent vp vnto the Cardinall, and ſo ſhould be cōmitted vnto the Tower.

The Chriſtmas before that time, I Antonye Dalaber then Scholer of Alborne Hall, who had bookes of maiſter Garrets, had bene in my countrey in Dorſetſhire at Stalbridge, where I had a brother Perſon of that Pariſh, who was verye deſirous to haue a Curate out of Oxforde, and willed me in any wiſe to gette him one there if I coulde. Thys iuſt occaſion offered, it was thoughte good amonge the brethren (for ſo did wee not onely call one an other, but were in deede one to an other) that maiſter Garret chaunging hys name, ſhould be ſent forth wyth my letters into Dorcetſhire vnto my brother, to ſerue him there for a time, vntill hee myghte ſecreately from thence conueye hymſelfe ſome whether ouer the Sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in all haſte poſſible vnto my brother, for maiſter Garret to be hys Curate, but not declaring what hee was in dede, for my brother was a rancke papiſt, and after was the moſt mortall ennemie that euer I had for the Goſpels ſake.

So the wedenſday in the morning before Shroftyde, M. Garret departed out of Oxforde, toward Dorſetſhyre, with his letters for his new ſeruice. How farre he went, & by what occaſion he ſo ſoone returned, I know not. But the Friday next, in the night time he came agayne to Radleyes houſe, where he lay before, and ſo after midnight in the priuy ſearch, whiche was then made for him, hee was apprehended and taken there in his bed by ẏ 2. Proctours and on the ſaterday in ẏ morning was deliuered vnto one D. Cotiſford, M. of Lincolne Colledge, then being Commiſſary of the vniuerſitie, who kept hym as priſoner in hys owne chamber. There was great ioy and reioyſing amōg all the papiſtes for his apprehenſion, and ſpecially wyth Doctor London: warden of the new Colledge, and Doctour Higdon Deane of Frideſwides, two Archpapiſtes, who immediately ſent theyr letters in poſt haſt vnto the Cardinall to enforme him of ẏ apprehēſion of this notable Hereticke: for the whiche theyr doyng, they were well aſſured to haue great thankes. But of all this ſodayne hurly burley, was I vtterly ignoraunt, ſo that I knewe neither of maiſter Garrets ſo ſodayne returne, neyther that hee was ſo taken, vntill that afterward he came vnto my chāber, being then in Gloceſter Colledge, as a man amaſed, & as ſoone as he ſaw me, he ſayd he was vndone, for he was taken. Thus he ſpake vnaduiſedly in the preſence of a young man that came with him. When the yong man was departed, I aſked him what hee was, and what acquayntaunce he had with hym. He ſayd he knew hym not, but he had bene to ſeeke a Monke of his acquayntaunce in that Colledge, who was not in his chamber, and thereupon deſired that his ſeruaunt (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly remoued thether) to bring him to me: and ſo forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in the priuy ſearch, as ye haue heard and that nowe when the Commiſſary & al his company were gone to Euenſong, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he hearing no body ſtirring in the Colledge, put backe the bar of the locke with his finger, and ſo came ſtraight vnto Gloceſter Colledge, to ſpeake with that monke, if he had bene within, who had alſo bought bookes of him.

Then ſayd I vnto him: Alas M. Garret, by this your vncircumſpect comming vnto me, and ſpeaking ſo before this young man, you haue diſcloſed your ſelfe, and vtterly vndone me. I aſked him why he went not vnto my brother wyth my letters accordingly. Hee ſayde, after that hee was gone a dayes iourney and a halfe, he was ſo fearefull, that his heart would no other, but that he muſt nedes returne againe vnto Oxford, and ſo came againe on Fridaye at night, and then was takē, as ye heard before. But nowe wyth deepe ſighes, and plentie of teares, hee prayed mee to helpe to conuey him away, and ſo he caſt of his hoode & hys gowne, wherein he came vnto me, and deſired me to geue him a coate with ſleeues, if I had any, and tolde me that he wold go into Wales, and thence conuey himſelf into Germany, if he might. Thē I put on him a ſleued coat of mine.

He woulde alſo haue had an other maner of cap of me, but I had none but prieſtlike, ſuch as his owne was.

Then kneeled we both downe together on our knees, and lifting vp our hearts and hands to God our heauenly father, deſiring him wyth plentie of teares, ſo to conducte and proſper him in his iourney, that he myght well eſcape the daunger of al his enemies, to yͤ glory of his holy name, if his good pleaſure and will ſo were, and then we embraced and kiſſed the one the other, the teares ſo aboundantly flowing out from both our eies, that we al bewet both our faces, and ſcarcely for ſorrowe coulde we ſpeake one to the other, and ſo he departed from me, apparelled in my coate, being committed vnto the tuition of oure almyghtye and mercifull father.

parting
…wene
Garret
…alaber.

When he was gone downe the ſtaires from my chamber, I ſtraightwayes did ſhut my chamber doore, and wēt into my ſtudy, and tooke the new Teſtament in my hands, kneeled downe on my knees, and with many a deepe ſigh and ſalt teare, I did wyth much deliberation read ouer the 10. chapter of S. Mathew his Goſpell: and when I had ſo done, with feruent prayer I did cōmit vnto God, that our dearely beloued brother Garret, earneſtly beſeeching him, in and for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, his onely begotten ſonne our Lord, that he would vouchſafe, not only ſafely to conducte and keepe our ſaide deare brother, from the hands of all his ennemies, but alſo that he would endue hys tender and lately borne litle flock in Oxford, wͭ heauenly ſtrength by his holy ſpirite, that they might be well able therby valiauntly to wythſtand to hys glory, al their fierce enemies, and alſo myght quietly, to theyr owne ſaluation, with all godly pacience, beare Chriſtes heauy croſſe, which I now ſawe was preſently to be laide on their young and weake backes, vnable to beare ſo huge a burden, wͭout the greate helpe of his holy ſpirite.

…labers
…yer for
…Garret.

This done, I laide a ſide my bookes ſafe, folded vp M. Garrets gowne and hoode, and laide them into my preſſe among mine apparel, & ſo hauing put on my ſhort gowne, ſhut vp my ſtudy and chamber doores, and went towards Friſwides, to ſpeake with that worthy martyr of God M. Clarke, and others, and to declare vnto them what hadde happened that after noone. But of purpoſe I went by S. Mary church, to goe firſte vnto Corpus Chriſti Colledge, to ſpeake with Dict and Vdall, my faithfull brethren and fellowes in the Lord there. But by chaunce I mette by the way wyth a brother of ours, one maſter Ecden, fellowe of Magdalene Colledge, who, aſſoone as hee ſawe mee, came with a pitifull countenance vnto mee, ſaying that we were all vndone, for M. Garret was returned agayne to Oxforde, taken the laſt night in the priuie ſearche, and was in priſon with the Commiſſary. I ſayd it was not ſo. He ſayd it was ſo. I tolde him it could not be ſo, for I was ſure he was gone. He aunſwered me and ſayde, I knowe he was gone with your letters, but he came again yeſterday in the euen, & was taken in his bed at Radleis this nyghte in the priuie ſearch: for (quod he) I heard our Proctour M. Cole ſay and declare the ſame this day in our colledge, to diuers of the houſe. But I told him againe, that I was wel aſſured he was now gone, for I ſpake with him later thē either the Proctor or Commiſſarie did, and then I declared the whole matter vnto him, how and when he came vnto me, and howe hee went hys way, willinge hym to declare the ſame vnto other our brethren whom he ſhould meete withall, and to geue God harty thankes for his wonderfull deliueraunce, and to pray him alſo that he would graūt hym ſafely to paſſe away from al his enemies, and told him that I was goinge vnto mayſter Clarke of Friſwides, to declare vnto him this matter, for I knewe, & thought verely that he and diuers others there, were then in great ſorowe for this matter. Then went I ſtraight to Friſwides, and Euenſong was begon, and the Deane and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices: they were almoſt at Magnificat before I came thether, I ſtoode at the quier doore and heard maſter Tauerner play, and others of the Chappell there ſing, wyth and among whome I my ſelfe was wont to ſing alſo, but nowe my ſinging and muſicke was turned into ſighing and muſing.

M. Clarke a
…ous or
…thy lear
…man.
…Dict.
…Vdall.
…Ecden.

Tauer-
ner.

As I thus and there ſtoode, in commeth D. Cotiſforde the Commiſſary, as faſt as euer he could goe, bare headed, as pale as aſhes (I knewe his greefe well inough) and to the Deane he goeth into the Quier, where he was ſittinge in hys ſtall, and talked wyth him verye ſorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truely geſſe. I went aſide from the Quier doore: to ſee & heare more. The Commiſſary and Deane came out of the Quier wonderfully troubled, as it ſeemed. Aboute the middle of the Church met them D. London, puffing, bluſtering and blowing like a hungry and gredy Lion ſeeking hys pray. They talked together a while, but the Commiſſarie was much blamed of them for keeping of hys priſoner ſo negligently, in ſo muche that hee wepte for ſorrowe: and it was knowen abroade, that maſter Garret was eſcaped, & gone out of the Commiſſaries chamber at Euenſonge time, but whether no man coulde tell. Theſe doctours departed, and ſent abrode their ſeruants and ſpies euery where. Maiſter Clarke aboute the middle of Compline, came forth of the Quier: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what was happened that after noone, of maſter Garrets eſcape. He was glad, for he knewe of his foretaking. Then he ſent for one M. Sumner and M. Bets, fellowes and Canons there. In the meane while he gaue me a very godly exhortation, praying God to geue me and all the reſt of our brethren, *prudentiam ſerpentinam, & ſimplicitatē columbinam,* for we ſhoulde haue ſhortly much neede thereof, as he verely thought. When M. Sumner and M. Bets were come vnto him, hee cauſed mee to declare againe the whole matter vnto them two, and they were very glad, that M. Garret was ſo deliuered, truſting that he ſhould eſcape al his enemies. Then deſiring them to tell vnto our other brethren, what was happened (for there were diuers other in that Colledge) I went to Corpus Chriſti colledge to comfort our brethren, there being in like heauines. There I taried and ſupped wyth them. At whiche ſupper we were not very merie, conſidering our ſtate and pearill at hand.

…e Phari-
…troubled
…M. Gar-
…eſcape
…of priſō

M. Clarke.

M. Sumner. M. Bettes.

When we had ended our ſupper, and committed our whole cauſe with feruent ſighes and harty prayers vnto God our heauenly father, I went to Alborne hall, & there lay that night. In the morning I was vp very early, and as ſoone as I could get out at the dore, I went ſtraight toward Glouceſter Colledge to my chamber. It had rayned that morning, and with my goyng I had all to be ſprinckled my hoſe and ſhoes with myre. And when I was come vnto Glouceſter colledge, which was about 6. of the clock, I found the gates faſt ſhut. Whereat I did much marueile, for they were wont to be opened dayly long before yͤ time. Then did I walke vp and downe by yͤ wal there, a whole houre before the gates were opened. In the meane whyle my muſing head being full of forecaſting cares, & my ſorowfull hart flowing with dolefull ſighes, I fully determined in my conſcience before God, that if I ſhuld chance to be taken & be examined, I would accuſe no man nor declare any thing further then I did already perceaue was manifeſtly knowen before. And ſo when the gate was opened, thinking to ſhift my ſelfe & to put on a longer gowne, went in towardes my chamber, & goyng vp the ſtayres would haue opened my dore, but I could not in a lōg ſeaſon do it. Wherby I perceiued that my lock had ben medled wͭall, and therwith was ſomewhat altered. Yea at laſt with much ado I opened the locke and went in. When I came in, I ſaw my bed all to toſſed and tūbled, my clothes in my preſſe throwne down, & my ſtudy dore open. Whereof I was much amaſed, and thought verily yͤ ſome ſearche was made there that night for M. Garret, and that it was knowne of his being with me, by the Monkes man that brought him to my chamber.

Dalabers chamber ſearched for M. Garret.

Now was there lying in the next chamber vnto me a Monke, who as ſoone as he had heard me in yͤ chamber, came to me, and told howe M. Garret was ſought in my chāber yͤ night, and what ado there was made by the Cōmiſſary & the two proctors, with billes & ſwords thruſted thorow my bedſtraw, and how euery corner of my chāber was ſearched for M. Garret. And albeit his gowne and his hoode lay there in my preſſe with my clothes, yet they perceiued them not. Then he told me hee was commaunded to bring mee as ſoone as I came in, vnto the Priour of yͤ ſtudents named Antony Dunſtane a Monk of weſtminſter. This ſo troubled me that I forgot to make cleane my hoſe and ſhoes, & to ſhift me into an other gowne: and therfore, ſo all to be dirted as I was, & in my ſhort gowne I went with him to the ſayde Priors chamber, where I found the ſayd Prior ſtanding & looking for my comming. He aſked me where I hadde bene that night. I told him I lay at Alborne Hall with my old bedfelow Fitziames, but he would not beleue me. He aſked mee if M. Garret were with me yeſterday, I told him yea. Then he would knowe where he was, and wherfore he came vnto me, I told hym I knew not where he was except he were at Woodſtocke. For ſo (ſayde I) hee had ſhewed me that he would goe thether, becauſe one of the kepers there his frend, had promiſed him a peece of veneſon to make mery withall the ſhroftide, and that he woulde haue borowed a hatte and a payer of hygh ſhoes of me, but I had none in deede to lend hym. Thys tale I thought meeteſt, though it were nothyng ſo. Then hadde he ſpied on my forefinger a big ringe of ſiluer very well double gilted with 2. letters A. D. ingraued in it for my name: I ſuppoſe he thought it to be gold. He required to ſee it, I tooke it vnto hym. When hee hadde it in hys

Dalaber brought to the Prior of Glouceſter Colledge.

Anthony Dalabers ringe taken from him.

hand, he ſayde it was hys ring, for therein was his name. an A. for Antonie, and a D. for Dunſtane. When I hearde hym ſo ſay, I wiſhed in my heart to be as well delyuered from and out of hys company, as I was aſſured to be deliuered from my ryng for euer.

Then he called for pen, inke, and paper, and commãded me to wryte when & howe Garret came vnto me, & where he was become. I had not wrytten ſcarſly three wordes, but the chief bedle with ij. or iij. of the Commiſſaries men, were come, vnto Maiſter Prior, requiring hym ſtraygthwayes to bryng vs away vnto Lyncolne Colledge to the Commiſſarye, and to D. London. Whether when I was brought into the chapel, there I found D. Cotiſforde commiſſarie, D. Higdon then Deane of the Cardinals Colledge, and D. London warden of the new Colledge ſtandinge together at the altare in the chappel. When I was brought vnto them, after ſalutations geuen and taken betweene them, they called for chaires and ſate downe, & called for me to come to them. and fyrſte they aſked what my name was. I told them that my name was Antonye Dalaber. Then they alſo aſked me howe long I had bene ſtudent in the Vniuerſitie, and I tolde them almoſt 3. yeares. And they aſked mee what I ſtudied. I tolde them that I had read ſophiſtrie and logicke in Alborne Hal, and nowe was remoued vnto Glocceſter Colledge to ſtudy the Ciuil lawe, the which the foreſayde Prior of the ſtudentes affirmed to be true. Then they aſked me whether I knew M. Garret, and how long I had knowen him. I told them I knew him wel, & had knowen him almoſt a tweluemõth. They aſked me when he was with me. I told them yeſterday at after noone.

Anthony Dalaber apprehẽded and troubled for M. Garret.

Now by this time whiles they had me in this talke, one came vnto them which was ſent for, wͭ pen, inke and paper. I trowe it was the Clerke of the Vniuerſitie. Aſſone as he was come, there was a bourd & treſles wyth a forme for him to ſit on, ſet betweene the Doctours and me, and a great Maſſe booke layde before me, and I was commaunded to lay my right hand on it, and to ſweare that I ſhould truely aunſwere vnto ſuch articles and interrogatories as I ſhould be by them examined vpon. I made danger of it a while at firſt, but afterwarde being perſwaded by them, partly by faire wordes, and partly by great threates. I promiſed to do as they wold haue me, but in my hart nothyng ſo ment to do. So I layd my hand on the booke, and one of them gaue me my othe, and that done commaunded me to kiſſe the booke. Then made they greate curteſie betweene them who ſhould examine me, & miniſter interrogatoryes vnto me. At the laſt, the rankeſt Papiſtical Phariſey of thẽ all D. London tooke vpon hym to do it.

The examinatiõ of Anthony Dalaber.

Doct. London Warden of the new Colledge, an Archpharifey.

Then he aſked me againe by my othe, where M. Garret was, and whether I had conueyed hym. I tolde him I had not conueyed hym, nor yet wiſt not where he was, nor whether he was gone, except he were gone to Wodſtocke, (as I had before ſayde) as he ſhewed me he woulde. Then he aſked me agayne when he came to me, howe he came to me, what and howe long he talked with me, and whether he went from me, I tolde hym he came to me about euenſong time, and that one brought hym vnto my Chamber doore, whome I knowe not, and that he told me he would goe to Woodſtocke for ſome veniſon to make mery withall this Shroftide, and that he woulde haue borowed a hatte, and a paire of high ſhoes of me, but I had none ſuch to lẽd hym, and then he ſtraight went hys way frõ me, but whether I knowe not. All theſe my ſayings the ſcribe wrote in a paper booke.

Then they earneſtly required me to tell them whether I had conueyed hym, for ſurely they ſayde I brought hym going ſome whether this morning, for that thei might wel perceiue by my foule ſhoes and dirty hoſen, that I had trauailed wyth hym the moſt part of this night. I aunſwered plainly that I lay at Alborne Hall with ſir Fitziames, and that I had good witnes therof there. They aſked me wher I was at Euenſong. I tolde them at Friſwides, and that I ſawe firſte M. Commiſſarie, and then maiſter D. London come thether at that time vnto M. Deane of Friſewides, and that I ſaw them talking together in yͤ Church there. D. London and the Deane threatned mee, that if I would not tell the truthe where I had done hym, or whether he was gone, I ſhould ſurely be ſent vnto the Toure of London, and there be racked, and put into litle eaſe. But M. Commiſſary prayed me with gentle wordes to tell him where he was, that he might haue him againe, & he would be my very great frende, & deliuer me out of trouble ſtraitway. I told hym I could not tel where he was, nor whether he was become. Thus did they occupie and toſſe mee almoſt two houres in the chappel, ſometimes with threatnings and foule wordes, and then wyth faire wordes and fayre promiſes flattering mee. Then was hee that brought M. Garret vnto my chamber, brought before me, and cauſed to declare what M. Garret ſayde vnto me at hys comming to my chamber, but I ſaide plainely I heard him ſay no ſuch thing, for I thoughte my nay to be as good as hys yea, ſeeing it was to rid and deliuer my Godly brother out of trouble and pearill of his life.

At the laſt, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuſe any mã, or to know any thyng of yͤ which they ſought, they al 3. together brought me vp a lõg ſtaires into a great chamber ouer M. cõmiſſaries chamber, wherein ſtode a great paire of very high ſtocks. Then M. Commiſſary aſked me for my purſe & girdle, toke away my mony and my kniues, and then they put both my legs into yͤ ſtockes, and ſo locked me faſte in them: in which I ſate, my fete being almoſt as high as my head, and ſo departed they (I thinke to their abominable maſſe) locking faſt yͤ chamber doore, and leauing me alone. When all they were gone, then came vnto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that moſt cõſtant martyr of God, M. Iohn Clarke my father in Chriſt, who well nigh two yeres before that, whẽ I did earneſtly deſire hym to graũt me to be his ſcholler, & that I myght go wͭ hym continually when and whereſoeuer he ſhoulde teache or preache (the whych he did daily) ſayd vnto me much after this ſort: Dalaber, you deſire you wot not what, & that you are, I feare me, vnable to take vpon you. For though nowe my preaching be ſwete and pleaſaunt vnto you, becauſe there is yet no perſecution laide on you for it, yet the time will come, & that peraduenture ſhortly, if ye continue to liue godly therin, that God will lay on you the croſſe of perſecution to try you withall, whether you can as pure golde abide the fire, or as ſtubble and droſſe be conſumed therewͭ. For the holy Ghoſte plainely affirmeth by S. Paule, quod omnes qui pie volunt viuere in Chriſto Ieſu, perſecutionem patientur. Yea, you ſhall be called and iudged an heretike, you ſhalbe abhorred of the world, your owne friends and kinſfolke wil forſake you, and alſo hate you, and you ſhalbe caſt into priſon, and no man ſhall dare to help or comfort you, and you ſhall be accuſed & brought before the biſhops, to your reproche and ſhame, to the great ſorow of all your faithfull friendes and kinſfolke. Then wil yee wiſh yee had neuer knowen thys doctrine. Then will ye curſe Clarke, and wiſh that yee had neuer knowen him, becauſe he hath brought you to al theſe troubles. Therfore rather then that ye ſhuld do this, leaue of from medling of this doctrine, and deſire not to be and continue in my company.

At which wordes I was ſo grieued, that I fell downe on my knees at his feete, & with aboundance of teares and ſighes euen from the bottome of my heart, I earneſtly beſought him, yͭ for the tender mercy of God ſhewed vnto vs in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, he would not refuſe me, but receiue me into his company, as I had deſired, ſaying that I truſted verily, that he which had begon this in me, woulde not forſake me, but geue me grace to continue therin vnto the ende. When he heard me ſay ſo, he came to me, and toke me vp in his armes, kiſſed me, the teares trickling downe from his eyes, & ſayd vnto me: The Lorde almighty graũt you ſo to do, and from henceforth for euer take me for your father, and I will take you for my ſonne in Chriſte. Nowe were there at that time in Oxforde, diuers Graduates and Scholers of ſundry Colledges & Halles, whome God had called to the knowledge of his holy worde, which all reſorted vnto M. Clarkes diſputations & lectures in diuinitie at all times as they might: and when they might not come conueniently, I was by M. Clarke appoynted to reſort to euery one of them wekely, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the ſcriptures, that by me frõ hym they might haue the true vnderſtanding of the ſame: which exerciſe did me moſt good and profite, to the vnderſtanding of the holy ſcriptures, which I moſt deſired.

This foreſaide forewarnyng and godly declaration (I ſay) of this moſt godly Martir of God M. Clarke, cõming to my remembrance, cauſed me wyth depe ſighs to cry vnto God from my hart to aſſiſt me wyth his holy ſpirit, that I might be able paciently & quietly to beare & ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhuld pleaſe him of his fatherly loue to lay on me, to his glory & the comfort of my dearely beloued brethren, whom I thought now to be in great feare & anguiſh, leaſt I would be an accuſer of them all, for vnto me they al were well knowne, & all theyr doings in that matter. But God be bleſſed, I was fully bẽt neuer to acuſe any of thẽ, whatſoeuer ſhould happen of me. Before dinner M. Cotiſforde came vp to me and requeſted me earneſtly to tel him where maſter Garret was, and if I would ſo do, he promiſed me ſtraightwaies to deliuer me out of priſon. But I told hym I could not tell where he was: no more in deede I coulde. Then hee departed to dinner, aſking mee if I woulde eate any meate, and I tolde him, yea right gladly. He ſayde hee would ſende me ſome. When he was gone, hys ſeruauntes aſked me diuers queſtions, which I doe not now remember, and ſome of them ſpake me faire, and ſome threatened me, calling me hereticke, and ſo departed, locking the doore faſt vpon me.

Thus farre Anthonye Dalaber hathe proſecuted thys ſtorye, who before the finiſhing, departed the yeare 1562. in the Dioces of Saliſbury: the reſidue thereof as we coulde gather it of auncient and credible perſones, ſo haue we added heere vnto the ſame.

o. Garret prehẽded brought Oxford.

After this, Garret was apprehended or taken by maiſter Cole the Proctor or hys men, going weſtwarde, at a place called Hinkſey a little beyond Oxforde, and ſo being brought back againe, was committed to ward, that done, he was conuented before the Commiſſary, Doctour London and Doctour Higdon Deane of Friſwides (now called Chriſtes Colledge) into S. Maries Churche, where they ſitting in iudgement, conuicted him according to their law as an hereticke (as they ſaid) and afterward compelled him to cary a fagot in open proceſſion from Saint Maries Churche to Friſwides, and Dalaber likewiſe wyth hym, Garret hauing his red hoode on hys ſhoulders like a maiſter of Arte. After that, they were ſent to Oſney, there to be kept in priſon till farther order was taken.

Londõ, & Higdon ſecuters Garret. rret and laber e faggots Oxford.

There were ſuſpected beſide, a great number to be infected with hereſie, as they called it, for hauing ſuch bookes of Gods truth, as Garret ſolde vnto them, as M. Clarke, which died in his chamber, and could not be ſuffered to receyue the Communion, being in priſone, and ſaying theſe wordes: Crede, & manducaſti. Maiſter Somner, Maiſter Bettes, Tauerner the Muſition, Radley, wyth other of Friſwides Colledge, of Corpus Chriſti Colledge, as Vdall and Dict, wyth other of Magdalene Colledge one Eeden, wt other of Gloceſter Colledge, and two blacke Monkes, one of S. Auſtines of Canterburye named Langporte, the other of S. Edmondes Burie monke, named Ioh. Saliſbury, two white monkes of Barnard Colledge, two Canons of S. Maries Colledge, one of them named Robert Ferrar afterwarde Biſhop of S. Dauies, and burned in Queene Maries time. Theſe two Canons, becauſe they had no place in the Vniuerſitie with the other, they wente on the contrarye ſide of the proceſſion bare headed, and a Bedel before them, to be knowen from the other. Diuers other there were, whoſe names I cannot remẽber, whych were forced and cõſtrained to forſake theyr Colledges, and ſought their frendes. Againſte the Proceſſion time, there was a great fire made vpon the toppe of Carfaxe, whereinto all ſuch as were in the ſayd Proceſſion, either conuicte or ſuſpect of hereſie, were commaunded in token of repentaunce and renouncing of their errours, euery man to caſt a booke into the fire as they paſſed by.

e names Godly ethren at xford

ob. Ferrar ſhop of Dauids.

After this, M. Garret flying from place to place, eſcaped theyr tyrannie vntill thys preſent time, that he was againe apprehended and burned wt D. Barnes. With whome alſo W. Hierome ſometime vicare of Stepney, was likewyſe drawne into Smithfielde, and there together wyth them, conſtantly endured martyrdome in the fire.

W. Hierome ned in ithfielde.

Now let vs adde alſo to theſe, the ſtorie of Hierome.

The life and ſtorie of W. Hierome Vicare of Stepney and Martyr of Chriſt.

e ſtory William ierome.

The third companion which ſuffered wyth Barnes and Garret, was W. Hierome Vicare of Stepney. Thys Hierome being a diligent preacher of Gods worde, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached diuers and ſondry ſermons, wherein to the entent to plante in the conſciences of men, the ſincere truth of chriſten religion, he laboured as much as time then ſerued, to extirpe & weede out the rootes of mens traditions, doctrines, dreames, and fantaſies. In ſo doing it coulde not otherwiſe be, but hee muſt needes prouoke much hatred againſt hym amongeſt the aduerſaries of Chriſtes goſpell.

e ſermon W. Hie- e prea- d at ules ſſe the 4. day in nt.

al. 4.

It ſo happened, that the ſayde Hierome preaching at Paules in the 4. Sonday of Lent laſt paſt, made there a ſermon, wherin he recited and mẽtioned of Agar, and Sara, declaring what theſe ij. ſignified. In proceſſe, whereof he ſhewed further, howe that Sara & her childe Iſaac, and all they that were Iſaacs, and borne of the free woman Sara, were freely iuſtified: Contrary they that were borne of Agar the bondwoman, were boũd and vnder the law, and cannot be freely iuſtified. In theſe words, what was heere ſpoken, but that S. Paule himſelfe vttereth and expoũdeth in his Epiſtle to the Galat. 4. Or what coulde heere be gathered of any reaſonable or indifferẽt hearer, but cõſonant to ſound doctrine, and veine of the Goſpel? Now ſee what rancor and malice armed with crafty and ſubtile ſophiſtry can do. This ſermon finiſhed, it was not long but he was charged and conuented before the kinge at Weſtminſter, & there accuſed for erroneous doctrine.

Quarrel picked agaynſt Hieromes Sermons.

Percaſe thou wilt muſe (gentle reader) what erroneous doctrine here coulde be picked out. Note therefore for thy learning, & he that liſteth to ſtudy how to play the Sicophant, let him here take exãple. The knot found in thys ruſh was this, for that he preached erroneouſly at Paules croſſe, teaching the people, that all that were borne of Sara, were freely iuſtified, ſpeaking there abſolutely without any condition eyther of Baptiſme or of penaunce &c. Who doubteth here but if S. Paule hymſelfe had bene at Paules croſſe, and had preached the ſame wordes to the Engliſhe men, which he wrote to the Gal. in this behalfe, Ipſo facto he had bene apprehended for an hereticke for preachyng agaynſt the ſacrament of Baptiſme and repentaunce?

W. Hierome accuſed for preaching agaynſt Magiſtrates.

Furthermore it was obiected agaynſt him, touchyng matter agaynſt magiſtrates, and lawes by them made. Wherunto he anſwered agayn and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no Magiſtrate of himſelfe coulde make any law or lawes, priuate or otherwiſe, to binde the inferior people, vnles it were by the power, authority and commandement of his or their Princes to him or them geuen, but onely the Prince. And moreouer, to confirme the ſame he added, ſaying: that if the Prince make lawes conſenting to Gods lawes, we are boũd to obey them. And if he make lawes repugnant to the lawes of God, and be an euill and wicked prince: yet are we bound humbly to ſuffer him, and not violently to reſiſt or grudge againſt him.

Workes no part of our ſaluation.

Alſo concerning his ſermons, one Doct. Wilſon entred into diſputation wyth him, and defended that good works iuſtified before God, and were neceſſary and auaileable to ſaluation. To whome Hierome anſwered agayne, that all workes whatſoeuer they were, were nothing worthe, nor no part of ſaluation of themſelues, but only referred to the mercy and loue of God, which mercy and loue of God directeth the workers therof, & yet it is at his mercy & goodnes to accept them. Which to be true doctor Wilſon neither could, nor did denie.

Good workes auayle not but onely by imputation.

And thus muche concerning the ſeuerall ſtoryes of theſe iij. good mẽ. Now let vs ſee the order of their martyrdome, ioyning them al together: what was the cauſe of their condemnation, and what were their proteſtations and words at theyr ſuffering.

Ye heard before howe Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, were cauſed to preach at Eaſter at the ſpittle. The occaſion whereof as I finde it reported by Steuen Gardiner wryting againſte George Ioye, I thoughte heere to diſcourſe more at large.

Out of the preface of Steuen Gardiner againſt George Ioye.

Steuen Gardiner hearing that the ſayd Barnes, Hierome & Garret ſhould preach the Lent folowing, an. 1541. at Paules croſſe, to ſtoppe the courſe of theyr doctrine, ſent his chaplaine to the B. of London, the Saterday before the firſt Sonday in Lent, to haue a place for hym to preache at Paules. Which to him was graunted, and time appointed that he ſhould preach the ſonday following, whych ſhould be on the morrowe: which Sonday was appoynted before for Barnes to occupie that roome. Gardiner therefore determining to declare the goſpell of that ſonday, containing the deuils 3. temptations, began amongſt other things to note the abuſe of ſcripture amongſt ſome, as the deuil abuſed it to Chriſt, and ſo alluding to the temptation of the deuil, wherin he alledged the ſcripture againſt Chriſte, to caſt himſelfe downeward, and that he ſhoulde take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, ſaying:

Now a dayes (quoth he) the deuil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to caſt themſelues backwarde. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backwarde. Now the Deuill teacheth, come backe from faſtinge, come backe from praying, come backe from confeſſion, come back from weeping for thy ſinnes, and all is backewarde: In ſo much that men muſt now learne to ſaye their Pater noſter backewarde. For where we ſayde, forgeue vs our debtes, as we forgeue our debters, now it is, as thou forgeueſt our debts, ſo I wil forgeue my debters, and ſo God muſt forgeue firſt, and all I ſay, is turned backward. &c.

The effecte of Steph. Gardyners Sermon at Paules croſſe the firſt ſonday in Lent. An. 1541.

And amongſt other things, moreouer he noted the deuils crafte and ſhifte in deceiuing man: who enuying hys felicitie, and therfore coueting to haue man idle, and voide of good workes, and to be led in that idleneſſe, wyth a wan hope to liue merely at hys pleaſure heere, and yet to haue heauen at the laſt, hath for that purpoſe procured out pardons from Rome, wherin heauen was ſold for a litle money, and for to retaile that marchaundiſe, the deuill vſed Friers for his miniſters. Now they be gone withall theyr trumperie, but the deuill is not yet gone. &c. And now that

Pardons procured by the deuil, quod Steuen Gardiner.

Gardiner againſt Fryers & pardons.
Steuen Gardiner cannot abide onely, onely.

the Deuill perceiueth that it can no longer be borne, to buy and ſell heauen by the Friers, he hath excogitate to offerre heauen without workes for it, ſo freely, that men ſhall not neede for heauen to worke at all, what ſo euer oportunitie they haue to work: mary if they wil haue any higher place in heauen, God wil leaue no worke vnrewarded, but as to be in heauen, needes no works at all, but onely belief, onely, onely, and nothing els. &c.

The ſermon of D. Barnes replying to Winchester.

This ſermone of Steuen Winchester finiſhed, Doctor Barnes who was put of from that ſonday, had his day apoynted, which was the thirde Sonday next enſuinge, to make his ſermon: who taking the ſame text of the Goſpell which Gardiner had done before, was on the cõtrary ſide no leſſe vehement in ſetting forwarde the true doctrine of Chriſtian religion, thẽ Winchester had done before in plucking men backwarde from truth to lies, from ſinceritie to hypocriſie, from religion to ſuperſtition from Chriſt to antichriſt. In the proceſſe of which ſermon he proceeding, and calling out Steuen Gardiner by name to anſwer him, alluded in a pleaſaunt allegorye, to a Cockfight, terming the ſayd Gardiner to be a fighting Cocke, and hymſelfe to an other, but the Garden Cock (he ſayd) lacked good ſpurres, obiecting moreouer to the ſaid Gardiner, & opposing hym in his Grammer rules, thus ſaying: that if he had anſwered hym in the Schooles, ſo as he had there preached at the croſſe, he would haue geuen him 6. ſtripes: declaring furthermore what euill herbes this Gardiner had ſette in the Garden of Gods ſcripture. &c.

Steph. Gardiner complayneth to the king of D. Barnes.

Finally, with this ſermon Gardiner was ſo tickled in the ſplene, that he immediately went to ẏ king to cõplain, ſhewing how he being a biſhop and a prelate of the realm, was handled and reuiled at Paules croſſe.

The king diſpleaſed agaynſt Barnes.

Wherupon the king geuing to much eare to Gardiners griefe, was earneſtly incenſed againſt Barnes, and wᵗ many high words rebuked his doings in his priuy cloſet, hauing with him the Erle of Southhampton which was the Lorde Wriſley, and the maſter of the horſe which was Anthony Browne, D. Cockes, and D. Robinſon. Unto whõ when Barnes had ſubmitted himſelfe: Nay ſaid the king, yeld thee not to me, I am a mortall man, and therewith riſing vp, and turning to the Sacrament, and putting of his bonet, ſayd: yonder is the maiſter of vs al, author of truth, yeld in truth to him, and that truth will I defend, & otherwiſe yelde thee not vnto me. Much ado there was, & great matter layd againſt Barnes. In cõcluſion this order was taken, that Barnes ſhould goe apart with Winchester, to conferre & common together of their doctrine, certain witneſſes being therunto appoynted, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom the one was D. Cockes, the other was D. Robinſon, with 2. other alſo to them aſſigned, which ſhuld be reporters to the king of the diſputation. At the firſt entry of which talke, Gardiner forgeuing him (as he ſaith) al that was paſt, offred him the choice, whether he wold anſwer, or oppoſe, which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached.

D. Cockes and D. Robinſon Arbyters betweene D. Barnes and Steph Gardiner.

The queſtion betweene D. Barnes and Steph. Gardiner.

The queſtion betwene them propoũded, by Gardiners narration was this: Whether a man coulde doe anye thynge good or acceptable, before the grace of iuſtificatiõ or not? Which queſtion roſe vpon a certaine contẽtion which had beene betwene them before. For Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of vs to forgeue our neighbour, to obtaine forgeueneſſe of hym: yet he ſayd that God muſt forgeue vs firſt, before we forgeue our neighboure: For els to forgeue our neyghbour were ſinne by the text that ſayeth: All that is not of faith, is ſinne, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner to proue the contrary, came forth wyth hys arguments two or three, to the which argumentes (ſayeth Gardiner) Barnes coulde not aunſwere, but deſired to be ſpared that nyght, and the next morning he would anſwer his arguments. In the morning Gardiner wyth the hearers being againe aſſembled, D. Barnes, according to the appoyntment, was preſent, who then went about to aſſoil his arguments. To his ſolutions Gardiner againe replied. And thus continued they in thys altercation by ẏ ſpace of two houres. In the ende of thys Cockfight Winchester thus cõcludeth thys glorious tale, and croweth vp the triumph, declaring howe Barnes beſought him to haue pitie of hym, to forgeue hym, and to take hym to be hys ſcholer, whome then the ſayd Winchester (as he confeſſeth himſelf) receiuing, not as his ſcholer, but as hys companion, offred, to hym a portion oute of his liuing, to the ſumme of xl. li. a yere. Which if it be true, as Steuen Gardiner himſelfe reporteth, why then doth this glorious Cackatrice crowe ſo much againſt Barnes afterward, and caſt him in the teeth bearing all the world in hand, that Barnes was his ſcholler, whereas he himſelfe heere refuſeth Barnes to be hys ſcholer, but receiueth hym as hys companion fellowlyke? But to the ſtorie.

God forgeueth vs firſt, before we forgeue our neighbour. Rom. 15.

Gardiners report.
Diſputation betweene Barnes & Gardiner.

Steuen Gardiner in his preface to George Ioye.

Steuen Gardiner offereth to Doct. Barnes 40. pounde a yeare.

This done, the king being aduertiſed of the concluſion of this matter betweene Barnes and Winchester, was cõtent that Barnes ſhoulde repaire to the Biſhoppes houſe at London, the mõday folowing. Which he did, with a certaine other cõpanion ioyned vnto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not expreſſe, only he ſaith, ẏ it was neyther Hierome nor Garret. In this next meeting betweene Barnes and the biſhop vpon the foreſaid monday the ſaid biſhop ſtudying to inſtruct Barnes, vttered to him certain articles or concluſions, to the number of x. the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchesters Articles againſt Barnes.

The effect of Chriſtes paſſion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminiſheth nothing the effecte of Chriſtes paſſion.

They that wil enioy the effect of Chriſtes paſſion, muſt fulfill the condition.

The fulfilling of the condition requireth firſte knowledge of the cõdition, which knowledge we haue by faith.

Faith commeth of God, and thys faith is a good gifte. It is good and profitable to me: it is profitable to me to do well, and to exerciſe thys faith: Ergo, by the gifte of God I may do well before I am iuſtified.

Therfore I may do wel by the gift of God before I am iuſtified, towardes the attainment of iuſtification.

There is euer as muche Charitie towardes God, as faith, And as faith encreaſeth, ſo doth charitie encreaſe.

To the attainment of iuſtification is required faith and charitie.

Euery thing is to be called freely done, wherof the beginning is free and at liberty wythout any cauſe of prouocation.

Faith muſte be to me the aſſuraunce of the promyſes of God made in Chriſt (if I fulfil the condition) & loue muſt accompliſh the condition: wherupon foloweth the attainment of the promiſe according to Gods truth.

A man being in deadly ſinne, maye haue grace to do the workes of penaunce, whereby he may attaine to hys iuſtification.

These Articles for ſomuch as they be ſufficiently aunſwered and replyed vnto by George Ioy in his Ioynder, & Reioynder agaynſt Winchester, I ſhall not neede to cumber this work with any new adoe therewith, but onely referre the reader to the bookes aforeſayd: where he may ſee matter enough to anſwere to theſe popiſh articles.

I told you before how the king was contented ẏ Barnes ſhuld reſort to the houſe of the biſhop of Winchester, to be traded and directed by the biſhop, which Barnes then hearing the talk of ẏ people, & hauing alſo conference with certayne learned men, within two dayes after his comming to ẏ biſhops houſe, waxed weary thereof, & ſo comming to the biſh. ſignified vnto him, that if he would take him as one ẏ came to conferre, he would come ſtill, but els he would come no more, & ſo cleane gaue ouer the biſhop.

This beinge knowen vnto the king, thorough ſiniſter complaints of popiſh Sycophantes, Barnes againe was ſent for, and cõuented before the king, who grieuouſly being incenſed againſt him, enioyned both him, Hierom and Garret, at the ſolemne Eaſter ſermons at S. Mary ſpittle, opẽly in wryting to reuoke the doctrine whych they before had taught. At which ſermons Ste. Gardiner alſo himſelf was preſent to heare theyr recantation.

First Doctor Barnes, according to hys promiſe made to the king, ſolempnely and formally beganne to make his recantation, whych done, he wyth much circumſtance and obteſtation called vpon the Byſhop (as is aboue touched) and aſking of hym forgeuenes, required hym in token of a graunt to holde vp hys hand, to the entent that he there openly declaring his charitie before the worlde, the Byſhop alſo would declare his charitie in like maner. Which when the biſhoppe refuſed to doe at the firſt, as he was required, Barnes againe called for it, deſiring him to ſhew his charitie, and to holde vp his hande. Which when he had done wᵗ much a do, wagging his finger a litle: then Barnes entring to his Sermon after his prayer made, beginneth the proceſſe of a matter, preaching contrarye to that, which before he had recanted. In ſo much, that the Maior, whẽ the Sermon was finiſhed, ſittinge wyth the Biſhop of Winchester, aſked him whether he ſhould from the pulpit ſende hym to warde, to be forth comming for that his bold preaching contrary to hys recantation. The like alſo did Hierome, and Garret after hym.

The king had appointed before certain to make report of the ſermons. Beſides them there was one who wryting to a frende of hys in the Court, in the fauour of theſe preachers, thers, declared how gayly they had all handled the matter, both to ſatiſfie the recantation, and alſo in the ſame Sermons to vtter out the truth, that it might ſpread without let of the world. wherfore partly by theſe reporters, & partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the Lord Cromwels hands (ſayeth Gardiner) Barnes wyth his other fellowes were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Steuen Gardiner in his foreſayde booke againſt George Joye, woulde needes cleare himſelfe, that he was in no part nor cauſe of their caſting into the tower, and geueth this reaſon for him, for that he had then no acceſſe, ne had not after, ſo long as Cromwels time laſted, to the Kings ſecret Counſayle: yet notwithſtanding the ſayd Gardiner can not perſuade vs to the contrary, but that his priuie complaing to the King, and his ſecrete whiſperings in his frends eares, and his other workings by his factours about the King, was a great ſparcle to ſet theyr fagots a fire.

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Thus then Barnes, Hierome, and Garret being committed to the Tower, after Eaſter, there remayned till the xxx. day of July, which was two dayes after the deathe of the Lord Cromwell. Then enſued proceſſe againſte them by the Kings Counſell in the Parliament, to the whyche proceſſe Gardiner confeſſeth himſelfe that he was priuie amongſt the reſt. whereupon all theſe three good ſaints of God, the xxx. day of July, not comming to any aunſwere, nor yet knowing any cauſe of their cōdemnation, without any publike hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they preparing themſelues to the fire, had there at the ſtake diuers and ſundry exhortations, amongeſt whome D. Barnes firſt began wyth thys proteſtation following.

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I am come hether to be burned as an hereticke, and you ſhal heare my beliefe, whereby you ſhall perceiue what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I neuer (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only thoſe things which ſcripture leade me vnto, and that in my Sermons I neuer mainteined any errour, neyther moued nor gaue occaſion of any inſurrection. Although I haue bene ſclaundered to preach that our Lady was but a ſaffron bag, which I vtterly proteſt before God, that I neuer meant it nor preached it: but all my ſtudy and diligēce hath bene vtterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the Anabaptiſts, which deny that our Sauiour Chriſt did take any fleſh of the bleſſed virgin Mary, which ſectes I deteſt and abhorre. And in this place there hath bene burned ſome of them, whome I neuer fauoured nor mainteyned, but with all diligence euermore did I ſtudy to ſet forth the glory of God, the obedience to our ſoueraigne Lord the King, and the true and ſincere religion of Chriſt. And now harken to my fayth.

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I beleue in the holy and bleſſed Trinitie, three perſons and one God, that created and made al the world, and that this bleſſed Trinitie ſent downe the ſeconde perſon Jeſu Chriſt into the wombe of the moſt bleſſed & pureſt virgin Mary. And heere beare me record, that I do vtterly condemne that abhominable and deteſtable opinion of the Anabaptiſtes, which ſay that Chriſt tooke no fleſh of the virgine. For I beleue that without mans will or power, hee was conceiued by the holy Ghoſt, and tooke fleſh of her, & that he ſuffered hunger, thirſt, cold, & other paſſions of our body (ſinne except) according to the ſayeng of S. Peter: He was made in all things like to his brethren, except ſinne. And I beleeue that this his death and paſſion was the ſufficiente raunſome for the ſinne of all the world. And I beleeue that through his death, he ouercame ſinne, death, and hell, and that there is none other ſatiſfaction vnto the Father, but this his death and paſſion only: and that no worke of man did deſerue any thing of God, but only his paſſion, as touching our iuſtification. For I know the beſt worke that euer I did, is vnpure and vnperfit. And with this he caſt abroade his handes, and deſired God to forgiue hym hys treſpaſſes. For although perchaunce (ſayd he) you knowe nothing by me, yet do I confeſſe that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: wherefore I beſeeche thee, O Lorde, not to enter into iudgement with me, according to the ſayeng of the Prophete Dauid: Non intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo domine. i. Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruaunt O Lord. And in an other place: Si iniquitates obſeruaueris domine quis ſuſtinebit? Lorde, if thou ſtraitely marke our iniquities, who is able to abyde thy iudgement? wherefore I truſt in no good worke that euer I did, but onely in the death of Chriſt. I do not doubt, but through him to inherite the kingdome of heauen. Take me not heere that I ſpeake againſt good woorkes, for they are to be done, and verely they that do them not, ſhall neuer come in the kingdome of God. We muſt do them, becauſe they are cōmanded vs of God to ſhew and ſet forth our profeſſion, not to deſerue or merite, for that is onely the death of Chriſt.

. Barnes
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I beleue that there is a holy Churche, & a company of all them that profeſſe Chriſt: and that all that haue ſuffered & confeſſed his name, be Saintes, & that all they do prayſe & laude God in heauen, more then I, or any mans tongue cā expreſſe, & that alwayes I haue ſpoken reuerently, and prayſed them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady (I ſay) was a Virgin immaculate and vndefiled & that ſhe is the moſt pureſt virgine that euer God created & a veſſell elect of God of whom Chriſt ſhould be borne. Then ſayd M. Shiriffe, you haue ſayd well of her before. And beyng afrayde that Maiſter Shiriffe had bene or ſhould be agreeued with any thyng that he ſhould ſay, he ſayd: Maiſter Shiriffe, if I ſpeake any thyng that you will me not, do no more but becken me with your hand, & I will ſtraight way hold my peace, for I will not be diſobedient in any thyng, but will obey.

D. Barnes obedient to Magiſtrates.

Thē there was one that aſked him his opiniō of praying to Saintes. Then ſayd he: Now of Saintes you ſhall here my opinion. I haue ſayd before ſomewhat I thinke of them, how that I beleue they are in heauen with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth thē to haue. But I ſay throughout all Scripture we are not commaūded to pray to any Saintes. Therfore I can not nor will not preach to you that Saintes ought to be prayed vnto: for then ſhould I preache vnto you a doctrine of myne owne head. Notwithſtandyng whether they pray for vs or no, that I referre to GOD. And if Saintes do pray for vs, then I truſt to pray for you within this halfe houre Maiſter Shiriffe, and for euery Chriſtian man liuyng in the fayth of Chriſt & dying in the ſame as a Saint. wherfore if the dead may pray for the quicke, I will ſurely pray for you.

Pray nō to Saintes.

Wel, haue you any thing more to ſay? Thē ſpake he to Maiſter Shiriffe & ſayd, haue ye any Articles agaynſt me for the which I am condemned? And the Shriffe aunſwered, no. Then ſayd he, is there here any mā els that knoweth wherfore I dye, or that by my preachyng hath takē any errour? Let them now ſpeake & I will make thē aunſwere. And no man aunſwered. Then ſayd he, well I am condēned by the law to dye, & as I vnderſtand, by an Acte of Parliamēt, but wherfore, I cānot tell, but belike for hereſie, for we are lyke to burne. But they that haue bene the occaſiō of it. I pray God forgeue them, as I would be forgeuen my ſelfe. And Doct. Stephē Byſhop of wincheſter that now is, if he haue ſought or wrought this my death either by word or deede, I pray God forgiue him as hartly, as freely, as charitably, and without faynyng, as euer Chriſt forgaue them that put him to death.

No cauſe ſhewed why Doct. Barnes dyed.

D. Barnes praying for his enemyes.

And if any of the Counſell, or any other haue ſought or wrought it through malice or ignoraūce, I pray God forgiue their ignoraunce and illuminate their eyes that they may ſee and aſke mercy for it. I beſeeche you all to pray for the kynges grace, as I haue done euer ſince I was in priſon, and do now, that God may geue him proſperitie, and that he may long raigne amōg you, & after him that godly Prince Edward may ſo raigne, that he may finiſhe thoſe thynges that his father hath begon. I haue bene reported a preacher of ſedition & diſobedience vnto the kyngs Maieſtie, but heare I ſay to you, that you al are bound by the commaūdement of God to obey your Prince with all humilitie, & with all your hart, yea not ſo much as in a looke to ſhew your ſelues diſobedient vnto him, & that not onely for feare of the ſword, but alſo for conſcience ſake before God. Yea and I ſay further, if the kyng ſhould cōmaunde you any thyng agaynſt Gods law, if it be in your power to reſiſt him, yet may you not do it.

D. Barnes prayeth for the king.

Then ſpake he to the Shiriffe and ſayd, M. Shiriffe I require you on Gods behalfe, to haue me cōmēded vnto the kynges grace, & to ſhewe him that I require of his grace theſe fiue requeſtes: Firſt that where his grace hath receaued into his handes, all the goodes and ſubſtaunce of the Abbeyes. Then the Shiriffe deſired him to ſtop there. He aunſwered, Maiſter Shiriffe I warrant you I will ſpeake no harme, for I know it is well done yͤ all ſuch ſuperſtition be cleane taken away, and the kyngs grace hath well done in takyng it awaye. But his grace is made a whole kyng, and obeyed in his Realme as a kyng (which neither his father nor graūdfather, neither his aunceters that raigned before him euer had) & that through the preachyng of vs and ſuch other wretches as we are, which alwayes haue applied our whole ſtudies, and giuen our ſelues for the ſettyng forth of the ſame, and this is now our reward. well it maketh no matter. Now he raigneth among you: I pray God long may he liue and raigne among you. would to God it might pleaſe his grace to beſtow the ſayd goodes or ſome of them, to the comfort of his poore ſubiectes, which ſurely haue great neede of them.

5. requeſtes of Doct. Barnes to the king.

The 1. requeſt.

The king of England made a whole king by poore preachers.

The ſecond requeſt of Doctor Barnes to the king.

The ſecond that I deſire his grace, is, that he will ſee that matrimonie be had in more reuerence then it is, and that men for euery light cauſe inuented, caſt not off theyr wiues, and liue in adultery and fornication, and that thoſe that be not maried, ſhould not abhominably liue in whoredome, folowing the filthy luſtes of the fleſhe.

The 3. requeſt.

Doct. Barnes requeſt to M. Edgar to leaue ſwearing.

The third, that the abhominable ſwearers may be puniſhed and ſtraightly looked vpon: for the vengeaunce of God wil come on them for their miſchieuous othes. Then deſired he maiſter Pope to haue him commended to Maiſter Edgar, and to deſire him for the deare bloud of Ieſu Chriſt, that he woulde leaue that abhominable ſwearing which he vſed, for ſurely except he did forſake it, he woulde come to ſome miſchieuous ende.

The 4. requeſt.

The fourth, that his grace would ſet forth Chriſts true Religion, and ſeeing he hath begon, that he would go forward and make an end, for many things haue bene done, but much more is to do: and that it would pleaſe his grace to looke on Gods word himſelfe, for that it hath ben obſcured with many traditions inuented of our owne braynes. Now ſaid he, how many petitions haue I ſpoken of? And the people ſaid foure. Well ſaid he: euen theſe foure be ſufficiente, whiche I deſire you: that the Kinges grace may be certified of, and ſay that I moſt humbly deſire him to looke earneſtly vpon them: and that his grace take heede that he be not deceiued with falſe preachers and teachers and euill councell, for Chriſt ſayth, that ſuch falſe Prophets ſhal come in Lambes ſkinnes.

Doct. Barnes cleareth himſelfe of al hereſi.

Then deſired he all men to forgeue him, and if hee had ſayd any euill at any time vnaduiſedly, whereby he had offended any man, or geuen anye occaſion of euill, that they would forgiue it him, and amende that euill they tooke of him, and to beare him witnes, that he deteſted and abhorred all euill opinions and doctrines againſt the worde of God, and that he died in the faith of Ieſu Chriſt, by whom he doubted not, but to be ſaued. And with thoſe wordes he deſired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, paciently there to take his death.

The proteſtatiõ and confeſſion of Hierome and Garret.

The like confeſſion made alſo Hierome and Garret, profeſſing in like maner their beliefe, reciting all the articles of the Chriſtian faith, briefly declaring their myndes vpon euery article, as the time would ſuffer: whereby the people might vnderſtand that there was no cauſe nor errour in their fayth, wherefore iuſtly they ought to be condemned: Proteſting moreouer that they denied nothyng that was eyther in the old or new Teſtament, ſet foorth by their ſoueraigne Lorde the King: whome they prayed the Lord long to continue amongſt them, with his moſt deare ſonne Prince Edward. Which done. Hierome addeth this exhortation in few wordes folowing.

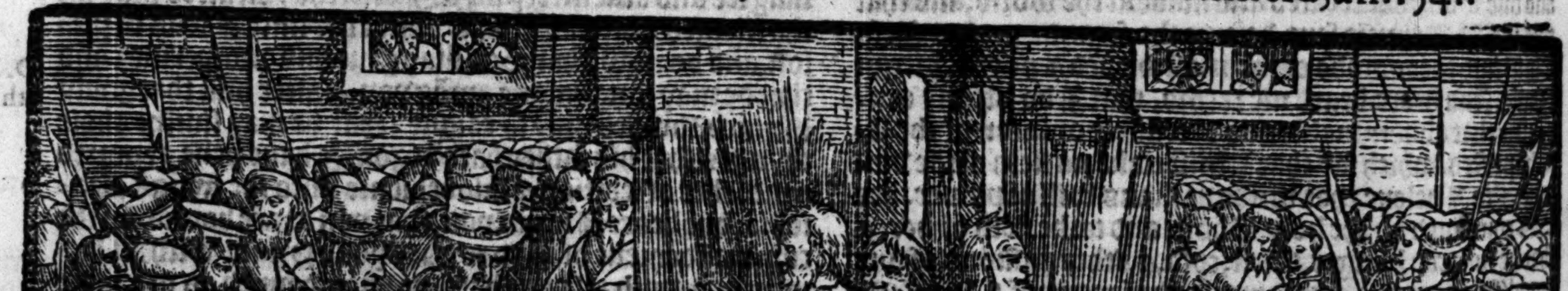
I ſay vnto you good brethren, that God hath bought vs all with no ſmall price, neyther with golde nor ſiluer, or other ſuch things of ſmall value, but with his moſt precious bloud. Be not vnthankefull therefore to him againe, but do as much as to Chriſtian men belongeth, to fulfill his commaundementes, that is, loue your brethren. Loue hurteth no man, loue fulfilleth all things. If God haue ſent thee plentie, helpe thy neighbour that hathe neede. Giue him good councell. If ye lacke, conſider if thou were in neceſſitie, thou wouldſt gladly be refreſhed. And againe, beare your croſſe with Chriſt. Conſider what reproofe, ſclaunder, and reproch he ſuffered of his enemies, and how paciently he ſuffered all thinges. Conſider that all that Chriſt did, was of his meere goodneſſe, and not of our deſeruing. For if we could merite our owne ſaluation, Chriſt woulde not haue dyed for vs. But for Adams breaking of Gods precept, we had bene all loſt, if Chriſt had not redeemed vs againe. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driuen out of Paradiſe: ſo wee, if we breake Gods commaundements, ſhall haue damnation, if we do not repent and aſke mercy. Now therefore let all Chriſtians put no truſt nor confidence in their workes, but in the bloud of Chriſt, to whome I commit my ſoule to guide, beſeeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here preſent with me, that our ſoules leauing theſe wretched carcaſes, may conſtantly depart in the true fayth of Chriſt.

In much like ſort Garret alſo proteſting and exhorting the people after his confeſſion made, ended his proteſtation in maner as foloweth.

I alſo deteſt, abhorre, and refuſe all hereſies and errours, and if eyther by negligence or ignoraunce I haue taught or maynteyned any, I am ſory for it, and aſke God mercie. Or if I haue bene ſo vehement or raſh in preaching, whereby any perſon hath taken anye offence, errour, or euill opinion, I deſire him, and all other perſons which I haue any way offended, of forgeueneſs. Notwithſtanding to my remembraunce, I neuer preached wittinglye or willingly anye thing agaynſte Gods holye worde, or contrary to the true fayth, to the maintenaunce of errours, hereſies, or vitious liuing, but haue alwaye for my little learning and witte, ſet foorth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his lawes, and alſo the Kinges accordingly. And if I coulde haue done better, I woulde. Wherefore Lorde if I haue taken in hande to

do

¶ The death and burning of the moſt conſtant Martyrs in Chriſt,
D. Robert Barnes, Tho. Garret, and W. Hierome in Smithfield, an. 1541.



do that thing which I could not perfectly perfourme, I deſire thee pardon for my bolde preſumption. And I pray God ſend the kings grace good and godly counſayle, to his glory, to the Kings honour, and the encreaſe of vertue in this his Realme. And thus now I yeelde vp my ſoule vnto almighty God, truſting and beleuing that he of his infinite mercy for his promiſe made in the blood of hys ſonne our moſt mercifull Saueour Ieſu Chriſt, will take it, and pardon me of all my ſinnes, whereby I haue moſt greeuouſly from my youth offended hys Maieſtie: wherefore I aſke hym mercy, deſiring you all to pray with me and for mee, that I may pacientlye ſuffer thys payne, and dye ſtedfaſtly in true fayth, perfect hope and charitie.

et pray
for the

Anno 1541.

And ſo after theyr prayer made, wherin moſt effectually they deſired the Lord Ieſus to be their comfort and conſolation in this their affliction, and to ſtabliſhe them with perfect faith, conſtancy and pacience thorough the holy Ghoſt, they taking themſelues by the hands, and kiſſing one another, quietly and humbly offred themſelues to the handes of the tormentors, and ſo tooke theyr deathe both Chriſtianly and conſtantly with ſuche patience as mighte well teſtifie the goodnes of theyr cauſe, and quiet of theyr conſcience.

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ſe three
artyrs.

Wherein is to be noted how mightely the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the harts of his ſeruants, eſpecially in ſuch, which cauſeleſſe ſuffer with a giltles conſcience for his religions ſake, aboue other whiche ſuffer otherwiſe for their deſerts. For whereas they which ſuffer as malefactors, commonly are wont to goe heauie and penſiue to their death, ſo the other with heauenly alacritie and chearefulnes doe abide whatſoeuer it pleaſeth the Lord to lay vpon them? Example whereof we haue right well to note, not only in theſe three godly Martirs, aboue mentioned, but alſo in the Lord Cromwell, who ſuffered but two dayes before, the ſame no leſſe may appeare. Who although he was brought to his death, atteinted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a giltles conſcience he bare to his death, his Chriſtian patience well declared. Who firſt calling for his breakefaſt: and cheerefully eating the ſame, and after that paſſing out of his priſon downe the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the waie the Lord Hungerford going likewiſe to his executiō (who for other matter heere not to be ſpoken of, was there alſo impriſoned) and perceiuing him to be all heauie and dolefull, with cheerefull countenance, and comfortable words, aſking why he was ſo heauie, he willed him to plucke vp his heart, and to be of good comfort: For, ſayd he, there is no cauſe for you to feare. For if you repent, and be hartely ſory for that you haue done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who for Chriſtes ſake wil forgeue you, and therfore be not diſmayde. And though the breakefaſt which we are going to, be ſharpe, yet truſting to the mercy of the Lord, we ſhall haue a ioyfull dinner. And ſo went they together to the place of execution, and tooke their death paciently.

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¶A note of three Papiſtes executed the ſame tyme with Barnes, Hierome, and Garret.

The ſame tyme and day and in the ſame place, where & when theſe three aboue mentioned did ſuffer, three other alſo were executed, though not for the ſame cauſe, but rather the contrary: for denying the kynges ſupremacie, whoſe names were Powell, Fetherſtone and Abell. The which ſpectacle ſo happenyng vpon one day, in two ſo cōtrary partes or factiōs, brought the people into a marueilous admiration & doubt of their Religion, which part to follow and take: as might ſo well happen amongeſt ignoraunt and ſimple people, ſeeing two contrarye parts ſo to ſuffer, the one for Popery, the other againſt Popery, both at one time. In ſo muche that a certaine ſtraunger beeyng there preſent the ſame time, and ſeing three on the one ſide, and three on the other ſide to ſuffer, ſaid in theſe wordes: Deus bone quomodo hic viuunt gentes, hic ſuſpenduntur Papiſtę, illic comburuntur Antipapiſtę? But to remoue and take away all doubt hereafter from the poſterity, whereby they ſhall the leſſe maruel how this ſo hapned, here is to be vnderſtande, howe the cauſe thereof did riſe and proceede. Which happened, by reaſon of a certeine diuiſion and diſcord amongſt the Kings Councell, which were ſo diuided amongſt themſelues in equall parts, that the one halfe ſeemed to hold with the one Religion, the other halfe with the contrary.

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Anno 1541.

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The names of whome, although it were not neceſſary to expreſſe, yet being compelled for the ſetting foorth of the truth of the ſtory, we haue thought good heere to annexe, as the certeintie thereof came to our hands.

Proteſtants.	Papiſtes.
Canterbury.	Wyncheſter.
Suffolke.	Dureſme.
Vicount Beawcham.	Norfolke.
Vicount Liſle.	Southhampton.
Ruſſell Treaſurer.	Anthony Browne.
Pagyt.	William Paulet.
Sadler.	Iohn Baker.
Audeley.	Rich. Chaunc. of the augmentation.
	Wingfield Vic. Chaunc.

The counſaile deuided in religion.

This diuiſion and ſeparation of the Coūſell amongeſt themſelues, cauſed both theſe partes aboue mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for an other, to ſuffer together. For as the one part of the Counſell called vpō the execution of Barnes, Garret, & Hierome, ſo the other part likewiſe called vpō the execution of the law vpō Powell, Fetherſtone, and Abell. Which ſixe beyng condemned and drawen to the place of execution, two vpon an hyrdle, one being a Papiſt, the other a Proteſtant, thus after a ſtraūge maner were brought into Smithfield, where all the ſayd ſixe together for contrary doctrine ſuffered death, three by the fire for the Goſpell, the other three by hangyng, drawyng, and quarteryng for Popery.

Two togeather laide vppon the hirdle: the one a Papiſt the other a Proteſtant.

Allen Cope in his worſhypfull Dialogues, makyng mention of theſe three aforeſaid, Powell, Fetherſtone, and Abell, amōgeſt other which dyed in kyng Hēries dayes in the like Popiſh quarell, that is, for the like treaſon agaynſt their Prince (beyng in all to the number of 24.) extolleth thē not onely in wordes, but with miracles alſo, vp to the height of heauē, amōg the crowned Martyrs, & Saints of God. To the whiche Cope, becauſe in this haſt of ſtory, I haue no layſure at this preſent to geue attendaūce, I ſhall wayt attēdaūce (the Lord willing) an other tyme, to ioyne in this iſſue with him more at layſure. In the meane time, it ſhall ſuffice at this preſent, to recite the names onely of thoſe 24. rebelles, whom he of his Popiſh deuotiō ſo dignifieth with the pretenſed title of Martyrs. The names of which Monkiſh rebels be theſe here folowyng.

Alane Cope.

Traytors made Martyrs.

Iohn Houghton.	Iohn Stone.
Robert Laurence.	Iohn Trauerſe.
Aug. Webſter.	William Horne.
Reynald of Syon.	Powell.
Iohn Hayle.	Fetherſtone.
Iohn Rocheſter.	Abell.
Iac. Wannere.	

24. neither good martyrs to god, nor good ſubiects to the king.

Beſide theſe were other ix. Cartuſian Monkes which dyed in the priſon of Newgate. To the whiche number if ye adde M. More, and the Byſhop of Rocheſter, the ſumma totalis commeth to 24. whom the ſayd Cope vniuſtly crowned for Martyrs. But of theſe more ſhall be ſayd (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

Thus hauyng diſcourſed the order of the vi. Articles, with other matter likewiſe folowyng in the next Parliament, concernyng the condemnation of the Lord Cromwell, of Doct. Barnes, and his felowes. &c. Let vs now (proceedyng further in this hiſtory) cōſider what great diſturbaunce and vexation enſued after the ſettyng forth of the ſayd Articles, through the whole Realme of Englād, eſpecially amongeſt the godly ſorte. Wherein firſt were to be mentioned the ſtraite and ſeuere commiſſions ſent forth by the kynges authoritie, to the Byſhops, Chauncelors, Officials, to Iuſtices, Maiors, & Bailiffes in euery ſhyre, and other Commiſſioners by name in the ſame commiſſions expreſſed, and amongeſt other, eſpecially to Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, to the Maior, Shiriffes, and Aldermen of the ſame, to enquire diligently vpon all hereticall bookes, and to burne them, alſo to enquire vpon ſuch perſons whatſoeuer culpable or ſuſpected of ſuch felonies, hereſies, contemptes, or tranſgreſſions, or ſpeakyng any wordes contrary the foreſayd Act ſet forth of the ſixe Articles. The tenour of whiche Commiſſions beyng ſufficiently expreſſed in auncient Recordes, and in the Biſhoppes Regiſters, and alſo partly touched before, pag. 1101. therfore for tediouſneſſe I here omit, onely ſhewyng forth the Commiſſion directed to Edmūd Boner Byſhop of London, to take the othe of the Maior of London, and of others, for the execution of the Commiſſion aforeſayd. The tenour whereof here foloweth.

Great diſturbāces in England after the 6. articles.

Read before, pag. 1101.

¶The Commiſsion for takyng the othe of the Maior of London, and others, for the execution of the Acte aforeſayd.

Henry the eight by the grace of God, kyng of England and of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in

earth

Commiſſion directed to Edm. Boner biſhop of London from the king.

earth ſupreme head of the Church of England, vnto the Reuerend father in Chriſt Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, and to his welbeloued the Byſhops Chauncellour, health. Know ye that we haue geuen you ioyntly and ſeuerally power and authoritie to receaue the othes of William Roche Maior of London, Iohn Allen Knight, Raffe Warren Knight, Rich. Greſham Knight, Roger Chomley Knight, Sergeant at Law, Iohn Greſhā, Michael Dormer Archdeacon of London, the Byſhops Cōmiſſary and Officiall, Robert Chidley, Gwy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, and Iohn Morgā, and euery of them our Cōmiſsioners for hereſies and other offences done within our Citie of London, and Dioces of the ſame, accordyng to the tenour of a certaine ſchedule hereunto annexed. And therfore we commaūde that you receiue the othes aforeſayd, and when you haue receaued them, to certifie vs into our Chauncery vnder your Seales, returnyng this our writ. T. meipſo. at Weſtminſter the 29 of Ianuary in the 32. yeare of our reigne.

What the othe was of theſe Commiſſioners, whereunto they were bounde, read before, pag. 1101.

❧ A note how Boner ſat in the Guildhall in Commiſsion for the vi. Articles. And of the condemnyng of Mekins.

The ſtory of Rich. Mekins condemned by Boner.

VPon this commiſſion geuen vnto Edmūd Boner, he commyng to the Guildhall with other Cōmiſſioners, to ſit vpō the Statute of the vi. Articles, begā eftſoones to put in execution his authoritie after a rigorous ſort, as ye ſhall heare. And firſt he charged certaine Iuries, to take their oth vpon ẏ Statute aforeſaid: who being ſworne had a day appointed to geue their Verdicte. At the which day they indited ſundry perſons, which ſhortly after were apprehended & brought to ward, who after a while remaynyng there, were by the kyng & his Counſaile diſcharged at the Starre chāber, without any further puniſhment.

Not lōg after this, Syr wil. Roche being Maior, Boner with other Cōmiſſioners, ſat at the Guildhall aforeſayd, before whom there were a certaine number of Citizens warned to appeare, and after the Commiſſion read, the ſayd parties were called to the booke, and when v. or vi. were ſworne, one of the ſayd perſōs beyng called to the booke, Boner ſeemed to miſlike, and ſayd: Stay a while, my Maiſters (quoth he) I would ye ſhould conſider this matter well that we haue in hand, whiche concerneth the glory of God, the honor of the kyng, and the wealth of the Realme, and if there be any here amōg you, that doth not conſider the ſame, it were better that he were hence then here. Thē commoned the Commiſſioners with Boner about that man, ſo that at length he was called to the booke and ſworne, not all together with his good will.

When the ij. Iuries were ſworne, Boner taketh vpon him to geue the charge vnto the Iuries, and began with a tale of Anacarſis, by which example, he admoniſhed the Iuries to ſpare no perſons, of what degree ſoeuer they were. And at the end of his charge he brought forth to the barre a boy, whoſe name was Mekins, declaryng how greuouſly he had offended by ſpeaking of certaine wordes agaynſt the ſtate, and of the death of Doct. Barnes: & produced into the ſayd Court ij. witneſſes, which were there ſworne in the face of ẏ Court. So a day was aſſigned, vpō which the Iuries aforeſayd ſhould geue vp their Verdict: at which day both the Commiſſioners, & the ſayd Iuries met at Guildhall aforeſayd. Then the Clarke of the peace called on the Iuries by their names, & when their appearaunce was taken, Boner bad them put in their preſentmentes. Thē ſayd the foreman, whoſe name was W. Robins of that Iury. My Lord (with a low curteſy) we haue found nothyng. At which wordes he fared as one in an agony, & ſayd: Nothyng? haue ye foūd nothyng? What nothyng? By the fayth I owe to God (quoth he) to the foremā, I would truſt you vpon your obligatiō: but by your oth I will truſt you nothyng. Thē ſayd ſome of the Commiſſioners: My Lord, geue them a lōger day. No (quoth he) in Lōdon they euer finde nothyng. I pray you, what ſay you to Mekins? My Lord, quoth the foreman, we can ſay nothing to him, for we finde the witneſſes to diſagree. One affirmeth that he ſhould ſay the Sacrament was nothyng but a ceremonie, & the other nothing but a ſignification. Why, quoth Boner, did he not ſay, that Barnes dyed holy? Thē pauſing a while, he bad cal the other Iury. Put in your Verdict, quoth he. My Lord ſayd one, we haue foūd nothyng. Ieſus quoth he, is not this a ſtraunge caſe.

Rich. Mekins preſented by Boner.

W. Robins Iurer.

Then ſpake one of the ſame Iury, whoſe name was Raph Foxley, & ſayd: My Lord whē you gaue vs charge, we deſired to haue the Perſons & Curates of euery Pariſh to geue vs inſtructions, and it was denyed vs. Then ſtoode vp the Recorder and ſayd, it was true in deede that he had ſpoken, and therewithall ſayd, this laſt yeare were charged two Iuries, which did many thinges naughtely and fooliſhly, and did as much as in them lay, to make an vprore among ẏ Kings people, & therefore it was thought not meete, that they ſhould geue information to you. Nay, nay, quoth Boner, this was the cauſe: If the Perſon or Curate ſhould geue information according to hys knowledge, then what will they ſay? I muſt tell my confeſſion to a knaue prieſt, and he ſhal go by and by and open it. What, ſayd my Lord Maior, there is no man (I trow) that wyll ſay ſo. Yes by my trouth, quoth Boner, knaue Prieſt, knaue Prieſt. Then ſayde the Lorde Maior, ſomewhat ſmiling, there be ſome of them ſlipper fellowes, and as men finde them, ſo will they oft times report. Boner not well contented with thoſe wordes, ſaid to the Iurie: My maiſters, what ſay you to Mekins? They aunſwered, the witneſſes doe not agree, therefore we do not allow them. Why, quod Boner, this court hath alowed them. Thē ſaid one of the Iurie to the Recorder: Is it ſufficient for our diſcharge, if this court do allow them? Yea, ſayd the Recorder, it is ſufficiēt, & ſaid: Go you aſide together a while, & bring in your verdicte. After the Iury had talked together a litle while, they returned to the bar again with their inditement, which at Boners hand was frendly receaued: ſo both they and the other Iurie were diſcharged, & bidden take their eaſe. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after they ſate for life and death. Mekins being brought to the barre, and the inditement read. Boner ſayd to him: Mekins confeſſe the truth, and ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the Kings law that thy death may be an example to all other.

Raſe Foxley Iurer.

This Recorder was Syr Rog. Chomley.

Agai… Popi… Prie… Londo…

Boner… lech vpo… the co… demn… of Meki…

Mekin… brough… the bar…

This Rich. Mekins being a child, which paſſed not the age of fifteene yeares (as Halle reporteth) as he had heard ſome other folkes talke, ſo chaunced he to ſpeake againſt ẏ ſacrament of the altar. Which comming to Boners eares, he neuer left him (as afore doth plainely appeare) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his impriſonment, neither his poore father nor mother for feare durſt ayde him with any reliefe: whereby he there indured in great miſery. At what time he was brought vnto the ſtake, he was taught to ſpeake much good of the Biſhop of London, and of the great charitie he ſhewed to him, and to defie and deteſt all heretickes and hereſies, but ſpecially Doctor Barnes, vnto whome he imputed the learning of that hereſie, which was the cauſe of his death. The poore ladde would for ſauegard of his life, haue gladly ſayde that the xij. Apoſtles had taught it him: ſuch was his childiſhe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many ſpake and ſayd, it was great ſhame for the Biſhop, whoſe parte and dutie it had bene rather to haue laboured to ſaue his life, then to procure that terrible execution, ſeeing that he was ſuch an ignoraunt ſoule, that he knew not what the affirming of hereſie was.

Ex Edw. Halle.

And how could he take the learning of D. Barnes when D. Barnes w… neuer of that opi…

¶ Richard Spenſer, Ramſey, and one Hewet, ſuffered at Salisbury.

ABout the ſame time alſo a certeine Prieſt was burned at Saliſbury, who leauing his Papiſtry, had married a wife, and became a player in enterludes, with one Ramſey and Hewet, which three were all condenned and burned: Againſt whome, and ſpecially againſt Spenſer, was layd matter concerning the Sacramente of the altar. He ſuffered at Saliſbury.

Spen… Ramſ… Hewe… Marty…

Although this Inquiſition aboue mētioned was ment properly and eſpecially concerning the vj. Articles, yet ſo it fell out, that in ſhort ſpace doubts beganne to riſe and to be moued by the Queſt, whether they might enquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and caſes of Lollardy, or for ſpeaking againſt holy bread, holy water, or for fauoring the cauſe of Barnes, of Frier warde, Sir Thomas Roſe, &c. Whereupon great perturbation followed in all Pariſhes almoſt through London in the yeare aforeſayd, which was 1541. as heere enſueth in a briefe ſummary Table to be ſeene.

Ex Regi… Lond.

Fryer W… Syr Th… Roſe.

¶ A briefe Table of the troubles at London, in the vj. Articles time.

Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.
Iohn Dixe.	THis Dixe was noted neuer to be confeſſed in Lente, nor to receiue at Eaſter, and to be a ſacramentary.
Rich. Chepeman.	Chepeman, for eating fleſhe in Lente, and for working on holydayes, and not comming to the Church.

S. Al… Pariſh… Londo…

Cicely

	Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.	
	Miſtres Cicely Marſhall.	Cicely, for not bearing her Palme, and deſpiſing holye bread and holy water.	
	Michaell Haukes.	Haukes, for not comming to the Churche, & receiuing yong men of the new learning.	
	M. Iohn Browne.	Browne, for bearyng wyth Barnes.	
	Annes, Bedikes wife.	Bedikes wife, for deſpiſing our Lady, and not prayeng to Saints.	
	Andrew Kempe. William Pahen. Richard Manerd.	Kempe, Pahen, Manerd, for diſturbing the ſeruice of the Churche with brabling of the new Teſtament.	
e pariſhe Trinitye little,	Wylliam Wyders.	Wyders denied two yeares before, the Sacramente to bee Chriſtes body, and ſayd that it was but only a ſigne.	
	Willi. Stokeſley.	Stokeſley, for rebuking hys wife at the Church, for taking holy water.	
	Roger Dauy.	Dauy, for ſpeaking agaynſte worſhipping of Saints.	
	M. Blage.	M. Blage, for not comming to his pariſh Church, not confeſſing, nor receauing.	
ohn Bap- in Wal-	Wil. Clinch.	For ſayeng, when he ſeeth a Prieſt preparing to the Maſſe, ye ſhall ſee a Prieſt now goe to maſking. Item, for calling the Biſh. of Wincheſter, falſe flattering knaue. Item, for buryeng his wife without Dirige, and cauſing the Scotte of S. Katherines to preach the next day after the buriall.	
	Wil. Playne.	Playne, ſeeing a Prieſt go to Maſſe, ſaid, now you ſhall ſee one in maſking. Item, when hee came to the Churche wyth loud reading the engliſh bible, he diſturbed the diuine ſeruice.	
uttolphs illings-	Herman Iohnſon. Hierome Akon. Giles Hoſteman. Rich. Bonfeld. Tho. Couper. Humfrey Skinner. Ioh. Sneudnam. Rich. Philips. Iohn Celos.	These ix. perſons were preſented, for that they were not confeſſed in Lente, nor had receiued at Eaſter.	
Nicholas e fleſhe bles.	Iohn. Iones. Wil. Wright. Peter Butcher. Roger Butcher.	These foure were preſented for not keeping the diuine ſeruice in the holydayes.	
	Briſleys wife.	Briſleys wife, for buſie reaſoning on the newe learning, and not keeping the Church.	
rs in orne.	Miſtres Caſtle.	M. Caſtle for being a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Church.	
	M. Galias of Bernardes Inne.	M. Galias, for withſtanding the Curate ſenſing the alters on Corpus Chriſti euen, and saieng openly that he did nought.	
	M. Pates of Dauids Inne.	M. Pates and M. Galias, for vexing the Curate in the body of the Churche, in declaring the Kings Iniunctions, & reading the Byſhops booke, ſo that hee had muche adoe to make an end.	
Mildred ſtret	Wil. Beckes and his wife.	Beckes and his wife ſuſpected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the croſſe on good Friday.	
	Thomas Langhā. Wil. Thomas. Rich. Beckes. Wil. Beckes.	These foure were preſented for interruptyng the deuyne ſeruice.	
	Raſe Symonds.	Symondes for not keeping our Ladies Maſſe, whiche he was bound to keepe.	
	Ioh. Smith prétiſe.	Smith, for ſayeng, that he had rather heare the crieng of dogges, then Prieſtes ſinging Mattins or Euenſong.	
	Tho. Bele. Ioh. Stargion. Ioh. Wilſhire. Tho. Symon. Raſe Cleruis, and his wife. Iames Banaſter. Nicolas Barker. Iohn Sterky. Chriſtofer Smith. Thom. Net.	These xi. perſons of Saint Magnus pariſh, were preſented and accuſed, for mainteyning of certayne preachers, as then it was called, of the newe learning, as wiſedome, Roſe, frier Ward, ſir Wil. Smith, alias Wright.	S. Magnus pariſhe.
	Nich. Philips.	Philips for mainteing heretikes and ſcripture bookes, and for vſing neyther faſting, nor prayer.	
	Rich. Bygges.	Bigges, for deſpiſing holye bread, putting it in the throte of a bitch, and for not looking vp to the eleuation.	
	Miſtres Elizabeth Statham.	For mainteining in her houſe Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Hierome, and diuers other.	S. Mary Magdalene in Milkeſtrete.
	Iohn Duffet.	Duffet for marrieng a woman, which was thought to be a Nunne.	
	Wil. Hilliard.	Hilliard & Duffet for mainteining Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, with other mo.	S. Owens pariſhe in Newgate market.
	Grafton. Whitchurch.	Grafton and Whitchurch ſuſpected not to haue bene confeſſed.	S. Martins at the well with two buckets.
	Ioh. Grene. Mother Palmer. Chriſtop. Cootes. Wil. Selly. Alexander Frere. Wil. Bredy. Iohn Buſhe. W. Somerton. George Durant. M. Dauids prétiſe.	All theſe being of the pariſh of S. Martins, at the wel with ij. buckets, were preſented for contemning the ceremonies of the Church. Alſo ſome for walking in the ſacring tyme, with theyr caps on. Some for turning their heads awaye. Some for ſitting at their dores when ſermons were in the Church, &c.	
	Rob. Andrew.	Andrew, for receiuing heretikes into his houſe, and keeping diſputatiō of hereſie there.	S. Michaels in Woodſtrete.
	Ioh. Williamſon. Tho. Buge. Tho. Gilbert. W. Hickſon. Rob. Daniel. Rob. Smitton.	These other ſixe were ſuſpected to bee Sacramentaries, and rancke heretikes, and procurers of heretikes to preache, and to bee followers of theyr doctrine.	
	Ioh. Mayler.	To be a Sacramentary, and a rayler againſt the Maſſe.	S. Buttolphes at Billingeſgate.
	Rich. Bilby Draper.	Bilby preſented for ſayeng theſe words, that Chriſt is not preſent in ẏ bleſſed ſacrament.	
	Henry Patinſon. Anthony Barber. Rob. Norman.	These two were detected for maynteyning theyr boyes to ſing a ſong againſt ẏ ſacramēt of ẏ alter. Alſo Patinſon came not to confeſſion. Norman alſo refuſed to come to confeſſion, ſaieng, that none of his ſeruants ſhuld be ſhriuē of a kna. prieſt.	S Gyles without Criplegate.
	Ioh. Humfrey.	For ſpeaking againſt the ſacramentes and ceremonies of the Church.	Ex Regiſt. Lond.
	Wil. Smith, and his wife Iohn Cooke and his wife.	These ij. couples were preſented for not comming to ſeruice in their Pariſh Churche, and for ſayeng, it was lawfull for Prieſts to haue wiues.	
	W. Gate or Cote. Wil. Aſton. Iohn Humfrey. Iohn Cooke.	To theſe foure it was layde, for ſayeng that the Maſſe was made of peeces and patches. Alſo for deprauing of mattins, Maſſe, and Euenſong.	
	Ioh. Miles and his wife. Ioh. Millen. Ioh. Robinſon. Rich. Millar. Ioh. Greene and his wife. Arnold Cheſt.	All theſe were put vp for railing againſt the Sacramentes and Ceremonies.	

	Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.
S.Gyles without Cryplegate.	Ioh. Croſdall. Ioh. Clerke. Ioh. Owell.	Theſe three labouring men, for not comming to diuine ſeruice on holydayes; and for labouring in the ſame.
	Tho. Granger. Ioh. Dictier.	Noted for common ſyngars againſt the ſacraments and ceremonies.
	Ioh. Sutton and his wyfe. Ioh. Segar.	Theſe three were noted to be deſpiſers of auricular confeſſion.
	Ioh. Raulins. Ioh. Shiler. W. Chalinger. Ioh. Edmunds. Ioh. Richmond & his wife.	For deſpiſing holy bread and holy water, and lettyng diuine ſeruice.
	Margaret Smith.	For dreſſing fleſhemeate in Lent.
*	Tho. Trentham. Rob. Granger.	For reaſoning agaynſte the ſacramente of the aultere, and ſaieng that the ſacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men tooke it, very God.
S. Thomas the Apoſtle.	W. Petyngale. Wil. May and his wife. Iohn Henriſon, & his wife. Rob. Welſh. Ioh. Bergloſſe. Ioh. Pitly. Henry Foſter. Rob. Cauſy. W. Pinchbecke & his wife.	All theſe thirteene were put vp by the Inquiſition, for giuing ſmall reuerence at the ſacring of the Maſſe.
S. Benet Fynch.	Martin Byſhops wyfe.	She was preſented by her Curate for being not ſhriuen in Lente, nor receiuing at Eaſter. Alſo ſhe did ſet light by the curate, when he told her therof.
	Rob. Platte and his wife.	Theſe were great reaſoners in Scripture, ſayeng that they had it of the ſpirite: and that confeſſion auayleth nothing: and that hee not able to reade, would vſe no beades.
S. Michaell at Queene hyth.	Tho. Aduet. Ioh. Palmer. Rob. Cooke.	The cauſe layd to theſe three perſons, was for reaſoning of the ſcripture, & of yͤ ſacramēts. The Regiſter ſaith, that they denied all the Sacramentes. But this Popiſh hiperbole wil finde little credite, where experience acquaynted with popiſh practiſes, ſitteth to be yͤ iudge.
	Ioh. Cockes.	This man was noted for a great ſearcher out of new preachers, & mainteiner of Barnes opinions.
	Ioh. Boultes. * Tho. Kelde.	Forbidding his wife to vſe beades. * He refuſed to take penāce & abſolutiō, & did eate fleſh vpon a Friday before Lent.
S. Mary Wol-[illegible]	Nich. Newell.	Newel a Frenchmā preſented to be a man far gone in yͤ newe ſect: & that he was a great ieſter at yͤ ſaints & at our Lady.
Ex Regiſt. Lond.	Ioh. Hawkins and his ſeruant. Tho. Chamberlain and his wife. Iohn Curteys. M. Diſſel, his wife and his ſeruant.	Theſe eight were great reaſoners and deſpiſers of ceremonies.
S. Katherine. Colman.	The Curate of S. Katherine Colmā.	He was noted for calling of ſuſpecte perſons to hys Sermons by a bedle, without ringing of any bell: and when he preached, he lefte his matters doubtfull. Item, for preaching without the commaundemente of hys Parſon. Item, for that he was a Scottiſhe Frier, driuen out of hys countrey for hereſie.

Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.
Tulle Buſtre, his wife, and his ſon in lawe.	Theſe were noted for comming ſeldome to the Churche, and many times were ſeene to labour vpon the holydayes.
Wil. Ettis and his wife.	Ettis and his wife were noted for maynteining certeyne preachers: and for cauſing one Tauerner being no Prieſt, to preach againſt the Kings Iniunctions.
Merifield and his ſonne in law. Nicholas Ruſſell. The goodman of the Saracens head in Fridayſtreete. W. Callaway. Io. Gardiner, with three prentiſes.	Againſt thys company, preſentation was made for gathering together in the euening, and for bringing ill preachers, (that is to ſay, good preachers) amongſt the people.
Tho. Plummer.	This Tho. was preſented for ſaieng, yͭ the bleſſed Sacrament was to him yͭ doth take it, ſo: & to him yͭ doth not, was not ſo.
Shermons.	Shermons, keper of the Carpenters Hall in Chriſtes pariſhe, was preſented for procuring an enterlude to be openly played, wherein Prieſtes were railed on, and called knaues.
Lewes Morall, a ſeruant. Iames Ogule, and his wife.	Noted not to haue bene confeſſed certaine yeares before.
Tho. Babam.	Accuſed not to haue ben confeſſed nor houſeled in his pariſh Church.
The perſon & Curate of S. Antlins.	For not vſing yͤ ceremonies in making holywater, nor keping their proceſſiōs on ſaterdayes.
Lewys Bromfield.	For not taking his houſell, and for abſenting himſelfe from the Church on holydayes.
Iohn Sempe. Iohn Goſſe.	For deſpraiſing a certayne Antyme of oure Ladye, begynnyng Te matrem, &c. ſayeng that there is hereſie in the ſame.
Gilbert Godfre.	For abſenting himſelfe from the Church on holydayes.
Th. Cappes prieſt.	For ſaieng theſe words, that the Sacramente of the aulter was but a memory & a remembraunce of the Lords death.
Io. Mailer, Grocer	For calling the ſacrament of the aulter, the baken God: and for ſaieng that the Maſſe was called beyond the Sea, Miſſe, for that all is amiſſe in it.
Ioh. Hardyman, Prieſt.	Hardymā, parſon of S. Martins in Yremunger lane, preſented for preaching opēly, that cōfeſſion is confuſiō & deformatiō: & that yͤ butcherly ceremonies of yͤ church were to be abhorred. Alſo for ſayeng, what a miſchiefe is this to eſteme yͤ ſacramēts to be of ſuch vertue, for in ſo doing, they take yͤ glory of God frō him: & for ſayeng that faith in Chriſt is ſufficiēt wͭout any other ſacramēts to iuſtifie.
Chriſtopher Dray Plummer.	For ſaieng of the ſacrament of yͤ aulter, that it was not offered vp for remiſſiō of ſins: and that the body of Chriſt was not there, but only by repreſentatiō and ſignification of the thing.
Rob Ward, Shomaker.	Preſented by three witneſſes for holding againſt the Sacrament of the aulter, he dyed in priſon in Bredſtreete.
Nicolas Otes.	For not cōming to yͤ houſel at Eaſter, he was ſet to Newgate.
Hermā Peterſon. Iames Goſſon.	For not comming to ſhrift & houſel at the time of Eaſter. Theſe were committed to priſon in Bredeſtreete.
Rich. White, Haberdaſher,	For ſayeng, that he dyd not thinke

Perſons preſented	Their cauſes.
	thinke that Chriſt was in the ſacramēt of the aulter within yͤ ſepulchre, but in heauē aboue.
Giles Hariſon.	Hariſon being in a place wͭout Algate meryly ieſting in a certayne cōpany of neighbors, where ſome of them ſayd: let vs go to Maſſe: I ſay, tary, ſayd he: and ſo taking a piece of bread in his hands, lift it vp ouer his head: And likewiſe taking a cup of wine, & bowyng down his head made therwith a croſſe ouer the cup, and ſo taking the ſayde cup in both hys hands, lift it ouer his head: ſaying theſe wordes: haue ye not heard maſſe now? For yͤ which he was preſented to Boner thē B. of London. Againſt whom came theſe witneſſes. Thomas Caſtell. Andrew Morice. W. Grene. Iohn Margetſon. — Witneſſes agaynſt Giles.
Rich. Boſtocke, Prieſt.	For ſaying that auricular cōfeſſiō hath killed moe ſoules, thē all the bils, clubs, & halters haue done, ſithens K. Henry was king of England. &c. Alſo for ſaying, that the water in Thames hath as much vertue as the water which the prieſts do halow.
Margaret Ambſworth.	For hauing no reuerence to yͤ ſacramēt at ſacring time. Item, for inſtruction of maydes, & being a great Doctreſſe.
Iohn Leiceſter. W. Raynold. Chriſt. Tounesend. Tho. Dauid, Skinner. Tho. Mabs. Tho. Staichey. Chriſt. Holybread. Martine Donam. W. Derby.	All theſe noted & preſented for maynteyning of Barnes & ſuch other preachers, & many of their wiues for not takyng holy bread, nor going in proceſſion on Sondayes.
Laurence Maxwell, Bricklayer.	For ſpeaking and reaſoning agaynſt auriculer confeſſion.
Ioh. Coygnes, or Lyuelond.	For holdyng agaynſt the ſacrament of the aulter, and not receiuing at Eaſter.
Gerard Friſe.	Preſented by two witneſſes, for affirming that a Sermon preached is better then the ſacrament of the aulter, and that he had rather go to heare a ſermon, then to heare a Maſſe.
Dominicke Williams Frenchman.	For not receiuing the Sacrament of the aulter at Eaſter.
Tho. Lancaſter prieſt	Lay in the Coūter in yͤ Pultrye, for compiling & bringing ouer bookes prohibited.
Gough.	Item, Gough the Stacioner trobled for reſorting vnto him.
Frier Warde.	Layd in the Counter in bred ſtreete, for marying one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vow made of chaſtity.
Frier Wilcocke.	Wilcock a ſcottiſh frier priſoned in the Fleet, for preaching agaynſt confeſſion, holy water, agaynſt praying to ſayntes, & for ſoules departed, agaynſte Purgatorye, and holding that prieſtes might haue wiues. &c.
Ioh Taylour D. in Diuinity.	D. Taylor preſented for preaching at S. Brides in Fleeteſtreet, that it is as profitable to a man to heare maſſe, & ſee the Sacrament, as to kiſſe Iudas mouth, which kiſſed Chriſt our ſauior. &c.
W. Tolwine, Perſon of S. Anthonies.	Preſented and examined before Edm. Boner, for permitting Alexand. Seton to preach in his church hauing no licence of his ordinary, & alſo for alowing the Sermons of the ſayde Alexander Seton, whiche hee preached agaynſt D. Smith. To the ſayd Tolwine moreouer it was obiected, that he vſed yͤ ſpace of ij. yeares, to make holy water, leauing out the general exorciſme, beginning Exorciſo te. &c. vſing theſe words for yͤ ſame: Benedicite: Dominus. Ab eo ſit benedicta, a cuius latere fluxit ſanguis & aqua: Adioining therto, commixio ſalis & aquæ fiat in nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus Sancti. The like vſage of making holy water was alſo vſed in Aldermary Church where Doct. Crome was, & in Hony lane. Agaynſt this obiection thus Tolwine defended himſelf ſaying: that he toke occaſion ſo to do by the kinges Iniunctions, whyche ſay, that ceremonyes ſhould be vſed, all ignorance & ſuperſtition ſet apart. In yͤ end this Tolwyne was forced to ſtand at paules croſſe to recāt his doctrine & doings.
Rob. Wiſedome. Tho. Becon, Preacher.	The ſame time alſo Robert Wiſedome, pariſh Prieſt of S. Katherines in Lothbery, and Tho. Becon, were brought to Paules croſſe, to recant and to reuoke theyr doctrine, and to burne theyr bookes.
Sir George Parker, Perſon of S. Pancrace.	This prieſt and parſō of S. Pancrace, and Curate of little Alhallowes, was noted, ſuſpected and conuented before the Ordinary for certayne bookes, eſpecially, for hauing Vnio diſſidentium. &c.
Sir Iohn Birch Prieſt.	I. Byrch prieſt of S. Botolphes lane was complayned of by one M. Wilſon, for being a buſy reaſoner in certayne opinions, which agreed not wyth the popes church.
Alexander Seton a Scottiſhman and a worthye Preacher.	Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, & preſented by 3. prieſtes, of whō one was felow of Whittington colledge called Rich. Taylor. An other was Ioh. Smith. The thyrd was Ioh. Huntingdon, who after was conuerted to yͤ ſame doctrine himſelfe.

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Tolwins making of holy water.

The recantation of W. Tolwin.

Little Allhallowes.

Alex. Seton Chaplein to the Duke of Suffolke.

This Seton was Chaplayne to the duke of Suffolke and by him was made free Deniſon. In his ſermon preached at S. Anthonies, his aduerſaries picked agaynſt him matter cōteining 15. obiectiōs, or rather cauillatiōs which for example I thought here to exhibite to the reader, to the intent that men may ſee, not only what true doctrine Seton then preached, conſonant to the Scriptures: but alſo what wrāgling cauillers cā do, in depraning that is right, or in wraſting that is wel mēt, or in carping that they vnderſtand not, or in ſeking out faults where none is, as by theſe theyr ſiniſter cauillations may appeare.

✤ Certayne places or Articles, gathered out of Setons Sermons by his aduerſaryes.

Articles gathered out of Alex. Setons ſermons by his aduerſaryes.

The ſayings and wordes of Alexander Seton ſpoken & preached by him in his ſermon, made the xij. day of Nouember, at afternoone in the Pariſh Churche of S. A. in London, Paule ſaith, of our ſelues we can do nothing I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better thē Paul, Iames, Peter, and all the Apoſtles? Haſt thou any more grace then they? Tell me now if thy will be any thing or nothing. If it be any thing, tel me whether it be to do good, or ill? If thou ſay to do ill, I will graunt thou haſt a greater deale. If thou ſay to doe good, I aſke whether is more ſomewhat, or nothing? For Paul ſaid he could do nothing and I am ſure thou haſt no more grace, then Paul and his companions.

Scripture ſpeaketh of three thinges in man: the firſt is will: the other two are conſent and deed. The firſt (that

1. Will.
2. Conſent.
3. Deede.
No will in man of himſelfe to do good.

is will) God worketh without vs, and beſides vs. The other two he worketh in vs, and wyth vs. And here he alledged S. Auguſtine, to proue that we can will nothing ẏ is good. Moreouer he ſaid, thou haſt not one iot, no not one title to do any good.

There is nothing in heauen, nor earth, creature nor other, that can be any meane towardes our iuſtification nor can or may ſatiſfy God the father for our ſinne, ſaue onely Chriſt, and the ſhedding of his bloud.

Our workes merite nothing to ſaluation.

He that preacheth that workes doe merite, or be any meane to our ſaluation, or any part of our iuſtificatiō preacheth a doctrine of the deuill.

If any thing els ſaue onely Chriſt, be any meane towards our iuſtificatiō, then did not Chriſt only iuſtify vs.

I ſay that thy good workes, nor any thing that thou canſt do, can be one iot or title towards thy iuſtificatiō. For if they be, then is not Chriſt a full iuſtifier, and that I will proue by a familier example. Be it in caſe that I haue .2. ſeruantes, the one is called Iohn, and the other Robert, & I promiſe to ſend you ſuch a day xx.l. by Iohn my ſeruant and at my day I ſend you by Iohn my ſeruant xix.l.xix.s.xi.d. ob. q. and there lacketh but one farthing, which Robert doth bring thee, and ſo thou haſt thy xx.l. euery penye and farthing. Yet will I aſke if I be true of my promiſe, or no, and thou mayſt ſay nay. And why? because I promiſed to ſend thee that whole, xx. pound by Iohn and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Wherefore I ſay, if thy workes do merite or bring one litle iot or title toward thy iuſtification, then is Chriſt falſe of his promiſe, which ſayd that he would do altogether.

One Scripture I will bring you (which they can not writhe) to proue that Chriſt was onely promiſed to be our onely Iuſtifier, our onely meane, and that is in the xxii. of Geneſis, where it is written: In thy ſeede ſhall all people bee bleſſed, meaning therby onely Chriſt: and he ſaid not in thy ſeedes, nor in the workes of thy ſeedes. Wherfore all they that preach, that workes be any part or meane toward our iuſtification, do make God falſe of his promiſe.

They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of iuſtice, wrought by him that is already a iuſt man, which can not chuſe but bringe forth good fruit.

Good fruites make not a good man, but a good man cannot chuſe but to make good fruites.

I would aſke a queſtion, whether he that worketh be a good mā, or bad, for he muſt be one of them. If he be a good man, he can not chuſe but bring forth good fruites: if he be an ill mā, he can bring forth no fruit, but ill fruit, for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.

Mans workes made checkmate with chriſt

He that ſayth that works do merit any thing towards our ſaluation, doth make workes checke mate with Chriſt & plucketh from Chriſt that is his, & geueth it to workes. Some will aſke, wherfore then ſhould I do good workes? I annſwere, good workes are to be done for no cauſe els, but onely for the glory of God, and not that they do merite any thing at all. And he that ſayth that workes are to bee done for any other cauſe, thē for the glory of God only and will haue thē to merite, or be any meane towardes our iuſtification, I ſay he lyeth, and beleue him not.

He that cā ſhew me in any ſcripture, that works do merite, or by any meane to our iuſtification: for the firſt ſcripture I will (without any further iudgemēt) loſe both mine eares, for the ſecond, my toung, and for the third my necke. For I dare ſay he cannot prooue in all the whole ſcripture one title: wherfore beleue them not.

The Papiſtes belye the proteſtantes, as though they denyed good workes.

Men ſay that we deny good workes, and faſting, and prayer. They lye on vs, we deny nothing but popiſh workes, and popiſh faſting, and popiſh prayer, & he that preacheth that works do merite, or faſting doth merite, or prayer doth merite, doth preach a popiſh doctrine.

If you aſke when we will leaue preaching of workes, euen when they do leaue to preach that works do merite, & ſuffer Chriſt to be a whole ſatiſfier, & only mean to our iuſtification, & till thē, we will not ceaſe in Gods cauſe to ſet forth onely Chriſt to be a ful & perfect, & onely ſatiſfaction.

Good workes how they be rewarded.

If you aſke, if good works ſhalbe rewarded, I ſay yea, and with no leſſe then eternall glory, but for no merit that they deſerue, for they deſerue nothing: but only becauſe god hath promiſed, not for the merite of the worke, but for hys promiſe ſake, and he will not breake his promiſe.

Other articles gathered out of Setons Sermons.

Other articles out of Setons ſermons.
2. Cor. 5.

Touching reconciliation ſpoken of by D. Smith, preaching in the forenoone at Paules croſſe, Alexander Seton preaching at afternoone, at S. Anthonies, & reciting his ſayings & ſcriptures, reproued him for alledging thys ſaying, Recōciliamini deo, & engliſhing the ſame thus, recōcile your ſelues to God: becauſe it is there ſpoken paſſiuely, & not actiuely, ſo that there ſhould be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Alſo reprouing the ſayd D. Smith, for that the ſaid D. ſaid, that man by his good works might merite. Which ſaying of D. Smith, the ſayd Alexander Setō reproued in the pulpit at S. Anthonies, the 13. day of Nouember, the yere of our Lord 1541. as noughtely ſpoken.

Moreouer the ſayd Alexander Seton ſayd in the ſame place, that it was ſhame that any ſuch preacher ſhoulde be ſuffered ſo openly to preach ſuch erroneous doctrine, as to ſay that workes ſhould merite, adducing: non ſunt condignę paſsiones, &c. Et poſtquam feceritis omnia. &c.

Finally Seton ſaid, peraduēture ye will ſay the church hath determined this matter touching workes. And I ſay (quoth he) that it is Eccleſia malignantium, ſo determining any thing agaynſt ſcripture.

To theſe pretēſed obiectiōs of his aduerſaryes, he made his anſwere again by writing, firſt denying many thinges there preſented, taking vpon his conſcience, that he neuer ſpake diuers of thoſe wordes: and again many things, that he neuer ment to ſuch end nor purpoſe, as in ẏ ſaid regiſter may appeare. But all this notwithſtanding, for all that he could ſay for himſelf, the ordinary proceded in his cōſiſtory iudgement, miniſtring to him certain Interogatories (after the popiſh courſe) to ẏ number of x. articles. The greateſt matter laid againſt him was for preaching free iuſtificatiō by fayth in Chriſt Ieſu, agaynſt falſe cōfidēce in good works, & mans fre wil. Alſo it was layd vnto him, for affirming ẏ priuate maſſes & diriges, & other prayers profited not ẏ ſoules departed: ſo that in the end, he with Tolwing aforeſaid was cauſed to recant at paules croſſe. an. 1541.

Adde to theſe aforeſayd, D. Taylor Parſon of S. Peters in Cornehill.
South, Pariſh prieſt of Allhallowes in Lombardſtreet.
Some, Prieſt.
Giles, the kinges Beerebrewer at the redde Lion, in S Katherines.
Tho. Lancaſter, Prieſt. All which were impriſoned likewiſe for the 6. Articles.

To be ſhort, ſuch a number out of all pariſhes in Lōdō & out of Calice: and diuers other quarters, were thē apprehended through the ſayd Inquiſitiō, that al priſons in Lōdon were to litle to hold thē, in ſo much that they were fain to lay thē in the Halles. At the laſt by the meanes of good L. Audley, ſuch pardō was obteined of the king, that ẏ ſaid L. Audley, thē L. Chancellor, being contēt that one ſhould be bound for another, they were all diſcharged, being bound onely to appere in the ſtarre chamber the next day after Al ſoules, there to anſwer if they were called: but neither was there any perſon called, neither did there any appeare.

¶ The ſtory of Iohn Porter, cruelly Martyred for reading the Bible in Paules.

In the number of theſe afore named, commeth the remēbraunce of Iohn Porter, who in the ſame yeare 1541. for reading the Bible in Paules Church, was cruelly handled and that vnto death, as you ſhall heare. It was declared in this hiſtory aboue, pag. 1162. how Edm. Boner Biſhop of London (in the dayes of the L. Cromwell) beyng then Ambaſſador at Paris, was a great Doer in ſetting forward the Printing of the Bible in the great volume: promiſing moreouer, that he would for his part haue 6. of thoſe Bibles ſet vp in the Church of S. Paule in London. Which alſo at his comming home, he no leſſe performed, according to the kinges proclamation ſet foorth for ẏ ſame, whereof read before, pag. 1069.

The bibles thus ſtanding in Paules by the commaundement of the king, and the appointment of Boner the biſhop, many well diſpoſed people vſed much to reſort to the hearing therof, eſpecially whē they could get any that had an audible voyce to read vnto thē, miſdoubting therin no daunger toward them: and no more there was, ſo long as the dayes of Cromwell laſted. After he was gone, it happened amongeſt diuers and ſondry godly diſpoſed perſōs, which frequented there the reading of the foreſayd Bible, that one Iohn Porter vſed ſometimes to be occupyed in that godly exerciſe, to the edefying as well of himſelfe, as of other. This Porter was a freſhe young man, and of a bigge ſtature: who by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of ſuch Sermons as then were preached by them that were the ſetters forth of Gods truth, became very expert. The Bible then being ſet vppe by Boners commaundement vpon diuers pillers in Paules Church fixed vnto the ſame with cheines for all men to read in the ẏ would, great multitudes woulde reſort thither to heare this Porter, becauſe he could read well and had an audible voyce. Boner & his chappeleines being greued withall (& the world beginning then to frowne vppon the Goſpelers)

lers) ſent for the ſayd Porter, and rebuked him very ſharpe ly, for his reading. But Porter anſwered hym that he truſted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his aduertiſementes which he had fixed in print ouer euery Bible.

...ner and ...Chap- ...es gree- ...with ...Bybles ...cauſe he ...fore cau- ...to be ſet ...himſelfe.

Boner thẽ layd vnto his charge, that he had made expoſitions vpon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumultes. He anſwered: he truſted that ſhould not be proued by him. But in fine Boner ſent him to Newgate, where he was miſerably fettred in irõs both legges and armes, with a collor of iron about his necke faſtened to the wall in the dungeon, being there ſo cruellye handled, that he was compelled to ſend for a kinſmã of his whoſe name is alſo Porter, and yet aliue and canne teſtify that is true, & dwelleth yet without Newgate. who ſeing his kinſman in this miſerable caſe entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be releaſed out of thoſe cruel yrons, and ſo through frendſhip and mony, had him vp among other priſoners, which lay there for felony and murther: where Porter being amongſt them, hearing and ſeing their wickednes and blaſphemy exhorted thẽ to amendmẽt of life, and gaue vnto them ſuch inſtructiõs as he had learned of the Scriptures: for which his ſo doyng he was complayned on and ſo caryed downe, and layd in the lower dungeon of al, oppreſſed with boltes and yrons, where within 6. or 8. dayes after, he was found dead.

...Porter ...to New ...by Bo-

...is Porter ...alyue ...the wry- ...hereof.

...cruell ...dling of ...Porter in ...wgate.

It is ſignified vnto vs by credible information, that the ſame night before he was found dead, they that dwelt nere to the ſame place of the priſon where Porter lay, did heare him pitiouſly to grone and make a lamẽtable noiſe, where ſome ſuppoſe ẏ he was put in certayne ſtrayt yrons which be there in the houſe, called The deuill on the necke, being after an horrible ſort deuiſed, ſtrayning & wrinching the necke of a man with his legges together, in ſuch ſort as ẏ more he ſtyrreth in it, the ſtrayter it preſſeth him, ſo that within 3. or 4. houres, it breaketh & cruſſheth a mans backe and body in pieces. In which Deuiliſh torment, whether John Porter was ſlayne or no, it is not certaine. But how ſo euer it was, this is knowne, that he was found dead (as is aforeſayd) in the dungeon, with ſuch groning and piteous noyſe heard the night before in the ſayd dungeõ, as is declared.

...death & ...rtirdome ...J. Porter.

A note of one Thomas Sommers impriſoned for the Goſpell.

AMongſt theſe Londiners thus troubled by the clergye we will adde alſo (although a little out of place) an other note of a Marchaunt called Tho. Sommers, who dyed in the Tower of London for confeſſing of the Goſpell. which Tho. being a very honeſt Marchant and wealthy, was ſent for by the Lord Cardinall and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luthers bookes (as they termed them) and after a great ſute made for him to the ſayd Cardinall, his iudgement was that he ſhould ride from the tower into Cheapeſide carying a new booke in his hand and be hanged with bookes round about him, with three or iiij. other Marchaunts after the ſame order: which was done. And when M. Sommers ſhould be ſet on a colliars nagg as the reſt of his felow priſoners were, a frend of his called M. Copland brought him a very good gelding, fayre dreſſed with bridle and ſadle, and when the Biſhops Officers came to dreſſe him with bookes, as they had trimmed the other, and would haue made holes in his garment to haue thruſt the ſtringes of the books therein, nay ſayd Sõmers, I haue alwayes loued to goe hanſomely in my apparell, and taking the bookes and opening them, he bound them together by the ſtringes and caſt them about his necke (the leaues being al opẽ) like a coller, and being on horſe backe, rode formoſt thorow the ſtreetes, till they came about the ſtandard in Cheapeſide, where a great fire was made to burne their bookes in, and a Pillary ſet vp there for 4. perſons in token that they had deſerued it.

...e pe- ...nce of ...Som- ...rs, Mar- ...unt.

...Luthers ...kes ...t in ...pſide.

In the meane time, by the way as they ſhould come it was appoynted, that one ſhould go before them with a baſon. At the noyſe whereof, M. Sommers horſe beyng a lofty gelding and fierce, was in ſuch a rage, that he which ronge the baſon beynge afeard of himſelfe, was fayne to go alone a great ſpace before that any horſeman did folow after. At length when they came to the fire, euery of them hauing a booke in his hand, they were commaunded to caſte their bookes into the fire. But when M. Sommers ſaw that his new Teſtament ſhould be burned, he threw it ouer the fire: which was ſeene by ſome of Gods enemies, and brought to him agayne, commaunding him to caſt it into the fire: which he would not do, but caſt it thorow the fire. which thing was done iij. times. But at laſt a ſtander by tooke it vp, and ſaued it from burning. But not long after, the ſayd M. Sommers was caſt agayne into the Tower by the Cardinall, through the cruelty of the Biſhops and theyr adherentes, who ſoone after dyed in the ſayd priſon for the teſtimony of his fayth.

...pa- ...s burnt ...ew te- ...nt.

Tho. Sommers dyed in the Tower.

What trouble & vexatiõ happened amongſt the godly brethren in London, for the 6. Articles, hitherto we haue diſcourſed. Albeit neither haue I cõprehended all, which were moleſted through all the Pariſhes of London: neyther agayne did this rigorous Inquiſition ſo ceaſe within the precinctes of this Citty onely, but alſo extended further to Saliſbury, Northfolke, Lincolne, and through all other Shyres and quarters of the realme: ſo that whereas any popiſh Prelate moſt bare ſtroke, there moſt perſecution encreaſed. The Biſhop of Lincolne the ſame time was John Longland, and Doct. Dracotte his Chauncellour. Of whoſe rigorous doyinges ye haue heard enough and to much before. His ready diligence in all popiſh quarels as it neuer lacked before: ſo now in the execution of theſe 6 Articles, it was not farre behinde in whoſe dioces, diuers good men and women, namely about Buckingham and Amerſham, and quarters there aboutes, were grieuouſly diſquieted, appearing yet in the ſame Regiſter: as one

Ex Regiſt Lincolne.

Elinore Godfrey. For laughing & ſpeaking certayne wordes agaynſt one Tho. Collerd, who like a popeholy hipocrite in the Church of Merlow, vſed at Maſſe tyme to crouch behinde the children, and whẽ the prieſt croſſed his head with the ſaucer (as ſhe termed it) he woulde croſſe his head likewiſe. And for theſe wordes ſhee was conuented before the biſhop, and miſerably vexed. — Of great Marlow.

W. Hart. For ſaying theſe wordes: Thinkeſt thou that God almighty will abide ouer a knaue prieſtes head. — Of great Brickhill.

Chriſtoph: Etle. Becauſe he did no reuerence vnto the ſacrament comming to the church, and for looking vpon his book at time of eleuation, and that he would not come to ſee the eleuation. &c. Item, as he was working vpon a piece of Fuſtian on an holy day, and being aſked why he kept not the holy day, he aunſwered, that was no worke, and that it was better to do that, then to ſitte at the Alehouſe drinkyng dronks. — Of Riſborough.

W. Faſtendiche. For ſpeaking certayne wordes agaynſt ẏ ſacrament of the aulter, and beleued not, that it was the very body of Chriſt. — Of Woodborne.

W. Galand. W. Garland, talking of extreme vnction, ſayd that thoſe thinges were Godly ſignes, but there were but two ſacramentes. &c.

W. Webbe. Becauſe hee ſet the Image of a headleſſe Beare in the Tabernacle of S. Roke. — Of Weſtwycombe.

¶ Thomas Bernard, and Iames Morton Martyrs.

ABout the ſame time John Longland Byſhop of Lincolne, burned two vpon one day, the one named Tho. Bernard, and the other James Morton: The one for teaching the Lordes prayer in Engliſh, and the other for keeping the Epiſtle of S. James tranſlated into Engliſh.

Tho. Bernard, Iames Morton, Martyrs.

In Oxford alſo the ſame time, or much thereabout, recanted one M. Barber maiſter of Arte of that Uniuerſitie, a man excellently learned. who being called vp to Lambeth before the Archbiſhop Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination ſo ſtout in the cauſe of the ſacrament, & ſo learnedly defended himſelfe therein, that (as it is credible affirmed of them, which yet be aliue, and were preſent thereat) neyther Cranmer himſelfe, nor all they could well anſwere to his allegations brought out of Auſten. wherin he was ſo prompe and rype of himſelfe, that the Archbiſhop with the reſidue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithſtanding by compulſion of ẏ time and daunger of the vi. articles, at laſt hee relented, and returning agayne to Oxford, was there cauſed to recant. After which the good man long proſpered not, but ware away. Ex teſtimonio Rad. Moris.

The recantation of M. Barber in Oxford.

A mery, and pleaſaunt narration, touching a falſe fearfull imagination of fire, rayſed among the Doctors and Maiſters of Oxford in S. Maries church at the recantation of M. Mallary M. of Arte of Cambridge.

THis recantatiõ of M. Barbar aforeſayd in the Uniuerſitie of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of an o-

The recantation of M. Malary Graduate of Cambridge, who recanted at Oxforde.

ther recantation likewiſe happening not long before, in ẏ ſayd Vniuerſity, which I thought here not to ouerpaſſe, and namely for that the ſame caryeth withall, a mery ridiculous ſpectacle, not vnworthy to be remembred, & here to be inſerted, ſomewhat to recreate & refreſhe by the way the wery mind of the reader, after ſo many bloudy and lamentable ſtoryes, executions, recantatiõs, and tragedyes aboue paſſed. The ſtory is this.

Malary brought into S. Maryes Church with his fagotte.

D. Smith preached at the recãtatiõ of Malary.

There was one M. Malary, mayſter of Arte of Cambridge, ſcholer of Chriſtes Colledge, who for the like opinions to thoſe aboue rehearſed, holden contrary to the catholicke determination of holy mother church of Rome, ẏ is, for the right truth of Chriſtes Goſpell, was conuented before the Biſhops, and in the end, ſent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to beare his fagot, to the terror of the Studentes of that Vniuerſity. The time and place was appointed, that he ſhould be brought ſolemly into S. Maryes church vpon a Sonday: where a great number of the head Doctors and Diuines, and other of the Vniuerſity, were together aſſembled: beſide a great multitude of Citizens and towne dwellers which came to behold the ſight. Furthermore, becauſe that ſolemnity ſhould not paſſe without ſome effectuall Sermon, for the holding vp of the mother Church of Rome, D. Smith reader then of the Diuinity lecture, was appoynted, to make the Sermon at this recantation. Briefly at the preaching of this Sermõ there was aſſembled a mighty audience of all ſorts and degrees as well of Studentes as other. Few almoſt were abſent, which loued to heare or ſee any newes. In ſo much ẏ ther was no place almoſt in the whole Church which was not fully repleniſhed with concourſe and throng of people.

The Sacramẽt of the aultar brought into the Pulpit.

All thinges thus being prepared and ſet in a readines, commeth forth poore Mallary with his fagotte vpon hys ſhoulder. Not long after alſo procedeth the doctor into the pulpite to make his Sermon: the purpoſe and argument wherof was wholy vpon the Sacramẽt. The which Doctor for the more confirmation and credite to his wordes, had prouided the holy catholick cake, and the Sacrament of the aulter, there to hang by a ſtring before him in ẏ pulpit. Thus the Doctor with his God almighty entring his godly Sermon, had ſcarce proceded into the middeſt therof (the people geuing great ſilence with all reuerence vnto his doctrine) but ſoddenly was heard into the Church the voyce of one crying in the ſtreet, fire, fire. The party which firſt cryed thus in the ſtreet, was called Heuſter. The occaſion was this, for that he comming from Allhallowes Pariſh, ſaw a Chimney on fire, and ſo paſſing in the ſtreet by S. Maryes Church, cryed fire, fire, as the faſhion is, meaning no hurt.

A maze among D. Smithes audiẽce in Oxford

S. Maryes Church in Oxford falſly ſuppoſed to be ſet on fire by heretickes.

This ſound of fire being heard into the Church, firſt of them which ſtode outtermoſt next to the Church doore ſo encreaſed and went from one to an other, that at length it came vnto the eares of the Doctors, & at laſt to the preacher himſelfe. Who as ſoone as they heard the matter, being amazed with ſoddeine feare, and maruelling what the matter ſhould meane, beganne to look vp into the toppe of the Church, and to behold the walles. The reſidue ſeeyng them look vp, looked vp alſo. Then began they in the middeſt of the audience to crye out with a loud voyce, fire, fire. Where ſayth one? where ſayth on other? In the Churche, ſayth one. The mention of the Church was ſcarſely pronoũced, when as in one moment there was a common cry amongeſt thẽ, the Church is on fire, the Church is ſette on fire by heretickes. &c. And albeit no man did ſee any fire at all, yet forſomuch as al mẽ cried out ſo, euery man thought it true that they heard. Then was there ſuch feare, cõcourſe and tumult of people, through the whole church, that it cã not be declared in wordes, as it was in deed.

Deluders deluded.

We ſee great Clarkes how they are deceaued oft times in ſmall trifles.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indeed) we ſee many times how one litle ſparke geueth matter of a mighty flame, ſetting whole ſtackes and piles on burning, ſo here vpon a ſmall occaſion of one mans worde, kindled firſt a general cry, then a ſtrong opinion running in euery mans head within the Church, thinking the Church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleaſed almightye God to delude theſe deluders, that is, that theſe great Doctors and wiſe men of the Scholes, which thinke themſelues ſo wiſe in Gods matters as though they coulde not erre, ſhould ſee by theyr own ſenſes and iudgements, how blind and infatuated they were in theſe ſo ſmall matters & ſenſible trifles.

What ſtrong imagination can do in deluding mans ſenſes.

Thus this ſtrong imaginatiõ of fire being fired in their heades, as nothing could remoue them to thinke contrary but that the Church was on fire: ſo euery thing that they ſaw or heard, encreaſed this ſuſpition in them, to make it ſeme moſt true, which was in deede moſt falſe. The firſt & chiefeſt occaſion that augmẽted this ſuſpition, was the hereticke there bearing his fagot, which gaue them to imagine, that all other heretickes, had conſpired with him, to ſet the Church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people & running to and fro, the duſt was ſo rayſed, that it ſhewed as it hadde bene the ſmoke of fire. Which thing together with the outcry of the people, made all men ſo afrayd, that leauing the Sermon, they began altogether to runne away. But ſuch was the preaſſe of the multitude running in heapes together, that the more they laboured, the leſſe they could gette out. For whileſt they ranne all headlong vnto the doores euery man ſtriuing to get out firſt, the thruſt one an other in ſuch ſort, and ſtucke ſo faſt, that they which were without, neither could get into the Church, agayn, neither they that were within could get out by any meanes. So the one doore being ſtopped, the ran to an other litle wicket on the North ſide, towardes the Colledge called Brazon noſe, thinking ſo to paſſe out. But there agayne was the like or greater throng. So the people cluſtring & thronging together, it put many in daunger and broughte many vnto theyr end, by bruſing of their bones or ſides. There was yet an other doore towardes the Weſt, which albeit it was ſhut and ſeldom opened: yet now ranne they to it with ſuch ſway, that the great barre of iron (which is incredible to be ſpoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens handes, the doore notwithſtanding could not be opened, for the preaſſe or multitude of people.

At the laſt, when they were there alſo paſt all hope to get out then they were all excedingly amazed and ran vp and downe, crying out vpon the heretickes which had cõſpired theyr death. The more they ranne about & cried out the more ſmoke & duſt roſe in the Church, euen as though all thinges now had bene on a flaming fire. I thinke there was neuer ſuch a tumultuous hurly burly riſing ſo of nothing heard of before, nor ſo great a feare where was no cauſe to feare, nor peril at all: ſo ẏ if Democritus the mery philoſopher ſitting in ẏ top of the church, & ſeing al things in ſuch ſafety as they were, hadde looked downe vpon the multitude, and beholden ſo great a number ſome howling and weeping, running vppe and downe, and playing the madde men, now hither, now thither, as beyng toſſed to and fro with waues or tempeſtes, trembling and quaking raging and faring, without any manifeſt cauſe, ſpecially if he had ſene thoſe great Rabbines the Doctors laden with ſo many badges or cogniſaunces of wiſedome, ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly ſeeking holes and corners to hide themſelues in, gaſping, breathing, and ſweating, and for very horror, being almoſt beſide themſelues, I thinke he would haue ſatiſfied himſelf with this one laughter, for all his life time, or elles rather woulde haue laughed his hart out of his belly, whileſt one ſayd that he playnely heard he noiſe of the fire, an other affirmed that he ſawe it with his eyes, and an other ſware that he felt the molten leade dropping downe vpon his head and ſhoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once graffed in mennes hartes through feare. In all the whole company there was none that behaued himſelfe more modeſtly then the Hereticke that was there to do penaunce, who caſting his Fagot of frõ his ſhoulders vpon a Monkes head that ſtood by kept himſelfe quiet, minding to take ſuch part as the other did.

All the other being careful for themſelues, neuer made an end of running vp and downe & crying out. None cried not more earneſtly then the Doctor that preached (who was as I ſayd, D. Smith) who in a maner firſt of all cryed out in the pulpit, ſaying: Theſe are the traines and ſubtleties of the heretickes agaynſt me. Lord haue mercy vpõ me: Lord haue mercy vpon me. But might not God, as it had bene (to ſpeake with Iob) out of a whyrlewinde haue aunſwered agayne vnto this Preacher thus: Thou doeſt now implore my mercy but thou thy ſelf ſheweſt no mercy vnto thy felowes and brethren. How doth thy fleſh tremble now at the mention of fire, but you thinke it a ſport to burne other ſimple innocents, neither do you any thing at all regard it? If burning ſeme ſo grieuous a matter vnto you, and to ſuffer the torment of fire: then you ſhould alſo haue the like conſideration in other mens perils and daungers, when as you do burne your felowes and brethren.

Or if you thinke it but a light or trifling matter in thẽ go to now, do you alſo with like courage, cõtemne, & with like patience ſuffer now the ſame tormentes your ſelues. And if ſo be it I ſhoulde nowe ſuffer you with the whole Church to be burned to aſhes, what other thing ſhoulde I do vnto you, then you do dayly vnto your felowes and brethren? Wherefore ſince you ſo litle eſteme the death of others, be now content that other men ſhoulde alſo litle regard the death of you. With this (I ſay) or with ſome other like aunſwere, if that either God, or humane charity, either the common ſenſe of nature would expoſtulate with them, yea if there had bene a fire indeed (as they were more feared then hurt) who would haue doubted but that it had happened vnto them according to their deſertes? But now worthy it is the noting, how the vayne feare and folly of thoſe catholickes either was deluded, either how theyr cruelty was reproued, whereby they being better taught by theyr owne example, might hereafter learne what is to put other poore men to the fire which they themſelues here ſo much abhorred.

good war- for the -piſtes to -ow what -ming -eacth.

But to returne agayn to the deſcriptiõ of this pageant: wherin (as I ſayd before) there was no daunger at all, yet were they all in ſuch feare, as if preſent death had ben ouer their heades.

In all this great maze and garboyle there was nothing more feared then the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping vpõ their bodies: Now in this ſodein terror and feare, which tooke from them all reaſon & counſell out of theyr mindes: to beholde what practiſes & ſondry ſhiftes euery man made for himſelfe, it would make not onely Democritus, and Heraclitus alſo to laugh but rather an horſe welnere to breake his halter. But none vſed themſelues more ridiculouſly, then ſuch as ſemed greateſt wiſe men, ſauing that in one or ij. peraduenture ſomewhat more quietnes of minde appeared. Amongeſt whom was one Claymund Preſident of Corpus Chriſti Colledge (whom for reuerence and learnings ſake I do here name) and a few other aged perſons with him, which for theyr age and weakeneſſe, durſt not thruſt themſelues into the throng amongeſt the reſt, but kneled downe quietly before the high aulter, committing themſelues & theyr liues vnto the ſacrament. The other which were yonger and ſtronger, ran vp and downe through the preaſſe maruelling at the inciuility of mẽ, and waxt angry with the vnmanerly multitude that would geue no rowme vnto the Doctors, Bachelers, Maiſters, and other graduates & regent maiſters. But as the terror and feare was common vnto all men, ſo was there no differẽce made, of perſõs or degrees euery man ſcambling for himſelfe. The violet cap or purple gowne, did there nothing auayle the Doctour, neyther the maſters hood nor the monkes coule was there reſpected.

-laymun- -Preſi- -nt of -orpus -hriſti -olledge.

Yea if the king or queene had bene there at that preſent and in that perplexity, they had bene no better then a common man. After they had long ſtriuen and aſſayed all maner of wayes and ſaw no remedy, neither by force neither authority to preuayle: the fell to entreating and offering of rewardes, one offering xx. poũd, an other his ſcarlet gown ſo that any man would pull him out though it were by the eares.

Some ſtood cloſe vnto the pillers, thinking themſelues ſafe vnder the vautes of ſtone for the dropping of the lead. Otherſome being without mony & vnprouided of al ſhift, knew not which way to turne them. One being a preſidẽt of a certaine Colledge (whoſe name I need not here to vtter) pulling a bourd out from the pues, couered his head & ſhoulders therwith agaynſt yͤ ſcalding lead, which they feared much more then the fall of the Church. Now what a laughter would this haue miniſtred vnto Democritus amongeſt other thinges, to behold there a certayne graund paũch, who ſeing the dores ſtopped and euery way cloſed vp, thought by an other compendious meanes to get out through a glaſſe window if it might be by any ſhift. But here the irõ grates letted him: notwithſtanding his gredy mind would needes attempt if he could happely bring hys purpoſe to paſſe. Whẽ he had brokẽ the glaſſe, & was come to the ſpace betwene yͤ grates where he ſhould creepe out, firſt he thruſt in his head wͭ the one ſhoulder, & it wẽt thorow wel enough. Thẽ he labored to get the other ſhoulder after, but there was great labor about yͭ, & lõg he ſtuck by yͤ ſhoulders with much adoe. For what doth not importune labor ouercome? Thus farreforth he was now gottẽ. But by what part of his bodye he did ſticke faſt, I am not certayne, neither may I fayne, forſomuch as there be yet witneſſes which did ſee theſe thinges, which woulde correcte me if I ſhould ſo doe. Notwithſtanding this is moſt certayne that he did ſtick faſt betweene the grates, and coulde neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man being in deed a Monke, and hauing but ſhort hoſe, by the which way he ſuppoſed ſooneſt to eſcape, by the ſame he fel into further incõuenience making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outſide, thoſe parts which did hang out of the window had bene in danger: & contrariwiſe if the flame had raged within the Church, all his other parts had lyen opẽ to the fire. And as this man did ſticke faſt in the windowe, ſo dyd the reſt ſticke as faſt in the dores, that ſooner they myght haue bene burned, then they could once ſtyrre or moue one foot. Through the which preſe at the laſt there was a way found, that ſome going ouer their heads gat out.

Here alſo happened an other pageaunt in a certayne Monke (if I be not miſaduiſed) of Gloceſter Colledge, whereat Calphurnius might well laugh with an open mouth. So it happened that there was a young lad in this tumult, who ſeing the dores faſt ſtopped with the preſe or multitude, & that he had no way to get out, clymed vp vpõ the dore, and there ſtaying vpon the top of the doore, was forced to tary ſtill: For to come downe into the Church agayne, he durſt not for feare of the fire, and to leape downe toward the ſtreet he could not without daunger of falling. When he had taryed there a while, he aduiſed himſelf what to do: neither did occaſion want to ſerue his purpoſe. For by chaunce, amongſt them that gat out ouer mens heads, he ſaw a Monke comming towardes him, which had a great wide Coule hanging at his backe. This the Boye thought to be a good occaſion for him to eſcape by. When the Monke came neare vnto him, the Boy which was in the toppe of the doore, came downe, and prettily conueyed himſelfe into the Monkes Coule, thinking (as it came to paſſe in deed) that if the Monke did eſcape, he ſhould alſo get out with him. To be briefe, at the laſt the Monke gat out ouer mens heads, with the boy in his Coule, and for a great while felt no wayght or burden.

Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore, Horat.

A boye gotte into a Monkes coule.

At the laſt, when he was ſomewhat more come to himſelfe, and did ſhake his ſhoulders, feling his Coule heuyer thẽ it was accuſtomed to be, & alſo hearing yͤ voyce of one ſpeaking behinde his Coule, he was more afrayd then he was before, when he was in the throng, thinking in very deed, that the euill ſpirit which had ſet the Church on fire, had flyen into his Coule. By and by he began to play the Exorciſt: In the name of God (ſayd he) and all ſayntes, I commaund thee to declare what thou art that art behinde at my backe. To whom the boy aunſwered: I am Bertrames boy, ſayd he (for that was his name.) But I, ſayd the monke, adiure thee in the name of the vnſeparable trinity, that thou wicked ſpirit do tell me who thou art, from whence thou commeſt, and that thou get thee hence. I am Bertrames boy, ſayd he, good mayſter let me go: and with that his Coule began with the wayt to cracke vppon hys ſhoulders. The monke when he perceiued the matter, tooke the boy out and diſcharged his Coule. The boy tooke his legges and ranne away as faſt as he could.

Among other, one wiſer then the reſt, ranne wyth the Church dore key, beating vpon the ſtone walles, thinking therwith to breake an hole thorough to eſcape out.

In the meane time thoſe that were in the ſtreate looking diligently about them, and perceyuing all thynges to be without feare, marueiled at this ſoddayne outrage, & made ſignes and tokẽs to them that were in the church, to keepe themſelues quyet, crying to them that there was no daunger.

But forſo much as no word could be heard by reaſon of the noyſe that was within the Churche, thoſe ſignes made them much more afrayd then they were before, interpreting the matter, as though all had bene on fire without the Church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they ſhould rather tary ſtill within yͤ church, and not to venter out. This trouble continued in this maner by the ſpace of certayne houres.

The next day, and alſo all the weeke following there was an incredible number of bils ſet vp vpon the Church dores, to enquire for thinges that were loſt, in ſuch variety and number, as Democritus might here agayne haue had iuſt cauſe to laugh. If any man haue foũd a payre of ſhoes yeſterday in S. Mary Church, or knoweth any man that hath found them. &c. An other bill was ſet vp for a gowne that was loſt. An other intreateth to haue his cappe reſtored. One loſt his purſe and gyrdle with certeyne mony: an other his ſword. One enquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, an other for an other. To be ſhort, there was few in this garboyle, but that either through negligence loſt, or through obliuion left ſomething behind him.

Thus haue you hitherto heard a tragicall ſtory of a terrible fire which did no hurt. The deſcription wherof although it be not ſo perfectly expreſſed according to the worthines of the matter, yet becauſe it was not to be paſſed with ſilence, we haue ſuperficially ſet foorth ſome ſhadow therof, wherby the wiſe & diſcreet may ſufficiently conſider the reſt, if any thing els be lacking in ſetting forth the full narration therof. As touching the heretick, becauſe he had not done his ſufficient penaunce there by occaſion of thys hurly burly, therfore the next day folowing he was reclaimed into the Church of S. Frideſwide, where he ſupplied the reſt that lacked of his plenary penaunce.

The 4. and 5. Mariage of K. Henry the 8.

THe ſame yeare and month next folowing, after the apprehenſion of the Lord Cromwell, which was an. 1541.

Anno 1541. August.

The Lady Anne of Cleue diuorced from the king.

The king permitted to mary after his diuorce

The king maried to the Lady Katherine Haward his 5. wife.

the king immediatly was diuorced from the Lady Anne of Cleue. The cause of which seperation being wholiye committed to the Clergy of the Conuocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and graunted, that the kyng being freed from that pretensed matrimony (as they called it) might mary wher he would, so might she likewise: who also consenting to the same diuorcement her selfe, by her owne letters, was after that called no more for Queene, but onely called Lady Anne of Cleue. Which thinges thus discussed by the Parliament and Conuocation house, the king the same moneth was maryed to his fift wyfe; which was the Lady Katherine Haward, Niece to the Duke of Northfolke, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Haward the Dukes brother. But this marryage likewise continued not long.

6. Popishe Monkes for denying the kinges supremacy, executed.

In the same moneth of August, and the same yeare, I finde moreouer in some recordes, beside the xviij. Chapterhouse monks aboue recited, whom Pope doth sanctify for holy martyrs, for suffering in the Popes deuotion, against the kinges supremacy, other sixe which were also brought to Tiborne and there executed in the like case of rebellion. Of whom, the first was the Prior of Dancaster, the second a monk of the Charterhouse of Londõ, called Giles Horne, some call him William Horne: the third one Tho. Epsam a Monke of westminster, who had his Monkes garment pluckt from his backe, being the last monke in K. Henries dayes that did weare that monkish weede: the fourth one Philpot: the fifte one Carewe: the sixt was a Fryer. See what a difficulty it is to plucke vp blind superstition once rooted in mans hart by a litle custome.

Anno 1542.

Now as touching the late maryage betwene the king and the Lady Haward ye heard how this matrimony endured not long: for in the yere next folowing 1542. the sayd Lady Katherine was accused to the king of incontinent liuing, not onely before her mariage with Frãces Direham, but also of spousebreach sith her maryage, with Tho. Culpeper. For the which both the men aforesayd, by acte of Parliament were atteinted and executed for high treason, and also the sayd Lady Katherine late queene, with the Lady Jane Rochford widow, late wyfe to George Boleyne Lord Rochford, brother to Queene Anne Boleyne, were beheaded for theyr desertes within the Tower. Ex Hallo & alijs.

It is reported of some, that this Lady Rochforde forged a false letter against her husband, & Queene Anne his sister, by the which they wer both cast away, Which if it be so, the iudgement of God then is here to be marked.

The kinges minde inclining to reformaiton of religion.

After the death and punishment of this Lady his fifth wife, the king calling to remembraunce the wordes of the Lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old Counsellor, and partly also smelling somewhat the wayes of winchester, beganne a litle to set his foote agayne in the cause of Religion. And although he euer bare a speciall fauor to Thomas Craumer Archbishop of Canterbury (as you shall heare more hereafter, God willing, in the lyfe of Cranmer) yet now the more he missed the Lord Cromwel the more he inclined to the Archbishop, & also to the right cause of Religion. And therefore in the same yeare and in the month of October, after the execution of this Queene, the king vnderstanding some abuses yet to remayne vnreformed, namely about pilgrimages and Idolatry, and other thinges moe besides to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters vnto the foresaid Archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy redresse and reformation of the same. The tenor of which letters hereafter fully ensueth, in these wordes.

¶ The kinges letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatry.

The kings letters to the Archbyshop for reforming of Idolatry.

RIght reuerend father in God, right trusty and welbeloued, we greet you well letting you to wit, that whereas hertofore vpon the zeale and remembraunce whiche we had to our bounden duety towardes almighty God, perceiuing sundry superstitions and abuses to be vsed and embraced by our people, wherby they grieuously offended him and his word: we did not onely cause the Images and bones of such as they resorted and offered vnto, with the ornamentes of the same, and all such writinges and monumentes of fayned myracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away, in all places of our Realme, but also by our Iniunctions commaunded, that no offering or setting vp of lightes or candles should be suffered in any Church, bnt onely to the blessed Sacramentes of the aulter: it is lately come to our knoweledge, that this our good intent and purpose, notwithstandinge the shrines, coueringes of shrines, and monumentes of those thinges do yet remayne in sundry places of this Realme, muche to the sclaunder of our doinges, and to the greate displeasure of almighty God, the same being meanes to allure our subiectes to theyr former hipocrisye and superstition: and also that our Iniunctions be not kept as appertayneth. For the due and speedye reformation whereof, we haue thought meete, by these our letters, expressely to will and commaund you, that incontinent vpon the receite hereof, you shall not onely cause due search to be made in the Cathedrall Church for those thinges, and if any shrine couering of shrine, table, monument of myracles, or other pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away, as there remayne no memory of it, but also that you shall take order with all the Curates, and other hauing charge within your Dioces, to doe the semblable, and to see that our Iniunctions be duely kept, as apperteyneth without fayling, as we trust you, and as you will aunswere for the contrary.

Shrines and monumentes of Idolatry abolished by the king

Geuen vnder our Signet at our towne of Hull, the fourth day of October in the 33: yeare of our raigne.

Furthermore, the next yeare after this ensuing, which was 1543. in the moneth of February, followed an other Proclamation geuen out by the kinges authority, wherein the Popes Law forbidding white meates to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meates set at liberty, for the behoufe of the kinges subiectes. The copy of which Proclamation I thought here good also to be remembred.

¶ A Proclamation concerning eating of white meates made the 9. of February, the 34. yeare of the reigne of the kinges most Royall maiesty.

Anno 154

The e… of whi… meates… Lent se… liberty.

FOr as much as by diuers and sundrye occasions, as well Heringes, Linges, Saltfish, Samond, Stockefish, as other kindes of fishe bene this yeare scant, and also enhaunced in prices aboue the olde rate and common estimation of theyr valour, so that if the kinges louing subiectes should be enforced onely to buy and prouide Hering and other salt store of fish, for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maynteynaunce of theyr househoIdes and families all this holye time of Lent, according as they haue bene wont in times past to do, and should not be by some other conuenient meanes relieued therein, the same might and should vndoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detrimẽt: and for so much as his highnes considereth howe this kinde and maner of fasting, (that is to say) to absteyne from mylke, butter egges, cheese, and other white meates, is but a meere positiue Law of the Church, and vsed by a custome within this Realme, and of none other force or necessitie, but the same may be vpon considerations and groundes altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the publicke authoritye of kinges and princes, when so euer they shall perceiue the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: The kinges highnesse therefore most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commoditye of his people, hath thought good for the consideratiõs oboue rehearsed, to release and dispense with the sayd law and custome of absteining from white meates this holy time of Lent, and of his especiall grace and mere motion geueth and graunteth vnto all and singuler his subiectes within this his Realme of Englande, Wales, Callis, Guisnes, & Hammes, aud in all other his graces dominions, free liberty faculty and licence to eat all maner of white meates, as milke, Egges, butter, Cheese and such like, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience, any Law, Constitutiou, vse, or custome to the contrary notwithstanding.

Wherein neuerthelesse his highnesse exhorteth, and in the name of God requireth all suche his faythfull subiectes, as may, will, or shall enioy this his sayde graunt or faculty, that they be in no wise scrupulous or doubtfull thereof, Nor abuse or turne the same into a fleshly or carnall liberty, but rather endeuour themselues to theyr possible powers, with this libertye of eating of white meates, to obserue also that fast which God most specially requireth of them, that is to say, to renounce the world and the deuill, with all theyr pompes and workes, and also to subdue and represse theyt carnall affections & the corrupt works of the flesh, according to theyr vow and profession made at the Font stone, for in these poyntes specially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian man: thus to endure and cõtinue from yeare to yeare, till the kinges highnesse pleasure shall by his maiestyes proclamation be published to the contrary.

The trouble and persecution of foure windsore men, Robert Testwood, Henry, Filmer, Anthony Person, apd Iohn Marbecke, persecuted for righteousnesse sake, and for the Gospell.

Anno 154

COmming nowe to the Storye and tyme of the foure windsore men troubled and persecuted for the true testimony of Gods word, whereof three were martyred and sacrificed in fire, the fourth (which was Marbecke) had his pardon: first I haue to shew the original of their troubles in seuerall partes: secondly the maner and order of theyr death, as they suffered together, which was. an. 1544. thirdly to answere partly in purgation of my selfe, against certayne clatterers, which haue hitherto taken theyr pleasure

ſure in railing againſt my former edition of Actes and monuments, for miſtaking yͤ name of Marbecke, who in one place I reported to haue ben burned, albeit in the ende of the ſtory, correcting my ſelfe agayne, I declare hym not to haue bene burned. Wherefore to ſtoppe the brawlyng monthes of ſuch quarellers, I thought here to ſet forth the ful narration, both of the ſaid Marbecke, and of his felows, in truth as I truſt none of them ſhal haue iuſt cauſe to quarel thereat.

The originall of Teſtwoods trouble.

e firſt be-
ning of
ſtwoodes
bles.

Perſecuters.	Perſecuted.
M. Ely. Symons, a Lawyer. D. London St. Gardiner B. of Wincheſter. Wriſley. Southarne Treaſurer of Exceter. D. Bruerwood, Chauncellor of Exeter. M. Knight, Wincheſters Gentleman. D. Oking. D. Capon B. of Sarū. Sir Wil. Eſſex knight. Sir Tho. Bridges knight. Sir Humfrey Foſter knight. M. Franklen Deane of Windſor. M. Fachel of Reding. Bucler the kings Attorney. Filmers brother. Hyde, a Iurate dwelling beſide Abington. Rob. Ockam, a Lawyer.	Rob. Teſtwood. Henry Filmer. Anthony Perſon. Iohn Marbecke. Rob. Benet. Sir Phillip Hobby, his wife. Sir Tho. Cardine his wyfe. M. Edmūd Harman. M. Thom. Weldone. Snobal his wife of the kings chāber. D. Heynes Deane of Exeter. At Windſore. Ann. 1544.

The Cauſes.

IN the yere of our Lord, 1544. there was one Robert Teſtwood dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in Muſicke had ſo great a name, that the Muſitions in Windſore colledge, thought hym a worthye man to haue a roume among them. Whereupon they informed D. Sampſon (beyng then their Deane) of him. But for ſo much as ſome of the Canons at that tyme hadde heard of Teſtwood, howe that he ſmelled of the newe learning (as they called it) it would not be conſented vnto at the firſt. Notwithſtanding, with often ſute of the foreſayd Muſitions made to one Doctor Tate (who beyng halfe a Muſition himſelfe, bare a great ſtroke in ſuch matters) a roume beyng voyd, Teſtwode was ſent for to bee heard. And beyng there foure or fiue dayes among the quier men, he was ſo well lyked both for hys voyce and cunnyng, that he was admitted, and after ſetled in Windſore, wyth hys houſhold, and had in good eſtimation wyth the Deane and canons a great while. But when they had perceyued him by hys often talke at theyr tables (for he could not well diſſemble his religion) that he leaned to Luthers ſect, they began to miſlike him. And ſo paſſing forth amōg them it was his chaunce one day to bee at dinner with one of the Canons, named D. Rawſon. At the which dinner amongſt all other, was one of Kyng Edwardes 4. Chauntrie prieſts, named M. Ely, an old Bacheler of Diuinitie. Which Ely in his talke at the bord, began to raile againſt lay men, which took vpon them to mell with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the Engliſh tongue) then they which had bene ſtudents in the Vniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge all the dayes of their lyues. Then Teſtwood perceiuing he ment that by him, could forbeare his railyng no longer, but ſaid: M. Ely, by your pacience I thinke it be no hurt for lay men, as I am, to read and to know the ſcriptures.

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Which of you (quoth Ely) that be vnlearned, knoweth them, or vnderſtandeth them? S. Paul ſaith: If thine enemy hunger, feed him: if he thirſt, geue hym drinke, and in ſo doyng, thou ſhalt heape coales of fire vppon hys head. Now ſir (quoth Elye) what meaneth Sainte Paule by theſe coales of fire? Marry ſir (quoth Teſtwode) hee meaneth nothing els by them (as I haue learned) but burning charitie, that with doyng good to our enemies, wee ſhoulde therby win them. A ſirah, quoth he, you are an old ſcholer in deed.

After this, they fell into further communication of the Pope, whoſe ſupremacy was much ſpokē of at that tyme, but not knowen to be ſo farre in queſtion in the parliamēt houſe as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Teſtwood, whether the Pope ought to be head of the church or no. Agaynſt the which, Teſtwode durſt not laye hys full mynd, but reaſoned within his boūds a great while. But when they were both well ſtriken in an heate, Teſtwode forgetting himſelfe, chaunced to ſay, that euery king in his own realme & dominion, ought to be the hed of the church vnder Chriſt. At the which words Ely was ſo chafed, that he roſe vp from the table in a great fume, calling him heretike, and all that nought was, and ſo went brawling & chiding away, to the great diſquieting of al the company that were there. Then was Teſtwood very ſory to ſee the olde man take it ſo greuouſly. Wherupon after dinner he went and ſought M. Ely, and found him walking in the bodye of the church, thinking to haue talked with him charitably, & ſo to haue bene at one agayne: but euer as Teſtwood preaſed towardes him, the other ſhunned him, and would not come nie him, but ſpit at him, ſaieng to other that walked by: beware of this fellow, for he is the greateſt heretike and ſchiſmatike, that euer came in Windſore.

Euery king in his owne realme and Church, is head vnder Chriſt.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that Elye had made his complaint to the Deanes deputie, and other of the canons, they were all againſt Teſtwood, purpoſing ſurely at the Deanes comming home (if all thynges had chaunced euen) to haue put hym to hys trumpe. But ſee the fortune. It was not twelue dayes after, ere that the kings ſupremacie paſſed in the Parliament houſe. Whereupon the Deane (D. Sampſon) came home ſodainly in the night late, and forthwithall ſent his Verger about to all the Canons and miniſters of the colledge, from the higheſt to the loweſt, commaunding them to be in the Chapter houſe by eight of the clocke in the mornyng. Then Ely cōſulted with the Canons ouer night (as late as it was) and thought on the next day to haue put Teſtwood to a great plunge. But he that layeth a ſnare for another man (ſayth Salomon) ſhall be taken in it himſelfe. And ſo was Elye. For when the Deane and euery man were come and placed in the Chapter houſe, and that the Deane had commended the miniſters of the Church for their diligence in tendyng the Quire, exhortyng them alſo to continue in the ſame: he began (contrary to euery mans expectation) to inuey agaynſt the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacie and vſurped authoritie, confoundyng the ſame by manifeſt Scriptures and probable reaſons, ſo earneſtly, that it was a wonder to heare: and at length declared openly, that by the whole conſent of the Parliament houſe, the Popes ſupremacie was vtterly aboliſhed out of this Realme of England for euer, and ſo commanded euery man there, vpon his allegiance, to call hym Pope no more, but biſhop of Rome, & whatſoeuer he were that would not ſo do, or did from that day forth maintaine or fauour his cauſe by any manner of meanes, he ſhould not only looſe the benefit of that houſe, but be reputed as an vtter enemy to God and to the king. The Canons hearing this, were all ſtriken in a dumpe. Yet notwithſtanding Elies hart was ſo great, yͭ he would faine haue vttred his cankerd ſtomack agaynſt Teſtwood: but the Deane (breaking his tale) called him old foole, and tooke him vp ſo ſharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the Deane commanded all the popes pardōs which hanged about the Church to be brought into the Chapterhouſe, and caſt into the chimney, and burnt before all their faces, and ſo departed.

The firſt newes of the kinges ſupremacye brought to Windſore.

M. Ely thinking to complayne of other, was called foole for his labour.

Another cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble.

AS it chanced Teſtwood one day to walke in the church at after noone, & beheld the pilgrimes (ſpecially of Deuonſhire & Cornwal) how they came in by plumpes with candles & images of waxe in their hands, to offer to good king Henry of Windſore (as they called hym) it pitied hys hart to ſee ſo great idolatry committed, & how vainly the people had ſpent their goods in comming ſo farre to kiſſe a ſpur, & to haue an old hat ſet vpon their heds. In ſo much, that he could not refraine, but (ſeing a certaine company which had done their offring ſtand gaſing about yͤ church) went vnto them, & with al gentlenes began to exhort them to leaue ſuch falſ worſhipping of dombe creatures, and to learne to worſhip the true liuing God aright, putting thē in remembrance what thoſe things were which they worſhipped, & how God many times had plagued his people for running a whoring to ſuch ſtocks & ſtones, & ſo would plage them and their poſteritie if they would not leaue it.

An other trouble of Teſtwood

Idolatry to king Henry of Windſore.

Teſtwood exhorteth the people from Idolatry

Idolatry to an image of a white Lady made of Alabaſter in windſore.

Teſtwood defaceth the Image.

W. Simons a perſecuter.

O blinde Popedy to ſeeke the death of a liuing man for the noſe of a dead ſtocke.

Magna Diana Epheſiorum, Act. 28.

After this ſort he admoniſhed them ſo long, till at the laſt, his words (as God would) tooke ſuch place in ſome of them, that they ſaid, they would neuer goe a pilgrimage more. Then he went further, & found another ſort licking & kiſſing a white Lady made of Alabaſter, which Image was mortreſt in a wall behind the hie altar, and bordred about with a prety border, which was made like branches with hanging apples & flowres. And when he ſawe them ſo ſuperſtitiouſly vſe the Image (as to wipe their handes vpon it, & then to ſtroke them ouer their hands & faces, as though there had ben great vertue in touching yͤ picture) he vp with his hand in the which he had a key, and ſmote a peece of the border about the image, downe, and with the glaunce of the ſtroke chanced to breake of the images noſe. Lo, good people, quoth he, ye ſee what it is, nothyng but earth & duſt, and cannot helpe it ſelfe, & how will you then haue it to helpe you? For Gods ſake brethren, be no more deceyued: and ſo he gate him home to his houſe, for the rumor was ſo great, that many came to ſee the Image, how it was defaced. And among all other came one Williā Symons (a Lawyer) who ſeyng the image ſo berayed, and to lacke her noſe, tooke the matter greuouſly, & looking down vpon the pauement, he ſpied the images noſe where it lay, which he tooke vp and put in his purſe, ſaying, it ſhould be a deare noſe to Teſtwood one day.

The papiſtes of Windſore afraid of Cromwell.

The Canons of Windſore glad to fall in agayne with Teſtwood

Now were many offended with Teſtwood, the canons for ſpeaking againſt their profit, the waxe ſellers for hyndring their market, & Symons for the Images noſe. And more then that, there were of the canons men that threatned to kill him. Whereupon Teſtwood kept his houſe, and durſt not come forth, minding to haue ſent the whole matter in writing by his wife, to M. Cromwell the kings ſecretary who was his ſpecial frend. The Canons hearyng that Teſtwood would ſend to Cromwel, they ſend yͤ Verger vnto him, to will him to come to the church: who ſent them word agayne, that he was in feare of his lyfe, & therfore would not come. Then ſent they two of yͤ eldeſt Peticanons to entreat him, & to aſſure him that no man ſhould do him harme. He made them a plaine anſwer, that he had no ſuch truſt to their promiſes, but would complain to his frendes. Then wiſt they not what ſhift to make (for of all men they feared Cromwel) but ſent in poſt haſt for old M. Ward, a iuſtice of peace dwelling 3. or 4. myles of, who beyng come & hearing the matter, was very loth to meddle in it. But notwithſtanding, through their entreaty he wēt to Teſtwood & had much ado to perſwade him, but at the laſt, he did ſo faithfully promiſe him by the oth he had made to God & the king, to defend him from all daungers and harmes, that Teſtwood was content to go with him.

Teſtwood in daunger of hys lyfe.

And when M. Ward and Teſtwood were come into the Church, and were goyng toward the Chapter houſe, where the Canons abode their commyng, one of the Canons men drew his dagger at Teſtwood, and would haue bene vpon him, but M. Ward with his men reſiſted, and gat Teſtwood into the Chapter houſe, cauſing the ſeruing men to be called in, and ſharply rebuked of their maiſters, who ſtraitly commanded them vpon paine of looſing their ſeruice, & further diſpleaſure, not to touch him nor to geue him an euill worde. Nowe Teſtwood being alone, in the Chapter houſe with the Canons and M. Ward was gētly intreated, & the matter ſo pacified, that Teſtwood might quietly come and go to the Church, and do his duety as he had done before.

An other cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble.

An other cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble.

Tho Beckets Rachet made a Relique.

S. Georges dagger made a relique.

VPon a Relique ſonday (as they named it) when euery Miniſter after their olde cuſtome ſhould haue borne a relique in his hand about a proceſſion, one was brought to Teſtwood. Which relique (as they ſaid) was a Ratchet of biſhop Beckets. And as the Sexten would haue put the Ratchet in Teſtwoods hands, he puſhed it from hym, ſayeng, if he did geue it to him, he would wipe his taile withall, & ſo the Ratchet was geuen to another. Then came the Verger down from the hie altar with S. Georges dagger in his hand, demādyng who lacked a relique. Mary (quoth Teſtwood) geue it to M. Hake (who ſtood next him) for hee is a prety man of his hands, & ſo the dagger was geuē vnto him. Now Teſtwood perceiuing the dagger in maiſter Hakes hand, and being merily diſpoſed (as he was a mery conceited man) ſtepped forth out of his place to D. Clifton ſtanding directly before him in the midſt of the quire, with a glorious golden Cope vpon his backe, hauing the Pixe in his hand, and ſaid: Sir, M. Hake hath Saint Georges dagger. Now if he had his horſe, and S. Martins cloke, and maiſter Iohn Shornes bootes, with king Henries ſpurres, and his hat, he might ride when he would, and ſo ſtepped into his place againe, whereat the other chaunged colour, and wiſt not what to ſay.

Another cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble.

IN the dayes of M. Franklen, who ſucceded D. Sampſon in the Deanry of Windſore, there was on a tyme ſet vp at the Quire dore, a certaine fooliſhe printed paper in Meter, all to the prayſe and commendation of our Ladye, aſcribing vnto her our iuſtification, our ſaluation, our redemption, the forgeuenes of ſinnes, &c. to the great derogation of Chriſt. Which paper, one of the Canons called M. Magnus (as it was reported) cauſed to be ſet vp in deſpite of Teſtwood and his ſect. When Teſtwood ſawe this paper, he pluckt it downe ſecretly. The next day after was another ſet vp in the ſame place. Then Teſtwood comming into the Church, and ſeyng another paper ſet vp, and alſo the Deane commyng a little way of, made haſte to be in at the Quire dore, while the Deane ſtayd to take holy water, and reaching vp his hand as he went, pluckt away yͤ paper with hym. The Deane beyng come to hys ſtall, called Teſtwood vnto him, and ſayd, that he marueiled greatlye how he durſt be ſo bolde to take downe the paper in hys preſence? Teſtwood aunſwered agayne, that he marueiled much more, that his maiſterſhip would ſuffer ſuche a blaſphemous paper to be ſet vp, beſeeching hym not to be offended with that he had done, for he woulde ſtand vnto it. So M. Deane being a timerous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no mo papers ſet vp, but poore Teſtwood was eaten and drunken among them at euery meale, and an heretike he was, and would coſt a fagot for this geare one day.

Now maiſter Magnus being ſore offended with Teſtwood for pluckyng downe his papers, to be reuenged on him, deuiſed with the Deane and the reſt of the Canons, to ſend their letters to D. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the Kings Phiſition, who lay (for the moſt part) at the Court, to ſee what he would do againſt Teſtwood. Which letters being made, were ſent with ſpeede. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, whether he durſt not meddle for feare of Cromwell, or what els I cannot tell, their ſuite came to none effect. Then wyſt they not what to do, but determined to let the matter ſleepe, till S. Georges feaſt, whiche was not farre of.

Now in the meane tyme there chaunced a prety ſtorye, betweene one Robert Phillips Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and Teſtwood. Which ſtory, though it was but a mery pranke of a ſinging man, yet it greeued his aduerſary wonderfully. The matter was this. Robert Phillips was ſo notable a ſinging man (wherein he gloryed) that whereſoeuer he came, the beſt and longeſt ſong, with moſt counteruerſes in it, ſhuld be ſet vp at his commyng. And ſo his chaunce beyng now to be at Windſore, agaynſt hys comming to the Antheme, a long ſong was ſet vp, called Lauda viui. In which ſong there was one counteruerſe toward the end, that began on this wiſe, O redemptrix & ſaluatrix. Which verſe of all other, Robert Phillips woulde ſing, becauſe he knew that Teſtwood could not abide that dittie. Now Teſtwood knowing his mynd well enough, ioyned with him at the other part: and when he heard Robert Phillips begin to fetch his flouriſh with O redemptrix & ſaluatrix: repeating the ſame one in anothers neck. Teſtwood was as quicke on the other ſide to anſwer hym agayne with Non redemptrix, nec ſaluatrix, and ſo ſtriuyng there with O and Non, who ſhould haue the maiſtrie, they made an ende of the verſe. Whereat was good laughyng in ſleeues of ſome, but Robert Phillips with other of Teſtwoods enimies were ſore offended.

Within 14. dayes after this, the Lordes of the Garter (as their cuſtome is yearely to doe) came to Wyndſore to keepe S. Georges feaſt: at which feaſt the Duke of Norfolke was Preſident: vnto whom the Deane and canons made a greeuous complaint on Teſtwood. Who being called before the Duke, he ſhooke hym vp and all to reuiled hym, as though he would haue ſent him to hangyng by & by. Yet neuertheleſſe Teſtwood ſo behaued himſelfe to the Duke, that in the ende he let hym go without any further moleſtyng of hym, to the great diſcomfort of the Deane and Canons.

Here haue ye heard the cauſes which moued Teſtwoods enemies to ſeeke his deſtruction, and coulde not attayne their purpoſe, till that wicked Aman D. London came, as ſhall be ſhewed in the proceſſe followyng.

The originall of Henry Filmers trouble.

ABout the yeare of our Lord, 1541. after all the orders of ſuperſtitious and beggyng Friers were ſuppreſſed and put downe, there chaunced one Sir Thomas Melſter,

ſter, which had bene a Frier before, and changed his Friers coat (but not his Friers hart) to be Vicare of Wyndſore. This prieſt on a tyme made a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, in the which he declared ſo many fond and Frieriſh tales, as that our Lady ſhould hold out her breſts to S. Bernard, and ſpout her milke into his eyes, with ſuch like feſtiuall tales, that many honeſt men were offended therwith, and ſpecially this Henry Filmer then one of the Church wardens: who was ſo zelous to gods word, that he could not abide to heare the glory of Chriſt ſo defaced with ſuperſtitious fables. Whereupon he tooke an honeſt man or two with him, and went to the prieſt, with whom he talked ſo honeſtly and ſo charitably, that in the ende the Prieſt gaue him hartie thanks, and was content at hys gentle admonition, to reforme himſelfe without any more ado, and ſo departed frendly the one from the other.

Now was there one in the towne, called W. Symons a Lawyer (as is aforeſayd) who hearyng that Filmer had bene with the Prieſt, and reproued him for his Sermon, tooke pepper in the noſe, and gat him to the Vicar, and did ſo animate him in his doings, that he ſlipped quite away from the promiſe he had made to Filmer, and followed the mynd of Symons: who meeting with Filmer afterward all to reuiled him, ſaying he would bring him before the biſhop, to teach him to be ſo malapert. Then Filmer hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had bene ſuppreſſed, ſtood againſt Symons, and ſaid, that the Vicar had preached falſe and vnſound doctrine, and ſo would he ſay to the Biſhop whenſoeuer he came before hym. Then Symons ſlipt not the matter, but went to the Mayor, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, ſigned with their own hands in the prieſts fauour, as much as could be deuiſed, and ſo prepared himſelfe with other his frendes to go to the biſhop (whoſe name was D. Capon) and to take the prieſt with them: which was a paynfull iourney for the ſely poore man, by reaſon he had a ſore leg.

Now Filmer hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foile, conſulted with his frends what was beſt to do: who concluded to draw out certain notes of the vicars Sermon, and to prepare themſelues to be at Saliſbury as ſone as Symons or before hym, if it might bee poſſible. Thus both the parties being in a readines, it chanced thẽ to ſet forth of Windſore all in one day. But by reaſon the Prieſt (beyng an impotent man) could not endure to ride very faſt, Filmer and his company gate to the towne an houre and more before Symons, and went to the Biſhop and deliuered vp their Bill vnto hym. Which Byll when the biſhop had ſene and peruſed well, he gaue them great thankes for their paines, ſaying it did behoue him to looke vpon it, for the Prieſt had preached hereſie, and ſhould bee puniſhed.

Then Filmer declared vnto the Biſhop, the fourme of his talke he had with the Prieſt, and the ende thereof: and how the matter being renued agayne by Symons, forced him and his company to trouble his Lordſhip therewith. Well, ſaid the biſhop, ye haue done like honeſt men. Come to me ſone againe, and ye ſhal know more, and ſo they departed from the Biſhop to their Inne. And while they were there repoſing themſelues, Symons with his company came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come) gate them vp to the biſhop in all poſt haſte, takyng the prieſt with them.

The biſhop hearing of mo Windſore men, demaunded what they were, & being informed how it was the vicar of the towne with other moe, he cauſed yͤ vicar to be brought in. To whom he ſaid: Are you the vicar of Windſore? Yea forſooth my Lord, quoth he. How chaunceth it quoth yͤ B. that you are complained on? for here hath bene with mee certaine honeſt men of your towne, which haue deliuered vp a bill of erroneous doctrine againſt you. If it be ſo, I muſt nedes puniſh you, & opening the bill he red it vnto him. How ſay you quoth the B. is this true or no? The vicar could not deny it, but humbly ſubmitted himſelfe to the biſhops correction. Then was his company called in, and when the B. ſaw Symons, he knew him well, and ſayd: Wherfore come you M. Symons? Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip (quoth he) we are come to ſpeake in our vicars cauſe, which is a man of good conuerſation & honeſtie, and doth his dutie ſo well in euery poynt, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd fellow we haue in our towne called Filmer, which is ſo corrupt with hereſie, that he is able to poiſon a whole countrey: and truely my Lord (quoth Symons) there is no man yͭ can preach or teach any thyng that is good and godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to ſay it is ſtarke nought. Wherfore we ſhal beſech your lordſhip he may be puniſhed, to the enſample of other, that our vicar may do his dutie quietly, as he hath done before this buſie fellow troubled him. And that your Lordſhip ſhall the better credite my ſaiengs, I haue broght with me theſe honeſt men of the towne, and beſide all that, a teſtimoniall from the Mayor and his brethren to confirme the ſame, & ſo he held out the writing in his hand.

B. Capons aunſwere to Symons.

Then ſaid the B. So God helpe me M. Symons ye are greatly to blame, and moſt worthy to be puniſhed of all men, that will ſo impudently goe about to maintayne your prieſt in his error, which hath preached hereſie, & hath confeſſed it: wherfore I may not nor will not ſee it vnpuniſhed. And as for that honeſt mã Filmer on whõ ye haue complained, I tel you plainly he hath in this point ſhewed himſelf a great deale more honeſter man thẽ you. But in hope you will no more beare out your vicar in his euill doings, I will remit all things at this tyme: ſauyng that he ſhall the next Sonday recant his ſermon openly before all his pariſhioners in Windſore Church: & ſo the B. called in Filmer and his company which waited without, & deliuered the prieſts recantation vnto them, with a great charge to ſee it truely obſerued in all poyntes. Then Symons tooke his leaue of the B. and departed with a flea in his eare, diſappointed of his purpoſe, & ſore aſhamed of the foile. For this cauſe Symons could neuer brooke Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold vp his finger (as his maner was where he ought diſpleaſure) and ſay: I will be euen with you one day, truſt me.

Fryer Melſter cauſed to recant his Sermon.

The grudge of Simons agaynſt Filmer.

The originall of Anthony Perſons trouble.

THere was a certain prieſt named Anth. Perſon, which frequented much to Windſore, about the yeare of our Lord, 1540. and vſing the talent that God had giuen hym in preaching, was greatly eſtemed among the people, who flocked ſo much to his ſermons which he made both in the town and country, that the great prieſts of the caſtle, with other papiſts in the towne (ſpecially Symons) were ſore offended: In ſo much that Symons at the laſt begã to gather of his ſermons, & to marke his auditors: whereof enſued the death of diuers, and trouble of many honeſt men. For about a yeare & more after, a miniſter of Satan called D. London, Warden of the new Colledge in Oxford, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of Windſore, who at his firſt comming to Windſore, began to vtter his ſtomacke, & to ſhew his affection. For at his firſt Reſidẽce diner which he made to the clerkes (which company for the moſt parte at that time fauoured the Goſpell) all his whole talke to two Gentlemen ſtrangers at his boord (till the table was a taking vp) was nothing els but of heretikes, and what a deſolation they would bring the realm vnto, if they might be ſo ſuffered. And by S. Mary maſters (quoth he to the clerkes at the laſt) I cannot tel, but there goeth a ſhrewde report abroad of this houſe. Some made aunſwer, it was vndeſerued. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a ſtranger & haue ſmall experience amõg you: but I haue heard it ſaid before I came hither, that there be ſome in this houſe, that will neither haue prayer nor faſting.

The trouble of Antho. Perſon Prieſt.

W. Simons perſecuter of Anth. Perſon and of many other.

D. London Warden of new Colledge in Oxford, a miniſter of Sathã.

D. Londons wordes to the Clerkes of Windſore.

Then ſpake Teſtwood: By my troth ſir (quoth he) I thinke that was ſpoken but of malice, for prayer (as your maſterſhip knoweth better then I) is one of the firſt leſſõs that Chriſt taught vs. Yea mary ſir, quoth he, but the heretikes will haue no inuocation to ſaints, which all the olde fathers do allow. What the olde fathers do allowe, quoth Teſtwood, I cannot tel, but Chriſt doth appoint vs to goe to his father, and to aſke our petitions of him in Chriſtes name. Then you will haue no meane betwene you & god, quoth D. London. Yes ſir, quoth Teſtwood, our mean is Chriſt, as S. Paul ſaith: There is one Mediator betwene god and man, euen Ieſus Chriſt. Geue vs water quoth D. Londõ. Which being ſet on the borde, he ſaid grace and waſhed, & ſo falling into other communication with the ſtraungers, the clerkes tooke their leaue and departed.

Teſtwood aunſwereth for the Clerkes.

Goſpellers falſly ſlandered of the papiſtes.

When D. London had ben in Windſore a while among his catholike brethren, & learned what Teſtwood was, & alſo of Symons, who ſhewed him our Ladies noſe (as he called it) what a ſort of heretikes were in the towne and about the ſame, and how they increaſed daily by reaſon of a naughty prieſt, called Anth. Perſon, he was ſo maliciouſly bent againſt thẽ, that he gaue himſelfe wholy to the deuill to do miſchief. And to bring his wicked purpoſe about, he conſpired wͭ the foreſaid Symõs (a meet clerk to ſerue ſuch a curate) and other of like ſort, how they might cõpaſſe the matter, firſt to haue all the Archheretikes (as they termed thẽ) in Windſore & thereabout, indicted of hereſie, and ſo to proceed further. They had a good ground to worke vpon, (as they thought) which was the ſixe articles, whereupon they began to build and practiſe thus. Firſt they drew out certaine notes of Antho. Perſons ſermons, whiche he had preached againſt the ſacrament of the altar, & their popiſh Maſſe.

D. London a malicious perſecuter.

D. London and W. Symons inflamed with malice agaynſt the good men of Windſore.

Syr Phillip Hobby and hys wyfe. Syr Thomas Cardine, and his wife. M.Edmund Harman. M.Thomas Weldone. Snowball and his wife. Doct. Haynes Deane of Exceter.

Maſſe. That done, they put in ſir Phillip Hobby with the good Lady his wife, ſir Thomas Cardine, M. Edmund Harman, M. Tho. weldon, with Snowbal and his wife, as chiefe aiders, helpers, & mainteiners of Anth. Perſon. Alſo they noted D. Haines Deane of Exceter and a Prebendary of windſore, to be a common receiuer of all ſuſpected perſons. They wrote alſo the names of all ſuch as cōmonly haunted Anthony Perſons ſermons, & of all ſuch as had the Teſtament, and fauoured the Goſpell, or dyd but ſmell thereof.

W.Bowes prieſt. Doct. Londons ſpye.

Then had they priuy ſpies to walke vp and down the Church, to harken and heare what men ſaid, and to marke who did not reuerence the ſacrament at the leuation tyme, and to bring his name to D. London. And of theſe ſpies ſome were Chantrie prieſts: among the which there was one notable ſpie, whoſe name was called ſir will. Bowes ſuch a fleering prieſt as would be in euery corner of the Church pattering to himſelfe, with his Portuous in hys hand, to heare and to note the geſture of men towards the ſacrament. Thus whē they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect booke thereof, D. London with two of his catholike brethren moe, gaue them vp to the B. of winchester Steuen Gardiner, with a great complaynt againſt the heretikes that were in windſor, declaring vnto him how the towne was ſore diſquieted through theyr doctrine and euill example. wherefore they beſought hys lordſhips helpe, in purging the towne and caſtle of ſuche wicked perſons. The B. hearing their complaynt, and ſeyng their booke, praiſed their doings, and bade them make frends and go forward, and they ſhould not lack his help.

Steuen Gardiner a perſecuter.

D.Londons complaynt to Steph. Gardiner.

What coſt the Papiſtes can be at, to trouble their euen Chriſten.

Then they applied the matter with tooth and nayle, ſparing for no money nor paynes taking: as Marbecke ſaith that he himſelfe heard one of them ſay, who was a great doer therin, and afterward ſory for that he had done, that the ſute therof coſt him that yeare for his part only an hūdred markes, beſide the death of iij. good geldings.

Winchester and Wriſley complayne to the king of the Goſpellers.

Winchester procureth a priuy ſearch in Windſore.

Now B. Gardiner, which had conceiued a further fetch in his brayne then D. London had, made wriſley & other of the Counſaile on his ſide, and ſpieng a tyme conueniēt, went to the king, complainyng what a ſort of heretiques his grace had in his Realme, and how they were not only crept into euery corner of his court, but euen into his priuie chamber, beſeching therfore his maieſty, that his laws might be proſecuted: the king geuing credite to the counſails words, was content his lawes ſhould be executed on ſuch as were offenders. Then had the B. that he deſired, & forthwith procured a commiſſion for a priuy ſearch to bee had in windſore for bookes and letters that Anth. Perſon ſhould ſend abroad, which commiſſion the king granted to take place in the towne of windſore, but not in the caſtle.

D.Haynes Deane of Exceter accuſed to the Counſayle.

At this time the canons of Exceſter (ſpecially Sutharn, Treaſurer of the church, and D. Brurewood the Chancellor) had accuſed D. Haynes their Deane, to the counſell, for preaching agaynſt holy bread and holy water, and that he ſhould ſay in one of his Sermons (hauing occaſion to ſpeake of Matrimony) that mariage and hangyng were deſtinie: vpon the which they gathered treaſon agaynſt hym, becauſe of the kings mariage. The B. of winchester (at the ſame tyme) had alſo enformed the counſaile of M. Hobby, how he was a bearer of Anthony Perſon, and a great mainteyner of heretikes. wherupon both he and D. Heynes were apprehended and ſent to the fleete. But it was not very long after, ere that by mediation of frends, they were both deliuered.

M.Hobby and Haynes ſent to the Fleete. The ſecret ſearche beginneth Bennet, Filmer, Teſtwood and Marbecke, apprehēded for bookes agaynſt the vi. Articles.

Nowe, as touching the Commiſſion for ſearchyng of bookes, M. warde and Fachel of Reading, were appointed commiſſioners, who came to windſore the Thurſday before Palme ſonday, in the yeare of our Lord, 1543. and began their ſearch about xi. of the clocke at night. In the which ſearch were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, John Marbecke, and Robert Teſtwood, for certaine bookes and writings found in their houſes agaynſt the vj. articles, and kept in ward til monday after, and thē ſet vp to the Counſaile all ſaue Teſtwood, with whom the Bailifs of the towne were charged, becauſe he lay ſore diſeaſed on the Goute. The other three being examined before the Counſaile, were committed to priſon, Filmer and Bennet to the biſhop of Londons Gaole, and Marbecke to the Marſhalſey: whoſe examination is here ſet out, to declare the great goodnes of the Counſaile, and the crueltie of the biſhop.

The firſt examination of Iohn Marbecke, before the Counſaile, on the Monday after Palme Sonday. 1544.

THis Marbecke had begun a great worke in Engliſh, called The Concordaunce of the Bible. which booke being not halfe finiſhed, was among his other bookes taken in the ſearch, and had vp to the Counſail. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole worke laye before the biſhop of winchester Steuen Gardiner, at the vpper end of the boord. who beholding the poore man a whyle, ſayd: Marbecke, doeſt thou knowe wherefore thou art ſent for? No, my Lord quoth he. No, quoth the Byſhop, That is a meruailous thing. Forſooth my Lord quoth he, vnles it be for a certaine ſearch made of late in windſore, I cannot tell wherfore it ſhould be. Then thou knoweſt the matter well enough quoth the Biſhop, and takyng vp a quire of the Concordance in his hand, ſayd: Vnderſtandeſt thou the Latine tongue? No, my Lord, quoth he, but ſimply. No, quoth the Biſhop? And with that ſpake M. wriſley (then ſecretary to the king) he ſaith but ſimply, I cannot tell quoth the B. but the booke is tranſlated worde for word out of the Latin Concordaunce, and ſo began to declare to the reſt of the Counſaile, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was firſt compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the learned men for the eaſe of preachers, concluding with this reaſon, that if ſuch a booke ſhould goe forth in Engliſh, it would deſtroy the Latin tongue. And ſo caſting down the quire again, he reached another booke, which was the booke of Eſay the prophet, and turnyng to the laſt chap. gaue the booke to Marbecke, and aſked hym who had written the note in the margent. The other lokyng vpon it, ſaid: forſooth my Lord, I wrote it. Read it quoth the B. Then he read it thus, Heauen is my ſeate, and the earth is my footeſtoole. Nay, quoth the B. read it as thou hadſt written it. Then ſhall I read it wrong quoth he, for I had written it falſe. How hadſt thou written it, quoth ỷ biſhop? I had written it quoth he, thus: Heauen is my ſeat and the earth is not my footeſtoole. Yea mary quoth the Biſhop, that was thy meanyng. No, my Lord quoth he, it was but an ouerſight in writyng, for as your Lordſhippe ſeeth, this worde (Not) is blotted out. At this tyme came other matters into the Counſaile, ſo that Marbecke was had out to the next chamber. And when he had ſtood there a while, one of the Counſaile (named ſir Anthony wingfield Captaine of the Garde) came forth, and callyng for Marbecke, committed him to one Belſon of the gard, ſaying vnto him on this wiſe: Take this man and haue him to the Marſhalſey, and tell the keeper that it is the Counſailes pleaſure that he ſhall entreat him gently. And if hee haue any mony in his purſe (as I think he hath not much) take you it from him, leſt the priſoners do take it, and miniſter it vnto him as he ſhall haue need. And ſo the meſſenger departed with Marbecke to the Marſhalſey, and dyd his commiſſion moſt faithfully and truly, both to the keper and to the priſoner, as he was commanded.

The ſecond examination of Marbecke, before the Biſhops Gentleman in the Marſhalſey.

ON the next day (which was Tueſday) by 8. of the clock in the morning, there came one of the B. of wincheſters Gentlemen into the Marſhalſey, whoſe mā brought after him two great books vnder his arme, & finding Marbecke walking vp and downe in the Chappell, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. I had no ſuch cōmaundement quoth he: for the meſſenger, which brought hym yeſternight from the Counſaile, ſayd: It was theyr pleaſure he ſhould be gētly vſed. My Lord quoth the gentleman will not be content with you, and ſo takyng the bookes of his man, called for a chamber, vp to the which he caried the priſoner, and caſting the bookes from him vpon a bed, ſate him downe and ſaid: Marbecke, my Lord doth fauour thee well for certaine good qualities thou haſt, and hath ſent me hither to admoniſh thee to beware and take heed leaſt thou caſt away thy ſelfe wilfully. If thou wylt be plaine, thou ſhalt doe thy ſelfe much good: if not, thou ſhalt do thy ſelfe much harme. I aſſure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy caſe, for as much as he hath alwayes hearde good report of thee: wherfore now ſee to thy ſelfe, and play the wiſe man. Thou art acquainted with a great ſort of heretikes (as Hobby and Heynes, with other mo) & knoweſt much of their ſecrets: if thou wilt nowe open them at my Lords requeſt, he will procure thy deliueraunce out of hand, and preferre thee to better liuing.

Alas ſir, quoth he, what ſecretes doe I knowe? I am but a poore man, and was neuer worthy to be ſo conuerſant eyther with M. Hobby, or M. Heynes, to know any part of their myndes. wel, quoth the Gentleman, make it not ſo ſtrange, for my lord doth know wel inough in what eſtimation they had both thee and Anth. Perſon, for your religion. Of Anth. Perſon, quoth he, I can ſay nothyng, for I neuer ſaw him with them in all my lyfe. And as for my ſelfe, I can not denye, but that they haue alwayes (I thanke them) taken me for an honeſt poore man, and ſhewed me much kindnes: but as for their ſecrets, they were to wiſe to commit them to any ſuch as I am.

Peraduenture quoth the Gentleman, thou feareſt to vtter any thing of them, becauſe they were thy frends, leſt they hearing therof, might hereafter withdraw their frendſhip from thee, which thou nedeſt not to feare, I warrant thee, for they are ſure enough, and neuer like to pleaſure thee more, ner no man els.

With that the water ſtode in Marbeckes eyes. Why wepeſt thou quoth the Gentleman? Oh ſir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me, theſe men haue done me good, wherfore I beſeech the liuing God to comfort them as I would be comforted my ſelfe.

Well quoth the Gentleman, I perceiue thou wilt play the foole: and then he opened one of the bookes, and aſked him if he vnderſtood any Latine. But a little ſir, quoth he. How is it then, quoth the gentleman, that thou haſt tranſlated thy booke out of the latin Concordance, & yet vnderſtandeſt not the tongue? I will tell you quoth he. In my youth I learned the principles of my Grammar, wherby I haue ſome vnderſtãding therin, though it be very ſmal. Then the gentleman began to try him in the latin Concordance & Engliſh Bible which he had brought: and when he had ſo done, & was ſatiſfied, he called vp his man to ſet away the bookes, & ſo departed, leauing Marbecke alone in the chamber, the dore faſt ſhut vnto him.

About two houres after, the Gentleman came againe, with a ſheet of paper folded in his hand, & ſate him down vpon the beds ſide (as before) & ſayd: by my troth Marbecke, my lord ſeeth ſo much wilfulnes in thee, that he ſaith it is pity to do thee good. When waſt thou laſt wt Haynes? Forſooth, quoth he, about a three weekes agoe, I was at dinner with him. And what talke, quoth the Gentleman, had he at his bord? I cã not tel now, quoth he. No, quoth yͤ gentleman, thou art not ſo dull witted, to forget a thyng in ſo ſhort ſpace. Yes ſir, quoth he, ſuch familiar talk as mẽ do vſe at their bordes, is moſt commonly by the next day forgotten, and ſo it was with me. Didſt thou neuer, quoth the Gentleman talke with him, nor with none of thy fellowes, of the Maſſe, or of the bleſſed Sacrament? No, forſooth, quoth he. Now forſooth, quoth the Gentleman, thou lieſt, for thou haſt bene ſene to talke with Teſtwood, and other of thy fellowes, an houre together in the church, whẽ honeſt men haue walked vp and downe beſide you, & as euer they haue drawen neare you, ye haue ſtaied your talk till they haue bene paſt you, becauſe they ſhould not heare wherof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I haue talked with Teſtwood and other of my felowes, I cannot tel how oft, which maketh not that we talked eyther of the Maſſe, or of the ſacrament: for men may common & talke of many matters, that they would not yͤ euery man ſhould heare, and yet far from any ſuch thyng: therefore it is good to iudge the beſt. Well quoth the Gentleman, thou muſt be playner with my Lord then this, or els it wyll bee wrong with thee, and that ſooner then thou weeneſt. How playne will his Lordſhip haue me to be Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and ſay with a ſafe conſciẽce, but I am ready to do it at his Lordſhips pleaſure. What telleſt thou me quoth the gentleman of thy conſciẽce? Thou maiſt with a ſafe conſcience vtter thoſe that be heretikes, and ſo doyng thou canſt do God and the king no greater ſeruice. If I knew ſir, quoth he, who were an heretike in deede, it were a thing: but if I ſhould accuſe him to be an heretike that is none, what a worme would that be in my conſciẽce ſo long as I liued: yea it were a great deale better for me to be out of this lyfe, then to lyue in ſuch torment. In faith quoth the Gentleman, thou knoweſt as well who be heretikes of thy fellowes at home, and who be none, as I do know this paper to be in my hand: but it maketh no matter, for they ſhall al be ſent for and examined: and thinkeſt thou that they will not vtter and tell of thee all that they can? yes I warrant thee. And what a foliſh dolt art thou, that wilt not vtter aforehand what they be, ſeeyng it ſtandeth vpon thy deliueraunce to tell the truth? Whatſoeuer quoth he, they ſhall ſay of me, let thẽ doe it in the name of God, for I will ſay no more of thẽ, nor of no man els, then I know. Mary quoth the Gentleman if thou wilt doe ſo, my L. requireth no more. And for as much as now peraduenture, thy wits are troubled, ſo that thou canſt not call things euen by & by to remembrance, I haue brought thee inke & paper, that thou mayeſt excogitate with thy ſelfe, & write ſuch things as ſhal come to thy mynd. O lord, quoth Marbecke, what will my L. do? will his lordſhip compell me to accuſe men, and wot not whereof? No, quoth the Gentleman, my L. compelleth thee not, but gently entreateth thee to ſay the truth. Therfore make no more adoe, but write, for my Lord will haue it ſo, and ſo layd downe the ynke and paper and went his way.

Now was Marbecke ſo full of heauines and wo, that he wyſt not what to do, nor how to ſet the pen to the booke to ſatiſfie the Byſhops mynd, vnleſſe he did accuſe men to the woundyng of his owne ſoule. And thus beyng compaſſed about with nothing but ſorrow and care, he cryed out to God in his hart, fallyng downe with weping tears and ſayd:

Marbecke brought to great diſtreſſe.

O moſt mercifull father of heauen, thou that knoweſt the ſecret doyngs of all men, haue mercy vppon thy poore priſoner which is deſtitute of all helpe and comfort. Aſſiſt me (O Lorde) with thy ſpeciall grace, that to ſaue this frayle and vile bodye, which ſhall turne to corruption at his tyme, I haue no power to ſay or to write any thing, that may be to the caſting awaye of my chriſten brother: but rather (O Lord) let this vile fleſh ſuffer at thy will and pleaſure. Grant this, O moſt mercifull father, for thy deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake.

Marbeckes praier vnto God.

Then he roſe vp and beganne to ſearch his conſcience what he might write, and at laſt framed out theſe wordes: Where as your Lordſhip will haue me write ſuch thyngs as I knowe of my fellowes at home: pleaſeth it your lordſhip to vnderſtand, that I cannot call to remembraunce any maner of thing whereby I might iuſtly accuſe any one of them, vnleſſe it be that the readyng of the new teſtament (which is common to all men) be an offence: more thẽ this I know not.

Marbeckes wordes written in Wincheſters paper.

Now the Gentleman about his houre appointed, came agayne, and found Marbecke walking vp and downe the chamber. How now, quoth he, haſt thou written nothing? yes Sir, quoth he, as much as I know. Well ſayd, quoth the Gentleman, and tooke vp the paper. Which when hee had read, he caſt it from him in a great fume, ſwearyng by our lordes body, that he would not for xx. pound, cary it to his L. and maiſter. Therfore quoth he, go to it againe, and aduiſe thy ſelfe better, or els thou wilt ſet my Lord againſt thee, and then art thou vtterly vndone. By my troth Sir, quoth Marbecke, if hys Lordſhyppe ſhall keepe me here theſe ſeuen yeares, I can ſay no more then I haue ſayde. Then wilt thou repent it, quoth the Gentleman, and ſo putting vp hys penner and inkehorne, departed wyth the paper in hys hand.

Wincheſters gentleman returneth the third time to Marbecke.

Well ſworne and like a right Papiſt.

The third examination of Marbecke, before the Byſhop of Wincheſter hymſelfe in his owne houſe.

The next day, which was Wedneſday, by viij. of the clocke in the morning, the biſhop ſent for Marbecke to his houſe at S. Mary Oueries, and as he was entring into the biſhops hall, he ſawe the biſhop himſelfe commyng out at a doore in yͤ vpper end therof, with a rolle in his hãd, and goyng toward the great wyndow, he called the poore man vnto him and ſayd: Marbecke, wilt thou caſt awaye thy ſelfe? No my Lord quoth he, I truſt. Yes, quoth the B. thou goeſt about it, for thou wilt vtter nothing. What a deuill made thee to meddle with the ſcriptures? Thy vocation was an other way, wherin thou haſt a goodly gyft, if thou didſt eſteeme it? Yes my Lord, quoth he, I doe eſteme it and haue done my part therin, accordyng to that litle knowlege that God hath geuen me. And why the deuill quoth the Byſhop, dydſt thou not holde thee there? and with that he flang away from the wyndow out of the Hall, the poore man following him from place to place, til he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, yͤ biſhop began on this wiſe: A ſirha, quoth he, the neaſt of you is brokẽ I trow. And vnfolding his roll (which was about an elne long) he ſaid: Behold, here be your captains both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole packe of thy ſecte about Windſore, & yet wilt thou vtter none of them. Alas my lord quoth he, how ſhuld I accuſe them, by whõ I know nothing? Well, quoth the biſh. if thou wilt needes caſt away thy ſelfe, who can let thee? What helpers haddeſt thou in ſetting forth thy booke? Forſooth my lord, quoth he none. Now quoth the biſhop? how can that be? It is not poſſible that thou ſhouldeſt do it without helpe. Truly my L. quoth he, I can not tel in what part your lordſhip doth take it, but how ſoeuer it be, I will not deny but I did it without the helpe of any man ſaue God alone. Nay quoth the B. I do not diſcõmend thy diligẽce, but what ſhuldeſt thou meddle with that thing which pertayned not to thee?

The third examination of Marbeck.

Chriſt ſayth, Scrutamini Scripturas: And Wincheſter ſayth the Deuill maketh men to meddle with the Scriptures.

Marbeck charged for ſetting forth the Concordaunce.

And in ſpeaking theſe words, one of his Chaplaynes, (called M. Medow) came vp and ſtayd himſelfe at a window, to whõ the biſhop ſayd, here is a marueilous thinge. This fellow hath taken vppon him to ſet out the Concordance in engliſh, which booke whẽ it was ſet out in latyn was not done without the helpe and diligence of a doſen learned men at the leaſt, and yet will he beare me in hand that he hath done it alone. But ſay what thou wilt, quoth the B. except God himſelfe would come downe from heauen and tell me ſo, I will not beleue it: and ſo going forth to a window, where two great Bibles lay vpon a cuſhion, the one in Latine, and the other in Engliſh, he called Marbecke vnto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, ſayd: Canſt thou Engliſh this ſentence? Nay my L. quoth he, I trow I be not ſo cunning to geue it a perfect Engliſh, but I can ſet out the Engliſh thereof in the Engliſh Bible. Let ſee, quoth the B. Then Marbecke turning the Engliſh Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the Biſhop. So he tried hym a three or foure tymes, till one of his men came vp and tolde hym the Prieſt was ready to go to Maſſe.

M. Clawbacke commeth againe to Marbecke.

Marbecke preſſed againe to vtter his fellowes.

And as the B. was goyng, ſayd the Gentleman whiche had examined Marbecke in the Marſhalſey the day before: Shall this fellow write nothyng whyle your Lordſhip is at maſſe, for he paſſeth not on it. It maketh no matter quoth the Biſhop, for he will tell nothing, and ſo went downe to heare Maſſe, leauing Marbecke alone in yͤ gallery. The B. was no ſooner downe, but the Gentleman came vp agayne with inke and paper. Come ſirha quoth he, my Lord will haue you occupied till Maſſe bee done, perſwadyng hym with fayre wordes, that he ſhoulde bee ſoone diſpatched out of trouble, if he would vſe truth and plainenes. Alas ſir, quoth he, what will my Lorde haue me to do? for more then I wrote to his Lordſhip yeſterday, I can not: well, well, goe to quoth the Gentleman, & make ſpeed, and ſo went his way. There was no remedie but Marbecke muſt nowe write ſome thyng: wherefore he calling to God againe in his mind, wrote a few wordes as nye as he could frame them, to thoſe he had written the day before. When the B. was come from Maſſe, and had looked on the writing, he puſht it from him, ſaying: what ſhall this do? It hath neither head nor foote. There is a maruelous ſect of them (quoth the B. to hys men) for the deuill cannot make one of them to bewray another. Then was there nothyng among the Biſhops Gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but Crucifige vpon the poore man. And when the biſhops white ratchet was on him and all: well Marbecke, quoth he, I am now going to the Court, and was purpoſed, if I had foūd thee tractable, to haue ſpoken to the kings maieſty for thee and to haue geuen thee thy meat, drinke, & lodging here in myne houſe: but ſeyng thou art ſo wilful and ſo ſtubburne, thou ſhalt go to the deuill for me.

Marbecke brought agayne from Wincheſters houſe to the Marſhalſey.

Then was he caried downe by the B. men, with many railing wordes. And comming through the great chamber, there ſtood D. London, with two mo of hys fellows, waiting the biſhops comming: and paſſing by them into the Hall, he was there receiued of his keper, and caried to priſon againe. It was not halfe an houre after, ere that the B. ſent one of his Gentlemen to the vnder keeper called Stokes, commanding him to put irons vpon Marbecke, and to keepe him faſt ſhut in a chamber alone, and when he ſhould bring him downe to dinner or ſupper, to ſee that he ſpake to no man, nor no man to him: & furthermore, yͭ he ſhould ſuffer no maner of perſon (not his owne wife) to come & ſee him or miniſter any thing vnto him. When the porter (who was the cruelleſt man that might be, to al ſuch as were laid in for any matter of religion, and yet as God would, fauorable to this poore man) had receyued this cōmandement from the B. he clapt irons vpon him & ſhutte him vp, geuing warning to all the houſe, yͭ no man ſhould ſpeake or talke to Marbecke, whenſoeuer he was brought downe, and ſo he continued the ſpace of iij. wekes & more, till his wife was ſuffered to come vnto him.

A cruell porter of the Marſhelſey, but yet good to Marbecke.

The ſute of Marbeckes wife to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Marbeckes wife ſueth to Wincheſter for her huſband.

Marbeckes wife denyed a great whyle to goe to her huſband.

Marbeckes wife, at the tyme of her huſbands apprehēſion, had a yong child of a quarter old, ſucking vppon her breſt: & when her huſband was taken from her, & had away to the Counſail, not knowing what ſhould be come of him, ſhe left the child and all, and gate her vp to Londō, and hearing her huſband to be in the Marſhalſey, goeth thether. But when ſhe came there, ſhe could in no wiſe bee ſuffred to ſee him, which greatly augmented her ſorrowe. Then by counſaile of frends, ſhe gate her to the B. of Wincheſter (for other helpe was there none to be had at yͤ time) making great ſute to haue his licence to go & ſee her huſband, and to helpe him with ſuch things as he lacked. Nay quoth the B. thy huſband is acquainted with all the heretikes that be in the Realme, both on this ſide the Sea and beyond, and yet will he vtter none of them. Alas my Lord quoth ſhe, my huſband was neuer beyond the ſeas, nor no great trauailer in the Realme to be ſo acquainted, therfore good my Lord let me goe ſee him. But all her earneſt ſute from day to day would not help, but ſtill he put her of, harping always vpon this ſtring: thy huſband wil vtter nothing. At the laſt, ſhe finding him in the court at ſ. James going toward his chamber, was ſo bold to take him by yͤ ratchet and ſay: O my Lord, theſe 18. dayes I haue troubled your Lordſhip: now for the loue of God, and as euer ye came of a woman, put me of no longer, but let me go to my huſband. And as ſhe was ſtanding with the Biſhop & his men, in a blynd corner goyng to his chamber, one of the kings ſeruantes called Henry Carrike, and her nere neighbor, chanced to be by: & hearing the talke betweene the B. and her, deſired his Lordſhip to be good Lord vnto the poore woman, which had her owne mother lying bedred vpon her hands, beſide 5. or 6. children. I promiſe you quoth the B. her huſband is a great heretike, & hath reade more ſcripture then any man in the Realme hath done. I cannot tel my Lord, quoth Carrike, what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honeſt a quiet neighbour as euer I dwelt by. He will tell nothing quoth the B. He knoweth a great ſort of falſe harlots, and will not vtter thē. Yes my Lord quoth Carrike, he will tell, I dare ſay, for hee is an honeſt man. Well, quoth the B. (ſpeaking to the wyfe) thou ſeemeſt to be an honeſt woman, and if thou loue thy huſband well, go to him, and geue him good counſayle, to vtter ſuch naughty felowes as he knoweth, and I promiſe thee he ſhall haue what I can doe for him: for I doe fauor him well for his Art, wherin he had pleaſed me as well as any man: and ſo ſtepping into his chamber, ſaid ſhe ſhold haue his letter to the keper. But his mynd being changed he ſent out his ring by a Gentleman, which Gentleman deliuered the ring to his man, charging him with the Biſhops meſſage. And ſo his man went with the woman to the water ſide, & tooke boat, who neuer reſted rayling on her huſband all the way, till they came to yͤ priſon: which was no ſmall croſſe vnto the poore woman.

And when they were come to the Marſhalſey: the meſſenger ſhewed the B. ring to the Porter, ſaying: Maiſter Stokes, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye ſuffer this woman to haue recourſe to her huſband: but he ſtraitly chargeth you, that ye ſearch her both comming & going leaſt ſhe bring or cary any letters to or fro, & that ſhe bryng no body vnto him, nor no word from no mā. Gods bloud quoth the Porter (who was a foule ſwearer) what wil my Lord haue me to do? Can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her huſband, or let her not go: for I ſee nothyng by him but an honeſt man. The poore woman fearing to be repulſed, ſpake the Porter faire, ſaying: Good maiſter be content, for I haue found my Lorde very good Lord vnto me. This yong man is but the Gentlemans ſeruant which brought the ring from my Lord, & I thinke doth his meſſage a great deale more ſtraiter then my Lord commanded the Gentleman, or that the Gentleman his maiſter commanded him. But neuertheleſſe good M. quoth ſhe, I ſhal be content to ſtrip my ſelfe before you both commyng and goyng, ſo farre as any honeſt woman may do with honeſty. For I entend no ſuch thyng, but only to comfort and helpe my huſband. Then the Meſſenger ſayd no more, but went his way, leauing the womā there, who from that tyme forth, was ſuffered to come and go at her pleaſure.

The fourth examination of Marbecke, before the Commiſſioners in the Biſhop of Londons houſe.

About a three weekes before Whitſonday, was Marbecke ſent for to the B. of Londons houſe, where ſat in Commiſſion Doctor Capon, Biſhop of Saliſbury, Doctor Skyp Biſhop of Harford, Doct. Goodricke Biſhop of Ely, Doct. Okyng, Doct. May, and the Biſhop of Londons Scribe, hauyng before them all Marbeckes bookes. Then ſayd the Byſhop of Saliſbury: Marbecke, we are here in commiſſion ſent frō the kings maieſty, to examine thee of certaine things whereof thou muſt be ſworne to anſwer vs faithfully & truly. I am content my lord quoth he, to tell you the truth ſo far as I can, and ſo tooke hys othe. Then the Biſhop of Saliſbury layd forth before hym, hys 3. bookes of notes, demaunding whoſe hand they were. He anſwered they were his owne hand, & notes which he had gathered out of other mens works, 6. yeres ago. For what cauſe quoth the Byſhop of Saliſbury diddeſt thou gather them? For none other cauſe my Lorde, quoth he, but to come by knowledge. For I being vnlerned & deſirous to vnderſtād ſome part of ſcripture, thought by readyng of lerned mens works to come the ſooner therby, & where as I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by thē, that I noted as ye ſee, with a letter of his name in the margent, that had ſet out the worke. So me thinke quoth the Byſhop of Ely (who had one of the bookes of notes in his hand al ẏ time of their ſitting) thou haſt read of al ſorts of bookes both good and bad, as ſeemeth by the notes. So I haue my Lorde, quoth he. And to what purpoſe, quoth the Byſhop of Saliſ. by my trouth, quoth he, for no other purpoſe but to ſee euery mans minde. Then the B. of Saliſ. drew out a quire of the Concordance, and layd it before the B. of Harford, who looking vppon it a while, lifted vp hys eyes to D. Oking (ſtanding next him) and ſayd: Thys man hath ben better occupied, then a great ſort of our prieſtes. To the which he made no anſwer.

Then ſayd the Byſhop of Saliſbury, whoſe helpe hadſt thou in ſetting forth this booke? Truely my Lorde, quoth he, no helpe at al. How couldeſt thou, quoth the biſhop, inuent ſuch a booke, or know what a Concordance meant, without an inſtructer. I wil tell your Lordſhip, quoth he, what inſtructer I had to begin it. When Thomas Mathewes bible came firſt out in print, I was much deſirous to haue one of them: and being a poore man not able to buye one of them, determined wyth my ſelfe to borrow one among my frends, & to wryte it forth. And when I had wrytten oute the 5. bookes of Moiſes in faire greate paper, & was entred into the booke of Ioſua, my frende M. Turner chaunced to ſteale vpon me vnwares, & ſeeing me wryting out the Bible, aſked me what I meant therby. And when I had told him the cauſe: Tuſh, quoth he, thou goeſt about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable worke for thee, to ſet out a Concordance in Engliſh. A Concordance ſayde I? what is that? Then he tolde me it was a booke to finde out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, & that there was ſuch a one in Latin already. Then I tolde him I had no learning to goe about ſuch a thing. Enough, quoth he, for that mater, for it requireth not ſo much learning, as diligence. And ſeeing thou art ſo painful a man, and one that cannot be vnoccupied, it wer a goodly exerciſe for thee. And this (my Lord) is all the inſtruction that euer I had before or after, of any man. What is that Turner, quoth the B. of Saliſ.? Mary, quoth D. May, an honeſt learned man, and a Bacheler of Diuinitie, and ſometime a felow in Magdalene colledge in Oxford. Howe couldeſt thou, quoth the B. of Saliſb. with thys inſtruction, bring it to thys order and forme, as it is? I borrowed a Latine Concordance, quoth he, and began to practiſe my wit, and at laſt wyth great labor and diligence, brought it into this order, as your lordſhip doth ſee. A good wit with diligence, quoth the byſh. of Harford, may bring hard things to paſſe. It is great pitie quoth the Biſh. of Ely, he had not the Latine toung. So it is, quoth D. May. Yet can not I beleue, quoth the Biſhop of Saliſb. that he hath done any more in thys worke, then wrytten it out after ſome other that is learned.

e occaſiō y Marke began Concorce in gliſhe.

Richard rner of gdalen lledg in xford and r of indſore, a lly lerned n and a od preacr: who in ueene Ma s tyme d into ermanye, d there: d.

My Lordes, quoth Marbecke, I ſhall beſeech you all to pardon me what I ſhall ſay, and graunt to my requeſt if it ſhall ſeeme good vnto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the Byſhops. I do maruaile greatly wherfore I ſhould be ſo much examined for this booke, & whether I haue committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I haue, then were I loathe any other to be moleſted or punyſhed for my faulte. Therefore to cleare all men in this matter, thys is my requeſt, that ye wil trie me in the reſt of the boke ẏ is vndon. Ye ſee that I am yet but in the letter L. Beginning now at M. & take out what word ye wil of that letter, & ſo in euery letter folowing, and geue me the wordes in a pece of paper and ſet me in a place alone where it ſhall pleaſe you, wyth inke and paper, the Engliſh Bible, and the Latine concordance: and if I bring you not theſe wordes wrytten in the ſame order & forme that the reſt before is, then was it not I that did it, but ſome other.

arbeckes ordes to e Biſhops.

By my trouth Marbecke, quoth the Byſhop of Elye, that is honeſtly ſpokē, and then ſhalt thou bring many out of ſuſpition. That he ſhal, quoth they all. Then they badde Doct. Oking draw out ſuch wordes as he thought beſt in a peece of paper, and ſo roſe vp: and in the meane time, fel into other familiar talke with Marbecke (for the Byſhop of Ely and Harford both, were acquainted wᵗ hym afore, and his frendes, ſo farre as they durſt) who perceiuing the Biſhops ſo pleaſauntly diſpoſed, beſought them to tel hym in what daunger he ſtoode. Shal I tell thee Marbecke, quoth the Byſhop of Sarum? Thou art in better caſe then anye of thy felowes, of whom there be ſome would geue 40. li. to be in no worſe caſe then thou art, whoſe ſayinges the other affirmed. Then came D. Oking wyth the wordes hee had wrytten, & while the Byſhops were peruſing them ouer, Doctour Oking ſayd to Marbecke (very frendly) on thys wiſe: Good M. Marbecke make haſt, for the ſooner ye haue done, the ſooner ye ſhall be deliuered. And as the Byſhops were going away, the biſhop of Harforde tooke Marbecke a litle aſide, and enformed him of a word whych D. Oking had written falſe, and alſo to comfort him, ſayd: Feare not, there can no law condemne you, for any thing that ye haue done, for if ye had wrytten a 1000. hereſies, ſo longe as they be not your ſayings nor your opiniōs, the law cānot hurt you. And ſo went they all with the Byſhop of Sarum to dinner, who taking the poore man with them, who dined in the hall at the Stewardes borde: and beſide that, had wine and meate ſent downe from the biſhops table.

e biſhops Saliſbury Harford e wel the caſe of arbecke.

Skippes mfortable ordes to arbecke.

When dinner was done, the Biſhoppe of Sarum came downe into the Hall, commaunding inke and paper to be geuen to Marbecke, and the 2. bookes to one of his men to go with him, at whoſe going he demanded of the Byſhop, what time hys Lordſhip would appoynt him to doe it in. Againſt to morrowe this time, quoth the Byſhop, whyche was about 2. of the clocke, and ſo departed.

Marbecke now being in his priſon chamber, fel to his buſines, & ſo applied the thing, that by the nexte day when the Biſhop ſent for him againe, he had written ſo much, in the ſame order & forme hee had done the reſt before, as conteined iij. ſheetes of paper and more. The whych, when he had deliuered to the Biſhop of Sarum (Doc. Oking ſtanding by) he marueiled and ſayd: Well Marbecke, thou haſt now put me out of all doubt. I aſſure thee, quoth hee (putting vp the paper into his boſome) the king ſhal ſee this or I be 24. houres elder: but he diſſembled euery worde, and thought nothing leſſe then ſo. For afterwarde, the matter being come to light, and knowen to his grace what a boke the poore man had begon, which the Byſhops woulde not ſuffer him to finiſh: the king ſaide he was better occupyed then they that tooke it from him. So Marbecke departed from the byſhop of Sarum to priſon againe, and heard no more of hys booke.

A falſe diſſembling Byſhop.

The 5. examination of Marbecke, before D. Oking and M. Knight Secretary to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in S. Mary Ouers Church.

Vpon Whitſonday following, at after noone, was Marbecke ſent for once againe to S. Mary Ouers, where he found D. Oking with an other gentleman in a gowne of Damaſke, with a cheyne of gold about his neck (no mo in all the churche but they two) ſitting together in one of the ſtalles, their backes toward the church dore, lookyng vpon an Epiſtle of M. Iohn Caluins, whiche Marbecke had written out. And when they ſawe the priſoner come, they roſe and had him vp to a ſide alter, leauing his keeper in the body of the church alone. Nowe as ſoone as Marbecke ſaw the face of a gentleman (which before he knewe not by reaſon of his apparell) he ſaw it was the ſame perſon that firſt examined him in the Marſhalſey, and did alſo cauſe him to write in the Biſhoppes gallery, but neuer knew his name, till now he heard Doct. Oking call hym M. Knight. This M. Knight helde foorth the paper to Marbecke and ſayd, looke vppon this, and tell me whoſe hand it is. When Marbecke had taken the paper, & ſeene what it was, he confeſſed it to be all his hand ſauing ẏ firſt leafe, and the notes in the margent. Thē I perceiue, quoth Knight, thou wilt not go from thine owne hand. No Sir quoth he, I will deny nothing that I haue done. Thou doeſt well in that, quoth Knight, for if thou ſhouldeſt, we haue teſtimonies enough beſides, to trye out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me, whoſe hand is the laſt leafe? That I cannot tell you, quoth Marbecke. Thē how cameſt thou by it, quoth Knight? Forſooth I will tell you quoth he. There was a prieſte dwelling with vs vppon a v. or vi. yeares ago, called Marſhall: who ſent it vnto me with the firſt leafe written, deſiring mee to write it out with ſpeede, becauſe the copy could not be ſpared paſt an houre or twain and ſo I wrote it out, and ſent him both the copye and it agayne.

The 5. examination of Marbecke.

This gentleman of Wincheſters was M. Knight.

And howe came this hand in the margent, quoth hee, which is a contrary hand to both the other? That I wyll tell you, quoth Marbecke. When I wrote it out at the firſt, I made ſo much haſt of it, that I vnderſtoode not the matter: wherfore I was deſirous to ſee it agayne, and to read it with more deliberation, and being ſent to me the ſecond tyme, it was thus coted in the margent as ye ſee. And ſhortly after this, it was his chaunce to go beyond the ſeas (where he liued not long) by reaſon whereof the Epiſtle remayneth with me: but whether the firſt leafe, or ẏ notes in the margent were, his hand, or whoſe hand els, that I cannot tell. Tuſh, quoth D. Oking to M. Knight, he knoweth well enough, that the notes be Heynes owne hande. If you know ſo much, quoth Marb. ye knowe more then I doe, for I tell you truely I knowe it not. By my faithe Marbecke, quoth Knyghte, if thou wylt not tell by fayre meanes: thoſe fingers of thine ſhall be made to tell. By my trouth Syr, quoth Marbecke, if ye do teare the whole body in peeces (I truſt in God) yee ſhall neuer make me ac-

Surmiſe agaynſt D. Haynes.

Inconſtancy and little truth in Papiſtes.

cuſe man wrongfully. If thou be ſo ſtubburne, quoth D. O king, thou wilt die for it. Dye M. Okyng, quoth hee? wherfore ſhould I die. You told me the laſt day before the Byſhops, that aſſone as I had made an ende of the peece of Concordance they tooke me, I ſhoulde be deliuered, and ſhall I nowe die? This is a ſodaine mutation. You ſeemed then to be my frend: but I know the cauſe, ye haue red the ballet I made of Moſes chayre, and that hath ſette you agaynſt mee, but when ſoeuer yee ſhall putte me to death, I doubt not to dye Gods true man and the kyngs. How ſo, quoth Knight? howe canſt thou die a true manne vnto the kyng, when thou haſt offended his lawes? Is not this Epiſtle, and moſte of thy notes thou haſt wrytten, directly againſt the 6. articles? No ſyr quoth Marbecke: I haue not offended the kyngs lawes therein: for ſince the firſt time I began wyth the Concordance (whych is almoſte 6. yeares agoe) I haue bene occupied in nothing els: So that bothe this Epiſtle, and al the notes I haue gathered, were written a great while before the 6. Articles came forth, and are clearely remitted by the kings generall pardon. Truſt not to that, quoth Knight, for it wil not help thee. No I warrant hym, quoth Doct. Okyng, and ſo going downe to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to priſon againe.

The kinges generall pardon claymed.

The ſute of Filmers wife, to the Biſhops which ſate in commiſsion, for her husband.

IN lyke maner, yͤ wife of Filmer knowing her huſbands trouble to be only procured of malice by Symons his old ennemie, made great ſute and labour vnto the Byſhops which were commiſſioners, deſiring no more of them, but that it would pleaſe their goodnes to examine her huſband before them, and to heare hym make his purgation. Thys was her only requeſt to euery of the Byſhops from day to day, whereſoeuer ſhee coulde finde them. In ſo muche that two of the Byſhops (Ely and Harforde) were verye ſorye (conſidering the importune and reaſonable ſute of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus trauailing long vp and downe from one to an other, to haue her huſbande examined, it was her chaunce at the laſt to finde the Byſhops all three together in the Byſhoppe of Elye hys place, vnto whom ſhe ſayd: O good my Lordes for the loue of God, let now my poore huſbande be brought forth before you, while yee be heere all togethers. For truely my Lordes, there can nothing be iuſtly laide againſt hym, but that of malicious enuie and ſpite, Simons hath wroughte him this trouble. And you my Lorde of Saliſburye, quoth the poore woman, can teſtifie (if it woulde pleaſe your lordſhip to ſay the truth) what malice Simõs bare to my huſband when they were both before you at Saliſburie (litle more then a yeare agoe) for the Vicar of Wyndſors matter. For as your Lordſhip knoweth, when my huſbande had certified you of the Prieſts ſermone, which you ſayde was plaine hereſie: then came Symons (after the Prieſte hymſelfe had confeſſed it) and would haue defended the prieſtes error before your Lordſhip, and haue had my huſband puniſhed. At what time it pleaſed your Lordſhip to cõmend and praiſe my huſband for his honeſty, and to rebuke Symons for maintaining the Prieſt in his error, & thereupon commanded the prieſt to rekant his hereſy at his comming home to Windſore. This (my Lord) you knowe to be true. And now my Lords, quoth the woman, it is moſt certain, that for thys cauſe only did Symons euermore afterward threaten my huſband to be euen with him. Therefore good my Lordes, call my huſbande before you, and heare hym ſpeake: and if ye finde any other matter againſte hym then this that I haue tolde you, let me ſuffer death. Is thys ſo my Lord, quoth the B. of Ely and Harforde? and the other could not deny it. Then they ſpake Latine to the B. of Saliſbury, and he to them, & ſo departed. For the matter was ſo wrought betweene Doctor London and Symons, that Filmer could neuer be ſuffred to come before the Commiſſioners to be examined.

Filmers wife laboureth for her huſband.

The wordes of Filmers wyfe to the biſhops.

Filmer could not come to hys annſwere.

The manner of their condemnations, and howe they dyed.

{ Ann. 1544. }

The king maryed to the Lady Katherin Parre.

Stephen Gardiner great about the king.

Stephen Gardiners bow bent to ſhoote at the head Deare.

WHen the time drewe nie that the kings maieſtie (who was newly maried to that good and vertuous Ladie Katherine Parre) ſhould make his progreſſe abroade, the foreſayde Steuen Gardiner B. of Wincheſter had ſo compaſſed hys matters, that no man bare ſo great a ſwinge about the king, as he did. Wherewith the Goſpellers were ſo quailed, that the beſt of them all looked euery houre to be clapt in the necke. For the ſaying went abroad, that the B. had bent his bowe to ſhoote at ſome of the head Deare: but in the meane time 3. or 4. of the poore raſcals were caught, that is to ſaye, Anthony Perſon, Henry Filmer, and John Marbecke, and ſent to Wyndſore by the ſheriffes men, the Saterday before S. Iames day, and laid faſt in the townes Gaile: and Teſtwood (who had kept his bed) brought out of his houſe vpõ crouches, and laide with them. But as for Bennet, (whych ſhould haue bene the fift man) hys chance was to be ſicke of the Peſtilence, and hauing a greate ſore vpon him, was left behinde in the biſh. of Londons gaile, whereby he eſcaped the fire.

Pers Filme and Ma becke, to W Teſtw brou of his vpon ches in priſon. Bennet of the p lence a don.

Now theſe men being brought to Wyndſore, there was a ſeſſions ſpeciall procured to be holdē the Thurſday after, which was S. Annes day. Againſt the which Seſſions (by the counſell of D. London and Symons) were all the farmers belonging to the Colledge of Wyndeſore, warned to appeare: becauſe they coulde not pike oute Papiſtes enough in the towne, to go vpon the iury. The iudges that day were theſe.

A ſpeci Seſſio procu

Doctor Capon Biſhop of Sáliſburie.
Syr William Eſſex Knight,
Syr Thomas Bridges Knight.
Syr Humfrey Foſter Knight.
Maiſter Franklen Deane of Wyndſore.
And Fachel of Reading.

The Iu

When theſe had taken theyr places, and the priſonners brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam occupying for that day the Clarke of peace his roume, called Anthony Perſon, according to the maner of the Courte, and red hys Inditement, which was this.

Rob. Oc Clerke peace.

Firſt, that he ſhould preach two yeares before, in a place called Wyngfield, and there ſhould ſay: that like as Chriſte was hanged betwene two theeues, euen ſo whē the prieſt is at maſſe, and hath cõſecrated and lifted him vp ouer hys head, then he hangeth betweene 2. theues, except he preach the word of God truely, as he hath taken vpon hym to do.

The ind ment a gaynſt An thony Pe ſon.

Alſo that he ſayde to the people in the Pulpet: yee ſhall not eate the body of Chriſt, as it did hang vpon the Croſſe, gnawing it with your teeth, that the bloude runne aboute your lippes, but you ſhall eate him thys day, as ye eat him to morow, the next day, and euery day: for it refreſheth not the body, but the ſoule.

Alſo, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the word of God, he ſayd as foloweth: This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Chriſt.

Alſo hee ſayde, that Chriſt ſittinge with hys Diſciples, tooke bread, and bleſſed, and brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, ſaying: Take and eate it. This is my body. What is thys to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

To this, Anthony anſwered & ſayde: I wil be tryed by God and his holy word, and by the true Church of Chriſt, whether thys be hereſie or no, wherof ye haue Indited me this day. So long as I preached the Biſhop of Rome and his filthy traditions, I was neuer troubled: but ſince I haue taken vppon me to preach Chriſt and his Goſpel, yee haue alwaies ſought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you haue taken your pleaſure of my body, I truſt it ſhal not lye in your powers to hurt my ſoule. Thou calleſt vs theeues, quoth the Byſhop. I ſay, quoth Anthony, yee are not only theeues but murtherers, except ye preach and teach the worde of God purely and ſincerely to the people, whych ye do not nor neuer did, but haue allured them to al Idolatry, ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, for your owne lucre & glory ſake, through the which ye are become rather biteſheepes then true byſhops, biting and deuouring the poore ſheepe of Chriſt like rauening wolues neuer ſatiſfied with bloud: which God wil require at your hãds one day, dout it not. Then ſpake Symons his accuſer, ſtanding wythin the barre, ſaying: It is pitie this fellow had not bene burnt long agoe as he deſerued. In faith (quoth Anthonie) if you had as you haue deſerued, you were more worthy to ſtand in this place then I: but I truſt in the laſt daye when wee ſhall both appeare before the tribunall ſeate of Chriſt, that then it wilbe knowen which of vs 2. hath beſt deſerued this place. Shal I haue ſo long a day, quoth Symons, holding vp hys finger? Nay, then I care not: and ſo the matter was ieſted out.

Anth. Pe ſon anſwe reth to h Inditem

Parſhi Perſoni

W. Sim replyeth gaynſt Pe ſon.

The Pa ieſt at G indgem

Robert Teſtwoode.

THen was Teſtwoode called, and his Inditement read, which was that he ſhould ſay in the time that the prieſt was lifting vp the Sacrament: what wilt thou lift hym ſo hie? what yet hier? Take heede, let him not fall.

Teſtw inditem

To thys Teſtwoode aunſweared, ſayinge it was but a thing maliciouſly forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the B.) thou haſt bene ſene, that whē the

Teſtw anſwe to his dit

Prieſt ſhoulde liſt vp the Sacrament ouer hys heade, then wouldeſt thou looke downe vpon thy booke, or ſome other way, becauſe thou wouldeſt not abide to looke vpon yͤ bleſſed Sacrament. I beſeech you my Lord, quoth Teſtwood, whereon did he looke that marked me ſo wel? Mary quoth Bucklayer the Kynges Atturney, hee coulde not be better occupied, then to marke ſuche herretickes that ſo deſpiſed the bleſſed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

…ers in- …ment.

THen was Filmer called and his Inditement read: that he ſhould ſay that the Sacrament of the aultare is nothing els but a ſimilitude and a ceremony: and alſo if God be in the Sacrament of the aultare, I haue eaten twentie Gods in my dayes.

Here ye muſt vnderſtand, that theſe wordes were gathered of certaine communication which ſhuld be betwene Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus.

This Henry Filmer comminge vpon a Sonday from Clewer his Pariſh churche, in the company of one or two of his neighbors, chaunced in the way to meete his brother (whych was a verye poore labouring man) and aſked hym whether he went. To the Church ſayd he. And what to do, quoth Filmer? To doe quoth hee, as other men doe. Nay, quoth Filmer, you go to heare maſſe and to ſee your God. What if I do ſo, quoth he? If that be God (ſhould Filmer ſay) I haue eaten 26. Gods in my dayes. Tourne agayne foole and go home with me, and I wil read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that ſhalbe better then all that thou ſhalt heare or ſee there.

London …th bro- … agaynſt …ther.

This tale was no ſooner brought to Doct. London by William Symons (Filmers vtter ennemie) but he ſent for the poore man home to his houſe, where he chearished hym with meat and money, telling him he ſhoulde neuer lacke, ſo long as he liued: that yͤ ſeely poore man (thinking to haue had a daily frend of D. London) was content to do and ſay whatſoeuer he and Symons would haue hym ſay or do againſt his owne brother. And when D. London had thus won the poore man, he retained him as one of his houſhold men, vntill the court day was come, and then ſent him vp to witnes this foreſaid tale againſt his brother. Which tale Filmer denied vtterly, ſaying that D. London (for a little meat and drinke ſake) had ſet him on, and made him to ſay what his pleaſure was: wherfore my Lord (quoth Filmer to the biſhop) I beſeeche your Lordſhip weigh the matter indifferently, for as muche as there is no man in all thys towne, yͭ can or will teſtifie with him, that euer he heard any ſuch talke betwene him and me: and if he can bring forth any that wil witnes the ſame with him, I refuſe not to die. But ſay what he could, it would not preuaile.

…ners own …ther wit- … agaynſt …m.

…e witnes …and is a- …nſt the …e.

…er caſt …y by his …e bro- …r.

Then Filmer ſeeing no remedy, but that hys brothers accuſemēt ſhuld take place, he ſayd: Ah brother, what cauſe haſt thou to ſhew me this vnkindnes? I haue alwaies ben a naturall brother vnto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time, as thou thy ſelfe knoweſt: and is this a brotherly part, thus to rewarde me nowe for my kindneſſe? God forgeue it thee my brother, & geue thee grace to repent. Then Filmer looking ouer his ſhoulder, deſired ſome good body to let him ſee the booke of ſtatutes. Hys wife being at the end of the hall, and hearing her huſband call for the booke of ſtatutes, ran downe to the keper, and brought vp the booke, & gat it conueied to her huſbād.

…Biſhops …canne …not one …ithout …we, but …ſtoppe …law that …ould not …nowen.

The Biſhop ſeeing the booke in his hand, ſtarte hym vp from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had geuē the priſoner that booke, commaunding it to be taken from him, and to make ſearche who had brought it, ſwearing by the faith of hys body, he ſhould go to priſon. Some ſayd it was his wife, ſome ſayd the keeper. Like inough (my lord) quoth Symons, for he is one of the ſame ſort, & as worthy to be heere as the beſt, if he were rightly ſerued. But howſoeuer it was, the truthe would not be knowen, and ſo the Biſhop ſate him downe againe.

…er con- …ned by …witnes …nſt the … and …do the …ops …ſay that …did no- …but by …e?

Then ſayd Filmer: O my Lord, I am this day iudged by a lawe, & why ſhould not I ſee the lawe that I am iudged by? The law is, I ſhould haue two lawfull witneſſes and here is but one, which would not doe as he doeth, but that he is forced thereunto by the ſuggeſtion of mine ennemies. Nay, quoth Bucklayer the kynges atturney, thyne hereſie is ſo heinous, and abhorreth thine owne brother ſo much, that it forceth him to witneſſe againſt thee, which is more then two other witneſſes.

…ple of …iuſt …ſhment … a Po- …accuſer …ng his …Bro-

Thus (as ye ſee) was Filmer brought vniuſtly to hys death, by the malice of Symons and D. London, who had enticed that wretched caitiffe his brother, to be their miniſter to worke his confuſion. But God which is a iuſt reuēger of all falſehode & wrongs, would not ſuffer that wretch long to liue vppon earth, but the next yeare followyng, he beyng taken vp for a labourer to goe to Bullaine, had not bene there three daies, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a Gunne tooke him and tore him all to peeces: And ſo was theſe wordes of Salomon fulfilled: A falſe witneſſe ſhall not remaine vnpuniſhed.

Iohn Marbecke.

The inditement of Marbecke.

THen was Marbecke called, and hys Inditement read, whiche was that he ſhoulde ſay: That the holy Maſſe, when the Prieſt doeth conſecrate the body of our Lorde, is polluted, deformed, ſinnefull, and open robbery of the glory of God, from the which a Chriſtian hart ought both to abhorre and flee. And the eleuation of the Sacramente is the ſimilitude of the ſetting vp of Images of the calues in the Temple builded by Ieroboam: and that it is more abhomination then the ſacrifices done by the Iewes in Ieroboams temple to thoſe calues. And that certaine and ſure it is that Chriſt himſelfe is made in the maſſe, mans laughing ſtocke.

Marbecke aunſwereth to his inditement.

To thys hee aunſwered and ſayde, that theſe wordes wherof they had indited him, were not his, but the wordes of a learned man called Iohn Caluine, and drawn out of a certaine Epiſtle which the ſayd Caluine had made, whych Epiſtle he had but onely wrytten out, and that long before the 6. Articles came forth: ſo that nowe he was diſcharged of that offence by the kings generall pardon, deſiring that he might enioy the benefite thereof.

Partiall dealing in calling the Iurye.

Then was the Iurye called, which were all Farmers belonging to the Colledge of Wyndſore, wherof fewe or none had euer ſene thoſe men before, vppon whoſe life and death they went. Wherfore the priſoners (counting the farmers as partial) deſired to haue the Townes men, or ſuch as did know them, and had ſene their daily conuerſations, in the place of the Farmers, or els to be equally ioyned wͭ them: but that would not be, for the matter was otherwiſe foreſeene and determined.

Buclayer the kinges atturney, a perſecuter.

Now when the Iury had taken theyr oth and al, Bucklayer the kynges atturney began to ſpeake: and firſt he alleged many reaſons againſt Anth. Perſon, to proue him an herecticke. Whych when Anth. woulde haue diſproued, the Biſhop ſayd: let him alone, Syr, he ſpeaketh for the K. & ſo went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making euery mans cauſe as hainous to the hearers, as he coulde deuiſe. And when he had done and ſayd what he would, then Sir Humfrey Foſter ſpake to the Queſt in the fauor of Marbecke on thys wiſe: Maiſters quoth hee, yee ſee there is no man here that accuſeth or layeth any thyng to the charge of this poore man Marbecke, ſauing he hath written certaine things of other mens ſayings with his owne hand, whereof he is diſcharged by the kings generall pardon: therfore ye ought to haue a conſcience therin. Then ſtart vp Fachel at the lower ende of the benche, and ſayd: What can we tel whether they were wrytten before the pardone, or after? They may as well be wrytten ſince as afore, for any thing that we knowe. Theſe wordes of Fachel (as euery man ſayd) were the cauſe of Marbeckes caſting that day.

Syr Humfrey Foſter ſpeaketh for Marbecke.

Fachell a perſecuter.

Marbecke caſt by the Iurye.

The knightes & gentlemē refuſe to be at their condemnation.

Then went the Iury vp to the chamber ouer the place where the iudges ſate, and in the meane time, went all the Knights and gentlemen abroade, ſauing the Byſhop Syr William Eſſex, and Fachell, which three ſate ſtill vpon the Benche till all was done. And when the Iurie hadde bene togethers aboue in the chamber, about the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, vp goeth Symons (of hys owne brayne) vnto them, and taried there a prety while, and came down againe. After that, came one of the Iury downe to the byſhop, and talked wyth hym and the other twaine a good while, whereby manye coniectured, that the Iurie coulde not agree of Marbecke. But whether it were ſo or no, it was not long after his going vp again, ere that they came downe to geue their verdit. And being required according to the forme of the law to ſay their minds: one called Hyde dwelling beſide Abyngton, in a lordſhyp belonging to the Colledge of Wyndſore, ſpeaking in the mouthe of the reſt, ſayd they were all giltie.

Hyde a Farmer of Windſore Colledge, a perſecuter.

Fachell geueth iudgement agaynſt them.

Then the Iudges beholding the priſoners a good while (ſome wyth watery eyes) made curteſie who ſhould geue iudgement. Fachel requiring the byſhop to doe it, he ſayde he might not: the other alſo being required, ſaid they wold not. Then ſaid Fachel, it muſt be done: one muſt do it, and if no man will, then will I. And ſo Fachell being loweſt of al the bench, gaue iudgement. Then Marbeck being yͤ laſt vpon whom ſentence was geuen, cried to the biſh. ſaying: Ah my Lorde, you tolde me otherwiſe when I was before you and the other two biſhops. You ſaid then, that I was in better caſe then any of my fellowes, and is your ſayinge come to this? Ah my L. you haue deceiued me. Then the B. caſting vp his hand, ſayd he could not do withall.

Perſon, Teſtwood, Filmer, and Marbecke. condemned for heretickes.

Now the priſoners being condemned and had away, prepared themſelues to die on the morow, comforting one an other in the deathe and paſſion of theyr maiſter Chriſte, who had ledde the way before them, truſting that the ſame lord which had made them worthy to ſuffer ſo farre for hys ſake, would not nowe withdraw his ſtrength from them, but geue them ſtedfaſt faith & power to ouercome thoſe firie torments, and of his free mercy and goodnes (wythout theyr deſertes) for hys promiſe ſake, receiue theyr ſoules. Thus lay they all the night long (til very dead ſleepe tooke them) calling to God for hys aide and ſtrength, and praying for their perſecuters, whiche of blinde zeale and ignoraunce had done they wiſt not what, that God of hys mercifull goodnes would forgeue them, and turne theyr hearts to the loue and knowledge of his bleſſed and holy worde: Yea ſuch heauenly talke was among them that night, that the hearers watching the priſon without, wherof the Shiriffe hymſelfe was one, with diuers gentlemen moe, were conſtrained to ſhed out plẽty of teares, as they themſelues confeſſed.

The godly prayers of the condemned Martirs almoſt all the night.

On the next morow, which was Friday, as the pryſoners were all preparing themſelues to go to ſuffer, worde was brought them that they ſhould not dye that day. The cauſe was this. The Byſhop of Sarum, and they among them had ſent a letter by one of the Shiriffes Gentlemen, called M. Froſt, to the biſhop of wincheſter (the Court being then at Oking) in the fauour of Marbecke. At the ſight of whych letter, the biſhop ſtraight way went to the kyng, and obtained hys pardon.

A letter ſent by certayne of the Commiſſioners to Gardyner for Marbecke.

Which being graunted, he cauſed a warrante to be made out of hande for the ſheriffes diſcharge, deliuering the ſame to the meſſenger, who with ſpeede returned wyth great ioy (for the loue he bare to the partie) bringing good newes to the towne, of Marbeckes pardon: wherat many reioyſed. Of this pardon were diuers coniectures made. Some ſaid it was by the ſute of the good Shriffe ſyr william Barington, and ſyr Humffray Foſter (with other Gentlemen moe that fauoured Marbeck) to the B. of Sarum and the other Commiſſioners, that the letter was ſent.

Marbeckes pardon obteyned.

Some ſayde againe, that it came of the Byſhop of Sarum and Fachels firſt motion, being pricked in conſcience, for that they had ſo ſlederly caſt him away. Other thought againe, that it was a policie purpoſed afore, by the Byſhop of wincheſter, of Sarum, and of D. London, becauſe they would ſeeme to be mercifull. Which coniecture roſe vppon thys occaſion. There was one Sadocke dwellynge in the towne which was greate with D. London and Symons: and he ſhoulde ſay 4. dayes before the ſeſſions began, that the priſoners ſhould be all caſt and condemned, but Marbecke ſhould haue hys pardon.

Diuers iudgementes why Marbecke was pardoned.

Other there were that thought the foreſayde Byſhops with D. London, had done it for this purpoſe: that he now hauing his life, would rather vtter ſuch mẽ as they would haue him to do, then to come in like daunger again. Which coniecture roſe vpon thys: Symons meeting wyth Marbeckes wife, ſaid thus vnto her: your huſband may thanke God & good frendes: my Lord of wincheſter is good Lord vnto him, which hath got his pardon. But ſhall I tel you, quoth he: his pardon wilbe to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord & other of the counſel, when he ſhalbe demaunded, for vnto that purpoſe onely is he reſerued. Alas ſir, quoth ſhe, what can he tel? well womã quoth Symons, I tell thee plaine, if he doe not ſo, neuer looke to haue thy huſband out of priſone, and ſo departed from her.

Marbecke reſerued to vtter others.

The like meaning did M. Arche make to Marbecke himſelfe, on the ſaterday in yͤ morning, that the men ſhoulde be brent, when he came to cõfeſſe them. I haue nothing, quoth he, to ſaye vnto you Marbecke at this time, but heereafter you muſt be cõtent to do as ſhalbe enioyned you: meaning he ſhould be forced to do ſome vnlawful thing, or els to lie in perpetuall priſone. And thys was moſte likely to haue beene attempted, if they hadde proceeded in their purpoſe: whoſe intent was to haue gone thorow the whole realme, in the lyke ſorte as they had begonne at wyndſore, as the Byſhop of Sarum confeſſed openly and ſayde, that he truſted ere Chriſtmaſſe daye following, to viſite and cleanſe a good part thereof. But moſte commonly, God ſendeth a ſhrewed Cowe ſhort hornes, or elſe manye a thouſande in England had ſmarted.

The peſtilent intent of the Biſhops.

On ſaterday in the morning, that the priſoners ſhoulde go to execution, came into the priſon two of the Canons of the Colledge, the one called Doctour Blithe, and the other maiſter Arche, whych two were ſent to be their confeſſors, maſter Arche aſked them, if they would be confeſt, and they ſayde yea. Then hee demaunded if they would receyue the Sacramente. Yea ſayde they wyth all our heartes. I am glad quoth Arche, to heare you ſay ſo, but the law is (quoth he) that it may not be miniſtred to none that are cõdemned of hereſie. But it is inough for you that ye do deſire it. And ſo had them vp to the Hall to heare theyr confeſſions, becauſe the priſon was full of people. Doctor Blyth tooke Anthony Perſon to him to confeſſe, and mayſter Arche the other two. But how ſoeuer the matter went betweene the Doctour & Anthony, he taryed not long wͭ him but came downe agayne, ſaying he woulde no more of his doctrine. Do you call him Doct. Blith, quoth Anthony? He may be called Doct. Blind for his learning, as farre as I ſee. And ſoone after, the other two came downe alſo. Thẽ Anthony ſeeing much people in the priſon, began to ſay yͤ Lords prayer, whereof he made a maruelous godly declaration, wherein hee continued til the Officers came to fet them away, and ſo made an end. And taking theyr leaue of Marbecke (their priſon fellow) they prayed God for his delyueraunce, wiſhing to hym the increaſe of godlynes & vertue, and laſt of all beſought him hartily to helpe them with hys prayer vnto God, to make them ſtrong in theyr afflictions, and ſo kiſſing him one after an other, departed.

Now as the priſoners paſſed thorough the people in yͤ ſtreetes, they deſired all the faythfull people to praye for them, & to ſtand faſt in the truth of the goſpell, & not to be moued at theyr afflictions, for it was the happyeſt thinge that euer came to them. And euer as Doctour Blithe and Arche (who rod on each ſide the priſoners) woulde perſwade them to turne to their mother holy Churche: away would Anthony cry, away with your Romiſhe doctryne and all your trompery, for we will no more of it. When Filmer was come to his brothers dore, he ſtayed and called for his brother, but he coulde not be ſeene, for Doctour London had kept him out of ſight that day, for the nonce.

And when hee had called for him three or foure times, and ſaw he came not, he ſayd: and will he not come? Then God forgeue him and make him a good man. And ſo going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Perſon with a cheerefull countenaunce, embraced yͤ poſt in his armes, and kiſſing it, ſayd: Nowe welcome myne owne ſweete wife: for this day ſhalt thou and I be maried together in the loue and peace of God.

And being all three bound to the poſt, a certaine young man of Filmers acquayntaunce, brought him a pot of drinke, aſking if he woulde drinke. Yea quoth Filmer, I thanke you. And nowe my brother quoth he, I ſhall deſire you in the name of the liuing Lord, to ſtand faſt in yͤ truth of the goſpell of Ieſus Chriſte, whyche you haue receaued, and ſo taking the pot at hys hande, aſked hys brother Anthony, if he would drinke. Yea brother Filmer quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

And when he had dronke, he gaue the pot to Anthonye & Anthony likewiſe gaue it to Teſtwoode. Of which drinking their aduerſaries made a ieſting ſtocke, reportyng abrode that they were all dronke & wiſt not what they ſaid, when as they were none otherwiſe dronke then as the Apoſtles were, when the people ſayd they were full of newe wyne, as theyr deedes declared. For when Anthonye and Teſtwoode had both dronken, & geuen the pot from them, Filmer reioyſing in the Lord, ſayd: Be mery my brethren & lift vp your hearts vnto God, for after this ſharp breakfaſt, I truſt we ſhall haue a good dinner in the kingdom of Chriſt our Lord and redeemer. At the which words Teſtwood lifting vp his handes and eyes to heauen, deſired the Lorde aboue to receiue his ſpirite. And Anthony Perſone, pulling the ſtraw vnto him, laid a good deale thereof vpon the top of hys head, ſaying: Thys is Gods hatte: now am I dreſſed like a true ſouldiour of Chriſt, by whoſe merites onely, I truſt this day to enter into his ioye. And ſo yelded they vp their ſoules to the father of heauen, in the faythe of his deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſte, wͭ ſuche humilitie and ſtedfaſtneſſe, that many which ſaw their patient ſuffering, confeſſed that they coulde haue founde in their heartes (at that preſent to haue died with them.

How all their conſpiracies were knowen.

YE haue hearde before of one Robert Bennet, howe hee was at the firſt apprehended wyth the other foure perſons aforeſayd, and committed to the B. of Londons pryſon, and aboute the tyme hee ſhoulde haue gone to wyndſore, fell ſicke of the peſtilence, by meane whereof he remained ſtill in priſon.

This Bennet, & Symons (ye ſhall vnderſtãd) were the greateſt familiars and cõpany kepers yͭ were in all windſore, & neuer (lightly) ſwarued the one frõ the other, ſauing in matters of religiõ, wherin they could neuer agree. For Bennet the one Lawyer, was an earneſt Goſpeller, & Simons the other Lawyer, a cankered papiſt: but in al other worldly matters, they cleaued together like burres.

Thys Bennet had ſpoken certayne woordes agaynſt theyr little rounde God, for the whych hee was as farre in as the beſt, and had ſuffered death wyth the other, if he had gone to windſore when they went. And now that the matter was al done and finiſhed, it was determined by the biſhop of Saliſburye, that Robert Ockam on the Mondaye after the men were burnte ſhoulde goe to the Byſhop of wincheſter wyth the whole proceſſe done at the Seſſions the Thurſday before.

Ockam vp by biſhop Saliſbury by o- to diner letters.

Then Symons, at Bennets wiues requeſt, procured of the byſhop of Saliſbury his fauourable letter to the byſhop of wincheſter for Bennets deliuerance. which letter Bennets wife (for aſmuche as her owne man was not at home, which ſhould haue gone with the letter) deſired Robert Ockam to deliuer it to yͤ Biſhop, & to bring her word againe: who ſayde hee woulde. So forth went Ockam toward the biſhop of wincheſter with his budget ful of wrytings, to declare and open all thyngs vnto hym that were done at wyndſore Seſſions: but all theyr wicked intentes (as God wold haue it) were ſone cut off, and their doings diſcloſed. For one of the Queenes menne (named Fulke) which had lien at windſore all the time of the buſines, and had got knowledge what a number were priuily indited, and of Ockams going to the biſhop of wincheſter, gate to the Court before Ockam, and told ſir Thomas Cardine & other of the priuy chamber, how al the matter ſtode. whereupon Ockam was layde for and had by the backe, as ſone as he came to Oking, and kepte from the byſhop.

conſpi- of the rlayes. cloſed. y good and cer e of the y cham- indited the By- ps.

On the next morrowe very early, Bennets wyfe ſent her man to the Courte after Ockam, to ſee howe he ſpedde with her huſbandes letter. And when hee came there, hee founde ſir Thomas Cardine walking wyth Ockam vppe and downe the greene before the Courte gate: whereat he marueled, to ſee Ockam with him ſo early, miſtruſting the matter: whereuppon he kept himſelfe out of ſight, till they had broken off theyr communication.

And aſſone as he ſaw M. Cardine gone (leauing Ockam behinde) he went to Ockam and aſked hym, if hee had deliuered hys maiſters letter to the Biſhop. No, ſayd Ockam, the king remoueth thys day to Gilforde, and I muſt goe thether, and will deliuer it there. Mary, quoth hee, and I will goe with you, to ſee what aunſwere you ſhall haue, and to carie word to my miſtres, and ſo they rode to Gilford together. where Bennets man (being better acquainted in the towne then Ockam was) gat a lodging for them both, in a kinſmans houſe of hys.

nets mā th with miſtres er to the ſhop of cheſter.

That done, he aſked Ockam, if he would goe and deliuer his miſtres letter to the Byſhop. Nay (ſayde Ockam) you ſhall go and deliuer it your ſelfe, and toke him the letter. And as they were goynge in the ſtreate togethers, and comming by the Earle of Bedfordes lodging (then Lorde priuie ſeale) Ockam was pulled in by the ſleeue, & no more ſeene of Bennets man, till he ſawe him in the Marſhalſey. Then went Bennets man to the biſhops lodging and deliuered hys letter. And when the Byſhop had red the contentes thereof, he called for the man that brought it. Come Syrha, quoth he, you can tell me more by mouth, then the letter ſpecifieth, & had hym into a litle garden. Now, quoth the Biſhop, what ſay you to me? Forſoth my Lorde, quoth he, I haue nothing to ſay vnto your Lordſhippe, for I did not bryng the letter to the Towne. No quoth the Byſhop, where is he that brought it? Forſoth my Lorde quoth he, I left him buſie at his lodging. Then he wil come, quoth the Byſhop. Bid him be wyth me betimes in the mornyng. I wil quoth he, do your lordſhips commandement, and ſo he departed home to hys lodging. And when hys kinſfolkes ſaw him come in, alas coſin, quoth they, we are all vndon. why ſo, quoth he, what is the matter? Oh ſayde they, heere hath bene ſince you went, M. Padget the kings ſecretary, with ſir Tho. Cardine of the priuie chamber, and ſearched all our houſe for one that ſhould come to the towne wͭ Ockam: therfore make ſhift for your ſelfe aſſone as you cā. Is that all the matter, quoth hee? then content your ſelfe, for I wil neuer flee one fote, happe what hap will. And as they were thus reaſoning together, in came yͤ foreſaid ſearchers againe, & when M. Cardine ſaw Bennets man, he knewe him very well, & ſayde: was it thou that came to the towne wͭ Ockam? Yea ſir, quoth he. Now who the deuill (quoth M. Cardine) brought thee in company wͭ that falſe knaue? Then he tolde them hys buſines, and the cauſe of his comming, whych being knowen, they were ſatiſfied, and ſo departed. The nexte day had Bennets man a diſcharge, for hys maſter (procured by certaine of the priuie chamber) and ſo went home.

nets mā ched for Oking. ner diſ- ged out ſon by d men of priuy- mber. ayne of priuy ber in- d. Tho. dine, this Phillip by, and wife. dmund an.

Nowe was Ockam all this while at my Lorde priuie Seales, where he was kept ſecret, til certaine of the Counſaile had peruſed all his wrytings, amonge the which they found certaine of the priuie Chamber indited, wͭ other the kings Officers, with their wiues, that is to ſay, Sir Tho. Cardine, ſir Phillip Hobby, wyth both theyr Ladies. M. Edmund Harman, M. Thomas weldone, wyth Snowball and hys wife. All theſe they had indited by the force of the 6. Articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Perſon. And beſide them, they had indited of hereſie (ſome for one thing, and ſome for an other) a great nomber moe of the Kings true and faithfull ſubiects. whereof the kings Maieſtie beynge certified, hys grace of hys ſpeciall goodnes (without the ſute of any man) gaue to the foreſayd Gentlemen of his priuie Chamber, and other his ſeruants with theyr wiues, hys gracious pardō. And as God wold haue the matter further knowen vnto hys maieſtie, as hee roade one day a huntinge in Gilforde Parke, and ſawe the Sheriffe wyth ſyr Humfrey Foſter ſitting on theyr horſe backes together, he called them vnto him, & aſked of them, how hys lawes was executed at windſore: Then they beſeching hys grace of pardon, tolde hym plainely that in all theyr liues they neuer ſate on matter vnder his graces authoritie, that went ſomuch againſt theyr conſciences, as the death of theſe men did, and vp and told hys grace ſo pitiful a tale of the caſting away of theſe poore men, that the King turning hys horſehead to departe from them, ſayde; Alaſſe poore Innocents.

M. Thomas Weldone. Snowbale and hys wife. All theſe were indited for the 6. articles, with a great number moe.

The king gaue his pardon to his gentlemen of his priuy chamber.

The king certified of the pityfull death of theſe Godly Martyrs at windſore.

The kinges teſtimony of the Martyrs of Windſore.

After thys, the king withdrew hys fauour from the B. of wincheſter, & being more and more enformed of the conſpiracie of doctor London and Symons, he commaunded certaine of his counſaile, to ſearch out the ground thereof.

Whereupon Doctour London and Symons were apprehended and brought before the Counſail, and examined vpon their othe of allegeaunce. And for denying their miſcheuous and traiterous purpoſe, whiche was manifeſtlye proued to theyr faces, they were both periured, and in fine, adiudged as periured perſons, to weare papers in wyndſore, and Ockam to ſtand vpon the pillerie in the towne of Newbery where he was borne.

The Biſhop of wyncheſter out of the kinges fauour.

D. London, W. Simons and R. Ockam, apprehended & condemned of periury.

The iudgemēt of all theſe 3. was to ride about windſore, Reading and Newbery, with papers on their heads, and theyr faces turned to the horſe tales, & ſo to ſtand vpon the Pillerye in euery of theſe Townes, for falſe accuſation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for periurie.

The puniſhmēt of D. London, W. Symons, and of R. Ockam, for falſe accuſation and periury.

And thus much touching the perſecution of theſe good Saintes of windſore, according to the copie of their owne acts, receiued and wrytten by Iohn Marbecke, who is yet aliue, both a preſent witnes, and alſo was then a partye of the ſayd doings, and can teſtifie the truth thereof.

Ex teſtimonio Ioan. Marbecki.

Aunſwere to the cauilling aduerſaries touching Iohn Marbecke.

Wherefore againſt theſe croked cauillers, which make ſo much ado againſt my former boke, becauſe in a certaine place I chaunced to ſaye that Bennette and Filmer had their pardon (when in dede it was Bennet and Marbecke) be it therfore knowen, proteſted, denounced, and notified, to al & ſingular ſuch carpers, wranglers, exclamers, depraners, with the whole brode of all ſuche whiſperers, railers, quarelpickers, corner creepers, faultfinders & ſpidercatchers, or by what name els ſo euer they are to be titled that here I openly ſay, affirm, profeſſe, hold, maintain & write the ſame as I ſayde & wrote before in the latter caſtigations of my boke: that is, that Iohn Marbecke was with the other condemned, but not burned, caſt by the law but by pardone ſaued, appoynted with the reſt to die, & yet not deade, but liueth (God be praiſed) & yet to thys preſent day ſingeth merely, and playeth on the Organes, not as a dead man, amōgſt Foxes martyrs (as it hath pleaſed ſome in yͤ court to encounter againſt me) but as one witneſſed & teſtified truely in the boke of Foxes Martyrs to be aliue. And therfore ſuch maner of perſons, if yͤ diſpoſition of their nature be ſuch; that they muſt needes finde faultes, then let them finde them where they are, and wher thoſe faults by their finding may be corrected. But wheras they be corrected already, & found to their hands, & alſo amended before, let then theſe legend liers loke on their own legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find inough, and ceaſe their bitinge there, where they haue no iuſt cauſe to barke.

The ſtory doth purge it ſelfe if it had pleaſed theſe mē to take one place with an other.

Harke you wranglers and be ſatiſfied.

And admitte that I had not foreſene and corrected thys eſcape before, touching the matter of Iohn Marbecke, but that the place ſtil had remained in the boke, as it was, that is, that the ſayd Iohn Marbecke, whyche as yet aliue, had then died & ſuffred wͭ the other 3. the ſame time at wyndeſore: yet what gētle or courteous reader, could haue therin any iuſt matter to triumph & inſult againſt me, ſeing the iudiciall acts, the records, & regiſters, yea & the biſhops certificate, & alſo the write of execution remaining yet in Recorde, ſent to the king, did lead me ſo to ſay and thinke? For what man wryting hiſtories, who can not be in all places to ſe al things, but folowing his records & regiſters, wherin he ſeeth the ſaid Marbecke to be iudged and condemned with the reſt, would otherwiſe write or thinke, but that alſo he was executed and burned in the ſame company?

But nowe I correct and reforme the ſame agayne, and firſt of all other, I finde the fault, and yet am I found fault withall. I correct my ſelfe, and yet am I corrected of other. I warne the Reader of the truth, and yet am I a lier. The booke it ſelfe ſheweth the eſcape, and biddeth in ſteade of 4. to read 3. burned, and yet is the booke made a legēd of lies.

The death of Iohn Marbecke in the former booke amended.

Briefly, where I preuent all occaſion of cauilling, to the vttermoſt of my diligence, yet can not I haue that law, which all other bookes haue, that is, to recogniſe & reforme mine owne errata.

Wherefore to conclude, theſe men, whoſoeuer they are if they will be ſatiſfied, I haue ſayd inough: if they wil not, whatſoeuer I cā ſay, it wil not ſerue, and ſo I leaue them: I woulde I could better ſatiſfie them. God hymſelf amend them.

The perſecution in Calyce, with the Martyrdome of George Bucker, otherwiſe called Adam Damlyp, and others.

Anno 1544.

AT what time Iohn Marbecke was in the Marſhalſey, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1544. there was in the ſayd priſon with him one George Bucker, named otherwiſe Adam Damlyp, who hauing continued in the ſayd priſon 3. or 4. yeres, at laſt by the commandement of Wincheſter, was had to Calice by Ihon Maſſie, the keeper of the Marſhalſey, and there hanged, drawen, & quartered for treaſon pretenſed, whiche was a little before the condemnation of the Windſore men aforeſayd, as is by the letters of the ſayd Iohn Marbecke to me ſignified.

George Bucker alias Adam Damlip Martyr.

Touching which ſtory of Adam Damlyp, for ſomuche it includeth matter of much trouble and perſecutiō that happened in Calice, to digeſt therefore and compriſe the whole narration therefore in order, firſte I will enter (the Lorde willing) the ſtorie of Damlip, and ſo procede in order to ſuch as by the ſayde occaſion were afflicted and perſecuted in the towne of Calice.

Ex litteris Ioan. Marbecki.

Perſecution in the towne of Calice.

Perſecutors.	Perſecuted.
Iohn Doue, Prior of the gray Fryers in Calice.	George Bucker, or els called Adam Damlyp.
Syr Gregorie Buttol, Prieſt.	A poore labouring mā.
Steuen Gardiner, Byſh. of Wincheſter.	W.Steuens.
D.Sampſon Byſhop of Chicheſter.	Thom.Lancaſter.
D. Clarke Byſhop of Bathe.	Iohn Butler commiſſary.
D.Repſe B. Norwich.	W.Smith Prieſt.
Haruey, commiſſarie in Calice.	Raffe Haire.
Ladie Honor, wife to the L Liſle deputie of Calice.	Iacob a Surgion.
Syr Thomas Palmer, Knight.	A Fleming.
Iohn Roochwoode Eſquier.	Clement Philpot ſeruaunt.
Rich.Long, ſouldiour of Calice.	Ieffrey Loueday.
Fraunces Haſtings ſouldiour.	Dodde.
HughCoūſel ſeruant.	Sir Edmond Prieſt.
Syr Rafe Ellerker Knight.	W.Touched, Poſtmaiſter.
Syr Iohn Gage.	Pet.Bequet.
	Anthony Pickeryng gentleman.
	Henry Tourney gentleman.
	George Darby, Prieſt.
	Iohn Shepard.
	W.Pellam.
	W.Keuerdall.
	Iohn Whitwood.
	Ioh.Boote,
	Ro.Cloddet.
	Copen de Hane, alias Iames Cocke.
	Math. Hounde.
	W. Croſbowmaker.

The Cauſes.

IN the yeare of oure Lorde 1539. the Lorde Cromwell being yet aliue, there came to Calice one Georg Bucker, alias, Adam Damlyppe, who had beene in tyme paſt a great Papiſt and Chaplaine to Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and after the death of the biſhop hys maiſter hadde trauailed through Frāce Dutchland, and Italie, and as he went, conferred with learned menne concerninge matters of controuerſie in Religion: and ſo proceedinge in hys iourny to Rome, whereas he thoughte to haue founde all godlyneſſe and ſincere Religion, in the end, he foūd there (as hee confeſſed) ſuch blaſphemy of God, contempte of Chryſtes true religion, looſenes of life, and aboundance of all abhominations and filthineſſe, that it abhorred his heart and conſcience any longer there to remayne: althoughe he was greatlye requeſted by Cardinal Pole, there to continue, and to read 3. Lectures in the weeke in his houſe, for ẏ which he offered hym great entertainment. Whyche he refuſed, & ſo returninge homewarde, hauynge a piece of money geuen him of the Cardinall at his departure, to the value of a Frenche crowne towarde his charges, came to Calyce, as is aforeſayd. Who as he was there wayting without the gate for paſſage into Englande, and being there perceiued by certayne Calyce menne, namely, William Steuens, and Thomas Lancaſter through conference of talke to bee a learned man, and alſo well affected: and moreouer howe that he being of late a zelous Papiſt, was now returned to a more perfecte knowledge of true Religion, was by them hartely entreated to ſtay at Calice a certayne ſpace, and to read there a day or two to the intent he might do ſome good there after his paynefull trauell, vnto the people. To this requeſt Adam gladly conſented, ſo as he might be licenced by ſuch as were in authority, ſo to do.

Adam Damlip requeſted by Cardinal Poole to tary at Rome.

Whereupon the ſayde Steuens at the opening of the gates, brought him vnto the Lord Liſle the kinges Deputie of the towne and marches of Calice, vnto whome hee declared throughly what conference and talke had bene betweene Adam Damlip and him. Which knowne, the ſayd Lord Deputie inſtauntly deſired the ſayd Damlip to ſtay there and to preach three or foure dayes or more at his pleaſure, ſaying that he ſhould haue both his licence & the Cōmiſſaries alſo (which then was ſir Iohn Butler) ſo to doe. Where after he had preached three or fourt times, hee was ſo well lyked both for his learning, his vtteraunce and the truth of his doctrine, that not onely the ſouldiours & commoners, but alſo the Lord Deputy and a great part of the Counſell, gaue him marueilous great prayſe and thankes for it, and the ſayd Lord Deputy offered vnto him a chamber in his owne houſe, and to dyne and ſup euery meale at his owne meſſe, to haue a man or two of his to wayte vpon him & to haue what ſoeuer it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for mony, yea & what he would in his purſe to buy bookes or otherwiſe, ſo as he woulde tary there among them, & preach onely ſo long as it ſhould ſeeme good to himſelfe. Who refuſing his Lordſhips great offer, moſt hartily thanked him for the ſame, and beſought him to be onely ſo good vnto him, as to appoynt him ſome quiet & honeſt place in the towne where he might not be diſturbed nor moleſted, but haue oportunitie to geue himſelfe to hys booke, and would dayly once in the forenoone, and agayn by one a clocke at after noone, by the grace of God, preach among them according vnto the talent that God had lent him. At which aunſwere the Lorde Deputy greatly reioyſed and therupon ſent for the foreſayd W. Steuens, whom he earneſtly required to receiue and lodge the ſayde Damlip in his houſe, promiſing what ſoeuer hee ſhoulde commaund, to ſee it payd with the moſt: and moreouer would ſend euery meale frō his owne meſſe a diſh of the beſt vnto them, and in deede ſo did: albeit the ſayde Damlip refuſed that offer, ſhewing his Lordſhip that thinne dyet was moſt conuenient for Studentes. Yet coulde not that reſtrayne him but that euery meale he ſent it.

This godly man by the ſpace of xx. dayes or more, once euery day at vij. of the clocke preached very godly, learnedly & playnly, the truth of the bleſſed ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, mightely enueying agaynſt all Papiſtrye and cōfuting the ſame, but eſpecially thoſe two moſt pernitious errours or hereſies, triſling Tranſubſtantiation, and the peſtilent propitiatorye Sacrifice of the Romiſhe Maſſe, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the auncient Doctours, earneſtly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to returne from theyr Popery, declaring how Popiſh he himſelfe had bene, and how by the deteſtable wickednes that he did ſee vniuerſally in Rome, he was returned ſo farre homeward, and now became an enemy through Gods grace, to all papiſtry: ſhewing therewith, that if gayne or ambition could haue mooued him to the contrary, he might haue bene enterteyned of Cardinall

Poole (as you haue heard before) but for very conſcience ſake ioyned with true knowledge, grounded on Gods moſt holy word, he now vtterly abhorred all Papiſtry, and willed them moſt earneſtly to do the ſame.

And thus he continued a while reading in the Chapter houſe of the white Friers, but the place beeyng not bigge enough, he was deſired to reade in the Pulpit, and ſo proceeding in his Lectures (wherein hee declared howe the world was deceaued by the Romaine Biſhops, which had ſet forth the damnable doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and the reall preſence in the Sacrament, as is aforeſayde) he came at length to ſpeake againſt the Pageaunt or Picture ſet forth of the Reſurrection whiche was in Saint Nicholas Church, declaring the ſame to be but meere Idolatrie, and illuſion of the Frenchmen before Calice was Engliſh.

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Calice.

Upon which Sermon or Lecture, there came a Commiſſion from the King to the Lord Deputie, M. Grendfield, ſir Iohn Butler Commiſſary, the Kinges Maſon, and Smith, with others, that they ſhould ſearche whether there were (as was put in writing, and vnder Bull and Pardon) three hoſtes lyeng vpon a Marble ſtone, beſprinkled with bloud, and if they found it not ſo, that immediatly it ſhould be plucked downe, and ſo it was. For in ſearching therof, as they brake vp a ſtone in a corner of the Tumbe, they in ſtead of the three hoſtes, founde ſouldered in the Croſſe of Marble lyeng vnder the Sepulcher, three playne white counters which they had paynted lyke vnto hoſtes, and a bone that is in the typ of a ſheepes tayle. All which trumpery Damlip ſhewed vnto the people the next day folowing, which was Sonday, out of the Pulpit, and after that they were ſent by the Lord Deputie to the King.

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Notwithſtanding the Deuill ſtirred vp a Doue (hee might well be called a Cormorant) the Priour of the white Friers. who with Syr Gregory Buttoll, Chapleyne to the Lord Liſle, began to barke agaynſt him. Yet after the ſayde Adam had in three or foure Sermons confuted the ſayd Friers erroneous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and of the propitiatorie Sacrifice of the Maſſe: the ſayd Frier outwardly ſeemed to geue place, ceaſing openly to inuey, and ſecretly practiſed to peach him by letters ſent vnto the Clergie here in England: ſo yͤ within viij. or x. dayes after, the ſaid Damlip was ſent for to appeare before the Biſhop of Canterbury, with whome was aſſiſtant Steuen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, D. Sampſon, Byſhop of Chicheſter, and diuers other, before whome he moſt conſtantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which hee had taught, in ſuch ſort aunſwering, confuting, & ſoluting the obiections, as his aduerſaries, yea euen among other, the learned godly and bleſſed Martyr Cranmer then yet but a Lutheran, marueiled at it, & ſaid plainly, that yͤ Scripture knew no ſuch terme of tranſubſtantiation. Then begā the other Biſhops to threaten him, ſhortly to cōfute him with their accuſtomed argument, I meane fire and fagot, if hee ſhould ſtill ſtand to yͤ defence of that he had ſpoken. Whereunto he conſtantly anſwered, that he would the nexte day deliuer vnto them fully ſo much in writing as he had ſaid: whereto alſo he would ſtand, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

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The next day at the houre appointed to appeare, when they looked ſurely to haue apprehended hym, in the meane ſeaſon he had ſecrete intimation from the Biſhop of Canterbury, that if he did any more perſonally appeare, he ſhould be committed vnto warde, not like to eſcape cruell death. Wherupon he (plaieng in deede then ſomewhat old Adams part, for ſuch is man, left in his owne handes) had him commended vnto them, and ſent them four ſheetes of paper learnedly written in the Latin toung, cōteining his faith with his argumentes conferences, of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctours, by a meſſenger or frend of his. Whiche done, he hauyng a little money giuen him in his purſe by his frends, ſtepped aſide, and went to the weſt countrey, and there kept all the time, whyle great trouble kindled againſt Gods people in Calice, vpon the ſame, as ye ſhall heare, the Lord permitting.

Damlip ſe-
cretly war-
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ide.

After his departure, the Kings Maieſtie was aduertiſed, that there was great diſſention & diuerſitie of pernitious opinions in his ſayd towne of Calice, greatly tending to the daunger of the ſame. Wherupō, during yet the daies of the Lord Cromwell, were ſent ouer Doct. Champion Doctour of Diuinitie, & M. Garret, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and inſtruct the people, and to cōfute all pernitious errours, who in effect preached and mainteined the ſame true doctrine which Adam Damlip had before ſet foorth, and by reaſon thereof, they left the Towne at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the ſclaunder that had runne on it.

Champiō
d M.
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alyce.

After the departure of the ſayd Champion and Garret, one Sir William Smith Curate of our Lady Pariſhe in Calice, a man very zelous, though but meanely learned, did begin to preach, and earneſtly to inuey againſt Papiſtrie and wilfull ignoraunce: exhorting men obediently to receaue the word, and no longer to contemne the ſame, leaſt Gods heauie plagues and wrath ſhould fall vpon them, which alwayes foloweth the contempt of his holy word. Which ſir William Smith, for that ſometime he would be very feruent & zelous, ſharply inueying againſt the deſpiſers of the word, was moued by ſome of yͤ Counſell there, who woulde ſeeme to fauour Gods word, that he ſhould not be ſo earneſt againſt them that yet could not away with the ſame, willing him to beare with ſuche, for by bearing with them they might hap to be wonne.

Syr W. Smith Curate, and a zealous preacher at Calyce.

Well, well, ſaid the ſame Smith (openly in the Pulpit one day as he preached) ſome men ſay I am too earneſt, and will me to beare with ſuch as continue open enemies againſt Chriſtes holy Goſpell, and refuſe, nay forbid that any ſhould reade the Bible or holy ſcripture within their houſe: but let all ſuch take heede, for before God, I feare that God for their contemning of his word, will not long beare with them, but make them in ſuche caſe as ſome of them ſhall not haue a head left them vpon their ſhoulders to beare vp their cap withal: which alſo after came to pas.

This Smyth continued in the diligente beſtowing of his talent there, till ſhortly after the deuill got ſuch hold in the harts of a number of Gods enemies, that he with diuers other godly men were called ouer into Englande, and charged with erroneous opinions worthy of greate puniſhment, as hereafter more at large ſhall appeare.

First the Lord Liſlie the Kings deputy there, whome we ſhewed to be the maintainer of Damlip (albeit he were himſelfe of a moſt gentle nature, & of a right noble bloud, the baſe ſonne of that noble Prince King Edwarde the fourth) being fiercely ſet on, and inceſſauntly entiſed by the wicked Lady Honor his wife, who was an vtter enemie to Gods honour, and in Idolatry, hypocriſie, & pride incomparably euill, ſhe beeing dayly and hourely thereunto incited and prouoked by Sir Thomas Palmer Knight, & Iohn Rokewood Eſquire, two enemies to Gods word, beginning now to flouriſh at Calice: theſe I ſay, with certayne other of the Counſell of the ſayd Towne of Calice, to the number of vij. mo beſides themſelues, ſeeking occaſion or rather a quarell, where no iuſt cauſe was geuē, begā to write very heinous letters and greuous complaints vnto the Lordes of the priuie Counſell, agaynſt dyuers of the Towne of Calice, affirming that they were horribly infected with hereſies and pernitious opinions: As firſt the foreſaid Adam Damlip, who though he were for a time eſcaped their hands, yet ſtacke ſtill in their remembraunce from time to time, vntill at laſt the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traitor, as hereafter ſhal appeare.

The Lord Liſlie baſe ſonne to K. Edward the 4.

Syr Thomas Palmer. M. Rookewood. The Councell of Calice letters againſt the Proteſtantes.

Alſo beſides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Broke, Raſe Hare, likewiſe of Sir Iohn Butler then Commiſſarie, and Sir W. Smith, Iames Cocke, aliâs Coppen de Hane, Iames Barber & other, and the names of them all ſente ouer. Of the wich perſons, firſt the ſayde Thomas Broke, and Raſe Hare, Coppen de Hane, and Iames Barber were apprehended and ſent ouer, and cōmitted to priſon in Weſtminſter gate, and then commanded to appeare before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſh. of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and ten other appointed by the Kings maieſties commiſſion, for the examination of them. And their accuſers alſo were ſent ouer with letters from the Counſell there, vnto his priuie Councell here, in the furtheraunce of their malicious ſutes againſt thoſe honeſt men, with certaine ſpeciall letters directed vnto the Lord Fitzwilliams then Earle of Southhampton, & great Admirall of Englād, to the L. Sandes, Lord Chamberlayne of the Houſhold, likewiſe alſo to ſir William Kingſtone Knight, Comptroller of yͤ. houſhold, and to D. Sampſon, then B. of Chicheſter, and other tending all to one effect, that is to ſay, to the vtter deſtruction of theſe godly men, if God after his wonted manner, had not mightely preſerued them, and, as it were ouerſhadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

The trouble of Raſe hare, ſouldiour of Calice

Raſe Hare charged.

That the ſame may the better appeare, you ſhall vnderſtand that firſt Raſe Hare, a man rude and ſo vnlearned, that ſcarce he could reade, yet through Gods grace, was very zelous, and therwith lead ſo godly & temperate a life, as not one of his enemies coulde accuſe or blame the ſame his ſober lyfe and conuerſation. Thys Raſe Hare was charged to be one, that had ſpoken againſt auricular confeſſion, againſt holy bread and holy water, yea and beſide that, he was one which would not lightly ſweare an othe, nor vſe almoſt any maner of paſtime, nor good fellowſhip, as they terme it, but was alwaies in a corner by himſelfe, looking on his booke. The poore ſimple man being charged by the Commiſſioners, yͤ he was a naughty man & erroneons, and that he could not be otherwiſe, comming out of a towne ſo infected with pernitious errours & ſects as that was, was willed by them to take good heede to himſelfe, leaſt through obſtinacy he turned his erroneous opinions to playne hereſie: for an errour defended, is hereſie.

The aunſwere of Raſe Hare.

My good Lordes ſayde the poore man, I take God to recorde, I woulde not willingly maintayne an errour or hereſie, wherefore I beſeech you, let my accuſers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that whyche I haue ſpoken, I will neuer denye it. Moreouer, if it be truth, I wil ſtand vnto it, and otherwiſe if it be an errour, I will with all my hart vtterly forſake it, I meane if it be againſt Gods holy worde. For the Lorde is my witnes, I ſeeke, and dayly pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errours, and I truſt the Lorde will ſaue me, and preſerue me from them.

Winchesters cauillation about the Lord and, our Lord.

A ha, quoth the Biſhop of Wincheſter, do you not heare what he ſaith my Lord? I perceiue now thou art a naughty fellow. Alas my Lord, ſayd Raſe Hare, what euill ſayd I? Mary Syr, you ſayd, the Lord, the Lord, and that is, Symbolum hæreticorum, ſayde Wincheſter. What is that my Lord, for Gods ſake tell me, ſayde Hare? Thou art nought, thou art nought, ſayd he. At which wordes yͤ ſimple man began to tremble, and ſeemed much diſmayde and driuen into a great agony and feare. Which thing Wincheſter wel perceiuing, ſaid vnto him: Raſe Hare, Raſe Hare, by my trouth I pitie thee much. For in good faith, I thinke thee to be a good ſimple man, & of thy ſelfe wouldeſt meane well enough, but that thou haſt had ſhrewd and ſubtile ſchoolemaiſters, that haue ſeduced thee good poore ſimple ſoule, and therefore I pitie thee: and it were in deede pitie that thou ſhouldeſt be burnt, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and haſt ſerued yͤ King right well in his warres. I haue heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the King as good ſeruice as euer thou waſt, and we all will be a meane to his grace to be good and gracious Lord vnto thee, if thou wilt take pitie of thy ſelfe, and leaue thy errours. For I dare ſay for vs all, that be Commiſſioners, that we would be loth that thou ſhould be caſt away. For alas poore ſimple man, we perceiue thou haſt bene ſeduced (I ſay) by others.

How ſayeſt thou therefore? thou knoweſt my Lorde of Canterburies grace here is a good gentle Lord, and would be lothe thou ſhouldſt be caſt away. Tell me, canſt thou be cõtent to ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto him, and to ſtand vnto ſuch order, as he and we ſhall take in this matter? How ſayeſt thou man? ſpeake. The poore man therewith falling vpon his knees, and ſheeding teares, aunſwered, ſpeaking to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in this wiſe: My good lord, for Chriſtes ſake be good vnto me, and I referre my ſelfe vnto your graces order, do with me what you pleaſe.

The wordes of the Archb. of Cant. to Hare.

The Biſhop of Canterbury, conſidering what daunger he was ready to fall in, & piticng the ſame (though the ſimplicitie of yͤ man was ſo great, that he perceiued it not) ſayd, nay Raſe Hare, ſtand vp, & aduiſe thy ſelfe, and commit not thy ſelfe to me, for I am but one man, and in Commiſſion but as the other are, ſo that it lieth in me to do nothing. But if thou do commit thy ſelfe vnto all, then thou committeſt thy ſelfe vnto the law, and the law is ordained to do euery mã right. Go to Raph Hare, ſaid Wincheſter, ſubmit thy ſelfe to my Lord and vs: it is beſt for thee to do ſo. Whereupon he fell vpon his knees again, and ſaid: My Lordes and maiſters all, I ſubmitte my ſelfe wholy vnto you. And therwithall a booke was holden him, and an oth geuen him to be obedient vnto them, and to all Eccleſiaſticall lawes: and ſtraightway he was enioyned to abiure, and to beare a fagot three ſeuerall dayes, & moreouer, the poore man loſt the liuing that he had at Calice.

Pennance inioyned to Raſe Hare.

This ſimple man hearing his penance, piteouſly lamented, and earneſtly at the firſte denied to ſtande thereunto, with piteous exclamation, ſayeng: O my Lord of Wincheſter, my Lorde of Wincheſter, haue you made me a logge ready to be layde vpon the fire, whenſoeuer anye wicked man falſly of malice, by prouocation of the deuill, ſhall lay any ſmall trifle to my charge? Or ſhall I be thus handled, nothing proued to my face againſt me? Alas, I haue alwayes hated errours and hereſies. Content thy ſelf Hare: there is now no remedy, thou muſt eyther do thy penance, or be burnt, ſayd the Cõmiſſioners. Thus haue you heard how Ralph Hare did ſpeede.

The examinatiõ and trouble of Tho. Broke. Accuſers of Tho. Broke. Falſe accuſatiõ.

Then was Thomas Broke called for, againſt whome it was obiected by ſome of the Counſels letters of Calice, that he was a ſeditious fellow. Among theſe accuſers beſides the reſt, was one Richard Long, an other Fraunces Haſtings, men of armes, who charged yͤ forenamed Thomas Broke, and one Geffray Loueday Eſquire, for ſtaying and mainteining the foreſayde Adam Damlyp at Calice: as who had promiſed vnto him a ſtipend to preache ſuch hereſies and pernitious opinions, as afterwarde he taught there: and that theſe two daily gathered many ſeueral ſummes of money, for the entertainement of the ſaid Adam. Howbeit, the foreſaid Haſtings failed in the proofe thereof. For Loueday proued that he was viij. daies before Damlips comming to Calice, and during xiiij. daies continually after he began to preach, abiding at Paris, there occupied aboute neceſſary affaires of Charles Duke of Southfolke. And Broke during the ſayde time, was at London daily attendant in the Parliament houſe, whereof he had enough to beare witnes, againſt yͤ vntrue ſurmiſe.

After that, came three at once againſt the ſayd Broke, well armed as they thought, who had not onely conſulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at Calice, beſide their conference and talke by the way keepyng company from thence hether, but alſo had obtained from the Lord Deputie and others of the Counſell, ſpeciall letters as is aforeſaid: and among other, one letter vnto the Biſhop of Chicheſter, for the earneſt and ſpeedy furtherãce of the aduauncement of their accuſations againſt Brooke.

The firſt of theſe three was a young Gentleman lately brought vp vnder the ſaid Brooke in the office of cuſtome, whoſe name was Edmund Payton.

The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both baſe borne, and alſo ſuch a one, as in his youth for murthering a man with a clubbe in Bow lane in London, was faine by obtaining the Kings pardon, to ſaue his necke.

The third was one Tho. Boyſe, who ſhewyng more honeſty then the reſt, affirmed not that he himſelfe heard yͤ ſayd Broke ſpeake any thing of that whiche was obiected againſt him, but iuſtified that either of the other two had ſtedfaſtly affirmed to him, that Broke had ſpoken vnto them thoſe things heere vnder obiected againſt him.

The yong man firſt obiected againſte the ſayde Broke, that he ſhould ſay that the thing which the Prieſt vſeth to hold vp ouer his head at Maſſe, is not the natural body of Ieſu Chriſt: for if that were ſo, who ſo would, might haue their belly ful of Gods, their guts ful of Gods, and he that had lately receiued the Sacrament before he wente to the Sea, might happely vomit God vp againe on ſhypboord.

And thus much he brought ouer in writing wyth hym from Calice, and added thereto, as it ſhould ſeeme, to exaſperate the Commiſſioners and the reſt of the Cleargy againſt him, certaine other heynous wordes ſpoken againſt Byſhops and Prieſtes. Whiche wordes the ſayd Broke there denied, confeſſing neuertheleſſe that certaine priuate talke he had with him touching the Sacrament, wherein he ſhewed to the yong man the right vſe of the ſame, concluding, that albeit with our mouthes we receyued very materiall bread and wine, yet by faith, all Chriſtian mẽ do receiue, eate, and drinke, to their great comfort and benefite, the very natural body and bloud of Chriſt, which was both borne of the virgine Mary, and ſuffered death on the Croſſe for the remiſſion of their ſinnes: which moſt holye Sacrament, who ſo came vnworthely vnto, the ſame was ſo farre from the eating of Chriſtes body and bloude, that all ſuch (without hartie repentaunce) do eate their owne damnation. And to conclude with him in that priuate talk he told him, that if the groſſe & vnlearned errour of tranſubſtantiation, were in deede matter of truth and ſincere doctrine, then not only this ſhould follow of it, that euery mã who would, might haue euerlaſting life (for they might when they woulde receiue the outward Sacrament, ſeene with our eyes, whiche the Prieſtes call Chriſtes naturall body, and who ſo eateth Chriſtes body, and drinketh hys bloud, hath euerlaſting lyfe, ſayeth Chriſt) but alſo there ſhould great abſurdities follow therby, as whẽ a mã happeneth to go to the ſea, hauing lately receiued the ſacrament, he ſhould put it ouer boorde, or do it on the hatches, & therfore exhorted the ſaid Payton to leaue that groſſe errour.

The ſecond accuſer was Poole, who obiected agaynſte him, that about two yeares paſt, he himſelfe dining wyth the ſayd Brooke, with xv. or xvj. other honeſt men, heard him thus ſay at the table, that the thing which the Prieſtes vſe to hold vp ouer their heads, was not the very bodye and bloud of Chriſt, but a ſacrament to put vs in remembrance thereof. Unto whoſe obiections the ſaid Broke anſwered, that a man in mirth might well enough with charitie beſhrewe ſuche a gueſt, as when he had dined wyth a man, could ſo lõg after remember to ſay him ſuch a grace: and required of Poole, of whence the reſt of the gueſtes were. He aunſwered they were of the towne all. Then inferred he, that he was ſure Poole could as well remember ſome of their names which then were preſent, as freſhly to keepe in mind (for ſo by oth vpon a booke he had affirmed) euery word of the whole matter which he obiected: but for that the matter was vtterly vntrue. Whereupon, the ſayd Brooke deſired their honours to conſider the ſlendernes of his tale.

To be ſhorte, he with the reſt of hys felowes, to witte, Raſe Hare, Coppen, and Iames the Barber, were for that tyme diſmiſſed.

he trouble examina- of Sir W. ith and hn Butler miſſarye.

e accuſers I. Butler. qua vitæ digeſt e blond & es of the cramente.

During the tyme while theſe four were thus in examination at London, the other two, to witte, Syr William Smith preacher, and Iohn Butler, by commaundement were apprehended in Calyce, and bounde by ſuretie not to paſſe the gates of the towne of Calyce. In the whiche towne, the ſayd Iohn Butler Commiſſary was accuſed by Rich. Thorpe and Ioh. Ford, ſouldiours of Calice, ſaiyng that he ſhoulde ſay, that if the Sacrament of the aultar be fleſhe, blond, and bone, then there is good aqua vitæ at Iohn Spilers. Upon which accuſation the ſayde Thorpe and Forde brought for recordes before the Counſayle of Calyce, Marcaunt Haynes, Iohn Luckes, Harry Hulſon, and Harry Troſte, all of the pariſh of Oye beſide Calyce. Whereupon ſhortly after, the ſayde Iohn Butler and Sir William Smith were ſent for, and by one Swallow a purſeuant, which ſet vp the other aforeſaide, brought into England, vnto the houſe of the ſayd Swallow, dwellyng by S. Iames, where the Kings maieſtie lay at that tyme, and the next day being Thurſeday, after dinner, Butler & Smith were brought to the ſtarre chamber before the priuie Counſayle, where both ſedition and hereſie was obiected againſt them: and after much talke, was ſayde vnto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they ſhould make theyr purgation by the lawe: And from thence by the foreſayde Swallow they were ſent to the Fleete.

he exami- ation of oh. Butler.

The next day being Friday, after dinner, Butler and Smyth were ſent for to come to Bathe place, where they were brought into the Chappell, there ſitting D. Clarke, Byſhop of Bathe, Doctour Sampſon, then Byſhop of Chicheſter, Doctour Repſe, the Byſhop of Norwich, who was a Monke, being faſt a ſleepe. Then was obiected vnto Butler with great reuerence, the opprobrious wordes ſpoken againſt the bleſſed Sacramente, rehearſing (as is aforeſayd) the articles. Butler required to haue them in writing, and ſo woulde make aunſwere in writing. The whiche they woulde not graunt him: and vpon that aunſwere he ſtode. Then choler gathered in the Byſhop of Chicheſter. The ſtory were too long to write: yet part yee ſhall vnderſtand.

Chicheſter found great fault that Butler made not lowe curtſie, beeing ſtubborne and arrogant, as he ſaid, and in fine, found fault with his ſhirt. Then turning him about, he called to his brother Banneſter being preſent (that time dwelling in Pater noſter Row) to make aunſwere for the ſhirt. He ſaid, I can make anſwere for the ſhirt. No good aunſwere ſaide Chicheſter. Forſooth, ſaide hee, the ſhirt is mine, I lent it him, becauſe he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to haue any ſeruaunt. A good aunſwere ſayd the Byſhop of Bathe. Then Butler made lowe curteſie, and ſaid, the ſhirt is aunſwered. Then Chicheſter ſaid, thou mockeſt vs. But he ſayde no. And thus muche concerning that time.

¶ The ſtory of William Smyth.

he trouble examina- on of Syr W. Smith. Curate:

Then after Butler, was Sir William Smith, Curate of our Lady Pariſh in Calice, called before them, and charged in a manner with the ſame haynous errours and pernitious opinions, that were obiected againſt the ſayde Raſe Hare, and therto was added, that he had ſpoken and preached againſt our bleſſed Lady, againſt prayeng to Saincts, againſt doing of good workes, and many other like things: and therewithall, one Richard Long, a man of armes of Calice, prooued againſt the ſaid Sir Smyth, and ẏ foreſaid Brook by an othe taken vpon a booke, that the ſayd Smith and Brooke did eate fleſh together in Lent in the ſayd Brookes houſe. For a Millers boy, ſayd hee, came into Brookes kitchen, and ſawe halfe a Lambe lye a roaſting at the fire. Where as the truth is, that the ſayde Sir William Smith during all the Lent, came neuer once within the ſayd Brookes houſe. And it is as true alſo, that the ſayd Richard Long, vpon a diſpleaſure taken with his wife, went ſhortly after out of his owne houſe, to the Iuttie end of the hauen at Calice, where deſperately he drowned himſelfe, not one boy, but many men, women, girles, and boyes ſeeing him miſerably taken vp againe ſtarke dead: all which lamented his pitifull ruine. A terrible example vnto all ſuch as are ready to forſweare themſelues on a booke vpon malice, or whatſoeuer other cauſe it be: a thing in theſe dayes ouer rife euery where, and almoſt no where regarded as it ought to be.

alle accuſa on & per- ry puni- ed of God

¶ The trouble of Iohn Butler.

The trouble of Iohn Butler Commiſſarye.

There was alſo called before them ſir Iohn Butler, then Commiſſary of Calice, whom they would haue burdened with the maintenance, or (at ẏ leaſtwiſe) ſufferaunce, of the foreſayd Adam Damlip, which preached ſo lõg time there, and was not by him puniſhed. Who for his defence aunſwered, that the Lord Deputie and the whole Counſell there ſo highly entertained, and ſo frendly vſed the ſaid Damlyp, and with their owne preſence & high commendations outwardly ſo allowed and cõmẽded his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwiſe thẽ he did: & therfore humbly beſought their Lordſhips and other the Commiſſioners to be good vnto him. At whoſe handes, after long attendance geuen, he was diſcharged, & ſo returned home againe, being alſo diſmiſſed of his Commiſſaryſhip.

The recantation of certayne Calyce men.

The recantation and pennance of Syr W. Smith, Raſe Hare, Iames Cocke, & Iames Barber at Calice.

Now to declare what order was taken with theſe foreſayd Calycemen, it was appointed that ſir W. Smith, Raſe Hare, Iames Cocke, and Iames Barber, ſhould be ſent to Calice, there to abiure and to do penaunce. Where ſir W. Smith was enioined to make the Sermon, Raſe Hare, Iames Cocke, and Iames Barber ſtandyng wyth fagots vpõ their ſhoulders. The Sermon was made in ẏ market of Calice. Which being done, they went with their fagottes about the market place, the Drumme and Fife going before them, and then returning to the Commiſſioners with teſtimoniall of the ſame, they departed. Albeit in this recãtation, the ſaid W. Smith Curate of our Ladyes Church handled his Sermon after that ſort, as in effect he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it ſatiſfied ſomewhat hys aduerſaries malicious harts, in that it bare the name of a recantation, according to the Commiſſioners order, appointing him thus openly to preach, and ſo to depart the towne and marches.

Iames Barber.

As touching Iames Barber aforeſayde, for ſo much as his dwelling was not at Calice, but foure miles off from the towne, it was therfore enioyned him to beare his Fagot, not at Calice, but on the Saterday next following to ſtand in the market there, where he dwelled, with his Fagot vpon his ſhoulder, and the ſayd Syr William Smyth likewiſe there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the firſte Commiſſion ſent ouer to Calice to enquire vpon the heretickes there.

Another Commiſsion ſent ouer to Calice.

A new commiſſion ſent downe to Calice.

After all theſe thynges done and paſt, the grudgyng mindes of the aduerſaries yet were not ſatiſfied, but ſtill ſuggeſted new cõplaints to the Kings eares againſt the towne of Calice, making the king beleue, that through new opinions the towne was ſo diuided, that it was in great daunger of the aduerſary to be ouercome.

Falſe accuſation agaynſt the towne of Calice

The Commiſſioners appointed.

Whereupon ſhortly after, the weeke before Eaſter next folowing, other newe Commiſſioners were ſent ouer by the King to Calice, to witte, the Earle of Suſſex, Lorde great Chamberlaine, the Lord S. Iohn, Sir Iohn Gage Knight, Sir Iohn Barker Knight, M. Layton, Clerke of the cloſet, and Doctor Currin, with ſpeciall inſtructiõs beſides ſigned by the Kings Maieſties owne hand: for his highnes had bene incenſed once againe from the Counſell at Calice, that the towne was in perill through diſſenſion, and diuerſitie of opinions. Upon their arriuall, M. Doct. Currin preached a notable Sermon, exhorting all men to charitie, hauing nothing in his mouth but charitie, charitie. But as it ſeemed afterwarde, ſuch a burning charitie was in him and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, that had not God pitied the innocencie of mens cauſes, there had a hundred bene burnt or hanged ſhortly after.

Example of Gods puniſhment vpon falſe accuſers.

But it happened farre otherwiſe. For of the number of thoſe accuſers, four were by thoſe Commiſſioners ſent ouer into England, to witte, Clement Philpot, ſeruaunt to the Lorde Liſle, ſir Edmund, Curate of our Ladyes Church, W. Touchet a Poſtmaiſter, Peter Bequet, of the which four, Touchet and Bequet were ſente to theyr places againe: the other two were drawne, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of all them that were accuſed, there was not one that loſt one heare of his head.

After the Sermon was done, on the morowe to witte, on Sherethurſeday, all the Commiſſioners ſolemnely receiued the Sacramente. And at after noone, the Counſell were with the Commiſſioners, and after their conſultation, tipped ſtaues warned, aboue the number of foure ſcore, ſo peruerſe perſons as the like were not in ẏ towne or marches, to appeare on the morrow at viij. of the clocke before the Counſell at the Staple Inne, who at their appearance were commaunded vpon their allegiance, to preſent all ſuch heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, and ſeditious perſons, as they did know: and in no wiſe to doubt or dread ſo to do, for they ſhoulde haue great aduauntage thereby, yea they ſhould haue eyther their liuings, or their goodes, and beſides that, they ſhoulde haue greate thankes at the Kings Maieſties hand, and his honorable Counſell, and what frendſhip they of the Kings Counſell there coulde ſhew them. All that good Friday, euen till x. of the clocke at night, thoſe wicked and malicious perſons occupyed their time in aunſwering to diuers and ſondry queſtions.

An other inquiſition at Calice agaynſt heretickes.

These things were not ſo ſecretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honeſt mens knowledge. Whereupon ſuch feare and diſtruſt aſſaulted all men, that neighbour miſtruſted neighbour, the maiſter the ſeruaunt, the ſeruaunt the maiſter, the huſband the wife, the wife the huſband, and almoſt euery one the other, that lamentable it was to ſee how mourningly men and women went in the ſtreetes, hanging downe their heads, ſhewing euident tokens of the anguiſh of their harts.

Great perturbation at Calice.

The ſecond trouble of Thomas Brooke.

VPon Eaſter Monday, one Hugh Councell an honeſt man, ſeruaunt to the ſayd Brooke, was conuented before them, and by the ſpace of xiiij. dayes, not ſuffered to returne to his maiſters houſe, but kepte in cuſtody, and many times examined vpon Articles and Interrogatories, in hope to haue found worthy matter, either of hereſie or treaſon againſt the ſayde Brooke: and the ſame daye that Brooke was committed to warde, the ſayde Hugh Councell was diſcharged.

The wedneſday in the Eaſter weeke, ſundry Queſtes were charged by their othes to make inquiſition for all maner of hereſies, erroneous opinions and ſeditions, as a Queſt of Aldermen, an other of men at armes, and an other of Conſtables and Vintners, an other of common Souldiours, and an other of Commoners.

And ſhortly after theyr preſentments, on good Friday, there was conuented before the Commiſſioners, and ſtraighte were ſente to cloſe priſon, Anthony Pickering Gentleman, Harry Tourney Gentleman, Syr George Darby Prieſt, Iohn Shepheard, William Pellam, William Beuerdale, Iohn Whitwode, Iohn Boote, Roberte Clodder, Copen de Hane, & Mathew de Hound. Vpon whome ran ſundry brutes: Some ſaid they ſhould be hanged, ſome ſaid burnt, ſome ſaid hanged drawne and quartered, ſome ſaid nailed to the Pillery: ſo that pitifull it was to ſee the lamentation that their wiues, their children, ſeruaunts, and frendes made ſecretely where they durſt, for that they founde euery where wordes of diſcomfort, and no where of comfort, but ſtill Inquiſition was made.

Xiij. Calice men impriſoned for theyr fayth.

The ſecond trouble of William Steuens.

THe foreſayd William Steuens after hys returne from London aboue mētioned, beſides many other Articles laid to him for religion, to yͤ number of 40. or welnie, was by yͤ Lord Deputie charged yͭ he had ſtayed the foreſaid Adam Damlip, hyred him to preache, and gaue him meate, drinke and lodging, cōming from the arrant traytor Cardinall Poole, and ſuborned by him: and that he had receyued money of him, to the intent he ſhould preach in Calice falſe & erroneous doctrine, wherby yͤ towne being deuided & at contention within it ſelfe, might eaſely be ouercome & wonne by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the ſayde Steuens aunſwered, that whatſoeuer he had done vnto the ſayd Adam Damlip, he had done it at the earneſt requeſt & commaundement of the ſayd Lord Deputie. Whereupon, if it had bene treaſon in deede, he muſt haue bene more faultie.

False crimes forged agaynſt W. Steuens.

Then the ſaid William Steuens was againe the ſecond time by the ſaid Commiſſioners ſent ouer into England, & clapt in the tower, & afterwarde, to wit, immediately after the ſaid Commiſſioners repaire vnto the Kings highnes, yͤ ſaid Lord Deputy was ſent for ouer, & likewiſe put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And whē the Kings Maieſtie minded to haue bene gracious vnto him, & to haue let him come forth, God tooke hym out of thys world, whoſe body reſteth in yͤ Tower, & his ſoule wͭ God, I truſt, in heauen, for he died very repentaunt. But yͤ wicked Lady his wife immediately vpon his apprehenſiō, fell diſtraught of minde, & ſo cōtinued many yeares after. God for his mercy, if ſhe yet liue, geue her his grace to repent.

W. Steuens committed to the Tower.

L. Liſlie deputy of Calice, committed to the Tower.

Example of Gods puniſhment vpon hys perſecuters.

The ſecond Monday after Eaſter, the foreſayd Brooke was conuented before the Commiſſioners, and committed to cloſe priſon in the Mayors Gayle.

Then the Counſell of Calice, doubting leſt there ſhould not be any ſedition or hereſie proued againſt him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied yͤ Controllers office in the cuſtome houſe. This mā was kept in cloſe priſon, ſo as neither his wife then great with childe, nor any other his frends might repaire vnto him. Where, after yͭ he had often times beene borne in hande, that there were diuers concealements come to light that were made by Brooke in the office of Cuſtome, and yͭ the ſaid Bradway ſhould be greeuouſly puniſhed if he would acknowledge none of thē, nor burden yͤ ſaid Brooke with no kind of concealement: the poore ſimple man, hoping thereby to get releaſe of his impriſonment, accuſed the ſayd Brooke, that he had for a long time concealed foure grotes euery day for his Clarkes wages, & to that accuſation they cauſed the ſimple man to ſet his owne hand before witneſſes.

Whereupon, after a day or two, the ſaid Bradway greeued in his conſcience for the ſame his moſt vntrue accuſation, did with a knife enterpriſe to cut his own throte: but God of his mercy ſo directed his wicked purpoſe, that the backe of his knife was towarde his weſande. Whereby though the wound were broad, yet he eſcaped with lyfe. And as he gaue a grone with the ſodaine paine that he felt, the Gayler came vp, and bereft him of the knife. But through the giltines of the falſe accuſation, and ſhame of the world, the mā loſt his wits, who then ſtaring and diſmaid was diſmiſſed out of priſon, and a long time after went in piteous caſe ſo diſmayed about the ſtreete, to the great impoueriſhing of him, his poore wife and familie.

This kynde of handling of the ſaid Brooke, made all his frendes, but ſpecially his wife, to be greatly afeard of the malice of his enemies: the rather alſo, for that all his goods and landes were ceiſed. And his wife thruſt into the meaneſt place of all his houſe, with her children and family, the keyes of al yͤ dores and cheſtes beſide taken from her. Who for yͭ ſhe was rigorouſly entreated at ſir Edward Ringleis hand, Controller of the Towne (an office of no ſmall charge, though he knew not a B from a battledore, nor euer a letter of the booke) ſayeng vnto her, that if ſhe lyked not the roome, he woulde thruſt her quite out of the dores: well Sir, ſayd ſhe, well, the Kings ſlaughter houſe had wrong when you were made a Gentleman, and with all ſpeede ſhe wrote a letter to the Lorde Cromwell, therein diſcourſing how hardly and ſore thoſe poore mē were handled, that were committed to ward and cloſe priſon, and that all men feared (what through the malice of their Papiſticall enemies, and the great rigour and ignoraunt zeale of thoſe that were in authoritie) they ſhould ſhortly for their faith and conſciences, being true men, and ſuche as reuerently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her huſband, who was yet more extremely handled then any other: So that, vnleſſe his honour vouchſaued to be a meane to the Kings maieſtie, that they with their cauſes might be ſente ouer into England, they were but dead men.

Whereupon the ſaid Lord Cromwell wrote ſpeedely his letters vnto the Commiſſioners, declaring the kings maieſties pleaſure and commaundement was, that the arrant traitour and hereticke Brooke, with a doſen or twentye complices, ſhould with their accuſers be immediately ſent ouer, that heere in Englād they might receiue their iudgement, and there at Calice to the great terrour of like offenders hereafter ſuffer according to their demerites.

Now by the tyme that the ſayd Commiſſioners had receiued theſe letters, they had made out precepts for 8, or 9. ſcore honeſt men more to be caſt in priſon. But theſe letters ſo appalled them, that they ſtayde, and afterwarde ſent no moe to ward. But making then as diligent inquiſition as was poſſible, to haue found ſome worthy matter againſt thoſe before named, whereby there might haue bene ſome colour, both of the Counſels greeuous complaintes, and of the Cōmiſſioners rigorous dealing, whē no ſuch thing could fall out, becauſe they would be aſſured yͭ they ſhould not go vnpuniſhed, they firſt baniſhed thē the towne and Marches of Calice with a Trumpet blowne, vnder paine of death, for a hundred yeare and a day if that one day had bene left out, all had bene marde, and then ſent them backe to priſon, ſtaying them there vpon hope that the L. Cromwell ſhould come into captiuitie ſooner then he dyd. But at laſt, to wit, on May day, they ſente the xij. priſoners through the market, the ſayd Brooke going before wyth yrons on his legges, as the chiefe captaine, the reſt following him, two and two without yrons, vnto ſhipbord, & then were they all coupled in yrons two & two together. Where, becauſe they were loth to go vnder the hatches, Sir Iohn Gage with a ſtaffe ſmote ſome of them cruelly: whereupon Anthony Pickering ſayd vnto him, Syr, I beſech you yet be as good vnto vs as you would be to your horſes or dogs: let vs haue a litle aire that we be not ſmothered.

thered. Yet that requeſt could not be obtained, but the hatches were put downe cloſe, and they garded and kept with a great company of men, and ſo ſailing forwarde, by Gods mercifull prouidence, were within 24. houres, at ancker before the Tower of London.

And when the Lord Cromwell vnderſtode they were come, he commaunded their yrons to be ſmit off at the Tower wharfe, and the priſoners to be brought vnto him. When he ſaw them he ſmiled vpon them, ſtedfaſtly beholding each of them, and then ſayde: Sirs, you muſt take payne for a time. Go your way to the Fleete, and ſubmit your ſelues priſoners there, and ſhortly you ſhall knowe more, ſo in deede they did, for that euening he ſente them word they ſhoulde be of good cheere, for if God ſent him life, they ſhould ſhortly go home with as much honeſty, as they came with ſhame.

xiii. pri
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he Fleet.

Whileſt theſe xiij. perſecuted men lay in the Fleete, and W. Steuens in the Tower, to wit, the xix. day of July, an. 1541. the foreſaid Lord Cromwell for treaſon layd agaynſt him, was at Tower hill beheaded, as is before ſpecified in his ſtory, who made there a very Chriſtian end. Then had the poore Calice men great cauſe to feare, if they had not altogether depēded on the mercifull prouidēce of their heauenly father, whoſe bleſſed will they knewe directed all things. But he in the middeſt of their deepe troubles and miſeries ſo comforted them, that euen as the daungers and troubles increaſed, ſo likewiſe did their conſolation & ioy in him, ſo farre forth, as Mathew de Hound, one of thoſe xiij. who was in trouble onely for that he heard Copen de Hall reade a Chapter of the new Teſtament, and was as deepe in puniſhment, and in baniſhmente from his wife, children, and countrey, as the reſt, got in ſhorte time ſuche inſtruction, that hauing therewith a ſoule and conſcience fraughted ful of godly zeale vnto Gods glory, and the true doctrine of Chriſt, within a few monethes after his deliuerance out of the Fleete: for inueying conſtantly againſt the wicked honouring of images, & praying vnto Saints departed, was cruelly in a moſt cōſtant faith and patience, burned in Flaunders.

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Now therfore when all hope in man was paſt, the right honourable L. Audeley, lord Chancellor of Englād, without further examination, diſcharged firſt the ſayd 13. that were in the Fleete, and at length two yeares after, he deliuered W. Steuens alſo by the Kings owne motion, out of the Tower, ſaying at ẏ diſcharging of thoſe 13. ſirs, pray for the Kings Maieſtie, his pleaſure is ẏ you ſhall all bee preſently diſcharged. And though your liuings be taken from you, yet deſpaire not: God wil not ſee you lacke. But for Gods ſake ſirs beware how you deale with popiſhe Prieſts: for, ſo God ſaue my ſoule, ſome of them be knaues all. Sirs, ſaid he, I am commaunded by the counſayle to tell you, that you are diſcharged by vertue of the kings generall pardon, but that pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all ſacramentaries, and the moſt part, or all of you are called ſacramentaries. Therefore I can not ſee how that pardon doth you any pleaſure. But pray for the Kings highneſſe, for his graces pleaſure is, that I ſhould diſmiſſe you, and ſo I do, and pitie you all: Farewell ſirs.

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So geuing God moſt hartie thankes for his mightye and mercifull deliuering of them, they departed diſmiſſed, as you haue heard, being in deede in very poore eſtate: but not in ſo miſerable ſtate as all thoſe eight Counſailours of Calice were within one yere and a halfe after. For wheras the other three Counſailers which ſemed more fauourable to them: to wit, the Lord Gray, ſir George Carow, and ſir Rich. Grinefield, which purged the towne of thoſe ſclaunders that vntruely were rayſed vpon it, and therfore for a time were in their princes high diſpleaſure: within ẏ yeare were al three in greater fauour then euer they were before, and that not without the reward of xx. pound by yeare to him & to his heires, who had leaſt: the other eight Counſailours, vniuſtly charging them and the towne of ſedition and hereſie: to ſay, the Lord Liſle, the Lord Sandes, Sir John Wallop, ſir Edward Kinſley, Rob. Fowler Eſquier vicetreaſurer, ſir Tho. Palmer knight, called lōg Palmer, W. Simpſon Eſquier vndermarſhall, & Joh. Rockwood, were either greatly out of their Princes fauour, and in the Tower or els where priſoners, either els by very deſperat deathes in outward appearance, taken out of this world: For tediouſnes I will rehearſe but only the horrible ende of the ſaid Rockwood, the chiefe ſtirrer vp of all the afflictions afore ſpoken of: who euen to the laſt breath ſtaring & raging, cried, he was vtterly damned: and being willed to aſke God mercy, who was ready to forgeue all that aſked mercy of him, he braied & cried out, All too late, for I haue ſought malitiouſly the deathes of a number of the honeſteſt men in the towne, and though I ſo thought them in my hart, yet I did that lay in me to bring thē to an euil death: all too late therefore, all too late. Which ſame words he anſwered to one that at the departure of the xiij. in yrons towards England, ſaid: Sir, I neuer ſaw men of ſuch honeſty, ſo ſharply corrected, & taking it ſo paciently and ioyfully. Rockwod thē fetching a friſke or two, ſcoffingly anſwered: All too late. The vndermarſhal ſodenly fel downe in the Counſaile chamber, and neuer ſpake word after, nor ſhewed any token of remembraunce. The plagues of the other alſo, as I am credibly infourmed, were little better.

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The ſecond apprehenſion and martyrdome of Adam Damlyp.

Adam Damlip agayne apprehended.

CONcerning Adam Damlip, otherwiſe called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, page. 1223. how hee being conuented before the Biſhops at Lambeth, and afterwarde ſecretly admoniſhed, and hauing money geuen him by his freinds, to auoide, and not to appeare agayne before the Biſhops: after hee had ſente his allegations in writing vnto them, departed into the weſt countrey, and there continued teaching a ſchoole a certaine ſpace, about a yeare or two. After that, the good man was againe apprehended by the miſerable inquiſition of the ſixe articles, and brought vp to London, where he was by Steuen Gardiner commaunded into the Marſhalſey, and there lay the ſpace of other two yeares or thereabout.

George Bucker confeſſour to the priſoners in the Marſhalſey.

During the impriſonment of this George in the Marſhalſey, Jo. Marbecke (as partly ye heard before) alſo was cōmitted into the ſame priſon, which was the morow after Palme ſonday. The maner of that time ſo required, that at Eaſter euery perſon muſt nedes come to cōfeſſiō. Whereupon Marbecke with the reſt of the priſoners there, was enforced to come vpō Eaſter day to ſir George aforeſaid, to be confeſſed, who was then cōfeſſor to ẏ whole houſe. By this occaſion J. Marbecke, which had neuer ſene him before, entring into cōference wᵗ him, perceiued what he was, what he had ben, what troubles he ſuſteined, how long he had line there in priſon, by whō, & wherfore: who declared moreouer his mind to Marbecke, to ẏ effect as foloweth: And now becauſe, ſaid he, I thinke they haue forgottē me, I am fully minded to make my humble ſute to the Biſh. of Wincheſter, in an Epiſtle, declaring therin mine obediēce, humble ſubmiſſion, and earneſt deſire to come to examination. I know the worſt. I can but leeſe my life preſente, which I had leuer do, then heere to remaine, and not to be ſuffered to vſe my talent to Gods glory. Wherefore (God willing) I will ſurely put it in proofe.

Acquaintaunce betweene Iohn Marbecke and George Bucker otherwiſe called Adam Damlip.

Adam Damlip well beloued among the priſoners, ſpecially of the keeper.

This Damlip for his honeſt and godly behauiour was beloued of all ẏ whole houſe, but ſpecially of the keper himſelfe, whoſe name was Maſſy, whō he always called maſter: and being ſuffred to go at liberty within ẏ houſe whether he would, he did much good amōg the common & raſcal ſort of priſoners, in rebuking vice & ſin, and kept them in ſuch good order & awe, that the keeper thought himſelfe to haue a great treaſure of him. And no leſſe alſo Marbeck himſelfe confeſſeth, to haue found great cōfort by him. For notwithſtanding ẏ ſtraight precept geuen by the Biſh. of Wincheſter, that no man ſhoulde come to him, nor hee to ſpeake with any man: yet the ſayde Adam manye tymes would finde the meanes to come and comfort him.

Maſſy keeper of the Marſhalſey.

Adam Damlip writeth to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Now when he had made and drawne out hys Epiſtle, he deliuered the ſame to his maiſter the keeper, vpō ſaterday in the morning, which was about the ſecōd weeke before Whitſonday folowing, deſiring him to deliuer it at the Court to ẏ B. of Wincheſter. The keeper ſaid, he woulde, and ſo did. The Biſh. what quicke ſpeede he made for hys diſpatch, I know not, but thus it fel out, as ye ſhall heare.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the priſoners (which had taried ſupper for his comming) ſawe him ſo ſad and heauie, they deemed ſomething to be amiſſe. At laſt the keeper caſting vp his eyes vpon Syr George, ſayd: O George, I can tell thee tidings. What is that maiſter, quoth he? Upon Monday next thou and I muſt goe to Calice. To Calice maiſter? what to do? I know not, quoth the keeper, & pulled out of his purſe a peece of waxe with a little labell of parchmēt hanging out thereat, which ſeemed to be a precept. And when Sir George ſaw it, hee ſayde: Well well Maiſter, nowe I knowe what the matter is, What, quoth the keeper? Truely maiſter I ſhall die in Calice. Nay, quoth the keeper, I truſt it be not ſo. Yes, yes maiſter, it is moſt true, and I praiſe God for his goodnes therin. And ſo the keeper & they went together to ſupper with heauie cheere for ſir George as they there called him, who notwithſtanding was mery himſelfe, & did eate his meate as well as euer he did in all his life: In ſo much that ſome at the boord ſayd vnto him, that they marueyled how he could eate his meate ſo well, knowing hee was ſo neare his death. Ah maiſters quoth he, do you thinke that

Stephen Gardiner ſendeth out a precept for the execution of Adam Damlip.

The cheerefull conſtancie of Adam Damlip.

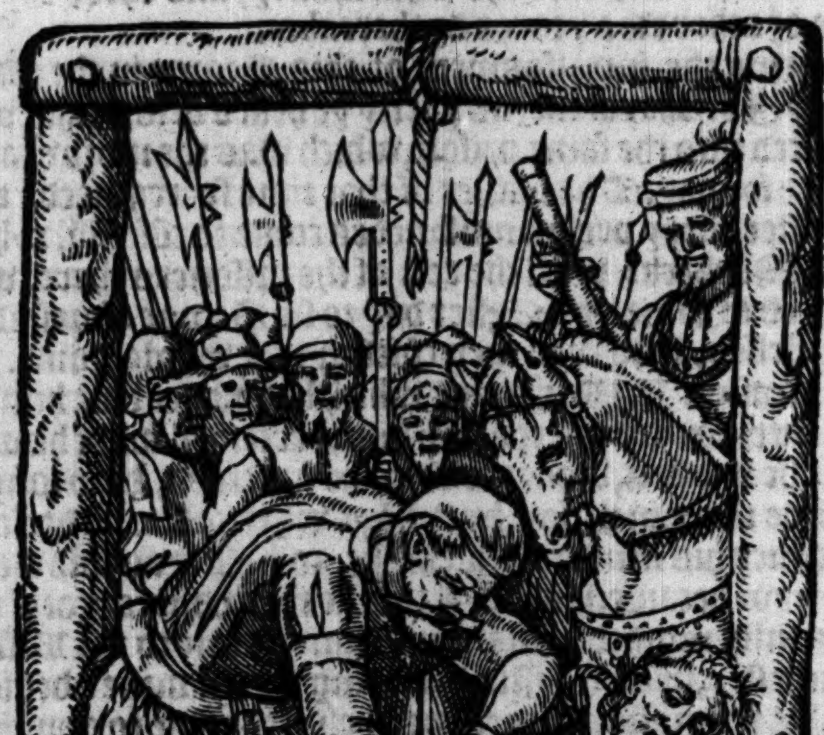
I haue ben Gods priſoner ſo long in the Marſhalſey, and haue not yet learned to dye? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will ſtrengthen me therein. Ex litteris Ioa. Marbecki.

Adam Damlip brought to Calice to ſuffer.

And ſo vpon Monday early in the morning before day, the keeper with iij. other of the Knight Marſhalles ſeruaunts, ſetting out of London, conueyed the ſayde Adam Damlyp vnto Calice vpon the Aſcenſion euen, and there committed him to the Maiors priſon. Upon whiche daye Iohn Butler the Commiſſary aforeſayd, and Syr Daniell his Curate of S. Peters, were alſo committed to the ſame priſon, and commandement geuen no man to ſpeake with Butler.

Upon Saterday next was the day of execution for Damlyp. The cauſe whiche firſte they layd to his charge, was for hereſie. But becauſe by an acte of Parliamente, all ſuche offences done before a certayne daye, were pardoned (through which Acte he could not be burdened with anye thing that he had preached or taught before) yet for the receiuing of the foreſayd French crowne of Cardinall Pole, (as you heard before) he was condemned of treaſon, and in Calice cruelly put to death, being drawne, hanged, and quartered.

The death and Martyrdome of Damlyp.



The conſtant courage of Adam Damlip, not caring for his death.

The daye before his execution, came vnto hym one M. Mote, then perſon of our Lady Church of Calice, ſaying: your foure quarters ſhall be hanged at four partes of the towne. And where ſhall my head be, ſayd Damlip? Upon the Lanterne gate, ſaid Mote. Then Damlip anſweared, Then ſhall I not neede to prouide for my buriall. At hys death, Sir Rafe Ellerker Knight, then knight Marſhall there, would not ſuffer the innocent & godly mā, to declare either his faith, or the cauſe he died for, but ſayd to the executioner, diſpatch the knaue, haue done. For ſir Wil. Mote appointed there to preache, declared to the people how he had bene a ſower of ſeditious doctrine, and albeit he was for ỹ pardoned by the generall pardon, yet he was cōdemned for being a traytor againſt the king. To the which whē Adam Damlip would haue replied & purged himſelfe, the foreſaid Sir Rafe Ellerker would not ſuffer him to ſpeake a word, but commanded him to be had away. And ſo most meekely, patiently, and ioyfully, the bleſſed and innocent Martyr tooke his death, ſir Rafe Elerker ſaying, that he would not away before he ſaw the traytors hart out. But ſhortly after the ſayd Sir Rafe Ellerker in a ſkirmiſhe or roade betweene the Frenchmen and vs, at Bullayne was among other ſlayne. Whoſe onely death ſufficed not his enemies, but after they had ſtripped him ſtarke naked, they cut off his priuie members, and cut the hart out of his body, and ſo leaft him a terrible example to all bloudy and mercileſſe men. For no cauſe was knowne, why they ſhewed ſuch indignation againſt the ſaide Sir Rafe Ellerker, more then againſt the reſt, but that it is written: Faciens iuſtitias Dominus & iudicia omnibus iniuria preſsis.

Damlip falſly accuſed of treaſon, & innocently put to death.

An example of Gods iuſt reuengment.

As touching Ioh. Butler, and ſir Daniel his Curate, impriſoned (as ye heard) the ſame day with Damlip, vpon Sonday next following, they were cōmitted to Io. Maſſy aforeſayd, keeper of the Marſhalſey, and his company, and brought to the Marſhalſey, where he continued and his Curate nine moneths and more. At laſt being ſore laid vnto by Sir George Gage, Sir Iohn Baker, and Sir Thomas Arundell knightes, but eſpecially by Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, for ỹ receiuing of Adam Damlip, yet by friendes ſoliciting the Kings highnes for him, (namely ſir Leonard Muſgraue, and his brother Bannſter, who were bounde for his appearance in a thouſande pound) he at length by great labour and long time was diſcharged, and at laſt by licence permitted to returne to Calice againe. Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Caletienſium.

Furthermore, as touching William Steuens aboue mentioned, who remained all this while priſoner in the Tower, the ſame was alſo condemned with Adam Damlip of treaſon, which was for note and crime of Popery, in lodging Adam Damlip, which came from Cardinal Poole the traytor, in his houſe, at the Lord Deputies commaundement. Notwithſtanding the King afterwarde vnderſtanding more of the ſaid William Steuens, how innocent he was from that crime, being knowne to all men to be an earneſt and zelous Proteſtant, gaue him his pardon, and ſent him home againe to Calice, and ſo likewiſe all the other thirteene aboue mentioned.

The ſtory of a poore labouring man in Calyce.

By the credible information & writing of the ſaid Calyce men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certaine poore laboring mā of Calice, who after the preaching of Adam Damlyp, being in certaine company, ſaid, that he would neuer beleeue, that a prieſt coulde make the Lordes body at his pleaſure. Wherupon he was then accuſed, and alſo condemned by one Haruey Commiſſary there. Which Haruey in time of his iudgement inueying againſt hym, with opprobrious words, ſayd, that he was an heretike, & ſhould die a vile death. The poore man (whoſe name yet I haue not certainly learned) anſwering for himſelfe againe, ſaide, that hee was no hereticke, but was in the fayth of Chriſt. And where as thou ſayeſt (ſaid he) that I ſhall dye a vile death, thou thy ſelfe ſhalt dye a viler death, and that ſhortly, and ſo it came to paſſe: for within halfe a yeare after, the ſaid Haruey was hanged, drawne, and quartered for treaſon in the ſayd towne of Calice.

An other hiſtory of one Dodde a Scottiſh man, burned in Calice.

After the burning of this poore man, there was alſo an other certaine ſcholer, counted to be a Scottiſh man, named Dodde, who cōming out of Germany, was there taken with certaine Germane bookes about him, and being examined thereupon, and ſtanding conſtantly to the truth that hee had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the ſayd towne of Calice, within the ſpace of a yeare, or thereabout, after the other godly Martyr aboue mentioned.

And for ſo much as I am preſently in hand wyth matters of Calice, I can not paſſe from thence without memorie of an other certayne honeſt man of the ſame towneſhip, named William Button, aliâs Croſbowmaker, although the time of this ſtory is a litle more anciēt in yeares: which ſtory is this.

William Croſbowmaker, a ſouldier of Calice, and the kings ſeruant, being a man as ſome natures be, ſomwhat pleaſantly diſpoſed, vſed when he met with Prieſts, to demaund of them certayne merry queſtions of paſtyme, as theſe: whether if a man were ſodenly taken, and wanted an other thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the Popes pardons, in ſteede of a broken paper?

Another queſtion was, whether in the world might better be wanting, dogs or prieſts. And if it were anſwered, that dogs might rather be ſpared: to that he woulde replie againe and inferre, that if there were no dogs, wee coulde make no moe, but if there lacked ignoraunt Prieſtes, we might ſoone, and too ſoone, make too many of them.

It happened that in the time of D. Darley, Parſon of our Ladies Church in Calice, being Commiſſary there for Archbiſhop Warham, there came a blacke Frier to Calice with the Popes pardons: who for iiij. d. would deliuer a ſoule out of Purgatory. The frier was full of romiſh vertues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This foreſayd William Button, aliâs Croſbowmaker, comming to the pardons, and pretending that he would deliuer his father & frends ſoules, aſked if the holy father the Pope could deliuer ſoules out of purgatory? The frier ſaid, there is no doubt of that. why then, quoth Button, dooth he not of charitye deliuer all the ſoules thereout? Of which wordes he was accuſed to the Commiſſary, who at his appearing before the ſayd Commiſſary, confeſſed to haue aſked ſuch queſtions. The Commiſſary being angrye thereat ſayd: Doubteſt thou thereof thou hereticke? There was ſtanding by a blacke fryer named Capel, an Engliſh man, who ſayd to the Commiſſary. There is Tenne thouſand of theſe heretickes betwene Graueling and Trere. Button aunſwered, Maiſter fryer of all men you may keepe ſilence. For your coat hath bene twiſe cut of from the fayth. The firſt time your order was enioyned to haue your blacke coat ſhorter thē your white, and for the ſecond time your order muſt goe to the furtheſt part of their church, and there ſing an Antheme of our Lady. The Commiſſarye at theſe wordes chafed, called Button hereticke, with many other opprobrious words. The ſayd Button to the Commiſſary, if your holy father the Pope may deliuer ſoules out of purgatory, and wil not of charity deliuer them, thē I would to God the king would make me Pope, and I would ſurely deliuer all out without money. At theſe wordes the Comiſſary raged, and reuiled Button exceedingly, cauſing him to beare a billet, & procured his wages (which was 6. d. a day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the kinges maieſty, declaring all the whole matter to his grace, who ſent him to Calice agayne, and gaue him after that 8. d. a day.

A notable example, wherin may appeare as well the deſpite of D. London, and other papiſtes agaynſt the Goſpellers, as alſo the fidelity of a matrone towardes her husband.

Forſomuch as mention was made a little before of D. London, we will ſomewhat more adde of him, becauſe the matter ſeemeth neither impertinent nor vnfruitefull, to the entent it maye more euidently appeare what trueth and truſt is to be looked for of this cruell kinde of papiſts. This Doctor London was warden of the new Colledge in Oxford, where it happened that certayne plate was ſtolen and conueied, and brought vp to London, and ſold to a Goldſmith, named William Calaway. Thys Calaway was a man of good and honeſt name, and reputation amongeſt his neighbours, but ſpecially earneſt and zelous towardes the Goſpell, and a great maynteiner therof. He had oftentimes before boaght much plate of the ſame man without any peril or daunger, wherfore he doubted yͤ leſſe of his fidelity.

At the laſt the principall of the theft being taken, and the Goldſmith alſo that was the byer being knowne, D. London, when he vnderſtoode him to be a fauourer of the Goſpel, wherof he was an extreme aduerſary, began ſtrait wayes to be in a rage, and to ſweare great and deep othes that he woulde ſpare neither labour nor coſt, but woulde bring the Goldſmith to the gallowes, although it ſhoulde coſt him fiue hundred pound. To be ſhort this good goldſmith was arraigned as acceſſary, and an action of Felony brought agaynſt him. He contrariwiſe alledged that they ought not to proceed agaynſt him, the principall beyng aliue. D. London on the contrary part, affirmed that the principall was hanged: which was moſt falſe, for he was one of the ſame Colledge, and was aliue, and but lately ſet at liberty. To be briefe, he being found gylty, the Iudge aſked him what he coulde alledge, why he ſhould not dye? He required to haue the priuiledge of his booke, according to yͤ aūcient cuſtome and maner. But here it was obiected agaynſt him that he was Bigamus, and therfore he might not haue his booke by the lawe, notwithſtanding that he neuer had two wiues, but becauſe his wife had two husbandes, it was imputed to him for Bigamia.

Thus this good Goldſmith being ſecluded from all hope of life, by the craftye ſpite of his malignant aduerſaries: his wife beyng a woman of proued honeſty and good fame, came in before the Iudges, and perceiuing her former marriage to be hurtfull vnto her huſband, to ſaue her huſbandes life, ſhe tooke an othe before the Iudges, that ſhe was not Bigama, and that ſhe was neuer marryed to moe men then to the ſayd Goldſmith: and although ſhe had children by her other huſband, and continued diuers yeares with him, yet ſhe ſware that ſhe was neuer married vnto him. Thus this woman by defaming of her ſelfe to her great praiſe, and ſinguler example of loue, deliuered her innocent huſband: thinking it better for her to lyue wͭ ignominy and reproche, then for her huſband to die, leſſe eſteming the loſſe of her good name, then of his life. Ex Ed. Hallo.

As touching the qualitye of this facte or periury, I intermeddle not here to diſcuſſe, but leaue it at large to the iudgement of Lawyers to define vpon. Trueth it is, that periury neither in man nor woman is to be cōmended, neither ought to be defended. But yet the true hart & faithfull loue betwene this man and his wife, counterpeaſing agayne as much or more on the other ſide, the more rare & ſtrāge I ſee it in many couples now a dayes, the more I thinke it worthy, not onely to be praiſed, but alſo for examples ſake to be notified. But in the meane time, what ſhall we ſay to theſe prieſtes and aduerſaries, who in ſuch ſorte violently do preſſe and force the poore ſheepe of Chriſt with perill of theyr conſciences vnto ſuch periury, & that in ſuch cauſes, where no ſuch trueth is ſought, but innocency oppreſſed, true religion perſecuted, & only their ſpite & wrath agaynſt Gods word wreaked.

During the time of theſe ſixe articles aforeſayd, which brought many good men vnto death: yet ſo it happened by another contrary acte ſette forth before, for the kinges ſupremacy (as ye haue heard) that the contrary ſect alſo of the Papiſtes was not all in quiet. For beſides the death of More, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the other Charterhouſe Monkes, Friers and Prieſtes aboue ſpecified, about this yeare were alſo condemned and executed by the ſame law, two other, of whom one was a Prieſt of Chelſey, named Larke, which was put to death at London for defending the B. of Romes ſupremacy, aboue the kynges authority. The other was Germine Gardiner (nere kinſman to Steuen Gardiner, and yet more neare to his ſecret coūſell, as it is ſuppoſed) who likewiſe in practiſing for the Pope, agaynſt the kings iuriſdiction, was taken wyth the maner, and ſo brought vnto the Gibbet.

Larke, Prieſt of Chelſey, Germaine Gardine traytors agaynſt the kings ſupremacye.

Vpon the detection of this Germaine Gardiner being Secretary to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter his kinſman it ſemed to ſome, and ſo was alſo inſinuated vnto the king not to be vnlike, but that the ſayd Germain neither would nor durſt euer attempt any ſuch matter of popery, without ſome ſetting on, or conſent of the Biſhop, he being ſo nere vnto him, & to all his ſecrets as he was. Wherby the king began ſomewhat more to ſmell and miſdoubt the doinges of the Biſhop: but yet he ſo couertly and clearely conueyed his matters, playing vnder the boord, after his wonted fetches in ſuch ſort, as I can not tel how) ſtill he kept in with the king, to the great inquietatiō of the publick ſtate of the Realme, and eſpecially of Chriſtes Church.

Suſpitiō againſt Steuē Gardiner.

In declaring the dreadfull lawe before ſet forthe of the ſixe ayticles, which was, an. 1540. ye heard what penaltye was appoynted for the breach of the ſame, in like caſe as in treaſon & felony, ſo that no remedy of any recātatiō would ſerue. This ſeueritye was a little mitigated by an other Parliament, holden afterward an. 1544. by the which parliament it was decreede, that ſuch offenders which were conuict in the ſayd articles, for the firſt time ſhould be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the party refuſed to recant in ſuch forme as ſhould be layd vnto him by his Ordinary, or after his recantation, if he eftſoones offended agayne, then for the ſecond time he ſhould be admitted to abiure, and beare a fagot. Which if he denyed to do or els being abiured, if he the third time offended, then he to ſuſteine puniſhment according to the Lawe. &c. Although the ſtraitnes & rigor of the former act was thus ſomewhat tempered, as ye ſee, and reformed by this preſēt Parliament: yet notwithſtanding the venome and poiſon of the errors and miſchiefe of thoſe articles remayned ſtill behind not remoued, but rather confirmed by this Parliament aforeſayd. By the which Parliament moreouer many thinges were prouided for the aduauncement of Popery, vnder the coulor of religion: ſo that all maner of bookes of the old and new Teſtament, bearing the name of Will. Tindall, or any other hauing Prologues, or conteining any matters, annotations, preambles, wordes, or ſentēces contrary to the ſixe articles, were debarred. In like maner all ſongs, playes, and Enterludes, with all other books in Engliſh, conteining matter of religion, tending any way agaynſt the ſayd articles were aboliſhed.

Stat. an. 35. Reg. Henr. 8.

The rigour of the 6. articles a little aſwaged.

In the which Parliament furthermore it was prouided, that the text of the new Teſtament or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, prentiſes, iournei-men, ſeruingmen, yeomen, huſbandmen, and laborers, yet was permitted notwithſtanding to noble men and gentlemen, & gentlewomen to read and peruſe, to their edifying ſo that they did it quietly without arguing, diſcuſſing, or expounding vpon the Scripture.

Ouer and beſides, wheras before the offender or defendaunt might not be ſuffered to bring in any witneſſes to purge and try himſelf: In this Parliament it was permitted to the party detect, or complayned on, to try his cauſe by witneſſes, as many, or mo in nūber, as the other which depoſed agaynſt him. &c.

Qualification of the acte of the 6. articles.

Other qualifications of the acte of the ſixe Articles.

AFter this Parliament moreouer folowed an other parliament. an. 1545. wherein other qualifications more ſpeciall of the ſixe articles were prouided: That where as before the cruell ſtatute of the ſixe articles was ſo ſtrayt, yͭ if any of the kinges ſubiectes had bene cõplayned of by any maner of perſon, as wel being his enemy, as otherwiſe, he ſhould be indicted preſently vpon the ſame, without anye further examination or knowledge geuẽ to the party ſo accuſed, & ſo thereupon to be attached, committed, and in fine to be condemned: it was therfore by this parliamẽt prouided, that all ſuch preſentmentes and indictmentes ſhoulde not be brought before the Commiſſioners, otherwiſe then by the othes of xij. men or moe, of honeſty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Item, that no ſuch indictmentes or preſentmentes ſhould be taken, but within one yeare of the offences committed, eyther els the ſayd indictmentes to ſtand voyd in the law.

Item, that no perſon accuſed vpon any ſuch offence agaynſt the ſixe articles, ſhould be attached, or committed to ward, before he were therof indicted, vnleſſe by ſpeciall warrant from the king &c.

Item, by the authority of the ſayd Parliament it was conſidered and enacted, that if any preacher or reader, for any word ſpoken, ſuppoſed to be agaynſt the ſixe articles, ſhoulde be accuſed, not within the ſpace of 40. dayes of the ſayd his reading or preaching, then the partie accuſed to be acquited.

Item, that the Iuſtices or inquirers of ſuche preſentmentes ſhould haue full power to alter and reforme all panelles of inquirie, returned before them, in like maner as the Iuſtices of peace may do in theyr Seſsions, vpon any other inquiries.

Item, that the party ſo accuſed or indicted, vppon his tryall, may haue all manner of chalenges (peremptory onely excepted) as other perſons arraigned for felony may haue, by the lawes of this realme.

Stat. anno. 1545. R. Hen. 8.

By theſe qualifications & moderatiõs of the 6. articles, it may appere that the king begã ſomwhat to grow out of fauor with Ste. Gardiner, & to diſcredit his doings, wherby he was yͤ more forward to incline ſomewhat in furthering the deſolate cauſe of religiõ, as may appeare both by theſe premiſſes, & alſo by other prouiſions & determinations of the foreſayd parliament. an. 1545. wherein it was decreed by act of parliamẽt, yͭ the king ſhould haue full power & authority to appoynt 32. perſons, to wit 16. of yͤ clergy, & 16. of the tẽporalty, to peruſe, ouerſee, & examine the Canõs, cõſtitutions & ordinaũces of yͤ canon law, as well Prouinciall, as Synodall, & ſo, according to their diſcretions, to ſet & eſtabliſh an order of eccleſiaſticall lawes ſuche as ſhould be thought by the king and them cõuenient to be receiued and vſed within this realm. which ſtatute as it is moſt needfull for the gouernement of the Church of England: ſo would God it had bene brought to perfection.

A Statute for examination of tha Canon law.

Anno. 1545.

Iohn Athe recanted.

In this yere touching matters of hiſtories, we read no great thing worthy of memory, but onely of two perſons, Ioh, Athee, & I. Haywood. Of which two, we find firſt I. Athee to be indicted by the kings writ, for certayne words agaynſt yͤ ſacramẽt, which words in the indictmẽt are ſpecified to be theſe: that he would not beleue in yͤ thing whiche yͤ knaue prieſt made, neither in that which Longs wife ſelleth: but onely in God yͭ is in heauen. And when it was told him that God through his word could make it fleſh & bloud, he anſwered: ſo he might do if he would turne it into a chickins leg, meaning the ſacrament of the aulter.

The recantation of Iohn Heywood.

The ſame yere alſo folowed yͤ recantation of Io. Heywood, who although he was tached for treaſõ, for denying the kings ſupremacy, yet vſing yͤ clemency of yͤ king, vpon his better reformatiõ & amẽdment, made an open & ſolẽne recantation in yͤ face of all the people, abandoning & renoũcing the Popes vſurped ſupremacy, & cõfeſſing of the king to be chiefe ſupreme head & gouernor of this church of England, al forein authority & iuriſdictiõ being excluded. The tenor & effect of whoſe recantation here foloweth.

✻ The recantation of Iohn Haywood.

Anno. 1544.

I Am come hyther at this time, (good people) willing and of mine own diſirous ſute, to ſhew and declare vnto you briefely. Firſt of all the great and ineſtimable clemency, and mercifulneſſe of our moſte ſoueraigne and redoubted Prince, the kinges Maieſty, the which his highneſſe hath moſt graciouſly vſed towardes me a wretch moſte iuſtlye and worthely condempned to dye, for my manifolde and outragious offences, haynouſly and trayterouſly committed agaynſt his maieſtye and his lawes. For wheras your maieſtyes ſupremacy hath ſo often bene opened vnto me both by writing and ſpeaking (if I had grace, either to open mine eies to ſee it, or mine eares to heare it) to be ſurely and certaynely grounded, and eſtabliſhed vpon the very true worde of God. Yet for lacke of grace I haue moſte wilfully and obſtinately ſuffered my ſelfe to fall to ſuche blindnes, yͭ I haue not onely thought yͭ the Byſh. of Rome hath bene and ought to be taken the chiefe and ſupreame head of the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt heare in earth, but alſo like no true ſubiect conceiued and fauored ſuch as I haue knowne or thought to be of the opinion. For the which moſte deteſtable treaſons and vntruthes, I heare moſt humbly and with all my hart, firſt of all aſke the kinges maieſty forgeueneſſe, and ſecondarily of the world, beſeeching all theſe that either now doe, or hereafter ſhall heare of theſe my great tranſgreſſions, to take this mine example for an inſtruction for them to call for grace, that they therby be ſtayd from falling at any time in ſuch miſerable blindneſſe and folly.

Moreouer, here afore God and you (good Chriſtian people) I do vtterly & withall my hart, recãt & reuoke all mine aforeſayd erronious and trayterous opinions. And (as my conſcience now doth force) I proteſt that euẽ wyth my hart I firmely thinke and vndoubtedly beleue, that the Byſhop of Rome neyther now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can haue by any law of God or man, any more authoritye without the precincte of his owne countrye about him, then any other Biſhop hath within his owne dioces. wherby I aſſuredly take the aboliſhing of the pretenſed and vſurped power or authority of the Byſhop of Rome out of this Realme to be done iuſtly and truely by the law of God. And alſo I take our ſoueraigne Lord, the kinges highneſſe to be ſupreme head immediatly next vnder Chriſt of the Church of England and Ireland, and all other his graces dominions, both of the ſpiritualty & temporalty. And I confeſſe not onely that his maieſty ſo is by the law of God, but alſo his progenitours kinges of thys Realme ſo hath bene, and his highneſſe heyres and ſucceſſors kinges of this Realme ſo ſhall be.

Thus haue I ſhewed you my minde as well as I can but neither ſo well as I would, nor ſo full as I ſhould, namely cõcerning the multitude of mercy which my moſt gracious prince hath ſhewed toward me, not onely for ſauing my body after worthy cõdẽnatiõ to death as is aforeſayd but alſo for ſauing my ſoule frõ periſhing, if my body had periſhed before the receiuing of ſuch wholeſome councell as I had at his highnes moſt charitable aſſignement. And of this confeſſion declared vnto you (I ſay as farre forth as I can.) I hartely pray you all to beare me record, and moſt entyrely to pray almighty God, for the long and moſt proſperous eſtate of our ſoueraigne Lord the kinges Maieſty in all his affayres and procedings.

By me Iohn Heywood

Memorandũ quod ſupra ſcripta aſſertio ſiue recãtatio fuit facta & publice emiſſa per prenominatum Iohannem Heiwood die dominica Sexto viz. die Iulij. An. Milleſſimo Quingenteſimo Quadrageſimo quarto, apud crucem paulinam tempore Concionis ibidem.

In this yeare of our Lord. 1545. as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, ſo now the order of ſtory here requireth by the courſe of yeares, next to infer the diſcourſe of the troubles and perſecutions which happened in Scotland, agaynſt M. George wyſard, and diuers other good men of the ſame country, about the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1545. and ſomewhat before. But becauſe now we are come to the latter ende almoſt of K. Henryes raygne, we will make an ende (the Lord willing) with a few other Engliſh ſtoryes perteyning to that time: & that finiſhed, ſo to ſet vpon thoſe matters of Scotland, ioyning them whole together. The tractation whereof thou ſhalt ſee (good reader) in the latter end and cloſing vppe of this kinges raigne.

✻ Kerby and Roger Clarke of Suffolke Martyrs.

COmming now to the yeare of our Lord. 1546. firſt paſſing ouer the Prieſt, whoſe name was Sarye, which was hanged in the Porters lodge of Stephen Gardiner Biſhoppe of wincheſter, and that (as it is ſuppoſed) not without the conſent of the ſayd Biſhop, and the ſecret conſpiracy of that bloudy generation: to paſſe ouer alſo one Henry, with his ſeruaunt burned at Colcheſter: I will now proceede to the ſtory of Kerby and Roger Clarke of Mendelſham, who were apprehended at Ipſwiche. ann. 1546. the ſaterday before Gang monday, and brought before the Lord wentworth, with other Commiſſioners appointed there to ſit vpon theyr examinations, iudgemẽts, and cauſes. The night before they were areyned, a bil was ſet vp vpon the townehouſe doore (by whom, it was vnknowne) and brought the next day vnto the Lord Wentworth: who aunſwered, that it was good counſell. Whiche bill in the latter end ſhall appeare.

In the meane time Kerby & Roger beyng in the Gailers houſe, named J. Bird, an honeſt and a good man (who had checkes diuers times at the barre, that he was more meet to be kept, then to be a keeper) came in Mayſter Robert Wingfielde, ſonne and heyre of Humfrey Wingfielde knight) with M. Brueſſe of Wennenham: who then hauing conference with Kerby (being then in a ſeuerall chāber ſeparate frō the other) mayſter Wingfeld ſayd to Kerby: Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterpriſe that yͧ take no more vpō thee thē thou ſhalt be able to performe. The terror is great, the payne will be extreme, and life is ſweet. Better it were betime to ſtick to mercy, while there is hope of life, then raſhly to begin, & then to ſhrink: with ſuch like words of perſwaſion. To whom he anſwered agayne: Ah M. Wingfield, be at my burning, and you ſhall ſay, there ſtandeth a chriſten ſouldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, ſword, and all other thinges, are in the handes of God, and he will ſuffer no more to be layd vpon vs, then he will geue vs ſtrength to beare. Ah Kerby, ſayd mayſter Wingfield, if thou be at that poynt, I will bidde thee farewell: For I promiſe thee I am not ſo ſtrong, that I am able to burne. And ſo both the Gentlemen ſaying that they woulde pray for them, tooke handes with them, and ſo departed.

Now (firſt touching the behauiour of Kerby & Roger) when they came to the iudgement ſeate, the Lorde Wentworth, with all the reſt of the Juſtices there readye, the Commiſſary alſo by vertue ex officio. ſitting next to the L. Wentworth, but one betwene Kerby and Roger lifted vp theyr eyes and handes to heauen, with great deuotion in all mens eyes, making theyr prayers ſecretly to God for a ſpace of time, whileſt they might ſay the Lordes praier fiue or ſixe times.

That done, theyr articles were declared vnto thē, with all circumſtances of the law: and then it was demaunded and enquired of them, whether they beleued, that after the wordes ſpoken by a prieſt (as Chriſt ſpake them to his Apoſtles) there were not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, and bone, as he was borne of the virgin Mary, and no bread after.

Unto the which wordes they anſwered and ſayd, No, they did not ſo beleue: but that they did beleue the Sacrament which Chriſt Jeſus did inſtitute at his laſt ſupper, on Maundy thurſday at night to his diſciples was onely to put all men in remembraunce of the precious death and bloudſhedding for the remiſſion of ſinnes, and that there was neither fleſh nor bloud to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine: and yet more then bread and wine, for that it is conſecrated to an holy vſe. Then with much perſwaſions, both with fayre meanes and threates beſides (if it would haue ſerued) were theſe two poore men hardly layd to: but moſt at the handes of Foſter an inferior Juſtice, not being learned in ſuch knowledge. But theſe two continued both faythful and content, chuſing rather to dye then to liue, and ſo continued vnto the end.

Then ſentence was geuen vpon them both, Kerby to be burned in the ſayd towne the next Saterday, and Roger to be burned at Bury the Gang Monday after. Kerby when his iudgement was geuen by the Lord Wentworth, with moſt humble reuerēce holding vp his hands, and bowing himſelfe deuoutly, ſayd: Prayſed be almighty God, and ſo ſtood ſtill without any moe wordes.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talke ſecretly, putting his head behinde an other iuſtice that ſate betweene them. The ſayd Roger perceiuing that, ſayd with a loud voyce: Speake out my Lord, and if you haue done any thing contrary to your conſcience, aſke God mercy, and we for our partes do forgeue you: and ſpeake not in ſecret, for ye ſhall come before a Judge, and then make anſwere openly, euē he that ſhall iudge all men: with other like wordes.

The Lord Wentworth ſomewhat bluſhing, and chaūginge his countenaunce through remorſe (as it was thought) ſayd, I did ſpeake nothing of you, nor I haue done nothing vnto you, but as the Lawe is. Then was Kerby and Roger ſent forth: Kerby to priſon there, & Roger to ſaynt Edmundes Bury. The one of the two bruſting out with a loud voyce (Roger as it is ſuppoſed) thus ſpake with a vehemency: Fight (ſayd he) for your God For he hath not long to continue.

The next day, which was Saterday, about ten of the clocke, Kerby was brought to the market place, wheras a ſtake was ready, wood, broome, and ſtraw, and did of hys clothes vnto his ſhyrt, hauing a night cap vpon his dead, and ſo was faſtened to the ſtake with yrons, there beyng in the galery, the Lord Wentworth, with the moſt part of all the Juſtices of thoſe quarters, where they might ſee his execution, how euery thing ſhould be done, and alſo might heare what Kerby did ſay: and a great number of people, about two thouſand by eſtimation. There was alſo ſtanding in the galery by the Lord Wentworth, D. Rugham, whiche was before a Monke of Burye and ſexten of the houſe, hauing on a Surplis and a ſtole about his necke. Then ſilence was proclaymed, and the ſayd Doctour beganne to diſable himſelfe, as not meet to declare the holye Scriptures (being vnprouided becauſe the time was ſo ſhort) but that he hoped in Gods aſſiſtance it ſhould come well to paſſe.

D. Rugham Monke of Bury preached at the burning of Kerby.

All this while Kerby was trimming with yrons and fagottes, broome, and ſtraw, as one that ſhould be maryed with new garmentes, nothing chaunging cheare nor coūtenaunce, but with moſt meeke ſpirite gloryfied GOD: which was wonderfull to behold. Then Mayſter Doctor at laſt entred into ẏ ſixt Chapter of S. Joh. who in handling that matter ſo oft as he alledged the Scriptures, and applyed them rightly. Kerby tolde the people, that he ſayd true, and bade the people beleue him. But when he did otherwiſe, he tolde him agayne: You ſay not true: beleue him not good people.

The chearfull countenance & courage of Kerby.

Whereupon, as the voyce of the people was, they iudged Doctour Rugham a falſe Prophet. So when mayſter Doctour had ended his collation, he ſayde vnto Kerby: Thou good man, doeſt not thou beleue that the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar is the very fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, and no bread euen as he was borne of the virgine Mary? Kerby aunſwering boldly, ſayd: I do not ſo beleue. How doeſt thou beleue, ſayd the Doctour? Kerby ſayd, I do beleue that in the Sacrament that Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted at his laſt ſupper on Maundye Thurſdaye to his Diſciples (which ought of vs likewiſe to be done) is the death and paſſion, and his bloud ſhedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembred: and (as I ſayde before) yet bread, and more then bread, for that it is cōſecrated to a holy vſe.

Kerbyes confeſſiō of the Sacrament.

Then was mayſter Doctor in his dumpes, and ſpake not one word more to Kerby after.

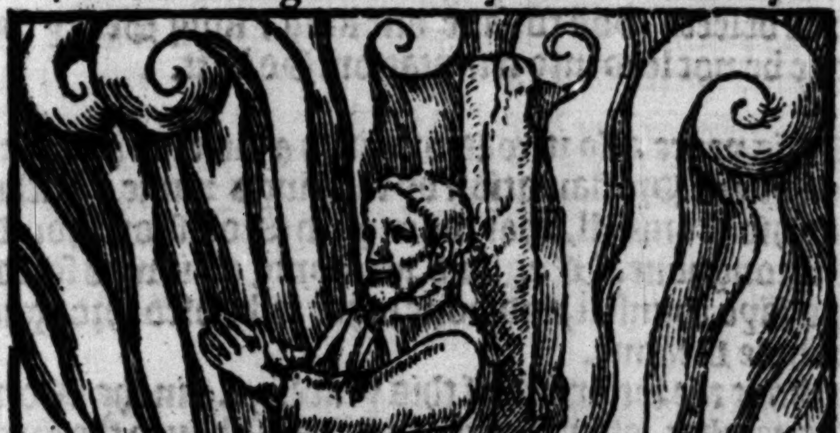
Then ſayd the vnder Shiriffe to Kerby, haſt thou any thing more to ſay? Yea ſyr ſayde he, if you wyll geue me leaue. Say on, ſayd the Shiriffe.

Then Kerby taking his night cappe from hys head, put it vnder his arme, as though it ſhould haue done him ſeruice agayne: but remembring him ſelfe, he caſt it from him, and lifting vp his handes, he ſayd the Hymne, Te Deum, and the beliefe, with other prayers in the Engliſh tongue. The Lord Wentworth, whileſt Kerby was thus doing, did ſhroude him ſelfe behinde one of the poſtes of the Gallery, and wept, and ſo did many other. Then ſaid Kerby, I haue done: you may execute your office good Maiſter Shiriffe.

The Lord Wētworth wept at Kerbyes burning

Then fire was ſet to the wood, and with loud voyce he called vnto God, knocking on his breſt, and holding vppe

¶ The burning and Martyrdome of Kerby.



The conſtant Martyrdome of Kerby.

his handes ſo long as remembraunce would ſerue, and ſo ended his life, the people geuing ſhoutes, & prayſing God, with great admiration of his conſtancy, being ſo ſimple & vnlettered.

Roger Clarke of Mendelſham brought to the ſtake at Burye.

Roger Clarke geueth no reuerence to the proceſſion.

Iohn. 1.

On the Gang Monday, an. 1546. about tenne of the clocke, Roger Clarke of Mendelſham was brought out of priſon and went on foote to the gate, called Southgate in Bury, and by the way the Proceſſion mette with them, but he went on, and would not bow cap nor kne, but with moſt vehement wordes rebuked that idolatry and ſuperſtition, the Officers being much offended. And without the gate, where as was the place of execution, the ſtake beyng ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled downe, and ſayd Magnificat in the Engliſh tongue, making as it were a Paraphraſe vppon the ſame: wherein he declared how that the bleſſed virgine Mary, who might as well reioyce in purenes, as any other, yet humbled her ſelfe to her Sauiour. And what ſayſt thou Iohn Baptiſt, ſayd he, the greateſt of all mens children? Behold the Lambe of God whiche taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And thus with loude voyce he cried vnto the people while he was in faſtning to the ſtake, & then the fire was ſet to him, wheras he ſuffered paines vnmercifully, for the wood was greene and would not burne, ſo that he was choked with ſmoke: and moreouer being ſet in a pitch barrel, with ſome pitch ſticking ſtil by the ſides, was therwith ſore payned, till he had got hys feet out of the barrell. And at length one ſtanding by tooke a fagotte ſticke, and ſtriking at the ring of yron about hys necke, ſo paſhed him, and ſtroke him belike vpon the head, that he ſhronk downe on the one ſide into the fire, & ſo was diſſolued.

The painfull burning and Martyrdome of Roger Clarke of Mendelſham.

In the beginning of this ſtory of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certayne Bill put vpon the towne houſe doore, and brought the next day to the Lord Wentworth: the wordes of which Bill were theſe.

¶ The Byll ſet vpon the Townehouſe dore in Ipſwich.

The wordes of the bill ſet vp on the Townhouſe doore.

IVſte iudicate filij hominum: yet when ye ſhall iudge, miniſter your iuſtice with mercy.

A fearfull thing it is to fall into the handes of the liuing God: be ye learned therfore in true knowledge, ye ẏ iudge the earth, leaſt the Lord be agry with you.

The bloud of the righteous ſhall be required at your handes. What though the veile hanged before Moſes face? yet at Chriſtes death it fell downe.

The ſtones will ſpeak, if theſe ſhould hold theyr peace: therfore harden not your hartes agaynſt the verity.

For fearefully ſhall the Lord appeare in the day of vengeance to the troubled in conſcience. No excuſe ſhall there be of ignorance, but euery fat ſhall ſtand on his owne bottome. Therfore haue remorſe to your conſcience: feare him that may kill both body and ſoule.

Beware of innocent bloud ſhedding: take heed of iuſtice ignorantly miniſtred: worke diſcreetly as the Scripture doth commaund: looke to it, that ye make not ẏ trueth to be forſaken.

We beſeech God to ſaue our king, king Henry the 8. that he be not lead into temptation. So be it.

This yeare alſo it was ordeined & decreed & ſolemnly geuen out in Proclamation by the kings name & authority and his Counſell, that the engliſh Proceſſion ſhould be vſed throughout al England, according as it was ſet forth by his ſayd counſell, and none other to be vſed throughout the whole Realme.

The Scottes ſubdued

Bollayne wonne.

Stat. an. 37. Reg. Hen. 8.

Colledges and Chauntreis geuen to the king.

A Parliament.

About the latter end of this yeare. 1545. in the Moneth of Nouember, after that the king had ſubdued the Scots, and afterward ioyning together with the Emperour, had inuaded France, and had got from them the town of Bollayn, he ſummoned his high Court of Parliament. In the which was graunted vnto him beſides other ſubſidies of mony, all Colledges, Chātries, free chappels, hoſpitals, fraternities, brotherhoodes, guildes, & perpetuities of ſtipēdary prieſtes, to be diſpoſed at his wil & pleaſure. Wher vpon in the moneth of Decem. folowing, the king after the wonted maner, came into the parliamēt houſe, to geue his roiall aſſent to ſuch actes as were there paſſed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker, he anſwering agayne vnto the ſame, not by the L. Chancellour (as the maner was) but by himſelfe, vttered forth this oration word for word, as it is reported, and left in ſtory.

In the contentes of whiche Oration, firſt eloquently and louingly he declared his gratefull hart to his louyng ſubiectes, for theyr grauntes and ſubuentions offered vnto him. In the ſecond part, with no leſſe vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace, and vnity. Whereunto if he had alſo ioyned the third part, that is, as in wordes he exhorted to vnity, ſo had begon in deed firſt himſelfe to take away the occaſion of deuiſion, diſobedience, & diſturbance frō his ſubiectes, that is, had remoued the ſtūbling blocke of the 6. articles out of the peoples way, which ſet brother agaynſt brother, neighbour agaynſt neighbor, the ſuperior agaynſt ſubiect, & the wolues to deuour the poore flocke of Chriſt: then had he not onely ſpoken, but alſo done like a worthy prince. But of this more ſhalbe ſayd in the ſequele hereof, God willing.

✻ The kinges Oration in the Parliament houſe.

ALthough my Chauncellour for the time being, hath before this time vſed, very eloquently and ſubſtantially to make anſwere to ſuch Orations. as haue bene ſet forth in this high Court of Parlirment: yet is he not ſo able to opē and ſet forth my mind and meaning, and the ſecretes of my hart, in ſo playne and ample maner, as I my ſelfe am and can doe. Wherefore I taking vpon me, to aunſwere your eloquent Oration Mayſter Speaker, ſay: that where you in the name of our welbeloued Commons, haue both prayſed and extolled me, for the notable qualities that ye haue conceiued to be in me, I moſt hartely thanke you all, that you haue put mee in remembraunce of my duety, which is to endeuor my ſelfe to obteine and get ſuch excellent qualityes, and neceſſary vertues, as a prince or gouernour ſhould or ought to haue: of whiche giftes I recognise my ſelfe both bare and barrayne.

But of ſuch ſmall qualities, as God hath endued me withall, I render to his goodneſſe my moſt hūble thankes entending with all my wit and diligence, to gette and acquire to me ſuch notable vertues and princely qualities as you haue alledged to be incorporate in my perſon.

Theſe thankes for your louing admonition and good counſell firſt remembred, I eftſoones thanke you agayne becauſe that you conſidering our great charges (not for our pleaſure, but for your defence, not for our gayne, but to our great coſt) which we haue lately ſuſteined, as well in defence of our & your enemies, as for the conqueſt of that Fortreſſe, whiche was to this Realme moſt diſpleaſaunt and noyſome, and ſhalbe by Gods grace hereafter, to our nation moſt profitable and pleaſaunt, haue freely of your owne minde, graunted to vs a certayne ſubſidy here in an acte ſpecified, which verely we take in good part, regarding more your kindneſſe, then the profite therof as he that ſetteth more by your louing harts, then by your ſubſtance. Beſide this harty kindneſſe, I cannot a litle reioyce when I conſider the perfect truſt & ſure confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope, and vnfayned beliefe in my good doinges, & iuſt proceedings for that you, without my deſire or requeſt, haue cōmitted to mine order and diſpoſition, all Chauntreys, Colledges, Hoſpitals, and other places ſpecified, in a certayne acte, firmelye truſting that I will order them to the glory of God, & the profite of the common wealth. Surely, if I contrary to your expectation, ſhould ſuffer the Miniſters of the Church to decay, or learning (which is ſo great a iewell) to be miniſhed, or poore and miſerable people to be vnrelieued you might ſay that I being put in ſo ſpeciall a truſt, as I am in this caſe, were no truſty frend to you, nor charitable man to mine euen Chriſten, neither a louer of the publique wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome account muſt be rendered of all our doinges. Doubte not I pray you but your expectation ſhalbe ſerued, more godly & goodly then you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall playnely perceiue.

Now ſithens I finde ſuch kindeneſſe on your part toward me, I can not chuſe, but loue and fauor you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoureth his ſubiectes then I doe you, nor no ſubiectes or commons more loue and obey theyr ſoueraigne Lord, then I perceiue you doe me, for whoſe defence my treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor if neceſſitie require, my perſon ſhall not be vnaduentured. Yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect loue and concord, this frendly amity can not cōtinue except both you my Lordes Temporall, and you my Lords Spirituall, and you my louing ſubiectes, ſtudye and take payne to amend one thing, which is ſurely amiſſe and farre out of order, to the which I moſt hartely require you: which is, that charity & concord is not amongeſt you, but diſcord and diſſention beareth rule in euery place. Saynt Paule ſayth to the Corinthians, in the xiij. Chapiter. Charity is gentle, Charity is not enuious, Charity is not proud, and ſo forth in the ſayde Chapter. Beholde then what loue and * charitye is amongeſt you, when the one calleth the other Heretique and Anabaptiſt, and he calleth hym agayne Papiſt, Hypocrite, and Phareſey? Be theſe tokens of charity amongeſt you? Are theſe the ſignes of fraternall loue betweene you? No, no, I aſſure you, that this lacke of charitye amongeſt your ſelues, wil be the hinderaunce and aſſwaging the feruent loue betwene vs, as I ſayd before, except this woūd be ſalued, and clearely made whole. I muſt needes iudge the faulte and

occaſion

…f true re- …ion had …e main- …ned, and …ot refor- …d, theſe …es of …ance had …nccede …w to be …roued.

occaſion of this diſcord, to be partly by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the Spiritualty. For if I know a man which liueth in adultery, I muſt iudge him a lecherous & a carnall perſon. If I ſee a man boaſt and bragge himſelfe, I can not but deeme him a proud man. I ſee and heare dayly, that you of the Clergye preach one agaynſt an other, teach one contrary to an other, inueigh one agaynſt an other, without charity or diſcretion. Some be to ſtiffe in their olde Mumpſimus, other be too buſy and curious in their new Sumpſimus. Thus all men almoſt be in variety and diſcord, and few or none do preache truely and ſincerely the word of GOD, according as they ought to doe. Shall I nowe iudge you charitable perſons doing this? No, no: I can not ſo do. Alas how can the poore ſoules liue in concorde, when you preachers ſowe amongeſt them in your Sermons, debate and diſcord? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darckeneſſe. Amend theſe crimes I exhort you, and ſet forth Gods* word, both by true preaching, and good example geuing, or els I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high miniſter here, will ſee theſe diuiſions extincte, and theſe enormities corrected, accordyng to my very duety, or els I am an vnprofitable ſeruant and vntrue officer.

…nd …ertin els …iſteth al …s variance …onely …cauſe …ds word …h not his …s courſe …t they …ich ſet it …h are …demned …refore & …ned.

Although (as I ſay) the Spirituall men be in ſome fault, that charity is not kept amongeſt you, yet you of the Temporalty bee not cleane and vnſpotted of malice and enuye: for you rayle on Byſhops, ſpeake ſclaunderouſly of Prieſtes, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order, and Chriſtian fraternitie. If you know ſurely that a Biſhop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruerſe doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our Counſell, or to vs, to whom is committed by God the authority to reforme and order ſuch cauſes and behauiors, and be not iudges your ſelues, of your owne phantaſticall opinions, and vayne expoſitions, for in ſuch high cauſes ye may lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy ſcripture, and to haue the worde of God in your mother tongue, you muſt vnderſtand, that it is licenced you ſo to do, onely to informe your owne conſcience, and to inſtruct your children and family, and not to diſpute and make ſcripture a rayling and a taunting ſtocke agaynſt prieſtes and preachers as many light perſons do. I am very ſory to know and heare how vnreuerently that moſt precious iewel the word of God is diſputed, rymed, *ſong & iangled in euery Alehouſe and Tauerne, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the ſame. And yet I am euen as muche ſory, that the readers of the ſame folow it in doing ſo faintly & coldly. For of this I am ſure, that charity was neuer ſo faynt amongeſt you, & vertuous & *godly liuing was neuer leſſ vſed, nor god himſelfe amongeſt Chriſtians was neuer leſſe reuerenced, honored, or ſerued. Therfore, as I ſayde before, be in charitye one with an other, like brother and brother. Loue, dread, and ſerue God (to the which I as your ſupreme head and ſoueraigne Lord exhort and require you) and then I doubt not, but that loue and league that I ſpake of in the beginning, ſhall neuer be diſſolued or broken betwene vs. And as touching the lawes, which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making & furthering the ſame, or els your labour ſhall be in vayne, & your comon wealth nothing relieued.

…his can touch none …onely the Papiſtes, …o will needes be …th accuſers, and alſo …ges in their owne o- …ions and cauſes.

…w are they …tted to …e Gods …d, when …e is per- …ed to read …nder the …ree of a …ndeman.

…Hierom wiſheth the Scriptures …onely to be read of all men but …o to be ſong of women at their …kes, of plowmen at the plow, of …eners at their loome. &c.

…Godly liuing though it encreaſe …with the Goſpel ſo much as we …ſhe: yet the defecte thereof is not …bee imputed to the Goſpel. And …we well cōpare tyme with time, …ſhall find by vewing the bookes …the old Watmot queſtes of who- …and baudes and wicked liuers, …preſented to one nowe beſides …eſtes & the common ſtues.

Notes vpon the foreſayd exhortation.

…e kinges …ation ex- …ded, with …es vpon …ſame.

PRinces which exhort to concorde and charitie, doe well, but Princes which ſeeke out the cauſes of diſcord, & reforme the ſame, do much better: The papiſt and proteſtant Hereticke, and Phariſee, the old Mumpſimus, and the newe Sumpſimus, be termes of variance and diſſention, and be (I graunt) Symtomata, of a ſore wound in the commō wealth but he that will amend this wound muſt firſt beginne to ſearch out the cauſes, and to purge the occaſion thereof: otherwiſe to cure the ſore outwardlye, whiche inwardlye doth feſter and danckle ſtill, it is but vayne.

The roote and ground of al this greeuance riſeth here of the prelates and clergy of Rome, ſeeking as it ſeemeth altogether after riches, pompe, & honour of this world, to mayntayn ẏ ſame vnder pretence of religion, doe in verye deed ſubuert religiō, vnder ẏ title of the church, they bring into the churche manifeſt errours, & abſurdities intollerable, who pretending to be fathers of the churche, if they tranſgreſſed but in maners and lightnes of life, or negligence of gouernement, they might be borne withall for peace & concords ſake, and here modeſty, ciuillitie, quietnes vnitie, & charitie, might haue place amongſt modeſt natures. But now they obſcure the glory of the ſonne of God, which in no caſe ought to be ſuffered: they extinct the light & grace of the Goſpell: they clogge mens conſciences: they ſet vp Idolatry, & mayntayn Idols, they bring in falſe inuocation, they reſtrayne lawfull matrimonye, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredome in the Church vnſpeakable, they corrupt the ſacramentes: they wraſt the ſcripture as worldly purpoſes, they kill and perſecute Gods people. Briefly theyr doctrine is damnable: theyr lawes be impious, their doinges are deteſtable. And yet after all this, they crept craftely into the hartes of princes vnder the title of the Church, & coulor of concord, making kinges and princes beleue that all be herretickes and ſchiſmatickes, which will not be ſubiect to their ordinary power. Now almighty God, who is a ielous God, & not ſuffering the glory of his ſonne to be defaced, nor his truth to be troden vnder foot, ſtirreth vp againe the harts of his people to vnderſtād his truth & to defend his cauſe. Wherevpō of thoſe two partes, as two mighty flintes thus ſmiting together cōmeth out the ſparcle of this diuiſiō, which by no wiſe can be quenched, but that one part muſt nedes yeld & geue ouer. There is no neutrality, nor mediatiō of peace, nor exhortation to agremēt that will ſerue betwene theſe two contrary doctrines, but either the Popes errors muſt geue place to Gods word, or els the veritye of God muſt geue place vnto them.

Wherefore, as the good intent and plauſible Oration of the king in this behalf, was not to be diſcommended in exhorting his ſubiectes to charity: ſo had he much more deſerued commendation if he hadde ſought the right way to worke charity, & to helpe innocency amongſt his ſubiects, by taking away the impious law of the 6. articls, the mother of all diuiſion and manſlaughter. For what is this to the purpoſe, to exhort in wordes neuer ſo much to charity, and in deed to geue a knife to the murtherers hand, to run vpon his naked brother, which neither in conſcience can leaue his cauſe, nor yet hath power to defend himſelfe? As by experience here foloweth to be ſeene, what charity enſued after this exhortation of the king to charity, by the racking and burning of good Anne Aſkew, with 3. other poore ſubiectes of the king, within halfe a yeare after: whereof ſhortly you ſhall heare more declared.

When theſe Chauntries and colledges thus by Acte of Parliamēt were geuen into the kings hands as is aboue remembred: which was about the moneth of Decēber, an. 1545. the next Lent following D. Crome preaching in the Mercers chappel, among other reaſons and perſuatiōs to rouſe the people from the vayn opinion of Purgatory, inferred this grounding vpon the ſayd act of parliamēt: that if Trentals and Chauntry maſſes could auayle the ſoules in Purgatory, then did the Parliament not wel in geuing away Monaſteryes, Colledges, & chaūtries, which ſerued principally to that purpoſe. But if the parliament did wel (as no mā could deny) in diſſoluing them, and beſtowing the ſame vpon the king, then is it a playne caſe, that ſuch Chauntries and priuate maſſes do nothing conferre to releue them in Purgatory. This dilemma of D. Crome, no doubt, was inſoluble. But notwithſtādyng the charitable Prelates, for all the kinges late exhortation vnto charity, were ſo charitable to him, that on Eaſter next they broght him Coram nobis, where they ſo handled him ẏ they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would haue diſſolued him & his argument in burning fire, ſo burning hote was theyr charity according as they burned Anne Aſkew and her fellowes in the moneth of Iulye the yeare folowing. Whoſe tragicall ſtory and cruell handling now conſequētly (the Lord willing) you ſhall heare.

D. Cromes Dilemma agaynſt priuate maſſes.

D. Crome driuē to recant.

Anno 1545.

The charity of the Biſhops.

¶The firſt examination of Miſtres Anne Aſkew, before the inquiſitours. 1545.

The firſt examination of Anne Aſkew.

TO ſatiſfy your expectation: good people (ſayth ſhe) this was my firſt examination in the yeare of our Lorde. 1545. and in the in the month of March.

Christopher Dare Inquiſitor.

The firſt article agaynſt Anne Aſkew.

Firſt Chriſtoph. Dare examined me at Sadlers Hall, being one of the Queſt, and aſked if I did not beleeue that the ſacrament, hanging ouer the altar, was the very bodye of Chriſt really. Then I demaunded this queſtion of hym: wherfore S. Stephen was ſtoned to death, and he ſayd, he could not tell. Then I anſwered, that no more woulde I aſſoyle his vayne queſtion.

The ſecond article.

Secondly, he ſayd that there was a woman, which did teſtifie that I ſhoulde read, howe God was not in Temples made with handes. Then I ſhewed him the 7. and 17 chap. of the actes of the Apoſtles, what Stephen and paule had ſaid therein. Wherupon he aſked me how I took thoſe ſentences? I anſwered, I would not throw pearles amōg ſwine, for Acornes were good enough.

The 3. article.

Thirdly, he aſked me wherefore I ſayde that I had rather to read fiue lines in the Bible, then to heare 5. Maſſes in the temple? I confeſſed, that I ſayd no leſſe: not for the diſpraiſe of either ẏ epiſtle or the Goſpel, but becauſe ẏ one

1. Cor. 14.

did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As S. Paul doth witnes in the 14. chap. of his firſt epiſtle to the Cor. where as he ſayth. If the trumpet geueth an vncertayne ſound, who will prepare himſelfe to the battell?

The 4. article

Fourthly: he ſayd vnto my charge that I ſhould ſay: if an ill prieſt miniſtred, it was the deuill and not God.

Ill conditions of the miniſters hurt not the faith of the receauers.

My anſwere was, that I neuer ſpake any ſuch thyng. But this was my ſaying: that whoſoeuer he were that miniſtred vnto me, his il cōditiōs could not hurt my faith, but in ſpirit I receiued neuertheles, yͤ body & bloud of Chriſt.

The 5. article.
The 6. article.

He aſked me what I ſaid concerning confeſſion? I anſwered him my meaning, which was as S. James ſayth, that euery man ought to knowledge his faultes to other, and the one to pray for the other.

Sixtly, he aſked me what I ſayd to the kinges booke? And I aunſwered him, that I coulde ſay nothing to it, becauſe I neuer ſaw it.

The 7. article

Seuēthly, he aſked me if I had the ſpirit of God in me? I anſwered, if I had not, I was but a reprobate or caſt away. Then he ſayd he had ſent for a prieſt to examine me, which was here at hand.

A prieſt brought to examine Anne Aſkew.

The prieſt aſked me what I ſayd to the Sacrament of the aulter, & required much to know therein my meaning. But I deſired him againe, to hold me excuſed concerning that matter. None other anſwere would I make him, becauſe I perceiued him to be a papiſt.

The 8. article.
Priuate Maſſes Idolatry.

Eightly he aſked me, if I did not thinke that priuate maſſes did helpe ſoules departed? I ſayd, it was great idolatry to beleue more in thē, then in the death which Chriſt dyed for vs.

Anne Aſkew brought to the Lord Mayor.

Then they had me thence vnto my L. Maior, and he examined me, as they had before, and I anſwered him directly in all thinges as I aunſwered the Queſt before. Beſides this my L. Maior layd one thing to my charge, whiche was neuer ſpokē of me, but of them: & that was, whether a mouſe eating the hoſt, receiued God or no? This queſtion did I neuer aſk, but in deede they aſked it of me, whereunto I made them no aunſwere but ſmiled.

Women forbidden to ſpeake in the congregatiō and how?

Then the Biſhops Chauncellor rebuked me and ſayd, yͭ I was much to blame for vttring the ſcriptures. For S. Paul (he ſayd) forbode women to ſpeake, or to talke of the word of God. I anſwered him that I knew Paules meaning as well as he, which is in the 1. Corin. 14. that a woman ought not to ſpeak in the congregation by the way of teaching. And thē I aſked him, how many women he had ſeene go into the Pulpit and preach? He ſayd he neuer ſaw none. Then I ſayd, he ought to finde no fault in poore women, except they had offended the law.

Anne Aſkew commaunded to the Counter by the Lord Mayor.

Talke betweene Anne Aſkew & a Prieſt ſent to her in priſon.

Then the L. Maior commaunded me to warde, I aſked him if ſureties woulde not ſerue me, and he made me ſhort anſwere, that he would take none. Then was I had to the Counter, and there remayned xi. dayes, no frend admitted to ſpeak with me. But in the mean time there was a prieſt ſent to me, which ſayd that he was commaunded of the Biſhop to examine me, and to geue me good counſell, which he did not. But firſt he aſked me for what cauſe I was put in the Counter, and I told him, I could not tell. Then he ſayd it was great pity that I ſhould be there without cauſe, and concluded that he was very ſory for me.

Secondly he ſayd, it was told him, that I ſhould deny the Sacrament of the aulter. And I aunſwered agayne that, that I haue ſayd, I haue ſayd.

Thirdly he aſked me if I were ſhriuen, I tolde him, ſo that I might haue one of theſe three, that is to ſay, Doctor Crome, Syr Gillam, or Huntington. I was contented becauſe I knew them to be men of wiſedome, as for you or any other I will not diſprayſe, becauſe I knowe you not. Then he ſayd, I would not haue you thinke, but that I, or an other yͭ ſhall be brought you, ſhall be as honeſt as they, for if we were not, you may be ſure the king would not ſuffer vs to preach. Then I aunſwered by the ſaying of Salomon. By communing with the wiſe, I may learne wiſdome, But by talking with a foole, I ſhall take ſcathe. pro.

Prou. 1.

Whether a mouſe may eate Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, or no.

Fourthly he aſked, if the hoſt ſhould fall, and a Beaſte did eate it, whether the beaſt did receiue God or no? I anſwered, ſeing you haue taken the paynes to aſke yͤ queſtiō I deſire you alſo to aſſoyle it your ſelfe: for I will not doe it, becauſe I perceiue you come to tempt me. And he ſaid, it was agaynſt the order of ſcholes, yͭ he which aſked the queſtion, ſhould anſwere it, I told him, I was but a woman, and knew not the courſe of ſcholes.

Fiftly he aſked me, if I entended to receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, or no? I aunſwered, that els I were no Chriſten woman, and thereat I did reioyce, that the time was ſo neare at hand, and then he departed thence wyth many fayre wordes.

M. Britayne ſeeketh to baile Anne Aſkew his coſin.

The xxiij. day of March, my coſin Britaine came into the Counter vnto me, and aſked me whether I might bee put to bayle, or no? Thē went he immediately vnto my L. Mayor, deſiring of him to be ſo good vnto me. That I might be bayled. My Lord aunſwered him, and ſayd that he would be glad to doe the beſt that in him lay. How be it he could not bayle me, without the conſent of a ſpiritual officer: requiring him to go & ſpeak with the Chauncellor of London. For he ſayde, like as he could not committe me to priſon without the conſent of a ſpirituall Officer, no more could he bayle me without the conſent of the ſame.

So vpon that, he went to the Chaūcellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Maior. He anſwered him the that matter was ſo haynous, that he durſt not of him ſelfe do it, without my Lord of London were made priuy thereunto. But he ſayd he would ſpeake vnto my Lord in it, & badde him repayre vnto him the nexte morow, and he ſhould wel know my Lords pleaſure: And vpon the morow after, he came thither, and ſpake both with the Chaūcellor, & with the Biſhop of Londō. The Biſhop declared vnto him, that he was very well contented that I ſhould come forth to a communication, & appoynted me to appere before him the next day after, at 3, of the clock at afternone. Moreouer, he ſayd vnto him, that he would, there ſhold be at the examination ſuch learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might ſee, & alſo make report that I was hādled with no rigor. He anſwered him that he knew no man that I had more affection to, then to other. Then ſayd the Byſhop: yes as I vnderſtand, ſhe is affectioned to Doct. Crome, Syr Guillam, whitehead, & Huntingtō that they might heare the matter: for ſhe did know thē to be learned & of a godly iudgemēt. Alſo he required my coſin Britayn, that he ſhould earneſtly perſwade me to vtter euē the very bottome of my hart: and he ſware by his fidelitye, that no man ſhould take any aduantage of my words: neyther yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing yͭ I ſhould there ſpeake: but if I ſayde any maner of thing amiſſe, he with other more would be glad to reforme me therin, with moſt godly counſell.

On the morow after, the Biſhop of Londō ſent for me, at one of the clocke, his houre being appoynted at three, & as I came before him, he ſaid he was very ſory of my trouble, & deſired to know my opiniō in ſuch matters as were layd againſt me. He required me alſo in any wiſe boldly to vtter the ſecrets of my hart, bidding me not to feare in any poynt, for whatſoeuer I did ſay in his houſe, no mā ſhould hurt me for it. I anſwered: forſomuch as your lordſhip appoynted three of the clocke, & my frendes ſhall not come til that houre, I deſire you to pardō me of geuing anſwere til they come. Thē ſayd he, that he thought it meet to ſend for thoſe 4. men which were afore named & appointed. Thē I deſired him not to put them to the payne, for it ſhould not need, becauſe the two gentlemen which were my frendes were able enough to teſtify that I ſhould ſay. Anone after he went into his gallary with M. Spilman, & willed him in any wiſe that he ſhoulde exhorte me to vtter all that I thought. In the meane while he cōmaunded his Archdeacon to cōmon with me, who ſayd vnto me: Miſtres wherfore are you accuſed & thus troubled here before yͤ Biſhop? To whom I anſwered agayne and ſayd: Syr, aſke I pray you my accuſers, for I know not as yet. Thē tooke he my booke out of my hand, and ſayd: ſuch bookes as this, haue brought you to the trouble you are in. Beware (ſayth he) beware, for he that made this booke and was the author therof, was an hereticke I warrant you, & burnt in ſmithfield. Then I aſked him, if he were certayne and ſure, that it was true that he had ſpoken. And he ſayd he knew well the booke was of I. Frithes making. Then I aſked him if he were not aſhamed for to iudge of the booke before hee ſaw it within, or yet knew the truth therof. I ſaid alſo, that ſuch vnaduiſed and haſty iudgement is a token apparant of a very ſlender wit. Then I opened the booke & ſhewed it him. He ſaid he thought it had bene an other, for he could finde no fault therein. Then I deſired him no more to bee ſo vnaduiſedly raſh & ſwift in iudgement, till he throughly knew the truth, and ſo he departed from me.

Immediately after came my coſin Britaine in with dyuers other, as M. Hall of Grayes Inne, & ſuch other like. Then my Lord of London perſwaded my coſine Britaine as he had done oft before, which was that I ſhoulde vtter yͤ bottom of my hart in any wiſe. My Lord ſaid after yͭ vnto me, that he would I ſhould credite the counſayle of ſuch as were my frendes and wel willers in this behalf, which was, that I ſhould vtter all thinges that burdened my conſcience: for he enſured me that I ſhoulde not neede to ſtand in doubt to ſay any thing. For like as he promiſed them (he ſaid) he promiſed me & would performe it: which was that neither he nor any man for him, ſhould take me at aduauntage of any word I ſhould ſpeake: and therefore he bad me ſay my minde without feare, I aunſwered him that I had

naught

nought to ſay: for my conſcience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Then brought he forth this vnſauery ſimilitude: that if a man had a wound, no wiſe Surgeon would miniſter helpe vnto it before he had ſeene it vncouered. In like caſe ſaith he, can I geue you no good counſaile, vnles I know wherwith your conſcience is burdened. I anſwered, that my conſcience was cleare in all things: & for to lay a plaiſter vnto the whole ſkin, it might appeare much folly.

Then you driue me (ſaith he) to lay to your charge your owne report, which is this: you did ſay, he that doth receiue the Sacrament by the hands of an ill prieſt, or a ſinner, receiueth the deuil and not God. To that I aunſwered, that I neuer ſpake ſuch words. But as I ſaid afore, both to the Queſt and to my Lord Mayor, ſo ſay I now agayne, that the wickednes of the prieſt ſhould not hurt me, but in ſpirit and fayth, I receiued no leſſe then the body and bloude of Chriſt. Then ſayd the Byſhop vnto me, what ſaying is this in ſpirite? I will not take you at the aduauntage. Then I anſwered: my Lord without fayth and ſpirite, I cannot receiue him worthily.

Then he layd vnto me, that I ſhould ſay that the Sacrament remayning in the pixe, was but bread. I anſwered that I neuer ſaid ſo, but in deede the Queſt aſked me ſuch a queſtion, whereunto I would not anſwer (I ſayd) till ſuch tyme as they had aſſoiled me this queſtiõ of mine, wherfore Stephen was ſtoned to death? They ſayd they knew not. Then ſayd I againe, no more would I tell thẽ, what it was.

Then ſaid my Lord vnto me, that I had alledged a certain text of the ſcripture. I anſwered that I alledged none other but S. Paules owne ſaieng to the Athenians in the xvij. chap. in the Apoſtles acts, that God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands. Then aſked he me what my fayth and beliefe was in that matter? I aunſwered him, I beleue as the Scripture doth teach me.

Then inquired he of me, what if the Scripture doe ſay that it is the body of Chriſt? I beleue ſayd I, as the ſcripture doth teach me. Then aſked he agayne, what if the ſcripture do ſay that it is not the body of Chriſt? My aunſwer was ſtill, I beleue as the ſcripture informeth me. And vpon this argument he taried a great while, to haue driuen me to make him an aunſwere to his mynde. Howbeit I would not: but concluded this with him, that I beleeue therin and in all other things as Chriſt and his holy apoſtles did leaue them.

Then he aſked me why I had ſo few wordes? And I anſwered, God hath geuen me the gift of knowledge, but not of vtterance. And Salomon ſaith: That a woman of few wordes is a gift of God. Prou. xix.

Fiftly, my Lord laid vnto my charge, that I ſhould ſaye that the Maſſe was ſuperſtitious, wicked, & no better then idolatry. I aunſwered him no: I ſaid not ſo. Howbeit I ſay the queſt did aſke me whether priuate maſſe did relieue ſoules departed or no? Vnto whom then I anſwered: O Lord what idolatry is this, that we ſhould rather beleeue in priuate maſſes, then in the healthſome death of the dere ſonne of God? Then ſaid my Lord againe: what an aunſwer is that? though it be but meane (ſayd I) yet it is good enough for the queſtion.

Then I told my Lord that there was a prieſt, which did heare what I ſaid there before my L. Mayor & them. With that the Chancellor anſwered, which was the ſame Prieſt. So ſhe ſpake it in very deede (ſayth he) before my L. Maior and me.

Then were there certaine Prieſts, as D. Standiſh and other, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I anſwered them alwayes thus: that I ſayd to my Lorde of London, I haue ſaid. Then D. Standiſh deſired my Lord to bid me ſay my mynd concernyng the ſame text of Saint Paules learning, that I being a woman, ſhould interpret the Scriptures, ſpecially, where ſo many wiſe learned men were.

Then my L. of London ſayd he was informed, that one ſhould aſke of me if I would receiue the ſacrament at Eaſter, and I made a mocke of it. Then I deſired that myne accuſer might come forth, which my L. would not. But he ſaid agayne vnto me, I ſent one to geue you good counſell, and at the firſt worde you called him Papiſt. That I denied not, for I perceiued he was no leſſe: yet made I hym none anſwer vnto it.

Then he rebuked me, and ſayd that I ſhould reporte, that there were bent againſt me threeſcore prieſts at Lincolne. In deed (quoth I) I ſayd ſo. For my friendes tolde me, if I did come to Lincolne, the prieſts would aſſault me and put me to great trouble, as therof they had made their boaſt: and when I heard it, I went thither in deede, not being afraid, becauſe I knew my matter to be good. More ouer, I remained there ix. dayes to ſee what would be ſaid vnto me. And as I was in the Minſter reading vpon the Bible, they reſorted vnto me by ij. and by ij. by v. and by vj. minding to haue ſpoken vnto me, yet went they theyr wayes agayne without wordes ſpeaking.

Then my L. aſked, if there were not one that did ſpeak vnto me. I told him yes, that there was one of them at the laſt, which did ſpeake to me in deed. And my L. then aſked me what he ſayd? And I told him his words were of ſmal effect, ſo that I did not now remember them. Then ſayde my L. there are many that read and know the ſcripture, & yet follow it not, nor liue thereafter. I ſaid againe, my L. I would wiſh that all men knew my conuerſation & liuyng in all points, for I am ſure of my ſelfe this houre ỹ there are none able to proue any diſhoneſty by me. If you know any that can do it, I pray you bring them forth.

Anne Aſkew ſtandeth vpon her honeſty.

Then my L. went away, and ſaid he would entitle ſome what of my meaning, and ſo he wrote a great circumſtãce. But what it was, I haue not all in memory, for he would not ſuffer me to haue the copy therof. Onely do I remember this ſmall portion of it.

Bonners miſreport of An. Aſkewes confeſſiõ.

Be it knowen (ſaith he) of all men, that I Anne Aſkew do confeſſe this to be my faith and beliefe, notwithſtãding my reportes made afore to the contrary. I beleue that they which are houſeled at the hands of a Prieſt, whether hys conuerſation be good or not, do receiue the body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance really. Alſo I do beleeue, that after the conſecration, whether it be receiued or reſerued, it is no leſſe then the very body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance. Finally I do beleeue in this and in all other Sacraments of holy Church, in all pointes according to the old Catholike faith of the ſame. In witnes wherof I the ſayde Anne haue ſubſcribed my name.

There was ſome what more in it, which becauſe I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me and aſked me if I did agree to it. And I ſayd againe, I beleue ſo much therof, as the holy ſcripture doth agree vnto: wherefore I deſire you, that ye will adde that therunto. Then he anſwered, that I ſhould not teach hym what he ſhould write. With that, he went forth into his great chamber, and read the ſame Bil before the audience, which enueigled and willed me to ſet to my hãd, ſaieng alſo, that I had fauour ſhewed me. Then ſayd the B. I might thãke other, and not my ſelfe, of the fauour that I found at hys hand: for he conſidered (he ſayd) that I had good frendes, and alſo that I was come of a worſhipfull ſtocke.

The tenor of D. Boners writing wherunto. An. Aſkew ſubſcribed.

Then anſwered one Chriſtopher, a ſeruant to M. Dennie: Rather ought you (my L.) to haue done it in ſuch caſe for Gods ſake then for mans. Then my L. ſate downe, and toke me the writing to ſet therto my hand, and I wrote after this maner: I Anne Aſkew do beleue all maner things conteined in the faith of the catholike church.

And for as much as mention here is made of the writyng of Boner, which this godly woman ſayd before ſhe had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to inferre the ſame, both with the whole circumſtance of Boner, and with the title thereunto prefixed by the Regiſter, and alſo with her owne ſubſcription: to the intent the Reader ſeyng the ſame ſubſcription, neyther to agree with the tyme of the title aboue prefixed, not with the ſubſcription after the writing annexed, might the better vnderſtand thereby what credite is to be geuen hereafter to ſuche Byſhops, and to ſuch Regiſters. The tenour of Boners writyng proceedeth thus.

The wordes of the Regiſters.

The true copy of the confeſſion and beliefe of Anne Aſkew, otherwiſe called Anne Kime, made before the B. of London, the xx. day of March, in the yere of our lord God after the computation of the Church of England, 1545. and ſubſcribed with her owne hand, in the preſence of the ſayd B. and other, whoſe names hereafter are recited, ſet forth and publiſhed at this preſent, to the entent the world may ſee what credence is now to be geuen vnto the ſame woman, who in ſo ſhort a tyme hath moſt damnably altered and changed her opinion and beliefe, & therfore rightfully in open court arraigned and condemned, Ex Regiſt.

Ex Regiſt.

Be it knowen to all faythfull people, that as touching the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar, I do firmely & vndoubtedly beleue, that after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, according to the common vſage of thys Church of England, there is preſent really the bodye and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, whether the miniſter which doth conſecrate, be a good man, or a bad man, & that alſo whenſoeuer the ſayd Sacrament is receiued, whether the receiuer be a good man or a bad man, he doth receiue it really & corporally. And moreouer, I do beleue, that whether the ſaid Sacrament then receiued of the Miniſter, or

The copy of the Byſhops reporte vpon the confeſſion of Anne Aſkew as it ſtãdeth in the Regiſters.

els reſerued to be put into the pixe, or to be brought to any perſon that is impotent or ſicke, yet there is the very bodie and bloud of our ſayd ſauiour: ſo that whether the Miniſter or the receiuer be good or bad, yea whether the Sacrament be receiued or reſerued, alwayes there is the bleſſed body of Chriſt really.

And this thing with all other things touching the Sacrament & other ſacraments of the Church, and all things els touching the chriſtian beliefe, which are taught and declared in the kings Maieſties booke lately ſet forth for the erudition of the chriſtiã people, I Anne Aſkew, otherwiſe called Anne Kyme, do truely and perfectly beleeue, and ſo here preſently confeſſe and knowledge. And here I do promiſe that henceforth I ſhall neuer ſay or doe any thyng agaynſt the premiſſes, or againſt any of them. In witneſſe whereof, I the ſayd Anne haue ſubſcribed my name vnto theſe preſents. written the xx. day of March, in the yere of our Lord God. 1545. Ex Regiſt.

Ex Reg. Lond.

By me Anne Askew, otherwiſe
called Anne Kyme.

Witneſſes.

Edmund Biſh. of London.
Iohn Biſh of Bathe.
Owen Oglethorpe Doct. of Diuinitie.
Rich. Smith Doct. of Diuinitie.
Ioh. Rudde Bacheler of Diuinitie.
Wil. Pie Bacheler of Diuinitie.
Iohn Wymſley Archdeacon of London.
Iohn Cooke. Edward Hall.
Rob. Iohn. Alexander Bret.
Frances Spilman. Edmund Buts.

With diuers other mo beyng then preſent.

Bonner and hys Regiſter reproued with an vntruth.

Here mayeſt thou note gentle Reader in this confeſſion, both in the B. and his regiſter: a double ſleight of falſe conueiaunce. For although the confeſſion porporteth the words of the biſhops writing, whereunto ſhe did ſet her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, mayeſt thou ſee that both ſhe was arraigned & condemned before this was regiſtred, and alſo that ſhe is falſly reported to haue put to her hand, which in deed by this her owne booke appeareth not ſo to be, but after this maner and condition: I Anne Askew doe beleeue all maner thinges conteyned in the fayth of the Catholike Church, and not otherwiſe. It followeth more in the ſtory.

Bonner Byſhop of London in a chafe agaynſt Anne Aſkew.

Then becauſe I did adde vnto it the catholike church he flang into his chamber in a great fury. With that my coſin Britaine followed him, deſiring him for Gods ſake to bee good L. vnto me. He anſwered that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceiued in me. Then my coſine Britayne deſired him to take me as a woman, and not to ſet my weake womans wit to his lordſhips great wiſdome.

Doct. Weſten.

Then went in vnto him Doct. Weſten, and ſayd, that the cauſe why I did write there the catholike church, was that I vnderſtode not the Church written afore. So with much adoe, they perſwaded my Lord to come out agayne, and to take my name with yͤ names of my ſureties, which were my coſin Britaine, and Maiſter Spilman of Graies Inne.

Anne Aſkew brought to the Guilde Hall.

This beyng done, we thought that I ſhould haue bene put to bayle immediatly according to the order of the law. Howbeit, he would not ſuffer it, but committed me from thence to priſon agayne, vntill the next morrow, and then he willed me to appeare in the Guild hall, & ſo I did. Notwithſtanding, they would not put me to bayle there neyther, but red the B. writing vnto me, as before, and ſo commanded me againe to priſon.

Anne Aſkew bayled at laſt vnder ſuertyes with much adoe

Then were my ſureties appointed to come before thẽ on the next morrow in Paules Church: which dyd ſo in deede. Notwithſtandyng they would once agayne haue broke of with them becauſe they would not be bound alſo for another woman at their pleſure, whom they knew not nor yet what matter was laid vnto her charge. Notwithſtanding at the laſt, after much ado and reaſoning to & fro, they toke a bond of them of recogniſance for my forth comming. And thus I was at the laſt deliuered.

Written by me Anne Askew.

The latter apprehenſion and examination, of the worthy Martyr of God, Miſtres Anne Askew.

Anno. 1546.

Anne Aſkew Martyr.
Anno 1546.

A declaration of Anne Aſkew of theſe wordes of our Sauiour, this is my body.

I Do perceiue (deare friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet perſwaded throughly in the truth, concernyng the Lords ſupper, becauſe Chriſt ſaid vnto his Apoſtles: Take, eate, this is my body, which is geuen for you.

In geuing forth the bread as an outward ſigne or token to be receiued with the mouth, he mynded them in perfect beliefe, to receiue that body of his, which ſhould dye for the people, and to thinke the death therof to be the only health and ſaluatiõ of their ſoules. The bread and the wine were left vs for a ſacramentall communion, or a mutuall participation of the ineſtimable benefites of his moſt precious death and bloudſheading, and that we ſhould in the ende therof be thankfull together for that moſt neceſſarie grace of our redemption. For in yͤ cloſing vp therof, he ſaid thus: This do ye in remembrance of me. Yea, ſo oft as ye ſhall eat it, or drinke it. Luke xi. and i. Cor. xi. Els ſhould we haue bene forgetfull of that we ought to haue in daily remembraunce, & alſo bene altogether vnthankful for it, therfore it is meete that in our prayers we call vnto God to graft in our foreheds, the true meaning of the holy Ghoſt concerning this Communion. For S. Paul ſayth: The letter ſlayeth: the ſpirit is it onely that geueth lyfe. ij. Cor. iij. Marke well the ſixt chap. of Iohn, where all is applied vnto fayth, note alſo yͤ 4. chap. of S. Paules firſt Epiſtle to the Corin. and in the end therof ye ſhall find that the things which are ſeene, are temporall, but they that are not ſeene, are euerlaſtyng. Yea looke in the 3. chap. to the Hebrues, and ye ſhall finde that Chriſt as a ſonne (and no ſeruant) ruleth ouer hys houſe, whoſe houſe are we (and not the dead temple) If we holde faſt the confidence and reioyſing of that hope to the end. Wherfore, as ſayd the holy Ghoſt: To day if ye ſhall heare his voice harden not your harts, &c. Pſalm. 99.

The ſumme of my examination, before the Kings Councell at Greenewich.

YOur requeſt, as concerning my priſon fellowes, I am not able to ſatiſfie, becauſe I heard not their examinations: but the effect of myne was this. I beyng before the Councell, was aſked of M. Kyme. I aunſwered that my Lord Chauncellor knew already my mynd in that matter. They with that aunſwer were not contented, but ſayde it was the kings pleaſure that I ſhould open the matter to them. I anſwered them plainly I would not ſo doe. But if it were the Kinges pleaſure to heare me, I would ſhew hym the truth. Then they ſayde, it was not meete for the Kyng to be troubled with me. I anſwered that Salomon was reckoned the wyſeſt kyng that euer lyued: yet miſliked he not to heare two poore common womẽ, much more hys grace a ſimple woman, and hys faythfull ſubiect. So in Concluſion I made them none other aunſwer in that matter.

Then my Lord Chancellour aſked me of my opinion in the ſacrament. My aunſwer was this: I beleue that ſo oft as I in a chriſtian congregation, do receiue the breade in remembrance of Chriſtes death, and with thankes geuyng, according to his holy inſtitution, I receiue therwith the fruits alſo of his moſt glorious paſſion. The biſhop of Wincheſter bad me make a direct anſwer. I ſaid I would not ſing a new ſong of the Lord in a ſtrange lande. Then the B. ſaid, I ſpake in parables. I aunſwered, it was beſt for him, for if I ſhew the open truth (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he ſayde, I was a Parret. I told hym agayne: I was readie to ſuffer all thyngs at hys handes, not onely his rebukes, but all that ſhould follow beſides, yea, and all that gladly.

Then had I diuers rebukes of the counſayle, becauſe I woulde not expreſſe my mynde in all thynges as they would haue me. But they were not in the meane time vnanſwered for all that, which now to reherſe were to much, for I was with them there about fiue houres. Then the Clearke of the Counſaile conueyed me from thence to my Lady Garniſh.

The next day I was brought againe before the Councell. Then would they needes know of me, what I ſayd to the ſacrament. I anſwered, that I already had ſaid that I could ſay. Then after diuers wordes, they bad me goe by. Then came my L. Liſle, my L. of Eſſex, and the B. of Wincheſter, requiring me earneſtly that I ſhould confeſſe the ſacrament to be fleſh, bloud and bone. Then ſayd I to my L. Parre, and my L. Liſle, that it was great ſhame for the to counſayle contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto in few wordes they did ſay, that they would gladly all things were well.

Then the B. ſayd he would ſpeake with me familiarlye. I ſayde, ſo did Iudas when he vnfriendlye betrayed Chriſt. Then deſired the Biſhop to ſpeake with me alone. But that I refuſed. He aſked me why? I ſayde that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, euerye matter ſhould ſtand, after Chriſtes and Paules doctrine. Mathew. xviij. ii. Cor. xiij.

Then my L. Chancellour began to examine me againe of the ſacrament. Then I aſked hym how long he would halt on both ſides? Then would he needes know where

I found that I ſayd in the ſcripture, iij. Reg. xviij. Then he went his way. Then the B. ſayd I ſhould be burnt. I anſwered that I had ſearched all the ſcriptures, yet coulde I neuer finde, that either Chriſt or his Apoſtles, put any creature to death. Well, well, ſayd I, God will laugh your threatnings to ſcorne. Pſalm. ij. Then was I commaunded to ſtand aſide. Then came to me D. Coxe, and D. Robinſon. In concluſion, we could not agree. Then they made me a bill of the Sacrament, willyng me to ſet my hand thereunto: but I would not. Then on the ſonday I was ſore ſicke, thinking no leſſe then to dye. Therfore I deſired to ſpeake with Maiſter Latimer: but it would not be. Then was I ſent to Newgate in my extremitie of ſickenes: for in all my life afore was I neuer in ſuch payne. Thus the Lord ſtrengthen vs in the truth, Pray, pray, pray.

The confeſſion of me Anne Askew, for the tyme I was in Newgate, concerning my beliefe.

I finde in the Scriptures (ſayd ſhe) that Chriſt toke the bread and gaue it to his diſciples, ſaying: Take, eate, this is my body which ſhall be broken for you, meaning in ſubſtãce, his owne very body, the bread being thereof an only ſigne or Sacrament. For after lyke maner of ſpeaking, he ſayde, he would breake down the temple, and in three dayes build it vp agayne, ſignifiyng his owne body by the temple, as S. Iohn declareth it, Iohn. 2. and not the ſtony temple it ſelfe. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a Sacrament of thanks geuing for it, whereby we are knit vnto him by a communiõ of chriſtian loue. Although there be many that cannot perceiue the true meaning therof, for the veile that Moiſes put ouer his face before ỹ children of Iſrael, that they ſhould not ſee the clearenes therof, Exod. 24. and 2. Cor. 3. I perceyue the ſame veyle remayneth to this day. But when God ſhall take it away, then ſhall theſe blynd men ſee. For it is plainly expreſſed in the hiſtory of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelleth in no thyng materiall. O kyng (ſayth Daniel) be not deceiued, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men. Daniel, 14. Oh, what ſtifnecked people are theſe, that will alwayes reſiſt the holy Ghoſt? But as their fathers haue done, ſo do they, becauſe they haue ſtony hartes.

Written by me Anne Askew, that neyther wiſheth death, nor yet feareth his might, and as mery as one that is bound towards heauen.

Truth is layd in priſon, Luke. 21. The law is turned to wormewood, Amos. 6. And there can no right iudgement go forth, Eſay. 59.

Oh forgeue vs all our ſinnes, and receiue vs graciouſly. As for the workes of our hands, we will no more call vppon them. For it is thou Lord that art our God. Thou ſhewest euer mercye vnto the fatherleſſe.

Oh, if they would do this (ſayth the Lord) I ſhoulde heale their ſores, yea with all my hart would I loue them.

O Ephraim, what haue I to do with Idols any more? whoſo is wyſe, ſhall vnderſtand this. And he that is rightly inſtructed, will regard it, for the wayes of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly, will walke in them, and as for the wicked, they will ſtumble at them. Oſe. 14.

Salomon (ſayth S. Steuen) builded an houſe for the God of Iacob. Howbeit, the higheſt of all dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, as ſayth the Prophet: Heauen is my ſeat, & the earth is my footſtoole. What houſe will ye build for me, ſaith the Lord? or what place is it that I ſhall reſt in? Hath not my handes made all things? Act. 7.

Woman beleeue me (ſayth Chriſt to the Samaritane) the tyme is at hand, that ye ſhall neyther in this mountayne, nor yet at Ieruſalem worſhip the father. Ye worſhippe ye wotte not what, but we knowe what we worſhippe. For ſaluation commeth of the Iewes. But the houre commeth, and is nowe when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirite and veritie. Iohn. 3.

Labour not (ſayth Chriſt) for the meate that periſheth, but for that that endureth into the lyfe euerlaſtyng, which the ſonne of man ſhall geue you: For hym GOD the Father hath ſealed, Iohn. 6.

The ſumme of the condemnation of me Anne Askew at the Guild hall.

They ſayd to me there, that I was an heretike, and condemned by the law, if I would ſtand in mine opiniõ. I anſwered, that I was no heretike, neither yet deſerued I any death by the law of God. But as concerning ỹ faith which I vttered and wrote to the counſell, I would not (I ſayd) deny it, becauſe I knew it true. Then would they needes know, if I would deny the Sacrament to be Chriſtes body and bloud. I ſaid yea. For the ſame ſonne of God that was borne of the virgine Mary, is now glorious in heauen, and will come againe from thence at the latter day like as he went vp. Act. 1. And as for that ye call your god, it is a peece of bread. For a more proofe thereof (marke it when ye liſt) let it lye in the boxe but iij. monethes, and it will be mouldy, & ſo turne to nothing that is good. Wherupon I am perſwaded, that it cannot be God.

The ſubſtance of the Sacrament denyed to be God.

After that they willed me to haue a Prieſt: and then I ſmiled. Then they aſked me, if it were not good? I ſayd, I would confeſſe my faultes vnto God. For I was ſure that he would heare me with fauour. And ſo we were condemned with a Queſt.

Anne Aſkew with her felows condemned by a Queſt.

My beliefe which I wrote to the Counſaile was this: that the ſacramental bread was left vs to be receiued with thankes geuyng, in remembraunce of Chriſtes death, the onely remedy of our ſoules recouery: and that thereby we alſo receiue the whole benefits and fruits of his moſt glorious Paſſion. Then would they needes know whether the bread in the boxe were God or no: I ſayd, God is a ſpirit, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth, Iohn. 4. Thẽ they demaunded: Will you plainly deny Chriſt to be in the Sacrament? I anſwered that I beleeue faithfully the eternall ſonne of God not to dwell there. In witneſſe whereof, I recited agayne the hiſtory of Bell, and the 19. chap. of Daniell, the 7. and 17. of the Acts, and the 24. of Mathew, concluding thus: I neither wiſh death, nor yet fear his might God haue the prayſe thereof with thanks.

The beliefe of Anne Aſkew concerning the Sacramentes, written to the Councell. Iohn. 4.

Dan. 19. Actes. 7. 17. Math. 24.

My letter ſent to the L. Chauncellor.

The Lord God, by whom all creatures haue their being, bleſſe you with the light of his knowledge, Amen.

My duety to your Lordſhip remembred, &c. It might pleaſe you to accept this my bold ſute, as the ſute of one, which vppon due conſiderations is moued to the ſame, and hopeth to obtaine. My requeſt to your Lordſhip is onely: that it may pleaſe the ſame to be a meane for me to the kings maieſty, that his grace may be certified of theſe few lynes which I haue written concerning my beliefe. Which when it ſhall be truely conferred with the harde iudgement geuen me for the ſame, I thinke his grace ſhal wel perceiue me to be wayed in an vneuen paire of balance. But I remit my matter and cauſe to almighty God, which rightly iudgeth all ſecrets. And thus I commend your Lordſhip to the gouernaunce of him, and fellowſhip of all ſaints. Amen.

By your handmayd Anne Askew

The letter of Anne Aſkew to the Lord Chaũcellour.

My faith briefly written to the kings grace.

I Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath geuen me the bread of aduerſitie, and the water of trouble, yet not ſo much as my ſinnes haue deſerued, deſire this to be knowen vnto your grace, that foraſmuch as I am by the law condemned for an euill doer: Here I take heauen and earth to record, that I ſhal die in my innocencie. And according to that I haue ſayd firſt, & will ſay laſt, I vtterly abhorre and deteſt all hereſies. And as concernyng the ſupper of the Lord, I beleeue ſo much as Chriſt hath ſaid therein, which he confirmed with hys moſt bleſſed bloud. I beleeue alſo ſo much as he willed me to follow and beleue ſo much as the catholike church of hym doth teach. For I will not forſake the commaundement of his holy lips. But looke what God hath charged me with his mouth, that haue I ſhut vp in my hart: and thus briefly I ende for lacke of learnyng.

Anne Askew.

The beliefe of Anne Aſkew touching the Sacrament, written to the king.

The effect of my examination and handling ſince my departure from Newgate.

On Tueſday I was ſent from Newgate to the ſign of the crowne, where as M. Rich and the B. of London with all their power and flattering words, went about to perſuade me from God: but I did not eſteme their gloſing pretences.

The cruell handling and racking of Anne Aſkew after her condemnation.

Then came there to me Nich. Sharton, and counſelled me to recant as he had done. I ſayd to hym, that it had bene good for him, neuer to haue bene borne, with many other like wordes. Then M. Rich ſent me to the Tower, where I remayned till three a clocke.

Then came Rich and one of the Counſell, charging me vpon my obedience, to ſhew vnto them if I knew any mã or woman of my ſecte. My aunſwere was, that I knewe none. Then they aſked me of my Lady Suffolke, my Lady of Suſſex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliams. I ſaid, if I ſhould pronounce any thing againſt them, that I were not able to proue it. Then ſayd they vnto me, that the kyng was informed, that I could

This Counceller was Syr Iohn Baker.

Anne Aſkew vrged to accuſe others.

could name if I would, a great number of my ſect. I aunſwered, that the kyng was as well deceiued in that behalf, as diſſembled with in other matters.

Then commaunded they me to ſhew how I was maintayned in the Counter, and who willed me to ſticke to my opinion, I ſayd that there was no creature that therin did ſtrengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the counter, it was by the means of my mayde. For as ſhe went abroad in the ſtreetes, ſhe made mone to the prentiſes, and they by her did ſend me money: but who they were I neuer knew.

Anne Aſkew refuſeth to accuſe any.

Then they ſayde, that there were diuers Gentlewomen that gaue me money, but I knew not their names. Then they ſayd that there were diuers Ladies that had ſent me money. I aunſwered, that there was a man in a blew coate, which deliuered me x. ſhillings, and ſayd that my Lady of Hertford ſent yt me. And an other in a violet coat gaue me viij. ſhillings, and ſayd my lady Denny ſent it me. whether it were true or no, I cannot tell. For I am not ſure who ſent it me, but as the mayd did ſay. Thē they ſayd, there were of the Counſell that did maintayne me. And I ſayd no.

Anne Aſkew put on the racke.

Wryſley and Riche racking Anne Aſkew.

Then they did put me on the racke, becauſe I confeſſed no Ladies or Gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long tyme. And becauſe I lay ſtill and did not cry, my Lord Chancellour and M. Rich, tooke paynes to racke me with theyr owne handes, tyll I was nigh dead.

Anne Aſkew conſtant in her fayth.

Then the Lieftenaunt cauſed me to be looſed from the racke. Incontinently I ſwounded, and then they recouered me agayne. After that I ſate two long houres reaſoning with my Lord Chauncellour vppon the bare floore, whereas he with many flattering wordes, perſwaded me to leaue my opinion. But my Lord God (I thanke his euerlaſting goodnes) gaue me grace to perſeuer, and wil do (I hope) to the very end.

Anne Aſkew threatned to be burned.

Then was I brought to an houſe, and layd in a bedde, with as weary and paynefull bones, as euer had pacient Iob, I thanke my Lord God therefore. Then my Lorde Chauncellour ſent me worde if I would leaue my opinion, I ſhould want nothing: If I would not, I ſhoulde forth to Newgate, and ſo be burned. I ſent him agayne word, that I would rather die, then to breake my fayth.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blinde hartes, that the truth may take place. Farewell deare friend, and pray, pray, pray.

The order of the racking of Anne Aſkew.

The L. Wriſley and M. Riche play the tormētours.

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower, thus it was. Firſt, ſhe was led downe into a dungeon, where Syr Anthony Kneuet the Liuetenant commaunded hys Gaoler to pinche her with the racke. which beyng done ſo much as he thought ſufficient, went about to take her downe, ſuppoſing he had done enough. But Wriſley the Chauncellour not contented that ſhe was looſed ſo ſoone confeſſing nothing, commaunded the Lieftenant to ſtreine her on the racke agayne. which becauſe he denyed to doe, tenderyng the weakenes of the woman, he was threatned therefore grieuouſly of the ſayd Wriſley, ſaying, that hee would ſignifie hys diſobedience vnto the kyng: and ſo cōſequently vpon the ſame, he and M. Riche throwyng of their gownes, would needes play the tormenters themſelues: firſt aſking her if ſhe were with child. To whome ſhe aunſwering agayne, ſayd: ye ſhall not neede to ſpare for that, but do your willes vpon me: and ſo quietly and patiently prayeng vnto the Lord: ſhe aboade their tiranny, till her bones and ioints almoſt were pluckt a ſunder, in ſuch ſort, as ſhe was caried away in a chaire. when the racking was paſt, Wriſley and his fellow tooke theyr horſe toward the Court.

Wriſley the L. Chauncelour preuented by the Lieutenaunt.

In the meane tyme, while they were making their way by land, the good Lieftenant eftſoones taking boate, ſpedde hym in all haſt to the Court, to ſpeake with the kyng before the other, and ſo dyd. who there makyng his humble ſute to the Kyng, deſired his pardon, and ſhewed hym the whole matter as it ſtoode, and of the rackyng of Miſtreſſe Aſkew, and how he was threatened by the Lord Chauncellour, becauſe at his commaundement, not knowyng his highneſſe pleaſure, he refuſed to racke her: whiche he for compaſſion could not finde in his hart to do, and therefore hūbly craued his highnes pardō. which when the K. had vnderſtand, ſeemed not very well to like of their ſo extreme handlyng of the woman, and alſo graunted to the Lieftenant his pardon, willing him to returne and ſee to hys charge.

The Lieutenaūt pardoned of the king.

Great expectation was in the meane ſeaſon among the warders and other officers of the Tower, waiting for his returne. whom when they ſaw come ſo cheerefully, declaring vnto them how he had ſped with the king, they were not a little ioyous, and gaue thanks to God therfore.

¶ Anne Askews aunſwer vnto Iohn Lacels letter.

OH friend moſt dearely beloued in God, I meruaile not a litle what ſhould mooue you to iudge in me ſo ſlender a fayth as to feare death, which is the ende of all miſery. In the Lord I deſire you not to beleeue of me ſuch wickednes. For I doubt it not, but God will performe his worke in me, like as he hath begun. I vnderſtand the counſaile is not a little diſpleaſed, that it ſhould be reported abroad, that I was racked in the tower. They ſay now, that they did there, was but to feare me: whereby I perceyue, they are aſhamed of their vncomely doyngs, and feare much, leaſt the kings Maieſtie ſhould haue information thereof. Wherefore, they would no man to noyſe it. Well, their crueltye God forgeue them.

Your hart in Chriſt Ieſu. Farewel, and pray.

The purgation or aunſwer of Anne Askew againſt the falſe ſurmiſes of her recantation.

I Haue read the proceſſe whiche is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But as the Lord liueth, I neuer ment thing leſſe then to recant. Notwithſtanding this I confeſſe, that in my firſt troubles, I was examined of the Biſhop of London about the Sacrament. Yet had they no graunt of my mouth, but this, that I beleeued therein as the word of God did bynd me to beleeue, more had they neuer of me. Then he made a Copie which is nowe in print, and required me to ſet therevnto my hand. But I refuſed it. Then my ij. ſureties did wyll me in no wiſe to ſticke thereat, for it was no great matter, they ſayd.

Then with much ado, at the laſt I wrote thus: I Anne Aſkew do beleue this, if Gods word do agree to the ſame, and the true catholike church. Then the B. beyng in great diſpleaſure with me, becauſe I made doubtes in my writing, commaunded me to priſon: where I was a whyle, but afterwards by the meanes of frendes, I came out agayne. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye couet moſt to know, reſort to the vj. of Iohn, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well.

Anne Askew.

The confeſſion of the faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate before ſhe ſuffered.

I Anne Aſkew of good memory, although my merciful father hath geuen me the bread of aduerſitie, and the water of trouble: yet not ſo muche as my ſinnes haue deſerued: confeſſe my ſelfe here a ſinner before the throne of hys heauenly maieſtie, deſiring his forgeuenes and mercye. And for ſo much as I am by the law vnrighteouſly condemned for an euill doer concerning opinions, I take ỹ ſame moſt mercifull God of myne, which hath made both heauen and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to hys moſt holy word. And I truſt in my mercifull Lord, which is the geuer of all grace, that he will graciouſly aſſiſt me agaynſt all euill opinions, which are contrary to his bleſſed veritie. For I take him to witnes, that I haue done & wil do vnto my lyues end, vtterly abhorre them to the vttermoſt of my power.

But this is the hereſie which they report me to holde that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration, there remaineth bread ſtill. They both ſay, & alſo teach it for a neceſſary article of fayth, that after thoſe wordes be once ſpoken, there remayneth no bread, but euen the ſelfeſame body that hong vpon the croſſe on good Friday, both fleſhe, bloud, and bone. To this belief of theirs, ſay I nay: For then were our common Crede falſe, which ſaith, that he ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, & from thence ſhall come to iudge the quicke and dead. Lo, this is the hereſie that I holde, and for it muſt ſuffer the death. But as touching the holy and bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, I beleue it to be a moſt neceſſary remembraunce of his glorious ſuffrings and death. Moreouer, I beleue as much therein, as my eternall and onely redeemer Ieſus Chriſt would I ſhould beleue.

Finally, I beleue al thoſe ſcriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his moſt precious bloud. Yea, & as S. Paul ſaith, thoſe ſcriptures are ſufficient for our lerning & ſaluatiō, that Chriſt hath left here with vs: ſo that I beleue, we nede no vnwritten verities to rule his church wt. Therfore looke what he hath ſayd vnto me with his owne mouth in his holy Goſpell, that haue I with Gods grace cloſed vp in my hart, and my full truſt is (as Dauid ſaith) that it ſhalbe a lanterne to my footſteps. Pſal. xxviij.

There be ſome do ſay that I deny the Euchariſt or ſacrament of thankes geuyng: but thoſe people do vntruly report of me. For I both ſay and beleue it, that if it wer ordered lyke as Chriſt inſtituted it and left it, a moſt ſingular comfort it were vnto vs all. But as cõcernyng your maſſe as it is now vſed in our daies, I do ſay and beleue it to be the moſt abhominable Idoll that is in the world: For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neyther yet dieth he agayne. And vpon theſe wordes that I haue now ſpoken, wyll I ſuffer death.

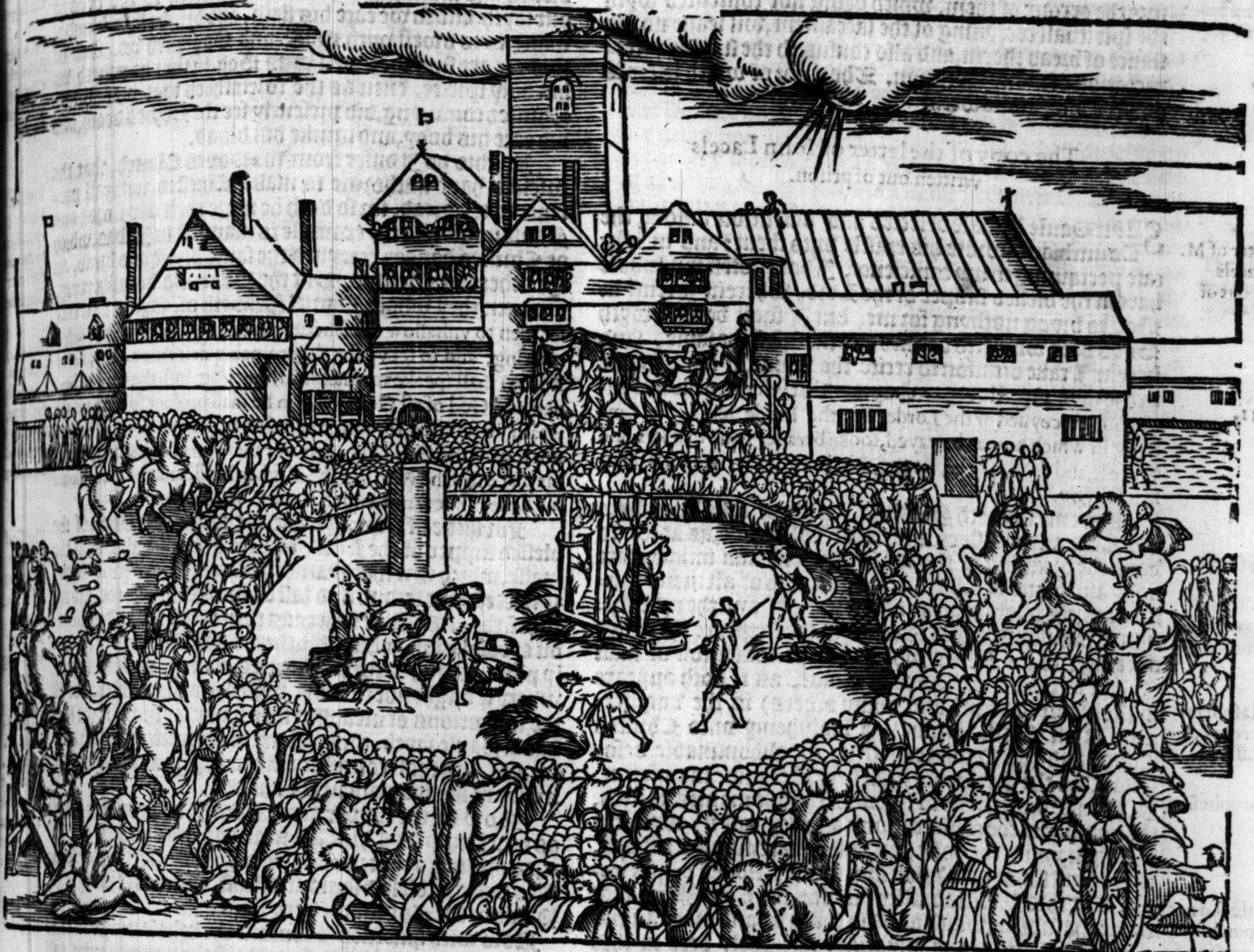
Maſſe
abhomi-
e Idoll.

O Lord, I haue mo enemies now, then there be haires on my head. Yet Lord, let them neuer ouercome me with vaine words, but fight thou Lord in my ſtead, for on thee caſt I my care. With all the ſpite they can imagine, they fall vpon me, which am thy poore creature. Yet ſweete Lord, let me not ſet by them which are againſt me: for in thee is my whole delight. And Lord I hartily deſire of thee, that thou wilt of thy moſt mercifull goodnes forgeue them that violence which they do and haue done vnto me. Open alſo thou their blynd hartes, that they may hereafter doe that thing in thy ſight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to ſet forth thy veritie aright, without all vaine fantaſies of ſinnefull men. So be it. O Lord, ſo be it.

prayer
Anne
kew.

By me Anne Askew.

The order and maner of the burning of Anne Askew, Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, Nicholas Belenian, with certayne of the Councell ſitting in Smithfield.



HEtherto we haue entreated of this good woman. Now it remayneth that we touch ſomewhat as concernyng her ende and Martyrdome. After that ſhe, beyng borne of ſuch ſtocke and kynred, that ſhe might haue liued in great wealth and proſperitie, if ſhe would rather haue followed the world, then Chriſt, now had bene ſo tormented, that ſhe could neyther lyue long in ſo great diſtreſſe, neyther yet by her aduerſaries be ſuffered to die in ſecret: the daye of her execution beyng appoynted, ſhe was brought into Smithfield in a chayre, becauſe ſhe could not goe on her feete, by meanes of her great tormentes. When ſhe was brought vnto the ſtake, ſhe was tyed by the middle with a chayne, that held vp her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, D. Sharton who was then appoynted to preach, began his Sermon. Anne Askew hearyng, and anſwering agayne vnto him, where he ſayd wel, confirmed the ſame: where he ſayd amiſſe, there ſayde ſhe he miſſeth, and ſpeaketh without the booke.

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The Sermon beyng finiſhed, the Martyrs ſtandyng there tyed at three ſeuerall Stakes ready to theyr Martirdome, beganne theyr prayers. The multitude and concourſe of the people was exceedyng, the place where they ſtode beyng rayled about to keepe out the preaſe. Vpon the Benche vnder Saint Bartlemewes Church, ſate Wriſley Chauncellour of England, the old Duke of Norfolke, the olde Earle of Bedford, the Lord Mayor wyth dyuers other moe. Before the fire ſhould be ſet vnto them, one of the Benche hearyng that they had gunnepouder about them, and beyng afrayde leaſt the fagots by ſtrength of the gunnepouder would come fliyng about their eares, began to be afraid, but the Erle of Bedford declaring vnto him how ý gunpouder was not laid vnder the fagots, but onely about theyr bodies to rydde them out of their paine, which hauyng vente, there was no daunger to them of the fagottes, ſo diminiſhed that feare.

Then Wriſley Lord Chauncellour, ſent to Anne Askew letters, offring to her the kyngs pardon, if ſhe would recant. Who refuſing once to looke vpon them, made this anſwer agayne: that ſhe came not thether to deny her lord and Maiſter. Then were the letters likewiſe offered vnto the other, who in lyke manner followyng the conſtancie of the woman, denied not onely to receyue them, but alſo to looke vpon them. Whereupon the Lord Mayor commaundyng fire to be put vnto them, cryed wyth a lowde voyce, Fiat iuſtitia.

Anne Askew refuſeth the kinges pardon.

Iuſtitia iniuſta.

And thus the good Anne Askew with theſe bleſſed Martyrs, beyng troubled ſo many maner of ways, and hauing paſſed through ſo many torments, hauyng now ended the long courſe of her agonies, beyng cõpaſſed in with flames of fire, as a bleſſed ſacrifice vnto God, ſhe ſlept in the lord, an. 1546. leauyng behynd her a ſingular example of chriſtian conſtancy for all men to follow.

John Lacels, Iohn Adams, and Nicholas Belenian.

The Martyrdome of Anne Askew Io. Lacels, Io. Adams, Nich. Belenian

THere was at the ſame time alſo burnt together wyth her, one Nicholas Belenian prieſt of Shropſhire, I. Adams a Taylor, and John Lacels Gentleman of the court and houſhold of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they dyed together with Anne Aſkew. For albeit that of themſelues they wer ſtrong and ſtout men, yet through the example and exhortation of her, they beyng the more boldened, receyued occaſion of greater comfort in that ſo paynefull and dolefull kynd of death: who beholdyng her inuincible conſtancie, and alſo ſtirred vp through her perſwaſions, did ſet apart all kynd of feare.

Thus they confirming one another with mutual exhortations taried looking for the tormenter and fire, which at the laſt flaming round about them, conſumed their bleſſed bodies in happy Martyrdome, in the yeare of our ſaluation. 1546. about the month of Iune.

There is alſo a certayne letter extant, which the ſayd I. Lacels briefly wrote beyng in priſon touchyng the ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud: wherein he doth both cōfute the errour of them, which being not contented wyth the ſpirituall receyuing of the ſacrament, will leaue no ſubſtance of bread therin, and alſo confuteth the ſiniſter interpretation of many therupon. The tenor of which letter is as here vnder followeth.

The copy of the letter of Iohn Lacels written out of priſon.

The letter of M. Iohn Lacels written out of priſon.

Saint Paule becauſe of ſectes and diſſention among the Corinthians, wrote his epiſtle vnto them: and in lyke caſe pertaining to my conſcience, I doe proteſt my whole hart in the bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, wherein I truſt in God to bryng nothyng for me, but I ſhall be able wyth Gods holy worde, to declare and manifeſt the ſame. And herein I take occaſion to recite the ſaying of ſaint Paule in the ſayd Epiſtle the xi. chapter. That which I deliuered vnto you, I receyued of the Lorde. For the Lorde Ieſus, the ſame night in which he was betrayed, tooke breade, gaue thankes and brake it, and ſayd, take ye, eate ye, this is my body, which is broken for you. . Cor. 11.

Here me ſeemeth S. Paule durſt not take vpon hym hys Lord and maiſters authoritie. wherefore, as at Gods hand the breaking of the moſt innocent and immaculate body and bloud of Chriſt, is the quietnes of all mens conſciences, the onely remedy of our ſinnes, and the redemption of mankynd which is called in the ſcripture the dailye offering: ſo the Maſſe whiche is the inuention of man (whoſe author is the Pope of Rome, as it doth appeare in Polydore Virgill and many others) is the vnquietneſſe of all Chriſtendome, a blaſphemy vnto Chriſtes bloud, and (as Daniel calleth it) the abhominable deſolation, as the Scripture ſhall hereafter more manifeſt it. S. Paule was belyke to learne of the Romaines church, the manner of the conſecration (as they call it) wyth the breathyng ouer the hoſte, and other ceremonies beſides, that he durſt not take vpon him to ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum. But this I will admitte; it was the Lord Ieſus that made the ſupper, which alſo did finiſh it, and made an end of the onely acte of our ſaluation, not onely here in this world, but with his father in heauen, as he declareth hym ſelfe: that he will drinke no more of this bitter cuppe, tyll he drinke it new in his fathers kingdom, where all bitternes ſhall be taken away.

The blaſphemy & wickednes of the Maſſe.

A propheſie.

S. Paule did not take vpon him in the perſon of Chriſt, to ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum, as our Prieſtes doe.

Now if any man be able to finiſh the acte of our Sauiour, in breakyng of hys body, and ſheadyng of his bloude here, and alſo to finiſh it with the father in heauen, then let hym ſay it. But I thinke that if men will looke vpon ſaint Paules wordes well, they ſhall be forced to ſay, as Saint Paule ſayth: the Lord Ieſus ſayde it, and once for all, which onely was the fulfiller of it. For theſe wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meum, were ſpokē of his natural preſence (which no man is able to deny) becauſe the acte was finiſhed on the croſſe, as the ſtory doth plainly manifeſt it to them that haue eyes. Now this bloudy ſacrifice is made an ende of, the ſupper is finiſhed, foraſmuch as Chriſt hath once ſuffered for ſinnes, the iuſt for the vniuſt, to bring vs to God, and was killed as pertainyng to the fleſhe, and hath entered in by hys owne bloud once for all, into the holy place, and found eternall redemption.

None but Chriſt can ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum: And he ſayde it once for all.

1. Pet. 3.

Heb. 9.

Here now followeth the adminiſtration of the ſupper of the Lorde, which I will take at Chriſtes handes after the reſurrection, although other men will not bee aſhamed to bryng the wicked Councels of fooliſh inuentions for them. And it came to paſſe as Chriſt ſate at meate with them, he tooke bread, bleſſed, and brake it, and gaue it to them, and their eyes were opened and knewe hym, and he vaniſhed out of their ſight. And the Apoſtles did know him, in breakyng of breade.

Luke. 24.

Here alſo it ſeemeth to me the Apoſtles to follow their Maiſter Chriſt, and to take the right vſe of the Sacrament, and alſo to teache it to thoſe that were conuerted to Chriſt, as mention is made in the Actes of the Apoſtles: where as is ſayd: They continued in the Apoſtles doctrine and fellowſhip in breakyng of bread and prayer, and they continued daylie with one accord in the temple, and brake bread in euery houſe, and did eate there with gladneſſe and ſingleneſſe of heart, prayſing God, and had fauour with all the people. And Saint Paule followyng the ſame doctrine, doth plainely ſhew the duetie of the Miniſter, and alſo of them that ſhal receiue it: As oft as you ſhall eate this bread, and drinke thys cuppe, ye ſhall ſhewe the Lordes death vntill he come. Here I doe gather that the Miniſter hath no further power and authoritie, then to preach and pronounce the lordes death, or els to ſay the Lord Ieſus ſayd it, which did fulfill it on the croſſe.

The right vſe of the ſupper in the Apoſtles tyme,

Furthermore I doe ſtedfaſtly beleeue, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinaunce of Chriſt, the bleſſed and immaculate Lambe is preſent to the eyes of our fayth, and ſo we eate his fleſh, and drinke hys bloud, which is to dwell with God, and God with vs. And in this we are ſure we dwell with God, in that he geueth vs his holy ſpirite, euen as the forefathers that were before Chriſtes commyng, did preſently ſee the Lordes death, and did eate his body, and drinke his bloud.

In this do I differ from the Popes Church, that the prieſtes haue authoritie to make Chriſtes naturall preſence in the bread, for ſo doth he more then our Lorde and Sauiour did: As the example is manifeſt in Iudas, which at Chriſtes handes receyued the ſame wyne and bread, as the other Apoſtles did. But the Pope and his adherents, are euen they whom Daniel ſpeaketh of, ſaying: He ſhall ſet men to vnhallow the ſanctuary, and to put downe the dailye offering, and to ſet vp the abhominable deſolation. Yea, he (of Rome) ſhall ſpeake meruailous things againſt the God of heauen, and God of all Gods, wherin he ſhall proſper ſo long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the concluſion is deuiſed already. He ſhall not regard the God of heauen, nor the God of his fathers, yea in his place ſhall he worſhip the mighty Idoll, and the God whome his fathers knew not, which is the God Maozim.

For lacke of tyme, I leaue the commemoration of the bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, and the abhominable idoll the maſſe, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the God Maozim. Read the ſecond and laſt chap. of Daniel, the ij. to the Theſ. the 2. Epiſtle: where as they recite the abhomination of deſolation, which Mathew ſayth, ſtandeth in the holy place, which is the conſciences of men. Marke ſayeth, where it ought not to ſtand, which is a plaine denial of all the inuentions of men. Further Luke ſayth, the tyme is at hand. Paule ſayth, the myſterie of iniquitie worketh alredie, yea, and ſhall continue till the appearaunce of Chriſt, which in my iudgement is at hand.

Now for the ſupper of the Lord, I do proteſt to take it as reuerently as Chriſt left it, and as his apoſtles did vſe it, according to the teſtimonies of the Prophets, the Apoſtles and our bleſſed ſauiour Chriſt, which accordingly S. Paule to the Epheſians doth recite.

Now with quietnes I commit the whole world to their paſtor and heardman, Ieſus Chriſt the onely Sauior and true Meſſias, and I commend my ſoueraigne Lorde and Maiſter, the Kings maieſtie, King Henry the 8. to God the father, and to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: the Queene and my Lord the Prince, with this whole realme, euer to the innocent and immaculate lambe, that his bloud may waſh and purifie their hartes and ſoules from all iniquitie and ſinne, to Gods glory, and to the ſaluation of their ſoules. I doe proteſt that the inward part of my hart doth grone for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle which is aboue: yea and there to be with God for euer. Farewell in Chriſt Ieſu.

Iohn Lacels ſeruaunt late to the king,
and now I truſt to ſerue the euerlaſting king, with the teſtimony of
my bloud in Smithfield.

¶ Rogers Martyr, burned in Northfolke.

Like as winchester and other Biſhops did ſet on kyng Henry againſt Anne Aſkew and her fellow martyrs, ſo D. Repſe B. of Norwich did incite no leſſe the old duke of Norfolke againſt one Rogers in the country of Northfolke: who much about the ſame yere and time, was there condemned and ſuffered Martyrdome for the vj. articles. After which tyme, it was not long, but within halfe a yere both the kyng himſelfe, and the dukes houſe decayed: albeit the Dukes houſe by Gods grace recouered againe afterward, and he hymſelfe conuerted to a more moderation in this kind of dealyng.

The

✱The ſtorie of Queene Katherine Parre late Queene, and wife to King Henry 8 Wherein appeareth in what daunger ſhe was for the Goſpell, by the meanes of Steuen Gardiner and other of his conſpiracy: and how graciouſly ſhe was preſerued by her kind and louing husband the king.

Anno 1546.

After theſe ſtormye ſtories aboue recited, the courſe and order, as well of the time, as the matter of ſtorie doeth require nowe ſomewhat to intreate likewiſe touching the troubles and afflictions of the vertuous and excellent lady Queene Katherine Parre, the laſte wife to king Henrye. The ſtorie wherof is thys.

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About the ſame time aboue noted, whych was about the yeare after the king returned from Bullein, he was informed that Queene Katherine Parre, at that time his wife, was very much geuen to the reading and ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures: & that ſhe for that purpoſe had retained diuers well learned and godly perſons, to inſtruct her throughly in the ſame, wt whom as at al times conuenient ſhe vſed to haue priuate conference touching ſpiritual matters: ſo alſo of ordinarie, but eſpecially in Lente euery day in the after noone for the ſpace of an houre, one of her ſayd Chaplains in her priuie Chamber made ſome collation to her and to her Ladies and Gentlewomen of her priuie Chamber, or other that were diſpoſed to heare: in which ſermons, they oft times touched ſuche abuſes as in the churche then were rife. which things as they were not ſecretely done, ſo neyther were their preachings vnknowen vnto the Kynge. wherof at the firſt, and for a great time, he ſemed very wel to like. which made her yͤ more bold (being in deed become very zealous toward the Goſpell, and the profeſſors therof) franckly to debate with the king, touching Religion, and therein flatly to diſcouer her ſelfe: oftetimes wiſhing, exhorting and perſwading the king, that as hee had to the glorye of God and hys eternall fame, begonne a good and a godlye worke in baniſhinge that monſterous Idolle of Rome, ſo he would throughly perfite and finiſh the ſame, cleanſing and purging hys Churche of Englande, cleane from the dregges therof, wherin as yet remained great ſuperſtition.

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And all be it the king grewe towardes hys latter ende, very ſterne and opinionate, ſo that of fewe he could be content to be taught, but worſt of all to be contended wyth all by argument: notwythſtanding towardes her he refrained hys accuſtomed manner (vnto others in like caſe vſed) as appeared by great reſpectes, either for the reuerence of the cauſe, whereunto of hym ſelfe he ſeemed well inclined, if ſome others coulde haue ceaſed from ſeeking to peruert hym, or els for the ſingular affection which vntill a verye ſmal time before hys death, he alwayes bare vnto her. For neuer handmaide ſoughte wyth more carefull diligence to pleaſe her miſtreſſe, then ſhee did with all painfull endeuor apply her ſelfe by all vertuous meanes, in all thynges to pleaſe hys humour.

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Moreouer, beſides the vertues of the minde, ſhee was endued wyth very rare giftes of nature, as ſingular beautie, fauour, and comely perſonage, being thynges wherein the King was greatly delyghted: and ſo enioyed ſhee the kings fauour, to the great likelihoode of the ſetting at large of the Goſpell within this Realme at that time, hadde not the malicious practiſe of certain enemies profeſſed againſt the truth (which at that time alſo were very great) preuented yͤ ſame, to the vtter alienating of the kings mind from Religion, and, almoſt to the extreme ruine of the Queene and certaine others with her, if God had not marueilouſly ſuccoured her in that diſtreſſe. The conſpirers and practiſers of her death, were Gardiner B. of Wincheſter, Wriſley then Lord Chauncellor, and others more aſwell of the kings priuie chamber, as of his priuie councell. Theſe ſeeking (for the furtheraunce of theyr vngodly purpoſe) to reuiue, ſtirre vp and kindle euil and pernicious humours in their Prince and ſoueraigne Lord, to the intent to depryue her of thys great fauour, which then ſhe ſtoode in wyth the king, (which they not a litle feared would turne to the vtter ruine, of their Antichriſtian ſecte, if it ſhoulde continue) and thereby to ſtoppe the paſſage of the Goſpell: and conſequently, hauing taken away her, who was the only Patroneſſe of the profeſſours of the trueth, openlye wythout feare of checke or controlment, wyth fire and ſworde, after theyr accuſtomed maner, to inuade the ſmall remainder (as they hoped) of that poore flocke, made theyr wicked entrie vnto this theyr miſchieuous enterpriſe, after thys manner following.

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The kinges Maieſtie (as you haue hearde) miſliked to be contended with all in any kinde of argument. This humour of hys, although not in ſmaller matters, yet in cauſes of Religion as occaſion ſerued, the Queene would not ſticke in reuerent termes and humble talke, entring wyth him into diſcourſe with ſound reaſons of Scripture, now and then to contrary. The whych the Kyng was ſo well accuſtomed vnto in thoſe matters, that at her handes he tooke all in good part, or at the leaſt did neuer ſhew countenance of offence thereat: which did not a litle appall her aduerſaries, to heare and ſee. During which tyme, perceyuing her ſo throughly grounded in the kings fauour, they durſt not for theyr liues once opē their lips vnto the king in any reſpect to touch her, either in her preſence, or behind her backe: And ſo long ſhee continued this her accuſtomed vſage, not onely of hearing priuate ſermons (as is ſayde) but alſo of her free conference with the king in matters of Religion, without all perill, vntill at the laſt by reaſon of his ſore leg (the anguiſh whereof began more and more to encreaſe) he waxed ſickly, and therwithall, froward, and difficult to be pleaſed.

The king ſometyme contrary to the king in argument.

The king waxeth ſickly and difficult to pleaſe.

In the tyme of this his ſicknes, he had left his accuſtomed maner of comming and viſiting the Queene, & therefore ſhe, according as ſhe vnderſtoode him by ſuch aſſured intelligence as ſhee had about him, to be diſpoſed to haue her company, ſometimes being ſent for, other ſometymes of her ſelfe would come to viſite him, either at after dinner or after ſupper, as was moſt fit for her purpoſe. At whiche tymes ſhee woulde not fayle to vſe all occaſions to moue him, according to her maner, zelouſly to proceede in the reformation of the Church. The ſharpenes of the diſeaſe had ſharpened the kinges accuſtomed pacience, ſo that he began to ſhew ſome tokens of miſliking: and contrary vnto his maner, vpon a day, breaking of that matter, hee tooke occaſion to enter into other talke, which ſomewhat amazed the Queene. To whome notwithſtanding in her preſence, he gaue neither euill word nor countenance, but knit vp al arguments wt gentle wordes and louinge countenaunce: and after other pleaſant talke, ſhee for that time tooke her leaue of his maieſty. who after his maner, bidding her fare well ſweete hearte (for that was his vſuall terme to the Queene) licenced her to depart.

The king beginneth to miſlyke of the Queene.

At this viſitation chaunced the Biſhop of Wincheſter aforenamed to be preſent, as alſo at the Queenes takynge her leaue (who verye well had printed in his memorie the kings ſodaine interrupting of the Queene in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thoughte yͭ if the yron were beaten whileſt it was hotte, and that the kynges humoure were holpen, ſuche miſliking might followe towardes the Queene, as might both ouerthrow her & all her endeuors and only awaited ſome accaſion to renewe into the kings memory, the former miſliked argument. Hys expectatiõ in that behalfe did nothing faile him. For the king at yͤ time ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe prompt and ready to receiue any information, then the biſhop was maliciouſly bent to ſtir vp the kings indignation againſt her. The king immediately vpon her departure from him, vſed theſe or like wordes: A good hearing (quoth he) it is when women become ſuch Clerkes, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine olde dayes to be taught by my wife.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter taketh his occaſio to worke his miſchiefe.

The Biſhop hearing this, ſeemed to miſlike that the Queene ſhoulde ſo much forget her ſelfe, as to take vppon her to ſtand in any argument wyth his maieſtie, whom he to his face extold for his rare vertues, and eſpecially for his learned iudgement in matters of religion, aboue, not only Princes of that and other ages, but alſo aboue Doctours profeſſed in Diuinitie, and ſayde that it was an vnſeemely thing for any of his maieſties ſubiects to reaſon and argue with him ſo malapartly, and greuous to him for hys parte and other of his Maieſties Councellours and ſeruauntes, to heare yͤ ſame: and that they all by proofe knew his wiſedome to be ſuch, that it was not nedeful for any to put him in mind of any ſuch matters: inferring moreouer how dāgerous and perillous a matter it is, and euer hath bene for a Prince to ſuffer ſuche inſolent wordes at hys ſubiectes hands: who as they take boldneſſe to contrary their ſoueraigne in wordes, ſo want they no will, but onely power and ſtrength to ouerthwart them in deedes.

The Biſhop of Wincheſters wordes to the king.

Beſides thys, that the Religion by the Queene ſo ſtiffly maintained, did not onely diſallow and diſſolue the policie and politicke gouernment of Princes, but alſo taught the people that all thynges oughte to be in cōmon, ſo that what colour ſo euer they pretended, theyr opinions were in deede ſo odious, and for the Princes eſtate ſo perillous, that (ſauing the reuerence they bare vnto her for hys Maieſties ſake) they durſt be bolde to affirme that the greateſt ſubiect in this lande, ſpeaking thoſe wordes that ſhee dyd ſpeake, and defending thoſe argumēts that ſhe did defend, had with indifferent iuſtice, by law deſerued death.

Wincheſters accuſation againſt the Queene.

Howbeit for his part he would not nor durſt not, without good warrante from his Maieſtie, ſpeake hys knowledge in the Queenes caſe, althoughe very apparaunt reaſons made for hym, and ſuche as his ductifull affection towardes his Maieſtie, and the zeale and preſeruatiō of hys eſtate, would ſcarcely geue hym leaue to conceyue, though the vttering thereof might thorowe her, and her faction, be the vtter deſtruction of hym, and of ſuche as in deede dyd chiefly tender the Princes ſafetie, wythout hys Maieſtie would take vpon him to be their Protector, and as it were theyr Buckler. Whych if he would doe (as in reſpect of hys owne ſafetye hee ought not to refuſe) he with others of hys faithfull Counſailours, coulde wythin ſhorte time diſcloſe ſuch treaſōs, cloked with this cloke of hereſy, that his maieſtie ſhould eaſily perceiue how perillous a matter it is to cheriſh a Serpent within hys owne boſome. Howbeit he would not for his parte willingly deale in the matter, both for reuerent reſpect aforeſaid, and alſo for feare leſt the faction was growen already too great, there with the princes ſafetie to diſcouer the ſame. And therewithall with heauie countenance and whiſpering together with them of yͤ ſecte there preſent, he helde his peace.

Wincheſter abuſeth the king with his flattering.

These and ſuch other kindes of Wincheſters flattering phraſes, marueilouſly whetted the king both to anger and diſpleaſure towardes the Queene, and alſo to be ielous and miſtruſtfull of his own eſtate. For the aſſuraunce whereof Princes vſe not to be ſcrupulous to doe any thyng. Thus then Wincheſter wyth his flattering wordes, ſeeking to frame the kynges diſpoſition after hys owne pleaſure, ſo farre crept into the king at that time, and wyth doubtfull feares he with other his fellowes, ſo filled the kyngs miſtruſtfull minde, that before they departed the place, the king (to ſee belike what they would doe,) had geuen commandement, with warrant to certaine of them made for yͤ purpoſe, to conſult together about the drawing of certaine articles againſt the Queene, wherin her life might be touched: which the king by their perſwaſions pretended to be fully reſolued not to ſpare, hauing any rigour or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this commiſſion they departed for that time from the king, reſolued to put theyr pernicious practiſe to as miſchieuous an execution.

How Wincheſter and his fellowes deuiſe againſt the Goſpellers.

Duringe the time of deliberation about thys matter, they failed not to vſe al kinds of policies, and miſchieuous practiſes, aſwell to ſuborne accuſers, as otherwiſe to betray her, in ſeeking to vnderſtand what bokes, by law forbidden, ſhee had in her cloſet. And the better to bring theyr purpoſe to paſſe, becauſe they would not vpon the ſodaine but by meanes deale wyth her, they thought it beſt, at the firſt, to begin with ſome of thoſe Ladies whom they knew to be great with her, and of her bloud. The chiefeſt whereof, as moſt of eſtimation, and priuie to all her doings, were theſe: the Lady Harbert, afterwarde Counteſſe of Pembroke and ſiſter to the Queene, & chiefe of her priuie chamber: the Lady Lane, being of her priuie chamber, and alſo her coſine germane: the Lady Tyrwit of her priuye chamber, and for her vertuous diſpoſition, in very great fauour and credite with her.

Lady Harbert.

Lady Lane.

Lady Tyrwitte.

Wincheſters plateforme.

It was deuiſed that theſe three aboue named ſhoulde firſt of all haue bene accuſed and brought to aunſwer vnto the 6. articles: and vpon their apprehenſion in the Courte, their cloſet and coffers ſhoulde haue bene ſearched, yͭ ſomewhat might haue bene found, wherby the Queene myght be charged, which being found, yͤ Queene her ſelfe preſently ſhould haue bene taken, and likewiſe caried by barge by night vnto the Tower. This platforme thus deuiſed, but yet in the ende comming to no effecte, the king by thoſe aforeſayde, was forthwith made priuie vnto the deuiſe by Wincheſter and Wriſley, and his conſent therunto demanded. Who, (belike to proue the byſhops malice, how farre it would preſume) like a wiſe politike Prince, was contented (diſſemblingly) to geue his conſent, and to alow of euery circumſtance (knowing notw̃ſtanding in the ende what he would doe. And thus the day, the time, and the place of theſe apprehenſions aforeſaide was appoynted: which deuiſe yet after was chaunged.

The king at that time lay at White Hal, and vſed very ſeldome, being not well at eaſe, to ſtirre oute of hys chamber or priuie gallery: and few of his Counſell, but by eſpecial commandement, reſorted vnto him, theſe onely except: who by reaſon of this practiſe, vſed oftner then of ordinary to repaire vnto hym. This purpoſe ſo finely was handled, that it grewe now within fewe dayes of the tyme appoynted for the execution of the matter, & the poore Quene knew not nor ſuſpected any thing at all: and therefore vſed after her accuſtomed manner, when ſhee came to viſite the king, ſtill to deale with hym touching Religion, as before ſhee did.

The king al this whyle gaue her leaue to vtter her mind at the ful, without contradiction: not vpon any euil minde or miſliking (ye muſt cōceiue) to haue her ſpeedy diſpatche, but rather cloſely diſſembling with them, to try out the vttermoſte of Wincheſters fetches. Thus after her accuſtomed conference wyth the kyng, when ſhee hadde taken her leaue of him (the time and daye of Wincheſters finall day approching faſt vpon) it chaunced that the king of himſelfe vppon a certaine night after her being wyth him, and her leaue taken of hym, in miſliking her Religion, brake the whole practiſe vnto one of hys Phiſitions, eyther Doctor Windy, or els Owen, but rather Windy as is ſuppoſed: pretending vnto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled wyth ſuch a Doctreſſe as ſhee was, and alſo declaring what trouble was in working againſte her by certaine of her enemies, but yet charging him wythall, vpon peril of his life, not to vtter it to any creature liuing: and therupon declared vnto him the parties aboue named with all circumſtances, and when and what the final reſolution of the matter ſhould be.

The Queene all this while compaſſed about wyth enemies and perſecutours, perceiued nothing of all thys, nor what was working againſt her, and what trappes were layde for her by Wincheſter and his fellowes: ſo cloſely the matter was conueied. But ſee what the Lorde God (who from his eternall throne of wiſdome, ſeeth and diſpatcheth all the inuentiōs of Achitophel, and comprehendeth yͤ wily beguily themſelues) did for his poore handmaiden, in reſcuing her from the pit of ruine, whereunto ſhe was ready to fall vnawares.

For as the Lorde would, ſo came it to paſſe, that the bill of Articles drawen againſte the Queene, and ſubſcribed with the kings own hand (although diſſemblingly ye muſt vnderſtand) falling from the boſome of one of the foreſayd Councellours, was founde and taken vp of ſome godly perſon, and brought immediately vnto the Queene. Who reading there the Articles compriſed againſt her, and perceiuing the kings owne hand vnto the ſame, for the ſodain feare thereof, fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agonie, bewailing and taking on in ſuche ſorte, as was lamentable to ſee: as certaine of her Ladies and Gentlewomen beyng yet aliue, whiche were then preſent about her, can teſtifie.

The king hearing what perplexitie ſhe was in, almoſt to the pearil and danger of her life, ſent his Phiſitions vnto her. Who traueling about her, and ſeing what extremity ſhee was in, did what they coulde for her recouerie. Then Wendy, who knew the caſe better then the other, and perceiuing by her wordes what yͤ mater was, according to that the king before had told him: for the comforting of her heauy minde, began to breake with her in ſecrete maner, touching the ſaid articles deuiſed againſt her, which he himſelf (he ſayde) knewe right well to be true: although he ſtode in danger of his life, if euer he were knowen to vtter the ſame to any liuing creature. Neuertheles, partly for the ſafety of her life, and partly for the diſcharge of his owne conſcience, hauing remorſe to conſent to yͤ ſheding of innocent bloud, he could not but geue her warning of that miſchief that hāged ouer her head, beſeching her moſt inſtantly to vſe al ſecrecie in that behalfe, and exhorted her ſomewhat to frame and conforme her ſelfe vnto the kings minde, ſaying he did not doubt, but if ſhe wold ſo do, and ſhew her humble ſubmiſſion vnto him, ſhee ſhoulde finde him gracious and fauourable vnto her.

It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the daungerous ſtate wherein ſhe yet ſtil remained: came vnto her hymſelfe. Unto whome, after that ſhee had vttered her griefe, fearing leſt his maieſtie (ſhe ſayd) had taken diſpleaſure with her, and had vtterly forſaken her: he like a louing huſband wyth ſweete and comfortable wordes ſo refreſhed & appeaſed her careful mind, that ſhe vpon the ſame began ſomewhat to recouer, and ſo the king after he hadde taryed there about the ſpace of an houre, departed.

After this the Queene remembring with her ſelfe the wordes that M. Wendy had ſaid vnto her, deuiſed how by ſome good oportunitie ſhe myght repaire to the kings preſence. And ſo firſt commanding her ladies to conuey away theyr bookes, which were againſt the lawe, the next nyght following after ſupper, ſhee (waited vpon only by the lady Harbert her ſiſter and the Lady Lane, who caried the candle before her) went vnto the kings bed chamber, whome ſhe found ſitting and talking with certaine Gentlemen of his chamber. Whom when the king did beholde, very curteouſly he welcomed her, and breaking of the talke, whych before her comming he had wyth the Gentlemen aforſaid, began of himſelf, contrary to his maner before accuſtomed to enter into talke of religion, ſeming as it were, deſirous to be reſolued by the Queene of certaine doubtes which he propounded.

The Queene perceiuinge to what purpoſe thys talke did tend, not being vnprouided in what ſort to behaue her ſelfe towards the king, with ſuch aunſweres reſolued hys queſtions as the time and opportunitie preſent did require, mildly, and with a reuerent countenaunce aunſwering againe after thys maner.

Your Maieſtie (quoth ſhe) doth right well know, neither I my ſelfe am ignoraunt, what great imperfection and weakeneſſe by our firſt creation, is allotted vnto vs women, to be ordained and appoynted as inferiour and ſubiect vnto man as our heade, from which head all our direction ought to proceede, and that, as God made man to his owne ſhape and likeneſſe, whereby he being indued with more ſpeciall giftes of perfection, might rather be ſtirred to the contemplation of heauenly things, and to the earneſt endeuour to obey his commaundements: euen ſo alſo made hee woman of man, of whome and by whome ſhee is to be gouerned, commanded and directed. Whoſe womanly weakeneſſe & naturall imperfection, ought to be tollerated, aided and borne wythal, ſo that by his wiſedome ſuch things as be lacking in her, ought to be ſupplied.

Sithens therefore that God hath appoynted ſuche a naturall difference betwene man and woman, and your Maieſtie beyng ſo excellent in giftes and ornaments of wiſedom, and I a ſeely pore woman ſo much inferiour in all reſpects of nature vnto you: how then commeth it nowe to paſſe that your Maieſtie in ſuch diffuſe cauſes of religion, will ſeeme to require my iudgement? Whyche when I haue vttered and ſayd what I can, yet muſt I, and will I referre my iudgement in this and all other caſes to your Maieſties wiſedome, as my onely anker, ſupreme heade and gouerner heere in earth next vnder God, to leane vnto.

Not ſo by Saint Marye, quoth the King. You are become a Doctor, Kate, to inſtruct vs (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed, or directed by vs.

If your Maieſtie take it ſo (quoth the Queene) then hath your Maieſtie very much miſtaken me, who haue euer bene of the opinion, to thinke it very vnſeemely & prepoſterous for the woman to take vpon her the office of an inſtructer or teacher to her Lord and husband, but rather to learne of her husband, & to be taught by him. And where I haue with your Maieſties leaue heeretofore bene bolde to holde talke with your Maieſtie, wherein ſometimes in opinions there hath ſeemed ſome difference, I haue not done it ſo much to maintaine opinion, as I did it rather to miniſter talke, not onely to the ende that your Maieſtie mighte with leſſe griefe paſſe ouer this painefull time of your infirmitie, beinge intentiue to oure talke, and hoping that your Maieſtie ſhoulde reape ſome eaſe thereby: but alſo that I hearing your Maieſties learned diſcourſe, might receiue to my ſelfe ſome profite thereof. Wherein I aſſure your Maieſtie I haue not miſſed anye parte of my deſire in that behalfe, alwayes referring my ſelfe in all ſuche matters vnto your Maieſtie, as by ordinaunce of nature it is conuenient for me to doe.

And is it euen ſo ſweete hart, quoth the king? And tended your arguments to no worſe end? Then perfect frendes we are now again, as euer at any time heretofore: and as hee ſate in hys chaire embracing her in his armes & kiſſing her, hee added thys ſaying: That it did him more good at that time to heare thoſe wordes of her owne mouthe, then if hee had heard preſent newes of an hundreth thouſand pounds in money fallen vnto him. And wyth greate ſignes and tokens of marueilous ioy and liking, with promiſes and aſſurances, neuer againe in any ſort more to miſtake her, entering into other very pleaſaunt diſcourſes wyth the Queene & the Lords, and Gentlemen ſtanding by, in the end (being very farre on the night) he gaue her leaue to departe. Whome in her abſence to the ſtanders by, he gaue as ſingulare and as affectuous commendations, as before time to the Biſh. and the chancelor (who then were neither of them preſent) he ſeemed to miſlike of her.

Now then (God be thanked) the Kings mynde was cleane altered, and he deteſted in his heart (as afterwards he plainly ſhewed) this Tragicall practiſe of thoſe cruell Caiphaſes: who nothing vnderſtanding of the kings wel reformed minde, & good diſpoſition towarde the Queene, were buſily occupied about thinking & prouiding for their next dayes labour, which was the day determined to haue caryed the Queene to the Tower.

The day & almoſt the houre appoynted being come, the K. being diſpoſed in the after noone to take the aire (waited vppon wyth two Gentlemen onely of hys bed chamber) went into the garden, whether the Queene alſo came, being ſent for by the Kinge hymſelfe, the three Ladies aboue named, alone waiting vppon her: wyth whom the king at that time diſpoſed himſelf to be as pleaſant as euer he was in all his life before: when ſodainly in the middeſt of theyr myrth, the houre determined being come, in commeth the Lord chauncellour into the garden with a 40. of the kings garde at his heeles, with purpoſe in deede to haue taken the Queene together with the 3. Ladies aforeſaide, whom they had before purpoſed to apprehende alone, euen then vnto the tower. Whome then the kyng ſternly beholding, breaking of his myrth with the Queene, ſtepping a little a ſide, called the Chauncellour vnto hym. Who vppon hys knees ſpake certaine wordes vnto the king, but what they were (for that they were ſoftly ſpoken, and the King a good pretie diſtance from the Queene) it is not well known, but it is moſt certaine that the kings replying vnto hym, was knaue, for his aunſwer: yea arrant knaue, beaſt, and foole, and with that the king commaũded hym preſently to auant out of preſence. Which words although they were vttered ſomewhat lowe, yet were they ſo vehemently whyſpered out by the king, that the Queene did eaſely with her Ladies aforeſayd ouer heare them: which had bene not a litle to her comfort, if ſhee had knowen at that time the whole cauſe of hys comming ſo perfectly, as after ſhee knewe it. Thus departed the L. Chãcellor out of the kings preſence as he came, with all his traine, the whole mould of all hys deuiſe being vtterly broken.

ſhould altogether be apprehended in maner as is here declared.

The K. reuyleth Wriſley L. Chauncellour.

The L. Chauncellour commaunded to auaunt out of the K. ſight. Wriſleis deuiſes & Wyncheſters platforme lye in the duſte.

The King after his departure, immediatly returned to the Queene: whom ſhe perceiuing to be very much chafed, (albeit comming towardes her, he inforced himſelfe to put on a mery countenance) with as ſwete words as ſhe could vtter, endeuoured to quallify the king his diſpleaſure with requeſt vnto his maieſtie in the behalfe of the L. Chauncelor, whom he ſeemed to be offended with all: ſaying for his excuſe, that albeit ſhe knew not what iuſt cauſe his maieſty had at that time to be offended with him, yet ſhee thoughte that ignoraunce not will, was the cauſe of his error, and ſo beſought hys maieſtie (if the cauſe were not very hainous) at her humble ſuite to take it.

The Q. maketh excuſe for her enemye.

Ah poore ſoule (quoth he) thou little knoweſt how euill he deſerueth this grace at thy hands. Of my worde (ſweete heart) he hath bene towardes thee an arrant knaue, and ſo let him go. To this the Queene in charitable maner replying in few wordes, ended that talke: hauing alſo by Gods onely bleſſing happely for that time and euer, eſcaped the dangerous ſnares of her bloudy and cruell enemies for the Goſpels ſake.

The Queene by Gods meruelous bleſſing deliuered of al her aduerſitye.

The peſtiferous purpoſe of this Biſhop, & of ſuche like bloudy aduerſaries practiſing thus againſt the Queene, & proceeding of gods goſpel (as ye haue heard) putteth me in remembrãce of ſuch an other like ſtory of his wicked working in like manner, a litle before: but much more pernitious & peſtilent to the publick church of Jeſus Chriſt, then this was daungerous to the priuate eſtate of the Queene. Whyche ſtorie likewiſe I thought heere as in conuenient place, to be adioyned & notified, to be knowen to all poſteritie, according as I haue it faithfully recorded and ſtoried by hym, which heard it of the Archbiſhop Cranmers own mouth, declared in order and forme as foloweth.

⁂ A diſcourſe touching a certaine pollicie vſed by Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, in ſtaying king Henrie the 8. from redreſsing of certaine abuſes of ceremonies in the church, being Ambaſſadour beyonde the ſeas.

Alſo the communication of king Henrye the 8. had wyth the ambaſſador of France at Hampton Court concerning the reformation of religion, as wel in France, as in Englande. Anno 1546. Menſ. Auguſt.

It chanced in the time of K. Henrie the 8. when his highnes did laſtly (not many yeres before his death) conclude a league betwene the Emperor, the French king and himſelfe, that the B. of Wincheſter Steuẽ Gardiner by name, was ſent in Ambaſſage beyonde the ſeas, for that purpoſe. In whoſe abſence the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury Thomas Cranmer, attending vpon the kings Court, ſought occaſion ſomwhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion, not yet fully reſtored vnto a perfection. For lyke as the ſayd Archb. was alwaies diligent and forward to preferre and aduaunce the ſincere doctrine of the Goſpel, ſo was that other byſhop a contrary inſtrument, cõtinually ſpurning againſt the ſame, in whatſoeuer coaſt of the worlde he remained. For euen now he being beyond yͤ ſeas in yͤ temporal affaires of yͤ realme forgate not, but foũd the meanes as a moſt valiant champion of the B. of Rome, to ſtop and hinder, aſwel the good diligence of the ſayd Archbiſhop, as the godly diſpoſition of the kings Maieſtie in that behalfe, whych thus chaunced.

Steuẽ Gardiner Ambaſſadour.

Wincheſter a great hinderer of the courſe of the Goſpell.

Whileſt the ſayde B. of Wincheſter was nowe remaining beyond the ſeas, about the affaires aforſaide, yͤ kings maieſty and the ſaide Archbiſhop, hauing conference together for reformatiõ of ſome ſuperſtitious enormities in the Church: amongſt other things, the king determined forthwith

The kinges conference with D. Cranmer about reformation of the Church. Rood loftes. Ringing on Alhallow night.

with to pull downe the Roodes in euery churche, and to ſuppreſſe the accuſtomed ringing on Alhalow night, wyth a few ſuch like vaine ceremonies: And therefore, when the ſaid Archb. taking his leaue of the king, to go into Kent his dioces, his highnes willed him to remember that he ſhuld cauſe 2. letters to be deuiſed: for me (quoth the King) to be ſigned, the one to be directed vnto you my Lorde, and the other vnto the Archbiſhop of Yorke, wherein I will commaund you both to ſend forth your precepts vnto all other Byſhops wythin your prouinces, to ſee thoſe enormities and Ceremonies reformed vndelaidly that we haue communed of.

Letters of reformation to be ſent by the king.

So vppon this, the kings pleaſure knowen, when the Archbiſhop of Canterburye was then come into Kent, hee cauſed his Secretarye to conceiue and write theſe Letters according to the kings minde, and being made in a readineſſe, ſent them to the Courte to Syr Anthony Denie, for hym to get them ſigned by the king, when maiſter Denie had moued the king thereunto, the king made anſwere: I am now otherwayes reſolued, for you ſhal ſend my Lorde of Canterburye worde, that ſithence I ſpake with hym about theſe matters, I haue receiued letters from my Lord of Wincheſter, nowe being on the other ſide of the Sea, about the concluſion of a league betweene vs, the Emperor and the Frenche king, & he wryteth plainely vnto vs, that the league wil not proſper nor go forward, if we make any other innouation, change, or alteration, either in Religion or ceremonies, then heretofore hath ben already commenſed and done. Wherefore my Lorde of Canterburye muſt take patience herein, and forbeare vntill we may eſpye a more apt and conuenient time for that purpoſe.

The kinges minde altered by Wint.

Reformation of Religion ſtopped by Steuen Gardiner.

{ Anno. 1546. }

This Ambaſſadour was admirall of Fraunce whoſe name was Mounſieur de Annebault, he came to Hampton Court the 20. day of Aug. an. 1546.

The matter of reformation againe renued a little before the kinges death.

Which matter of reformation began to be reuiued again, at what time the great Ambaſſador from the French king, came to the kings Maieſtie at Hampton Courte not long before his death. Where then no Gentleman was permitted to waite vpon his Lord and maiſter, wythout a veluet coate and a chaine of golde. And for that entertainment of the Ambaſſadour, were builded in the parke there, 3. very notable great and ſumptuous banketting houſes. At the which it was purpoſed, that the ſayd Ambaſſadour ſhould haue bene 3. ſundry nightes very richly banketted. But as it chaunced, the French kings great affaires were then ſodenly ſuch, that thys Ambaſſadoure was ſent for home in poſt haſt, before he had receiued halfe the noble entertainement that was prepared for him, ſo that he hadde but the fruition of the firſt banketting houſe.

The kinges bancket for the French Ambaſſadour.

Now what princelike order was there vſed in the furniture of yͤ banket, as well in placing of the noble eſtates, namely the kings Maieſtie, and the French Ambaſſadour wᵗ the noble men both of England and Fraunce on the one parte, and of the Queenes highneſſe and the Ladye Anne of Cleeue with other noble women & Ladyes of the other part, as alſo touching the great & ſumptuous preparation of both coſtly and fine diſhes there out of number ſpent, it is not our purpoſe heere preſently to entreate thereof, but onely to conſider the note of the conference and communication had the firſt night after the ſayd bãket was finiſhed, betweene the kings Maieſtie, the ſayde Ambaſſadour, and the Archbiſhop of Canterburye (the kings highneſſe ſtanding openly in the banketting houſe, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arme vpon the ſhoulder of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the other arme vppon the ſhoulder of the Ambaſſadour) touching the eſtabliſhing of godly religion betweene thoſe two Princes in both theyr realmes: As by the report of the ſayd Arch. vnto hys ſecretarie vppon occaſion of his ſeruice to be done in king Edwards viſitation, then being regiſter in the ſame viſitation, relation was made on that behalfe in thys ſorte.

Secrete communicatiõ betwene the king the French Ambaſſadour, and the Archb. of Cant.

The teſtimony and credite of the ſtory.

The name of this Regiſter was M. Morice ſecretarye ſometymes to the Archb. Thomas Cranmer.

When the ſayd viſitation was put in a readines, before the Commiſſioners ſhould proceede in their viage, the ſaid Archb. ſent for the ſayde Regiſter his man vnto Hampton Courte, and willed him in any wiſe to make notes of certaine things in the ſayde viſitation: whereof hee gaue vnto hym inſtruction, hauing then further talke with hym touching the good effect and ſucceſſe of the ſayde viſitation. Upon which occaſion the Regiſter ſayde vnto hys maiſter the Archbyſhop: I doe remember that you not long agoe, cauſed me to conceiue and write letters, which king Henry the 8. ſhuld haue ſigned and directed vnto your grace, and the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, for the reformation of certayne enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roodes, and forbidding of ringing on Alhalow night, and ſuch like vaine ceremonies. Whiche letters your grace ſent to the Courte to be ſigned by the kinges Maieſtie, but as yet I thinke that there was neuer any thing done therein.

Why, quoth the Archbiſhop againe, neuer hearde you how thoſe letters were ſuppreſſed and ſtopped? Wherunto the Archbyſhops ſeruaunt aunſwering againe: as it was (ſayde hee) my duetie to wryte thoſe letters: ſo was it not my part to be inquiſitiue what became thereupon. Marye, quoth the Archbiſhop, my Lord of Winchester then beyng beyond the ſeas, about a cõcluſion of a league betwene the Emperour, the Frenche king, & the king our maiſter, and fearing yͭ ſome reformation ſhould here paſſe in the realme touchinge Religion in hys abſence, againſte hys appetite, wrote to the kinges Maieſtie, beating hym in hande, that the league then towardes, woulde not proſper nor go forwardes on his Maieſties behalfe, if he made any other innouation or alteration in Religion, or Ceremonies in the Church, then was already done: which hys aduertiſement herein cauſed the king to ſtaye the ſigning of thoſe letters, as Syr Anthonie Denie wrote to me by the Kinges commaundement.

Then ſaid his ſeruaunt againe vnto hym: Foraſmuche as the kings good intent tooke no place then, nowe your grace may goe forward in thoſe matters, the oportunity of the time much better ſeruing thereunto then in king Henries daies.

Not ſo, quoth the Archbyſhop. It was better to attempt ſuch reformation in king Henry the viij. his dayes, then at thys time, the King beinge in hys infancie. For if the kings father had ſet forth any thyng for the reformation of abuſes, who was he that durſte gaineſay it? Marye, we are now in doubt how men will take the change or alteration of abuſes in the Church, and therefore the Counſaile hath forborne ſpecially to ſpeake thereof, and of other thyngs, whych gladly they woulde haue reformed in thys viſitation, referring all thoſe & ſuche like matters, vnto the diſcretions of the viſitours. But if King Henrye the viij. had liued vnto this day, wᵗ the french king, it had bene paſt my L. of Wincheſters power, to haue viſured the kynges highnes as he did, when he was about the ſame league.

I am ſure you were at Hampton Courte, quoth the Archb. when the French kings ambaſſador was entertained there at thoſe ſolemne banketting houſes, not long before the kings death: namely, when after the bankette was done the firſt night, the king leaning vpõ the Ambaſſador and vpon me, if I ſhould tel what communicatiõ betwene the kings highnes and the ſaid Ambaſſador was had, concerning the eſtabliſhing of ſincere Religion then, a manne would hardly haue beleued it. Nor I my ſelfe had thought the kings highnes had ben ſo forward in thoſe matters as then appeared. I may tell you it paſſed the pulling downe of Roodes, and ſuppreſſing the ringing of bels, I take it yͭ few in England would haue beleued, that the kings Maieſtie, and the French king had bene at thys poynt, not onely within halfe a yeare after to haue chaunged the maſſe in both the realmes into a communion, as we now vſe it, but alſo vtterly to haue extirped, and baniſhed the Byſhop of Rome and his vſurped power, out of both their realms and dominions.

Yea they were ſo throughly and firmely reſolued in that behalfe, that they ment alſo to exhort the Emperour to doe the like in Flanders and other his Countreis and Seniories, or els to breake of from him. And heerein the kynges highnes willed mee (quoth the Archbiſhop) to pen a forme thereof to be ſent to the Frenche king to conſider of. But the deepe & moſt ſecrete prouidence of almighty God, owing to this realme a ſharpe ſcourge for our iniquities, preuented (for a time) this theyr moſt godly deuiſe and intent, by taking to his mercy both theſe Princes.

A briefe narration of the trouble of Syr George Blage.

HEere woulde alſo ſomething be ſayde of Syr George Blage one of yͤ kings priuy chamber, who being falſlye accuſed by ſyr Hugh Cauerley knighte, and M. Litleton, was ſent for by Wriſley L. Chauncellour the ſonday before Anne Aſkew ſuffered, & the next day was caried to Newgate, & from thence to Guild Hal, where he was cõdemned the ſame day, & appoynted to be burned the wenſday folowing. The wordes which his accuſers laid vnto him, were theſe. What if a mouſe ſhould eat the bread? then by my conſent they ſhould hang vp the mouſe. Wheras in dede theſe wordes he neuer ſpake as to hys liues ende hee proteſted. But yͤ truth, as he ſayd, was this, that they craftely to vndermine him, walking wᵗ him in Pauls church after a ſermon of D. Crome, aſked if he were at the Sermon, and he ſaid yea, I heard ſay (ſaith M. Litleton) that he ſayd in his ſermõ that the maſſe profiteth neither for the quick nor for the dead. No ſaide M. Blage, wherefore then? belike for a gentleman when he rideth a hunting to kepe his horſe fro ſtumbling, & ſo they departing immediatly after he was apprehended (as is ſhewed) and condemned to be burned, when this was heard among them of the priuye chamber, the king hearing thẽ whiſpering together) whych he could neuer abide) commaunded them to tell hym the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and ſute made to the king, eſpecially by the good Earle of Bedford then L. priuie Seale, the king being ſore offended with their doings, that they would come ſo nere him, & euen into his priuie chamber without hys knowledge, ſent for Wriſley, commaunding him eftſoones to draw out hys pardon himſelf, and ſo was he ſet at libertye. Who cōming after to the kings preſence: ah my pig ſayth the king to him, (for ſo he was wont to call him.) Yea ſayd he, if your maieſtie had not bene better to me then your Biſhops were, your pig had bene roſted ere this time.

But to let this matter of ſyr George Blage paſſe, wee will now reduce our ſtorie againe to Anne Askew and her fellowe Martyrs, who the ſame weeke were burned, and could finde no pardon.

Anno 1546.

Then the Catholicke fathers when they had broughte this chriſtian woman wyth the reſidue (as aboue hath ben declared) vnto theyr reſt, they being now in their ruffe and triumph, like as the Phariſeis when they hadde broughte Chriſt to his graue, deuiſed wt themſelues howe to keepe him down ſtil, & to ouertreade truth for euer. Whereupon conſulting with certaine of the Counſell, they made oute a ſtraight and harde proclamation, authoriſed by the kinges name, for the aboliſhing of the ſcripture, & al ſuch Engliſh bokes, which might geue any light to the ſetting forth of Gods true word and grace of the Goſpel, the copie and tenour of which Proclamation is this as followeth.

A Proclamation for the aboliſhing of Engliſh bookes, after the death of Anne Askew, ſet forth by the king. An. 1546. the 8. day of Iuly.

THe kings moſt excellent Maieſtie vnderſtanding howe vnder pretence of expounding and declaring the truthe of Goddes Scripture, diuers leud and euil diſpoſed perſons haue taken occaſion to vtter and ſow abroade by bookes imprinted in the Engliſh tongue, ſondry pernitious and deteſtable errours & hereſies, not onely contrary to the lawes of this realme, but alſo repugnant to the true ſence of Gods law and his word, by reaſon whereof certaine men of late, to the deſtruction of their owne bodies & ſoules, and to the euill example of others, haue attempted arrogātly and malitiouſly to impugne the truth, and therewith trouble the ſober, quiet and godly Religion vnited and eſtabliſhed vnder the kings Maieſtie in this his realme: his highneſſe minding to foreſee the daungers that myght enſue of the ſayd bookes, is enforced to vſe thys generall prohibition commaundement and proclamation, as followeth.

Firſt, that from henceforth no man, woman, or perſon, of what eſtate, condition, or degree ſo euer he or they be, ſhal after the laſt day of Auguſt next enſuing, receiue, haue, take, or keepe in his or their poſseſsion, the text of the newe Teſtament of Tyndalles or Couerdales tranſlation in Engliſh, nor any other then is permitted by the Acte of Parliament made in the Seſsion of the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter in the 34. or 35. yere of his maieſties moſt noble raigne, nor after the ſayd day, ſhall receiue, haue, take, or keepe in his or their poſſeſsion, any maner of bookes prynted or wrytten in the Engliſh tongue, which be, or ſhalbe ſet forth in the names of Frith, Tindal, Wickliffe, Ioy, Roy, Baſil, Bale, Barnes, Couerdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other booke or bookes, containing matter contrary to the ſayde Acte made An 34 or 35. but ſhall before the laſt day of Auguſt next cōming, deliuer the ſame Engliſh booke, or bookes to his maiſter in that houſholde, if hee be a ſeruaunt or dwell vnder any other, and the maiſter or ruler of the houſe, & ſuche other as dwell at large, ſhall deliuer all ſuch bookes of the ſortes aforeſaid as they haue, or ſhal come to their hāds, deliuered as afore or otherwiſe, to the Maior, Bailiffe or chiefe Conſtable of the towne where they dwell, to be by them deliuered ouer openly within 40. daies next folowing after the ſaid deliuerie to the Shiriffe of the ſhire, or to the Byſhops Chancellour, Commiſſary of the ſame dioceſſe, to the entent the ſaid Biſhop, Chauncellour, Commiſſary, and Shiriffe, and euery of them ſhall cauſe them incontinently to be openly burned, which thing the kinges Maieſties pleaſure is, that euery of them ſhall ſee executed in moſt effectuall ſort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the kings Maieſties moſt honourable Councell, before the 1. of October next comming.

And to the intent that no man ſhall miſtruſt any daunger of ſuch penall ſtatutes as be paſſed in this behalfe, for the keeping of the ſayd bookes, the kings Maieſtie is moſt graciouſly contented by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the ſayd time appoynted, by this proclamation for the deliuery of the ſaid bokes and commaundeth that no Biſhoppe, Chauncellor, Commiſſarie, Maior, Bailiffe, Shiriffe, or Conſtable, ſhall be curious to marke who bringeth foorth ſuch bookes, but only order, & burne them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man after the laſt day of Auguſt next comming, ſhall haue any of the ſayde bookes in his keeping, or be proued, and conuinced by ſufficient witneſſe before 4. of the kings moſt honourable counſail, to haue hidden thē, or vſed thē, or any copy of any of them, or any parte of thē, wherby it ſhuld appeare that he willingly hath offēded the true meaning of this proclamation, the ſame ſhall not onely ſuffer impriſonment and puniſhment of his body at the kings maieſties will and pleaſure, but alſo ſhall make ſuche fine and raunſome to his highneſſe for the ſame, as by his Maieſtie or 4. of hys graces ſaid counſaille ſhalbe determined. &c.

The penaltye limited.

Finally, his Maieſtie ſtraightly chargeth and commandeth that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſo euer he or they be, from the day of this proclamation preſume to bring any maner of Engliſh booke, concerning any maner of Chriſtian religion, printed in the parties beyonde the ſeas into this realme, to ſell, geue, or diſtribute any Engliſh booke printed in outwarde parties, or the copie of any ſuch booke, or any part thereof to any perſone dwelling within this his graces realme, or any other hys maieſties dominions, vnleſſe the ſame ſhalbe ſpecially licenced ſo to doe by his highneſſe expreſſe graunt to be obtained in writing for the ſame, vppon the paines before limited, and therewithall to incurre his maieſties extreeme indignation.

For ſo much as it is & hath alwayes bene the common guiſe and practiſe of the popes church to extinct, condemne and aboliſh all good bokes and holeſome treatiſes of learned men, vnder a falſe pretence of errors & hereſies, whereof examples aboundantly maye appeare in this hiſtorie aboue.

The vntrue dealing of the Papiſtes in gathering hereſies where none is

Now for the better triall hereof, to ſee and trie the impudent & ſhameleſſe vanitie of theſe Catholicke Clergimē, in miſtaking, falſifying, depraning, blaſpheming and ſlandering, where they haue no cauſe, againſt al right & honeſt dealing, yea againſt their own knowledge, conſcience and manifeſt verity of Gods worde. I ſhall therfore deſire the attentiue Reader, before we paſſe any further to conſider & expend here 2. things by the way. Firſt what opiniōs and Articles theſe men gather out of their bookes for errours and hereſies. Secondly how wittingly and willingly they wraſt, peruert, and miſcōſtrue their ſayings, and writings in ſuch ſenſe as the wryters neuer ſpake nor ment, and all to bryng them into hatred of the worlde, after they haue burned their bokes.

So did they before wyth Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, & Hierome, So did they with M. Luther, Tindal, Frithe, Lambert, Barnes, Ioy, Roy, Seton, and briefly yet do ſtil wyth all the Proteſtants, either peruerting their ſayings, otherwiſe then they meante, or noting for hereſies ſuche as are manifeſt principles, & grounds of our religion: Or els falſly belying them, or vntruely miſtaking them, eyther in mangling ye places, or adding to their words as may ſerue for their moſt aduauntage, to bring them out of credite wt Princes and all the people,

Articles of Wickliffe and others falſified by the Papiſtes.

For the more euident probation and experience whereof thou ſhalt ſee here (Chriſten reader) as in a table laid before thine eyes: the boke or cataloge of ſuch errours, blaſphemies and hereſies, whiche the Catholicke Papiſtes in their own regiſters haue extracted out of their bokes whō in this & other proclamatiōs they haue condemned: wher vnto moreouer, we haue annexed ye very places alſo of the Authors, out of which euery Article is gathered, keepyng the ſame ſignature of verſe and page, whyche they in theyr regiſters doe ſend vs vnto. So that with a little diligence, thou maiſt now (louing reader) eaſely perceiue, conferring the Articles and places together, what trueth and fidelitie theſe bloudye Catholickes haue vſed towarde the children of God: Firſt in burning vp theyr bodies, then in conſuming, and aboliſhing theyr bokes, and afterward drawing out Articles, ſuch as they liſt thēſelues out of their workes to make the people beleue what damnable heretickes they were, as by theſe articles here vnder enſuing collected and contained in their owne regiſters may wel appeare. In al which articles, there is not one (ſpeaking of theſe wryters which here they haue condemned) but either it is a perfect truth and a principle of Chriſten doctrine, or els it is falſly gathered, or peruerſly recited, or craftely handled & maliciouſly mangled, hauing either ſomething cut frō it, or ſome more added, or els rackt out of his right place, or wraſted to a wrōg meaning, which the place geueth not, or els whych ſome other place folowing doth better expound & declare. This falſe & malitious dealing, hath alwayes bene a common practiſe amongſt Gods enemies from the beginning to falſifie, wraſt, and depraue all thinges what ſoeuer maketh not to their faction & affection, be it neuer ſo true and iuſt. So began they wt Steuen ye 1. martyr of Ieſus Chriſt, and ſo haue they continued ſtil, & yet do to this preſent day.

The wordes of S. Steuen, falſely depraued, Act. 6. 7.

Long it were to recite, but more greuous to beholde what ſpite and falſhode was vſed in the articles of ye Albingenſes Waldenſes, Wickliffe, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, ſyr John Oldcaſtle, John Hus, the Bohemians, and ſuch other. which thing if the bookes and places when theſe Articles were gathered againſte them, had bene ſuffered to remayne, we might more playnely vnderſtand. In the meane ſeaſon as touching theſe Articles here preſent, for ſo much as the Biſhops owne Regiſters haue offered them vnto vs, and doe yet remaine with the ſelfe ſame bookes from whence they be excerpted, I ſhall therefore deſire thee (frendly reader) firſt to cōſider the Articles, and laye them with the places which the Regiſters themſelues doe aſſigne, and then iudge thy ſelfe what is to bee thought thereof. The Articles gathered out of the foreſayd bookes wyth the Biſhops decree prefixed before the ſame, is as here vnder followeth.

A publike Inſtrument by the Byſhops, for the aboliſhing of the Scripture, and other bookes to be read in Engliſh.

A writing of the Biſhops agaynſt Engliſhe books.

IN the name of God. Amen. Be it knowen to all and ſingulare, true, and faithfull people, to whome theſe preſent letters teſtimoniall, or this preſent publicke and authenticke inſtrument ſhall come to be ſeene, reade, hearde or vnderſtande, and whome this vnder wrytten ſhall or may teache, or appertaine vnto in any maner of wiſe in time to come, William by the ſufferaunce of almightye God, Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, Primate of all the Realme of Englande, ſendeth greeting in our Lorde God euerlaſting. We ſignifie vnto you all, and let you well wit and know by theſe preſents, that the king our ſoueraigne Lorde, hearing of many bookes in the Engliſh tongue, containing many deteſtable errours, and damnable opinions, printed in the parties beyond the Seas, to be brought into diuers townes, and ſondrye parties of this his Realme of Englande, and ſowen abroade in the ſame, to the great decay of our faith Catholicke, and perillous corruption of hys people; vnleſſe ſpeedy remedy were briefely prouided, hys highneſſe willinge euermore to employ all his ſtudie and mynde in the high degree which almighty God hath called hym vnto, to the wealth of his ſubiectes, that they might liue, not only in tranquillitie and peace, but alſo be kept pure and cleane of all contagion, and wrong opinions, in Chriſtes Religion: conſidering alſo that he being defendour of the faith, woulde be full loth to ſuffer ſuch euill ſeede ſowne amongſt his people, and ſo take roote that it might ouergrowe the corne of the Catholicke doctrine before ſpronge in the ſoules of hys ſubiectes: for the repellinge of ſuche booke, calling vnto him of his great goodneſſe, & gratious diſpoſitiō, not onely certein of the chief prelates & clerks of his realm, but alſo of eache Vniuerſitie a certaine number of the chiefe learned men propoſed ſuch of thoſe bookes, as his grace had readye to be read vnto them, requiring to heare in that behalfe their aduiſe and iudgement of them. Who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, peruſing ouer the ſayde bookes, founde in them manye errours and hereſies, both deteſtable and damnable, being of ſuch a ſort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a greate parte of his people (if they mighte be ſuffered to remaine in theyr handes any ſpace) gathering alſo out of them many great errors, and peſtilent hereſies, and noting them in wryting, to the intente to ſhewe for what cauſe they reputed the ſayd bookes damnable, of which hereafter out of eache booke gathered many do enſue: albeit, many more there be in the ſaid bookes, which bookes totally do ſwarue full of hereſies and deteſtable opinions.

Hereſies and errours collected by the Byſhops out of the booke of Tyndall, named the wicked Mammon with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame, oute of which euery Article is collected.

Hereſies falſly gathered by the Papiſtes out of wicked Mãmon.

1. Article.

1. FAith onely iuſtifieth. Fol. 59.

This Article being a principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our ſaluation, is playne enoughe by S. Paule and the whole body of the ſcripture: Neither can any make this an hereſie, but they muſt make S. Paule an hereticke, and ſhew themſelues ennemies to the promiſes of grace, and to the croſſe of Chriſt.

The Papiſtes of the principles of diuinitye, make hereſie.

2. article.

2. The law maketh vs to heare God, becauſe we be borne vnder the power of the Deuill. Fol. 59.

3. article.

3. It is impoſsible for vs to conſent to the will of God. Fol. 59.

The place of Tyndall from whence theſe Articles be wraſted, is in the wicked Mammon, as followeth, whych place I beſeeche thee indifferentle to reade, and then to iudge.

Herein is no thing conteyned but that which is rightly conſonant vnto the Scripture.

In the faith which we haue in Chriſt, & in Gods promiſes, finde we mercy, life, fauour, & peace. In the law we finde death, damnation and wrath, moreouer the curſe and vengeance of God vpon vs. And it (that is to ſay, the law) is called of Paul, the miniſtratiō of death and damnation. In the lawe wee are prooued to be the ennemies of God, and that we hate hym. For howe can we be at peace wyth God, and loue hym, ſeeing we are cōceiued and borne vnder the power of the Deuill, and are his poſſeſſion & kingdome, hys captiues and bondmen, and led at hys will, and he holdeth our heartes, ſo that it is impoſſible for vs to conſent to the will of God? Muche more is it impoſſible for a man to fulfill the lawe of hys owne ſtrength and power, ſeeing that we are by birth and nature the heires of the eternall damnation. &c.

4. The lawe requireth impoſsible things of vs Fol. 59.

Read the place. The law when it commaundeth ỹ thou ſhalt not luſt, geueth thee not power ſo to do: but damneth thee becauſe thou canſt not ſo doe. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God and loue hym, then muſt thou turne to the promiſes and to the goſpel, which is called of Paul the miniſtration of righteouſneſſe and of the ſpirite.

5. The ſpirit of God turneth vs & our nature, that we do good: as naturally as a tree doth bring fourth fruit. Fol. 65.

The place is this: the ſpirite of God accompanyeth fayth and bringeth with her light, wherwith a man beholdeth himſelf in the law of God, and ſeeth his miſerable bondage & captiuitie, and humbleth himſelfe, & abhorreth himſelfe. She bringeth Gods promiſes of all good thynges in Chriſt: God worketh with his word, & in his worke. And as hys word is preached, fayth rooteth her ſelfe in ỹ harts of the elect: and as fayth entreth: and the worde of God is beleued, the power of God looſeth the hart from the captiuitie & bondage vnder ſinne: and knitteth & coupleth hym to God & to the will of God, altereth hym & changeth him cleane, faſhioneth and forgeth hym a new, geueth him power to loue and to do that which before was impoſſible for him either to loue or doe, and turneth him into a new nature: ſo that he loueth that which before hee hated, & hateth that which he before loued, and is cleane altered and changed, and contrary diſpoſed: and is knit and coupled faſt to gods will, and naturally bringeth fourth good workes: ỹ is to ſay, that which God commaundeth to do, & not things of his owne imagination: and that doth hee of his owne accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of his owne accord. &c.

6. Workes doe onely declare to thee that thou art iuſtified. Fol. 65.

If Tindall ſay, that workes doe onely declare our iuſtification, he doth not thereby deſtroy good works: but onely ſheweth the right vſe and office of good workes: to be noted to merite our iuſtificatiō, but rather to teſtify a liuely fayth, which onely iuſtifieth vs, The article is playn by the ſcripture, and S. Paule.

7. Chriſt with all his workes did not deſerue heauen. fol. 69.

Reade the place. Al good workes muſt be done freely with a ſingle eye, without reſpect of any thing, ſo that no profit be ſought thereby. That commaundeth Chriſt, where hee ſayth. Free haue you receaued, free geue agayne. For look as Chriſt with all his workes did not * deſerue heauen (for that was his already) but did vs ſeruice therewith, & neyther looked for, nor ſought his owne profite, but ours and the honour of god his father onely: euen ſo we withal our workes, may not ſeeke our owne profite, neither in thys world, nor in heauen, but muſt and ought freely to worke to honour God withall, and without all maner of reſpect, ſeeke our neighbours profite, and do him ſeruice. &c.

8. Labouring by good workes to come to heauen, thou ſhameſt Chriſtes bloud. Fol. 9.

Read the place. If thou wouldeſt obteine heauen with the merites and deſeruings of thine owne works, ſo doeſt thou wrong, yea and ſhameſt the bloud of Chriſt, and vnto thee Chriſt is dead in vaine. Now is the true beleuer heire of God by chriſtes deſeruings, yea and in Chriſt was predeſtinate and ordained vnto eternall life before the worlde began. And when the Goſpell is preached vnto vs, we beleue the mercy of God, and in beleuing we receiue the ſpirit of God, which is the earneſt of eternall life, and we are in eternal life already, and feele already in our harts ỹ ſweetnes thereof, and are ouercome with the kindnes of God & Chriſt: and therefore loue the will of God, and of loue are ready to worke freely, and not to obtaine that whyche is geuen vs freely, and whereof we are heyres already, &c.

9. Saintes in heauen can not helpe vs thither. fol. 69.

Whether ſaintes can helpe vs vnto heauen, ſee ỹ ſcripture, and marke wel the office of the ſonne of God our onely Sauiour and redeemer, and thou ſhalt not nede to ſeeke any further.

10. To builde a Churche in the honour of our Ladye or anye other Saincte, is in vaine, they cannot helpe thee, they be not thy friendes. fol. 71.

Read the place of Tind. What buildeſt thou Churches, foundeſt Abbeys, Chaunteris, & Colledges in the honour of Saintes, to my mother, S. Peter, Paule, and Saintes that be deade, to make of them thy friendes? They neede it not: yea they be not thy friendes. Thy friendes are thy poore neighbours, which neede thy help and ſuccour. Thē make thy friendes with the vnrighteous Mammon, that they may teſtifie of thy fayth, and that thou mayeſt knowe and feele that thy faith is right, and not fayned, &c.

11. All fleſh is in bondage of ſinne, and can not but ſinne, fol. 74.

This Article is euident enough of it ſelfe, confirmed by the ſcripture, and needeth no allegations.

12. Thou canſt not be damned without Chriſt be damned, nor Chriſt be ſaued without thou be ſaued, fol. 76.

Reade the place: A phiſition ſerueth but for ſicke men, & that for ſuch men as feele their ſicknes, & moorne therefore, and long for health. Chriſt likewiſe ſerueth but for ſinners onely that feele their ſin, and that for ſuch ſinnes as ſorow & moorne in their harts for health. Health is the power or ſtrength to fulfill the law, or to keepe the cōmaundements: Now he that longeth for that health, that is to ſay, for to do the law of God, is bleſſed in Chriſt, and hath a promiſe that his luſt ſhall be fulfilled, and that hee ſhall be made whole. Bleſſed are they which hunger and thirſt for righteouſnes ſake (that is, to fulfill the law) for their luſt ſhall be fulfilled, Math. 5.

This longing, and the conſent of the hart vnto the lawe of God is the working of the ſpirit, which God hath poured into thine hart, in earneſt that thou mighteſt be ſure that God will fulfill all his promiſes that he hath made thee. It is alſo the ſeale and marke which God putteth on all men that he chooſeth vnto euerlaſting life. So long as thou ſeeſt thy ſinne, and mourneſt, and conſenteſt to the lawe, and longeſt (though thou be neuer ſo weake) yet the ſpirit ſhall keepe thee in al temptations from deſperation, and certifie thine hart, that God for his truth ſhall delyuer thee, and ſaue thee, yea and by thy good deedes ſhalt thou be ſaued, not which thou haſt done, but which Chriſt hath done for thee. For Chriſt is thine, and al his deedes are thy deedes, Chriſt is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inſeparably, neyther canſt thou be damned, except Chriſt be damned with thee, neither can Chriſt be ſaued, except thou be ſaued with him, &c. The like comfortable wordes he hath afterwarde, fol. 38. which are theſe, He that deſireth mercy, the ſame feeleth his owne miſery and ſin, and mourneth in his hart to be deliuered, that he might honor God, and God for his truth muſt heare him, which ſaith by the mouth of Chriſt: Bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt after righteouſnes, for they ſhall be ſatiſfied. God for hys truthes ſake muſt put the righteouſnes of Chriſt in hym, and waſh his vnrighteouſnes away in the blood of Chriſt. And be the ſinner neuer ſo weake, neuer ſo feeble and fraile though he haue ſinned neuer ſo oft and ſo greeuous, yet ſo long as this luſt deſire and mourning to be deliuered, remaineth in him, God ſeeth not his ſinnes, reckoneth them not for his truthes ſake, and loue in Chriſt. He is not a ſinner in the ſight of God that would be no ſinner. Hee that would be deliuered, hath his hart looſe already, His hart ſinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and conſenteth vnto the lawe and will of God, and iuſtifieth God, that is, beareth record that God which made the law, is righteous and iuſt. And ſuch an hart truſting in Chriſtes bloud, is accepted for full righteouſnes, and his weakenes, infirmitie, and frailtie, is pardoned, and his ſinnes are not looked vpon, vntill God put more ſtrength in him, and fulfill his deſire, &c.

13. The commaundements be geuen vs, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and call for mercy of God, fol. 76.

Reade the place. If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commaundements. Math. 15, 19. Firſt remember that whē God commaundeth vs to do any thing, he doth it not therefore becauſe that we of our ſelues are able to doe that he commaundeth, but that by the lawe we might ſee and know our horrible damnation and captiuitie vnder ſinne, and ſo repent and come to Chriſt and receiue mercy, &c.

14. Faſting is only to auoyde ſurfet, and to tame the body, all other purpoſes be nought, fol. 81.

The wordes of Tyndall be theſe. Faſting is to abſtayne from ſurfetting or ouermuch eating, from dronkennes and cares of the world, as thou mayſt reade Luke 20. And the end of faſting is to tame the body, that the ſpirite may haue ẏ free courſe vnto God, and may quietly talke with God. For ouermuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly buſines, preſſeth downe the ſpirit, choketh it, and tangleth it, that it can not lift vp it ſelfe to God. Now he that faſteth for any other entent then to ſubdue the body, that the Spirit may wayte on God, and freely exerciſe it ſelfe in the things of God, the ſame is blinde, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, and ſhooteth at a wrong marke, and hys entent and imagination is abhominable in the ſighte of God, &c.

15. To bid the poore man pray for me, is onely to remember him to do his dutie: not that I haue any truſt in his prayer, fol. 82.

The wordes of Tindall be theſe. When we deſire one another to pray for vs, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his dutie, and not that we truſt in his holines, our truſt is in God, in Chriſt, and in the trueth of Gods promiſes. We haue alſo a promiſe that when two or three or moe agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth vs, notwithſtanding as God heareth many, ſo heareth he few, & ſo heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, & deſire the honour of God, &c.

The place biddeth vs put oure truſt in Chriſt, onely and not in poore mēs prayers and ſo doth the Scripture likewiſe, & yet no hereſy therein.

16. article.

16. Though thou geue me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now then I was before, fol. 83.

The wordes be theſe. If thou geue me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound then I was before. Mans imagination can make the commaundemente of God neither greater nor ſmaller, neither can the lawe of God either adde or diminiſh. Gods commaundemente is as great as himſelfe, &c.

This place aunſwereth for himſelfe ſufficiently.

17. article.

17. A good deede done and not of feruent charitie as Chriſtes was, is ſinne, fol. 83.

The wordes of Tindall be theſe. Though thou ſhewe mercy vnto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with ſuche burning loue, as Chriſt did vnto thee, ſo muſt thou knowledge thy ſinne, and deſire mercy in Chriſt, &c.

This place tendeth to no ſuch meaning as is in the article, but onely ſheweth our good deedes to be imperfect.

18. article.

18. Euery man is Lord of another mans good, fol. 83.

The words of Tindall be theſe. Chriſt is Lord ouer all, and euery Chriſtian is heire annexed with Chriſt, & therefore Lord of all, and euery one lord of whatſoeuer an other hath. If thy brother or neigbour therefore neede, and thou haue to helpe him, and yet ſheweſt not mercy, but withdraweſt thy hands from him, then robbeſt thou him of his owne, and art a theefe, &c. Reade more hereof in the xx. Article following.

This place geueth to none any propriety of an other mannes goodes, but onely by waye of Chriſtian communion.

19. Article.

19. I am bound to loue the Turke with the very bottome of my hart, fol. 83.

The place of this Article is this. I am bound to loue the Turke with all my might and power, yea and aboue my power: euen frō the ground of my hart, after the example that Chriſt loued me, neither to ſpare goods, body, or life, to win him to Chriſt. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gaueſt me all the world? where I ſee neede, there can I not but pray, if Gods ſpirit be in me, &c.

To loue the Turke to that end to win him to Chriſt, is no hereſie but charitye.

20. article.

20. The woorſt Turke liuing hath as much right to my goodes at his neede, as my houſholde, or mine owne ſelfe, fol. 83.

Reade and marke wel the place in the wicked Mammon.

In Chriſt we are all of one degree without reſpect of perſons. Notwithſtanding, though a chriſten mans hart be open to all mē, and receyueth all men, yet becauſe that his habilitie of goodes extendeth not ſo farre, this prouiſion is made, that euery man ſhall care for his owne houſhold, as father and mother, and thyne elders that haue holpen thee, wife, children, and ſeruants. If thou ſhouldeſt not care and prouide for thine houſholde, then were thou an Infidell, ſeeing thou haſt taken on thee ſo to do, and for ſo much as that is thy part committed to thee of the congregation When thou haſt done thy dutie to thine houſholde, and yet haſt further aboundance of the bleſsing of God, that oweſt thou to the poore that can not labour, or woulde labour and can get no worke, and are deſtitute of friends: to the poore I meane, which thou knoweſt, to them of thine owne pariſh. If thy neighbours which thou knoweſt, be ſerued, and thou yet haue ſuperfluitie, and heareſt neceſsitie to be among the breethren a thouſand mile off, to them art thou detter. Yea, to the very Infidels we be detters if they neede, as farrefoorth as we maintayne them not againſt Chriſt, or to blaſpheme Chriſt. Thus is euery man that needeth thy helpe, thy father, mother, ſiſter, and brother in Chriſt: euen as euery man that doth the will of the father, is father, mother, ſiſter and brother vnto Chriſt.

Moreouer, if any be an Infidel and a falſe Chriſtian, and forſake his houſhold, his wife, children, and ſuche as can not helpe themſelues, then art thou bound to them, if thou haue wherewith, euen as much as to thine owne houſholde, and they haue as good right in thy goodes, as thou thy ſelfe, &c. And if the whole world were thine, yet hath euery brother his right in thy goodes, and is heire with thee, as we are all heyres with Chriſt, &c.

Loe Reader how peeuiſhly this place is wreſted First here is no mention made of any Turke. Secōdly this place ſpeaking of an Infidell, meaneth of ſuch Chriſtians which forſake their owne houſeholdes. Thirdly by his right in thy goodes, he meaneth no propriety that he hath to claime but onely to put thee in remembrance of thy Chriſten duety what to geue.

21. article.

21. Almes deſerueth no meede, fol. 84.

The place is this: He that ſeeketh with his almes more then to be mercifull, to be a neighbour, to ſuccour his brothers neede, to doe his duetie to his brother, to geue hys brother that he oweth him, the ſame is blinde, and ſeeth not what it is to be a chriſten man, and to haue fellowſhip in Chriſtes bloud, &c.

The place is playne.

22. article.

22. There is no worke better then another to pleaſe God, To make water, to waſh diſhes, to be a ſowter or an Apoſtle, all is one. To waſh diſhes and to preach is all one as touching the deed to pleaſe God, fol. 44.

The words of Tindall be theſe. As pertayning to good works, vnderſtand that all workes are good whyche are

Theſe wordes of Tindall ſufficiẽtly diſcharge the article of al hereſy, if they be well wayed. The meaning whereof is this, that all our acceptation with God ſtandeth onely vpon our fayth in Chriſt, and vpon no work nor office. Whereby Cornelius the Tanner beleeuing in Chriſt, is as wel iuſtified before God, as the Apoſtle or preacher: So that there is no reioycing now neyther in work nor office, but onely in our faith in Chriſt, which onely iuſtifieth vs before God. Rom. 8.

done within the lawe of God in fayth, and with thankeſgiuing to God, and vnderſtande that thou in thy doing them pleaſeſt God, whatſoeuer thou doeſt within the law of God, as when thou makeſt water, &c.

Moreouer, put no difference betweene workes, but whatſoeuer commeth into thy handes, that doe, as tyme, place, and occaſion geueth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. As touching to pleaſe God, there is no worke better then an other. God loketh not firſt on thy workes as the world doth, as though the beautifulnes of the world pleaſed him, as it doth the world, or as though he had neede of them, but God looketh firſt on the hart, what faith thou haſt to his wordes, how thou beleeueſt him, and how thou loueſt him for his mercy that hee hath ſhewed thee: he looketh with what hart thou workeſt, and not what thou workeſt, how thou accepteſt the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an Apoſtle or a Shomaker. Set this example before thine eyes. Thou art a kitchen Page, and waſheſt thy maiſters diſhes. Another is an Apoſtle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this Apoſtle, harke what S. Paule ſayth: If I preach (ſayth he) I haue naught to reioyce in, for neceſſitie is put vnto me. As who ſhoulde ſay, God hath made me ſo, wo is vnto me if I preach not. If I doo it willinglye (ſaith he) then haue I my rewarde: that is, then am I ſure that Gods ſpirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternall life. If I do it againſt my will, an office is committed vnto mee: that is, if I doe it not of loue to God, but to get a liuing thereby, and for a worldly purpoſe, and had leauer otherwayes liue: then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet pleaſe not God my ſelfe, &c. Moreouer, howſoeuer he preach, he hath not to reioice in that he preacheth. But if he preach willingly with a true hart & of conſcience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earneſt of eternall life, and the working of the ſpirite of God in him. And as he feeleth Gods goodnes and mercy, ſo be thou ſure he feeleth his owne infirmitie, weaknes, and vnworthines, and mourneth and knowledgeth hys ſinne, in that the hart will not ariſe to worke wyth that ful luſt and loue that is in Chriſt our Lord. And neuertheleſſe is he yet at peace with God through faith & truſt in Chriſt Ieſu. For the earneſt of the ſpirit that worketh in him, teſtifieth and beareth witnes vnto his hart, that God hath choſen him, and that his grace ſhall ſuffice him, whyche grace is now not idle in him. In his workes putteth hee no truſt.

Now thou that miniſtreſt in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen page, receiueſt all things of the hand of God, knoweſt that God hath put thee in that office: ſubmitteſt thy ſelfe to his will, and ſerueſt thy maiſter, not as a man, but as Chriſt himſelfe, with a pure hart, according as Paule teacheth: putteſt thy truſt in God, and with him ſeekeſt thy reward. Moreouer, there is not a good deede done, but thy hart reioiceth therein, yea when thou heareſt that the word of God is preached by this Apoſtle, and ſeeſt the people turne to God, thou conſenteſt vnto the deede, thy harte breaketh out in ioy, ſpringeth and leapeth in thy breſt that God is honoured, and in thine hart doeſt the ſame that the Apoſtle doth, and happly with greater delectation, and a more feruent ſpirit. Now, he that receaueth a Prophete in the name of a Prophet, ſhall receiue the reward of a Prophet. That is, he that conſenteth to the deede of a Prophet, and maintaineth it, the ſame hath the ſame ſpirite, and earneſt of euerlaſting life, which the Prophete hath, and is elect as the Prophet is.

No difference of men before God in reſpecte of deedes, but onely in reſpecte of fayth.

Now if thou compare deede to deede, there is no difference betwixt waſhing of diſhes, & preaching of the word of God. But as touching to pleaſe God, none at all. For neither that, nor this pleaſeth, but as farreforth as God hath choſen a man, hath put his ſpirit in him, and purified his hart by faith and truſt in Chriſt, &c.

23. article.

23. Ceremonies of the Churche haue brought the worlde from God, fol. 86.

The place annexed.

Reade the place of Tindall. Seeke the word of God in all thinges, and without the word of God, doe nothing, though it appeare neuer ſo glorious. Whatſoeuer is done without the word of God, that count Idolatrie. The kingdome of heauen is within vs. Luke 7. Wonder therfore at no monſtrous appearaunce, nor at anye outwarde thing without the word. For the world was neuer drawne from God, but with an outward ſhewe, and glorious appearance and ſhining of hypocriſie, and of fained and vſurped faſting, praying, watching, ſinging, offering, ſacrificing, halowing of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and monſtrous diſguiſing, &c.

24. article.
25. article.

24. Beware of good intentes: They are damned of God, fol. 87.
25. See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee, fol. 87.

The words of Tindall out of the which theſe two articles are gathered, are theſe. Beware of thy good intent, good minde, good affection, or zeale as they call it. Peter of a good mind, and of a good affection or zeale, chidde Chriſt, becauſe he ſayde that he muſt goe to Ieruſalem, and there be ſlayne. But Chriſt called him Satan for hys labour: a name that belongeth to the Diuell, and ſayde that he perceiued not godly things, but worldly. Of a good intent, and of a feruent affection to Chriſt, the ſonnes of Zebede would haue had fire to come downe from heauen, to conſume the Samaritanes: but Chriſt rebuked them, ſaying, that they wiſt not of what ſpirit they were: that is, that they vnderſtood not how that they were altogether worldlye and fleſhly minded. Peter ſmote Malchus of a good zeale, but Chriſt condemned his deede. The Iewes of a good entent and of a good zeale ſlew Chriſt, and perſecuted the Apoſtles, as Paule beareth them record. Rom. x. I beare them record (ſaith he) that they haue a feruent minde to Godward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayeſt knowe Gods will, and what he would haue thee to do.

Our mind, entent, and affection, or zeale, are blinde, and al that we do of them is damned of God, and for that cauſe hath God made a teſtament betweene him and vs, wherein is conteined both what he woulde haue vs to do, and what he would haue vs to aſke of him. See therefore that thou do nothing to pleaſe God withall, but that he commaundeth, neyther aſke any thing of him, but that he hath promiſed thee, &c.

26. Churches are for preaching onely, and not as they bee vſed now, fol. 87.

This Article conteyneth neyther errour nor hereſie, but is playne enough of it ſelfe, to all them that haue their minds exerciſed in the ſcriptures of God.

27. To worſhip God otherwiſe then to beleeue that he is iuſt and true in his promiſe, is to make God an Idol, fol. 87.

Reade the wordes of Tindall with this Article. God is honoured on all ſides, in that we count him righteous in all his lawes and ordinances, and alſo true in all his promiſes. Other worſhip of God is none, except we make an Idoll of him, &c.

28. Pharao had no power to let the people depart at Gods pleaſure, fol. 95.

29. Our prelates in ſinne, ſay they haue power, fol. 95.

Reade the place in the wicked Mammon, out of ẏ which theſe two Articles are gathered. S. Paule ſayeth: If thou confeſſe with thy mouth that Ieſus is the Lorde, and beleeue with thine hart that God raiſed him vp from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe: that is, if thou beleeue he raiſed him vp againe for thy ſaluation. Many beleeue that God is riche and almighty, but not vnto themſelues: and that he wil be good to them and defend them, and be their God. Pharao for paine of the plague, was compelled to confeſſe his ſinnes: but had yet no power to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the will of God, and to let the children of Iſraell go, and to loſe ſo great profite for Gods pleaſure. As our prelates cõfeſſe their ſinnes, ſaieng: though we be neuer ſo euill, yet haue we the power. And againe, the Scribes and the Phariſeis (ſay they) ſate in Moyſes ſeate, do as they teache, but not as they do. Thus confeſſe they that they are abhominable, &c.

Heere followe other hereſies and errours, collected by the Byſhops out of the booke named, the obedience of a Chriſtian man, with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame.

1. He ſaieth we are bounde to make ſatisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God, fol. 132.

Satiſfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him whome we haue offended, which recompence we are able to make, one man to another, and are bound ſo to do: but to God no man can make any mends or recompence, but onely Gods owne ſonne Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour. For elſe if man could haue made ſatiſfaction to God, then had Chriſt died in vayne, Gal. 2. Loe, what hereſie or errour is in this Article?

2 He ſayth that children ought not to marry without the conſent of theyr parents, fol. 120.

The wordes of Tindall in the obedience be theſe. Let the fathers and mothers marke howe they themſelues were diſpoſed at all ages, and by experience of their owne infirmities, helpe their children, and keepe them from occaſions. Let them prouide marriages for them in ſeaſon: teaching them alſo to know, that ſhe is not his wife which the ſonne taketh, nor he her huſband which the daughter taketh, without the conſent or good will of their Elders, or them that haue authoritie ouer them. If their friendes will not marry them, then are they not to blame if they marry themſelues. Let not the fathers and mothers alwayes take the vttermoſt of their authoritie of their children, but at all times ſuffer with them, and beare theyr weakenes, as Chriſt doth ours, &c.

3 He ſaith, that vowes are againſt the ordinance of God, fol. 109.

article.

They that ſay that this Article is an hereſie. Let them ſhew where theſe vowes in all the new teſtament be ordeyned by God, eſpecially ſuch vowes of ſingle life, and wilfull pouertie, as by the canon law be obtruded to yong Prieſts and Nouices. S. Paule playnely forfendeth anye widowes to be admitted vnder the age of threſcore yeres. Is not heere trow you a perilous hereſie?

4 He ſaith that a chriſtian man may not reſiſt a prince being Infidell and an Ethnike. This taketh away free will, fol. 113.

article.

S. Peter willeth vs to be ſubiect to our princes, 1. Pet. 2. S. Paule alſo doth the like, Rom. 13. who was alſo hymſelfe, ſubiecte to the power of Nero: and although euerye commaundement of Nero againſt God he did not follow, yet he neuer made reſiſtaunce againſt the authoritie and ſtate of Nero, as the Pope vſeth to do againſt the ſtate, not only of Infidels, but alſo of Chriſten Princes.

5 Whatſoeuer is done before the ſpirit of God commeth and geueth vs light, is damnable ſinne. This is againſt morall vertues, fol. 113.

article.

What hereſie Ariſtotle in his Ethikes can finde by thys article, I can not tell: ſure I am that the word and ſpirite of God well conſidered, can finde none, but rather wyll pronounce the contrary to be a damnable hereſie.

6 He reproueth men that make holy Saints their Aduocates to God, and there he ſayth that Saints were not rewarded in heauen for their holy workes, fol. 114.

article.

he place nexed.

The words of Tindall be theſe. They turne from Gods word, and put their truſt and confidence in the Sainct and his merites, and make an aduocate, or rather a God of the ſainct, &c. They aſcribe heauen to their imaginations and mad inuentions, and receiue it not of the liberalitie of God, by the merites and deſeruing of Chriſt, &c.

7 God moued the harts of the Egiptians to hate the people. Likewiſe he moued Kings, &c. fol. 118.

article.

he place nexed.

The words in the obedience be theſe. In the 107. Pſalme thou readeſt: He deſtroyed the Riuers, and dried vp the ſprings of water, and turned the fruitefull land into barrennes, for the inhabitaunces thereof. When the children of Iſraell had forgotten God in Egypt, God moued the harts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to ſubdue them with craft and wilines, Pſalme 105.

God ſome- nes hard- eth the arte of ood Prin- es for the wickednes f the peo- le.

In the ſecond chapter of the firſt booke of the Kings, God was angry with the people, and moued Dauid to number them, when Ioab and the other Lords wondered why he would haue them numbred, and becauſe they feared leaſt ſome euill ſhould follow, diſſwaded the King: yet it holpe not, God ſo *hardened his hart in his purpoſe, to haue an occaſion to ſley the wicked people, &c.

8 Paule was of higher authority then Peter, fol. 125.

he place nexed.

The words in the Obedience be theſe, I ſuppoſe, ſayeth he (ſpeaking of Paule) that I was not behinde the hygh Apoſtles, meaning in preaching Ieſus Chriſt and his Goſpell, and in miniſtring the ſpirit. And in the ſame cha. he prooueth by the doctrine of Chriſt, that he was greater then the high Apoſtles. For Chriſt ſaith, to be great in the kingdome of God, is to do ſeruice, and take payne for other. Vpon which rule Paule diſputeth, ſayeng: If they be the miniſters of Chriſt, I am more, in labours more aboundant, in ſtripes aboue meaſure, in priſon more plenteous: in death oft, &c. If Paule preached Chriſt more then Peter, and ſuffered more for his congregation, then is hee greater then Peter, by the teſtimonie of Chriſt, &c.

Articles of hereſie gathered by the Papiſts out of W. Tindals Obedience.

9 A Prieſt ought to haue a wife for two cauſes, fol. 133.

article. he place nexed.

The words of Tindall be theſe. He muſt haue a wife for two cauſes: One, that it may thereby be knowne who is meete for the rowme, he is vnapt for ſo chargeable an office: which had neuer houſhold to rule. An other cauſe is, that chaſtitie is an exceeding ſeldome gift, and vnchaſtitie exceeding perillous for that degree, in as much as the people looke as well vnto the liuing, as vnto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the liuing diſagree, and fall from the faith, and beleeue not the word, &c.

uth tur- ed into he- eſie.

10 He condemneth auricular confeſsion, fol. 140.

article. ead afore g. 1166. 1167.

Of this, reade aboue, page. 1166. 1167.

11 Euery man is a Prieſt, and we neede no other Prieſt to bee a meane for vs vnto God, fol. 144.

article. he place nexed.

The words in the obedience be theſe. There is a worde called in Latin Sacerdos, in Greeke ἱερεὺς, in Hebrue Cohē, that is, a Miniſter, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Prieſt, as Aaron was a prieſt and ſacrificed for the people, and was a mediatour betweene God and them, and in the Engliſh it ſhould haue had ſome other name then Prieſt. But Antichriſt hath deceiued vs with vnknowen and ſtrange termes to bring vs into confuſion and ſuperſtitious blindnes. Of yͭ maner is Chriſt a prieſt for euer, and all we are Prieſtes through him, and neede no more of anye ſuch prieſt to be a meane for vs vnto God. &c.

And made vs Kinges and Prieſtes to God his father. &c. Apoc. 1.

12 He deſtroyeth the ſacraments of Matrimony and Orders. Fol. 144.

12. article.

As truly as matrimony and orders be ſacramentes: ſo truely is this article an hereſie.

13 He ſayth that Purgatory is of the popes inuention, and therefore he may doe there what ſoeuer he will. Fol 150.

13. article.

Ioannes Angelus.

One of the popes owne writers ſaith thus, ſoules being in purgatory are vnder yͤ popes iuriſdiction, & the P. may if he will, euacuate all purgatory. Furthermore yͤ olde Fathers make litle mention of purgatory, yͤ Greeke church neuer beleued Purgatory: S. Auguſtine doubteth of purgatory and the ſcriptures playnly diſproue purgatory: S. Iohn ſayth: The bloud of Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God purgeth vs from all ſinne. And the pope ſayth: ſinne can not be purged but by the fire of purgatory, nowe whoſe inuention can Purgatory be, but onely the popes.

1. Iohn. 1.

14 Saintes be ſaued not by theyr merites, but onely by the merites of Chriſt. fol. 151.

14. article.

What can be more manifeſt and playne by the Scryptures, then this? Eſay ſayth. All we haue erred, euery man in his owne wayes, and God hath layd vpon him all our iniquities. &c.

Veritye made hereſie.

15 He ſayth, no man may be hired to pray. fol. 155.

15. article.

The place annexed.

The wordes in the obedience be true, which are theſe: To pray one for an other are we equally bound: & to pray is a thing that we may alwayes doe what ſoeuer we haue in hand, and that to do, may no man hyre an other: chriſtes bloud hath hyred vs already. &c.

16 Why ſhould I truſt (ſayth he) in Paules prayer or holines? If S. Paule were aliue, he would compare himſelfe to S. Paule, and be as good as he, fol. 159.

16. article.

The place annexed.

The wordes of Tindall, be theſe. Why am not I alſo a falſe Prophet if I teache thee to truſt in Paule, or in hys holines or praier, or in any thing ſauing in Gods word, as Paule did? If Paule were here and loued me, as hee loued them of his time, to whom hee was a ſeruaunt to preache Chriſt what good could he do for me, or wiſh me but preache Chriſt & pray to God for me to open my hart, to geue me his ſpirite, and to bring me vnto the ful knowledge of Chriſt? Vnto which port or hauen when I am once come, I am as ſafe as Paule, ioynt heire with Paule of all the promiſes of God. &c.

The wordes of Tindall import no ſuch meaning as is in the article.

17 He ſayth that all that be baptiſed, become Chriſt himſelfe fol. 163.

17. Article.

The place annexed

With this Article conferre the words of the Obedience, which be theſe. In Math. 28. ſayth Chriſt: in as muche as ye haue done it to any of the leaſt of theſe my brethrē, ye haue done it to me. And in as much as ye haue not done it vnto one of the leaſt of theſe: ye haue not done it vnto me. Here ſeeſt thou that we are Chriſtes brethren, and euen Chriſt himſelfe, and whatſoeuer we doe one to another, that do we to Chriſt. &c.

18 He ſayth that the children of fayth be not vnder no lawe, fol. 163.

18. Article.

The place annexed.

The article is true being truly taken.

The wordes of Tindall be theſe. I ſerue thee not becauſe thou art my mayſter or king, for hope of rewarde or feare of payne, but for the loue of Chriſt. For the childrē of fayth are vnder no law, as thou ſeeſt in the Epiſtle to the Romaines, to the Galath. and the 1. to Tim. but are free. The ſpirite of Chriſt hath written the liuely law of loue in their hartes, whiche driueth them to worke of theyr owne accorde, freely and willingly for the great loue ſake onelye which they ſee in Chriſt, and therfore need they no lawe to compell them. &c.

19 There is no deede ſo good, but that the law condemneth it. fol. 177.

19. Article.

The place annexed.

The place in the Obedience, is this. Thou haſt the ſtory of Peter how he ſmote Malchus eare, and howe Chriſt healed it agayne. There haſt thou in plaine text great fruit and great edifying, which I paſſe ouer. Thē come I, whē I preach of the law and the goſpell, and borow this example to expreſſe the nature of the law and of the Goſpel! and to paynt it vnto thee before thine eyes, and of Peter & hys ſword make I the law, and of Chriſt the goſpel (ſaying: as Peters ſworde cutteth of the eare, ſo doth the lawe. The law damneth, the law killeth and mangleth the conſciēce. There is no eare ſo righteous, that can abide the hearyng of the law. There is no deede ſo good, but that the law dāneth it. But Chriſt that is to ſay the Goſpell, the promiſes and Teſtament that God hath made in Chriſt, healeth the eare and conſcience, which the law hath hurt. &c.

What hereſie is in this.

20 To aſke of God more then he hath promiſed, commeth of a falſe fayth and is playne idolatry. 171.

20. Article.

The place annexed.

The wordes of Tindall are theſe. Looke wherin thou canſt beſt keep the commaundementes, thither get thy ſelf, and there abide. &c. If we haue infirmities ỳ draw vs frõ the lawes of God, let vs cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burne, marry, for God hath promiſed thee no chaſtitie, as long as thou mayeſt vſe ỳ remedy that he hath ordayned: no more then hee hath promyſed to ſlacke thine hunger without meate. Now to aſke of God more then he hath promiſed, commeth of a falſe fayth and is playne Idolatry. &c.

What hereſie is in this.

21. article.

21 Our payne taken in keeping the commaundements, doth nothing but purge the ſinne that remayneth in the fleſhe. But to looke for any other reward or promotion in heauen, then God hath promiſed for Chriſtes ſake, is abhominable in the ſight of God, fol. 171.

The place annexed.

Conſider the place in the Obedience, which is this. To looke for any other reward or promotion in heauen, or in the life to come, then that which God hath promiſed for Chriſtes ſake, and which Chriſt hath deſerued for vs, with his payne taking, is abhominable in the ſight of God: For Chriſt only hath purchaſed the reward, and our payne taking to keepe the commaundements, doth but purge the ſinne that remayneth in the fleſh, and certifie vs, that wee are choſen and ſealed with Gods ſpirit, vnto the rewarde that Chriſt hath purchaſed for vs, &c.

22. article.

22 The Pope hath no other authoritie but to preache onely fol. 173.

This hereſie is onely to the Pope: but none at all to God.

Chriſt ſayde to Peter: Feede my ſheepe. John 21. And thou being conuerted, confirme thy brethren. Luke. 22. And to his Apoſtles he ſayd: Goe ye into all the world and preache the Goſpell, &c. Againe, S. Paule. 1. Corinth. 1. ſayth: That Chriſt ſent him not to baptiſe, but to preache. To what other office or function he ſent the Pope, let thẽ iudge which conſider the Scriptures.

23 article.

23 If thou binde thy ſelfe to chaſtitie to obteyne that whyche Chriſt purchaſed for thee, ſo ſurely art thou an Infidell, fol. 175.

The place annexed.

Chaſtitye.

Reade and conferre the place of Tindall, which is thys. Chaſtitie canſt thou not geue to God, further then God lendeth it thee. If thou canſt not liue chaſte, thou art boũd to marry, or to be damned, &c. For to what purpoſe thou bendeſt thy ſelfe, muſt be ſeene. If thou do it to obteyne thereby that which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, ſo art thou an Infidell, and haſt no parte with Chriſt. If thou wilt ſee more of this matter, looke in Deuteronomy, and there ſhalt thou finde it more largely intreated, &c.

24. article.

24 He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles, fol. 176.

The place annexed.

Miracles how farre to be beleued.

The words in Tindals Obedience be theſe: And when they crie miracles, miracles, remember that God hathe made an euerlaſting Teſtamente whiche is in Chriſtes bloud, againſt which we may receiue no miracles, no neither the preaching of Paule himſelfe if he come agayne, by his owne teaching to the Galathians, neither yet by the preaching of the Aungels of heauen, &c.

The end of Gods miracles is good: the end of theſe miracles is euill. For the offerings which are the cauſe of the miracles, do but miniſter and maintaine vice, ſinne, and all abhomination, and are geuen to them that haue too much, ſo that for very aboundance they ſome out theyr owne ſhame, and corrupt the whole world with the ſtinch of their filthines, &c.

25. article.

25 He ſayth that no man ſhould ſerue God with good intent or zeale: for it is playne Idolatry, fol. 177.

The place annexed.

Good intentes without Gods word, God abhorreth.

The place is this in the Obedience. Remember Saule was caſt away of God for euer, for his good intente. God requireth obedience vnto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good zeales which are without Gods worde: for they are nothing elſe but playne Idolatry, and worſhipping of falſe Gods, &c.

¶ Heere followe other hereſies and errours collected by the Byſhops, out of the booke called the Reuelation of Antichriſt, with the places of the booke, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the ſame.

Articles out of the booke called the reuelation of Antichriſt.

1. TO binde a man perpetually to any vowe of Religion, is (without doubt) an errour, fol. 19.

The place of the booke called the Reuelation, whence this Article is gathered, is this as foloweth: whiche the Fathers did neither make nor keepe (he meaneth vowes) but with the libertie of the ſpirite, binding no man perpetually to them. For if they did (without doubt) they erred according to mans fragilitie.

2. article.

2 To ſay the conſtitutions of Religion are good, becauſe holy men did ordeyne them, as Auguſtine, Benedict, Fraunces, Dominicke, and ſuch other, and to folow ſuch examples of Fathers, is to leaue the fayth, fol. 19.

The place of the article is this. But they obiect the ſtatutes and ordinances are good. Holy men did make them, as Auguſtine, Benedict, Bernard, Fraunces, Dominicke, and ſuch other. To this I aunſwer: That is euen it that Chriſt and the Apoſtles did meane, that theſe works ſhuld be like to thoſe things which are taught in the Goſpell: for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and priuily bringing in of ſectes and hereſies, becauſe they take only of the fathers examples of workes, and leaue the faith, &c.

3 All morall diuines haue a wicked conſcience full of ſcrupuloſitie, fol. 3.

Morall diuines be they whoſe doctrine and hope of ſaluation conſiſteth in morall vertues, rather then in chriſtian faith, apprehending the free promiſes of God in Chriſt. And they that be ſuch, can neuer be certified in conſcience of their ſaluation, but alwayes be full of feare and ſcrupuloſitie. S. Paule therefore ſayeth, It is therefore of faith, that it might come by grace, and ỳ promiſe might be firme and ſure to the whole ſeede, Rom. 4.

Roma.

4 Morall vertues, as iuſtice, temperance, ſtrength, chaſtitie deſcribed by naturall reaſon, maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Chriſtes fayth, fol. 64.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelation, is this: So many he (the Pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath ſubdued and led vnder his lawes and imperie. And who is he in the world that is not ſubiect vnder him, except they be infants, or peraduenture ſome ſimple perſons, which are reſerued by the inſcrutable counſell and prouiſion of God? O thou man of ſinne: O thou ſonne of perdition: O thou abhomination: O thou corrupter: O thou author of euill conſciences: O thou falſe maiſter of good conſciences: O thou enemie of faith and chriſten libertie, who is able to rehearſe, yea or to comprehend in his mind the infinite waues of this monſtrous * Kings euils.

If he had ordeined theſe his lawes in thoſe workes of vertues that are commended in the ten precepts, or elſe in ſuch as the philoſophers and naturall reaſon did deſcribe, as are iuſtice, ſtrength, temperance, chaſtitie, mildnes, truth, goodnes, and ſuch other: peraduenture they ſhoulde only haue made a Sinagoge, or elſe haue ordeyned in the world a certaine ciuill iuſtice, for through theſe alſo fayth ſhould haue bene corrupted, as it was amõgſt the Iewes. Howbeit, nowe hee keepeth not himſelfe within theſe boundes, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raiſing infinite tempeſts of miſchiefe, entiſing and drawing vs to ceremonies, and his owne fayned traditions, and bindeth vs like aſſes and ignorant fooles, yea and ſtockes vnto them, &c.

5 Chriſt tooke away all lawes, and maketh vs free and at liberty, and moſt of all he ſuppreſſeth all ceremonies, fol. 65. 63.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelation, is this: Chriſt taking away all lawes to make vs free, and at libertie, did moſt of all ſuppreſſe and diſanull the ceremonies which did conſiſt in places, perſons, garmẽts, meates, dayes, and ſuch other, ſo that their vſe ſhoulde be to all men moſt free and indifferent, &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all lawes, he declareth a little before, ſaieng: he hath not deliuered vs from the law, but from the power & violence of the lawe, which is the very true loſing. But for al that, he hath not taken away from the powers and officers their right, ſword, and authoritie to puniſh the euill, for ſuch pertayne not to hys kingdome, vntill they are made ſpirituall, and then freely and with a glad hart they ſerue God.

6 If the Pope woulde make all the obſeruations of the ceremonies, as Lent, faſting, holydayes, confeſſion, matrimonie, maſſe, mattins, and reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he ſhould not bee Antichriſt: but now, becauſe he commendeth them in the name of Chriſt, he vtterly corrupteth the Church, ſuppreſſeth the faith, and aduanceth ſinne, fol. 67.

If the Pope will infer a neceſſitie of thoſe things, which Chriſt leaueth free and indifferẽt, then what doth he make himſelfe but Antichriſt? The Article is plaine, and is founded vpon the doctrine of Chriſt, and S. Paule.

7 To beleeue in Chriſt maketh ſure inheritors with Chriſt, fol. 1.

8 If a man ſay, then ſhall we no good workes do? I aunſwere as Chriſt did: This is the worke of God to beleeue in him whome he hath ſent, fol. 1.

The place of theſe two Articles gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: who is this light that we are exhorted to beleeue in? Truely it is Chriſt as S. John doth teſtifie: He was the true light that lighteneth all men which come into the world. To beleeue in this light, maketh vs the children of light, and the ſure inheritors with Jeſus Chriſt. Euen now haue we cruell aduerſaries, which ſet vp their briſtles, ſaying: why? ſhall we then do no good workes? To theſe we aunſwere as Chriſt did to the people in the ſixt of ſ. Iohn, which aſked him what they ſhould do, that they might worke the workes of God? Jeſus aunſwered and ſayd vnto them: This is the worke of God that ye beleeue on him whome he hath ſent. And after it followeth: Verily, verily I ſay vnto you, he that beleeueth on me, hath euerlaſting life. To this alſo condeſcendeth S. Iohn in his epiſtle, ſaying: Theſe things haue I written vnto you that beleeue on the name of the ſonne of God, that you may ſurely know how that you haue eternall life. What is the name of the ſonne of God? Truely his name is Ieſus, that is to ſay, a ſauiour: therefore thou muſt beleeue that he is a ſauiour.

But what auayleth this? The diuels do thus beleeue & tremble. They know that he is the ſonne of God, and ſayd vnto him, crying: O Ieſu the ſonne of God, what haue we to do with thee? They know that he hath redemed mankind by his paſſion, and laboured to let it. For whẽ Pilate was ſet downe to geue iudgement, his wife ſent vnto him, ſaying: Haue thou nothing to doe with that iuſt man, for I haue ſuffered many things this day in my ſlepe about him. No doubt ſhe was vexed of the diuel, to the intent that ſhe ſhould perſwade her huſband to giue no ſentence vpõ him, ſo that Satan might the longer haue had iuriſdiction ouer mankind. They knowe that he hath ſuppreſſed ſinne and death as it is written. Death is conſumed into victory. Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victory? The ſting of death is ſinne: the ſting of ſinne is the lawe. But thanks be vnto God, which hath geuẽ vs victory through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: who by ſinne, damned ſinne in the fleſh. For God made him to be ſinne for vs, that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for our ſinne (and ſo is ſinne taken in many places) which knew no ſinne, that we by his meanes ſhould be that righteouſnes which before God is allowed. It is not therefore ſufficient to beleeue that he is a ſauiour and redeemer: but that he is a ſauiour & redemer vnto thee, &c.

9 Nombring of ſinnes maketh a man a more ſinner, yea, a blaſphemer of the name of God, fol. 3.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: Knowledge thy ſelfe a ſinner, that thou mayeſt be iuſtified. Not that the numbring of thy ſinnes can make thẽ righteous, but rather a greater ſinner, yea & a blaſphemer of the holy name of God, as thou mayeſt ſee in Caine, which ſaid that his ſinnes were greater then that he might receiue forgiuenes, and ſo was a reprobate, &c.

10 God bindeth vs to that which is impoſsible for vs to accompliſh, fol. 3.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: If thou aſke of me why he bindeth vs to that whych is impoſſible for vs to accompliſh: thou ſhalt haue S. Auguſtine aunſwere, which ſaith in the ſecond booke that hee wrote to Hierome, that the lawe was geuen vs, that wee might knowe what to do, and what to eſchewe, to the intent that when we ſee our ſelues not able to do that whiche we are bound to do, nor auoide the contrary, we may then know what we ſhall pray for, and of whome we ſhall aſke this ſtrength, ſo that we may ſay vnto our father: God father commaunde whatſoeuer it pleaſeth thee, but giue vs the grace to fulfill that thou commaundeſt. And when wee perceiue that we can not fulfill his will, yet let vs confeſſe that the law is good and holy, and that we are ſinners and carnall, ſolde vnder ſinne. But let vs not heere ſticke, for now are we at hell gates, and doubtles ſhoulde fall into vtter deſperation, except God did bring vs agayne, ſhewing vs his goſpell & promiſe, ſaying: feare not little flocke, for it is your fathers pleaſure to geue you a kingdome, &c.

11 Sinne can not condemne vs: for our ſatisfaction is made in Chriſt which dyed for vs, fol. 4.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: Sinne hath no power ouer vs, neither can condemne vs for our ſatiſfaction is made in Chriſt, which dyed for vs that were wicked, and naturally the children of wrath. But God which is rich in mercy, through the greate loue wherewith he loued vs, euen whẽ we were dead through ſinne, hath quickened vs with Chriſt, & with him hath raiſed vs vp, & with him hath made vs ſit in heauẽly things through Ieſus Chriſt, for to ſhew in times to come, the exceding riches of his grace in kindnes towards vs through Chriſt Ieſus: for by grace are ye ſaued through faith, and that not of our ſelues, for it is the gift of God, and cõmeth not of workes, leaſt any man ſhould boaſt himſelfe, &c.

12 I will ſhew thee an euident argument and reaſon, that thou mayſt know without doubt, who is Antichriſt. All they that doe purſue, are Antichriſts. The Pope, Byſhops, Cardinals, and theyr adherents do purſue: therefore the Pope, Byſhops, and Cardinals, and their adherents, are Antichriſts, I weene our Sillogiſmus be well made, fol. 9.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuela. is this: I will ſhew thee an euident reaſon, that thou mayſt know without doubting which is the very Antichriſt: and this argument may be grounded of their furious perſecution which Paul doth confirme writing to the Galathiãs. We (deare brethren) are the children of promiſe as Iſaac was (not the ſonnes of the bond woman as Iſmaell:) but as he that was borne after the fleſh did perſecute him that was borne after ÿ ſpirite, euen ſo is it now. Mark Paules reaſon. By Iſaac are ſignified the elect, and by Iſmaell the reprobate. Iſaac did not perſecute Iſmaell, but contrarye, Iſmaell did perſecute Iſaac. Now let vs make our reaſõ.

Bar- All they that do perſecute are Iſmaell, be reprobates and Antichriſtes.

ba- But all the popes, Cardinals, biſhops, and theyr adherentes do perſecute: Maior.

ra. Therefore all the popes, cardinals, biſhops, & their adherents be Iſmaell, reprobates and Antichriſtes. Minor.

I weene our Sillogiſmus is well made, and in the firſt figure. Conclusio.

Read the place and ſee how he proueth the partes of this argument more at large.

13 I thinke verily that ſo long as the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles were perſecuted and martyred, there were good Chriſten men and no longer. fol. 10. 13. article.

The Biſhops of Rome in the primitiue Churche were vnder perſecution the ſpace welneare of 300. yeares, vnder ÿ which perſecution, as good as 30. of them and moe dyed martyrs. Since that time haue ſucceded 204. popes whiche haue liued in great wealth and aboundance, amongeſt whom if the booke of Reuelation thinke that there is not 4. to be found good chriſten men, I thinke no leſſe but that he may ſo thinke without any hereſie?

14 It is impoſsible that the worde of the Croſſe ſhoulde bee without affliction and perſecution. fol. 10. 14. article.

S. Paule ſayth: who ſoeuer will liue vertuouſly in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And how then cã this be true in Paule, and in this man hereſie? 2. Tim. 3.

15 That the Apoſtles did curſe euer anye man, truely we can not read in ſcripture: for Chriſt commaunded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them. fol. 11. 15. article.

Upon what good ground of the Reuelatiõ this hereſie is wrong out, let the place be conferred, which is written in theſe wordes following: They are as mercifull as the woolfe is on his pray. They were ordeyned to bleſſe men, but they curſe as the deuill were in them. Paule ſayth, that he hath power to edifie, and not to deſtroy. But I wot not of whom theſe bloudy beaſtes haue their authority, which do ſo much reioyce in curſing & deſtruction. We reade how Paule did excõmunicate the Corinthian (and ÿ for a great tranſgreſſiõ) to the entent that he might be aſhamed of his iniquity, and deſired agayne the Corinthians to receaue hym with all charitie: but that the Apoſtles did curſe anye man, truely we can not read in ſcripture, for Chriſt commaunded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them, and to pray for thoſe that perſecuted them. &c. The place annexed. 1. Cor. 10. 1. Cor. 13. 1. Cor. 5. 2. Cor. 2.

16 By workes, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truely iuſtifie and make holy fol. 15. 16. article.

Note here (good reader) how peruerſly & corruptly this article is drawne. For where the place of this book, which is written, fol. 15. expreſly ſpeaketh of truſting to workes, meaning that we ſhould put no confidence in workes, but onely in fayth in Chriſt Ieſus, this article to make it appeare more infamous and hereticall, leaueth out the falſe truſt, and ſpeaketh ſimply, as though workes ſhould decay fayth. Read the place which is written in theſe wordes following: Daniell calleth not this word, Peſchaim, any maner of ſinne, but thoſe ſpeciall and chiefe ſinnes, whiche reſiſt and fight agaynſt the truth and the fayth: as at the truſting in workes, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies, by ÿ which we decay from the fayth. &c. Falſe wraſting.

17 The abuſion of the Maſſe with all his ſolemnityes, with vigils, yeare mindes, foundations burials, and all the buſines that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloke of godlynes and deceiuing of the people: as they were good workes, rather for the dead then for the quicke. fol. 24. 17. article.

True godlines conſiſteth in fayth, that is, in the true knowledge of the ſonne of God whom he hath ſent, and in ÿ obſeruation of Gods cõmaundements. All their rites & additions inſtituted by man, are no part of true godlines. And who ſo putteth truſt and confidence therein, as being thinges meritorious for the dead, is deceiued. Suche funerals S. Auſten calleth rather refreſhinges of the liuing, then releuinges and helpes of the dead.

18 To keep and obſerue one day to faſt, an other to abſtaine, to forbeare ſuch a meate vpon the faſting day to deſerue heauen therby, is a wicked face and cloke, & agaynſt Paul. fol 29. 18. Article.

The trueth of this article is manifeſt enough, to be voyd of all errour and hereſie, vnleſſe it be hereſie, to beleue and hold wt the ſcripture, ſ. Paule ſayth, if heauen & our righteouſnes Galat. 2.

ouſnes come by the law, then Chriſt died in vayne. Gal. 2.

19. article.

19 The multiplication of holydayes, of feaſtes of Corpus Chriſti, of the viſitation of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and in deede fooliſh, vnprofitable and vayne, fol 30.

This Article likewiſe nedeth no declaration, conteining in it a true and neceſſary complaint of ſuche ſuperfluous holydayes of the Popes making. Which as they bring with them much occaſion of wickednes, idlenes, dronkenneſſe, and vanitie, ſo hauing alſo ioined vnto them opinion of religion, and meritorious deuotion and Gods ſeruice, they gender ſuperſtition, & nouriſh the people in the ſame.

20 article.

20 Keeping of virginitie and chaſtitie of religion is a diueliſhe thing, fol. 30.

Another place falſly depraued by the Papiſtes.

The place cited in the booke of the Reuelation of Antichriſt, doth ſufficiently open it ſelfe, ſpeaking and meaning onely of thoſe Monkiſhe vowes, whiche by the canonicall conſtitution of the Pope, are violẽtly forced vpon Prieſts and Monkes, the coaction whereof S. Paule doth rightly call the doctrine of deuils. And here note by yͤ way another tricke of a Popiſhe cauiller. For where the wordes of the booke ſpeake plainely of the chaſtitie of the religious, fraudulently turning it to an vniuerſalitie ſayeth, the chaſtitie of Religion, whereby it might ſeeme to the ſimple reader more odious & hereticall. The words of the place be theſe.

1. Tim. 4.

Dan. 11.

Keeping of virginitie & chaſtitie of the religious, ſemeth to be a godly and a heauenly thing: but it is a diueliſhe thing. Of the which it is ſpoken in the fourth of the firſt epiſtle to Tim. Forbidding to marry, &c. where as againe our moſt reuerend father maketh that thing neceſſary, that Chriſt would haue free, whereof Daniell in the 11. chapter ſpeaketh: He ſhall not be deſirous of women. Heere Daniel meaneth that he ſhall refuſe and abſtaine from mariage, for a cloke of godlynes, and not for loue of chaſtitie.

21 Worſhipping of Reliques is a proper thing, and a cloke of aduantage againſt the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men, fol. 30. 31.

The place annexed.

Theſe be the wordes in the Reuel. This (the worſhipping of reliques he meaneth) is a proper & moſt fruitefull cloke of aduantage. Out of this were inuẽted innumerable pilgrimages, with yͤ which the fooliſh & vnlearned people might looſe their labour, monie & time, nothing in yͤ meane ſeaſon regarding their houſes, wiues & children, cõtrary to the commandement of God: when as they might do much better deedes to their neighbours, which is the precept, &c.

22. article.

22 There is but one ſpeciall office that pertayneth to thine orders, and that is to preach the word of God, ſol. 36.

Of this matter ſufficient hath bene ſaid before in the 22. article alledged out of the booke of Obedience.

23 article.

23 The Temple of God is not ſtones and woode, neither in the time of Paule was there any houſe which was called the temple of God, fol. 37.

The place ſpeaking of the temple where Antichriſt ſitteth, is not ſo greuous as the article maketh.

The place of this article is this: which is an aduerſary (the Pope he meaneth) and is exalted aboue all that is called God or that is worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit in yͤ temple of God & ſhew himſelfe as God. Doth not he ſit in the Temple of God, which ſaith and profeſſeth hymſelfe to be the maiſter in the whole Church? what is the Temple of God? Is it ſtones and wood? Doth not Paule ſaye: The Temple of God is holy, which temple are ye? Neither in the time of Paule was there any houſe, which was called the tẽple of God, as we now cal them. What meaneth this ſitting, but reigning, teaching, and iudging? Who ſith the beginning of the Church, durſt preſume to call himſelfe the maiſter of the whole Church, but only the Pope? &c.

24. article.

24 He that faſteth no day, that ſayth no Mattens, and doth none of the precepts of the Pope, ſinneth not, if he thinke that he doth not ſinne, fol. 43.

The place is there cleare and plaine without any daunger of hereſie.

The place in the Reuel. is this: Becauſe he feareth the conſciences vnder the title & pretence of Chriſtes name, he maketh of thoſe things which in themſelues are no ſinnes very greuous offences. For he that beleueth that hee doth ſinne if he eate fleſh on the Apoſtles euẽ, or ſay not Mattẽs and Prime in the morning, or elſe leaue vndone any of the Popes precepts, no doubt he ſinneth: not becauſe the dede which he doth is ſinne, but becauſe he beleueth it is ſinne, and that againſt this fooliſh beliefe & conſcience he offendeth. Of the which fooliſh cõſcience only the Pope is head author. For another doing the ſame deede, thinking that he doth not ſinne, truely offendeth not. And this is the cauſe that the ſpirit of Paul cõplaineth that many ſhall depart frõ the faith. And for this fooliſh conſcience mens traditiõs be pernitious & noiſome, yͤ ſnares of ſoules hurting the faith & the libertie of the Goſpel. If it were not for this cauſe, they ſhould do no hurt. Therfore the diuell through the Pope abuſeth theſe conſciences to ſtabliſh the lawes of his tiranny, to ſuppreſſe the faith and libertie, and to repleniſh the world with errour, ſinne and perdition, &c.

Traditions how they doe hurt.

25. article.

25 Chriſt ordeyned the Sacrament of the aultar, onely to nouriſhe the fayth of them that liue: but the Pope maketh it a good woorke, and a ſacrifice to be applyed both to quicke and dead, fol. 48.

The place is this: Sathan hated the Sacramente, and knew no way how to ſuppreſſe & diſannll it: Therefore he found this craft, that the ſacrament which Chriſt did onely ordeine to nouriſh and ſtabliſh the faith of them that liue, ſhould be counted for a good worke and ſacrifice, & bought and ſold: And ſo faith is ſuppreſſed, and this holeſome miniſtery is applied, not to the quicke, but vnto the dead, that is to ſay, neither to the quicke, neither yet to the dead. O the incredible fury of God, &c.

26.article.

26 Theſe ſignes (he ſpeaketh of miracles and viſions or apparitions) are not to the increaſe of the fayth and Goſpell, for they are rather againſt the fayth and Goſpell, and they are the operation of ſathan, and lying ſignes, fol. 49.

The place is as followeth: Who is able to number the monſtrous maruels only of them that are departed? Good Lord, what a ſea of lyes hath inuaded vs, of apparitions, coniurings, and aunſweres of ſpirits? By the which it is brought to paſſe, that the Pope is alſo made the king of thẽ that are dead, and reigneth in Purgatory, to the great profite of his Prieſtes, which haue all their liuing, riches, and pompe out of Purgatory: howbeit, they ſhould haue leſſe, if they did ſo well teache the fayth of them that lyue, as they do rideleſſe them that are dead. Neyther was there ſyth the beginning of the world, any worke founde of ſo little labour and great aduauntage. For truely to thys purpoſe were gathered almoſt the poſſeſſions of all Princes and rich men. And through theſe riches ſprang vp all pleaſures and idlenes, and of idlenes came very Babilone and Sodoma, &c.

Neither are theſe ſignes to the encreaſe of the fayth and Goſpell (for they are rather againſt the faith and Goſpell) but they are done to ſtabliſhe the Tirannie of theſe *faces and reedeles, and to ſet vp & confirme the truſt in works. Among theſe illuſions are thoſe myracles to bee reputed, which are ſhewed in viſions, pilgrimages, and worſhippings of Saints as there are plenty now adayes, whiche the Pope confirmeth by his Bulles, yea and ſometyme doth canonize Saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying ſignes, &c.

27 The people of Chriſt doth nothyng becauſe it is commaunded, but becauſe it is pleaſaunte and acceptable vnto them, fol. 63.

The wordes out of the which this Article is gathered, are theſe. They are the people of Chriſt, whiche willingly do heare and folow him, not for any feare of the lawe, but only intiſed and lead with a gracious liberty and faithfull loue: not doing any thing becauſe it is commaunded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable vnto them though it were not commaunded: for they that would do otherwiſe, ſhould be counted the people of the lawe & Synagoge, &c.

28 In the whole new law is no vrgent precept, nor greeuous, but onely exhortations to obſerue thinges neceſſary for ſoule health, fol. 63.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: A chriſtian ſhould worke nothing by compulſion of the law, but all through the ſpirit of liberty, as Paule ſaith in the 2. of the firſt epiſtle to Tim. The law is not geuen to a righteous man. For whatſoeuer is done by compulſion of the law, is ſinne: for it is not done with a glad and willing ſpirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling againſt the law, and this truly is ſinne. Therefore in the fourth of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Cor. He calleth the preachers of the new Teſtament, the Miniſters of the ſpirit, and not of the letter, becauſe they teach grace and not the law. Wherfore in the whole newe teſtamente are there no vrgent or greeuous precepts, but only exhortations to obſerue thoſe thinges whiche are neceſſary to our health. Neither dyd Chriſt and his Apoſtles at any time compel any man. And the holy Ghoſt was for that cauſe called Paracletus, that is to ſay, an exhorter and comforter, &c.

29 All things neceſſary are declared in the new Teſtament, but no man is compelled, but to doo according to their owne wyll. Therefore Chriſt teacheth. Math. 28. that a rebell ſhould not bee killed, but auoyded, fol. 63. 66.

The wordes in the Reuelat. are theſe. In the new Teſtament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leaue vndone: what reward is ordeined for them that do & leaue vndone: and of whome to ſeeke, finde, and obteyne helpe to do and leaue vndone: But no man is compelled, but ſuffered to do according to their owne will. Therefore in the 18. of Math. he teacheth that a rebell ſhoulde not be killed, but auoided & put out of cõpany like a Gentile, &c.

30 Chriſt forbad that one place ſhould be taken as holy, and another prophane: but would that all places ſhoulde bee indifferent, fol. 65.

The place is this, Chriſt taking away the difference of all places, will be worſhipped in euery place. Neither is there in his kingdome one place holy & an other prophane: but al places are indifferent, neither canſt thou more hartily & better beleue, truſt, and loue God in the temple at the altar, in the churchyard, then in thy barne, vineyard: kitchin, or bed. And to be ſhorte, the martyrs of Chriſt haue honored him in darcke dungeons and priſons. &c.

31 He rayleth agaynſt all the rites and ceremonies of the Maſſe, as he were mad fol 68.

The place out of the which this article is collected, is as followeth. If a Nunne touch the ſuperaltare or the Corpores (as they call it) it is a ſinne. To touche the Chalice, is a great tranſgreſſion. To ſay Maſſe with an vnhalowed Chalice, is a greuous offence. To doe ſacrifice in veſtimentes which are not conſecrated, is a haynous crime. It is reputed for a ſinne if in miniſtring any Sacrament, the Prieſt doe lacke any ornament that perteyneth thereunto, If he call a childe, or ſpeake in the wordes of the Canon, it is a ſinne. He offendeth alſo that doth ſtut or ſtamber in the wordes of the Canon. He ſinneth that toucheth the holy Reliques of Saynctes. He that toucheth the Sacrament of the aultar eyther with hand or finger, though it be for neceſſity to plucke it from the roufe of his mouth, committeth ſuch villanous iniquity, that they will ſcrape & ſhaue of the quick fleſh from the part which did touch it. I think at length they will fley the toung, the roufe of the mouth, ÿ throte, and the belly, becauſe they touch the ſacrament. But to hurt thy neighbor, or priuily to conuey away any of his goods, or not to helpe him in his need, is in a maner counted for no ſinne, nor yet regarded. &c.

Article. 32 No labor is now a dayes more tedious then ſaying of Maſſe Mattens. &c. Which before God are nothing but greuous ſinnes fol. 70.

Article. 33 The ſinnes of Manaſſes and other wicked kinges ſacrificing theyr owne children, are but light and childiſh offences to thoſe. The curſed ſacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are ſeuen times worſe Gētiles then we were before we knew Chriſt. fol. 70.

The wordes out of the whiche theſe two Articles are gathered are theſe. They are ſo oppreſſed (thoſe hee meaneth which are vnder the ſeruitude of the Popes lawes & decrees) that they fulfill them onely with the outwarde worke: for theyr willes are cleane contrary, as we ſee by experience in troubleſome buſines of Vigilles, Maſſes, & Houres, which both muſt be ſayd and ſong. In the which they labour with ſuch wearineſſe, that now a dayes no labour is more tedious. Yet neuertheleſſe the cruell exactors of theſe moſte hard workes, compell men to worke ſuch thinges without ceaſing, which before God are nothing but grieuous ſinnes: although before men they be good workes and counted for the ſeruice of God. Here are inuēted the intiſementes of the ſenſes through organes, muſicke and diuerſity of ſonges: but theſe are nothing to the ſpirit, which rather is extinct through theſe wantō trifles. Ah Chriſt, with what violence, with what power are they driuen headlong to ſinne, & periſh through this abhominatiō?

It is horrible to looke into theſe cruell wherlepoles of conſciences, which periſh with ſo great paynes and labor. What light offences to theſe are the ſinnes wherin Manaſſes and other wicked kinges ſinned by doing ſacrifice with theyr owne children and progeny? Truely the curſed ſacrifices of the moſt rude gentils, no not of the Leſtrigones may be compared vnto ours. The ſaying of Chriſt may be verified in vs: ſeuen more wicked ſpirites make the ende worſe then the beginning. For I ſay that we Gentiles are worſe 7. times then we were before we knew Chriſt. &c.

Article. 34 It were better to receiue neither of the partes of the ſacramēt of the aulter, then the one alone. fol. 73.

The wordes be theſe. Playnely I thinke that ÿ whole is takē away, ſith I ſee manifeſtly the one part gone (for ÿ bread & the wine is but one ſacramēt) the other is left only for a laughing ſtocke. For he that in one part offendeth againſt god, is gilty in al. Therfore it were better to receiue neither of the partes, then the one alone: for ſo we might ÿ more ſurely eſchue the tranſgreſſion of that which Chriſte did inſtitute. &c.

Article. 35. The law of the Pope that commaundeth euery man to communicate together vpon one day, is a moſt cruell law conſtrayning men to theyr owne deſtruction. fol. 73.

The place is this. He (the Pope he meaneth) ſetting a moſt cruell and deadly ſnare to tangle the conſciences, ſuffereth not the vſe of this Sacrament to be free, but cōpelleth all together on one certayne day once in the yeare to communicate. Here I pray thee Chriſtē brother, how many doeſt thou thinke do communicate onely by the cōpulſion of this precept, which truely in theyr hart had leuer not to communicate? And all theſe ſinne (for they doe not communicate in ſpirite, that is to ſay, neither in fayth nor will, but by the compulſion of this letter and law (ſith that this bread requireth a hungry and not a full hart, & muche leſſe a diſdayning & hateful minde. And of all theſe ſinnes, the Pope is author, conſtrayning all men by his moſt cruell lawe to theyr owne deſtruction, where as he ought to leaue this communion free to euery man, and onely call & exhort them, and not compell and driue them vnto it. &c.

Communion agaynſt their willes, but to be exhorted, and left to their owne diſpoſition.

36. Article. 36 The ſpirit would that nothing ſhould be done, but that which is expreſſely rehearſed in ſcripture fol. 81.

In thinges appertayning to Gods worſhip and ſeruice, true it is that he is not to be worſhipped, but only according to that which he hath reuealed & expreſſed vnto vs in his owne word. And this is the meaning of the author, as by his wordes doth playnely apppeare.

In things perteyning to gods worſhip, it is true.

37. Article. 37 Saynt Thomas de Aquino ſauoreth nothing of the ſpirite of God. fol. 83.

The doctrine of Thomas Aquine referreth the greateſt or a very great part of our righteouſnes to opus operatū, and vnto merites. The ſpirit of God referreth al our righteouſnes before God, onely to our fayth in Chriſt. Nowe how theſe ſauor together, let any indifferent reader iudge.

Tho. Aquine.

38. Article. John Hus. 38 The Pope did condemne the truth of the word of God openly at Conſtance in Io. Hus, perſeuering vnto this day in the ſame ſtubbernnes. fol. 86.

Touching the condemnation of Iohn Hus, & the maner of his handling & the cauſe of his death, read his ſtorye before beginning pag. 602. and conſider moreouer his prophecy of the hundreth yeares after him expyred pag. 770. how truly the ſequele did folow in M. Luther, & thē iudge of his cauſe, good reader, as the truth of Gods worde ſhall lead thee. And thus much concerning theſe ſlaūderous articles.

✻ Here follow other hereſyes and errors, collected by the Byſhops out of the booke named the Summe of the Scripture, with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame.

Articles out of the Summe of the Scripture.

1. Article. The water of the fount hath no more vertue in it then hath any other water. fol. 1.

2. Article. 2 The water of Baptiſme lyeth not in halowed water or in other outward thing, but onely in fayth. fol. 6.

The place of theſe two articles gathered out of ÿ ſūme of the Scripture is this. The water of Baptiſme taketh not away our ſinne: for then were it a precious water, and then it behoued vs dayly to waſh our ſelues therin. Neyther hath the water of the Fount more vertue in it ſelfe, thē the water that runneth in the riuer of Rhene. whē Philip baptiſed the Eunuch, the ſeruant of Candace, the Queene of Ethiope, there was then no halowed water, nor candle, nor ſalte nor creame, neither white habite: but he baptiſed him in the firſt water they came to vpō ÿ way. Here mayſt thou perceiue that the vertue of Baptiſme lyeth not in halowed water, or in the outward thinges that we haue at ÿ Fount, but in the fayth onely. &c. Chriſt hath healed vs (ſayth S. Paule by the bath of regeneration and renouation of the holy Ghoſt.

The place annexed. Actes. 8. Tit. 3.

3. Article. 3 Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to helpe theyr childrē that they be put to ſchole, that they may vnderſtand the Goſpel, and the Epiſtles of S. Paule. fol. 15.

The place of this article gathered out of the ſayd booke is this: The Godfathers and Godmothers be bounde to helpe the children that they be put to ſchole, to the entent, ÿ they may vnderſtand the Goſpell, the ioyfull meſſage of God, with the Epiſtles of S. Paule, God hath commaunded to publiſh, & to ſhew the Goſpel, not onely to prieſtes but to euery creature. Goe ye (ſayth Chriſt vnto his Diſciples) into the vniuerſall world and preach the Goſpel to euery creature. For we be all equally bound to knowe the Goſpell and the doctrine of the new teſtament. &c. And S. Paule writing to the Corinthi. confeſſeth that hee ſendeth his Epiſtles to all the Churche, that is to ſay, to all the aſſemble of Chriſten men, & to all them that call on the name of Ieſus. &c.

The place annexed. Marke. 16.

4. Article. 4 We thinke when we beleue that God is God, & can our creed, that we haue the fayth that a chriſtian man is bound to haue: but ſo doth the deuill beleue. fol. 17.

5. Article. 5 To beleue that the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghoſt be one God, is not the principall that we muſt beleue: our fayth dooth not lye principally in that, for ſo beleueth the deuill. fol. 18.

This place out of the which theſe two articles are collected, is this: we thinke, when we beleue that God is God, and can our Creede, that we haue the fayth which a Chriſtian is bound to haue. The deuill beleueth alſo that there is a God and life euerlaſting, and a hell, but hee is neuer

The place annexed. Iam. 2.

What true fayth is that iuſtifieth.

the better for it: and he trembleth alway for this fayth, as ſayth Saint Iames, The deuils beleue, and they tremble. A man might aſke: what ſhall I then beleue? Thou ſhalt beleue playnely and vndoubtedly that the father, the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt is one only God. &c. But this likewiſe beleue the wicked ſpirites, and are nothing the better therfore. There is yet an other fayth which Chriſt ſo much requireth of vs in the Goſpell, and whereunto S. Paule almoſt in all his Epiſtle ſo ſtrongly exhorteth vs, that is, that we beleue the Goſpell, when our Lord began firſt to preach, he ſayd (as rehearſeth S. Marke) repent and beleue the Goſpell. Of this fayth, read before in the firſt Article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and in the ix. and x. of the Reuelation of Antichriſt.

Marke. 1.

6. Article.

6 If we beleue that God hath promiſed euerlaſting life, it is impoſsible that we ſhould periſh. fol. 20.

The place of the author falſly wraſted,

Lo here good Reader, an other manifeſt example of the vnhoneſt dealing and falſe cogging of theſe mē. For where the place of the author, ſpeaketh expreſſely of putting our truſt in God & his promiſes, the article pretily leaueth out our truſting in gods promiſe, & fayth onely: if we beleue ẏ god hath promiſed. Read the place and conferre it with the article & then iudge whether there be no differēce betwene truſting in the promiſe ẏ God hath made of euerlaſting life and beleuing onely that God hath made the promiſe of euerlaſting life. The place here foloweth as it is there, written.

When with a perfect courage we put all our truſt in god and in his promiſes, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh for he hath promiſed vs life euerlaſting. And for as much as he is almighty, he may well performe that that he hath promiſed: and in that he is mercifull and true, he will performe his promiſe made vnto vs, if we can beleue it ſtedfaſtly, and put all our truſt in him.

7. Article.

7 If thou canſt ſurely and ſtedfaſtly beleue in God, he will holde his promiſe. For he hath bound himſelfe to vs, and by his promiſe he oweth vs heauen: in caſe that we beleue him. fol. 21.

True doctrine made hereſie.

Seing all our hope ſtandeth onely vpon the promiſe of God, what hereſy then is in this doctrine, to ſay that God oweth vs heauen by his promiſe, whiche is no other to meane but that God can not breake promiſe. And nowe iudge thou good reader whether is more hereſy to ſay, that God oweth vs heauen by his promiſe, as we ſay: or this, that God oweth vs heauen by the condignity & congruity of our workes as the Papiſts ſay?

8. Article.

8 All Chriſtes glory is ours. fol. 27.

9. Article.

9 We neede not to labour for to be Chriſtes heyres and ſonnes of God, and to haue heauen: for we haue all theſe thinges already fol. 24.

The words out of the which theſe two hereſyes are gathered, be theſe: we be made his heyres, and al his glory is ours, as S. Paule largely declareth. This hath God geuen vs without our deſeruing and we need not to labour for all theſe thinges, for theſe we haue already. &c.

True doctrine made hereſie.

Iohn. 7.

Iohn 1.

Rom. 8.

They which note theſe articles for hereſy, by the ſame iudgement they may make hereſy of S. Iohns goſpel, & of Paules epiſtles, and of al together. S. Iohn ſayth, the glory which thou gaueſt me, I haue geuen thē that they may be one, as we alſo are one. As many as receiued him, to thē gaue he power to be the ſonnes of God. S. Paule ſayth: The ſame ſpirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the ſonnes of God. If we be ſonnes, then are we alſo heyres, ẏ heyres I meane of God, and heyres annexed with Chriſt.

10. Article.

10 We need not to labor by our good workes to get euerlaſting life: for we haue it already: we be all iuſtified, we be all the childrē of God. fol. 28.

11. Article.

11 All that thinketh that good workes helpe or profite any thing to get the gift of ſaluation, they blaſpheme agaynſt God and rob God of his honour. fol. 28.

12. Article.

12 If we be circumciſed, that is to ſay, if we put any truſt in workes, Chriſt ſhall not helpe vs. fol. 18.

13. Article.

13 We deſerue nothing of God. fol. 30.

14. Article.

14 We deſerue not euerlaſting life by our good woorkes, for God hath promiſed it vnto vs, before that we began to do good. fol. 40.

15. Article.

15 Euery Chriſtian man muſte keepe Gods commaundementes by loue, and not by hope, to gette for his ſeruice euerlaſting lyfe. fol. 42.

16. Article.

16 The Iewes kept the commaundementes, and the law of God: yet they could not come to heauen. fol. 43.

17. Article.

17 Men truſting in theyr good workes, are like to the theefe on the left ſide, and are ſuch men as commeth to the Church daylye, keepeth holydayes and faſting dayes, and heareth maſſes, & theſe people be ſooneſt damned: for this is one of the greateſt errors in Chriſtendome, to thinke that thy good workes ſhall helpe to thy ſaluation. fol. 47.

True Chriſtianity turned into hereſie.

If theſe articles be made hereſy, which referre the benefite of our inheritance of life and ſaluation to Gods gyft, & not to our labors: to grace and not to merits: to faith, and not to the law of workes, thē let vs ſhut vp clean the new teſtament, & away with Gods word, and ſet vp a new diuinity of the Popes making: yea let vs leaue Chriſt with his hereticall goſpell, and in his ſtead ſette vp the Byſhop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the Diſciples of his decretals. And certes, except chriſten princes begynne betime to ſake ſome zeale of God vnto them, & looke more ſeriouſly vpon the matter, the proceedinges of theſe men ſeme to tend to litle better, then to driue vs at length from true Chriſtianity, to an other kinde and forme of religion of theyr owne inuention, if they haue not brought it well neare to paſſe already.

18 To ſerue God in a tediouſneſſe, or for feare of hel, or for the ioyes of heauē, is but ſhadowes of good workes, and ſuch ſeruice doth not pleaſe God. fol. 41.

The place is this: works done in faith, be alonely pleaſant vnto God, and worthy to be called good workes: for they be the works of the holy ghoſt that dwelleth in vs by this fayth. But they that are done by tediouſnes and euill will, for feare of hell, or for deſire of heauen, be nothing els but ſhadowes of workes, making hipocrites. The end of our good works is onely to pleaſe god, knowledging that if we do neuer ſo much, we can neuer do our duty: for they that for feare of hell, or for the ioyes of heauen do ſerue god do a conſtrayned ſeruice, which God will not haue. Such people do not ſerue God becauſe he is their God and their father, but to haue theyr reward and to auoyd his puniſhments, and ſuch people are hyred men and waged ſeruantes, & are not children. But the children of God ſerue theyr father for loue. &c.

19 We muſt loue death, & more deſire to dye, then to feare death fol. 36.

Although our nature be frayle & full of imperfectiō, ſo that we do not as we ſhould, yet doing as we ought & as we are lead by the Scriptures to do, we ſhould not dread, but deſire rather to dye and to be with Chriſt, as the place it ſelfe doth well declare, which is this:

We muſt loue death, and more deſire to die and to be with god, as did S. Paul, then to feare death. For Ieſus Chriſt dyed for vs, to the intent that we ſhoulde not feare to dye, and he hath ſlayn death, and deſtroyd the ſting of death, as writeth S. Paule, ſaying: O death where is thy ſting? death is ſwalowed vp in victory. And to the Philippians: Chriſt is to me life, and death is to me aduauntage.

20 God made vs his children and his heires, while we were his enemies, and before we knew him. fol. 44.

I maruell what the Papiſtes meane in the Regiſters to condemn this article as an hereſy, vnleſſe theyr purpoſe be vtterly to impugne & gainſtand the ſcripture, & the writinges of S. Paule, who in the fift chapter to the Rom. & other his Epiſtles, importeth euen the ſame doctrine in all reſpectes, declaring in formall words that we be made the children and heyres of God, and that we were reconciled vnto him when we were his enemies.

21 It were better neuer to haue done good worke, and aſke mercy therfore, then to do good workes, and thinke that for thē god is bound to a man by promiſe. fol. 48.

22 We can ſhew no more honor to God, then fayth and truſt in him. fol. 48.

The place out of the which theſe two articles are gathered, is this: It were better for thee a thowſande folde that thou haddeſt bene a ſinner, and neuer had done good deed, & to acknowledge thine offences & euill life vnto God, aſking mercy with a good hart, lamenting thy ſinnes, then to haue done good workes & in them to put thy truſt, thinking that therfore God were bound to thee. There is nothing, which (after the maner of ſpeaking) bindeth God, but fyrme and ſtedfaſt fayth and truſt in him & his promiſes. &c. For we can ſhew vnto God no greater honor, then to haue faith and truſt in him: For whoſoeuer doth that, he confeſſeth that God is true, good, mighty & mercifull. &c.

23 Fayth without good workes, is no litle or no feeble faith, but it is no fayth. fol. 50.

24 Euery man doth as much as he beleueth. fol. 50.

The place out of the which the two Articles be gathered, is this: If thy fayth induce thee not to do good workes thē haſt thou not ẏ right fayth, thou doeſt but onely thinke that thou haſt it. For S. Iames ſayth, that fayth without workes is dead in it ſelfe. He ſayth not that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead and that is dead, is not. Therfore whē thou art not moued by fayth vnto the loue of god and by the loue of god vnto good works, thou haſt no fayth but fayth is dead in thee, for the ſpirit of God that by fayth commeth in to our hartes to ſtyrre vp loue, cannot be idle. Euery one doth as much as he beleueth, & loueth as much as he hopeth, as writeth S. Iohn. He that hath thys hope that he is the ſonne of god, purifieth himſelf, as he is pure.

He ſayth not, he that purifieth himſelfe hath this hope, for the hope muſt come before, proceeding from the fayth, as it behoueth that the tree muſt firſt be good which muſt bring forth good fruit.

Article.

25 We cannot be without motions of euill deſires: but we muſt mortify them in reſiſting them.fol.52

They which note this article of hereſy, may note them ſelues rather to be like the Phariſy. Luke.18. who fooliſhly flattering himſelfe in the falſe opinion of his owne righteouſnes, was not ſubdued to the righteouſnes, which ſtandeth before God, by fayth, and therefore went home to his houſe leſſe iuſtified then the publican. If the ſcriptures condemne the hart of man to be crooked euen from his youth Gene.6. and alſo condemneth all the righteouſnes of man to be like a filed cloth, & if S. Paule could finde in his fleſh no good thing dwelling, but ſheweth, a cõtinuall reſiſtance betweene the old man and the new, then muſt it folow, that theſe phariſeis which condemne this article of hereſy, eyther cary no fleſh, nor no old man about them to be reſiſted or verely, ſay what they will, they can not chooſe but bee combred with euill motions for the inward man continually to fight agaynſt. The place of the authour ſufficiently defendeth it ſelfe, as foloweth.

S. Paule byddeth vs mortify all our euill deſyres and carnall luſtes, as vncleanneſſe, couetouſneſſe, wrath, blaſphemy, detractation, pride, and other like vices. And vnto the Rom. 6. he ſayth: let no ſinne raigne in your mortall bodyes. That is to ſay, albeit that we cannot liue without the motion of ſuche euill deſires, yet we ſhall not ſuffer them to rule in vs, but ſhall mortifye them in reſiſting them. &c.

Article.

26 All true Chriſtianity lyeth in loue of our neighbors for God, and not in faſting, keeping of holy dayes, watching, praying, and ſinging long prayers dayly and all day long, hearing Maſſe, running on pilgrimage. &c. fol.52.

The place of this article is this: Thou haſt alwaies occaſion to mortify thine euill deſires to ſerue thine neighbor, to comfort him, and to helpe him with word and deed, with coũſell and exhortation and other ſemblable meanes. In ſuch loue towardes our neighbor for the loue of God, lyeth all the law and the prophets (as ſaith Chriſt) yea and all chriſtianity: and not in faſting, keeping of holydayes, watching, ſinging, and long praiers daily and all day lõg, hearing of maſſes, ſetting vp of candles, running on pilgrimages and ſuch other things, which as well the hypocrites, proud people, enuious and ſubiect to all wicked affections, do. &c.

Article.

27 Many Doctors in diuinity, and not onely common people beleueth that it is the part of Chriſten fayth onely to beleue that Ieſus Chriſt hath liued here in earth. fol.53.54.

The place is this: We beleeue that Ieſus Chriſt hath here liued on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he dyed for vs, and did many other thinges, when we beleue theſe things after the ſtory, we beleue that this is our chriſten fayth. This not onely the ſimple people beleueth, but alſo Doctors in diuinity, which are takẽ for wiſe men. Yea the deuill hath alſo this fayth, as ſayth S. Iames: The deuils beleue, and they tremble. For as we haue ſayd before, the deuil beleueth that God is God, and that Ieſus Chriſt hath here preached, that he dyed, was buryed, and roſe agayn. Thus muſt we alſo beleue, but this is not the fayth whereof ſpeaketh the Goſpell and S. Paul. &c.

Of this fayth and what it is, read before in the place of the 4 and 5. articles of this booke, and of the 1. Article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and the 9. and 10. article of the Reuelation of Antichriſt.

Article.

28 He that doth good agaynſt his will, he doth euill. fol.56.

The place is this: All good deedes which are not done by loue and good wil, are ſinne before God as ſaith S. Auguſtine. He that doth good againſt his wil, doth euil, albeit that he doth, be good. For that I do agaynſt my wil, I hate and whẽ I hate the commaundement, I hate alſo him that hath commaunded it. &c.

Article.

29 No man doth more then he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make other partakers of theyr good workes fol.59.

The words be theſe: The Prophet Eſay ſayth: we are all as an vncleane thing, and all our iuſtice is as it were a filthy cloth and therefore I can neuer maruell enough, that many of the religious perſons would make other partakers of theyr good workes, ſeeing that Chriſt ſayth in the Goſpell: when ye haue done all thoſe things which are cõmaunded you: ſay, we are vnprofitable ſeruantes we haue done but that which was our ducty to doe. For none can do to much. None doth more then he is bound to doe, but onely Ieſus Chriſt (which onely as ſayth S. Peter neuer did ſinne, neither was there deceit found in his mouth) hath done that he was not bound to doe: and as the Prophet Eſay ſayth, hath taken vpon him our infirmities, and borne our ſorrowes, he was wounded for our offences, & ſmitten for our wickedneſſe, & by his ſtripes are we made whole. &c.

30. Article.

30 Chriſt hath gotten heauen by his paſſion, but that right hath he no need of, but hath graunted it to all them that beleue in hys promiſes. fol.59.

The doctrine of this article is ſound.

Read the place: Ieſus Chriſt poſſeſſeth the kingdome of heauẽ by double right. Firſt becauſe he is the ſonne of god and very inheritor of his kingdome. Secondly becauſe he hath gottẽ it by his paſſion and death. Of his ſecond right he hath no neede, and therfore he geueth it to all them that beleue and truſt in him and in his promiſes.

31. Article.

31 If God had promiſed vs heauen for our good woorkes, wee ſhould euer be vnſure of our ſaluation fol.59.

32. Article.

32 Be our ſinnes neuer ſo great, that it ſeemeth impoſſible to vs to be ſaued, yet without any doubt we muſt beleue to be ſaued. fol.59.

The doctrine of theſe articles be as true as the Goſpell.

The wordes out of the which theſe two articles be gathered are theſe: If God had promiſed heauen vnto vs becauſe of our workes, we ſhould euer then be vnſure of our ſaluation. For we ſhould neuer know how much, nor how long we ſhould labor to be ſaued, & ſhould euer be in feare that we had done to litle, and ſo we ſhould neuer dye ioyfully. But God would aſſure vs of heauen by his promiſe, to the entent we ſhould be certayne and ſure, for he is the trueth and cannot lye: and alſo to the intent that we ſhould haue truſt and hope in him. And notwithſtanding that after the greatnes & multitude of our ſinnes, it ſeeme to vs a thing impoſſible, yet alwayes we muſt beleue it without any doubt, becauſe of his ſure promiſe. And who ſoeuer doth this, he may ioyfully dye and abide the iudgement of god, which els were intollerable. Read more hereof before in the xi. article taken out of the wicked Mammon.

33. Article. A difference betweene carnall loue, & ſpiritual loue: & yet in Matrimony both are neceſſary.

33. If thou loue thy wife becauſe ſhee is thy wife, that is no loue before God: but thou ſhalt loue her becauſe ſhee is thy ſiſter in God. fol. 83.

The wordes be theſe: Our Sauiour Chriſt hath commaunded nothing ſo ſtraightly as to loue an other: yea to loue our enemies alſo. Then how much more ſhould the man & wife loue together. But there be but few that know how to loue the one the other as they ought to do. If thou loue thy wife onely becauſe ſhe is thy wife, and becauſe ſhe ſerueth and pleaſeth thee after the fleſh, for beauty, byrth, riches, and ſuch like this is no loue before god. Of ſuch loue ſpeaketh not S. Paule. For ſuche loue is among harlots, yea among brute beaſtes: but thou ſhalt loue her becauſe ſhe is thy ſiſter in the chriſten faith, and becauſe ſhe is inheritour together with thee in the glory of God, & becauſe ye ſerue together one God, becauſe ye haue receaued together one baptiſme &c. Thou ſhalt alſo loue her for her vertues, as ſhamefaſtnes, chaſtitie and diligence, ſadnes, pacience, temperance, ſecrecy obediẽce, and other godly vertues. &c.

34. Article.

34. It is nothing but all incredulitie to runne in pilgrimage and ſeeke God in one certayne places, which is like mightye in all places. fol. 61.

The matter of this article is euident to all indifferent & learned iudgementes to be voyde of all doubt of hereſie.

35. Article.

35. Men ſhould ſee that their children come to Churche to heare the ſermon. fol. 89.

What meaneth theſe men, trow you to make this doctrine an hereſie?

The place of this article is this: On the Feſtiuall dayes thou ſhalt bring thy children to the church to heare the ſermon, and when thou ſhalt come home, thou ſhalt aſke them what they haue kept in memory of the ſermon. Thou ſhalt teach thẽ the Chriſtian fayth. Thou ſhalt admoniſh thẽ to liue well, and to put all their hope and truſt in God, and rather to dye, then to do any thing that is againſt the will of God. And principally thou ſhalt learne them the contentes of the prayer of our Sauiour Chriſt, called yͤ Pater noſter, that is to ſay how they haue an other father in heauen, of whom thy muſt ſeeke for all goodneſſe, and without whom they can haue no good thing: & how that they may ſeeke nothing in all theyr workes, and in all theyr intents, but the honor of theyr heauenly father: And how they muſt deſire that this father would gouerne all that they doe, or deſire: And how that they muſt ſubmit all to his holy wil, which cannot be but good. &c. Thou ſhalt buy them wholſome bookes, as the holy Goſpell, the epiſtles of the holye Apoſtles, yea both the new & the old Teſtament, that they may vnderſtand and drinke of the ſweet fountayne & waters of life.

36. Article.

36 Thou ſhalt not vexe or greue by iuſtice or otherwiſe the pore that oweth vnto thee: for thou mayeſt not doe it withou ſinne. fol 97.

Mat.5.

Rom. 12. Heb. 10.

The place is this: Thou ſhalt not vexe or greue by iuſtice. &c. as Chriſt ſayth: reſiſt not euill, but whoſoeuer ſtriketh thee on the right cheeke, turn to him the other alſo. &c. S. Paul ſayth: Render not euil for euil, and if it be poſſible as much as is in you, liue in peace with all men, not reuẽging

ging your ſelues my welbeloued, but geue place to wrath for it is written: to me the vengeance, and I will rendre it, ſayth the Lord God.

37. Article.

37. Some textes of Canon law ſuffereth warre, but the teaching of Chriſt forbiddeth all warres. Neuertheleſſe when a City is beſieged, or a country inuaded, the Lord of the country is bounde to put his life in ieopardy for his ſubiectes. fol. 119.

38. Article.

38 So a Lord may vſe horrible warre charitably and Chriſtianly. fol. 119.

How Chriſtians may warre lawfully.

As touching warre, to be moued or ſtyrred firſt of our parts agaynſt any people or country vpon any raſh cauſe, as ambition, malice, or reuēge, the goſpell of Chriſt geueth vs no ſuch ſword to fight withall. Notwithſtanding for defence of coūtry and ſubiectes, the magiſtrate being inuaded or prouoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to do his beſt, as the city of Marpurgh did well in defending it ſelfe agaynſt the Emperour. &c.

39. Article.

39. The goſpell maketh all true Chriſten men ſeruauntes to all the world. fol. 79.

Crafty cogging in this article.

He that compiled this article craftely to make yͤ matter to appeare more haynous, leaueth out yͤ latter part which ſhould expound the other, that is, by the rule of charity: for that the author addeth withall. By which rule of charitye, and not of office and duety, euery chriſten man is boūd one to help another, as Chriſt himſelfe being Lord of all, yet of charity was a ſeruaunt to euery man, to do him good, read the place of the ſumme of the ſcripture in the page as in the article it is aſſigned.

40. Article.

40. The Goſpell is written for all perſons, eſtates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. fol. 112.

They which noted this article for an hereſy, I ſuppoſe could litle tell either what G O D, or what the Scripture meaneth.

41. Article.

41. When iudges haue hope that an euill doer will amend they muſt be alwayes mercifull, as Chriſt was to the woman taken in aduoutry. The temporall law muſt obey the Goſpell and thē that we may attēd by warning, we ſhall not correct by iuſtice. fol. 113.

The purpoſe of the booke whence this article is wraſted being well vnderſtood, intendeth not to binde tēporal iudges and magiſtrates, from due executiō of good lawes, but putteth both them, and eſpeciall ſpiritual iudges, in remēbraunce by the example of Chriſt to diſcerne who be penitent offēders, and who be otherwiſe, and where they ſee euident hope of earneſt repentance and amendment, if they be eccleſiaſticall iudges, to ſpare them: if they be ciuill magiſtrates, yet to temper the rigour of the law (as much as they conueniently may) with mercifull moderation, which the Greekes do call ἐπιείκεια.

And thus much hitherto of theſe hereſies and Articles collected by the byſhops, & inſerted in theyr own regiſters out of the bookes aboue ſpecified. The names of yͤ biſhops and collectors were theſe: Syr Tho. More, L. Chaūcellor, Wil. Warham Archb. of Cant. Tunſtall biſh. of London, Ste. Gardiner, B. of Winc. Rich. Sampſon Deane of the chappel, Rich. Wolman M. of Requeſtes, Iohn Bell, D. Wilſon, with a great number moe, as in the regiſters doth appeare. Ex Regiſt. Cant & Londinenſi,

Truth maliciouſly ſlaundered and depraued of the Papiſtes.

I ſhall not need I truſt (gentle reader) further here to tary thee with reciting mo places: whē theſe already reherſed may ſuffice for a taſte & a triall for thee ſufficient to note and conſider how falſely & moſt ſlaunderouſly theſe catholickes haue depraued, and miſreported the bookes and writinges of good men, who might almoſt gather hereſies as well of S. Iohns goſpell, & S. Paules epiſtles, as out of theſe places. Thus may we ſee, what cannot malice do, being ſet on miſchiefe? or what cannot the ſpirite of ſpite and cauilling finde out, being inflamed with hatred, & blowne with the bellowes of ambition and iniquity? And as they haue done with theſe, the like partes they haue and do practiſe ſtil againſt al other: whoſoeuer in defēce of truth, dare touch neuer ſo litle either the Popes crowne, or the bellies of his clergy: for theſe ij. ſores in no caſe they can abide to be touched. And hereof onely cōmeth all this crying out, hereſy, hereſy, blaſphemy, error & ſchiſme. Although the doctrine be neuer ſo ſound and perfect after the ſcripture, yet if the writer be not ſuch in all pointes (eſpecially in theſe two aboue touched) as will ſing after theyr tune, and daunce after theyr pipe (he is by & by an) hereticke, by vertue of theyr Inquiſition. So did they with the Articles of the learned Erle Ioannes Picus Mirandula. So did they with Ioh. Reucline or Capnion. So did they alſo with good Iohn Colet here in England. Alſo with the like ſpirite of lying & cauilling, the catholicke faculties of Louane, Spain and Paris condemned the workes and writings of Eraſmus & many mo. So full they are of cenſures, articles, ſuſpitions, offences, inquiſitions, ſo captious they be in taking, ſo raſh in iudging, ſo ſlaunderous of reporte, ſo practiſed in deprauing, miſconſtruing and wraſting true meaninges into wrong purpoſes, briefely ſo pregnant they be in finding hereſies where none are, that either a man muſt ſay nothing, or ſerue theyr deuotiō, or els he ſhall procure theyr diſpleaſure, that is, ſhall be demed for an hereticke. Yea & though no iuſt cauſe of any hereſy be miniſtred, yet wher they once take diſliking, they will not ſticke ſometimes with falſe accuſations to preſſe him wͭ matter, which he neuer ſpake nor thought. If Luther had not ſtyrred againſt the Popes pardons and authority, he had remayned ſtill a white ſonne of the mother Catholick church, and all had bene wel done whatſoeuer he did. But becauſe he aduentured to touche once yͤ triple crowne, what floudes of hereſies, blaſphemies and articles were caſt out againſt him, enough to drown a whole world? what lyes and forged crimes were inuented agaynſt him?

The Popes crowne, & the Monkes bellyes, two perillous thinges to be touched.

The Popes Church vpholden with lying and cauilling.

Here now cōmeth Staphylus and furious Surius, wͭ theyr fraternity, and ſay, that he learned his Diuinity of the deuill. The foloweth an other certain Chronographer who in his lying ſtory reporteth moſt falſely, that Luther dyed of dronkennes. With like malice the ſayd Chronographer writeth alſo of M. Bucer, falſely affirming vpon his information, that he ſhould deny at his death, Chriſt our Meſſias to be come. When not onely D. Redman whiche preached at his buriall, but alſo all Engliſh men, whiche knew the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

So was it laid againſt one Singleton Chapplein ſome time to Queene Anne Bullen, that he was the murderer of Packington, and afterward, that he was a ſtyrrer vp of ſedition & cōmotion: who alſo ſuffered as a traytor for the ſame: where in very deed the true cauſe was for nothing els, but for preaching the Goſpell vnto the people, whoſe purpoſe was euer ſo farre of from ſtyrring ſedition, that he neuer once dreamed of any ſuch matter, as he himſelfe declared and proteſted to one R. Lante his ſcholer, who is yet aliue and can teſtify the truth hereof. But this is no new practiſe amongeſt the Romiſh Biſhops: whereof enough hath bene ſayd before in the ſtory of Syr Ioh. Oldcaſtle, and Syr Roger Acton. &c.

An other like practiſe of ſuch malicious ſlaunder wee finde alſo in one Meriall a Brickleyer, whoſe name wͭ hys abiuration remayneth yet in the Regiſters of the Byſhop of London.

The ſtory is this, and not vnworthy to be remembred. In the yeare of our Lord. 1534. whiche was about the firſt beginning of Queene Anne Bullen, at what time Purgatory and ſuch trompery began to grow in contempt. Stokeſly Biſhop of London made a ſermon in the Shroudes vpon the Sonday before May day: where he preaching in the commendation and vertue of Maſſes, declared to the people that for a little coſt, if they procured Maſſes to be ſayd, wiues might deliuer their huſbandes, and huſbandes their wiues out of the bitter paynes of purgatory. At thys ſermon, beſides many other, was Thomas Meriall, a zelous fauourer of Gods word: who being on the watche on May euen, made relation of theſe wordes of the Byſhop vnto the company about him, amongeſt whom then was one Iohn Twyford, a furious papiſt, and who had yͤ ſame time the ſetting vp of the ſtakes in Smithfield, wherat the good Saintes of God were burned.

This Twyford whiche then kept a Tauerne and had an old grudge agaynſt yͤ ſayd Meriall for ſtriking his boy hearing theſe words: allured home to his houſe certain perſons, to the number of x. whoſe names were theſe: Blackwell, Laurence Wilſon, Thomas Clarke, Iohn Duffild, W. Kenningham, Thomas Hoſier, Worme a cutler, Alen Ryſe, with an other whiche was the tenth. Beſides theſe he procured alſo ſecretly M. Chābers Clerke whoſe name was Bright. And when he had craftily ouercome them wͭ wyne, & made them to report what wordes he liſted, and which they knew not thēſelues, the Clerkes by and by, receaued yͤ ſame in writing. Wherupō this article was gathered agaynſt Meriall, that he ſhould holde and affirme, that yͤ paſſion of Chriſt doth not help thē which came after him but onely them which were in Limbo before: & alſo that he ſhould ſay yͭ his wife was as good as our Lady. Vpō this writing of the Notary, he was immediately brought to biſhop Stokeſly, and therby yͤ depoſitiō of theſe x. falſe witneſſes wrōgfully accuſed, and alſo for the ſame ſhould haue be condemned, had not Doct. Barret the ſame tyme, byd him ſpeake one word (which he knew not) as the ſentence was in reading, whereby yͤ condemnation was ſtayd and he put to doe open penaunce and to beare a Fagotte. Notwithſtanding the ſayd Meriall ſware before the Byſhop that he neuer ſpake nor ment any ſuch words as there was ſayd vnto him, but onely recited the wordes of the biſhops ſermō, reporting the ſame in the perſon of the biſhop, and not his owne. Whiche alſo was teſtified to bee true by the othes of 3. other, to witte, W. Tolon, Gregory Newman, and W. Witte, who being in the foreſayde watch the ſame time, did take vpon theyr oth before the Biſhop: that hys wordes were no other, but as is aboue declared. Which 3. witneſſes at the ſecond edition hereof were alſo liuing, wt the wife of the foreſayd Meriall, who woulde then alſo be ſworne that the ſame is true. Where as contrary the other x. perſons be al gone, and none of them all remayning. Of whome moreouer the moſt of all the ſayd x. came to a miſerable end where as the other 3. which teſtified the truth wt Meriall, being liuing at the 2. editiō hereof, did ſee the ende of all the other. And as for Twyford, which was the executioner to Frith, Bayfild, Baynham, Tenkeſbury, Lambert, and other good men, he died rotting aboue the groūd, that none could abide him, and ſo came to a wretched end. Ex teſtimon. vxoris Meriall, W. Tomſon, Greg. Newman. W. Wit &c.

Of thys malycious and peruerſe dealinge of theſe men contrary to all truth & honeſty, in defaming them for hereticks, which in deed are none, & with opprobrious railing to ſlaunder their cauſe, which is nothing els but the ſimple truth of Chriſtes goſpel, who ſo liſteth to ſearch further (if theſe examples hitherto recited do not ſuffice) let hym read the ſtory of Merindol, & Angrogne, pag. 945. 955. Let him conſider the furious Bull of Pope Martine. pag. 625. The like ſlaunderous Bull alſo of Pope Leo x. with the Edict of Charles the Emperour agaynſt Luther. Alſo let hym ſuruey the railing ſtories of Surius the Monke of Colen, the booke of Oſius, of Lindas, the Chronologie of Genebrardus, the ſtory of Cochleus agaynſt the Huſſites and the Lutheranes, with the Preface of Conradus Brunus the Lawyer prefixed before the ſame, wherein he moſt falſelye and vntruely rayling agaynſt theſe Proteſtantes, whom he calleth heretickes, chargeth them to be blaſphemers of God, contemners of God and men, Church robbers cruell, falſe lyers, crafty deceiuers, vnfaythfull, promiſe breakers, diſturbers of publicke peace and tranquility, corrupters and ſubuerters of commō weales, and all els that naught is.

In much like ſort was Socrates accuſed of his countrymen for a corrupter of the youth, whō Plato notwithſtanding defendeth. Ariſtides the iuſt lacked not his vniuſt accuſers. Was it not obiected vnto S. Paule that hee was a ſubuerter of the law of Moyſes, and that we might do euill that good might come thereof? How was it layd to the Chriſtian Martyrs in the primitiue Church for worſhipping an Aſſes head, and for ſacrificing of Infantes. pag. 54? And to come more nere to theſe our latter daies, you heard likewiſe how falſely the Chriſtian congregation of frenchmen gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate ye holy communion, were accuſed of filthy commixion of mē and women together, and the king the ſame time Henry 2. was made to beleue that beds with pillowes and mats were founde there in the floore where they laye together: whereupon the ſame time diuers were condēned to the fire and burned pag. 862. Finally what innocency is ſo pure, or truth ſo perfect, which can be voyd of theſe ſclaunders or crimynatiōs, whē alſo our Sauior Chriſt himſelfe was noted for a wine drinker, & a common haunter of the Publicanes? &c.

Euen ſo likewiſe it pleaſeth our Lorde and Sauiour Chriſt, to keepe vnder and to exerciſe his church vnder the like kinde of aduerſaries now raigning in the church, who vnder the name of the church will nedes mayntain a portly ſtate and kingdome in this world, and becauſe they can not vpholde theyr cauſe by playne ſcripture and the word of God, they beare it out with facing, rayling, and ſlaundering, making Princes and the ſimple people beleue, that all be heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, blaſphemers, rebels & ſubuerters of all authority & commō weales, whoſoeuer dare reply with any ſcripture agaynſt theyr doings.

It is writtē of Nero, that when he himſelfe had burnt the City of Rome ſixe dayes and ſeuen nightes, he made open proclamations that the innocent Chriſtians had ſet the City on fire, to ſtyrre the people agaynſt them, wherby he might burne and deſtroy them, as rebels and traytors.

Not much vnlike ſeemeth the dealing of theſe religious Catholickes, who when they be the true heretickes themſelues, and haue burnt and deſtroyed the Church of Chriſt, make out theyr exclamatiōs, Buls, briefes, articles bookes, cenſures, letters and Edicts againſt the poore Lutheranes, to make the people beleue, that they be the heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, diſturbers of the whole world. Who if they could proue them as they reproue them to be heretickes, they were worthy to be heard. But nowe they cry out vpon them heretickes, and can proue no hereſy: they accuſe them of errour: and can proue no errour: they call them ſchiſmatickes, and what Church ſince the worlde ſtood, hath bene the mother of ſo many ſchiſmes as the mother Church of Rome? They charge them with diſſention and rebellion. And what diſſention can be greater, then to diſſēt from the ſcripture, and word of God? or what rebellion is like, as to rebell againſt the ſonne of God, & againſt the will of hys eternall Teſtamente? They are diſturbers (they ſay) of peace and of publicke authority: which is as true, as that the Chriſtians ſet the City of Rome on fire. What doctrine did euer attribute ſo much to publicke authority of Magiſtrates, as do the proteſtantes, or who euer attributed leſſe to magiſtrates, or depoſed moe dukes, kinges, and Emperours, thē the Papiſtes? They that ſay, that the Biſhop of Rome is no more but the Biſhoppe of Rome, and ought to weare no crowne, is not by and by a rebell agaynſt his king and Magiſtrates, but rather a maynteyner of theyr authority: which in deed the Byſhop of Rome cannot abide. Briefely, wilt thou ſee whether be the greater heretickes, the Proteſtantes or the Papiſtes? Let vs try it by a meaſure, and let this meaſure be the glory onely of the ſonne of God, which cannot fayle. Nowe iudge I beſeeche thee, whoſoeuer knoweſt the doctrine of them both, whether of theſe two do aſcribe more or leſſe to the Maieſtye of Chriſt Ieſus our king and Lord: the Proteſtantes which admit none other head of the Church nor iuſtifier of our ſoules, nor forgeuer of our ſinnes, nor Aduocate to his father but him alone: Or els the papiſtes which can abide none of all theſe articles, but condemn the ſame for hereſy. Which being ſo (as they themſelues wyll not deny) now iudge (good reader) who hath ſet the City of Rome on fire. Nero, or els the Chriſtians.

A meaſure betweene the Proteſtantes and the Papiſts, to try whether of them two are the greater heretickes.

Compariſō betwene the doctrine of Papiſtes and of the Proteſtantes.

But to returne agayne to the purpoſe of our former matter, which was to ſhew forth the proclamation of the Byſhops for the aboliſhing of Engliſh bookes aboue rehearſed, as being corrupt and full of hereſye, whiche notwithſtanding we haue declared to conteine no hereſye, but ſounde and wholeſome doctrine, according to the perfect word and Scripture of God.

Here nowe when the Prelates of the Popes ſide had procured this Edict & proclamation aforeſayd, for the condemnation of al ſuch Engliſh bookes printed or vnprinted which made agaynſt theyr aduantage, they triumphed not a litle, wening they had made a great hand againſt ye Goſpell for euer to riſe againe, & that they had eſtabliſhed their kingdome for euer, as in deed to all mās thinking it might ſeme no leſſe. For who would haue thought, after ſo ſtrayt ſo preciſe, and ſo ſolemne a proclamation ſet forth & armed with the kinges terrible authority: alſo after the cruel execution of Anne Aſkewe, Lacels, and the reſt: Item after the buſy ſearch moreouer and names taking of many other, of whom ſome were chaſed away, ſome apprehended and layd vp, diuers in preſent perill, & expectation of theyr attachment: who would haue thought (I ſay) otherwyſe poſſible, but that ye goſpel muſt nedes haue an ouerthrow, ſeing what ſure worke the papiſtes here had made, in ſetting vp theyr ſide, and throwing downe the contrary.

Gods mercifull helpe in time of neede.

But it is no new thing in the Lord, to ſhew his power agaynſt mans preſūption, that when he counteth himſelfe moſt ſure, then is he furtheſt of, and when he ſuppoſeth to haue done all, then is he new to begin agayne. So was it in the primitiue Church before Conſtantinus time, that when Nero, Domitianus, Maxentius, Decius, and other Emperours impugning the goſpell & profeſſion of Chriſt, did not onely conſtitute lawes and proclamations againſt the Chriſtians, but alſo did ingraue the ſame lawes in tables of braſſe, minding to make all thinges firme for euer and a day: yet we ſee, how with a litle turning of Gods hand, all theyr puiſſant deuiſes, & braſen lawes turned all to wind and duſt. So little doth it auayle for man to wraſtle agaynſt the Lord and his procedinges. Howe ſo euer mans building is mortall and ruinous, of brickle bricke, and mouldring ſtones, the Lord neuer taketh in hande to builde, that either time can waſte, or man can pluck down. What God ſetteth vp, there is neither power nor ſtriuing to the contrary. What he entendeth, ſtandeth: what he bleſſeth, that preuayleth. And yet mans vnquiet preſumption will not ceaſe ſtill to erect vp towers of Babell againſt the Lord, which the higher they are builded vp, fall with the great ruine. For what can ſtand, that ſtandeth not with the Lord? which thing as in example of all ages is to be ſeene: ſo in this late proclamation deuiſed by the biſhops, is in like maner exemplified.

Gods power worketh commonly agaynſt mans preſumption.

Towers of Babell agaynſt the Lorde.

The which proclamation, though it was ſore & terrible for the time, yet not long after, by reaſon of the kings death (whō the Lord ſhortly therupon took to his mercy) it made at length but a caſtle come downe. So that where the prelates thought to make theyr Iubile, it turned them to the Threnes of Ieremy. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hoſtes, whoſe name be ſanctified for euer.

Mans deuiſe agaynſt the Lord ouerthrowen.

This I do not inſerte for any other purpoſe, but onely for the workes of the Lord to be ſeene: premoniſhing thee (good Reader) withall that as touching the king (who in this Proclamation had nothing but the name onely) here is nothing ſpoken but to his laude and prayſe. who of hys owne nature & diſpoſition, was ſo inclinable and forward in all things vertuous and commendable, that the like enterpriſe of redreſſe of religion, hath not lightly bene ſene in any other Prince chriſtned: As in aboliſhing the ſtout and almoſt inuincible authority of the Pope, in ſuppreſſing monaſteries, in repreſſing cuſtome of Idolatry & pilgrimage &c. which enterpriſes, as neuer king of England dyd accompliſh (though ſome beganne to attempt them) before him: ſo yet to this day we ſee but few in other Realmes dare folow the ſame.

The praiſe of K. Henry 8.

If Princes haue alwayes theyr Counſell about them, that is but a common thing. If ſome time they haue euill counſell miniſtred that I take to be the fault rather of ſuch as are about them, then of princes themſelues. So long as Queene Anne, Tho. Cromwell, B. Cranmer, M. Denny, D. Buts, with ſuch like were about him, & could preuaile with him, what organe of Chriſtes glorye did more good in the Church then he? as is apparant by ſuch monuments, inſtrumentes and actes ſet forth by him, in ſetting vp the Bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in remouing diuers ſuperſtitious ceremonies in bringing into order ÿ inordinate orders of friers & ſectes, in putting chantry prieſts to theyr penſions: in permitting white meate in Lent: in deſtroying Pilgrimage worſhip: in abrogating idle & ſuperfluous holydaies, both by act publicke, and alſo by priuate letters ſent to Boner, tending after this effect.

Much ſuperſtition purged by king Henry

¶ By the king.

The kinges brief to Boner.

Right reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greet you well. And whereas conſidering the manifolde inconueniences which haue enſued, and dayly do enſue to our ſubiectes by the great ſuperfluity of holy dayes, we haue by the aſſentes and conſentes of all you the Byſhops, and other notable perſonages of the Clergy of this our Realme, in ful congregation and aſſembly had for that purpoſe, abrogated and aboliſhed ſuche as be neither Canonicall, ne meete to bee ſuffered in a common wealth, for the manifolde inconueniences which do enſue of the ſame, as is rehearſed: and to the intent our determination therein may be duely obſerued and accompliſhed, we haue thought cōuenient, to commaūd you immediately vpon the receit hereof, to addreſſe your commaundementes in our name to all the curates, religious houſes, and colledges within your dioces, with a copye of the act made for the abrogation of the holy dayes aforeſayd, a tranſumpt whereof ye ſhall receiue herewith, commaunding thē and euery of them in no wiſe, eyther in the Church or otherwiſe, to indict or ſpeake of any of the ſayd dayes and feaſtes aboliſhed, wherby the people might take occaſion either to murmure, or to contemne the order taken therin, and to continue in theyr accuſtomed idlenes, the ſame notwithſtanding: but to paſſe ouer the ſame with ſuch ſecret ſilence, as they may haue like abrogation by diſuſe, as they haue already by our authority in conuocation. And foraſmuch as the time of harueſt now approcheth, our pleaſure is, ye ſhall with ſuch diligence and dexterity, put this matter in execution, as it may immediatly take place, for the benefite of our ſubiectes, at this time accordingly without fayling, as ye wil aunſwere vnto vs for the contrary. Geuen vnder our Signet, at our Monaſtery of Charteſey, the 11. day of Auguſt.

Abrogation of holydayes.

Thus while good Counſell was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So agayne when ſiniſter and wicked Counſell, vnder ſubtile and craftye pretences had gotten once the foot in, thruſting truth & verity out of the Princes eares, how much Religion and all good thinges went proſperouſly forward before, ſo much on the cōtrary ſide all reuolted backward agayn. Wherupō proceded this Proclamation aboue mētioned, concerning the aboliſhing and burning of Engliſh bookes. Which proclamation bearing the name of the kinges maieſty, but being ÿ very deed of the biſhops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly ſort, bringing thē either into great daūger, or els keping thē in much blindnes, had not the ſhortnes of the kinges dayes ſtopped the malignant purpoſes of the foreſayd Prelates, cauſing the king to leaue that by death vnto ÿ people, which by his life he would not graūt. For within 4. monethes after, the proclamatiō cōming out in Auguſt, he deceaſed in the beginning of Ianuary, in the 38. yeare of his raigne. an. 1547. leauing behinde him three children, who ſucceded him in his kingdome, K. Edward, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth: of whom it remaineth now to proſecute (by the permiſſion and ſufferance of Chriſt our high Lord and Prince) in the proces of this hyſtory, according as the order of theyr ſucceſſion, and Actes done by them in the church ſhall require, after that firſt I ſhall haue proſecuted certayne other matters by the way, according to my promiſe, here to be inſerted.

K. Henry according as his Coūcell was about hym, ſo was he lead.

The death of K. Henry 8.

{ Anno 1547. }

¶ The Hiſtory touching the perſecution in Scotland, with the names and cauſes of ſuch bleſſed Martyres, which in the ſame country ſuffered for the truth after the time of Patricke Hamelton.

Thus hauing finiſhed the time and raſe of kyng Henry the eight, it remayneth nowe according to my promiſe made before, here to place & adioyne ſo much as hath come to our handes, touching the perſecution of Scotland, and of the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſt, which in that coūtry likewiſe ſuffered for the true religion of Chriſt, & teſtimony of theyr fayth.

To proceede therefore in the hiſtorye of theſe Scotland matters, next after the mention of Dauid Straton and M. Nicholas Gurlay, with whom we ended before. pag. 956. the order of time woulde requyre next to inſerte the memory of ſyr Iohn Borthwike Knight, commonly called Captayn Borthwike. who being accuſed of hereſy (as the papiſtes call it) and cited therefore. an. 1540. and not appearing, and eſcaping out into other countryes, was condemned for the ſame, being abſent, by the ſentence of Dauid Beaton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, and other Prelates of Scotland, and all his goodes confiſcate, and his picture at laſt burned in the open market place. Whoſe ſtory with his articles obiected agaynſt him, and his confutations of the ſame here enſueth in proceſſe vnder expreſſed, as followeth.

⁂ The Act or Proceſſe or certayne Articles agaynſt Syr Iohn Borthwike Knight in Scotland with the aunſwere and confutation of the ſayd Borthwike, whoſe preface to the reader here foloweth.

By the helpe of a certayne frend of mine, there came certayne articles vnto my hand for the which the Scottiſh Cardinal and ſuch other like of his ſect and affinity did cōdemne me as an hereticke. And for ſo much as this condēnation ſhould not lacke his cloke or defence, they gathered together a great number of witneſſes, where as beſides the bare names of the witneſſes they alledged none other profe at all. Wherefore I thought good to beſtow ſome labour in refelling theſe articles which they could not proue partly that I might take awaye from all true Chriſtians, the occaſion of all euill ſuſpition, as though that I beyng vanquiſhed or ouerthrowne by theyr threatnings would deny Chriſt: and partly that theyr errours being thereby made manifeſt they ſhould euen for very ſhame repent, or els hereafter ÿ leſſe abuſe ÿ furor or madneſſe of ſuch wytneſſes to ſhed bloud. Therefore I will firſt confirme by euident teſtimonyes of the Scriptures thoſe things whiche in times paſt I haue taught, and afterwarde I will refell theyr vayne Sophiſtication, wherby they go about to ſubuert the trueth of God.

Syr Iohn Borthwike knight commonly called Captain Borthwike being accuſed ſuſpected, ſlaundered and conuicte by witneſſe, without all doubt of greater eſtimation then he himſelfe, in the yeare of our Lord. 1540. the 28. day of May, in the cloiſter of S. Andrewes in the preſence of the moſt reuerēt Fathers, Gawine Archbiſhop of Glaſquene Chauncellour of Scotland, William Biſhop of Aburdin, Henry of Candicaria, Iohn Biſhop of Brecknock and William of Dumbar Byſhoppes, Andrew of Mellrowes, George of Dunerueling, Iohn of Paſlet, Iohn of Lodorſe, Rob. of Killos & Wil. of Knilroſe Abbots, Malcolyne of Quiterne and Iohn of Pettinvaim Priors, Mayſter Alexander Balfour Vicar of Kitman Rector of Lawe officiall of Sayncte Andrewes, Iohn Winton Supprioure, Iohn Anand and Thomas Emingham, Chanons of Saynt Andrewes, Iohn Tompſon with Vniuerſity of Saynt Andrewes, and Mayſter Iohn Maior and Peter Capelland Batchelers of Diuinity and doctours, Martine Balfour Batcheller of Diuinitye and of his fellow Pryour of the Fryers Auguſtynes of the ſame Citye, Iohn Tulidaffe warden of the Fryers Mynors and Iohn Paterſon of the ſame Couent, and alſo in the preſence of the moſt noble mighty and honourable Lords, George of Dunkeld, Iames of Arrain, William Marſhal, William of Monnetros, Erles, Malcolme Lord of Fleming, Chamberlaine of Scotland, Iohn Lord of Linſey, Iohn L. of Erſkine, George L. of Seton, Iames Hamelton of Finwart, Water L. of S. Iohn, M. Iames of Colinton Clarke to the Kings Regiſter, with diuers other Lordes, Barons, and honeſt perſons, beyng called & deſired together for witnes, that he did hold, publiſh, and openly teach theſe errors followyng.

The firſt Article.

That our holy father the Pope as Chriſtes vicar, hath not, neither can exerciſe greater autoritie ouer Chriſtians here on earth, then any other biſhop or prelate.

Borthwike.

These holy ones do magnify their Lord by like title, as common theeues and robbers are accuſtomed to preferre the captaines and ringleaders of their robberies and miſchiefs, calling them in euery place the moſt honeſt, & good men, where as likewiſe it is euidēt, ẏ in the whole world there is no man more geuen to riot, which more greedily doth ſeeke after all kynde of delicatenes and wantonneſſe, and finally aboundeth with all kynde of vice: as treaſon, murder, rapine, and all kynd of ſuch euils. Furthermore, where as they affirme him to be the vicar of Chriſt here in earth, it ſhall be eaſily conuinced when as it ſhall be made manifeſt, that he hath not, nor cannot exerciſe more power or autoritie ouer chriſtians, then any other biſhop or prelate. For vnto that office of beyng vicar, they referre that great autoritie the which they do ſo greatly boaſt and brag of, which beyng taken away, the office of vicar doth alſo fall and decay. But now to attempt the matter, I wil firſt demand of the mainteiners of this preheminence and autority, whereupon they wil ground the ſame. I know that they will aunſwer vnto me that Peter had power & autority ouer the other Apoſtles, and conſequently ouer the vniuerſall church, the which power by ſucceſſion, is tranſlated vnto the biſhops of Rome. But how vnſhamefaſtly they do lye herein, any may eaſily perceiue which hath but any ſmall ſparke of iudgement in him. when as he ſhal heare the teſtimonies of the ſcriptures, which we will alleage to confirme this our opinion. For Peter in the xv. of the Actes. In the counſell doth declare what is to be done, and admoniſheth vs what of neceſſitie we ought to doe. And he there did alſo heare other ſpeake, and did not onely geue them place to ſay theyr myndes, but alſo permit and receiue their iudgement: and where as they decreed, hee followed and obeyed the ſame. Is this then to haue power ouer others? Furthermore, where as in his firſt epiſtle he writeth vnto biſhops and paſtors, he doth not cōmaūd them as a ſuperior or head ouer them, by power and authoritie, but maketh them his fellowe companions, and gently exhorteth thē as is accuſtomed to be done betweene equals of degree: for theſe are his wordes: I beſeech and deſire the biſhops and paſtors which are amongſt you, for ſo much as I my ſelfe am alſo a biſhop, and a witneſſe of the afflictions of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glorye which ſhall be reuealed, that they do diligently feede the flocke of Chriſt which is committed vnto them. why then do they ſo chalenge vnto them the autority of Peter, which he neuer acknowledged in himſelfe. Truly I do not dout, but if that Peter were here preſent, he would with like ſeueritie rebuke their folly and madnes, as Moſes in times paſt did vnto Ioſua, which burned with too earneſt a zeale towards hym. I doubt not but that many in this fayned authoritie of Peter do ſeeke out more vayne helps to maintaine and vpholde the tiranny of Popes, rather then to make him ruler and gouernour ouer all other. For where as in the 8. chapiter of the Actes he is commaunded by hys fellowes, to go with Iohn into Samaria, he did not refuſe ſo to do. In ſo much then, as the apoſtles do ſend him, they declare thereby, that they doe not count him as theyr hed and ſuperior, and in that he doth obey them, & taketh vpon him the office or miniſtery committed vnto him, he confeſſeth thereby that he hath a ſocietie and fellowſhip wt them, but no rule nor impery ouer them, as he writeth in his epiſtle. But if none of theſe examples were euident or manifeſt, the onely epiſtle to the Galathians were ſufficiēt to put vs out of all doubt: where as S. Paule almoſt throughout two whole chapters, doth nothing els but declare and affirme himſelfe to be equall vnto Peter, in the honour or dignitie of the Apoſtleſhip. For firſt of all he reherſeth how he went vp to Ieruſalem vnto Peter, not to the intent to profeſſe any homage and ſubiection vnto him but onely to witneſſe with a common conſent and agreement vnto all men, the doctrine which they taught, & that Peter did require no ſuch things at his hand, but gaue vnto him the right ſide or vpper hand of the fellowſhip, that they might ioyntly together labour in the vineyard of the Lord. Moreouer, that he had no leſſe fauour and grace amongſt the Gentils, then Peter had amongſt the Iewes: and finally, when as Peter did not faithfully execute hys office and miniſterie, he was by him rebuked, & Peter became obedient vnto his correction. All theſe things do euidently proue, that there was equalitie betweene Paule and Peter, and alſo that Peter had no more power ouer the reſidue of the Apoſtles, then he had ouer Paule. The which thing S. Paule euen of purpoſe doth intreat of, leſt that any man ſhould preferre Peter or Iohn before hym, in the office of Apoſtleſhip, which were but his companions, & not Lordes ouer one another. whervpō, theſe places of ſcripture work this effect, ẏ I cannot acknowledge Peter to be ſuperior or hed ouer other Apoſtles, neyther ẏ Pope ouer other biſhops. But I acknowledge & confeſſe Chriſt to be the only head of the church, the foundation and high prieſt therof, the which with one only oblation, hath made perfect for euermore all thoſe which are ſanctified. And I boldly doe affirme and ſay with S. Gregory, that whoſoeuer calleth himſelfe, or deſireth to be named or called, the head or vniuerſal prieſt or biſhop, in that his pride, he is the forerider or predeceſſor of Antichriſt: for ſo much as thorough his pride he doth exalt himſelfe aboue all others. Furthermore, where as they alledge out of the olde law, the high prieſthood and the supreme iudgemēt, which God did inſtitute and ordaine at Ieruſalem: I aunſwer therunto, that Chriſt was that high biſhop, vnto whome the right and title of prieſthood is now tranſported and referred. Neither is there any man ſo impudent, which will take vpon hym to ſucceed in the place or degree of hys honour. For ſo much as this prieſthood doth not conſiſt only in learnyng, but in the propitiation and mercy of God, which Chriſt hath fulfilled by his death, and in the interceſſion, by the which he doth now intreat for vs vnto hys father.

...er hath ...y with ...poſtles no rule ...the 2. ...les.

...e equal ...Peter

Chriſt the onely head of the Church.

Vniuerſall Byſhop ſpoken agaynſt by Gregory.

The highe prieſthood in the olde lawe, doth not proue Peter, or the Popes ſupremacye.

whereas alſo they do alledge out of the 16. chapter of Mathew, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke, &c. If they do thinke that this was perticularly ſpoken vnto Peter, S. Cyprian, and S. Auguſtine ſhall ſufficiently aunſwere them that Chriſt did it not for this purpoſe, to preferre one man aboue all the reſidue, but that thereby he might commend and ſet forth the vnitie of the church: for ſo ſayth S. Cyprian in the perſon of one man, God gaue vnto him al the kayes, that he might therby ſignify the vnity of thē all. For euen as Peter was, euen the very ſame were all the reſidue, beyng endued with like fellowſhip of honour and dignity. But it was conuenient that it ſhould take his originall of one, that the church of God might be manifeſted to be one only. Saint Auguſtines wordes are theſe, if the miſtery of the church were not in Peter, the Lorde would not haue ſayde vnto hym, I wyll geue vnto thee ẏ kaies of the kingdome of heauen. If this were ſpoken vnto Peter, the church hath them not. If the Church haue them: Then Peter, when he receyued the kayes, did figurate the whole church. Agayne, when as they were all demaunded and aſked, only Peter anſwered. Thou art Chriſt. Then was it ſayd vnto him, I will geue vnto thee the kaies, as though that he alone had receyued the power of bindyng and looſing, for like as he alone ſpake that for them all, ſo he as it were bearing the perſon of that vnity, receiued the ſame with them all. Therfore one for them all, becauſe he is vnited vnto them all. Another argument they doe gather vppon the wordes which Chriſt ſpake vnto Peter. Thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke will I builde my church. The which wordes are not found to be ſpoken vnto any other of the apoſtles. The which argument ſhal eaſily be diſſolued, if we did vnderſtand & know why Chriſt did geue Peter that name, which otherwiſe was called Simon. In the firſt chapter of Iohn, Chriſt ſpeaketh thus vnto hym. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas, the which by interpretation ſignifieth Peter, in that point hauing reſpect vnto the conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt which he had made, lyke as God changed the name of Abraham, who at the firſt was called Abram, becauſe he ſhould be a father of many nations, then euen as Abraham tooke his name of ẏ multitude, which ſhould come forth of his ſeede: ſo likewyſe Peter tooke his name of the conſtaunt confeſſion of Chriſt, which in deed is the true rocke wherupon ẏ church is builded, and not Peter himſelfe. No otherwiſe then Abraham, which was not the multitude it ſelfe, whereof he tooke his name. Beſides this, the church ſhould be ſtayed or builded vpon ouer weak a foundation if it ſhould haue Peter for the ground or foundation thereof, who beyng amaſed and ouercome with the words of a little wench, did ſo conſtantly deny Chriſt. Nowe therfore I thinke there is no man but that doth vnderſtand how theſe Romiſhe builders do wreſt the ſcriptures hether and therther, & like vnto the rule or ſquire, do apply them accordyng to their wils, to what end and vſe they thēſelues thinke good. Furthermore in that they doe alledge out of the xx. chapiter of Iohn, feede my ſheepe, it is ouer childiſh and argument: for to ſheepe is not to beare rule and dominion ouer the whole Church, beſides all this as Peter had receiued cōmaunde-

The place of Mathew thou arte Peter and vpon this rocke Math. 16. expounded.

Cypriane.

Auguſtine.

An other obiection papiſticall reſolued.

maundement of the Lord, ſo doth he exhort all other Biſhops to feed their flocke in his firſt Epiſtle and v. chapter. Hereby a man may gather by theſe wordes of Chriſt yͤ either there was no autoritie geuen vnto Peter more then vnto others, or els that Peter did equally communicate that right and autority which he had receiued vnto others and did not reſerue it vnto himſelfe after his death, to bee tranſported vnto the Biſhops of Rome. As for ſuch reaſons as they doe alledge, which are not gathered or taken out of holy ſcriptures, I paſſe them ouer, leaſt I myght ſeeme to contend with ſhadowes.

The ſecond Article.

That Indulgences and pardons graunted by our ſupreme head the pope, are of no force, ſtrength, or effect, but tend onely to the abuſe of the people and the deceiuyng of their ſoules.

Borthwike.

Indulgences to be of no effect.

The treaſure of the church as popeholders take it.

Lord treaſurer of the church, Papiſts hold to be the Pope.

No man of himſelfe can worke his owne ſaluation.

It ſhalbe euidently declared, that indulgences and pardons are of none effect, after that I haue firſt of all taught what they do call Indulgences or pardons. They ſay they are the treaſure of the church, that is to ſay, the merites of Chriſt, of the Saints, Apoſtles and Martyrs, which they impudently affirme to haue performed and merited more at Gods hand, at the tyme of their death, then was neceſſary or needfull for them: & that of the aboundance of their merites, there did ſo much ſuperabound which was not onely ſufficient for themſelues, but alſo might redound to the helpe of others. And becauſe ſo great a goodnes ſhould not be ſuperfluous or in vayne, they affirme and teach that their bloud was mixed and ioyned with yͤ bloud of Chriſt: and of them both the treaſure of the church was compoũd and made for the remiſſion and ſatiſfactiõ of ſinnes. How cunning and notable cookes theſe are, which can make a confection of ſo many ſundry herbes. Furthermore, they do fayne the cuſtody and keping of this treaſure to be cõmitted wholy vnto the biſhop of Rome, in whoſe power conſiſteth the diſpenſation of ſo great treaſures, that he eyther by himſelfe may geue or graunt, or otherwyſe geue power vnto other to geue the ſame. And hereupon riſeth the plenary, Indulgences and pardons graunted by the Pope for certaine yeares, by cardinals for 100. dayes, by biſhops for 40. dayes. This is the iudgement and opinion which they hold of the Indulgences. But I pray you, who taught thoſe ſaints to worke or deſerue for other, but only Sathan, who would vtterly haue yͤ merits of Chriſt extinguiſhed and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the onely remedy of ſaluation? For if the Scripture do teache vs that no man of himſelfe can deſerue or worke their ſaluation, how did the ſaints then worke or merit for others. It is manifeſt that Chriſt ſaith in the xvij. of Luke, when we haue done all that which is commanded you for to do, yet ſayth he, we are vnprofitable ſeruaunts. Beſides this, all that which may be deſerued or merited in the righteouſnes of man, in the 64. chapter of Eſay, they are compared vnto the garment menſtruous & defiled, to be caſt out.

The parable of the 10. virgines expounded.

There are almoſt infinite places in yͤ ſcripture, wherein mans power is ſo extenuate, and the corruption & frowardnes of our nature ſo made manifeſt, that euen in the beſt and moſt perfect workes, there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithſtanding the parable of the x. virgins written in the 25. chapter of Mathew, ought to put vs out of all controuerſie and doubt. There Chriſt deſcribeth two kindes of men, the one kynde of holy men which obſerue and keepe the inward righteouſneſſe of the heart, as the oyle of fayth, the other ſorte is of ſuche, which hauyng no mynde of theyr oyle, are aunſwered by them whiche are wyſe no, leaſt that there be not ſufficient for you and for vs, but go you rather to them which doe ſell and buy for your ſelues: in the whiche place it is manifeſtlye declared how vainely the ſecond ſorte of men doth flye to the patronage of the elect, by whoſe merites they thinke to be ſaued.

Now let vs waie and conſider vpon what places of ſcripture they build or eſtabliſh their fayned inuention of pardons: they alledge the ſaying of S. Paule to the Coloſſians. I ſupply or fulfill the afflictions of Chriſt, which were wanting in my fleſh, for his body which is yͤ church. But Paul in this place doth not referre that defect or ſupplement to any worke of redemption, expiation or ſatiſfaction, but to thoſe afflictions, by the which the members of Chriſt, that is to ſay, all faithfull, ſhould be afflicted, ſo long as they liue in the fleſh, wherefore he ſayth, that this doth yet remaine of the paſſions of Chriſt, that thoſe afflictions which once he ſuffered in his owne body, he nowe daily ſuffereth in his members. For Chriſt hath vouchſaued to honour vs with this honour, that he doth impute and call our afflictions to be his. And where as S. Paule doth adde this word for the church, he doth not vnderſtād thereby for the redemption, reconciliation, ſatiſfaction, or expiation of the church. But for the edifieng and profityng of the ſame, as in the ij. epiſtle to Timothie, he ſaith: That for the elect ſake he ſuffered all theſe things, yͭ they myght obtaine ſaluation, but to the intent no man ſhould thinke that ſaluation to depend vpon thoſe things which he himſelfe had ſuffered, he added further, the which is in Chriſt Ieſu. As touching the reaſon that the bloud of the Martyrs is not ſhed in vayne without fruit or profit, & therefore ought to be conferred to the common vtilitie and profite of the church. I anſwer, that the profit and fruit therof is aboundant to glorify God by their death, to ſubſcribe and beare witneſſe vnto the truth by their bloud, and by the contempt of this preſent lyfe, to witneſſe, that he doth ſeeke after a better lyfe, by his conſtancie and ſtedfaſtneſſe, to confirme and eſtabliſh the fayth of the church, and ſubdue and vanquiſh the enemy.

The third Article.

That the Pope is an open vſer of Simony, daily ſelling the gifts of the ſpiritualties, and that it is lawfull for all biſhops to be coupled and ioyned in matrimony.

Borthwike.

This article hath his ſeuerall partes, for thoſe things which we haue ſpoken or anſwered vnto the article before written, doth ſufficiently declare, that the Pope is not onely a vſer of Simony, but alſo a notable deceiuer, which ſelleth ſuch kynd of merchandiſe, as can in no place helpe or preuaile. For ſo much as his pardons are nothyng leſſe then ſuch as he faineth them to be. Doth he not then ſhew himſelfe a manifeſt deceiuer, when as he maketh faires and markets of them, but to the intent I will not ſeeme in this behalfe vainly to labour or trauaile, I will paſſe vnto the ſecond part, where as I do ſay, that it is not onely done againſt the worde of God, but alſo againſt equitie and iuſtice to forbid prieſts to marry, for ſo much as it is not lawfull for any man by any meanes to forbid yͤ thing, which the Lord hath left at liberty. For S. Paule in the xiij. chapter vnto the Hebrewes, declareth, that matrimony is lawfull for all men, ſaying that mariage and the vndefiled bed or chamber is honourable amongeſt all men: and in the firſt to the Corinthians and vij. chapiter. He ſayth, for auoiding of whoredome, Let euery man haue a wife of his owne: but I know what theſe obſtinate and ſtiffe necked will aunſwer vnto me, that the ſame is ſpoken and meant of others, and not of prieſtes. But what will they aunſwere vnto me as touching that whiche is written in the firſt to Timothie, and iij. chapter. A Biſhop ought to be without rebuke, the huſband of one wyfe, and by and by after he ſayeth, Deacons ought to be the huſbandes of one wyfe, the which ſhould rule and gouerne their children and family vprightly. Unto theſe Paule affirmeth matrimony to be meete and neceſſary, let them ſay what they can vnto the contrary. What could bee more vehemently ſpoken agaynſt their wicked tiranny, then that which by the holy Ghoſt he declareth in the iiij. chapter of the ſame Epiſtle, that in the latter daies there ſhould come wicked men which ſhould forbid matrimonye, and calleth them not onely deceiuers, but alſo wicked ſpirites attending vnto the doctrine of wicked ſpirites: but theſe men thinke that they haue very well eſcaped, whẽ as they wreſt this ſentence to thoſe old ancient heretikes the Tatianes, they ſay (theſe men) did onely condemne matrimonye, we do not condemne it, but onely forbidde Church men to marry. Unto whome we thinke matrimonye is not conuenient. As though that albeit this propheſie were firſt of all complete and fulfilled in the Tationes, that it did not alſo redound vnto them, or as though this theyr ſubtile ſophiſtication, were worthy to be regarded that they do not deny or prohibite matrimony, becauſe they do not forbid it vnto all men generally. Lyke as if a tyraunt would contend and affirme hys lawe to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof onely one part of the citie is oppreſſed, but now let vs heare the reaſons of the contrary part, it behoueth ſay they, a Prieſt to differ from the common ſort of the people by ſome notable marke or token. But read Saint Paule, where as he deſcribeth the perfect Image of a good Biſhop, did he not recken and account mariage amongeſt the other good giftes which hee required to bee in them. But I knowe very well howe theſe men interprete Paule? Uerily that a Biſhop ought not to be choſen, which hath married hys ſecond wyfe. But alſo it appeareth openly by the text, that this interpretation is falſe, for ſo much as he doth by and by declare & ſhew w h at maner of women the wiues of Byſhops & deacons ought for to be. Wherfore Saint Paule nũbreth matrimony amongeſt the principall vertues pertainyng vnto a Biſhop. And theſe men do teache it to be an intolerable vice amongeſt the orders of the Church, and not

being

beyng content with that generall reproche or ſlaunder, they call it in the Canons, the vncleanlineſſe, pollutyng and defilyng of the fleſhe. Nowe let euery man conſider with himſelfe, out of what ſhop this ſtuffe is taken. God inſtituted matrimony, Chriſt ſanctified it with hys preſence, by turnyng water into wyne, and vouchſafed ſo to honour it, that he would haue it the Image or figure of his loue and friendſhip with the Church: what can be more famous or notably ſpoken to the commendation and prayſe of wedlocke. But theſe vnſhamefaſt faces doe call it a filthy and vncleane thyng, alledgyng the Leuitical prieſtes, which as often as they came vnto the office of miniſtration, were bounden to lye a part from their wiues, whereby they beyng cleane and vndefiled, might handle the holy things: and our ſacramentes, for ſo much as they are much more noble and excellent then theirs, and daily vſed, it would be a very vncomely thing that they ſhould be handled by maried men. As though that the office of the miniſtery of the Goſpell were all one with the Leuiticall prieſthode. For they as figures did repreſent Chriſt, which beyng mediator betweene God and man, by hys ſingular and abſolute puritie and cleannes, ſhould reconcile the father vnto vs, for ſo much as on no part ſinners could exhibite or ſhew forth any tipe or forme of his ſanctity or holyneſſe, yet to the intent they might ſhadow hym out, with certaine ſimilitudes or lineamentes, they were commaunded that when ſo euer they ſhould come vnto the ſanctuary or holy place, they ſhould purify themſelues: aboue all mens order or faſhion, for then did they moſt nere and properly figurate Chriſt which appeared in the Tabernacle, as peacemakers to reconcile the people vnto God. This Image or perſonage, forſomuch as our Eccleſiaſticall paſtors at this day doe not take vpon them or execute, in vayne are they compared vnto them: wherefore the Apoſtle without all exception vpon a ſure & good ground, doth pronounce and ſay, that mariage is honorable amongeſt all men, and that whoremongers and adulterers do abide the iudgement of God. Beſides all this, the Apoſtles themſelues by their examples do proue that matrimony is not vnworthy of any office or function, be it neuer ſo excellent, for S. Paule himſelfe is witnes, that they did not only kepe their wyues, but alſo caried them about with them.

Popiſhe iection a- n't ieſtes riage re- ed. iticall ieſtes in e of their iſtration ſtayned m their ues. Ergo riſten ieſtes ſt haue wiues, I deny the gument.

The 4. Article.

Article.

That all thoſe hereſies commonly called the hereſies of England, or at the leaſt, the greater or moſt part of them to be now preſently vnderſtand and knowen by the Engliſh men to be of themſelues good and iuſt, and to be obſerued of all faythful Chriſtians as moſt true and conformable vnto the law of God, and that he hath perſuaded many perſons, to imbrace the ſayd hereſies.

Borthwike.

Saint Iohn in his xi. chapter, declareth how Caiphas hye Biſhop of Ieruſalem did propheſie that Ieſus ſhould dye for the people, which thing he ſpake beyng vtterly ignoraunt. The lyke Image of blyndnes we haue now preſently in our luxurious Cardinall of S. Andrewes, and hys adherents, which accuſed religion of hereſie, which in the yeare of our Lorde, 1540. was had in eſtimation in England, at the which tyme they proclaymed me an Archheretike, although they eſteeme the ſame religion for moſt chriſtian, for what religion at that tyme was vſed in England, the lyke the whole realme of Scotland did imbrace, in this poynt onely the Engliſh men differed from the Scottes, that they had caſt of the yoke of Antichriſt, the other not. Idols were worſhipped of both nations, yͤ prophanatyng of the Supper and Baptiſme, was lyke vnto them both, wicked ſuperſtition raigned on both partes, and true worſhip was deformed and defaced with deteſtable hipocriſie.

ſtate of gion in land 1542.

Truely it is moſt falſe that they do affirme and ſay, that I had ſubſcribed vnto ſuch kynde of hereſies, as though they had bene conformable vnto the law of God, when as nothyng is more aduerſe or repugnaunt thereunto: for euen now of late, God of hys goodneſſe and mercy had opened my daſelyng eyes, and hath drawen me out of the filthy ſlow of Idolatry and ſuperſtition, in the which amongeſt others I haue ſo long tyme wallowed and tumbled. Neither is it any leſſe abſurde, that they affirme me to haue allured many to embrace the ſame, except peraduenture they do vnderſtand that I haue oftentymes wiſhed, that the yoke of Antichriſt ſhould be ſhaken and caſt off from the neckes of the Scottes, as it is from the Engliſhe men: whiche thyng with a ſincere and vpright heart, and with an earneſt mynd, I do now alſo wiſh and deſire.

The 5. Article.

5. Article.

That the Scottiſh nation and their Clergy be altogether blynded, whome he did alſo ſay and affirme that they had not the true Catholike fayth. And this he dyd openly teach and preached alſo, that hys fayth was much better & more excellent, then the faith of all the clergy in the realme of Scotland.

Borthwike.

No man will deny that people to be blynded, which neyther heareth Chriſt nor his Apoſtles. Such is the people of Scotland, I ſpeake of thoſe vnto whom the veritie and truth of Chriſt hath not yet opened or manifeſted it ſelfe. There is no cauſe therefore, why they ſhould accuſe me of hereſy. Furthermore, how farre of the nation and people of Scotland be from the hearyng of Chriſt, albeit the premiſſes do ſufficiently declare, in that they do chalenge vnto the Romiſhe Antichriſt, the autoritie which Chriſt and hys Apoſtles do declare, Chriſt himſelfe to be endued with all, and that contrary to the worde of GOD they forbid prieſts to marry. I will adde ſome thing more vnto it, where by the matter may be more euident. Chriſt calleth himſelfe the dore, whereby all men ought to enter in at Iohn the x. chapter. Contrariwiſe, the Scottes doe ſay and affirme, that we muſt enter in by the virgine Mary, and Saint Peter. Chriſt in the fourth of Iohn ſayth: The tyme ſhall come when as the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the father in ſpirit and truth, the Scottes builde themſelues hye temples and chappels for Idols, in the which euen as Iſraell in tymes paſt they commit fornication: Paule in his Epiſtle to the Hebrews, and x. chapter, ſayth: That Chriſt by one onely oblation hath made perfect all thoſe for euermore, which are ſanctified, which ſaying confirmeth alſo the wordes of Chriſt hangyng vpon the Croſſe, saying (it is finiſhed) ſignifieng that by hys death there was a finall ende ſet vnto all ſacrifices, which are offered vp for ſinnes. But the Scottiſh church men, as they are blaſphemers in deede, ſo do they bragge and boaſt that they daily offer vp Chriſt for the ſinnes both of the quicke and of the dead. God commaundeth vs that we ſhall not worſhip any grauen Image. The Scottes do not onely fall downe flatte before Images, but alſo offer vp incenſe vnto them. Saint Paule teacheth vs that Chriſt is made our wiſedome, righteouſneſſe, ſatiſfaction, and redemption. The Scottes beyng wyſe men in theyr owne conceites, preferre and embrace traditions fayned & inuented out by mans head before the lawe of God, they ſtabliſh righteouſneſſe in their owne workes, ſanctification in holy water and other externall things, redemption in pieces of lead, which they doe buy of their great Antichriſt, who then will quarell with me that I doe lye that the people of Scotland are blind? and that my faith which doth onely behold the word of God to be much more better and excellent then theirs.

Antitheſis or compariſon betweene the religiō of Scottiſh men, and the religion of Chriſt.

The 6. Article.

6. Article,

Agreeably to the ancient errors of Iohn wickliffe and Iohn Hus Archheretikes condempned in the Councell of Conſtance, he hath affirmed and preached that the clergy ought not to poſſeſſe or haue any temporall poſſeſſions, neyther to haue any iuriſdiction or authoritie in temporalties, euen ouer theyr owne ſubiectes, but that all theſe things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this preſent in England.

Borthwike.

The Lord in the xviij. chapter of the booke of Numbers ſayd thus vnto Aaron, thou ſhalt poſſeſſe nothyng in theyr land, neyther ſhalt thou haue any portion amongeſt them, I am thy portion and inheritage amongſt the children of Iſraell for vnto the ſonnes of Leuy, I haue geuen all the tithes of Iſrael, that they ſhould poſſeſſe them for their miniſtery which they do execute in the tent of ordinaries. Albeit I do not doubt, but that the order of the Leuites and of our clergy, is farre different and variable. For the adminiſtration of theyr ſacred and holy thyngs, after theyr death, paſſed vnto their poſterity, as it were by right of inheritaunce: which happeneth not vnto the poſteritie of our clergy in theſe dayes. Furthermore, if any heritage be prouided or gotten for them, I doe not gaynesay but that they ſhall poſſeſſe it. But ſtill I doe affirme that all temporall iuriſdiction ſhould bee taken from them, for when as twiſe there roſe a contention amongſt the Diſciples, which of them ſhould be thought the greateſt Chriſt, aunſwered: The kyngs of nations haue dominion ouer them, and ſuch which haue power ouer them, are called beneficiall, you ſhall not do ſo. For he which is greateſt amongſt you, ſhall be made equall vnto the yongeſt or leſt, and he which is the prince or ruler amongſt you, ſhall be

The Leuiticall law, is no neceſſary rule now binding. But he meaneth here of exceſſiue landes poſſeſſions of Abbeyes and religious houſes addict to them but the princes may diminiſh or conuert thē otherwiſe vpon conſiderations.

Ciuill dominion differing from Eccleſiaſticall

Chriſt refuſeth the office of a ciuill iudge.

An obiection made by the example of Moyſes ſupplying both the offices aunſwered vnto.

Palaces to Princes, Churches perteyne to Prieſtes.

Peter could not geue that he had not. Peter had no Lordly dominion. Ergo, Peter could not giue Lordly dominiō to his ſucceſſors

made equall vnto hym which doth miniſter, myndyng thereby, and willyng vtterly to debarre the miniſters of hys word, from all terrene and ciuill dominion and Empire. For by theſe poyntes he doth not onely declare that the office of a paſtor is diſtinct and deuided from the office of a prince and ruler: but that they are in effect ſo muche different and ſeperate, that they cannot agree or ioyne together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Chriſt did ſet or ordaine an harder law then he himſelf before did take vpon hym. Forſomuch as in the 12. of Luke, certayne of the company ſayd vnto hym: Maiſter, commaund my brother that he deuide his inheritaunce with me. He aunſwered: Man, who made me a Iudge or deuider amongeſt you? we ſee therefore that Chriſt euen ſimply did reiect and refuſe the office of a Iudge, the which thing hee would not haue done, if it had bene agreeable vnto his office or duety. The like thyng alſo he did in the 8. chapter of Iohn. when as he refuſed to geue iudgement vppon the woman taken in adulterye, which was brought before hym. where as they doe alledge that Moyſes did ſupply both offices at once, I aunſwer that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time vntill things were brought vnto a better ſtate. Beſides that, there was a certayne forme and rule preſcribed him of the Lord, then toke he vpon hym the ciuill gouernaunce and the prieſthod, he was commaunded to reſigne vnto hys brother, & that not wout good cauſe, for it is agaynſt nature, that one man ſhould ſuffiſe both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreſeene and prouided for in all ages. Neither was there any Biſhop, ſo long as any true face or ſhew of the Church did continue, who once thought to vſurpe the right and title of the ſword. whereupon in the tyme of Saint Ambroſe, this Prouerbe toke his original: that Emperours did rather wiſhe or deſire the office of prieſthod, then Prieſts any Empire. For it was all mens opinions at that tyme, that ſumptuous pallaces dyd pertayne vnto Emperoures, and Churches vnto Prieſtes. Saint Bernard alſo writeth many thyngs which are agreeable vnto this our opinion, as is this his ſaying: Peter could not geue that which he had not, but he gaue vnto hys ſucceſſours that which he had, that is to ſay, carefulneſſe ouer the congregation, for when as the Lord & Maiſter ſayth, that he is not conſtitute or ordained Iudge betwene two, the ſeruaunt or Diſciple ought not to take it ſcornefully, if that he may not iudge all men: and leſt that he might ſeme in that place to ſpeake of the ſpiritual iudgement, he ſtraight way annexeth: Therfore ſayth he, Your power and autoritie ſhall be in offence and tranſgreſſion, not in poſſeſſions. For this purpoſe and not for the other, haue you receyued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. why then do you inuade other mens bounds or borders: The reſt I will paſſe ouer for breuities cauſe.

The 7. Article.

The vii. Article.

Falſly, and againſt the honour, ſtate, and reuerence of the ſacred maieſtie of the kyng of Scottes, he hath ſaid, holden, and affirmed, that our moſt noble king of Scottes, defender of the Chriſtian fayth, would appropriate vnto him ſelfe all the poſſeſſions, landes and rentes of the Church, geuen and graunted by his predeceſſors, and alſo by himſelfe, and conuert them vnto hys owne priuate vſe. And for this ende and purpoſe, as he hath many tymes written vnto him, ſo hath he with his whole endeuour perſwaded our ſayd noble Lord and kyng therunto.

Borthwike.

A cōpariſon betwene our belly Prieſtes and the Prieſtes of Baale.

It is no maruell though theſe mad dogges do ſo barke agaynſt me, whom they thinke to haue councelled yͤ kings Maieſty (I would to God I had alſo throughly perſwaded hym) that he ſhould take away from theſe vniuſt ſacrilegious poſſeſſours, the riches wherewithall they are fatted and engreaſed lyke Swyne. For this is the nature of dogs, that if any man go about to take away the boane out of their mouth, by and by to ſnatche at hym and teare hym with theyr teeth. It is out of all controuerſie vnto ſuch which haue any wit at all, that ſuch were very childiſh, that is to ſay, ignoraunt of all learnyng and iudgement, which did ſo fat and feede with their poſſeſſiōs theſe belly beaſtes. For who would not iudge it more then childiſh, to beſtow the kyngs vitayles or meate vpon the bellies of the Prophets of Baal and Ieſabell? But all they which at this preſent do endue ſuch filthy ſinkes (I wyll not call them dens of thieues) with ſuch reuenues they do follow the ſteps of Ieſabell, for what other thing do they, when as daily they are bleating and bowyng before theyr Images, burnyng of incenſe, and fall flat downe before their altars, but yͤ which in tymes paſt yͤ prophets of Baal dyd when as they tranſported the worſhip of God vnto an Idoll? wherefore, if Daniel and Helias were ſpotted with hereſie when they would haue deſtroyed the Prieſts of Baall, I graunt that I alſo muſt be an hereticke. But forſomuch as then he did nothyng but which was cōmaunded hym of the Lord, that was able to kyll the Prophet which had allured the people to follow ſtrange gods, he could not truly and iuſtly be accuſed of hereſie: ſo neyther can my aduerſaries ſpot me therewithall, except peraduenture they will condemne in me, that where as Elias delt more rigorouſly with the Prophetes of Baall, for he caſt them into the broke Kidron. I required or deſired no more, but that the riches which was wickedly beſtowed vpon them, and theyr poſſeſſions might be taken frō them.

The 8. Article.

The 8. A ticle.

He willed and deſired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed that the church of Scotland might come and be brought to the ſame poynt and ſtate, and to lyke ruine as the church of England was already come vnto.

Borthwike.

Spiritu Babilo

If the church of Iſrael decayed, when as in the tyme of Zorobabell, Neemias, and other holy men, it was releaſed and ſet at libertie out of Babilon: I graunt alſo, that it was a ruine vnto the Engliſhmen to haue departed and gone away out of Babylon, the mother of all whoredome: vpon whoſe rotten and filthy paps and breſts, they haue a long tyme depended and hanged, beyng made drunke with the wyne of her whoredome and vnſhamefaſtneſſe. They had rather cauſe to geue me thankes, which wyth ſo ſincere and good a heart, wiſhed vnto them ſo happy a fall. But theſe vnthankfull perſones thought it not enough to ſlaunder and reproch to teare me aſunder, but that now alſo as blynd rage and madneſſe hath taken away all ſinceritie and vprightneſſe of mynde and iudgement to lye in wayte, and lay ſnares for my lyfe.

The 9. Article.

The 9. ar cle.

He hath openly holden, ſayd, and affirmed, preached, and taught, that the lawes of the Church, that is to ſay, the ſacred Canons approued and allowed by the holy Catholike and Apoſtolike church to be of no force, ſtrength, or effect, alledging therfore, and affirmyng that they are made and inuented, contrary to the law of God.

Borthwike.

Apoſto Church.

God forbid that I ſhould ſay, that thoſe things which are approued and allowed by the holy Catholike Church, ſhould be of no effect or valew. For well I know that the holy Apoſtolicke church hath neuer allowed, ordained, or taught any thyng which ſhe hath not learned of the Lord, the apoſtles are witneſſes thereof, Peter and Paul, wherof the one of thē dareth not freely vtter or ſpeake of any of thoſe things, which Chriſt hath not wrought by hymſelfe for the obedience of the Gentiles.

The Church.

The other exhorteth that if any man ſpeake, he ſhould ſpeake the praiſes of God, but I condemne thoſe lawes, which the biſhops of Rome haue made accordyng to their owne will and mynde, and ſay that they are ſpirituall, pertainyng vnto the ſoule, and neceſſarie vnto euerlaſtyng lyfe.

For ſo much as the writyngs of the Apoſtles doe euidently declare, that there was no authoritie knowen amongeſt them to make or ordayne any ordinaunces or lawes.

Prelat haue n ſuch a ritie by word to binde conſcien with ne Lawes.

Furthermore the Scriptures do manifeſtly ſhewe the ſame, how oftentimes euen by the Lordes owne mouth, this foreſayd authoritie is taken from the Miniſters of the Church: ſo that no excuſe for them remayneth, but that they be playne rebelles agaynſt the worde of GOD, how many ſo euer doe preſume or take vppon them to appoint or ſet any new lawes vpon the people of GOD, whiche thyng is more manifeſt and euident, then the lyght it ſelfe in many places of the Scripture. For in the 23. chapter of Ioſue, it is written you ſhall obſerue, and doe all that is written in the lawe of Moyſes, neyther ſhall you ſwarue from that, eyther to the ryght hande, eyther to the left hand. But that which is written in the twelfth chapter of Deuteronomium, ought to moue them ſomewhat the more.

whatſoeuer I commaund ſayth the Lorde, that you ſhall obſerue and doe: thereunto you ſhall adde nothing, neyther ſhall you take any thyng from it. The lyke he had ſayd before in the fourth chapter of the ſame booke. And agayne Moyſes in the xxx. chapiter of the ſame booke doth witneſſe, that he dyd put forth lyfe, and bleſſing vnto Iſrael, raell, when as he gaue them that lawe which he had receiued of the Lord. How can they then excuſe themſelues of periury, which ordaine new lawes to liue by? But let vs procede further, and ſee what authoritie the Prieſtes of Leuies ſtocke had to make lawes. I doe not denye but that God in the xvij. chapter of Deuteronomie, ordayned vnder a great penaltie, that the authoritie of the Prieſtes ſhould not be contemned, but had in reuerence. But in the ij. of Malachie. He alſo declareth vnder what condition they are to be heard, where as he ſayth: he hath made a couenaunt with Leuy, that the law of truth ſhould be in hys mouth, and by and by after he added: the lips of the Prieſt ſhall keepe and maintayne wiſedome, and the law they ſhall require at hys mouth, which is the meſſenger of the Lord of hoſtes. Therefore it is fitte and neceſſary that if a Prieſt will be heard, that he doe ſhew himſelfe the meſſenger of God, that is to ſay, faythfully to report and declare the commaundements which he hath receiued of the Lorde. For whereas Malachie ſpeaketh of hearyng of them, he putteth this ſpecially that they doe aunſwere accordyng to the lawe of the Lorde. Therefore lyke as the Leuiticall Prieſtes did breake theyr couenaunt made with GOD, if they do teache any other lawe then that which they had receyued of hym: So likewyſe theſe men muſte eyther acknowledge themſelues to be couenant breakers, or els they may not bynde the conſciences of men with no new lawe.

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rieſtes ex-
endeth.

Furthermore, what power the Prophetes had vniuerſally, it is very liuely deſcribed in Ezechiel in his xxxiij. chapter.

zechiel.
p. 33.

Thou ſonne of man ſayth the Lord, I haue made thee a guide vnto the houſe of Iſrael, thou ſhalt heare the word out of myne owne mouth, and declare it vnto them from me. He then which is commaunded to heare of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearſe or ſpeake any thing of hymſelfe? For what other thyng is it to ſpeake from the Lord, but ſo to ſpeake, that he may boldly affirme and ſay, that it is not his word, but the word of the Lorde, which he ſpeaketh.

Further, God by his Prophet Ieremy calleth it chaffe, what ſo euer doth not procede from hymſelfe. Wherefore, none of the Prophetes haue opened theyr mouthes at any tyme to ſpeake, but beyng premoniſhed before by the worde of GOD. Whereupon it happeneth, that theſe wordes are ſo often pronounced by them, The worde of the Lord, The charge or burden of the Lord, The viſion of the Lord, Thus ſayth the Lord, The mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.

Now that we may alſo confirme that which is before ſpoken, by the examples of the Apoſtles, that they haue taught nothyng but that whiche they haue learned of the Lorde, the law which Chriſt preſcribed vnto them, when as he endowed them with the dignitie and honour of the Apoſtleſhip, is ſomewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In the laſt chapiter of Mathew, he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not ſuch thyngs as they themſelues did raſhly inuent or deuiſe, but thoſe things which he had commaunded them.

Furthermore, Paule in the ſecond to the Coloſſians, denieth that he hath any dominion or rule ouer the fayth of the Corinthians, albeit he was ordayned by the Lorde to be their Apoſtle. If you require and deſire a further reaſon of the moderation of Saint Paule, read the tenth chapter of his Epiſtle to the Romaines, where as he teacheth, That fayth commeth by hearyng, it commeth not by the dreames of the Biſhop of Rome, or by any other Biſhop, but onely by the worde of God, neyther ought any man to thinke it ſtraunge, that neyther Chriſt reſtrayned hys Apoſtles by the lawe, that they ſhould not teache any thyng but that which they had learned of the mouthe of the Lord. He ſet the ſame law vppon himſelfe becauſe it ſhould not be lawfull for any man to refuſe it.

My doctrine ſayth Chriſt is not myne, but hys which ſent me, my fathers: he which hath bene the onely and eternall counſeller of the father, which alſo is ordayned by the Father, the Lord and Maiſter ouer all, for ſo much yet as he doth the office and part of a Miniſter, he doth by hys example preſcribe vnto all Miniſters, what rule and order they ought to followe in teachyng, wherfore the power of the Church is not ſuch, that it may at hys owne wyll and diſcretion, teach new doctrines, eyther as they terme it, frame new Articles of fayth, either eſtabliſh new lawes: but is ſubiect vnto the worde of the Lorde, and as it were included in the ſame. But now let vs beholde what defence they do bryng for their conſtitutions. The Apoſtles ſay they, and the Elders of the Primitiue Church eſtabliſhed a decree, beſides the commandement of Chriſt, whereby they did commaunde all people to abſtayne from all things offered vnto Idols, ſuffocation, and bloud. If that were lawfull for them ſo to doe, why is it not lawfull for their ſucceſſour, as often as neceſſitie ſhall require to imitate and follow them in doyng the lyke.

The Church ſubiect to the word of God.

Reaſons wherewith they defend their conſtitutions.

But I deny that the Apoſtles in that behalfe, did make any new decree or ordinaunce, for ſo much as Peter in the ſame counſell pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be layd vpon the neckes of the Diſciples: Euen he hymſelfe doth ſubuert and ouerthrowe hys owne ſentence, if they conſent to lay any yoke vppon them. But a yoke is layd vpon them if the Apoſtles by their owne authoritie do decree to prohibite the Gentils not to touch any thyng offered vnto Idoles or ſtrangled, but you will ſay, they do write that they ſhould abſtayne from thoſe thinges. I graunt that they do ſo write. But what doth S. Iames declare? That the Gentils which are conuerted vnto God are not to be troubled and vexed in ſuch externe decrees and outward elementes as theſe be. And the Apoſtle ſufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothyng leſſe thē to reſtraine the libertie of the Gentiles, but onely to admoniſh and warne them how they ſhould moderate and rule themſelues amongeſt their brethren, leſt they ſhould abuſe their libertie to the offence of the others.

Aunſwere to the reaſons aboue.

They alledge furthermore, that which is written in the 23. of Mathew, the Scribes and Phariſeis haue ſitten in the chayre of Moyſes, therefore all thyngs what ſo euer they commaund you to obſerue and keepe, the ſame obſerue and do, but do you not as they doe. I aunſwer, the Lord in this place doth inuey agaynſt the manners of the Phariſies ſimply inſtructing his hearers, which before he had taught, that albeit they could perceiue or ſee nothyng in their lyfe which they ſhould follow, yet for all that they ſhould not refuſe to doe thoſe thyngs which they dyd teach by the worde, I ſay by the worde, and not of theyr owne head.

An other reaſō.

The 10. Article.

Diuers and many wayes he hath ſayd, holden, and alſo affirmed, and openly taught that there is no religion to be obſerued or kept, but ſimply to be aboliſhed and deſtroyed: as it is now in England, and deſpiſing all religion, affirmyng, that it is but abuſing of the people, he hath taught that their habites and veſtures are deformed, and very monſtrous, hauyng in them no maner of vtilitie or holyneſſe, inducyng and alluryng as much as in him laye, all the adherentes of hys opinion, that all religion in the kyngdome of Scotland ſhould be ſubuerted and vtterly taken away, to the great offence of the Catholicke Church, and the diminiſhing and detrimen of the Chriſtian Religion.

Borthwike.

The Prophet Eſay in hys fift chapter, cryeth out, ſaying. wo be vnto you which call euill good, and good euill, darkeneſſe, lyght, and lyght, darkeneſſe, ſower, ſweete, and ſweete ſower. And followeth in the ſame place, in the ſayd Prophetes, wo, ſayth he, to you that be wiſe and Sapient in your owne eyes, and prudent in your owne eſtimation. No man can denye but that the Cardinall of Scotland and hys adherentes to be vnder this moſt heauy and grieuous curſe, when as they doe ſo generally confound the Chriſtian religion and their wicked Monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of holineſſe, I truſt I will make it appeare more manifeſt then the day, that they do it by a ſacrilegious audacitie or boldneſſe, vnto ſuch as ſettyng a parte all prepoſterous affection, wyll embrace the truth, when as ſhe doth manifeſtlye ſhewe her ſelfe.

But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to vnderſtand, that I do not touche that kynd of Monkery, whiche Saint Auguſtine and other ſo often make mention of: As in which the Monkes beyng gathered together vtterly, contemnyng and deſpiſing the vanities of this world, dyd lead a moſt chaſte and godly lyfe, liuyng in prayer, readyng, and diſputations, not puffed vp wyth pryde, nor contentious with frowardneſſe, neyther full of enuie, no man poſſeſſed any thing of hys owne, no man was chargeable or burdenous vnto others, they wrought with theyr handes to gette that which might ſuſtayne the body, the ſpirit and mynd not let and hindered from God. Whatſoeuer did ſuperabound more then was neceſſarye for their ſuſtentation, as by the reſtraint of their delicious and delicate fare, much did redound of the labours of their hands, it was with ſuch diligence diſtributed vnto yͤ poore and nedy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them which did geue the ſame.

For they by no meanes went about to haue aboundaunce lyeng by them, but ſought all meanes poſſible that nothyng ſhould remayne by them more then ſufficient, beſides this, no man was forced to any extremitie, which he could not beare or ſuffer, no man had any thyng layd vpon hym, which he refuſed, neyther was he condemned of the reſt, which confeſſed hymſelfe vnable to imitate or follow: they had alwayes in their mynde how commendable a thyng loue and charitie was, they remembered that all things are cleane vnto them which are cleane. Therefore they did not refuſe or reiect any kynds of meate as polluted or defiled: but all their whole induſtry and labor was applied to ſubdue luſt and concupiſcence, and to retayne loue amongſt brethren. Many of them did drinke no wine, yet notwithſtandyng they thought not themſelues defiled therewithall. For vnto ſuch as were ſicke and diſeaſed, who could not recouer the health of their body without the ſame, they did moſt gently permit it. And where as many fooliſhly refuſed the ſame, they brotherly admoniſhed them to take heede that they became not rather the weaker then the hollier, through theyr vayne ſuperſtition.

Hetherto I haue repeated that which Saint Auguſtine writeth of the Monkes in his tyme wherby I would as it were paint out in a table, what maner of Monkery there was in the old tyme, that all men might vnderſtand how great difference there is betweene that and the monkery in theſe our latter dayes. For he would haue all extreme compulſion to be taken away in ſuch things as by the worde of God are left to vs at libertye. But nowe a dayes there is nothing more ſeuerely and cruelly exacted. For they ſay it is a remedileſſe offence if any do but neuer ſo little ſwarue from their preſcript order in coulor or kind of garment, or in any kynd of meat or in any other friuolous or vayne ceremony.

Precepts of mē more cruelly exacted then the precepts of god.

Saint Auguſtine doth ſtraightly affirme that it is not lawfull for Monkes to lyue idle vpon other mens labor, he plainly denieth that in his tyme there was any ſuch example of any well ordered Monaſtery: but our Monkes do conſtitute the principall part of holyneſſe in idleneſſe, which they call a contemplatiue lyfe, wherfore the ſtate of Monkery of the olde tyme, and of theſe our dayes, is in all points ſo diuers, that ſcarſe can any thing be more vnlike, I will not ſay vtterly contrary: for our Monkes not content with that godlineſſe to the ſtudye and deſire, whereof Chriſt commaundeth all his continually to be intentiue, they imagine a new kynd of godlineſſe, I know not what, by the meditation whereof they are more perfect, then all other. But it is a moſt peſtilent errour (which all godlye men ought to abhorre) to fayne any other rule of perfection, then that common rule deliuered vnto the whole vniuerſall Churche, which we ſuppoſe to be ſufficiently approued in the refutation of the article before paſſed. Now I alſo paſſe ouer with ſilence the great blaſphemy, whereby they compare their monaſticall confeſſion vnto Baptiſme. I alſo hold my peace that they do diſſipate and deuide the Communion of the Church, when as they doe ſeperate themſelues from the lawfull ſocietie and fellowſhip of the faythfull, and clayme vnto themſelues a peculiar miniſtery and priuate adminiſtration of the Sacraments, but as Saint Auguſtine witneſſeth, it was ſo far of, that the Monkes in tymes paſt, had any ſeueral church or adminiſtration of the Sacramentes with others, and were a part and portion of the common people. Albeit that they dwelt aſunder.

Idlenes & pleaſure the weapōs of the auncient enemye.

But if that a man may touch the manner of theſe our Monks, what ſhall I call the cloyſters in theſe our dais, otherwiſe then brothell houſes, ſwine ſties, and dennes of diſcord. Beſides that, I will paſſe ouer their faires and markets, which in theſe latter dayes they do make of their reliques of Martyrs, to build vp Sodome agayne. wherfore I conclude, that this their kynde of lyfe whiche they clayme vnto themſelues, is vtterly wicked and naughte, the which is not eſtabliſhed or grounded vppon any certayne callyng of God, neyther allowed by him, wherefore I may be bold to ſay, that it is vnlawfull, becauſe their cōſcience hath nothing wherby to ſuſtaine it ſelfe before god, and whatſoeuer is not of fayth, is ſinne.

And furthermore, ſo long as they do entangle & bynde themſelues with ſo many and ſo peruerſe, and wicked kynd of worſhippyng, as the Monkery now a days doth contayne in it, I may well ſay that they are not conſecrated vnto God, but vnto the diuell. For why? was it lawfull for the Prophets, to ſay, that Iſraelites did offer theyr children vnto wicked ſpirites, and not vnto God onely, for this cauſe that they did corrupt and violate the true worſhippyng of God with prophane ceremonies. Is it not lawfull then to ſpeake the lyke of our Monkes which together with their cowles haue put on a thouſand ſnares of moſt wicked ſuperſtitions? Let euery man now waigh and conſider with himſelfe, if I haue done wickedly to wiſhe ſuch religions as is this our Monkery, to be vtterly extinguiſhed and rooted out. Moreouer, all chriſtian princes ſhould rightly and truely do their office, if as in tymes paſt Ioſias pulled downe and ouerthrew the high places which hys elders the kings of Iuda had builded, ſo they would abolishe and dryue away theſe kynde of Monkes.

It is plainly manifeſt by lawfull proues, that the ſaid Iohn Borthwike had and preſently hath, diuers bookes ſuſpected of hereſie, condemned as wel by the papall, as alſo Regall and ordinary authoritie, and prohibited by the lawe, that is to ſay, ſpecially the newe Teſtament commonly printed in Engliſhe, Oecolampadius, Melancton, and diuers treatiſes of Eraſmus, and other condemned heretickes, alſo a Booke intituled, vnio diſſidentium, the which conteyneth moſt manifeſt and great errours, and hereticall aſſumptions, and hath red and ſtudied the ſame as well openly as priuately, and hath preſented and communicated them vnto others, and alſo hath inſtructed and taught many Chriſtians in the ſame, to the ende and purpoſe, to diuert and turne them away from the true chriſtian and catholike fayth.

Borthwike.

O good God, who can ſuffer ſo great a blaſphemye? with what a filthy cankered ſtomacke doe theſe Romiſhe ſwine note the new teſtament of hereſie? who would not iudge it a moſt venemous tongue, which dare pronounce or vtter ſuch contumelious wordes agaynſt the holy Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt? Truely as the Iewes which put Chriſt to death, of all other murderers, euen ſo theſe men (how ſo euer they doe pronounce me an Archheretike) do fill vp the meaſure of all other heretikes: I wyll not ſay blaſphemies, how then ſhall theſe ſerpentes and ſtocke of Vipers eſcape and flye the iudgement of euerlaſtyng fire? I do not greatly ſtand or ſtay that they doe ſuſpect Oecolampadius, Melancthon, or Eraſmus, neither am I ſo mad to plead their cauſe who as they are men of ſinguler learnyng and eloquence, ſo doe their writings manifeſtly declare, how falſly and wickedly theſe Sicophants impute this crime & ſlaunder of hereſie vnto them.

It is manifeſt that the ſayd Iohn Borthwike was ſo obſtinate in all the foreſayde errour and hereſies, and ſo maintained and taught them with ſuch an indurate heart and mynd, that he would not by no meanes be perſuaded from them by his friends and diuers other perſons, which did dearly loue and fauour hym, but choſe rather obſtinately to perſeuere in his ſayd errours.

Borthwike.

I am willingly contented to be reduced to the Catholike faith, but if that Sathan rayſe vp any ſtormes or tempeſt agaynſt that, thoſe I do ſome thyng reſiſt, wherefore they moſt ſhamefully lye which doe otherwyſe ieſt or talke of me, for I know not by what reaſon they call them my friendes which ſo greatly laboured to conuert me, neither will more eſteeme them, then the Madianites, whiche in tymes paſt called the children of Iſraell to doe ſacrifice vnto their Idols. And furthermore, I deſire the moſt highe and mighty God, that he will neuer ſuffer me to ſwarue or turne away from this ſo holy, godly, and chriſtian obſtinacie and ſtubburneſſe. The man is bleſt that hath ſet his whole hope and confidence vpon the Lorde, and hath not regarded or looked vpon the proud, or thoſe which follow after lies.

¶ The ſentence of condemnation agaynſt Sir Iohn Borthwike Knight, by the Cardinall, Byſhops, and Abbots in Scotland. An. 1540.

Of all which the premiſſes and many other errours by hym, holden, ſpoken, publiſhed, affirmed, preached, & taught, the common fame and report is, that the ſayd Sir Iohn Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many, is an heretike, and principall heretike whiche holdeth euill opinion of the catholike fayth.

Wherfore we Dauid by the title of S. Steuen in monte Celio, Prelate and Cardinall of the holy church of Rome, Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, primate of the whole kingdō of Scotland, & borne Legate of the Apoſtolike Sea, ſittyng after the manner of Iudges in our tribunall ſeate, the moſt holye Goſpels of God beyng layed before vs, that our iudgement myght proceede from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and looke vpon equitie and iuſtice, hauing only God, the veritie and truth of the Catholike faith before our eyes, his holye name being firſt of all called vpon, hauing as is beforeſayde hereuppon holden a counſel of wiſe men, as well deuines as lawyers, wee pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and geue ſentence, that the ſaid Sir Iohn Borthwike called captaine Borthwike, beinge ſuſpected, infamed, and accuſed of the errours and hereſies before ſaid, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condempned, as is aforeſayd, & by lawfull prooues againſt hym, in euery of the premiſſes had, being conuicte and lawfully cited and called, not appearing but as a fugitiue, runne away, and abſent, euen as though hee were preſent, to be an heretike, and is, and hath bene conuict as an heretike. And as a conuicte heretike and hereſiarche to be puniſhed and chaſtened with due puniſhment, and afterward to be deliuered and left vnto the ſecular power. Moreouer, we confiſcate and make forfette, and by theſe preſents declare and decree to be confiſcated and made forfette, all and ſingular his goodes, moueables and vnmoueables, howe ſo euer, and by what ſo euer title they be gotten, and in what place or partie ſo euer they be, and all his offices what ſo euer he hath hetherto had, reſeruing notwithſtanding the dowrye and ſuch part and portion of his goodes, as by the law, cuſtome and right of this Realme vnto parſones confiſcate, ought to appertaine. Alſo we decree that the picture of the ſaid Iohn Borthwike being formed, made, and painted to his likeneſſe, be caried thorow this our citie to our Cathedral church, and afterward to the market croſſe of the ſame citie, and there in token of malediciō and curſſe, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembraunce of his obſtinacie, and condemnation to be burned. Likewiſe we declare and Decree, that notwithſtanding, if the ſayd I. Borthwike be here after apprehended or takē, yͤ hee ſhall ſuffer ſuche like puniſhment due by order of lawe vnto heretikes, without any hope of grace or mercye to be obtained in that behalfe. Alſo we plainly admoniſhe and warne by the tenour of theſe preſentes, all & ſingular faithfull Chriſtians, both menne and women of what dignitie, ſtate, degree, order, condition, or preheminence ſo euer they be, or with what ſo euer dignitie, or honour eccleſiaſticall or temporall they be honoured with all, that from thys day forwarde they doe not receiue or harbour the ſaid ſir Iohn Borthwike, commonly called captaine Borthwike, being accuſed, conuict, and declared an hereticke, and Archeheretike into their houſes, hoſpitals, caſtels, Cities, Townes, villages or other cottages what ſo euer they be, or by anye manner of meanes admit him thereunto, either by helping him wyth meate, drinke or victualles, or any other thynge what ſo euer it be, they do ſhewe vnto him any manner of humanitie, helpe, comforte, or ſolace, vnder the paine and penaltie of greater and further excommunication, confiſcation and forfeitures, and if it happen that they be founde culpable or fautie in the premiſſes, that they ſhalbe accuſed therefore as the fauourers, receiuers, defenders, maintainers and abetters of heretikes, and ſhall be puniſhed therfore according to the order of law, and with ſuch paine and puniſhment as ſhalbe due vnto men in ſuch behalfe.

And nowe to proſecute ſuch other as followed, beginning firſt in order wyth Thom. Forret and his fellowes. Their ſtorie is this.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	Their Cauſes.
Dauid Beton, Biſhop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes. George Treichton Biſhop of Dunkelden.	Tho. Forret, prieſt. Frier Iohn Kelowe. Fryer Benarage. Duncane Sympſon, prieſt. Rob. Foſter, a gentlemā, with three or foure other men of Striuelyng, Martyrs.	NOt longe after the burning of Dauid Stratton, and maiſter Gurlay aboue mentioned, in the daies of Dauid Beaton, biſhop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes, & George Treichton B. of Dunkelden, a canon of Saint Colmes Inche, and vicar of Dolone, called Dean Thomas Forret, preached euery ſonday to hys pariſhners, the Epiſtle or Goſpell, as it fell for the

time: which then was a great nouelty in Scotlande, to ſee any man preach, except a blacke frier, or a gray frier: and therefore the friers enuied him, and accuſed him to the Biſhop of Dunkelden (in whoſe dioceſſe he remained) as an heretike, and one that ſhewed the myſteries of the Scriptures to the vulgare people in Engliſh, to make the Clergie deteſtable in the ſighte of the people. The biſhop of Dunkelden moued by the friers inſtigation, called the ſaid Deane Thomas, and ſaid to him: my ioy Deane Thomas, I loue you wel, and therfore I muſt geue you my counſel, how you ſhal rule and guide your ſelfe. To whom Thom. ſaid, I thank your Lordſhip hartily. Then the B. began his counſaile on this maner.

George Treichton B. of Dunkelden and perſecuter.

My ioy Deane Thomas, I am enfourmed that you preache the Epiſtle or Goſpell euery Sonday to your Pariſhners, and that you take not the kowe, nor the vpmoſte cloth from your Pariſhners, which thing is very preiudiciall to the church men; and therefore my ioy Deane Thomas, I would you tooke your kow and your vpmoſt cloth as other church men do, or els it is too much to preach euery ſonday, for in ſo doing you may make the people thinke that wee ſhoulde preache likewiſe. But it is enoughe for you, when you finde any good Epiſtle, or any good goſpell, that ſetteth forth the libertie of the holy churche, to preache that, and let the reſt be.

Tho. Forret preacheth and will take no mortuary nor Chriſome of hys pariſhioners. Ergo, he is an hereticke againſt the Popes Catholicke church.

Thomas anſweared: My Lorde, I thinke that none of my pariſhners wil complaine that I take not the kowe nor the vppermoſt cloth, but will gladly geue me the ſame together with any other thinge that they haue, and I will geue and communicate with them anye thing that I haue, and ſo my Lord we agree right wel, and there is no diſcord among vs.

And where your Lordſhippe ſayeth, it is too muche to preache euery Sonday: in deede I thinke it is too little, and alſo woulde wiſhe that your Lordſhip did the like. Naye, nay, Deane Thomas (ſayeth my Lorde) let that be, for we are not ordained to preache. Then ſayde Thomas, when your Lordſhip biddeth me preache, when I finde any good Epiſtle, or a good Goſpell, truely my Lorde, I haue reade the newe Teſtament and the olde, and all the Epiſtles and the Goſpels, and among them all I could neuer finde any euil Epiſtle, or any euil Goſpell: but if your Lordſhip will ſhewe me the good Epiſtle and the good Goſpell, and the euill Epiſtle and the euill Goſpell, then I ſhall preache the good, and omit the euill.

It is to much in the popes Church to preache euery ſonday. The Biſhop of Dunkelden was not ordayned to preache.

Then ſpake my Lord ſtoutly, and ſaide, I thanke God that I neuer knewe what the olde and newe Teſtamente was, (and of theſe wordes roſe a Prouerbe which is common in Scotland: Yee are like the Biſhop of Dunkeldene that knewe neither newe nor olde lawe:) therefore Deane Thomas, I will knowe nothing but my Portous and my Pontifical. Go your way, and let be all theſe fantaſies: for if you perſeuer in theſe erroneous opinions, ye wil repent it when you may not mende it.

A prouerbe in Scotland.

Thomas ſaide, I truſt my cauſe be iuſt in the preſence of God, and therefore I paſſe not muche what doe followe thereupon, and ſo my Lorde and he departed at that tyme. And ſoone after a Summons was directed from the Cardinall of S. Andrewes, and the ſayde Biſhop of Dunkelden vpon the ſaide Deane Thomas Forret, vpon 2. blacke Friers, called frier Iohn Kelowe, and an other called Benarage, and vpon one prieſt of Striueling called Duncane Sympſon, and one Gentleman called Robert Foſter in Striuelyng, with other three or foure, wyth them of the towne of Striuelyng: who at the day of their appearaunce after their ſummoning, were cōdemned to the death without any place of recantation, becauſe (as was alleged) they were hereſiarkes or chiefe heretikes and teachers of hereſies, and eſpecially becauſe manye of them were at the bridall and marriage of a Prieſt, who was vicar of Twybodye beſide Striuelynge, and did eate fleſhe in Lent at the ſaid bridal, and ſo they were altogether burnt vpon the caſtle hill of Edenbrough, where they that were firſt bounde to the ſtake, godly and maruellouſly did comfort them that came behinde.

Thomas Forret, Fryer. Iohn Kelowe fryer. Benerage, Dunkane Simpſon Prieſt, Rob. Foſter gentleman with 3. or 4. other of Striueling Martyrs.

Heere foloweth the manner of perſecution vſed by the Cardinall of Scotland, againſt certaine perſons in Perth.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	Theyr Cauſes.
Dauid Beton, Byſhop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes.	Robert Lambe. William Anderſon. Iames Hunter. Iames Rauelеſon. Iames Founleſon. Hellen Stirke hys wiſe.	FIrſt there was a certaine Acte of Parlamente made in the gouernement of the Lorde Hamilton Earle of Arran, and Gouernour of Scotlande, geuinge priuiledge to all men of the Realme of Scotlande, to reade the Scriptures in their mother tongue, and language, ſecluding neuertheleſſe all reaſoning, conference, conuo-

Anno. 1543.

Proclamation in Scotland permitting the priuate reading of Scripture.

cation of people to heare the Scriptures reade or expounded. Which liberty of priuate reading being granted by publike proclamation, lacked not hys owne fruite, ſo that in ſondrie partes of Scotland therby were opened the eies of the elect of God to ſee the truthe, and abhorre the Papiſtical abhominations. Amongeſt the which were certaine perſones in S. Iohnſton, as after is declared.

Blaſphemous doctrine of a Papiſt. Robert Lambe, Martyr.

At thys time there was a Sermone made by Fryer Spenſe, in ſaint Iohnſton, aliâs called Perth, affirmynge prayer made to ſaintes to be ſo neceſſarye, that wythoute it there coulde be no hope of ſaluation to man. Whyche blaſphemous doctrine a Burges of the ſayd towne called Robert Lambe, could not abide, but accuſed hym in open audience, of erroneous doctrine, and adiured hym in Gods name to vtter the trueth. The which the Frier being ſtriken with feare, promiſed to doe, but the trouble, tumulte, and ſturre of the people encreaſed ſo, that the Frier coulde haue no audience, and yet the ſayde Roberte wyth greate daunger of his life eſcaped the handes of the multitude, namely of the women, who contrary to nature, addreſſed them to extreme crueltye againſt him.

Robert Lambe in great daunger.

At this time in the yeare of our Lorde 1543. the ennemies of the truth procured Iohn Charteous, who fauoured the truthe, and was Prouoſt of the ſaide citie & towne, of Perth, to be depoſed from his office by the ſayde Gouernours authoritie, and a Papiſt called Maiſter Alexander Marbecke to be choſen in his roume, ye they myght bring the more eaſily their wicked enterpriſe to an ende.

A papiſt ſet in office.

Robert Lambe Will. Anderſon, Iames Hunter, Iames Raueleſon, Hellen Styrke his wyfe caſt in priſon.

After the depoſing of the former Prouoſt, and election of the other, in the moneth of Ianuary the yere aforeſayde, on ſaint Paules day, came to ſainte Iohnſton, the Gouernour, the Cardinall, the Earle of Argile Iuſtice, ſir Iohn Campbell of Lunde knighte, and Iuſtice Deroſte, the Lorde Borthwyke, the Biſhop of Dumblane, and Orkeney, with certaine other of the Nobilitie. And althoughe there were manye accuſed for the crime of hereſie (as they terme it) yet theſe perſones were onely apprehended vppon the ſayde ſainte Paules day, Robert Lambe, William Anderſon, Iames Hunter, Iames Raueleſon, Iames Founleſon, and Hellen Stirke his wife, and caſt that night in the Spay tower of the ſayde Citie, the morowe to abide iudgement.

Vppon the morowe, when they appeared and were brought forth to iudgement in the towne, was laid in generall to all their charge, the violating of the Acte of Parliament before expreſſed, and their conference and aſſemblies in hearing and expoundinge of ſcripture againſte the tenour of the ſayde Acte. Robert Lambe was accuſed in ſpeciall for interrupting of the Frier in the pulpit: whyche he not onely confeſſed, but alſo affirmed conſtantly, that it was the duetie of no manne, whych vnderſtood and knewe the trueth, to heare the ſame impugned wythoute contradiction, and therefore ſundry which there were preſente in iudgement, who hidde the knowledge of the truth, ſhoulde beare their burden in Gods preſence for conſenting to the ſame.

Lambe, Anderſon, Raueleſon, for hanging S. Fraunces in a corde. Iames Hunter for vſing ſuſpect company.

The ſayde Robert alſo wyth William Anderſon, and Iames Raueleſon were accuſed for hanging vp the image of S. Fraunces in a corde, nailing of Rammes hornes to his head, and a Cowes rumpe to hys taile, and for eatinge of a gooſe on Alhalow euen.

Iames Hunter being a ſimple man and wythout learning, and a Fletcher by occupation, ſo that hee coulde be charged wyth no greate knowledge in Doctrine, yet becauſe he often vſed the ſuſpect companye of the reſt, he was accuſed.

Hellen Styrke for calling vpon Ieſus and not our Lady in childebed.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accuſed, for that in her childbed ſhe was not accuſtomed to cal vpon the name of the virgine Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neyghbours, but onely vpon God, for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, and becauſe ſhe ſaid in like maner, that if ſhe her ſelfe had beene in the time of the virgin Mary, God might haue looked to her humilitie and baſe eſtate, as hee did to the virgines, in making her the mother of Chriſte, thereby meaninge, that there was no merites in the virgine, whyche procured her that honour, to be made the mother of Chriſte, and to bee preferred before other women, but Gods only free mercy exalted her to that eſtate. Whiche wordes were counted moſte execrable in the face of the Clergie and whole multitude.

Iames Raueleſon aforeſayde building a houſe, ſet vppon the round of his fourth ſtaire, the 3. crowned diademe of Peter carued of tree, which the cardinal tooke as done in mockage of his Cardinals hat, and this procured no fauor to the ſayd Iames at theyr handes.

Theſe forenamed perſones vppon the morowe after ſainte Paules day were condemned and iudged to deathe, and that by an Aſſiſe, for violatinge (as was alleaged) the Acte of Parliament, in reaſoning and conferrynge vppon Scriptures, for eating fleſh vppon dayes forbidden, for interrupting the holy frier in the pulpitte, for diſhonouryng of Images, and blaſpheming of the virgine Mary, as they alleaged.

After ſentence geuen, theyr handes were bounde, and the men cruelly entreated. Which thing the woman beholding, deſired likewiſe to be bounde by the ſergeantes with her huſband for Chriſtes ſake.

There was great interceſſion made by the Towne in the meane ſeaſon for the life of theſe perſones aforenamed, to the Gouernour, who of him ſelf was willing ſo to haue done, that they myght haue bene deliuered. But the Gouernour was ſo ſubiect to the appetite of the cruel prieſtes, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they manaced to aſſiſt his ennemies, and to depoſe him, except he aſſiſted their crueltie.

There were certaine prieſtes in the Citie, who did eate and drinke before in theſe honeſt mens houſes, to who the prieſtes were much bounden. Theſe prieſtes were earneſtly deſired to entreate for their hoſteſſe, at the Cardinalles handes: but they altogether refuſed, deſiring rather theyr death, then preſeruation. So cruell are theſe beaſtes from the loweſt to the higheſt.

Then after, they were caried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the towne, except they had theyr men of warre) to the place of execution, whych was common to all theeues, & that to make their cauſe appeare more odious to the people.

Robert Lambe at the gallowes foote made his exhortation to the people, deſiring them to feare God, and leaue the leauen of Papiſticall abominations, & manifeſtly there propheſyed of the ruine and plague whych came vpon the Cardinall thereafter. So euerye one comforting an other, and aſſuring them ſelues to ſup together in the kingdome of heauen, that night commended themſelues to God, and died conſtantly in the Lord.

The woman deſired earneſtly to die with her huſband, but ſhee was not ſuffered: yet folowing him to the place of execution, ſhee gaue him comfort, exhorting hym to perſeueraunce and pacience for Chriſtes ſake, and parting from him with a kiſſe, ſayd on this maner: Huſband, reioyce, for we haue liued together many ioyful dayes: but this day, in which we muſt die, ought to be moſt ioyfull to vs both, becauſe we muſt haue ioy for euer. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we ſhall ſodainely meete with ioy in the kingdome of heauen.

The woman after was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit ſhe had a child ſucking on her breſt, yet this moued nothing the vnmercifull hearts of the enemies. So after ſhe had commended her children to the neighbors of the towne for Gods ſake, and the ſucking barne was geuen to the nurſe, ſhe ſealed vp the truth by her death. Ex Regiſtris & inſtrumentis à Scotia miſſis.

❧ The condemnation of M. George Wiſeheart, Gentleman, who ſuffered Martyrdome for the faith of Chriſt Ieſus, at ſaint Andrewes in Scotland, An. 1546. Marche 1. wyth the Articles obiected againſte him, and his anſweares to the ſame.

WIth moſt tender affection and vnfained heart conſider (gentle Reader) the vncharitable maner of ye accuſation of M. George Wiſeheart, made by ye bloudy enemies of Chriſts faith. Note alſo the articles wherof he was accuſed, by order digeſted, and hys meeke anſweares, ſo farre as he had leaue and leiſure to ſpeake. Finally, ponder with no diſſembling ſpirite the furious rage, and tragicall cruelnes of the malignant Church, in perſecuting of thys bleſſed man of God: and of the contrary, hys humble, pacient, and moſt godly anſweres, made to them ſodainly without all feare, not hauing reſpect to their glorious manaſings and boyſterous threats, but charitably and wythout ſtop anſwearing: not mouing his countenaunce, nor changing his viſage, as in his accuſation hereafter folowing manifeſtly ſhall appeare.

But before I enter into his Articles, I thoughte it not impertinent, ſomewhat to touche concerning the life and conuerſation of this godlye man, according as of late came to my handes, certified in wryting by a certaine ſcholler of hys, ſometime named Emerey Tylney, whoſe wordes of teſtimoniall as he wrote them to me, here folow.

About

Aboute the yeare of oure Lorde a thouſande, fiue hundreth, fortie and three, there was in the vniuerſitie of Cambridge one maiſter George Wiſcheart, commonlye called maiſter George of Bennettes Colledge, who was a man of talle ſtature, polled headed, and on the ſame a rounde Frenche cappe of the beſt. Iudged of Melancholye complexion by his Phiſiognomie, blacke heared, long bearded comelye of perſonnage, well ſpoken after his countrey of Scotland, courteous, lowly, louely, glad to teach, deſirous to learn, & was wel traueled, hauing on him for his habit or clothing, neuer but a mantell frieſe gowne to the ſhoes, a blacke Millian fuſtian dowblet, and plaine blacke hoſen, courſe newe canueſſe for his Shirtes, and whyte fallinge Bandes and Cuffes at the handes. All the whych Apparell hee gaue to the poore, ſome weekelye, ſome monethly, ſome quarterlye as hee liked, ſauing hys Frenche cappe whyche hee kepte the whole yeare of my being with hym.

Hee was a manne modeſt, temperate, fearinge God, hatinge Couetouſneſſe: For his Charitie had neuer ende, nyghte, noone, nor daye, hee forbare one meale in three, one daye in foure for the moſte parte, except ſomethyng to comforte nature. Hee lay harde vppon a pouffe of ſtraw; courſe newe canueſſe Sheetes, whyche when hee chaunged, hee gaue awaye, hee hadde commonly by his beddes ſide a tubbe of water. In the whyche, (hys people being in bedde, the candell putte out, and all quiet) he vſed to bathe hym ſelfe, as I being very yong, being aſſured often heard hym, and in one light nighte deſcerned hym, hee loued mee tenderly, and I hym, for my age as effectually. He taught wyth great modeſtie and grauitie, ſo that ſome of his people thought hym ſeuere, and woulde haue ſlaine hym, but the Lorde was hys defence. And hee after due correction for their malice by good exhortation amended them, and he went hys way! O that the Lord hadde left hym to me his poore boye, that hee might haue finiſhed that he hadde begonne: For in his Religion he was as you ſee heere in the reſt of hys life, when he went into Scotland with diuers of the Nobilitie, that came for a treatie to kinge Henry the eighte. Hys learning no leſſe ſufficient, then his deſire alwayes preſt and readye to doe good, in that hee was able bothe in the houſe priuately, and in the Schoole publikely, profeſſing and reading diuers authours.

If I ſhoulde declare hys loue to mee and all menne, hys Charitie to the poore, in geuinge, releeuinge, caringe, helpinge, prouidinge, yea infinitelye ſtudyinge howe to doe good vnto all, and hurte to none, I ſhoulde ſooner wante woordes then iuſte cauſe to commende.

All thys I teſtifie wyth my whole heart and trueth of thys Godly manne. Hee that made all, gouerneth all, and ſhall iudge all, knoweth I ſpeake the trothe, that the ſimple maye be ſatiſfied, the arrogante confounded, the hypocrite diſcloſed.

Τελοσ.

Emery Tylney.

Dogmata eiuſdem Georgij.

Fides ſola ſine operibus iuſtificat.
Opera oſtendant & oſtentant fidem.
Romana eccleſia putatiuè caput mundi.
Lex canonica caput Papæ.
Miſſæ miniſterium, myſterium iniquitatis.

To the ſayde maiſter George beinge in Captiuitie in the Caſtle of Sainte Andrews, the Deane of the ſame Towne, was ſente by the commaundement of the Cardinall, and hys wicked Counſaile, and there ſummoned the ſayde maiſter George, that hee ſhoulde vppon the morning followinge, appeare before the Iudge, then and there to geue accounte of hys ſeditious and hereticall doctrine.

To whom M. George anſweared, what needeth (ſayd he) my Lord Cardinal to ſummon me to anſweare for my doctrine, openly before him, vnder whoſe power and dominion I am thus ſtraitly bound in yrons? May not my Lord compel me to anſwere of hys extorte power? Or beleueth hee that I am vnprouided to render a counte of my doctrine? To manifeſt your ſelues what men yee are, it is well done that ye keepe your olde ceremonies and conſtitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the Lord Cardinal cauſed his ſeruauntes to addreſſe them ſelues in their moſte warlike araye, with Iacke, Knapſkal, Splente, Speare, and axe, more ſeeming for the warre, then for the preaching of the true word of God.

M. Wyſeharte brought agayne before the Biſhops.

And when theſe armed chãpions marching in warlike order had conueyed ẏ biſhops into ẏ abbey Church, incontinently they ſent for M. George, who was conueyed into the ſayd Churche by the Captayne of the Caſtle, accompanied with an hundred men addreſſed in maner aforeſayde. Like a lambe lead they him to ſacrifice.

M. Wyſeharte caſteth his purſe to a poore man.

As he entred into the Abbey Church doore, there was a poore man lying, vexed with great infirmities, aſking of his almes: to whom he flang his purſe. And when he came before the Lord Cardinall, by and by the Supprioure of the Abbey, called Dane Iohn Wynrym, ſtood vp in the pulpite, and made a ſermon to all the congregation there then aſſembled, taking his matter out of the xiii. chapter of Mathewe, whoſe ſermon was deuided into foure principall partes.

The ſermon of Iohn Wynrime.

The firſt part was a briefe and ſhort declaration of the Euangeliſt.

Hereſie defined.

The ſecond part, of the interpretation of the good ſeed. And becauſe he called the word of God the good ſeede, and hereſie the euill ſeede, he declared what hereſie was, and how it ſhould be knowne: which he defined on this maner. Hereſie is a falſe opinion defended with pertinacie, clearly repugning the word of God.

The cauſe of hereſie.

The third part of his ſermon, was the cauſe of hereſie within that Realme, and all other Realmes. The cauſe of hereſie (quoth he) is the ignoraunce of them which haue the cures of mens ſoules, to whome it neceſſarily belongeth to haue the true vnderſtanding of the woorde of God, that they may be able to winne againe the falſe Doctours of hereſies with the ſworde of the ſpirite, which is ẏ worde of God, and not onely to winne agayne, but alſo to ouercome them, as ſayth Paule: A Byſhop muſt be faultleſſe, as it becommeth the miniſter of God, not ſtubburne, nor angrye, no drunkard, no fighter, not geuen to filthy lucre, but harbarous, one that loueth goodnes, ſober minded, righteous, holy, temperate and ſuche as cleaueth vnto the true worde of doctrine, that hee may be able to exhort with wholeſome learning, and to improue that which they ſay agaynſt him.

Tit.7.

The maner to know an heretticke.

The fourth part of his ſermon was how hereſies ſhuld be knowne; Hereſies (quoth he) be knowne on this maner as the Goldſmith knoweth the fine golde from the vnperfect, by the touchſtone; ſo likewiſe may we knowe hereſie by the vndoubted touchſtone: that is, the true, ſincere, and vndefiled word of God. At the laſt he added, that hereticks ſhoulde be put downe in this preſent life. To whiche propoſition the goſpel appeared to repugne, which he entreated of: Let them grow vnto the harueſt: the harueſt is the end of the world. Neuertheleſſe, hee affirmed that they ſhoulde be put downe by the ciuile magiſtrate and law. And when hee ended his ſermon, incontinently they cauſed mayſter George to aſcend into the pulpit, there to heare his accuſation and articles. And right agaynſt him ſtood by, one of the fed flocke, a monſter, Iohn Lauder, laden full of curſinges, written in paper. Of the which he tooke out a roll, both long and alſo full of curſinges, threates, maledictions and wordes of deuiliſh ſpite and malice, ſaying to the innocent M. George, ſo many cruell and abhominable wordes, and hit him ſo ſpitefully with the popes thunder, that the ignoraunt people dreaded leaſt the earth then woulde haue ſwallowed him vp quicke. Notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtill with great patience, hearing their ſayinges, not once mouing or chaunging his countenaunce.

The Goſpell was of letting the tares to grow vnto harueſt.

Iohn Lauder accuſer.

The way to feare the ignoraunt.

The fruites of their charitye.

When that this fed ſow had read throughout all his lying manaſinges, his face running downe with ſweate, and frothing at his mouth like a beare, he ſpit at M. Georges face, ſaying: what anſwereſt thou to theſe ſayinges, thou runnagate traytor, theefe, which we haue duely proued by ſufficient witnes agaynſt thee. M. George hearing thys, kneeled downe vpon hys knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, ſweetly and Chriſtianly he anſwered to them all in this maner.

Mayſter George his aunſwere.

M. Wyſehartes aunſwere.

Many and horrible ſayinges vnto me, a Chriſtian man, many wordes abhominable for to heare, ye haue ſpoken here this day, which not onely to teache, but alſo once to thinke, I thought euer great abhomination. Wherfore I pray your diſcretions quietly to heare me, that ye may know what were my ſayings, & the maner of my doctrine. This my petition (my Lord) I deſire to be heard for three cauſes.

Three cauſes why M. Wyſehart deſired to be heard.

The firſt is, becauſe thorough preaching of the worde of God, his glory is made manifeſt. It is reaſonable therfore, for the aduauncing of the glory of God, that ye heare me teaching truely the pure word of God without any diſſimulation.

The 2. cauſe.

The ſecond reaſon is, becauſe that your health ſpringeth of the word of God: for he worketh all thing by his worde. It were therefore an vnrighteous thing, if ye ſhoulde ſtop your eares from me, teaching truely the word of God.

The 3. cauſe.

The third reaſon is, becauſe your doctrine vttereth many blaſphemous and abominable words, not comming of the inſpiration of God, but of the deuil, with no leſſe perill then of my life. It is iuſt therfore and reaſonable your diſcretions to knowe what my wordes and doctrine are, and what I haue euer taught in my time in thys realme, that I pearish not vniuſtly, to the great pearill of your ſoules. Wherfore both for the glory and honor of God, your owne health, and ſafegarde of my life, I beſeeche your diſcretions to heare mee, and in the meane time I ſhall recite my doctrine without any colour.

M. Wyſehartes doctrine.

Firſt & chiefly, ſince the time I came into thys realme, I taught nothing but the 10. commandements of God, the 12. Articles of the faithe, and the prayer of the Lorde in the mother tongue. Moreouer, in Dundie I taught the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Romanes. And I ſhal ſhew your diſcretions faithfully what faſhion and maner I vſed when I taught, without any humane dread, ſo that your diſcretions geue me your eares beneuolent and attent.

Sodenly then with an high voice cried the accuſer, the fedde ſowe: thou heretike, runnagate, traytor, and thiefe, it was not lawfull for thee to preache. Thou haſte taken the power at thine owne hande, wythout any authoritie of the church. We forethinke ỹ thou haſt bene a preacher ſo long. Then all the whole congregation of ỹ prelates with their complices, ſayde theſe wordes: If wee geue hym licence to preach, he is ſo crafty, and in the holy ſcripture ſo exerciſed, that he will perſwade the people to hys opinion, and raiſe them againſt vs.

The cry of the Scribes & Phariſeis.

M. Wyſeharte appealeth to the Gouernour.

Maiſter George ſeeing their malicious and wicked entent, appealed from the Lord Cardinal to the Lord gouernour, as to an indifferent and equal Iudge. To whom the accuſer Iohn Lauder aforeſayde, with hoggiſh voyce anſwered, Is not my Lorde Cardinal the ſecond perſon within this realme, Chauncelour of Scotlande, Archb. of S. Andrewes, biſhop of Meropois, Commendator of Aberbrothoke, Legatus natus, Legatus à Latere. And ſo reciting as many titles of his vnworthy honours, as woulde haue loden a ſhip, much ſooner an aſſe, is not hee, quoth Iohn Lauder, an equall Iudge apparantly vnto thee? Whom other deſireſt thou to be thy Iudge?

The ſtyle and titles of the Archb. of Saint Andrewes.

To whom this humble man anſwered, ſaying, I refuſe not my Lord Cardinall, but I deſire the word of God to be my iudge, and the temporall eſtate, with ſome of your lordſhips mine auditors, becauſe I am here my Lord Gouernors priſoner. Whereupon the prideful & ſcornful people that ſtode by, mocked him, ſaying: Such man ſuche iudge, ſpeaking ſeditious & reprochful wordes againſt the gouernor and other the Nobles, meaning them alſo to be heretikes. And incontinent without all delay they woulde haue geuen ſentence vppon M. George, and that without farther proceſſe, had not certaine men there counſailed the Cardinall to reade againe the articles, and to heare his anſwers thereuppon, that the people might not complaine of his wrongfull condemnation.

The wordes of the people agaynſt the L. Gouernour.

And ſhortly to declare, theſe were the articles following, with his anſweares, as farre as they would geue hym leaue to ſpeake. For when he intended to mitigate their leſings, and ſhew the maner of hys doctrine, by and by they ſtopped hys mouth with an other article.

1. Article.

1 Thou falſe heretike, runnagate, traytour and thiefe, deceiuer of the people, thou deſpiſeſt the holy Churche, and in lyke caſe contemneſt my Lord gouernours authoritie. And this wee know for ſuretie, that when thou preachedſt in Dundy, and waſt charged by my Lord Gouernours authority to deſiſt, neuertheles thou wouldeſt not obey, but perſeueredſt in the ſame: and therfore the Biſhop of Brothen curſed thee, and deliuered thee into the deuils handes, and gaue thee in commaundement that thou ſhouldeſt preach no more. That notwithſtanding thou diddeſt continue obſtinately.

Aunſwere.

Act. 5.

Malach. 2.

My Lordes, I haue read in the Actes of the apoſtles, that it is not lawfull to deſiſt from the preaching of the goſpell, for the threates and manaſſes of men. Therefore it is wrytten: We ſhal rather obey God then men. I haue alſo read in the Prophet Malachie: I ſhall curſe your bleſsings, & bleſſe your curſings, beleeuing firmely, that the Lorde will turne your curſings into bleſſings.

2. Article.

2 Thou falſe heretike diddeſt ſay, that the prieſt ſtanding at the altar ſaying Maſſe, was like a Foxe wagging his taile in Iulie.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, I ſayde not ſo. Theſe were my ſayinges: The mouing of the body outwarde, without the inwarde mouing of the heart, is nought elſe, but the playinge of an Ape, and not the true ſeruing of God: For God is a ſecrete ſearcher of mennes heartes. Therefore who will truely adore and honour God, he muſt in ſpirite and veritie honor hym. Then the accuſer ſtopped his mouth wyth an other article.

3 Thou falſe heretike preachedſt againſt the ſacraments, ſaying, that there were not 7. ſacraments.

My Lordes, and if it be your pleaſures, I neuer taught of the number of the ſacraments, whether they were ſeuen or eleuen. So manye as are inſtituted by Chriſte, and are ſhewed to vs by the Euangel, I profeſſe openly. Except it be the word of God I dare affirme nothing.

4 Thou falſe heretike haſt openly taught, that auriculare confeſsion is not a bleſſed ſacrament. And thou ſayeſt that we ſhould only confeſſe vs to God, and to no prieſt.

My Lords, I ſay, that auricular confeſsion, ſeeing that it hath no promiſe of the Euangel, therefore it can not be a Sacramente. Of the confeſsion to be made to God, there are many teſtimonies in ſcripture, as when Dauid ſayth: I thought I woulde knowledge mine iniquitie againſte my ſelfe vnto the Lorde, and hee forgaue the puniſhment of my ſinne. Pſal. 32. Heere confeſsion ſignifieth the ſecreate knowledging of our ſinnes before God. Whē I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproued no manner of confeſsion. And farther S. Iames ſayeth: Knowledge your faultes one to an other, and pray one for an other, that you may be healed. When that hee had ſayde theſe wordes, the Biſhops and their complices cried and grinned with their teeth, ſaying: Se ye not what colours hee hath in hys ſpeaking, that hee may beguile vs and ſeduce vs to hys opinion?

5 Thou heretike didſt ſay openly, that it was neceſſary to euery man, to knowe and vnderſtande his Baptiſme, and what it was, contrary to generall Councels, and the ſtates of holy Church.

My Lordes, I beleeue there be none ſo vnwiſe heere, that will make marchandiſe with a French man, or any other vnknowen ſtraunger, except he know and vnderſtand firſt the condition or promiſe made by the Frenche man or ſtraunger. So likewyſe I woulde that wee vnderſtode what thing we promiſe in the name of ỹ infant vnto God in Baptiſme. For this cauſe I beleeue ye haue confirmation. Then ſaid maſter Bleiter chapleine, that he had the deuill within hym, and the ſpirite of error. Then anſweared him a child, ſaying: The deuill cannot ſpeake ſuche wordes as yonder man doth ſpeake.

6 Thou heretike, traitour, and thiefe, thou ſaideſt that the Sacrament of the altar was but a peece of bread baken vppon the aſhes, and no other thing els, and all that is there done, is but a ſuperſtitious rite againſt the commaundement of God.

O Lorde God, ſo manifeſt lies and blaſphemies the Scripture doth not teache you. As concerning the ſacrament of the altare (my Lordes) I neuer taught any thing againſt the Scripture, the whych I ſhall (by Gods grace) make manifeſt thys daye, I being ready therefore to ſuffer death.

The lawfull vſe of this Sacrament is moſt acceptable vnto God: but the great abuſe of it is very deteſtable vnto hym. But what occaſion they haue to ſay ſuch wordes of me, I ſhall ſhortly ſhew your Lordſhips. I once chaunced to meete wyth a Iewe, when I was ſailing vpon the water of Rhene. I did enquire of him what was the cauſe of his pertinacie, that he did not beleue that the true Meſſias was come, conſidering that they had ſeene all the Prophecies whych were ſpoken of him, to be fulfilled. Moreouer, the Prophecies taken away, and the Scepter of Iuda, by many other teſtimonies of the ſcripture, I vanquiſhed him, that Meſſias was come, ỹ which they called Ieſus of Nazareth. Thys Iewe anſweared againe vnto mee, when Meſſias commeth, he ſhall reſtore all things, and hee ſhall not abrogate the law, which was geuen to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we ſee the poore almoſt periſh through hunger amongſt you: yet you are not mooued with pity towardes them: but among vs Iewes (though we be poore) there are no beggers found.

Secondarily, it is forbidden by the lawe, to faine anye kind of imagery of things in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneath, or in the ſea vnder the earthe: but one God onely to honour: but your Sanctuaries and Churches are full of Idoles.

Thirdly, a pece of bread baken vpon the aſhes, ye adore and worſhip, and ſay, that it is your God. I haue reherſed heere but the ſayings of the Iewe, which I neuer affirmed to be true. Then the biſhops ſhooke their heads, and ſpitted on the earth, and what they meant in this matter further they would not heare.

7 Thou falſe heretike diddeſt ſay, that extreeme vnction was not a ſacrament.

My Lordes, forſooth I neuer taught any thynge of extreme vnction in my doctrine, whether it were a Sacrament or no.

8 Thou falſe heretike ſaideſt, that holye water is not ſo good as waſhe, and ſuche like. Thou condemneſt coniuring, and ſayeſt that holy Churches curſings auaile not.

My Lordes, as for holy water, what ſtrengthe it is of, I taught neuer in my doctrine. Coniuringes and Exorciſmes, if they were conformable to the worde of God, I would commend them: but in ſo much as they are not conformable to the commaundement and word of God, I reproue them.

9 Thou falſe heretike and runnagate haſt ſayde, that euery lay man is a prieſt, and ſuche like. Thou ſayeſt, that the Pope hathe no more power, then any other man.

My Lordes, I taught nothyng but the worde of God, I remember that I haue read in ſome places in S. Iohn and S. Peter, of the which one ſayth: He hath made vs kings and prieſts. The other ſayeth: Hee hath made vs a kingly prieſthood. wherefore I haue affirmed that any man being cunning in the worde of God, & the true faith of Ieſu Chriſt, hath his power geuen him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the vertue of the worde of God, the which word is called the power of God, as witneſſeth S. Paule euidently enough. And againe, I ſay that any vnlearned man, not exerciſed in the worde of God, nor yet conſtant in his faith, what ſo euer eſtate or order hee be of, I ſay, he hath no power to binde or looſe, ſeeing he wanteth the inſtrument, by the which he bindeth or looſeth, that is to ſay, the worde of God.

After that he had ſayd theſe wordes, all the Byſhoppes laughed, & mocked him. when that he beholde their laughing, Laugh yee (sayeth he) my Lordes? Though that theſe ſayings appeare ſcornefull and worthy of deriſion to your Lordſhips, neuertheles they are very waighty to me, and of a great value, becauſe they ſtand not only vpon my life, but alſo the honour and glory of God. In the meane time many godly men beholding the woodnes and great crudelitie of the Biſhops, and the inuincible patience of maiſter George, did greatly mourne and lament.

10 Thou falſe heretike ſaideſt, that a man hath no free wil. But is like to the Stoikes, which ſay, that it is not in mans will to doe any thing, but that all concupiſcence & deſire commeth of God, what ſoeuer kinde it be of.

My Lordes, I ſaide not ſo, truely, I ſay, that as many as beleeue in Chriſte firmely, vnto them is geuen libertie, conformable to the ſaying of S. Iohn: If the ſonne make you free, then ſhall ye verely be free. Of the contrary, as many as beleue not in Chriſt Ieſu, they are bond ſeruants of ſinne: He that ſinneth, is bond to ſinne.

11 Thou falſe heretike ſayeſt, it is as lawfull to eate fleſh vpon the friday, as on ſonday.

Pleaſeth it your Lordſhippes, I haue read in the Epiſtles of S. Paule, that who is cleane, vnto him all thyngs are cleane. Of the contrary, to the filthy men all things are vncleane. A faithful man cleane and holy, ſanctifieth by the worde, the creature of God. But the creature maketh no manne acceptable vnto God. So that a creature may not ſanctifie any impure and vnfaithful man. But to the faithfull man, all things are ſanctified by the praier of the word of God. After theſe ſayings of maſter George, then ſaid all the Biſhops wyth theyr complices: what needeth vs any witneſſe againſt him? hath he not openly here ſpoken blaſphemie?

12 Thou falſe heretike doeſt ſay, that wee ſhoulde not praye to Saintes, but to God onely. Say whether thou haſt ſayd this, or no: ſay ſhortly.

For the weaknes and the infirmitie of the hearers, he ſaid without doubt plainly, that Saints ſhould not be honoured. My Lordes (ſayde hee) there are two things worthy of note. The one is certaine, the other vncertayne. It is found plainly and certaine in Scripture, that we ſhould worſhip and honor one God, according to the ſaying of the firſt Commaundement: Thou ſhalt only worſhip and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart. But as for praying to and honouring of Saintes, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear or no, inuocation made vnto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they ſhoulde leaue the vnſure waye, and folowe that way, which was taught vs by our maſter Chriſt. He is our only mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for vs to God hys father. He is the doore by the which we muſt enter in. Hee that entreth not in by this doore, but climeth an other way, is a theefe and murtherer. Hee is the veritie and lyfe. Hee that goeth out of this way, there is no doubte but hee ſhall fall into the mire: yea verely, is fallen into it already. This is the faſhion of my doctrine, the whych I haue euer followed. Verely that whyche I haue hearde and reade in the worde of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye ſhal witnes the ſame, if your Lordſhips will heare me. Except it ſtande by the worde of God, I dare not be ſo bold to affirme any thinge. Theſe ſayings he rehearſed diuers times.

13 Thou falſe heretike haſte preached plainly, ſaying that there is no Purgatorie, and that it is a fained thinge, any man after thys life to be puniſhed in Purgatorie.

13. Article.

Aunſwere.

Purgatory not once named in Scripture.

My Lordes, as I haue oftentimes ſayde heeretofore, without expreſſe witneſſe and teſtimonie of the Scripture, I dare affirme nothyng. I haue ofte and diuers times read ouer the Bible, and yet ſuche a terme founde I neuer, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therfore I was aſhamed euer to teache of that thyng, whych I coulde not finde in the Scripture. Then ſayd he to maſter Iohn Lauder hys accuſer: If you haue any teſtimonie of the Scripture, by the which ye may proue any ſuch place, ſhewe it nowe before this auditorie. But this dolt had not a worde to ſay for him ſelfe, but was as dumbe as a beetle in that matter.

14 Thou falſe heretike haſt taught plainly againſt the vowes of Monkes, Friers, Nunnes, and Prieſtes, ſaying: that whoſoeuer was bounde to ſuch like vowes, they vowed themſelues to the eſtate of damnation: Moreouer, that it was lawful for prieſtes to marry wiues, and not to liue ſole.

14. Article.

Aunſwere.

Math. 13.

Of ſoothe (my Lordes) I haue read in the Euangell, that there are three kindes of chaſte men. Some are gelded from their mothers wombe: ſome are gelded by men: and ſome haue gelded themſelues, for the kingdome of heauen ſake. Verelye I ſay, theſe men are bleſſed by the Scripture of God. But as many as haue not the gift of chaſtitie, nor yet for the Euangell, haue not ouercome the concupiſcence of the fleſh, and haue vowed chaſtitie: yee haue experience, although I ſhould holde my peace, to what inconuenience they haue vowed them ſelues.

Three kindes of chaſt men. The dauger of vnchaſtitye.

when he had ſayde theſe wordes, they were all dumbe, thinking better to haue tenne Concubines, then one married wiſe.

15 Thou falſe heretike and runnagate ſayeſt, thou wylte not obey our Generall, nor Prouinciall Councels.

15. Article.

Aunſwere.

My Lords, what your general Councels are, I knowe not, I was neuer exerciſed in them: but to the pure worde of God I gaue my labors. Read here your general Councels, or els geue me a booke wherin they are contained, that I may reade them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not diſagree. Then the raueuing wolues turned into woodnes, & ſaid: wherefore let we him ſpeake any further? Reade forth the reſt of the articles, & ſtay not vpō them. Among theſe cruell tygers, there was one falſe hypocrite, a ſeducer of the people, called Ioh. Graiſind Scot, ſtanding behind Ioh. Lauders backe, haſting him to read the reſt of ẏ articles, & not to tary vpō his witty and godly anſwers: For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more then the diuill may abide the ſigne of the Croſſe, when it is named.

They runne apaſe to ſhedde bloud.

Iohn Grayſinde Scot, an haſtye butcher to his ſlaughter.

16 Thou heretike ſayeſt, that it is vaine to builde to the honor of God, coſtly Churches, ſeeinge that God remaineth not in the Churches made with mens handes, nor yet God can be in ſo litle ſpace, as betwixt the prieſts handes.

16. Article.

Aunſwere.

3. Reg. 8. Iob. 11.

My Lordes, Salomon ſayeth: If that the heauen of heauens can not comprehende thee, howe muche leſſe thys houſe, that I haue builded? And Iob conſenteth to ẏ ſame ſentence: Seeing that he is higher then the heauens, therefore what canſt thou build vnto him? He is deper then hel, then how ſhalt thou know him? He is longer then ẏ earth, and broader then the ſea. So that God cannot be comprehēded into one place, becauſe that he is infinite. Theſe ſayings notwithſtanding, I ſaid neuer that Churches ſhould be deſtroyed. But of the contrarye I affirmed euer, that Churches ſhould be ſuſtained and vpholden, that the people ſhould be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreouer, whereſoeuer is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawfull vſe of the Sacraments, vndoubtedly there is God himſelfe. So that both theſe ſayings are true together: God cannot be cōprehended into any place, and where ſoeuer are two or three gathered in hys name, there is he preſent in the middeſt of them. Then ſayde he to hys accuſer, If you thinke any otherwiſe then I ſay, ſhew forth your reaſons before this auditorie. Then he without al reaſon being dumbe, and not anſwering one word, proceeded forth in hys articles.

Whereunto Churches ſhould ſerue.

17 Thou falſe heretike contemneſt faſtinge, and ſayeſt, thou ſhouldeſt not faſt.

17. Article.

My Lordes, I finde that faſting is commended in the Scrypture: therefore I were a ſclaunderer of the Goſpell, if I contemned faſtynge. And not ſo onely, but I haue learned by experience, that faſtinge is good for the health of the bodye: but God knoweth who faſteth the true faſt.

Anſweare. True faſting he alloweth.

18 Thou falſe heretike haſte preached openlye, ſayinge that the

18. Article.

the ſoule of man ſhall ſleepe to the latter daye of iudgement, and ſhall not obtaine life immortall vntill that day.

Aunſwere.

God full of mercy and goodneſſe forgeue them that ſaye ſuch things of me. I wote and knowe ſurely by the worde of God, that he which hathe begun to haue the faith of Jeſu Chriſt, and beleueth firmely in him, I know ſurely that the ſoule of that man ſhall neuer ſleepe, but euer ſhall liue an immortall life. The which life from day to day is renued in grace and augmēted: nor yet ſhal euer periſh, or haue an ende, but euer immortall ſhall liue with Chriſt. To the which life all that beleue in him ſhal come, and reſt in eternall glory. Amen.

The faithfull ſoule ſhall neuer ſleepe.

When the Biſhoppes wyth their complices had accuſed this innocent man in manner and fourme aforeſayde, incōtinently they condēned him to be burnt as an heretik, not hauing reſpect to hys godly anſwers and true reaſons which he alleaged, nor yet to their owne conſciences, thinking verelye that they ſhoulde doe to God good ſacrifice, conformable to the ſayings of S. John: They ſhal excommunicate you: yea, and the time ſhal come, that he which killeth you, ſhall thinke that he hath done to God good ſeruice.

Iohn. 16.

The prayer of maiſter George.

The prayer of M. George Wyſeharte for the congregatiō of God.

O Immortall God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the woodnes & great crudelitie of the vngodly to exerciſe theyr fury vpon thy ſeruaunts which doe further thy worde in this worlde, ſeeing they deſire to be contrary, ẏ is to choke and deſtroy thy true doctrine & veritie, by the whych thou haſt ſhewed thy ſelfe vnto the world, which was all drowned in blindneſſe and miſknowledge of thy name. O Lord wee knowe ſurelye that thy true ſeruauntes muſt needes ſuffer for thy names ſake, perſecution, affliction, and troubles in this preſent life, whiche is but a ſhadowe, as thou haſte ſhewed to vs by thy Prophetes and Apoſtles. But yet we deſire thee hartily, that thou conſerue, defende, and helpe thy congregation, which thou haſte choſen before the beginning of the worlde, and geue them thy grace to heare thy word, and to be thy true ſeruaunts in thys preſent life.

Then by & by they cauſed the common people to voide away, whoſe deſire was alwayes to heare that innocente man to ſpeake. Then the ſonnes of darkeneſſe pronounced their ſentence definitiue, not hauing reſpecte to the iudgement of God. When all this was done and ſayde, the Cardinall cauſed his warders to paſſe againe wyth the meeke Lambe into the Caſtle, vntill ſuche time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Caſtle, then there came two Gray feendes, frier Scot and his mate, ſayinge, Sir, yee muſt make your confeſſion vnto vs. He aunſwered, and ſaid, I wil make no confeſſion vnto you. Go fetch me yōder man that preached this day, and I will make my confeſſion vnto him. Then they ſent for the Supprioure of the Abbey, who came to him withall diligence. But what he ſayd in thys confeſſion I can not ſhewe.

When the fire was made readie, and the gallowes at the weſt part of the Caſtle neare to the Priorie, the Lorde Cardinall dreading that maſter George ſhould haue bene taken away by his friendes, commaunded to bende all the Ordinance of the Caſtle right againſt that parte, and commaunded al his gunners to be ready and ſtand beſide their gunnes, vnto ſuch time as he were burned. All this beyng done, they bounde Maiſter Georges handes behinde hys backe, and ledde hym forth wyth their ſouldiors from the Caſtle, to the place of their wicked execution. As hee came forth of the Caſtle gate, there met him certaine beggers aſking his almes for Gods ſake. To whome he anſwered, I want my handes wherwith I ſhould geue you almes: but the mercifull Lorde, of his benignitie and aboundaunce of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchſafe to geue you neceſſaries both vnto your bodies and ſoules. Then afterwarde met him two falſe fiendes, I ſhoulde ſay Fryers, ſayinge: Maſter George, pray to our Lady, that ſhe may be mediatrix for you to her ſonne. To whome he anſweared meekely: Ceaſe, tempt me not my brethren. After thys hee was lead to the fire with a roape about his necke, and a chayne of yron about his middle.

M. Wiſehart prayeth for the relief of the poore.

M. Wyſehart aunſwereth the Fryers tempting him.

When that he came to the fire, he ſate downe vpon hys knees, and roſe againe, and thriſe he ſayd theſe wordes: O thou Sauiour of the worlde haue mercy on mee. Father of heauen, I commend my ſpirit into thy holy hands. When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people and ſayde theſe wordes.

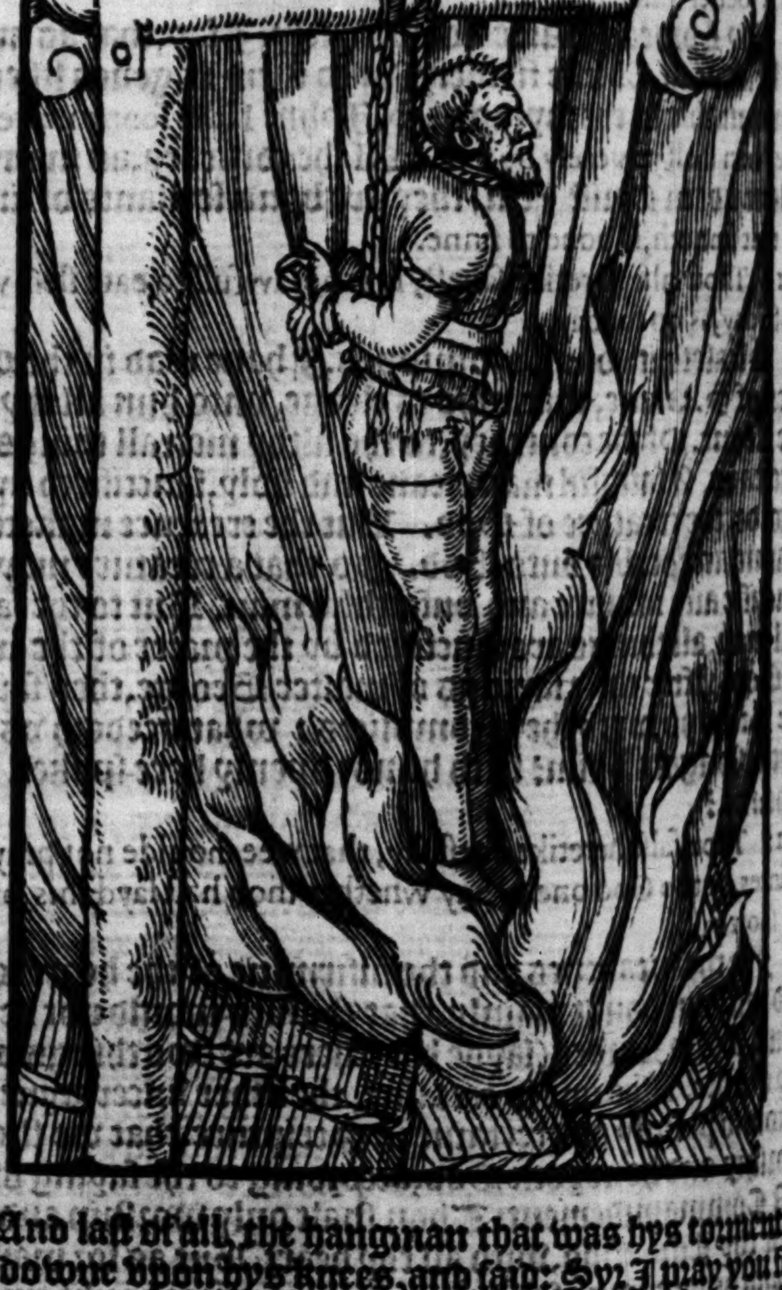
The wordes and exhortation of M. Wyſehart at his death to the people.

I beſeeche you Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, that yee be not offended in the worde of God for the affliction and torments, whych ye ſee alreadye prepared for mee. But I exhorte you that ye loue the worde of God, and ſuffer paciently and wyth a comfortable heart for the wordes ſake, whych is your vndoubted ſaluation and euerlaſting comforte.

Moreouer, I pray you ſhewe my brethren and ſiſters, whych haue hearde me ofte before, that they ceaſe not, nor leaue of the worde of God, which I taught vnto them, after the grace geuē vnto me, for no perſecutiōs or troubles in this world, which laſteth not: and ſhew vnto them, that my doctrine was no wiues fables after the conſtitutions made by men. And if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten greate thankes by men. But for the wordes ſake and true Euangel, which was geuen to me by the grace of God, I ſuffer thys day by men, not ſorowfully, but with a glad heart and minde. For this cauſe I was ſent, that I ſhoulde ſuffer this fire for Chriſtes ſake. Conſider and beholde my viſage, yee ſhall not ſee mee chaunge my colour. Thys grim fire I feare not. And ſo I pray you for to doe, if that any perſecution come vnto you for the wordes ſake, & not to feare them that ſlay the bodye, and afterwarde haue no power to ſlay the ſoule. Some haue ſayde of me, that I taught, that the ſoule of man ſhould ſleepe vntil ẏ laſt day. But I know ſurely, & my faith is ſuch, that my ſoule ſhall ſuppe wͭ my ſauiour Chriſte this night, ere it be 6. houres: for whom I ſuffer this. Then he praied for them which accuſed hym, ſaying: I beſeeche thee (father of heauen) to forgeue them that haue of any ignoraunce, or els of any euill minde, forged any lies vpon me. I forgeue them wyth all my heart. I beſeeche Chriſt to forgeue them that haue condemned me to death thys day ignorantly.

And laſt of all he ſayd to the people on thys manner: I beſeeche you brethren and ſiſters, to exhorte your Prelates to the learning of the worde of God, that they at the laſte may be aſhamed to doe euill, and learne to do good. And if they will not conuert themſelues from their wicked error, there ſhal haſtly come vpon them the wrath of God, which they ſhall not eſchewe. Many faithfull wordes ſayde he in the meane tyme, taking no heede or care of the cruell torments which were then prepared for him.

The Martyrdome of M. George Wiſehart.



And laſt of all, the hangman that was hys tormentor, ſate downe vpon hys knees, and ſaid: Syr I pray you forgeue me, for I am not giltie of your death. To whome hee anſweared: come hether to me. When that he was come to him, he kiſſed his cheeke, and ſayd: Loe here is a token that I forgeue thee. My heart do thine office: and by and by, he was put vpon the gibbet and hanged, and there burnte to powder. When that the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withholde from pitious mourning & complaining of this innocent Lambes ſlaughter.

A note of the iuſt puniſhment of God vpon the cruell Cardinall Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, named Beaton.

It was not long after the martyrdom of the bleſſed man of God M. George Wiſehart aforeſayd, who was put to death

The iuſt iudgement of God vpō Dauid Beaton a bloudy murtherer of Gods Saintes.

The death of Dauid Beaton Archb. of Saint Andrewes.

death by Dauid Beaton, the bloudy Archbiſhop and Cardinall of Scotland, as is aboue ſpecified, an. 1546. the firſt day of March, but the ſayd Dauid Beaton Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes, by the iuſt reuenge of Gods mighty iudgement, was ſlaine within his owne Caſtle of S. Andrewes by yͤ handes of one Lech & other Gētlemē, who by the Lord ſtirred vp, brake in ſodenly into his Caſtle vpon him, and in his bed murthered him the ſame yeare, the laſt daye of May, crying out: Alas, alas, ſley me not, I am a Prieſte. And ſo like a butcher he liued, and like a butcher he dyed, & lay 7. monethes and more vnburied, & at laſt like a carion buried in a dunghill. an. 1546. Maij vlt. Ex hiſtor. impreſſa.

Iohn Hamelton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes.

Iohn Hamelton a perſecutor.

After this Dauid Beaton, ſucceeded Iohn Hamelton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes. an. 1549. who to the entent that he would in no wayes appeare inferiour to his predeceſſour, in augmenting the number of the holy Martirs of God, in the next yeare following called a certayne poore man to iudgement, whoſe name was Adam Wallace. The order and maner of whoſe ſtory heere followeth.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

Adam Wallace Martir.

The condēnation of Adam Wallace a poore man.

There was ſet vpon a ſcaffold made hard to the Chauncelary wall of yͤ blacke Friers Church in Edinbrough on ſeates made therupon, the L. Gouernour. Aboue hym at his back ſate M. Gawin Hamelton Deane of Glaſgue, repreſenting the Metropolitane Paſtor thereof. Vpon a ſeate on his right hand ſate the Archb. of S. Andrewes. At his backe, and aſide ſomewhat ſtoode the Officiall Lowthaine. Next to the Byſhop of S. Andrewes, the Byſhop of Dunblane, the Biſhop of Murray, the Abbot of Dunfermeling, the Abbot of Glenluce, with other Churchmen of lower eſtimation, as the Officiall of S. Andrewes, & other Doctours of that neſt and City. And at the other ende of the ſeate ſate maiſter Wchiltrie. On his left hand ſate the Earle of Argyle Iuſtice, with his Deputye Syr Iohn Campbell of Lundy vnder his feete. Next him the Earle of Huntley. Then the Earle of Anguiſh, the Byſhop of Gallaway, the Prior of S. Andrewes, the Biſh. of Orkenay, the L. Forbes, Dane Iohn Wynrime Supprioure of S. Andrewes, and behinde the ſeates ſtoode the whole ſenate, the Clarke of the Regiſter, &c.

Conuenerunt ſcribæ & Pharisei aduerſus dominum, & aduerſus Chriſtum eius.

At the further end of the Chauncelary wall in the pulpit was placed M. Iohn Lauder parſon of Marbottle accuſer, clad in a Surplice, and a red hood, and a great Congregation of the whole people in yͤ body of the church, ſtāding on the ground. After that, Syr Iohn Ker, Prebendary of S. Giles Church was accuſed, conuicted, and condemned, for the falſe making and geuing forth of a ſentēce of diuorce, and thereby falſly diuorced and parted a man and his lawfull wife in the name of the Deane of Roſcalrige and certaine other Iudges appointed by the holy Father the Pope. He graunted the falſhood, and that neuer any ſuch thing was done in deede, nor yet ment nor moued by the forſad Iudges, and was agreed to be baniſhed the realmes of Scotland and England for his life time, and to loſe his right hande, if he were found or apprehended therein heereafter, and in the meane time to leaue his benefices for euer, and they to be vacant.

Barrabas let go poore Chriſt take & crucified.

Adam Wallace brought in before the Scribes and Phariſeis.

Ioh. Lauder his accuſer.

Adam Wallace otherwiſe named Iohn Feane.

After that was brought in Adā Wallace, a ſimple poore man in appearance, cōueyed by Iohn of Cunnoke ſeruant to the B. of S. Andrewes, and ſet in the middeſt of yͤ ſcaffold, who was commaunded to looke to the accuſer: who aſked him what was his name. He aunſwered, Adam Wallace. The accuſer ſayd, he had another name, which he graunted, and ſayd he was commonly called Feane. Then aſked he where he was borne? within two myle of Fayle (ſaid he) in Kyle. Then ſayd the accuſer, I repent that euer ſuch a poore man as you ſhould put theſe noble Lordes to ſo great encombrance this day by your vaine ſpeaking. And I muſt ſpeake (ſayd he) as God geueth me grace, and I beleue I haue ſaid no euil to hurt any body. Would God (ſaid the accuſer) ye had neuer ſpokē, but you are brought forth for ſo horrible crimes of hereſie, as neuer was imagined in this countrey of before, and ſhall be ſufficiently proued, that ye can not deny it: and I forethinke that it ſhould be heard, for hurting of weake conſciences. Now I wyll yea thee no more, & thou ſhalt heare the points that thou art accuſed of.

The Sacrament of the [illegible]

Adam Wallace, alîas Feane, thou art openly delated and accuſed for preaching, ſaying, and teaching of the blaſphemies and abominable hereſies vnderwritten. In the firſt, thou haſt ſaid and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the wordes of conſecration, are not the body and bloud of Ieſu Chriſt. He turned to the Lord Gouernour, and Lordes aforeſayd, ſaying: I ſayd neuer, nor taught nothing, but that I found in this booke and writte (hauyng there a Bible at his belte, in French, Dutch, and Engliſh) which is the word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be Iudge to me and this his holy writ, here it is, and where I haue ſayd wrong, I ſhal take what puniſhment you wil put to me: for I neuer ſaid nothing concerning this that I am accuſed of, but that which I found in this writte.

The doctrine of Adam Wallace touching the Sacrament of the Lordes body.

What diddeſt thou ſay, ſayd the accuſer? I ſayde (quoth he) that after our Lord Ieſus Chriſt had eaten the Paſcall Lambe in his latter Supper with his Apoſtles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he inſtituted a new Sacrament in remembraunce of his death then to come. He tooke bread, he bleſſed, and brake it, and gaue it to hys Diſciples, and ſayde: Take yee, eate yee, thys is my bodye, whyche ſhall bee broken and geuen for you: And lykewiſe the cuppe, bleſſed, and badde them drinke all thereof, for that was the cup of the new teſtament, which ſhould be ſhed for the forgeuing of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembraunce.

Math. 26.

The Archb. of S. Andrewes ſpeaketh.

The Earle of Hūtly ſpeaketh.

Then ſaide the B. of S. Andrewes, and the Officiall of Lowthaine, with the Deane of Glaſgue, and many other Prelates: we know this well enough. The earle of Hūtly ſaid: thou aunſwereſt not to that which is laide to thee: ſay either nay or yea thereto. He aunſwered, if ye will admitte God & his word ſpoken by the mouth of his bleſſed ſonne Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour, ye will admit that I haue ſayd: for I haue ſayd or taught nothing, but that the word, which is the triall and touchſtone ſayth, whych ought to be Iudge to me, and to all the world.

Why (quoth the Earle of Huntley) haſt thou not a Iudge good inough? and troweſt thou that we know not God and his word? Aunſwere to that is ſpoken to thee: and then they made the accuſer ſpeake the ſame thing ouer againe. Thou ſaydeſt (quoth the accuſer) and haſt taught, that the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of the conſecration, are not the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

1. Cor. 11.

He aunſwered: I ſayd neuer more then the writte ſayth, nor yet more then I haue ſayd before. For I know wel by S. Paule when he ſayeth: Whoſoeuer eateth this bread, and drinketh of thys cup vnwoorthely, receaueth to hymſelfe damnation. And therefore when I taught (which was but ſeldome, and to them only which required and deſired me) I ſayd, that if the Sacrament of the aultar were truly miniſtred, and vſed as the ſonne of the liuing God did inſtitute it, where that was done, there was God himſelfe by hys diuine power, by the which he is ouer all.

The Biſhop of Orkney aſked him: Beleeueſt thou not (ſayd he) that the bread and wine in the ſacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of the conſecration, is the very body of God, fleſh, bloud, and bone?

Adam Wallace aunſwereth by his Creede.

Chriſts naturall body cannot be in two places at once.

Math. 26.

Iohn. 16.

Math. 28. Iohn. 16.

He anſwered: I wot not what that word conſecration meaneth. I haue not much latine, but I beleeue that the ſonne of God was conceaued of the holy Ghoſt, and borne of the Virgin Mary, & hath a naturall body with handes feete, and other members, and in the ſame body hee walked vp & downe in the world, preached, and taught, he ſuffered death vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buryed, and that by his godly power hee rayſed that ſame body agayne the thyrd day: and the ſame body aſcended in to heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of the father, whiche ſhall come agayne to iudge both the quicke and yͤ dead. And that this body is a naturall body with handes & feete and cannot be in two places at once, he ſheweth well hymſelfe: For the whiche euerlaſting thankes be to hym that maketh this matter cleare. When the woman brake the oyntment on hym, aunſwering to ſome of hys Diſciples which grudged thereat, he ſayd: The poore ſhall you haue alwayes with you, but me ſhall you not haue alwayes, meaning of his naturall body. And likewiſe at his Aſcention ſayd he to the ſame Diſciples that were fleſhly, and would euer haue had him remaynyng with them corporally: It is needfull for you that I paſſe away, for if I paſſe not away, the comforter the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come to you (meaning that his naturall body behoued to be taken away frō thē) But be ſtoute and be of good cheare, for am with you vnto the worldes end.

The eating of the very fleſh of Chriſt profiteth nothing.

And that the eating of his very fleſh profiteth not, may well be knowne by his wordes which he ſpake in the 6. of Iohn, where after that he had ſayd: Except ye eate my fleſhe and drinke my bloud, ye ſhall not haue life in you: they murmuring therat, he reproued them for their groſſe & fleſhly taking of his wordes, and ſayd: What will ye thinke when ye ſe the ſonne of man aſcend to the place that he came frō? It is the ſpirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing, to be eaten as they tooke it, and euen ſo take ye it.

Iohn. 6.

The B. of Orknay ſpeaketh.

It is an horrible hereſie, ſayde the Biſhop of Orknay. When he began to ſpeake again, and bad the Lord Gouernour iudge if hee had righte by the write, the accuſer cryed Ad ſecundam. Nunc ad ſecundam, aunſwered the Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes.

The 2. article agaynſt Adam Wallace.

Then was he bidden to heare the accuſer, who propounded the ſecond Article, and ſayd: Thou ſaydeſt lykewyſe, and openly diddeſt teach, that the Maſſe is very Idolatry, and abhominable in the ſight of God.

Aunſvvere.

The Maſſe not found in Scripture.

Argument.

He aunſwered and ſayde: I haue read the Bible and word of God in three tounges, and haue vnderſtand them ſo farre as God gaue me grace, and yet read I neuer that word Maſſe in it all: but I found (ſayd he) that the thyng that was higheſt and moſt in eſtimation amongſt men, and not in the word of God, was Idolatry, and abhominable in the ſight of God. And I ſay the Maſſe is holden greatly in eſtimation, and high amongeſt men, and is not founded in the word, therefore I ſaid it was Idolatry and abhominable in the ſight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and proue it by Gods word, I will graunt mine errour, and that I haue fayled: otherwiſe not, and in that caſe I will ſubmit me to all lawfull correction and puniſhment. Ad tertiam, ſayd the Archbyſhop.

The 3. Article.

Then ſayde the accuſer: Thou haſt ſayde and openly taught that the God which we worſhip, is but bread, ſowen of corne, growing of the earth, baked of mẽs hands, and nothing elſe.

Aunſvvere.

He aunſwered, I worſhip the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons in one Godhead, which made & faſhioned the heauen and earth, and all that is therein of naught, but I know not which God you worſhip: and if you will ſhew me whome you worſhip, I ſhall ſhew you what he is, as I can by my iudgement.

The popes God.

Beleeueſt thou not (ſayd the accuſer) that the ſacrament of the alter, after the words of the conſecration betwixt the Prieſts hands, is the very body and bloud of the ſonne of God, and God himſelfe? what the body of God is, ſayde he, and what kind of body he hath, I haue ſhewed you, ſo farre as I haue found in ſcripture.

Then ſayd the accuſer, thou haſt preached, ſayd, and openly taught diuers & ſundry other great errours and abhominable hereſies againſt all the vij. ſacramentes, which for ſhortnes of time I pretermit and ouerpaſſe. whether doeſt thou graunt thy foreſayd Articles that thou art accuſed of, or no, and thou ſhalt heare them ſhortly? and then repeated the accuſer the three Articles aforeſayd ſhortly ouer, and aſked him whether he graunted or denied them.

The vvordes of Adam Wallace to the L. Gouernour and the Lordes.

Heb. 10.

He aunſwered that before he had ſaid of his aunſweres, and that he ſayd nothing, but agreeing to the holy word as he vnderſtode, ſo God iudge him, and his owne conſcience accuſe him, and thereby would he abide vnto the time he were better inſtructed by ſcripture, and the contrary proued, euen to the death: and ſaid to the Lord Gouernour and other Lords: if you cõdemne me for holding by Gods word, my innocent bloud ſhall be required at your hands, when ye ſhall be brought before the iudgemente ſeate of Chriſt, who is mightie to defend my innocent cauſe, before whome ye ſhall not denie it, nor yet be able to reſiſte hys wrath: to whome I referre the vengeaunce, as it is written: Vengeance is mine, and I will revvard.

Sentence of condemnation geuen agaynſt Adam Wallace.

Syr Hugh Terry an impe of Sathan.

Fryers ſent to inſtructe Adam Wallace.

Then gaue they forth ſentence, and condemned him by the lawes, and ſo lefte him to the ſecular power, in the hands of Sir Iohn Campbell Iuſtice deputie, who delyuered him to the Prouoſt of Edenbrough to be burnt on the Caſtle hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the vppermoſt houſe in the towne with yrons about his legs and necke, and gaue charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keepe the key of the ſayd houſe, an ignoraunt Miniſter and impe of Sathan, and of the Biſhops, who by direction, ſente to the poore man two Gray Friers to inſtructe hym, wyth whome he would enter into no communing. Soone after that was ſent in two blacke Friers, an Engliſhe Frier, and another ſubtile ſophiſter, called Arbircromy, with the which Engliſh Frier he would haue reaſoned and declared his faith by the ſcriptures, who aunſwered, he had no commiſſion to enter in diſputation with him, and ſo departed and left him.

The Deane of Roſcalridge ſent to Adã Wallace.

The bookes of the good man taken from him.

Then was ſent to him a worldly wiſe man, and not vngodly in the vnderſtanding of the truth, the Deane of Roſcalrige, who gaue him Chriſtian conſolatiõ, amongſt the which he exhorted him to beleue the realtie of the ſacramẽt after the cõſecration. But he would cõſent to nothing that had not euidẽce in the holy ſcripture, & ſo paſſed ouer that night in ſinging, & lauding God to the eares of diuers hearers, hauing learned the pſalter of Dauid without booke, to his conſolation: For before they had ſpoyled him of his Bible, which alwaies til after he was cõdẽned, was wͭ him where euer he wẽt. After yͭ, ſir Hugh knew that he had certaine bookes to read & cõfort his ſpirit, who came in a rage & tooke yͤ ſame frõ him, leauing him deſolat (to his power) of all cõſolatiõ, and gaue diuers vngodly & iniurious prouocatiõs by his diueliſh venome, to haue peruerted him a poore innocent, frõ the patience & hope he had in Chriſt his ſauiour: but God ſuffered him not to be moued therwith, as plainely appeared to the hearers and ſeers for the time.

So all the next morning abode this poore man in yrons, and prouiſion was commaunded to be made for his burning againſt the next day. whiche daye the Lord Gouernour, and all the principall both ſpirituall and temporall Lords departed from Edenbrough to their other buſines.

The De… commen… gayne to A… dã Wa…

After they were departed, came yͤ Deane of Roſcalrige to him againe & reaſoned with him after his wit. who anſwered as before, he would ſay nothing cõcerning his faith but as the ſcripture teſtifieth, yea though an Aungell came from heauen to perſwade him to the ſame: ſauing that he confeſſed himſelfe to haue receaued good conſolation of the ſaid Deane in other behalfes as becommeth a Chriſtian.

Syr Hugh Terry co… meth ag… to Adam Wallace.

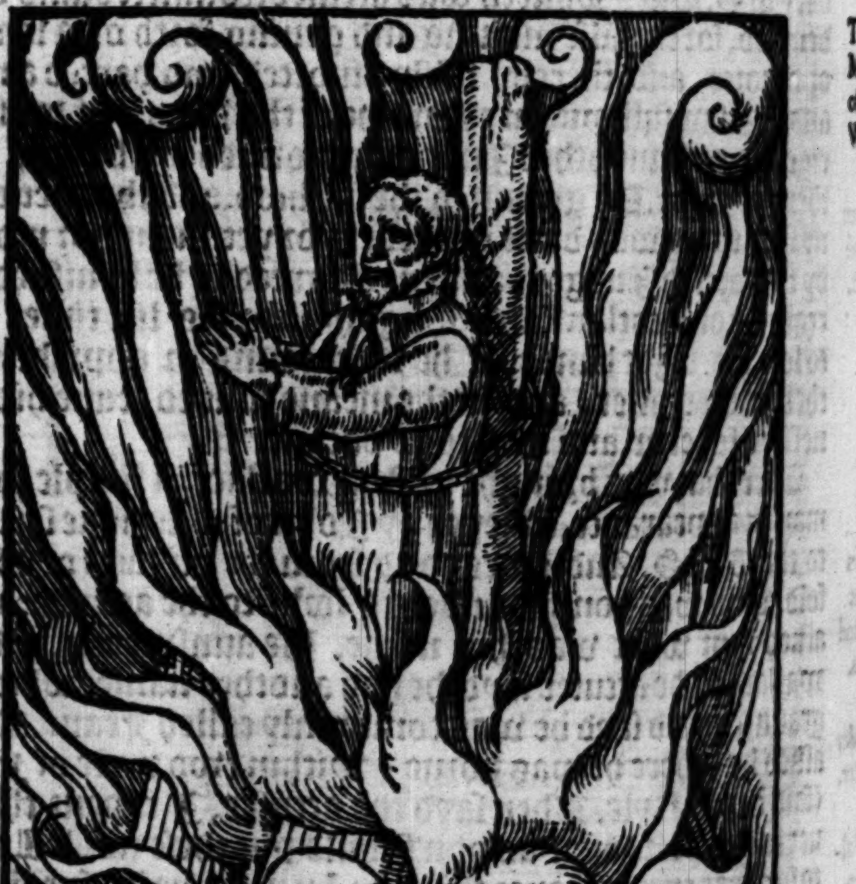
Then after came in the ſaid Terry again & examined him after his old manner, and ſaid, he would garre deuils to come forth of him ere euen. To whome he aunſwered: you ſhould be a godly man to geue me rather cõſolation in my caſe. when I knewe you were come, I prayed God I might reſiſte your temptations, which I thanke hym, he hath made me able to doe: therfore I pray you let me alone in peace. Then he aſked of one of the Officers that ſtode by, is your fire making ready? who tolde hym it was. He anſwered, as it pleaſeth God: I am ready ſoone or late as it ſhall pleaſe him: & then he ſpake to one faithful in that company, & bad him cõmend him to all the faithfull, being ſure to meete together with thẽ in heauen. From that time to his forth comming to the fire, ſpake no man with hym.

The Prouoſt of E… denieth… forbidde… him to ſpeake to… ny man. The w… of Adam Wallace t… the peop…

At his foorth comming, the Prouoſt with great manaſing words forbad him to ſpeake to any mã, or any to him, as belike he had commandement of his ſuperiours. Comming from the towne to the Caſtell hill, the commõ people ſayd, God haue mercy vpon him. And on you to (ſayd he.) Being beſide yͤ fire, he lifted vp his eyen to heauẽ twiſe or thriſe, and ſaid to the people: Let it not offend you, that I ſuffer the death this day, for the truthes ſake, for the Diſciple is not aboue his maiſter. Then was yͤ Prouoſt angry that he ſpake. Then looked he to heauen againe, and ſayd: They will not let me ſpeake. The corde being about hys necke, the fire was lighted, and ſo departed he to God conſtantly, and with good countenance to our ſightes. Ex teſtimonijs & literis è Scotia petitis. an. 1550.

The burning of the bleſſed Martyr Adam Wallace.

The b… Martirdo… of Adam Wallace.



¶ The ſchiſme that aroſe in Scotland for the Pater noſter.

After that Richard Merſhal Doctour of Diuinitie and Priour of the blacke Friers at the new Caſtle in England, had declared in his preachings of S. Andrewes in Scotland, that the Lordes Prayer (commonly called the Pater noſter) ſhould be done only to God & not to Saintes, neither to any other creature: the Doctours of the Uniuerſitie of S. Andrewes together with the Gray Friers, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater noſter to Saints, had great indignatiō that their old doctrine ſhuld be repugned, & ſtirred vp a Gray Frier called Frier Toittis, to preach again to the people that they ſhould & might pray the Pater noſter to Saintes. Who finding no part of the Scripture to founde his purpoſe vpon, yet came to the Pulpit, the firſt of Nouember, being the Feaſt of Allhallowes, an. 1551. and toke the text of the Goſpell for that day read in their Maſſe, written in the 5. of Mathew, conteining theſe wordes: Bleſſed are the poore in ſpirite, for to them pertayneth the kingdome of heauen.

Schiſme ... Scotland ... a Sermō ... Richard ... Marſhall a ... acke Fryer ... eaching ... at the ... ater noſter ... ould not ... ſayd to ... aintes.

...ath. 5.

This feeble foundation being layde, the Frier began to reaſon moſt impertinently, that the Lordes Prayer might be offered to Saints: becauſe euery petition therof appertaine to them. For if we meete an old mā in ŷ ſtreete (ſayd he) we will ſay to him: good day father, and therefore much more may we call the Saintes our fathers: and becauſe we graunt alſo that they be in heauen, we may ſay to euery one of them: Our father which art in heauen. Father, God hath made their names holy, and therefore ought we as followers of God to holde their names holy, and ſo we may ſay to any of the Saintes: Our father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy name. And for the ſame cauſe, ſayd the Frier, as they are in the kingdome of heauen, ſo that kingdome is theirs by poſſeſſion: and ſo praying for the kingdome of heauen, we may ſay to them and euery one of them: Thy kingdome come. And except their will had bene the very will of God, they had neuer come to that kingdome, and therefore ſeeing their will is Gods will, we may ſay to euery one of them: Thy will be done.

The doc... ...ne of the ...apiſtes ...deth ...at the ...ater noſter ...y be ...ayd to ...aintes. ...d why?

...laſphe... ...ous doc... ...ine againſt ...e glory & ...d name of God.

A Fryerly ...loſing vpō ...the Pater noſter.

But when the Frier came to the fourth petitiō touching our dayly bread, he began to be aſtoniſhed and aſhamed, ſo that he did ſweate abundantly, partly bicauſe his ſophiſtry began to fayle him, not findyng ſuch a colour for that part as for the other which went before: and partly becauſe he ſpake againſt his owne knowledge and conſcience and ſo was compelled to confeſſe that it was not in the Saintes power to giue vs our daily bread, but that they ſhoulde pray to God for vs (ſaid he) that we may obtaine our dayly bread by their interceſſion, and ſo gloſed he the reſt to the ende. Not ſtanding yet content with this deteſtable doctrine, hee affirmed moſt blaſphemouſly, that S. Paules napkyn and S. Peters ſhadow did miracles, and that the vertue of Eliſeus cloke deuided the waters, attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other errours of the Papiſtes, horrible to be heard.

The Fryers ...ophiſtry ...ere fayled ...im.

Upon this, folowed incontinent a daungerous ſchiſme in the Church of Scotland: for not onely the Cleargie, but the whole people were deuided among themſelues, one defending the trueth, and an other the Papiſtry, in ſuche ſort, that there roſe a Prouerbe: To whome ſay you youre Pater noſter? And although the Papiſtes had the vpper hand as then, whoſe wordes were almoſt holde for law (ſo great was the blindnes of that age) yet God ſo inſpired ŷ harts of the common people, that ſo many as could get the vnderſtanding of the bare wordes of the Lordes prayer in engliſh (which was then ſaide in Latin) vtterly deteſted that opiniō, holding that it ſhould in no wiſe be ſaid to Saints: So that the craftes men and their ſeruauntes in theyr boothes, when the Frier came, exploded him with ſhame enough, crying, Frier Pater noſter, Frier Pater noſter, who at the laſt being conuict in his owne conſcience, and aſhamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leaue the Towne of S. Andrewes.

A Scottiſhe prouerbe.

...yer Pater noſter driuē ...t of S. Andrewes.

In the meane time of this brute, there were two Paſquils ſet on the Abbay Churche, the one in Latin bearyng theſe wordes.

Doctores noſtri de Collegio,
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod Sancti ſunt ſimiles altiſſimo:
Et ſe tuentur grauatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad inſtantiam fiſcalis,
Glaw & Heruey non varij
In premiſſis connotarij.

...Dauid ...aw and ...Thomas ...ruy, ...o procu... ...tours.

The other in Engliſh, bearing theſe wordes.

Doctors of Theologie, of fourescore of yeares,
And old iolye Lupoys the bald gray Friers,
They would be called Rabbi and Magiſter noſter,
And wot not to whome they ſay their Pater noſter.

Shortly, the Chriſtians were ſo hyely offended, and the Papiſtes on the other ſide ſo proud and wilfull, that neceſſary it was, to eſchew greater inconueniences, that ŷ Clergy at leaſt ſhould be aſſembled to diſpute and conclude the whole matter, that ŷ lay people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the Uniuerſitie agreed, whoſoeuer had bene preſent might haue heard much ſubtile ſophiſtry. For ſome of the popiſh Doctours affirmed that it ſhoulde be ſayd to God formaliter, and to Saynctes, materialiter, Others vltimatè, & non vltimatè. Others ſayde it ſhoulde be ſaid to God principaliter, and to ſayntes minus principaliter. Others, that it ſhould be ſayd to GOD primariè, and to ſaintes ſecundariè, Others that it ſhould be ſayd to GOD capiendo ſtrictè, & to ſayntes capiendo largè. Whiche vayne diſtinctions being heard and conſidered by the people they ŷ were ſimple, remayned in greater doubtfulnes thē they were in before: ſo that a well aged man, and ſeruaunt to ŷ Suppriour of S. Andrewes called ŷ Suppriours Thome being demaunded to whome hee ſayde hys Pater noſter: he anſwered, to God onely. Then they aſked agayne what ſhould be ſayd to the ſayntes, he anſwered, geue them Aues and Credes inough in the deuils name, for that may ſuffice them wel inough: albeit they doe ſpoyle God of his right. Others making their vauntes of the Doctours, ſayd, that becauſe Chriſt (who made the Pater noſter) neuer came into the Ile of Britaine, & ſo vnderſtood not the Engliſh tonge therefore it was that the Doctors concluded it ſhoulde be ſayd in Latine.

Diſputation in Scotland to whom they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter

Pater noſter to be ſayd to God formaliter & to Saintes materialiter.

Vltimatè to god non vltimatè to Saynctes.

Principaliter to God minus principaliter to Saintes.

Primariè to god ſecundariè to Saintes.

Strictè to God largè to Saintes.

This perturbation and open ſclaunder yet depending it was thought good to call a principal Councell to decide the matter. Whiche being aſſembled at Edenbrough, the Papiſtes being deſtitute of reaſon, defended theyr partes with lyes, alledging, that the Uniuerſitie of Paris had cōcluded that the Lordes Prayer ſhould be ſayd to Saintes. But becauſe that could not be proued, and that they could not preuayle by reaſon, they vſed theyr wil in place of reaſon, & ſometime diſpitefull and iniurious talke. As Fryer Scot being aſked of one to whō he ſhuld ſay the Pater noſter, hee aunſwered, ſaying: ſay it to the deuill, knaue. So the Councel perceauing they could profite nothing by reaſoning, they were compelled to paſſe * voting.

The aunſwere of an olde man, to whom they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter.

A doctorly reaſon why the Pater noſter ſhould be ſayd in Latine.

The Councell of Edenbrough could not agree to whom they ſhould ſay theyr Pater noſter.

The Papiſtes mainteyne their cauſe with lyes and rayling, when reaſon lacketh.

* That is to the numbring of voyces,

But then incontinent they that were called Churchmē, were found deuided and repugnaunt, among themſelues. For ſome Biſhop with the Doctours and Friers, conſented that the Pater noſter ſhould be ſayde to ſayntes: but the Byſhops of S. Andrewes, Caitneſſe and Atheins, wyth other moe learned men, refuſed vtterly to ſubſcribe to the ſame. Finally, with conſent of both the parties, Commiſſion was geuen by the holy churche to Dane * John Winrame, then Suppriour of S. Andrewes, to declare to the people how and after what maner they ſhoulde praye the Lordes prayer. Who accepting to the commiſſion, declared that it ſhould be ſayd to God, with ſome other reſtrictions which are not neceſſary to be put in memory. And ſo by litle and litle, the brute and tumulte ceaſed, Ex teſtimonio è Scotia allato.

The Fryers and Prelates could not agree amōg themſelues about ſaying the Pater noſter.

* This Winrame is now become a godly miniſter in the Church of God, and a maried man.

* The martyrdome of the bleſſed ſeruant of God, Walter Mille.

Walter Mylle, Martyr.

AMong the reſt of the Martirs of Scotland, ŷ marueilous conſtancie of Walter Mille is not to be paſſed ouer in ſilence. Out of whoſe aſhes ſprang thouſands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chooſe rather to dye then to be any longer ouertroden by the tyranny of the foreſayd cruell, ignorant, and beaſtly byſhops Abbots, Monkes, and Fryers, and ſo began the congregation of Scotland, to debate the true Religion of Chriſt agaynſt the Frenchmen and Papiſtes, who ſought alwayes to depreſſe and keepe down the ſame: for it began ſoone after the Martyrdome of Walter Mille, of the which ŷ forme here after followeth.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1558. in the tyme of Marye Duches of Longawayll Queene Regent of Scotland, & the ſayd John Hamelton being biſhop of S. Andrewes, and Primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in hys youth had bene a papiſt) after that he had bene in Almaine, & had heard the doctrine of the Goſpell, he returned again into Scotland, and ſetting aſide al papiſtry and compelled chaſtitie, maryed a wyfe, whiche thing made him vnto the Byſhops of Scotland to be ſuſpected of hereſie: and after long watching of him he was taken by 2. Popiſh Prieſtes one called ſir George Straqwhen, and the other ſir Hugh Turry ſeruauntes to the ſayd byſhop for the tyme, wythin the towne of Dyſart in Fife, and brought to S. Andrewes and impriſoned in the caſtell therof. He being in priſon, the Papiſtes earneſtly trauayled and laboured to haue ſeduced him, and threatned him with death and corporall tormentes, to the intent they woulde cauſe him to recant and forſake the trueth. But ſeeing they coulde profit nothing thereby, and that he remained ſtill firme and conſtant, they labou-

Walter Mylle contrary to his Popiſhe vow maried.

Walter Mylle firſt ſuſpected of hereſie.

Walter Mylle taken by two Popiſhe preſtes, George Straqwhen and Syr Hugh Turrye, laboured to perſwade him by faire promiſes, and offered vnto him a Monkes portion for all the dayes of his life, in the Abbay of Dunfermeling, ſo that hee woulde denie the things he had taught, and graunt that they were hereſie: but he continuing in the truth euen vnto the end, deſpiſed their threatnings and faire promiſes.

Concilium malignantium.

Then aſſembled together the Biſhops of S. Andrewes, Murray, Brechin, Caitnes, and Atheins, the Abbots of Dunfermeling, Landors, Balindrinot, & Cowper, with Doctors of Theologie of S. Andrewes, as John Greſon blacke Frier, and Dane John Wynrame, ſupprioure of S. Andrewes, william Crāſton Prouoſt of yͤ old Colledge, with diuers others, as ſondry Friers blacke & gray. Theſe being aſſembled, and hauing cōſulted together, he was taken out of priſon, & brought to yͤ Metropolitane Church, where he was put in a Pulpit tofore the Biſhops to be accuſed, the 20. day of Aprill. Being brought vnto yͤ Church, and climing vp to the Pulpit, they ſeeing him ſo weake & feeble of perſon, partly by age and trauaile, & partly by euil intreatment, that without help he could not clime vp, they were in deſpaire not to haue heard him for weakeneſſe of voyce. But when he began to ſpeake, he made the Church to ring and ſound againe, wyth ſo great courage & ſtoutnes, that the Chriſtians which were preſent, were no leſſe reioyced, then the aduerſaries were confounded and aſhamed. He being in the Pulpit, and on his knees at Prayer, ſir Andrew Oliphant, one of the Byſhops Prieſtes, commaunded him to ariſe and to anſwere to his Articles, ſaying on this maner: Sir walter Mille, ariſe and aunſwere to the Articles, for you hold my Lord heere ouer long. To whome walter after he had finiſhed his prayer, aunſwered ſaying: we ought to obey God more then men, I ſerue one more mightie, euen the omnipotent Lord: and where you call me ſir walter, they call me walter and not ſir walter, I haue bene ouerlong one of the Popes Knightes. Now ſay what thou haſt to ſay.

Walter Mylle for age could ſcarſe clyme to the pulpit. God geueth ſtrength contrary to mans expectation.

Andrew Oliphant the Archbiſhops Chaplaine.

Theſe were the Articles whereof he was accuſed, with his aunſweres vnto the ſame.

Oliphant. Mylle.

Oliphant. What thinke you of Prieſts mariage?

Mille. I hold it a bleſſed band, for Chriſt himſelf maintained it, and approued the ſame, and alſo made it free to al men: but ye thinke it not free to you, ye abhorre it, and in yͤ meane time take other mens wiues and daughters, & will not keepe the band that God hath made. Ye vow chaſtitie, & breake the ſame. S. Paul had rather marry then burne: the which I haue done, for God forbad neuer mariage to any man, of what ſtate or degree ſo euer he were.

Oliphant, Mylle,

Olip. Thou ſayeſt there is not ſeauen ſacraments.

Mille. Geue me the Lords ſupper and Baptiſme, and take you the reſt, & part them amōg you: For if there be vij. why haue you omitted one of them, to wit, mariage, and geue your ſelues to ſclaunderous and vngodly whoredome.

Oliphant.

Oliph. Thou art againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar, and ſayeſt, that the Maſſe is wrong, and is Idolatry.

Mylle. A ſimilitude aptely applyed.

Mille. A Lord or a King ſendeth & calleth many to a diner, and when the diner is in readineſſe, he cauſeth to ryng a bell, and the men come to the hall, and ſit downe to be partakers of the diner, but the Lord turning his backe vnto them, eateth all himſelfe, and mocketh them: ſo do ye.

Oliphant. Mylle. The Sacrament and ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Oliph. Thou denyeſt the ſacrament of the aultar to be the very body of Chriſt really in fleſh and bloud.

Mille. The ſcripture of God is not to be taken carnally but ſpiritually, and ſtandeth in faith only: & as for the Maſſe, it is wrong, for Chriſt was once offered on the Croſſe for mans treſpaſſe, and will neuer be offered agayne, for then he ended all ſacrifice.

Oliphant. Mylle. Byſhops no Byſhops.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the office of a Byſhop.

Mille. I affirme that they whome ye call Byſhops, do no Biſhops workes, nor vſe the offices of Biſhops, (as Paul biddeth writing to Timothy) but liue after their owne ſenſuall pleaſure, and take no care of the flocke, nor yet regard they the word of God, but deſire to be honored and called, my Lords.

Olyphant.

Oliph. Thou ſpeakeſt againſt pilgrimage, and calleſt it a pilgrimage to whoredome.

Mylle.

Mille. I affirme that, and ſay that it is not commaunded in the ſcripture, and that there is no greater whoredome in no places, then at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

Oliph. Thou preacheſt quietly and priuatly in houſes, and openly in the fields.

Mille. Yea man, and on the ſea alſo ſailing in ſhip.

Walter Mylle conſtant in the truth.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thine erroneous opiniōs? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce ſentence againſt thee.

Sentence pronounced againſt Walter Mylle.

Mille. I am accuſed of my life: I know I muſt die once, & therfore as Chriſt ſayd to Iudas: Quod facis, fac citius. Ye ſhal know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corne, I am no chaffe, I wil not be blowne away with the wind nor burſt with the flaile, but I will abide both.

Paride Leam… the Arch… byſhops Stuard and Prouoſt … fuſed to … his tempo… rall iudge. Alſo the Archbi… ſhops chamber… laine refu… ſeth to be his iudge. The towne offended with the condemna… tion of Walter Mille.

Theſe thinges rehearſed they of purpoſe, with other light trifles, to augment their final accuſation, and then ſir Andrew Oliphant pronounced ſentence againſt him, that he ſhuld be deliuered to the temporall iudge, and puniſhed as an hereticke, which was to be burnt. Notwithſtanding his boldnes and conſtancie moued ſo the hartes of many, that the Byſhops Stuard of his regalitie, Prouoſt of the towne called Patrike Learmond, refuſed to be his temporall iudge: to whome it appertained if the cauſe had bene iuſt. Alſo the Biſhops chamberlaine being therwith charged, would in no wiſe take vpon him ſo vngodly an office. Yea the whole towne was ſo offended with his vniuſt condemnation, that the Biſhops ſeruauntes could not get for their money ſo much as one cord to tie him to yͤ ſtake, or a tarre barrell to burne him, but were conſtrained to cut the cordes of their maiſters own pauilion to ſerue their turne.

No corde in all the towne could be bought to tye him to the ſtake. Alexander Symmerwall the Biſhops ſeruant, made tem… porall iudge for Walter Mille.

Neuertheleſſe one ſeruaunt of the Byſhops more ignoraunt and cruell then the reſt, called Alexander Symmerwayll, enterpriſing the office of a temporall iudge in that part, conueyed him to the fire, where againſt all naturall reaſon of man, his boldnes and hardines did more and more increaſe: ſo that the ſpirit of God working miraculouſly in him, made it manifeſt to the people that his cauſe and Articles were iuſt, and he innocently put downe.

The miraculous wor… king of God in Walter Mille.

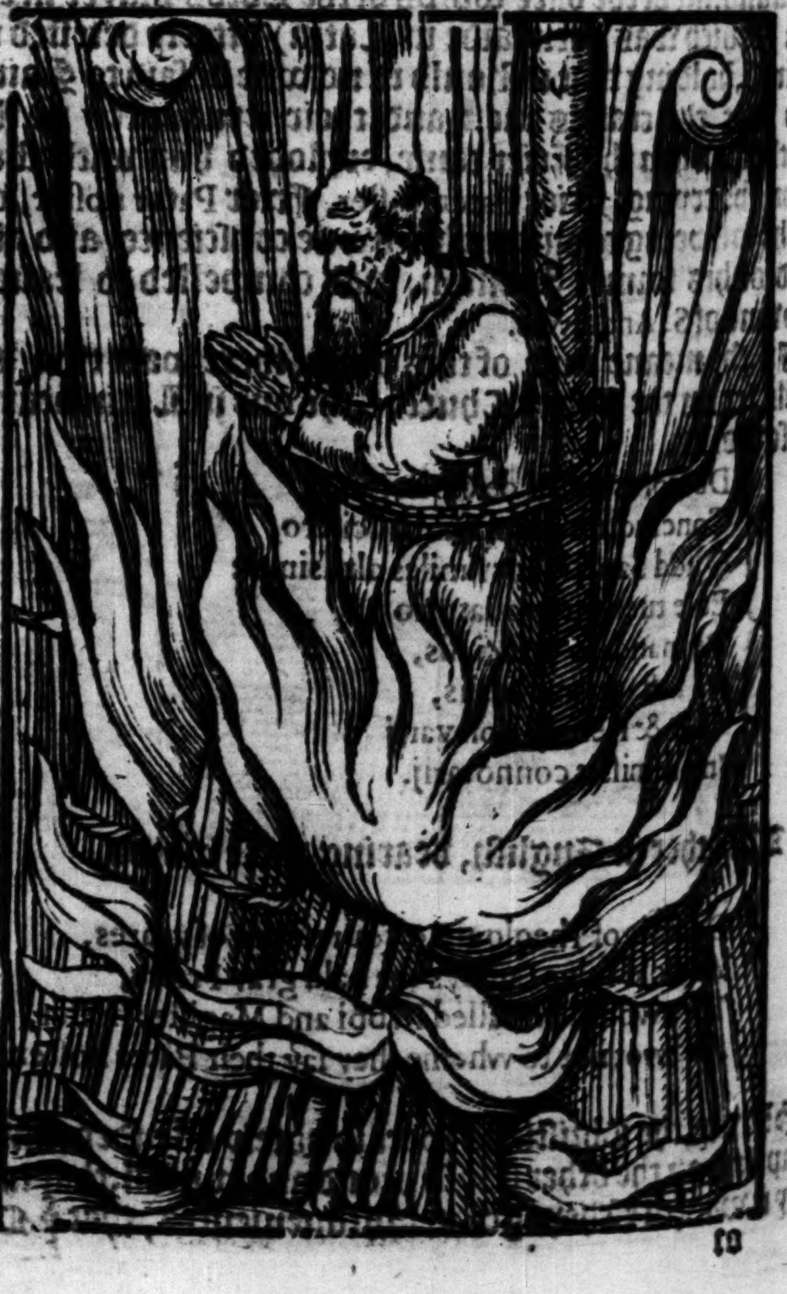
Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conueyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bad him paſſe to the ſtake: and he ſaid, nay, but wilt thou put me vp with thy hand and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me paſſe vp gladly, for by yͤ law of God I am forbiddē to put hands vpon my ſelfe. Thē Oliphant put him vp with his hand, and he aſcended gladly, ſaying: Introibo ad altare Dei, and deſired that he might haue place to ſpeake to yͤ people, the which Oliphant and other of the burners denyed, ſaying that he had ſpoken ouer much, for the Byſhops were altogether offended that yͤ matter was ſo long continued. Then ſome of the yong men committed both the burners, and the Byſhops their mayſters to the Diuell, ſaying, that they beleeued that they ſhould lament that daye, and deſired the ſayd walter to ſpeake what he pleaſed.

W. Mille denyed by the Byſhops to ſpeake. W. Mille permitted by the yong men to ſpeake.

And ſo after he had made his humble ſupplicatiō to God on his knees, he aroſe, and ſtādīg vpon the coales ſaid on this wiſe. Deare frends, the cauſe why I ſuffer this day, is not for any crime layd to my charge (albeit I be a miſerable ſinner before God) but only for the defence of yͤ fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, ſet foorth in the new and old Teſtament vnto vs, for which, that as the faithfull Martirs haue offered themſelues gladly before, beeing aſſured after the death of their bodies of eternall felicitie, ſo this day I praiſe God, that he hath called me of his mercy among the reſt of his ſeruauntes, to ſeale vp his truth with my lyfe: which as I haue receaued it of him, ſo willingly I offer it

The wordes of W. Mille to the people.

The Martyrdome of Walter Mille.



W. Myl… of Sex… Marty. Anno 155…

to his glory. Therfore as you will eſcape the eternal death, be no more ſeduced with the lies of Prieſts, Monkes, Friers, Priours, Abbots, Biſhops, and the reſt of the ſecte of Antichriſt, but depend onely vpon Ieſus Chriſt and hys mercy, that ye may be deliuered from condemnation. All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude, for they perceiuing his patience, ſtoutenes, and boldnes, conſtancie, and hardines, were not only moued and ſtirred vp, but their harts alſo were ſo inflamed, that he was the laſt Martyr that dyed in Scotland for the Religion. After hys prayer, he was hoyſed vp on the ſtake, and being in the fire, he ſayd: Lorde haue mercy on me: Pray people while there is time, and ſo conſtantly departed.

The conſtāt boldnes of W. Mylle.

W. Mylle the laſt Martyr in Scotland.

Epitaphium.

Non noſtra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hoſtes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Chriſti ſacris ſignata libellis,
Quæ vitæ cauſa eſt, eſt mihi cauſa necis.

After this, by the iuſt iudgement of God, in the ſame place where walter Mille was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which paſſed both in number and coſtlines, were burnt in time of reformation. Ex fideli teſtimonio è Scotia miſſo.

And thus much concerning ſuch matters as happened, and ſuch Martirs as ſuffered in the Realme of Scotland for the faith of Chriſt Ieſus, and teſtimonie of his truth.

¶ Perſecution in Kent.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warrham Archiepiſc. Cant.

IN reuoluing the Regiſters of william warrham, Archbyſhop of Canterbury, I finde moreouer beſides theſe aboue comprehended, in the time and reigne of king Henry, the names of diuers other, wherof ſome ſuffered Martyrdome for the like teſtimonie of Gods worde, and ſome recanted, which albeit heere do come a little out of order, and ſhoulde haue bene placed before in the beginning of king Henries reigne: yet rather then they ſhould vtterly be omitted, I thought heere to geue them a place, though ſomewhat out of time, yet not altogether I truſt without fruit vnto the Reader, being no leſſe worthy to be Regiſtred and preſerued from obliuion, then other of theyr fellowes before them.

¶ A Table of certayne true ſeruants of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Dioces of Cant. vnder William Warrham Archbyſhop of Canterbury, with the names of theyr perſecuters and accuſers. an. 1511.

Martirs in Kent before the tyme of M. Luther.

Perſecuters and Iudges.	Accuſers and witneſſes.	The Martyrs.
Wyllyam Warrham Archbiſhop of Caunterbury. D. Cutbert Tonſtall, Doctour of both lawes, and Chauncelour of the Archbyſhop. D. Sylueſter, Lawyer. D. Wellys. Doctour Clement. Browne. Doctor Iohn Collet, Deane of Paules. Doctour Wodyngton.	Willyam Rich of Benynden. Agnes Iue, of Canterbury. Robert Hilles, of Tenterden. Steuen Caſtelyn of Tenterden. Io. Grebill of Tenterden, huſband to Agnes Grebill the Martyr. Chriſtopher Grebill the naturall ſonne of Agnes Grebill the Martyr. Io. Grebill the yonger, the naturall ſonne of Agnes Grebill the Martyr. Wil. Oldbert of Godmerſham. Laur. Cheterdē. Tho. Harwood of Rowenden. Ioane Harwood his wife. Phill. Hardwod. Williā Baker of Cramebroke. Edw. Walker. Robert Reinold, of Benynden.	Williem Carder, of Tenderden, weauer. Agnes Grebill, of Tenterden, wife of Iohn Grebill the elder, and mother to Iohn and Chriſtoph. Grebill, who with her own huſband accuſed hir to death, being of threſcore yeare of age. Rob. Harriſon of Halden, of the age of lx. yeares. Iohn Browne, of Aſhford. Edward Walker of Maidſtone, Cutler.

The Articles whereupon theſe fiue bleſſed Martyrs were accuſed and condemned by the foreſayd Iudges and witneſſes, were theſe as follow.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warham.

FIrſt, for holdinge that the ſacrament of the aulter was not the very true bodye of Chriſt, but onely materiall bread in ſubſtaunce.

2. That auricular confeſſiō was not to be made to a prieſt.

3. That no power is geuen of God to Prieſtes of minyſtring ſacramentes, ſaying Maſſe, or other Diuine ſeruice, more then to lay men.

Their meaning was this: that Prieſtes can claime no more vertue or hye eſtate by their orders, then can a lay man.

4. That the ſolemniſation of Matrimony is not neceſſary to ſaluation of ſoule, neyther was inſtituted of God (for a Sacrament they meant)

5. That the ſacrament of extreme vnction is not auaileable, nor neceſſary to ſoules health.

6. That the Images of the croſſe, of the crucifixe of yͤ bleſſed virgin and other Saintes, are not to be worſhipped: & that they which worſhip them, do commit Idolatry.

7. That pilgrimages to holy places and holy Reliques be not neceſſary, nor meritorious to ſoules health.

8. That inuocation is not to be made to ſayntes, but onely to God, and that he onely heareth theyr prayers.

9. That holy bread and holy water haue no more vertue after their conſecration, then before.

10. That they haue beleued, taught & holden all and euery of the ſame damnable opinions before: as they did at that preſent.

11. That where they nowe haue confeſſed theyr errours, they would not haue ſo done, but onely for feare of manyfeſt proufes brought agaynſt them, eyther els but for feare to be conuicted by them, they would neuer haue confeſſed yͤ ſame of theyr owne accord.

12. That they haue commoned and talked of the ſayd damnable errours heretofore with diuers other perſons and haue had bookes concerning the ſame,

The order and fourme of proceſſe vſed agaynſt theſe fiue Martyrs aforeſayd, and firſt of William Carder. Anno. 1511.

The proceſſe of iudgement agaynſt W. Carder Martyr.

WIlliam Carder being conuented before william Warhā Archbiſhop, and his Chancellour Cutbert Tonſtal, Doctour Silueſter, Doctor welles, Clement Browē with other moe, the Notaries being william Potkyng and Dauid Cooper, the Articles and interrogatoryes aboue ſpecified were layd vnto him. which articles he ther and then denied, affirming that he neuer did, nor doth hold any ſuch opinions, otherwiſe then becommeth that euerye Chriſten man ſhoulde doe, ready to conforme hymſelfe in all poyntes to their doctrine: & therfore to cleare himſelfe yͤ better gaynſt thoſe Interrogatories obiected againſt them he ſtood in denyall of the ſame. The like alſo did euerye of the other foure martyrs after hym.

The ſtraight dealing of W. Warham Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

All whiche notwithſtanding, the vncharitable Archbyſhop ſeeking all aduauntage agaynſt him that he might, & more then right law would geve, brought in agaynſt hym ſuch witneſſes, as before were abiured, whom he knew for feare of relapſe, durſt doe none other but diſcloſe whatſoeuer they knew, to wit, Chriſtopher Grebyll, william Rich Agnes Iue, Iohn Grebill, Robert Hils, & Stephen Caſtelyn. whoſe depoſitions being taken, and the ſayd Carder being aſked what he could lay for hymſelfe, hee had nothing, he ſayd, to produce agaynſt theyr atteſtations, but ſubmitted him vnto theyr mercye, ſaying moreouer, that if he had euer any miſbeliefe of the ſacrament of the Church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholickes, hee now was ſory, & repented him therof. which being done, yͤ archb. this his ſubmiſſion notwithſtanding, & notwithſtanding that yͤ Regiſter maketh no mention of any relapſe, cōtrary to good law, at leaſt contrary to all Chriſten charity proceeded to the reading of his blinde ſentence, and ſo condemned him: who neyther ſtoode ſtubbernely to that whiche he did hold, neither yet did hold any thinge contrary to the mind of holy ſcripture, to the execution of burning.

Witneſſes agaynſt W. Carder.

Then after him was called for Agnes Grebill, and examined of the ſayd xii. articles aboue recited, whiche ſhe in like maner denyed, as the other had done before, puttyng her aduerſaries to ther proof. Then the archbiſhop calling for Iohn Grebyll her huſband, and Chriſtopher and Iohn Grebyll her two ſonnes (who before had bene abiured) cauſed them vppon theyr othe to depoſe agaynſt theyr owne naturall mother, and ſo they did.

Firſt Iohn Grebell the elder her huſband, examined by vertue of hys othe, to ſay how Agnes his wife hath and doth beleue of the ſacrament of the aultar, of going in pilgrimage, offeringes, and worſhipping of Sayntes, Images &c. and how long ſhe hath ſo holdē, thus depoſed: that firſt about the end of king Edwardes dayes the fourth, in his houſe, by the teaching of Iohn Iue, ſhe was brought to that beliefe, and ſo forth from thence dayly, till this time of detection, ſhe hath continued.

And beſides that (ſayd he) when my children Chriſtofer and Iohn, being about ſeauen yeares of age, were then taught of me in my houſe the ſaid errour of the Sacrament of the aultar, and by the ſayd Agnes my wife diuers times, ſhe was alwayes of one mind in the ſaid miſbeliefe againſt the Sacrament of the aultar, that it was not Chriſtes body, fleſh and bloud, but only bread. Furthermore, being examined how he knew that ſhe was ſtedfaſt in the ſayd errour, he ſayd that ſhe alwaies without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and ſayde, the ſayd opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforeſaid, were of the ſame opinions againſte the Sacramente of the aultar, &c. Ex verbis Regiſtri.

The Catholicke Clergie of the Papiſtes ſet the huſband agaynſt the wife.

The Catholicke Papiſtes ſet the Children to accuſe their owne mother.

The Byſhop with his Catholicke Doctours, not yet contented with this, to ſet the huſband agaynſt the wyfe, proceeding further in their Catholicke zeale, cauſed her two children Chriſtofer and Iohn to be produced, one of the age of xxij. the other of xix. againſt their owne naturall mother. Who likewiſe being preſſed with their othe, witneſſed and ſayd, that the foreſaid Agnes their mother held, beleeued, taught, and defended, that the Sacrament of the aultar was but bread, and not the very body of Chriſt, fleſhe, and bloud: That Baptiſme was no better in the Fount, then out of the Fount: That confirmation was of no effect: That the ſolemniſation of Matrimony was no ſacrament: That confeſſion to God alone was ſufficient: Alſo that going in pilgrimage and worſhipping of Saints and Images was of none effect, &c. Item, that their father and the ſayd Agnes their mother helde, taught, and communed of the ſayd errours within their houſe diuers times, by the ſpace of thoſe three yeares paſt, as well on holy dayes, as working dayes, affirming and teaching that the ſaide opinions were good and lawfull, and to be holden and maintained, and agreemente was made amongſt them, that none of them ſhould diſcouer or bewray eyther of theſe beliefes in any wiſe. Finally, that they neuer heard their ſayd father and mother, holding nor teaching any other opinions, then be the ſaid errours againſt the Sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worſhipping of Saints and Images, as farre as they could remember, &c. Ex verbis Regiſt.

Chriſtopher Grebill and Iohn Grebill, witnes agaynſt Agnes Grebill theyr mother.

Heere haſt thou (Chriſtian reader) before thine eyes, an horrible ſpectacle of a ſingular, yea of a double impietie, firſt of an vnnaturall huſband, witneſſing againſt his own wife: and of as vnnaturall children, accuſing and witneſſing againſt their owne naturall mother. Which although they had ſo done, the cauſe being of it ſelfe iuſt and true (as it was not) yet had they done more then nature woulde haue led them to do. Now the caſe being ſuch, as which by Gods word ſtandeth firme, ſound, and perfect, what impietie were it for men to accuſe a poore innocent in caſe of hereſie, which is no hereſie? Now beſides all this, the huſband to come in againſt his owne wife, and the children to bring in the knife wherewith to cut the throate of theyr owne naturall mother that bare them, that nouriſhed thē, that brought them vp, what is this, but impietie vpon impietie, prodigious and horrible for all Chriſtian eares to heare? And yet the greateſt impietie of all reſteth in theſe pretenſed Catholickes and Clergiemen, which weare the authors and cauſers of all this miſchiefe.

Example of an vnnaturall huſband, and of vnnaturall children.

Great impiety of the huſband toward the wife.

Greater impiety in the children againſt the mother.

Greateſt impiety of all in the Clergy men the authors hereof.

The cauſe why this good woman ſo ſtood (as ſhe dyd) in the deniall of theſe foreſaid articles obiected, was thys, for that ſhe neuer thought that her huſband and her owne children, who onely were priuie of her Religion, would teſtifie agaynſt her. Whom notwithſtanding after ſhe perceaued to come in, and to depoſe this agaynſt her, denyingſtil as ſhe did before) that ſhe did euer hold ſuch maner of errours, and being now deſtitute of all frends and comfort, braſt out in theſe woordes openly (as the regiſter reporteth) that ſhe repented the time that euer ſhe bare thoſe children of her body. And thus the Archb. with his Doctours, hauing now the thing that they ſought for, albeit ſhe was ready to deny all errours, and to conforme her ſelfe to theyr religion, yet notwithſtanding, they refuſing her readines and conformitie, proceeded to theyr ſentence, and ſo condemned her to death.

Ex Regiſt.W. Warrham.Fol. 177.

Agnes Grebell condemned by the ſentence of the Archb.

After whoſe condemnation, next was brought to examination Rob. Harriſon, whom in like maner, becauſe, he ſtoode in his deniall, contrary witneſſes agaynſt him were produced: to wit, Chriſtofer Grebyll, W. Rich, W. Olberd Agnes Iue, who a litle before had bene abiured, and therfore were ſo much the more apt and appliable to ſerue the Biſhops humour for daunger of relapſe. After the depoſition & conuiction of which witneſſes, although he ſubmitted himſelfe to repentaunce and conformitie, yet notwythſtanding it would not be receaued, but ſentence was read & he condemned with the other two aforeſayd, vnto yͤ fire.

Robert Harriſun examined.

W. Carder. Agnes Grebyll, Robert Hariſon Martyrs.

And thus theſe three were condemned and burned, & certificate geuen vp of them together to the king frō Warham the Archbiſhop vpon the ſame. An, 1511. Maij, 2. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

The biſhops certificat to the king.

Ouer and beſides theſe three godly martyrs aboue recited. I finde in the foreſayd Regiſters of W. Warrham, ij. other godly like martirs alſo in the ſame yeare, and for the ſame xij. articles aboue ſpecified, to be condemned vpon yͤ depoſitions of certayne witneſſes brought in agaynſt thē, to wyt. Tho. Harwod, Philip Harwod, Stephen Caſtelyn, W. Baker, Rob. Reynold, Ioh. Bāpton, Rob. Bright W. Rich. &c. whereupon they were adiudged likewiſe for heretickes to be burned, the yeare aforeſayd. 1511. yͤ names of which two martyrs were Iohn Brown, and Edward Walker. Ex Regiſt. W. Warrh. fol. 179.

Io. Browne, Edward Walker Martyrs.

Witneſſes agaynſt theſe two Martyrs.

Nowe as you haue heard the names of theſe bleſſed Martyrs, with their articles recited, let vs alſo heare the tenor of the Biſhops ſentence, by the which they were condemned one after an other. Their ſentence contayneth one vniforme maner of wordes in forme as followeth.

✠ The tenour of the ſentence.

IN nomine Dei. Amen. Nos Willielmus permiſsione diuina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſ. totius Angliæ primas & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, in quodam negotio hereticæ prauitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenterden noſtræ Cant. Dioceſeos laicum ac noſtro imperio notoriè ſubditum & ſubiectum coram nobis in iudicio perſonaliter comparentem nobis ſuper heretica prauitate huiuſmodi detectum & delatum, ac per noſtram Dioceſim Cantuariæ antedictæ notoriè & publicè in ea parte apud bonos & graues diffamatum, ex officio mero ritè & canonicè precedentes, auditis & intellectis, viſis & cognitis, rimatiſq; ac matura deliberatione diſcuſsis & ponderatis dicti negotij meritis, ſeruatiſque in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de iure ſeruandis, ac quomodo libet requiſitis pro tribunali ſedentes, Chriſti nomine inuocato & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes: Quia per acta actitata, deducta, probata & exhibita coram nobis in eodem negocio inuenimus te per probationes legitimas coram nobis in hac parte iudicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, hæreſes, & damnatas opiniones, iuri diuino & eccleſiaſtico obuiantes, contrarios, & repugnantes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determinatam & obſeruatam, tenuiſſe, credidiſſe, affirmaſſe, predicaſſe, & dogmatizaſſe, & preſertim contra Sacramenta altaris, ſeu euchariſtiæ, pœnitentiæ, ordinis, & alia Sacramenta, & ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ dogmata: Et quamuis nos Chriſti veſtigijs inhærendo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, ſed magis vt conuertatur & viuat, ſepenumero conati fuimus te corrigere ac vijs & modis licitis, & canonicis quibus potuimus aut ſciuimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per vniuerſalem Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, determinatam & obſeruatam, ac ad vnitatem eiuſdem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ reducere, tamen inuenimus te adeo duræ ceruicis quòd tuos errores & hæreſes huiuſmodi nolueris ſponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem Catholicam & vnitatem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ antedictas debitè reuerti & redire, ſed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tantum induraſti cor tuum, vt non velis intelligere vocem tui paſtoris tibi paterno compacientis affectu, nec velis pijs & paternis monitionibus allici, nec ſalubribus reduci blanditijs: Nos vero nolentes quod tu qui iniquus es fias nequior, & gregem dominicum in futurum tuæ hereticæ prauitatis labe (de quo plurimum timemus) inficias, idcirco de conſilio Iuriſperitorum nobis in hac parte aſsiſtentium cum quibus communicauimus in hac parte, te Willielmum Carder predictum de meritis atque culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinatiam aggrauatis, de & ſuper huiuſmodi deteſtabili hereticæ prauitatis reatu conuictum, & ad Eccleſiæ vnitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hereticiſque credentem ac eorum fautorem & receptatorem prætextu præmiſſorem fuiſſe & eſſe, cum dolore & amaritudine cordis iudicamus & declaramus finaliter & diffinitiuè in his ſcriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam hæreticum iudicio ſiue curiæ ſeculari, teque Willielmum Carder prędictum (vt præfertur) hereticum nihilominus in maioris excommunicationis, ſententiam occaſione præmiſſorum incidiſſe & incurriſſe, nec non excommunicatum fuiſſe & eſſe pronuntiamus, decernimus, & declaramus etiam in his ſcriptis.

The condemnation of theſe v. aforeſayd martyrs.

Moreouer, beſydes theſe fyue bleſſed Sainctes of God, whome they ſo cruelly by theyr ſentence dyd condemne to deathe, we finde alſo in the ſame Regiſters of William Warrham, a greate number of other, whome they for the ſame doctrine and lyke Articles cauſed to be apprehended and put to open recantation: the names of which perſons in the Catalogue heere following, bee theſe.

¶ Here foloweth a Table contayning the names of them which were abiured the ſame time vnder William Warham Archbiſhop, in the Dioces of Caunterbury. An. 1511.

Iohn Grebyll, the elder of Benynden.
Chriſtopher Grebyll, hys ſonne.
Ioh. Grebill, ſonne of Iohn the elder of Benynden.
W. Rich of Beninden.
W. Olbert, the elder of Godmerſham.
Agnes Iue of Canterbury.
Agnes Chytenden of Canterbury.
Thomas Manning of Beninden.
Ioane Colyn of Tenterden.
Rob. Hilles of Tenterden.
Alice Hilles his wife.
Tho. Harwood.
Ioane Harwood. his wife. } of Rowendē
Phil. Harwood.
Stephen Caſtelin of Tenterden.
W. Baker of Cranbroke.
Margeret Baker his wife.
W. Olbert the younger, of Godmerſham.
Rob. Reygnolde of Godmerſham.
Agnes Reygnold of Cranbroke.
Thomas Fielde, of Boxley.
Ioane Olbert, wyfe to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmerſham.
Elizabeth White of Caunterbury.
Thomas Church of greate Charte.
Vincent Linche, of Halden.
Iohn Ryche of Wyttyſham.
Ioane Lynche of Tenterden.
Thom. Browne of Cranbroke.
Iohn Franke of Tenterden.
Ioyce Bampton, Wyfe of Iohn Bampton, of Berſtede.
Rich. Bampton of Boxley.
Robert Bright of Maydſtone.
William Lorkyn of Eaſtforley.
Iohn Bannes of Boxley. 1512.
Iohn Buckherſt of Stapleherſt.
Ioane Dodde, wife of Iohn Dodde.
Iohn Bennet, of Stapleherſt.
Rebecka Bennet his Wife.
Ioane Lowes, Wyfe of Tho. Lowes of Cranbroke.
Iulian Hilles Wyfe of Robert Hilles of Tenterden.
Robert Francke of Tenterden.

¶ The Articles layd to theſe abiurers, appeare in the Regiſters to be the ſame which before were obiected to the other v. Martyrs aforeſayd: which was, for beleuing and defending.

1. First that the ſacrament of the aultar was not the very body of Chriſt, but materiall bread.
2. That confeſſion of ſinnes ought not to be made to a prieſt.
3. That there is no more power geuen of God to a prieſt, then to a lay man.
4. That the ſolemnization of Matrimony is not neceſſary for the weale of mans ſoule.
5. That the ſacrament of extreme vnction, called aneyling, is not profitable nor neceſſary for mans ſoule.
6. That pilgrimages to holy and deuoute places be not neceſſary nor meritorious for mans ſoule.
7. That Images of Saintes, or of the Crucifixe, or of our Lady, are not to be worſhipped.
8. That a man ſhould pray to no ſaint, but onely to God.
9. That holy water and holy bread is not better after the benediction made by the Prieſt. Ex verbis Regiſt. W. Wartha. Fol. 175. an. 1511.

By theſe articles & abiurations of the forenamed perſons, thou haſt to vnderſtand Chriſtian Reader, what doctrine of religion was here ſtyrring in this our Realme of England, before the time that the name of Martine Luther was euer heard of here amongeſt vs.

¶ Three diuers ſortes of iudgements amongeſt the Papiſtes, agaynſt heretickes, as they call them.

As touching the penaunce & penalty enioyned to theſe aforeſaid, as alſo to al other ſuch like, firſt here is to be noted, that the Catholick fathers in theyr proceſſes of hereticall prauity, haue three diuers and diſtinct kindes of iudgementes and proceedinges.

For ſome they iudge to be burned, to the intent that other being brought into terrour by them, they might therfore more quietly hold vp theyr kingdome, & reign as they liſt. And thus condēned they theſe v. aforeſayd, & notwithſtanding they were willing to ſubmit themſelues to ẏ boſome of the mother Church, yet could they not be receiued as by the words of the Regiſter, and by the tenor of theyr ſentence aboue ſpecified, may well appeare.

And this ſort of perſons thus by them condemned, cōſiſteth either in ſuch as haue bene before abiured, and fallē agayne into relapſe: or els ſuch as ſtand conſtantly in their doctrine, and refuſe to abiure, eyther els ſuch as they intēd to make a terrour and example to all other, notwithſtanding that they be willing and ready to ſubmit themſelues, and yet cannot be receiued. And of this laſt ſort were theſe v. Martyrs laſt named. So was alſo Iohn Lambert, who ſubmitting himſelfe to the king, could not be accepted: So was likewiſe Richard Mekins the ſely lad, pag. 1174. and the three women of Gerneſey, whoſe ſubmiſſion woulde not ſerue to ſaue theyr liues, with many other in like caſe. Agaynſt this ſort of perſons, the proceſſe which the papiſts vſe, is this. Firſt after they beginne once to be ſuſpected by ſome Promotor, they are denoūced and cited: then by vertue of Inquiſition they are taken and clapt faſt in Irons and priſon: from thence they are brought forth at laſt to examination, if they be not before kilde by famine, colde, or ſtraytneſſe of the priſon. Then be articles drawne or rather wreſted out of theyr writinges or preachinges, & they put to theyr othe to anſwere truely to euery poynt and circumſtaunce articulated agaynſt them. Whiche Articles if they ſeeme to deny, or to ſalue by true expounding, thē are witneſſes called in and admitted, what witneſſes ſoeuer they are, be they neuer ſo much infamous, vſurers, ribaldes, women, yea and common harlots. Or if no other witneſſes can be founde, then is the husband brought in and forced to ſweare agaynſt the wife, or the wife agaynſt the husband, or the children agaynſt the naturall mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebyll. Or if no ſuch witneſſe at all can be found, then are they ſtrayned vpon the racke, or by other bitter tormentes forced to confeſſe theyr knowledge, and to peach other. Neyther muſt any be ſuffered to come to them, what neede ſo euer they haue. Neither muſt any publicke or quiet audience be geuen them to ſpeake for themſelues: till at laſt ſentence be readde agaynſt them, to geue them vp to the ſecular arme, or to degrade thē, if they be Prieſtes, and ſo to burne them. Ex hiſt. Cochlæi contra Huſſitas.

Ex hiſtor. Cochlæi contra Huſſitas Lib.

And yet the malignity of theſe Aduerſaryes doth not here ceaſe. For after that the fire hath conſumed their bodyes, then they fal vpon theyr bookes and condemne them in like maner to be burned, & no man ſo hardy to read thē, or keep them, vnder payne of hereſy. But before they haue aboliſhed theſe bookes, firſt they gather articles out of thē, ſuch as they liſt themſelues, & ſo peruerſly wraſt & wringe them after theyr owne purpoſe, falſely, & cōtrary to ẏ right meaning of the author, as may ſeeme after theyr putting down, to be moſt heretical, & execrable. Which being done, & the bookes then aboliſhed, that no man may conſer them with theyr articles to eſpy theyr falſhood: thē they diuulge and ſet abroad thoſe articles in ſuch ſort as princes & people may ſee what heretickes they were. And this is the rigor of theyr proceſſe and proceeding againſt theſe perſons, whom thus they purpoſe to condemne and burne.

The vſe and maner how the Papiſtes draw out articles of bookes after the authors be condemned.

To the ſecond order belongeth that ſort of heretickes whom theſe Papiſtes do not condemne to death, but aſſigne them vnto Monaſteries there to continue, and to faſt all theyr life, In pane doloris & aqua anguſtiæ, that is, wyth bread of ſorow, and water of afflictiō: and that they ſhould not remoue one mile out of the precinct of the ſayd Monaſtery, ſo long as they liued, without they were otherwiſe by the archbiſhop himſelfe or his ſucceſſors diſpenſed withall. Albeit many times the ſayd perſons were ſo diſpenſed withall, that theyr penaunce of bread and water, was turned for them to wollward Wedneſdaies and Fridayes euery weeke, or ſome other like puniſhment &c.

The puniſhmēt of them whom the Papiſtes cōdemne to perpetuall priſon after their ſubmiſſion.

The thyrd kinde of heretickes were thoſe whom theſe Prelates did iudge not to perpetuall priſon, but onely inioyned them penaunce either to ſtand before the preacher, or els to beare a fagot about the market, or in proceſſiō: or els to weare the picture of a fagotte bordered on theyr lefte ſleeues, without any cloke or gowne vpon the ſame: or elſe to kneele at the ſaying of certain maſſes, or to ſay ſo many Pater noſters, Aues, and Creedes to ſuch or ſuch a Saynct: or to go in pilgrimage to ſuch or ſuch a place: or els to beare a Fagot to the burning of ſome hereticke: either els to faſt certaine Fridayes bread & water: Or if it were a woman to weare no ſmocke on Fridayes, but to go wolward, &c, as appeareth Regiſt. fol. 159.

The puniſhmēt of them which be inioyned penaunce after their recantation.

And thus much by the way out of the Regiſter of William Warham aforeſayd, like as alſo out of other biſhops regiſters many mo ſuch like matters and examples might be collected, if either leyſure would ſerue me to ſearch, or if the largenes of this Volume would ſuffer al to be inſerted that might be found. Howbeit, amōgſt many other things omitted, the ſtory and Martyrdome of Lancelot, and hys felowes, is not to be forgottē. The ſtory of whō with their names is this.

¶ The Martyrdome of Lancelot one of the kinges garde, Iohn a Paynter, and Gyles Germane.

Lancelot, Iohn a Painter, Gyles Germane Martyrs.

ABout the yeare of our Lord. 1539. one Iohn a Paynter, and Giles Germaine were accuſed of hereſy, and whileſt they were in examination at London, before the Byſhop and other Iudges, by chaunce there came in one of the kinges ſeruantes named Lancelot, a very tall man, and of no leſſe godly minde and diſpoſition, then ſtrong & tall of body.

This man ſtanding by, ſeemed by his countenaunce & geſture to fauour both the cauſe & the poore men his frēds. Wherupon he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them, and the next day at v. of the clocke in the morning, was caryed with thē into S. Giles in the field, and there burned, being but a ſmall concourſe or company of people at theyr death.

One Style martyr burned in Smithfield with the Apocalyps.

Ex teſtimonio D. Rob. Outradi.

In the company and felowſhip of theſe bleſſed Saints and Martyrs of Chriſt, which innocently ſuffered within ẏ time of K. Henryes raigne, for the teſtimony of Gods word and truth, an other good man alſo commeth to mind not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppreſſed and burned in Smithfield, about the latter end of Cuth. Tonſtals time Byſhop of Londō: whoſe name was called Stile, as is credibly reported vnto vs by a worthy & auncient Knight, named Syr Robert Outred, who was the ſame time preſent himſelfe at his burning, and witnes of the ſame. With him there was burned alſo a book of the Apocalips, which belike he was wont to read vpon. This book when he ſaw faſtened vnto the ſtake to be burned with him, lifting vp his voyce, O bleſſed Apocalips (ſayd he) how happy am I, that ſhal be burned with thee? And ſo this good man, and the bleſſed Apocalips were both together in the fire conſumed.

Pope Leo his Bull agaynſt Luther

M. Luthers appeale from the Pope to a generall Councell.

AND thus (through the gracious ſupportatiō of Chriſt our Lord) we haue runne ouer theſe 37. laborious yeares of king Henries race. Under whoſe tyme and gouernaunce, ſuch actes and recordes, troubles, perſecutions, recantations, practiſes, alterations and reformations as thē happened in the church, we haue here diſcourſed, with ſuch ſtatutes, iniunctions and proclamations, as by him were ſet forth in cauſes & matters to the ſayd church apperteyning: Albeit not cōprehending all things ſo fully as might be, yet pretermitting ſo few thinges as we could, of ſuche matters as came to our handes: ſaue onely, that certayne inſtruments with a few other occurrentes ſomewhat perteining to the courſe of this kinges hiſtory, haue paſt our hands, as the falſe lying bul of pope Leo x. againſt M. Luther: with the forme alſo of the ſayd M. Luthers appeale from the Pope vnto a generall counſel. All which, wt other matters moe beſides omitted, we haue differred by themſelues hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the ſequele of this preſent ſtory, as in his due place ſhall appeare.

The ſentence definitiue of Pope Clement 7. agaynſt the diuorce of king Henry.

In the meane ſeaſon, amongſt other omiſſions here ouerpaſt, forſomuch as a certayne inſtrument of the popes ſentence definitiue againſt K. Henries firſt deuorſe wt Lady Katherine Dowager, hath of late come to our handes, conteining matter neither impertinent nor vnmeet to be committed to hiſtory, I thought here preſently to place the ſame, to the intent that the Reader ſeing the arrogant and impudent preſumption of the Pope in the ſayde ſentence, going about by force & authority ſo to conſtrayne & cōpell kings and princes agaynſt theyr willes, & agaynſt right & ſcripture to apply to his imperious purpoſe, may the better vnderſtand thereby, what was the true cauſe & groūd why the king firſt began to take ſtomacke againſt the pope and to ſend him cleane packing out of this realme. But before I ſhall produce this foreſayd ſentence of the Pope definitiue, to make the matter more plain to ẏ reader, it ſhal not be amiſſe, firſt to diſcipher & rip vp the originall of ſuch occaſions as ſhal induce the reader to the better vnderſtāding of this falling out betwene the king and the Pope.

For ſo I finde by the letters of D. Stephen Gardener written to Cardinall Wolſey frō Rome, (at what time he & Foxe were ſent Ambaſſadors by the king to Pope Clement the 7. about the expedition of the kings diuorce. Ann. 1632.) that the ſayd Pope Clement with the counſell of the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor and other Cardinals, at firſt was well willing, and very inclinable to the accompliſhment and ſatiſfaction of the kinges deſire in that behalfe and that for diuers reſpectes.

As firſt, for the great benefites receiued, and the ſingular deuotion of the king toward the ſea Apoſtolicke, in taking warre for the Churches cauſe, in ſurceaſing warre at the Popes deſire, and eſpecially in procuring the Popes deliueraunce, whereby the Pope then thought himſelfe with his whole Sea, much obliged to the king in all reſpectes, to paſſe by his authority whatſoeuer reaſonably might be graunted in gratifiyng the kinges ſo ample merites and deſertes.

Secondly, for the euident reaſons and ſubſtantiall argumentes in the * kinges booke conteyned, which ſeemed well to ſatiſfy the Popes liking, and to remoue away all ſcruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion & confidence that ẏ pope had in the excellent wiſedome, profoūd learning, and mature iudgement of the king, which the Pope (as he ſayd in formall words) would ſoner leane vnto, then to any other learned mans minde or ſentence, ſo that the kinges reaſōs (he ſayd) muſt needes be of great efficacy and ſtrength of himſelfe to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cauſe mouing the Pope to fauor the kings requeſt, was for the quiet and tranquility of his conſcience which otherwiſe in that vnlawful Mariage with his brothers wife could not be ſettled.

The fift cauſe was for the conſideration of the perils & daungers, which otherwiſe might happen to the realm by the pretenſed titles of the king of Scottes, & other, without an heyre male to eſtabliſh the kinges ſucceſſion: for the auoyding of which perils and alſo for the other cauſes aboue rehearſed, the pope ſhewed himſelfe at that time propenſe and forward to promote and ſet forward the kinges deſired purpoſe in that behalfe.

And thus much touching this by matter I thought here to ſuggeſt, & repeat to the reader, albeit the ſame is alſo ſufficiently expreſſed before, pag. 1057. and 1058. to the end that the ſtudious Reader pondering theſe firſt proceedinges of the Pope, & comparing them with this ſentence definitiue, which vnder foloweth, may ẏ better vnderſtād what inconſtant lenity, what falſe dealing, what craftye packing, and what contrariety in it ſelfe, is in this Popes holy Sea of Rome: as by this caſe of the Pope may well appeare, who in ſhort time after all this, was ſo clean altered from that he was, that whereas before he pretended to eſteme ſo gratefully the kinges trauell and benefites exhibited to the ſea Apoſtolicke, in his defence agaynſt the Emperor and the Spanyardes, now he ioyneth vtterly wyth the Ceſarians agaynſt the king. And where before he ſo greatly magnified the kinges profound learning, & mature iudgement, eſteming his minde & Sentence aboue al other learned mē, to be as a iudge ſufficient in the directiō of this caſe: now turning head to the tayle, he vtterly refuſeth to bring the matter in iudiciū orbis, but will needes determine it at home. Agayne, where before he pretēded a tender prouiſion for the ſtate of this Realme: now he ſetteth all other realmes againſt it. And finally where he before ſemed to reſpect the quiet & tranquility of the kinges conſcience: now he goeth about to commaund & compell the king agaynſt his will and cōſcience to do cleane contrary to that, which he himſelfe before in his iudgemēt had alowed, thinking to haue the king at his becke, and to doe and vndoe what he liſted and commaunded: as by the tenor and true copy of this his Sentence definitiue, ye may vnderſtand. Which as it came newly to our hāds, I thought here to exhibite vnto the world, that al mē might ſee what iuſt cauſe the king had, being ſo preſūptuouſly prouoked by the pope to ſhake of his proud authority, & vtterly to exile him out of his realme. Marke, I pray thee, the maner of the popes proud Sentence how preſumptuouſly it procedeth.

Anglici Matrimonij.

¶ Sentencia diffinitiua.

¶ Lata per Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum D. Clementem Papam vij. in ſacro Conſiſtorio, de Reuerendiſſimorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium conſilio, ſuper validitate Matrimonij inter Sereniſſimos Henricum VIII. & Catherinam Angliæ Reges contracti.

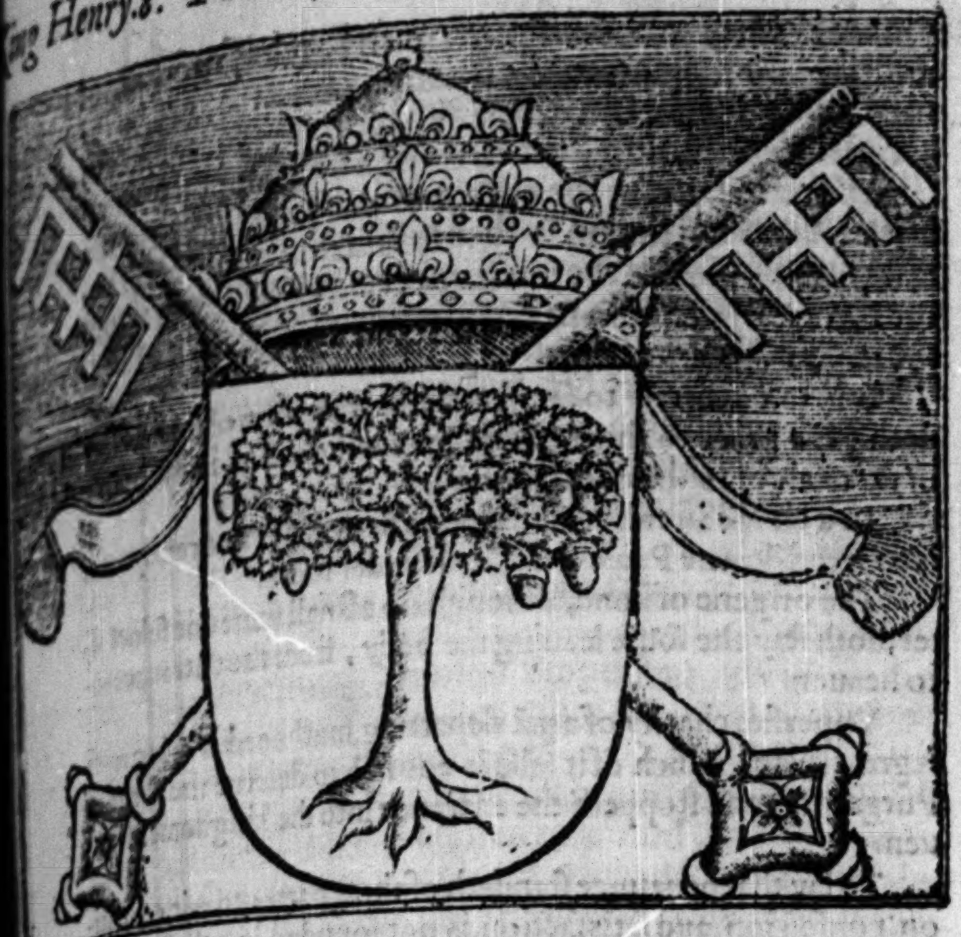
PRO

Eadem Sereniſſima Catherina Angliæ Regina.

CONTRA

Sereniſſimum Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem.

Clemens



Clemens Papa. 7.

e tenour he popes nce de- tiue a- nſt king nry. 8.

CHRISTI nomine inuocato in Throno iuſtitiæ pro tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitiuam ſententiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrũ noſtrorum Sanctæ Ro. Ec. Car. Conſiſtorialiter coram nobis cõgregatorũ Conſilio & aſſenſu ferimus in his ſcriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus in cauſa & cauſis ad nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam per appellationem, per chariſsimam in Chriſto Filiã Catherinam Angliæ Reginam Illuſtrem a noſtris & Sedis Apoſtolicæ Legatis in Regno Angliæ deputatis interpoſitã legitimè deuolutis, & aduocatis, inter prædictã Catherinam Reginam, & Chariſsimum in Chriſto Filium Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regẽ Illuſtrem, ſuper Validitate & Inualiditate Matrimonij inter eoſdem Reges contracti & conſummati rebuſq; alijs inactis, cauſæ & cauſarum huiuſmodi latius deductis, & dilecto filio Paulo Capiſucho cauſarũ ſacri palatij tunc decano, & propter ipſius Pauli abſentiam venerabili fratri noſtro Iacobo Simonetæ Epiſcopo Piſaurien. vnius ex dicti palatij cauſaurũ Auditoribus locũ tenẽti, audiẽdis inſtruẽdis, & in Conſiſtorio noſtro Secreto referendis cõmiſsis, & per eos nobis, & eiuſdẽ Cardinalibus Relatis, & maturè diſcuſsis, corã nobis pẽdẽtibus, matrimoniũ inter predictã Catherinã, & Hẽricũ Angliæ Reges cõtractũ, & inde ſecuta quæcũq; fuiſſe & eſſe validũ & canonicũ validaq; & Canonica, ſuoſq; debitos debuiſſe & debere ſortiri effectus, prolẽq; exinde ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiẽdã fuiſſe & fore legitimã, & præfatũ Hẽricum Angliæ Regẽ teneri, & obligatũ fuiſſe & fore ad cohabitandũ cũ dicta Catherina Regina eius legitima cõiuge illãq; maritali affectione & Regio honore tractãdũ, & eũdẽ Hẽricũ Angliæ Regem ad præmiſſa omnia & ſingula cũ effectu adimplendũ, condẽdandũ omnibuſq; iuris remedijs cogendũ & cõpellendũ fore, prout condẽnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, moleſtationeſq; & denegationes per eundẽ Henricũ Regẽ eidẽ Catherinæ Reginæ ſuper inualiditate ac fœdere dicti matrimonij quomodo libet factas & præſtitas, fuiſſe & eſſe illicitas & iniuſtas, & eidẽ Hẽrico Regi ſuper illis ac inualiditate matrimonij huiuſmodi perpetuũ ſilẽtium imponẽdũ fore, & imponimꝰ, eundẽq; Henricũ Angliæ Regẽ in expenſis in huiuſmodi cauſa pro parte dictæ Catherinæ Reginæ coram nobis, & dictis omnibus legitimè factis cõdẽnandũ fore, & condẽnamus, quarũ expenſarum taxationem nobis impoſterũ reſeruamus.

Ita pronuntiamus. I.

Lata fuit Romæ in Palatio Apoſtolico publice in Conſiſtorio die. xxiii. Martij M.D.XXXIIII.

Blosius.

¶ The effect in Engliſh.

The Pope ſitteth in the e of iuſtice, with the humility & ſame faſhiõ, er did ſit in the ſeate e higheſt, & Antichriſt h in the Tẽple of God. And ſyd neuer a word. eſt, hauing no bribes y in his handes, nor of the Emperour in e.

Is not thys a gloryous r that wil haue no beg to his ſonnes, & daugh- Emperours, Kinges Queenes?

And why then did you Campeius to England lue the ſame Matri- y before? as appeareth e pag. 1049.

The effect of this Sentence is as much to meane in engliſh: That Pope Clement the vij. with the conſent of his other brethrẽ the Cardinals aſſembled together in his Conſiſtory, ſitting there in the throne of (A) Iuſtice, calling vpon the name (B) of Chriſt, and hauing God onely before his (C) eyes, doth pronounce, define, & declare in the cauſe & cauſes betwene his dere daughter Katherine Quene of England appealing to the ſea Apoſtolicke, & his beloued (D) ſonne Henry the eight, king of England, concerning ẏ validity & inualidity of the Matrimony heretofore contracted betwene thẽ, and yet depending in the Conſiſtory court of the ſaid pope Clement: that the ſayd Matrimony alwaies hath (E) and ſtill doth ſtand firme & Canonicall, & that the iſſue proceding, or which ſhall proceed of the ſame, ſtandeth, and ſhall ſtand lawfull and legitimate: and that the foreſayd Henry king of England, is and ſhalbe boũd and obſtrict to the Matrimoniall ſociety and cohabitatiõ with the ſayd Lady Katherine his lawfull wife & Quene, to hold and mayntaine her with ſuch loue and princely honor, as becommeth a louing huſbande, and his kingly honor to do.

(F) By his owne Canon law, he meaneth, & not by the lawe of God.

(G) Here thou mayſt ſee (good reader) howe the Pope may & doth erre lyke a falſe Prophet. For where he thought to put the king to ſilence, the ſame ſilence lighted vpon himſelfe, & whereby the Pope is driuen himſelfe to ſtand mute in Englãd, & God graunt he may ſo ſtand for euer Amen.

Alſo that the ſayd Henry king of England, if he ſhall refuſe ſo to performe and accompliſh all and ſinguler the premiſſes, in all effectuall maner, is to be condemned and compelled hereunto by all remedies of (F) the law, & enforced, according as we do cõdemne, compell and enforce him ſo to do, prouiding that al moleſtations and refuſals what ſoeuer, made by the ſayde king Henry agaynſt the ſayde Queene Katherine, vpon the inualidity of the ſayd Mariage, to haue bene and to be iudged vnlawful and vniuſt: and the ſayd king frõ henceforth for euer to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court hereafter (G) to ſpeake touching the inualidity of the ſayd matrimony: like as we alſo do here will and charge him to holde his peace, and do put him to perpetuall ſilence herein: willing moreouer & adiudging the ſayd king henry to be condemned and preſently here doe condemne him in the expenſes on the ſayde Quene Katherines behalfe here in our Court, expoſed & employed in trauerſing the foreſaid cauſe, the valuation of which expenſes, we reſerue to our ſelues to be limited and taxed, as we ſhall iudge meete hereafter.

We do ſo pronounce. I.

At Rome in our Apoſtolicall palace publickely in our Conſiſtory. 23. Mart. M.D.XXXIIII.

Blosius.

Pope Leo his Bull agaynſt Luther, and the Appellation of M. Luther from the Pope, by way of an Appendix.

Now as you haue heard the preſumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh vpon him, contrary to the ordinaunce of God in his Leuiticall law (as before is ſhewed pag. 1025.) and contrary to ẏ beſt learned iudgementes of Chriſtendome, to commaund and compell the king agaynſt his conſcience, to retaine in Matrimony his brothers wife: here foloweth in like order to be inserted, according to my promiſe, an other like wicked, blaſphemous, and ſclaũderous Bull of Pope Leo againſt Martin Luther, with the iuſt Appellation alſo of the ſayd Martin Luther, from the Pope to a generall Counſell. wherein may appeare to all men the lying ſpirite of the pope, both in teaching moſt heretical doctrine, derogating from the bloud of Chriſt, and alſo falſely deprauing & peruerting the ſound doctrine of Luther, falſely and vntruely charging him with hereſy, when he is the greater heretick himſelfe. For what hereticke would euer ſay that the churche of Rome was conſecrate and ſanctified by the bloud of Peter, but onely the Pope? Or who would cal this hereſy, to referre al our ſaluation and ſanctification onely and totally to the bloud of the ſonne of God, vnleſſe he were an hereticke of all heretickes himſelfe?

The Pope playeth with Luther, as Achab played with Elias, ſaying, that he was the troubler of Iſraell, when it was he himſelfe and his fathers houſe that ſo did.

After the like dealing we read. 3. Reg. 18. of wicked king Achab, who being onely the diſturber of Iſrael himſelfe, crieth out vpon Elias, for troubling Iſrael. So here in ſemblablewiſe Pope Leo, with what heape of tragicall wordes and exclamations doth he fare and rage agaynſt ẏ true ſeruant of God poore Luther, for diſturbing ẏ church of God, when it is the Pope onely & his fathers houſe that troubleth, and long hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by his doings all the world may ſee enough & to much. In the meane time read, I beſech thee, with iudgement this impudent & falſe ſlaunderous Bull of the Pope, with the appeale alſo of Luther agayn from the ſayd pope. The copy wherof becauſe they be rare to be gotten, & hath not bene hetherto commonly ſene, being before omitted I thought to cõmit here to hiſtory, as I had it out of certayn Regiſters: the maner & tenor wherof is this as foloweth.

A copy of the Bull of Pope Leo x. no leſſe ſclaunderous then barbarous, agaynſt Martin Luther and his doctrine. Leo Papa. x.

The Bul of pope Leo agaynſt M. Luther.

LEo Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Exurge Domine & iudica cauſam tuam. Memor eſto improperiorum eorum quæ ab inſipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces noſtras, quoniam ſurrexerunt vulpes quærentes demoliri veneam, cuius tu torcular ſolus calcaſti, & aſcenſurus ad patrem, eius curam, regimẽ, & adminiſtrationem Petro tanquam capiti, & tuo vicario eiuſq; ſucceſſoribus inſtar triumphantis Eccleſiæ commiſiſti. &c.

Quæ ſequuntur, vide ſuperiore æditione Pag. 1459.

¶ The ſayd ſclaunderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo the x. agaynſt Luther, in Engliſh, with the aunſwere of Luther ioyned to the ſame.

LEo Byſhop, ſeruaunt of the ſeruauntes of God, for a perpetual memory hereof. Riſe vp O Lord, & iudge thy cauſe

The Popes Bull in Engliſhe.

cauſe: Remember the rebukes wherewith we are ſcorned all the day lōg of fooliſh rebukers. Encline thy eare to our prayers: for Foxes are riſen vp, ſeeking to deſtroy thy vine yarde, the vinepreſſe wherof thou onely haſt trodē, and aſcending vp to thy Father, haſt committed the charge and regiment therof vnto Peter as chiefe head, and to thy Vicare and his ſucceſſors. The wilde Boze out of the woode ſeeketh to exterminate and roote vp thy Vineyard. Riſe vp Peter, and for this thy paſtorall charge committed to thee from aboue entēd to the cauſe of the holy Church of Rome the mother of all churches, and of our fayth, which thou by the commaundement of God didſt conſecrate wyth thine owne bloud: agaynſt which (as thou haſt foretold vs) falſe lyers haue riſen vp, bringing in ſects of perdition, to their owne ſpedy deſtruction. whoſe toūg is like fire, full of vnquietnes, and repleniſhed with deadly poyſō: who hauing a wicked zeale, and nouriſhing contentions in theyr harts do bragge and lye agaynſt the verity.

Note here and marke good reader how the Church of Rome holdeth by the bloud of S. Peter, & not by the bloud of Chriſt.

Riſe vp Paul alſo, we pray thee, which haſt illuminate the ſame Church with thy doctrine and like martyrdome. For now is ſprong vp a new Porphery, who, as they ſaid Porphyry then vniuſtly did ſclaunder the holy Apoſtles, ſo ſemblably doth this man now ſclaunder, reuile, rebuke, byte, and barcke agaynſt the holy Byſhops our predeceſſors, not in beſeeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he diſtruſteth his cauſe, there he falleth to opprobrious checkes & rebukes, after the wonted vſe of heretickes, whoſe vttermoſt refuge is this (as Hierome sayth) ẏ whē they ſee theyr cauſe go to wracke, then like Serpentes they caſt out theyr venime with theyr toung, and when they ſee themſelues, neare to be ouercome, they fall to rayling. For though hereſies (as thou ſayeſt) muſt needes be, for the exercise of the faythfull: yet leaſt theſe hereſies ſhould further encreaſe and theſe Foxes gather ſtrength agaynſt vs, it is needfull that by thy meanes and helpe, they be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed at the beginning.

Finally let all the whole vniuerſall Churche of Gods Saynts and Doctours riſe vp, whoſe true expounding of holy Scripture being reiected, certayne perſons (whoſe hartes the father of lyes hath blinded) and wiſe in theyr owne conceites (as the maner of heretickes is) do expoūd the ſcriptures otherwiſe then the holy Ghoſt doth require folowing onely theyr owne ſenſe of ambition and vaynegloꝛy: yea rather do wraſt and adulterate the Scriptures: ſo that as Hierome ſayth, now they make it not the goſpel of Chriſt, but of man, or which is worſe of the deuill.

Let all the holy church I ſay, riſe vp, & with the bleſſed Apoſtles together make interceſſiō to almighty God, that the errors of all ſchiſmatickes being rooted & ſtocked vp, his holy Church may be conſerued in peace and vnity.

For of late (which for ſorrow we can not expreſſe) by credible information and alſo by publick fame it hath come to our eares, yea we haue ſeene alſo & read with our eyes, diuers and ſundry errors, of which ſome haue bene condemned by counſels and conſtitutions of our predeceſſors containing expreſly ẏ hereſies of the Greekes & of the Bohemians: ſome agayn reſpectiuely, either heretical or falſe, or ſclaunderous, or offenſiue to good eares, or ſuch as may ſeduce ſimple myndes: newly to be rayſed vp, by certayne falſe pretenſed Goſpellers: who by curious pride ſeeking worldly glory againſt the doctrine of the apoſtle, would be more wiſe then becommeth them, whoſe babling (as S. Hierome calleth it) without authority of the Scriptures, ſhould finde no credit, vnleſſe they ſhould ſeme to cōfirme theyr falſe doctrine euen with teſtimonies of the ſcripture, but yet falſely interpreted. Which worketh vs ſo much the more grief, for ẏ thoſe hereſies be ſprong in ẏ noble nation of the Germaines, vnto the which natiō we with our predeceſſors, haue alwayes borne ſpeciall fauor and affection. For after the Empyre was firſt tranſlated by the Church of Rome, from the Greekes vnto the Germaines, the ſaid our predeceſſors and we, haue alwayes had them as ſpeciall fautors & defenders of this our Church, and they haue alwaies ſhewed themſelues as moſt earneſt ſuppreſſors of hereſies: as witnes wherof remaine yet thoſe laudable cōſtitutions of the Germane Emperors, ſet forth and confirmed by our predeceſſors, for the liberty of the Church, and for expulſing heretickes out of all Germany, and that vnder greuous penalty and loſſe of al theyr goods and lands. Which conſtitutiōs, if they were obſerued this preſent day both we and they ſhould now be free from thys diſturbaunce.

Reſpectiuely.

Furthermore, the hereſy of the Huſſites, Wicleuiſtes, & of Hierome of Prage, being condēned and puniſhed in the Coūcel of Conſtance, doth witnes ẏ ſame. Moreouer doth witnes the ſame, ſo much bloud of ẏ Germanes ſpilt fighting agaynſt the Bohemians. To cōclude, the ſame alſo is confirmed & witneſſed by the learned & true confutatiō, reprobation and condēnation ſet forth by the Vniuerſities of Colene and Louane in Germany agaynſt the foreſayd errors. Many other witneſſes alſo we might alledge, which here, leaſt we ſhould ſeme to write a ſtory, we pretermit.

The Germaines in olde tyme moſt addicted to popery aboue al other nations.

Wherfore we for the charge of our Paſtorall office cōmitted vnto vs, can no longer forbeare or winck at the peſtiferous poyſon of the foreſayd errors: of the which errors we thought here good to recite certayne. The tenor of whiche is this, as foloweth.

It is an old hereſy to ſay, that the Sacramentes of the new law doth geue grace to them, qui non ponunt obicem. i. which haue in themſelues to the contrary, no let.

In a childe after his Baptiſme, to deny that ſinne remayneth, is to tread downe Paule and Chriſt vnder foote.

The origene of ſinne, although no actuall ſinne doe folow after, doth ſtay the ſoule leauing the body, from the entraunce into heauen.

Vnperfite charity of a mā departing, muſt needes bring wyth it great feare, which of it ſelfe is enough to deſerue the payne of Purgatory, and ſtoppeth the entrance into the kingdome of heauen.

To ſay that penaunce ſtandeth of three partes, to wit, contrition, confeſsion, aud ſatisfaction, is not founded in holy Scripture nor in auncient, holy and Chriſtian Doctors.

Contritiō, which a man ſtirreth vp in himſelfe, by diſcuſsing, remembring, and deteſtinge his ſinnes, in reuoluing his former yeares in bitterneſſe of ſoule, and in pondering the waight, number and filthineſſe of his ſinnes, the leeſing of eternall bliſſe, and getting of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh a man an hipocrite and a great ſinner.

It is an olde prouerbe, & to be preferred before the doctrine of all that haue written hitherto of contrition: from henceforth to tranſgreſſe no more. The chiefeſt and the beſt penaunce is a new life.

Neither preſume to confeſſe the veniall ſinnes, nor yet all thy mortall ſinnes, for it is impoſsible to remember all the mortall ſinnes that thou haſt committed, and therefore in the primitiue Church they confeſſed the mortall ſinnes, which onely were manifeſt.

While we ſeeke to number vp all our ſinnes ſincerely vnto the prieſt, we meane nothing els herein, but that we will leaue nothing to the mercy of God, to be forgeuen.

In confeſsion no man hath his ſinnes forgeuen, except he beleue, whē the prieſt forgeueth, the ſame to be remitted: yea otherwiſe his ſinne remayneth vnforgeuē, vnles he beleue the ſame to be forgeuen. For els remiſsion of the prieſt, and geuing of grace doth not ſuffice, except beliefe come on his part that is remitted.

Thinke not thy ſinne to be aſſoyled, for the worthines of thy contrition, but for the word of Chriſt: Whatſoeuer thou loſeſt, &c. When thou art abſolued of the prieſt, truſt confidently vpon theſe wordes, and beleue firmely thy ſelfe to be abſolued, & then art thou truely remitted.

Admit the party that is confeſſed were not contrite (whiche is *impoſsible, or that the prieſt pronoūced the wordes of loſing, not in earneſt, but in ieſt: yet if the party beleue that he is abſolued, he is truely abſolued in deed.

In the ſacrament of penaunce and abſolution, the Pope or biſhop do no more, then any inferior prieſt can do. Yea and where a prieſt is not to be had, there euery Chriſtian man, yea or Chriſtian woman ſtandeth in as good ſtead.

*None ought to ſay to the prieſt, that he is contrite, neither ought the prieſt to aske any ſuch matter.

It is a great error of them which come to the holy houſel truſting vpon this, that they are cōfeſſed, that theyr cōſcience grudgeth them of no deadly ſinne, that they haue ſayd theyr prayers, and done ſuch other preparatiues before: all thoſe do eat & drink to theyr owne iudgement. But if they beleeue there to obteyne Gods grace, this fayth maketh them pure and worthy.

It were good that the church ſhould determine in a generall coūcell, lay men to cōmunicate vnder both kindes: & the Bohemians ſo doing, be therin neither hereticks, nor ſchiſmatickes.

The treaſures out of which the Pope doth graunt his Indulgences, are not the merites of Chriſt, nor of the Sayntes.

Indulgences and pardons be a deuout ſeducing of the faythfull, and hinderance to good works: and are in the number of thē which be thinges *lawfull, but not expedient.

Pardons and Indulgences to them which haue them, auayle not to remiſsion of the puniſhment due before God, for actuall ſinnes committed.

They which thinke that Indulgences are wholeſome and cōducible to the fruite of the ſpirite, are deceiued.

Indulgences are onely neceſſary for publicke tranſgreſsions, & are onely graunted to them that are obſtinate and impacient.

Indulgences and pardons are vnprofitable to 6. ſortes of perſons. 1. to them that be dead, or lye in dying. 2. to thē that be weak and infirme. 3. to ſuch as haue lawful impedimentes. 4. to thē that haue not offended. 5. to ſuch as haue offended, but not publickly. 6. to thoſe that amend and do well.

Excommunications be onely outward puniſhmentes, and doe not depriue a man of the publike ſpirituall prayers of the Church.

Chriſtians are to be taught rather to loue excommunication, then to dread it.

The biſh. of Rome, ſucceſſor of Peter, is not the vicar of Chriſt, ordeined by Chriſt and S. Peter, to haue authoritie ouer all the churches in the world.

The wordes of Chriſt to Peter, **whatſoeuer thou looſeſt, &c.** Math 16. extend no further, but onely to thoſe things, which bee bound of Peter hymſelfe.

It is not in the hands eyther of the church, or of the Pope, to make articles of the fayth, yea, or lawes either of maners, or good workes.

Albeit the Pope with a great part of the church, teachyng ſo or ſo, did not erre therein: yet is it no ſinne nor hereſie for a man to hold contrary to them, namely in ſuch things, which are not neceſſary to ſaluation, ſo long as it is not otherwiſe condemned or approued by a generall Councell.

We haue a way made playne vnto vs, to infringe the authoritie of Councels, and freely to gaineſtand their doyngs, and to iudge vpon their Decrees, and boldly to ſpeake our knowledge whatſoeuer we iudge to be true, whether the ſame be approoued or reproued by any generall Councell.

Some of the articles of Iohn Hus condemned in the Councell of Conſtance, are Chriſtian, moſt true and Euangelicall, whome the vniuerſall Church cannot condemne.

In euery good worke the iuſt man ſinneth.

*Euery good worke of ours, when it is beſt done, it is a veniall ſinne.

To burne heretikes, is againſt the will of the ſpirit.

*To fight agaynſt the Turkes, is to repugne agaynſt God, viſiting our iniquities by them.

Freewill after ſinne, is a title and name onely of a thyng, and while a man doth that which lyeth in him, he ſinneth deadly.

Purgatory cannot be proued out of holy ſcripture, whiche is Canonicall.

Soules in Purgatory be not certaine of their ſafetie, at leſt not all, neither is it proued by reaſons or by ſcriptures, that they bee vtterly out of the ſtate to deſerue, or encreaſe charitie.

*Soules in Purgatory do ſinne without intermiſſion, ſo long as they ſeeke reſt, and dread puniſhment.

The ſoules beyng deliuered out of Purgatory by the prayers of the liuyng, be leſſe bleſſed, then if they had ſatiſfied for themſelues.

Eccleſiaſticall prelates & worldly princes ſhould not doe amiſſe, if they would ſcoure away all the bags of begging Friers.

All which errors there is no man in his right wittes, but he knoweth the ſame in their ſeueral reſpects, how peſtilent they be, how pernitious, how much they ſeduce godly and ſimple minds, and finally how much they be againſt all charitie, and agaynſt the reuerence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all faythfull, and maiſtreſſe of the fayth it ſelfe, and agaynſt the ſinews and ſtrength of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, which is obedience, the fountayne and welſpring of all vertues, and without the which euery mā is to be conuinced eaſily to be an Infidel.

We therfore deſiring to proceede in the premiſſes more earneſtly, as behoueth in things of moſt importaunce and meanyng, to cut of the courſe of this peſtiferous and cankered diſeaſe, leſt it ſhould ſpread it ſelfe further in ẏ Lords field, like hurtfull brambles or bryers, and vſing vpon the ſayd errors, and euery of them diligent triall, debatyng ſtrait examination, ripe deliberation. And further, weying and thorowly ſifting all and euery of the ſame together w our reuerend brethrē, the cardinals of the church of Rome, the priors of the orders regular, or miniſters generall, alſo with diuers other profeſſors and maiſters of Diuinitie, & of both the lawes, and thoſe the beſt learned: do finde the foreſayd errors or articles reſpectiuely, as is aforeſayd, not to be the catholike, nor to be taught as Catholike, but to be agaynſt the doctrine or tradition of the catholike Church, and againſt the true interpretation of holy Scripture, receyued by the ſame: to whoſe author Auguſtine thought we ought ſo much to leane, that he would not (as he ſayd) haue beleued the Goſpell, if the authoritie of the Churche had not thereto moued hym.

For by theſe errours, or at leaſt by ſome of them it followeth conſequently, that the ſame Church which is guided by the holy Ghoſt, now doth, & euer hath erred, which is vtterly agaynſt that which Chriſt at the tyme of his aſcenſion (as we read in the holy Goſpell of Mathew) promiſed to his Diſciples, ſaying: I am with you vntill the ende of the world, &c. and alſo agaynſt the determination of the holy Fathers, againſt the expreſſe ordinances or Canons of Councels and head biſhops, whom not to obey, hath alwayes bene the cauſe and nurſe of all hereſies and ſciſmes, as Cyprian doth witneſſe.

The articles of Luther condemned.

Wherefore by the counſaile and aſſent of the ſayde our reuerend brethren, vpon due conſideration of all and ſingular the premiſſes, by the authoritie of almighty God, & of the bleſſed Apoſtles of Peter and Paule, and our owne, we do condemne, reproue, and vtterly reiect all and ſingular the Articles or errors aforeſaid reſpectiuely, as ſome to be hereticall, ſome to be ſlaunderous, ſome offenſiue to godly eares, or els ſeducing ſimple mynds, and repugnant to the catholike truth, and by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare that they ought of all chriſten people both men and women, to be taken as damned, reproued, and reiected. And therfore forbidding here vnder payne of the greater curſe and excommunication, looſing of their dignities, whether they be Eccleſiaſticall or temporall, and to be depriued and made vncapable of all regular orders & priuiledges, geuen and graunted by the Sea Apoſtolike, of what condition ſo euer they be: alſo of looſing theyr liberties to hold generall ſchooles, to read and profeſſe any ſcience and facultie: of looſing alſo their tenures and feofements, and of inhabilitie for euer to recouer the ſame agayne, or any other: moreouer, vnder payne of ſecludyng from chriſtian buriall, yea and of treaſon alſo, and incurring ſuch paynes and puniſhments expreſſed in the lawe, as are due for all heretickes and fautors of the ſame: wee charge and commaund all and ſinguler Chriſten people, both men and women, as well of the laitie, as of the Clergie, both ſecular & alſo regular, of what order ſo euer they be, and brieflye all other perſones, of what degree or condition ſo euer they bee, or in what dignitie ſo euer they are placed, either eccleſiaſticall or temporall: as firſt ẏ cardinals of the holy church of Rome, Patriarkes, Primates Archbiſhops, Biſhops, with the prelates and heads of the churches Patriarchall, Metropolitane, or other cathedrall Collegiate, and other ſmall and inferiour churches: to all clerkes and other perſons eccleſiaſticall, as Abbots, Priors, or miniſters generall or perticular, brethren or religious men, exempt and not exempt: alſo Vniuerſities of ſchooles, and all other, as well ſecular prieſts, as regular, and religious perſons of all orders, yea of the begging friers alſo. Item, kings, Electors of the Imperiall crowne, princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Barons, captains, conductors and ſeruitures, and all Officers, Iudges, Notaries, whether they be eccleſiaſticall or ſecular: comminalties, vniuerſities, dominions, cities, caſtles, lordſhips, and places, with the inhabiters of the ſame: and finally all other perſons whatſoeuer, eccleſiaſticall or regular, diſperſed in whatſoeuer places through the whole * vniuerſal world, or which ſhall be hereafter diſperſed, but eſpecially in high Almany, that they ſhall not preſume publikely or priuately vnder any maner of pretence or colour, colourably or expreſſely, or how els ſoeuer, to hold, maintaine, defend, preach, or fauour the foreſayd errors or any of them, or any ſuch peruerſe doctrine.

Beholde how kinges come after bagges and wallets, and begging Fryers.

*Here may be a doubt, whether the man in the Moone be exempted with his buſhe of thornes on his necke out of this Bull, or not

Ouer and beſides, for ſo much as the foreſayd errors, and many other are conteined in the bookes or writings of the foreſayd Martin Luther, therefore we condemne, reproue, and vtterly reiect, and hold for vtterly condemned, reproued, and reiected the foreſayd bookes, and al the writings of the ſayd Martin, with his preachings, in what tongue ſo euer they are found, wherein the ſayd errours or any of them is conteined willing and commanding vnder the vertue of holy obedience, and incurring the penalties aforeſayd, to all and ſingular chriſten people, both men and women aboue reherſed, that they preſume not by any maner of waies, directly, or indirectly, colourably or expreſly, priuily or apertly, either in their houſes, or in other publike or priuate places, to read, hold, preach, print, publiſhe, or defend, eyther by themſelues or by others, but ſtraight wayes after the publiſhing hereof, they doe burne or cauſe to be burned the ſayd errors, by their Ordinaries diligētly beyng ſearched out, and ſolemnely preſented in the ſight of the whole Clergy of the people, vnder all and ſingular the penalties aforeſayd.

The bookes of M. Luther condemned.

Now as touching the ſayd Martin, O good lord, what haue we left * vndone? what haue we left vnattempted? what fatherly charitie haue we not ſhewed, whereby to haue reduced him from theſe errours? For after that wee did cite hym, thinking to proceed with him more fauourably, we inuited and exhorted him as well by diuers tractations had with our Legate, as by our owne letters, that he would relinquiſh the foreſayd errors, or els hauing ſafe conduct offred to him, with money neceſſary for his iourney, to come to vs without any feare or dread, which perfect charitie ought to caſt out, and ſo after the example of our ſauiour, and his Apoſtle S. Paule, he would ſpeake, not in corners and in ſecret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we thinke no leſſe, but that reforming

*Let vs ſee here what ye haue not done: Fyrſt Luther gently ſubmitted himſelfe: but you reiected him: He then referred him to the iudgement of 4. Vniuerſities in Germanye, it would not be taken: he then appealed frō the Cardinal to the Pope, the Pope refuſed him myng himſelfe, he would haue recogniſed his errors, neyther ſhould haue found ſo many faults in ẏ court of Rome which he beyng ſeduced with the rumours of malitious people, more thē he ought, doth ſo much reprehend. Where we would haue taught him to ſee more clearely then the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome our predeceſſors (whome he without all modeſtie, moſt iniuriouſly doth rayle vpon) did neuer erre in their Canons and conſtitutions (which he ſo much depraueth.) For as ſaith the prophet: Neither is there Roſine or Phiſition lacking in Galaad. But he hath alwayes ſhewed himſelfe diſobedient, and refuſed at our Citation to appeare, and yet to this preſent day continuing ſtill in hys ſtubburne mynd and heart indurate, hath remayned now more then a yeare vnder our curſe, yea & moreouer, adding miſchiefe to miſchief (which is worſt of all) he hearing of this our Citation, burſt out into a preſumptuous appellation from vs, vnto the next generall Councell, againſt the conſtitution both of Pope Pius the ſecond, and Pope Iulius the ſecond, our predeceſſours, which ſo decreed, that all they which ſo did appeale, ſhould be puniſhed as heretikes.

then he appealed from the Pope to the Councell neyther did the pope admit that he required to be conuinced by the Scriptures, the Pope neyther would nor could ſo do. And yet the Pope ſayeth he left nothing vndone.

Ierem.8.

Here note good reader, that Luther appealed frō the pope to the Councell two yeares before this Bull: which was an. 1518.

In vayne alſo he ſeeketh refuge to the generall Councell, which profeſſeth himſelfe not greatly to regard ſuch coūcels. So that now we might lawfully proceed againſt hym, as againſt one notoriouſly ſuſpected of his fayth, yea a very heretike in deed, without any further citation or delay, to the condemnation of him, as of an heretike, and to the ſeueritie of all and ſinguler paynes and cenſures afore written. Yet we notwithſtandyng by the counſell of our brethren aforeſayd, following the clemencie of almighty God, which wyll not the death of a ſinner, but rather that hee ſhould conuert and lyue, and forgetting all iniuries heretofore done vnto vs and to the See apoſtolike, haue thoght good to vſe all fauourable meanes toward hym that wee might, and ſo to worke (as much as in vs lyeth) that he by this way of manſuetude, might be brought to reformation: ſo that he forſaking hys former errours, might be receiued as the loſt chyld, and returne home againe into the lap of his mother the Church.

The Popes exhortation to Luther.

Wherfore in moſt harty wiſe we exhort and beſeech the ſaid Martin and all his adherents, receiuers, and fautors by the bowels of the mercy of our God, and by the ſprinklyng of the bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, in whome, and by whom, is made the redemption of mankind, and the edification of holy mother church, that they will ceaſe to diſturbe the peace, vnitie, and veritie of the ſaid Church, for the which our ſauior ſo inſtantly prayed to his father, and that they will abſteine from ſuch pernicious errors aforeſaid. Who in ſo doyng ſhall find with vs (if they ſhal obey, or ſhall certifie vs by lawfull witneſſes, to haue obeied effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charitie, and a ful fountayne opened of all mercy and clemencie: willing and charging the ſaid Martine notwithſtanding, from henceforth that he vtterly deſiſt in the meane time from all preachyng and office of preaching. Or els if the loue of Iuſtice and vertue ſhall not reſtraine the ſaid Martin from ſinne, neither the hope of our pardon ſhall reduce hym to repentaunce: to the intent that the terror of puniſhment and of diſcipline may bridle him, we require and admoniſh ẏ ſaid Martin and his adherents, abbettors, fautors, and receyuers, by the tenor hereof, in the veritie of holy obedience, & vnder incurring all the penalties aforeſaid, diſtrictly charging and commaunding that within fourty days (whereof twenty we aſſign for the firſt twenty, for the ſecond, and the other twenty for the third & peremptory terme) immediately following after the ſettyng vp of theſe preſent letters, that the ſayd Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherēts and receiuers aforeſayd, do ſurceaſe from the foreſayd errors, and from the preching, publiſhing, mainteining and defending of the ſame: alſo from ſettyng out of booke or ſcriptures vpon the ſaid errors or any of them: & furthermore, that they burne, or cauſe to be burned all and ſingular ſuch bookes and ſcriptures as containe the foreſaid errors or any of them by any maner of way.

The Pope threatneth M. Luther with puniſhment.

Alſo that the ſaid Martin doe vtterly reuoke thoſe errors and aſſertions, and ſo to certifie vs of the reuokyng thereof by publike teſtimonie in due forme of lawe, ſigned by the handes of two prelates, to be ſent vnto vs within the terme of other like xl. daies, or els to be brought by him vnto vs, if he himſelfe will come (which would pleaſe vs much rather) with a full ſafeconduct aboue mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer vnto hym, to the entent that no ſcruple of doubt touching hys true obedience, ſhould hereafter remayne.

The Popes ſafe conduct to Luther offered.

Contrarywiſe, if the ſaid Martin (which God defend) his abettors, fautors, adherents, and mainteiners aforeſaid, ſhal otherwiſe do, or ſhal not fulfill to euery effect and purpoſe, all and ſinguler the premiſſes within the terme aforeſaid, we thē folowing the doctrine of the apoſtle, which teacheth vs to auoyd an heretical perſon, after the firſt and ſecond correction, as wel now as before, and as wel before as now, declaring by our authoritie the ſaid Martin, hys abettors, fautors, adherents, mainteiners, and receyuers, as withered braunches not remaining in Chriſt, but teaching and preaching contrary doctrine, repugnaunt to the Catholike faith, ſlaunderous and damnable, to the great offence of Gods maieſtie, to the detriment and ſlaunder of the vniuerſal church and catholike faith, and deſpiſing the keyes of the church: to be, and to haue bene notorious and obſtinate heretikes, do condemne the ſame for ſuch by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for ſuch of all chriſten people aforeſayd.

Ouer and beſides, we forbid vnder the incurring of all and ſingular the penalties afore expreſſed, in ſo doing, that no man preſume by any maner of way, directly or indirectly, ſecretly or expreſly, priuily or apertly, to read, holde, preach, praiſe, print, publiſh or defend, either by thēſelues, or by any other the ſayd bookes and writings, not onely thoſe wherein the errors aforeſayd are conteined, but alſo all others whatſoeuer haue bene or ſhall be ſet forth, written, or made by the ſayd Martin, vehemently ſuſpected as a pernitious enemy of the Catholike faith, to the intent ẏ his memory may vtterly be rooted out from the fellowſhip of all chriſtian people, or rather with fire to conſume them as is afore declared.

We admoniſh moreouer, al and ſingular Chriſtes faithful people, vnder the ſaid payne of the great curſe, to auoid or cauſe to be auoided ſo much as in them doth lie, the foreſaid heretikes not obedient to our commandements, and to haue no fellowſhip or any conuerſation or communion with them or with any of them, neither to miniſter to them things neceſſary.

And moreouer, to the more confuſion of the ſaid Martin, with his abettors, adherents, and retainers aforeſayd, thus being declared and condemned as heretikes, after the expiring of the terme aforeſayd, we command all and ſingular Chriſtes faithfull people, both men and women, as Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Prelates of Churches, eyther Patriarchall, Metropolitane, and other Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other inferiour Churches, to Deanes & Chapters, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons ſecular, and of all other orders, euen of the begging Friers alſo, namely, of that congregation, where the ſayd Martin is profeſſed, or hath his abode: alſo to regular, exempt, and not exempt. Item, to all and ſingular Princes, what dignity or calling ſo euer, eyther Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall they be of: to Kings, Princes, Electors, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, Captaynes, Conductors, Seruitours, Communalties, Vniuerſities, Dominions, Cities, Landes, Caſtles and places, or the Citizens and inhabitauntes thereof: and briefly, to all and ſingular other aforeſaid, through the Vniuerſall world diſperſed, ſpecially in Almany, that they and euery of them, vnder all and ſingular penalties aforeſayd, doe perſonally apprehend the ſayd Martin, hys abettors, adherents, receyuers, and fautours, and to retaine them being apprehended, at our inſtance, and to ſend them vnto vs (who in ſo doyng, for their good worke ſhal receiue of vs and the Sea Apoſtolike, condigne reward and recompence) or at leaſt, that they vtterly driue them, and euery one of them, out of their Metropolitane, cathedrall, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houſes, Monaſteries, Conuents, Cities, Dominions, Vniuerſities, Cominalties, Caſtles, Landes, and places reſpectiuely, as well the Clergy men, as the regular and lay men, all and ſingular aforeſayd.

Thoſe cities, dominions, landes, caſtles, villages, cominalties, holdes, townes, and places where ſo euer they be ſituate reſpectiuely, Metropolitane, Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monaſteries alſo, Priories, Couents, and religious and deuout places, or what order ſo euer (as is aforeſaid) vnto the which it ſhall chance the ſayd Martin to come, ſo long as he or they ſhall there remayne, and three dayes after their departing from thence, we here geue ouer to the Eccleſiaſticall interdiction.

And that the premiſſes may be knowen to all men, we commaund moreouer all Patriarches, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates of Patriarchall, Metropolitane, & other cathedral & collegiate churches, to Deanes and Chapters, and other perſons eccleſiaſtical, & of what order els ſoeuer aforeſaid, to regular brethren, religious monkes, exempt & not exempt aforeſaid, whereſoeuer they dwell, and eſpecially within Almany, that they and euery of thē vnder like cenſures and paynes, do publikely denounce, & cauſe and commaund to be denounced of others, the ſaid Martin & all and ſingular his foreſaid adherents, which ſhall not obey our commandements and monitions, within ẏ terme aforeſayd, vpon euery ſonday, and other Feſtiuall dayes, within their churches, when as the greateſt concourſe of people ſhal reſort to diuine ſeruice, to be declared and condemned for heretikes, and that all Chriſtes faithful people ſhall auoid them vnder the ſaid cenſures and penalties, as be afore expreſſed, and that they do ſet vp theſe preſents, or cauſe to be ſet vp, or the tranſcript of them made vnder the forme hereafter enſuing, in their churches, Monaſteries, houſes, Conuents, and other places there openly to bee ſeene and read.

Item, we do excommunicate and curſe, all and ſinguler perſons, of whatſoeuer ſtate, degree, condition, preeminence, dignitie, or excellencie they be, which ſhal procure or cauſe to be procured by themſelues or other, priuily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, ſecretly or expreſſely, wherby theſe preſents, or the copies tranſcript, or the examples of them can not be read, ſet vp, and publiſhed in their landes and dominions, &c.

Let no man therefore be ſo bold to dare, to infringe, or with raſh preſumption, to contrary this wrytyng of our damnation, reprobation, reiection, decree, declaration, inhibition, will, commandement, exhortation, beſeching, requeſt, admonition, aſſignation, graunt, condemnatiō, ſubiection, excommunication & curſe. And if any perſon & perſons dare preſume to attempt the ſame, let him know and be ſure, that he ſhall incurre the indignation of almightie God, and of his bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paule.

Geuen at Rome at S. Peters, an. 1520. 17. Calend. Iulij, and of our Popedome, the viij. yeare.

Although it was ſomewhat long before this Bull aforeſaid of Pope Leo, being ſent & diſperſed through all other places abroad, could come to the handes of Luther, yet ſo ſone as he by meanes of his friendes, might get a ſight thereof, he ſhaped againe an anſwer to the ſame: in ſuch ſort, as I am ſure, the Pope himſelfe will ſay, that his Bull was neuer ſo baited, and ſo welfauoredly ſhaken in al his dayes, as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his anſwer may euidently appeare. The contentes & copy of the which anſwer, I thought here next after the ſaid Bull immediatly to exhibite to the chriſtian reader, that who ſo is diſpoſed to conferre the one with the other, hauing the both at hand, may iudge the better of the whole matter & cauſe, and alſo may ſee the true Image of the Pope out of his paynted viſour appeare in his owne perfect colours. The anſwer now to the Bull here followeth.

IESVS.

Martinus Lutherus Chriſtiano Lectori, gratiam Chriſti in ſalutem æternam.

Fama peruenit ad me, Chriſtiane Lector, exiiſſe Bullam quandam aduerſum me, penè in omnē terrā, priuſquam ad me, in quem vnice fuerit, & cui maximè erat inferenda, veniret. Forte, quod noctis & tenebrarum ſcilicet filia, timuit lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipſam nocticuam, vix tandem multum adiuuātibus amicis, in imagine ſua, datum eſt videre, &c.

¶ Here followeth the ſame aunſwer of Martin Luther agaynſt the execrable Bull of Pope Leo, in Engliſh.

Martin Luther to the chriſtiā reader, wiſheth the grace of Chriſt to eternall ſaluation. I heard a fame a farre of (Chriſtian reader) that a certayne Bull was paſt out agaynſt me, and ſent almoſt ouer al the world before it came to me, againſt whom it was eſpecially directed, & to whō moſt chiefly it apperteined. For what cauſe I cannot tell, except peraduenture it was for that the ſayd Bull like vnto a nightcrow, and as a bird of darkeneſſe hatched in the night, durſt not flie in ẏ day, nor abide to come in my ſight. Notwithſtanding the ſaid night foule after long tyme, by helpe of friends was caught at length & brought vnto me in his owne likenes to behold. which cauſeth me yet to be vncertaine what to thinke, whether my papiſts do dally & ieſt with me, in ſetting out ſuch famous libels without any name againſt me: or whether in truth and earneſt they play the mad men ſo againſt me at Rome, or no. For firſt, neither do I ſee here the ſtile (as it is called) nor ẏ proceſſe of the court of Rome obſerued. And againe (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought & condemned ſuch articles which it is plaine and manifeſt to be moſt chriſtian: whereby it ſeemeth to me moſt like, the ſaid monſter to be hatched by Iohn Eccius, a man wholy compact and framed altogether of lies, diſſimulations, errors, & hereſies.

The ſaid ſuſpition this alſo partly confirmeth, for that I heare it ſo bruted abroad, that ẏ ſayd Eccius is thought and ſayd to be the Apoſtle of ſuch a goodly Bull. And not vnlike, when none could be more meet an Apoſtle for ſuch an Apoſtleſhip then he. And in deed I heard no leſſe long ſince, that a Bull was in working agaynſt me at Rome, partly by the workemanſhip of Eccius: which becauſe (as the ſtile and compoſition therof declareth) it diſpleaſed the good and learned men there, was therefore differred and ſhould haue bene ſuppreſſed.

But whatſoeuer the matter be, it ſemeth to me not vnlike whereſoeuer this apoſtle Eccius beareth rule, there to be the kingdom of Antichriſt, and all kind of madnes there to reigne. In the meane tyme I will ſo deale, that I wyll not ſeeme to beleue Pope Leo the x. with his learned cardinals to be the authors of this furious madnes: which I doe not ſo much for the honor of the Sea of Rome, as becauſe I will not be puft vp to much with pride, and ſeeme to my ſelfe as one worthy to ſuffer ſuch, ſo great, & ſo glorious things for the veritie of God. For if it were ſo in deed that the biſhop of Rome did ſo furiouſly rage againſt me, who were then ſo happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for ſo manifeſt a truth of ſuch a proude Prelate? wherein what were more to be wiſhed for of me, then that I ſhould neuer be abſolued, reconciled, nor haue any part with that ſo doltiſh and vnlearned, wicked, and furious Antichriſt? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be receiued with all ioy and thankfulnes to God, if it might be my happe at any tyme in ſuch a cauſe as this is, to be apprehended and to ſuffer death. But geue the honour of this cauſe vnto others, and let this matter fynde his Martyr worthy for the ſame: I for my ſinnes am not worthy to come to that honour.

M. Luther thenketh himſelfe not worthy to ſuffer in ſo good a cauſe.

Let other men therfore thinke of theſe Romaniſts what they liſt: Thus I thinke, that whoſoeuer was the author of this bull, he is a very Antichriſt, and againſt Antichriſt, theſe thinges I write, to redeeme the veritie of Chriſt, ſo much as in me lieth, which he laboreth to extinguiſh. And firſt, that he ſhall obtayne no part of his will in any thing agaynſt me, here I proteſt before God and our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, and his holy angels and all the world, that I diſſent with all my hart from the condemnatiō of this bull, which Bull I alſo do curſe and execrate as an enemy, a Churche robber and blaſphemy againſt Chriſt the ſonne of god our Lord. Amen.

M. Luthers proteſtation.

Furthermore I hold, defend, and imbrace with the full truſt of my ſpirit, thoſe articles in the ſaid Bul condemned and excommunicate, and affirme that the ſame oughe to be holden of all faithful chriſtians, vnder paine of eternal malediction, and that they are to be counted for Antichriſtes, who ſo euer haue conſented to the ſayd Bull, whom I alſo together with the ſpirit of all them which purely know, & do vtterly ſhun them according to the precept of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt. Amen. And let this ſtand for thy reuocation, O Balla verè Bullarum filia. i. O thou Bull which art the very daughter of all vayne * bubbles.

Marke here how Luther recanteth.

Bulla in Latin ſignifieth as much in Engliſh as a bubble in the water.

This my confeſſion and proteſtation made (for witnes whereof I take all them that ſhall read theſe preſents) before I proceed to defend & declare theſe foreſaid Articles, I will firſt begin, with certaine argumentes for the confutation of the ſayd Bull: whereof the firſt I will take of the blind ignorāce of this blockiſh Antichriſt. For the Apoſtle Peter ſo commandeth, that we ſhould be redy to render a reaſon of that faith and hope which is in vs. And the apoſtle Paule willeth a biſhop to be mighty to exhort in ſoūd doctrine & to refute the gaynſayers. And theſe thinges be they, which now 3. yeres agoe, I haue deſired & looked for out of Rome, or from them which take part with Rome. which things alſo we do read to be obſerued moſt diligētly amongſt the ancient fathers, whenſoeuer they condemned hereſies. Neither do we read that the apoſtles did euer decree any thing in their Counſels, but they firſt alledged the holy Scripture. So I alſo when I wayted that they would aunſwer me with grapes, and to enforme me wyth true teſtimonies of the ſcripture, behold they bryng to me ſower and wylde grapes, condemning me with nothing els but bare wordes, whereas I haue fortified my matter with playne ſcriptures.

Titus. 1.

The Papiſtes will not abide the triall of the Scripture.

I ſay vnto thee. O thou moſt vnlearned Antichriſt, haſt thou ioined ſuch brainſike raſhnes together with ſuch barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt preſume to thinke all mē to be turned into ſtockes & blocks, and to thinke that thou with thy bare and naked wordes only canſt triūph againſt the inuincible force and power of Gods holy worde? Haſt thou learned this maner of condemning of the magiſtralities of Colen and Louaine.

If this be the maner of the Church to damne errours, only to ſay, I like it not, I deny it, I will not: what foole, what patch, what aſſe, what block cannot condemne after this maner? Is not thy whoriſh face aſhamed in the publike ſight of the church, to dare once to ſet the trifling vanities

ties onely of thy naked and bare wordes againſt the thunderbolts of Gods eternall word? O impudent condemnation and right ſeemely for Antichriſt, which hath not one iote or title to bring againſt ſuch euident ſcriptures inferred agaynſt him, but onely with one worde commeth and ſayth, I condemne thee. And why then do we not beleeue the Turke? why do we not admit the Iewes? why doe we not honour the heretikes which alſo condemne our writings as well as he, if it be enough only to condemne? vnleſſe we do not therfore peraduenture geue place vnto them, becauſe they condemne vs not vtterly without ſome ſcriptures and reaſons: but theſe men after a new found faſhion, vtterly without all ſcriptures or reaſon doe condemne vs. What then ſhall I thinke to be the cauſe why they proceeded againſt me with this their Bul condemnatory, ſo vaine, ſo ridiculous, ſo trifling, but only their mere blockiſhnes, wherby they ſeyng my allegations to be true and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the ſame, thought to terrifie me with the vayne ratlyng of their rottē parchment. But I tell thee Antichriſt, that Luther being accuſtomed to warre, will not be terrified with theſe vayne buls, and hath learned to put a difference betwene a piece of paper, and the omnipotent word of God.

The popes vaine terrours cannot make M. Luther afraid.

Of the like ignorance proceedeth this alſo, that they againſt their owne conſcience, durſt not perticularly digeſt all and ſingular the Articles in their orders: for they feared leaſt they ſhould note hym for an heretike, whom they were not able perhaps to conuince either to be erroneous or offenſiue, & therefore they haue found out this Aduerbe reſpectiuè: & after the numbring of the articles, then come they & ſay that ſome be reſpectiuely heretical, ſome erroneous, and ſome offenſiue, which is as much to ſay, as we ſuppoſe ſome to be heretical, ſome erroneous, & ſome ſlanderous, but we cannot tell qui, quales, quanti. i. which, what maner, and how great they are. O daſtardly ignoraunce, how ſlippery and cowardly art thou? how art thou afrayd of the light? how doeſt thou turne and returne all thyngs, leaſt thou ſhouldſt be taken lyke a Proteus: and yet for all that thou ſhalt not ſo eſcape, yea in thy wilynes thou ſhalt the rather be ouertaken and ſubuerted.

Reſpectiuely.

Proteus is a certayne monſter among the Poetes, which turneth himſelf into all colours.

Come out therefore O thou aſſeheaded Antichriſt, and ſhew forth thy wiſedom, and diſpoſe thy matters in order. Tell vs if thou canſt, what ſayeſt thou or meaneſt thou, when thou ſayeſt this article is hereticall, this is erroneous, this is offenſiue. For it becommeth ſuch a worſhipful condemner to know what he condemneth. And to ſhamefull it is to condemne an article for heretical, and yet cānot name the ſame. Neither will I be anſwered herewith reſpectiuely, but I looke to be taught ſimply and plainly, for I am one of Occams faction which contemneth theſe reſpectiues, and loue to haue all things ſimple & abſolute.

Thou ſeeſt therefore (good Reader) the ignorant dotage of this Antichriſt, how craftily, & yet groſſely he thinketh to walke in a net vnder his aduerbe, reſpectiuely, who not only doth not teach the truth, and cauſe of his cōdemning, but neither alſo dare proue any error, nor ſhew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet muſt he nedes condemn. Is not this trow you a proper kind of damning, to damn and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine maner of loquution, paſſing all Rhetorike, to ſpeak, & yet not to know what he ſpeaketh, what purgatories might wee wiſh ſufficient to purge the doltiſh braynes of theſe Bull bragging bedlems? with ſuch blindnes & doltiſhnes are all the aduerſaries of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

The dotage of Antichriſt.

But I know wherupon all this griefe riſeth. The origine whereof is this: Eccius mine old aduerſary remembring how he was put to ſhame enough at Lypſia when he rouſing hymſelfe vppon hys ſtage, and frothing at the mouth like a Bore, with a furious mouth called me 3. hūdreth tymes heretike, for the Articles of Huſſe, and yet afterward was not able to proue the ſame, whereas the ſentence condemnatory of the Councell of Conſtance, alleaged by me otherwiſe then Eccius loked for, noted there, no certaine article for hereticall: and alſo the ſame condemnation much like to this of ours, with the like fooliſhnes called ſome of his Articles hereticall, ſome erroneous, & ſome offenſiue, and Eccius hearyng this, beyng confounded in himſelfe for his impudent raſhnes: perceiued that he had called me heretike falſly and vntruly: he thought then to heale this his wound again at Rome, and there to ſtabliſh his falſe and impudent lying. But the lying ſophiſter ſhall not preuayle by the helpe (I truſt) of Chriſt, for I aſke and require yet ſtil, ẏ they abſolutely, not reſpectiuely, diſtinctly, and not confuſedly, ſimply, & not diſſemblingly, plainly and not obſcurely, perticularly & not in generall, do ſhew what is, and what is not heretical. But when will they ſo do? when Chriſt and Beliall, or when light and darkenes ſhall agree together.

Eccius.

Eccius taken with a lye.

And what ſhall I do then in the meane tyme? Firſt I will contemne theſe daſtardly dotipoles and vnlearned Papiſts and apoſtles of Antichriſt. And I wil ſcorne them as Helias did, and ſay: if Baal be God, let hym aunſwere, peraduenture he is drunke, or buſie in hys iourney, Cry out higher, for he is a God and peraduenture heareth. For what other thyng do theſe Bull bragging Aſſes deſerue els, which cōdemne that they know not, and confeſſe alſo their own ignoraunce?

Secondly, I wil not be troubled nor diſquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretike, erroneous, or offenſiue, ſo long as I ſhall not be proued and plainly cōuicted with ſimple and manifeſt wordes in what Article I am ſo iudged. Neither do I here charge my Papiſts, theſe blockheds, that I will put them to their proofes, but onely that they will ſhew me at leaſt my errour that is, that they wil ſhew me if they know what it is that they themſelues do prattle of, or haue any feelyng of their owne doyngs. For ſo long as they aſſigne me no hereticall Article, I am at free liberty to deny what Article ſo euer they lay vnto me to be heretical, and ſay it is Catholike.

Agayne, what a rudenes is it in this wicked & doltiſhe Antichriſt worthy to be laughed at, where as theſe drummedaries do diſtinct hereticall Articles from thoſe that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offenſiue, and thoſe agayne from ſlaunderous? By the which ſubtle diſtinction of thoſe groſſeheaded dolts, this we do gather, that that article which is erroneous, is not heretical, and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertaine to theſe Eccleſiaſtical condemners, which ought to condemne thoſe things only, which be hereticall. For that which is not hereticall, is catholike, as Chriſt himſelfe ſaith: He that is not againſt vs is with vs. Yea I would wiſh, that theſe iolly Sophiſters would ſhew me in all the Church an Article that is erroneous, and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothyng from hereticall, but onely in ſtiffeneſſe of defendyng. For all things be equally either true or falſe, although affection in ſome one thing which is true or falſe, may be greater or leſſer. Ye ſee therfore agayne, how theſe men for all theyr braggyng Buls, are not able to produce me one Article which is erroneous and not heretical, and yet lykewiſe brainſike men, they will needs babble they know not themſelues what, condemning that which they finde erroneous and not hereticall: which cannot ſtand eyther in matter or in words ſo that ſuch as are the Articles: ſuch is the condemnation.

The lyke wiſedome alſo they ſhew in affirmyng that to be Scandalous, which is neither hereticall nor erroneous. That Article I would fayne ſee eyther in my bookes or in the words and workes of any writer els from the beginnyng of the world to the latter end. What made my papiſts then to excogitate theſe ſo prodigious monſters, but onely their monſtrous fury and madneſſe? Vnleſſe peraduenture they meane thoſe Articles ſo to be Scandalous, as commonly all true and Catholike Articles are wont to be. For what is more ſcandalous then Veritie? Yea onely truth and veritie is ſcandalous to all proud and ſenceleſſe perſons, and is ſayd of Chriſt, 1. Cor. 1. We preach (ſaith S. Paule) Chriſte crucified, a ſtumblynge ſtone to the Iewes, and to the Gentiles fooliſhneſſe. And in Luke 2. He is ſet to be the fall and riſing vp of many in Iſraell. Wherefore, where as my Papiſtes do diſtinguiſh ſcandalous Articles from hereticall and erroneous, and foraſmuch as that which is not hereticall or erroneous, muſt needes be Catholicke and true: it followeth thereof, that theſe ſcandalous Articles be vnderſtanded and condēned of them for ſuch as be very Catholike and ſound. O worthy commendation & meete for the Papiſts.

Marke here good Reader, the impietie of theſe blynde Bullards, whether they roll themſelues, how they deride and mocke themſelues, how eaſily they are taken in theyr owne words, how fond and fooliſh they are in their ſtudies not only in not prouyng any error or ſlander in theſe Articles, but alſo in goyng about only to expreſſe them, how they caſt out things impoſſible and moſt fooliſhly repugnant to themſelues. Where is then thou moſt preſumptuous and ſhameles Bull, thy doltiſh reſpectiue nowe become? whether reſpecteſt thou? Verily into the bottomles pit of impiety, and thine owne brutiſh ſtoliditie.

The like alſo is to be ſayd touching the Articles offenſiue, which muſt be neyther ſlaunderous, neyther erroneous, nor hereticall, ſeyng they are diſtincted by ſuch great Rabbines. Who wyll not now maruell at the depe & profound wiſedome of theſe Papiſtes, which could finde out that to be offenſiue in the Church, which is neyther falſe, neyther hereticall nor ſlaunderous, but true, ſound, Catholike and edifieng, and yet muſt that alſo be condemned? And who would not now deſire & couet to be condemned also of ſuch harebrained Idiotes, who by their owne condemning do vtter themſelues to approue things damnable, and to condemne things iuſtifiable, that is, whyche openly ſhew themſelues, to their owne great ignominy and ſhame, to be more ſenſeles then ſtockes, rockes, or blocks. Goe ye nowe therefore, O ye impious and braineleſſe Papiſtes, and if yee wil needes wryte: ſhew your ſelues more ſober: for this Bull (it appeareth) was ſpued out in youre night feaſts amongs other drabs and harlots, or els hudled vp in the Canicular dayes or mad midſomer Moone: for neuer were there any diſſardes that would ſhew them ſelues ſo madde.

Lette vs now retourne this dirt of Antichriſt, and caſt it in hys owne teethe, and of hys owne wordes let vs iudge hym and condemne him, that heereafter hee maye learne to take better heede, and be better aduiſed in his lyinge. For as the Prouerbe ſayth, a lyer had neede to haue a good memorye. If ſome Articles be offenſiue, and other hereticall, and thou condemneſt him whych is no hereticke, and conſequently a true Catholicke, although hee be ſixe hundreth times offenſiue. Doth not thy ſhameleſſe mouth then condemne thy ſelfe, not onely of hereſie, but of extreeme impietie, blaſphemye and treaſon againſt Gods holy trueth, ſhewing thy ſelfe to be the manne in dede whych is the aduerſarye, and is extolled aboue all that which is called God, or is worſhipped? Art not thou then the manne of ſinne, and the ſonne of perdition, which denieth God hys redeamer, and taketh away the loue of trueth, to ſtabliſhe the ſettinge forth of his errour, for men to beleeue iniquitie, as Paule foretolde? For if the Article be not hereticall, it can not be offenſiue or ſlaunderous, but onely to ſuche heretickes as Antichriſt is, and Sathaniſtes of all pietie. See therefore howe his ſhameleſſe and moſte fooliſh Bull, whiles it condemneth in me one thinge to be hereticall, and an other offenſiue, doeth manifeſtly declare the authours thereof to be true heretickes and the enemies of God in deede. So that nowe it maye appeare, that there is no knowledge nor counſell againſt the Lorde, ſeeing blinde impietie is thus caughte in the wordes of hys owne mouth: ſo truely it is ſayd, that he whiche caſteth vpp a ſtone on highe, it falleth downe againe vpon his owne pate.

And (whych is chiefeſt of all) by thys theyr wycked contradiction it commeth to paſſe, that the cogitations of theyr owne heartes be reuealed, and that they them ſelues chiefely do vtter and diſcloſe their owne wickednes which they couet moſt to conceale, that all men may ſee how ready they are to condemne all veritie euen at once. For when they affirme ſuche Articles to be hereticall, whych neyther they can, nor knowe, nor yet dare ſhewe or name to be hereticall, what haue we thereby to vnderſtand, but that they are the aduerſaries of Chriſte from the bottome of theyr hearts, and ready to impugne all trueth, and yet notwithſtanding wyth their dampnable hypocriſie they pretende themſelues to be condemners of hereſies? Learne, learne, yee beetell headed Aſſes wyth your bluſtering buls, learne I ſay, what it is, Chriſte to be a ſigne of contradiction and a ſtone of offence. Howe ſoone and eaſily is al your inward impietie and your ignominie diſcloſed wyth the ſame couert of wordes, wherewith in vaine yee went aboute to cloke the ſame? Thus then haue we heere proued by thys firſt and manifeſt argument, that the foreſayde Bull proceedeth from none other, then very Antichriſt hymſelfe, the chiefeſt aduerſarye of God and of all godlineſſe. And nowe let either Eckius or the Pope acknowledge if he dare, and then conſider what opinion wee ought to haue of hym, or what name to geue him: in whome all curſed names, as in one heape, doe concurre together and agree, as impietie, blaſphemie, ignorance, fooliſhnes, hypocriſie, lying, briefly, Sathan himſelfe with his Antichriſt.

Neither doeth thys impietie any thing leſſe appeare in that alſo which I will nowe ſay. For this worſhipful Bul decreeth in plaine and moſte impudent wordes, that thoſe Bookes alſo of mine ought to be burned, in the whyche are no errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be vtterly rooted out.

Canſt thou O Chriſtian Reader, now doubte that the great Dragon of hell hymſelfe ſpeaketh in this Bull? It is an olde Prouerbe, that the Aſſe ſingeth therefore euill fauouredly, becauſe hee taketh hys note to hye. So thys Bull in like manner ſhould haue piped more tunably, if he had not ſette by hys blaſphemous throte ſo open againſte heauen, ſo impudently and deueliſhly condemning alſo the manifeſt and euident trueth. For hitherto Sathan when ſo euer hee oppreſſed the trueth, did it vnder the colour of trueth: but this man of ſinne, the Aduerſarie whyche is extolled aboue God, wythout all colour, not priuily but apeartly, and that in the open Churche of God, wythoute all ſhame taketh vppon hym to condemne, and commaundeth to be burned the ſincere veritye of Chriſte, knowne and allowed both of hym and of all others? What could be more done amongeſt the Turkes? What place is thys worthy off (I praye thee) but the deepe dungeon of Hell? And are yee not afrayde yee Antichriſtes, wyth your brutiſhe Bulles, leaſte ſtones and trees ſhoulde ſweate wyth bloude, at the moſte horrible ſighte of thys your execrable impietie and blaſphemie?

The papiſtes pretend to know and mayntayne the verity of Chriſt, and yet cannot abyde it.

Where art thou now good Emperour Charles? where are yee Chriſten Kings and Princes? Ye haue geuen your name to Chriſte in Baptiſme, and can ye nowe abide theſe infernall voyces of ſuche an Antichriſte? Where be yee Biſhoppes? where be yee Doctours? where be all yee that confeſſe Chriſte? Can yee holde your peace at theſe horrible and prodigious monſters of the Papiſtes, O miſerable Churche of God, whyche arte made nowe ſo greate a ſcorne, and a very mocking ſtocke of Sathan. O miſerable are all they which liue in theſe times. The wrathe of God is finally come vppon the Papiſtes, enemies to the croſſe of Chriſte and veritie of God, reſiſtinge all menne, and forbidding the trueth of Chriſte to be taught and preached, as S. Paule ſayd of the Iewes. Admitte I praye you, that I were ſuche a one in deede, as that curſed and malicious Bull doeth make me to be an hereticke, erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, offenſiue, ſcandalous, in certaine of my bookes: yet whye ſhoulde the other bookes of mine be condemned, which are Catholike, Chriſtian, true, edifying, and peaceable? Where haue theſe wretched Papiſtes learned thys religion, that for the perſones cauſe being euil, they ſhould damne and burne the holy and ſounde verity of God? Can ye not deſtroy menne, but you muſt alſo deſtroy the trueth? Will yee plucke vppe the good wheate alſo with the cockle? Will yee ſcatter alſo the corne awaye together wyth the chaffe? And whye then receyue yee Origen in hys Catholike bookes, and doe not vtterly reiecte hym all together? Yea, whye ſuffer yee wicked Ariſtotle (in whome is nothyng taughte but errours) and doe not at leaſte in ſome parte condemne hym? Why burne yee not and ſet on fire, the wycked, barbarous, vnlearned, and hereticall Decretalles of the Pope? Why doe ye not all this, I ſay, but onely for that ye are ſet in this holy place, for none other cauſe, but onely to be that abhomination ſpoken of in Daniell, whiche ſhoulde put downe trueth and ſet vp lyes, and the operation of errour. For this thinge and none other, becommeth the ſeate of Antichriſt.

The pope condemneth as wel the good bookes of M. Luther as the other without all reſpect of trueth or of the cauſe.

Dan. 9.

Wherefore this I ſay to thee (Pope Leo the tenth and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other whoſoeuer is in anye parte or doing in that Courte of Rome) and thys I ſpeake boldly vnto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye will ſo acknowledge it for your owne: then wil I likewiſe vſe my power, by the which I am made in my Baptiſme, yͤ ſonne of God, and coheyre with Chriſt, being founded vppon a ſure rocke which neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heauen, nor earth, and ſay, moniſh and exhort you in the Lord that you will reforme your ſelues and take a better waye, and refrayne heereafter from thoſe diabolicall blaſphemies and to much exceeding preſumptuous impeties, and thys I alledge: That vnleſſe ye ſo do, know it for certayne, that I with all them that worſhip Chriſt, doe recount youre ſeate, poſſeſſed and oppreſſed of Sathan himſelfe, to be the damned ſeate of Antichriſt, whiche we not onely do not obey, and will not be ſubiect nor concorporate vnto, but alſo do deteſt and abhorre the ſame, as the principall & chiefeſt enemy of Chriſt, being ready in this our ſentence and profeſſion, not onely to ſuffer gladly your fond fooliſh cenſures, but alſo do pray you hartily that you will neuer aſſoyle vs agayne, nor euer number vs in your fellowſhip, and moreouer to fulfill your bloudy tiranny, do willingly offer our ſelues to die for yͤ ſame. And according yͭ to power & might, yͭ the ſpirite of Chriſt, and efficacye of our fayth can doe in theſe our writinges, if ye ſhall perſiſt ſo ſtill in your fury, we condemne you, & together with this Bull, & all the Decretall, we geue you to Sathan, to the deſtruction of fleſh yͭ your ſpirite in the day of our Lord may be deliuered: in the name whiche you perſecute of Ieſu Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

M. Luthers warning to the Pope.

M. Luther curſeth the pope.

For our Lord Ieſus Chriſt yet liueth and raygneth (in whom I do nothing doubt) who I firmly truſt wil ſhortly come and ſlay with the ſpirite of his mouth, and deſtroy with the brightnes of his comming, this man of ſinne, and ſonne of perditiō, for aſmuch as I cannot deny, if the pope be the author and doer of theſe miſhapen and monſtruous doinges, but he is the true, finall, moſt wicked, and that famous Antichriſt: that ſubuerteth the whole worlde by the

The Pope the true Antichriſt.

operation of his deluſions, as we ſee it in all places fulfilled and accompliſhed.

But whether doth the burning zeale of charity cary me. Neither am I as yet fully perſwaded this to be the popes Bull, but to proceede from his wicked Apoſtle Eckius, who with his fathers, fariouſly gaping at me like a gulfe, would ſwallow me cleane vppe: ſinging wyth the wicked thus: Let vs ſwallow him vp quicke and whole like hell, and like one deſcending downe into the pitte. For little careth this furious madbraine, howe the veritie of God be extinguiſhed (ye he would count that for a lucre) ſo he might fill his malitious deſire with the bloude of his brother. O miſerable ſtate of the Churche at this time, worthy to be bewailed wt teares of bloude. But who heareth our gronings, or who comforteth our weepings? The furie of the Lorde ſeemeth to be inexorable againſt vs.

Eccius.

Prouerb.1.

Ouer and beſides, what a ridiculous toye, or poetic figment haue they inuented, whereby belike to ſport theſelues with ſome merye matter amongeſt their earneſt buſineſſe, wryting that beſides other great frendſhippe, whych they haue ſhewed vnto me: they haue alſo offered to ſupport me with mony, and to beare my charges with theyr liberality, in my iourney to Rome. wil ye ſee what a charity is newly come vpon the Citie of Rome, which after it hath pilled and polled the whole world of their money, and hath conſumed & waſted the ſame by intolerable tyranny, nowe cōmeth, and to me onely offereth money? But this impudent lye I know with whoſe hōmer it was coined, Caietanus the Cardinall, a man borne and formed to lie for the whetſtone after his worſhipfull Legacie depeached in Germanie comming home to Rome, there he forged & fained that he promiſed me mony, wheras he being at Auſpurge, was there in ſuch miſerable penury, & ſo pinching in his houſe, that it was thought he woulde haue famiſhed his familye. But thus it becommeth the Bull to be verè Bulla, that is a thing of nought, voide of all trueth and wit.

The Pope lyeth in his Bull, where he ſaith, that he offered money to Luther to come to Rome.

And ſo theſe great iudges & condemners after all thys, yet haue authority to commaund vs to beleeue them to ſay truth, when they do nothing but lie, and that they are good Catholickes, when they be ſtarke heretickes, and that they are true Chriſtians, whē they play the very Antichriſt, and all by the vertue of this vniuerſall: Quodcunque ligaueris. &c. i. Whatſoeuer thing thou bindeſt. &c. So that where nothing is excepted, they thinke they may do all things. who not only do lie moſt loudly and manifeſtly, but alſo (which paſſeth all impudencie) do vaunt and commend their liberalitye before ỹ people to bring me more in hatred, making men falſly to beleue that they offered frendſhip and money vnto me: whereas theſe tyrantes of Rome, if they had had any trueth, goodneſſe, or godlineſſe in them, ſhoulde haue taken ſome better hede in their doing and ſpeaking, ſo that no aduerſarye might conceiue any ſuſpition of euil againſt them. But now if there were no other matter els to bring this Bull out of credite, onely this groſſe & fooliſh lie were ſufficient to declare how light, vaine, and falſe this Bul is. What? would Rome (thinke yee) offer money to mee? And how then commeth thys, which I knowe to be moſte certaine, that out of the banke (as they call it) two or three hūdreth crownes were aſſigned in Germanye to be diſpoſed and geuen to ruffians and catchpoles, to murder Luther: for theſe be the reaſons & arguments, whereby nowe ſigheth, raigneth and triumpheth the holy Apoſtolicke ſea, the miſtres of faith & mother of al churches, ỹ which long ſince ſhould haue bene prooued to be the very ſeate of Antichriſt, and manifold waies hereticall, if ſhee had fought wyth the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God: whereof ſhe her ſelf is nothing ignorant, & therefore becauſe ſhe would not be brought to that iſſue, thus ſhee fareth and taketh on like as ſhe were madde, in the Churche of Chriſt, confounding and conſuming all thinges wyth warres, murthers, bloudſhed, death, and deſtruction, and yet for all thys they muſt nedes be counted moſt holy fathers in God, & vicars of Chriſt, and Paſtors of his flocke.

The Pope by the vertue of this vniuerſall Quodcunque ligaueris, can do all thinges.

Men hyred by the Papiſtes to kill Luther.

The Popes Church flyeth the tryall of the Scripture.

What ſafe conducte M. Luther requireth of the Pope.

But goe to (that I may alſo dally with them a while) let them, yet ſend me the money they ſpeake of: for as touching their promiſe & ſafeconduct (becauſe I will not ouercharge them) that I gladly reſigne to them againe, ſeeing I haue no great nede therof, ſo that ỹ moni may come to my hāds. But heere I muſt require ſo muche as may ſuffice mee: to wit, that I may be furniſhed with fifty thouſand footemen, and ten thouſande horſemen, to conducte me ſafe to Rome, and ſo for any other promiſe of ſafeconduct I wil not trouble them. And this I require, becauſe of the daunger that is in Rome, whych deuoureth vp her inhabitauntes, neyther keepeth, nor euer did keepe promiſe wyth any: where theſe moſt holy fathers do ſlay their beloued children in the charitie of God, and brethren deſtroy their brethren to doe ſeruice to Chriſte, as the manner is and ſtile of Rome. In the meane time I will keepe my ſelfe free and ſafe from the Citation of this moſt reuerend Bull. O ye miſerable varlets, which are ſo cōfounded with the truth and with your own conſcience, that neither ye can lie handſomely, neither dare ye ſpeake the truth, and yet neither cā ye ſo kepe your ſelues quiet, to your perpetuall ignominie and confuſion.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a ſtraunge faſhion of ſtile, not heard of before. For where Auguſtine would haue ſayd, that he would not beleue the Goſpel, except he had ben moued by the authority of the church, now commeth in this goodly Bull, and maketh this Catholicke church to be a few reuerent Cardinals his brethren, & priours of regular orders, Maſters of Diuinitie and doctors of the law, out of whoſe counſell the ſayd Bull boaſteth her ſelfe to be borne and brought forth, a bleſſed babe (forſooth) of ſuch an vniuerſall Church, O happy trauell (no doubt) of this Catholike church, neuer ſeene nor heard of before, and ſuch as Auguſtine the valiant impugner of ſectes, if he did ſee, would not doubt to call it the Sinagogue of the deuill. See therefore the madneſſe of theſe Papiſtes. The vniuerſall Church is a fewe Cardinals, Priours and Doctours, ſcarſly perhaps 20. perſons in all, when alſo it is poſſible enough that neuer one of them all is the mēber of one chappel or altare. And whereas the Church is the communion of Saintes, as we ſay in the Creede, out of this communion of ſaintes, that is, out of this vniuerſal churche, all they then muſt needes be excluded, whoſoeuer be not in the nūber of theſe 20. perſons: and ſo whatſoeuer theſe holye men doe thinke or iudge, by and by the vniuerſal Churche muſt needes holde and beleeue the ſame, albeit they be liers, heretikes, and Antichriſtes, thinking and iudginge nothinge but that which is abhominable.

Would there euer any man thinke ſuch dotiſhneſſe and madnes to be in Rome? Is there any braine in theſe mens heads thinke ye, or hart in their bodies? Auſten ſpeaketh of the church diſperſed throughe the whole worlde, confeſſing the goſpel with one conſent. Neither would God that any booke els ſhould be receiued with ſuch cōſent of the whole world as the holy ſcripture (as the ſayd Auguſtine in hys confeſſions affirmeth) leaſt by the receiuing of other bokes, ſchiſmes might take occaſion to riſe, according as the wicked Sea of Rome hath long ſought by her decrees, & hath, for a great part, brought the ſame to paſſe already. But yet the vniuerſall Churche did neuer agree thereto. For in the Eaſt, weſt, & South ther haue ben chriſtians, which being content only with ỹ goſpel, haue not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular church, to make her ſelf an vniuerſal church, & accuſeth other churches as ſchiſmatical whē as ſhe hath cut of her ſelfe from the vniuerſal Church, and ſtriueth in vaine to draw the whole vniuerſall church to her, being the mother and fountaine of all ſchiſmes, and all by the meanes of this tyrannie.

Let no man therfore euer thinke that this true Catholike Churche aforeſaide, will beleeue or maintaine thoſe things which this deteſtable Bull heere pratleth, when as neyther that which is the very true Churche of Rome, in deede doth her ſelfe ſo thinke, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholicke, whatſoeuer is knowen to procede from ỹ Church of Rome. For as I ſaide, there is no booke which ſhall be called Catholike heereafter, as neither it hath bene heretofore, beſides onely the holy ſcripture. For the church of Rome it may ſuffice to glory her ſelfe to be a little parcell or peece of the vniuerſal church, and ſo let her vexe her ſelfe onely with her owne decrees.

Neither let any man thinke this to be the Bull of the catholike church, but rather to proceede out of the Court of Rome. For ſuch wiſedome and religion may well beſeeme that ſeate of Sathan, whiche ſeeketh to be counted for the whole vniuerſall Churche, and obtrudeth her fooliſhe and wicked Bulles moſt arrogantly and vainely to the whole world in ỹ ſteade of ſincere catholike doctrine. whoſe pride and preſumption hath growne ſo farre, that ſhee truſtinge vpon her owne power, without al learning and holines of life, taketh vpon her to preſcribe lawes to al men of al their doings and ſayings, as though for dominion only and loftines of ſpirit, ſhe were to be counted the houſe and church of Chriſt, where as by this meanes Sathan alſo the prince of the worlde, or the Turke might be counted the Churche of Chriſt. Againe, neither the Monarchies of the Gentiles can abide mighty Princes to raigne ouer them wtout wiſedome and goodnes. Furthermore, in the Church the ſpirituall man onely iudgeth al things, & is iudged of no man, and not the Pope alone or the Court of Rome, vnleſſe they be ſpirituall.

But againſt all this theyr raſhe preſumption, I boldly ſet the inuincible Champion of the Church S. Paule, who 1. Cor. 14. ſayeth: If anye thinge be reueiled to an other that ſitteth by, lette the firſte manne holde hys peace. Heere haue yee plainely that Pope or any other elder, what ſo euer he be, ought to kepe ſilẽce, if any thyng be reueiled to other in the Church, that is inferiour. I therfore vppon hys authoritie contemning the preſumptuous proceding of this ſwelling Bull, do confidently take vpon me to defende the Articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any perſone, yea of the Pope him ſelfe with hys whole Churche, vnleſſe he ſhall enforme me by the Scriptures. Whereof the firſte Article is this.

The Article.

It is an hereticall ſentence, and alſo common to ſaye, that Sacraments of the new lawe doe geue grace to them, which haue no obſtacle in themſelues to the contrary.

The Anſwere.

I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and I aſke of you good maiſters Reſpectiuiſtes, which make theſe Articles reſpectiuely, ſome to be hereticall, ſome erroneous, ſome ſlaunderous, &c. whether reſpecteth thys article I pray you? To hereſie, to error, to ſlaunder and offence? Or els whether reſpected you in condemning the ſame? To the holy ſcripture? to the holy fathers? to faith? to yͤ church? To which of theſe I beſeech you tell me. Neither do I here put you to the labour of prouing, but onely require you to ſhew your iudgement what you thinke, that I may know wherein I ſay amiſſe. Will you that I ſhould tell you (you babiſh infantes and noddies) whether this Article reſpecteth? I will. This article hath ij. reſpects. Whereof the one reſpecteth the Papiſts the condemners heereof, amongſte whome it reſpecteth ſome to be mules, ſome to be horſes, which haue no vnderſtanding and be voide of al ſence, and yet notwithſtanding they will nedes condemne al things. An other reſpect it hath to the holy Scripture, which ſaith. Rom. 14. What ſo euer is not of faith, is ſinne. Whereupon conſequently it followeth that the Sacraments of the new law can geue no grace to the vnbeleeuers (for ſo muche as the ſinne of infidelitie is the greateſt obſtacle) but onely to the beleeuers. For onely faith putteth no obſtacle: all other things be obſtacles, although they put not the ſame obſtacles which the Sophiſters vnderſtande, meaning onely of the actuall purpoſe of externall ſinne. I confeſſe therefore this article not only to be mine, but alſo to be the article of the Catholike and Chriſtian veritie: and the Bull whych confeſſeth the ſame, to be twiſe heretical, impious, and blaſphemous, with all them which folow the ſame. Who litle regarding the ſinne of incredulitie, fooliſhly and madly doe holde that the obſtacle is taken away, if a man ceaſe from ſinning, although the vnbeleuer can thinke no good thyng. But theſe things I haue diſcuſſed more at large in my bookes, and wil more diſcuſſe if thoſe prating Romaniſts dare at any time proue their opinion and confute mine.

The 2. Article.

To denie that ſinne remaineth in a childe after his Baptiſme, is as much as to tread downe Chriſt & Paul together vnder fote.

The Anſwere.

I wold alſo require of them to ſhew the cauſe why this article is condemned, if they were not ſo blinded in theyr fantaſticall reſpects, that they are not able to perceiue why they would haue this article condemned. And yet I cãnot tell whether it be hereticall or erroneous. And no maruel, when as the condemners themſelues cannot tell mee. I hold therfore this article alſo by the Apoſtle. Rom. 7. I my ſelfe in my minde do ſerue the law of God, and in my fleſh the lawe of ſinne. Heere the Apoſtle confeſſeth plainely of himſelfe, that in his fleſh he ſerueth ſinne. And alſo 1. Cor. 1. Chriſt is made to vs of God our righteouſneſſe, our wiſedome, ſanctification and redemption. And how then doeth he ſanctified them that be ſanctified already, vnleſſe it be as the Apoc. ſayeth: He that is holy, let him be holy ſtil? To be ſanctified, is as much as to be purged frõ ſinne. But what haue theſe our Reſpectiuiſts to do with the apoſtle Paule, ſeeing they are the whole vniuerſall Church, by whoſe authoritie Paule either ſtandeth or falleth, being but a member onely and a parte of the church. The Lorde rebuke thee Sathan, and theſe thy Sathanicall papiſts.

The 3. Article.

The originall roote of ſinne, although no actuall ſinne do followe, ſtoppeth the ſoule departing out of the body, from entrance into heauen.

The Anſwere.

As touching this matter, I neuer defined any thing hetherto, but largely & probably I haue diſputed hereof, neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done wͭ ſuch a ſoule. But our papiſts more blind then buſſardes, when they are nothing able to perceiue what cauſe thys Article hath worthely to be condẽned, yet dare they take vpon thẽ to pronounce that which the whole vniuerſal church is ignorant of, I yet notwᵗſtanding contemning this foliſh and fond condemnation aforſaid, doe holde this article probably to be true. For ſeing this original roote which I ſpeake of, is truly ſin, as I haue proued. Rom. 7. & Gal. 5. and ſeing that ſin letteth a man from entring into heauen, as it is written: No polluted thing ſhal enter: I ſuppoſe therefore that originall ſinne wythholdeth a man from entring into heauen. Nether do I any thing at al eſteme the fantaſtical dreames of them, whereby they extenuating original ſinne, doe call it only the paine of ſinne, and imperfections, plainly againſt the manifeſt ſcriptures, whiche call it ſin and teach the ſame to be cured by grace, which is the medicine of true, and not of fained ſinne.

The 4. Article.

Aunſwere of M. Luther to the 4 article.

The imperfect charity of a man departing, neceſſarily carieth with it great feare, which of it ſelfe is enough to make the pain of Purgatorie, and letteth the entrance into the kingdome of heauen.

The Anſwere.

This foloweth of the other going before, which in lyke maner I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet holde the ſame, aſking before a diſpenſation after mine owne arbitrement, euen in defiance of the Bul, which is not able to bringe forth any other probation but this: we are the hieſt powers in the Church, yea we are the church it ſelfe. Ergo, we are the beſt learned, moſt holieſt, ful of the holy Ghoſt which cannot erre, although we ſtink like a filthy puddle to the whole worlde, polluted with all kind of ſinnes, and drowned in ignorãce. But all theſe reaſons preuaile nothing with me: peraduenture they may wͭ them, which feare leaſt if my ſentence ſhould preuaile, then purgatory ſhould be taken out of the Popes hands, & then prieſts and religious men hauing loſt their gainful offices of vexing (of releaſing I wold haue ſaid) of the dead, ſhuld be pinched by the bellies and brought to penurye. It was time therefore for their greedy auarice here to wake & looke about, and not to ſuffer theſe their friuolous opinions, but yet very gainefull, to be ouercome with truth, and ſo to be ouerthrowen.

The popes doctrine gaynfull to the purſe.

The 5. article.

Aunſwere of M. Luther to to the 5. article.

Where they ſay penaunce ſtandeth of three partes, to wit, contrition, confeſſion, and ſatiſfaction it is not founded in holy ſcripture, nor in ancient, holy, and chriſtian Doctours.

The aunſwere.

This article, in what reſpect it is condemned, I do right well perceaue: For the reſpect thereof is to greedye couetouſneſſe, and therefore I know that the probation therof hath the like reſpecte, which is this: if this article wer true then men would geue nothing for ſatiſfactiõ and indulgences, neither ſhould we haue any more wherewith to vexe them with confeſſiõs, caſes reſerued, reſtricted, or ampliated for our gayne, and ſo ſhould we become beggers, and gods ſeruice ſhoulde be miniſhed in Vigils and Maſſes. But it is wicked that Gods ſeruice ſhoulde be miniſhed: therfore Luther is an hereticke: This conſequent holdeth a reſpectu Bullæ ad Papiſtas, 1. From the Bull to the papiſts and contrariwiſe.

I beſeech thee by the Lord Ieſus, whatſoeuer graue & learned reader ſhalt read theſe thinges, that thou wilt pardon this my leuitie, and (as it may ſeeme) my childiſhnes. For thou ſeeſt how I haue to do with ſuch mẽ as be twiſe children, and yet do brag themſelues to be peeres and principall pillers of all men. I aſſure you, I know it moſt certaynly to be true, that there be many and great gouernors of people, whiche this ſo ridiculous and fooliſhe reaſon aboue recited, hath moued to yͤ condemnation of my books. Vnleſſe I perceiued (with teares I ſpeake it) the anger of God ſharpe and fierce agaynſt vs, in bringing vs vnder ſubiection of ſuch effeminate children, and ſuch dregs of the earth, and vile refuſe of al other people of the whole world it would make me to burſt for very griefe and ſorrow.

My ſentence is, and hath bene this, that that ſatiſfaction whiche the keyes are able to diſpence withall, ſtandeth not by the law of God. For if it did, then could it not be diſpenſed with all by the keyes. If theſe Bull founders doe charg me with any other thing beſides in this article, they do nothing els but as they are wont to do: For what matter or maruelle is it if Antichriſt do lye?

The 6. article.

The anſwere of M. Luther to the 6. article.

Contrition whiche is gotten by examining, remembryng and deteſting our ſinnes, whereby a man calleth to mynde hys yeares paſt in the bitternes of his ſoule, in pondring the greatnes, the multitude and filthines of his ſinnes, the loosing of eternall bliſſe, and purchaſing of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh an hypocrite, yea rather a manne to be more a ſinner.

The Anſwere.

O the incredible blindnes and brutiſhnes of theſe Romiſh bulles. This Article is truely mine, & very chriſtian, The anſwere of mayſter Luther to the 6. article.

which I will not ſuffer to be wreaſted from mee, for all the Popes and papiſts in the world. For thys I meant by that doctrine, that repentaunce is of no force, vnleſſe it be done in faithe and charitie, whiche thinge they alſo teache themſelues, but that they do not knowe nor teach, neither what faith nor charitie is. And therefore in condemning my doctrine, they condemne alſo their owne, fooliſhly repugnyng againſt themſelues in their owne cõtradiction. I ſay therfore that he which teacheth repentaunce in ſuch wiſe & maner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promiſed mercye of God and faith in the ſame, then to this afflicting and vexing of the minde, he teacheth the repentaunce of Iudas Iſcarioth, he is peſtilent, a deuil to mens ſoules, and a tormentor of conſciences. Read the bookes of thoſe ſophiſters, where they wryte of repentaunce, and thou ſhalt ſee there no mẽtion made eyther of promiſe or faith. For theſe liuely parts of repẽtance, they cleane omitte, & onely do vexe mẽ with theſe dead contritions. But heereof we haue, and wil hereafter entreat more at large.

But what ſhould I here ſtand vpon euery Article, ſeeing my bookes be abroade, wherein I haue geuen a reaſon of all ſufficiently, and more woulde haue done, if mine aduerſaries alſo had brought to light theirs. For what foliſhneſſe is this, that they thinke to anſwere me with thys one ſaying, that they count all my ſayings as damned, wheras I did wryte to this ende onely, that they ſhoulde acknowledge their errours, wherewith they haue ſo long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I looke that I ſhould be condemned, which vnderſtanding & knowing the ſame right wel, haue iuſtified thoſe things which they haue condemned before with ſufficient authoritie, bothe of ſcripture and reaſon. Neither looked I that they ſhould tel me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that I ſought of them was to knowe whether they thought right therin or not. Here looked I to be taught, and behold, none of them all durſt once put forth his head. Wherefore I ſee theſe aſſes nothing to vnderſtand either the things that I ſay, or yet themſelues. But they be ſuche blinde buſſardes, that they perceiue not what it is that I ſeeke in my bookes. For they dreame that I haue ſuche an opinion of them, as though they had the truthe of their ſide, when there is nothing that I leſſe thinke to be true. For I foreſeeing that they had condemned al theſe things before, came forth and ſhewed my ſelfe, as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned of them, to accuſe their condemnation to be wicked, hereticall, and blaſphemous, and ſo openly to denounce them as heretikes and erroneous, vnles they ſhewed ſome better reaſon and ground of their doings & doctrine: where as they on the other ſide, like fooliſh minſtrels harping all on one ſtring, haue nothing elſe in theyr mouthes, but we condemne that we haue condemned, proouing after a newe kinde of Logike, the ſame thing by it ſelfe. O moſt idiote huddypeaks, and blockiſh condemners, where is the ſaying of Peter? Be alwayes ready to rẽder a count of that faith and hope which is in you.

The purpoſe of Luther in ſetting forth hys articles.

1.Pet.3.

Wherefore ſeeing theſe ignorant Papiſts, being thus confounded, doe ſo flie away, from the face of the manifeſt veritie, that they dare not once open their mouthes in defence of themſelues, or of their cauſe, and haue blaſted oute with much ado this timerous Bul of theirs: I being comforted with the flight of theſe mine aduerſaries, do account this theyr daſtardly damnation in ſted of full allowing and iuſtifying of my cauſe, and ſo rebounde againe theyr owne damnation vppon their owne heads, for howe coulde they more condemne themſelues, then whiles they, (fearing to be founde themſelues culpable of hereſie, if they ſhoulde be driuen to geue account of their doctrine) do flie to this miſerable and deſperate refuge, willingly to ſhutte their eyes and ſtop their eares, and to ſay, I will not, I damne thee, I heare thee not, I allow thee not. If I ſhould haue plaid any ſuch mad part, how would they (I pray you) haue triumphed againſt me? This daſtardly feare declareth what cowardes they are.

Wherefore, not to burden the reader with any tedious prolixitie of matter in proſecutinge euery Article, I heere proteſt in theſe preſents, that I * confeſſe all theſe thinges here condemned by this miſerable Bull, for pure, clear and Catholike doctrine: whereof I haue ſufficiently geuen accompt in my bookes which be extant abroade.

*Note here good reader that amongeſt theſe articles, certayne there be which becauſe they ſeemed ſomewhat to beare wyth the Pope and his pardons, Luther comming after to more knowledge that the pope was Antichriſt, confeſſeth himſelfe

Furthermore, I wil alſo that the ſayd my bokes being extant abroad, ſhalbe taken as a publike accuſation againſt theſe wicked Sophiſters & ſeducers of the people of God: ſo that vnleſſe they ſhall geue a count of their doctrine, and ſhall conuicte me with good grounde of Scripture, I doe here as muche as in me lieth, denounce thẽ as guiltie of errour, hereſie, and ſacriledge, admoniſhing, deſiring, and in the Lorde exhorting all them which truely confeſſe Chriſt, that they will beware and take heede of their peſtiferous doctrine, and not to dout, but that the true Antichriſt raigneth by them in the world amongſt vs.

in his A tions the be rea called the ſame, not mea king the as the pop would ha had him, but rathe aggrauat them a gaynſt the Pope.

And if any ſhal contemne thys my brotherly admonition, lette him knowe that I am pure and cleane from hys bloud, & excuſed frõ the laſte iudgement of Chriſte. For I haue left nothing vndone, whiche Chriſtian charitie byd binde me to doe.

Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may reſiſt theſe babling and trifeling condemners, the vttermoſt and laſt which I haue, I will geue and beſtow in the quarrell, that is, this life and bloude of mine. For better it were for me a thouſande times to be ſlaine, then to reuoke one ſillable of theſe Articles which they haue condemned. And now as they doe curſe and excommunicate me for their damnable hereſie, ſo I againe likewiſe doe curſe and excommunicate them for the holy veritie of God. Chriſt which is only the Iudge of all, iudge and determine this matter betwene vs, whether of theſe two excommunications, hys or mine ſhall ſtande and preuaile before him. Amen.

In ſtorying the life of Luther, before pag. 849. it was declared, how the ſayd Luther in the beginning, firſt being reiected of the Cardinall Caietanus, appealed from yͤ cardinall vnto the Pope. When that would not ſerue, neither could not any tollerable ſubmiſſion of Luther to yͤ pope be receiued, but that the P. with his Cardinals, contrary to all equity and conſcience, wold nedes procede againſt him, and againſt the expreſſe truth of Gods word, thinking by meere authoritie to beare downe the veritie as he had vſed before to do. Luther folowing the iuſtnes of his cauſe, was then compelled to appeale from the Pope to the next generall councell, and ſo did, as before you may read, pag. 811. Which was 2. yeares before the Popes Bull agaynſt Luther came out. The tenour of which appellation before omitted, I thought here to exhibite, wherby the reader conſidering the great change of religion and ſtate of the church which ſince hath enſued, may alſo perceiue yͤ true originall cauſe and occaſion, howe it firſt began, by what order & degrees it after encreaſed, what humility and ſubmiſſion firſt on Luthers part was ſhewed, and again what inſolencie, wrong, and violence on the Popes part was declared. And further, where Pope Leo in his Bull aboue prefixed, ſeemeth to pretend certaine conditions of fauour, charity, and money offred to Luther in the beginning, how falſe & vain that is, by this preſent appeale may appeare. The copie wherof, as it was drawen by the publike notarie and exhibited, is this as in forme here followeth.

Rea pag.849.

Rea pag.811.

The tenour and forme of the Appeale of Martine Luther, from Pope Leo to the next generall Councell.

IN nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a natiuitate eiuſdem. 1518. indictione ſexta, die vero ſolis vigeſima octaua menſis Nouemb. Pontificatus ſanctiſsimi in Chriſto patris & Domini noſtri, Domini Leonis, diuina prouidentia Papæ, decimi, anno ſexto in mea Notarij publici teſtiumq; infra ſcriptorum ad hoc ſpecialiter vocatorum & rogatorum præſentia conſtitutus, &c.

The ap peale of Luther fr the pope the next ge nerall co cell.

The effect of the ſayd Appeale of Luther, in Engliſh.

THe effect of the appeale aforeſayde, is this: That for ſomuche as the libertie of appealing is prouided for a remedie to relieue the oppreſſed from iniurie and violence of the ſuperiour, it was therefore lawful for Martine Luther ſo to do, eſpecially being manifold waies iniuried and moleſted by the See of Rome, and other the Popes confederates, as hee in the ſayde appeale declareth. For at firſte whereas he modeſtly diſputing of the errors and abuſes of the Popes pardons, did ſomwhat withſtand the impudẽt rauen and blaſphemies of them that come about with the Popes pardons to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed vpon, and defamed by them in their publike ſermones to be an heretike, and conſequently vppon the ſame accuſed to Pope Leo for an heretike, by Marius the Popes Proctor and others.

Luther a peale fro the pope English.

Then was obteined of the Pope a commiſſion to cite vp the ſayde Luther to appeare at Rome before the Cardinalles, by Hieronymus, and Sylueſter Prieras, hys mortall ennemies, where as he could by no way appeare wythout manifeſt danger of his life, both by the way, and alſo in the citie of Rome.

For the conſideration whereof, Duke Ih. Fridericke, Prince Electour, and the Lantgraue entreated for hym

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to haue his cauſe indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to two parties that were equall, and not partiall: yet notwithſtanding the ſute of theſe princes, and the contrary labour of the Cardinals, whiche were his capitall aduerſaries, ſo preuailed at Rome, that the cauſe of Luther was ſtill detained in their owne handes, and contrary to all indifferencie, was committed to the hearing of the Popes Legate then in Germanie, called Cardinalis Sancti Sixti. Who being no leſſe enemie againſt Luther, then the other, and notwithſtanding that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and with humble proteſtation ſubmitted himſelfe to be aunſwered by the Scriptures, and referred himſelfe to the iudgement of the Sea of Rome, and of four Uniuerſities, to witte, Baſill, Friburge, Louane, and Paris, yet contrary to all equitie, ſhewing forth no Scripture nor reaſon, reiecting his gentle proteſtation, ſubmiſſion, and honeſt offer, with all other his requeſts and ſutes, he would needes forthwith haue him to reuoke his errours, threatning and menaſing him moſt cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his ſight.

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Whereupon Luther being thus proudely reiected of the Cardinall, made his appeale from the ſayde Cardinall to Pope Leo being better informed.

This appellation alſo being contemned of the Pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reaſonable condition, nor ſhew Luther his errours by the Scripture, nor yet referre the matter by learning to be decided, but would needes perforce procede againſt him by meere authoritie, and oppreſſion at Rome, Luther then ſeeing there was no other refuge or remedie for his owne defence, and ſeeing moreouer the truth of Gods worde to lie vnder foote by might and authoritie oppreſſed, ſo that none durſt almoſt confeſſe the ſame, and that the poore flock was ſo nuſled in errours and vaine opinions to the ſeduction of their ſoules, for theſe and other ſuch cauſes, he being neceſſarily thereunto compelled, commenſed thys Appeale from the Pope miſinformed to the nexte generall Councell that ſhould be, calling for the helpe of the publick notarie, and teſtimonie alſo of ſufficient witneſſes requiſite in that behalfe accordingly.

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¶The death of K. Henry the viij. with the maner thereof.

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AND thus cloſing vp this eight booke with the death of King Henry the 8. I will now (the Lorde Chriſt aſſiſting me with his grace) procede next to the time & reigne of King Edward his ſonne, after that firſt I ſhall intermitte a few wordes touching the death of the ſayde Kyng Henry his father, and the maner of the ſame. Who after long languiſhing, infirmitie growing more and more vpon him, lay from S. Steuens day (as is aboue mentioned) to the latter end of Ianuary. His Phiſicians at length perceiuing that he would away: and yet not daring to diſcourage him with death, for feare of the Act paſt before in Parliamente, that none ſhoulde ſpeake anye thing of the Kings death (the Act being made onely for Southſayers and talkers of propheſies) moued them that were about the King to put him in remembrance of his mortall ſtate and fatall infirmitie. Which when the reſt were in dread to do, M. Deny who was ſpecially attendant vpon hym, boldly comming to the King: told him what caſe he was in, to mans iudgement not like to liue, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himſelfe to death, calling himſelfe to remembrance of his former life, and to call vpon God in Chriſt betime for grace and mercy, as becommeth euery good Chriſtian man to do.

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Although the K. was loth to heare any mẽtion of death, yet perceiuing the ſame to riſe vpon the iudgement of hys Phiſicians and feeling his owne weakenes, he diſpoſed himſelfe more quietly to harken to the wordes of his exhortation, and to conſider his life paſt. Which although he much accuſed, yet (ſaid he) is the mercy of Chriſt able to pardon me all my ſinnes, though they were greater then they be. M. Deny being glad to heare him thus ſpeake, required to know his pleaſure, whether he would haue any learned man ſent for to conferre withall, and to open hys mind vnto. To whome the King aunſwered againe, that if he had any, he would haue D. Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore M. Denye aſking the King whether he woulde haue him ſente for, I will firſt ſaid the King take a little ſleepe, and then as I feele my ſelfe, I will aduiſe vpon the matter.

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After an houre or two, the King awaking and feeling feeblenes to encreaſe vpon him, commaunded D. Cranmer to be ſent for: but before he could come, yͤ king was ſpeachles, and almoſt ſenceles. Notwithſtanding perceiuing D. Cranmer to be come, he reaching his hande to D. Cranmer, did hold him faſt, but could vtter no word vnto hym, and ſcarſe was able to make any ſigne. Then the Archbyſhop exhorting him to put his truſt in Chriſt, and to call vpon his mercy, deſired him, though he could not ſpeake, yet to geue ſome token with his eyes, or with hand, as he truſted in the Lord. Then the King holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his, as hard as he could, and ſo ſhortly after departed, after he had reigned in this land the terme of 37. yeares and 9. moneths, leauing behinde him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

The kings children.

Moreouer, for ſo much as mention is inſerted in thys place of the good inclination of King Henry in his latter dayes to the reformation of religion, by the occaſion hereof it commeth alſo to minde, ſomewhat likewiſe to adde by way of appendix touching the talke betweene the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and the Duke of Suffolke Charles Branden, as cõcerning the Kings purpoſe and intent conceaued againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, in that he could neuer allowe any reformation in religion in this realme, and namely beeing offended with this that men ſhould vſe in their talke, The Lord, as well as our Lord. The ſayd Duke ſayd vnto the ſayd Archbyſhop: We of the Counſell had him once at a good lift, and ſhould well haue diſpatched him from his authoritie, if the Kings Maieſtie our Maiſter had ſtayed himſelfe from admitting him to his preſence, as then hys highnes was content that we ſhould throughly haue ſifted and tried him, It was my Lord (quoth the Duke to the Archbiſhop) at that time, when Gardiner his Secretarie was attached and ſuffred for defending the Popes authoritie. For then I and certaine of the Counſell hauing conference with the Kings Maieſtie for that matter, his highneſſe was fully perſwaded that the Biſhops Secretarie being in ſuch ſpeciall fauour with his Maiſter, would neuer ſtande ſo ſtiffe in defence of the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power and authoritie, without his ſaid maiſters both aduiſe, knowledge, and perſwaſion. For already, quoth the King, he played but a homely part with me, when he was Ambaſſadour to the Pope concerning my cauſe of diuorce. And therefore (quoth the King to me) ſend for him my Lord incontinently, and by aſſiſtance of two or three moe of the Counſell whome you thinke good, let him be committed to the Tower, to aunſwere to ſuche thynges as may bee obiected agaynſt hym. Thys communicatiõ was in yͤ euening: ſo that we purpoſed to haue executed the kinges pleaſure and commaundement yͤ next morning. Howbeit our talke was not ſo ſecrete, but that ſome of his friendes of the priuy chamber then, ſuſpecting the matter (where he had many frends) ſent him word thereof. Who incontinently repayred to the kings preſence, and finding ſome matter to miniſter vnto yͤ king, his highneſſe ſayd to the biſh. We doe marueile that your ſecretary hath thus notoriouſly offended agaynſt vs & our lawes. It is ſurely though: that you are not all cleare in this offẽce, but that you are of the ſame opinion with him, & therefore my Lord be playne with me, and let me know if you be yͭ way infected or no: If you will tell me the trueth, I will rather pardon the fault, but if you halt or diſſemble with me, looke for no fauour at my hand.

Talke betweene Thom. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cant. and the Duke of Suffolk about Ste. Gardiner.

Stephen Gardiner appoynted by the king to to be had to the Tower.

Ste. Gardiner priuily commeth to the king.

King Henry layeth to Winchesters charge.

With this monition Wincheſter fell downe vppon hys knees & beſought his maieſty of mercy and pardon, manifeſtly confeſſing yͭ he of long time had bene of that opinion wͭ his ſayd ſecretary: and there bewayling himſelfe, promiſed from that day forward to reform hys opinion, & become a new man. Well (quoth yͤ king) this way you haue of me, that which otherwiſe you ſhould neuer haue obtayned. I am content to remitte all thinges paſt and pardon you vpon your amendment.

Wincheſter confeſſeth his popery to the king.

The next morning I had worde how the matter was handled, whereupon I came to his highnes & ſayde: Your Maieſtie hath preuented our commiſſion, whiche I and other had from your grace concerning my Lord of Wincheſters cõmitting to the tower. Wot you what quoth the K.? hee hath confeſſed himſelfe as giltie in this matter as hys man, and hath with muche ſorrowe & penſiuenes ſued for my pardon: And you know what my nature and cuſtome hath bene in ſuch matters, euermore to pardon them that will not diſſemble but confeſſe their fault.

K. Henryes nature to pardon them that come to him and confeſſe their faults.

Thus wilily and politickely he got himſelfe out of our hands. But if I had ſuſpected this, I would haue had him in the tower ouer night and ſtopped his iourny to yͤ court. Well ſayd my Lord of Caunterbury hee was euermore to good for you all.

Moreouer as touching this foreſaid biſhop of Wincheſter for ſo much as he in king Edwardes tyme bragged ſo much of his old mayſter of famous memory king Henr. 8. to yͤ entent yͭ the glorious vanitie of this biſhop, & of all other like vnto him, more notoriouſly may appeare to al mẽ heere is to be noted by the teſtification as well of mayſter Deny, as alſo of Sir Henry Neuell, who were there preſent witneſſes of the matter, whoſe record is this, that king Henry before the time of his ſicknes, taking his horſe vpon the tarras at windſore to ride out on hauking, ſawe ſtanding before him the Lorde wryotheſley Lord Chancelour with diuers other Counſellours, and amõgſt them the Biſhop of winchester. whereupon he called the Lorde Chancelour and ſayd: Did not I commaund you he ſhuld come no more amongſt you (meaning the Biſhop?) wherunto the Lorde Chauncellour aunſwered, that his comming was to bring his Maieſtie word of a beneuolence geuen vnto him by the Cleargie. whereat the King ſayd: Ah, let him come hether, and ſo he did his meſſage, and the King went ſtraight away.

Winchester commaunded no more to come in the kings ſight.

Item, another time the King immediatly after his repaire to London, fell ſicke, and cauſed diuers times hys whole Counſell to come vnto him about his will, and other his graue affaires: At what time, the Biſhop alſo would come vp with them into the vtter priuie Chamber, and there remayne vntill the Counſell came from the King, and then go downe with them agayne, to the ende (as then was thought) to blind the world withall.

Wincheſter though he wer excluded yet would ſeme ſtil to be of the kinges Counſel.

Furthermore, as the King grewe more in ſickenes, he conſidering vpon his will and teſtament made before at his going ouer to Bullein, willed the ſame to be drawne out againe with leauing out and excluding the Byſhop of winchester by name from amongſt his Executors. which being to him no ſmall corſey, and a cutting off of all theyr purpoſes, a way was found, that Sir Anthony Browne a principall pillar of wincheſters ſide, pretending vnto the King, as though by the negligence of the writer the Byſhops name had bene left out of the Kings will, kneeled downe to the Kings Maieſtie, lying in his bed, and ſayd: My Lord of wincheſter I thinke by negligence is left out of your Maieſties wil, who hath done your highnes moſt paynefull, long, and notable ſeruice, and one without whome the reſt ſhall not be able to ouercome your greate and weighty affaires committed vnto them.

Wint. excluded out of the kinges will.

Syr Anthony Browne a great frend to Wint.

Hold your peace (quoth the King) I remembred hym well inough, and of good purpoſe haue left him out. For ſurely, if he were in my teſtamẽt, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you ſhould neuer rule him, he is of ſo troubleſome a nature. Mary, quoth the King, I my ſelfe could vſe him, and rule him to all maner of purpoſes, as ſeemed good to me, but ſo ſhall you neuer do, and therefore talke no more of him to me in this behalfe. Syr Anthony Browne perceiuing the king ſomewhat ſtiffe heerein, gaue place to the Kings words at that time. Howbeit, ſeeking farther occaſion vpõ more perſwaſions put into his head, tooke in hand once againe to moue the King to haue the Byſhop one of his Executors. when the King perceyued that this inſtant ſute would not ceaſe: haue you not yet done (quoth the King) to moleſt me in this matter? If you wil not ceaſe farther to trouble me, by the faith that I owe vnto God, I will ſurely diſpatch thee out of my will alſo, and therefore let vs heare no more of this matter. All thys Sir Anthony Deny was heard to report to the Archbyſhop of Cant. Thom. Cranmer, of the ſayd Archbyſhops Secretary who is yet aliue, and witnes to the ſame.

King Henryes opinion of the Biſhop of Wincheſt.

Witnes.

And thus much touching the end of King Henry, who if he had continued a few moneths longer (all thoſe obites and Maſſes, whiche appeare in his will made before hee went to Bulleyne notwithſtandyng) moſt certayne it is, & to be ſignified to all poſteritie, that his full purpoſe was to haue repurged the eſtate of the Church, & to haue gone through with the ſame, ſo that he would not haue left one maſſe in all England. For the more certayne intelligence whereof, two things I haue to leade me. The one is, the aſſured report and teſtimonie of Tho. Cranmer, Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, hearing the King declare the ſame out of his owne mouth, both to himſelfe, & to Mounſieur de Annebault Lord Admirall the French Ambaſſadour, in the moneth of Auguſt a little before his death, as aboue may appeare more at large, page. 1240. The other cauſe which leadeth me thereunto, is alſo of equall credite, groũded vpon the declaration of the Kings owne mouth after that time, more neare to his death, vnto Bruno Ambaſſadour of Iohn Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie. Unto the which Ambaſſadour of Saxony, the King gaue this aunſwere openly, that if the quarrell of the Duke of Saxony were nothing elſe againſt the Emperour but for religion, he ſhould ſtand to it ſtrongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt nor feare, and ſo with this aunſwere dimiſſed the Ambaſſadour vnto the Duke openly in the hearing of theſe foure ſufficient witneſſes, the L. Seymer Earle of Harforde, Lorde Liſley then Admirall, the Earle of Bedford Lorde Priuy Seale, and Lorde Paget.

The purpoſe of the king if he had liued, was to make a perfect reformation of religion.

Credite of this narration that it is true.

The kinges aunſwere to the Duke of Saxonies Ambaſſadour, a little before his death.

But the ſecret working of Gods holy prouidence, whyche diſpoſeth all things after his own wiſedome and purpoſe, thought it good rather by taking the King away, to reſerue the accompliſhmẽt of this reformation of his church, to the peaceable time of his ſonne Edward, and Elizabeth his daughter, whoſe handes were yet vndefiled wyth any bloud, and life vnſpotted with any violence, or crueltie.

And thus to finiſh this booke, I thought heere to cloſe vp King Henries raigne. But becauſe a little vacant ſpace of empty paper remayneth behinde needefull to be filled vp, to employ therefore and to repleniſhe the ſame wyth ſome matter or other, I thought to annexe heere vnto one ſtory which hapned in this King Henries raigne, which albeit it ſerueth not to the purpoſe of this our matter now in hand, yet neuertheleſſe to ſupply the roome it may ſtand in ſome place, either to refreſhe the traueiled minde of the Reader wearied with other ſtories, or elſe to diſcloſe the deteſtable impietie of theſe counterfeite ſectes of Monkes and Friers, who vnder the hipocriticall viſour of pretenſed Religion, haue ſo long ſeduced and deceiued the world. Although the deceitfull parts and practiſes of theſe fantaſticall orders be ſo many, and in all places ſo notorious, that they are not able to be expreſſed yet amongeſt many one you ſhall heare that chaunced in this Kings dayes in the Citie of Orleance in Fraunce, by the Gray Friers, about the yeare of our Lord. 1534. The ſtory is this.

¶ A tragicall ſtory of certayne Friers in Fraunce in the City of Orleance. an. 1534.

The Maiors wife of the City of Orleance prouided in her will to be buried without any pompe or ſolemnity. For when any departeth there, in ſome places the Belmen are hyred to goe about the City, and in places moſt frequẽted to aſſemble the people with the ſound of the bel, & there to declare the names and ẏ titles of thoſe parties deceaſed, alſo where and whẽ they ſhal be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the Coarſe is caried forth, the moſt part of the begging friers go withall to ẏ church, with many torches and tapers caried before them, and the more pompe & ſolemnity is vſed, the more is ẏ concourſe of people. But this woman (as I ſaid) would haue none of all this geare done for her. wherfore her huſband which loued her well, followed her mind heerein, and gaue vnto theſe greedy cormorãts the friers, which waiting for their pray (in whoſe Church ſhe was buried beſides her father and her grandfather) ſixe crownes for a reward: whereas they gaped for a great deale more. And afterward when he cut downe a wood and ſolde it, the friers crauing to haue part thereof freely and without money, he denied them, this tooke they wonderfull greeuouſly, and where as they loued him not before, they deuiſed now a way to be reuenged, ſaying that his wife was damned euerlaſtingly.

The workers of this Tragedy were Colyman, and Steuen of Arras both doctors of Diuinitie: and the firſt in deede was a Coniurer, and had all his trinkets and furniture concerning ſuch matters, in a readines, and they vſed the matter thus. They ſet a yong man which was a Nouice aboue ouer the vaute of the Churche, and when they came to mumble vp their mattins at midnight after their accuſtomed maner, he made a wonderfull noyſe and ſhriking aloft. Then went this Colyman to croſſing and coniuring, but the other aboue would not ſpeake. Being charged to make a ſigne to declare if he were a dumme ſpirite, he ruſſeled and made a noyſe agayne, and that was the ſigne and token.

When they had layd this foundation, they went to certayne of the chiefeſt in all the Citie, and ſuche as fauoured them moſt, and told them what an heauie caſe was chaunced, yet did they not vtter what it was, but entreated them to take the paines to come to their ſeruice at nighe. when they were come, and the ſeruice was begon, he that was alofte, made a greate noyſe. Being demaunded what he woulde, and what he was, he ſignified that he might not ſpeake, then was he commaunded to anſwere to their interrogatories by ſignes and tokens. Now, was there a hole made for the purpoſe, where by laying to his eare, he might heare and vnderſtand what the Coniurer ſayd vnto them. There was alſo a table at hand, and when anye queſtion was aſked, he ſtrooke and beate vpon the Table, ſo that he might be heard beneath. Then firſt the Coniurer demaunded whether he were any of them that had ben buried there. After that, reckning vp many of their names in order, whoſe bodies had bene buried there, at the laſt he named the Maiors wife. Heere he made a ſigne that hee was the ſpirit of that woman. Then he aſked whether he were damned, and for what deſert or offence? whether it were for couetouſnes, pride, or lechery, or not dooing the

workes

works of charitie, or elſe for this new ſprong vp hereſie and Lutheraniſme? Moreouer, what was the cauſe that he made ſuche a noiſe, and was ſo vnquiet? whether it were that the body beeing buried within holy grounde ſhoulde be digged vp againe and carryed to ſome other place? To all theſe things he aunſwered by ſignes in lyke caſe as he was commaunded: whereby he affirmed, or denyed euery thyng, ſtriking twiſe or thriſe vppon the Table.

When he had thus ſignified that Luthers hereſie was the cauſe of her damnation, and that her body muſt be taken vp, the Friers deſired the Citizens that were preſent, to beare witnes of ſuch things as they had ſene and heard, and ſet their hands to it in writing. But they taking aduiſement leaſt they ſhoulde both offende the Maior, and bring thẽſelues in trouble, refuſed to ſubſcribe. Notwithſtanding, the Friers toke the pixe with the hoſte and the Lords body (as they call it) and all their Saints reliques, and caried them to another place, and there they ſayd they Maſſes: which they are wont to do by the Popes Lawe, when a Churche is ſuſpended, and muſt be hallowed againe, and when the Biſhops Officiall heard of thys, hee came thether to vnderſtand the matter better, and aſſociating to him certayne honeſt men, he commaunded the Frier to coniure in his preſence, and woulde haue appoynted certaine to go vp to the vaut, to ſee if any ſpirite did there appeare. But Steuen of Arras was ſore againſt it, and exhorted them earneſtly that they ſhould not ſo do, ſaying that the ſpirit ought not to be moleſted. And albeit the Officiall did earneſtly vrge them to coniure before him, yet could they not bring them to it. In the meane time, the Maior making his frends priuie what he would do, went to the King, and informed him of the whole matter. And becauſe the Friers truſting to their immunities and priuileges, refuſed to come in iudgement, the King choſe certaine out of the court of Parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gaue them full authoritie ſo to do. Whereupon they were caried to Paris, and conſtrayned to make aunſwere, but they would confeſſe nothing. Then they were ſent againe to priſon, and kept apart one from another: and the Nouice was kept in Fumeus houſe a Senatour, and being oftentimes examined, he woulde confeſſe nothing, fearing leaſt he ſhould after be murthered of thẽ for ſlaundering theyr order. But when the iudges promiſed him that he ſhould haue no harme: and ſhould come no more in the Friers handes, he declared to them the whole matter in order, and being brought before the others, he auouched the ſame. But they, albeit they were conuicted, and in maner taken with the dede, yet refuſed they theyr iudges, and bragged of their priuiledges: but it was altogether in vayne, for they were condemned in open iudgement, that they ſhould be caryed againe to Orleaunce, and committed to priſon, and afterwardes brought openly to the Cathedrall Church, and ſo to the place of puniſhment where malefactours are executed, and there ſhould make open confeſſion of their wickednes.

But euen at the ſame tyme chaunced a perſecution againſt the Lutheranes, which was the cauſe that this ſentence, albeit it was too gentle for ſo great offence, was not put in execution. For, becauſe the name of the Lutheranes was moſt odious, they feared leaſt the puniſhment of theſe men ſhould not haue bene ſo much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproch of the order: and many thought that whatſoeuer ſhould be done to them, it would be to the Lutheranes a pleaſant ſpectacle, and cauſe them much to reioice.

This order of the Franciſcanes was eſteemed of the common people very holy: ſo that what tyme they were carried out of Paris, certayne women mooued wyth pitie, followed them vnto the gate of the Vniuerſitie wyth many teares and ſighes.

After they came to Orleance, and were beſtowed in ſeuerall priſons, they began to boaſt agayne of their liberties and priuiledges, and at length, after long impriſonment, they were diſcharged and ſet at libertie without anye further puniſhmente. Had not theſe perſecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the King had determined, as it was certaynely reported, to plucke downe their houſe, and make it euen with the ground. Ex Io. Sleid. lib. 9.

But to leaue the memorye of thys Idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let vs occupy the tyme with ſome better matter, in remembring the ſtory of a good and conſtant Martir of the Lorde before ouerpaſt, whiche ſuffered in Kent for the worde of God before Luthers time, about the ſecond yeare of this kings raigne, as heere in ſtory followeth.

Iohn Browne a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Ieſus burned at Aſhford by Archbiſhop Warham, and Doct. Fiſher Biſh. of Rocheſter, about the 2. yeare of king Henry the 8. An. 1511.

Perſecuters.	Martir.
W. Warrh. Archb. of Cant.	
Fiſher byſhop of Rocheſter.	I. Browne of Aſhford
A chauntry prieſt.	
Walter More Gentleman.	
William More hys brother.	At Aſheford.
Children of Wye, Baily arrãt.	
Beare of Wilborough.	
Two ſeruauntes of Wil. Warham.	Ann. 1511.

The cauſe.

The firſt occaſion of the trouble of this I. Brown the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, was by a certayne Prieſte: who paſſing downe to Graues end in the cõmon Barge (where the ſayd Ioh. Brown was amongeſt diuers other paſſingers moe) and diſdayning ý hee ſo ſaucely ſhoulde ſit ſo neare vnto him in the Barge (who belyke ſeemed not muche to paſſe vppon the Prieſt) began to ſwell in ſtomacke agaynſt him. At length burſting forth in his prieſtly voyce and diſdaynefull countenaunce, hee aſked hym in this maner: Doeſt ý know (ſayd he) who I am thou ſitteſt to neare me and ſitteſt on my clothes. No ſir (ſayde the other) I know not what you are. I tell thee (quoth hee) I am a prieſt. What ſir, are you a parſon or vicar, or ſome ladies chapleine? No (quoth he agayne) I am a ſoule Prieſt: I ſing for a ſoule. Doe you ſo ſir (quoth the other?) that is well done, I pray you ſir (ſayd he) where find you the ſoule when you go to Maſſe? I cannot tel thee (ſayd the Prieſt.) I pray you, where doe you leaue it ſir when the Maſſe is done? I cannot tell thee (ſayde the prieſt) Neither can you tell where to find it when you goe to Maſſe, nor where you leaue it when the Maſſe is done, howe can you then ſaue the ſoule, ſayd he? Go thy wayes ſaid the prieſt, I perceiue thou art an hereticke, and I will be euen with thee.

The ſtory of Iohn Browne Martyr.

Talke betweene Iohn Browne & a proud Prieſt in Graues end Barge.

So at the landing, the prieſt taking with him Walter More and W. More two Gentlemen and brethren, rode ſtraightwayes to the archbiſhop, who thẽ was Wil. Warham. Wherupon the ſayd Iohn Browne, within 3. dayes after, was ſet for by the archbiſhop. His bringers vp were Chilten of Wye baily arraunt, and one Beare of Wilſborough, with two of the biſhops ſeruantes. Who with certayn other being appoynted for the ſame, came ſodenly into his houſe vppon him, the ſame day when his wife was churched, as hee was bringing in a meſſe of pottage to the bourd ſeruing his geſtes: and ſo laying hands vpon hym, ſet him vpon his owne horſe, and binding his feete vnder the horſes belly, caryed him away to Canterbury, neither he nor his wife, nor any of his friendes knowing whether he went, nor whether he ſhould, and there continuing the ſpace of 40. dayes, frõ Lowſõday, till Friday before Whitſonday through the cruell handling of the ſayd Archb. and ý B. of Rocheſt. D. Fiſher, hee was ſo pitiouſly intreated, that his bare feete were ſet vpon the hote burning coales, to make him deny his fayth, whiche notwithſtanding hee wouldnot doe, but paciently abiding ý payne continued in the Lordes quarrell vnremoueable. At length after al this crueltie ſuſteined his wife yet not knowing where he was become, on Friday before Whitſonday he was ſent to Aſhford where he dwelt the next day there to be burned.

Walter More, William More, Chilten and Beare perſecuters.

Iohn Browne ſodeinly taken and caryed away.

His bare feete ſet vpon the hote coales to make him deny the truth.

In the meane time, as he was brought to the town ouer night, there to be ſet in the ſtockes, it happened as God would, that a young mayde of his houſe comming by and ſeeing her mayſter, ran home and told her miſtres.

Browne brought to Aſhford to be burned.

Then ſhe comming to him, and finding him in ý ſtocks appoynted to be burned the next morow, ſat by him all the night long. To whome then he declared the whole ſtory or rather tragedy how he was hãdled and how his feet were burned to the bones, that he could not ſet them vppon the ground, by the two Biſhops aforeſayde (he thanked God therfore) and all to make me (ſayd hee) to deny my Lorde, which I will neuer doe, for if I ſhould deny him ſayde he in this world he would deny me hereafter. And therfore I pray thee (ſayd he) good Elizabeth, continue as ý haſt begon, & bring vp thy childrẽ vertuouſly in the feare of God.

Browne ſet in the ſtockes at Aſhford.

And ſo the next day which was on Whitſon euen, thys godly martyr was burned, where he ſtanding at the ſtake ſayd this prayer holding vp his handes as followeth.

The

The prayer of Browne at his death.

The prayer of Iohn Browne at his death.

O Lord I yeeld me to thy grace,
Graunt me mercy for my treſpace,
Let neuer the fiend my ſoule chace,
Lord I will bow and thou ſhalt beate:
Let neuer my ſoule come in hell heate.

Into thy handes I commend my ſpirit: thou haſt redeemed me O Lord of truth.

And ſo this bleſſed Martyr ended his life in peace, anno. 1511.

Witnes to thys ſtory.

This ſtory the ſayd Elizabeth Browne his wife did oft times repeate to Alice her daughter, who dwelling yet in the pariſh of S. Pulchers, teſtified the narration heereof vnto me and certayne other, vppon whoſe credible information I haue recorded the ſame.

Rich, Browne eſcaped burning by the comming in of the Queene Elizabeth.

Furthermore, it is to be noted, that the ſayde Iohn Browne bare a fagot ſeauen yeares before this, in the dayes of King Henry the ſeauenth. Whoſe ſonne alſo named Richard Browne for the like cauſe of Religion, was impriſoned at Caunterbury, likewiſe in the latter tyme of Queene Mary, and ſhould haue bene burned with two mo beſides himſelfe, the next day after the death of Queene Mary, but that by the proclaiming of Queene Elizabeth they eſcaped.

Amongſt other iniunctions and letters of king Henry the eight, written and ſet forth for reformation of religion, he wrote one letter to Edmund Bonner for aboliſhing of Images, pilgrimages, ſhrines, and other monuments of Idolatry. which letter being before expreſſed pag. 1229, we ſhould alſo haue annexed to the ſame the letter or mandate of Bonner, directed in latin to Richard Cloney hys Somner, appertayning to the due execution therof. which letter becauſe we haue omitted before the defect thereof, I thought heere in this vacant ſpace to ſupply. The letter written to Cloney in latin thus beginneth.

Bonners letter to Cloney, keeper of the Cole-houſe, for the aboliſhing of Images.

EDmundus permiſsione Diuina Lond. Epiſc. Dilecto nobis in Chriſto Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori, noſtro generali ſalut. grat. & benedictionem. Cum nos 13. die menſis inſtantis Octob. circa noctem, literas ſereniſsimi, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

FOraſmuch as the 13, day of this preſent, we haue receyued the letters of our ſoueraigne Lord, by the grace of God King of England, &c. to vs directed and conteyning in them the commaundement of his Maieſtie, by vs to be executed in tenour of words which heere I ſend vnto you: we therefore willing and deſiring according as our duty bindeth vs, to put the ſame in execution with all diligence poſsible according to the effect and tenour thereof, do charge and ſtraightly commaund you by the tenour heereof, in the Kings behalfe, and for the fidelitie whych we haue in you aſſuredly approued, that you incontinent vpon the receite heereof, do effectually warne all and ſingular Parſons and Vicars of this Citie of London, and of all our dioces, that they immediately vpon the ſight and intimation of theſe preſent Articles and interrogatories heere vnder written, do cauſe diligent and effectuall inquiſition thereof to be made, to witte:

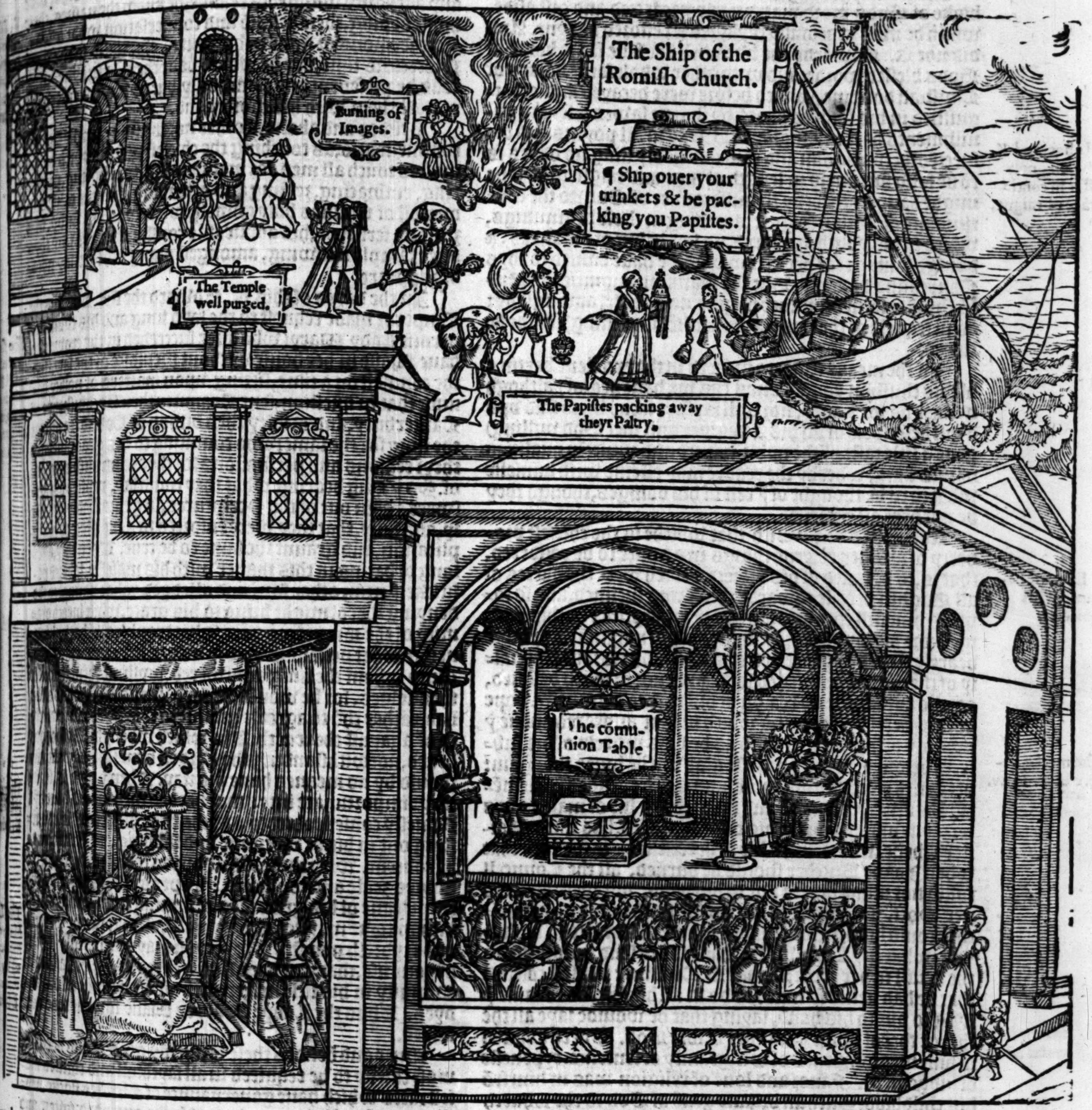
Whether there be vſed or continued any ſuperſtition, hypocriſie or abuſe within any their pariſhes or Cures, contrary to anye ordinaunce, iniunction, or commaundement geuen or ſet foorth by the Kings Maieſtie or by his authoritie.

Item, whether they haue in their Churches, or within theyr pariſhes, any ſhrines, couerings of ſhrines, tables of fayned myracles, pilgrimages, Images and bones reſorted and offered vnto and other monuments and things wherewith the people haue bene illuded, or any offering or ſetting vp of lights, or candles, other then be permitted by the Kings Maieſties Iniunctions, or whether the ſaid Iniunctions be duely obſerued and kept in their Pariſhes or Cures, or elſe tranſgreſſed and broken, and in what part. And further, after the ſayd Inquiſition thus by them and euery of them reſpectiuely being made, that you do certifie
vs, or our Vicare generall, what is done in the premiſſes,
vpon the euen of Simon and Iude, or thereabout,
vnder the perill thereof following. Dat. 14,
die Octob. an. 1541. & noſtræ
tranſlat. 2.

The ende of the eyght booke.

* * *

¶ The Ninth Booke containing the *Actes and thinges done in the Reigne of King* EDWARD the ſixt.


The Ship of the Romiſh Church.
Burning of Images.
¶ Ship ouer your trinkets & be packing you Papiſtes.
The Temple well purged.
The Papiſtes packing away theyr Paltry.
he commu nion Table

NExt after the death of K. Henry ſucceded king Edwarde his ſonne, being of the age of 9. yeres. He began his raigne the 28. day of Ianuary, and raygned 6. yeares and 8. monethes, and 8. dayes, and deceaſed, ann. 1553. the 6. day of Iulye.

Of whoſe excellent vertues & ſinguler graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing canne be ſayde enough to his commendation: yet becauſe the renowmed fame of ſuch a worthye prince ſhall not vtterlye paſſe our ſtory without ſome gratefull remembraunce, I thought in few wordes to touch ſome litle portion of his prayſe, taken out of great heapes of matter, which might be inferred. For to ſtand vppon all that might be ſayde of him, it would be to long: and yet to ſay nothing, it were to much vnkinde. If kinges and Princes which haue wiſely and vertuouſly gouerned, haue found in all ages writers to ſolemniſe and celebrate theyr Actes and memory, ſuch as neuer knew them, nor were ſubiect vnto thẽ, how much thẽ are we Engliſh men bound not to forget our duety to K. Edward, a prince although but tender in yeres, yet for his ſage and mature rypenes in witte and all Princely ornamentes, as I ſee but few, to whom he may not be equal, ſo agayne I ſee not many, to whom he may not iuſtly be preferred.

Commendation of K. Edward.

And here to vſe the example of Plutarch in comparing kings and rulers, the Latines with the Greekes together if I ſhould ſeek with whom to match this noble Edward, I finde not with whom to make my match more aptly, thẽ with good Ioſias. For as the one began his raigne at eight yeares of his age, ſo the other beganne at 9. Neyther were their acts and zelous procedings in Gods cauſe much diſcrepant. For, as milde Ioſias pluckt downe the hil altars, cut downe the groues, and deſtroyd all monuments of Idolatry in the temple: the like corruptiōs, droſſe and deformities of Popiſh Idolatry crept into the Church of Chriſt of long time, this Euangelicall Ioſias king Edwarde remoued, & purged the true temple of the Lorde, Ioſias reſtored the true worſhip of God in Ieruſalem, and deſtroid the Idolatrous prieſtes: King Edward in England likewiſe aboliſhing Idolatrous Maſſes and falſe inuocation, reduced agayne religion to a right ſinceritie, & more would haue brought to perfection if life and time had aunſwered to his godly purpoſe. And though he killed not: as Ioſias did, the idolatrous ſacrifices, yet he put them to ſilēce, and remoued them out of theyr places.

Compariſon betwene King Ioſias and King Edward. 6.

Moreouer, in king Ioſias dayes the holy Scripture & booke of Gods word was vtterly neglected and caſt aſide, which he moſt graciouſly repayred & reſtored agayne. And did not K. Edwarde the like with the ſelfe ſame booke of Gods bleſſed worde, and with other wholeſome bookes of Chriſtian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguiſhed in his fathers dayes by ſharpe lawes & ſeuere puniſhments here in England? Briefly in all poynts and reſpectes, betwene him and this our godly king no oddes is to be foūd but onely in length of time and reign. who if he might haue reached (by the ſufferaunce of God) to the continuance of Ioſias reigne: proceding in thoſe beginnings, which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his Actes, & doings ſome great perfection woulde haue enſued to thys Church and Realme. But the manifold iniquities of Engliſhmē deſerued another plague, as after fel amongſt vs: as in ſequele of the ſtory hereafter (God willing) ſhalbe declared.

K. Ioſias and K. Edward onely differ in continuāce of raigne.

In the meane time, to proceed in the excellent vertues of this chriſtian yong Ioſias (as we haue begon) although neither do we know, nor will layſure ſerue vs to ſtād vpō a full deſcriptiō of all his Actes: yet will we (God willing) geue a litle taſte of the noble nature and princely qualities of this king, wherby the reader may eſteme with himſelfe what is to be thought of yͤ reſt of his doinges, though they be not here all expreſſed.

And firſt to begin with that whiche is the chiefeſt property of al other externe things in a prince to be cōſidered, that is, to be loued of his ſubiectes: ſuch were the hartes of all Engliſh people towarde this King inclined, and ſo toward him ſtill cōtinued, as neuer came prince in this realme more highly eſteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearely & tenderly beloued of all his ſubiects: but eſpecially of the good & the learned ſort, & yet not ſo much beloued, as alſo admirable by reaſon of his rare towardnes & hope both of vertue & learning which in him appeared aboue yͤ capacity of his yeares. And as he was intirely of his ſubiects beloued, ſo with no leſſe good wil he loued thē again: of nature & diſpoſition meek, and much enclined to clemēcy. He alwayes ſpared and fauored the life of man: as in a certayne diſſertation of his once appeared, had with Maiſter Cheke in fauoring yͤ life of heretickes: in ſo much that when Ioane Butcher ſhould be burned, all the Councell could not moue him to put to his hand, but were fayne to get Doct. Cranmer to perſwade with him, and yet neither could he with much labor induce the king ſo to do ſaying: what my Lord? will ye haue me to ſend her quicke to the deuill in her error? ſo that D. Cranmer himſelf cōfeſſed that he had neuer ſo much to do in all his life, as to cauſe yͤ king to put to his hand, ſaying that he woulde laye all the charge therof vpon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptnes of wit, grauity of ſentence, rypeneſſe of iudgement. Fauor and loue of religion was in him frō his childhood: Such an organe geuē of God to the Church of England he was, as England had neuer better. Ouer and beſides theſe notable excellencies, and other great vertues in him: adde moreouer ſkill & knowledge of tongues & other ſciences, whereunto hee ſeemed rather borne then brought vp.

K Edward beloued of his ſubiectes.

The meeke nature of K. Edw.

K Edward well ſkilled in the tongues,

Moreouer there wanted not in him to this felicitye of wit and dexterity of nature, like happines of inſtitution of good inſtructors. Neither did there lacke agayne in him any diligence to receiue that, which they would teach him: in ſo much that in the middeſt of all his play and recreatiō, he would alwayes obſerue & keep his houre appoynted to his ſtudy, vſing the ſame with much intentiō, till time called him agayne from his booke to paſtime. In this his ſtudy, & keeping of his houres he did ſo profit that D. Cranmer the Archbiſhop then of Canterbury, beholding his towardnes, his readines in both tongues, in tranſlating frō Greek to Latine, from Latine to Greek agayne, in declaming to his ſcholefellowes without helpe of his teachers, and that ex tempore, would weepe for ioy, declaring to D. Coxe his ſcholemaiſter, that he would neuer haue thought that to haue bene in him, except he had ſene it himſelfe,

The readines of K. Edward to his booke.

D. Cox king Edwardes ſchoolemaſter

To recite here his witty ſentences, his graue reaſons, which many times did proceed frō him, and how he would ſometimes in a matter diſcourſed by his coūſell, adde thervnto of his owne moe reaſons & cauſes touching the ſayd matter then they themſelues had or could deuiſe, it was almoſt incredible in yͤ age to ſee & tedious here to proſecute.

This in him may ſeme notorious and admirable, that he in theſe immature yeres, could tell & recite all the portes, hauens and crekes, not within his owne realme only, but alſo in Scotland, and likewiſe in Fraūce, what comming in there was, how the tide ſerued in euery hauen or creke: moreouer, what burdē & what winde ſerued the comming into the hauen.

Alſo of all his iuſtices, maieſtrates, gentlemē that bare any authority within his realme, he knew the names, their houſekeping, their religiō and conuerſation what it was. Few ſermons or none in his court, eſpecially in the Lord Protectors time, but he would be at them. Agayne, neuer was he preſent at any commonly, but he would excerp the or note them with his owne hand.

Beſides and aboue al other notes and examples of his commendatiō, as touching the chiefeſt poynt which ought moſt to touch all men, for mainteining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing and defending the true cauſe and quarell of Chriſtes holy goſpell, what was his ſtudy, hys zealous feruency, his admirable conſtancy therin, by thys one example folowing, amongeſt many other, may notably appeare.

In the dayes of this K. Edward the ſixt, Carolus the Emperor made requeſt to the ſayd king and his counſel to permit Lady Mary (who after ſucceded in the crowne) to haue Maſſe in her houſe without preiudice of the law. And the counſell on a time, ſitting vpon matters of pollicy hauing that in queſtion, ſent Cranmer then Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, and Ridley then biſhop of Londō, to intreat the king for the ſame: who comming to his grace alledged theyr reaſons and perſuaſions for the accompliſhing thereof. So yͤ king hearing what they could ſay, replied his anſwere again out of the Scriptures, ſo groundedly, grauely, and fully, that they were enforced to geue place to his replication, and graunt the ſame to be true. Then they, after long debating in this maner with his maieſty, labored politickely in an other ſort, and alledged what daungers the denying therof might bring to his grace, what breach of amity of the Emperors part, what troubles, what vnkindnes, & what occaſions ſondry wayes it would enforce. &c. Unto whom the king aunſwered, wylling them to content themſelues, for he would (he ſayd) ſpend his life and all he had, rather thē to agree & graunt to that he knew certainly to be agaynſt the trueth. The which when the Byſhoppes heard, notwithſtanding they vrged hym ſtill to graūt, and would by no meanes haue his nay. Then yͤ good K. ſeyng theyr importunate ſute, that needes they would haue hys Maieſty conſent thereto, in the ende his tender hart burſting out in bitter weeping and ſobbing, deſired them to be content. Whereat the Biſhoppes themſelues ſeeing the kinges zeale and conſtancy, wept as faſt as he, and tooke theyr leaue of his grace: and comming from him, the Archbiſhop tooke mayſter Cheke his ſcholemayſter by the hand and ſayd: Ah mayſter Cheke, you may be glad all yͤ dayes of your life, that you haue ſuch a Scholer, for he hath more Diuinity in his litle finger, then all we haue in all our bodyes. Thus the Ladye Maryes Maſſe for that time was ſtayed.

Ouer and beſides theſe heauenly graces and vertues, moſt chiefly to be required in all faythfull and chriſten maieſtrates which haue gouernaunce of Chriſtes flocke, neyther was he alſo vnprouided of ſuche outward giftes and knowledge as appertein to the gouernance of his realme politick. In ſo much that neither he was inexpert or ignoraunt of the exchaunge and all the circumſtaunces of the ſame touching doinges beyond the ſea, but was as ſkilfull in the practiſes therof, and could ſay as much as the chiefeſt doers in his affaires. Likewiſe in the enterteining of Embaſſadors, to whom he would geue aunſwere, and that to euery part of theyr oration, to the great wonder of thē that heard, doing that in his tender yeares by himſelfe, which many Princes at theyr mature age ſeldome are wont to do but by other. And as he was a great noter of things yͤ perteyned to Princely affayres, ſo had he a cheſt ſeuerally to himſelfe for euery yeare, for the keping of ſuch records and matters, as paſt and were concluded by the Counſell. Of whom alſo he woulde require a reaſon and cauſe of euery thing that ſhould paſſe their iudgements. And of this cheſt he would euermore keep the key about him. His notes alſo he ciphred in Greeke letters, to the ende that thoſe that wayted vpon him, ſhould not read nor know what he had written.

He had moreouer great reſpect to iuſtice, and to the diſpatch of poore mens ſutes, would appoynt hours & tymes with maiſter Coxe, then maiſter of his Requeſtes, how & by what order they might be ſped in their cauſes without long delayes and attendaũce, and ſo alſo debate with him, that theyr matters might be heard and iudged with equity accordingly.

What Hieronimus Cardanus ſayth of him cõcerning his knowledge in liberal ſciẽces, I thought here to expres in his owne words, both in latin and engliſh, ſo much the rather, becauſe he ſpeaketh of his owne experiment, & vpon the preſent talke which he had with the king himſelfe. The wordes of Cardanus firſt in latine be theſe.

Hier. Card. de Genituris.

ADerãt enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat: Anglicam natalem, Latinam, Gallicam, non expers (vt audio) Græcæ, Italicæ, & hiſpanicæ, & forſan aliarum. Propriã, Gallicam & Latinã exactè tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philoſophiæ principia, non Muſica. Humanitas mortalitatis noſtræ imago, grauitas Regiæ maieſtatis, indoles tãto principe digna. In vniuerſum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenij & tantæ expectationis puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetoricè exornata veritatem excedunt, ſed ſunt minora.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latinè non minus quam ego politè & promptè loquebatur) quid continent libri tui de rerum varietate? hos enim nomini Maieſtatis ſuæ dedicaueram. Tum ego Cometarum primum cauſam diu fruſtra quæſitam, in primo capite oſtendo. Quæ nam inquit ille? Concurſus, ego aio, luminis erraticorum ſyderum. At Rex, quo modo, cum diuerſis motibus aſtra moueantur, nõ ſtatim diſſipatur aut mouetur eorum motu. At ego, mouetur equidem, ſed lõgè celerius illis ob diuerſitatem aſpectus, velut in Criſtallo & ſole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parua enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiã. At Rex, & quonam pacto abſque ſubiecto illud fieri poteſt iridi enim paries ſubiectũ eſt? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ propè accenſæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiũt. Itaq; ex vngue Leonem, vt dici ſolet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque ſuauitatem morum. Prius cæperat fauere artibus quam noſceret, & noſcere antequam vti poſſet. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quẽ non ſolum Anglia, ſed orbis ereptum immaturè deflere debet. O quam benè dixerat ille.

Immodicis breuis eſt ætas & rara ſenectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Vbi grauitas Regia requirebatur, ſenem vidiſſes: vt blandus erat & comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulſabat, publicis negotijs admouebatur, leberalis animo, atque in his patrem emulabatur, &c. Hæc Cardanus.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

THere was in him a towardly diſpoſition & pregnancy apt to all humain literature: as who being yet a childe had the knowledge of diuers tongs, firſt of the engliſh his owne naturall toung, of ẏ latin alſo & of the french, neither was he ignorant (as I heare) of the greeke, Italian, & ſpaniſh tongues, and of other languages peraduenture moe. In his owne, in the French & in the Latine toung ſingularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receiue all other. Neither was he ignorant in logike, in the principles of naturall Philoſophy, or in Muſicke. There was in him lacking neither humanity the Image of our mortality, a Princely grauity and maieſty, nor any kind of towardnes beſeming a noble king. Briefly, it might ſeme a myracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit & forwardneſſe that appeared in him being yet but a child. This I ſpeake not rethorically, to amplifye thinges or to make them more then truth is, yea the truth is more then I do vtter.

Being yet but 15. yeares of age he aſked of me in Latin (in which toung he vttered his minde no leſſe readely and eloquently thẽ I could do my ſelfe) what my books which I had dedicated to him, De varietate rerum, did contayne? I ſayd that in the firſt chapter was ſhewed the cauſe of Comets, or blaſing ſtars, which hath bene long ſought for, & yet hitherto ſcarce fully found. What cauſe (ſaid he) is that? The concourſe or meeting (ſayd I) of the light of the wandering Planets and Stars. To this the king thus replied agayne: Forſomuch (ſayd he) as the motion of the ſtars kepeth not one courſe but is diuers and variable by continual alteration, how is it then that the cauſe of theſe Comets either doth not quickely vade & vaniſh, or that the Comet doth not keep one certayne and vniforme courſe & motion with the ſayd Starres and Planets? Whereunto I aunſwered that the Comet hath his courſe and mouing, but much more ſwifter then they, becauſe of the diuerſity of aſpect, as we ſee in Chriſtall, and in the Sunne when the forme of the Raynbow reboũdeth on the wall. For a litle mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then ſayde ẏ king and how can that be, hauing no ſubiect: For of ẏ rainbow the wall is the ſubiect? Like (ſayd I) as in Lactea via, or in reflection of lightes, as where many candles be lighted and ſet nere together, in the middle they cauſe a certain bright and white lightſomnes to appeare. &c.

Lactea via is a white and a brighte parte of the firmament, like a long white cauſie or way appearing in the night amõg the thicke ſtarres.

And ſo by this litle triall a great geſſe may be geuen what was in this king. In whome no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongſt all good & learned mẽ, both for the ingenious forwardnes & amiable ſweetnes which in his conditions appeared. Firſt he began to loue & fauor liberall arts & ſciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could vſe them, whoſe mortall conditiõ and ſoden deceaſe and decay in thoſe tender & vnripe yeres, not onely England, but all the world hath cauſe to lament. O how truely is it ſayd of the Poet.

Thinges that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A ſhew or ſight onely of excellency he could geue vs: example he could not geue. Where a kingly maieſty required grauity, there you ſhould haue ſene him a ſage and an olde man, and yet gentle and pleaſant alſo, according as the cõditiõ of his age then required. He plaid wel vpõ the Lute. He had alſo to doe in handling of weighty affayres of the Realme: He was liberall and bountifull in hart, & therein he imitated his father. &c.

Carmen Epitaphium Cardani, in obitum Reg. Edouardi.

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales: veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam Regum decus. & iuuenum flos ſpeſq; bonorum.
Delitiæ ſecli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis doctæq; Mineruæ
Floſculus heu miſero concidit antè diem.
Te tumulo dabimus Muſæ, ſupremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpomene triſtia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Thus after the godly diſpoſitiõ and properties of this king briefly in this wiſe declared, now (God willing) wee will intermeddle ſomething to deſcribe the order & proceedinges which he folowed in his adminiſtration & gouernement of both the ſtates, as well politick as eſpecially eccleſiaſticke. Who after the deceaſe of his Father comming to the crowne, becauſe he was of young & tender age, he was committed to 16. gouernors. Amongeſt whom eſpeciallye the Lord Edward Semer Duke of Somerſet his Uncle was aſſigned and adioyned to him as Protector and ouerſeer of him and of the commõ wealth, a man not ſo highly aduanced for his conſanguinity, as alſo for his noble vertues and eſpecially for his fauour to Gods word, worthye of his vocation and calling. Through the endeuor and induſtry of which man, firſt that monſtrous Hidra with vi. heades, the ſixe Articles I meane (which deuoured vp ſo many men before) was aboliſhed & taken away. By reaſõ wherof the counſels and procedings of Wincheſter began to decaye, who ſtorming at the ſame matter, wrote to the Lord Protectour in the cauſe therof, as by his letters is to be ſene.

The Lord Edw. Semer made L. Protectour.

Commendation of the Lord Protectour.

The holy ſcriptures he reſtored to the mother toung, maſſes he extinguiſhed and aboliſhed. Furthermore, after ſofter beginnings, by litle & litle, greater thinges folowed in the reformation of the Churches. Then ſuche as before were in baniſhmẽt for the daũger of the truth, were again receiued to theyr cõutry. To be ſhort, a new face of things began now to appeare, as it were in a ſtage new players cõming in, the olde being thruſt out. For ẏ moſt part ẏ Biſhops of churches & dioceſſes were chaũged. Such as had bene dombe prelates before, were compelled to geue place to other then that would preach and take paynes.

Reformation by K. Edward.

Beſides other alſo out of forreine cõutries, mẽ of learning and notable knowledge were ſent for and receiued, among whome was Peter Martyr, Martine Bucer, and Paulus Phagius. Of whome the firſt taught at Oxford: the other two profeſſed at Cambridge, and that to no ſmal commendation of the whol vniuerſity. Of the old biſhops ſome were cõmitted to one ward, ſome to an other Boner Biſhop of London was committed to the Marſhalſey, & eftſoones for his contempt and miſdemeanour depoſed frõ his biſhopricke, as in further proceſſe foloweth to be ſene, Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, with Tonſtal Biſhop of Dureſme was caſt into the Tower for his diſobedience, where he kept his Chriſtmas three yeares together, more worthy of ſome other place without the Tower, if it hadde pleaſed god otherwiſe not to haue mẽt a further plague to

{ Anno 1547. }

Peter Martyr. Mart. Bucer. Paulus Phagius.

Edm. Boner B. of London committed to the Marſhalſey.

Gardiner and Tonſtall committed to the tower.

this Realme by that man.

But theſe meeke and gentle times of king Edward vnder the gouernment of this noble Protector, haue this one commendation proper vnto them, for that among yͤ whole number of the popiſh ſort, of whom ſome priuily did ſteale out of the realm, many were crafty diſſemblers, ſome were open and manifeſt aduerſaries, yet of all yͤ multitude, there was not one man that loſt his life. In ſumme, duryng the whole time of the 6. yeares of this king much tranquilitie, and as it were a breathing time was graunted to the whole Church of England. So that the rage of perſecutiō ceaſing and the ſword taken out of the aduerſaries hand, there was now no daūger to the godly, vnleſſe it were onely by wealth and proſperity, which many times bringeth more dammage in corrupting mēs minds, then any time of perſecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in ſmithfield, nor any other quarter of this realme, any was heard to ſuffer for any matter of religion, either Papiſt or Proteſtant, eyther for one opiniō or other, except onely two, one an Engliſh woman, called Ioan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George, who dyed for certayne Articles not much neceſſary here to be rehearſed.

Tho. Dobbe imprisoned, and in priſon dyed.

Beſides theſe two, there was none els in all king Edwardes raigne, that dyed in any maner cauſe of religion, but that one Thom. Dobbe, who in the beginning of this kinges raigne, was apprehended for ſpeaking agaynſt the idolatry of the maſſe and in the ſame priſon died: as in ſtory here enſueth to be ſene.

Doues as Philoſophers naturally do write haue no gall.

This Thomas Dobbe being a ſtudēt and a maiſter of Arte in Cambridge, was brought vp in the colledge, called S. Iohns Colledge, and felowe of the ſame, where he increaſed in the ſtudye of good letters, among his equals very forward of nature and diſpoſition ſimple and modeſt, of zeale toward God feruēt pacient in iniuries, iniurious to no man, of much like ſort & condition, as in Doues which without all bitternes of gal, are more apt to receiue iniury then to worke wrong to any. At length this godly man intending with himſelfe, and addicting hys mynde to the Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony, reſorted to a certayn mayden not farre of where he dwelt. For the whiche cauſe he was greatly moleſted, and wickedly abuſed by iij. of that Colledge, whoſe names were Hutchinſon, Pindare, and Tailer, who with theyr malicious handlyng, ſcornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and cōtumelies, ſo much vexed the vertuous ſimplicity of yͤ man, that they neuer left him, till at length they weryed him out of the Colledge. Who there hauing no reſt nor quietnes by reaſō of the vnreaſonable and virulēt handling of his aduerſaries, was compelled to ſeek ſome other place wherin to ſettle himſelf. Vpon the occaſion whereof comming vp to Lōdon, it chaūced him to paſſe through Paules Church, wheras it happned that at the Southſide of the Churche, at the ſame tyme there was a Prieſt at Maſſe, more buſy then wel occupied being at the eleuation as he paſſed by. The yong man repleat with godly zeale, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honoring that ſo deuoutly which the prieſt lifted vp, was not able to forbeare, but opening his mouth & turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honor the viſible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordeined of God to be honored. &c. with ſuch other wordes mo of chriſtian information. For which cauſe ſtraight way he was apprehended by the Maior, and after accuſed to the Biſhop of Cāterbury, was committed to the Coūter thē in Bredſtreete, where he not long continued, but fallyng into a ſicknes, how, or wherupon I can not tell, ſhortly vpon the ſame chaūged this mortall life. Whoſe pardō notwithſtanding was obteined of the Lord Protector and ſhoulde haue bene brought him, if he had cōtinued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and other.

Ouer and beſides, I finde, that in the firſt yeare of the raygne of King Edward, which was an. 1547. there was one Iohn Hume, ſeruaunt to Maiſter Lewnax of Wreſell apprehended, accuſed, and ſent vp to the Archbiſh. of Cāterbury, by the ſayd M. Lewnax his Mayſter & Margaret Lewnax his miſtres, for theſe Articles.

1 Firſt, for denying the Sacrament (as it was then called of the aultar) to be the reall fleſh and bloud of Chriſt.
2 For ſaying that he would neuer vale his bonet vnto it, to be burned therefore.
3 For ſaying that if he ſhoulde heare Maſſe, he ſhoulde be damned,

For this was he ſent vp by his maiſter and miſtres aforeſayd, with ſpeciall letters vnto the Archbiſhop, requiring him ſeuerally to be puniſhed by the law for the ſame. But becauſe I finde no execution folowing thereupon, I therfore paſſe ouer this ſtory of him.

Theſe thinges premiſſed, when this vertuous & godly yong prince (endued as you haue heard with ſpeciall graces from God) was now peaceably ſtabliſhed in his kingdome, and had a coūſell about him, graue, wiſe, and zelous in Gods cauſe, eſpecially his vncle yͤ duke of Somerſet, he then moſt earneſtly likewiſe deſired, as well the aduauncement of the true honor of almighty God, and the planting of his ſincere religion: as alſo the vtter ſuppreſſiō and extirpation of all idolatry, ſuperſtition, hipocriſy, and other enormities and abuſes, throughout his realmes and dominions, & therefore folowing, as is afore expreſſed, the good example of king Ioſias, he determined forthwith to enter into ſome reformation of Religion in the Church of England.

And foraſmuch as at his firſt entry (notwithſtanding his fathers good beginning in aboliſhing the vſurped power of Antichriſt) he yet foūd moſt of his lawes greatly repugning agaynſt this his zealous enterpriſe, he therefore purpoſed by the aduiſe of his ſayd wiſe & honorable Counſell, of his owne regall power and authority, ſomewhat to proſecute his godly purpoſe, vntill ſuch time as by conſent of the whole eſtate of parliamēt, he might eſtabliſh a more free, perfect, and vniforme order therin.

Wherupon intending firſt a generall viſitation ouer al the biſhopricks within his realm (therby as wel to vnderſtād, as alſo to redreſſe the abuſes in the ſame) he choſe out certayn wiſe, learned, diſcrete, and worſhipful perſonages to be his Commiſſioners in that behalfe: and ſo deuiding them into ſeuerall companies, aſſigned vnto them ſeueral Dioceſſes to be viſited: appoynting likewiſe vnto euery company, one or two godly learned preachers, which at euery Seſſion ſhoulde in theyr preaching, both inſtruct the people in the true doctrine of the Goſpell of Chriſt, & in all loue and obedience to the ſame, and alſo earneſtly dehorte them from theyr olde ſuperſtition and wonted Idolatrye. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their Commiſſion, there were deliuered vnto them certayn Iniunctions & eccleſiaſticall orders drawne out by the kings learned counſell, the which they ſhould both enquyre of, & alſo commaund in his maieſties behalfe, to be thenceforth obſerued of euery perſon, to whō they did ſeuerally appertayne within theyr ſondry circuites.

In the which, amongſt other things, it was firſt enioyned that all Eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhould themſelues obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued of other, all ſuch Statutes as were made for the aboliſhing of the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power, and eſtabliſhing of the kings ſupreme authority, and that they ſhould euery one foure times in the yeare at the leaſt, in theyr publick ſermons declare vnto yͤ people, that the one being moſt arrogātly vſurped againſt the word of God, was now iuſtly taken away, and the other (according to yͤ very true meaning of the ſame worde) was of moſt loyall duety onely to be obeyed of all his graces ſubiectes.

And agayne, that euery the aforeſayd eccleſiaſtical perſon (hauing cure) ſhoulde preach, or cauſe to be preached within theyr ſeueral cures, one ſermon euery quarter of yͤ yere. In the which they ſhould ſincerely ſet forth the worde of God, & exhort the people vnto the workes of fayth & mercy preſcribed in the ſame word, and not vnto workes deuiſed by mans fantaſy, as going on pilgrimages and other lyke idolatrous ſuperſtitions: the which they ſhould alſo to the vttermoſt of theyr powers reproue and ſpeak agaynſt, declaring that all grace & goodnes ought onely to be ſought for at gods hand (as the alone geuer therof) & not at any other creature: And that they ſhoulde not onely forthwyth take down and deſtroy all ſuch Images as had bene thertofore abuſed by pilgrimage or offerings within theyr ſaid cures: but alſo ſhould not thenceforth ſuffer any lightes or other idolatrous oblation to be made or ſet vp before any other image, then was yet ſuffered in the Church.

Alſo that euery holy day (hauing no Sermon in theyr Church) they ſhould immediatly after the goſpel diſtinctly read in the Pulpit the Lordes prayer, the beliefe and the x. commaūdemēts of almighty God in the engliſh toung: exhorting the people not only to learn thē theyr ſelues, but alſo to teach them to theyr childrē & families, & alſo ſhould charge all Parentes and gouernors of houſholds to bring vp their youth in ſome good exerciſe or occupation wherby they might afterwards ſerue the common wealth, and not runne, and like vagabondes and idle loyterers, & thereby encur the daunger of the lawes.

And furthermore that the ſayd perſons (hauing cure) ſhould ſee the holy Sacramentes of Chriſt reuerently miniſtred within theyr cures: & that if any of them (by ſpeciall licence or other caſes expreſſed in the Statutes of thys realme) ſhould be at any time abſent from theyr benefices, that then they ſhould leaue in theyr rowmes ſome Godly learned and diſcreet Curate that were able to inſtruct the people in all truth and godlines not ſeking thẽſelues, but rather the profit of theyr flocke.

And likewiſe, that they ſhould ſee prouided and ſet vp ſome moſt conuenient and open place of euery their ſeuerall Churches, one great Bibe in engliſh, & one booke of the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus vpon the goſpels, both in Engliſh, that the people might reuerentlye without any argument or contention, read & heare the ſame at ſuch times as they liſted: and not to be inhibited therfrõ by the Parſon or Curate, but rather to be the more encouraged and prouoked thereto.

And that the ſayd Parſons and Curates ſhould not at any time (but for neceſſary cauſes) haunt anye Tauerne or Ale houſe, neither ſhould ſpend their time idlely in vnlawfull games, but at all theyr conuenient leaſures ſhoulde geue thẽſelues to the reading or hearing of the holy ſcriptures.

Moreouer, that in the time of confeſſion euery Lent, they ſhould examine theyr pariſhners whether they could ſay the Lordes prayer, the ten commaundementes, and the articles of the Chriſtian fayth: and that if they coulde not, they ſhould then reproue them, declaring further vnto thẽ that, they ought not to preſume to come vnto yͤ Lordes table without the true knowledge therof, and earneſt deſire to fulfill the ſame.

Alſo that they ſhoulde not admitte any man to preache within theyr cures, but ſuche as were lawefully licenſed therunto: and that they hauing at anye tyme before extolled and prayſed any Idolatrous Pilgrimage, or other ſuperſtition, ſhould now openly recant the ſame before the people.

And if there were any open hinderer or diſturber of the reading or preaching of the word of God within their pariſhes, that then they ſhould forthwith detect the ſame vnto the kinges counſell, or vnto ſome Iuſtice of peace to thẽ next inhabiting.

And further, that learning and knowledge might be yͤ better mayntayned, it was alſo ordeined herein, that euery beneficed perſõ yͭ mought yerely diſpend twenty poundes or vpward (and not reſident vpon their cures) ſhould pay towardes the reliefe of the poore within theyr pariſhes euery yeare, the fourty part of theyr fruites and profites; & likewiſe that euery ſuche as might diſpende one hundreth poundes yearely or more, ſhould for euery hundreth poũd geue a competent exhibition vnto ſome poore ſcholer within one of the Vniuerſityes of Oxford or Cambridge or els in ſome other grammer ſchole of the realme.

And alſo that euery prieſt being vnder the degree of a Bacheler of Diuinity ſhould haue of his owne, one newe Teſtament in Engliſh and Latine, with the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus vpon the ſame, and ſhould diligẽtly read and ſtudy therupon, and ſhould collect and keep in memory all ſuch comfortable places of the ſcripture, as do ſet forth the mercy, benefites, and goodnes of almighty God towardes all penitent & beleuing perſons, that they might therby cõfort theyr flock in al daũger of death, diſpayre or trouble of conſcience: and that therfore euery biſhop in theyr viſitations ſhould from time to time try and examine them how they had profited in theſe theyr ſtudyes.

And although the Maſſe was then ſtill by the Law reteyned, yet was it enioyned, that at euery high maſſe the ſayer or ſinger therof ſhould openly and diſtinctly read the Goſpell and Epiſtle in Engliſh, in the Pulpit or in ſome other conuenient place that the people mought heare the ſame. And in like place and maner ſhould read euery holy day and Sonday at Mattins one chapter of the new Teſtament in Engliſh, omitting therfore three of theyr 9. Latine Leſſons with theyr Reſpondes: and at Euenſong likewiſe immediately after Magnificat, one chapter of the old Teſtament in ſtead of theyr wonted Reſpondes and Memories.

Furthermore, becauſe of the vayne contention that often fall among the people for goyng on Proceſſion, it was ordeined that thenceforth the Prieſts and Clerkes ſhould kneele in the midſt of the Church, & there diſtinctly ſing or reade the Letany in Engliſh ſette forth by the authority of K. Henry the eight: and that no perſon ſhould depart the church in the time of reading the Scripture or the Letany, or during the time of any Sermon, without iuſt and vrgent cauſe.

Likewiſe that the people ſhould ſpend the holydaies in hearing the word of God, in priuate and publick prayers, in knowledging theyr offences vnto God and amendmẽt of the ſame, in reconciling themſelues charitablye to theyr neighbors where diſpleaſure hath bene, in often receiuing the Communnion of the body and bloud of Chriſt, in viſiting the poore & ſicke, & in all ſober and godly conuerſatiõ: and not in vanity, idlenes, or dronkenes, neither yet in any bodily labor, otherwiſe then in yͤ time of harueſt, to ſaue the fruites of the earth, if neceſſity ſo required: and that no curate ſhould admit vnto the receiuing of the holy cõmunion, any perſon who had maliciouſly and opẽly contẽded with his neighbors, vnleſſe the ſame did firſt alſo openly reconcile himſelfe agayne, and remit all rancor and malice whatſoeuer.

Diligent preparation to be had before the comming to the Communion.

Moreouer it was ordeined that euery Dean, Archdeacon maſter of Collegiat Churches or Hoſpitals, and Prebendaries (being Prieſt) ſhould himſelfe perſonally preach twiſe euery yeare at the leaſt, in ſome ſuch place where hee had iuriſdiction and liuing: and that they and all other curates ſhould teach yͤ people that as no man of any priuate affection ought maliciouſly to violate any ceremony in the Church, then not abrogated by yͤ kings authority: ſo likewiſe they ought not on the other ſide to vſe them ſuperſtitiouſly or idolatrouſly, in attributing to them remiſſion of ſinnes, driuing away of euill ſpirits, & other ſuch like dreames & fãtaſies of men, or els in putting any confidence of ſaluation or health in thẽ. And farther that they ſhould vtterly take away and deſtroy all Shrines and Monumẽts of fayned Miracles, Pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous ſuperſtition, as well in theyr Churches, as wythin theyr priuate houſes.

A godly charge geuen to euery beneficed miniſter to preach perſonally twiſe at leaſt in the yeare and what to preach.

All monuments of Idolatry to be taken away out of Churches, houſes, & windowes.

Alſo that they ſhould ſee prouided within their churches a ſtrong and fit cheſt for the ſafe keping of yͤ peoples beneuolence geuen towards the reliefe of the poore, and that the ſayd Curates ſhould earneſtly exhort and moue theyr Pariſhioners (eſpecially at the making of theyr Teſtaments) that as they had bene thertofore willing to beſtow much of theyr ſubſtance vpon vayne ſuperſtitions & blind deuotiõs contrary to gods word, ſo now they would be much more readier to geue ſom portion therof vnto theyr poore & nedy brethren, knowing the ſame to be not only commaũded in yͤ word of God, but alſo promiſed to be rewarded. And for the better reliefe of the poore it was alſo appoynted that all mony & profits riſing vpon Fraternities, guildes, ſtocks of Churches or geuen to the finding of Idolatrous lights ſhould be cõuerted for that preſent vnto the ſame vſe. Laſt of all, for the want of learned Curates & other good preachers, it was enioyned that yͤ Curates (hauing no ſermõ) ſhould euery ſõday read vnto the people in their churches one of the homilies which ſhould be ſhortly ſet forth for yͤ ſame purpoſe by the kinges authority: & that whẽ any homily or ſermõ ſhould be preached or read, then the Prime and Houres ſhould be omitted.

A cheſt to be prouided vpon publicke charge to receaue the almes of the poore, & the Curates to call vpon their pariſhioners to geue to the ſame cheſt.

Homelies to be read euery ſonday when there is no ſermon.

There were alſo diuers other articles in the ſame Iniunctiõs appoynted for comelines & due order in the churches: as for repayring of Chauncels and Prieſtes houſes, for keeping of a Regiſter booke of weddinges, chriſtenings and burials, for reading of theſe Iniunctions euery quarter for due paying of tithes for forbidding of any other alteration of ſeruice in the Church, or faſting dayes, for making of comely Pulpits for the preachers, for auoyding of ſimony in buying and ſelling of benefices of the charitable vſing of Prieſtes, for praying onely vpon the Engliſh and Latine primmers ſet forth by K. Henry the eight for yͤ teaching of his grammer in the common ſcholes. At laſt that the Chauntry Prieſtes ſhould teach yong children, eyther to write and read, or els ſome other good and profitable exerciſes: as it doth more fully and amply apeare in the ſame Iniunctions at large ſet forth in the 684. page of the fyrſte booke of the Actes and Monuments of the church heretofore imprinted.

Read the former edition of the booke of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 684.

Beſides theſe generall Iniunctions for the whole eſtate of the Realme, there were alſo certayne others particularly appoynted for the Biſhops onely, which being deliuered vnto the Commiſſioners, were likewiſe by theyr viſitations committed vnto the ſayd byſhops with charge to be inuiolably obſerued and kept vpon payne of the kinges Maieſties diſpleaſure: the effect whereof is as in maner foloweth.

First that they ſhould to the vttermoſt of theyr wit and vnderſtanding, ſee & cauſe al and euery ſinguler the kings Iniunctions theretofore geuen, or after to bee geuen from time to time, in and through our Dioces, duely, faythfully and truely to be kept, abſerued and accompliſhed, and that they ſhould perſonally preach within theyr Dioces, euery quarter of a yeare once at yͤ leaſt, that is to ſay once in theyr Cathedrall Churches, and thriſe in other ſeueral places of theyr Dioceſſes, wheras they ſhould ſee it moſt conueniẽt and neceſſary, except they had a reaſonable excuſe to the cõtrary. Likewiſe, that they ſhould not reteine into their ſeruice or houſhold, any chaplein but ſuch as were learned, or able to preach the word of God, and thoſe they ſhould alſo cauſe to exerciſe the ſame.

{ Anno 1547. }

Iniunctions geuen to the Biſhops.

Moreouer, that they ſhould not geue orders to any perſon, but ſuch as were learned in holy Scripture: neyther ſhould deny thē that were learned in the ſame, being of honeſt conuerſatiō and liuing. And laſt, that they ſhould not at any time or place preach or ſet forth vnto the people any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and entent cōteined and ſet forth in the kings highnes homelies, neither yet ſhould admitte or geue licence to preach to any within theyr dioceſſes, but to ſuch as they ſhould know (or at the leaſt aſſuredly truſt) would do the ſame. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proued, they ſhould perceiue yͤ cōtrary, they ſhould then incontinent not onely inhibite that perſon ſo offending, but alſo puniſh him and reuoke theyr licence.

A Parliament called in the firſt yeare of king Edward.

Nowe during the time that the Commiſſioners were occupied abroad in theyr circuits about the ſpedy and diligent execution of theſe godly & zelous orders and decrees of the king and his counſell, his maieſty (with the aduiſe of the ſame) yet ſtill deſiring a farther reformation as well in this caſe of religiō, as alſo in ſome others of his Ciuill gouernment, appointed a parliamēt of the three eſtates of his Realme to be ſummoned agaynſt the 4. day of Nouēber, in the firſt yeare of his raigne and the yeare of our Lorde. 1547. which continued vnto the 24. day of December then next folowing. In the which Seſſion, for as much as hys highnes minded the gouernaunce and order of his people to be in perfect vnity & concord in al things, and eſpecially in the true fayth and religion of God, and therewithal alſo duely wayed the great daunger that his louing Subiects were in for confeſſing the goſpell of Chriſt, through many and diuers cruell ſtatuts made by ſondry his predeceſſors, againſt the ſame (which being ſtil left in force mought both cauſe the obſtinate to contēn his graces godly procedings, and alſo the weak to be fearefull of theyr chriſtianlike profeſſion) he therfore cauſed it among other things by the authority of the ſame parliament to be enacted, that all Actes of Parliament & Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning religion or opinions, that is to ſay (as well yͤ ſtatute made in the firſt yeare of the reigne of king Rich. the ſecond, and the ſtatute made in the ſecond yeare of the reigne of King Henry the fift, and the ſtatute made in the 25. yeare of the raigne of K. Henry. 8. cōcerning puniſhment and reformation of hereticks and Lollards and euery prouiſion therein conteined, and the Statutes made for the aboliſhment of diuerſity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian religion commōly called the 6. Articles, made in the 31. yeare of the raigne of K. Henry 8. & alſo the ſtatute made in the Parliamēt begon the 16. day of Ianuary in the 33. yeare of the reigne of the ſayd K. Hēry the 8. and after prorogued vnto the 21. day of Ianuary in the 24. yeare of his ſayd raigne, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning bookes of the olde and new Teſtament in Engliſh, & the printing, vttering, ſelling, geuing, or deliuering of bookes or writings, and reteining of engliſh bookes or writinges, and reading preaching, teaching, or expounding the ſcriptures, or in any wiſe touching, mētioning or cōcerning any of the ſayd matters: And alſo one other ſtatute made in the 35 yeare of the Raigne of the ſayd K. Henry 8. concerning the qualification of the Statute of the ſixe Articles, and all and euery other act or acts, of parliament concerning doctrine or matters of religion, and al and euery braunch, article, ſentence, matter, paines, or forfaytures conteined, mētioned, or in any wiſe declared many of the ſame Actes or Statutes) ſhould from thenceforth be vtterly repealed, made voyd, and of none effect.

Statut. an. 1. Reg. Edwardi. 6. Cap. 12.

The ſtatute made An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. An. Reg Hen. 5. An. 25. Reg. Hē. 8. Item An. 31. Henr. 8. An. 34. Henr. 8. An. 35. Henr. 8. repealed. Item note for the ſtatute, An. 2. Reg. Hē. 4. cp. 15. becauſe that ſtatute was repealed by an eſtatute made 25. an. Henr. 8. therefore the ſame is here omitted. The bloudy ſtatute of the 6. articles repealed..

By occaſion wherof, as wel al ſuch his godly ſubiects as were then ſtill abiding within this Realme, had free liberty publickely to profeſſe the Goſpel: as alſo many learned & zealous preachers (before baniſhed) were now both licenſed freely to returne home agayne, & alſo encouraged boldly and faythfully to trauel in theyr fūction and calling, ſo that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreouer in the ſame Seſſion his Maieſtye with the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons in the ſame Parliament aſſembled, throughly vnderſtanding by the iudgement of the beſt learned, that it was more agreable vnto yͤ firſt inſtitution of the ſacrament of the moſt precious body and bloud of our Sauior Chriſt, and alſo more conformable to the common vſe and practiſe both of the Apoſtles, and of the primatiue Churche, by the ſpace of fyue hundreth yeares and more after Chriſtes Aſcenſion, that the ſayde holye Sacrament ſhoulde bee miniſtred vnto all Chriſten people vnder both the kindes of bread and wine, then vnder the forme of bread onely, and alſo that it was more agreable vnto the ſayd firſt inſtitution of Chriſt and the vſage of the Apoſtles and primatiue Churche, that the people being preſēt ſhould receiue the ſame with the prieſt then that the prieſt ſhould receiue it alone: dyd by theyr authority moreouer enacte, that the ſayde holy Sacrament ſhould be from thēceforth commonly deliuered and miniſtred vnto the people throughout the churches of Englād and Ireland and other the kinges dominiōs vnder both yͤ kindes of bread and of wine, except neceſſity otherwiſe required: and alſo, that the Prieſt that ſhould miniſter the ſame, ſhould at the leaſt one day before, exhort all perſons which ſhould be preſent, likewiſe to reſort & prepare themſelues to receiue the ſame. And at yͤ day prefixed, after ſome godly exhortation made by the miniſter (wherin ſhould be further expreſſed the benefit and comfort promiſed to them which worthely receiue this holy Sacrament, & the daunger and indignation of God threatned to them which preſume to receiue the ſame vnworthely, to the end that euery man might try and examine his owne conſcience before he ſhould come thereunto) the ſayd Miniſter ſhoulde not without a lawfull cauſe denye the ſame to any perſon that would deuoutly and humbly deſire it: any Law, Statute, ordinaunce, or cuſtome, contrary therunto in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

After which moſt godly conſent of the parliament, the king being no leſſe deſirous to haue the forme of adminiſtration of the Sacrament truely reduced to the ryght rule of the ſcriptures and firſt vſe of the primatiue church, then he was to eſtabliſh the ſame by the authority of his owne regall lawes appoynted certain of the moſt graue and beſt learned Biſhops and others of his Realme, to aſſemble together at his Caſtle of Windſor, there to argue and entreat vpon this matter, and conclude vpon and ſet forth one perfect and vniforme order according to the rule and vſe aforeſayd.

And in the meane while that the learned were thus occupyed about theyr conferences, the Lord Protectour and the reſt of the kinges Councell, farther remembring that that time of the yere did then approch, wherin were practiſed many ſuperſtitious abuſes and blaſphemous ceremonies agaynſt the glory of God, and trueth of his word (determining the vtter aboliſhing thereof) directed theyr letters vnto the godly and reuerend father Thomas Cranmer, then Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, & Metropolitane of England, requiring him that vpon the receit thereof he ſhould will euery Biſhop within his Prouince, forthwith to geue in charge vnto all the Curates of theyr Dioceſſes, that neither candles ſhould be any more borne vpō Candlemas day, neither yet aſhes vſed in Lent, nor Palmes vpon palme Sonday.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop zealouſly fauouring thee good and Chriſtianlike purpoſe of the king and his Cōſell, did immediately in that behalfe write vnto all the reſt of the Biſhops of that prouince, and amongeſt them vnto Edmund Boner then Biſhop of London. Of whoſe rebellious and obſtinate contumacy, for that we haue hereafter more to ſay, I thought not to ſtand long hereupon, but onely by the way ſomewhat to note his former diſſimulation and cloked hipocriſy in that he outwardly at the firſt conſented as well vnto this, as alſo vnto all other the kinges proceedinges (but whether of feare or of any other ſubtle fetch, I know not, howbeit moſt like, rather for one of them or both, then for any true loue.) And therefore receiuing the Archbiſhops letters as one of them ſeeming to allow the contentes thereof, he did preſently write vnto the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, & to others, to whom he was appoynted, requiring them to geue ſuch knowledge therof in theyr dioceſſes, as thereunto apperteyned: as more plainely appeareth by theſe his owne letters here inſerted which here do folow.

¶ A Letter miſſiue of Edmund Boner ſent to the Byſhop of Weſtminſter, with the tenour of the Archbiſhops Letter for aboliſhing of candles, Aſhes, Palmes, and other Ceremonies.

My very good Lord, after moſt harty commendations, theſe be to aduertiſe your good Lordſhip that my Lord of Canterburyes grace this preſent 28. day of Ianuary ſent vnto me hys letters miſsiue, cōteing this in effect: that my Lord Protectours Grace with the aduiſe of other the kinges maieſties moſt honorable Counſell. for certayne conſiderations them mouing, are fully reſolued that no candles ſhall be borne vpon Candlemas day, nor alſo from henceforth Aſhes or Palmes vſed any longer, requiring me thereupon by his ſayd letters, to cauſe admonitiō and knowledge thereof to be geuen vnto your Lordſhip and other Byſhops with celerity accordingly. In conſideration wherof I do ſend at this preſēt theſe letters vnto your ſayd Lordſhip, that you therupon may geue knowledge & aduertiſement therof within your Dioces as appertayneth: Thus committing your good Lordſhip to almighty God, as wel to fare as your good hart can beſt deſire. Written in haſt at my houſe in London, the ſaid 18 day of Ianuary. 1548.

Your good Lordſhips to command,
Edmund London.

Now about that preſent tyme credible and certain report was made vnto the Lords of the counſaile, that great contention and ſtrife did daily ariſe among the common people in diuers partes of this Realme, for the pullyng downe and takyng away of ſuch Images out of the churches, as had bene idolatrouſly abuſed by pilgrimage, offerings, or otherwyſe (accordyng to the tenure of one of the Iniunctions geuen by the kyng in his late viſitation) ſome affirmyng that that Image was abuſed, others that this, and moſt, that neyther of them both: ſo that if ſpeedy remedy were not had therein, it might turne to further inconuenience. Wherefore they, by one aduiſe thinkyng it beſt (of good experience) for the auoidyng of all diſcorde and tumult, that all maner Images ſhould be cleane taken out of all Churches, and none ſuffered to remayne, did thereupon agayne write their letters vnto the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, requiring his ready ayde therein in maner followyng.

Another Letter of the Counſaile ſent to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury for the aboliſhing of Images.

After our right harty commendations to your good Lordſhip where now of late in the Kings Maieſties viſitations, among other godly Iniunctions commaunded to be generally obſerued thorough all partes of this his highneſſe Realme, one was ſet forth for the takyng downe of all ſuch Images as had at any tyme bene abuſed with Pilgrimages, offerings or cenſings: albeit that this ſayd Iniunction hath in many partes of the realme bene quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much ſtryfe and contention hath riſen, and daily riſeth, and more and more encreaſeth about the execution of the ſame: ſome men beyng ſo ſuperſtitious, or rather wilfull, as they would (by theyr good wils) retayne all ſuch Images ſtill, although they haue bene moſt manifeſtly abuſed. And in ſome places alſo the Images which by the ſayd Iniunctions were taken downe, be now reſtored and ſet vp agayne. And almoſt in euery place is contention for Images, whether they haue bene abuſed or not. And whiles theſe men go on both ſides contentiouſly to obtayne theyr myndes, contendyng whether this Image or that Image hath bene offered vnto, kiſſed, cenſed, or otherwyſe abuſed, partes haue in ſome places bene taken, in ſuch ſort, as further inconueniēcies be lyke to enſue, if remedy be not found in tyme. Conſidering therefore, that almoſt in no place of this realme is any ſure quietnes, but where all Images be cleane taken away, and pulled downe alreadye, to the entent that all contention in euery part of the Realme for this matter, may be clearely taken away, and that the liuelye Image of Chriſt ſhould not contend for the dead Images, which be things not neceſſary, and without the which the Churches of Chriſt continued moſt godly many yeres, we haue thought good to ſignifie vnto you that his highneſſe pleaſure, with the aduiſe & conſent of vs the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Counſaile, is, that immediatly vpon the ſight hereof, with as conuenient diligence as you may, you ſhall not onely geue order that all the Images remayning in any Church or Chappell within your Dioceſſe be remoued and taken away, but alſo by your letters ſignifie vnto the reſt of the biſhops within your Prouince, this hys hyghneſſe pleaſure for the lyke order to be geuen by them, and euery of them within theyr ſeuerall Dioceſſe. And in the executiō hereof, we require both you and the reſt of the ſayd Biſhops, to vſe ſuch foreſight as the ſame may be quietly done, with as good ſatiſfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordſhip hartely well. From Somerſet place, the xi. of Febr. 1541.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing frendes.

Edw. Somerſet.
Hen. Arundel.
Anth. Wingfield.
Iohn Ruſſell.
Tho. Semer.
Wil. Paget.

When the Archb. had receiued theſe letters, he forthwith directed his precept vnto Boner B. of London, requiring, and in the kings maieſties name commaundyng him, that with all ſpeede he ſhould as well geue in charge vnto the reſt of the biſhops within the prouince of Caunterbury, to looke immediately without delay vnto the diligent and carefull execution of the contents of the ſayd letter throughout all places of their Dioces: as alſo that he himſelfe ſhould do the lyke within his owne citie & dioces of London. Whereupon he ſeming then with like outward conſent as before, to allow theſe doyngs, preſently (by vertue of the ſayd precept) did ſend out hys Mandatum as well vnto the reſt of the biſhops, as alſo agayne vnto the B. of Weſtminſter, in forme followyng.

¶The Letter of Edmund Boner, ſent with the Archbiſhops Mandate, to the biſhop of Weſtminſter for aboliſhyng of Images.

Boners letter to the Byſhop at Weſtminſter, for aboliſhing of Images.

Edmundus permiſſione diuina London. Epiſcopus per illuſtriſſimum in Chriſto principem & dominum noſtrum, Dominum Edwardum ſextum, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regem, fidei defenſorem & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hybernicæ ſupremum caput, ſufficienter & legitimæ autoriſatus Reuerendo in Chriſto confratri noſtro domino Thomæ eadem permiſſione Weſtm. Epiſcopo, ſalutem & fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas reuerendiſſimi in Chriſto patris & domini D. Thomæ, permiſſione diuina Cantuar. Archiepiſcopi totius Anglię primatis & Metropolitani, tenorem literarum miſſarū clariſſimorum & prudentiſſimorum dominorum de priuatis conſilijs dicti illuſtriſſimi domini Regis in ſe continen. nuper cum ea qua decuit reuerentia humiliter recepimus exequend. in hęc verba. Thomas permiſſione diuina Cant. &c. And then makyng a full recitall as well of the Archbiſhops precept, as alſo of the Counſels letters aboue ſpecified, he concluded with theſe wordes. Quocirca nos Edmund. Epiſc. antedictus, Literis prędictis, pro noſtro officio obtemperare, vti decet, ſummopere cupientes, veſtræ fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentiſſimi Domini noſtri Regis, ac pręfatorum clariſſimorum dominorū de priuatis ſuis conſilijs, quàm prędicti Reuer. patris domini Cant. Archiepiſcopi, tenore pręſentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus attentis & per vos diligenter conſideratis Literarum huiuſmodi tenoribus, eos in omnibus & per omnia, iuxta vim, formam, & effectum earundem cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommoda, per totam Dioceſ. veſtram Weſt. debite & effectualiter exequi faciatis & procuretis. Datum in ædibus noſtris London. viceſimo die Febr. An. Dom. 1548. Et regni dicti illuſtriſſimi domini noſtri Regis. Anno ſecundo.

Now by the tyme that theſe things were thus determined, the learned men which the kyng had appointed (as ye haue heard before) to aſſemble together for the true and right maner of adminiſtring the Sacramente of the body and bloud of Chriſt, accordyng to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and firſt vſage of the Primatiue Churche, after theyr long, learned, wyſe, and deliberate aduiſes, dyd finally conclude and agree vppon one godly and vniforme order of receiuing the ſame, not much differyng from the maner at this preſent vſed & authoriſed within this realm and church of England, commonly called the Communion. Which agreement beyng by them exhibited vnto the kyng, and of hym moſt gladly accepted, was thereupon publikely imprinted, and by his maieſties Councell particularly deuided and ſent vnto euery biſhop of the realme, requiring and commaundyng them by their letters on the kings Maieſties behalfe, that both they in their own perſons, ſhould forthwith haue diligent and carefull reſpect to the due execution thereof, and alſo ſhould with all diligēce cauſe the bookes which they then ſent them, to be deliuered vnto euery Parſon, Vicar, and Curate within their Dioces, that they likewiſe might well and ſufficiently aduiſe themſelues for the better diſtribution of the ſayd communion, according to the tenour of the ſayd booke) agaynſt the feaſt of Eaſter then next enſuyng, as more fully appeareth by theſe their letters here followyng.

An vniforme order of the Communion.

¶Letters Miſſiue from the Counſaile, to the Biſhops of the Realme, concernyng the Communion to be miniſtred in both kyndes.

Anno 1548.

The Communion in both kindes to be miniſtred.

After our moſt harty commendatiōs to your Lordſhip, where in the Parliament late holden at Weſtminſter, it was amongeſt other things moſt godly eſtabliſhed, that according to the firſt inſtitution and vſe of the primatiue church, the moſt holy ſacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauior Ieſus Chriſt, ſhuld be diſtributed to the people vnder the kyndes of bread & wyne (according to the effect whereof, the kinges maieſtie myndyng, with the aduice and conſent of the Lord Protectors grace & the reſt of the Counſaile, to haue the ſayd Statute well executed in ſuch ſort, or lyke as it is agreeable with the word of God, ſo the ſame may be alſo faithfully and reuerently receiued of his moſt louing ſubiects, to their comforts and wealth) hath cauſed ſundry of his maieſties moſt graue and well learned Prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to aſſemble themſelues for this matter: who after long conference together, haue with deliberate aduiſe, finally agreed vpon ſuch an order to be vſed in all places of the kings maieſties dominions, in the diſtribution of the ſayd moſt holy ſacrament, as may apeare to you by the booke thereof, which we ſend herewith vnto you. Albeit knowing your

Lordſhips knowledge in the Scriptures, and earneſt good will & zeale to the ſettyng foorth of all things accordyng to the truth thereof, we be well aſſured, you will of your owne good will, and vpon reſpect to your duetie, diligently ſet forth this moſt godly order here agreed vpon, and commaunded to be vſed by the authoritie of the kyngs maieſtie: yet remembryng the crafty pratiſe of the deuill, who ceaſeth not by his members to worke by al wayes and meanes, the hinderance of all godlines. And conſideryng furthermore, that a great number of the Curates of the Realme, eyther for lacke of knowledge can not, or for want of good mynd will not be ſo redy to ſet forth the ſame, as we would wiſh, and as the importance of the matter, and their owne bounden duties requireth, we haue thought good to pray and require your Lordſhip, and neuertheleſſe in the kings maieſties our moſt dread Lordes name, to commaund you to haue an earneſt diligence and carefull reſpect both in your owne perſon, and by all your officers and Miniſters, alſo to cauſe theſe bookes to be deliuered to euery Perſon, Vicar, and Curate within your Dioceſſe, with ſuch diligence as they may haue ſufficient tyme well to inſtruct and aduiſe themſelues, for the diſtribution of the moſt holy Communion, accordyng to the order of this booke, before this Eaſter tyme, and that they may by your good meanes be well directed to vſe ſuch good, gentle, and charitable inſtruction of their ſimple and vnlearned pariſhioners, as may be to all their good ſatiſfactions as much as may be, praying you to conſider, that this order is ſet forth, to the intent there ſhould be in all partes of the Realme, and among all men one vniforme manner quietly vſed. The execution whereof, lyke as it ſhall ſtand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation: ſo doe we eftſoones require you to haue a diligent reſpect thereunto, as ye tender the kings Maieſties pleaſure, and will aunſwer for the contrary. And thus we bidde your Lordſhip right hartily farewell. From Weſtminſter the 13. of March. 1548.

Your Lordſhips louyng friends

Tho. Canterbury.
R. Rich.
W. Saint Iohn.
Iohn Ruſſell.
Hen. Arundel.

Anth. Wingfield.
W. Peter.
Edward North.
Ed. Wootton.

By meanes as well of this letter, and the godly order of the learned, as alſo of the ſtatute and acte of parliament before mentioned, made for the ſtabliſhyng thereof all priuate blaſphemous Maſſes were now, by iuſt authoritie fully aboliſhed throughout this realme of England, and the right vſe of the Sacrament of the moſt precious body & bloud of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, truely reſtored in ſtead of the ſame. But neuertheles, as at no tyme any thing can be ſo well done of the godly, but that the wicked will find ſome meanes ſubtilly to deface the ſame: ſo likewyſe at this preſent through the peruerſe obſtinacy & diſſembling frowardnes of many the inferior prieſts and miniſters of the cathedrall and other churches of this realme, there did aryſe a meruailous ſchiſme and varietie of faſhions in celebratyng the common ſeruice and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of yͤ church. For ſome zealouſly allowyng the kyngs proceedings, dyd gladly follow the order thereof, and others, though not ſo willingly admittyng them, did yet diſſemblingly and patchingly vſe ſome part of them: but many careleſly cōtemnyng all: would ſtill exerciſe their old wonted popery.

Priuy hinderers of the Goſpell.

Diuiſion among the Prieſtes about the kinges proceedinges.

Wherof the kyng and his Counſell hauyng good intelligence, and fearyng the great inconueniences & daungers that might happen through this diuiſion, and beyng therwithall loth at the firſt to vſe any great ſeuerity towards hys ſubiects, but rather deſirous by ſome quiet and godly order, to bring them to ſome conformitie, did by theyr prudent aduiſes againe, appoynt the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, with certaine of the beſt learned and diſcrete biſhops and other learned men, diligently to conſider and ponder the premiſſes: and thereupon hauyng as well an eye and reſpect vnto the moſt ſincere and pure Chriſtian religion taught by the holy ſcriptures, as alſo to the vſages of the primatiue church, to draw and make one conuenient and meete order, rite, and faſhion of common prayer, & adminiſtration of the Sacraments, to be had and vſed within this his realme of England, and the dominions of yͤ ſame, who after moſt godly and learned conferences, thorough the ayd of the holy Ghoſt, with one vniforme agreement, did cōclude, ſet forth, and deliuer vnto the kings highnes, a booke in Engliſh intituled: A booke of the common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the vſe of the Church of England. The which his highnes receiuing with great comfort and quietneſſe of mynd, did forthwith exhibite vnto the Lords and Commons of the parliament then aſſembled at Weſtminſter, about the 4. of Nouember, in the ſecond yeare of his raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1548. and continuyng vnto the 14. day of March, then next enſuyng.

One vniforme order of commō prayer.

Whereupon the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the Commons of the ſayd Parliament aſſembled, well, and throughly conſideryng as well the moſt godly trauayle of the kings highnes, of the Lord Protector, and other of his maieſties Counſaile, in gatheryng together the ſaid Archbiſhop, biſhops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the ſayd booke mentioned, with the conſideratiō of altering thoſe things which were altered, and retainyng thoſe thynges which were retayned in the ſame booke: as alſo the honour of God, and great quietnes, which by the grace of God ſhould enſue vpon that one and vniforme rite, and order in ſuch common prayer, rites, and externe ceremonies to be vſed throughout England, Wales, Calice, and the marches of the ſame, dyd firſt geue vnto hys highneſſe moſt lowly and hearty thankes for the ſame, and then moſt humbly prayed hym that it myght be ordeyned and enacted by hys Maieſty with the aſſent of the ſayd Lords and Commons in that parliament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame, that not only all and ſingular perſon and perſons that had theretofore offended concernyng the premiſſes (others then ſuch as were then remainyng in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleete) myght be pardoned thereof, but alſo that all and ſingular miniſters in any Cathedrall or pariſh Churches or other places within the Realme of Englād, Wales, Calice, and the Marches of the ſame, or other the kings dominions, ſhould from and after the feaſt of Pentecoſt next commyng, be bounden to ſay and vſe the Matins, Euenſong, celebration of the Lords ſupper, and adminiſtration of ech of the Sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in ſuch order & forme as was mentioned in the ſayd booke, and none other or otherwiſe. And albeit that they were ſo godly and good, that they gaue occaſion vnto euery honeſt and conformable man moſt willyngly to embrace them, yet leaſt any obſtinate perſons who willingly would diſturbe ſo godly an order and quiete in this realme, ſhould not go vnpuniſhed, they further requeſted, that it might be ordeined and enacted by the authoritie aforeſayd, that if any maner of Perſon, Vicar, or other what ſo euer miniſter that ought or ſhould ſay or ſing common prayer, mencioned in the ſayd booke, or miniſter the Sacraments, ſhould after the ſayd feaſt of Pentecoſt then next commyng, refuſe to vſe the ſayd common praier, or to miniſter the Sacraments in ſuch cathedrall or pariſh churches, or other places as he ſhoulde vſe or miniſter the ſame, in ſuch order & fourme as they were mentioned, & ſet forth in the ſayd booke: or ſhould vſe wilfully & obſtinately ſtandyng in the ſame, any other rite, ceremonie, order, fourme, or maner of maſſe, openly, or priuily, or Mattinnes, Euenſong, adminiſtration of the Sacraments, or other open prayer then was mentioned and ſet forth in the ſayd booke: or ſhould preache, declare, or ſpeake any thyng in the derogation or deprauyng of the ſayde booke, or any thyng therein conteyned, or of any parte thereof, and ſhould be thereof lawfully conuicted accordyng to the lawes of this Realme by verdite of twelue men, or by his owne confeſſion, or by the notorious euidence of the fact, ſhould looſe and forfayte vnto the Kynges hyghneſſe hys heyres & ſucceſſours, for hys firſt offence one whole yeres profite of ſuch one of his benefices or ſpirituall promotiōs as it ſhould pleaſe the kings highnes to aſſigne & appoint and alſo for the ſame offence ſhould ſuffer inpriſonmēt by the ſpace of ſixe monthes, without bayle or mainpriſe. But if any ſuch perſon, after his firſt conuiction, ſhould eftſones offend agayne, and be thereof in forme aforeſayd lawfully cōuicted, then he ſhould for his ſecond offence ſuffer impriſonment by yͤ ſpace of one whol yeare, & ſhould alſo be depriued Ipſo facto, of all his ſpirituall promotions for euer, ſo that it ſhould be lawfull for the patrons & Doners thereof to geue the ſame agayne vnto any other learned man, in like maner as if yͤ ſayd partie ſo offending were dead. And if any the ſayd perſon or perſons ſhoulde agayne the thyrd tyme offend, and be thereof in forme aforeſayd lawfully cōuicted, then he ſhuld for the ſame 3. offence ſuffer impriſonment during his life. If any ſuch perſon or perſons aforeſaid, ſo offending, had not any benefice or ſpiritual promotion, yͭ then he ſhoulde for his firſt offence ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of vi. monthes without bayle or maynpriſe, and for his ſecond offence, impriſonment during hys life. Which requeſt or rather actuall agreement of yͤ lordes and commons of the Parliament beyng once vnderſtode of the kyng, was alſo ſoone ratified and confirmed by hys regall conſent and authoritie, and therupon the ſayd booke of common prayer was preſently imprinted, and commāded to be exerciſed throughout the whole Realme and dominions thereof, accordyng to the tenure and effect of the ſayd Statute.

Moreouer, in the ſame Seſsion of the ſayd Parliamēt, it was enacted and eſtabliſhed by the authoritie thereof: that for as much as great, horrible, and not to be rehearſed inconueniences had from tyme to tyme riſen amongſt the prieſts, miniſters, and other officers of the clergy through their compelled chaſtitie, and by ſuch lawes as prohibited them the godly and lawfull vſe of mariage: that therefore all and euery law and lawes poſitiue, canons, conſtitutions and ordinances theretofore made by the authoritie of man onely, which did prohibite or forbid mariage to any eccleſiaſticall or ſpirituall perſon or perſones, of what eſtate, condition or degree ſo euer they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by gods law may lawfully marry, in all and euery article, braunche and ſentence concernyng onely the prohibition for the mariage of the perſons aforeſayd, ſhould be vtterly voyd and of none effect. And that all maner of forfaitures, paynes, penalties crimes or actions, which were in the ſayd lawes conteyned, and of the ſame dyd follow, concernyng the prohibition for the mariage of the ſayd Eccleſiaſticall perſons, ſhuld be thenceforth alſo clearely and vtterly voyde, fruſtrate, and of none effect. By occaſion whereof, it was thenceafter ryght lawfull for any Eccleſiaſticall perſon, not hauyng the gift of chaſtitie, moſt godly to liue in the pure and holy eſtate of matrimony, according to the lawes & worde of God.

Lawes and ...ſtitutiōs ...gainſt ...rieſtes ma- ...age debar- ...d.

...riage of ...ieſtes ſet ...e.

But if the firſt Iniunctions, ſtatutes, and decrees of the Prince were of many but ſlenderly regarded, with muche leſſe good affection were theſe (eſpecially the booke of common praier) of diuers now receiued: yea, and that of ſome of them, which had alwayes before in outward ſhew willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth moſt plainly (amongſt others) by Boner the B. of London. who although by his former letters & other mandates, he ſeemed hitherto to fauour all the kings proceedings: yet did he at that preſent (notwithſtanding both the firſt ſtatute for the ſtabliſhing of the Communion, and the aboliſhyng of all priuate maſſes, and alſo this Statute of the ratifieng and confirming of the booke of Common prayer) ſtill ſuffer ſundry idolatrous priuate maſſes of peculiar names (as the Apoſtles maſſe, the Lady maſſe and ſuch lyke) to be dailye ſolemnly ſung within certaine perticular chappels of hys cathedrall church of Paules, cloking them with the names of the apoſtles communion, and our Ladies communion, not once findyng any fault therewith, vntill ſuch tyme as the Lordes of the Counſaile hauyng intelligence thereof, were fayne by their letters to commaund hym to looke better thereunto. And then beyng therewith ſomewhat pricked forwards (perhaps by feare) he was content to direct hys letters vnto the Deane and Chapter of his cathedrall church of Paules, thereby requeſting them forthwith to take ſuch order therein, as the tenure of the Counſailes ſayd letters therwithall ſent vnto them, did import. which both two letters I haue, for the more credite, here followyng inſerted.

...dmund ...ner B. of ...ndon.

¶A Letter directed from the Kings Counſaile, to Edmund Boner B. of London, for abrogating of priuate Maſſes, namely, the Apoſtles Maſſe, within the church of S. Paule, vſed vnder the name of the Apoſtles Communion.

...ther ...ers to ...er for ...ogating ...ate ...ſſes.

After harty commendation: Hauing very credible notice that within that your cathedral church, there be as yet the Apoſtles maſſe, and our Ladies maſſe, and other maſſes of ſuch peculiar name, vnder the defence & nomination of our Ladies communion, and the Apoſtles communion, vſed in priuate chappels and other remote places of the ſame, and not in the Chauncell, contrary vnto the kings maieſties proceedings, the ſame beyng for the miſuſe, diſpleaſing to God, for the place of Paules, in example not tollerable, for the fondnes of the name, a ſcorne to the reuerence of the communion of the Lords body and bloud: we for the augmentation of gods glory and honour and the conſonance of his maieſties lawes, and the auoyding of murmure, haue thought good to will & command you that from henceforth no ſuch maſſes in this manner be in your church any longer vſed, but that the holy bleſſed communion according to the acte of Parliament, be miniſtred at the high aultar of the church, and in no other places of the ſame, & onely at ſuch tyme as your high maſſes were wont to be vſed, except ſome number of people deſire for their neceſſary buſineſſe to haue a communion in the mornyng, and yet the ſame to bee executed in the Chauncell at the high aulter, as it is appoynted in the booke of the publike ſeruice, without cautele or digreſſion from the common order. And herein you ſhal not onlye ſatiſfie our expectation of your conformitie in all lawfull things, but alſo auoyd the murmure of ſundry that be therwith iuſtly offended. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip hartely farewell. From Richmond, the 24. of Iune, an. 1549.

...Apo- ...Maſſe ...downe ...aules.

Your louing friendes

E.Somerſet.
W.Saint Iohn.
Ed.Montague.

R.Rich.Chan.
Fra.Shrewsbury.
W.Cecill.

¶To my right worſhipfull friendes, and moſt louyng good brethren, M. Deane of Paules, with all the Canons, Reſidentaries, Prebendaries, Subdeanes and Miniſters of the ſame, and euery of them with ſpeede.

Boners letter to the Deane and Chapter of Paules.

Right worſhipfull, with moſt harty commendations. So it is this Wenſday the xxvi. of Iune, goyng to dynner, I receaued letters from the kynges Counſell by a Purſiuaunt, and the ſame I doe ſend now herewith vnto you, to the intent you may peruſe them well, and proceede accordyngly: praying you in caſe all be not preſent, yet thoſe that be now reſident and ſupplying the places, may in their abſence call the company together of the Church, and make declaratiō hereof vnto them: Thus committyng you to God, right well to fare. Written with ſpeede this xxvi. of Iune, at one of the clocke.

Your louyng brother Ed. London.

Ouer and beſides all this, the Lord Protectour, wyth the reſidue of the kings priuie and learned Counſel aſſemblyng together in the Starre chamber about the ſame matter, that is, for the aduancement and ſetting forward of the kings ſo godly proceedings, called before them all the Iuſtices of peace, where was vttered vnto them by the Lord Rich, then Lord Chauncellour, an eloquent and learned admonition, the tenor wherof enſueth.

An exhortation or admonition vnto the Iuſtices of peace.

It hath bene vſed and accuſtomed before this tyme to call at certayne tymes the Iuſtices of peace before the Kings Maieſties Counſaile, to geue vnto them admonition or warnyng, diligently (as is their dutie) to looke to the obſeruing of ſuch thyngs as be committed to theyr charges, according to the truſt which the Kinges Maieſtie hath in them. Howbeit, now at this tyme we call you before vs, not onely of cuſtome, but rather of neceſsitie. For hearyng daily, and perceiuing of neceſsitie as we do, the great negligence, and the little heed which is taken and geuen to the obſeruyng of the good and wholeſome lawes and orders in this realme, wherupon much diſorder doth daily enſue, and the kings maieſties proclamations and orders taken by the Counſaile (as we are aduertiſed) not executed, the people are brought to diſobedience, and in a maner all his Maieſties ſtudy and ours, in ſetting a good and moſt godly ſtay, to the honour of God, and the quiet of the Realme, is ſpent in vayne, and come to nothing, The which as we haue great hope and truſt, not to be altogether ſo, yet ſo much as it is, and ſo much as it lacketh of keepyng the Realme in a moſt godly order and ſtay, we muſt needes impute and lay the fault thereof in you which are the Iuſtices of peace in euery Shiere, to whom we are woont to direct our writinges, and to whoſe truſt and charge, the Kings Maieſtie hath committed the execution of all hys Proclamations, of hys actes of Parliament, and of hys lawes.

Iuſtices ſlacke in furthering of Religion.

We are informed that many of you are ſo negligent and ſo ſlacke herein, that it doth appeare you do look rather, as it were, through your fingers, then diligently ſee to the execution of the ſayd lawes and Proclamations. For if you would, according to your duties, to your othe, to the truſt which the kinges Maieſty hath in you, geue your diligēce and care toward the execution of the ſame moſt godly Statutes and Iniunctions, there ſhould no diſobedience, nor diſorder, nor euill rule be begon or ariſe in any part of the realme, but it ſhould by and by be repreſſed, kept downe, & reformed. But it is feared, and the thing it ſelfe geueth occaſion therto, that diuers of you do not onely not ſet forth, but rather hinder, ſo much as lyeth in you, the Kings maieſties proceedinges, and are content that there ſhould ariſe ſome diſobedience, and that mē ſhould repine againſt godly orders ſet forth by his maieſty: you do ſo ſlackly looke to the execution of the ſame: So that in ſome ſhyres which be further off, it may appeare that the people haue neuer heard of diuers of his maieſtyes proclamations, or if they haue heard, you are content to wincke at it & to neglect it, ſo that it is all one as though it were neuer commaunded. But if you do conſider and remember your dueties firſt to almighty God, and then to the Kings maieſtie, the wealth of the whole realme, the ſafegard of your owne ſelues: you muſt needes ſee that except ſuch orders as the kings Maieſtie hath ſet, and hereafter ſhall appoynt, be kept, neither can the realme be defended, if the enemie ſhould inuade, nor in peace it cannot ſtand: but vpon the contempt of good and wholeſome lawes all diſorder and inconueniences ſhould come, the people ſhould be wyld and ſauage, and no man ſure of his owne.

The fruite of obedience in a Realme.

If at any tyme there was occaſion and cauſe to be circūſpect and diligent about the ſame, there was neuer more tyme then now. How we ſtand in Scotland you know, & that their foreine power maketh great preparation to aide them, and in deed doth come to their ayde: wherof we are ſurely informed and certified. Wherfore if there ſhould not be good order and obedience kept in the realme, the realme were lyke vtterly to be deſtroyed. Neuer forreine power could yet hurt, or in any part preuaile in this realm, but by diſobedience and miſorder within our ſelues. That is the way wherwith God will plague vs, if he mynd to puniſh vs. And ſo long as we do agree among our ſelues, and be obedient to our prince, and to his godly orders and laws, we may be ſure that God is with vs, & that foreine power ſhall not preuayle agaynſt vs, nor hurt vs.

Order taken for Iuſtices.

Wherfore once againe, and ſtil we muſt and do lay this charge vpon you that are the better of the ſhiere, and Iuſtices of the peace, that with ſo conuenient ſpeed as you can, you do repayre downe into your Countries, and you ſhal geue warning to the gentlemen of the ſhiere which haue not neceſſarie buſines here, that they repaire downe eche man to his countrey, and there both you and they who be reckoned the ſtay of euery ſhiere, to ſee good order and rule kept: You that your Seſſions of gaole deliuery and quarter Seſſions be well kept, and therein your meetyngs be ſuch, that iuſtice may be wel and truly miniſtred, the offenders and malefactors puniſhed according to the lawes of this Realme, without any feare of any man, or that for fauour you ſhould ſuffer thoſe to eſcape, which with their euill example might bring other to the like miſhap: & that all vagabonds and lewd and light tale tellers and ſeditious bearers of falſe newes of the kings maieſtie, or of hys counſaile, or ſuch as will preach without licence, be immediately by you repreſt and puniſhed.

Prouiſiō againſt priuy conſpiracy & rebellion.

And if there ſhould chaunce any lewd or light fellowes to make any routes or riotes, or vnlawfull aſſemblies, any ſeditious meetings, vprores, or vpriſings in any place by the ſeditions and diueliſh motion of ſome priuy Traitors, that you and they appeaſe them at the firſt, and apprehend the firſt authors and cauſers thereof, and certifie vs with ſpeed. The lightnes of the rude and ignorant people muſt be repreſt and ordered by your grauitie & wiſedome. And here you may not (if any ſuch thing chance) diſſemble with thoſe ſuch lewd men, and hide your ſelues, for it ſhall be required of you if ſuch miſorder be, and ſurely without your ayde and helpe, or your diſſembling, ſuch miſorder can not be. Nor we do not ſay that we feare any ſuch thing or that there is any ſuch thing likely to chaunce: but we geue you warning before, leaſt it ſhould chaunce.

Prouiſion agaynſt foreine power.

We haue to much experience in this realme, what inconuenience commeth of ſuch matters. And though ſome light perſons in their rage do not conſider it, yet we doe not doubt but you way it and know it well enough. And if it ſhould chaunce our enemies (who are mainteyned by other forraine power, and the biſhop of Rome) ſhould ſodainly arriue in ſome place of England, eyther driuen by tempeſt, or of purpoſe to do hurt, ye ſhould ſee ſuch order kept by firing of their Becons, as hath already bene written vnto you by our letters to repulſe the ſame in ſo good aray as you can, as we do not doubt but you will for the ſafegard of your countrey, so that the enemy ſhall haue litle ioy of his comming: and for that purpoſe you ſhall ſee diligently that men haue horſe, harneſſe, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the Statutes and good orders of the realme, and the kings maieſties commandements. And ſo for this tyme ye may depart.

The ſingular zeale of king Edward and his Vncle, in reforming religion.

The ſlacknes of Popiſh Curates in furthering the kinges proceedinges.

What zealous care was in this yong kyng, and in the L. Protector his vncle, concerning reformatiō of Chriſtes Church and ſincere religion, by theſe Iniunctions, letters precepts, and exhortations, as well to the biſhops, as to ye Iuſtices of the realme aboue premiſed, it may right well appeare. Wherby we haue to note, not ſo much the careful diligence of the king and his learned counſaile: as the lingering ſlacknes and drawing backe on the other ſide, of diuers the ſaid Iuſtices and Lawyers, but eſpecially of Biſhops, and old popiſh curates, by whoſe cloked contempt, wilfull winkyng and ſtubburne diſobedience the booke of common prayer was long after the publiſhing therof, eyther not knowen at all, or els very irreuerently vſed throughout many places of this realme. Which when ye king by complaint of diuers, perfectly vnderſtood, beyng not a little agreued, to ſee the godly agrement of the learned, the willyng conſent of the Parliament, and his graces owne zealous deſire to take ſo ſmall effect among his ſubiects: decreed preſently, with the aduiſe of his whole Counſaile, agayne to write vnto all the biſhops of his realme, for ſpedy and diligent redreſſe therin: willing and commanding them therby, that as well they themſelues ſhould thenceforth haue a more ſpeciall regard to the due executiō of the premiſſes, as alſo that all others within their ſeuerall precincts and iuriſdiction ſhould by their good inſtructions & willing example, be the more oftener and with better deuotion, moued to vſe and frequent the ſame. As further appeareth by the contents of hys letter here enſuyng.

¶ Another letter directed by the King and hys Counſaile, to Boner Biſh. of London, partly rebuking hym of negligence, partly chargyng hym to ſee to the better ſettyng out of the ſeruice booke within his Dioceſſe.

An other letter to Boner Biſhop of London.

Right reuerend father in God: right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well: and where as after great and ſerious debating and long conference of the biſhops, and other graue and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one vniforme order for common prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, hath bene and is moſt godly ſet forth, not only by the common agreement and full aſſent of the nobilitie and Commons of the late Seſſion of our late Parliament, but alſo by the lyke aſſent of the biſhops in the ſame Parliament, and of all others the learned mē of this our realme in their Synodes and conuocations prouinciall. Like as it was much to our comfort to vnderſtand the godly trauaile then diligently & willingly taken for the true openyng of things mentioned in the ſayd booke, whereby the true ſeruice and honour of almighty God, and the right miniſtration of the Sacraments beyng well and ſincerely ſet forth accordyng to the Scriptures & vſe of the primatiue church, much idolatry, vayne ſuperſtition, & great and ſlanderous abuſes be taken away: ſo it is no ſmall occaſion of ſorow vnto vs, to vnderſtand by the complaints of many, that our ſayd booke ſo much traueled for, & alſo ſincerely ſet forth (as is aforeſaid) remayneth in many places of this our realme, eyther not knowen at all, or not vſed, or at the leaſt if it be vſed, very ſeldome, and that in ſuch light and irreuerent ſort, as the people in many places either haue herd nothing, or if they heare, they neither vnderſtand, nor haue that ſpirituall delectation in the ſame, that to good chriſtians appertaineth. The fault wherof, lyke as we muſt of reaſon impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God thorough our appointment to haue due reſpect to this and ſuch lyke matters; ſo conſideryng that by theſe and ſuch like occaſions, our louyng ſubiectes remaine yet ſtill in their old blyndnes, and ſuperſtitious errors, and in ſome places in an irreligious forgetfulnes of God, wherby his wrath may be prouoked vpon vs and them, and remembring withall, that amongſt other cures committed to our princely charge, we thinke this the greateſt, to ſee the glory and true ſeruice of hym maintained & extolled, by whoſe clemency we knowledge our ſelues to haue all that we haue, we could not, but by aduiſe and conſent of our deereſt vncle Edward duke of Somerſet, gouernour of our perſon, and protector of our realme, dominions, and ſubiects, and the reſt of our priuy counſaile, admoniſh you of the premiſſes. Wherein, as it had bene your office to haue vſed an earneſt diligence, and to haue preferred the ſame in all places within your Dioceſſe, as the caſe required: ſo haue we thought good to pray and require you, and neuertheleſſe ſtraightly to charge and commaund you, that from henceforth ye haue an earneſt and ſpeciall regard to the reduce of theſe things, ſo as the Curates may do their dueties more often and in more reuerent ſort, & the people be occaſioned by the good aduiſes and examples of your ſelfe, your Chauncellor, Archdeacons, and other inferior miniſters, to come with oftener and more deuotiō to their ſayd common prayers, to geue thanks to God, and to be pertakers of the moſt holy Communion. Wherein ſhewyng your ſelfe diligent, and geuyng good example in your owne perſon, you ſhall both diſcharge your duty to the great paſtor, to whom we all haue to accompt, and alſo do vs good ſeruice: and on the other ſide, if we ſhall hereafter (theſe our letters and commaundement notwithſtandyng) haue eftſoones complaint, and finde the lyke faults in your dioces, we ſhall haue iuſt cauſe to impute the fault thereof, and of all that enſue thereof vnto you, and conſequently be occaſioned therby to ſee otherwyſe to the redreſſe of theſe things: wherof we would be ſory. And therfore we do eftſoones charge and commaund you vpon your allegiance, to loke well vpon your duety herein, as ye tender our pleaſure. Geuen vnder our ſignet at our Manor of Richmond, the 23. of Iuly, the 3. yeare of our raigne. 1549.

The kin booke lected.

{ An 154

Bo ligen noted.

The B. of London among the reſt of the biſhops, receiuyng theſe letters, did (as alwayes tofore) in outward ſhew willingly accept the ſame: and therfore immediately (with the ſayd letters) directed this his precept vnto the Deane and Chapter of his cathedrall Church of Paules, commanding them to looke to the due accompliſhing therof accordingly.

¶ A letter of Boner to the Deane and Chapiter of Paules.

letter of oner to e Deane Paules.

EDmund by the grace of God,&c. To my welbeloued brethren the Deane and Chapiter of the Cathedrall church of S. Paule in London, and to the other Miniſters there and euery of them do ſend greeting. And where it is ſo, that of late I haue receyued the ſayd ſoueraigne Lord the kings maieſties letter, of ſuch tenure as is hereunto annexed, and according to my moſt bounden dutie, am right well willing and deſiring, that the ſaid letters ſhould be in all points duely executed and obſerued according to the tenure and purport of the ſame, as apperteineth: theſe therfore are to require, and alſo ſtraightly to charge you and euery of you on his maieſties behalfe, &c. that you do admoniſh and commaund or cauſe to be admoniſhed or commaunded, all and ſinguler Perſons, Vicars, and Curates of your iuriſdiction, to obſerue and accompliſh the ſame from time to tyme accordingly: Furthermore requiring and likewiſe charging you, and euery of you to make certificate herein to me, my Chauncellour or other my officers in this behalfe, with ſuch conuenient celeritie as appertaineth both of your procedings in the execution hereof, and alſo the perſons and names of all ſuch, as from hencefoorth ſhall be found negligent in doyng their dueties in the premiſſes or any of them. Geuen at my houſe at Fulham, the 26. of Iuly, in the yere of our lord. 1549. and in the third yere of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord the kings Maieſties raigne.

lacknes of oner in rthering ood proedinges,

Moreouer, for ſo much as the king at that inſtant hearing the muttering of certain rebellion thē ſtirring (wherof more ſhall be ſaid the Lord willing hereafter) & alſo beyng credibly informed by diuers, that through the euil example, ſlacknes of preaching and adminiſtring the ſacramentes, and careleſſe contempt of Boner B. of London, not onely many of the people within the city of London, & other places of his Dioceſſe, were very negligent and forgetfull of their dueties to God in frequenting the diuine ſeruice then ſtabliſhed and ſet forth by the authority of parliament: but alſo that diuers other vtterly deſpiſing the ſame, did in ſecret places of his Dioces, often frequent the papiſh maſſe and other forraine rites not allowed by the lawes of this realme, he thought it therefore good (hauyng thereby iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect his former diſſemblyng doublenes) to appoint the L. Protector and the reſt of his priuy counſaile to call the ſayd B. before them, and accordyng to their wyſe and diſcrete iudgementes, to deale with hym for the ſame.

opiſhe aſſe pri ly fre uented in laces a ainſt the aw.

Anno 1549. oner called before e Counile,

Wherupon the xj. day of Auguſt (an. 1549.) they ſent a meſſenger for him, and vpon his appearaunce, made firſt declaration of ſuch informations and complaints, as had bene theretofore made againſt him. And then after ſharpe admonitions and reprooffes for his euil demeanors in the premiſſes, they deliuered vnto him from the kyng (for hys better reformation and amendment) certaine priuate Iniunctions to be neceſſarily followed and obſerued of hymſelfe. And where as in the firſt branch of the ſaid Iniunctions, he was perſonally aſſigned to preach at Pauls croſſe, the ſonday three weekes then next enſuyng (becauſe both the dangerous and fickle eſtate of the tyme, and alſo partly his owne ſuſpicious behauior ſo required) they farther deliuered vnto him in writing ſuch articles to intreat vpō in his Sermon, as they thought then moſt meete and neceſſary for the tyme and cauſes aforeſayd. All which Iniunctions and Articles, for the farther manifeſtation therof, I haue here inſerted, as followeth.

ertayne iuate Inctions uen to ner by e Counle. oner ioyned by e Counſel to each at ules roſſe.

Certaine priuate Iniunctions and Articles geuen to Boner by the Counſaile.

dmonitiō uen to ner by e Counle.

FOraſmuch as we are aduertiſed, that amongſt other diſorders of our ſubiects, at this preſent there be diuers of our citie of London, and other places within your Dioces which beyng very negligent and forgetfull of their duetie to almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, doe aſſemble themſelues very ſeldome & fewer tymes then they were heretofore accuſtomed, vnto cōmō praier and to the holy Communion, beyng now a tyme when it were more needefull with hart and mynde to pray to our heauenly father for his ayd and ſuccour: wherof as we be right ſory, ſo we do vnderſtand, that through your euil example and the ſlacknes of your preaching, and inſtructing our ſayd people to doe their duties, this offence to God is moſt generally committed: for where heretofore vpon all principall feaſtes, and ſuch as were called Maius duplex, you your ſelfe were wont to execute in perſon, now ſince the tyme that we by the aduiſe of our whole Parliament haue ſet a moſt godly and deuout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye haue very ſeldome or neuer executed vpon ſuch or other dais, to the cōtempt of our procedings & euil example of others: & foraſmuch as it is alſo brought to our knowledge, that diuers as well in London as in other places of your Dioces, do frequent and haunt forraine rites of maſſes, and ſuche as be not allowed by the orders of our realme, & contemneth and forbeareth to praiſe and laud God, and pray vnto his maieſtie after ſuch rites and ceremonies, as in this realme are approued & ſet out by our authoritie: and further that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the ſayd citie of London & other places of your Dioces, wherby the wrath of god is prouoked againſt our people: of the which things, you beyng heretofore admoniſhed, yet hetherto haue made no redreſſe, as to the paſtorall office, authoritie, & cure of a biſhop doth appertaine: we therefore, to whom the ſupreme cure and charge of this Church doth appertaine, to auoid frō vs the high indignatiō of almightie God, by the aduiſe of our moſt entirely beloued Uncle the L. Protector and the reſt of our priuy Counſaile, haue thought it no leſſe then our moſt boūden dutie, now at this preſent, and eftſoones peremptorily to admoniſh, charge, & warne you, that you do moſt ſtraightly looke vpon the premiſſes and ſee them ſo reformed, that there may appeare no negligence on your behalfe, vpon ſuch payne as by our lawes Eccleſiaſticall and temporall, we may inflict vppon you, vnto depriuation or otherwiſe, as ſhall ſeme to vs for qualitie of yͤ offence reaſonable. And to the intent you ſhold the better ſee to yͤ reformation of the ſayd abuſes, we haue thought good to geue you theſe Iniunctions following.

Boner reſtrained to execute all principal feaſtes, contrary to his wonted maner.

Boner noted of ſlacknes in his duty, & of contempt of publicke lawes.

Certayne priuat Articles inioyned to Boner by the Counſaile. Boner admoniſhed to preach euery quarter at Paules Croſſe.

1 First, ye ſhall preach at Paules Croſſe in London, in proper perſon, the Sonday after the date hereof iij. weeks, and in the ſame Sermon declare and ſet forth the Articles hereunto annexed: and ye ſhall preach hereafter once euery quarter of the yere there, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly liuyng: and ye ſhall be preſent at euery ſermon hereafter made at Paules Croſſe, if ſickeneſſe or ſome other reaſonable cauſe doe not let you.

2 Secondly, you your ſelfe in perſon ſhall from henceforth euery day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England, principall feaſt, or Maius duplex, and at all ſuch tymes as the Biſhops of London your predeceſſours were wont to celebrate and ſing high maſſe, now celebrate and execute the Communion at the hygh aultare in Paules, for the better example of all other, except ſicknes do let.

3 Thirdly, ye ſhall your ſelfe according to your duetie & the office of a biſhop, cal before you all ſuch as do not come vnto and frequent the Common prayer and ſeruice in the Church, or do not come vnto gods boord, and receyue the Communion at the leſt once a yeare, or whoſoeuer do frequent or go vnto any other rite or ſeruice, then is appointed by our booke, either of Mattins, Euenſong, or maſſe in any church, Chappell, or other priuate places within your Dioces, and ye ſhall ſee all ſuch offenders conuented before you and puniſhed accordyng vnto the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, with ſeuere and ſtrait puniſhment therfore. Lykewiſe ye ſhall ſee one onely order vſed in your Dioceſſe according to our ſayd booke and none other.

4 Fourthly, ye ſhall both by your ſelfe and all your officers vnder you, ſearch out & conuent before you more diligently then heretofore ye haue done (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and ſee the ſame puniſhed according to the eccleſiaſtical lawes, and to the authority geuen you in that behalfe.

5 We haue heard alſo complaintes, that the Churche of Paules and other Churches of London are of late more neglected, as wel in reparation of the glaſſe, as other buildings and ordinaunces of the ſame, then they were heretofore wont, and that diuers and many perſons in the citie, of malice denyeth the payment of their due tith to their Curates, wherby the Curates are both iniured and made not ſo well able and in maner diſcouraged to do theyr duties. The which thyng alſo our will and commaundement is, ye ſhall diligently looke vnto, and ſee redreſſed as appertaineth.

Boner Biſhop of Londō commaunded to keepe his owne houſe.

6 And foraſmuch as al theſe complaints be made as moſt done & committed in London, to the intent you may looke more earneſtly, better and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleaſure is that you ſhal abide and keepe reſidence in your houſe there, as in the citie, ſea, and principall place of your Dioces, and none other where for a certaine tyme, vntill you ſhalbe otherwiſe licenſed by vs.

And thus hauing brought B. Boner home to his own houſe, there to leaue hym a while to take his eaſe in hys owne lodging, til we returne to him againe, we wil in the meane tyme make a little intercourſe into Cornewall and Deuonſhire to diſcourſe ſome part of the diſordered and diſloyall doings of thoſe men againſt their ſo meeke and excellent a prince, hauing no cauſe miniſtred therunto: yea hauyng cauſe rather to yeld prayſe and thanks to the lord for ſuch a quiet and peaceable prince in his mercy geuē vnto them. But ſuch is the condition of vnquiet natures, that they cannot ſkill of peace. And where due diſcretiō lacketh, there lewd diſpoſed perſons cannot tel when they be wel, againe ſome be ſo crooked and ſo peruerſly geuen, that the more curteouſly they be intreated, the worſe they are: and when by honeſt diligence they liſt not to get their liuyng, by publike diſturbance of common weales they thinke to thriue. And ſo ſeemed it to fare with this ſeditious people of Cornewall and Deuonſhire, who hauyng ſo good and vertuous a kyng, that if they ſhould haue ſought hym as Diogenes (they ſay) did ſeeke for a man with a candle, a meeker and better ſoueraigne they could not haue found, a crueller they well deſerued: yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to al order, reaſon, nature and loialtie, aduaunced themſelues in a rebellious conſpiracie againſt hym, and agaynſt his proceedings through the pernitious inſtigation, firſt (as it ſeemeth) of certaine popiſh prieſtes, who grudgyng and diſdainyng agaynſt the Iniunctions and godly order of reformation ſet forward by the king, and ſpecially mourning to ſee their olde popiſhe Church of Rome to decay, ceaſed not by all ſiniſter & ſubtile meanes, firſt vnder Gods name and the kings, & vnder coulour of religion to perſwade the people, then to gather ſides and to aſſemble in companies, to gather Captaines, and at laſt to braſt out in ranke rebellion. Neither lacked there amongſt the lay ſort ſome as ſeditiouſly diſpoſed as they to miſchiefe and madneſſe, as well Gentlemen as other.

The rebels in Cornewall and Deuonſhyre.

Popiſhe prieſtes firſt ſtirrers of this rebellion.

All wickednes firſt beginneth vnder faire pretenſes.

Of whom the chiefe Gentlemen Captains were, Humfrey Arundell Eſquire, gouernour of the Mount, Iames Roſogan, Iohn Roſogan, Iohn Payne, Thomas Vnderhil, Iohn Soleman, william Segar. Of prieſts which were principall ſtirrers, and ſome of them gouernours of the Camps, and after executed, were to the number of 8. whoſe names were Rob. Bochim, Iohn Tompſon, Roger Barret, Iohn wolcoke, wil. Aſa, Iames Mourton, Iohn Barow, Rich. Benet, beſides a multitude of other popiſh prieſts, which to the ſame faction were adioyned. The number of the whole rebellion, ſpeakyng with yͤ leſt mounted litle leſſe then to the ſumme of ten thouſand ſtout traitors.

Captaines of the rebelles in Deuonſhyre.

Prieſtes rebelles and traytors againſt the king.

These hearing firſt of the commotions which began about the ſame tyme in other parts to broyle, as in Oxfordſhire, Yorkeſhire, and eſpecially in Northfolke & Suffolk, began to take therin ſome courage, hoping that they ſhold haue well fortified the ſame with quarell. But afterward perceiuyng how the miſchieuous mutterings and enterpriſes of their conſpiracie did ſodenly fayle, eyther beyng preuēted by tyme, or repreſſed by power, or that their cauſe beyng but onely about pluckyng down of encloſures and enlarging of commons, was deuided from theirs, ſo that eyther they would not or could not ioyne their ayde together, then began they againe to quayle, and their courage to debate. Notwithſtanding, for ſo much as they had gone ſo far, that they thought there was no ſhrinking back, they fell to new deuiſes and inuentions, for the beſt furtherance of their deſperate purpoſes.

Diuers Commotions in K. Edwardes tyme ſuppreſſed.

Their firſt intent was, after they had ſpoiled their own countrey moſt miſerably, to inuade the Citie of Exceter, & ſo conſequently all other parts of the realme. But firſt for Exceter they gaped, the gates whereof twiſe they burned, but gayned nothing ſauyng onely gunſhot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Beyng put from Exceter, they fel on ſpoiling and robbing, where or whatſoeuer they might catche. At length laying their traiterous heds together, they conſulted vpon certain articles to be ſent vp. But herein ſuch diuerſitie of heds and wits was amongſt them, that for euery kind of braine there was one manner of Article: ſo yͭ neither appeared any conſent in their diuerſitie, nor yet any conſtancie in their agreement. Some ſeemed more tolerable. Other altogether vnreaſonable. Some would haue no Iuſtice. Some would haue no ſtate of gentlemen. The prieſts euer harped of one ſtring to ring in the Biſhop of Rome into England agayne, and to hallow home Cardinall Poole their countrieman.

The citye of Exceter inuaded by the rebells.

Diuerſitye of wittes amongeſt the rebells.

After much ado and little to the purpoſe, at laſt a fewe ſory Articles were agreed vppon to be directed vnto the kyng, with the names of certayne ſet thereunto, the copy whereof here enſueth.

¶ The Articles of the Commons of Deuonſhire and Cornewall ſent to the king, with anſwer afterward followyng vnto the ſame.

FIrſt, foraſmuch as man except he be borne of water and the holy Ghoſt, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and foraſmuch as the gates of heauen be not opened without this bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, therefore we will that our Curates ſhall miniſter this Sacrament at all tymes of neede, as well in the weeke dayes, as on the holy dayes.

Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the Biſh. whenſoeuer we ſhal within the Dioces reſort vnto him.

Item, foraſmuch as we conſtantly beleeue that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration beyng at Maſſe, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is very really the body & bloud of our ſauiour Ieſu Chriſt God and man, and that no ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the virgin Mary, and was geuen vpon the Croſſe for our redemption: therfore we wil haue maſſe celebrated as it hath bene in tymes paſt, without any man communicatyng with the Prieſtes, foraſmuch as many rudely preſumyng vnworthily to receiue the ſame, put no difference betwene the Lordes body and other kind of meat, ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after, ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it, with many other abuſed termes.

Item, we will haue in our churches reſeruation.

Item, we will haue holy bread and holy water in the remembrance of Chriſtes precious body and bloud.

Item, we will that our Prieſtes ſhall ſing or ſay with an audible voyce, Gods ſeruice in the Quier of the pariſh churches, & not Gods ſeruice to bee ſet forth like a Chriſtmaſſe play.

Item, foraſmuch as Prieſts be men dedicated to God, for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed ſacraments and preachyng of Gods word, we will that they ſhal liue chaſt without Mariage, as S. Paule dyd, beyng the elect and choſen veſſell of God, ſaying vnto all honeſt prieſts, be ye followers of me.

Item, we will that the vj. Articles, which our ſoueraigne Lord king Henry the 8. ſet forth in his latter days, ſhall be vſed and ſo taken as they were at that tyme.

Item, we pray God ſaue king Edward, for we be his, both body and goods.

¶ A Meſſage ſent by the Kings Maieſtie, to certayne of his people aſſembled in Deuonſhire.

ALthough knowledge hath bene geuen to vs & our dereſt vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon, and Protector of all our Realmes, dominions and ſubiects, and to the reſt of our priuy Counſaile, of diuers aſſemblies made by you, which ought of duetie to be our louing ſubiects, againſt al order, law, & otherwiſe then euer any louing or kind ſubiectes hath attempted agaynſt their natural & liege ſoueraign lord: yet we haue thought it meete at this very firſt tyme not to condemne or reiect you as we might iuſtly do, but to vſe you as our ſubiects, thinking that yͤ deuil hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall borne Engliſhmen, ſo ſodainly become enemies to your owne natiue countrey, or of our ſubiects, to make you traitors, or vnder pretence to relieue your ſelues, to deſtroy your ſelues, your wiues, children, lands, houſes, and all other commodities of this your lyfe. This we ſay, we truſt that although ye be by ignorance ſeduced, ye will not be vppon knowledge obſtinate. And though ſome amongſt you (as euer there is ſome cockle amongſt good corne) forget God, neglect their prince, eſteeme not yͤ ſtate of the Realme, but as careles deſperate men delite in ſedition, tumult, and warres: yet neuertheles the greater part of you will heare the voyce of vs your natural prince and will by wiſedome and counſell be warned, and ceaſe your euils in the beginning, whoſe endes will be euen by almighty gods order, your owne deſtruction. Wherefore, as to you our ſubiects by ignorance ſeduced, we ſpeake & be content to vſe our princely authority like a father to his children for this tyme, to admoniſh you of your faults, not to puniſh them, to put you in remembrance of your duties not to auenge your forgetfulnes.

Firſt, your diſorder to riſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelues againſt other our louyng ſubiectes, to araye your ſelues to the warre, who amongſt you al can anſwere for yͤ ſame to almighty God, charging you to obey vs in all things? Or how can any Engliſh good hart anſwere vs, our lawes, and the reſt of our very louyng & faithfull ſubiects,

Anno 1549.

iectes, who in deede by theyr obedience, make our honor, eſtate, and degree.

Ye vſe our name in your wrytings, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelf. What iniury herein do you vs, to cal thoſe which loue vs, to your euill purpoſes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinance and prouidence, by our blond & inheritance, by lawful ſucceſſion and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vſe our name. We are your moſt natural ſoueraigne Lord and king, Edward the ſixt, to rule you, to preſerue you, to ſaue you from all your outward enemies, to ſee our lawes wel miniſtred, euery man to haue his owne, to ſuppreſſe diſordred people, to correct traytors, theeues, pirates, robbers, and ſuch like, yea, to keepe our realmes from foreine princes, from the malice of the Scots, of French men, of the B. of Rome. Thus good ſubiectes, our name is wrytten, thus it is honored & obeyed, this maieſtie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So ẏ of this your offence we can not write to much: And yet doubt not, but this is enough frõ a prince to all reaſonable people, from a king to al kind harted and louing ſubiects, from a puiſſant king of England, to euery naturall Engliſh man.

Your pretences which you ſay moueth you to do thus, & wherwith ye ſeeke to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you, be either al falſe, or ſo vaine, that we doubt not, but after ye ſhal hereby vnderſtand the truth therof, ye wil al with one voyſe knowledge your ſelues ignorantly led, & by error ſeduced, and if there be any that will not, aſſure you the ſame be răke traitors, enemies of our crowne, ſeditious people, heretikes, Papiſtes, or ſuche as care not what cauſe they ſeeke to prouoke an inſurrection, ſo they may doe it, nor in dede can waxe ſo rich with theyr own labors, & with peace as they can do with ſpoiles, with warres, with robberies, & ſuch like, yea, with the ſpoile of your owne goodes, wyth the liuing of your labors, the ſweat of your bodies, the food of your owne houſholdes, wiues, children. Suche they be, as for a time vſe pleaſant perſwaſions to you, & in the ende will cut your throtes for your owne goodes.

1.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though neceſſity chance, ſhal not be chriſtened but vpon the holy dayes. Howe falſe this is, learne you of vs. Our booke whych we haue ſet forth by the free conſent of our Parliament, in the Engliſh tongue, teacheth you the cõtrary, euen in the firſt leafe, yea the firſt ſide of the firſt leafe of that parte whyche entreateth of Baptiſme. Good ſubiectes (for to others we ſpeake not) looke and be not deceiued. They whych haue put this falſe opinion into your eares, they meane not the chriſtening of children, but the deſtructiõ of you our Chriſtened ſubiects. Be this knowen vnto you, our honor is ſo much ẏ we may not be found faulty of our word. Proue it, if by our lawes ye may not chriſtẽ your children vpon neceſſity euery day or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but ſeeing you may doe it, howe can you beleeue them which teach you the contrary? What thinke you they meane in the reſt, which moue you to breake your obediẽce againſt vs your king & ſoueraigne, vpon theſe ſo falſ tales and perſwaſions in ſo euident a matter? Therefore you all which wil knowledge vs your ſoueraigne Lorde, & which will heare the voyce of vs your naturall king, may eaſily perceiue how ye be deceiued, and how ſubtilly traitors and papiſtes wyth their falſehoode ſeeke to atchieue and bringe their purpoſe to paſſe with your helpe. Euery traitor will be glad to diſſemble his treaſon and feede it ſecretly, euery papiſt his Poperie, & nouriſh it inwardly, and in the ende make you our ſubiectes partakers of treaſon and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended a common wealth and holineſſe.

2.

And howe are you ſeduced by them, which put in your heades the bleſſed ſacrament of Chriſtes body, ſhoulde not differ from other cõmon bread? If our lawes, proclamations, and ſtatutes be all to the contrary, why ſhall any priuate man perſwade you againſt them? We doe our ſelfe in our owne heart, our counſaile in al their profeſſion, our lawes & ſtatutes in al purpoſes, our good ſubiects in al theyr doings, moſt highly eſteme that ſacrament, & vſe the communion therof to our moſt comfort. We make ſo much difference therof from other common bread, that we think no profite of other bread, but to maintaine our bodies. But of this bleſſed bread we take very foode of our ſoules to euerlaſting life. How thinke you good ſubiects, ſhal not we being your prince, your Lord, your king by Gods appoyntment, wyth truthe more preuaile, then certaine euill perſons wyth open falſehoode: Shall any ſeditious perſone perſwade you, that the Sacrament is deſpiſed, which is by our lawes, by our ſelfe, by our Counſaile, by all our good ſubiectes, eſteemed, vſed, participated, and daily receiued? If euer yee were ſeduced, if euer deceiued, if euer traytours were beleued, if euer papiſtes poyſoned good ſubiects, it is nowe. It is not the Chriſtening of children, not the reuerence of the ſacrament, not the health of your ſoules ẏ they ſhoote at, good ſubiectes. It is ſedition, it is high treaſon, it is your deſtruction they ſeeke, howe craftily, howe pitiouſly, how cũningly ſoeuer they do it. With one rule iudge ye the end, which of force muſt come of your purpoſes. Almighty God forbiddeth vpon pain of euerlaſting damnation, diſobediẽce to vs your king: and in his place we rule in earth. If we ſhould be ſlowe, would God erre? If your offence be towardes God, thinke you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your Iudge is incorruptible, your faulte is moſt euident.

Likewiſe are yee euill enfourmed in diuers other Articles, as for Confirmation of your children, for the Maſſe, for the maner of your ſeruice of Mattens and Euenſonge, Whatſoeuer is therein ordered, hath ben long debated and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctours, and other men of great learning, in this realm concluded: in nothing ſo much labor and time ſpente of late time, nothing ſo fully ended.

3. Mattins and ſeruice in Engliſh.

As for the ſeruice in the Engliſh tongue, hath manifeſt reaſons for it. And yet perchaunce ſeemeth to you a newe ſeruice, and in deede is none other but the olde. The ſelfe ſame wordes in Engliſhe which were in Latine, ſauing a fewe things taken out, ſo fonde, that it hadde bene a ſhame to haue heard them in Engliſh, as all they can iudge which liſt to reporte the truthe. The difference is, we meant godly, that you our ſubiectes ſhould vnderſtande in Engliſh, being our natural countrey tongue, that which was heretofore ſpoken in Latine, then ſeruing onely for them which vnderſtoode Latine, and nowe for all you whiche be borne Engliſh. How can this with reaſon offend any reaſonable man, that he ſhall vnderſtand what any other ſayth, & ſo to conſent with the ſpeaker. If the ſeruice in the Church was good in Latine, it remaineth good in Engliſh, for nothynge is altered, but to ſpeake wyth knowledge that was ſpoken with ignorance, and to let you vnderſtand what is ſaid for you, to the entent you maye further it with your owne deuotion: An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worſe then ignorãce. So that who ſoeuer hath moued you to miſlike this order, can geue you no reaſon, nor anſweare yours, if ye vnderſtoode it.

Alteratiõ of ſeruice from an vnknowen tongue to a knowen tõngue.

Wherefore you our ſubiectes remember, wee ſpeake to you, being ordained your Prince and King by almightye God: if any wiſe we coulde aduaunce Gods honour, more then we doe, we would doe it: and ſee that ye become ſubiectes to Gods ordinances, obeying vs your Prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teache you, whiche haue power to rule you, and will execute our iuſtice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them, whoſe fruits be nothing but wilfulnes, diſobedience, obſtinacie, diſſimulation, and deſtruction of the realme.

4. The Maſſe.

For the maſſe, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudie nor trauell hath bene ſpent by al the learned Clergy therein, and to auoyde all contention, it is brought euen to the verye vſe as Chriſt left it, as the apoſtles vſed it, as holy fathers deliuered it, in dede ſomwhat altred from ẏ the Popes of Rome, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may hear the contrary of ſome Popiſh euil men, yet our maieſtie, which for our honour may not be blemiſhed nor ſtained, aſſureth you, that they deceiue you, abuſe you, and blowe theſe opinions into your heads, for to finiſh their owne purpoſes.

Confirmation.

Baptiſme saueth without any Biſhoping.

And ſo likewiſe iudge you of confirmation of children: and let them anſweare you this one queſtion. Thinke they that a child chriſtened, is damned becauſe it dieth before biſhopping? They be confirmed at the time of diſcretion, to learne that they profeſſed in the lacke therof, by Baptiſme: taught in age, that which they receiued in infancie, and yet no doubt but they be ſaued by Baptiſme, not by confirmation, & made Chriſtes by Chriſtening, and taught howe to continue by Confirmation. Wherfore in the whole, marke good ſubiects, how our doctrine is founded vpõ true learning, and theirs vpon ſhameleſſe errors.

To cõclude, beſide our gentle maner of information to you, what ſoeuer is contained in our booke, either for baptiſme, ſacrament, Maſſe, Confirmation, and ſeruice in the church, is by our parlament eſtabliſhed, by the whole clergie agreed, yea by the biſhops of the realme deuiſed, & further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye truſt, yea how dare ye geue eare, without trembling, to any ſinguler perſon, to diſallow a Parliament, a ſubiect to perſwade againſt our maieſtie, a man of his ſingle arrogancie, againſt the determination of the Biſhops, and all the clergie, any inuented argument againſt the word of God,

But nowe you our ſubiects, we reſort to a greater matter of your blindnes, of your vnkindnes, a great vnnaturalnes, & ſuch an euill, that if we thought it had not begon of ignorance, and continued by perſuaſion of certaine traitors amongſt you, which we thinke few in number, but in their doings buſie, we coulde not be perſwaded, but to vſe our ſword, and doe iuſtice, and as we be ordained by God, that is, to redreſſe your errors, by auengmēt: but loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iuſt anger, but howe long that will be, God knoweth, in whoſe hand our hart is: and rather for your owne cauſes, being our Chriſtened ſubiectes, we would ye were perſwaded then vanquiſhed, informed then forced, taught then ouerthrowen, quietly pacified then rigorouſly perſecuted.

The rebells require the 6. Articles.

Ye require to haue the ſtatute of the 6. articles reuiued: and knowe ye what ye require? or knowe yee what eaſe ye haue with the loſſe of them? They were lawes made, but quickly repented, too bloudy they were to be borne of oure people, and yet at the firſt in deede made of ſome neceſſitie. Oh ſubiects? how are ye trapped by ſubtile perſons? we of pitie, becauſe they were bloudy, tooke them away, and you nowe of ignorance will aſke them againe. You knowe full well, that they helped vs to extende rigour, and gaue vs cauſe to draw our ſword very often: they were as a whetſtone to our ſworde, & for your cauſes we left to vſe them. And ſince our mercie moued vs to wryte our lawes wyth milke & equitie: how be ye blinded to aſke them in bloud?

The 6. Articles taken away by Parliament.

A notaple zeale and a princely word of a king.

But leauing this maner of reaſoning, and reſorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you witte, the ſame hath bene adnulled by our parlament, with great reioyce of our ſubiects, and not now to be called by ſubiectes in queſtion. Dare then any of you with the name of a ſubiecte, ſtand againſt an acte of parliament, a lawe of the whole realme? What is our power, if lawes ſhoulde be thus neglected? Yea, what is your ſuretie, if lawes be not kept? Aſſure you moſt ſurely, yͭ we of no earthly thing vnder yͤ heauē, make ſuch a reputation, as we doe of this one thyng, to haue our lawe obeyed, and this cauſe of God which we haue taken in hande, to be thorowly maintained, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares breadth, nor geue place to any creature liuing, much leſſe to any ſubiecte, but therein will ſpende our owne royall perſon, oure crowne, treaſure, realme, and all our ſtate: whereof we aſſure you of our highe honour. For heerein in deede reſteth our honoure, heerein ſtandeth our kingdome, heerein doe all kinges knowledge vs a king. And ſhall any of you dare breathe or thinke againſt our honor, our kingdome, or crowne?

The kinges age.

In the end of thys your requeſt (as we be geuen to vnderſtand) ye would haue them ſtand in force vntill our full age. To this we thinke, if ye knew what ye ſpake, ye wold neuer haue vttered yͤ motion, nor euer geuen breath to ſuch a thoughte. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of leſſe authoritie for our age? Be we not your king nowe, as we ſhalbe? or ſhall ye be ſubiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue not we the right we ſhal haue? If ye woulde ſuſpend and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, ye muſt firſt know, as a king we haue no differēce of yeres nor time, but as a naturall man and creature of God, wee haue youth, & by his ſuffrance ſhall haue age: we are your rightful king, your liege Lord, your king annoynted, your king crowned, the ſoueraign king of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance, not only when we ſhal be 21. of yeares, but when we were of 10. yeares. We poſſeſſe our crowne, not by yeares, but by the bloud and diſcente, from our father king Henry the eight. You are our ſubiects becauſe we be your king, and rule we will, becauſe God hath willed. It is as great a fault in vs, not to rule, as in a ſubiect not to obey.

A king poſſeſſeth his crowne not by yeares but by Gods ordinaunce.

If it be conſidered, they which moue this matter, if they durſt vtter them ſelues, would deny our kingdome. But our good ſubiects know their prince, and will encreaſe, not diminiſh his honor, enlarge, not abate hys power, knowledge, not defer his kingdome to certaine yeares: al is one, to ſpeake againſt our crowne, and to deny our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be brokē vnto 21. yeres. Be we not your crowned, anoynted, and eſtabliſhed king? wherein then be we of leſſe maieſtie, of leſſe authoritie, or leſſe ſtate, then our progenitors kings of this realme? except your vnkindnes, our vnnaturalnes wil diminiſh our eſtimation. We haue hitherto, ſince the death of our father, by the good aduiſe and counſaile of our deare and entirely beloued vncle, kept our ſtate, maintained our realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enemies: we haue hitherto bene feared and dreade of our ennemies: yea, of princes, kings, and nations: yea, heerein we be nothing inferiors to any our progenitours (which grace we knowledge to be geuen vs from God) and how els, but by good obedience of our people, good counſaile of our magiſtrates, due execution of our lawes. By authoritye of oure kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour, during our raigne, it hath wonne of the enemie, and not loſt.

It hath bene maruailed, that we of ſo yong yeres haue raigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And howe chanceth it, that you our ſubiectes, of that our countrey of Deuonſhire, will geue the firſt occaſion to ſlander this our realme of Englande, to geue courage to the ennemye, to note our Realme of the euil of rebellion, to make it a pray to our olde enemies, to diminiſh our honour, which God hath geuen, our father leaft, our good vncle and Counſail preſerued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, then euen now when our forraine enemie in Scotland and vppon the ſea ſeeketh to inuade vs, to ariſe in thys manner againſte our lawe, to prouoke our wrath, to aſke our vengeance, and to geue vs an occaſion to ſpende that force vpon you, whyche we meant to beſtow vpon our enemies, to beginne to ſlay you with that ſworde which we drewe forth agaynſte the Scots and other enemies: to make a conqueſt of our owne people, whych otherwiſe ſhoulde haue bene of the whole Realme of Scotland?

Thus farre yee ſee we haue deſcended from oure highe maieſtie for loue, to conſider you in your baſe and ſimple ignorance, and haue bene cōtent to ſend you an inſtruction like a fatherly Prince, who of iuſtice might haue ſent you your deſtructiō like a king to rebels, & now let you know, that as you ſee our mercy abūdant, ſo if ye prouoke vs further, wee ſweare to you by the liuing God, by whome wee raigne, ye ſhal fele the power of yͤ ſame God in our ſword: which how mighty it is, no ſubiect knoweth, how puiſſant it is, no priuate man can iudge, how mortall it is, no Engliſh heart dare thinke. But ſurely ſurely, as your Lord and Prince, your onely king and maiſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſelues, & take our mercy without delay, or els we will forthwith extend our princely power, & execute our ſharpe ſword againſt you, as againſt very Infidels and Turkes, and rather aduenture our owne roial perſon, ſtate and power, then the ſame ſhall not be executed.

And if you wil proue the example of our mercy, learne of certaine which lately did ariſe, pretending ſome griefs, and yet acknowledging their offēces, haue not only receiued moſt humbly their pardon, but feele alſo by our order, to whom al publike order only pertaineth, redreſſe deuiſed for their griefs. In the end we admoniſh you of your duties to God, whom ye ſhal anſwere in the day of the Lord, and of your ducties toward vs, whom ye ſhal anſwere by our order, & take our mercy whileſt God ſo encline th vs, leaſt when yee ſhall be conſtrained to aſke, wee ſhall be too much hardened in heart to graūt it you: and where ye ſhall nowe heare of mercy, mercy and life, ye ſhall then heare of iuſtice, iuſtice and death.

Geuen at Richmond, the 8. day of Iuly,
the third yeare of our raigne.

Beſides the Articles of theſe Deuonſhire men aboue mētioned, the ſayd rebels ſent vp alſo not long after a ſupplication to the king, whereunto anſwere again was made by the kings learned Counſaile, which here to make ſhort, leiſure ſerueth not to rehearſe.

Ouer and beſides, to behold the malitious working of thoſe popiſh Prieſts, to kindle more the ſparke of ſedition in the peoples hearts, what bruites and rumours did they raiſe vp againſt the king and his Counſaile, makinge the vulgare multitude to beleeue, that they ſhould be made to pay firſt for their ſheepe, then for their geeſe and pigges alſo, and ſuche other thinges like: and what ſoeuer they had in ſtore, or ſhould put in their mouths, they muſt fine therfore to the king? Of all which matter neuer a worde was eyther thought or meant. But this ſeemed matter fitte for ſuch prieſts whereby to ſet the Prince and hys ſubiects together by the eares.

Againſt this ſeditious company of rebels was apoynted and ſent by the king and his counſaile, Syr Iohn Ruſſel knight, Lord priuy Seale, as Lieutenant general of the kings armie, of whome chiefly depended the charge and atchiuaunce of that voyage in the weſt partes. To hym alſo were adioyned as in parte of ordinary counſail in thoſe affaires vnder him, ſyr William Harbert, ſyr Iohn Pawlet, Syr Hugh Pawlet, Syr Thom. Specke, wyth the Lorde Gray, and other beſides.

Thus the ſayde Lorde priuie Seale accompanied wyth the Lord Gray, aduauncing his power againſt the rebels, although in number of ſoldiers not equally furniſhed like to the other, yet throughe the gratious aſſiſtaunce of the Lordes helpe fighting in his cauſe, and geuing the aduenture againſt the enemie, about the latter end of Iuly. Anno 1549. gaue them the repulſe. Who notwythſtanding recouering them ſelues againe wyth ſuche ſtomackes as they had, encountred the ſeconde time with the foreſayde Lorde priuie Seale, about the beginning of Auguſt following, of whom, through the Lords mighty power, they with their whole cauſe of falſe religion were vtterly vanquiſhed and ouerthrowen.

Jn the which victorie a great worke of Gods mightye power vndoubtedly did appeare. For althoughe the number of the rebels did ſurmount in great quantitie, the power and ſtrength of the Lorde priuie Seale, and theyr ſtomackes were ſo fiercely ſet vpon al deſperate aduentures, and though the power of Sir W. Harbert (being the ſame come at Briſtow) was not yet preſently come, which ſhuld haue ioyned with the Lorde priuie Seale: yet all thys notwithſtanding, the goodnes of the Lorde ſo wrought on the kings behalfe, more then any induſtry of man (which in al reſpects in handling that matter was very raw and farre behinde) that the victorie fell to the kings parte, vnder the valiant guiding of the aforeſayd L. priuie Seale: ſo that the popiſhe rebels not onely loſt the fielde, but a great parte of them alſo loſt their liues, lying there ſlain miſerably in the chaſe to the compaſſe of 2. miles ſpace. Where alſo were taken and apprehended the chiefetaines and ringleaders of that miſchieuous daunce: wherof the principal were Humfrey Arundel, Berry, Thomas Vnderhil, John Solman, W. Segar, Tempſon, and Barret two Prieſtes, Henrye Bray and Henrye Lee, two Maiors, wyth diuers other mo aboue ſpecified: al which accordingly afterwarde were executed.

Theſe rebels to make their part more ſure by the helpe and preſence of their conſecrated God and maker, brought with them into the battaile the Pixe vnder his Canapie, and in ſteed of an aultar, where he was hanging before, ſet him nowe riding in a Carte. Neither was there lacking maſſes, croſſes, banners, candleſticks, with holy breade alſo, and holy water plentie, to defend them from deuils and all aduerſarye power, whyche in the ende neyther coulde helpe theyr frends, nor yet could ſaue them ſelues from the handes of theyr ennemies, but eftſoones both the conſecrated God and al the trumperie about him, was taken in the carte, and there lay all in the duſt, leauinge to them a notable leſſon of better experience howe to put their confidence hereafter in no ſuche vaine Idolles, but onely in the true liuing God, and immortall maker, to be ſerued according to hys preſcribed worde, and that onely in the faithe of hys ſonne, and not after theyr owne dreaming fantaſies.

The ſtorie whereof putteth mee alſo in remembraunce of an other like popiſh field, (called Muſcleborough field) fought in Scotland the yeare before this, where the Scots likewiſe encamping them ſelues againſt the Lorde Protectour, and the kynges power ſente into Scotlande, did in ſemblable wiſe bringe with them to the battaile the conſecrated gods of their aultares, wyth Maſſes, Croſſes, banners, and all their Popiſh ſtuffe of Idolatrie, hauing great affiaunce, by vertue thereof to haue a great day againſt the Engliſh armie, as in deede to mannes iudgement myghte ſeeme not vnlike. For the number of the Scottes armye ſo farre exceeded ours, and they wer ſo appoynted with theyr pikes in the firſt fronte againſt our horſemen (which gaue the firſt onſet) that our men were faine to recule, not without the loſſe of diuers Gentlemen. Notwythſtanding, the mighty arme of the Lorde ſo turned the victorie, that the Scottes in the ende with all their Maſſes, Pixes, and Idolatrous trinkets were put to the worſe. Of whome in that fielde were ſlayne betweene 13. and 14. thouſande, and not paſſing an hundreth Engliſhe men. The cauſe of thys was the promiſe of the Scots made before to king Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottiſh Queene to Kynge Edwarde, which promiſe the ſayd Scots afterward brake and paide thereafter.

Jn the whiche victorie this is alſo to be noted, that the ſame day and houre when the images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flighte in Muſcleborough, as is credibly noted in Recordes.

During this hurley burley amongſt the popiſh rebels in Cornwall and Deuonſhire, the like commotion at the ſame time, by ſuche like popiſh prieſtes, as Homes and his felowes, began to gender in the parties of Oxforde & Buckingham, but that was ſoone appeaſed by the Lord Gray, who comming downe that waye into Deuonſhire, chaſed the rebelles to their houſes. Of whom 200. wer taken, and a doſen of the ringleaders deliuered vnto him, wherof certaine were after executed.

Jn Northfolke and parties thereabout, all be it the originall of theyr tumultuous ſturring was not for the like cauſe, yet the obſtinate hearts of that vnruly multitude ſemed no leſſe bent vpon miſchief, to diſturbe publike peace, which was alſo in the moneth of July, the yere aboueſayd. For repreſſion of whych rebellion, firſt was ſent the Lorde Marques of Northampton, wyth ſpeciall inſtruction to auoide the fighte, and ſo by order was appoynted wyth a number of horſe to keepe the fielde and paſſages, whereby they being ſtopped from vittaile, might the ſooner be brought to acknowledge their follie, and to ſeeke theyr pardon. Who then following other pollicie, then by order was geuen, came and pinned him ſelfe wythin the Citie of Norwiche, which afterwarde they were faine to abandone, the rebelles preſſing vppon the Citie ſo on euery ſide, that at length they obtained the ſame. Neuertheleſſe, in all that conflicte there was but an hundreth on both ſides ſlayne, and otherwiſe no great loſſe, but onely the loſſe of the Lord Sheffielde.

The L. Sheffield ſlaine at Norwich.

Then was ſente downe againſte them the Earle of Warwike wyth ſufficient force and number of ſouldiours, beſides the conuey of 2000. Almaines, by whome the rude and confuſed rabble was there ouerthrowne and ſlaine, to the number, as is ſuppoſed at the leaſt of 4000. And in fine, both the Kettes chiefe ſturrers and authours of that commotion were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged vp in chaines.

The rebells of Northfolke ſuppreſſed.

Moreouer, beſides theſe inordinate vprores and inſurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter ende of the ſaid moneth of Julye, the ſame yeare, which was 1549. an other like ſturre or Commotion beganne at Semer, in the Northriding of Yorkeſhire, and continued in the Eaſtriding of the ſame, and there ended. The principal doers and raiſers vp whereof was one W. Ombler of Eaſtheſlerton yeoman, and Tho. Dale pariſhclarke of Semer, with one Steuenſon of Semer, neighbour to Dale, and nephewe to Ombler. Which Steuenſon was a meane or meſſenger betwene the ſaid Ombler and Dale, being afore not acquainted togither, and dwelling ſeuen miles one from the other. Who at laſt by the trauaile of the ſaid Steuenſon and their owne euil diſpoſitions inclined to vngratiouſneſſe & miſchiefe, knowing before one the others mind by ſecrete conference, were brought to talke together on S. James day. An. 1549.

An other rebellion or tumult beganne in Yorkeſhire.

The chiefe ſtirrers of this rebellion in the North.

The cauſes mouing them to raiſe thys rebellion, were theſe, firſt and principallye theyr traiterous heartes grudging at the kings moſt godly proceedings, in aduauncinge and refourming the true honour of God, and his religion. An other cauſe alſo was, for truſting to a blinde and a fantaſticall prophecie, wherewith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame prophecie ſhoulde ſhortly come to paſſe, by hearing the rebellions of Northfolke, of Deuonſhire, and other places.

The cauſes mouing the Yorkeſhiremen to rebellion.

The tenor of which prophiſie & purpoſe, together of the traytors was, that there ſhould no king reigne in England the noblemen and gentlemen to be deſtroyed: and yͤ realm to be ruled by 4. gouernors, to be elected & appointed by yͤ commons holding a parlament in cõmotion, to begin at yͤ ſouth, and north ſeas of England. &c. ſuppoſing that thys their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Deuonſhire men in the weſt, meeting (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane how to compaſſe this their trayterous deuiliſh deuiſe.

A blinde propheſie amongeſt the Northeren men.

And therefore laying their ſtudyes together, how they mighte finde out more companye to ioyne with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and ſo ſet forward to ſturre, thys deuiſe they framed, to ſturre in two places, the one diſtant ſeuen myles from the other, and at the firſt ruſh to kill and deſtroy ſuch gentlemen and men of ſubſtaunce about them as were fauourers of the kinges proceedinges, or which would reſiſt them. But firſt of all, for the more ſpeedy rayſing of men, they deuiſed to burne Beacons, and therby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea coaſtes, and hauing the ignoraunt people aſſembled, then to poure out theyr poyſon: firſt beginning with yͤ rudeſt and poorest ſorte ſuche as they thought were pricked wͭ pouertie, and were vnwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to followe the ſpoyle of rich mens goodes, blowing into their heades, that Gods ſeruice was layd aſide, and newe inuentions neither good nor godly put in place, and ſo feeding them with fayre promiſes, to reduce into the Church agayne their olde ignoraunce and Idolatry, thought by that meanes ſooneſt to allure them to rage & riſe with them in this commotion. And furthermore to the entent they would geue the more terrour to the gentlemen at their firſt riſing, leaſt they ſhoulde be reſiſted, they deuiſed that ſome ſhould be murdered in Churches, ſome in theyr houſes, ſome in ſeruing the king in commiſſion, & other as they might be caught, and to pick quarrels to the by alteration of ſeruice on the holy dayes. And thus was the platforme caſt of their deuice, according as afterward by their confeſſion at their examinations was teſtified and remayneth in true recorde.

The deuiſe of the rebels how to compaſſe their purpoſe.

{ Anno 1549. }

Falſe lyes forged of Gods true religion.

Thus they being together agreed, Ombler and Dale, and other by their ſecret appoyntment, ſo laboured the matter in yͤ pariſh of Semer, Wintringham, & yͤ townes about, that they wer infected with the poyſon of this confederacy, in ſuch ſorte, that it was eaſie to vnderſtand wher-

The conſpiracye of the rebels vttered in dronkennes,

unto they would encline, if a commotion were begun. The accompliſhmēt wherof did ſhortly folow. For although by the wordes of one drunken felow of that conſpiracie named Caluered, at the alehouſe in wintringham, ſome ſuſpition of that rebellion beganne to be ſmelled before by the Lord Preſident and Gentlemen of thoſe parties, and ſo preuented in that place where ẏ rebels thought to begin: yet they gaue not ouer ſo, but drewe to another place at Semer by the Sea coaſte, and there by nighte roade to the Beacon at Stapton, and ſette it on fire: and ſo gathering together a rude route of raſcals out of the townes neare about beyng on a ſturre, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale haſted forthwith with the rebels to maiſter whytes houſe, to take him, who notwithſtandinge being on horſebacke, minding to haue eſcaped theyr handes, Dale, Ombler, and the reſt of the rebelles toke him, and Clopton hys wiues brother, one Sauage a marchant of Yorke, and one Bery ſeruaunt to ſir walter Mildmay, which foure without cauſe or quarel, ſauing to fulfil their ſeditious Prophecie in ſome part, and to geue a terror to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered after they had caried them one mile from Semer towardes the wolde, and there after they had ſtripped them of their clothes and purſes, leaft them naked behind them in the plain fields for crowes to feede on, vntill whites wife, and Sauages wife then at Semer cauſed them to be buried.

Foure men cruelly murthered by the rebels in the North,

Longe it were and tedious to recite what reuell theſe Rebelles kept in their raging madneſſe, who raunging about the countrey from towne to towne, to enlarge theyr vngratious and rebellious bande, taking thoſe with force whyche were not willing to goe, and leauing in no towne where they came, any man aboue the age of 16. yeres, ſo encreaſed this number, that in ſhorte time they had gathered three thouſande to fauour theyr wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered moe, had not the Lordes goodneſſe through prudent circumſpection haue interrupted ẏ courſe of theyr furious beginning.

The rebels in Yorkeſhire gathered to three thouſand perſons.

For firſte came the kinges gratious and free pardone, diſcharging and pardonyng them and the reſt of the Rebels of all treaſons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Maieſtie, before the 21. of Auguſt, Anno 1549. whyche pardone although Ombler contemptuouſly refuſed, perſiſting ſtill in hys wilfull obſtinacie, diſſwadynge alſo the reſt from the humble accepting the kinges ſo louing and liberall pardon, yet notwithſtanding wyth ſome it did good.

The kinges free pardon ſent to the rebels.

Ombler refuſed the kinges pardon.

To make ſhorte, it was not long after thys, but Ombler, as he was riding from towne to towne, twelue miles from Hūmanby, to charge all the Conſtables and inhabitantes where he came, in the kings name to reſort to Hunmanby, by the way he was eſpied, and by the circumſpecte diligence of Ihon word the younger, James Aſlaby, Raſe Twinge, and Thomas Conſtable Gentlemen, hee was had in chaſe, and at laſt by them apprehended, and brought in the night in ſure cuſtodie vnto the Citie of Yorke, to anſwere to his demerites.

Ombler captaine of the rebels taken.

The names of the rebels taken and executed at Yorke.

After whome within ſhort time, Thomas Dale, Henrye Barton, the firſt chiefetaines and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert wright, w. Pecocke, wetherell, & Edm. Buttry, buſie ſturrers in thys ſeditiō, as they trauailed from place to place, to draw people to theyr faction, were likewiſe apprehended, committed to warde, lawfully conuicted, and laſtly executed at Yorke the 21. of Septemb. An. 1549. Ex actis Iudicij publici regiſtro receptis & notatis.

Ex actis iudiciarijs regiſtro exceptis & notatis.

To theſe peſtiferous commotions raiſed vppe againſt kyng Edwarde by his owne ſubiectes in this yeare aforeſaide wythin the Realme, I might alſo adioyne the buſie ſturring and raging of the French king, againſt our yong and innocent Prince, without the Realme. who hearing of theſe tumultes and violent inſurrections of the kinges ſubiectes, in diuers and ſundrye quarters of the Realme, ſuppoſing to take the time for his moſt aduantage, thought likewiſe for hys parte not to be vnoccupied. who after hee had by his ambaſſadour made open breche with the kinge, immediately after the reuocation of the ſayde ambaſſadour from hence, entending to anoy the king, and make his firſt inuaſion againſt the Iles of Jerſey and Gernſey, thought to haue ſurpriſed our ſhippes and the ſaid Iles with a certaine number of his ſhips and Galleys. In the which hys aſſault, he was ſo hotely ſaluted by the kinges ſhippes and the Iſland, that by the confeſſion of them that ſawe it, and by the report wrytten vnto the Lord Protector, the French men at leaſt loſt a thouſand men, theyr ſhips and galleis ſo ſpoiled, as being forced to return home, they were not able then to ſet out againe.

The ſtirring and riſing of the French King againſt King Edward.

Furthermore, out of Fraunce creadible worde was broughte to the Lorde Protectoure (whyche yet in letters appeareth) that into one towne in one veſſel were brought at leaſt three ſcore Gentlemen to be buried: and alſo an inhibition ſpecial geuen out by the king, not to ſpeake of the ſucceſſe in that iourney. Thys was about the beginning of Auguſt. 1549.

Ex literis D. Protectoris.

The like alſo might be noted of the loſſes of the ſayde French king at Bullenburgh, the eight day of Auguſt, the ſame yeare, as by the Lord Clintons letters may well appeare: but for ſpending of time I paſſe it ouer: what the meaning of the French king was in theſe voiages, or how he intended further to procede, I haue not herein to deale. This is certain and euident, that the mighty arme of God mercifully fought for king Edwarde his ſeruant, to defend and deliuer him from ſo many harde dangers, ſo dāgerous and ſundrye commotions ſtirred vp in ſo many quarters within this Realme, and alſo without the Realme, and all wythin the compaſſe of one yeare, and yet the Lorde aboue fighting for his true ſeruant, diſpatched them all, as in ſtorie heere ye haue heard declared, and is no leſſe worthye of all poſteritie to be noted.

¶

Matter concerning Edmund Boner Biſhop of London, with declaration of the Actes and proceſſe entred againſt him in king Edwardes time.

AND thus muche hetherto hauing diſcourſed touching the manifolde troubles and tumults raiſed vp on euery ſide againſt king Edward, by his vnkinde and vnnatural ſubiects, and yet notwithſtāding, the gratious goodneſſe of the Lorde euer geuing him the victorie: nowe lette vs returne againe to Boner Byſhop of London, where we leaft hym before, that is, in hys owne houſe, where he was by the Counſaile commaunded to remaine, as is aboue ſignified.

And nowe for ſo much as we haue to enter into the ſtorie of the ſayd Boner, for the better vnderſtandinge of the whole order therof, it ſhalbe requiſite to rip vp the matter wyth the circumſtaunces and occaſions thereof from the firſt beginning of kinge Edwardes time. where is to be vnderſtanded, that king Edwarde in the firſt yeare of hys raigne, an. 1547. the firſt day of September, for the order of hys Viſitation, directed out certaine Commiſſioners, as ſir Anthony Cooke, ſir John Godſaule Knightes, Maiſter John Godſaule, Chriſtopher Neuinſon Doctours of the Lawe, and John Madew Doctour of Diuinitie. who ſitting in Paules church vpon their commiſſion, the day and yeare aforeſaide, there being preſente at the ſame time Edmund Biſhop of London, John Royſton, Polidore Virgil, Peter Van, and others of the ſaide cathedrall Churche, after the ſermone made, and the Commiſſion being reade, miniſtred an othe vnto the ſaid B. of London, to renounce and deny the biſhop of Rome with his vſurped authoritie, and to ſweare obedience vnto the king, according to the effect and forme of the ſtatute made in the 31. yeare of kinge Henry the eight: alſo that he ſhould preſent and redreſſe all and ſingular ſuch things as were needeful within the ſayd Church to be reformed.

wherupon the ſaid Biſhop humbly and inſtantly deſired them that he might ſee their commiſſiō, only for this purpoſe & intent (as he ſayd) that he might the better fulfill & put in execution the things, wherein he was charged by them in their commiſſion. Unto whom the commiſſioners anſwearing, ſaid, they wold deliberat more vpon the matter, & ſo they called the other miniſters of the ſaide Church before them, and miniſtred the like oth vnto them, as they did to the biſhop before. To whom moreouer there & then certaine interrogatories and articles of inquiſition were read by Peter Lillye the publike Notarie. which done, after their othes taken, the ſayde Commiſſioners deliuered vnto the Biſhop aforeſaid certaine Iniunctions as wel in printe as wrytten, and Homilies ſet forth by the king. All which things the ſayde Biſhop receiued vnder the wordes of thys proteſtation, as followeth.

I Do receiue theſe Iniunctions and Homilies with this proteſtation, that I will obſerue them, if they be not contrarye and repugnaunt to Gods lawe, and the ſtatutes and ordinaunce of the Church, and immediately added with an othe, that he neuer reade the ſayde Homilies and Iniunctions.

The whyche Proteſtation being made in manner and fourme aforeſaid, the ſaid Edmund Biſhop of London inſtantly deſired and required Peter Lilly the regiſter aforeſaide, there and then to regiſter and enact the ſame. And ſo the ſayd Commiſſioners deliuering the Iniunctions and Homilies to Maiſter Bellaſſere Archdeacon of Colcheſter, and to Gilberte Bourne Archedeacon of London, Eſſex, and Middleſexe, and enioyning them in moſte effectuous manner, vnder paines therein contained, to put the ſame in ſpeedy execution, and alſo reſeruing other new iniunctions to be miniſtred afterward, as wel to the biſhop, as to the Archdeacons aforeſayd, according as they ſhould ſee cauſe, &c. did ſo continue the viſitation til 3. of the clocke the ſame day in the afternoone.

At the whiche houre and place aſſigned, the Commiſſioners being ſet, and the Canons and Prieſtes of the ſayd Church appearing before them, and being examined vpon vertue of theyr othe, for their doctrine and conuerſation of life: firſt one Iohn Painter, one of the Canons of the ſaid Cathedrall church, there and then openly confeſſed, that he viciouſly and carnally had often the company of a certaine married mans wyfe, whoſe name he denied to declare. In the which crime diuers other Canons and Prieſtes of the ſaid church, confeſſed in like maner, & could not deny them ſelues to be culpable.

And then after the Commiſſioners aforeſayde had deliuered to Maiſter Royſton Prebendary, and to the proctour of the Deane and of the Chapter of the ſayde Cathedrall Churche of Sainte Paule, the kinges Iniunctions, and the booke of Homelies, enioyninge them to ſee the execution thereof, vnder paine therein ſpecified, they proroged theyr ſayde viſitation vntill ſeuen of the clocke the next day following.

By this viſitation aboue ſpecified, it appeareth, gentle Reader, firſt howe Boner made his Proteſtation after the receiuing of the kings Iniunctions, and alſo how he after required the ſame to be put in publike recorde. Furthermore, thou haſt to note the vnchaſt life and conuerſation of theſe popiſh votaries and prieſtes of Paules. Nowe what followed after this proteſtation of the Biſhop made, remayneth further in the ſequele of the ſtorye to be declared, wherin firſt thou ſhalt vnderſtand ẏ the ſaid B. ſhortly after his Proteſtation, whether for feare or for conſcience, repenting himſelfe, went vnto the King, where hee ſubmitting himſelfe and recantinge his former proteſtation, craued pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanor toward his graces Commiſſioners, in the former viſitation. Whych pardone, notwithſtanding it was graunted vnto hym by the Kynge, for the acknowledging of hys fault, yet for the euill example of the facte, it was thoughte good that hee ſhould be committed to the Fleete, as by the tenoure of the Counſailes letter ſente to the Commiſſioners, maye appeare, whych together wyth the fourme alſo of the Biſhoppes proteſtation and of hys recantation, heere vnder followeth.

To our very louing frendes Syr Anthony Cooke Knight, and the reſt of the Commiſsioners, for the viſitation at London, in haſte.

After our heartie commendations: This ſhalbe to ſignifie vnto you, that we haue receiued your letters, and in the ſame encloſed the copie of the proteſtation made by the Biſhop of London, in the time of your viſitation at Paules: your wiſe proceedings wherein and aduertiſements from you, wee take in verye thankefull part towardes vs. And becauſe the ſayd Biſhop which being heere before vs, hath acknowledged his indiſcrete demeanour, did at that time at Paules require the Regiſter of your viſitation to make recorde and enter of his proteſtation, and nowe vppon better cõſideration of his duetie, maketh meanes to haue the ſame reuoked, as ſhall appeare vnto you by the true copie of his wrytinge incloſed, the originall whereof remaining wyth vs he hath ſubſcribed: wee pray you to cauſe the Regiſter to make enter of this his reuocation, accordinge vnto the tenour of thys his ſaid wryting: Further ſignifyinge vnto you, that in reſpecte of his offence, and the euill enſample that might thereupon enſue, we haue thought meete to ſende him to the priſone of the Fleete, whether hee hathe bene conueyed by maiſter Vicechamberlaine. And whereas ſundry thinges for the kinges Maieſties ſeruice doe nowe occurre heere, whyche require the preſent attendaunce of you Sir Iohn Godſaule, as well for your office of the Signet, as of the Protonoriſhip: we pray you, that leauing the execution of the viſitation to the reſt of your colleages, you make your repaire hither with conuenient diligence. Thus fare you right hartily well. From Hampton Court the 12 of Septemb. 1547.

Your aſſured louing frendes.

Tho Canterbury.	Anthony Browne.
William S. Iohn.	William Peter.
Iohn Ruſſel.	Anthony Denny.
Tho. Semer.	Edward North.
William Paget.	

The forme of Boners recantation.

Where as I Edmunde Biſhop of London, at ſuche time as I receiued the kings maieſties Iniunctions and Homilies of my moſt dreade ſoueraigne Lorde, at the handes of his highneſſe viſitours, did vnaduiſedly make ſuch proteſtation, as nowe vpon better conſideration of my duetie of obedience, and of the euill enſample that might enſue vnto others thereof, appeareth to mee neither reaſonable, nor ſuche as might well ſtande with the duetie of an humble ſubiecte: for ſo much as the ſame proteſtation at my requeſt was then by the Regiſter of that viſitation enacted & putte in Recorde, I haue thoughte it my duetie, not onely to declare before your Lordſhippes, that I doe now vppon better conſideration of my duetie, renounce and reuoke my ſayde proteſtation, but alſo moſt humbly beſeeche your Lordſhips, that thys my reuocation of the ſame may be in likewiſe putte in the ſame recordes for a perpetuall memorie of the truth, moſte humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhippes, both to take order that it maye take effect, and alſo that my former and vnaduiſed doings may be by your good mediations pardoned of the kings maieſtie.

Edmund London.

The Regiſters of theſe affaires of Boners, remaineth in the handes of Peter Lillie, then beinge Regiſter to the foreſayd Commiſsioners.

Ex regiſtro Petri Lilij.

Thus farre thou haſte heard (louing Reader) firſte the popiſh proteſtation of Boner, then how he calling himſelfe home againe, ſolemnely recanted the ſame, requiringe further the ſayde his reuocation to be committed to publyke Record, for a perpetual remembraunce. Alſo how he vpon his humble ſubmiſſion receiued his pardõ of the king, and yet for examples ſake was commanded to the Flete. where he neuertheles did not long continue, but accordinge to the effect of the kings pardon afore graſted, was reſtored both to houſe and liuing againe: which was in the firſt yeare of the king. An. 1547.

The order of Boners doinges in the beginning of king Edward.

After this yee haue heard alſo in the ſtory aboue, in the ſecond yeare, and a great part of the thirde yere of the king, howe he demeaned hymſelfe, although not moſt forwarde in aduauncing the Kinges proceedings, yet in ſuche ſorte, as no great aduantage by any law could be taken againſt him, both in ſwearing his obedience to the king, and in receiuing hys Iniunctions: alſo in profeſſing hys aſſent and conſent touchinge the ſtate of Religion then: and furthermore in directinge out hys letters, accordynge to the Arch-Biſhop of Canterburyes Preceptes, to Cloney his Sumner, to the Biſhop of weſtminſter and other Biſhoppes, for aboliſhing of Images, for abrogation of the Maſſe, for Bibles to be ſet vpp, and for miniſtring in both kindes, with ſuch other matters of reformation like: till at length he hearing of the death of the Lorde Admirall the Lorde Protectours brother, and after that of the ſturring and riſing of the kinges ſubiectes in ſundrye tumultes agaynſt the king, beganne ſomewhat, as hee durſt to drawe backe and ſlacke his paſtoral dilligence, ſo that in many places of his Dioces, and in London the people not only were negligent in reſorting to deuine ſeruice, but alſo did frequent and haunt foreine rites of maſſes and other orders, then in this Realme appoynted, and hee alſo himſelfe contrary to his wonted maner vpon principal feaſtes refuſed in his owne perſon to execute. whereupon he being ſuſpected and complayned of, and conuented before ẏ kinges Counſaile (as ye heard before) after ſharpe admonitions and reproofes, had certayne priuate Iniunctions to hym enioyned.

Boner beginneth to ſlacke in his diligence.

Anno 1549.

1. First, that hee ſhoulde perſonally preache within three weekes after at Paules croſſe.
2. That according as his predeceſſours were wont to celebrate Maſſe, he at ſuch wonted tymes ſhoulde execute and adminiſter the Communion.
3. That he ſhoulde call before him and correcte more dilligently ſuch tranſgreſſours as abſented them ſelues from the order of ſeruice and miniſtration of the Lordes boorde, appoynted then in Churches by the kinges ordinaunce.
4. That he ſhoulde ſee more carefully and vigilantly to the puniſhment of adulterers and fornicators.
5. That he in the meane while ſhoulde be reſident within his owne houſe, during the time while he ſhould make his ſermon at Paules aboue mentioned, whiche was an. 1549. In the whiche ſermon certayne ſpeciall poyntes were prefixed vnto him, whereupon he ſhould intreate, whiche here in order follow, and are theſe.

Matters put to Boner to redreſſe.

Boner inioyned to preach at Paules Croſſe.

Speciall poyntes and articles to be intreated of of Boner Biſhop of London, in his Sermon.

1. That all ſuch as rebell againſt their prince, get vnto the damnation, and thoſe ẏ reſiſt the higher po-

wer, reſiſt the ordinaunces of God, and he that dieth therfore in rebellion, by the worde of God is vtterly damned, and ſo looſeth bothe bodye and ſoule. And therefore thoſe Rebelles in Deuonſhire and Cornewall, in Northfolke, or els where, who taking vpon them to aſſemble a power & force againſt their king and Prince, againſt yͤ lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme, and goe about to ſubuerte the ſtate and order of the commõ wealth, not onely do deſerue therfore death, as traytors & rebels, but do accumulate to them ſelues eternal damnation, euen to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer the father and firſt authour of pride, diſobedience, and rebellion, what pretence ſo euer they haue, and what Maſſes or holye water ſo euer they pretende, or goe about to make among themſelues, as Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, for rebellion againſt Moſes, were ſwalowed downe aliue into hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice vnto God.

What thinges be neceſſary to be ioyned in all Gods ſeruice.

2 Likewiſe in the order of the Churche and externe rites and ceremonies of diuine ſeruice, for ſo muche as God requireth humility of heart, innocencie of liuing, knowledge of him, charity and loue to our neighbours, and obedience to hys worde, and to his Miniſters and ſuperioure powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to all our ſeruice, & this is the ſacrifice that Chriſte requireth, and theſe be thoſe that make all thynges pleaſaunt vnto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exerciſes of our religion, & appointable by ſuperior powers, in choſing whereof we muſt obey the magiſtrates: the whyche thinges alſo we do ſee euer hath bene and ſhalbe (as the time and place is) diuers, and yet al hath pleaſed God ſo long as theſe before ſpoken inwarde things be there. If any man ſhall vſe the olde rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperior power, the deuotion of his ceremonies is made nought by his diſobedience: ſo that, which els (ſo longe as yͤ lawe did ſo ſtand) myghte be good, by pride and diſobedience nowe is made noughte: as Saules ſacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, and Aarons 2. children were. But who that ioyneth to deuotion obedience, hee winneth the garland. For elſe it is a zeale, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, a wil, deſire, zeale, and deuotion, but not after wiſedome, that is a fooliſhe deuotion which can require no thankes or praiſe. And yet agayne, where ye obey, yee muſt haue deuotion, for God requireth the heart more then the outward doings, and therfore who that taketh the Communion, or ſayth or heareth the ſeruice appoynted by the kings maieſtie, muſt bring deuotion and inward prayer with hym, or els his praiers are but vaine, lacking that whyche God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him.

Externe rites & ceremonyes how farre they ſerue.

Ceremonyes made naught by diſobedience.

Fooliſh deuotion.

The hart maketh true deuotion.

3 Further, yee ſhal for example on ſonday come ſeuenth night after the aforeſayd date, celebrate the Communion at Paules Church.

4 Ye ſhal alſo ſetforth in your ſermon, that our authoritie of royal power, is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our yõg age, then is, or was of any of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appeare by example of Ioſias, and other yong kings in ſcripture: and therfore all our ſubiectes to be no leſſe bound to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, then if we were of 30. or 40. yeares of age.

Boners preaching much looked for of the people.

The deliuery of theſe Iniunctions & articles vnto the Byſhop (with the time of hys appoynted preaching) was ſone after knowen abroad amongſt the citizens and other the Cõmons within the citie of London, ſo that euery man expecteth yͤ time therof, wiſhing to heare the ſame. Whych being once come, the B. according to the tenour of the Iniunctiõs, publikely preached at the Croſſe of Paules, the 1. day of September. Howbeit as hipocriſie neuer lurketh ſo ſecretely in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or other, God in hys moſte righteous iudgemente maketh it open vnto the world: ſo at this preſent was the long colored peruerſe obſtinacie, and infeſtred hatred of this double faced diſſembler, againſt the kings godly procedings, moſt plainely manifeſted by hys diſobedient demeanor in thys his ſermon.

The diſobedient ſtubbernes of Boner in his Sermon at Paules Croſſe.

For where as he was only commanded to entreat vpon ſuch ſpeciall poynts as were mentioned in his articles: he yet, both beſides the counſailes commaundement, to the withdrawing of the mindes of the common people, in as much as in him lay, from the right and true vnderſtãding of the holy Sacrament miniſtred in the holy Communion then ſet forth by the authoritye of the kinges maieſtie, (according to the true ſence of the holy ſcripture) did ſpẽd moſt part of his ſermon about the groſſe, carnall, and papiſticall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the ſacrament of the aultar, and alſo contrary therunto, did not onely ſlenderly touch the reſt of his articles, but of a rebellious and wilful careleſnes, did vtterly leaue oute vnſpoken the whole article, concerning the as effectuall and as lawful authority of the kings highnes during his yong age, as if he were 30. or 40. yeares old: notwithſtanding the ſame (becauſe it was the traiterous opinion of the papiſhe rebels) was by ſpecial commaundement chiefly appoynted hym to entreat vppon.

This contemptuous & diſobedient dealing, as it greatly offended moſt of the kings faithfull and louing ſubiects there preſent, ſo did it muche miſlike the mindes, and was farre from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly preacher maſter Iohn Hooper, afterwards biſhop of Worceſter & Gloceſter, and laſtly a moſte conſtant martyr for the Goſpell of Chriſte: as alſo of M. William Latimer, Bacheler of Diuinitie, and therefore they well weying the fulnes of the fact, and their bounden alegeances vnto their Prince, did therupon exhibite vnto the kings highnes vnder both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation againſt the ſayd biſhop in forme folowing.

The denuntiation of Iohn Hooper and William Latimer againſt Boner, to the kings maieſtie, for leauing vndone the poyntes afore mentioned, which he was charged to preache vppon.

IN most humble wiſe ſheweth vnto your Maieſtie, William Latimer and Iohn Hooper, that where of late, as we be certainely infourmed frõ your maieſtie, by the hande of the right highe and noble Prince Edwarde Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of your Royal perſon, and Protectour of al your highnes realmes, dominions and ſubiects, and the reſt of your priuie Counſaile, there was certaine Iniunctions geuen to the Byſhop of London that nowe is, with Articles to be inſinuated and preached vnto your ſubiectes at a certaine daye limitted, the whyche Iniunctions and articles did onely tende to the honour of GOD, and the better inſtructions of your highnes people, to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutinie, wherewith of late this your Maieſties Realme hath bene marueilouſly vexed, to the daunger of your highnes perſon, and the ſtate of the whole Realme, and therefore a thinge at thys time moſt neceſſary to be taught vnto yͤ people, that they myght knowe their duetie vnto your maieſtie, and vnto almighty God, and eſpecially to acknowledge your Maieſtie in theſe yeares & age to be a perfect, high, and ſoueraigne Lord and king, and ſupreme head, whoſe lawes, proclamations, and commaundementes we are bounde to obey, as wel as any princes ſubiects are bounde to obey the lawes, proclamations, and commaundementes of their naturall and ſoueraigne Lord, notwithſtanding that nature hath not yet geuen vnto your perſon ſuche age as we truſt he ſhall, nor ſo many yeares, which we wiſh to be ſo many as any Prince euer hadde, the whych yeares doe not make you Kynge or Prince, but the righte of your birthe, and lawfull ſucceſſion what ſoeuer it be, ſo that we all muſt as well acknowledge your maieſtie to be our Kinge and Prince, at theſe yeares, as if you were of the age of 30. or 40. yeares, and your lawes and ſtatutes no leſſe to be feared & obeyed, thẽ if your highnes were 50. or 100. yeres olde, (the whyche thing not onely is moſt certainely true, but alſo at this time moſt neceſſarily to be taught, eſpecially when diuers rebelles haue openly declared, that they woulde not obey your highneſſe lawes, nor acknowledge the Statutes made by your Maieſtie to be auailable til ye come to the age of 20. yeres) and this not only being ſo, but the ſame thing being commanded by your ſayd Maieſtie amongſt other Iniunctions & Articles geuen in wryting to the ſayde Edmund Boner, to be preached in his laſt ſermon, as by the ſame Iniunctions maye appeare, of the whiche the true copie we haue when neede is to be ſhewed: yet al this notwithſtanding, the ſaid Boner, of what zeale or minde we cannot tell, whether fauoring the opinion of the ſaide rebels, or contemning your highneſſe commaundement declared to him, hath not only left out to declare the ſayd Article, which we moſt & chiefly expected and looked for, but alſo in all the reſt of his Sermons did not ſo fully and apertly declare the ſayd Iniunctions and Articles as to our iudgement did appeare, they ought to haue bene declared, and was of no lyght grounde loked for, intreating of other farre diſtant and diuers from the Articles vppon the which he was commaunded to entreat, and ſuch as moſt ſhould moue and ſtirre vp the people to diſorder and diſſenſion, willingly leauing oute thoſe things which ſhould haue made quiet & obedience. Wherefore not mooued of any malice, grudge, enuie, or euil will to the perſon of the biſhop, but conſtreined by the loue & zeale which we beare towards your highnes, & of our duty and allegeance to your maieſty, whoſe honour and ſauety with tranquillitie, quietneſſe and good gouernaunce of this your Realme, we do moſt deſire, and for yͤ diſcharge of our moſt bounden dueties, to auoyde all the daungers that might enſue of the concealement thereof, we moſt humbly do denounce and declare the ſame to your highnes, to the intent that your Maieſtie by the aduiſe aforeſayd, may, if it pleaſe your highnes, at this our humble denuntiation, call the ſayd Byſhop to aunſwere to the premiſſes, the which we are ready to auowe and proue, and then your highnes to take further order heerein, as to your Princely wiſedome ſhall ſeeme moſt conuenient: whoſe long life, and moſt proſperous gouernement, God almighty long continue, for the which we ſhall pray during our liues.

...mmiſſiō ...ected ...ne by ...e King a- ...ſt Bon- ...

The Kings Maieſtie hauing thus by the information of theſe two credible perſons, perfect intelligence of the cōtemptuous & peruerſe negligence of this Biſhop, in not accompliſhing his highnes commaundement geuē him by Iniunction, thought it moſt neceſſary with all conuenient ſpeede (for the auoiding of farther inconueniences) to loke more ſeuerely vnto the due puniſhment of ſuch dangerous rebellious obſtinacie, and therfore by the aduiſe of the Lord Protectour, and the reſt of his honorable Counſaile, immediatly he directed forth his commiſſion vnder his broad Seale, vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and to other graue and truſty perſonages and Counſellers, appointing & authoriſing all thē, or certain of them, by vertue of the ſame, to call before them, as well the Biſhop of London, as alſo the foreſaid denouncers, & vpō due examination & proofe of yͤ premiſſes, or any other matter otherwiſe to be obiected, farther to proceed againſt him ſummarely & de plano, according to law and Iuſtice, either to ſuſpenſion, excōmunicatiō, committing to priſon, or depriuation (if the qualitie of the offence ſo required) or otherwiſe to vſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſticall, which for the better hearing and determining of that cauſe, myghte to their wiſedomes ſeeme more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the Commiſſion heere enſuing.

...mmiſſio- ...s, appoin ...

✻ The copie of the Kings Commiſsion ſent downe vpon the denunciation aforeſayd, for the examination of Boner Byſhop of London.

...e Copye ...the ...ngs Com ...ſſion for ...oners ex ...mination.

EDward the ſixt, &c. To the moſt reuerent father in God Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, the right reuerend father in God Nicholas Byſhop of Rocheſter, our truſty and right welbeloued Counſellers Syr William Peter, and Syr Thomas Smith Knightes, our two principall Secretaries, and William Maye Doctour of the Law Ciuile and Deane of Paules, greeting. It is come to our knowledge, that where we by the aduiſe of our moſt entirely beloued Vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, gouernour of our perſon, and Protectour of all our Realmes, dominions and ſubiects, and the reſt of our priuy Counſayle, did giue to the right reuerend father in God Edmund Byſhop of London, vpon certayne complaynts before made vnto vs and other great conſiderations, certayne Iniunctions to be folowed, done, and executed, and in a Sermon appointed to him to preach by vs with certaine articles, and for the more ſure knowledge, keeping, and obſeruing, did exhibite the ſame in writing vnto him by the hands of our ſayd Vncle, in the fulfilling of our Counſell: all this notwithſtanding the ſaid Biſhop hath in contempt of vs (as it may appeare) ouerſlipped and not obſerued certeine of the ſaid things ſo by vs enioyned, and other ſo peruerſely and negligently done that the things minded of vs to reformation & for a good quiet of our ſubiects and our whole realme, be conuerted by the wilfull negligence or peruerſitie of him, to a great occaſion of ſclaunder, tumult and grudge amongſt our people, as it hath bene denounced to vs in writing by certeine honeſt and diſcrete perſons & otherwiſe called. The which things if they be ſo, we tendring the wealth, quietnes, good order and gouernement of our people, haue not thought conuenient to be let paſt vnpuniſhed and vnreformed, and therefore by the aduiſe aforeſayd, haue appointed you fiue, foure, or three, vppon whoſe fidelities, wiſedomes, dexterities and circumſpections, we haue full confidence, to call before you, as well the denouncers of the ſayd faultes, as alſo the ſayd Byſhop, and with due examinations and proceſſe, according to the law and Iuſtice, to heare the ſaid matter and all other matters of what kind, nature, or condition ſo euer they ſhall be, that ſhall be obiected againſt the ſaid Byſhop, ſummarely [& de plano,] or otherwiſe as to your diſcretions ſhall be thought moſt meete, with full power and authoritie to ſuſpend, excommunicate, commit to priſon, or depriue the ſaid Biſhop, if the offence ſhal ſo appeare to merite, or to vſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſticall, which for the better hearing and determining of the cauſe, ſhall be requiſite and apperteine, any lawe, ſtatute, or acte to the contrary notwithſtanding. In witnes wherof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patentes.

Witnes our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the viij. of September, in the third yeare of our reigne.

The Commiſſion deliuered.

This commiſſion being ſealed with the kinges broad ſeale, was by his highnes Counſaile forthwith deliuered at the Court vnto the archb. of Caunterbury, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners mentioned in yͤ ſame, being there al together preſent. who vpon the receipt therof determined by vertue of the ſame, to ſit at the archbiſhoppes houſe at Lambeth the wedneſday then next enſuing. which was yͤ tenth day of that preſent month of September, and therefore appoynted the Biſhop of London to be ſommoned to appeare before them as at that time and place. The maner of whoſe behauiour at his appearaunce, becauſe it doth declareth the froward nature and ſtubborne condition of the perſon, and alſo what eſtimatiō and authoritie he thought the commiſſioners to be of, I thought not vnmeete fyrſt, before I enter into the proceſſe, ſomewhat to note and deſcribe vnto you.

The ſtubborne behauiour of Boner before the Commiſſioners.

At his firſt entry into the place within the Archbiſhops houſe at Lambeth, where the Archbiſhop and other of the Commiſſioners ſate, he paſſed forth directly by them wyth his cap vpon his head (making as though hee ſawe them not) vntil one plucking him by the ſleeue, willed him to do reuerence vnto the Commiſſioners. wherat he laughingly turned himſelfe, & ſpake vnto the archb. on this wyſe: what my Lord, are you here? By my trouthe I ſawe you not. No ſayde the Archbiſhop, you woulde not ſee. Well (quoth he) you ſent for me: haue you anye thinge to ſay to me? Yea ſayd the Commiſſioners, we haue here authority from the kinges highnes to call you to accompte for your Sermon you made lately at Pauls croſſe, for that you did not there publiſhe vnto the people the article whiche you were commaunded then to preach vpon. At which words the biſh. either for that he did not greatly delite to heare of this matter, or els becauſe he would make his friends beleue that hee was called to accompt onely for his opinion in religion (as afterwardes in the ſequell of this proceſſe it more playnly appeareth) began to turne his talke vnto other matters, and ſaide vnto the archbiſhop. In good fayth my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reuerence, then it is? what is it ſayd the Archbiſhop? The bleſſed maſſe, quoth he. You haue written very well of the ſacrament: I merueile you doe no more honour it?

Boner ſpeaketh for the Maſſe.

The Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop of Cant. therwith perceiuing his ſubtiltie: and ſeing his groſſe blindnes to commend that which was vtterly contrary to his opinion, ſayd vnto him agayne: If you thinke it wel, it is becauſe you vnderſtand it not.

Boner.

The other then adding vnto his former groſſe ignoraunce an obſtinate impudencie, aunſwered: I thinke I vnderſtand it better then you that wrote it.

The Archbiſhop.

Vnto which woordes the Archbiſhop replyed: truely I wil eaſily make a childe that is but ten yeares old vnderſtand therein as much as you: but what is this to the matter?

{ Anno 1549. }

Boner falleth to ſcorning and taunting of his denouncers.

Moreouer at what time as they began to enter the Iudicial proſecuting of theyr commiſſion, and had called forth the denouncers to propound ſuch matter as they hadde to obiect agaynſt him, he hearing them ſpeake, fel to ſcorning and taunting of them, ſaying to the one, that he ſpake lyke a Gooſe, and to the other, that he ſpake like a woodcocke, vtterly denying theyr accuſations to be true. wherupon yͤ Archbiſhop (ſeeing his peeuiſh malice agaynſt the denoūcers) aſked him if he would not beleeue them, whether hee woulde credite the people there preſent, and therewithall (becauſe many of them were alſo at the Biſhops Sermon at Paules) he ſtode vpp and read the article of the kinges authoritie during his young age, ſaying vnto them, howe ſay you my mayſters, did my Lord of London preach thys Article? whereunto they aunſwered no, no. At which wordes the Biſhop turning himſelfe about, deryding ſayd: wil you beleue this fond people?

Boners iudgement of the people.

Boner full of his pretenſes, Dawes, Woodcockes, Fooles, and ſuch lyke.

Beſides this, at al his appearings he vſed many irreuerent, vncomely, obſtinate and froward wordes and behauiours towards the Commiſſioners and others (in defacing their authoritie with the termes of pretenſed Commiſſioners, pretenſed witneſſes and vniuſt vnlawfull and pretenſed proceedinges, with recuſation of ſome, and terming others Dawes, woodcockes, fooles, and ſuch lyke) which I wil here omitte, for they doe more manifeſtly appeare in the ſequele of the ſtory in the tyme and place, as they happened: Adding yet this much by the way, that although ſuche ſtoutnes of hart and will (if it had bene in a cauſe true and rightfull) might haue perchaunce ſeemed in ſome mens iudgement to be ſomewhat ſufferable: yet to ſay the truth, in what cauſe ſo euer it be, being vnmoderate as this ſhall appeare, it beſeemed no wiſe man, and therefore much leſſe one of his calling. For if his cauſe had bene good, why did he not take the wrong paciently and meekly, as the true Canon law of the Goſpell doth teach hym? If it were (as it was in deede) naught and wrong, wherto ſerued ſo bolde ſturdy ſtoutneſſe, but to ſhewe the impu-

Boners demeanour not tolerable for his calling though meete for his byrth.

Boners friuolous ſhiftes.

dency of the perſon and to make the cauſe worſe whiche was bad enough before? But belike he was diſpoſed to declare, if neede were, what he was able to do in the law, in ſhifting off the matter by ſubtill delatories, and friuolous cauilling about the lawe. And if that would not helpe, yet with facing and braſing, and railing vpon the denouncers, with furious wordes, and irreuerent behauiour towards the Kings Commiſſioners, he thought to countenaunce out the matter before the people, that ſome thing might ſeeme yet to be in him, whatſoeuer was in the cauſe. For to conclude, for all his craftie cauteles and tergiuerſations alledged out of the law, yet neither his cauſe could be ſo defended, nor his behauiour ſo excuſed, but that hee was therefore both iuſtly impriſoned, and alſo in the ende moſt lawfully depriued: as by the ſequele of this proceſſe may well appeare, the manner whereof is as followeth.

¶ The firſt Action or Seſsion agaynſt Boner.

The firſt appearaunce of Boner before the kinges Commiſſioners the 10. day of September.

The Iudges delegate, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, Syr W. Peter, Doct. Moy Deane of Paules.

Syr Thomas Smyth then abſent.

VPon wedneſday the x. day of September in the yere of our Lord 1549. and in the third yeare of the reigne of King Edward the vj. Thomas Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, aſſociate with Nicholas Ridley then Biſhop of Rocheſter, ſir William Peter Knight, one of the kings two principall Secretaries, and William May Doctour of the Ciuill law and Deane of Paules, by vertue of the Kyngs Commiſſion, ſate Iudicially vpon the examination of Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, within the Archbyſhops chamber of preſence at his houſe in Lambeth, before whome there then alſo perſonally appeared the ſayd Byſhop: at whiche time the Commiſſioners firſt ſhewyng forth their Commiſſion, requeſted ſir William Peter that he would openly publiſh and reade the ſame. Which done, the Archbiſhop in the name of the reſt, declared vnto the Biſhop that a greeuous complaint had bene theretofore made and exhibited againſt him in writing vnto the kings Maieſtie, and his honorable Counſaile, and that therefore his highnes, with their aduiſe, had committed the examination thereof vnto him and other his Colleges there preſent, as alſo vnto ſir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of his Maieſties two principall Secretaries though then abſent, and therewithall ſhewed alſo forth a Bill of complaynt exhibited vnto the King by William Latymer and Iohn Hoper Miniſters, which they likewiſe requeſted ſir William Peter to reade.

These things ended, the Byſhop like a ſubtill Lawyer, hauing moſt like ſome ſecret intelligence before of theſe matters, (whatſoeuer he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his boſome a ſolemne proteſtation ready written: which he then exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners, requeſting that the ſame might be there openly read: the copie whereof is this in tenour and forme as foloweth.

The tenour and forme of Edmund Boner Biſhop of London his proteſtation, exhibited to the Kings Commiſsioners at hys firſt appearing.

The forme and copy of Boners Proteſtation.

EDmundus Lond. Epiſcopus primò & ante omnia proteſtor quòd per hanc meam comparitionem ſeu per aliqua per me hic dicta ſeu dicenda, allegata ſeu allegand a, propoſita ſeu proponenda, exhibita ſeu exhibenda, geſta ſeu gerenda, obiecta ſeu obijcienda, exercita ſeu exercenda, facta ſeu fienda, petita ſeu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Iudices præſentes tanquam in iudices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquò modo conſentire veſtram iuriſdictionem præſentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, niſi prout ac quatenus de iure ad hoc tenear & aſtringar rationique conſonum videatur: & ſub proteſtatione prædicta & ea ſemper mihi ſalua (a qua recedere non intendo, ſed eandem in omnibus & ſingulis deinceps in hoc negotio prætenſo per me agendis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico & allego quòd literæ commiſsionales pretenſæ vobis (vt dicitur) in hac parte directæ, ſeu earum vera & legitima copia nunquam ante hac mihi oſtenſæ aut monſtratæ fuerunt, nec a me aliquo modo viſæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaque contra formam & tenorem earundem, vel contra perſonas aliquorum veſtrum, ea quæ de iure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reuerentia (qua decet) obijcere, ac in debita iuris forma proponere non poſſum in præſenti vt deberem. Quare vt defenſio congrua quæ nulli hominum deneganda eſt, mihi reſeruetur liquidòque ſciam cuiuſmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere poſsint ac debeant, vtque eas ſuis loco & tempore iuxta iuris exigentiam, pro neceſſaria defenſione mea proponam contra vel pretenſas literas commiſsionales huiuſmodi, vel contra perſonas aliquorum veſtrum, quatenus liceat & expediat ſub proteſtatione prædicta, facultatem dictas prætenſas litteras commiſsionales in forma originali inſpiciendi, ac earum veram, integram, & fidelem copiam debitè exinde mihi fieri humiliter peto & poſtulo prout iuris eſt in hac parte, tenore præſentium: nihilominus teſtatum manifeſtè relinquens, quòd obſeruantiam & reuerentiam, ac obedientiam & honorem, ac cætera quæcunque ſereniſsimæ Regiæ Maieſt. Domino meo ſupremo has literas prætenſas vobis (vt dicitur) committenti qualitercunque decet in omnibus & per omnia perpetuò humillimè recogniturus ſum, habiturus & præſtiturus, & his exceptionibus, & defenſionibus legitimis mihi de iure & natura competentibus ad defenſionem meam neceſſariam & legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte vſurus.

This Proteſtation being read, he requeſted the Commiſſioners that he might haue the Bill of complaint deliuered him: which when he had well peruſed, he ſayd that the ſame was very generall, and ſo generall, as that hee coulde not directly aunſwere thereunto. Whereunto the Archbyſhop aunſwered, that the ſpeciall cauſe of the complaint againſt him was, for that he had tranſgreſſed the Kings commaundement, geuen vnto him by his Counſaile, in that he in his late Sermon made at Paules croſſe, did not ſet forth vnto the people the Kings highnes royall power in his minoritie, according to the tenour of the Article deliuered vnto him by them for that purpoſe: and for proofe thereof called forth William Latimer and Iohn Hoper preachers, who before that time had put vp the bill of complaint vnto the King againſt him.

Upon whome, when the Byſhop had earneſtly looked, (and well beheld them) he ſaid: as for this Marchant Latimer, I know him very wel, and haue borne with him, & winked at his euill doings a great while, but I haue more to ſay to him hereafter. But as touching this other Marchaunt Hooper, I haue not ſeene him before, howbeit I haue heard much of his naughty preaching: and then turning himſelfe againe to the Archbyſhop (of purpoſe moſt like to make his frends thinke that he was not called thether to aunſwere his contemptuous diſobedience, but for matters of Religion) ſayd vnto him: Ah my Lord, now I ſee that the cauſe of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend againſt me, but it is for that I did preach and ſet foorth in my late Sermon, the true preſence of the moſt bleſſed body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the aulter. For, as for theſe my accuſers, as they be euil, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, ſo are they manifeſt and notable heretickes, and ſeducers of the people, eſpecially touching the Sacrament of the aultar: and moſt of all this Hooper.

For where in my late Sermon at Paules croſſe I preached that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, after the words of conſecration, there is the true body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, the ſelfeſame in ſubſtaunce that was hanged and ſhed vppon the Croſſe: he the ſame day at after noone, hauing a great rablement with hym of his damnable ſect, openly in the Pulpit within my Dioces, did preache erroneouſly to the people againſt it: and maliciouſly inueying againſt my Sermon, denied the veritie and preſence of Chriſtes true body and bloud to be in the ſame Sacrament, and alſo falſely and vntruely interpreted and expounded my words. And ſpecially, where I preached and affirmed the very true body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt to be in the ſayd Sacrament, the ſelfeſame in ſubſtance that was hanged and ſhed vpon the Croſſe: he like an Aſſe (as he is an Aſſe in deede) falſely chaunged and turned the word that into as, like an Aſſe, ſaying that I had ſayd, as it hanged, and as it was ſhed vpon the Croſſe.

The Archbyſhop heereupon perceauing the Byſhops drifte, and hearing hym talke ſo muche of the preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacramente, ſayde vnto him: My Lord of London, ye ſpeake much of a preſence in the Sacrament: what preſence is there, and of what preſence do you meane? Wherewith the Byſhop being ſomewhat ſturred and moued in mind (as appeared by his collericke countenaunce) ſpake againe to the Archbiſhop very earneſtly, and ſayd: What preſence my Lord? I ſay and beleeue that there is the very true preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt. What beleeue you, and how do you beleeue my Lord? Upon which words the Archbiſhop, becauſe he ſaw his aunſwere darke and ſubtill, and minding ſomewhat to nip the groſſe abſurditie of the Papiſts, aſked him farther whether he were there, face, noſe, mouth, eyes, armes, and lips, with other liniamentes of his bodye? Whereat the Byſhop ſhaking his head, ſayd: Oh, I am right ſory to heare your grace ſpeake theſe wordes, and therewith boldly vrged the Archbyſhop to ſhew his mind therein. Who wiſely waying the fond preſumption of the partie, with the place and occaſion of their aſſembly, refuſed then ſo to do, ſaying: that their being there at that time, was not to diſpute of thoſe matters, but to proſecute theyr

Commiſſion committed to them by their Prince, and therfore willed him to aunſwere them vnto ſuch thinges as were obiected againſt him.

Whereupon vnder his Proteſtation, he requeſted to haue a copy both of the Commiſſion, and alſo of the denounciation geuen vnto him, with time to aunſwere thereunto. Which the Commiſſioners willingly graunted, aſſigning him there to appeare agayne before them vpon Friday at eight of the clocke before noone, then next following, and then to aunſwere the tenour of the denounciation. And ſo for that day (he complaynyng ſomewhat of the ſhortnes of his time to aunſwere) they all departed.

¶ The ſecond appearaunce of Boner in the Chappell of Lambeth, before the Archbyſhop, and other four Commiſsioners, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, Secretary Peter, Secretary Smyth, and the Deane of Paules.

Vpon Friday the xiij. of September aforenamed, foure Commiſſioners, aſſociated then alſo with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of the Kings two principall Secretaries, and ioynt Commiſſioners with them, ſate iudicially in the Archbyſhops Chappell within his houſe at Lambeth. Before whome (according to their former aſſignement) there and then appeared the Byſhop of London. To whome the Archbyſhop in the name of the reſt, firſt ſayd: My Lord of London, the laſt time you were before vs, we layde certayne Articles and matter to youre charge touching your diſobedience to the Kings Maieſty, and you haue this day to make your aunſwere thereunto: wherefore now ſhew vs what you haue to ſay for youre defence.

Whereunto the Byſhop firſt aſking the Archbyſhop if he had all ſayd and done, and he againe ſaying yea, made this anſwere: My Lord, the laſt day that I appeared before you, I remember there ſate in the Kings Maieſties commiſſion, your Grace, you my Lord of Rocheſter, you M. Secretary Peter, and you M. Deane of Paules: but now I perceiue there ſitteth alſo M. Secretary Smyth, who becauſe he ſate not at the beginning, nor tooke there the Commiſſion vpon him, ought not ſo to do: for by the law, they which begin, muſt continue the commiſſion.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop firſt aunſwered, that he was no lawyer, and therefore could not certeinely ſhew what the law willeth in that caſe, but (ſaith he) if the law be ſo in deede, ſurely I take it to be an vnreaſonable law.

Well, ſaid the Byſhop, there be heere that knoweth the law: and yet I ſay not this to the intent to ſtand or ſticke much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way: for I haue heere mine aunſwere ready.

Then ſayde Maiſter Secretary Peter to the Byſhop: my Lord in good ſooth I muſt ſay vnto you, that although I haue profeſſed the law, yet by diſcontinuance and diſuſe thereof, and hauing bene occupied a long time in other matters from ſtudy of the law, I haue perhaps forgotten what the law will do preciſely in this point: but admit the law were ſo as you ſay, yet your ſelfe knoweth my Lord, that thys is our certayne rule in law, Quòd conſuetudo eſt iuris interpres optimus, and I am ſure you will not, nor can not deny, but that the cuſtome is commonly in this realme in all iudgements and Commiſſions vſed to the contrary: and in very deede altogether at the Court, hauing the Commiſſion preſented vnto vs, take it vpon vs: and therfore for you to ſticke in ſuch trifling matters, you ſhall rather in my iudgement hurt your ſelfe and your matter, then otherwiſe.

Truely Maiſter Secretary (ſayd the Byſhop) I haue alſo of long while bene diſuſed in the ſtudy of the law, but hauing occaſion (partly by reaſon of this matter) to turne my bookes, I finde the law to be as I ſay: and yet (as I ſayd) I tell you hereof by the way, not minding to ſticke much with you in that poynt.

At which wordes Maiſter Secretary Smyth ſayd alſo vnto the Byſhop: well my Lord of London, as cunning as you make your ſelfe in the law, there be here that knoweth the law as well as you: and for my part I haue ſtudied the law to, and I promiſe you, theſe be but quiddites and quirkes inuented to delay matters, but our Commiſſion is to proceede ſummarily, & de plano, and to cut off ſuch friuolous allegations.

Well (ſayd the Biſhop againe) looke well on your commiſſion, and you ſhall finde therein theſe wordes: to proceede according to the law and Iuſtice, and I aſke both lawe and Iuſtice at your handes.

Then Maiſter Secretary Peter willed hym to ſtand no more thereupon, but to proceede vnto his aunſwere. Whereupon he tooke foorth a writing, wherein was conteined his aunſwere to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and deliuering it vnto the Archbiſhop, ſayde, that it was of his owne hand writyng, and for lacke of ſufficient time written ſo haſtily & courſely, that it could ſcarſly be read of any other, and therfore he deſired to read it himſelfe: and ſo taking it agayne read it openly, the copy whereof here followeth.

* The aunſwere of the ſayd Biſhop, made to the denuntiation aforeſayd.

I Edmond biſhop of London, concerning William Latimer & John Hooper, the pretenced denunciators of thys matter here nowe before you, and for aunſwere vnto the vnlawfull, vntrue and vncharitable pretenced denunciation of them, lately in deede contrary to iuſtice and good reaſon, exhibited here and read before you vnder proteſtation heretofore made by me and red vnto you, remayning in the actes of this court, to which I referre me, and haue the ſame here agayne for repeated and rehearſed to all purpoſes agreeable to the law, do for my neceſſary defence and helpe alleage and ſay as followeth.

First I do alledge and ſay, that the ſayd William Latimer and Iohn Hooper, or either of thẽ were not nor now are to be admitted in any wiſe by vertue of this or anye other commiſſion, as denunciators againſt me their Byſhop ſpecially, for that they and either of them haue aſwell before the time of this pretenſed denunciation and alſo thẽ and ſince bene and be vile, and infamed, notorious, criminous perſons and alſo open and manifeſt notable heretickes, eſpecially concerning the ſacramentes of the catholicke Churche, and namely concerning the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter, by reaſon of whiche their hereſies they were and be by the order of the ſayde Catholicke Churche here in this realme of England iuſtly and duely, excommunicated and accurſed, and haue deuided themſelues therby from the vnitie and integritie of Chriſtes Catholick church and for ſuch perſons they haue bene and are named, reputed and taken, openly notoriouſly and commonly amongſt the catholicke people of this Realme of Englande, and eſpecially of this Citty of London, familiarly haunting and conuerſaunt with ſacramentaries and openly knowne condemned heretickes and fauorers and Abbettors of the ſame, and theyr deteſtable & peſtilent doctrine & hereſie. 2. Item that the ſayde Iohn Hooper amonges other hys poyſoned and venemous doctrine, and amonges other his erroneous, deteſtable, and abhominable errors and hereſies taught and ſpread abroad here within this realme infecting and poyſoning the kinges ſubiectes therewyth hath before the tyme of the ſayde pretenſed denunciation, damnably and deteſtablie made diuers erroneous, and hereticall bookes, eſpecially one intituled a declaration of Chriſt and of his offcie, printed (as hee falſly ſurmiſeth) in Zurick by Auguſtine Friers, where hee in many places, heretically and damnably denyeth the true preſence of Chriſtes body in the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar, and alſo in effect denyeth the verity of Chriſtes bleſſed bodye vpon the croſſe, calling it Mathematicall and excludyng thereby the true and very ſubſtaunce thereof. 3. Item that the ſayd Iohn Hooper doth perſeuer and continueth ſtill in his ſayd poyſoned and wicked venemous doctrine in al poyntes mayntayning and defending the ſame and euery part therof, all the wayes he can, eſpecially agaynſt ỷ preſence of Chriſtes bleſſed body in the ſacrament of the altar, and his ſayde bookes, eſpecially the ſayde declaration of Chriſt and of his office, he doth yet allowe and mayntayn as good and Catholicke, where in deede it is hereticall, wicked and damnable, the contentes of whiche doctrine and bookes ſo intituled, the ſayde Latimer eſpecially touching the hereſie agaynſt the verity of Chriſtes bodye and his true preſence in the ſacrament of the aultar hath heard, taught, read, preached, beleeued, holden, mayntayned and kept, and ſo at this preſẽt doth yet beleue, hold, maintayne, and keepe, contrary to the faygh of Chriſtes Catholicke church, and the vnitie of the ſame obſerued amongeſt all true chriſten people, incurring thereby hereſie excommunication and Sciſme to the loſſe both of their ſoules and of their beleuers. 4. Item that the ſayde Latimer and Hooper, and eyther of them, being of theſe vile and deteſtable qualities and conſequently by the ordinaunce of the catholick Church of Chriſt, aſwell of this Realme, as alſo throughout all Chriſtendome, being ſo excommunicate & caſt out thereby, from the ſayd Church, are not to this pretenſed denuntiation, agaynſt me theyr Biſhop, nor to any iudiciall act to be admitted, ne yet to be accompanyed withall, or aunſwered vnto, but are by ſcripture and the order of Chriſtes Catholicke Church here in this Realme vtterly and clearely, to be excluded auoyded, deteſted, eſchewed and

Allegations or rather cauillations of Boner agaynſt his denunciators.

How fayne would this man finde a fault, if he could tell how?

This terme Mathematicall is referred of Hooper, not to the ſubſtance of the body vpon the croſſe but to Papiſticall accidence without ſubſtance vpon the aultar.

If al truth were away he had ſpoken more truely.

and abhorred in all maner of wiſe, of all faithfull and true chriſten people, fearing God, and deſiring the aduauncement of the truth. 5. Item, that where the ſaide Latimer and Hoper in their ſaid pretenſed denunciation, amongſt other things do vntruly deduce, that they haue made their ſaid pretenſed denunciation not moued of any malice or euill will, but for the good tranquilitie and gouernaunce of this Realme, which as they pretend in their gay and glorious proheme, they would ſeeme to haue a great care and ſollicitude of, where in very deede, they and ſuche as they are by ſondry wayes, and ſpecially by their corrupt doctrine, and hereticall naughtie preaching and infecting of the Kings Maieſties people, haue diſturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquilitie and gouernaunce of thys Realme as euidently and notoriouſly it is well knowne, the truth is that this their ſaying is euident and playne falſe, for notorious it is, and lawfully ſhall be proued, that the ſaid Hooper conſpiring with the ſaid Latimer and other Heretikes of their factions, ſect, and damnable opinion, did the firſt day of September laſt paſt, after that I the ſaid Biſhop of London had made the ſermon at Paules croſſe, aſſemble maliciouſly, vncharitably and vnlawfully, a great rabblement of ſuch as himſelfe is, within my dioces and iuriſdiction, and vnder the colour of reading, dyd openly and manifeſtly rayle and inuay againſt me the ſayd Byſhop for my ſayd Sermon, not for any ſuche matter, pretence or cauſe, as is falſly and vntruly ſurmiſed in the ſaid pretenſed denunciation, but only and chiefly for that I the ſayd Byſhop, as became a chriſten man, and eſpecially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flocke, faithfully, and truely to teach them, did taking occaſion of the communion not frequented nor reuerenced, but neglected and contemned, confeſſe and declare my faith and beliefe openly before my audience, touching the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar miniſtred in the ſame Communion, affirming as the catholike Church affirmeth and teacheth. That in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, there is the very true bodye of our ſauiour Chriſt, the ſelfeſame in ſubſtaunce that hanged vpon the croſſe, and the very true bloud of our ſauiour Chriſt: the ſelfeſame in ſubſtance that was ſhed vpon the croſſe. Againſt which affirmation and aſſertion, being Catholike and true, the ſayd Iohn Hooper (albeit now colourably and falſely and fooliſhly pretendeth another matter more plauſible in his opinion and iudgement in ſondry places of the Citie of London and ſuburbes of the ſame) hath ſince that time maliciouſly inuayed and caught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and aſſembling in great routes) to reproue, contemne and deſpiſe the ſayde bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, and not to haue a true and faithfull beliefe of it, as hetherto alwayes the catholike Church hath euer had, the ſayd William Latimer, and the rabblement of his complices, conſpiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing other to do the ſame, not making any ſuch pretence at all (as they in their ſayd pretenſed denunciation, do falſely ſurmiſe and deduce, but onely and chiefly offended for my ſaid aſſertion, and affirmation of the veritie of Chriſtes body and bloud in the ſacrament of the altare.

But what and where were your proues?

As though he could not both confute your errour then: and alſo ſaye the truth now without all malice or affection.

Euer that is ſince Pope Innocentius 3. his time 400. yeares agoe.

Item, that where the ſayd William Latimer and Iohn Hooper in their ſaid pretenſed denunciation, do further deduce and falſly ſurmiſe that I the ſayd Biſhop of London had deliuered to me from the Kings maieſtie, by the hands of the Lorde Protectors grace, and the reſt of the Kyngs Maieſties Counſaile certayne Iniunctions with articles to be inſinuated and preached to the Kings Maieſties ſubiects at a certayne day limited, and after ſuch ſorte, forme, and manner, as is in the ſaid pretenſed denunciation ſurmiſed vntruly and deduced. It is notorious and euident, as well by the tenour and continue of that writing which was to me the ſaide Byſhop of London deliuered by the handes of Sir Thomas Smith Knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the Kings Maieſtie, as otherwiſe, that the ſaid ſurmiſe in ſuch ſort and faſhion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalfe, referring me to the tenour of the ſayd writing, which neyther was ſigned with the Kings Maieſties hand, nor ſealed with any his Maieſties ſeale or ſignet, ne yet ſubſcribed by any of the ſayde Counſayle, or deliuered after ſuch ſort, as is alleaged and pretended, as more euidently heereafter ſhall appeare, and ſufficiently be proued for my lawfull and neceſſary defence in this behalfe.

Though the bil of articles bare no ſeale or ſignet: yet you be but a cauillere, knowing that you were ſent for, and in the preſence of the Lord Protector in the councell chamber, receaued the copy of the iniunctions, with the articles promiſed to be ſent vnto you in writing, as they

Item, that in caſe any ſuch Iniunctions with articles, after ſuch forme and faſhion, had ſo bene deliuered vnto me as is ſurmiſed and pretended, yet falſe and vntrue it is, that I the ſayd Biſhop either left out, or refuſed to declare the ſame for any ſuche cauſe or cauſes, falſly and vntruly ſurmiſed in the ſayd pretenſed denunciation or elſe ſo peruerſly and negligently did, as likewiſe in the ſayd pretenſed denunciation is deduced, whiche thing may well appeare in the diſcourſe of my ſaid Sermon, where in ſubſtance and effect, I declared faithfully & truly theſe points ſpecially following: it is to witte, that all ſuch as rebell againſt their prince, get vnto them damnation, and thoſe that refuſeth the high power, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God, and he that dyeth therefore in Rebellion, is by the word of God vtterly damned, and ſo loſeth both body and ſoule, alleaging for this purpoſe the xiij. Chapter of S. Paule to the Romaines, and it at large declaring vnto the audience, furthermore, ſpeaking of the Rebels in Deuonſhire, Cornewale, Northfolke, and elſewhere within this Realme, ſtanding in doubt, whether I might put them in the place of thoſe that put truſt in themſelues and deſpiſed all other, or in the place of both, dooing as they dyd forgetting God, not duely conſidering the Kings Maieſtie theyr ſupreme head, next and immediately vnder God, forgetting theyr wiues, theyr children, theyr kinſfolke, theyr alliance, acquaintance, and frends, yea themſelues and theyr natiue Countrey, and moſt vnnaturally rebelling agaynſt their ſoueraigne Lord and King, whom by Gods lawe they were bound to loue, ſerue, and faithfully obey, I did to the beſt of my power to diſſwade Rebellion, and exhort the audience vnto true obedience, ſay, that obedience being thus commaunded, and all rebellion forbiddē vnder paine of eternall damnation, all theſe Rebels in Cornewal, Deuonſhire, Northfolke, or elſewhere, who take vpon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme, and went about to ſubuert the order of the common wealth, did not only deſerue therefore death, as Rebels and Traitors, but alſo did accumulate vnto themſelues eternall damnation, euen to be in the burning fyre of hell, with Lucifer the father, and firſt authour of pride, diſobedience and rebellion. And heere I did aſke who had induced the ſaid Rebels thus to do, to which I aunſwered by another queſtion, demaunding who moued and induced Eue to eate the apple and breake her obedience againſt Gods commaundement, who moued alſo and induced Caine to kill his brother Abell, yea who moued Iudas the Apoſtle to betray his maiſter Chriſt, was it not the Diuell? yes truly, and he it is ſaid I, that of his great malice and hatred to man and good order, hath moued and induced theſe Rebels to this vnnaturall Rebellion agaynſt theyr Prince and ſoueraigne Lord, whereupon I aſked what pretenſes they had, and anſwering thereto, ſaid: that amongſt other they had Maſſes and holy water, vppon which I exclaiming againſt them, ſaid, good Lord: is not this a maruellous thing to palliate, colour, excuſe, and maintaine rebellion and inobedience, to pretend maſſe or holywater, as who ſaith, that theſe things had bene inſtituted and ordeined to defend, mainteine, and excuſe rebellion, treaſon, and inobedience, which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four texts of ſcripture to proue this thing that I ſaid, aleaging the xvi. Chapter of the booke of Nombers, the xv. Chapter of the firſt booke of Kings, the x. Chapter of Leuit. and the iiij. that my ſelfe added alſo the xiij. of S. Luke, ioined with the v. of the Actes, ſetting them foorth the beſt I could, as one not much exerciſed in preaching, but reſtrained therefrom. And heere I concluded, that whatſoeuer pretences theſe rebels had of maſſes, holy water, or ſuch other, it could not in any wiſe excuſe or defend their rebellion and inobedience, referring my ſelfe heerein to the indifferent hearers in the ſayd audience. And heere pulling out a writing, ſent from the Kings Maieſties priuie counſaile vnto me touching the victory againſt the ſaid rebels, which for breuitie of time, my memory woulde not ſerue to declare without booke, did rehearſe it in writing word by word. In doyng whereof it well appeared, that I did not fauour the opinion of the ſaide Rebels, nor mainteine their enterpriſe, but contrariwiſe did deteſt them, and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better then ſacrifice. And that in diſobedience and rebellion nothing could nor did pleaſe Almighty God. Further, taking occaſion of the proud Phariſey and the humble Publicane aſcending into the temple to pray, and noting yͤ outward and externe doing of them both, with the ſucceſſe thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the Churche, and the externe rites and ceremonies of the deuine ſeruice, that for as much as God requireth humilitie of hart, innocencie of liuing, knowledge of hym, charitie and loue to our neighbour, and obedience to his word, to his Miniſters, and to the ſuperiour powers, we muſt bring all theſe things to all our praiers, to all our ſeruice, and that this is the ſacrifice that Chriſt requireth, and that theſe be ſuch that make all things pleaſaunt to almightie God, further ſaying: that the externe rites are but exerciſes of Religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers, and that in the chooſing therof, we muſt obey the Magiſtrates, and that we alſo doo ſee that thoſe things euer hath bene, and ſhall be diuers, as the time and place is, and yet all hath pleaſed God, ſo long as humilitie of hart, innocencie of liuing, knowing of God, charitie and loue to our neighbour, with obedience to Gods word, Gods Miniſters, and ſuperiour powers, are concurrent and preſent therewith.

Moreouer I then ſaid, that if any man ſhould vſe rites, and diſobey thereby the ſuperiour powers, the deuotion of hys ceremonie was made euill, by his diſobedience. In ſo much that that which ſtanding the law, might be good, was by pride, diſobedience, and rebellion, made euill and vnprofitable, putting example in the fact of Saule, reſeruing the fat Sheepe for Sacrifice, and in Chore, Dathan, and Abyron, and alſo in Nadab and Abbihu, Aarons two children, and in the Galileans, whoſe bloud Pilate did mixe wyth theyr ſacrifices. And thereupon I tolde the audience that they muſt do heerein eſpecially two thyngs, the fyrſt they muſt ioyne to, and wyth theyr deuotion, faythfull obedience, and then they ſhall winne the garland, and otherwiſe haue but a zeale. Sed non ſecundum ſcientiam, deſeruing no thanke or prayſe of God, and alſo they muſt with and to theyr obedience, ioyne deuotion, knowing that God more doth require and conſider the hart, then the outward dooing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the Communion, or to heare or ſay the ſeruice, appoynted by the Kings Maieſtie, they muſt bring deuotion and inwarde prayer wyth them, for elſe their prayers ſhall be but vaine, as wantyng and lacking that thyng, which God requireth, that is, the hart and mind to pray to him. And heerein becauſe I marueiled that the Communion was no more frequented now adayes, and lamenting the vnreuerent comming to it, and vſing of it, fearing that it proceeded of any euill opinion and beliefe touching the Sacrament of the aultar, miniſtred and diſtributed at the ſayde Communion, and to the intent to make the people haue better opinion of it then they ſeemed to haue, I did faithfully, truely, and playnely declare my beliefe of the ſayde Sacramente, wherewith the ſayde Latimer and Hooper with theyr complices were ſo muche offended and agreeued. viij. Item, that where the ſayde Wyllyam Latimer and Iohn Hooper, do further in the ſayd pretenſed denunciation, vntruely, and vncharitably, deduce and alleage, that I in my ſayde Sermon, did intreate of ſuch thynges, as moſt ſhoulde mooue and ſturre vp the people to diſorder and diſſention, it doth euidently and cleerely appeare, that eyther the ſayde pretenſed denunciatours doo take a declaration faythfully made of the obedience of the ſubiectes, to the Kings Maieſtie, the ſupreame and ſoueraigne Lord, and the great perill and daunger of Rebellion committed by ſubiectes agaynſt theyr King and Princes, and ſoueraigne Lorde, to be a moouing and ſturring vp of people to diſcorde and diſſention: or elſe that the affirmation and aſſertion Catholike of the veritie of Chriſtes body and bloud, and in the bleſſed Sacramente of the Aultare, ſet foorth by me as afore, doth worke ſuche diſorder and diſſention: for euidente it is to all thoſe whyche indifferentlye heard my ſayde Sermon, that I groundyng my ſelfe vppon Scripture, and takyng occaſion of the Sonday then occurrent, dyd ſpeake ſpecially and earneſtly of theſe two thyngs, without taxing of any man ſpecially by name, or other circumſtaunce, to ſlaunder them thereby, and I did both ſet foorth the obedience and dutie of all Subiectes, generallye to theyr Kyngs, and ſpeciallye of ſubiectes of thys Realme, to the Kyngs Maieſtie that nowe is, whoſe minoritie to all people of thys Realme is more then manifeſt, and is euidently alſo knowne to all the whole world beſide. And alſo dyd then declare the daunger and perill of Rebellion of Subiectes agaynſte the hygh powers, and alſo ſpeciallye of the Rebellion late committed by them of Deuonſhyre, Cornewall, Northfolke, and elſewhere, agaynſte the Kyngs Maieſtie that nowe is, whyche I woulde not haue doone, except I both had beleeued that all the Kynges Subiectes without exception, were bounde to obey the Kings Maieſtie euen as he now is, was, and ſhall bee, during hys lyfe, whyche our Lorde long preſerue to all our comfortes and wealth, and alſo that the Rebellion of late ſo committed agaynſte hys Maieſtie, was damnable, and vtterlye deteſtable and condemned by Gods Lawe, and heerein I referre mee to the indifferente hearers of thys my Sermon, wyſhyng that thys Latymer and Hooper, wyth all the reſte of theſe newe Preachers, dyd meane as faythfullye, truely, obedientlye and catholikely, as I alwayes haue done towarde the Kyngs maieſtie, his honour, authoritie ryall power and ſuretye of his perſon and realme, and did not moue, encourage, and ſtirre the kinges maieſties ſubiectes to ſedition tumulte, and inobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, then I did at any time encourage or ſtirre any of them in any wiſe, or geue occaſion vnto anye of the ſame. ix. Item where the ſayd William Latimer and Iohn Hooper, do falſly ſurmiſe in their pretenſed denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I the ſayde Byſhop of London, ſhould more apertly haue declared yͤ Iniunctions and articles aforeſayd, and that it did ſo appeare vnto their iudgementes. I do ſaye, that their iudgements are corrupted and onely ſet to ſclaunder and pickyng of quarrells in this behalfe being well aſſured, and ſo credibly informed that all the worſhipfull and honeſt Catholicke perſons of my ſayd audience were fully ſatiſfyed both as touching obedience to the kings maieſtie in his tender age and minoritie, and alſo touching the penaltie and great perill of puniſhmentes for the rebellion ſo lately committed againſt his ſayd maieſtie by the foreſaid rebels. And moreouer I do ſaie that before my Lorde Protectors grace and the reſt of the kinges maieſties moſt honorable counſell then preſent I made my excuſe and alledged many impedimentes, for my not preaching at the croſſe, and did not further promiſe but do the beſt I coulde, whiche of my fedelitie and conſcience I did, not omitting any thyng of purpoſe or euill will, that might be to the ſatiſfaction of all people both good and bad in euery condition, poynt, ſpecially in this behalfe, collecting and gathering together with all dilligent ſtudy, all that might make in my iudgement and opinion, for the better ſetting forth of the ſame.

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ople.

Ergo, by your owne confeſsiō it appeareth that theſe iniunctions were geuē you by my L. Protectors owne mouth though not with his owne handes, which article you will not graunt.

Wherein firſt he alleaged (or rather ſhameleſſe & ſlaunderouſly cauilled) that thoſe his denouncers were vile, infamed and notorious criminous perſons, and alſo open & manifeſt heretickes, aſwell agaynſt the reſt of the Sacramentes of the Churche, as chiefly agaynſt the Sacrament of the aulter: and were for the ſame by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accurſed, and were ſo taken of all the Catholickes of this realme, and eſpecially Hooper: who beſides other his poyſoned doctrine and hereſye amongſt the people, had alſo before the tyme of the denunciation, made diuers erroneous and hereticall books agaynſt the true preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament of yͤ aultar, & did alſo continue in yͤ ſame, allowing & maintayning it as good & catholicke which books and doctrine (chiefly agaynſt the ſacrament of the aultar) W. Latymer had and then likewiſe did allow, beleeue, & teach, to yͤ loſſe of both their owne ſoules and alſo their beleuers, & therefore were not now nor ought at anye time to be admytted eyther in this their denunciation agaynſt him, or in any other Iudiciall acte: and that rather alſo, becauſe that although they pretended in their denunciation, yͭ they made not the ſame of any malice or euill will towardes him, but for the good tranquillitie and quyet gouernaunce of thys Realme: yet was it notoriouſly knowne, that aſwell the ſame day at after noone in which he the ſayd byſhop preached at the Croſſe of Paules, as alſo at ſundry other times, they two conſpiring with other of theyr faction, did maliciouſly and vnlawfull within his Dioces aſſemble together a great rablement of ſuch as themſelues were, & there vnder the colour of reading, did openly rayle and inuey agaynſt hym, nor for any the cauſes pretended in theyr denunciation, but becauſe hee had in his Sermon declared (as the Catholicke Church taught) that in the Sacrament of the aultar there was the very true bodye and bloude of Chriſt, the ſame in ſubſtaunce that was hanged and ſhed vpon the Croſſe.

Boners writing exhibited to the Commyſsioners aunſwering to the denunciatio

Exceptions laid by Boner agaynſt M. Hooper hys denouncer.

The friuolous quarelling of Boner agaynſt his denouncers.

Then after theſe vayne and friuolous allegations agaynſt the denouncers, he commeth and aunſwereth to the ſubſtaunce of their denunciatiō, and ſayth, that where they in the ſame do falſly ſurmiſe that there were deliuered vnto him from the kinges Maieſtie by the handes of the lord Protectour and the reſt of his highnes Counſayle, certayne Iniunctions and articles to be publiſhed and declared vnto the people at a day limitted in the ſame, theyr information in ſuch ſort as it was deduced, was moſt falſe & vntrue, for that the articles deliuered vnto hym by Syr Thomas Smith one of the kinges ſecretaries, were neyther ſigned with the kinges owne hand, neyther ſealed with his highnes ſeale or ſignet, nor yet ſubſcribed by anye of his Counſayle. &c.

Boner putto a bare ſhifte.

Where marke, I beſeech you, the ſubtilitie of a diſloyall Papiſt, who becauſe the articles were not ſealed or ſigned by the king and his Counſaile, would make them therfore not to be of any ſuch force, as that the breach thereof ſhould cauſe him to incurre the danger of contemptuous diſobediẽce. But admit they were not ſigned nor ſealed (of which thing by the way in the denunciation there is no mention

Boners vayne cauillation to no purpoſe.

yea or nay) yet is it manifeſt by the ſecond Bill of Articles miniſtred vnto him by the Cōmiſſioners in the fourth Acte of this proceſſe, that at ſuch time as he was before ẏ Counſell, thoſe Articles were by the commandemēt of the Lord Protectour, openly there read vnto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concerning the Kings lawfull power and authoritie during his yong yeares, were alſo deliuered vnto hym by the handes of the Lord Protectour, in the preſence of ẏ reſt of the Counſell: who thus receiuing them, promiſed there faithfully to accompliſh all the contentes thereof. After which, they were againe deliuered vnto Secretary Smith, to amend ſuche things therein as the Lord Protectour and the reſt of the Counſayle had there appointed. Which being accordingly done (as the Biſhop himſelfe at the laſt recept thereof confeſſed, were finally deliuered vnto him by the Secretary: and therefore was this but a poore ſhift.

Boners ſuppoſition.

Now after this, he maketh a ſuppoſition: that in caſe it were true, that the Iniunctions were deliuered him according to their information: yet was it vntrue that he did omitte or refuſe to declare the ſame for any ſuch cauſes as they had alledged againſt him, and that did wel appeare in the diſcourſe of his Sermon, which tended principally (as he ſayd) to the diſalowing and condemnation of all rebels, and chiefly of the rebels in Northfolke, Southfolke, Deuonſhyre, & Cornewall, or elſewhere within this Realme of England: who forgetting their allegeance and duty vnto their Prince, aſſigned them by Gods word as their ſupreme head, their natural loue and care for their countrey, wiues, children, and kinſfolke, did both deſerue death bodily as traytors, & alſo accumulate vnto themſelues damnation of body and ſoule, eternally with Sathan the father and firſt mouer of all rebellion and diſobedience: and herewithall farther exclaming againſt the pretenſes of thoſe rebels, who amongſt other thyngs pretended the Maſſe and holywater, with ſuch like, which were neuer ordeined for the purpoſe, to colour and maintayne rebellion (as he ſayd he then proued out of the 16. of Nombers 1. Reg. 15. Leuit. 10. and 4. Luke 13. and Actes 5. in beſt maner that he could, as one not exerciſed greatly in preaching, but reſtrayned therefrom) but hauing humilitie of hart, innocencie of liuing, knowledge of God, loue to our neighbours, with obedience to Gods word, Miniſters and ſuperiour powers concurrent with them, they being externall rites and ceremonies of the Church, were exerciſes of Religion, and appointable by ſuperiour powers: and yet that, whiche (ſtanding the law) might be good, was by pride and diſobedience made euill and vnprofitable.

Boner agaynſt the rebelles.

Externall rites and ceremonies.

And heere he farther ſayde, becauſe he ſawe the people ſlacke in comming to the Communion and diuine ſeruice ſet forth by the kings Maieſtie, and to the entent he would make them haue a better opinion in the Sacrament then hee thought they had, he then faithfully did declare hys beliefe therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they vncharitably and vntruly deduced in their pretenſed denounciation, that in his Sermon he did intreate of ſuch things as moſt ſhould ſturre vp vnto diſſenſion & tumult: whereby it appeared vnto him, that his denoūcers either toke his Catholicke aſſertion of ẏ veritie of Chriſts body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, or elſe hys faythfull declaration made of the obedience of ſubiects vnto the Kings Maieſty their ſupreme and ſoueraigne Lord, with the peril and daunger of rebellion committed againſt him, to be the cauſe of diſorder and diſſention: for that (ſaith he) of theſe two points he chiefly ſpake, and eſpecially of obedience to the King: whoſe minoritie was more then manifeſtly knowen, as well amongſt ẏ people of this realme, as elſewhere throughout ẏ world beſides: which he would not haue done, except he had beleued, that both all his ſubiectes were bounden to obey him, euen as he then was and ſhould be during his life, and alſo that the rebellion of late committed againſt him, was deteſtable and condemned by Gods word: and therfore he wiſhed that his two denouncers, with all the reſt of the new Preachers, did meane as faithfully, obediently, and Catholickely towardes the Kings honour, royall power, and ſuretie of perſon, as he did & had not more moued the people to tumultes & diſobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, then he had at any time geuen any occaſion thereunto.

As iuſtly they might, the ſame being hereticall & blaſphemous agaynſt the humanitye of Chriſt.

Boner flyeth ſtil to the Sacramēt of the altar.

Boners purgatiō of himſelfe for his Sermon.

Then finally he concluded and ſayd, that where his denouncers ſurmiſe that it was of no light grounde looked for, as it appeared in their iudgemēts, that he ſhould more apertly haue declared the contents of the Iniunctions and Articles then he did, that their iudgementes were in that behalfe corrupted and ſet to ſclaunder and picking of quarels: for he was wel aſſured and credibly informed, that all his honeſt and Catholicke audiēce were fully ſatiſfied, both touching their obedience to the Kings Maieſty in his tender age, & alſo concerning the great penaltie and perill that the late Rebels incurred by their diſobedience. And beſides that, when he was before the Lord Protectour and the reſt of the Counſaile, after he had made his excuſe, and alledged many impediments for his not preaching at the Croſſe, he did not then further promiſe, but to do the beſt he could: which he hath of his fidelitie and conſcience accompliſhed, not omitting any thing of purpoſe or euill will, that might ſatiſfie the people in any point concerning the premiſſes.

Whileſt he was thus reading theſe anſweres, obiecting againſt his denouncers ſuch cauſes and quarels as be afore alledged, for which he woulde haue earneſtly had the denouncers to be repelled of the Commiſſioners, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury replyed, that if there were ſuche a law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the Byſhop of Rome. For ſaid he, if my matter and caſe be good, what ſhould I care who accuſe me, yea, although he were the Diuell of Hell.

No ſir, ſayd the Byſhop of London, it is the Kings law vſed in the Realme.

Well, my Lorde (ſayde the Archbyſhop) ye be too full of your law. I would wiſhe you had leſſe knowledge in that lawe, and more knowledge in Gods law, & of your dutie.

Well, aunſwered the Byſhop againe, ſeeing your grace falleth to wiſhing, I can alſo wiſhe many things to be in your perſon.

Then ſpake Secretary Peter to the Byſhop as touching theſe denouncers: we are not ſo ſtraited in this matter, but that we may proceede againſt you, either at theyr promotion, or without them at our pleaſure.

A Gods name (then ſayd Boner) put them by, and then do as your pleaſure ſhall be, ſo you do me right, for I aſke but right.

Nay, ſayde Secretary Smith, you aſke you wot not what: you would haue vs folow your mind in theſe quidities and quirkes: and all is nothing elſe but to delay iuſtice. And you do herein as theeues, murtherers, and traitors, not to haue the truth knowne.

Say you ſo to me, quoth the Byſhop? I thanke you. Well, I could ſay ſomewhat to you alſo, were it not in the place ye be: but let it paſſe. As for my matter, I feare it not: it is not ſo euill as you make it, for I haue your owne handwriting for my diſcharge, whiche when I ſhall ſee time, I ſhall ſhew foorth.

My hand? quoth the Secretary, Let me ſee it, & let it be read openly. So it ſhal, ſaid the Byſhop, when I ſee tyme.

Then ſayd M. Smith: you do vſe vs thus to be ſeene a cunning Lawyer.

In deede quoth the Byſhop, I knewe the law, ere you could reade it.

With that Secretary Peter willed the Byſhop to proceede in reading of his aunſweres: who ſo dyd, and when he had finiſhed, Latymer deliuered vp a writing in paper vnto the Archbyſhop and the reſt of the Commiſſioners: who then ſayd vnto the Byſhop of London, heere be certayne Articles which we intend to miniſter vnto you.

The Byſhop therewith ſayde, do you miniſter them of your office, or at the promotion of theſe men? (poynting to Latimer & Hoper) for I perceaue they gaue thē vnto you.

Nay, ſayd Secretary Peter, we will miniſter them vnto you, *ex officio mero*, and thereupon toke an othe of the Byſhop *de fideliter reſpondendo*. Who deſiring a copie of the Articles, required alſo a competent time to be geuen vnto him to make aunſwere therevnto.

To whom Secretary Peter replied, ſaying: My Lord, heere be certaine of the Articles touching your owne fact, which you may aunſwere vnto forthwith: as whether you wrote your Sermon or not before you preached it.

Whereunto the Byſhop aunſwered, that he wrote it not, but he drewe certaine notes of it.

Then whoſe counſell (ſayd he) and aduiſe vſed you in making your Sermon?

To which he alſo aunſwered, that he had therein vſed his own counſell & bookes, and yet my Chapleins (quoth he) be much ſuſpected for my doings in many things, and ſometimes I for theirs, when there is no cauſe why.

Theſe wordes ended, the Commiſſioners aſſigned him Monday the 16. of September then nexte, to appeare before them, and to make his full aunſweres vnto all the Articles miniſtred vnto him by them this daye: the contentes whereof are as foloweth.

¶ The forme and tenour of the Articles miniſtred vnto the Byſhop of London, by the Kyngs Commiſsioners.

MOnday the xvj. of September, the Archbiſh. aſſociated with the Biſhop of Rocheſter, Secretary Smith, and

Anno 1549.

and Doctor May Deane of Paules, ſat iudicially within his Chappell at Lambeth: before whom there and then appeared the Byſhop of London according as he was aſſigned in the laſt Seſsion, at which time he exhibited vnto the Commiſsioners in writing his aunſweres vnto the laſt former Articles.

But before the ſame were there read, the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto him, that his laſt aunſweres made yͤ 13. of September vnto the denunciation, were very obſcure, & therwith alſo conteined much matter of ſlaunder agaynſt Latimer and Hoper, and much vntruth, and therfore they deſired them to purge themſelues. Whereupon Latimer firſt obteining leaue to ſpeake, ſayd, that the Byſhop of London had moſt falſely, vntruly, and vncharitably accuſed him, laying to his charge many fayned and vntrue matters in his former aunſweres to the denunciation, and ſuch as he ſhould neuer be able to proue. For where in his ſayd aunſwere he alleadged that Hugh Latimer and Iohn Hoper with other heretickes conſpiring agaynſt him, did the firſt day of September after the Biſhoppes Sermon aſſemble themſelues together vnlawfully againſt the ſayd Biſhop, that ſaying of his was moſt vntrue. For neyther that day, nor yet before that day, nor vntill certayne dayes after, he euer knew or ſpake with Hoper. And as touching hys owne preaching there openly accuſed by the Byſhoppe, he ſayd he neuer helde, taught, or preached any thing concerning the bleſſed Sacrament, otherwiſe then he ought to do, nor otherwiſe then according to the Scriptures, & the true Catholicke fayth of Chriſtes Church: and therefore offered himſelfe to be tryed by the Archbiſhop or other ſuche learned men as it ſhould pleaſe the Kings Maieſty, or the ſaid Commiſsioners to appoynt: and farther to ſuffer to be hanged, drawne, and quartered, if the Byſhoppe coulde iuſtly proue true the thinges that he had there ſhamefully layde to his charge. Then M. Hoper vpon like licence obteined, ſayd to this effect.

This vngodly man (pointing to the Biſhop) hath moſt vncharitably and vngodly accuſed me before your grace & this audience, and hath layd to my charge that I am an hereticke, whereas I take God to recorde, I neuer ſpake, read, taught, or preached any hereſy, but onely the moſt true and pure word of God. And where he ſayth I frequent the company of heretickes, I doe muche marueile of his ſo ſaying, for it hath pleaſed my Lord Protectours Grace, my ſingular good Lord and Mayſter, and my Ladyes Grace to haue me with them, and I haue preached before them, and much vſed theyr company, with diuers other worſhipfull perſons, and therefore I ſuppoſe this man meaneth them. And farther, where as he ſayth that I haue made hereticall bookes agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, calling it Mathematicall, I perceiue that this man knoweth not what this word Mathematicall there meaneth, and therefore vnderſtandeth not my booke: which I take God to my Iudge, I haue made truely and ſincerely, and according to his holy word: and by the ſame his holy worde and Scriptures I am alwayes & ſhall be ready to ſubmit my ſelfe to your Graces iudgemēt and the ſuperiour powers to be tryed: with many ſuche more wordes of like importance.

Which ended, the Archbiſhop to ſhorten this matter, aſked the biſhop how he could proue that Hoper and Latimer aſſembled together agaynſt him the firſt of September, as he had alleadged, ſeing they now denyed it, and therfore willed him to aunſwere forthwith thereunto.

The Byſhop then aunſwered that hee woulde duelye proue it, ſo that he might be admitted to do it according to lawe, and with that hee pulled out of his ſleue certayne bookes, ſaying: I haue this Varlets bookes whyche hee made agaynſt the bleſſed ſacrament, which you ſhal heare. Then as he was turning certayne leaues thereof, Hoper beganne agayne to ſpeake, but the Byſhop turning hymſelfe towardes him, tauntingly ſayd, put vp your pypes, you haue ſpokē for your part, I wil meddle no more with you, and therewith read a certayn ſentence vpon the book. Which done, he ſayd: Lo here you may ſee his opinion, and what it is.

At which wordes the people ſtanding behind, and ſeeing his vnreuerent and vnſeemely demeanor and raylyng, fell ſodenly into great laughing. Whereat the Biſhop being moued, and perceiuing not the cauſe wherfore they did ſo laugh, turned him towardes thē in a great rage ſaying: ah woodcockes, woodcockes.

Then ſayd one of the Commiſsioners, why ſay you ſo my Lord mary (quoth he) I may wel cal them woodcocks that thus will laugh, and know not wherat, nor yet heard what I ſayd or read.

Well my Lord of London, ſayd the Archbyſhop, then I perceiue you would perſwade this audience yͤ you were called hither for preaching of your beliefe in the Sacramēt of the aultar, and therefore you lay to theſe mens charge (meaning Hoper and Latimer) that they haue accuſed you of that. Howbeit, there is no ſuch thing layd to your charge, and therefore this audience ſhal heare openly read the denunciation that is put vp agaynſt you, to the intent they may the better perceiue your dealing herein. And therewithall he ſayd vnto the people: My Lord of Londō would make you beleue that he is called hyther for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the ſacrament of the aultar, but to the intent you may perceiue how he goeth about to deceiue you, you ſhall heare the denunciation that is layd in agaynſt him read vnto you, and therupō he deliuered the denunciatiō vnto Syr Iohn Maſon knight who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbiſhop ſaid agayne vnto the audience: Loe, here you heare how the biſhop of London is called for no ſuch matter as he woulde perſwade you.

The wordes of the Archb. to the people.

Syr Iohn Maſon readeth the denunciation vnto the people.

With this the Biſhop being in a raging heate, as one cleane voyde of all humanity, turned himſelfe aboute vnto the people ſaying: well, now heare what the Byſhop of London ſayth for his part. But the Commiſsioners ſeing his inordinate contumacy, denyed him to ſpeak any more, ſaying that he vſed himſelfe very diſobediently: with moe like wordes.

Boner in a rage. Boner for his contumacy not ſuffered to ſpeak to the people.

Notwithſtanding he ſtill perſiſting in his vnreuerent maner of dealing with the Commiſsioners, pulled out of his ſleue an other booke, and then ſayde vnto the Archbyſhop: My Lord of Caunterbury, I haue here a note out of your bookes that you made touching the bleſſed Sacrament, wherein you do affirme the verity of the body and bloud of Chriſt to be in the ſacramēt, and I haue an other booke alſo of yours of the cōtrary opiniō: which is a marueilous matter.

Boner chargeth the Archb. with cōtrarietie in his owne bookes.

To which the Archbiſhop aunſwered, that he made no bookes contrary one to another, and that he would defend his bookes, how be it he thought the Byſhop vnderſtoode them not: For I promiſe you, quoth he, I will finde a boy of ten yeares old, that ſhal be more apt to vnderſtand that matter then you my L. of London be.

The Archb. purgeth himſelfe & his bookes.

Thus after much multiplying of like wordes, the Commiſsioners thinking not good to ſpend any more waſt time with him, willed him to ſhew forth his aunſweres vnto the Articles obiected the laſt day agaynſt him. Whereupon he hauing them ready, did read the ſame openly vnto thē. Wherein after many woordes of his former Proteſtation recited, with a marueilous lamentation, to ſee that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretickes, ſhould be vſed after ſuch a ſtraunge ſort, hauing neuertheleſſe done the beſt he could to declare his obedience vnto the kinges Maieſty for the repreſsing and diſcouraging of rebellion and all Rebels, and alſo for the aduancement of the verity of Chriſtes true body and his preſence in the Sacrament of the aultar, for which onely the malicious denouncers with theyr complices had ſtudied to moleſt and trouble him, he then commeth to aunſwering the Articles and ſayth, that to the firſt, ſecond, and fourth hee hath already in his former aunſweres to the denounciation ſufficiently aunſwered, and therfore was not bound by law to anſwere any further.

Boner commaunded to aunſwere to the Articles.

Boner aunſwereth to the Articles.

As to the thyrd and fift he ſayd, he began to write hys Sermon, but being ſome wery, did onely make certayne notes therof without help of any other, ſauing that he ſhewed them to his Chaplaynes requiring them to put hym in remembraunce therof: amongeſt the which for the better ſetting forth of the kinges Maieſtyes power and authority in his minority, he had collected aſwell out of hiſtoryes, as alſo out of the Scriptures, the names of diuers young kinges, who notwithſtanding theyr minority, were faithfully & obediently honored & reputed for very true & lawfull kinges. As Henry 3. being but 9. yeares olde, Edw. 3. being but 13, yeares, Rich. 2. being but 11. yeares. Henry 6. being not fully one yere, Edw. 5. being but 11. yeres. Hen 8. being but 18. yeares of age. And out of the old Teſtament, Oſias & Achas, who were but 16. yeares olde, Salomon & Manaſſes being but 12. yeares, Ioſias, Ioachim & Ioas, being but 8. yeres of age whē they entred their raignes. Al which notes wͭ many other he had purpoſed to declare if they had come vnto his memory, as indeed they did not becauſe yͤ ſame was diſturbed partly for lacke of vſe of preaching, & partly by reaſō of a bill yͭ was deliuered him frō yͤ kings counſell, to declare the victory then had againſt the rebels in Northfolke & Deuonſhyre, which being of ſome good length confounded his memory: & partly alſo for that his book in his Sermon time fell away from him, wherein were diuers of his notes whiche hee had collected for that

Examples of kinges that were young, and yet ſufficient kinges.

Boner excuſeth his obliuion. A good Prelate that had loſt his memory for lack of Preaching.

Boners booke of notes fell from him at his Sermon, as he excuſeth.

purpoſe: So that he could not remember what he would, but yet in generality he perſwaded the people to obediẽce to the kinges Maieſtye, whoſe minoritye was manifeſtly knowne to them and all other.

Boner knew not the rebells opinion if ye will beleue him.

Then as to the 6. he ſayd he knew not the rebels opinion, and therfore could not anſwere therunto. And as for aunſwere to the 7.8.9. and 11. Articles which touched hys paſtorall office, he ſayd that notwithſtanding his manifold and great troubles, aſwel by his owne buſines and his families ſicknes, as alſo by vncharitable informatiõs made agaynſt him, yet he hath not failed to geue order vnto his officers ſtraitly to looke vnto ſuch matters, and ſuch as he hath knowne, which were very few or none, he cauſed to be puniſhed according to the lawes. Al which anſweres with other, written with his owne hand here vnder folow.

¶ The aunſweres of Boner vnto the Articles obiected to him by the kinges Commiſsioners the firſt time.

He meaneth the B. of Cant.

I Edmond Byſhop of London, vnder proteſtation heretofore by me made, exhibited and repeated before you, which in all my ſayinges and doynges, I entend to haue for repeated & rehearſed agayn to all lawfull effectes and purpoſes, for my honeſt and neceſſary defence with proteſtation alſo of the nullity and iniquity of your proceſſe I had made in this behalfe, and likewiſe of the generality, inc erteynety, obſcurity, contrariety, repugnaunce, variety, inſufficience, and innaudility of the thinges alleadged and deduced before you, agaynſt me aſwell in the commiſſion, and denounciation in diuers partes, as alſo touching the Articles and Interrogatoryes ſo miniſtred vnto me. Lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denounciation of vyle hereticall and deteſtable perſons, ſhould be vſed after this ſtraūge ſort, hauing done the beſt I coulde to declare myne obedience vnto the Kynges moſt excellent Maieſty, for the repreſſing and diſcouragyng of Rebellion, and Rebellious Perſons, and for the aduauncement of the veritye of Chriſtes true body and his preſence in the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the Aultar, for which onely the malicious denounciatours with theyr complices haue ſtudyed to moleſt and trouble me. Albeit colourably they woulde be ſeene to pretend other cauſes, eſpecially the good and tranquility of this Realme, which our Lord GOD knoweth they care nothing for, but contrarywiſe doe lette and impeache the ſame, corrupting and infecting with theyr poyſoned & falſe doctrine, & teaching the Kings Subiectes in this Realme, to the great perill and daunger therof manye wayes: doe aunſwere vnto certayne pretenſed Articles and Interrogatoryes miniſtred by you in deede vnto me the ſayde Byſhoppe the xiij. daye of September 1540. as foloweth.

After his long Periode well blowen vp with much waſt winde of words at length he beginneth to aunſwere to the articles before obiected.

To the firſt Article beginning thus: Fyrſt it is reported. &c. and ending thus: to obſerue and follow the ſame. I doe ſay and for aunſwere doe referre me vnto my former anſwers heretofore, ỹ is to wit ỹ ſayd xiij. day of September made and exhibited by me before you vnto the ſayde pretenſed denounciation, touching this matter, alleadging with all, that a Reporte of thinges doth not abſolutely proue, nor neceſſary inferre thinges to be in verye deede true after ſuch a ſort, faſhion, maner and forme, as ſometimes they be reported and rehearſed.

Aunſwere to the 2. article.

To the ſecond beginning thus. Item, whether that you. &c. and ending thus: as they were put vnto you. I doe aunſwere and ſaye, that this Article doth depend on the firſt Article, next before, which after ſuch ſort, faſhion, maner and forme, as it is deduced, was iuſtly by me in my aunſwere made vnto the ſame, denyed, and I therefore now not bounden by the law eftſoones to make other aunſwere thereunto.

Aunſwere to th. 3. article.

To the thyrd, being an Interrogatory and beginning thus. Item, whether. &c. And ending thus, ye did preach. I doe aunſwere and ſay that I beganne to write a piece of my Sermon, and being ſoone weary thereof, I did leaue off and did make onely certayne notes of my ſayd ſermon and put the ſame notes in writing of myne owne hand without helpe or Counſell of anye other, and the ſame notes did ſhewe vnto my Chaplaynes Mayſter Gylbertbourne, and Mayſter Iohn Harpſfielde, both before and alſo ſince my ſayd Sermon onely deſiring them to put me in remembraunce of my ſayde notes, and proceſſe to bee made thereupon and alſo to ſearche out for me the names of ſuch kinges as were in theyr minority, when they began to raigne.

Aunſwere to the 4. article.

To the fourth Article beginning thus. Item, that ye haue not declared. &c. And ending thus, as it is in your Article. I doe aunſwere and ſay that this Article doth depend vpon the firſt and ſeconde Articles here before denyed, deduced in ſuche ſort, maner, and forme, as is expreſſed in the ſame, and moreouer I ſaye that already aunſwere is made hereunto by me, in my former aunſweres made to the ſayd pretenſed denunciation.

To the fifth article beginning thus. Item that ye haue not. &c. And ending thus, declared it. I doe aunſwere and ſay, that this Article alſo doth depende vpon the firſt and ſecond Articles, and that aunſwere is made thereunto by me already in my former aunſweres, made vnto the ſayd pretenſed denounciation, and moreouer I doe ſay, that for the better aduauncement and ſetting forth of the kings Maieſtyes royall power and authority, euen in his minority, and for the dew obedience of his Maieſtyes Subiectes vnto his highneſſe euen during the ſayd minority, I had collected together aſwell out of hiſtoryes, as alſo out of the Scripture of the olde Teſtament, the names of diuers kinges being in minority, who notwithſtanding theyr ſayd minority, faythfully, dewly and reuerently obeyed, honoured, ſerued, taken and reputed, for very true and lawfull kinges, as Henry the third, being but nine yeares olde whẽ he entred to reigne and gouerne as king. Edward the thyrd being but thirtene yeares of age. Richard the ſecond being but eleuen yeares of age. Henrye the ſixt being not fully one yeare of age. Edward the ſixt being but eleuen yeare olde. Henry the eight being about eightene yeare olde, and ſo all theſe Kinges being in theyr minority as the Kinges Maieſty that now is, and yet hauing authority and power regall, as apperteyneth, and in the olde Teſtament Oſias and Achaz, were verye true kynges in theyr minority, being but ſixtene yeares of age. Salomon and Manaſſes being but xij. yeares of age. Ioſias and Ioachim being but eight yeares of age, and Ioas being but eight yeares olde, all which thinges I ſay I had collected, in notes communicating the ſame with my ſayde two Chapleynes, and praying them to put mee in remembraunce, if in numbring of them, or in ſetting forth my other notes at the tyme of my Sermon, I did faile, or haue defaulte of memory in any wiſe, and all theſe things I would haue ſpecially ſet forth in my ſayde Sermon if they had come to my memory, as in deede they did not partlye for diſturbaunce of my memory not accuſtomed to preache in that place, partly alſo by reaſon of a certeyne writing, that was ſent to me from the Kinges Maieſtyes priuye Counſel being of good length to declare to the people, touching the victory agaynſt the rebels, ſpecially in Norfolk, Deuonſhyre, and Cornewall, confounding my memorye in things which before I had ſet in good order, and partly alſo for the falling away of my booke in the time of my ſaid Sermon, in which were conteined diuers of my ſayd notes, touching the Kinges Maieſtyes minority, as is aforeſayd, hauing yet neuertheleſſe, otherwiſe in generality, and ſpeciality, perſwaded the people to obedience, vnto the kinges ſayd Maieſty, whoſe minority to them and all other, is notoriouſly and manifeſtly knowne, and hys Maieſty ſauing of theſe late Rebelles, faythfully, truely, and reuerently obeyed of all the reſt of his Subiectes.

To the ſixte, which beginneth, whether ye will. &c. And ending, the opinion or no. I do aunſwere and ſaye, that not knowing certaynely of which Rebelles the Articles meaneth, ne yet what theyr opiniõ is in deed I ought not to be driuen to make aunſwere hereunto, ne yet can make good and perfect aunſwere therin though I would.

To the ſeuenth Article being thus. Item that ye know &c. And ending thus. The Kinges Maieſties booke. I doe anſwere and ſay that albeit I haue by the ſpace of theſe 5. weekes, laſt paſt and more, bene in maner continually in buſineſſe and trouble, aſwell in prouiding for my ſaid Sermon, as otherwiſe, ſpecially by reaſon of my family, much vexed with ſickneſſe, to my great diſquietneſſe and charge, and alſo by reaſon that I haue bene ſo much troubled and combred, by informations and complayntes vniuſtly and vncharitably made agaynſt me, ouer & beſides the hauing of diuers and ſondry perſons, which dayly reſort and come vnto me for theyr ſuites and buſineſſe, both in matters of Iuſtice & otherwiſe, yet I haue not omitted to ſend forth to my Archdeacons and other my Officers, to enquire and ſearch diligently in this behalfe, and to certify me accordingly, and yet I can not heare certaynely of any that haue heard, bene at, or celebrate Maſſes, or Euenſong in the Latine tongue, after the olde rite and maner except it be in the houſe of my Lady Maryes Grace, or in the houſes of the Ambaſſadours, ne yet there nor in any of them, but by flying & not aſſured report, & wont knowing the names & perſõs that ſo haue heard, bene at, or celebrate the ſame, and in this behalfe how farre I can and ought to proceed and after what ſort, I do referre me vnto the ſtatute, late made in that behalfe.

To the ſeuenth Article beginning thus. Item that ye haue. &c. And ending thus: puniſhment vnto them, I do aunſwere and ſay that this Article doth depend of the next Article going before, and ſo conſequently anſwer is already therunto made.

To the ninthe Article beginning thus. Item, that ye know, &c. And ending thus: nor ſee them puniſhed. I do aunſwere and ſay that touching ſuch as eyther hath bene denounced or detected for ſuche crimynous and culpable perſons to me or my office there hath bene proceſſe already made before my ſayd offices as it appeareth in my Regiſter, and the Actes of my Courte, and moreouer I haue geuen expreſſe Commaundement to my ſayd Officers, to enquyre and ſearch for more ſuche Offenders, and to certify me thereof, that I maye procede agaynſt them accordingly.

To the tenth Article beginning thus. Item ye were &c. And ending thus: The kinges Maieſtyes authority in his minority. I doe aunſwere and ſay, that as touching the tyme mentioned in the Article, and the declaration to be made by Doctour Coxe. I doe not well remember, neither the ſayd tyme nor yet the ſpeciall poyntes, & ſubſtaunce of the ſayd Doctour Coxes declaration, truth it is, I was at a Sermon made at Paules Croſſe by the ſayd Doctour Coxe, wherein he inuayed againſt my Lord of Wincheſter, and as farre as I can now call to my remembraunce, it was touching diſobedience, wherewith my Lord of Wincheſter by the ſayd Doctour Coxe ſeemed to be charged, and for a Sermon alſo that my Lord of Wincheſter was ſeemed to haue made before the Kinges Maieſty in the Court of Weſtminſter.

To the eleuenth Article beyng by it ſelfe deliuered vnto me the 14. of this preſent September. 1549. in the night at my houſe at London beginning thus. Item that the rites, &c. and ending thus. The miſuſes thereof. I doe aunſwere and ſay that I haue already geuen commaundement to mine officers to make diligent ſearch and inquiry herein and to certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceede therein as apperteineth, and would before this time my ſelfe haue alſo enquyred, and proceeded, had I not bene ſo of al ſides oppreſt and peſtred, with multitude of other neceſſary buſines as I haue bene to my great diſquietneſſe & trouble.

When he had ended the reading of theſe anſweres, the Commiſſioners ſayd vnto him that he had in the ſame very obſcurely aunſwered vnto the 5. Article miniſtred the 13. of Septēber: wherfore they willed him there expreſſely to aunſwere by mouth, whether he had according to the Iniunctions deliuered vnto him, declared the Article beginning thus: You ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermō that our authority. &c. wherevnto he agayne anſwered, that he had already made a full and ſufficient aunſwere in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

The Iudges then replied, that the aunſweres already made in that part were obſcure and inſufficiēt, ſo that it appeared not certaynely whether he had preached in deed according to the ſame Iniunction or not: and therefore they eftſoones willed him (as before) directly to aunſwere whether he had ſo accordingly preached or no, the Byſhop ſtill yet aunſwering as before.

The Iudges agayne demaunded of him, whether hee would otherwiſe aunſwere or no. To the which he ſayde no, vnleſſe the law did compell him. Then they aſked him whether he thought the law did compell him to aunſwere more fully or no? He aunſwered no: adding farther that he was not bound to make aunſwere to ſuch poſitions.

The Commiſſioners then ſeeing his froward contumacy, told him playnly that if he perſiſted thus in his frowardnes, and would not otherwiſe anſwere, they would according to law, take him pro confeſſo, and ex abundanti receiue witneſſe agaynſt him, & therewithall did agayne recite vnto him 6. of the firſt and principall articles, demaūding his final anſwere therunto. Who ſaid (as before) that he had already fully anſwered them by writing, but where they requeſted to haue his notes, which he ſayde he hadde made of his ſermon, they ſhould haue thē if they would ſend for thē. And whereas in his aunſwere to the 6. Article he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the Iudges declared vnto him that theyr opinion was: That the kinges maieſty before his grace came to the age of 21. yeares, had not ſo full authority to make lawes and ſtatutes, as when he came to farther yeares: and that his ſubiectes were not bound to obey the lawes and ſtatutes made in his young age. Whereunto the Byſhop aunſwered that he was not of the opinion of the Rebels mentioned in that Article, as did well appeare by his aunſweres aſwell vnto the denunciation, as alſo vnto the 5. Article obiected agaynſt him.

Which ended they perceiuing his ſcornefull careleſnes, preſently did admitte for witnes vpon the Articles obiected agaynſt him, Mayſter Iohn Cheke, Henry Markehā, Iohn Ioſeph, Iohn Dowglas, and Richard Chambers, whome alſo they onerated with a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, truely to aunſwere and depoſe vppon the ſame Articles in the preſence of the Byſhop, who vnder his former Proteſtation, like a wilye Lawyer, proteſted of the nullity of the receiuing, admitting, and ſwearing of thoſe witneſſes, with Proteſtation alſo to obiect agaynſt the perſons & ſayinges of the witneſſes for the time and place conuenient: demaunding alſo a competent and lawfull time to miniſter Interrogatories agaynſt them, with a copy of all the Actes to that day. Wherwith the delegates were wel pleaſed, and aſſigned him to miniſter his Interrogations, agaynſt Maiſter Cheeke on that preſent day, and agaynſt the reſt the next day before noone.

Witneſſes agaynſt Boner.

Proteſtation and obiections of Boner againſt the Witneſſes.

All which Interrogatories who ſo liſteth to peruſe, may here vnder read the ſame as foloweth.

¶ Certayne Interrogatories exhibited by Boner to be miniſtred agaynſt the foreſayd witneſſes, vpon the Articles aboue mentioned

18. September.

I Edmund Byſhop of London vnder my Proteſtations heretofore made, before you, doe miniſter theſe interrogatoryes enſewing, agaynſt all and ſinguler the pretenced witneſſes already receiued and ſworne as hereafter to be receyued and ſworne agaynſt me the ſayd Byſhoppe in thys matter, requiring and deſiring vnder the ſayd Proteſtation, that all and ſinguler the ſayde pretenced witneſſes may be examined in vertue of theyr othe vppon the ſayde Interrogatoryes, and euerye part and percell of them.

1. Firſt that all and ſinguler the ſayd witneſſes in vertue of theyr othe be examined generally and ſpecially of al and ſinguler Interrogatories, commōly vſed and accuſtomed to be made in ſuch matters, eſpecially touching their age, theyr condition their dwelling place, now and heretofore, by the ſpace of theſe 12. yeares laſt paſt, with whom all thys tyme they haue alſo dwelled, and bene familiar or conuerſant withall, with the names of the places and perſons and other circumſtances expedient in this behalfe, and by whom they haue bene foūd and mayntained, and for what purpoſe. Et interrogetur coniunctim, diuiſim, & de quolibet.

2. Item, touching the pretenſed Articles made in thys behalfe, and Iniunctions mentioned in the ſame, that they and euery of them in virtue of theyr ſayd othe, maye be examined whether they knowe the ſayde Articles and Iniunctions to be true in all parts, how they know them to be true, by whom, when, and in what place depoſing the formall wordes of the ſayd pretenſed Articles and Iniunctions in eſpecially as they are deduced. The firſt Article. And therein let them depoſe, how he or they knew the ſaid Articles and Iniunctions to be receiued from the Kyngs Maieſty, how alſo he or they knewe that I the ſayd Byſhoppe receiued the ſayde Iniunctions at the handes of the Lord Protectors Grace. How alſo they were ſitting in the Counſell Chamber, moreouer which were the reſt of the Counſell then ſitting, ſpecifiyng theyr names and ſurnames, or titles. Alſo whether the x. of Auguſt this preſent yeare, or of the laſt yeare, moreouer whether the Articles or iniunctions were ioyned together, or apart, whether the tenor thereof, and the forme and maner of the doing and folowing, touching me the ſayd Byſhop and alſo touching the preaching therunto, as is deduced in the firſt Article, declaring moreouer, when, where, and how I the ſayd Byſhop accepted the ſayde Iniunctions or promiſed to obſerue and folow the ſame, and by what expreſſe wordes. & interrog. vt ſupra.

Boners interrogatoryes concerning the firſt article.

3. Item, whether they or any of them, were preſent at my laſt ſermon, made at Paules Croſſe, where they then ſtode, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the ſayd Sermon, how long they taryed therat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended, what were the formall wordes, or at the leaſt wiſe in ſubſtaunce that I the ſayd Byſhop then vttered, or wherewith they were offended, and by what occaſion, and who with him or then did heare it, & in what place theyr conteſtes did ſtand how long they taryed, and at what part they came thyther or departed thence. & interrog. vt ſupra.

4. Item, whether the ſayd witneſſe or any of them, were deſired or required, by any perſon or perſons, to be wytneſſe in this matter, and by whom, when where and how the ſame was done, and in whoſe preſence, & interrogetur vt ſupra.

5. Item, whether they or any of them had conſulted wyth other to come vnto my ſayd ſermon, for what purpoſe, by whom they were induced and moued and how they agreed, and what they did after my ſayd ſermon for the impugnation or deprauing therof & interrog. vt ſupra.

6. Item, whether they or any of them haue bene or be conuerſant or familiar, with any that hath bene knowne, noted, or reputed, for a ſacramentary, in denying the veritye of Chriſtes true and corporall preſence in the ſacrament of the aultar, and whether he and they deteſt and abhorre & abſteine from the company of all ſuche perſons, as be vnknowne, noted, or ſuſpected, for ſacramentaryes in that behalfe, and what opinion he and they haue with theyr conteſtes touching the ſayd preſence. & interrog. vt ſupra.

7. Item, whether they or any of them, haue wiſhed me the ſayd Biſhop to be depriued or put in priſon, and whether they or any of thē, haue reported and ſayd that I ſhall be depriued or impriſoned, reioyſing thereof, and for what cauſe they haue ſo wiſhed or reported, or any of theyr conteſtes. & interrog. vt ſupra.

8. Item, whether they or any of them haue bene in times paſt, a Frier, Preacher minorite, Auguſtine, or Carmelite, Monke, Canon obſeruant, or religious perſon, profeſſing ſolemnely pouertye, chaſtitye, and obedience, according to the lawes, cuſtomes, or ordinaunces of this Realme, then vſed and obſerued. & interrog. vt ſupra.

9. Item, whether they or any of them, being ſo profeſſed haue bene or be ſince that time maryed to any perſon, hauing likewiſe or otherwiſe bene profeſſed or loſe, or bene a widow and how oft they haue bene maryed, and whether any of theyr wiues bene yet aliue. & interrog. vt ſupra.

10. Item, whether they or any of them haue read the commiſſion in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or thinke, that the commiſſion, Iniunctions, Articles, and denunciation do agree togethers or no, & wherin they thinke or knowe diſcrepantes, or diuerſityes to be betwene them in this behalfe. & interrog. vt ſupra.

Interrogatoryes concerning th 2. article.

11. Item, if they or any of them do depoſe, that I haue not ſincerely and wholy declared as is conteined in the ſecond article, let him and euery of them be examined in vertue of theyr othe, how they do know it, and by what meanes, declaring how they thinke to haue knowledge therein with them. & interrogetur vt ſupra.

Interrogatoryes concerning the 4. article.

12. Item, if they or any of thē do depoſe that I haue tranſgreſſed and offended in the fourth article beginning thus. Item that ye haue not declared. &c. Let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of theyr othe, whether they know that theſe wordes folowing, as Mattens, Maſſes, now ſayd after that ſort in this Realme: were and be put in the Iniunction pretended to be miniſtred vnto me the ſayd Biſhop or no. & interrogetur vt ſupra.

Interrogatoryes concerning the 5. article.

13. Item, if they or any of them do depoſe that I haue trangreſſed and offended touching the 5. Article, let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of theyr othe, whether the Iniſctions pretended in this behalfe were ſigned with the kinges vſuall ſignet, or rather at all, whether it was ſealed with any ſeale, whether it was ſubſcribed by the L. Protectors grace, or any of the priuye Counſell, whether it was in full Counſell ſitting deliuered vnto mee by the Lord protector, whether it was deliuered to me, the reſt of the kinges Maieſtyes priuye Counſell there then ſittyng, whether the ſayd dayes as is conteined in the firſt Article, by whom it was written when and where. & interrogetur vt ſupra.

Interrogatoryes concerning the 6. article.

14. Item, if they or any of them do depoſe, that I do defēd the opinion of the rebels, let them be examined, & euery of thē what rebels they be, what is their opinion, & how the lawe of this Realme doth determine therein, declaring by what wordes & factes I the ſayd Biſhop did ſpeake & do, and at what time and place, and in whoſe preſence, ſuche wordes or act was ſpoken or done. & interrog. vt ſupra.

Interrogatoryes concerning the 7. article.

15. Item, if they or any of them doe depoſe that I knowe or haue heard ſay credibilye that ſince the time of the ſayde pretenſed Iniunctions certayn perſons within my dioces haue heard, bene at, or celebrate Maſſe or Euenſong in the latine tongue, and after the olde rite and maner, other then according to the kinges maieſtyes booke, let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of his ſayd othe, how they know that I ſo know, or haue heard ſay, and of the name or names, of the partye or partyes, and of the tyme and place when, and where it was, and whether any denunciation or detection were according to the ſtatutes and ordinaunces of this Realme, made vnto me or no. & interrog. vt ſupra.

Interrogatoryes concerning the 9. article.

16. Item, if they or any of them doe ſay, that I knowe or haue heard ſay, of ſuch notable adulterers, & offences mentioned in the 9. article, let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of his and theyr othe, that they do knowe, that I do know, or haue heard ſay, and who be the perſōs, where they dwell, who hath denounced or detected them, and how I could and ought to haue cited them & puniſhed them in this behalfe. & interrog. vt ſupra.

17. Item if they or any of them doe ſay that I knowe certeinely nowe, what Doctour Coxe declared in hys Sermon at Paules Croſſe, as is deduced in the 10. Article, let them be inquired and euery of them in virtue of theyr oth, how they can proue it, by whom, and after what ſort. & interrog. vt ſupra.

18. Item, if they or any of them do ſay, that I do know, or heare certaynely of the diuerſity of the rites of the commō ſeruice of the church, nowe ſet forth, and of the miniſters & parſons tranſgreſſing therein, let them and euery of them, in virtue of theyr othe bee examined, whether there hath bene any detection, or denuntiation made to me thereupon, and how they know or can proue, that I haue bene culpable and negligent herein. & interrog. vt ſupra.

19. Item, whether they or any of them, haue bene ſpoken vnto, or ſolicited herein to teſtify and after what ſorte, by whom, when, and where, and what was theyr conference and communication therin. & interrog. ſupra.

20. Item that they and euery of them declare and ſhewe the true and ſufficiēt cauſe of theyr teſtimony in all and ſingular the premiſſes.

After this the Iudges delegate aſſigned the Biſhop to appeare againe before them vpon wedneſday the next enſuing, betwene the houres of 7. and 8. of the clocke before noone, in the Hall of the Archbiſhops manor of Lambeth, there to ſhew the cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo, vpon al the Articles wherunto he had not thē fully anſwered, and to ſee farther proceſſe done in the matter: and ſo (he ſtill proteſting of the nullity and inuadility of all theyr procedinges) they did for that preſent depart.

In this meane while the Commiſſioners certified the kinges Maieſty and his Counſell of the Biſhops demeanour towards them, and what obiections he had made agaynſt theyr procedinges, making doubtes and ambiguities whether by the tenor of his maieſties Commiſſion the Commiſſioners might proceed not onely at the denuntiation, but alſo of theyr meere office: and alſo whether they mought aſwell determine, as heare the cauſe. whereupon his Maieſty by aduiſe aforeſayd, for the better vnderſtanding therof, did the 17. of September ſend vnto the Commiſſioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretatiō of his will and pleaſure in the foreſayd Commiſſion, geuing them hereby full authority to proceed at theyr owne diſcretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenor therof enſuing.

¶ A certayne declaration or interpretation of the king touching certayne poyntes and doubtes in his former Commiſsion, with licence geuen to the Commiſsioners, as well to determine as to heare in the caſe of Boner.

EDward the 6. by the grace of God king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendor of the fayth and of the Church of England and alſo of Ireland in earth the ſupreme head, to the moſt reuerend father in God Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of England, the right reuerend Father in God Nicholas Byſhop of Rocheſter, our truſty and right welbeloued Counſellours Syr William Peter, and Syr Thomas Smyth Knightes or two principal Secretaries, and William May Doctor of law Ciuill aud Deane of Paules greeting. Where we of late, by the aduiſe of our moſt entyrely beloued Vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernor of our Perſon, and Protectour of our Realmes, Dominions and ſubiects, and the reſt of our priuy Counſel, haue addreſſed vnto you. 5.4.3. of you our letters patentes of Cōmiſsion bearing date at Weſtminſter the 8. daye of September in the third yeare of our raign, willing you by force therof to heare the matters and cauſe of contempt therein expreſſed, and calling before you, aſwell the denouncers therof, as alſo the right reuerend Father in God, Edmund Biſhop of London, agaynſt whom ſuch denunciation is made as in our ſayd letters of Commiſsion more at large doth appeare, we be now credibly informed that vpon the ſayd Commiſsion diuers doubtes & ambiguities hath and may ariſe.

As whether you by the tenour of the ſayd Commiſsion may proceed not onely at the denunciation, but alſo of mere office.

And alſo whether ye may aſwell determine as heare the ſayd cauſe.

For further declaration whereof, we doe now interpret and declare that our full minde and pleaſure, by the aduiſe aforeſayd, was by our Cōmiſsion and now is, that you ſhould proceede aſwell by mere office, as alſo by the way of denūciatiō & by either of them, or any other wayes or meanes at your diſcretiōs, wherby the truth and merites of the cauſe may be moſt ſpeedely and beſt knowne, and that ye might and may aſwell finally determine as heare the ſayd matters in all your orders and doinges, cutting away all vayne and ſuperfluous delayes, & hauing reſpect to the onely trueth of the matter. And this our declaration we ſend vnto you of our ſure knowledge and meere motion by the aduiſe aforeſayd, ſupplying all default, ceremony and poynt of the lawe, which hath, ſhall, or maye ariſe of your doinges by reaſon of anye default of wordes in our ſayde former Commiſsion or any parte thereof, any law, ſtatute, or act to the contrary notwithſtanding, and therfore we will and commaund you to proceed in the ſayde matters accordingly, aſwell to our foreſayd Commiſsion, as thys our declaration, and ſo faile ye not. In witneſſe whereof we haue made theſe our letters patentes. At Hampton Court, the xvij. day of September.

¶ The fourth Seſsion agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London before the kinges Commiſsioners in the great Hall at Lambeth the eight of September.

After this declaration being ſent downe and receyued from the Kyng, the Byſhop of London (according to the Commiſsioners aſsignement the Monday before.) appeared agayne before them vpon wedneſday, the xviij. of September, in the great Hall at Lambeth. where vnder his wonted Proteſtation, firſt he declared that althoughe he had already ſufficiently aunſwered all thinges: yet further to ſatiſfy the terme aſsigned vnto him, to ſhewe cauſe why he ought not to be declared pro confeſſo, vpon the Articles theretofore miniſtred agaynſt him, and to the which he had not fully aunſwered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibite vnto them, why he ought not ſo to be declared, which he read there openly. Wherin firſt vnder his accuſtomed vnreuerent termes of pretenſed, vniuſt, & vnlawfull proceſſe and aſsignation, he ſaid he was not bound by the law (for good & reaſonable cauſes) to obey the ſame, eſpecially theyr aſsignation.

And firſt, for that the ſame was onely pronounced by Syr Thomas Smith, one of the pretenſed Commiſsioners, without the conſent of his pretenſed Colleagues: or at the leaſt he as a Commiſsioner did preſcribe the Actuary what to write, whiche he ought not to haue done, becauſe by law he ought not to haue intermedled therein, for that his Colleagues did the firſt day begin to ſit as Iudges agaynſt him the Biſhop, without the preſence of the ſayde Syr Thomas Smith.

And ſecondly becauſe his aunſweres, aſwell vnto the pretenſed denounciation, as alſo vnto all the articles therefore obiected agaynſt him, were as full and ſufficient, as the law required (or at leaſt wyſe there was nothyng good in law apparant to the contrary) and therfore he was not enforced by lawe farther to aunſwere without farther allegation.

And becauſe alſo, that all theyr proceedings therto were ſo extraordinarily done, that they had confounded all maner of lawfull proceſſe, ſometimes proceding ad denunciandū ſometimes ex officio mero, and ſometimes ex officio mixto, contrary vnto the kinges Eccleſiaſticall lawes, and contrary alſo vnto theyr Commiſsion in that behalfe.

And likewiſe becauſe diuers of the Articles pretenſed were ſuperfluous and impertinēt, not reuealing though they were proued, conteyning in them vntruth and falſity, ſome obſcure and vncertaine, ſome depending vpon other articles, either denyed, or at the leaſt qualified, ſome captious and deceitfull to bring the aunſwere into a ſnare, and ſome alſo beyng Articles of the lawe, in ſuch ſort, as by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes of this Realme the kinges ſubiectes were not bound to make aunſwere thereunto.

And laſtly, becauſe that Syr Thomas Smith Secretary to the kinges Maieſty, when that the Byſhop was laſt with the Counſell in the Counſell Chamber at White Hall, after the departure of the Lorde Protectour and the reſt of the counſell, did himſelfe alone (without any other) write certayne Articles or Iniūctions (amongeſt the which was that of the kinges authority in his minority) and afterward did copy the ſame at a table within the ſayd counſell Chamber, and ſo himſelfe did deliuer them vnto hym. By reaſon whereof that is not true, which in the Cōmiſsion, denunciation and Articles was deduced and obiected agaynſt him.

When theſe fonde and friuolous obiections were thus read, the archbiſhop ſeing his inordinate and vntollerable contempt towardes them, charged him very ſharply ſaying: My Lord of Londō, if I had ſittē here onely as Archbiſhop of Canterbury, it had bene your part to haue vſed your ſelfe more lowly, obediently & reuerently towardes me then ye haue: but ſeing that I with my Colleagues ſit here now as Delegates from the kinges Maieſty, I muſt tell you plaine, you haue behaued your ſelfe to to much inordinately. For at euery time that we haue ſittē in cōmiſsion, you haue vſed ſuch vnſeemely faſhions without all reuerence and obedience, geuing tauntes and checkes, aſwell vnto vs, with diuers of the ſeruantes and Chaplaynes, as alſo vnto certayn of the aunciēteſt that be here, calling thē fooles and Dawes, with ſuch like, as that you haue geuen to the multitude an intolerable exāple of diſobediēce. And I enſure you my Lord, there is you and one other Biſhop whō I could name, that haue vſed your ſelues ſo contēptuouſly & diſobediently, as the like I think hath not before bene heard of or ſene: whereby ye haue done much harme.

The wordes of the Archbiſhop to Boner.

At which wordes, the groſſe Byſhop (a Beaſt a man might iuſtly terme him) ſayd ſcornefully to the Archbiſhop you ſhew your ſelfe to be a meete Iudge.

Boners ſcornefull aunſwere to the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop then proceeding, layde to his charge how vndiſcreetly the laſt day in the Chappell he had called all the the people woodcockes.

The Archbyſhop.

Whereunto he aunſwered, that the laſt Seſsion William Latimer one of the denouncers beyng there preſent, had practiſed with the audience that when he lifted vp his hand to them, they ſhoulde (and did as it were by a token geuen them) ſay as he ſayd, and doe as he did: as one tyme vpon the lifting vp of his hand, they cryed nay, nay, and at an other time yea, yea, & laughed they could not tell wherat, with ſuch like faſhions.

Boner.

Unto which wordes Latimer ſeing his vayne ſuſpition, replied, ſaying that he lifted not vp his hād at any time but onely to cauſe them hold theyr peace.

The vaine ſuſpicion of Boner.

Then Secretary Smith ſayd to the Biſhop, that in all his writinges and aunſweres that he had hitherto layd in, he would not once acknowledge them as the kings Commiſsioners, but vſed alwayes Proteſtations with diuers incke horne and naughty termes, calling them pretenſed Commiſsioners, pretenſed Delegates, pretenſed Commiſsion, pretenſed articles, pretenſed proceedinges, ſo that all thinges were pretenſed with him. In deede (ſayde he) ſuch termes the Proctors of churches vſe, to delay matters for theyr Clientes when they will not haue the truth known; But you my Lord to vſe vs the kinges maieſtyes cōmiſsioners wt ſuch termes, you do therin very lewdly & naughtely. And I pray you what other thing did the rebels.

The wordes of Secretary Smith to Boner.

All thinges pretenſed with Boner that made agaynſt him.

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the King and his Counſell, they woulde not credite them, but ſayd they were none of the kinges or his Counſelles, but Gentlemens doings, and made vnder a buſhe, with ſuch like termes. But now my Lord, becauſe hitherto we can not make you confeſſe whether in your Sermon that you preached, ye omitted the Article touching ye kings maieſtyes authority in his tender age or not, but ſtill haue ſayd that ye will not otherwiſe anſwere then ye haue done, and that ye haue already ſufficiently aunſwered (with many ſuch like delayes) ſo as we canne by no meanes induce you to confeſſe playnely what you did, yea or nay: therfore I ſay, to the intent we may come to the truth, we haue dilated the matter more at large, and haue drawne out other Articles whereunto you ſhall be ſworne, and then I truſt you will dally with vs no more as you haue done. For although you make your anſweres in writing, yet you ſhall be examined by vs and make your aunſweres by mouth to the ſame Articles, or els you ſhall do worſe. In deede I do not (as I ſayd) diſcommende your Proteſtations and termes of law, if it were in a young Proctour that woulde helpe his Clientes cauſe: but in you it may not be ſuffered ſo to vſe the kinges Commiſsioners.

Boner and the rebels compared together.

Then did the Delegates miniſter vnto him certayne new Articles and Iniunctions, and did there onerate him with a corporall othe in forme of law to make a full & true aunſwere thereunto. The Byſhop notwithſtanding ſtill (according to his wonted maner) vnder his former Proteſtation proteſted of the nullity and inuadility of theſe articles, Iniunctions, & proceſſe, deſiring alſo a Copy therof, with a competent time to aunſwere thereunto. To whō the Iudges decreed a Copy, commaunding him to come to his examination to the Archbiſhop the next day at 8. of the clocke before noone.

New articles & Iniunctions miniſtred to Boner.

Boner againe aſſigned the next day to appeare.

Then the Commiſsioners did receiue for witneſſe, vpon thoſe new Articles nowe miniſtred vnto the Byſhop, Syr Iohn Maſon, Syr Thomas Chalenor Knyghtes, Maiſter William Cicill, Armygell Wade, and Wylliam Hunninges Clerkes to the Kinges Maieſties Counſell, whom they onerated with a corporall othe in the preſence of the Biſhoppe, who ſtill proteſted of the nullity of theyr receiuing and ſwearing, obiecting agaynſt them and theyr ſayinges: and therwith repeating his Interrogatories already miniſtred, ſayde he had moe to miniſter by to morow at 8. of the clocke.

New witneſſes againſt Boner.

Anno 1549.

Boners information agaynſt M. Williã Latimer Preacher.

The ſame day and time likewiſe the Biſhop exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners an information, or rather cauillation agaynſt william Latimer, for that he, notwithſtanding that he had in all his talke pretended the great tranquility of this Realme, which was greatly impeached and hindered when that any the kinges ſubiects ſhould think that his maieſty hath not as full power and authority now all in his minority, as when his Maieſty came to perfecte age, or ſhould thinke that his ſubiectes were not bound to obey the ſame, yet hath of late there in opē audience reported, that he hath heard with his eares diuers perſons vnreuerently ſpeak of the kings Maieſty ſaying: tuſh yͤ king is but a babe or child, what lawes can he make? or what cā he do in his minority? let him haue a toſt & butter or bread and milke, & that is more meter for him thē to make lawes or ſtatutes or bind vs to obey thē: we are not bound to obey till he be paſt his minority, & come to his full and perfect age: with the hearing of which wordes the Byſhoppe alſo charged the Commiſſioners, and that becauſe Latymer at the recitall of the ſame in theyr preſēce, was neither by them cōtroled, nor yet cauſed to bring forth the ſame perſons, but was let paſſe in ſilence, ſauing that he the ſayd biſhop did ſpeake agaynſt him in that behalfe, ſaying that he would detecte him, becauſe that, as it appeared he had of long time cōcealed the wordes and not opened the ſame in ſuch place and to ſuch perſōs as he ought to haue done, but had kept the perſon and ſayinges of them ſecret, either not taking the matter of ſuch importaunce as he pretended, or els therby vnfaythfully behauing himſelfe, towardes his Prince, and therfore was worthy with his ayders, fauourers, and couſellers to be puniſhed.

W. Latimer impeached of Boner for concealing of treaſon.

These vayne cauillations ended, the Commiſſioners for that day finiſhed theyr Seſſion, aſſigning the Byſhop to appeare in that ſame place again vpon monday thē next folowing betwene the houres of 6. and 9. in the forenoone, then and there to ſhew a finall cauſe why he ſhould not be declared *pro confeſſo*. And ſo deliuering him a copye of the articles, they departed: the contentes whereof enſue.

A new terme aſſigned to Boner to appeare.

¶ Articles and poſitions geuen by the kinges Commiſsioners to the Byſhop of London, to be aunſwered by him ioyntly and ſeuerally in euery poynt the ſecond time.

Articles agaynſt Boner miniſtred the ſecond time.

1. That ye were ſent for to the Lord Protectors Grace, and the reſt of the Counſell, and came thyther into the Court at weſtminſter the x. of Auguſt, or ſome other day of the ſame moneth.

2. Item, that at the ſame time the Lord Protectour and diuers other of the Kinges Maieſties priuye Counſell, ſitting in Counſell, ye were called in, and there the ſayde Lorde Protectour did on the Kinges Maieſtyes behalfe declare vnto you diuers faultes & abuſes the which were found in you, and gaue you ſtrayt charge to amend them, adding and threatning that els you ſhoulde be otherwyſe looked vnto.

3. Item, that the ſayd Lord Protectors Grace did declare vnto you for better admonition & amendment of you, that ye ſhould haue from the kinges Maieſty by his aduiſe and the reſt of the priuy Counſell, certayne Articles, and Iniunctions to obſerue and folow geuen you in writing.

4. Item, that there and then the ſayd Lord Protectour commaunded Sir Thomas Smith Knight, Secretary to the Kinges Maieſty, to read a certayne proper booke of Iniunctions and Articles vnto you, the ſayd Secretarye ſtanding at the Counſell tables end, and you ſtanding by, and hearing the ſame.

5. Item, that the ſayde Lord Protectour there and then willed to be reformed certayne thinges in the ſayd booke of Iniūctions, as where ye wer appoynted to preach ſooner, at your requeſt it was appoynted vnto you to preache the Sonday three weekes after the date of the ſayd writing.

6. Item, that in the ſayd Articles the Lord Protectours Grace found fault becauſe an Article or commaundement vnto you ſet forth and declared of the Kynges Maieſtyes authority now in his yong age, of his lawes and ſtatutes in the ſame tyme was omitted, and therefore either immediatly before you came into the Counſell Chamber, or you being preſent and ſtanding by, commaunded the ſayde Secretary Smith to put it in writing and annexe it to the reſt of the Articles.

7. Item, that the ſayd Secretary Smith, then and there did immediately vpon commaundement, write into the ſayd booke or paper, wherein the reſt of the Articles were written, the ſayd article: *videlicet*, you ſhall alſo ſet forth in your ſermon, that the authority of our royall power is (as truth it is) of no leſſe authority and force in this our yong age, then was of any of our Predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appeare by example of Ioſias & other young kinges in the ſcripture, and therefore all our ſubiectes to be no leſſe bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, then if we were of 30. or 40. yeares of age.

8. Item, that the Lord Protectour did ſo deliuer you the booke or paper, willing firſt the ſayd Secretary Smyth to amend all thinges as he had appoynted.

9. Item, that ye then and there did promiſe to the Lorde Protectors grace, that ye would obſerue & fulfill all in the ſayd Iniunctions and articles conteined.

10. Item, that all thinges in the ſayde booke, put in and mentioned by the ſayd Secretary Smith, and the ſame, ſo read vnto you by him & you firſt agreeing that all that was by him ſo written, was by the L. Protectors appoyntmēt; the ſayd book was ſo deliuered vnto you then and there by the ſayd Secretary Smith in the Councell Chamber.

11. Item, that you haue the ſayd booke in your poſſeſſion, or els know where it is, the true copy whereof in effect is annexed to theſe articles.

12. Item, that ye were cōmaūded in the ſayd Iniunctions to preach the Sonday three weekes after the deliuery therof at Paules, & there to entreat vpon certayn articles, as is ſpecified in the ſayd booke of Iniunctions, and ſpecially the ſayd article beginning. Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth, & ending. 30. or 40. yeares of age.

13. Item, that for the accompliſhment of part of the ſayde Iniunctions & commaundement, you did preach the firſt day of September laſt paſt at Paules Croſſe.

14. Item, that at the ſayd ſermon, contrary to your Iniunctions, ye omitted & left out yͤ ſayde article beginning: Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your ſermon. &c. and ending 30. or 40. yeares of age.

15. Ye ſhall alſo aunſwere whether ye thinke and beleue that the kinges Maieſties ſubiectes be bound to obey as well the lawes, ſtatutes, proclamations, and other ordinaunces made now in this young age of the kinges maieſty, as the lawes, ſtatutes, proclamations, & ordinaunces made by his highnes Progenitors.

These Articles being thus miniſtred to the ſayd Byſhop of London, the next day being Thurſday and the 19. of September, the afore named Commiſſioners ſat in the Archbiſhops chamber of preſence at Lambeth, attendyng the cōming of the B. of London. Before whō there appeared Rob. Iohnſon the Biſhops Regiſter, and there did declare vnto the Commiſſioners that the biſhop his maiſter could not at that time perſonally appeare before thē without great daunger of his bodily health, becauſe that he feared to fall into a feuer by reaſō of a cold that he had takē by to much ouerwatching himſelfe the laſt night before, wherby he was compelled to keepe his bed: neuertheleſſe, if he could without daunger of his bodely health, he would appeare before them the ſame day at after noone. This excuſe the Iudges were cōtēt to take it in good part. Yet ſaid M. Secretary Smyth, that if he were ſicke in deede the excuſe was reaſonable and to be allowed: but (quoth he) I promiſe you my Lord hath ſo dallied with vs, & vſed hitherto ſuch delayes, that we may miſtruſt that this is but a fayned excuſe: howbeit vpon your faythfull declaratiō we are content to tary vntil one of the clocke at afternoone, and ſo they did, willing M. Iohnſon to ſignify then vnto them, whether the Biſhop could appeare or not.

At whiche houre Robert Iohnſon and Richard Rogers gentleman of the Biſhops chamber appeared agayn before the Commiſſioners, declaring that (for the cauſes afore alledged) their maiſter could not appeare at that tyme nether. Whereupon M. Secretary Smith ſayd vnto them, my Lord of Londō your maiſter hath vſed vs very homely, and ſought delayes hitherto, and now perhaps perceiuing theſe laſt Articles to touch the quicke, and therefore loth to come to his anſwere, he fayneth himſelfe ſicke. But becauſe he ſhall not ſo deceiue vs any more, we wyll ſend the Knight Marſhall vnto him, willing him, if he be ſycke in deed, to let him alone, for that is a reaſonable excuſe, but if he be not ſicke, then to bring him forth with vnto vs: for I promiſe you he ſhall not vſe vs as he hath done, we will not take it at his handes: and therefore M. Iohnſon (ſayd he) you do the part of a truſty ſeruant as becommeth you, but it is alſo your part to ſhewe my Lord of his ſtubborne hart and diſobedience, which doth him more harme the he is aware of. What, thinketh he to ſtand with a king in his own Realmes? Is this the part of a ſubiect? nay, I weene we ſhall haue a new Tho. Becket. Let him take heede, for if he play theſe parts, he may fortune to be made ſhorter by the head. He may appeale if he thinke good: but whyther? to the Byſhop of Rome? So he may helpe hymſelfe forwards, I ſay he can not appeale but to the ſame king who hath made vs his Iudges, and to the Bench of his counſaile: and how they will take this matter when they heare of it, I doubt not. He would make mē beleue that he were called before vs for preaching his opinion of the ſacramēt, wherein I aſſure you he did both falſly & naughtily, yea & lewdly, and more then became hym, and more then he had in commaundement to do, for he was not willed to ſpeake of that matter, & perhaps he may heare more of that hereafter: but yet he will lay no ſuch thing to his charge, and therefore we wyll not haue hym to delay vs as he doth. Which ended, the delegates notwithſtanding decreed to tary agayne for him vntill two of the clocke at after noone the nexte day, beyng Friday, and the twenty of September.

The v. Action or proceſſe the xx. of September, agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London, before the kings Commiſſioners.

AT which day and tyme the Biſhop appeared hymſelfe perſonally before thē in the ſame chamber of preſence, where firſt he did exhibite his anſwers vnto the laſt Articles miniſtred vnto hym the 18. of September. The contents wherof here vnder follow.

¶The aunſwer of the ſayd Biſhop of London, made vnto the Articles miniſtred vnto hym the ſecond tyme.

The aunſwers of me Edmund biſhop of London, vnder myne accuſtomed proteſtation geuen vnto the Articles of late miniſtered and exhibited agaynſt me here in this court, with ſpeciall proteſtation alſo, that I doe not intend in any wiſe to make aunſwere to any of the ſayd articles, otherwiſe then the lawe of this Realme doth bynd me to doe, nor to ſpeake or ſay contrary to any thyng that in my former aunſweres I haue ſayd or done, and that if ſo chaunce me to do, it is not nor ſhall not be with my good will, or full conſent, and that ſo ſoone as I ſhall perceyue it, I intend to reuoke it, and ſo now as than, and then as now, doe ſo in that caſe reuoke, to all honeſt and lawfull purpoſes.

To the firſt Article I do aunſwere and ſay, that there was a Meſſenger whoſe name I knowe not, that came vnto me to Fulham as I nowe remember, but I doe not remember the day thereof, and he ſayd that my Lord Protectours grace required me to come by and by to ſpeake with hym. And thereupon hauyng made the ſayd meſſenger to breake hys faſte, I repayred to the Court at Weſtminſter, but not (vpon the tenth day of Auguſt, but ſome other day of the ſayd month.

To the ſecond Article I doe ſay, that it is obſcure, incertayne and ouer generall, eſpecially in thoſe at the ſame tyme, which may be referred to the tenth of Auguſt, and than aunſwere already is made thereunto, and it may be referred to ſome other day of the ſayd month of Auguſt, either before the x. of Auguſt or after. And becauſe it remayneth vndeclared, I am not bound in law to aunſwer vnto it, neyther yet to thoſe wordes and ſentence in the ſayd Article (it is to wit) then and there, for they without declaration, are incertaine, obſcure and generall, and I before the ſpecification, and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an aunſwer, ſpecially hauyng already made full and ſufficient anſwer in this matter, accordyng to the commiſſion as I do take it, and accordyng vnto the law which alſo willeth that if a certaine anſwer be looked for, the poſition and Article muſt before be certaine.

To the 3.4.5.6.7.8. 9.10.11.12.13. and 14, Article, he anſwereth all after one maner and ſort, as thus. That it doth depend of the former Articles, to which for cauſes aforeſayd, he ſayth, he is not bound in law to make anſwer vnto, eſpecially hauyng already made.

Sauing that in the ſixt he addeth thereunto, that he at no tyme heard the L. Protector find fault, nor commaunded as is deduced in the ſayd Article, ſo farre as he doth finde.

Alſo ſauyng the 7. Article where he addeth neuertheleſſe confeſſing and knowledging with heart and mouth, the kings maieſties authoritie, and regal power in his minoritie, as well and full as in his maioritie.

Alſo ſauing the 8.9.10. and 11. articles, where he addeth as they be deduced, they are not true, as appeareth in conferring one with other.

To the 12. and 14. Articles, he addeth, as they be deduced they are not true. Confeſſing neuertheleſſe, the Kings Maieſties authoritie and power regall, as before is expreſſed.

To the 15. Article he aunſwereth and ſayth, that it is a poſition of law, and that yet both now, and heretofore he hath made aunſwer thereunto in effect and ſubſtaunce, as appeareth in his former aunſwers, and ſo ſhal do alwayes according to the law and his bounden duetie, knowledging as he hath already done, the kings maieſties regall power in his minoritie, to be no leſſe then in his maioritie. And the ſubiects bound to obey vnto his grace, his lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces, and his ſayd authoritie, as well in hys minoritie, as in hys maioritie, not allowyng, but expreſly condemnyng the opinion of all rebels holding the contrary.

Aunſwere to the 15. article.

After this perceiuyng that M. Secretary Smith was ſomewhat more quicke with hym then others of the Commiſſioners, and that he would not ſuffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vaine quiddities and ſubtleties in law, but euer earneſtly vrged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithall ſometymes ſharply rebuking him for his euill and ſtubborne behauiour towardes them: he to deface his authoritie (as he thought) did alſo then exhibite in writyng a recuſation of the Secretaries iudgement againſt him. The forme and maner wherof, as he exhibited it vnto the iudges, I thought here alſo to exhibite vnto the Reader as here vnder followeth.

Boner refuſeth Secretary Smith to be his iudge.

¶The recuſation of the Iudgement of Syr Thomas Smith, made by the B. of London the firſt tyme.

IN the name of God, Amen. Foraſmuch as equitie, naturall reaſon, and all good lawes do require, that Iudges ſhall be of that integritie, wiſedome, circumſpection, learnyng and indifferencie, that exerciſing the office and rowme of a Iudge, they may & ſhall do it, without hatred, malice or grudge agaynſt any perſon conuented or called before them vprightly, ſincerely, and duely executyng and doyng their office vnto them in any wyſe committed: and for as much alſo as all iudgementes and proceſſe ought to haue their due courſe, and proceede without ſuſpition or corruption in any wyſe: and finally, for as much as very dangerous it is to appeare and make defence before an incompetent Iudge, who commonly and accuſtomably of priuate & vnlawful corrupt affectiō to the one ſide, & for malice, hatred and enuy borne againſt the other ſide, rather ſerueth his carnall, corrupt, and wilfull appetite, then any thyng is mooued to obedience and keeping of good order, law, or reaſon, touching him that is conuented and compelled to make aunſwer againſt his will: I therefore Edmond Biſhop of London, hauing perceiued and felt by all the ſayings, proceedings and doyngs of you ſir Thomas Smith Knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the kings Maieſtie in this matter attempted and mooued agaynſt me, that ye haue bene, and yet continually are a notorious and manifeſt enemy of me the ſayd Edmond, and much offended that I ſhould in any wyſe alledge and ſay, or vſe, any ſuch things for my moſt defence, as the law geueth me licence and libertie to do, yea hearyng moſt fauourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies with both eares in any thyng that they ſhall alledge, purpoſe, attempt, or do agaynſt me, though their perſons in lawe are not in any wyſe to be heard or admitted, ne yet their ſayinges true, and not hearing me ſo much as with one eare in my lawfull ſaienges and doinges in this behalfe, but contrarywiſe openyng your mouth at large, ye haue ſundry tymes, againſt good wiſedome and reaſon outraged in wordes and deedes againſt me the ſayd Edmond, ſaying among other wordes, that I did as theeues, murtherers and traytors are woont to doe, beyng my ſelfe as ye vntruly did ſay, inward in deed, culpable, and yet outward otherwyſe, vnable to defend the matter againſt me, but onely by takyng exceptions, and making friuolous allegations agaynſt my Iudges and Commiſſioners, and that I haue bene and am as ſturdye, wilfull, and diſobedient, as may be in your iudgement and opinion, maintaining and vpholding the rebels and their opinions, and that I ſhall aunſwer by mouth, or els ſmart and doe worſe, or els ye will ſend me to the Tower, there to ſit and be ioyned with Kette and Humfrey Arundell the Rebels: ouer and beſides diuers other threatnings and comminatorie wordes by you pronounced and vttered vnſeemely, and far vnmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you that are in ſuch rowme and place as ye be in.

Cauſes alleaged by Boner why he refuſed Secretary Smyth.

Boner layeth exceptions againſt Sir Thomas Smyth.

And moreouer, increaſing your malice, euil will, and grudge borne agaynſt me, ye haue amongeſt other thynges vntruly ſurmiſed, written, alledged, and ſayd, that a certayne booke of Articles and Iniunctions by the Lord Protectours Grace in the full counſayle after a certayne preſcribed faſhion and fourme in the denunciation, commiſſion, and Articles, which [de facto] were induced, brought in and obiected agaynſt me, was deliuered vnto me: and moreouer of an euill will and vngodly intent & purpoſe, contrary to the truth, ye haue withdrawen, added, altered, and qualified diuers thynges in the ſame, otherwyſe then they were ſpoken or done, and yet ye are not aſhamed to alleadge,

Here Boner moſt proudly ſhameth not to belye the kinges Secretary and one of his Maieſties Couſaile; charging him with altering, & adding vnto the Counſailes Iniunctions.

Anno 1550.

write, and ſay, that all is true, and one conſonant and agreeable in all poyntes with the other, where in deede it is not ſo. And ye haue further [de facto] agaynſt the law, and agaynſt the Commiſſion to you directed, and agaynſt my iuſt and lawfull allegations & ſaiengs, proceeded vnlawfully & vniuſtly agaynſt me, attēpting many things agaynſt me vnlawfully & vniuſtly as appeareth ni the acts of this matter, to the which I do referre me ſo far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to bee alledged and referred vnto your ſelfe alſo vnlawfully and vniuſtly [de facto] with your Colleagues, the which without you had begun the ſayd matters, proceedyng, where by the lawe ye ſo ought not to haue done in deede, but abſtained there from, as heretofore ſondry tymes I haue alleaged, appearyng in the actes of this Court, doe vpon theſe iuſt and reaſonable cauſes, accordyng to the order of the Kings Maieſties Eccleſiaſticall lawes, refuſe, decline, and recuſe you the ſayd Sir Thomas Smith, as an vncompetent, vnmeete, and ſuſpect Iudge, agaynſt me in this behalfe, and decline your pretenſed iuriſdiction in this matter for cauſes aforeſayd, deſiring nothyng but Iuſtice, and offeryng my ſelfe prompt and ready to prooue them ſo farre as I am bound, and accordyng to the order of the Kings Maieſties Eccleſiaſticall lawes of this Realme in this behalfe, as tyme, place, and otherwyſe ſhall require.

The popes lawes termed by the name of the kinges Eccleſiaſticall lawes.

The reply of Secretary Smith to Boners allegations.

This recuſation ended, the Secretary told him plaine, that that notwithſtandyng he would proceed in his Commiſſion and would be ſtill his Iudge, vntill he were otherwiſe inhibited, and ſayd vnto him farther: My Lord, where as you ſay in your recuſation that I ſayd, that you did like thieues, murtherers, and traytors, in deed I ſayd it, and may and will ſo ſay agayne, ſince we perceiue it by your doings.

Boner.

Whereunto the Biſhop in a great and ſtoute rage replied, ſaying: well ſir, becauſe you ſit here by vertue of the Kings Commiſſion, and for that ye be Secretary to hys maieſtie, and alſo one of his highnes counſail, I muſt and do honour and reuerence you: but as you be but ſir Thomas Smith, & ſay as ye haue ſaid, that I do lyke theeues, murtherers, and traytors, I ſay ye lye vpon me, & in that caſe I defie you: and doe what ye can to me, I feare you not, and therfore quod facis, fac citius.

Boner in a pelting chafe agaynſt ſyr Tho. Smyth.

The Archb.

Whereat the Archbiſhop with the other Commiſſioners ſaid vnto him, that for ſuch his vnreuerent behauior he was worthy impriſonment.

Boner.

Then the Biſhop in more mad fury then before, ſayd againe vnto them: A Gods name ye may do de facto, ſend me whether you will, and I muſt obey you, and ſo wil, except ye ſend me to the deuill, for thether I will not go * for you. Three things I haue (to wit) a ſmall portiō of goods, a poore carcaſe, and myne owne ſoule: the two firſt ye may take (though vniuſtly) to you, but as for my ſoule ye get not, quia anima mea in manibus meis ſemper.

* I pray God ye goe not for your ſelfe.

Secretary Smyth.

Well, ſayd then the Secretary, ye ſhal know that there is a kyng.

Boner.

Yea Sir (ſaith the Biſhop) but that is not you, neither I am ſure, will you take it vpon you.

Secretary Smyth.

No Sir, ſayd agayne the Secretary, but we will make you know who it is: and with that the Commiſſioners commanded the biſhop and all the reſt to depart the chamber vntill they called for him agayne.

Now, in the meane whyle that the Commiſſioners were in conſultation, the Biſhop with Gilbert Bourne his chapleine, Rob. Warnington his Commiſſary, & Rob. Iohnſon his Regiſter were taryng in a quadrant voyde place before the dore of the ſame chamber. Where the Biſhop leanyng on a cupbord, and ſeyng his Chapleins very ſad, ſayd vnto them in effect as followeth. Syrs, what meane you? Why ſhew you your ſelues to be ſo ſad & heauy in mynde, as appeareth to me by your outward geſtures and countenaunces? I would wiſh you, and I require you to be as mery as I am (laying therewith hys hand vpon hys breſt) for afore God I am not ſad nor heauy, but mery and of good comfort, and am right glad & ioyfull of this my trouble, which is for gods cauſe, and it greueth me nothyng at all.

Boners talke to his Chapleins in the quadrant place before the chamber of preſence at Lambeth.

But the great matter that grieueth me, & pierceth my hart, is for that this Hooper and ſuch other vile heretikes and beaſtes be ſuffered and licenced to preache at Paules croſſe, & in other places within my Dioceſſe & Cure, moſt deteſtably preaching and railing at the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, & denying the veritie and preſence of Chriſts true body and bloud to be there, & ſo infecteth and betrayeth my flocke. But I ſay it is there in very deede, & in that opinion I will lyue and dye, and am ready to ſuffer death for the ſame. Wherfore ye being chriſten men, I do require you, and alſo charge and commaunde you in the name of God and on his behalfe, as ye wyll aunſwere hym for the contrary, that ye goe to the Mayor of London and to hys brethren the Aldermen, praying and alſo requiryng them earneſtly in Gods name and myne, and for myne owne diſcharge on that behalfe, that from henceforth, when any ſuch deteſtable and abhominable preachers (and eſpecially thoſe which hold opinion againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar) do come to preach vnto them, they forthwith depart out of their preſence and doe not heare them, leaſt that they taryeng with ſuch Preachers, ſhould not onely hurt themſelues in receiuyng theyr poyſoned doctrine, but alſo geue a viſage to the incouragemēt of others, which thereby mought take an occaſion to thinke and beleeue that theyr erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftſoones I require and commaunde you to doe.

And then turnyng hymſelfe about and beholdyng two of the Archbiſhops Gentlemen, which in the ſame place kept the Chamber dore where the Commiſſioners were in conſultation, and perceiuing that they had heard all his talke, he ſpake vnto them alſo and ſayd: And Syrs, ye be my Lorde of Caunterburies Gentlemen, I knowe ye very well: and therefore I alſo require and charge you in Gods behalfe, and in hys name, that ye doe the lyke for your partes in places where ye ſhall chaunce to ſee and heare ſuch corrupt and erroneous Preachers, and alſo aduertiſe my Lord your maiſter of the ſame, and of theſe my ſayinges that I haue nowe ſpoken here before you, as ye are Chriſtian men, and ſhall aunſwere before God for the contrary.

With this the Commiſſioners called for the Biſhop agayne. Who did read vnto them an inſtrument conteining a prouocation to the king, which he made in manner and forme here followyng.

The firſt appellation intimated by Edmund Boner Biſhop of London.

IN the name of God, Amen. It ſhall appeare to all men by this publike inſtrument, that the yeare of our Lord, 1549. the xx. day of September, the third yeare of the raigne of our moſt high and renowmed Prince Edward the ſixt by the grace of GOD King of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and in earth the ſupreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the Pallace of the ſayde Biſhop, ſituated in London, and in the preſence of me the Notary publicke, and of the witneſſes hereafter named, the foreſayd Biſhop did perſonally appeare, and there did ſhew forth in writing a certaine Proteſtation and Appellation, the tenor whereof enſueth.

In the name of God. Amen. I Edmund Byſhop of London, ſay, alleadge, and propound before you beyng a publike Notary, and theſe credible witneſſes here preſent, that although I the foreſayd Edmund haue attayned the Biſhoprike aforeſayd by the beneuolence of the famous Prince of memory King Henry the eight, and was lawfully elected and tranſlated to the ſame, wyth his rites and appurtenaunces, haue of long time poſſeſſed peaceably and quietly the ſame, and preſently doe poſſeſſe, beyng taken as Biſhop and lawfull poſſeſſour of the ſayd biſhopricke, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed, notoriouſly and publikely: and moreouer doe keepe reſidence and hoſpitalitie on the ſame, accordyng to the order, ſtate, perſon and dignitie, and as the reuenewes of the ſame would permit, and haue exerciſed and done all thynges appertainyng to my paſtorall office as the lawes doe require, as hereafter I truſt by Gods grace to doe and obſerue, a man of good name and fame, neyther ſuſpended, excommunicate nor interdicted, neyther conuict of any notable crime or fact, alwayes obeying readily the commaundement of the Church, and other my ſuperiours in all lawfull cauſes, neuertheleſſe fearing vpon certayne probable cauſes, lykely coniectures, threatnyngs and aſſertions of certayne iniurious men my enemies, or at the leaſt, ſuch as little fauour me, that great dammage may come to me hereafter about the premiſſes or part of them: and leaſt any man by any authoritie, commaundement, denunciation, inquiſition, office, or at the requeſt of any perſon, or perſons, may attempt, preiudice, or hurt to me or my ſaid dignitie, either by my excommunication, interdiction, ſequeſtration, ſpoyling, vexing, and perturbyng by any maner of meanes: doe appeale to the moſt hygh and mighty Prince our ſoueraigne Lord Edw. the 6. by the grace of God king of England, France &c. & in theſe my writings do prouoke & appeale to his regal maieſty. I do alſo require the Apoſtles ſo much as in this caſe they are to be required the firſt, ſecōd, & third tyme, earneſtly, more earneſtly, and moſt earneſtly of all, that there may be geuen to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my foreſayd moſt dreade ſoueraigne Lord, for the ſafegard of me, my dignitie, title, and poſſeſſion in the premiſſes, and to all that will cleaue to me in this behalfe, I doe alſo proteſt that I will be contented to correct, reforme, and amend this my preſent proteſtation, and to the ſame to adde, to take away, and to bryng the ſame into the beſt forme and ſtate that may be deuiſed, by the counſaile of learned men, or as the caſe ſhall require, and the ſame to intimate accordyng

Anno 1559.

to tyme and place and the order of the law, and ſtill ſhall require,

Vpon all the which premiſſes, the foreſayd Edmund B. of London did require the Notary publike here vnder written, to make vnto hym, and the witneſſes hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this proteſtation.

These thynges were done the yeare, day, and tyme abouewritten, there beyng preſent Gilbert Bourne Bacheler of Diuinitie, Iohn Harpeſfield, and Robert Colen, Maiſters of Arte, Iohn Wakelyng, and Richard Rogers learned men, beyng of the Dioceſſe of Worceſter, Weſtminſter, Couentrie, Lichfield, and Gloceſter, and ſpecially requeſted to be witneſſe of the ſame. And I Fraunces Harward of the Dioceſſe of Worceſter, and publicke Notary by the Kings regall authoritie, forſomuch as I was preſent when the foreſayd Proteſtation, Appellation, and other the premiſſes were done, the yeare of our Lord, the yere of the raign of the kyng, the day of the moneth and place aforeſayde, the witneſſes abouenamed beyng preſent, and for ſo much as I did enact the ſame, therefore to this preſent publicke inſtrument, written faithfully with myne owne hand, I haue put to my marke, beyng ſpecially requeſted vnto the ſame.

Which thyng after he had read, he dyd vnder his proteſtation firſt intimate vnto the Archbiſhop, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and Doctor May, and then proteſtyng alſo not to recede frō hys recuſation, dyd likewyſe intimate the ſame vnto Maiſter Secretarye Smyth, requiryng the Regiſter to make an Inſtrument as well thereupon, as alſo vpon hys recuſation, wyth witneſſe to teſtifie the ſame.

Then the Delegates did agayne procede to the examination of the laſt aunſwers, and findyng the ſame imperfect, they demaunded of hym (accordyng to the firſt Article) what ſpeciall day of Auguſt, he was ſent for by the L. Protector? To whom he obſtinately aunſwered, that hee was not bound to make other aunſwere, then he had already made, vnleſſe they did put theyr Articles more certayne: neyther would he otherwyſe aunſwer as long as Maiſter Secretary Smith was there preſent, whome he had before recuſed, and therefore would not recede from his recuſation.

The Secretary ſeeyng him ſo wilful and peruerſe, ſayd ſharply vnto hym. My L. come of and make a full & perfect anſwer vnto theſe Articles, or els we will take other order with you to your payne.

In fayth Sir, then ſayd the Biſhop agayne, I haue thought ye had bene learned, but now before God, I perceiue well that eyther ye be not learned in deede, or els ye haue forgotten it: for I haue ſo oftē anſwered lawfully & ſufficiently, and haue ſo oft ſhewed cauſes ſufficient & reaſonable, why thereunto I ought not by lawe to be compelled (you ſhewyng nothyng to the contrary but ſenſualitie and will) that I muſt needes iudge that you are ignorant herein.

Well ſayd M. Secretary, ye wyll not then otherwyſe aunſwer?

No, ſayd the B. except the law compell me.

Then ſayd the Secretary, call for the knight Marſhal, that he may be had to ward.

With that all the reſt of the Commiſſioners charged the B. that he had at that tyme ſundry wayes very outragiouſly and irreuerently behaued hymſelfe towards them ſitting on the Kings Maieſties Commiſſion, and ſpecially towards Sir Thomas Smith his graces Secretary, & therefore and for diuers other contumelious wordes which he had ſpoken, they declared they would commit hym to the Marſhalſey.

By this time the Marſhals deputy came before them, whom M. Secretary commaunded to take the B. as priſoner, and ſo to keepe hym that no man might come vnto hym, for if he dyd, he ſhould ſit by hym hymſelfe.

When the Secretary had ended his talke, the B. ſayd vnto him: Well ſir, it might haue becōmed you right well that my Lordes grace here preſent, beyng firſt in commiſſion, and your better, ſhould haue done it.

Then the Commiſſioners aſſignyng hym to be brought before them on monday next before noone, betwene 7. and 9. of the clocke in the Hall of that place, there to make full anſwer to theſe laſt Articles, or els to ſhew cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo, did for that preſēt break vp that Seſſion.

Nowe as the Biſhop was departing with the vndermarſhall, he in a great fury turned himſelf again towards the Commiſſioners, and ſayde to Sir Thomas Smyth: Sir, where ye haue committed me to pryſon, ye ſhall vnderſtand that I will require no fauour at your handes, but ſhall willingly ſuffer what ſhall be put vnto mee, as boltes on my heeles, yea, and if ye wyll, irons about my middle, or where ye will,

Then departing againe, he yet returned once more, & fomyng out his poiſon, ſaid vnto the Archbiſhop: wel my Lord, I am ſory that I beyng a Biſhop am thus handled at your graces hand: but more ſory that you ſuffer abhominable heretickes to practiſe as they doe in London and els where, infecting and diſquieting the Kings liege people: and therfore I do require you, as you will anſwer to God and to the king, that ye will from henceforth abſtaine thus to do: for if ye do not, I will accuſe you before God & the Kings Maieſtie: anſwer to it as well as ye can. And ſo he departed, vſing many reprochful wordes againſt ſundry of the common people, which ſtode and ſpake to hym by the way as he went.

Boner threatneth to accuſe the Archbiſhop before God.

¶ The ſixt Action or proceſſe vpon Monday, the 23. of September, had agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London, before the Commiſſioners, in the great hall at Lambeth.

It was aſſigned as ye heard in the 4. Acte proſecuted the 18. of September, that vpon Monday then next followyng, beyng the 23. of the ſame moneth, the B. ſhould again appeare before the Commiſſioners, within the great Hall at Lambeth, then to ſhew a finall cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo, vpon all the Articles whereunto he had not fully anſwered.

The 6. Seſſiō or appearaunce of Boner.

According to which aſſignement, the ſame 23. day of September, the B. was brought before them by the Vndermarſhall (to whome for his diſobedient and obſtinate behauiour he was before that tyme committed) and there dyd firſt declare vnto them, that hys appearaunce at that tyme and place was not voluntary, but coacted, for that he was agaynſt his will brought thether by the keeper of the Marſhalſey, and therewithall alſo vnder hys former proteſtation, recuſation and appeale, did then again intimate a generall recuſation of all the Commiſſioners, alledging in the ſame, that becauſe the Archbiſhop with all his Colleagues had neither obſerued the order of their Commiſſion, neyther yet proceeded agaynſt hym after any laudable or good faſhion of iudgement, but contrarywiſe, had ſundry tymes as well in his abſence, as in his preſence, attempted many things, vnlawfully againſt his perſon, dignity, and eſtate, eſpecially, in committing him to ſtrait priſon, and yet commaunding him to make aunſwere: & further, becauſe that he with the reſt had proceeded in Commiſſion with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, ſupportyng and maintainyng all his euill doings (notwithſtandyng that he the ſame Biſhop had before iuſtly recuſed and declined from him) he therfore did alſo there refuſe & declyne from the iudgement of the ſayd Archbiſhop and hys Colleagues, and dyd except agaynſt their iuriſdiction as ſuſpect, and they therby vnmeete perſons to proceed againſt hym, and therefore accordyng to his former appeale, he intended to ſubmit himſelfe vnder the tuition, protection, & defence of the Kings Maieſtie, for whoſe honour and reuerence ſake (he ſayd) they ought not to proceed any further againſt hym, but quietly ſuffer hym to vſe the benefite of all his recuſations, prouocations, and other lawfull remedies before alledged, wyth other ſuperfluous wordes at large, to be read and ſeen as followeth.

A generall recuſation of Boner agaynſt all the Commiſſioners.

Boner ſtill ſticketh to his former proteſtatiōs & prouocations.

The ſecond recuſation made by Edmund Boner Biſhop of London.

In the name of God, Amen. For as much as both naturall reaſon and all good policies of lawes, eſpecially of this Realme of England do admit and ſuffer hym that is conuented before an vncompetent and ſuſpect Iudge, to refuſe hym and to decline hys iuriſdiction, in as much as the lawe and reaſon on the one ſide, willeth proceſſe to run vprightly and iuſtly, and that in corruption and malice, and the other ſide earneſtly laboureth to the contrary, and needeth therefore to bee brideled. And for becauſe ye my Lord of Caunterbury with your Colleagues in this behalfe (deputed as ye ſay Commiſſioners agaynſt me) neither haue obſerued your ſayde Commiſſion, neyther yet proceeded hetherto agaynſt me, after any laudable, lawful, or any good faſhion of iudgement, but contrarywiſe, contrary to your Commiſſion, and agaynſt the law, good reaſon, and order, haue at ſundry tymes, and in ſundry actes attempted and done many things agaynſt me, vnlawfully, vnſeemly, and vniuſtly, and ſuffer the like to be attempted and done by other not reformyng and amendyng the ſame, as appeareth in diuers and ſondry thinges remayning in your actes.

And moreouer becauſe you my ſayd Lord, wyth your

ſayd

Anno 1550.

ſayd Colleagues, both haue in myne abſence, beyng let with iuſt cauſes of impediment, which accordyng to the lawes of this realme I haue fully alledged, and very ſufficiently and iuſtly proued, accordyng to the order of the Kinges Eccleſiaſticall lawes iniuriouſly, and much to the hinderaunce of my name, perſon, tytle, dignitie, and ſtate, and alſo otherwyſe, ſpecially in my preſence, agaynſt all lawes, good order, and reaſon, without good cauſe or ground attempted and done many thinges againſt me, eſpecially touching myne impriſonment, ſending me to ſtrait ward, and yet commaundyng me to make aunſwer, as appeareth in your vnlawfull actes.

I for theſe cauſes, and alſo for that ye my ſayde Lorde and your ſayde Colleagues proceedyng with Syr Thomas Smith Knight, whom vpon iuſt and lawfull cauſes I haue refuſed, recuſed and declined, and fauoured, ye haue maintayned, ſupported, and borne, in hys vnlawfull and euill doings, do alſo refuſe, recuſe and declyne you my ſayd Lorde, wyth the reſt of your ſayde Colleagues, agreeyng and ioynyng wyth you, and doe accept agaynſt your procedyngs, doynges, and iuriſdiction as ſuſpect, and thereby vnmeete perſonnes to proceede herein agaynſt me.

And further do alledge, that hauyng bene prouoked to the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, as appeareth by the tenor of my prouocation, remaynyng in your actes, wherein I doe proteſt, that I intend to adheare and cleaue vnto, ſubmitting my ſelfe vnto the tuition, protection, and defence of hys ſayd Maieſtie in this behalfe, ye in any wyſe ought not (if ye regard the perſon and authoritie of hys graces royall power, as ye ought to doe) to proceede herein agaynſt me, eſpecially for the honour and reuerence, ye ought to haue vnto hys Maieſtie in this behalfe. And becauſe it appeareth that ye doe not duely and circumſpectly conſider the ſame, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieue me, that not conſidered, I both here to all purpoſes repeat my former recuſation, prouocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I haue vſed and mentioned in your ſayd actes.

And alſo do by theſe preſentes, refuſe, recuſe, and decline you my ſayd Lord, and your ſayd Colleagues, and your iuriſdiction vpon cauſes aforeſayd, offering my ſelfe prompt and ready to proue all the ſame, afore an arbiter and arbitors, accordyng to the tenure and forme of the law herein to be choſen, requiryng you all, for that honour and reuerence ye ought to beare to our ſayd ſoueraigne Lorde, and his lawes allowed and approued in this behalfe, that ye doe not attempt or doe, ne yet ſuffer to be attempted or done, any thyngs in any wyſe againſt me, or vnto my preiudice, but ſuffer me to vſe and enioy the benefit of my ſaid former, and this recuſation, prouocation, allegation, and other lawfull remedies mentioned in your ſayd acts. And in caſe ye doe de facto, where ye ought not de iure, attempt or ſuffer any thynges to be attempted or done agaynſt me in any wyſe herein, I proteſt herewith, and hereby of my great griefe and hurt in that behalfe, & that not onely I doe intend to appeale from you, but alſo accordyng to the kynges Eccleſiaſticall lawes to accuſe and complayne vpon you, as iuſtly and truly I both may and ought to doe.

Notwithſtandyng theſe recuſations and former appellation, the Archbiſhop with the reſt tolde hym playne that they would be ſtyll hys Iudges, and proceed agaynſt hym accordyng to the Kings Commiſſion, vntil they dyd receiue a Superſedeas, which if he did obtayne, they would gladly obey.

An other appellation of Boner to the king.

Then the Biſh. ſeyng that they would ſtill procede agaynſt hym, did there likewiſe intimate an other appellation vnto the Kings Maieſtie, expreſſing therein in effect, no other matter, but ſuch as is already alleaged in the two former recuſations and appeale: ſauyng that he requireth, that letters dimiſſories or appellatories might be geuen him accordyng to law, and that for his better ſafegarde he did ſubmit himſelfe vnder the protection of the kyng.

Boner ſtanding vpon his recuſations and appellations denyeth to make anſwer.

The Commiſſioners for all this, ſtucke ſtil vnto theyr Commiſſion, and would not in any caſe deferre, but vrged him ſtraitly to make a more full aunſwer to his Articles, then he had done.

To whom the Biſhop ſayd, that he would ſtand vnto his recuſations and appellations before made, and would not make other aunſwer.

Then the Delegates demaunded of him what cauſe he had to alledge why he ought not to be declared pro confeſſo, vpon the Articles whereunto he had not fully anſwered: the B. ſtill anſwering (as before) that he would adhere vnto his appellation and recuſation.

Wherupon the Archb. with conſent of the reſt, ſeeyng his pertinacie, pronounced hym Contumax, and in payne thereof declared him pro confeſſo, vpō all the articles which he had not aunſwered.

This done, Maiſter Secretary Smith ſhewed forth a Letter, which the Byſhoppe of London had before that tyme ſente vnto the Lorde Mayor and the Aldermen of the Citie of London, the tenour whereof enſueth as followeth.

¶ To the ryght honourable and my very good Lorde, the Mayor of London, with all his worſhipfull brethren, my very deare and worſhipfull friends, with ſpeede.

Right honourable, with my very humble recommendations, where I haue perceyued of late and heard with myne eares, what vyle beaſtes and heretickes haue preached vnto you, or rather lyke themſelues prated and rayled agaynſt the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the aultare, denying the veritie and preſence of Chriſtes true bodye and bloude to be there, geuyng you and the people libertie to beleeue what ye lyſt, teachyng you deteſtably that fayth in this behalfe, muſt not bee coacted, but euerye man to beleeue as he will, by reaſon whereof, leaſt my preſence and ſilence myght vnto ſome haue bene ſeene to haue allowed their hereticall doctrine, and geuyng credite vnto them, betraying my flocke of the Catholicke ſorte, ye knowe I departed yeſterday from the hereticke praters vncharitable charitie, and ſo could haue wiſhed that you and all other that bee Catholicke ſhould haue done, leauyng thoſe there with hym that be alreadye caſt away, and will not be recouered. For your taryng with him ſtill, ſhall not onely hurt your ſelfe in receauyng hys poyſoned doctrine, but alſo ſhall geue a viſage that their doctrine is tollerable, by reaſon that ye are contented to heare it, and ſay nothing agaynſt it. And becauſe I cannot tell when I ſhall ſpeake with you to aduertiſe you hereof, therefore I thought good for myne owne diſcharge and yours, thus muche to wryte vnto you, requiryng and praying you agayne and agayne, in Gods behalfe, for myne owne diſcharge, that ye ſuffer not your ſelues to bee abuſed with ſuche naughtie Preachers and teachers, in hearyng theyr euill doctrine that ye ſhall perceyue them to goe about to ſowe. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerue you all with this noble Citie, in all good reſt, godlineſſe, & proſperitie. Written in haſt this Monday mornyng, the xvi. of September. 1549.

Your faythfull Beades man and poore
Biſhop Edmund Boner.

This Letter beyng read, the Secretary demaunded of hym whether he wrote it not. To whome he would not otherwyſe aunſwere, but that he would ſtill adhere and ſtand vnto hys former recuſations and appeales. Which the commiſſioners ſeyng, determined to continue this caſe in ſtate as it was vntill Friday then next followyng, betwene the houres of viij. and ix. of the clocke before none, aſſignyng the biſhop to be there at the ſame time and place then to heare a finall decree of this matter, he ſtill proteſtyng as before.

¶ The ſeuenth Seſſion or appearaunce of Boner vppon Tewſday the firſt of October, before the Kynges Commiſſioners at Lambeth.

VPpon Friday the Commiſſioners for diuers vrgent cauſes letting them, dyd not ſit in Commiſſion accordyng to their appoyntment, but deferred it vntill Tewſday the firſt of October then next followyng. Vpon which day the Biſhop appearyng before them, the Archbiſhoppe declared vnto hym, that although as vppon Friday laſt, they had appointed to pronounce their finall Decree and Sentence in this matter, yet foraſmuch as they thought that that Sentence (although they had iuſt cauſe to geue it) ſhould haue bene very ſore agaynſt hym, they had not onely deferred the ſame vntill this day, but myndyng to be more friendly to hym then he was to hymſelfe, and to vſe more eaſie and gentle reformation towardes hym, had alſo made ſuch ſute and meanes for hym, that although hee had grieuouſly offended the Kinges Maieſtie, and verye diſobediently behaued himſelfe, yet if he would in yͤ meane while haue acknowledged his fault, and haue bene contented to make ſome part of amends in ſubmittyng hymſelfe accordyng to hys bounden duety, he ſhould haue found ſo much fauour: ſo the Sentence ſhould not haue bene ſo ſore and extreme againſt him, as it was like now to bee: for which they were very ſory, eſpecially to ſee the continuance of ſuch ſtubburn diſobedience, wherby they were the more inforced to geue ſuch ſentence againſt hym.

The Biſhop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and fauour, but perſiſting ſtill in hys wonted contumacie, drew forth a paper, wheron he read theſe wordes followyng.

declara- of Bo- before Com- ſſioners.

I Edmund biſhop of London brought in as a priſoner by hys keeper, one of the Marſhalſey, here before you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretenſed Colleagues, doe vnder my former Proteſtations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your Acte, declare that this my preſence here at this tyme is not voluntary, nor of myne owne free will and conſent, but vtterly coacted and agaynſt my will, and that beyng otherwyſe ſent for, or brought before you then I am (that is as a priſoner) I would not beyng at libertie, haue come or appeared before you, but would haue declined and refuſed to make any appearaunce at all, but would haue abſented my ſelfe from you, as lawfully and well I might haue done, ſtanding to, vſing, and enioying all and ſingular my lawfull remedies and defences heretofore vſed, exerciſed, and enioyed, eſpecially my prouocation and appellation heretofore interpoſed and made vnto the Kinges moſt excellent Maieſtie, to whom eftſoones Ex abundanti, I haue both prouoked and appealed, and alſo made Supplication vnto, as appeareth in theſe writings, which vnder Proteſtation aforeſayd, I do exhibite and leaue here with the Actuarie of this cauſe, requiryng hym to make an Inſtrument thereupon, and the perſonnes here preſent to beare record in that behalfe: eſpecially to the intent it may appeare, I do better acknowledge the kings Maieſties authoritie euen in his tender and yong age, prouoking and appealyng to his Maieſtie as my moſt gracious ſoueraigne and ſupreme head, with ſubmiſſion to his highnes (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, then other ſome, I doe meane you my Lord of Caunterbury and your ſayd pretenſed Colleagues, which by law and good reaſon ought to haue deferred and geuen place vnto ſuch prouocation, appellation, and Supplication, as heretofore lawfully haue bene by me, interpoſed and made vnto his Maieſties moſt royall perſon and authoritie in this behalfe.

her pre eth miſſion the king.

As ſoone as the B. had read theſe wordes, he did deliuer as well that paper, as alſo two other, vnto the Actuarie, the one conteining an appellatiō, and the other a ſupplication vnto the kings Maieſtie: which appellation beginneth thus: In the name of God. Amen.

Wherein firſt he ſhewed how naturally euery creature declineth gladly frō that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and alſo ſeeketh helpe & remedy to withſtand ſuch hurts and iniuries.

Further he ſhewed that it is found by experience to be hurtfull and daungerous to truſt hym that once hath hurt and beguiled, leaſt he might adde more, rather then to take ought from.

Moreouer he ſhewed that he had found heretofore at the handes of the B. of Caunterbury and the reſt of ye Colleagues in this matter, much extremitie and crueltie, iniuries, loſſes and griefes, contrary to Gods law, and the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme, and agaynſt Iuſtice, charitie, and good order, beyng well aſſured if they were not ſtayed but proceded, they would adde more euill to euill, loſſe to loſſe, diſpleaſure to diſpleaſure, as (ſayde he) their ſeruants haue reported, and they agreeable doe ſhew the ſame.

Agayne in the ſayde appeale he ſhewed that the Byſhop of Canterbury and the other Commiſſioners ought to haue conſidered and done better in that matter, for honour and obedience to the Kings Maieſtie, which hetherto they haue not done (ſaid he) in that they haue not giuen place to hys prouocations and appellations heretofore made vnto hys grace, iuſtly and lawfully, and vpon good and iuſt cauſes, namely, for the vniuſt griefes they did agaynſt him, which he ſayd to appeare in the Actes of that matter: as in pronouncyng hym contumacem vnreaſonably without good cauſe, and further in aſſignyng the terme ad audiendum finale decretum, and in committyng hym to ſtraight priſone, as appeareth in theyr Actes. Therefore he dyd not onelye Ex abundanti, ad omnem iuris cautelam, decline and refuſe theyr pretenſed iuriſdiction as before: but alſo by theſe preſentes here ſhewed, he dyd appeale from the ſayd Byſhop of Caunterbury and the reſt, vnto the Kinges Maieſtie, aſkyng alſo thoſe Letters of Appeale, which the lawe doth admitte, ſaying, he dyd not intend to goe from hys former prouocations and appellations, but to ioyne and cleaue vnto them in euery part and parcell, ſubmittyng hymſelfe to the protection and defence of the Kinges Maieſtie, and he therein made intimation to the Byſhoppe of Caunterbury, and the ſayd Colleagues, to all intentes and purpoſes that might come thereof.

Furthermore, as touchyng the Supplication aboue mentioned, which Boner (as we ſayd) put vp in writyng to the Commiſſioners, the Copie thereof here vnder likewyſe enſueth.

¶ The Supplication of Boner to the Chauncellor of England, with all the reſt of the Kings Maieſties moſt honourable priuy Counſaile.

The copy of Boners ſupplicatiō.

Please it your moſt honourable good Lordſhips with my moſt humble recommendations, to vnderſtand, that albeit I haue according to the lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces of this realme, made ſupplication, prouocation and appellation vnto the kyngs moſt excellent Maieſtie from the vnlawfull and wycked proceſſe of the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, the byſhoppe of Rocheſter, Maiſter Secretary Smith, and the Deane of Paules, as alſo as well from their vniuſt interlocutorie, as alſo their diffinitiue ſentence whereby in law I ought to haue libertie to come abroad and proſecute the ſame, yet ſuch is the malignitie of the Judges agaynſt me, with bearing and maintenaunce of other, which ſundry and many ways haue ſought my ruine and deſtruction, that I am here penned and locked vp, vſed very extremely at their pleaſure, and for the contemplation of the ſayd Maiſter Smith, and not ſuffred to finde ſureties, or to goe abroad to proſecute and ſue my ſayd appellation.

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your ſaid good Lordſhips, to take ſome order and redreſſe herein, eſpecially for that it is now the tyme that the Kings ſubſidie now due, ought to be called vpon and iuſtice alſo miniſtred vnto his Maieſties ſubiects, which beyng as I now am, I cannot be ſuffered to doe. And thus without further extending my letter therein, conſideryng that your great wiſedomes, experience and goodneſſe can gather of a little what is expedient and neceſſary for the whole, I doe beſeech almighty God to preſerue and keepe well all your honourable good Lordſhips. Written in haſt this 7. of October, 1549. in the Marſhalſey.

Your honourable Lordſhyps poore
Orator & moſt bounden Bedes
man, Edmund London.

The Archbiſhop anſwered to the words of Boner

These thynges ended, the Archbyſhop ſaid vnto him: My Lord, where you ſay that you come coacted, or els ye would not haue appeared, I do much maruell of you. For you would therby make vs and this audience here beleue, that becauſe you are a priſoner, ye ought not therefore to aunſwer. which if it were true, were enough to confound the whole ſtate of this Realme. For I dare ſay, that of the greateſt priſoners and rebels that euer your keeper there (meaning the Vndermarſhall) hath had vnder hym, he cannot ſhewe me one that hath vſed ſuch defence, as you here haue done.

Boner.

Well quoth the B. if my keper were learned in ye lawes I could ſhew him my mynd therein.

The archbiſhop. Secretary Smith.

Well, ſayde the Archbyſhop, I haue read ouer all the Lawes as well as you, but to an other ende and purpoſe then you did, and yet I can finde no ſuche priuiledge in this matter.

Then M. Secretary Smith did very ſore burthen and charge hym, how diſobediently and rebelliouſly he had alwayes behaued himſelfe towards the Kings Maieſtie and his authoritie.

Boner.

Whereupon, the B. vnder his proteſtation aunſwered agayne, that he was the kings Maieſties lawfull and true ſubiect, and did acknowledge his highneſſe to be his gracious ſoueraigne Lord, or els he would not haue appealed vnto him, as he had, yea & would gladly lay his hands and his necke alſo vnder his graces feete, and therefore he deſired that his highneſſe lawes and iuſtice might be miniſtred vnto him.

Secretary Smith. Boner compared to the rebells of Deuonſhire.

Yea (quoth Maiſter Secretary) you ſay wel my Lord, but I pray you what others haue all theſe rebels both in Northfolke, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, and other places done? Haue they not ſaid thus? we be the kings true Subiectes, we acknowledge hym for our Kyng, and we will obey his lawes, with ſuch lyke, and yet when eyther Commaundement, Letter or Pardon was brought vnto them from his Maieſtie, they beleeued it not, but ſayd it was forged and made vnder a hedge, and was Gentlemens doyngs, ſo that in deede they would not, nor dyd obey any thing.

Boner.

Ah ſir, ſayd the B. I perceyue your meanyng: as who ſhould ſay, that the Biſh. of London is a rebell like them. Yea by my troth (quoth the Secretary.) whereat the people laughed.

The people laughing at Boner.

D. May.

Then the Deane of Paules ſaid vnto him, that he marueiled much, and was very ſory to ſee him ſo vntractable, that he would not ſuffer the Iudges to ſpeake.

Boner with his tauntes.

To whome the B. diſdainfully aunſwered: Well M. Deane, you muſt ſay ſomewhat. And likewiſe at an other tyme as the Deane was ſpeaking, he interrupted hym, and ſayd, You may ſpeake when your turne commeth.

Secretary Smith.

Then ſaid Secretary Smith, I would you knew your duetie.

Boner.

I would (quoth he agayne) you knew it as wel as I, with an infinite more of other ſuch ſtubburne and contemptuous talke and behauiour towardes them, which the Commiſsioners wayng, and perceiuyng no likelihood of any tractable reaſon in hym, determined that the Archbiſhop with their whole conſent, ſhould at that preſent there openly read and publiſh their finall Decree of ſentence definitiue agaynſt hym. Which he did, pronouncing hym thereby, to be cleane depriued from the Biſhopricke of London, and further as in the ſame appeareth, in tenour as followeth.

¶ Sententia depriuationis lata contra Edmundum London. Epiſcopum.

The cōtēptuous talke of Boner.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas miſeratione diuina Cantuar. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, Nicholaus eadem miſeratione Roffenſis Epiſcopus, Thom. Smith Miles, illuſtriſſimi in Chriſto principis & Domini noſtri, Domini Edwardi ſexti, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regis, fidei defenſoris, & in terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, & ſupremi capitis, Secretariorum principalium alter, & Wilhelmus May Iuris ciuilis Doctor Eccleſiæ cathedralis diui Pauli Decanus dicti illuſtriſſimi principis, & domini noſtri Regis ad infra ſcripta vna cum eximio viro Domino Wilhelmo Petro Milite, eiuſdem ſereniſſimæ Regię maieſtatis, etiam Secretariorum principalium altero, commiſſarij ſiue iudices delegati cum iſta clauſa, videlicet. Deputamus vos quinque, quatuor vel tres veſtrum, &c. Rectè & legitimè deputati contra te Edmundum permiſſione diuina London. epiſcopum in cauſa & cauſis, in literis commiſſionalibus dictæ ſereniſſimę Regię maieſtatis expreſſ. & ſpecificat. rite & legitimè procedentes, & iudicialiter inquirentes, auditis que per nos, & intellectis ac primo examine debit. mature diſcuſſis, meritis & circumſtantijs, cauſæ & cauſarum inquiſitionis huiuſmodi, ſeruatisque vlterius per nos, de iure in hac parte ſeruandis in præſentia tui Epiſcopi, antedicti, iudicialiter coram nobis conſtituti, ac proteſtantis de coactione, & de cæteris, prout in vltima proteſtatione hodie per te facta continetur, ad definitionem cauſæ & cauſarum huiuſmodi, prolationemque ſententiæ noſtræ, ſiue noſtri finalis decreti, ſuper eiſdem ferend. ſic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc qui ſequitur modum. Quia tam per acta inactitata, deducta, propoſita, exhibita, allegata, probata, pariter & confeſſata in cauſa & cauſis huiuſmodi, facta, habita, & geſta, quam per confeſſionem tuam propriam, factique notorietatem & alia legitima documenta, euidentem inuenimus, & compertum habemus te præfatum Epiſcop. London. inter cætera, pro meliori, officij tui paſtoralis adminiſtratione, in mandatis habuiſſe, vt de his qui duas aut tres vxores vel maritos in vnū haberent aut qui externos & non probatos Eccleſiæ ritus in hoc regno ſequerentur, quibus rebus, tua Dioceſis & Londinenſ. pręcipue erat infamatum, inquireres teque ea facere omnino neglexiſſe. Item expreſſe tibi per Regiam Maieſtatem preſcriptum fuiſſe vt ipſe Epiſcopus adeſſes concionibus ad crucem Pauli habitis, tam vt eas honeſtares tua pręſentia, quam vt poſſis eas accuſare, (ſi qui male ibidem concionarentur) te tamen contra non ſolum abijſſe, ſed etiam ſcriptis literis, Maiorem London. & Aldermannos, vt inde recederent admonuiſſe & exhortatum fuiſſe. Item inter alia quoque per Regiam Maieſtatem tibi iniuncta in mandatis tibi datum fuiſſe, quod articulum quendam, ſtatum reipubl. tunc pernicioſiſſima rebellione, & proditorum contra illum articulum ſentientium grauiſſime perturbatę precipue concernend. & propterea ſupremum neceſſarium & ſpecialiter tibi iniunctum videlicet.

Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermon, that our autoritie of our Royall power is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our younger age, then is and was of any of our predeceſſours, though the ſame were much elder, as may appeare by example of Ioſias and other young Kinges in Scripture. And therefore all our Subiectes to bee no leſſe bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, then if we were xxx. or xl. yeares of age.

Apud crucem ſiue ſuggeſtum Diui Pauli London. certo die tibi in ea parte præfixo, & limitato in publica tua concione, tunc & ibidem populo recitares, & explicares, teque modo & forma premiſſa eundem articulum iuxta mandatum, & officij tui debitum recitare & explicare minime curaſſe, ſed contumaciter & inobedienter omiſiſſe, in maximum Regiæ Maieſtatis contemptum, ac in eius regni pręiudicium non modicum, necnon in ſubditorum ſuorum malum & pernicioſum exemplum, contumatiamque & inobedientiam multiplicem tam in hac noſtra inquiſitione, quam alias perpetraſſe, commiſiſſe & contraxiſſe. Idcirco nos Thomas Cantuarienſ. Archiepiſcopus Primas & Metropolitanus, iudexque delegatus antedictus Chriſti nomine primitus inuocato, ac ipſum ſolum Deum oculis noſtris proponentes, de & cum expreſſo conſenſu pariter & aſſenſu Collegarum noſtrorum prędictorum vna nobiſcum aſſidentium, atque & cum conſilio Iuriſperitorum, cum quibus communicauimus in hac parte. Te Edmundum London. Epiſcopum antedictum a tuo Epiſcopatu London. vna cum ſuis iuribus & pertinentijs commoditatibus, & cęteris emolumentis quibuſcunque depriuandum & prorſus amouendum fore de iure debere, pronunciamus decernimus & declaramus pro, vt per preſentes ſic depriuamus & amouemus per hanc noſtram ſententiam definitiuam ſiue hoc noſtrum finale decretum, quam ſiue quod ferimus & promulgamus in his ſcriptis.

Which ended, the B. immediately did therefrom appeale by word of mouth, alledgyng that the ſame ſentence there geuē againſt him, was Lex nulla. The tenor of which wordes I thought heere to expreſſe, accordyng as they were by him vttered, in this wiſe as followeth.

I Edmund Byſhop of London, brought in and kepte heere as a priſoner agaynſt my conſent and wyll, doe vnder my former proteſtation heretofore made, and to the intent it may alſo appeare, that I haue not beyng ſo here in this place, conſented nor agreed to any thyng done agaynſt me, and in my preiudice, alledge and ſay that this ſentence geuen here agaynſt me, is Lex nulla, and ſo farre foorth, as it ſhall appeare to be Aliqua, I doe ſay it is Iniqua and Iniuſta, and that therefore I doe from it, as Iniqua and Iniuſta, appeale to the moſt excellent and noble king, Edward the ſixt, by the grace of God, Kyng of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and of the Church of England and alſo of Ireland, next and immediately vnder GOD here in earth ſupreme head, and vnto hys Courte of Chancerie or Parliament, as the lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces of this Realme, wyll ſuffer and beare in this behalfe, deſiryng inſtauntly firſt, ſecond and third, accordyng to the lawes, Letters reuerenciall or demiſſories, to be geuen and deliuered vnto mee in this behalfe, with all thynges expedient, requiſite, or neceſſarie in any wyſe: and thereupon alſo the ſayd Biſhop required the Publike Notary or Actuary William Saye, to make an Inſtrument, and the witneſſe aforeſayde and other preſent to recorde the ſame. To whom ſo appealyng, and requiryng as afore, the ſayde Iudges delegate ſayd, that they wyll declare and ſignifie to the Kinges Maieſtie, what is done in this matter, and thereuppon will deferre or not deferre to his ſayde appellation, accordyng as hys graces pleaſure and commaundement ſhall be to them in that behalfe: and after all this, the ſayd Byſhop of London ſayd to them, Iam functi eſtis officio. What wyll your grace doe with me nowe, touchyng my impriſonment? wyll ye keepe me ſtill in priſon? ſhall I not now be at liberty to proſecute myne appeale? To whom the Archb. aunſwering, ſayd, that they perceyued now more in that matter then they did at the firſt, & that this matter is more greater rebellion then he is ware of, and therfore ſaid, that as yet they would not diſcharge him, and thereupon they committed him agayne to his keeper to priſon.

This talke finiſhed, the Archbiſhop conſidering that moſt of the audience there preſent, did not vnderſtand the meanyng of the ſentence beyng read in the Latin tongue, ſayd vnto them: Becauſe there be many of you here that vnderſtand not the Latine tongue, and ſo cannot tel what iudgement hath bene here geuen, I ſhall therefore ſhewe you the effect thereof: and there with did declare in Engliſh, the cauſes expreſſed in the ſentence, adding then thervnto theſe wordes.

Becauſe my L. of London is found guilty in theſe matters, therefore we haue here by our ſentence depriued hym of our biſhoprike of London: and this we ſhew vnto you to the intent that from henceforth ye ſhall not eſteeme hym any more as B. of London.

Then Boner deſired the Archbiſh. to declare likewiſe what he had done, and how he had appeled. But the other ſeing his froward contempt, refuſed it, ſaieng, ye may doe it your ſelfe. Whereupon very diſdainfully againe he ſayd, Iam functi eſtis officio. What will your grace do to me touching my impriſonment? will you kepe me ſtil in priſon?

To whom the commiſſioners anſwered, that they perceiued now more in the matter then they did before, & that his behauiour was more greater rebellion then hee was ware of, and therefore they would not diſcharge hym, but committed him agayne to his keeper to be kept in priſon. where he moſt iuſtly remained vntil the deth of that moſt worthy & godly prince king Edward the ſixt. After which time he wrought moſt horrible miſchiefe and crueltie againſt the ſaints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout

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out the whole raigne of Queene Marie. From the executing of the which like tirannie, the Lord of his great mercy keepe all other ſuch. Amen.

Now immediately after his depriuation, he writeth out of the Marſhalſey other letters ſupplicatorie vnto ẏ Lord Chancelor and the reſt of the kings Counſaile. wherein he thus complaineth, that by reaſon of the great enemity that the Duke of Somerſet and ſir Thomas Smith bare vnto him, his often and earneſt ſuites vnto the King and hys counſaile could not be heard. Hee therefore moſte humbly deſireth their Lordſhips for the cauſes aforeſaide, to conſider him, and to let him haue libertie to proſecute his matter before them, and he woulde daily pray for the good preſeruation of theyr honors, as appeareth by the wordes of his owne ſupplication here vnder following.

Thus after the Commiſſioners had finiſhed with Boner, he being now priſoner in the Marſhalſey, leauing no ſhift of the law vnſought how to worke for him ſelf as wel as he might, drewe out a certaine ſupplication, conceiued and directed to the kings maieſtie, out of the ſayd priſon of the Marſhalſey.

To the right honourable, my Lorde Chancelor of England, with all the reſt of the kings Maieſties moſt honorable priuie counſel.

PLeaſe it your moſt honourable good Lordſhippes wyth my moſte humble commendations to vnderſtande that albeit heretofore I haue made ſuch ſute, and to ſuch perſons as I cannot deuiſe to make more, or to more higher, it is to wit, vnto the kings moſt excellent maieſtie, and his moſt gratious perſons in diuers ſortes, and alſo vnto your moſt honorable good Lordſhips being of his priuie counſel, for redreſſe of ſuche notable and manifeſt iniuries and extremities as hath bene contrary to all law, honeſtie, and good reaſon inflicted vnto me by my Lord of Canterburie, my Lord of Rocheſter, Doctor Smith, and Doctor May, yet becauſe the ſayd Doctor Smith being a miniſter to the Duke of Somerſet, and they both my deadly ennemies, haue ſondry wayes ſtudied and laboured my ruine and deſtruction, ſtaying and letting heretofore all my lawfull remedies and ſutes, hauing therein helpe and furtherance of theſe two other aforeſayd perſons, being ready at foote and hand to accompliſh all theyr deſires and pleaſures, I ſhall at this preſence hauing for a time forborne to trouble (for good reſpectes) your moſte honorable good Lordſhyppes, with any my ſutes, and eſpecially for your other manifold great affaires in the kinges Maieſties buſineſſe: my ſelfe yet the meane while, neither wanting good will, ne yet iuſt cauſe being where I am to make ſuch ſute, renue my ſute, and moſt humbly beſeeche your moſt honorable good lordſhippes to geue me leaue to make moſt humble ſupplication againe to your ſayd Lordſhippes, for honeſt and lawful libertie to proſecute my appellation and ſupplication heretofore made to the kings moſte excellent Maieſtie, and according to the law to make my ſute for redreſſe of the ſayde great and manifeſt iniuries, extremities and wrongs done vnto me by the ſayd parſones. And your ſayd Lordſhips ſhall beſides the furtheraunce of iuſtice, many wayes herein to me and other, and the collection of the kings maieſties Subſidie, nowe to be leuied of the Clergie in my dioceſſe, which hitherto hath ben, and is ſtaied by reaſon of the premiſſes, ſhall alſo binde me moſte greatly and intirely to pray daily for the good preſeruation of your ſayd moſte honorable good Lordſhippes in all honour, felicitie and ioy long to continue and endure vnto Gods pleaſure. Wrytten in the Marſhalſey, the 26. of October. 1549.

Your Lordſhips moſt faithful & aſſured Bedes man. E. Lon.

A ſupplication made and directed by Edmund Boner late B. of London, to the kings Maieſtie, out of the priſon of the Marſhalſey.

Boners ſupplication to the king.

In the which ſupplication, firſt after the vſed forme of this, he praied for the proſperous eſtate of the king long to raigne. Then he ſhewed that his faithful heart and ſeruice to him, hath, is, and ſhall be, as it was to his father before.

Then he declared how he had ben belied of euil men, and miſreported not to beare a true hart to his grace, but a rebellious minde, in denying his royall power in his minoritie, where in deede (he ſayeth) his grace ſhould finde hym alwayes during life, both in heart, worde, and deede, to do and acknowledge otherwiſe, & to be moſt willing to ſhew: &c. and to doe all other thinges for his grace, as willingly as any other ſubiecte, or as thoſe that were his denoūcers, who hee thought were not ſent of his grace, but pretenſed Commiſſioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denuntiation by certain commiſſioners (who ſayde they were ſent by his grace) alleaging the ſame not to be lawful: and of his long & ſharpe impriſonment, & that the commiſſioners obſerued neyther law nor reaſonable order, but extremitie. And wher he had made appeale to his grace, and he coulde not haue it: he deſired to haue lawe to proſecute & ſue his appeale for his remedy, & that he cōſidering his vocation, might not be ſhut vp & put from libertie, which his meaneſt ſubiects haue.

Then he deſired hys graces letters of Superſedeas againſt the commiſſioners, and that the matter might be heard before the counſaile, and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithfull man, and heerein to haue wrong. So in the ende hee concluded, this (proſtrating him ſelfe euen to the very ground, and humbly kiſſing his graces fete) to be the thing onely which he humbly deſired. &c.

Boners appellation to the king, peruſed & tryed and found by the Lawe vneffectuall and vnreaſonable.

THis done, & the ſupplication peruſed, the King eftſoone geueth in charge and commaundement, to certain men of honor and worſhip, & perſons ſkilfull in the lawe, as to Lorde Rich high Chancelor, the L. treaſurer, the L. Marques Dorſet, the B. of Ely, Lord Wentworth, ſir Anthony Wingfield, ſir W. Harbert knightes. Doc. Nich. Wotton, Ed. Mountague Lorde chiefe Juſtice, Sir John Baker knight, with Judge Hales, Joh. Goſnold, D. Oliuer and alſo Doctour Leyſon, that they ſcanning and peruſing all ſuch actes, matters, and muniments of the ſayd Boner by him exhibited, produced, propounded and alleaged, with al and ſingular his proteſtations, recuſations, & appellatiōs, ſhould vpon mature conſideration therof, geue their directed anſwere vpon the ſame, whether the appellation of the ſaid Boner were to be deferred vnto, and whether the ſentence defined againſt him, ſtood by the law ſufficient and effectual, or not. Who eftſoones after diligent diſcuſſion, and conſiderate aduiſement had of all & ſingular the premiſſes, gaue their reſolute anſwere, that the pretenſed appellation of Edmund Boner aforeſayde, was nought and vnreaſonable, and in no wiſe to be deferred vnto, and that the ſentence by the Commiſſioners againſt him, was rightly and iuſtly pronounced. And this was the cōcluſion of Boners whole matter and depriuation for that time.

The ſentence of Boners depriuation by the Peeres & learned men of the realme, found to be iuſt and lawfull.

Thus then leauing doctor Boner a while in the Marſhalſey with his keeper, we will proceede (the Lorde permitting) further in the courſe of our ſtorie, as the order of yeres and time requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth heere ioyntly with the depriuatiō of D. Boner: yet becauſe he was ſhortly again deliuered out of the ſame throughe the Lordes mightye working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his ſeconde trouble, whych was two yeares after: and ſo in the meane time returning againe into our diſcourſe, inted by the Lords leaue, to collect and continue the matters begō, touching ẏ kings godly proceedings for reformatiō of religion, in the foreſaid yere of our lord, concurring. an. 1549.

The firſt trouble of the L. Protector was about the moneth of Octob. an. 1549.

And heere firſt a note woulde be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned trauels, and diſputation in the vniuerſitie of Oxford the ſayde preſent yeare, with doct. Chedſey, & other moe, about the matter of the ſacrament: which was, that the ſubſtance of breade and wine was not changed in the ſacrament, & that the body and bloude of Chriſte was not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but vnited to the ſame ſacramentally.

Diſputation of Peter Martyr, with Doct. Chedſey in Oxforde.

In like maner ſome touch or mention here alſo would be made of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, for the gathering and compiling wherof 32. perſons were aſſigned by Act of parlament the ſayde preſent yeare 1549. But becauſe theſe bee rather matters of tractation, then Hyſtoricall, I meane, (God willing) to deferre the further conſideration thereof vnto the ende of the hiſtorie of this kinges dayes, and ſo to paſſe forward to other matters in the meane while.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes by Acte of Parlament to be compyled by 32. perſons. Statut. an. 3. Edou. 6.

Bookes of Latine ſeruice called in and aboliſhed.

IT followeth then in ſtorie, that certaine of the vulgare multitude, hearing of the apprehenſion of the Lord Protectour, and ſuppoſinge the alteration of publicke Seruice into Engliſhe, and adminiſtration of the Sacramente and other rites lately appoynted in the Churche, had beene the Acte chiefly, or only of the ſayd Lorde Protectour, beganne vppon the ſame to noyſe and bruite abroad, that they ſhuld nowe haue theyr olde Latine ſeruice, wyth holy bread and holy water, and theyr other like ſuperſtitious ceremonies againe, whereuppon the King wyth the body and ſtate of the priuie Counſell then being, directed oute his letters of requeſt and ſtraite commaundement to the Byſhoppes in their dioceſſe, to cauſe and warne the Deane, and Prebendaries of their Cathedrall Churches, all Perſons, vicares and Curates: with the Churchwardens of euery Pariſhe

Euill diſpoſed people thinking to haue their latin ſeruice againe after the apprehenſion of the L. Protector.

The kings commaundement to the Byſhops.

Bookes of Latine ſeruice called in.

Anno 1549.

wythin their Dioceſſe, to bring in and deliuer vp all Antiphoners, Miſſales, Grailes, Proceſſionals, Manuals, Legendes, Pies, Portuaſes, Iournals, and Ordinals after the vſe of Sarum, Lincolne, Yorke, Bangor, Herforde, or any other priuate vſe, and all other bookes of ſeruice, the hauing wherof might be any let to ÿ ſeruice now ſet forth in Engliſh, charging alſo and commaunding all ſuche as ſhould be found ſtubborne or diſobedient in this behalf, to be committed vnto warde.

Common bread vſed in the holy Communion.

And becauſe the Kinge moreouer was aduertiſed that there was a ſlacknes and a frowardnes among the people refuſing to pay towarde the finding of breade and wine for the holy Communion, by reaſon wherof the Communion in many places was omitted, the Biſhops in like manner had geuen in charge to prouide for redreſſe therof, & to puniſh them which ſhould refuſe ſo to do. wherby it may appeare to vs now, that no wafer cakes but common bread, was then by the kinges appoyntment ordinarily receiued and vſed in Churches. This was about the latter ende of December. An. 1549.

Taking downe of aultares, and ſetting vp of the table in ſteede thereof.

Taking down of Altars.

FUrthermore, in the yeare nexte following. 1550. other letters likewiſe were ſent out for the taking downe of altars in churches, and ſetting vp the table in ſteade of the ſame, vnto Nicholas Ridley, who being Biſhop of Rocheſter before, was then made Biſhop of London, in Boners place, the copie and contentes of the kings letters are theſe, as followeth.

The kings letters to Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of London. &c.

The kings letter to Nicholas Ridley then B. of London.

RIght reuerende father in God, right truſtie and well beloued, we greete you wel. And where it is come to our knowledge, that being the altars within the more part of the churches of this realme, already vpon good and godly conſiderations take͂ down, there doth yet remaine altares ſtanding in diuers other churches, by occaſion whereof muche variaunce and contention ariſeth amongeſt ſundry of our ſubiectes, whiche if good foreſight were not had, might perchaunce engender great hurt and inconuenience: we lette you wit, that minding to haue all occaſion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by thoſe & ſuch like diuerſities, and conſidering that amongſte other thinges belonging to our royal office and cure, we do accompt the greateſt to be, to maintaine the common quiet of oure Realme, wee haue thought good by the aduice of our Counſaile to require you, and neuertheles eſpecial to charge and commaund you, for the auoiding of all matters of further contention & ſtrife about the ſtanding or taking away of the ſaid altares, to geue ſubſtantiall order throughout all your dioceſſe, that with all diligence all the altars in euery churche or chappell, as well in places exempted, as not exempted within your ſaide dioceſſe be taken downe, and in the ſtead of them a table to be ſet vp in ſome conuenient parte of the chancel within euery ſuche churche or chappel, to ſerue for the miniſtratio͂ of the bleſſed co͂munio͂. And to the inte͂t the ſame may be done without the offe͂ce of ſuch our louing ſubiectes, as be not yet ſo wel perſwaded in that behalfe as we would wiſh, we ſende vnto you heerewith, certaine conſiderations gathered and collected that make for the purpoſe, the whiche and ſuch others as you ſhall thinke meete to be ſet foorth to perſwade the weake to embrace our proceedings in this parte, we pray you cauſe to be declared to the people by ſome diſcrete preachers in ſuch places as you ſhal thinke meete, before the taking downe of the ſaid altars: ſo as both the weake conſciences of other may be inſtructed and ſatisfied as muche as may be, and this our pleaſure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, wee require you to open the foreſaid conſiderations in that our cathedrall church in your own perſon, if you conueniently may, or otherwiſe by your Chancelour, or ſome other graue preacher, both there, & in ſuch other market townes and moſte notable places of your dioceſſe, as you may thinke moſt requiſite. Geuen vnder our Signet, at our Pallace of Weſtminſter, the 24. daye of Nouember, the 4 yeare of our raigne.

Altars taken downe and deſtroyed.

Conſiderations to perſwade the people.

Edward Somerſet.
Thomas Cranmer.
William Wiltſher.
Iohn Warwike.
Iohn Bedford.
William North.
Edward Clinton.
H. Wentworth.
Thomas Ely.

Reaſons why the Lordes boorde ſhould rather be after the forme of a table, then of an aultare.

The firſt reaſon.

FIrſt, the forme of a table ſhall more moue ÿ ſimple from the ſuperſtitious opinions of the Popiſh Maſſe, vnto the right vſe of the Lordes ſupper. For the vſe of an altare is to make ſacrifice vpon it: the vſe of a table is to ſerue for men to eate vpon. Nowe when we come vnto the Lordes borde, what do we come for? To ſacrifice Chriſte agayne, and to crucifie hym againe? or to feede vppon hym that was once onely crucified, and offered vp for vs? If we come to feede vppon him, ſpiritually to eate his body, and ſpiritually to drinke his bloud, which is the true vſe of the Lordes ſupper, then no man can denie, but the forme of a table is more meete for the Lordes borde, then the forme of an aultare.

The ſecond reaſon.

Item, where as it is ſayde, the booke of common prayer maketh mention of an aultar, wherfore it is not lawfull to aboliſh that which that booke alloweth: to this is thus anſweared: The booke of common prayer calleth the thing whereuvon the Lordes ſupper is miniſtred, indifferently a Table, an Aultar, or the Lordes bord, without preſcription of any forme thereof, either of a Table, or of an Aultare. So that whether the Lordes borde haue the fourme of an Aultar, or of a table, the booke of common prayer calleth it both an Aultar and a Table. For as it calleth an Altar whereuppon the Lordes Supper is miniſtred, a table, and the Lordes bord, ſo it calleth the table where the holye Communion is diſtributed with laudes and thankes geuing vnto the Lorde, an Aultar, for that, that there is offered the ſame ſacrifice of praiſe and thankes geuinge. And thus it appeareth, that heere is nothing neither ſayde nor meant contrary to the booke of common praier.

The third reaſon.

Thirdlye, the Popiſhe opinion of Maſſe, was that it might not be celebrated but vppon an aultar, or at the leaſt vpon a ſuperaltare, to ſupply the fault of the altare, which muſt haue hadde hys printes and charectes, or elſe it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But thys ſuperſtitious opinion is more holden in the mindes of the ſimple and ignorant by the forme of an aultar, then of a table: wherfore it is more meete for the aboliſhment of thys ſuperſtitious opinion, to haue the Lordes borde after the forme of a table, then of an altar.

The fourth reaſon.

Fourthly, the forme of an aultar was ordained for the Sacrifices of the Lawe, and therfore the aultar in Greke is called θυσιαστήριον Quaſi Sacrificij locus. But nowe both the lawe and the Sacrifices thereof doe ceaſe: wherfore the fourme of the aultare vſed in the Lawe, ought to ceaſe wythall.

The fift reaſon.

Fiftly, Chriſte did inſtitute the Sacrament of his bodye and bloud at his laſte Supper at a Table, and not at an Aultare, as it appeareth manifeſtly by the three Euangeliſtes. And Saint Paule calleth the comming to the holy Communion, the comminge vnto the Lordes Supper. And alſo it is not read, that any of the Apoſtles or the Primitiue Church did euer vſe any altare in the miniſtration of the holy Communion.

Wherefore, ſeeing the forme of a Table is more agreable with Chriſtes inſtitution, and with the vſage of the Apoſtles and of the Primitiue Churche, then the forme of an Aultar, therefore the forme of a Table is rather to be vſed, then the forme of an Aultare in the adminiſtration of the holy Communion.

The ſixt reaſon.

Finally, it is ſaid in the preface of the booke of common prayer, that if any doubt doe ariſe in the vſe and practiſing of the ſame booke, to appeaſe all ſuche diuerſitie, the matter ſhall be referred vnto the Biſhop of the dioceſ, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quieting and appeaſinge of the ſame, ſo that the ſame order be not contrarye vnto any thing contained in that booke.

After theſe letters and reaſones receyued, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley Byſhop of London, conſequently vppon the ſame did hold his viſitation, wherein amongſt other his Iniunctions, the ſayde Biſhoppe exhorted thoſe Churches in his Dioceſſe, where the Aultars then did remaine, to confourme them ſelues vnto thoſe other Churches whych had taken them downe, and had ſette vp in the ſteade of the multitude of their Aultares, one decent Table in euery Church.

Vppon the occaſion whereof there aroſe a greate diuerſitie aboute the fourme of the Lordes borde, ſome vſing it after the fourme of a Table, and ſome of an aultare.

wherein when the ſaide Biſhop was required to ſaye and determine what was moſte meete, he declared he could doe no leſſe of his bounden duetie, for the appeaſing of ſuch diuerſitie, & to procure one godly vniformitie, but to exhorte all his Dioceſſe vnto that, which he thought did beſt agree with Scripture, with the vſage of the Apoſtles, and wyth the Primitiue Churche, and to that which is not onely not contrary vnto any thinge contained in the booke of Common prayer (as is before proued) but alſo mighte highly further the kings moſt godly procedings, in aboliſhing of diuers vaine & ſuperſtitious opinions of the popiſh maſſe out of the hearts of the ſimple, and to bring them to ẏ right vſe taught by holy Scripture, of the Lordes Supper, and ſo appoynted he the fourme of a right Table to be vſed in his Dioces, and in the Church of Paules, brake down the wall ſtanding then by the high Aultars ſide.

Anno 1550.

Now we will enter, (God willing) into thoſe matters which happened betweene kinge Edwarde and hys ſiſter Mary, as by their letters here folowing are to be ſeene.

To my Lorde Protectour and the reſt of the kings Maieſties Counſaile.

My Lorde, I perceiue by the letters whyche I late receiued from you, and other of the kinges Maieſties Counſaile, that yee be all ſorie to finde ſo litle conformitie in me touching the obſeruation of his Maieſties lawes: who am well aſſured I haue offended no law, vnles it be a late lawe of your owne making, for the altering of matters of Religion, whiche in my conſcience is not worthy to haue the name of a Lawe, both for the kings honors ſake, the wealth of the Realme, and geuing an occaſion of an euill brute through all Chriſtendome, beſides the parcialitie vſed in the ſame, and (as my ſayde conſcience is very well perſwaded) the offending of God, which paſſeth al the reſt: but I am well aſſured, that the king hys fathers Lawes were allowed and conſented to with out compulſion by the whole Realme, both Spirituall and Temporall, and all ye executours ſworne vppon a Booke to fulfil the ſame, ſo that it was an authoriſed Lawe, and that I haue obeyed, and will doe with the grace of God, till the Kings Maieſtie my brother ſhall haue ſufficient yeares to be a Iudge in theſe matters hym ſelfe: wherein my Lorde, I was plaine wyth you at my laſte beynge in the Courte: declaringe vnto you at that time, whereunto I woulde ſtande, and nowe doe aſſure you all, that the only occaſion of my ſtay from altering mine opinion, is for two cauſes.

One principally for my conſcience ſake: the other, that the king my brother ſhal not hereafter charge me to be one of thoſe, that were agreeable to ſuche alterations in hys tender yeares. And what fruites dailye growe by ſuche chaunges ſince the death of the King my Father, to euery indifferent perſon, it wel appeareth, both to the diſpleaſure of God, and vnquietneſſe of the realme.

Notwythſtanding, I aſſure you all, I woulde be as lothe to ſee his highneſſe take hurt, or that any euill ſhould come to this his Realme, as the beſt of you all, and none of you haue the like cauſe, conſidering howe I am compelled by nature, beinge his Maieſties poore and humble Siſter, moſte tenderly to loue and pray for him, and vnto this his realme, being borne within the ſame, wiſhe all wealth and proſperitie to Gods honour.

And if any iudge mee the contrarye for mine opinions ſake, as I truſte none doth, I doubte not in the ende, wyth Gods helpe, to proue my ſelfe as true a natural and humble ſiſter, as they of the contrary opinion, with all their deuiſes and altering of lawes, ſhall proue them ſelues true ſubiectes, praying you my Lorde and the reſt of the Counſail, no more to vnquiet and trouble me with matters touching my conſcience, wherein I am at a full poynte, wyth Gods helpe, what ſoeuer ſhall happen to mee, intendinge with his grace, to trouble you litle with any worldly ſuites, but to beſtowe the ſhort time I thinke to liue, in quietnes, and pray for the kinges Maieſtie and all you, heartily wiſhing, that your proceedings may be to Gods honour, the ſafegard of the kings perſone, and quietneſſe to the whole Realme.

Moreouer, where your deſire is, that I woulde ſende my Controller and Doctour Hopton vnto you, by whom you woulde ſignifie your mindes more amplie, to my contentation & honour: it is not vnknowen to you al, that the chiefe charge of my houſe reſteth onely vppon the trauails of my ſayde Controller, who hath not bene abſent from my houſe three whole dayes ſince the ſettinge vp of the ſame, vnleſſe it were for my letters Patentes, ſo that if it were not for his continual diligence, I thinke my litle portion would not haue ſtretched ſo farre. And my Chaplaine by occaſion of ſickeneſſe, hath bene long abſent, and yet not able to ride.

Therefore like as I can not forbeare my Controller, and my Prieſte is not able to iourney: So ſhall I deſire you my Lorde, and the reſt of the Counſaile, that hauinge any thing to be declared vnto me, except matters of Religion, yee will either wryte your mindes, or ſende ſome truſtie perſon, with whome I ſhall be contented to talke, and make anſweare as the caſe ſhall require, aſſuring you, that if any ſeruaunte of mine owne, eyther man or woman, or Chaplaine ſhoulde moue me to the contrary of my conſcience, I woulde not geue eare to them, nor ſuffer the lyke to be vſed wythin my houſe. And thus my Lorde, wyth my hearty commendations, I wiſhe vnto you and the reſt, as well to doe as my ſelfe. From my houſe at Kinning hall, the 22. of Iune. 1549.

Your aſſured frend to my power, Mary.

A remembrance of certaine matters, appoynted by the Counſaile, to be declared by Doctor Hopton to the Ladie Maries grace, for anſwer to her former letter, which ſaid Hopton was after ſhee came to her raigne B. of Norwiche.

Her grace wryteth, that the lawe made by Parlament, is not woorthy the name of a lawe, meaninge the ſtatute for the Communion. &c.

You ſhall ſay thereto.

The fault is great in any ſubiect to diſallow a law of the king, a Lawe of a Realme, by long ſtudie, free diſputation, and vniforme determination of the whole Cleargie, conſulted, debated, and concluded. But the greater fault is in her grace, being nexte of any ſubiect in bloude and eſtate to the kings Maieſtie her brother and good Lorde, to geue example of diſobedience, being a ſubiecte, or of vnnaturalneſſe, being his Maieſties ſiſter, or of neglecting the power of the crowne, ſhee being by limitation of lawe nexte to the ſame. The example of diſobedience is moſt perilous in this time, as ſhee can wel vnderſtand, her vnkindneſſe reſteth in the kinges owne acceptation, the neglecting of the power, before God is anſwereable, and in the worlde toucheth her honour.

The executours, ſhee ſayth, were ſworne to king Henrie the eight his lawes.

You ſhall ſay.

It is true, they were ſworne to him, his Lawes, hys heires, and ſucceſſours, which oth they duely obſerue, and ſhould offend if they ſhould breake any one iote of ẏ kings lawes nowe being, without a diſpenſation by a lawe, and herein her grace ſhall vnderſtand, that it is no lawe, which is diſſolued by a law: Neither may her grace do that iniurie to the kinges Maieſtie her brother, to diminiſh his authoritie ſo farre, that he may not by the free cōſent of a parlament, amend and alter vnprofitable lawes, for the number of inconueniences which hereof mighte folowe, as her grace with conſideration may well perceiue.

Offence taken by the ſending for of her officers.

You ſhall ſay.

If her grace conſider the firſte letters of that purpoſe, they will declare our good meaning to her, and our gentle vſage, requiring the preſence of her truſty ſeruant, becauſe ſhee might geue more truſt to our meſſage.

Her houſe is her flocke.

You ſhall ſay.

It is well liked her grace ſhoulde haue her houſe or flock, but not exempt from the Kings orders: neither may there be a flocke of the kings ſubiects, but ſuch as wil heare and follow the voice of the king their ſhepheard. God diſaloweth it, law and reaſon forbiddeth it, pollicie abhorreth it, and her honour may not require it.

Her grace deferreth her obedience to the kings lawe, till his Maieſtie be of ſufficient yeares.

You ſhall ſay.

Shee coulde in no one ſaying more diſallow the authoritie of the king, the maieſtie of his crowne, and the ſtate of the Realme. For heerein ſhee ſuſpendeth hys kingdome, and eſteemeth his authoritie by his age, not by his right and title. Her grace muſt vnderſtande he is a King by the ordinaunce of God, by deſcent of Royall bloude, not by the numbering of his yeares.

As a creature ſubiecte to mortalitie, hee hathe youthe, and by Gods grace ſhall haue age: but as a Kinge he hath no difference by dayes and yeares. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young children to haue ben kings by Gods ſpeciall ordinaunce, but alſo (whiche is to be noted) to haue had beſt ſucceſſe in their raigne, and the fauour of God in theyr proceedinges. Yea, in their firſt yeares haue they moſt purely refourmed the Church and ſtate of Religiō. Therfore her grace hath no cauſe thus to diminiſh his maieſties power, and to make him as it were no king vntil ſhe thinke him of ſufficient yeares. Wherin howe much his maieſtie may be iuſtly offended, they be ſorie to thinke.

Shee ſaith, ſhee is ſubiecte to none of the Counſaile.

You ſhall ſay.

If her grace vnderſtandeth it of vs in that acceptation as we be priuate men, and not counſailours, ſworne to the kings maieſty, we knowledge vs not to be ſuperiors: but if ſhee vnderſtande her wryting of vs as Counſailors and magiſtrates, ordained by his maieſtie, her grace muſte be contented to thinke vs of authority ſufficient by the reaſon of our office to chalēge a ſuperioritie, not to rule by priuate affection: but by Gods prouidence, not to our eſtimation, but to the kings honour, and finally to encreaſe the kings eſtate with our counſaile, our dignitie and vocation: and we think her grace wil not forget the ſaying of Salomon, in the 6. chapter of the booke of wiſedome, to mooue a king to rule by counſaile and wiſedome, and to builde his eſtate vpon them. Wherefore her grace muſt be remembred, the kings Maieſties pollitike body is not made onely of hys owne Royall material body, but of a Counſaile, by whom his maieſtie ruleth, directeth, and gouerneth hys Realme. In the place of which Counſaile her grace is not ignorant, that we be ſet and placed. Wherfore the reputation ſhe ſhal geue vs, ſhee ſhall geue it to the kings honor, & that which ſhee ſhall take from vs, ſhee ſhall take from his Maieſtie, whoſe maieſtie wee thinke if it might take encreaſe of honour, as God geueth a daily abundance, it ſhould receiue rather encreaſe from her beinge his Maieſties ſiſter, then thus any abatement.

Shee receiued maiſter Arundel, and maiſter Engleſelde.

You ſhall ſay.

All the Counſaile remembreth well her refuſall to haue her houſe charged wͭ any more number, alleaging the ſmal proportion for her charge, and therefore it was thought to come of their earneſt ſuite, meaning to be priuiledged ſubiectes from the lawe, then of her deſire, which refuſed very often to encreaſe her number. Their cautel the king might not ſuffer, to haue his law diſobeied, their countreis where they ſhoulde ſerue by them to be deſtitute, and hauing bene ſeruantes to his maieſtie, the circumſtances of their departure might in no wiſe be liked.

Shee refuſed to heare anye man to the contrarye of her opinion.

You ſhall ſay.

It is an aunſwer more of will then of reaſon, and therfore her Grace muſte bee admoniſhed neither to truſte her owne opinion without grounde, neither miſlike al others, hauing grounde. If hers be good, it is no hurt if ſhee heare the worſe. If it be ill, ſhee ſhall doe well to heare the better. Shee ſhall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better. And becauſe ſhee ſhall not miſlike the offer, lette her grace name of learned men whome ſhee will, and further then they by learning ſhal proue, ſhee ſhall not be mooued. And ſo farre it is thought, reaſon wil compell her grace.

In the ende yee ſhall ſay.

The good willes and mindes of the Lorde Protectour and the Counſaile is ſo muche toward her grace, that how ſoeuer ſhee would her ſelfe in honor be eſteemed, how ſoeuer in conſcience quieted, yea how ſoeuer benefited, ſauing their dueties to God and the king, they woulde as muche, and in theyr doings (if it pleaſe her to proue it) will be nothing inferiours, aſſuring her grace, that they be moſte ſorie ſhee is thus diſquieted: and if neceſſitie of the cauſe, the honour and ſuretie of the king, and the iudgement of theyr owne conſcience mooued them not, thus farre they woulde not haue attempted. But their truſt is, her grace wil alow them the more, when ſhe ſhal perceiue the cauſe, and thinke no leſſe coulde be done by them, where ſhee prouoked them ſo farre.

Note Doctor Hoptons allowance of the communion in thoſe dayes.

¶ Theſe and other of like credite, more amply commited to you in ſpeache, you ſhal declare to her grace, and further declare your conſcience for the allowing of the manner of the Communion, as yee haue plainely profeſſed it before vs.

At Richmund. 14. Iune. 1549.

The Lady Mary to the Lorde Protectour and the reſt of the Counſaile. 27. Iune. 1549.

MY Lorde, I perceiue by letters directed from you and other of the kinges maieſties Counſaile, to my Controller, my Chaplaine, and maſter Englefelde my ſeruaunt, that ye will them vppon their allegeaunce, to repaire immediately to you, wherin you geue me euident cauſe to chaunge mine accuſtomed opinion of you all, that is to ſay, to thinke you careful of my quietneſſe and wel doings, conſidering how earneſtly I wryte to you for the ſtay of two of them, and that not without very iuſt cauſe. And as for maiſter Englefeld, aſſoone as he could haue prepared himſelfe, hauing his horſſes ſo farre off, although yee hadde not ſent at this preſent, would haue perfourmed your requeſt. But in deede I am much deceiued. For I ſuppoſed ye would haue waied and take my letters in better part, if yee haue receiued them: if not, to haue taried mine anſwere, and I not to haue found ſo litle frendſhip, nor to haue bene vſed ſo vngently at your hands in ſending for him, vpon whoſe trauail doth reſt the only charge of my whole houſe, as I wryt to you lately, whoſe abſence therefore ſhall be to me & my ſayde houſe no little diſpleaſure, & eſpecially being ſo farre off. And beſides all this, I doe greatly maruaile to ſee your wrytinge for him, and the other two with ſuche extreeme wordes of pearill to enſue towardes them, in caſe they did not come, and ſpecially for my Controller, whoſe charge is ſo great, that he canne not ſodainly be meete to take a iourney: which woordes in mine opinion needed not (vnleſſe it were in ſome verye iuſt and neceſſarye cauſe) to any of mine, who taketh my ſelfe ſubiect to none of you all: not doubting but if the kinges maieſtie my brother were of ſufficient yeares to perceiue this matter, and knewe what lacke and incommoditie the abſence of my ſaid officer ſhould be to my houſe, his grace woulde haue beene ſo good Lorde to mee, as to haue ſuffered him to remaine, where his charge is. Notwithſtanding, I haue willed him at this time to repaire to you, commaunding him to returne foorthwith for my very neceſsities ſake, and I haue geuen the like leaue to my poore ſicke prieſte alſo, whoſe life I thinke vndoubtedly ſhall be putte in haſard by the wet and colde painefull trauaile of this iourney. But for my parte I aſſure you all, that ſince the king my father, your late maiſter and verye good Lorde died, I neuer tooke you for other then my frendes; but in this it appeareth cōtrary. And ſauing I thought verily that my former letters ſhoulde haue diſcharged this matter, I woulde not haue troubled my ſelfe with wryting the ſame, not doubting but you doe conſider, that none of you all would haue bene contented to haue bene thus vſed at your inferiours handes, I meane to haue hadde your officer, or any of your ſeruaunts ſent for by a force (as yee make it) knowing no iuſt cauſe why. Wherefore I doe not a little maruaile, that yee had not this remembraunce towardes mee, who alwayes hath willed and wiſhed you as well to doe as my ſelfe, and both haue and will praye for you all as hartily, as for mine owne ſoule to almightye God, whome I humbly beſeeche to illumine you all with his holy ſpirite, to whoſe mercy alſo I am at a full poynt to commit my ſelfe, what ſoeuer ſhall become of my body. And thus with my commendations I bid you all fare well. From my houſe at Kenninghal, the 27. of Iune.

Youre frende to my power,
though you geue mee contrary cauſe. Mary.

A copie of the kinges Maieſties letter to the Ladie Marie. 24. Ian. 1550.

RIght deare. &c. We haue ſeene by letters of our Counſaile, ſent to you of late, and by your aunſweare therunto, touching the cauſe of certaine your Chaplaines, hauing offended our lawes in ſaying of Maſſe, their good and conuenient aduiſes, and your fruitleſſe and indirect miſtaking of the ſame, which thing mooueth vs to wryte at this time, that where good counſell from oure Counſaile hath not preuailed, yet the like from our ſelfe maye haue due regarde. The whole matter we perceiue reſteth in thys, that you being oure next ſiſter, in whome aboue all other oure ſubiectes, nature ſhoulde place the moſte eſtimation of vs, would wittingly and purpoſely, not onely breake our lawes your ſelfe, but alſo haue others maintained to doe the ſame. Truely howe ſoeuer the matter may haue other termes, other ſenſe it hath not: and although by your letter it ſeemeth you challenge a promiſe made, that ſo you myght do: yet ſurely we know the promiſe had no ſuch meaning, neither to maintaine, ne to continue your fault. You muſte knowe this ſiſter, you were at the firſt time when the law was made, borne with all, not becauſe you ſhoulde diſobey the lawe, but ỳ by our lenitie and loue ſhewed you might learne to obey it. Wee made a difference of you from our other ſubiectes, not for that all other ſhould folow our lawes, & you only againſtand them, but that you might be

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brought as far forward by loue, as others were by ducty. The error wherein you would reſt is double, & euery part ſo great, that neither for the loue of God, we can wel ſuffer it vnredreſſed, neither for the loue of you we can but wiſh it amẽded. Firſt you retaine a faſhion in honoring of God, who in dede therby is diſhonored, & therin erre you in zeal for lacke of ſcience, & hauing ſcience offered you, you refuſe it, not becauſe it is ſcience (we truſt, for then ſhould we diſpaire of you) but becauſe you thinke it is none. And ſurely in this we can beſt reprehende you, learning daily in oure ſchoole, that therefore we learne things, becauſe we knowe thẽ not, & are not alowed to ſay we know not theſe things, or we thinke they be not good, & therfore we wil not learne them. Siſter, you muſt thinke nothing can commende you more then reaſon, according to the which you haue bene hitherto vſed, & nowe for very loue we will offer you reaſon our ſelfe. If you are perſwaded in conſcience to the contrary, of our lawes, you or your perſwaders ſhall freely be ſuffered to ſay what you or they can, ſo that you will heare what ſhalbe ſaid againe.

In this poynt you ſee I pretermit my eſtate, and talke with you as your brother, rather then your ſupreme Lord and king. Thus ſhould you, being as wel content to heare of your opinions, as you are content to holde them, in the end thanke vs as much for bringing you to light, as nowe before you learne, you are loth to ſee it. And if thus muche reaſon with our natural loue ſhal not moue you, whereof we would be ſorie, then muſt we conſider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our lawes. For though hitherto it hath bene ſuffered in hope of amendement, yet now, if hope be none, how ſhall there be ſufferaunce? Our charge is to haue the ſame care ouer euery mannes eſtate, that euery man ought to haue ouer his owne. And in your owne houſe, as you would be lothe openly to ſuffer one of your ſeruauntes being next you, moſt manifeſtly to breake your orders, ſo muſt you thinke in our ſtate it ſhal miscontent vs to permit you ſo great a ſubiecte, not to keepe oure lawes. Your nearnes to vs in bloud, your greatneſſe in eſtate, the condition of this time maketh your fault ẏ greater. The example is vnnatural, that our ſiſter ſhuld do leſſe for vs, then our other ſubiects. The caſe is ſclanderous for ſo great a perſonage to forſake our maieſtie.

Finally, it is too dangerous in a troubleſome common wealth, to make ẏ people to miſtruſt a faction. We be yõg, you thinke in yeeres to conſider this. Truely ſiſter, it troubleth vs ſomwhat the more, for it may be, this euil ſuffered in you, is greater then we can diſcerne, & ſo we be as much troubled, becauſe we doubt whether we ſee the whole pearil, as we be, for that we ſee. In deede we will preſume no further then our yeres geueth vs, ẏ is, in doubtfull things not to truſt our own wits, but in euidẽt things we thinke there is no differẽce. If you ſhuld not do as other ſubiects do, were it not euident, that therin you ſhuld not be a good ſubiect? were it not plaine in that caſe, that you ſhould vſe vs not as your ſoueraigne Lord? Againe, if you ſhoulde be ſuffred to breake our lawes manifeſtly, were it not a comfort for others ſo to do? and if our lawes be broken, & contemned, where is our eſtate? Theſe things be ſo plaine, as we could almoſt haue iudged them ſixe yeares paſt. And in deede it greeueth vs not a little, that you whych ſhoulde be our moſt comfort in our yong yeres, ſhould alone geue vs occaſion of diſcomfort. Thinke you not but it muſt needes trouble vs, and if you can ſo thinke, you oughte ſiſter to amend it. Our natural loue towards you without doubt is great, & therfore diminiſh it not your ſelf. If you wil be loued by vs, ſhewe ſome token of loue towardes vs, that we ſay not with the Pſalme. Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt. If you will be beleeued, when by wryting you confeſſe vs to be your ſoueraigne Lord, heare that which in other things is often alleaged: Oſtende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis. In the anſwere of your letter to our counſaile, we remember you ſticke only vpon one reaſon deuided into two partes. The firſt is, that in matters of religion, your faith is none other, but as all Chriſtendome doth confeſſe. The next is, you wil aſſent to no alteration, but wiſh things to ſtãd as they did at our fathers death. If you meane in the firſte to rule your faith, by that you call Chriſtendome, and not by this Church of England, wherein you are a member, you that err in many poynts, ſuch as our fathers & yours wold not haue ſuffered, whatſoeuer you ſaye of the ſtanding ſtill of thinges, as they were leaft by him. The matter is too plaine to write, what may be gathered, and too perillous to be concluded againſt you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our authoritie, of things not altered by oure father, you ſhould doe vs too great an iniurie. We take our ſelf for the adminiſtration of this our common wealthe, to haue the ſame authoritye which our father had diminiſhed in no part, neither by example of ſcripture, nor by vniuerſal lawes. The ſtories of Scripture be ſo plenteous, as almoſt ẏ beſt ordered church of the Iſraelites was by kings, yonger then we be. Well ſiſter, we will not in theſe things interprete your wrytings to the worſte: loue and charitie ſhall expound them. But yet you muſt not therby be bolde to offend in that, whereunto you ſee your wrytings might be wreſted. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duetie, and if any impediment be therof, not of purpoſe, you ſhall finde a brotherly affection in vs to remedy the ſame. To teache you and inſtruct you, we wil geue order, and ſo procure you to doe your duetie willingly, that you ſhall perceiue you are not vſed meerely as a ſubiect, and onely commaunded, but as a daughter, a ſcholler, and a ſiſter, taught, inſtructed, and perſwaded. For the which cauſe, when you haue conſidered this our letter, we pray you that wee may ſhortly heare from you.

To the kings moſt excellent Maieſtie.

MY duetie moſte humbly remembred to your maieſtie, pleaſe it the ſame to vnderſtande that I haue receiued your letters by maiſter Throgmorton this bearer. The contents wherof doeth more trouble me, then any bodily ſickneſſe, though it were euen to the death, and the rather for that your highneſſe doeth charge me to be both as a breaker of your lawes, and alſo an encourager of others to do the like. I moſt humbly beſeeche your Maieſtie, to thinke that I neuer entended towards you otherwiſe then my duty compelleth me vnto, that is, to wiſh your highneſſe all honour and proſperitie, for the which I do and daily ſhal pray. And where it pleaſeth your maieſtie to wryte, that I make a chalẽge of a promiſe made otherwiſe then it was meant: the trothe is, the promiſe coulde not be denied before your maieſties preſence at my laſte waiting vpon the ſame. And althoughe, I confeſſe, the grounde of faith (wherunto I take reaſon to be but an handmaid) & my conſcience alſo hath and doth agree with the ſame: yet touching that promiſe, for ſo much as it hath pleaſed your maieſtie (God knoweth by whoſe perſwaſion) to wryte, it was not ſo meant: I ſhal moſt humbly deſire your highnes to examine the truth therof indifferently, and either will your maieſties ambaſſadour, nowe being with the Emperor, to enquire of the ſame, if it be your pleaſure to haue him moue it, or els to cauſe it to be demanded of the Emperors ambaſſador here, although he were not within this realme at that time. And thereby it ſhall appeare that in this poynt, I haue not offended your maieſtie, if it may pleaſe you ſo to accepte it. And albeit your maieſtie (GOD be praiſed) hath at theſe yeres as much vnderſtanding and more, then is commonly ſeene in that age, yet conſidering you do hear but one part (your highnes not offended) I would be a ſuter to the ſame, that till ye were growen to more perfect yeres, it might ſtand with your pleaſure to ſtay in matters touching the ſoule. So vndoubtedly ſhuld your Maieſtie knowe more, and heare others, and neuertheleſſe be at your liberty and do your wil and pleaſure. And whatſoeuer your maieſtie hath conceiued of me, either by letters to your cõſaile, or by their report, I truſt in the ende to proue my ſelfe as true to you, as any ſubiect within your realm, & wil by no meanes ſtand in argument with your maieſtie, but in moſt humble wiſe beſeche you, euen for Gods ſake to ſuffer me, as your highneſſe hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly reſpecte I deſire it, God is my iudge, but rather then to offend my conſcience, I woulde deſire of God, to loſe all that I haue, and alſo my life: and neuertheleſſe liue and die your humble ſiſter and true ſubiect. Thus after pardon craued of your maieſtie for my rude and bold writing, I beſeche almighty God to preſerue the ſame in honor, with as long continuance of health and life, as euer had noble king. From Beauliene, the 3. of Februarie,

Your Maieſties moſt humble and vnworthy ſiſter, Marie.

The Ladie Marie to the Lordes of the Counſaile 4. December. 1550.

MY Lords, your letters dated the ſecond of this preſent, were deliuered vnto mee the thirde of the ſame. And where you wryte, that two of my Chaplaines, Doctor Mallet and Barkley be indicted for certaine things committed by them contrary to the kings Maieſties lawes, and proceſſe for them alſo awarded forth, and deliuered to the Sheriffe of Eſſex: I can not but maruell they ſhould be ſo vſed, cõſidering it is done, as I take it, for ſaying maſſe wythin my houſe: and although I haue bene of my ſelfe mineded alwayes, and yet am, to haue Maſſe within my houſe: yet I haue bene aduertiſed, that the Emperours Maieſtie hath bene promiſed that I ſhoulde neuer be vnquieted nor troubled for my ſo doing, as ſome of you, my Lordes, can witneſſe. Furthermore, beſides the declaration of the ſaide promiſe made to me by the Emperors ambaſſador that dead is, from his Maieſty, to put my chaplaines more out of feare, when I was the laſt yeare with the kings maieſtie my brother, that queſtion was then mooued, and coulde not bee denyed, but affirmed by ſome of you before his Maieſtie to bee true, beinge not ſo muche vnquieted for the trouble of my ſayde Chaplaines, as I am to thinke how this matter may be taken, the promiſe to ſuch a perſon being no better regarded. And for mine owne part, thought full little to haue receiued ſuche vngentlenes at your hãds hauing alwaies (God is my iudge) wiſhed vnto the whol nũber of you, as to my ſelf, & haue refuſed to trouble you, or to craue any thing at your hãds, but your good wil & frẽdſhip, which very ſlenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithſtãding to be plain with you, how ſoeuer you ſhal vſe me or mine (with Gods helpe) I will neuer varie from mine opinion touching my faith. And if yee or any of you beare me the leſſe good wil for that matter, or faint in your frendſhip towardes me, onely for the ſame I muſt and will be contented, truſting that God will in the ende ſhew his mercy vpon me, aſſuring you, I would rather refuſe the frendſhip of all the world (whereunto I truſt I ſhall neuer be driuen) then forſake any poynte of my faith. I am not without ſome hope that yee will ſtay this matter, not enforcing the rigor of the law againſt my chaplaines. The one of them was not in my houſe theſe 4. monethis, & D. Mallet hauing my licence, is eyther at Windſor, or at his benefice, who, as I haue hearde, was indicted for ſay ing of Maſſe out of my houſe, whiche was not true. But in deede, the day before my remoouing from Woodham water, my whole houſholde in effecte was gone to Newhall, he ſayde Maſſe there by mine appoyntment. I ſee and heare of diuers that doe not obey your ſtatutes and proclamations, and neuertheleſſe eſcape without puniſhmẽt. Be ye Iudges, if I be well vſed to haue mine puniſhed by rigour of a lawe, beſides all the falſe bruits that ye haue ſuffered to be ſpoken of me. Moreouer my Chaplaine D. Mallet, beſides mine owne commandement was not ignorant of the promiſe made to the Emperour, which did putte him oute of feare. I doubt not therfore but ye wil conſider it, as by that occaſion no peace of friendſhip be taken away, nor I to haue cauſe but to beare you my good will, as I haue done heeretofore, for albeit I coulde do you little pleaſure, yet of my friendſhip ye were ſure, as if it had lien in my power yee ſhoulde haue well knowen. Thus with my hearty commendations to you all, I pray almighty God to ſend you as muche of his grace, as I woulde wiſh to mine owne ſoule. From Beulien, the 4. of Decemb.

Your aſſured frend to my power, Mary.

The Counſaile to the Ladie Marie, the 25. of December.

After our due commendations to your grace. By your letters to vs, as an anſweare to ours, touching certain proceſſe againſt two of your Chaplaines, for ſaying Maſſe againſt the law and ſtatute of the realme, we perceiue both the offence of your chaplains is otherwiſe excuſed then the matter may beare, and alſo our good willes otherwiſe miſconſtrued then we looked for. And for the firſt parte, where your greateſt reaſon for to excuſe the offence of a lawe, is a promiſe made to the Emperours Maieſtie, whereof you wryte, that firſt ſome of vs be witneſſes, next that the Ambaſſadour for the Emperour declared the ſame vnto you, and laſtly, that the ſame promiſe was affirmed to you before ẏ kings maieſtie at your laſt being with him: we haue thought conuenient to repeate the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceded, whereupon it ſhal appeare howe euidently your Chaplaines hath offended the lawe, and you alſo miſtaken the promiſe. The promiſe is but one in it ſelfe, but by times thriſe as you ſay repealed. Of whiche times, the firſte is chiefly to be conſidered, for vppon that doe the other two depende. It is very true the Emperour made requeſt to the kinges Maieſtie, that you might haue libertye to vſe the Maſſe in your houſe, and to be as it were exempted from the daunger of the ſtatute. To which requeſt diuers good reaſons were made, containing the diſcommodities that ſhoulde follow the graunt therof, and meanes deuiſed rather to perſwade you, to obey & receiue the generall and godly reformation of the whole realme, then by a priuate fanſie to preiudice a common order. But yet vpon earneſt deſire and entreatie made in ẏ Emperours name, thus much was graunted, that for his ſake and your owne alſo, it ſhould be ſuffered and winked at, if you had the priuate maſſe vſed in your own cloſet for a ſeaſon, vntil you might be better enformed, wherof was ſome hope, hauing only with you a few of your owne chamber, ſo that for all the reſt of your houſholde, the ſeruice of the realme ſhoulde be vſed, and none other: further, then thys the promiſe exceeded not. And truely ſuche a matter it then ſeemed to ſome of vs, as in dede it was, that wel might the Emperour haue required of the kinges Maieſtie a matter of more profit: but of more weight or difficulty to be graunted, his maieſtie coulde not. After this graunt in wordes, there was by the ambaſſadour now dead, oftentimes deſired ſome wryting, as a teſtimonye of the ſame. But ẏ was euer denyed: not becauſe we meant to breake the promiſe, as it was made, but becauſe ther was a daily hope of your reformation.

Nowe to the ſecond time, you ſay the Emperors Ambaſſadours declaration made mention of a promiſe to you, it might well ſo be. But we thinke no otherwiſe then as it appeareth before wrytten. If it were, hys fault it was to declare more then he heard: ours it may not be, that denye not that we haue ſayd. As for the laſt time when you were with the kinges maieſtie, the ſame ſome of vs (whome by theſe wordes your letter noteth) doe wel remember, that no other thing was graũted to you in this matter, but as the firſt promiſe was made to the Emperour, at whiche time you had too many arguments made to approue the procedings of the kings Maieſtie, and to condemne the abuſe of the maſſe, to thinke that where the priuate maſſe was iudged vngodly, there you ſhould haue authority and ground to vſe it. About the ſame time, the Ambaſſadoure made meanes to haue ſome teſtimonie of the promiſe vnder the great ſeale, and that not hard to haue it, but by a letter, and that alſo was not onely denied, but diuers good reaſons, ẏ he ſhould think it denied with reaſon, & ſo to be contented with an aunſwer. It was told him in reducing that which was commonly called the Maſſe, to the order of the primatiue church, and the inſtitution of Chriſte, the kings maieſty & his whole realme had their conſciences well quieted, againſt ẏ which, if any thing ſhould be willingly committed, the ſame ſhould be taken as an offence to God, & a very ſinne againſt truth vnknowne. Wherefore to licence by open acte ſuch a dede in the conſcience of the kings maieſty & his realme, were euẽ a ſinne againſt God. The moſt that might herein be borne, was that the kings maieſtie myght vppon hope of your gracious reconciliation, ſuſpende the execution of his law, ſo that you would vſe the licence as it was firſt graunted. What ſoeuer the Ambaſſador hath ſayd to others, he had no other maner graunt from vs, nor hauing it thus graunted, could alledge any reaſon againſt it. And where in your letter your grace noteth vs as breakers of the promiſe made to the Emperour, it ſhal appeare who hath broken the promiſe: whether we that haue ſuffered more then we licenced, or you ẏ haue tranſgreſſed that was graunted. Nowe therfore we pray your grace conſider the doing of your chaplaines with euery poynte of the premiſſes, and if the ſame cannot be excuſed, then thinke alſo howe long the lawe hath bene ſpared. If it pricke our conſciences ſomewhat, that ſo muche ſhoulde be vſed as by the promiſe you may claime, how much more ſhould it greue vs to licence more then you can claime? And yet coulde we be content to beare great burden to ſatiſfy your grace, if the burthen preſſed not our conſciences, whereof we muſt ſay as the Apoſtle ſayd: Gloriatio noſtra eſt hæc, teſtimonium conſcientiæ noſtræ. For the other parte of your graces letter, by the which we ſee you miſconſtrue our good willes in wryting to you, how ſoeuer the law had proceded againſt your Chaplaines, our order in ſending to you was to be like, and therein truely had we ſpeciall regarde of your graces degree and eſtate. And becauſe the lawe of it ſelfe reſpecteth not perſons, we thought to geue reſpect to you, firſt ſignifying to you what the law required, before it ſhould be executed, that being warned, your grace might either thinke no ſtrangenes in the execution, or for an example of obedience cauſe it to be executed your ſelfe. Others we ſee perplexed wt ſodainnes of matters, your grace we woulde not haue vnwarned to thinke any thing done ſodaine. Truely we thought it more commendable for your grace, to helpe the execution of a law, then to helpe the offence of one condemned by lawe. And in geuing you knowledge what the kings lawes required, we looked for helpe in the execution by you the kings maieſties ſiſter. The greater perſonage your grace is, the nigher to the king, ſo muche more ought your exãple to further lawes. For which cauſe it hath bene called a good common wealth, where the people obeyed the higher eſtates, and they obeied the lawes. As nature hath ioyned your grace to the kings maieſtie to loue him moſt entirely, ſo hath reaſon and lawe ſubdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not, but your grace remembreth, and as they both be ioyned together in you, his maieſties ſiſter, ſo we truſt you wil not ſeuere the, for in deede your grace cannot loue him as your brother, but you muſt obey his maieſtie as his ſubiect.

Example of your obedience and reuerence of his maieſties lawes is in ſtead of a good preacher, to a great number of his maieſties ſubiects, who if they may ſee in you negligẽce of his maieſty or his lawes, wil not faile but folow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own but yours, by exãple. And ſo may the kings maieſty whẽ he ſhal come to further iudgmẽt, impute ẏ falt of diuers euil people (which thing God forbid) to the ſufferance of your graces doings. And therfore we moſt earneſtly frõ the depth of our hearts deſire it, ẏ as nature hath ſet your grace nigh his Maieſtie by bloud, ſo your loue and zeale to his maieſty, wil further

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Anno 1550. his eſtate by obedience. In the end of your letter ij. thyngs be touched, which we cā not pretermit: the one is, you ſeme to charge vs with permiſſion of mē to breake lawes & ſtatutes. We thinke in dede it is too true, that laws and proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is: but that we permit them, we would be ſo ſory to haue it proued. The other is, that we haue ſuffred brutes to be ſpoken of you, & that alſo muſt be aunſwered as the other. It is pity to ſee men ſo euill, as whome they may touch with tales & infamies they care not, ſo they miſſe not the beſt. Suche is the boldnes of people, that neither we can fully bridle them, to raiſe tales of you, nor of oure ſelues. And yet whēſoeuer any certaine perſon may be gottē, to be charged wͭ any ſuch, we neuer leaue thē vnpuniſhed. In dede, the beſt way is, both for your grace, & alſo vs, yͭ when we can not find and puniſh the offender, let vs ſay as he ſaid that was euil ſpoken of: yet will I ſo liue, as no credite ſhal be geuen to my backbiters. Certainely, if we had credited any euill tale of your grace, we would frendly haue admoniſhed you therof, & ſo alſo proceded, as either the taletellers ſhould haue ben puniſhed, or elſe haue proued their tales. And therfore we pray your grace to thinke no vnkindnes in vs, yͭ anye euil brutes haue bene ſpred by euill men, but thinke rather wel of vs, yͭ howſoeuer they were ſpred, we beleeued them not. Hitherto your grace ſeeth we haue writtē ſomwhat at length, of yͤ promiſe made to you and our meanings, in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our letter, we will as briefly as we can remember to you two ſpeciall matters, wherof the one might ſuffice to reforme your procedings, & both together well conſidered, we truſt ſhall do your grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be deſired to follow: the other is, yͤ commodity yͭ thereby ſhall enſue. They both make a iuſt cōmandement, and becauſe of the firſt the latter followeth, that firſt ſhal be intreated. We heere ſay your grace refuſeth to heare any thing reaſoned, cōtrary to your old determinatiō, wherein you make your opinion ſuſpicious, as that you are afeard to be diſſuaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any ſtorme or water: if it be but of ſand, you do beſt to eſchew the weather. That which we profeſſe, hath yͤ foundation in Scriptures vpon plaine textes and no gloſes, the confirmation therof by the vſe in the primatiue Church, not in this later corrupted: and in deede our greateſt chaunge is not in the ſubſtāce of our faith, no not in any one article of our crede. Only the difference is, that we vſe the ceremonies, obſeruations, and Sacraments of our religion as the Apoſtles, and firſt fathers in the primatiue Church did. You vſe the ſame that corruption of time brought in, and very barbary and ignorance nouriſhed, and ſeeme to be bold for cuſtome againſt truth, & we for truth againſt cuſtome. Your grace in one or two places of your letter, ſeemeth to ſpeake earneſtly in yͤ maintenance of your faith, & therin (ſo that your faith be according to the Scriptures) we muſt haue the like opinion. The ſaying is very good if the faith be ſound. But if euery opinion your grace hath (we cannot tell how conceiued) ſhall be your faith, you may be much better inſtructed. S. Paule teacheth you, that faith is by the worde of God. And it was a true ſaying of him that ſaide: Non qui cuiuis credit, fidelis eſt, ſed qui Deo. For where hathe youre grace ground for ſuch a faith, to thinke cōmon praier in the Engliſh Church ſhould not be in engliſh? that Images of God ſhuld be ſet vp in yͤ church? or yͭ the ſacramēt of Chriſtes body & blood ſhuld be offred by the prieſts for the dead? yea, or yͭ it ſhould be otherwiſe vſed, then by yͤ ſcripture it was inſtituted? Though you haue no ſcripture to mayneteine thē, we haue euident ſcriptures to forbid thē. And although fault might be found, that of late baptiſme hath bin vſed in your graces houſe, cōtrary to law, & vtterly wͭout licence, yet is it yͤ worſe, yͭ contrary to yͤ primatiue Church it hath bin in a tong vnknown, by yͤ which the beſt part of yͤ Sacrament is vnuſed, & as it were a blind bargain made by the Godfathers in a matter of illuminatiō, and thus in the reſt of the things in which your grace differeth frō the common order of the realme, where haue you grounde or reaſon but ſome cuſtome, which oftentimes is mother of many errours? And although in ciuill things ſhe may bee followed where ſhe cauſeth quiet, yet not in religions, where ſhe excuſeth no errour, as in Leuiticus it is ſayd: Ye ſhall not do after the cuſtome of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the cuſtome of Chanaan: no, you ſhall not walke in theyr lawes, for I am your Lord God, keepe you my lawes and cōmandements. The points wherein your grace differeth in your faith as you call it, may be ſhewed where, when, how, & by whom they begā, ſince the Goſpell was preached, yͤ church was planted, & the Apoſtles martired. At which time your faith depended vpon the Scripture, & otherwiſe there was no neceſſitie to beleeue. For as Hierome ſayth: Quod de ſcripturis non habet authoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. And becauſe your grace as we heare ſay, readeth ſometime the Doctors, we may alledge vnto you the 2. or 3. places of other principall Doctors. Auguſt. ſayth: Cum dominus tacuerit, quis noſtrûm dicat, illa vel illa ſunt: aut ſi dicere audeat, vnde probat? And Chriſoſtomes ſaying is not vnlike. Multi, inquit, iactant ſpiritum ſanctum, ſed qui propria loquuntur, falſo illum prætendunt. And if you wil haue their meaning plaine, read the 5. Chapter of the firſt booke of Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, and where Conſtantine had theſe wordes in the Councell. In diſputationibus, inquit, rerum diuinarum, habetur præſcripta ſpiritus ſancti doctrina, Euangelici & Apoſtolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis oſtendunt ſenſum numinis, proinde diſcordia poſita, ſumamus ex verbis ſpiritus queſtionum explicationes. What playner ſayings may be then theſe to anſwere your fault? Agayne, to infinite it were to remember your grace the great number of particular errours (crept into the church) whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of falſe miracles and lewde pilgrimages may ſomewhat teach you. Onely this we pray your grace to remember wͭ your ſelfe: the two wordes that the father ſaid of his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt. Ipſum audite. To the ſecond point of the cōmoditie that may follow your obedience, we hauing by the kinges authoritie in this behalfe the gouernaunce of thys realme muſt herein be playne with your grace. And if our ſpeache offende the ſame, then muſt your grace thinke it is our charge and office to finde fault where it is, and our dutie to amend it as we may. Moſt ſory truely we be, yͭ your grace, whom we ſhould otherwiſe honour, for the kinges maieſties ſake, by your owne deedes ſhoulde prouoke vs to offend you, we do perceaue great diſcommoditie to the realm by your graces ſingularitie, (if it may be ſo named) in opinion, & in one reſpect, as you are ſiſter to our ſoueraigne Lord & maiſter, we moſt hūbly beſeeche your grace to ſhew your affection cōtinually towardes him, as becōmeth a ſiſter. And as your grace is a ſubiect, and we counſellors to his Maieſties eſtate, we let you know, the exāple of your graces opinion hindreth the good weale of thys realm, which thing we think is not vnknowne vnto you: & if it be, we let your grace knowe, it is to true. For Gods ſake we beſeech your grace, let nature ſet before your eyes the yong age of the king your brother. Let reaſon tell you yͤ loſenes of the people, how then can you without a wayling hart, thinke that ye ſhould be yͤ cauſe of diſturbāce? if your grace ſee the king, being yͤ ordinary ruler vnder God not onely of all others in the realme, but of you alſo, call his people by ordinary lawes one way, with what hart can your grace ſtay your ſelfe without following: muche worſe to ſtay other yͭ would follow their ſoueraigne Lord? Can it be a loue in you to forſake him, his rule and lawe, & take a priuate way by your ſelfe? If it be not loue, it is much leſſe obedience. If your grace thinke the kings maieſtie to be ouer his people as the head in a mans bodye is ouer the reſt not onely in place but in dignitie and ſcience, how can you being a principall mēber in yͤ ſame body keep yͤ nouriſhment from yͤ head, we pray your grace moſt earneſtly think this thing ſo much greueth vs, as for our priuate affectiō & good willes vnto you (though we ſhuld diſſemble) yet for our publicke office, we cannot but plainely enforme your grace, not doubting but that your wiſedome can iudge what your office is, & if it were not your owne cauſe, we know your grace by wiſedome could charge vs, if we ſuffered yͤ like in any other. Truely euery one of vs a part honoreth your grace for our maiſters ſake, but when we ioyn together in publick ſeruice, as in this writing we do, We iudge it not tollerable, to know diſorder, to ſee the cauſe, & leaue it vnamēded. For though we would be negligēt, yͤ world would iudge vs. And therfore we do altogether eftſoones require your grace, in the kinges maieſties name, yͭ if any of your 2. chaplains, Mallet, or Barckley, be returned, or as ſoone as any of them ſhall returne to your graces houſe yͤ ſame may be by your graces commaundement or order, ſent or deliuered to the ſheriff of Eſſex, who hath commandement from the kings maieſtie, by order of the law & of his crowne to attache them, or if that conditiō ſhall not like your grace, yet yͭ then he may be warned frō your graces houſe, & yet not kept there, to be as it were defended frō the power of the law, which thing we think ſurely neither your grace will meane, nor any of your counſell aſſent thereto. And ſo to make an end of our letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto differred for our great buſines, we truſt your grace firſt ſeeth how yͤ vſage of your Chaplaines differeth from the maner of our licence, and what good entent moued vs to write vnto you in former letters: laſtly that the thinges whereunto the king and the whole realme hath conſented, be not onely lawful and iuſt by the pollicie of the Realme, but alſo iuſt and godly by the lawes of God. So that if we, which haue charge vnder the

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King ſhould willingly conſent to the open breach of them, we could neyther diſcharge our ſelues to the king for our dueties, neyther to God for our conſcience. The conſideration of which things we pray almighty God, by his holye ſpirit, to lay in the bottome of your hart, and thereupon to build ſuch a profeſſion in you, as both God may haue his true honor: the king his dewe obedience, the Realme concord, and we moſt comfort. For all the which we do hartely pray, & therwith, for the cõtinuance of your graces helth to your harts deſire. Frõ weſtminſter yͤ xxv. of December.

✻ The Lady Mary to the Lordes of the Counſell xx. May. 1551.

MY Lordes, after my harty commendations to you, although both I haue bene and alſo am loth to trouble you with my letters, yet neuertheleſſe the newes which I haue lately hard, touching my Chaplayne Doctor Mallet forceth me thereunto, at this preſent, for I heare by credible report, that you haue committed him to the tower, which newes ſeeme to me very ſtrange: notwithſtanding I thought it good, by theſe to deſire you to aduertiſe me what is the cauſe of his impriſonment, aſſuring you I would be ſory that any of mine ſhould deſerue the like puniſhment, and there is no creature within the Kings maieſties Realme would more lament, that any belonging to them ſhould giue iuſt cauſe ſo to be vſed: then I would do: who would haue thought much frendſhip in you if you had geuen me knowledge, wherein my ſayd Chaplein had offended, before you had miniſtred ſuche puniſhment vnto him, eftſoones requiring you to let me knowe by this bearer, the truth of the matter. And thus thanking you for the ſhort diſpatch of the poore Marchaunt of Portingall, I wiſh to you all no worſe then to my ſelfe, and ſo bid you farewell. From Beaulien the 2. of May.

Your frend to my power, Mary.

✻ The Counſell to the Lady Mary, 6. of Maye. 1551.

AFter our humble cõmendatiõs to your grace, we haue receiued your letters of the ſecond of this moneth, by the which your grace ſeemeth to take it ſtraungely that Doctor Mallet is committed to priſon, whereof we haue the more maruell, ſeeing it hath bene heeretofore ſignified vnto you that he hath offended the kings maieſties lawes, and thereof condemned, your grace hath bene by our letters earneſtly deſired, that he might be deliuered to the Sheriffe of Eſſex, according to the iuſt proceſſe of the lawe, to the which all maner perſons of this Realme be ſubiect, whereof howſoeuer it ſeemeth ſtraunge at this tyme to your grace that he is impriſoned, it may ſeme more ſtrange to other that he hath eſcaped it thus long: and if the place being the Tower, moue your grace not to impute his impriſonment to his former offenſe, then we pray your grace to vnderſtand that in deede it is for the very ſame, and the place of the impriſonment to be at the Kings Maieſties pleaſure, from whome, beſides the charge of his lawes, we haue expreſſe commaundement to doe that we doe. And ſo we beſeech your grace to thinke of vs, that neither in thys caſe, nor in any other we meane to do any other then miniſter and ſee, as much as in our power lieth, miniſtred iuſtice indifferently, to all perſons, whiche doing then wee thinke your grace ſhould not thinke it any lacke of frendſhip that wee did not certifie you of the offenſe of youre Chaplayne, although in deede the cauſe hath already bene certified. And we truſt your grace both of youre naturall neerenes to the Kings Maieſtie and your owne good wiſdome will not miſlike our Miniſterie in the execution of the lawes of the Realme, and the pleaſure of the Kyngs Maieſtie. So we wiſh to your grace from the bottome of our hart, the grace of almighty God, with the riches of his holy giftes.

✻ The Lady Mary to the Counſell, the 11. of May.

MY Lordes, it appeareth by your letters of the vj. of this preſẽt which I haue receaued, that the impriſonmẽt of my Chaplaine Doctour Mallet is, for ſaying of Maſſe, and that he was condemned for the ſame. In deede I haue heard that he was endited, but neuer condẽned. Neuertheleſſe, I muſt needes confeſſe and ſay, that he did it but by my commaundement, and I ſayde vnto him that none of my Chaplaynes ſhoulde be in daunger of the lawe for ſaying Maſſe in my houſe. And thereof to put hym out of doubt, the Emperours Embaſſadour that dead is, declared vnto him before that time, how after what ſorte the & promiſe was made to his Maieſty, wherby it appeareth, that the mã hath not in that willingly offẽded. Wherfore I pray you to diſcharge him of emprisonment, and ſet him at liberty: if not, ye miniſter cauſe not only to him, but to others to thinke that I haue declared more then was true, whiche I woulde not wittingly doo, to gaine the whole world. And heerein as I haue often ſayde, the Emperours Maieſtie can be beſt iudge. And to be playne with you according to mine old cuſtome, there is not one amongſt the whole number of you all, that woulde be more loth to be founde vntrue of their word then I. And well I am aſſured, that none of you haue found it in me. My Lordes, I pray you ſeeke not ſo much my diſhonour, as to diſprooue my word, whereby it ſhould appeare too plaine that you handle me not well. And if you haue cauſe to charge my Chaplaine for this matter, lay that to mee, and I wyll diſcharge it againe, by your promiſe made to the Emperours Maieſtie, which you can not rightfully denie, wiſhing rather that you had refuſed it in the beginning then after ſuch promiſe made, and to ſuch a perſon, to ſeeme to go from it which my Lordes, as your very friend I hartely deſire you to conſider, and to geue me no cauſe to thinke you otherwiſe then my friends, conſidering I haue alwayes, and yet do (God is my iudge) wiſhe to you all no worſe neyther in ſoules nor bodies, then to my ſelfe, and ſo wyth my hartye commendations, I commit you all to God. From Beaulien the 11. of May.

Your aſſured friend to my power, Mary.

¶ The Counſaile to the Lady Mary, the 27. of May. 1551.

AFter our due commendations to your grace, although the ſame receiueth not aunſwere ſo ſoone, as perchaunce was looked for vpon the returne of your graces ſeruaunt: Yet we doubt not, but youre grace vnderſtanding that where we haue matters of eſtate pertaining to the Kings Maieſtie in hand, as in deede we haue had of late, the differring of the anſwere in a matter being no greater, requireth to be borne withal. And touching the anſwere of your graces letter for D. Mallet, we pray your grace to vnderſtande, that although you write he was indited, but not condemned, and ſo ſeeme to take exception at the maner of his impriſonment, yet if they which enformed your grace of that maner of reaſon in the law, were as well diſpoſed to pleaſe your grace with truth, as the reaſon in deede is not true, then ſhould they haue told your grace that by the Acte of Parliament, if either Mallet haue bene conuicted by the othes of twelue men, or that the fact hath bene notorious, then the puniſhment doth follow iuſtly. The truth of the one and the other way of conuiction in this caſe is notorious enough, beſides his flying from the proceſſe of the lawe. And where your grace, to releeue him, woulde take the fault vpon your ſelfe, we are ſory to perceiue your grace ſo ready to be a defence to one that the Kings lawe doth condemne. Neuertheleſſe, he is not puniſhed becauſe your grace bad him, and willed him to do that which was an offence: but he is puniſhed for doing it, and if we ſhould not ſo ſee the Kings lawes executed without reſpect, it might appeare that we too much neglected our duty, and for that your grace taketh it as a diſcredite to your ſelfe, that he ſhould be puniſhed for that you bad him do, alledging to him that you had authoritie ſo to do, and ſo promiſe made to the Emperour, it hath bene both written, and ſayde to your grace, what is the truth in that behalfe: and howſoeuer that your grace pretendeth your licence to haue Maſſe ſaid before your ſelfe, for a time of your reconciliation, it had bene ſo far out of reaſon for to haue deſired that whoſoeuer was your Chapleine might ſay Maſſe in any houſe that was yours, when your graces ſelfe was not there. For ſo is D. Malletts offence, for ſaying Maſſe at one of your houſes, where your grace was not, which thing as it was neuer graunted, ſo do we not remember that euer it was demaunded. The ſute that hath bene at anye tyme made, either by the Emperous Embaſſadour that dead is, or by him that now is, was neuer but in reſpect of your grace, and not to be taken that the Emperour or his his Embaſſadour meant to priuiledge mayſter D. Mallet or any other to ſay Maſſe out of your preſence. wherefore as we do plainely write to your grace, ſo do we pray you to take it in good part, and thinke we be as ready to do our due reuerence towards your grace in any thyng wee may doe with our dutie to our maiſter as any youre grace may commaund: and of ſuche wiſedome we knowe your grace to be, that ye ſhould iudge the better of vs, for that we be diligent to ſee the lawes of the Realme executed, wherein reſteth the ſtrength and ſafegard of the kings Maieſtie our ſoueraigne Lord and Maiſter.

The Lady Mary to the Lordes of the Counſayle, 21 Iune. 1551.

MY Lords, although I receiued by my ſeruant this bearer (who lately deliuered vnto you my letters, wherein I deſired to haue my Chaplayne D.Mallet diſcharged of his impriſonmente) your gentle meſſage in generall wordes, for the whyche I geue you my hartye thankes: yet haue I no knowledge whether you will ſet him at liberty or no: But I thinke that your waighty affayres at that time, was the let and cauſe ye did not write. For elſe I doubt not you would haue aunſwered me. Wherefore not being ſatiſfied, and vnderſtandyng yee would gladly pleaſure mee, I thought good eftſoones to deſire you, that my ſayde Chaplayne may haue his libertye, wherein I aſſure you, yee ſhall much gratifie me, beeing not a little troubled, that he is ſo long in priſon, without iuſt cauſe, ſeeyng the matter of hys impriſonmente is diſcharged by the promiſe made to the Emperours Maieſtie, as in my late letter I declared vnto you. Wherefore my Lordes, I pray you let me haue knowledge by this bearer how ye will vſe me in this matter, wherein if ye do pleaſure me accordingly, then ſhall it well appeare that ye regard the foreſayd promiſe, and I wil not forget your gentlenes therein (God willing) but requite it to my power. And thus with my harty commendations to you all, I bid you farewell. From Beaulien the 21. of Iune.

Your aſſured friend to my power Mary.

¶ The Counſaile to the Lady Mary, the 24. of Iune. 1551.

After our humble cõmendatiõs to your grace, we haue receiued your graces letter of the 21. hereof, wherein is conteined the ſame requeſt that in your former letters hath bene made for the releaſe of Doctor Mallet, and therein alſo your grace ſeemeth to haue looked for the ſame anſwer of your former letter, yͤ which indeed partly was omitted (as your grace coniectureth) by the reaſon of yͤ Kings Maieſties affaires: wherwith we be throughly occupied, partly for that we had no other thing to anſwere, then you had heretofore heard in the ſame matter. And therefore where your grace deſireth a reſolute anſwere, we aſſure the ſame we be right ſory for yͤ matter, & that it ſhould be your graces chaunce to moue it, as we cannot, with our duties to yͤ Kings Maieſtie, accompliſhe your deſire. So neceſſary a thing it is to ſee the lawes of the Realme executed indifferently in all manner of perſons, and in theſe caſes of contempt of the Eccleſiaſticall orders of this Church of England, the ſame may not without yͤ great diſpleaſure of God the ſlaunder of yͤ ſtate be neglected, and therfore your grace may pleaſe to vnderſtand we haue not only puniſhed your Chaplein, but all ſuch others whom we find in like caſe to haue diſobeyed the lawes of the Kings maieſtie. And touching the excuſe your grace oftentimes vſeth, of a promiſe made, we aſſure your grace, none of vs al, nor any other of the Counſell as your grace hath bene certified, hath euer bene priuie to any ſuch promiſe, otherwiſe then hath bene written. And in that matter your grace had plaine anſwer both by vs of the kings maieſties Counſell, at your being laſt in his Maieſties preſence, and therein alſo your grace might perceiue his Maieſties determination, whereunto we beſeech your grace not only to incline your ſelfe, but alſo to iudge well of vs that do addict our ſelues to doe our duties. And ſo alſo ſhall we be ready to do with all our harts, our due reuerence towarde your grace, whoſe preſeruation we commend to almighty God with our praier.

The Copie of the Lady Maryes letter to the Kings Maieſtie.

My duetie moſt humbly remembred vnto your Maieſty, it may pleaſe the ſame to be aduertiſed, that I haue receyued by my ſeruauntes, your moſt honourable letters, the contentes whereof do not a little trouble me, and ſo muche the more, for that any of my ſayd ſeruants ſhould moue or attempt me in matters touching my ſoule, which I thinke the meaneſt ſubiect within your highnes Realme, could euill beare at their ſeruauntes handes, hauing for my part vtterly refuſed heretofore to talke with them in ſuch matters, and of all other perſons leaſt regarded them therein, to whome I haue declared what I thinke, as ſhee which truſted, that your Maieſtie would haue ſuffered me your poore ſiſter and beadewomã to haue vſed the accuſtomed maſſe, which the King your father & mine with all his predeceſſours did euermore vſe, wherein alſo I haue ben brought vp fro my youth. And therevnto my conſcience doth not only bind me, which by no meanes will ſuffer me to thinke one thing and do another, but alſo the promiſe made to the Emperour by your Maieſties Counſaile was an aſſurance to me, that in ſo doing I ſhould not offend the lawes, although they ſeeme nowe to qualifie and deny the thing. And at my laſt wayting vpon your Maieſty, I was ſo bolde to declare my mind and conſcience to the ſame, and deſired your highnes, rather then you ſhould conſtraine me to leaue the Maſſe, to take my life, whereunto your maieſty made me a very gẽtle anſwer. And now I moſt humbly beſeech your highnes to geue me leaue to write what I thinke touching your Maieſties letters. In deede, they be ſigned with your owne hand, and neuertheles in mine opiniõ not your maieſties in effect, becauſe it is wel knowẽ (as heretofore I haue declared in the preſẽce of your highneſſe) that although, our Lorde be prayſed, your Maieſtie hath farre more knowledge, and greater giftes then others of your yeres, yet it is not poſsible that your highnes can at theſe yeares be a iudge in matters of religion: and therefore I take it that the matter in your letters proceedeth from ſuch as doe wiſh thoſe thinges to take place, which be moſt agreeable to themſelues by whoſe doinges your maieſty not offended, I entend not to rule my conſcience. And thus without moleſting your Highnes any further, I humbly beſeech the ſame, euẽ for Gods ſake to beare with me, as you haue done, and not to thinke that by my doinges or example anye inconuenience might growe to your maieſtie or your Realme, for I vſe it not after ſuch ſorte putting no doubt but in time to come, whether I liue or dye, your maieſtie ſhall perceaue that mine intent is grounded vpon a true loue towardes you, whoſe royall eſtate I beſeeche almighty God long to continue, which is and ſhall be my dayly praier according to my duety. And after pardon craued of your maieſty for theſe rude and bold letters, if neyther at my humble ſuite, nor for the regard of the promiſe made to the Emperour, your Highneſſe will ſuffer and beare with mee, as you haue done till your Maieſtye may be a iudge herein your ſelfe, and rightly vnderſtand theyr proceedinges, (of whiche your goodneſſe yet I deſpayre not) otherwiſe, rather then to offend God and my conſcience, I offer my body at your wil, and death ſhall be more welcome then life with a troubled conſcience, moſt humbly beſeeching your Maieſtye to pardon my ſlownes in aunſwering your letters. For mine olde diſeaſe woulde not ſuffer me to write any ſooner. And thus I praye almighty God to keep your Maieſty in all vertue and honor with good health and long life to his pleaſure. From my poore houſe at Copped hall. the xix. of Aug.

Your Maieſties moſt humble ſiſter, Mary.

¶ A Copy of the kinges maieſties letters to the ſayde Lady Mary.

Right deare and right intirely beloued ſiſter, we greete you well, and let you knowe that it greeueth vs muche to perceiue no amendment in you, of that which we for Gods cauſe, your ſoules health, our conſcience, and the common tranquillity of our Realme, haue ſo long deſired, aſſuring you that our ſufferance hath muche more demonſtration of naturall loue, then contentation of our conſcience and foreſight of our ſafety. Wherfore although you geue vs occaſion as much almoſt as in you is to diminiſh our naturall loue: yet be we loth to feele it decay, and meane not to be ſo careleſſe of you as we be prouoked.

And therefore meaning your weale, and therwith ioyning a care not to be found giltie in our conſcience to God, hauyng cauſe to require forgeuenes that we haue ſo long for reſpect of loue towards you omitted our bounden duety, we ſend at this preſent our right truſty and right welbeloued counſaylor the Lord R. our Chauncelour of England, and our truſtye and right welbeloued Counſaylers, Sir A. W. Knight, Comptroler of our houſholde and Sir W. P. Knight, one of our principall Secretaries in meſſage to you, touching the order of your houſe, wylling you to geue them firme credite in thoſe thinges they ſhall ſay to you from vs, and doe there in our name. Yeauen vnder our ſignet at our Caſtle of Winſor, the 24. of Auguſt, in the firſt yeare of our Raigne.

A copy of the kinges Maieſties inſtructions, geuen to the ſaid L. C. ſir A. W. and ſir W. P. Knightes, &c. 24. Auguſt. 1551.

Firſt, you the ſayd Lorde Chauncellor and your Colleagues ſhall make your immediate repayre to the ſayd Lady Mary geuing to her his maieſties hartye commendations, and ſhewe the cauſe of your comming to be as followeth.

Although his maieſty hath long time, as well by his maieſtyes owne mouth and writing, as by his counſayle trauayled that the ſayd Lady being his ſiſter, and a principall ſubiect and member of his Realme, ſhould both be in deede and alſo ſhew her ſelfe conformable to the lawes and ordinaunces of the realme, in the profeſsion and rites of Religion, vſing all the gẽtle meanes of exhortation and aduiſe that could be deuiſed, to the intent the reformation of the faulte might willingly come of her ſelfe, as the expectation and deſire of his maieſty, and all good wiſe men was: yet notwithſtanding his maieſtie ſeeth that hetherto no maner of amendment hath followed, but by the continuance of the errour and manifeſt breach of his lawes, no ſmall perill conſequently may happe to the ſtate of hys Realme, eſpecially the ſufferaunce of ſuch a fault being directly to the diſhonor of God and the great offence of his Maieſties conſcience, and all other good men and therefore of late, euen with the conſent and aduiſe of the whole ſtate of his priuy Counſayle, and diuers others of the nobility of his Realme, whoſe names ye may repeate, if you thinke conuenient, his Maieſtie did reſolutely determine it iuſt, neceſſary, and expedient, that her grace ſhould not in any wiſe vſe or maintaine the priuate Maſſe, or any other manner of ſeruice, then ſuche as by the lawe of the Realme is authoriſed and allowed: and to participate this his maieſties determination to her grace, it was thought in reſpect of a fauorable proceeding with her ſelfe, to haue the ſame, not only to be manifeſted by her owne officers and ſeruaunts, being moſt eſteemed with her, but alſo to be executed by them in her houſe, as well for the more quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the leſſe moleſting of her grace with any meſſage by ſtraungers, in that time of her ſolitarines, wherein her grace then was by the reaſon of the late ſickneſſe. For which purpoſe her three ſeruants, Rocheſter, Eglefield, and Walgraue were ſent in meſſage in thys manner. Firſt, to deliuer his Maieſties letter to her, next to diſcharge the complaintes of ſaying Maſſe, and prohibiting all the houſhold from hearing any. Wherein the Kings Maieſtie perceiueth vpon their owne report, being returned to the Court, how negligently, and in deede how falſly they haue executed theyr commaundement and charge contrary to the duety of good ſubiectes, and to the manifeſt contempt of his maieſty. Inſomuch as manifeſtly they haue before his Maieſties Counſayle refuſed to do that which pertayneth to euery true faithfull ſubiecte, to the offence ſo farre of his maieſty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wiſe the puniſhment of them could be forborne, and yet in the maner of the puniſhment of them, his Maieſtie and his Counſayle hath ſuch conſideration, and reſpect of her perſon being his ſiſter, that without doubt his Maieſtie could not with honour haue had the like conſideration or fauour in the puniſhmente of the deareſt Counſailour he hath, if any of them had ſo offended, and therefore his Maieſty hath ſent you three not only to declare to her grace the cauſes of their ſending thither of late his officers in meſſage, but alſo the cauſes of their abſence now preſentlye. And further, in the default of the ſayde officers to take order, as well with hir Chaplaynes, as with the whole houſholde, that hys Maieſties lawes may be there obſerued. And in the communication with her, you ſhall take occaſion to anſwere in his Maieſties name certayne pointes of her letter, ſent now lately to his Maieſtie. The copy of which letter is now alſo ſent to you to peruſe, for your better inſtruction how to proceede in. Firſt, her allegation of the promiſe made to the Emperour, muſt be ſo aunſwered, as the trueth of the matter ſerueth, whereof euery of you haue heard ſufficient teſtimony diuers times in the counſaile for her offering of her body at the Kings will, rather then to chaunge her conſcience. It greeueth his Maieſtie much, that her conſcience is ſo ſetled in errour, and yet no ſuch thing is ment of his Maieſtie, nor of any one of his counſayle once to hurt, or will euill to her body, but euen from the bottome of their hart wiſheth to her mentem ſanam in corpore ſano. And therefore yee ſhall do very well to perſwade her grace that this proceeding commeth onely of the conſcience the King hath to auoyde the offence of God, and of neceſſary counſaile and wiſedome to ſee his lawes in ſo weighty cauſes executed. Item, becauſe it is thought that Rocheſter had the care and conſideration of her graces prouiſion of houſhold, and by his abſence the ſame might be either diſordered or diſfurniſhed: his Maieſtie hath ſent a truſty ſkilfull man of hys owne houſhold, to ſerue her grace for the time. Who alſo is ſufficiently inſtructed of Rocheſter, of the ſtate of her things of houſhold. And if there ſhall be any thing lacking in the ſame, his Maieſties pleaſure is, that his ſeruant ſhall aduertiſe his owne chiefe officers of houſhold, to the intent if the ſame may be ſupplyed of any ſtore heere, or otherwhere helped conueniently, her grace ſhall not lacke.

Item, hauing thus proceeded with her grace, as for the declarations of the cauſes of your commoning, ye ſhal thē cauſe to be called afore you the Chaplaynes, and all the reſt of the houſholde there preſente, and in the Kings Maieſties name moſt ſtraightly forbid the Chaplaynes eyther to ſay or vſe any Maſſe or kinde of ſeruice, other then by the lawe is authoriſed: and likewiſe yee ſhall forbid all the reſt of the company to be preſent at any ſuche prohibited ſeruice, vpon paine to be moſt ſtraightly puniſhed, as worthely falling into the daunger of the Kings indignation, and a like charge to them all, that if any ſuch offence ſhall be openly or ſecretly committed, they ſhall aduertiſe ſome of his Maieſties Counſayle. In the which clauſe ye ſhall vſe the reaſons of theyr naturall duty and allegeance that they owe as ſubiectes to theyr ſoueraigne Lord, which derogateth all other earthly dueties.

Item, if you ſhall finde eyther any of the prieſtes, or any other perſon diſobedient to this order, ye ſhall commit them forthwith to priſon as ye ſhall thinke conuenient.

Item, for as much as yee were priuy to the determination at Richmond, and there vnderſtoode how neceſſary it was to haue reformation heerein: his Maieſty, vpon the great confidence he hath in your wiſedome and vprightnes, remitteth to your diſcretions the manner of the proceeding heerein, if any thing ſhall chaunce to ariſe there that in your opinions might otherwiſe then according to theſe inſtructions conduce you to the execution of your charge, which in one ſumme is to auoyde the vſe of the priuate Maſſe, and other vnlawfull ſeruice, in the houſe of the ſayd Lady Mary.

Item, ye ſhall deuiſe by ſome meanes as you may, to haue vnderſtanding after your departure how the order you geue is obſerued, and as you ſhall iudge fit, to certifie hither.

E. S. W. W. I. W. I. B. W. N.
W. H. F. H. I. G. T. D. W. C.

⁂ The ſtory of Steuen Gardiner Biſh. of Wincheſter, briefly collected, the reſidue whereof concerning hys actes and doings, may further appeare in the booke of Actes and Monuments in the firſt edition. page. 728.

Although the firſt impriſonment of Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, in order of time was before the depriuation of Byſhop Boner: yet for ſo much as hee was not depoſed from his Biſhopricke till the nexte or ſeconde yeare after, which was 1551. I haue therefore driuen off the hiſtory of the ſayde Byſhop of Wincheſter to this preſent place: intending neuertheles heere not to extende and proſecute the explication of that buſie matter with all circumſtances and particularities thereof, ſo amply at full as I might, partly for that being done in my firſt volume of Actes and Monuments, may heere ſuffice and content the reader being diſpoſed there to ſearch and further to reade touching the ſame, partly alſo conſidering how this preſent volume is growne already very large and great, I thought not to peſter the ſame with any more ſuperfluitie, then needes muſt, and therefore leauing out his idle letters, his long proceſſe of Articles and examinations, hys tedious talke with the multitude of depoſitions brought in againſt him, and other his actes and interlocutories ſuperfluous, I minde heere (the Lord willing) briefly and ſummarily to excerpe only the principall effectes, as to the ſtory may ſeeme moſt appertinent, referring the reſidue to be ſearched (if any reader ſo liſt to do) to the booke of Monuments aforeſayd, beginning in the page 728.

Briefly therefore, as touching the actes, doings, deſeruings and miſdemeanours of this ſtoute Prelate, and Biſhop of Wincheſter: firſt we will ſet before the reader the copy of a certayne writte or euidence againſt the ſayd Byſhop, wherein as in a briefe ſumme generally is deſcribed the whole order and maner of his miſordred demeanour, copied out of the publike recordes in maner as followeth.

¶ The copy of a writte or euidence touching the order and maner of the miſdemeanour of Wincheſter, with declaration of the faultes wherewith he was iuſtly charged.

Where as the Kings Maieſtie by the aduiſe of the Lord Protector, and the reſt of his highnes priuie Counſell, thinking requiſite for ſundry vrgent conſiderations to haue a generall viſitation throughout the whole Realme, did about tenne monethes paſt addreſſe forth Commiſſions, and by the aduiſe of ſondry Byſhopps and other the beſt learned men of the Realme, appointed certayne orders or Iniunctions to be generally obſerued, which being ſuch as in ſome part touched the reformation of many abuſes, and in other parts concerned the good gouernaunce & quiet of the Realme, were (as reaſon would) of all men of all ſortes obediently receiued, and reuerently obſerued and executed, ſauing only of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who as well by conference with other, as by open proteſtation and letters alſo, ſhewed ſuch a wilfull diſobedience therein, as if it had not bene quickly eſpied, myght haue bred much vnquietnes and trouble, vpon the knowledge whereof he being ſent for, and his lewd proceedings layd to his charge, he in the preſence of the whole Counſell ſo vſed himſelfe (as well in denying to receiue the ſayd orders and Iniunctions as otherwiſe) as he was thought worthy moſt ſharpe puniſhmente, and yet conſidering the place he had bene in, he was only ſequeſtred to the Fleete, where, after he had remained a certaine time, as much at his eaſe as if he had bene at his owne houſe, vpon hys promiſe of conformitie he was both ſet at libertie againe, and alſo licenced to repaire and remaine in his Dioces at hys pleaſure, whereas when he was, forgetting his duety, and what promiſe he had made, he began forthwith to ſet forth ſuch matters as bred againe more ſtrife, variaunce, and contention in that one ſmall Citie and Shire, then was almoſt in the whole Realme after: beſides that, the Lorde Protectors grace and the Counſayle were enformed, that to withſtand ſuch as he thought to haue bene ſent from their grace and Lordſhips into thoſe parties, he had cauſed all

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all his ſeruauntes to be ſecretly armed and harneſſed: and moreouer when ſuch preachers as being men of godly life and learning were ſent into that Dioces by his grace and Lordſhip to preache the worde of God, had appoynted to preach, the Biſhop to diſapoint and diſgrace them, and to hinder his Maieſties proceedings, did occupie the Pulpit himſelfe, not fearing in his Sermon to warne the people to beware of ſuch new Preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine then that which he had taught them (then the which wordes none could haue bene ſpoken more perilous and ſeditious:) whereupon, being eftſoones ſente for, and their grace and Lordſhips obiecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had iuſt cauſe to charge him, they did in the end vpon his ſecond promiſe leaue him at libertie, onely willing him to remaine at his houſe at London, becauſe they thought it moſt meete to ſequeſter him from his Dioces for a time, and beeing come to hys houſe, he began afreſhe to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither Commiſſion nor authority, parte whereof touched the Kings Maieſtie: whereof being yet once againe admoniſhed by his grace and their Lordſhips, he did not only promiſe to conforme himſelfe in all things like a good ſubiect, but alſo becauſe he vnderſtoode that he was diuerſly reported of, & many were alſo offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformitie, and promiſed in an open Sermon ſo to open his minde in ſondry articles agreed vpon, ỳ ſuch as had ben offended, ſhuld haue no more cauſe to be offended, but well ſatiſfied in all things: declaring further that as his own conſcience was well ſatiſfied, and liked well the Kings procedings within this Realme, ſo would he vtter his cõſcience abroade, to the ſatiſfaction & good quiet of others, and yet all this notwithſtanding, at the daye appoynted he did not only moſt arrogantly and diſobediently, and that in the preſence of his Maieſtie, their grace and Lordſhips, and of ſuch an audience, as the like wherof hath not lightly ben ſene, ſpeake of certaine matters contrary to an expreſſe commaundement geuen to him on his Maieſties behalfe both by mouth and by letters, but alſo in the reſt of the articles, whereunto hee had agreed before, vſed ſuch a maner of vtteraunce as was very like euen there preſently to haue ſtirred a greate tumult, and in certaine great matters touching the policie of the Realme, handled himſelfe ſo colourably as therein hee ſhewed himſelfe an open great offender & a very ſeditious mã: forasmuch as theſe his procedings were of ſuch ſort, as being ſuffred to eſcape vnpuniſhed, might breede innumerable incõueniences, & that the clemency ſhewed to him afore by their grace & Lordſhips, did worke in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldnes to demeane himſelfe more and more diſobediently againſt his Maieſtie and his graces procedings: it was determined by their grace and Lordſhips that he ſhould be committed to the Tower and be conueyed thether by Sir Anthony Wingfield, and that at the time of his Commiſſion Sir Rafe Sadler and William Hunnings Clerke of the Counſaile, ſhould ſeale vp the dores of ſuch places in his houſe as they ſhould thinke meete: all which was done accordingly.

Winchester ...nt for a- ...aine by the Counſayle. Wynchester ...manded ...keepe his ...uſe. Wynchester ...aine brea... ...ſh promiſe with ...e Counſayle. Wynchester promiſeth to ſhew his conformitie openly in preaching. Wynchester in his ſermō warueth from his owne promiſe & the kinges commaundemēt. Wynchester for his ſedi... ...ous diſo... ...edience ...d to the ...wer.

By this euidence aboue mentioned, firſt heere is of the reader to be noted, how lewdly and diſobediently the ſayd Ste. Gardiner miſuſed himſelfe in the Kings generall viſitation, in denying to receiue ſuch orders and iniunctions, as for the which he iuſtly deſerued much more ſeueare puniſhment. Albeit the King with his Uncle the Lord Protectour, more gently proceding with him, were contented only to make him taſte the Fleete. In the which houſe, as his durance was not long, ſo his entreating and ordering was very eaſie. Out of the whiche Fleete diuers and ſondry letters he wrote to the Lord Protectour and other of the Counſaile, certayne alſo to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and ſome to M. Ridley Biſhop of London: the particulars were too lōg here to rehearſe, cōſidering how this booke is ſo ouercharged as ye ſee already: and eſpecially ſeeing the ſame be notified in our firſt edition ſufficiently, as is aforeſayd. Wherfore omitting the rehearſall of the ſaid letters, and referring the reader to the booke aforeſayde, I will onely repeate one letter of the ſaid Byſhop, with the aunſweres of the Lord Protectour vnto the ſame: the contents whereof be theſe as followeth.

...the let... ...of win... ...ter read ...e booke ...Actes & ...uments ...e firſt ...,pag.

¶ A Letter of Wincheſter to Mayſter Vaughan.

...ter of ...ē Gar... ...r to ...ame ...ghan.

MAiſter Vaughan, after my right hartye commendations: In my laſt letters to my Lord Protectour, ſignifying according to the generall commaundemēt by letters geuen to all Iuſtices of peace the ſtate of this Shire, I declared (as I ſuppoſed true) the Shire to be in good order, quiet, & conformity, for I had not then herd of any alteratiō in this Shire which the ſaid letters of cōmādement did forbid. Now of late within theſe two dayes I haue heard of a great and deteſtable (if it be true that is tolde me) innouation in the towne of Porteſmouth, where the Images of Chriſt and his ſayntes haue bene moſt contemptuouſly pulled downe, and ſpitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the Mayor, the kinges maieſties chiefe miniſters, as well to know the trueth, as to conſult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent I may be ſeene to diſcharge my duety, and diſcharging it in deede both to God and the kinges maieſty, vnder whome I am here appoynted to haue cure, and care to relieue ſuche as be by any wayes fallen, and preſerue the reſt that ſtand, from like daunger.

Images plucked downe at Porteſmouth.

Ye are a Gentleman with whom I haue had acquayntance and whom I know to be wiſe, & eſteeme to haue more knowledge wiſedome, and diſcretion, then to allow any ſuch enormities, and therefore do the more willingly conſult with you herein, with requeſt frēdly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumſtances of it, & whether ye thinke the matter ſo farre gone with the multitude & whether the reproofe and diſprouing of the deed, might without a further daunger be enterpriſed in the Pulpit or not, minding if it may ſo be, to ſend one thether for that purpoſe vpon Sonday next comming, I would vſe preaching as it ſhoulde not be occaſion of anye further folly, where a folly is begun, and to a multitude perſwaded in that opinion of deſtruction of Images, I would neuer preach. For (as ſcripture willeth vs) we ſhould caſt no precious ſtones before Hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be Hogs and worſe then Hogs, if there be any groſſer beaſtes then hogs be, and haue bene euer ſo taken, and in England they are called Lollards, who denying images, thought therewithall the craftes of paynting & grauing to be generally ſuperfluous and nought, and agaynſt Gods lawes.

Then were the old fathers and biſhops in the primitiue Church with Epiphanius and Carolus Magnus, and all the Councell of Franckford, hogs and dogs.

In Germany ſuche as maintained that opinion of deſtroying of Images, were accompted the dregges caſt out by Luther after he had tunned all his brewinges in Chriſtes religion, and ſo taken as Hogges meate. For the reproufe of whom, Luther wrote a booke ſpecially: and I haue with myne eyes ſeene the Images ſtanding in all Churches where Luther was had in eſtimation. For the deſtruction of Images contayneth an enterpriſe to ſubuert religion and the ſtate of the worlde with it, and eſpecially the nobilitie, who by images ſet forth & ſpread abroad to be read of al people, their linage, parentage, with remembraunce of their ſtate and actes: and the Purſiuaunt carieth not on his breſt the kinges names written in ſuch letters as a few can ſpell, but ſuch as all can read, be they neuer ſo rude being great knowne letters in Images of three Lyons, and three floures deluce, and other beaſtes holding thoſe armes. And he that cānot read the Scripture written about the kings great Seale, yet he can read S. George on horſebacke on the one ſide, and the king ſitting in his maieſtie on the other ſide, and readeth ſo much written in thoſe images as if he be an honeſt man, he will put of his cap, and although if the Seale were broken by chaunce, he woulde and might make a candell of it, yet he woulde not be noted to haue broken the ſeale for that purpoſe, or to call it a piece of waxe onely, whileſt it continueth whole. And if by reuiling of ſtockes and ſtones, in whiche matter Images be grauen, the ſetting of the trueth to be read in them of all men, ſhall be contemned: how ſhall ſuche wryting continue in honour, as is compriſed in cloutes, and pitch, whereof and whereupon our bookes be made, ſuch as few can skill of, and not the hundreth parte of the realme? And if we a few that can read, becauſe we read in one ſort of letters, ſo priuiledged as they haue many reliefes, ſhal pull away the books of the reſt, and would haue our letters onely in eſtimation, and blinde all the, ſhall not they haue iuſt cauſe to miſtruſt what is ment? And if the croſſe be a trueth, and if it be true that Chriſt ſuffered, why may we not haue a writing thereof, ſuche as all can read, that is to ſay an Image? If this opinion ſhoulde proceede, when the kings maieſtie hereafter ſhould ſhew his perſon, his liuely image, the honour due by Gods law among ſuch might continue, but as for the kinges Standardes, his banners, his armes, ſhoulde hardly continue in their due reuerence for feare of Lollardes Idolatry, whiche they gather vpon ſcripture beaſtly, not onely vntruely. The ſcripture reprooueth falſe Images made of ſtockes and ſtones, and ſo it doth falſe men made of fleſh and bones.

Wincheſters reaſon: The purſiuant caryeth about Saint George on horſebacke and the kinges picture: Ergo Images muſt ſtand in Churches.

Bookes ſerue onely to be read and not to be kneeled vnto & worſhidped: for ſo are they no bookes but are made Idols and are to be brokē.

When the Emperours mony was ſhewed to Chriſt, wherin was the image of the Emperour, Chriſt contemned not that Image calling it an Idoll, nor noted not that mony to be againſt gods law, becauſe it had an image in it, as thogh it were againſt the precept of God: Thou ſhalt haue no grauen image, but taught the good ciuilitie, in calling it the Emperors image, & bad thē vſe the mony as it was ordered to be vſed in his right vſe.

Thereas no ſcripture that reprooueth trueth, and all Scripture reproueth falſhoode. Falſe writinges, falſe bookes, falſe Images and falſe men, all be nought, to be contemned and deſpiſed, as for paper, inke, parchment, ſtones, wood, bones, A.B.

&c

If euery Image repreſenting a thing of truth may ſtand in place of worſhip, then let Wincheſters face ſtand in the Church alſo.

of the Chauncery hand, and a. b. of the Secretary hand, a letter of Germany faſhion, or of any other forme, be all of one eſtimation, and may be of man enclining to the Deuill, vſed for falſehoode, or applying to Gods gratious calling, vſed to ſet foorth truth. It is a terrible matter to thinke, that this falſe opinion conceaued againſt Images ſhould trouble any mans head: and ſuche as I haue knowne vexed with that deuill (as I haue knowne ſome) be neuertheleſſe wondrouſly obſtinate in it: and if they can finde one that can ſpell Latin to helpe foorth their madnes, they be more obdurate then euer were the Iewes, and ſlaunder whatſoeuer is ſayd to them for their reliefe. Of this ſort I know them to be, and therefore if I wiſt there were many of that ſort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruite, but labour for reformation to my Lorde Protectour. But if you thought there might be other wayes vſed firſt to a good effect, I would followe your aduiſe and proceeding with you and the Mayor, wyth both your helpes to do that may lye in me, to the redreſſe of the matter: which I take to be ſuch an enterpriſe againſt Chriſtes Religion, as there can not be a greater by man excogitate wyth the deuils inſtigation, and at this time much hurtfull to the common eſtate, as ye can of your wiſedome conſider. Whome I hartily deſire and pray, to ſend me aunſwere by thys bearer to theſe my letters, to the intent I may vſe my ſelfe in ſending of a preacher thither, or writing to my Lorde Protectour as the caſe ſhall require accordingly. And thus fare you hartely well. From my houſe at Wolueſay, the third of May. 1547.

Steph. Wint.

¶ A Letter of the Lord Protector aunſwering to the letter aboue.

AFter harty commendations, receauing of late two letters from your Lordſhip, the one incloſed in a letter of Maiſter Vaughans to vs, and directed to him, the other directed ſtraight vnto vs, very wittely & learnedly writtē, whereby we do perceiue how earneſt you are that no innouations ſhould be had. The whiche minde of yours, as we do highly eſteeme and allow, proceeding from one that would quietnes, ſo we woulde likewiſe wiſhe, that you ſhould take good heede, that too much feare of innouation or diſturbance, do not cauſe both to be. Many times in an hoſte, he that crieth enemies enemies when there be none, cauſeth not only diſturbance, but ſometimes a mutinie or rebellion to be made, and hee that for feare of ſicknes to come, taketh vnaduiſedly a purgation, ſometime maketh himſelfe ſicke in deede. We perceaue by the ſayde your letters, that haynouſer factes and words haue bene brought to your eares, then there was cauſe why: and thoſe factes which were puniſhable, be already by him redreſt.

For Images.

For the matter of Images, an order was taken in ẏ late king of famous memory our ſoueraigne lords daies. When the abuſed Images (yet lurking in ſome places by negligence of them who ſhould ere this time haue looked vnto ẏ ſame) be now aboliſhed, let not that be a matter of ẏ aboliſhing of all Images. Though felons & adulterers be puniſhed, all men be not ſlayne. Though the Images which did adulterate gods glory be takē away, we may not think by & by all maner of Images to be deſtroyed. Yet after our aduiſe, better it were for a time to aboliſh them all, then for the dead Images, the Kings louing ſubiects being faythfull and true to the kings maieſtie, ſhould be put to variance and diſturbance. With quietnes the Magiſtrates and Rulers ſhall keepe the well in order, whom cōtentious preachers might iritate and prouoke to diſorder & ſtrife. So it muſt be prouided that the kings Maieſt. Images, Armes, and Enſignes, ſhould be honoured and worſhipped after ẏ decent order and inuention of humane lawes and ceremonies, and neuertheles that other Images cōtrary to Gods ordinaunce and lawes, ſhuld not be made partakers of that reuerence, adoration and inuocation: which (forbidden by God) ſhould derogate his honor, & be occaſion to accumulate Gods wrath vpon vs. Where they be takē for a remēbrance, it maketh no great matter though they ſtand ſtill in the Church or Marketſtead, and folowing the late king of famous memory his counſell & order, yet more gentleneſſe was ſhewed to thoſe bookes of Images, then to the true and vnfained bookes of Gods word, both being abuſed, the one with Idolatry, the other with cōtentiō. The ſcripture was remoued for a time from certaine perſons, and almoſt from all: the Images were left ſtill to them, who moſt dyd abuſe them, ẏ thing yet being cloſed frō them which ſhould teach ẏ vſe. Wherefore it may appeare vnto vs meete, more diligenter heede to be takē that the abuſed before, be not abuſed againe, the aduantage of ſome Prieſts, ſimplicitie of lay men, and great inclination of mans nature to Idolatry geuing cauſe thereunto.

Diſtinction of Images.

More gentlenes ſhewed to the bookes of Images, then to the bookes of Gods worde in King Henryes tyme.

They that contemne Images, becauſe the matter they are made of is but vile, as ſtockes and ſtones, may likewiſe deſpiſe printing in paper, becauſe the incke hath pitch in it, & the paper is made of old ragges. And if they be both like, it might be reaſoned why a man ſhould be more agreeued, that an Image of wood, though it were of S. Anne, or S. Margaret ſhould be burned, then hee will that the Byble wherein the vndoubted word of God is compriſed, ſhould be torne in peces, burned, or made paſte of. Nor we do not now ſpeake of falſe Bibles nor falſe goſpels, but of ẏ very true Goſpell, either in Latin, Greeke or engliſh, which we ſee euery day done, & ſometime commaunded, becauſe the Tranſlator diſpleaſeth vs; & yet herein no man exclaimeth as of a terrible and deteſtable fact done. But let one image either for age, & becauſe it is wormeaten, or becauſe it hath ben fooliſhly abuſed, be burnt or aboliſhed, by and by ſome men are in exceeding rage, as though not a ſtocke or ſtone, but a true ſaint of fleſh and bone ſhould be caſt in the fire, which were a deteſtable and a terrible ſight. We cannot ſee but that Images may be counted marueylous bookes, to whom we haue kneeled, whom we haue kiſſed, vpō whom we haue rubbed our beades and handkerchers, to whome we haue lighted candels, of whome we haue aſked pardon and helpe: which thing hath ſeldome bene ſene done to the Goſpell of God, or to the very true Bible. For who kiſſeth ẏ but the prieſt at ẏ Maſſe, at a painted picture or in ſuch a ceremony? Or who kneeleth vnto it, or ſetteth a candle before it? And yet it ſeeth or heareth as well as the Images or pictures eyther of S. Iohn, our Lady, or Chriſt.

In deede Images be great letters, yet as big as they be we haue ſeene many which haue read them amiſſe. And belike they are ſo likely to be read amiſſe, that God himſelfe fearing ẏ Iewes to become euill readers of thē, generally did forbid them. Nor it is no great maruell though in reading of them the lay people are many times deceaued, when your Lordſhip (as appeareth) hath not truly read a moſt true and a moſt commō Image. Your Lordſhip hath told out in the Kings highnes great ſeale, S. George on horſeback, which the grauer neuer made in it, nor ẏ ſealer neuer ſealed with it, and in this the inſcription is not very little, and if it were, it could not eſcape your Lordſhips eyes. As the inſcription teſtifieth, the Kings Image is on both the ſides: on the one ſide as in war the chiefe Captaine, on the other ſide as in peace the liege ſoueraigne: in harnes with his ſword drawne to defend his ſubiects: in his robes in the ſeate of Iuſtice with his Scepter rightfully to rule and gouerne them, as he whome both in peace and war we acknowledge our moſt natural and chiefeſt head, ruler & gouernour. If it were S. George (my Lord) where is hys ſpeare and dragon? And why ſhould the inſcription round about tell an vntruth, and not agree to the Image? Yet it is called ſometime ſo of the rude and ignorant people: but not by and by, that that is commonly called ſo, is alwayes trueſt. And ſome haue thought that by like deceauing, as your Lordſhip herein appeareth to haue ben deceaued, the image of Bellerephon or Perſeus was turned firſt & appointed to be S. George, & of Poliphemus, of Hercules, or of other ſome Coloſſus to be S. Chriſtopher, bicauſe autenticall hiſtories haue not fully proued their two lyues. But thoſe be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus inuented vpō ſome deuiſe, or riſing of a true fact or hiſtory, & whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

It were hardly done in deede my Lord, if that you and a few which can reade, ſhould take away from the vnlearned multitude, their bookes of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can reade in one or two languages (as Greeke and Latin) the word of God, and haue had thereby many relieues and priuiledges ſhould pull away the engliſh bookes from the reſt which only vnderſtandeth engliſh: and would haue onely your letters of Greeke and Latin in eſtimation, and blinde all them which vnderſtandeth not theſe languages, from the knowledge of Gods word. And indeede my Lord, by your ſaying they haue iuſt occaſion to ſuſpect what is meant?

What meane you by true Images and falſe Images, it is not ſo eaſie to perceaue. If they be onely falſe Images, which haue nothing that they repreſent, as S. Paul writeth An idol is nothing (bicauſe ther is no ſuch God) & therfore the Croſſe can be no falſe image, becauſe it is true ẏ Chriſt ſuffered vpon it: then the Image of ẏ Sun and the Moone were no Idoles, for ſuche thinges there be as the Sunne and the Moone, and they were in the Image then ſo repreſented, as painting & caruing doth repreſent them. And the Image of Ninus and Ceſar, and (as ſome writeth) the Images of al the 12. choſen Gods (as they called thē) were the Images of once liuing men. And it might be ſayde that the Image of God the father hath no ſuch eies, noſe lippes and a long gray beard, with a furred robe, nor neuer had, as they kerue & paint him to haue. But if that be a falſe Image and an Idoll which is otherwiſe worſhipped & accepted repted then it oughte to be, as the braſen Serpent being a true Image and repreſentation of Chriſt by abuſe was made an Idoll: it may be thought in times paſt, and peraduenture nowe at this time, in ſome places the Images not onely of S. Iohn or S. Anne, but of our Lady & Chriſt be falſe Images and Idols, repreſenting to fooliſh blind & ignorant mens harts and thoughtes, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for: The whiche were by you (my Lord) to haue bene remoued ſooner and before that yͤ captayn there ſhould haue need to haue done it. But if your Lordſhip be ſlacke in ſuch matters, he that remoueth falſe images and Idols abuſed, doth not a thing worthy blame.

Chriſt called not the mony hauing Ceſars Image in it, an Idoll when it was vſed to lawfull vſes, and to pay the tribute with all. But when a man doth not vſe thoſe Images grauen in mony, to do his neighbor good and the common wealth ſeruice, S. Paule Chriſtes diſciple called that couetouſnes, and the ſeruing and bondage to Idols: So that euē in mony may be idolatry, if we make to much of thoſe Images whiche Chriſt here doth not reprehend. There be ſome ſo ticklish and ſo feareful one wayes and ſo tender ſtomacked, that they can abide no old abuſes to be reformed, but thinke euery reformatiō to be a capitall enterpriſe agaynſt al Religion and good order, as there be on the contrary ſide ſome to raſh, who hauing no conſideration what is to be done, headlong will ſet vpō euery thing. The Magiſtrates duety is betwixte theſe, ſo in a meane to ſit, and prouide that olde doting ſhould not take further or deeper ruſt in the common wealth, neyther auncient error ouercome the ſeene and tryed trueth, nor long abuſe for the age and ſpace of time onely, ſtill be ſuffered: and yet all theſe with quietneſſe and gentleneſſe, and without all contention, if it were poſſible, to be reformed. To the whyche your Lordſhip as a man to whom God hath geuen greate qualities of witte, learning and perſuaſion: could bring great helpe and furtherance, if it were your pleaſure, with great thankes of men, & reward of God. The which thing is our full deſire and purpoſe, and our harty & dayly prayer to God, that in the kinges Maieſties time, whoſe Maieſties reigne God preſerue, al abuſes with wiſedom reformed, Chriſtes Religion with good and pollicicke order of the common wealth, without any contention and ſtrife among the kinges Subiectes, might floriſh and daylye encreaſe. And thys to youre Lordſhips letter ſent to maiſter Vaughan of Porteſmouth.

Winchester to the Lord Protector.

May it pleaſe your Grace to vnderſtande, that I haue noted ſome poyntes in my Lord of S. Dauids Sermon, which I ſende vnto you here with, whereby to declare vnto you ſome part what I thinke, for the whole I cannot expreſſe, ſomewhat I ſhall encomber you with my babling, but he hath encombred ſome frēdes more with his tatling. And alas my Lord, this is a piteous caſe, that hauing ſo muche buſineſſe as ye haue, theſe inward diſorders ſhould be added vnto thē to the courage of ſuch as would this Realme any wayes euill. For this is the thinge they would deſire, with hope therby to diſorder this realme, being now a time rather to repayre that needeth reparation, thē to make any new buildings which they pretēd. Quiet, tranquilitye, vnity & cōcord, ſhall mainteine eſtimatiō. The cōtrary may animate the enemy, to attēpt that was neuer thought on, which God forbid. There was neuer attemptate of alteration made in England, but vpon cōfort of diuiſion at home, and woe be to them that mindeth it. If my Lord of S. Dauides, or ſuch others haue theyr head cōbred with any new platforme, I would wiſh they were cōmaunded betwene this and the kings maieſties full age to draw the plat diligently, to hewe the ſtones, dig the ſand, & chop the chalke in the vnſeaſonable time of building, and when the kings maieſty commeth to full age, to preſent theyr labors to him, and in the meane time not to diſturbe the ſtate of the realme, whereof your Grace is Protector, but that you may in euery part of religion, lawes, landes, and decrees (which foure contein the ſtate) deliuer the ſame to our ſoueraygn Lord, according to the truſt you be put in, whiche ſhall be much to your honor, & as all honeſt men wiſh and deſire. To which deſired effect there can be nothyng ſo noyſome & cōtrarious, as trouble & diſquiet. wherin your Grace ſhalbe ſpecially troubled as on whoſe ſhoulders al the weight lieth, and what ſo euer ſhall happen amiſſe by the faultes of other, ſhalbe imputed to your Grace, as doer therof, or wanting foreſight in time to withſtand the ſame. And albeit that you minde not to be faulty in either, yet if the effecte be not to the Realme as were to be wiſhed, the Prince, and though he were of age ſhould be excuſed, and yͤ gouernors beare the blame. And this is yͤ infelicity of preheminence and authority, and ſpecially in this Realme, as ſtoryes make mention, which ſhould not diſcourage you, for you neede feare nothing without if quiet be reſerued at home: and at home if the beginning be reſiſted, the intēded folly may eaſily bee interrupted. But if my brother of S. Dauids, may like a champion with his ſword in his hand make entry for the reſt, the doore of licence opened, there ſhal moe by folly thruſt in with him thē your grace would wiſh. Thus as I thinke, I write homely to your grace, becauſe you were content I ſhould write, wherin I conſider onely to haue all thinges well. And becauſe your grace is the Protector and the chiefe director of the realme to preſēt vnto your wiſedome what my folly is. I haue bene oftentimes blamed for fearing ouermuch, and yet I haue had an inkling that they that ſo blamed me feared euē as much as I. Being in the ſtate that you be in, it ſhalbe euer cōmēdable to foreſee the worſt. In quiet ye be ſtrong, in trouble ye be greatly weake, & bring your ſelfe in daūger of one part, when parties be, therwith one to ſcourge the other. wheras in cōcord they be both yours in an honeſt, reuerēt, louely feare to do theyr duty, which I doubt not your wiſedōe can conſider. And cōſider alſo how noiſome any other outward encōber might be in the time of yͤ minority of our ſoueraign Lord. I told yͤ Emperors coūſell that our late ſoueraign Lord did much for the Emperor to enter war with him & put his realme in his old dayes in yͤ aduēture of fortune, whether he ſhould enioy it or no, for yͭ is the nature of war. And ſometime the cōtēned & abiect haue had yͤ vpper hand. And whē ye adminiſter yͤ realme for another, it were a marueilous queſtion of him yͭ ſhall enioy yͤ realme, to ſay, what ment you in the time of adminiſtratiō to aduēture my realme? why tooke ye not rather for the time of my minority any peace, whatſoeuer it were, which is better thē yͤ beſt war? as ſome mē haue writtē. I know you haue authority ſufficient & wiſdome plēty, & yet being entred to write I forget for yͤ time what ye be, & cōmen wͭ you as I were talking at Bruſels with you, deuiſing of the worlde at large. And if I were ſworne to ſay what I thinke in the ſtate of the world, I would for a time let ſcots be ſcots with diſpayre to haue thē, vnleſſe it were by cōqueſt, which ſhall be a godly enterpriſe for our yong maiſter whē he cōmeth to age. And in yͤ meane time prepare him mony for it, & ſet yͤ realme in an order which hath need of it. And for a ſtay, if the Emperor would offer the king of Romains daughter as he did: do wͭ him in our maiſters minority, as he dyd wͭ vs in his. wherby all this hath chaūced vnto him. And by this allians your eſtimation ſhal encreaſe, & our ſoueraign Lordes ſurety not a little increaſe & be augmented. For of Fraunce it muſt be takē for a rule. They be ſo wantō they cannot do well lēger thē they ſee, how they may be ſcourged if they do not. Here is all the wit that I haue, which I offer vnto you, vpon this occaſion of writing, & ſhall pray God to put in your mind yͭ ſhalbe for the beſt: as I truſt he will, & in yͤ meane time, to extinct this barbarous cōtētion at home, which can ſerue onely to do hurt & no good. I had faſhioned a letter to maſter Ridley which I ſēd vnto your grace, and encomber you with theſe malencoly writinges, engendred of this fondnes which be not worth yͤ reading. And ſo it may like you to vſe thē, for hauing heard that ye haue ſayd vnto me, and otherwiſe heard and ſeene what you do, I ſhall go occupy my wit in other matters, & now ſuch as haue fonde enterpriſes, ſhall ſee that I letted not theyr follyes, which they called Gods worde. But for hys time, the king our ſouereigne Lord that dead is, and after his time you, much to your honor and reputation * howſoeuer any ſhalbe here not contented, which miſcontentation hath bene ſo fond in ſome, as they haue burſt out and wiſhed that they might without breach of his lawes kill me, which is to me a tokē of a marueilous fury, which hath bene cauſe why I am glad, both to depart hence, and to depart the ſooner, & pray to God to order all thinges for the beſt, with preſeruatiō of our ſoueraigne L. and encreaſe of your graces honor. At my houſe in Sothworke the laſt of February.

Wyly Winchester vnder pretenſe of geuing ſage councell craftely goeth about to incenſe & ſet the Lorde Protectour agaynſt all good men and all Godly proceedinges.

Wynchester agaynſt the expedition into Scotland.

Winchester here meaneth a fetch if he could haue brought it about

Winchesters letters againſt Ridley.

Gods word is folly to Winchester but to them that be wiſe in the Lord it is the Wiſedome of the Lord to ſaluation.

¶ This place here eyther ſeemeth to lacke ſome thing or els Winchester to lacke ſome of his wits.

Your Graces humble beadman. S. W.

An other letter of S.W.

After my humble commēdations to your grace, it may like the ſame to vnderſtand. I haue ſene of late 2. bookes ſet forth in engliſh by Bale very pernitious, ſeditious and ſlaunderous. And albeit that your grace needeth not mine aduertiſement in yͭ matter, yet I am ſo bolde to trouble your Grace with my letters for mine owne commodity, wherwith to ſatiſfy mine own conſcience to write & ſay as becommeth me in ſuch matters, which I deſire your grace to take in good part. For it greueth me not a little, to ſee ſo

*Winchester wrangleth agaynſt Bales bookes.

ſoone after my late ſoueraigne Lord and maiſters death, a booke ſpread abroad more to his diſhonor (if a princes honor may be by vile inferior ſubiectes impeached) then profeſſed enemies haue imagined to note a womā to haue ſuffered vnder him as a martyr, & the woman therewith to be by Bales owne elucidation (as he calleth it) ſo ſet foorth & painted as ſhe appeareth to be, & is boaſted to be a ſacramentary, & by the lawes worthy (as ſhe ſuffered) the paynes of death, ſuch like things haue by ſtealth in our late ſoueraigne Lords dayes gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wōt in ſuch caſes to ſpeak, I keep my wōt to write to your grace now, in whoſe hands I know the ſtate of ꝥ realme to be for time in gouernment & to whō for reſpectes of old acquayntaunce I wiſh al felicity. In theſe matters of religion I haue bene long exerciſed and haue (thankes be to God) liued ſo long as I haue ſene them thoroughly tryed and beſides that I haue learned in written bookes of Authority, I haue perceiued by bookes written without authority as by M. Bale, Ioye, and other, and ſpecially as Bale vſeth nowe, that Scripture doth by abuſe, ſeruice to the right hand and the left at once in ſo much as at one time Bale prayſeth Luther, and ſetteth his death forth in Engliſh, with commendation as of a Saynt, whych Luther (whatſoeuer he was otherwiſe) ſtoutly affirmed the preſence really of Chriſtes naturall body in the Sacrament of the aultar. And yet Bale the noble clerk, would haue Anne Aſkew blaſphemouſly denying the preſence of Chriſtes naturall bodye to be taken for a Saynte alſo. So as Bales Saynctes may vary in heauen, if they chaunce not by the way, which might ſuffice to diſproue the mans creditte, if thwarting talke were not more deſired of many, then the trueth in deede, which trueth was ſuppoſed to haue bene both in writing and exerciſe, well eſtabliſhed, long before our late Lordes death. And Bale & his adherentes in their madnes playnely reproued & condemned. I can not forget your grace tolde me you woulde ſuffer no innouation and indeed if you deliuer this realme to the king at 8. yeares of age, as the king his father, whoſe ſoule God aſſoyle, left it, as I truſt you ſhall, the acte is ſo honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innouation, whyche were a charge to your grace more then needed, beynge already burthened heauely. And albeit in the cōmō wealth euery man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is, vnder the kinges Maieſtye, chiefely yours and as it were yours alone. Euery man hath his eye directed vnto you both here & abroad, you ſhall ſhadow mens doinges if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And for my part beſides my duty to the kinges maieſty and the realme, I would that your grace in whom ſince your gouernement, I haue found much gentlenes and humanity, had muche honor & good ſucceſſe as euer any had and pray to God that men would let your grace alone, and ſuffer the realme in the time of your gouernement in quyet among our ſelues, wherby to be the more able to reſiſt forreigne trouble, which your grace doth prudently forſee. Certayne printers, players, & preachers, make a wondermēt, as though, we knew not yet how to be iuſtified, nor what ſacramentes we ſhould haue. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late ſoueraigne Lord be of no force in theyr iudgement, what eſtabliſhment coulde anye new agrement haue. And euery incerteinty is noyſome to any realme. And where euery man will be mayſter there muſt nedes be vncertaynty. And one thing is marueilous, that at the ſame time is taught that all men be lyers, at the ſelfe ſame time almoſt euery man woulde be beleued. And amongſt thē, Bale when his vntruth appeareth euidently in ſetting forth the examination of Anne Aſkew whiche is vtterly miſreported. I beſeeche your Grace to pardon my babling with you. But I ſee my late ſoueraigne Lord and maiſter ſlaundred by ſuch ſimple perſons, religiō aſſaulted, the realme troubled and peaceable men diſquieted, with occaſion geuen to enemies to poynt and ſay, that after Wickliefes ſtraunge teaching in the ſacramēts of Chriſtes churche hath vexed other, it is finally turned vnto vs to moleſt & ſcourge vs, for other fruite cannot Bales teaching haue, ne the teaching of ſuch other as goe about to trouble the agrement eſtabliſhed here. In which matter I dare not deſire your grace ſpecially to looke earneſtlye vnto it, leaſte I ſhould ſeme to note in you that becommeth me not. And I know that your grace being otherwiſe occupied, theſe thinges may creepe in as it hath bene heretofore, ſometime it may be heard for your grace to finde out or pull out ꝥ root of this naughtines: but yet I am ſo bolde to write of theſe of mine owne ſtomacke, who haue euer vſed for diſcharge of my ſelfe to ſay and write in time and place as I thought might do good, for reliefe of the matter, remitting the reſt to the diſpoſition of G O D, who hath wrought wonders in theſe matters, ſince they were firſt moued: and geuen me ſuch knowledge and experiēce in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and vntrueth: I meane knowledge and experience of them that be chiefe ſtyrrers, ſo infect with vntruth, as they cannot ſpeak or report truly in common matters. The pretence is of the ſpirit, and al is for the fleſh, women, and meat with liberty of hand and tongue, a diſſolution and diſſipation of all eſtates, cleane contrarious to the place G O D hath called your Grace thereunto. For it tendeth all to confuſion & diſorder, which is the effect of vntrueth. Bale hath ſet forth a prayer for the Duke I. of Saxe wherein the Duke remitteth to Gods iudgement to be ſhewed here in this world the iuſtneſſe of his cauſe concerning religion, and deſireth G O D if hys cauſe be not good, to order him to be taken and to be ſpoiled of his honor and poſſeſſions, with many ſuch gay wordes whereby to tempt God, ſince which prayer the Duke is in deed taken as all the world ſayth, at the time of his taking, as the account is made, ſuch ſtraungeneſſe in the ſonne as we ſaw it here, as hath not bene ſene. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marueilous, but whether the one were a token ordered to concurre with other, God knoweth and manne cannot define. Many common wealthes haue continued without the B. of Romes iuriſdiction, but without true religion, and with ſuch opinions as Germany maynteyned no eſtate hath continued in the circuit of the world to vs knowne ſince Chriſt came. For the Turkes and Tartarres gouernement is, as it were a continuall warre and they vphold theyr rule with ſubduing of nobility by fyre and ſworde, Germanye with theyr new religion could neuer haue ſtand, & though the Emperor had let them alone, for if it be perſwaded the vnderſtanding of Gods lawe to be at large in women and children, wherby they may haue the rule of that, and thē Gods law muſt be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into theyr handes? Theſe of ſome will be called witty reaſons, but they be in deede truthes children, and ſo is all the eloquence, which ſome (to diſprayſe me) ſay I haue, whatſoeuer they ſay of me. For truth is of it ſelfe, in a right meaning mans mouth, more eloquent, then forged matters can with ſtudye bring forth. What rymes be ſette forth to depraue the Lent, and how fond (ſauing your Graces honour) and fooliſh, and yet the people pay money for them, and they can ſerue for nothing, but to learne the people to rayle, & to cauſe ſuch as vſed to make prouiſion for fiſhe againſt Lent, fearing now Lent to be ſo ſicke as the ryme purporteth and like to dye in deede, to forbeare to make theyr accuſtomed prouiſion for the next yeare. And thereto ſhall it come if the common dyet be not certayne. For the Fiſhmonger will neuer hope to haue good ſale, when the the butcher may with fleſh out face him. And fiſhe is that great treaſure of this realme & foode ineſtimable. And theſe good wordes I geue, although I loue it not my ſelfe, for ſuch as loue not fiſh, ſhould neuertheles commend it to other, to the intent the fleſhe by them forborne might be to ſuch as loue it onely the more plenty. The publicke defamation & trifling with Lent is a maruellous matter to thē that woulde ſay euill of this Realme, for there is nothyng more commended vnto vs chriſten men in both the Churches of the Greekes and Latins then lent is, if all men be not liers. In the king our late ſoueraigne Lordes dayes this matter was not thus ſpoken of. And I thinke our enemies would wiſh we had no lēt. 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For Chriſtian men haue Chriſt for an example in all thinges both to vſe the world as he did, onely for neceſſity, and contemne the world as he did, and in caſe to refuſe it, and chooſe the vyle death, as he did the death of the Croſſe, which thinges he did like a Mayſter moſt perfect, for he was very god, and we muſt endeuour our ſelfe in the vſe of his gyftes, to follow that he did, not to faſt fortye dayes without meate as Chriſt did, for we be but Prentiſes, and cary about a ruinous Carcas that muſte haue ſome daylye reparation, with foode, but yet was there neuer none that ſayde, how

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ſone after my late ſoueraigne Lord and maiſters death, a booke ſpread abroad more to his diſhonor (if a princes honor may be by vile inferior ſubiectes impeached) then profeſſed enemies haue imagined to note a womā to haue ſuffered vnder him as a martyr, & the woman therewith to be by Bales owne elucidation (as he calleth it) ſo ſet foorth & painted as ſhe appeareth to be, & is boaſted to be a ſacramētary, & by the lawes worthy (as ſhe ſuffered) the paynes of death, ſuch like things haue by ſtealth in our late ſoueraigne Lords dayes gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wōt in ſuch caſes to ſpeak, I keep my wōt to write to your grace now, in whoſe hands I know the eſtate of ye realme to be for tyme in gouernment & to whō for reſpectes of old acquayntaunce I wiſh al felicity. In theſe matters of religion I haue bene long exerciſed and haue (thankes be to God) liued ſo long as I haue ſene them thoroughly tryed and beſides that I haue learned in written bookes of Authority, I haue perceiued by bookes written without authority as by M. Bale, Ioye, and other, and ſpecially as Bale vſeth nowe, that Scripture doth by abuſe, ſeruice to the right hand and the left at once in ſo much as at one time Bale prayſeth Luther, and ſetteth his death forth in Engliſh, with commendation as of a Saynt, whych Luther (whatſoeuer he was otherwiſe) ſtoutly affirmed the preſence really of Chriſtes naturall body in the Sacrament of the aultar. And yet Bale the noble clerk, would haue Anne Aſkew blaſphemouſly denying the preſence of Chriſtes naturall bodye to be taken for a Saynte alſo. So as Bales Saynctes may vary in heauen, if they chaunce not by the way, which might ſuffice to diſproue the mans creditte, if thwarting talke were not more deſired of many, then the trueth in deede, which trueth was ſuppoſed to haue bene both in writing and exerciſe, well eſtabliſhed, long before our late Lordes death. And Bale & his adherentes in their madnes playnely reproued & condemned. I can not forget your grace tolde me you woulde ſuffer no innouation and indeed if you deliuer this realme to the king at 8. yeares of age, as the king his father, whoſe ſoule God aſſoyle, left it, as I truſt you ſhall, the acte is ſo honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innouation, whyche were a charge to your grace more then needed, beynge already burthened heauely. And albeit in the commō wealth euery man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is, vnder the kinges Maieſtye, chiefely yours and as it were yours alone. Euery man hath his eye directed vnto you both here & abroad, you ſhall ſhadow mens doinges if they be done, which is one in commodity of high rule. And for my part beſides my duty to the kinges maieſty and the realme, I would that your grace in whom ſince your gouernement, I haue found much gentlenes and humanity, had muche honor to good ſucceſſe as euer any had and pray to God that men would let your grace alone, and ſuffer the realme in the time of your gouernement in quyet among our ſelues, wherby to be the more able to reſiſt forreigne trouble, which your grace doth prudētly forſee. Certayne printers, players, & preachers, make a wondermēt, as though we knew not yet how to be iuſtified, nor what ſacramenences we ſhould haue. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late ſoueraigne Lord be of no force in theyr iudgement, what eſtabliſhment coulde anye new agrement haue. And euery incertenty is noyſome to any realme. And where euery man will be mayſter there muſt nedes be vncertaynty. And one thing is marueilous, that at the ſame time is taught that all men be lyers, at the ſelfe ſame time almoſt euery man woulde be beleued. And amongſt thē, Bale when his vntruth appeareth euidently in ſetting forth the examination of Anne Aſkew whiche is vtterly miſreported. I beſeeche your Grace to pardon my babling with you. But I ſee my late ſoueraigne Lord and maiſter ſlaundred by ſuch ſimple perſons, religiō aſſaulted, the realme troubled and peaceable men diſquieted, with occaſion geuen to enemies to poynt and ſay, that after Wickliefes ſtraunge teaching in the ſacramēts of Chriſtes church hath vexed other, it is finally turned vnto vs to moleſt & ſcourge vs, for other fruite cannot Bales teaching haue, ne the teaching of ſuch other as goe about to trouble the agrement eſtabliſhed here. In which matter I dare not deſire your grace ſpecially to looke earneſtlye vnto it, leaſte I ſhould ſeme to note in you that becommeth me not. And I know that your grace being otherwiſe occupied, theſe thinges may creepe in as it hath bene heretofore, ſometime it may be heard for your grace to finde out or pull out ye root of this naughtines: but yet I am ſo bolde to write of theſe of mine owne ſtomacke, who haue euer vſed for diſcharge of my ſelfe to ſay and write in time and place as I thought might do good, for reliefe of the matter, remitting the reſt to the diſpoſition of G O D, who hath wrought wonders in theſe matters, ſince they were firſt moued: and geuen me ſuch knowledge and experiēce in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and vntruth: I meane knowledge and experience of them that be chiefe ſtyrers, ſo infect with vntruth, as they cannot ſpeak or report truly in common matters. The pretence is of the ſpirit, and al is for the fleſh, women, and meat with liberty of hand and tongue, a diſſolution and diſſipation of all eſtates, cleane contrarious to the place G O D hath called your Grace therevnto. For it tendeth all to confuſion & diſorder, which is the effect of vntruth. Bale hath ſet forth a prayer for the Duke I. of Saxe wherein the Duke remitteth to Gods iudgement to be ſhewed here in this world the iuſtneſſe of his cauſe concerning religion, and deſireth G O D if hys cauſe be not good, to order him to be taken and to be ſpoiled of his honor and poſſeſſions, with many ſuch gay wordes whereby to tempt God, ſince which prayer the Duke is in deed taken as all the world ſayth, at the time of his taking, as the account is made, ſuch ſtraungeneſſe in the ſonne as we ſaw it here, as hath not bene ſene. 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therefore we ſhould do nothing, becauſe we can not do al, and take Chriſtes faſt for a myracle onely. And yet all that follow Chriſt truely, they worke dayly myracles in ſubduing and conforming by Gods grace there ſenſuall appitites and humble obeying to the wil of God, which no man can of himſelfe do, and Chriſt promiſed that his true ſeruants ſhould worke the workes that he did, and greater works alſo. wherefore it is a ſlender matter to ſay. Lent was one of Chriſtes myracles, for ſo was it to loue his enemyes, & ſpecially thoſe that ſcourged and bobbed him, which may not bee (if that allegation hath place) taught Chriſten men to folow, becauſe it was a myracle, as they might ſay it were more tollerable to forgette Lent (as Pogge telleth) of a Prieſt in the moūtaynes, that knew not how the yeare went about, and when the weather opened and hee went abroad and perceiued his neighbours were towardes Palme Sonday, he deuiſed an excuſe to his Paryſhe and bad them prepare therefore, for in deede the yeare had ſomewhat ſlipped him, but he would faſhion the matter ſo, as they ſhoulde be as ſone at Eaſter as the reſt, and this did he paſſe ouer lent with much leſſe ſlaunder then to teach it for a doctrine, ẏ lēt was one of Chriſts miracles, & therefore not to be imitated for vs, for although it was in deede a greate myracle (as all Chriſtes doynges were) yet was it there not a greate myracle, ne more agaynſt mans nature, then to loue them ẏ laboured & were buſye to take away the naturall lyfe of his manhoode. For as the nature of man deſireth reliefe, ſo doth it abhorre diſtruction or hurt. In will and deſire menne followe Chriſt in al thinges: in execution they cannot. For we haue brickle veſſels, and God geueth his giftes to men as he ſeeth expedient for his Church. So as men cannot heale the ſame when they will, as Chriſt did when hee woulde, but as God ſhall thinke profitable for the edification of the flocke aſſembled. Gregory Nazianzene ſpeaketh of ſome that enterpriſed to imitate chriſtes faſt aboue theyr power, whoſe immoderate zeale he doth not diſallowe not requiring of all men ſo to doe, for that is an extremitie, ne yet aſſoyling the matter as our new ſchole men doe, that Chriſten men ſhoulde let Chriſtes faſt alone as a myracle, which maner of ſolution I heard a good felow make, when it was told him he might not reuenge himſelfe. And when he were ſtroken on the one eare, put forth the other, I am (quoth he) a man, I am not God, if Chriſt being God did ſo, he might (quod he) if it had pleaſed him haue done otherwiſe. And ſo when it hath bene alleadged that Chriſt faſted forty dayes, he might (quoth he) haue eaten if he had liſt, theſe triflinges in ſporte mighte bee drawne to graue ſpeach, if Chriſten men ſhall refuſe to folow Chriſt in myracles. For all his life was myracles and his loue that is our Badge moſt miraculous of all to dye for his enemies. I beſeeche your Grace to pardon me for I am like one of the cōmon houſe, that when I am in my tale, thinke I ſhould haue liberty to make an end and ſpecially writing to your grace with whome I accompt I may bee bolde aſſuring you it proceedeth of a zeale towardes you, vnto whom I wyſh well, whoſe intent although it be ſuche as it ought to bee, and as it pleaſed you to ſhew me it was, yet ſuch thinges ſpread abroade whereof the euill willers of the Realme will take courage and make accompte, (although it bee wrong) that all goeth on wheeles, if any man had either fondly or vndiſcreetelye ſpoken of lent to engreue it to bee an importable burthen I would wiſh his reformation, for I haue not learned that all menne are bound to keepe the lent in the forme receiued, but this I reckon, that no chriſten man may contemne the forme receiued, being ſuche a deuoute and profitable immitation of Chriſte to celebrate his faſte, and in that time ſuche as haue bene in the reſt of the yeare worldlye to prepare themſelues to come as they ſhould come, to the feaſt of Eaſter, wherof S. Chriſoſtome ſpeaketh expreſſely. And for auoyding contempt, a licence truely obteyned of the ſuperiour ſerueth. And ſo I hearde the kinges Maieſty our Soueraigne Lord declare when your grace was preſent. And therefore he himſelfe was very ſcrupulous in graunting of licences, and to declare that himſelfe contemned not the faſt, he was at charge to haue (as your Grace knoweth) the lent diet dayly prepared, as it had bene for himſelfe and the like hereof I heare ſay your Grace hath ordered for the kinges Maieſtye that now is, which agreeth not with certaine preaching in this matter, ne the rimes ſet abroade. Lent is among Chriſten men a godly feaſt to exerciſe men to forbeare and in England both godly and polliticke, ſuch as without confuſion we can not forbeare, as the experience ſhall ſhew, if it be euer attempted, which God forbid. And yet lent is buried in rime, and Steuen Stockefiſhe bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted, wherwith for mine owne part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by theyr fondnes. But I woulde deſire of God to haue the ſtrength of thys realme encreaſed with report of concord, which doth quēch many vayne deuices and imaginations. And if all men be lyers as it is now to my vnderſtanding ſtraungely publiſhed, me thinke Bale and ſuch new men as be new liers ſhould be moſt abhorred and deteſted, & ſo much the more daungerous as they be newe. That whiche in Italye and Fraunce is a matter of combate, is now found to be appropriate to all men. God graunt the trueth to be deſired of all menne truely. But as one aſked when he ſawe an olde Philoſopher diſpute with an other, what they talked on. And it was aunſwered how the olde man was diſcuſſing what was vertue, it was replied if the old man yet diſpute of vertue when will he vſe it? So it may be ſayd in our religion. If we be yet ſearching for it, when ſhal we begin to put it in executiō? I would make an end of my letters and cannot, wherein I account my ſelfe faulty. And though I may erre as euery man may, yet I lye not, for I ſay as I think, for as much as I haue ſayd, and further think your grace hath no trouble troubleſome, but this matter of religion vnſeaſonably brought into the defamation of our late ſoueraigne Lordes actes, doinges & lawes. I beſeech your grace take my meaning and wordes in good part, & pardon my boldnes which groweth of the familiaritye I haue heretofore had with your grace, which I cannot forget. And thus enforcing my ſelfe to an end, ſhall pray to almighty God to preſerue your grace in much felicity wyth encreaſe of honor and the atchieuing of your hartes deſire. At Wincheſter the 21. of May.

Your Graces humble beadman. S.W.

How well you remembred this leſſon of anger in Queene Maryes time let others iudge.

¶ The Letter of the L. Protector anſwering to Wincheſter.

YOur letters dated the 21. day of May as concerning 2. bookes new ſet forth by one Bale, and certayne ſermōs preached here, were with conuenient ſpeede deliuered vnto vs. And like as in your letters to Edw. Vaughan of Porteſmouth, ſo in thoſe to vs we perceiue that you haue a vigilant and diligēt eye, and very fearefull of innouatiō, which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is deſirous of quiet, good order, and continuance of the godly ſtate of this realme: So we do marueil that ſo ſone, ſo far of, and ſo playnely, you canne heare tell and ſay of ſo many thinges done here, which in deed we being here and attendant vpō the ſame cannot yet be aduertiſed of. The world neuer was ſo quiet or ſo vnite, but that priuily or openlye thoſe iij. which you write of, Printers, players, and Preachers, woulde ſette forth ſomewhat of theyr owne heades which the Maieſtrates were vnwares of. And the whiche already be baniſhed and hath forſaken the realme, as ſuffering the laſt puniſhmēt, be boldeſt to ſet forth theyr mind. And dare vſe their extreme licēce or liberty of ſpeaking as out of the handes or rule of correction, either becauſe they be gone, or becauſe they be hidde. There hath fooliſhe and naughty rimes and bookes bene made and ſet forth, of the which as it appeareth you haue ſene more then we, and yet to our knowledge to many be brought, but yet after our minde it is to ſore and to cruelly done to lay al thoſe to our charge, and to aſke as it were account of vs of them all. In the moſt exact cruelty and tiranny of the Biſhop of Rome, yet Paſquill (as we here ſay) writeth his mind and many times agaynſt the Biſhops tyranny, and ſome time toucheth other great princes, which thing for the moſt part he doth ſafely, not that the Biſhop alloweth Paſquils rimes and verſes ſpecially agaynſt himſelfe, but becauſe he cannot puniſh the authour, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late kings daies of famous memory, who was both a learned, wiſe, and polliticke Prince, & a diligēt executor of his lawes. And when your Lordſhippe was moſt diligent in the ſame, yet as your Lordſhip it ſelfe writeth, and it is to manifeſt to be vnknowne, there were that wrote ſuch lewd rimes, and plaies as you ſpeake of, & ſome agaynſt the kinges proceedinges, who were yet vnpuniſhed, becauſe they were vnknowne or vngotten. And whē we do wey the matter we do very much maruel why that, about iack of lentes lewd balad, and certayne as it was reported vnto vs, Godly ſermons (whiche be euill in your letters ioyned together) you be ſo earneſt. when agaynſt D. Smithes booke being a man learned in the doctors & ſcripture which made ſo playne agaynſt the kinges highneſſe authority. And for the furtherance of the Biſhops of Romes vſurped power, your Lorſhip neither wrote nor ſayd nothing. And as it appeared you be ſo angry with his retractation (which frankly without feare, dread cōpulſion, or impriſonmēt onely with learning & truth ouercommed, he came vnto) that you cannot abide his beginning, although hauing the very woordes of ſcripture. Except peraduenture you thinke that the ſaying of Dauid, omnis homo mendax, cannot be enterpreted, euery man is a lier, which howſoeuer your Lordſhip taketh it at pleaſure, it appeared vnto vs then of him taken but godly to declare the infirmitye of man, and the trueth of God and his word. And we are not able to reaſon ſo clerkly with you, & yet we haue heard of the ſubtle difference of lying and telling of a lye, or as it is in latin called mentiri and mendacium diſcere, but if your Lordſhip be loth to be counted mēdax, which belike he hath interpreted a lyer, or a lying man, and thinke it a matter of combate, he was deceiued in the interpretation, and it is a matter for clerkes to diſpute of, we woulde haue wiſhed your Lordſhipp to haue written agaynſt his booke before, or now with it, if you thinke that to be defended which the author himſelfe refuſeth to auerre: your Lordſhip writeth earneſtly for lent which we go not about to put away, no more then whē D. Smith wrote ſo earneſtly yͭ euery man ſhould be obedient to the Byſhops. The Maieſtrates by and by went not about to bring Kinges and Princes and other vnder theyr ſubiection. Writers write theyr fantaſy, my Lord, and Preachers preach what eyther liketh them, or what God putteth in theyr heades. It is not by and by done what is ſpoken. The people buyeth thoſe fooliſh ballads of Iacke a lent. So bought they in tymes paſt, pardons, and carroles and Robbin hoodes tales. All be not wiſe mē, and the fooliſher a thing is to ſome (although not to the more party) it is the more pleaſaunt and meete, and peraduenture of the ſermons there is, and in deed there is (if it be true that we haue heard) otherwiſe ſpoken and reported to you, then it was of the preachers there and then ſpoken or ment. Lent remayneth ſtill my Lord, & ſhall god willing till the kings highnes with our aduiſe and the reſidew of his Graces counſel take an other order, although ſome light and leud mē do bury him in writing, euē as the kinges Maieſty remayneth head of the Church, although by ſubtle meanes ſome traytors haue gone about and dayly do, to abuſe the kinges Maieſties ſupremacy, and bring in the Biſhop of Romes tyranny, with other ſuperſtition and Idolatry. On both ſides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordſhip writeth, we are ſet in a paynfull rome, to refourne all lightnes and leudnes, to the which we do endeuour our ſelfe to the beſt of our power, although not ſo cruelly and fiercely as ſome peraduenture would wiſh, yet not ſo looſely that there needeth ſuch exclamation or great feare to be. We doe ſtudy to doe all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order. And we woulde wiſh nothing more then your Lordſhip to be as ready to the reformation of the one, as of the other, that neither ſuperſtition, Idolatry, or papacy, ſhould be brought in, nor lightneſſe, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at ſmall things, and encreaſeth by litle and litle at vnwares. And quiet may be as wel broken with ieloſy, as negligence, with to much feare or to much paciēce. No wayes worſe then when one is ouer light eared, the one way, and deafe on the other ſide. Rumors by ſpace and tymes encreaſe naturally and by that time they come at you as it appeareth, they be doubled & trebled. We do perceiue your diligent eye towards vs, & we will wiſh (& truſt you haue) your faythful hart to vs, our moſt harty deſire & continuall prayer to God is to leaue this realme to the kings highnes at his graces age by you written, rather more floriſhing in men, poſſeſſions, wealth, learning, wiſedome, & Gods religion and doctrine if it were poſſible and Gods will, then we found it. And that is our whole intent, & eſperaunce to the which we refuſe no mans helpe, as knoweth God in whom we bid you hartily fare well.

Quiet may be as well broken by Ieloſie as by negligence.

An other letter of W. to the L. Protector.

AFter my moſte humble commendations to your good Grace vpon the returne of my ſeruant Maſſy with your Graces letters aunſwering to ſuch my letters wherein I ſignified the robbing of my ſecretary, I read the ſame gladly, as by the contentes of the matter I had cauſe ſo to doe, which was ſuch a comfortatiue as I digeſted eaſily the reſt of the great packet, hauing bene accuſtomed thereunto in the kinges my late ſoueraygne Lordes dayes, which faſhion of writing his highneſſe (God pardon his ſoule) called whetting, which was not all the moſt pleaſaunt vnto me at all times, yet when I ſaw in my doinges was no hurt, and ſometime by occaſion thereof the matter amended I was not ſo coy as alwayes to reuers my argument, nor ſo that his affayres went well, I neuer troubled my ſelfe, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when ſuche as were priuy to his letters directed vnto me were affrayd I had bene in high diſpleaſure (for the termes of the letters ſounded ſo) yet I my ſelf feared it nothing at al, I eſteemed him (as he was) a wiſe prince, and whatſoeuer he wrote or ſayd for the preſent, he would after conſider the matter as wiſely as any man, and neither hurt or inwardly diſfauour him that had bene bolde with him. Whereof I ſerue for a proofe, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gaue me the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter, he ſaid he had often ſquared with me, but he loued me neuer yͤ worſe. And for a token therof gaue me the Byſhopricke. And once when he had bene vehement with me, in the preſence of the Earle of Wilteſhyre, and ſaw me diſmayd with it, he tooke me a part into his bed chamber, and comforted me and ſaid that his diſpleaſure was not ſo much to me, as I did take it, but he miſliked the matter and he durſte more boldly direct his ſpeache to me then to the Earle of Wilteſhyre, and from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any diſpleaſaunt wordes paſſed from him, as they did ſometime, I folded them vp in the matter, which hindered me a litle, for I was reported vnto him that I ſtouped not and was ſtubborne, and he had commended vnto me certayne mens gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at euery of his wordes, & me thought that my nature was as gētle as theyrs, for I was ſory that he was moued, but els I know when the diſpleaſure was not iuſtly grounded in me, I had no cauſe to take thought, nor was not at any time in al my life miſcontent or grudging at any thing done by him I thanke God of it. And therefore being thus brought vpp, and hauing firſt read your graces moſt gentle letters, ſignifying the deuiſe of a proclamation to ſtay theſe rumours, and reading the ſame proclamation which my ſeruant brought with him, I read the more quiet your Graces great letters, and would haue layd them vp without further aunſwere were it not that percaſe my ſo doing might be miſtaken. For glum ſilence may haue another conſtruction then franke ſpeach where a man may ſpeake, as I reckon I may with your grace, vppon confidence whereof I am ſo bolde to write thus much for my declaration touching your graces letters of the xxvij. of may, that how earneſt ſo euer my letters be taken in fearing any innouation, I neyther inwardly feare it, neither ſhewe anye demonſtration in mine outward deedes to the world here, or in communication, that I do feare it to be done by authority, but in my ſelfe reſiſt the rumors and vayne entrepriſes, with confidence in the truth and your Graces wiſdome, for if I feared it in deede, which perſwaſion it ſhould come to paſſe, I ſhould haue ſmall luſt to write in it, but I feare more in deede the trouble that might ariſe by light boldeneſſe of other, and then comber of ſuch matter whiles other outward affayres occupy your Graces minde, then the effecte by your direction that hath beene talked on abroade, and yet in the writing I doe ſpeake as the matter leadeth, continuing mine olde maner to be earneſt, which as ſome men haue diſplayſed, ſo ſome haue commended it, and therefore in a good honeſt matter I folow rather mine owne inclinatiō, thē to take yͤ paynes to ſpeake as Butter woulde not melte in my mouth, wherewith I perceyue your Grace is not miſcontent, for the which, I moſt humbly thanke you. And firſt as concerning Porteſmouth I wrote to the Captaine and Maior in the thing as I had information, and by men of Credence. And yet I ſuſpended my creditte till I had heard from thence, as by my Letters appeare, and as I was lothe to haue it ſo, ſo was I lothe to beleeue it. And to ſhewe that I feared no innouation by authority, ne regarded not any ſuch daunger, went thyther my ſelfe, and in concluſion was in ſuch familiarity with the Captayne, that after he had ſhewed me all the gentle entertaynement he coulde, he deſired me to make an exhortation to his men as they ſtoode handſomely with theyr weapons, wherewith they had ſhewed warlike feates, which I did, and departed in amitye with the Captayne and ſouldiors and all the towne. The captayne telling me playnelye he was nothinge offended with any thing I had ſayd in my ſermon, ne there was cauſe why he ſhould. But the very act in deede in defacing the Images had no ſuch ground as mayſter Captayne pretended, for I aſked ſpeciallye for ſuche as had abuſed thoſe Images, and no ſuch could be ſhewed, for yͭ I enquyred for openly. And the Image of S. Iohn the Euangeliſt ſtanding in the chancell by the high aultar was pulled downe, & a table of alablaſter broken. And in it an Image of Chriſt crucified, ſo contemptuouſly handled, as was in my hart terrible, to haue the one eye bored out & the ſide perced, wherwith men were wondrouſly offended, for it is a very perſecution beyonde the ſea, vſed in that forme where the parſon cannot be apprehēded. And I take ſuch an act to be very ſlaunderous & eſteming the opinion of breaking Images, as vnlawefull to be had very daungerous, voyd of all learning and truth wrote after my faſhion to the captayn, which letters I perceiue to come by your graces hands I was not very curious in the writing of them, for to me truth goeth out

playnely

playnly and roundly, and ſpeaking of the kinges Seale, vttered the common language, I was brought vp in, after the olde ſorte, when as I coniect of a good will the people taking Saynt George for a patron of the Realme vnder God, and hauing ſome confidence of ſuccour by Gods ſtrength deriued by him, to encreaſe the eſtimation of their Prince and Soueraygne Lord, called theyr king on horſebacke in the ſtate of Armes, Saynct George on Horſebacke, my knowledge was not corrupt, I know it repreſenteth the king, and yet my ſpeach came forth after the cōmon language, wherein I truſt is none offēce. For beſides learning I by experience haue knowne the preheminence of a king both in warre and peace. And yet if I hadde wiſt my letter ſhould haue commen to your Graces handes to be aunſwered, then I would haue bene more preciſe in my ſpeach then to geue occaſion of ſo long an argument therein. As for S. George himſelfe, I haue ſuch opinion of him as becommeth me and haue read alſo of Belerephon in Homer as they call him the Father of tales, I will leaue that matter. And as for bookes let Latine and Greeke continue as long as it ſhall pleaſe God, I am almoſt paſt the vſe of them, what ſeruice thoſe letters haue done, experience hath ſhewed, and religion hath continued in them 1500. yeres: but as for the engliſh tongue it ſelfe hath not continued in one forme of vnderſtanding 200. yeres and without Gods worke and ſpeciall miracle it ſhall hardly conteyne religion long, when it can not laſt it ſelf, and whatſoeuer your Graces mind is now in the matter, I know well that hauing the gouernement of the Realme your Grace will vſe the gift of pollicy, which is a gift of God.

And euen as now at this time Biſhops be reſtrayned by a ſpeciall pollicye to preache onely in theyr Cathedrall Churches (the like whereof hath not bene knowne in my time) ſo vpon an other occaſion your Grace may percaſe thinke expedient to reſtrayne (further then the parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now reſtrained the Biſhops liberty of preaching. As for the brazen Serpēt did not in all mens language repreſent Chriſt, and if I had written to an other then your Grace, I might haue had the like matter of argument that was taken agaynſt me of S. George on horſebacke. For Gregory Nazianzene chiefe diuine in the Greeke Church calleth the Serpents death, the figure of the death of chriſt, but not the ſerpent to be the figure of Chriſt, and yet when I had done all mine argument, I would reſolue as is reſolued with me in the ſpeach of S. George on horſebacke, that the common ſpeach is otherwiſe, and ſo it is in ſaying the ſerpent to be a true figure of Chriſt, and yet Gregorye Nazianzen called the ſerpent it ſelfe Αντίτυπον of Chriſt in theſe wordes Oδ: &c. in his ſermon de paſcate and yet in Almechorus Domini we read Aries, Leo, Vermis, ſpoken of Chriſt, and ſome expound the ſcripture, ſicut Moyſes. &c. After that ſort. And as your Grace ſayd when I was laſt at your houſe with the french Ambaſſador, ye wiſhed him & me together diſputing, to ſee whē we would make an end, euen ſo it is in theſe matters, when they come in argumēt, for a bye thing (as Saynt George on Horſebacke) when it eſcapeth me, or ſpeaking of the brazen ſerpent, folowing a ſpeach not throughly diſcuſſed, ſhalbe occaſion of a digreſſion all out of purpoſe. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our late Soueraigne Lord (God reſt his ſoule) ſet theſe matters in quiet: who had heard all theſe reaſōs touching Images which be now rehearſed in your graces letters, and hauing once my Lord of Cāterbury & me preſent with him alone in his Pallace that they call otherwiſe newe Hall, handled that matter at length and diſcuſſed with my Lord of Caunterbury the vnderſtanding of gods commaundement to the Iewes, ſo as all the Clearkes in Chriſtendome could not amend it. And where as one had denyed the Image of the Trinitye to be had, by reaſons as be touched in your Graces letters, I heard his highneſſe aunſwere to them at another time. And when hee had himſelfe ſpecially commaunded diuers Images to be aboliſhed yet (as your Grace knoweth) he both ordered and himſelfe putte in execution the kneeling and creeping before the Image of the Croſſe, and eſtabliſhed agreement in that truth through all this Realme, whereby all argumentes to the contrary be aſſoyled at once, I would wyſh Images vſed as the booke by his highneſſe ſette forth doth preſcribe and no otherwiſe. I know your Grace only tēpteth me with ſuch reaſons as other make vnto you, and I am not fully at liberty although I am bolde enough (and ſome will thinke to bolde) to aunſwere ſome thinges as I woulde to an other man mine equall, being ſo much inferiour to your Grace as I am, but me thinketh Saynte Paules ſolucion during the kinges Maieſties minoritye ſhould ſerue all. Nos talem conſuetudinem non habemus. We haue no ſuch cuſtome in the Church. When our ſoueraign Lord commeth to his perfect age (which God graunt) I doubt not but God wil reueale that ſhalbe neceſſary for the gouerning of his people in religion. And if any thing ſhal be done in the meane time (as I thinke there ſhall not) by your Graces direction, he may when he commeth to age ſay in the reſt, as I heare ſay, he ſayd nowe of late concerning proceſſion, that in his fathers time men were wont to folow proceſſion, vpon which the kinges maieſtyes ſaying the proceſſion (as I heard) was well furniſhed afterwardes by your Graces Commaundement, which ſpeach hath put me in remembraunce, that if the Biſhops and other of the Clergy, ſhould agree to any alteration in religion to the condemnation of any thing ſet forth by his Father, whereby his father might be noted to haue wanted knowledge or fauor to the truth, what he would ſay, I can not tell, but he might vſe a maruellous ſpeach, and for the excellency of his ſpirite, it were like he would, and hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe againſt Biſhops as he might haue it were to be feared he would. And when he had ſpoken, thē he might by his lawes do more then any would gladly ſuffer of our ſort at theſe dayes, for as the allegatiō of his authority repreſented by your grace, ſhalbe then aunſwered (as youre Grace now writeth vnto me) that ẏ your Grace onely deſired truth according to Gods ſcripture, and it may be thē ſayd: we Biſhops when we haue our ſoueraigne Lord & head in minority we faſhion the matter as we luſt, & then ſome young man that would haue a piece of the Biſhops landes ſhall ſay: the beaſtly Biſhops haue alwayes done ſo, and when they can no longer mayntayne one of theyr pleaſures of rule and ſuperioritye, then they take another way and let that go, and for the time they be here, ſpend vp that they haue, which eat you and drinke you, what ye liſt & we together, with Edamus & bibamus cras moriemur. And if we ſhall alleadge for our defence the ſtrength of Goddes trueth and the playneſſe of ſcripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay termes, and ſay we were conuinced by ſcriptures, ſuch an excellent iudgement, as the kinges maieſty is like to haue, will neuer credite vs in it, ne be abuſed by ſuch a vayne anſwere. And this is a worldly politicke conſideration, and at home, for the noyſe abroade in the world will be more ſlaunderous then this is daungerous. And touching the biſhop of Rome, the doing in this realme hitherto hath neuer done him ſo much diſpleaſure as an alteration in religion during the kinges Maieſtyes minority, ſhould ſerue for his purpoſe, for he wanteth not wits to beate into other princes eares, that where his authority is aboliſhed, there at euery chaunge of gouernors, ſhalbe change in Religion and ẏ hath bene amongſt vs by a whole conſent eſtabliſhed, ſhall by pretence of an other vnderſtanding in ſcripture ſtreight be brought in queſtiō, for they will geue it no other name but a pretence, howe ſtiffely ſo euer we will affirme otherwiſe and call it Gods worde and here it ſhould much be noted that my Lorde of Caunterbury, being the high Biſhop of the Realme, highly in fauour with his late Soueraigne Lord, and my Lord of Dureſme a manne of renowmed fame in learning and grauity, both put by him in truſt for theyr councell in the order of the Realme, ſhoulde ſo ſoone forgette theyr olde knowledge in Scripture ſette forth by the Kynges Maieſties book, and aduiſe to enuey ſuch matter of alteration. All which thinges be (I knowe well) by your Grace and them conſidered. And therefore it is to me incredible that euer any ſuch thing ſhould be in deede with effect whatſoeuer the lygheneſſe of talke ſhall ſpread abroade, whythe your Grace hath by Proclamation well ſtayed. But and ye had not, and the world talked ſo faſt as euer they did, I aſſure your Grace I woulde neuer feare it, as men feare thinges they like not, vnleſſe I ſaw it in execution, for of this ſort I am that in all thinges I thinke ſhoulde not be done in reaſon, I feare them not, wherewith to trouble mee otherwiſe then to take heede if I canne, and to the head Gouernours (as now to your Grace) ſhewe my minde, and ſuch experience hath euery manne of me that hath commoned with me in any ſuch matters. And therfore albeit your Grace writeth wiſely that ouermuch feare doth hurt, and accelerateth ſometime, that was not intended, yet it needes not to me, for I haue learned that leſſon already, and would a great many moe had, which in deede ſhould be a great ſtay. And thus I talke with your Grace homely, with multiplication of ſpeache not neceſſary, as though I meant to ſende you as great a packet, as I receyued from you. One thing neceſſary to aunſweare your Grace in touching your maruell: howe I know ſooner thinges from thence, then your Grace doth there, whiche ariſeth not vppon any deſire of knowledge on my behalfe, for euill thinges be ouerſoone knowne, not vppō any ſlacknes of your graces behalf there, who is & is noted very vigilāt, as your graces charge requireth. But

Wherefore then ſerue the Scripture for realmes to be ruled by: if God neuer reueale any thing in a realme, but by the kinges owne perſon in his mans age?

Canterbury and Dureſme carped of Wynchester.

this

Anno 1550.

D. Smyth reproued of Wincheſter.

And why then did ye not folow the ſame your ſoueraigne Lord in aboliſhing the Pope in Queene Maryes tyme.

thus it is euen as it was when I was in ſome little authoritye, they that were the euill doers in ſuch matters would hide them from me. So now they haue handled it otherwiſe, for as for Iacke of lentes Teſtament was openly ſold in Wincheſter market, before I wrot vnto your Grace of it. And as for Bales booke called the Elucidiation of Anne Aſkewes Martyrdome, they were in theſe partes common ſome with leaues vnglewed, where maiſter Paget was ſpoken of and ſome with leaues glued. And I call them common becauſe I ſaw at the leaſt foure of them. As for Bales booke touching the death of Luther wherein was the Duke Saxons prayer (whereof I wrote) was brought downe into this countrey by an honeſt Gentleman to whome it was (as I remember hee tolde me) geuen at London for newes, and had it a good while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had not then receiued the inhibition for preaching whereof men ſpake otherwiſe then they knewe. And in the meane time Doctour Smith recanted with a Prieſte of this Towne (who to mine owne mouth boaſted himſelfe to be your Graces Chaplayne, but I beleeued it not) brought downe with ſpeed, & made by meanes to haue it brought to my knowledge, which I knew beſides, for they had by and by filled all the Countrey here aboutes of tales of me. And when I ſaw Doctour Smithes recantation beginne with Omnis homo mendax ſo engliſhed and ſuche a new humility as he would make all the Doctors of the Church Lyers with himſelfe, knowing what opinions were abroade, it enforced me to write vnto your Grace for the eaſe of my conſcience: geuing this Iudgement of Smith that I neither liked his tractation of vnwritten verityes, ner yet hys retractation, and was gladde of my former Iudgement, that I neuer had familiaritye with him, I ſaw him not (that I wotte theſe three yeares ne talked with him theſe ſeuen yeares, as curious as I am noted in the common wealth.) And where as in his vnwritten verityes he was ſo mad to ſay, Biſhops in this Realme may make lawes, I haue witneſſe that I ſayd at that worde, we ſhould bee then dawes, and was by and by ſory that euer he had written of the Sacrament of the aultar, which was not as it was noyſed, vntouched, with that word, all men be Liers which is a maruellous word, as it ſoundeth in our toung when we ſay a man were better haue a thiefe in his houſe then a lyer. And the deprauing of mans nature in that ſort is not the ſetting out of the authority of the Scripture. For albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not vpon man, yet the miniſtration of yͤ letter which is writing and ſpeaking, is exerciſed, and hath bene from the beginninge deliuered through mans hand and taught by mãs mouth: which men in the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to lyers. And therefore S. Auguſtine in his booke De mendacio, ſayth omnis homo mendax, ſignifieth omnis homo peccans. If Smyth had onely written of Biſhops lawes, and then ſayd he had (ſauing your honor) lyed loudly or to mittigate the matter, ſayd he had erred by ignorãce that had bene done truely and humbly, for he that ſeeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath ſmall humility, for he woulde hide himſelfe by the nũber, & this muche as touching Smith of whõ nor his booke till he was in trouble I neuer heard talking. But to the matter I wrote of, I haue told your Grace how I came to knowledge of thẽ very ſcarſely in time, but in the thing ouer quickely & neuer had any ſuche thought in my life, as I denyed to your Grace to be worthely charged with thẽ, by them I meane that may hereafter charge, for I know no ſuch yet in thys world, and I neuer was in mine opinion ſo madde, as to write to your Grace in that ſort when all thinges be well, I haue many cauſes to reioyce but where things were otherwiſe (as I truſt they ſhall not) I haue nothing to doe to aſke any accompt, I truſt I ſhall neuer forget my ſelfe ſo much, I thanke God I am euen aſwell learned to lyue in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of directiõ in our late ſoueraigne Lordes life. And for my quietnes in this eſtate accompt my ſelf to haue a great treaſure of your Graces rule and authority, and therfore will worſhip and and honor it otherwiſe then to vſe ſuch maner of preſumption to aſke any accompt. And I know your Grace cannot ſtay theſe matters ſo ſodenly, and I eſteeme it a great matter that thinges be ſtauld hitherto thus, but if thinges had encreaſed as the rumours purported, your Grace might haue bene encombred more in the execution of your good determination. Now thankes be to GOD your Grace goeth well about to ſtay it. As for my ſelfe I know mine inward determination to doe, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and haue no cauſe to complayne of the vniuerſall Diſpoſition of them in my Dioces. I know but one way of quiet to keep and follow ſuch lawes and orders in Religion as our late ſoueraigne Lorde lefte with vs: which by his life, as the Byſhops and Clergye ſayd was the very trueth, and I neuer read yet or heard any thing why to ſwarue from it, ne thinke it expedient to call any one thing in doubte during the Kinges Maieſtyes minority whereby to empayre the ſtrength of the accorde eſtabliſhed, whiche I write not miſtruſting your Grace in the contrary, but declaring my ſelfe and wiſhing the ſame minde to other about you, as I truſt they haue, for which I ſhall pray to GOD, who proſpered our late Soueraigne Lord in that rebellion as we haue ſeene experience, and by your Graces foreſight and pollitiche Gouernement ſhall ſend the like proſperity to our Soueraygne Lord that now is, wherein I ſhall doe my parte as a Subiect moſt bounden many wayes thereunto. I ſend vnto your Grace herewith my diſcuſſion of my Lord of S. Dauies Purgation, wherein I walke ſomewhat more at libertye, then writing to your Grace, and yet I take my ſelfe liberty enough with a reuerent mind, neuertheleſſe to keepe me within my bondes whiche if I at any time excede, I truſt your Grace will beare with me after your accuſtomed goodneſſe, for whoſe proſperitye I ſhall continually pray with encreaſe of honor. At Wincheſter the 6. of Iune.

¶ Certayne additions after theſe Leters aboue ſpecified, with notes and ſolutions aunſwering to the ſame.

THus haue we ſet out to thee (gentle and ſtudious reader) an extract of certayn letters of Byſhop Gardiner: not of all that he wrote, but of ſuche as coulde come to our handes: Neither of theſe alſo that we haue for any good ſtuffe, or any great profit in thẽ conteined, or that they dyd cleare him, or his cauſe any thing, for yͤ which he was moſt worthely condemned. For if there did or might appeare any ſuch thing in all his writinges, that might cleare the ill fauored doinges of that man, be thou ſure ſuch as was the ſecret about him, and yet his well willers (their names I leaue vntouched) hauing his writinges, or beyng able to ſhew them, as I am priuy they are, would not ſo conceale them in couert as they doe, being thereto both prouoked and occaſioned by vs, if they had ſeene any thing in them meete to relieue the perſon, or to remedy his matter. Wherfore thinke not for any ſuch effect theſe his vayne glorious Letters to be brought in here of vs. But onelye that thou might hereby collect and vnderſtand by thoſe his foreſayd epiſtles, and articles folowing, not only the whole courſe and ſtory almoſt of all his procedinges from time to time, but alſo might ſee the nature and inward condition of the man, how vayneglorious, full ſtuft and puft vp with arrogancy, and drowned in his owne conceite he was, much like to the parſon, or rather he himſelfe, deſcribed in the latine Comedy, Miles Thraſo Glorioſus, haue nothing in his mouth, but Emperors, Kinges, counſellors, protectors, aduiſementes, direction: as though all directiõ of realmes and princes did flowe out of his brayne, like as it is in the Poets fables, that Minerua did ſpring out of the head of Iupiter. And yet if this vaynglorious conceit had bene alone in him, leſſe matter had bene agaynſt him. Now hys ſubtle practiſes, and pretenſed purpoſes and diſſimulynge conueyance did not onely augment, but alſo exceded al his other euils. As in the letters aboue ſpecified is notorious and euident to ſee, wherein though he durſt not apertly gainſay that, which he inwardly miſliked: yet how couertly doth he inſinuate himſelfe to the Lord Protector, vnder pretẽce of geuing cõſell, to bring that to paſſe, which was for his purpoſe, that is, no innouation or alteration to bee made of religion, during all the kinges minority, but to let all thinges ſtand as king Henry left them. And that is the chiefeſt. But in all his letters, wherto he driueth: bring commonly this argument: which as it is eaſy to recite, ſo neither is it hard to anſwere to. Although in the notes before we haue anſwered already ſufficiently.

¶ The Summe and Concluſion of all Wincheſters drift, in his Epiſtles before.

Ar

THat is chiefely to bee feared and auoyded of the Lorde Protector, and now ſpecially in the Kinges minority, that may bring both daunger to hym, and trouble to the Realme.

Innouation of religion from that ſtate, which K. Henry left it, may be and is like to be daungerous to himſelfe, and cauſe trouble to the Realme.

Ergo innouation of Religion, from the ſtate that the king left it is in no wiſe to be attempted.

The

Anno 1549.

¶ The aunſwer.

Aunſwere.

TO aunſwer firſt to the vocable innouation, which he ſtumbleth ſo greatly vpon, this I ſay: that innouation is properly vſed, where a thing is brought in a new, which was not before. Foraſmuch therefore, as in this alteration there is no new religion brought in, but only the old religion of the primitiue church reuiued, therfore here is to be thought not ſo much an innouation, as a renouation or reformation rather of religion, which reformation is oft tymes ſo neceſſary in common weales, that without the ſame all runneth to confuſion.

Secondly, I aunſwer to the argument, which I doe deny as a fallax, for there is fallacia accidentis. Where it is ſayd, that reformation of religion gendreth daunger to the Protector, and trouble to the realme: firſt what wil come, that is vncertaine: And God be hallowed, yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of religiō. And though there did, yet the cauſe thereof is not to be imputed to religion reformed. For ſincere and true doctrine of hys owne nature worketh quiet, peace and tranquillitie, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other cauſes, as by the malice of Sathan, and wycked aduerſaries, not by reaſon of the doctrine and true religion. So after the preaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, diſſention followed in common weales betwixt father and ſonne, brother and brother, &c. but that is not to be aſcribed to them, but to other.

e Para-
raſe of
aſmus.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, this I aunſwer and ſay, that this biſhop belike had ouerwatched himſelfe in this matter. For if it be true which he himſelfe affirmeth, fol. 744. that he neuer read that booke before, and now he neuer ſlept till he himſelfe red it. It happened peraduenture, that in the ouermuch watching of himſelfe, and ſwift readyng of the booke, hys iudgement was a ſleepe, whiles his eyes were open in readyng the ſame.

e booke
Home-

Likewyſe touching the booke of Homelies, eſpecially the Homilie of ſaluation, wherewith he findeth hymſelfe ſo much grieued with the Archbiſhop, ſeeyng he bringeth forth no proues, I haue nothing to anſwer. In ye meane ſeaſon this I haue to thinke, that if he had bene ſo cunning in the knowledge of his owne ſaluation, as he was in the deſtruction and vexation of Chriſtes members, he would neuer ſo rage agaynſt that Homily.

e exami-
tion of
ne Aſ-
w lette
th by M.
le.

Touching the examination of Anne Aſkew, if it bee miſreported by M. Bale, why doth not he note the places which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able ſo to do: yet ſeeyng the examination was of her own penning, which M. Bale did follow, let euery Chriſtian Reader iudge, whether is more to be credited of theſe two, ſhe that was perſecuted, or he that was the perſecuter.

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realmes,
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ormation
religion.

And where he ſpeaketh ſo much of quiet and tranquilitie. This I aunſwere, that quiet and tranquillitie in weales publike, ſo long as they are ioined with right reformed religion, be much to be embraced. But when it is otherwiſe, that is, where true religion lacketh his right, there let the ſecond table geue place to the firſt.

eachers,
inters
ayers.

He thwarteth alſo, and wrangleth much againſt players, Printers, Preachers. And no marueill why. For he ſeeth theſe three things to be ſet vp of God, as a triple bulwarke againſt the triple crowne of the Pope, to bring him down, as God be prayſed they haue done meetely well already.

e Article
iuſtifi-
on.

As touching the Article of Free iuſtification by fayth, which he cannot abide, foraſmuch as we haue ſufficiently declared in the notes before, we ſhall referre the Reader now alſo vnto the ſame.

e letter
Winche-
ſent to
Ridley.

And moreouer, becauſe in one of his letters, mention is made of a certaine letter ſent vnto M. Ridley, becauſe we will defraud thee (gentle reader) of nothing that commeth to our handes, here haſt thou the copy thereof, in effect as followeth.

Here followeth the copy of the letter of Ste. Gardiner ſent to M. Ridley, in the letters aboue mentioned, conteining matter and obiections againſt a certaine Sermon, of the ſayd Maiſter Ridley, made at the Courte.

MAiſter Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chaunced me vpon Wedneſday laſt paſt, to be preſent at your ſermon in the courte, wherein I hard you confirme the doctrine in religion, ſet foorth by our late Soueraigne Lorde and mayſter, whoſe ſoule God pardon, admoniſhing your audience that ye would ſpecially trauell in the confutation of the biſhop of Romes pretended authoritie, in gouernement and vſurped power, in pardons whereby hee hath abuſed himſelfe, in Heauen and earthe. Which two matters I note to be playne, and here wythout controuerſie. In the other two ye ſpake of, touchyng images and ceremonies, and as ye touched it, ſpecially for holy water, to driue away deuils, for that ye declared your ſelfe alwayes deſirous, to ſet forth the mere trueth, with great deſire of vnitie as ye profeſſed, not extending anye your aſſeueration beyond your knowledge, but alwayes adding ſuch like wordes (as farre as ye had read) and if any man could ſhew you furder, ye would heare him (wherein ye were much to be commended) Vpon theſe conſiderations, and for the deſire I haue to vnitie, I haue thought my ſelfe bound to communicate to you, that I haue read in the matter of Images, and holy water to the intent ye may by your ſelfe conſider it, and ſo wey, before that ye wil ſpeake in thoſe two pointes, as ye may (reteining youre owne principles) affirme ſtill that ye woulde affirme, and may in deede be affirmed and mayntayned, wherein I haue ſeene other forget themſelfe. Firſt I ſend vnto you herewith (which I am ſure ye haue red that (a) Euſebius writeth of Images, whereby appeareth that Images haue beene of (b) great antiquitie, in Chriſtes Church, and to ſay, we may not haue Images, or to call them when they repreſent Chriſt or his Saintes, be ouer groſſe opinions, to enter into your learned head, what ſo euer the vnlearned woulde tattle. For you know the text of the old law. (c) Nō facies tibi ſculptile, forbiddeth no more Images now, then another text forbiddeth to vs puddings. And if omnia be munda mundis, to the bellye, there can be no cauſe why they ſhould bee of themſelues impura to the eye, wherein ye can ſay much more. And then when we haue Images, to call them Idols, is a like fault in fond folly. As if a mā would call (Regem) a Tyrant, and then bring in old writers to proue that Tyrannus ſignified once a kyng, like as (Idolum) ſignified once an Image: but like as (Tyrannus) was by conſent of men, appropriate, to ſignifie an vſurper of that dignitie and an vntrue king: So hath (Idolum) bene appropriate to ſignifie a falſe repreſentation, and a falſe Image. In ſo much, as there was a ſolemne anathemization of all thoſe that would call an Image and Idoll, as he were worthy to be hanged, that would call the king our maiſter (God ſaue him, our true iuſt king) a tyrant, and yet in talke he might ſhew that a tyrant ſignified ſometime a king, but ſpeech is regarded in his preſent ſignification, which I doubt not ye can conſider right well.

I verily thinke, that as for the hauing of Images, ye will ſay inough, and that alſo when we haue them, we ſhould not deſpiſe them in ſpeach, to call them (d) idols, ne deſpiſe them with deedes, to mangle them or cut them, but at the leaſt ſuffer them to ſtand vntorne, wherein Luther that pulled away all other regarde to them, ſtraue ſtoutly, and obteyned (as I haue ſeene in diuers of the churches in Germany of his reformation) that they ſhoulde (as they do) ſtand ſtill.

All the matter to be feared is exces in worſhipping, wherein the church of Rome, hath bene very preciſe. And ſpecially Gregory, writing Epiſcopo Maſſilien. which is cōteined, De conſecratio. Diſtinctione. 3. as followeth.

Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconſiderato zelo ſuccenſus, ſanctorum imagines, ſub hac quaſi excuſatione, ne adorari debuiſſent, confregeris, & quidem eas adorari vetuiſſe, omnino laudamus, fregiſſe verò reprehēdimus. Dic frater, a quo factum eſſe ſacerdote aliquādo auditum eſt, quod feciſti? Aliud eſt enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam hiſtoriam, quid ſit adorandum addiſcere. Nam quod legentibus ſcriptura, hoc & idiotis preſtat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipſa ignorantes vident quid ſequi debeant, in ipſa legunt qui literas neſciunt, vnde & præcipue gentibus, pro lectione pictura eſt.

Herein is forbidden adoration, and then in Sexta Sinodo, was declared what maner of adoration is forbidden, that is to ſay, godly adoration to it being a creature, as is conteined in the chapiter, Venerabiles imagines, in the ſame diſtinction, in this wiſe.

If this doctrine were playne in king Edwardes time, how chaunced it was not ſo playne with you in Queene Maryes tyme?

(a) *Euſeb. Cæſar.* ſayth, that he ſaw the pictures of Paul & Peter kept with a certain chriſtian man, but yet he ſaith not that thoſe pictures were ſet vp in any Church.

(b) What antiquitie Images had in the Church, is declared by the doyng and writing of Epiphanius, in his epiſtle *ad Epiſc. Hieroſol.* tranſlated by Hierome.

Item, in the Councell called *Elibertinum. Artic.* 36. it is to be ſeene how pictures were forbid in church walles.

Item, *in concilio Conſtantinop. ſub leone imp.* Images were condemned.

Itē, *Carolus Magnus* with the whole Councell of Frankford, decreed againſt Images, abrogating the vayne and friuolous actes of Irene in his Councell a little before.

Brieflie, concerning the antiquity of Images when biſhops began to ceaſe from preaching in churches, then Images began to be ſet vp.

(c) It is not lyke, for *non facies ſculptile,* that is, Morall: *De immundis,* is but ceremoniall.

(d) Betwixt Images and Idols there is but little difference, but betwixt Images ſet vp in Churches, and Idols, there is none at all. *Cic. lib. 1. de finib. Imagines, quæ Idola nominant.*

Duo hic videnda ſunt primum tempore Gregorij Imagines, non dum colebantur: vt hodie apud nos, ſed tantum ad hiſtoriam adhibebantur. Cuiuſmodi videtur pictura illa Chriſti & mulieru fimbriam tangentu, cuius meminit Euſebius in hiſt. Verum ſi viueret hodie Gregorius videretque tantam in ſtatuis prophanationem, quid tum ſenſiſſet ille haud obſcurum eſt.

Præterea excuſatio illa & defenſio picturarum quam affert, præterquam quod iuſta ratione caret, pugnat etiam manifeſte cum Synodo Elib. Artic. 36. vbi prohibentur in templis picturæ, ne in cultu ſit error. Pugnat etiam cum exemplo Epiphanij. & Ezech. &c.

Idolatry is not excluded ſo long as any vertue is ſought at their hands.

Vertue is and hath beene ſought at their handes.

Ergo. Idolatry is not excluded as he ſayth.

Venerabiles Imagines Chriſtiani non deos appellant, neque ſeruiunt eis vt dijs, neque ſpem ſalutis ponunt in eis, neq; ab eis exſpectant futurum iudicium, ſed ad memoriam & recordationẽ primitiuorum venerantur eas & adorant, ſed non ſeruiunt eis cultu diuino, nec alicui creaturę.

By which doctrine, all idolatry is plainly excluded, in euident wordes. So as we cannot ſay, that the worſhipping of Images had his beginnyng by popery, for Gregory forbad it, vnleſſe we ſhall call that Synode, Popery, becauſe there were ſo many biſhops. And yet there is forbidden, cultus Diuinus, and agreeth with our beforeſaid doctrine, by which we may creepe before the croſſe on good Friday, wherein we haue the Image of the crucifixe in honour, & vſe it in a worſhipfull place, and ſo earneſtly looke on it, and conceyue that it ſignifieth, as we kneele (a) and creepe before it, whiles it lyeth there, and whiles that remembrance is in exerciſe, with which croſſe neuertheles, the Sexten when he goeth for a corſe, will not be afrayd, to be homely, and holde it vnder hys gowne whiles he drinketh a potte of ale, a point of homelineſſe that myght bee left, but yet it declareth, that he eſteemed no Diuinitie in the Image. But euer ſince I was borne a poore pariſhioner, a lay man, durſt be ſo bold at a ſhift (if he were alſo churchwarden) to ſell to the vſe of the Church at length, and his own, in the meane tyme, the ſiluer croſſe on Eaſter Monday, that was creeped vnto on good Friday. In ſpecialties, there haue bene ſpeciall abuſes, but generally Images haue bene taken for Images, with an (b) office to ſignifie an holy remembraunce of Chriſt and his ſaints. And as the ſounde of ſpeache vttered by a liuely Image, and repreſenting to the vnderſtanding, by the ſenſe of hearing godly matter, doth ſtirre vp the mynde, and therewith the body, to conſent in outward geſture of worſhipfull regard, to that ſound: (c) So doth the obiect of the Image, by the ſight, worke like effect in mã, within and without, wherin is verily worſhipped, that we vnderſtand, and yet reuerence and worſhip alſo ſhewed to that, wherby we attaine that vnderſtanding, and is to vs in the place of an inſtrument. So as it hath no worſhip of it ſelfe, but remayneth in his nature of ſtone or tymber, ſiluer, copper or gold. But when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembraunce in vs, by repreſentation of the thyng ſignified vnto vs, then we vſe it worſhipfully and honourably, as many do the (d) prieſt at Maſſe, whome they little regard all the day after. And me thinketh euer, that like as it is an ouer groſſe error, to take an image for God, or to worſhip it with godly (e) honour. So to graunt that we may not haue Images of Chriſt, and that we may do no worſhip before them, or not vſe them worſhipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kynde of worſhip to place them worſhipfully. So as if a man place an Image in the church, or hang it about his necke, as (f) all vſe to do the Image of the croſſe, and the knight of the order (g) Saint George, this is ſome piece of worſhip. And if we may not contemne the images of Chriſt and his ſaintes, when we haue them (for that were villanie) not neglect them (for that were to haue them without vſe) which were inconuenient, (quia nec natura nec arte quicquam fit fruſtra) wee muſt haue them in eſtimation and reputation, whiche is not without ſome honour and worſhip, and at the leaſt in the place, where we conueniently vſe them, as in the church, as where they ſerue vs rather then we them, and becauſe their (h) ſeruice is worſhipfull, they be ſo regarded accordingly, for that time of ſeruice, and therefore they be called Venerabiles Imagines, and be worſhipfully ordered, before whom we kneele, and bowe, and cenſe, not at that the Images be, but at that the Images ſignifie, which in our kneeling, bowyng, and cenſing, we knowledge to vnderſtand and read in that faſhion of contract writing, wherein is wrapped vp, a great many of ſentences, ſodenly opened with one ſodaine ſight, to hym that hath bene exerciſed in readyng of them. And me ſeemeth, after the faith of Chriſt receiued & knowen, and throughly purged from hereſies, if by caſe, there were offered a choiſe, either to retein painting and grauing, and forbeare writing, or choſing writing, to forbeare both the other gifts: it would be a probleme, ſeeing if grauing were taken away, we could haue no printing. And therefore they that preſſe ſo much the wordes, of Non facies tibi ſculptile, euer me thincketh they condemne printed bookes, the originall wherof is of grauing to make * matrices literarum. Sed hoc eſt furioſum, & ſunt tamen qui putãt palmarium. And therfore now it is engliſhed. Thou ſhalt make no grauen Images, leaſt thou worſhip them, which (I here) is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not farre frõ the old Iury. But to yͤ matter of Images, wherein I haue diſcourſed at large I thinke, and ye conſider (as I doubt not, but ye will) the doctrine ſet forth by our late Soueraigne Lord: ye ſhall in yͤ matter ſee yͤ truth ſet forth by ſuch as had that committed vnto them, vnder his highnes, amongeſt whome I was not, nor was not priuie vnto it, till it was done. And yet the clauſe in the booke, for diſcuſſion of (the Lord) and (our Lorde) hath made manye thinke otherwiſe, but I take our Lorde to witnes, I was not: & that declaratiõ of (our Lord) was his highnes own deuiſe, ex ſe. For he ſaw the fond Engliſhing of (the Lord) diſſeuered in ſpeach whom our Lord had congregate. And this I adde leſt geuing authoritie to the booke, I ſhoulde ſeeme to aduaunt my ſelfe.

a) What worke Wincheſter maketh to creepe to dead croſſes, & to worſhip blockiſh Images. But the liuely Images of Chriſt, thẽ he brought to the croſſe & burned cruelly. Therfore it is woorthely ſayde of *Clemens, lib. 5. Quis eſt iſte honor Dei, per lapideas & ligneas formas diſcurrere, atque exanimes figuras venerari, & hominem in quo vera Dei Imago eſt ſpernere.* But Wincheſter was ſo buſied in his lay mens bookes, that hee had no layſure to vnderſtand learned bookes.

(b) If things hauing the office to ſignifie, and worke in vs the vnderſtãding of Chriſt and holy things, are therefore to be worſhipped, cenſed, and crept vnto: why then do ye not worſhippe the preacher, the Bible booke, the Epiſtler and Goſpeller whiche geue a much more liuely vnderſtanding to our myndes of holy and heauenly things, then Images do?

(c) The argument of Wincheſter reuerted againſt hymſelfe. For if Gods word & ſuch other ſounds, geuyng a liuely vnderſtandyng to vs, yet bee not had in ſuch a worſhipfull regard, that any doth cenſe them, or creepe and offer to them: Ergo, much leſſe ſhould you doe the ſame to theſe your dead and inſenſible Images.

(d) One Idoll well compared with another.

(e) Becauſe you ſay that godly honor, or *cultus diuinus*, is taken away by you from Images, I pray you what could ye doe to God, if he were here materially hymſelfe more, then you do to them? to cenſe them, to candle them, to tabernacle them, to ſette them vp in churches, to adore and inuocate them, to kneele and knocke to them, to creepe and offer to them, to ſeeke vertue, and to require health at them, to make them your patrons, and to make your vowes vnto them, &c. If this be not *Diuinus cultus*, tell me what geue you to God more then this?

(f) All papiſts perchance.

(g) Yea but what knight of that order kneeleth or prayeth to that George that hangeth about his necke.

(h) A worſhipfull ſeruice to diſworſhip God, & worſhip creatures.

You ſayd before they were lay mens bookes, now ye make thẽ learned mens books alſo, wherein you read (ye ſay) many thinges at one openyng. And what read you or ſee you in thoſe bookes, I pray you? *nimirum, id quod pueri vident in nubibus*. And where be you bid to looke vpon theſe fantaſticall bookes? *Scrutamini ſcripturas*, ſayth the Lorde: *Contemplamini picturas*, writeth Wincheſter. But rather Wincheſter ſhould haue read the booke of *Epiphanius, contra Encratitas*, where theſe woordes be opened to him: *Non decet Chriſtianum per oculos ſuſpenſum teneri, ſed per occupationem mentis, &c.*

Holy water.

Now will I ſpeake ſomewhat of holy water, wherein I ſed vnto you, the xxxiiij. chapter in the ix. booke of thiſtory Tripartite, where Marcellus the biſhop, bad Equitius his Deacon, to caſt abroad water by him firſt hallowed wherwith to driue away the deuill. And it is noted, howe the deuil could not abide the vertue of the water, but vaniſhed away. And for my part, it ſeemeth the hiſtory may be true. (:) for we be aſſured by ſcripture that in the name of God, the churche is able and ſtrong to caſt out Deuils according to the Goſpel, In nomine meo dæmonia eijcient &c. So as if the water were away, by only calling of the name of God, that mayſtry may be wrought. And being the vertue of theffect onely attributed to the name of God: the queſtion ſhuld be onely, whether yͤ creature of water, may haue the office to conuey the effect of the holines, of thinuocation of Gods name. And firſt in Chriſt, the ſkirt of hys garment had ſuch an office, to miniſter health to the womã and ſpetle and cley to the blinde, and S. Peters ſhadow, & S. Paules handkerchers. And leauing old ſtories here at home, the ſpecial gift of curation, miniſtred by the kings of this realme, not of their owne ſtrength but by inuocation of the name of God, hath bene vſed to be diſtributed in rings of gold and ſiluer. And I thinke effectually wherin the mettall hath only an office, and the ſtrength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Elizeus put his ſtaffe in like office. And why the whole church might not put water in like office, to conuey abroad the inuocation of gods name: there is no ſcripture to the contrary, but *there is ſcripture how other inferiour creatures haue bene promooted to like dignitie, and much ſcripture, how water hath bene vſed in like and greater ſeruice. And the ſtory I ſend vnto you, ſheweth how water hath bene vſed in the ſame ſeruice, to driue away deuils. In which matter if any ſhall ſay, he beleeueth not the ſtory, and he is not bound to beleue it, being no ſcripture: that man is not to be reaſoned with, for the effect of the kings crampe rings. And yet for ſuch effect as they haue wroght, when I was in Frãce, I haue bene my ſelfe much honoured, and of all ſortes entreated, to haue them, with offer of as much for them, as they were double worth. Some will ſay, what is rings to holy water? Marrie thus I ſay, if the mettall of gold and ſiluer, may doe ſeruice to cary abroad, the inuocatiõ of the name of God effectually for one purpoſe, water may alſo ſerue to cary abroad the inuocation of the name of God, wherewith to driue awaye deuils. Hereto will be ſayde. Non valet argumentum a poſſe ad eſſe. But the ſtory ſaith, the water did that ſeruice, and other ſtraungers ſay and affirme by experience, the kings Maieſties rings haue done the ſeruice. And our late maiſter continued all his life, the exerciſe of that gift of God, and vſed ſiluer and gold to doe that ſeruice, to cary abroad the ſtrength of the inuocation of the name of God by him, and he vſed it among vs that ſerued him in it, when hee had throughly heard and ſeene what might be ſayd in the matter, and yet he had no ſcripture, eſpecially for it that ſpake of rings of ſiluer or gold, no more then is for the aſhes miniſtred a litle before ye laſt preached. And as our young ſoueraigne Lord hath receiued them reuerently: ſo I truſt he ſhall be aduertiſed, ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum, but follow his father therein: alſo not doubting but God will heare him as he hath heard his father, and others his progenitors, kyngs of this realme, to whoſe dignitie God addeth this prerogatiue, as he doth alſo to inferior miniſters of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaſeth hym. A man might finde ſome younglings percaſe yͤ would ſay, how worldly, wily, wittie biſhops, haue enueigled ſimple kings heretofore, and to confirme their bleſſinges, haue alſo deuiſed, how kings ſhould bleſſe alſo, and ſo authoritie to maintayne, where truth fayled, and I haue had it obiected to me, that I vſed to proue one piece of myne argument euer by a king, as when I reaſoned thus. If ye allow nothing but ſcripture, what ſay you to the Kinges ringes? but they be allowed, Ergo, ſomwhat is to be allowed beſides ſcripture. And another, if Images be forbidden * why doth the king weare S. George on his breſt. But he weareth S. George on his breſt: Ergo, Images be not forbidden. If ſaints be not to be worſhipped, why kepe we S. * Georges feaſt? But we keepe S. Georges feaſt, Ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the ſtrength of the inuocation of the name of God to driue away deuils, cannot be diſtribute by water: why can it be deſtribute in ſiluer, to driue away diſeaſes, and the daungerous diſeaſe of the falling euill? But the rings hallowed by the holy church, may do ſo. Ergo, the water hallowed by the Churche may do lyke ſeruice. Theſe were ſore argumētes in his tyme, and I truſt be alſo yet and may bee conueniētly vſed, to ſuch as would neuer make an end of talke, but rake vp euery thyng yͤ theyr dull light cannot penetrate, wherin me thought ye ſpake effectually, when ye ſayd, men muſt receyue the determination of the particular church and obey, where Gods lawe repugneth not expreſly. And in this effect to driue away deuils, that prayer and inuocation of the church may do it, ſcripture maintaineth euidently, and the ſame ſcripture doth autoriſe vs ſo to pray, and encourageth vs to it. So as if in diſcuſſiō of holy water, we attribute all the effect to yͤ holines which proceedeth from God by inuocation of yͤ church, and take water for an onely ſeruaunt to cary abroad holyneſſe: there can be no ſuperſtition, where men regard only prayer, which ſcripture authoriſeth. And if we ſhall ſay that the water cannot do ſuch ſeruice: we ſhall be conuinced, in that it doth a greater ſeruice in our baptiſme by gods ſpeciall ordinance. So as wee cannot ſaye, that water cannot, or is not apt to doe this ſeruice, onely the ſtaye is, to haue a preciſe place, in the newe Teſtament, to ſay, vſe water thus in this ſeruice, as we do in holy water, which me thinketh needeth not where all is ordered, to be well vſed by vs: and whē the whole church agreed vpon ſuch an vſe: or any particular church, or the common miniſter of it: and by the exorciſme ordered for it, the thyng to be vſed, purged, there can be but ſlender matter to improue that cuſtome, wherin God is only honoured, & the power of his name ſet forth, whereunto all thing boweth and geueth place, all naturall operation ſet apart and ſecluded. And when any man hath denyed, that water may do ſeruice, becauſe ſcripture appoynteth it not, that (becauſe) driueth away much of the reſt, the church vſeth, and ſpecially our cramp rings. For if water may not ſerue to cary * abroad, the effect of Gods grace obteined by inuocation frō God, by yͤ common prayer of yͤ church. How can the mettall of ſiluer or gold cary abroad, the effect of the kings inuocation in the crampe rings? which manner of reaſonyng (ad hominem) Chriſt vſed with the Iewes, whē he ſayd, Si ego in Belzebub, eijcio dęmonia, filij veſtri, in quo eijciunt? And if by our owne principles, we ſhould be enforced to ſay that our * crampe rings be ſuperſtitiō (where truth enforceth vs not ſo to do) it were a maruelous puniſhment. Si cæci eſſemus (as Chriſt ſaith) peccatum non haberemus, ſed videmus, and this realme hath learnyng in it, and you a good portion thereof, accordyng whereunto I doubt not, but ye will waigh this matter non ad popularem trutinam, ſed artificis ſtateram. I meane that artificer yͤ teacheth the church our mother (as ye full well declared it) & ordered our mother to geue nouriſhment vnto vs. In which poynt ſpeaking of the church, although ye touched an vnknowen church to vs, and knowen to God only, yet declared the vnion of that Church in the permixt Church, which God ordereth men to complaine vnto, & to heare agayne, wherein the abſurditie is taken away of them that would haue no church knowen, but euery man beleue, as he were inwardly taught himſelfe, whereupon followeth the olde Prouerbe. Σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἐστὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε. which is far frō yͤ vnitie, ye ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, whereof (as me thought) ye ſaid pride is the let, as it is vndoubtedly, which fault God amend, and geue you grace, ſo to faſcion your wordes, as ye may agree with them in ſpeeche, with whom ye be enclined to agree in opinion. For that is the way to relieue the world. And albeit there hath bene betwene you and me, no familiaritie, but contrary wiſe, a litle diſagreement (which I did not hide frō you,) yet conſideryng the feruent zeale ye profeſſed, to teach * Peters true doctrine, that is to ſay, Chriſtes true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of Images and holy water, to put away deuils agreed not: I haue willingly ſpent this tyme, to communicate vnto you my folly (if it be folly) * plainly as it is, whereupon ye may haue occaſion, the more ſubſtantially, fully and plainly to open theſe matters for the reliefe of ſuch as be fallen from the truth and confirmation of thoſe that receyue and follow it, wherein it hath bene euer much commended, to haue ſuch regard to hiſtories of credite, and the continuall vſe of the church * rather to ſhew how a thyng continued from the beginnyng, as holy water and Images haue done, may be well vſed: thē to follow the light raſh eloquence, which is euer ad manū, to mocke and improue that is eſtabliſhed. And yet agayne I come to Marcellus that made a croſſe in the water, and bade his deacon caſt it abroad, * cum fide & zelo, after which ſort, if our holy water were vſed, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus, and many Elizeus, and many at whoſe prayer God forgeueth ſinne, if ſuch as will enioy yͤ prayer haue faith and zeale, as Equitius, and were as deſirous to driue the deuil out of the temple of their body and ſoule, as Equitius out of the temple of Iupiter. So as if holy vſe were coupled with holy water, there ſhould be more plentie of holyneſſe then there is, but as men be prophane in their liuyng, ſo they cannot bide to haue any thing effectually holy, not ſo much as bread and water, fearing leſt they ſhould take away ſinne from vs, which we loue ſo well. Solus Chriſtus peccata diluit, who ſprinckleth hys bloud, by hys miniſters, as he hath taught hys ſpouſe, the Church in which thoſe miniſters be ordered, wherein many wayes, maketh not many ſauiours, as ignorants do ieſt, whereof I neede not ſpeake further vnto you, no more I neded not in the reſt in reſpect of you, but me thought, ye coniured all men in your ſermon, to ſay what they thought to you, id quod hanc mihi expreſſit Epiſtolam, quam boni conſules, Et Vale.

Your louyng friend.
Ste. Wincheſter.

Winche-
ſter argument.
The King
would not weare S. George
vpon his breſt, if Images
were forbidden. The Kyng
weareth S. George vpon hys
breſt. Ergo, Images be not
forbidden. Reſp. This argu-
ment, beſides that it ſtan-
deth ex puris particularibus,
may be denied.
In the Maior alſo, there is a
double vnderſtanding in this
word Images: whether it be
taken indefinitely, or particu-
larly. If the latter part of the
Maior be taken vniuerſally
for al Images, both in chur-
ches and in priuate houſes v-
ſed or worne in garmentes,
then the firſt part is falſe. If
particularly, for ſuch only as
be ſet vp in churches: then
the concluſion whether it be
vniuerſall, maketh a falſe ar-
gument, ex iiij. terminis. Or
if it be particular, it may be
graunted, and hurteth no-
thing our doctrine, for wee
ſpeake onely againſt the I-
mages ſet vp in Churches,
not againſt the other.
* S. Georges feaſt is kept.
Ergo, Saintes are to be wor-
ſhipped.
Reſp. A like argument. Lam-
mas fayre is kept.
Ergo, Lambes are to be wor-
ſhipped.

* The wa-
ter of Bap-
tiſme hath
an expreſſe
ordinaunce,
where holy
water hath
none.

* Chriſt v-
ſeth not
now in his
Church
dumme
creatures of
Gold and
Siluer, &c.
but mini-
ſters by the
liuely mini-
ſtring of his
word to ca-
ry abroad
his grace.
* Crampe
ringes and
holy water,
both toge-
ther in lyke
caſe of a-
buſe and ſu-
perſtition.

* After Peters
doctrine the
bloud of Chriſt
onely purgeth
vs from al ſinne.
Ergo what
ſhould holy
water doe.
* Playnely as it
is, his penne wil
not let him lye.

* The beginning
of holy water
came firſt from
the Gentyles,
who vſed to
ſprincle aqua
luſtrati ſtanding
at the dore vpō
ſuch as went in-
to the temple.
* Cum fide et
Zelo.
Sorcerers and
Coniurers with
ſuch a wrong
fayth ioyned to
dumme crea-
tures may and
do with lyke
reaſon call vp
deuils, as holy-
water may driue
them away.

AS I haue ſet forth here (gentle Reader) the cauillyng letter of Wincheſter, agaynſt M. Ridleys Sermon: ſo am I right ſory, that I haue not likewyſe the aunſwer of the ſayd Ridley agayne, to ioyne withall. For ſo I vnderſtand, that not onely M. Ridley, but alſo M. Barlow B. of S. Dauids (for Wincheſter wrote agaynſt them both) had written and ſent immediately their aunſweres to the ſame, refutyng the friuolous and vnſauory reaſons of this popiſh prelate, as may well appeare by a parcell additionall of a letter ſent by the L. Protector to the ſayd Byſhop in theſe wordes.

And becauſe we haue begun to write to you, we are put in remembraunce of a certayne letter or booke which you wrote vnto vs agaynſt the biſhop of S. Dauids ſermon, and D. Ridleys, to the whiche, aunſwer beyng immediately made, was by negligence of vs forgottē to be ſent. Now we both ſend you that, and alſo the aunſwer which the B. of ſ. Dauids wrote to the ſame booke of yours.

¶ Articles and poſitions miniſtred and obiected eche of them ioyntly and ſeuerally to the B. of Wincheſter, as foloweth.

The 1. Article.

IN primis, that the kings Maieſty iuſtly and rightfully is, and by the lawes of God ought to be the ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England, and alſo of Ireland, and ſo is by the Clergy of this realme in theyr conuocation, and by acte of Parliament iuſtly and accordyng to the lawes of God recogniſed.

Articles layd agaynſt Wincheſter.

Wincheſter.

This firſt article the B. graunteth.

Wincheſter graunteth to the kings ſupremacy

The 2. Article.

Item, that hys Maieſtie as ſupreme hed of the ſayd Churches, hath full power and authoritie, to make and ſet forth lawes, Iniunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning religion & orders in the ſayd churches for the encreaſe of vertue, and repreſſing of all errours, hereſies, and other enormities, and abuſes.

Wincheſter.

To this ſecond article he aunſwereth affirmatiuely.

Wincheſter graūteth to the full authority of the king in ſetting forth his lawes.

The 3. Article.

Item, that all and euery his graces ſubiects are bound by the lawe of God to obey all hys Maieſties ſayd lawes, Iniunctions & procedings concerning religion and orders in the ſayd church.

Wincheſter.

To the third article, the ſaid B. aunſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

The 4. Article.

Item, that you Steuen B. of Wincheſter, haue ſworne obedience to his maieſtie as ſupreme head of this Church of England, and alſo of Ireland.

Wynchester hath ſworne obedience to the kinges ſupremacye.

Wincheſter

To the fourth article, the ſayd B. aunſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

The 5. Article.

Item, that all and euery his graces ſubiectes, that diſobey any his ſayd maieſties lawes, Iniunctions, ordinaunces, and proceedings already ſet forth and publiſhed, or hereafter to be ſet forth and publiſhed, ought worthily to be puniſhed according to hys Eccleſiaſticall law vſed within this his realme.

Wincheſter.

To this fift article, the ſayd B. anſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

The 6. Article.

Wyncheſter complayned of.

Item, that you the ſayd Biſhop, as well in the Kings Maieſties late viſitation within your dioces, as at ſondry tymes haue bene cōplained vpō, & ſondry informatiōs made againſt you for your doyngs, ſayings, and preachings agaynſt ſundry Iniunctions, orders, and other proceedings of hys maieſty, ſet foorth for reformation of errors, ſuperſtitions, and other abuſes of religion.

Wincheſter.

Wincheſter releaſed out of the Fleete by the kinges generall pardon.

The article of Iuſtification put to Wincheſter.

Wincheſter priſoner in his own houſe.

Wincheſter denyeth to ſubſcribe to the article of Iuſtification.

M. Cicill ſent to Wincheſter

Wincheſter agayne ſet free.

This article toucheth other mens actes, who or how they are complayned or enformed, I cannot throughly tel. For at the tyme of the kings Maieſties viſitation, I was in the Fleete, and the morrow after twelfe day I was deliuered at Hampton court, my L. of Somerſet, and my L. of Caunterbury then being in counſaile with many other counſailors, & was deliuered by theſe words: The kings maieſty hath granted a generall pardon, and by the benefite thereof, I was diſcharged. wherunto I anſwered, that I was learned neuer to refuſe the kings maieſties pardon, and in ſtrength as that was: and I would & did humbly thanke his maieſty therfore, and then they began with me in an article of learnyng touching iuſtification, whereunto they willed me to ſay my mynd, adding therwith, that becauſe other learned men had agreed to a forme deliuered vnto me, that I ſhould not thinke I could alter it: which I receiued of them, and promiſed the Thurſday after to repayre to my L. of Somerſets houſe at Sheene, with my mynd written: which I did, and that day ſeuennight followyng, appearing before hym and other of the counſaile, was committed to my houſe for priſoner, becauſe I refuſed to ſubſcribe to the forme of words & ſentēces that other had agreed vnto (as they ſaid.) In which tyme of impriſonment in my houſe, the Biſh. of Rocheſter then being as ſent to me, and after M. Smith, & then M. Cecil, to which M. Cecil, when I had by learnyng reſolued my mynde in the matter, I deliuered it, and he deliuering it to my lords Grace, wrote me in hys name, thanks for it: and then it was within the tyme of Lent, ere I was diſcharged of yͤ trouble, and ſo went to Wincheſter as a man clearely out of all trauell of buſines.

Wincheſter ſent for to the Coūſaile..

Wincheſter ſicke.

Wincheſter cōmeth at laſt in a horſelitter.

And within 14. daies after that, or there abouts, began other trauell with me, vpon a requeſt made by my Lord of Somerſet to ſurrender a colledge in Cambridge, & diuers letters were written betwene his grace & me in it. wherin I might perceiue the Secretary in his pen toke occaſiō to pricke me more, then I truſted my Lords grace himſelf would haue done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then ſhortly after I receiued letters to come to yͤ counſaile, & by reaſon I alledged my diſeaſe, I was reſpited by other letters, & three days before whitſontide, receiued yet other letters to come, by which it myght ſeeme vnto me, that it was not of all beleued that I was diſeaſed, & therfore with all expeditiō when I could not ride, I came in an horſelitter, and according to my ductie preſented my ſelfe to my Lordes of the counſaile, who all then entertained me ſecretly among them before the matters were obiected vnto me, as I had bene in the ſame place with them that I was in our late ſoueraigne lords days. Afterwards my L. of Somerſets Grace charged me with theſe matters followyng, & in this forme, hauing the articles written in a paper. Firſt, with diſobedience that I came not at hys ſending for. wherunto I anſwered, that I had his letters of licence, to ſtay til I might come conueniently. And vpō the laſt letters I came incontinently in a horſlitter.

Wincheſter charged with diſobedience.

Then it was obiected yͭ I bare Palmes, & crept to the croſſe. wherunto I anſwered, that they were miſinformed and I truſted they would not thinke I durſt deny it, if I had done it, becauſe ceremonies had ſuch circumſtaunces, as I might eaſily be reproued, if it were otherwiſe.

Then it was obiected, that at Eaſter I had a ſolemne ſepulchre in the church, and ſuch other ceremonies. I aunſwered, that I had euen as many as the kings Maieſties proclamations commanded me, declaring plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the kings maieſties proclamation, adding how he that followeth as he is commaunded, is very obedient.

Winche charged to deface ca taine of the kings chap leins.

It was then obiected vnto me, yͭ I went about to deface two of the kings maieſties chaplens, ſent downe to be Canons of the church of Wincheſter. wherunto I anſwered, declaring the fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to iuſtify. After this matter thus oft obiected & aunſwered, I was commaunded to go apart, and beyng called in againe, my L. of Somerſets grace looking vpon a bill of Articles, ſayd I had preached how the Apoſtles went from the preſence of the counſaile, of the counſail, of the counſail, which matter I denied, addyng that it was not my faſhion of preaching ſo to play in iteration of words.

Reall pre ſence.

After that, it was obiected vnto me for preaching of the Sacrament, to ſay: the bodye of Chriſt was really preſent being a faulte to vſe the worde really, not compriſed in the Scripture. wherunto I aunſwered that I did not vſe the word really, whiche needeth not. For as I once heard my Lord of Caunterbury reaſon agaynſt one Lambert in the preſence of the kinges Maieſtie that dead is: the words of ſcripture, This is my body that ſhalbe betrayed for you, do playnely and liuely expreſſe the very preſence: and ſo did I ſet it forth to the people in my dioces. And this is the effect of all that was ſayd agaynſt me at my being at the Counſayle, as I can remember. To whome I declared howe much I eſteemed obedience, and tolde them I had taught in my dioces, how the whole life of a Chriſtian man conſiſteth in ſuffring properly. And therfore we may not do our own wil, but yͤ will of God. And among men we muſt eyther ſuffer the rulers will, or their power, their will to order vs, & their power to puniſh vs. After declaratiō wherof my Lorde of Somerſet ſayde, ye muſt tary in the towne. whereunto I aunſwered, I woulde be contented at theyr commaundement or pleaſure to tary: but ſeeing I was no offender, I deſired them I might not tary as an offender: and for declaration thereof, that I might haue ſome houſe in the country about London, to remoue vnto for a ſhifte. In deuiſing whereof I ſtack much to borrow Aſſhar. My Lorde of Somerſet ſaide, if he had any in fayth he woulde lend me one. And in the end my Lord of Somerſet deſired me to write what my minde was in ceremonies and to ſend it vnto him, and with that departed.

Wynche comma ded to at Lo

Wynche comma ded to his mind cerem

M. Phil compla vpon Winche

Thus I haue truely opened after what ſorte I haue bene complayned on, yͭ hath certaynly come to my knowledge. Truth it is that one Philpot in Wincheſter, whome I accompted altered in his wittes (as I heard) deuiſed tales of me, the ſpecialties whereof I neuer was called to aunſwere vnto. Players and minſtrels alſo rayled on me, & other made ballades and rimes of me, but neuer mā had iuſt cauſe to cōplaine of any my ſayings, doinges, or preachings, or to my knowledge did otherwiſe, then afore. And if any man ſhall put me in remembraunce of any other cōplaynt that might in my abſence be made of me: If I haue heard it, I wil graūt ſo. But well aſſured I am, I was neuer complayned on, & called to make anſwer to yͤ cōplaint, but this one time in all my whole lyfe by no man of anye degree. Once yͤ Lord Cromwell, God pardon his ſoule & forgeue him, cauſed one day & a half to be ſpent in a matter betwene ſir Frances Brian & me, which was ended, & I declared an honeſt man which the kings maieſty that dead is, God pardon hys ſoule, ſet forth with his familiaritie to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble yͭ I haue had in my life, ſauing yͤ ſending to the Fleete, beyng occaſioned by my owne letter to the counſail vpon a zeale that I had, which they allowed not, and finally, this ſending of me, to yͤ Tower, which was without calling me before the counſaile, to heare what I could ſay. I am loth to be forſworn: and therfore accompt all the complaints in my whole lyfe made againſt me, wherunto I haue bene made priuy.

Wynche neuer how of hath bene called to coun.

The 7. Article.

Item, that after and vpon occaſion of thoſe and many other complaints and informations, you haue bene ſundry tymes admoniſhed, commanded, and enioyned to conforme your ſelfe, as to your duetie appertained.

Wynche admon ſhould forme ſelfe.

Wincheſter.

To this ſeuenth Article I anſwer: I was neuer afore the counſaile called by way of outward complaint and information, but onely once in all my whole life, which was at my laſt comming to London. wherunto I aunſwered (as afore) & haue told the forme & proceſſe of ſpeech to ſerue for furniture of aunſwer, to this and that Article: for other then I haue before written, I remember not to haue done or ſuffred by the higher powers in all my whole life, til my comming into the tower, without that I haue had any by admonitions, as a mā faulty or negligent at any time that I remember, for the obſeruatiō of any thyng alredy made or ſet forth by yͤ kings maieſty that now is, but haue kept, & cauſed to be kept in my power the kings maieſties acts, ſtatutes, iniunctions, and proclamations inuiolably, ha-

uing

nings for that purpoſe ſuch a Chauncellor, as in orders & ordinaunces hath bene alwayes himſelfe diligent and preciſe for that tyme I might haue knowledge of his doings.

The 8. Article.

Item, that after the premiſſes, & for that thoſe former admonitiõs & comandements, notwithſtandyng you did yet ſtil ſhew your ſelfe not conformable, & for that alſo others by your example were much animated, & thereby occaſion of much vnquietneſſe miniſtred amongeſt the people, you were called before the kings maieſties counſaile in the month of Iune, in the 2. yeare of his maieſties raigne, and by them on his maieſties behalfe, commanded to preach a Sermon before his maieſtie, and therein to declare the iuſtneſſe and godlyneſſe of his maieſties father in his proceedings vpon certayne matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you deliuered in wrytyng, and partly otherwiſe declared vnto you.

The effect wherof was touchyng the vſurped power and authoritie of the B. of Rome, that the ſame was iuſtly and godly taken away in this realme, and other the kings maieſties dominions: touchyng the iuſt ſuppreſſing and taking away of monaſteries and religious houſes, of Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines, Images.

The ſuperſtitious goyng about of S. Nicholas biſhop, S. Edmund, S. Katherine, S. Clement, and ſuch lyke: and iuſt takyng away of Chaunteries, Abbies and Colledges, hallowyng of cãdels, water, aſhes, Palme, holy bread, beades, creeping to the croſſe & ſuch lyke.

Alſo, touching the ſettyng forth of the kinges maieſties authoritie in his yong yeares to be as great as if his highneſſe were of many more yeares.

That auricular confeſſion is indifferent, and of no neceſſitie by the law of God: and touching the proceſſion and Common prayer in Engliſh.

Wincheſter.

This Article beyng of ſo many partes as it is, ſome true, ſome otherwiſe, muſt be anſwered by deuiſion of it in to diuers members, to deuide the one from the other, grauntyng that is true, deniyng that is otherwiſe, & opening that is ambiguous, auoydyng yͭ is captious, ſo as accordyng to my oth, I may open directly & plainly the truth, with ſincerity of conſcience. The motion of preaching was made vnto me in mine owne houſe by M. Cecill, vpon the duke of Somerſets behalfe, after I had bene before yͤ counſaile, as I haue before ſayd: from which Counſaile I departed (as before is rehearſed) as no offender, & therfore when M. Cicil ſpake to me of preaching before the kings Maieſtie, with requeſt to wryte my ſermon before, I denied that maner of preaching, becauſe I ſaid it was to preach like an offender, and I was none, but departed from the Counſaile otherwiſe as I haue before ſhewed. And the ſayde M. Cicil did not ſay to me that I was moued to preach, becauſe I was not conformable: for I had at that tyme no maner of variance with the Counſaile, but was in all conformity with them for any thyng that I know, as I will aunſwer afore God.

As for euil example to any man, I could none geue, for I neuer offended law, ſtatute, or proclamatiõ in this realm, nor did euer any act to the empairing of due obedience to yͤ kings maieſtie in all my whole lyfe, but by obſeruation of them, and letting innouations, done as much as in me lay to maintaine obedience.

After M. Cecill had ſpoken to me of preaching, & deliuered two papers conteining the matters whereupon I ſhould entreat, becauſe I refuſed to geue my ſermõ in wryting (which was to me like an offẽder, or to read thoſe papers of another mãs deuiſe, as the conception and ſincere maner of vttering of mine own cõſciẽce) which me thoght then and ſince, yet a meruailous vnreaſonable mater touching both my conſcience and honeſty) I was then ſet to the duke of Somerſets graces chamber, and came in at a backe dore to himſelf alone, ſauing he toke to him as witnes he ſaid, the L. now of Wilſhire, then great maiſter, & after many words, ſhewed me certaine articles ſubſcribed by Lawyers, what a B. might command, & what the king might command, and what payne to the diſobeyer.

To whom I ſaid plainly & truly, how thoſe Lawyers ſubſcription could not ſerue in this caſe to commaund one to vtter to the people for myne own deuiſe in words, that is not in deed ſo: and if I might ſpeake with theſe lawyers (I ſayd) his grace ſhould ſoone perceiue them to agree with me. My L. ſayd, I ſhould ſpeake with no man, and I ſhould do as I was bidden, or do worſe, and bade mee aduiſe me till dinner was done. And then was I conueyed by the L. great Maiſter to hys chamber, and there left alone to dyne, as was in deede honourably prepared. But I toke my ſelfe to be in the nature of a priſoner, and a reſtrayned man.

And about two of the clocke at after noone, came vnto me M. Thomas Smith then Secretary, vnto whome I complained of the vnreaſonablenes of the matter, & ſhewed him certaine particularities, who ſayd it was not ment ſo preciſely, but to ſpeake of the matters. To whõ I ſayd, I was content to ſpeake of the matters, and thẽ if I ſpeake not accordyng to the truth of them, there ſhould be enough to beare witneſſe to my condemnation, and if I ſpake the truth, then they had their deſire. And I ſayde further, I thought I might with my conſcience ſay ſo as men ought and ſhould be content & ſatiſfied. And further if I thought that in my maner of the vtteryng of thoſe matters, I ſhold offend the Counſaile, I had rather deny to ſpeake of the thing, and begin the contention ſecretly with them, then to begin with pulpit, and ſo bring my ſelfe in further trouble then needed, and therfore if they would haue me preach, I would preach as of my ſelfe, and of theſe matters, ſo as I thought they ſhould be content.

Syr Tho. Smith Secretary.

Wherupon I was brought vp to my L. of Somerſets chamber, and there the matter ended thus, that my L. of Somerſet ſayde he would require no wrytyng of me, but remit it to me, ſo I ſpake of yͤ matters in the papers deliuered me by M. Cicill. I told hym I would ſpeake of thẽ, ſauing for childrens toyes of goyng about of S. Nicholas and S. Clement. If that be now gone (quoth I) and forgotten, if I be to buſy in reherſall of them, they will ſay I comber their heads with ceremonies, and thus they wyll defame me: when ceremonies were plenty, they will ſay, I did nothyng but preach on them, and now they be gone, I babble of thẽ ſtill. I ſayd I would teach yͤ chiefe points, addyng that I would ſpeake of other matters alſo, & with that, beyng put to my liberty to chooſe the day, departed: and otherwyſe I was not ſpoken with concernyng preachyng, ſauyng after M. Cicill came vnto me, whereof I ſhall ſpeake anone.

Wincheſter walketh here ſubtilly.

As concernyng the matters to bee ſpoken of, all ſuch things as be here reherſed, be named in the papers, deliuered vnto me, although not altogether after this ſort: ſauyng the ſetting forth of the kings maieſties authority in his minoritie, whereof there is no worde in thoſe papers, nor there was neuer any promiſe made of me to ſpeake of it. Truth it is, yͭ after I had ſignified the day whẽ I wold preach, M. Cicil came vnto me making the chiefe meſſage to know the day when I would preach: to whome I had ſent word before that it ſhould be S. Peters day, becauſe me thought the goſpell ſerued well for that purpoſe, & in proceſſe of communication he told me that he lyked gaily well a word that I had ſayd in another communication. How a king was as much a kyng at one yeare of age, as at one hundred yeares of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him agayne, euery mã knew that, and then opened of my ſelfe the matter further.

Wyncheſters opinion of the kinges minority.

And at his next repayre vnto me, which was the mõday before I preached, the ſayd M. Cicil brought me papers of the kings maieſties hand, ſhewing me how his hyghneſſe vſed to note euery notable ſentence, and ſpecially if it touched a kyng, and therfore (quoth he) if ye ſpeake of a kyng, ye muſt ioyne Counſaile withall. Whereunto I made no anſwer, but ſhifted to other matter, without making hym any promiſe or deniall, becauſe I would neyther bind my ſelfe, nor trouble my ſelfe to diſcuſſe that matter. For albeit it is godly and wiſely done of euery Prince to vſe Counſaile, yet ſpeaking of a kings power by ſcripture, I cannot by expreſſe ſcripture limite the kings power by counſayle. And hearyng blyndly by report ſome ſecret matter, that I will not ſpeake of here, I thought not to meddle with it in the pulpet: and yet to the effect to haue our ſoueraigne L. now obeyed, of which mind I was euer, I pointed to our ſoueraigne L. there in preſence, & ſayd he was onely to be obeyed, and I would haue but one kyng, and other words to that purpoſe. But for any promiſe to be made by me, I vtterly deny it, and tell plainly the cauſe why I ſpake not otherwyſe of it. There was alſo in the papers deliuered vnto me, occaſion geuen me to ſpeak of the Maſſe, becauſe of Maſſes ſatiſfactory, as ſome vnderſtand them. And alſo there was occaſion to ſpeake of the ſacrament of the aulter, becauſe of the proclamation paſſed of the ſame, which to be true, I ſhall iuſtifie by the ſayd papers.

M. Cicills repayre agayne to Wyncheſter.

Wincheſter maketh dãgerous ſpeaking of the king, to ioyne Counſayle withall.

The 9. Article.

The 9. article.

Item, that you receiuyng the ſame, and promiſing to declare the ſame in a Sermon by you made before hys maieſtie for that purpoſe on the feaſt of S. Peter, in the ſayd 2. yeare of hys raygne, did then and there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omitte to declare and ſet forth many of the ſayd matters, and of dyuers others of the ſayd Articles, you ſpake and vttered your mynde in ſuch doubtfull ſort, as the iuſtneſſe and godlyneſſe of his Maieſties fathers and hys proceedings, was not ſet foorth accordyng to the commaundement geuen vnto you, and your own promiſe, to the great offence of the hearers, and manifeſt contempt of hys maieſtie, and dangerous example of others.

Wincheſter.

Anſwere to the 9. article.

Omiſſion by contempt.

Touching yͤ promiſe I anſwer as afore, & as touchyng omiſſion of yͭ I ſhoulde haue ſpoken of, by contẽpt or diſobediẽce, I anſwer by mine oth: I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contẽpt or diſobediẽce: for I euer minded to ſatiſfy yͤ promiſe, to ſpeak of all matters in thoſe papers, according to my former declaratiõ. And if I did percaſe omit any thing (wherof I cã make now no aſſurance being ij. yeres & a half paſt ſince I preached) but if I did omit any thing, who knew my trauel in yͭ matter, wold not maruel, being troubled wt a letter ſent from yͤ duke of Somerſet, wherof I ſhal ſpeake after. So as frõ 4. of yͤ clock, on thurſday, till I had done my ſermon on yͤ friday, I did neither drinke, eat, ne ſleepe, ſo careful was I to paſſe ouer yͤ trauel of preching, without all ſlander of the truth, wt ſatiſfaction of my promiſe, & diſcharge of my duety to God & yͤ kings moſt excellẽt maieſty. wherin, whether any thyng were omitted or not, I could haue anſwered more preciſely thẽ I can now, if according to my moſt inſtãt ſute, & the ſute of my ſeruants, yͤ matter had bene heard while it was in freſh memory. But becauſe omiſſiõ may be by infirmity of nature, in which obliuiõ is a payn of our original ſinne, in which caſe it is no mortal offence, if a man beyng put in remẽbrance will purge it, I therfore according to the true teſtimony of mine own conſciẽce, dare yͤ more boldly deny all contempt & diſobedience, hauing for my declaratiõ a general ſentence ſpoken in my ſermon, yͭ I agreed with the vpper part in their lawes, orders & commaundements, or ſuch like words, & found only fault in the lower part. By which ſentence appeared, how I allowed in yͤ whole, that was paſt therherto, & only diſſented frõ the doings of thẽ yͭ attempt innouations of their own preſumption. And furthermore I ſay, yͭ that ſaieng [omiſſion] here obiected vnto me, if it were true as I know it not to be, may happen two wais: one way by infirmity of nature, another way of purpoſe. charity of a chriſtẽ mã permitteth not to determine yͤ worſt of that is doubtful & ambiguous to both parties: as touching doutfulnes obiected. I take god to record I minded to ſpeake ſimply, & to be on yͤ kings maieſties ſide only, & not to go inuiſible in the world, wt ambiguities eſteeming him, &c. The worſt mã of all is, yͭ wil make himſelf a lock of words & ſpeech, which is known not to be my factiõ, nor I think this life worth yͤ diſſimulation, & how can yͭ be a doubtful ſpeech in him, yͭ profeſſeth to agree with the kings lawes, iniunctions & ſtatutes, which I did expreſly. There be yͭ cal a doubt whatſoeuer ſerueth not theyr appetite. It is not in yͤ ſpeaker to ſatiſfy the hearer yͭ will doubt where dout is not. The ſume of my teaching was, yͭ all viſible things be ordred to ſerue vs, which we may in conueniẽt ſeruice vſe. And whẽ we ſerue them, yͭ is an abuſe, and may thẽ at yͤ rulers pleaſure, vnles ſcripture appointeth a ſpecial vſe of thẽ, be corrected in yͤ vſe, or takẽ away for reformatiõ. And this is a plain teaching yͭ hath no dout in it, but a yea & a nay on ij. ſides, wtout a mean to make a dout, And if any yͭ douteth cõmeth vnto me, I wil reſolue him yͤ doubt as I can. And if I promiſed to ſpeake plainly or am cõmanded to ſpeake plainly & cãnot, thẽ is my fault to promiſe only in the nature of folly & ignorance, whereunto I reſort, not for a ſhift, wherof in deed I profeſſe yͤ knowlege but to ſhew how ſomtime to my hinderaunce, I am noted learned that can ſpeake plainly, and yet ſpeake doubtfully, other whiles am reiected as one yͭ vnderſtandeth not the matter at all. As touching contẽpt, there can be none: manifeſt yͭ proceedeth of a priuy promiſe if I had broken it, I intended not, but intẽded to take it, as appereth by my general ſentence, to agre wt the ſuperiors, & only find fault in yͤ inferior ſubiects, who daily tranſgreſſeth the kings maieſties proclamations and other, wherof I ſpake then.

Wincheſters diſtinctiõ betwene the vpper parte and lower part of the lawes.

Omiſſion excuſed by a diſtinction.

A locke of wordes, that is, to open & ſhutte agayne as they lyſte.

Aunſwere, by wordes to omiſſion in deedes.

10 article.

The 10. Article.

Item, that you beyng alſo commaunded on his Maieſties behalfe, for the auoyding of tumult, and for other great conſiderations inhibited to treate of any matter in controuerſie concernyng the maſſe of the cõmunion, then cõmonly called the ſacrament of the aulter, did contrary to the ſaid commandement and inhibition, declare diuers your iudgements and opinions in the ſame, in the manifeſt contempt of hys highnes ſayd inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers and diſturbance of common quiet and vnitie of the realme.

Wincheſter.

Aunſwere to he 10. Article. M. Cicill.

To the x. article the ſaid B. anſwered, yͭ the wedneſday at after noone, next before yͤ friday whẽ I preached, M. Cicil came to me, & hauing in all his other acceſſes ſpoken no word therof, did thẽ vtter & aduiſe me frõ yͤ D. of Somerſet, yͭ I ſhould not ſpeake of the ſacrament, or of the Maſſe, wherby he ſaid I ſhould auoid trouble. And when he ſaw me not take it wel, I meane (quoth he) doubtfull matters. I aſked him what? He ſaid tranſubſtantiation. I told hym he wiſt not what tranſubſtantiation ment. I wyll preach (quoth I) the very preſence of Chriſts moſt precious body & bloud in the ſacrament, which is the catholike faith, & no doubtful matter, ne yet in controuerſie, ſauing that certein vnlearned ſpeake of it, they wot not what. And among the matters quoth I, whereof I haue promiſed to ſpeake, I muſt by ſpecial words ſpeake of the ſacrament & the maſſe alſo. And when I ſhal ſo ſpeake of thẽ. I will not forbeare to vtter my faith & true beliefe therin, which I think neceſſary for the kings maieſty to know: & therfore if I wiſt to be hãged when I came downe, I would ſpeake it. which plaine zeale of my conſcience, groũded vpõ gods commandement to do his meſſage truly, I would not hide, but vtter ſo, as my L. ſhould, if he would not haue it ſpoken of, nor let me to come there as he might haue done, where as els, if I had had a deceitful purpoſe, I might haue accepted the aduiſe, & wtout any color of trouble, haue refuſed to folow it as a thing groũded vpon welth only, as it was thẽ vttered. With this my anſwer M. Cicil departed, & vpon yͤ thurſday which was the next day folowing, & the euening before I preached, betwene 3. & 4. at after noone, I receiued a letter ſigned with the hand of the D. of Somerſet (the copy wherof I am redy to exhibite) & took it them, & eſteemed it ſo now to continue no effectuall inhibition wherunto I might by gods law, or the kings maieſties laws with diſcharge of my conſcience & duety obey, although the ſaid letters had bene (as they were not) in ſuch termes framed, as had preciſely forbidden me (as they did not) but onely to ſpeake of matters in controuerſy of the ſacrament, which in deed I did not, but only vttered a truth to my conſciẽce, moſt certainly perſwaded of the moſt holy ſacrament, neceſſary to be known to the kings maieſty, & to be vttered by me admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commandeth his truth to be vttered, which in this nature of truth (the vndue eſtimation and vſe wherof, S. Paule threatneth with temporall death) may in no wiſe be omitted. So as I was and am perſwaded the right eſtimation of the ſacrament, to be to acknowledge the very preſence of the ſame moſt precious body and bloud preſent in the Sacrament to feed vs, that was geuen to redeeme vs. If I ſhewed not my ſoueraigne Lord the truth therof, I for my part ſuffer hym wittingly to fall into that extreme danger of body, which S Paule threateneth, whoſe perſon I am bound by nature, by ſpeciall othes, by Gods lawes to preſerue to my power as I will do, and muſt do, by all ways and meanes. And if the Kings Maieſtie doth vouchſafe to teache hys people not to obey hys commaundement, where God commaundeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of Somerſets letter for an inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to ſpeake as he doth whẽ the wolfe commeth, and not to hide my ſelfe in ſilence, which is the moſt ſhamefull runnyng away of all. I haue muche matter to alledge againſt the letter why I ſhould not credite it, written in his name alone, againſt a common letter (as I tooke it) written by hym and the counſaile, and publiſhed in print the firſt day of the ſaid month, which maintaineth my preachyng of the ſacrament & maſſe, accordyng to the proclamations and iniunctions: the violation of which publike letters, had bene a diſorder and contempt, where as I neither offended in the one, nor the other.

And as for tumult, none could reaſonably be feared of any thing ſpoken agreable to the kings maieſties lawes, as there did folow none, nor the people, or any man did offer my perſon any wrong, or make tumult againſt me, notwithſtanding players, ieſters, rimers, balladmakers, did ſignify me to be of the true catholike faith, which I accordyng to my dutie declared to the kings maieſty, from whõ I may hide no truth that I thinke expedient for hym to know. And as the name of God cannot be vſed of any creature agaynſt God, no more can the kings name, beyng vſed of any ſubiect againſt his highnes. wherfore ſeyng the abuſe of this holy ſacrament hath in it a danger aſſured by ſcripture of body & ſoule, whoſoeuer is perſwaded in yͤ catholike faith (as I am) findeth himſelf ſo burdened to vtter that vnto his maieſty, as no worldly loſſe cã let him to do his duty in that behalfe, and much leſſe my Lordes priuate letters written without other of the counſails hands.

The 11. Article.

Item, that after the premiſſes, viz. in the month of May or Iune or one of them, in the 3. yeare of his hyghnes raigne, his maieſtye ſent eftſoones vnto you to know your conformitie towards hys ſayd reformations, and ſpecially touchyng the booke of common prayer then lately ſet foorth by hys maieſtie, whereunto you at the ſame tyme refuſed to ſhew your ſelfe conformable.

Wincheſter.

To the xi. article for anſwer and declaration therof, he ſayd: The next day at after noone after he had preached, when he looked for no ſuch matter, came to his houſe the right worſhipfull Sir Anthony wingfield, and Sir Rafe

Sadler

Anno 1550.

Sadler knightes, accompanied wyth a great nomber of the gard, and vſed themſelues for their part according to theyr worſhips, and (I doubt not) as they were appoynted, Sir Rafe Sadler begã thus wͭ me: My L. (ſaid he) ye preached yeſterday obedience, but ye did not obey your ſelfe, & went forth wͭ his meſſage very ſoberly as he can, and diſcretely. I aſked him wherein I obeied not. He ſayde, touching my L. of Somerſets letter. Maiſter Sadler, quoth I, I pray you ſay to my Lords grace, I would he neuer made mention of that letter, for the loue I beare him. And yet quoth I, I haue not broken that letter, & I was mineded, quoth I, to haue wrytten to my L. vpon the receipt of it, and loe, quoth I, ye may ſee how I begã, and ſhewed him (becauſe we were then in my ſtudy) the beginning of my letter, and reaſoned with him for declaration of my ſelfe, and told him therwith, I wil not ſpend, quoth I, many wordes wͭ you, for I cã not alter this determination. And yet in good faith quoth I, my maner to you, and this declaration may haue this effecte, that I be gently handled in the priſone, and for that purpoſe I pray you, make ſute on my behalfe.

Maiſter wingfield laide his hand on my ſhoulder, and areſted me in yͤ kings name for diſobedience. I aſked them whether I ſhoulde. They ſayde to the Tower. Finally I deſired them that I might be ſpoken wyth ſhortly, & heard what I could ſay for my ſelfe, and praied them to be ſuters in it, and ſo they ſaide they would.

After yͭ I was once in the tower, vntill it was within 6. dayes of one whole yere, I could heare no maner word, meſſage, comfort, or relief, ſauing once when I was ſicke, and me thought ſome extremity towardes me, my Chaplaine had licence to come to me for one time, & then denied againe, being aunſwered that my feuer was but a tertian, which my ſaid Chaplaine tolde me when he came to me at the Eaſter followinge, and there beinge wyth me from the morning till night on Eaſter day departed, and for no ſute could neuer haue him ſince. To M. Lieſtenant I made diuers ſutes to prouoke the duke of Somerſets grace to hear me. And if I might haue the liberty of an Engliſh man, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, ſtatute, acte, proclamation nor his own letter neither, but al wold not help, & I ſhal report me to M. Lieſtenãt whether in al this time I maligned, grudged or vſed any vnſemely wordes, euer demanding iuſtice, & to be heard according to iuſtice. when I had bene thus in the tower one whole yeare within 6. daies or 7. as I remember, came to the Tower the Lord Chanceller of England, now being the L. Treaſurer, and maſter Secretarye Peter, who calling me vnto them, as I remember, entred this: They ſayde they hadde brought with them a booke paſſed by the parlament, which they would I ſhould looke on and ſay my minde to it, and vpon my conformitie in it, my Lord of Somerſet would be ſuter to the kings maieſtie for mercy to be miniſtred to me. whervnto I anſwered that I truſted if I might be heard, the kings Maieſties iuſtice would releue me, which I had long ſued for, and could not be heard. And to ſue for mercy, quoth I, when I haue not in my conſcience offended, and alſo to ſue out of thys place, wher aſking of mercy, emploieth a further ſuſpition then I woulde be for all the worlde touched in it, were not expedient. And therefore, quoth I, not guiltie is and hath bene allowed a good plee for a priſoner. Then my Lord ſayd, why quoth he, were ye not commaunded to preache of the kings authoritie in his younge age, & yet did not? I told him I was not commaunded. Is not (quoth he) that Article in the papers yee had deliuered you? I aſſured him no.

And after communication of the kings Maieſties authority wherein was no diſagrement, then my lord Chancellor ſaid I had diſobeied my Lordes graces letter. I told him I thought not, and if the matter came to iudgement, it ſhould appeare. And then I ſayd to him, my Lord howe many open iniunctions vnder Seale and in open Courte haue bene broken in this Realme? the puniſhment wherof hath not ben handled after this ſort, & yet I would ſtande in defence yͭ I had not broken his letter, waying the wordes of the letter, wherein I reaſoned with M. Peter Secretarie what a controuerſie was, and ſome part what I could ſay further. But what ſo euer I canne ſaye (quoth I) you muſt iudge it, and for the paſſion of God do it, and then let me ſue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is knowen if I will haue it. But when I am (quoth I) declared an offender, I will with humilitie of ſuffering make amendes to the kings Maieſtie, ſo farre as I am able: for I ſhoulde neuer offend him, and much leſſe in his yong age.

My L. Chancelor then ſhewed me the beginning of the acte for common prayer, how dangerous it was to breake the order of it, I told him that it was true, & therefore if I came abroade, I would be wel ware of it. But it is (quoth I) after in the act how no man ſhould be troubled for this act, vnles he were firſt indited, and therefore (quoth I,) I may not be kept in priſone for this acte. Ah (quoth he) I perceiue ye knowe the lawe well enough, I tolde hym my Chaplaine had brought it vnto mee the after noone before. Then they required me to looke on the boke, and to ſay my minde in it. I anſweared that I thought not mete to yelde my ſelfe a ſcholler to go to ſchoole in priſon, & then ſlaunder my ſelfe as though I redemed my faults with my conſcience. As touching the law which I know not, I wil honor it like a ſubiect, and if I keepe it not, I wil willingly ſuffer the paine of it. And what more conformitie I ſhould ſhew, I cannot tell, for mine offences be paſt if there be any. If I haue not ſuffred enough I will ſuffer more, if vpon examination I be found faulty, & as for this new law, if I keepe it not, puniſh me likewiſe.

Then my Lorde Chauncelloure aſked mee whether I would not deſire the kings Maieſtie to be my good Lorde. At which worde I ſayde: alas my Lorde (quoth I) doe yee thinke that I haue ſo forgotten my ſelfe? My ducty (quoth I) requireth ſo, and I will on my knees deſire hym to be my good Lord and my Lord Protectour alſo quoth I, that is wel ſayd quoth my Lord Chaunceler. And what will ye ſay further, quoth my L. Chanceler, In good faith quoth I thys, that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and thinke ſo ſtill, and had it not ben for the article of the ſupremacie, I woulde haue rather fayned my ſelfe ſicke, then be occaſion of this that hathe followed: but going to the Pulpit, I muſt needes ſay as I ſayde. well quoth my lord Chanceler, let vs go to our purpoſe again. Ye will quoth he, deſire the kings maieſtie to be your good Lord, and my Lord Protectour alſo, and ye ſay ye thought not to haue offended. All this I will ſay quoth I. And yee wil (quoth my Lord Chanceler) ſubmit your ſelfe to be ordered by my Lorde Protector. Nay (quoth I) by the lawe for my Lord Protectour quoth I hath ſcourged mee ouerſore this yere, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter poynte I varyed with my Lorde Chauncellour, when I could not refer my order to my Lord Protectour, but to the law, and ſtaying at this poynt they were cōtent to graunt me of their gentlenes to make their ſute to procure me to be heard, and to obtaine me libertie to goe in the galery, and that I ſhould heare of one of them within two daies following. I deſired them to remember that I refuſed not the boke by way of contempt, nor in no euil maner, but yͭ I was loth to yelde my ſelfe a ſcholer in the Tower, and to be ſeene to redeme my faults if I had any, with my conſcience. My body I ſayde, ſhoulde ſerue my conſcience, but not contrariwiſe. And this is the truth vpon my conſcience and othe that was done and ſaid at their comming. There was more ſayde to the purpoſes aforeſayde. And I binde not my ſelfe to the preciſe forme of wordes, but to the ſubſtaunce of the matter and faſhion of the intreating. So neare as I can remember, I haue truely diſcharged mine oth: But I heard no more of my matter in one whole yere after almoſt wythin 14. dayes notwithſtãding two letters wrytten by me to the Counſaile, of moſt humble requeſt to be heard according to iuſtice. And then at yͤ ende of 2. yeres almoſt, came vnto me the Duke of Somerſet with other of the counſel, which matter becauſe it is left out here, I ſhall not touch but prepare it in a matter aparte, for declaration of my behauiour at all times.

The 12. Article.

Item, that after that. &c. the 9. day of Iuly, in the 4. yeare of his Maieſties raign, his highnes ſent vnto you his graces letters, with a certaine ſubmiſsion and Articles, whereunto his grace willed and commaunded you to ſubſcribe, to whiche ſubmiſsion, you contemptuouſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.

Wincheſter.

To the 12. article for anſwer therunto, he graunted that about the time mentioned in this Article, the Lorde Treaſurer, the Erle of warwike lord great maiſter, ſir william Harbert, and M. Secretary Peter, came to the tower: and called me before them, and deliuered vnto me the Kynges maieſties letters which I haue to ſhew, and receiued them at the handes of the lord Treaſurer vpon my knees, kiſſed them as my duety was, and ſtill vpon my knees red them, where as they right gently required me to take more eaſe, & to go apart with them, & conſider them, which after that I had throughly read, I much lamented that I ſhould be commaunded to ſay of my ſelfe as was there wrytten, and to ſay otherwiſe of my ſelfe then my conſcience will ſuffer me, & where I truſt my dedes wil not condemne me, therto condemne my ſelfe wͭ my tongue, I ſhould ſooner (quoth I to them) by commaundement: thinke if ye would bid me to tumble my ſelfe deſperately into the Thames.

My lord of warwicke ſeeing me in that agonye, ſayde: what ſay ye my Lorde, quoth he, to the other Articles? I aunſwered that I was loth to diſobey, where I might obey,

Wynchester arested. Wynchester committed to the tower.

The Lord Chauncellour and Secretary Peter commeth to Wynchester in the tower.

Wynchester denyeth to sue for mercy.

Talke betweene the Lord Chauncellour and Wynchester in the tower.

Wynchester will acknowledge no offence.

Winchester wil not go to ſcoole in priſon.

Wyncheſter deſireth the king to be his good Lord.

Wincheſter yet will not confeſſe himſelfe to be an offender.

Wincheſter will not ſubmit himſelfe to the Lord Protector but to the law.

The kings letter deliuered to Wincheſter in the tower.

Other articles put to Winchester.

The article which touched him, was the firſt article, preſcribing him to ſubſcribe, which article he wiſheth here to be put out.

bey and not wraſt my conſcience, deſtroying the comfort of it, as to ſay vntruely of my ſelfe. Well, quoth my Lorde of Warwicke, will ye ſubſcribe to the other Articles? I tolde him I would. But then, quoth I, the Article that toucheth me, muſt be put out. I was anſwered that needeth not, for I might wryte on the one ſide what I woulde ſay vnto it: and then my Lorde of Warwicke entertained mee verye gently, and would needes whiles I ſhould write, haue me ſit downe by him, and when hee ſawe me make ſomewhat ſtraunge ſo to do, he pulled me nearer him, and ſaid we had ere this ſit together, & truſted we ſhould do ſo againe. And then hauing pen & inke geuen me, I wrote as I remember, on the Article that touched me, theſe wordes: I can not with my conſcience ſay this of my ſelfe, or ſuch like wordes. And there folowed an Article of the kings Maieſties primacie, and I began to write on the ſide of that, & had made an I, onward as may appere by the articles, & they would not haue me do ſo, but write onely my name after theyr articles: which I did. Whereat becauſe they ſhewed themſelues pleaſed and content: I was bold to tel them merely that by this meane, I hadde placed my ſubſcription aboue them all, & therupon it pleaſed them to entertein me much to my comfort.

Winchester ſubſcribeth to the kinges articles.

And I was bold to accōpt vnto them mery tales of my miſerie in pryſon, which they ſeemed content to heare: and then I tolde them alſo (deſiring them not to be miſcontent with that I ſhould ſay:) when I remember eache of them alone, I could not thinke otherwiſe of them but they were my good Lords: and yet when they meete together, I feele no remedy at their hands. I looked quoth I, when my L. of Somerſet was heere to goe out wythin two dayes, and made my fare well feaſt in the Tower and all, ſince whych time there is a moneth paſt or thereabout: and I agree wt them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune be forgotten. My Lorde Treaſurer ſayde nay, I ſhoulde heare from them the next day, and ſo by their ſpecial commaundement came out of the chamber after them, that they myght be ſeene depart as my good Lordes: and ſo was done. By which proceſſe doth appeare how there was in me no contempt, as is ſayd in this article, but ſuch a ſubſcriptiō made as they were content to ſuffer me to make, whiche I tooke in my cōſcience for a whole ſatiſfaction of the kings maieſties letters, whiche I deſire may be deemed accordinglye. And one thing was ſaid vnto me further that other would haue put in many moe Articles, but they woulde haue no more but thoſe.

Winchesters farewell feaſt loſt in the tower.

The 13. Article.

Item, that you hauing eftſones certaine of the kings Maieſties honorable Counſaile ſent vnto you the 12. of Iuly in the ſayde 4. yere with the ſaid ſubmiſsion, and being on his Maieſties behalfe required and commaunded to conſider again and better the ſayd ſubmiſsion, and to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtoode in iuſtification of your ſelf, & would in no wiſe ſubſcribe thereunto.

Winchester.

To the 13. article he ſayde: The next day after the being in the Tower of the ſaide L. Treaſurer, the Earle of Warwike & other: came vnto me Syr W. Harbert & M. Secretary Peter, to deuiſe with me how to make ſome acknowledging of my fault (as they ſaide) becauſe the other forme liked me not. Wherunto I ſaid I knew my ſelfe innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a deuiſe to empaire my innocency in any poynt by my wordes or wrytings, it can haue no pollicie in it. For although I did more eſteeme liberty of body, then the defamation of my ſelf: yet (quoth I) whē I had ſo done with you, I were not ſo aſſured by you to come out. For when I were by my owne * penne once made an naughtye man, then were I not the more ſure to come out, but had locked my ſelfe the more ſurely in, and a ſmall pleaſure were it to me to haue my body at libertie by your procurement, and to haue my conſcience in perpetual priſon by mine owne act. Many more wordes there were, and perſwaſions on their parties, which cauſed me to require of them, for the paſſion of God, that my matter might take an end by iuſtice, and ſo departed, theyr being no contempt or faction of diſobedience ſhewed on my behalfe, but onely allegation for my defence of mine innocency in ye beſt maner I could deuiſe, as I truſt they will teſtifie.

Winchester ſtill ſtandeth vpon reputation of his innocencye.

* Your putting to the penne in this matter would not haue made you naught, but your naughtines would not put to your penne.

The 14. Article.

Item, that after all this, videlicet the 14. day of Iuly in the ſaid 4. yeare, the kings maieſtie ſent yet again vnto you certain of hys maieſties honorable Counſaile with an other ſubmiſsion, and diuers other articles, willinge and commaunding you to ſubſcribe your name thereunto: which to do you vtterly refuſed.

Winchester.

To the 14. Article he ſayde, that on the Monday in the morning following came the biſhop of London, Syr William Harbert, maiſter Secretarie Peter, & an other whom I knowe not, who brought with them a paper, wyth certaine articles wrytten in it, which they required me to ſubſcribe. Whereupon I moſt inſtantly required that my matter might be tried by iuſtice, whych although it were more greeuous, yet it hathe a commoditie wyth it, that it endeth certainely the matter. And I coulde neuer yet come to my aſſured ſtay, and therfore refuſed to meddle wyth any more Articles, or to trouble my ſelfe with the readinge of them, & yet they deſired me ſo inſtantly to read them, that I was content, and did reade, and to ſhewe my perfecte obedience minde, offered incontinently vpon my deliuerie out of priſon, to make aunſwere vnto them, all ſuch as I woulde abide by and ſuffer paine for, If I haue deſerued it. I would in deede gladly haue bene in hand with my Lorde of London, but he ſaide hee came not to diſpute, and ſayde it was the hand of God that I was thus in priſon, becauſe I had ſo troubled other mē in my time. Finally my requeſt was, that they ſhould in this forme make my aunſweare to my Lordes of the Counſell as foloweth: That I moſt humbly thanke them of theyr good will to deliuer me by the way of mercy, but becauſe in reſpecte of mine owne innocent conſcience I had rather haue iuſtice, I deſired them, ſeing both was in the kinges Maieſties hands, that I might haue it, whych if it happen to me more greeuous, I will impute it to my ſelfe, and euermore thanke them for their good will, and ſo departed I with them, as I truſt they will teſtifie, and no miſbehauiour or demeanour to haue bene vſed on my behalfe.

Other ar- cles offe- to Win.

The Biſho of Londo words of Winche

Wynche refuſeth to be deliue- red by wa of mercy.

The 15. Article.

Item, that after all this, viz. the 19. day of Iulye, in the ſayde 4. yeare, you being perſonally called before the kings maieſties priuie counſaile, and hauing the ſayd ſubmiſsion and articles openly and diſtinctly read vnto you, & required to ſubſcribe the ſame refuſed for vniuſte conſiderations by you alledged to ſubſcribe the ſame.

Winchester.

To the 15. article. I graunte, that vpon a Saterdaye at after noone, euen at ſuche time of the daye as they were at Euenſong in the Chappell at the Courte, I was brought thether, and at my comming the Lordes of the Counſaile ſayde they were all my Iudges by ſpecial commiſſion, and entended to proceede thus wyth me: That I ſhoulde ſubſcribe certaine articles which were then read, and I muſte directly make aunſwere, whether I would ſubſcribe them or no. I aunſwered on my knees in this wiſe: For the paſſion of God my Lordes be my good Lordes, and let me be tried by iuſtice whether I be faultye or no: and as for theſe articles aſſoone as yee deliuer me to my libertie, I woulde make aunſwere to them whether I would ſubſcribe them or no. Then they hauing further to ſay, I aunſwered, theſe Articles were of diuers ſortes: ſome be lawes whyche I may not qualifie: ſome be no lawes but learning and facte, which maye haue diuers vnderſtandings, & a ſubſcription to them without telling what I meane, were ouer dangerous: and therfore I offered for ye more declaration of mine obedience to all their requeſtes, that if they woulde deliuer me the articles into the priſon with mee, I woulde ſhortly make them particulare aunſwere, and ſuffer the paynes of the lawe, that by my aunſwere I mighte incurre vnto: Wherupon I was commaunded to go a part, and they ſent vnto me the Lorde Treaſurer and maiſter Secretarie Peter, who communed with me of a meane way, and that liked not the Lordes. And then was I called forth agayne, and my abſolute ſubſcription required againe, & I againe made offer to aunſwer particularly, for I coulde not wyth my conſcience ſubſcribe them as they were abſolutely. And theſe my conſiderations, I truſt to be iuſt, ſeing no man for any commaundements ought to offende his conſcience, as I muſt haue done in that caſe.

Wynche required a [illegible] ſubſcrib refuſeth.

Winche- [illegible]

The 16. Article.

Item, that for your ſondry and manifold contempts and diſobediences in this behalfe vſed, the fruites of your Biſhoppricke were then by ſpeciall commiſsion of his Maieſtie iuſtly and lawfully ſequeſtred.

Winchester.

To the 16. article, I deny contemptes, and diſobedience of partes, and ſay that my doings cannot ſo be termed, becauſe it is taught in thys realme for a doctrine of obediēce, that if a king commaunde that is contrary to the cōmaundement of God, the ſubiect may not doe as he is commaunded, but humbly ſtande to my conſcience, which is my caſe, who could not with my conſcience do as I was required. And as touching the fact of decree, there was in deede a decree read, hauing wordes ſo placed and framed, as though I were ſuch an offender, which mater I deny. And in that decree was mention made of ſequeſtration of fruites: but whether the forme of wordes were of the preſent tenſe, or els to be ſequeſtred, I cannot preciſely tell, but doe referre that to the tenor of the decree.

But this an- ſwer could not ſtand in Queene Maryes time.

The 17. Article.

Item, that after this, you had intimation and peremptorie monition, with communication that you ſhould within 3. monethes next following the ſaide intimation, reconcile and ſubmit youre ſelfe vnder paine of depriuation.

Wincheſter.

To the 17. article I aunſwer, that in the ſame decree of ſequeſtration at the ſame time read, I kneling from the beginning of the decree, to the latter ende, I remember there was an intimation and three monthes ſpoken of, & expreſſed alſo how at euery monethes end I ſhould haue pen and inke offred to wryte, if I would yet ſubſcribe, and as I vnderſtand it was vpon the paine of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I herd the word depriuation, but therein I referre me to the acts of the ſentence, which whẽ it was red, I deſired it might be teſtified what mine offer was, to anſwer all thoſe articles particularly, euen remaining in priſon. And this done, I made ſuite for ſome of my ſeruants abroad to reſort to me to the tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my neceſſary buſineſſe, which could not be obtained. And yet to prouoke it, I ſayde to my Lorde of Warwike, howe for agreeing w my L. of Somerſet, I had ſome commoditie, and for agreeing with him had nothing, and therefore wold he needes by interceſſion preſſe him, that I might by his meanes haue ſome of my ſeruãts reſorting vnto me. He anſwered very gently. And then one ſayde I ſhoulde within 2. or 3. daies haue ſome body come to me. And then I was diſmiſſed with commaundement to the lieutenaunt to let me haue the ſame liberty I had, but no more.

The 18. Article.

Item, that the ſayd three monethes are now throughly expired and runne.

Wincheſter.

To the 18. Article he ſayd, there is almoſt 6. months paſſed in time and number of daies, but not one month paſt to the effecte of the lawe, nor 10. daies neither, becauſe I haue bene ſo kept in priſon y I could not ſee for remedy in forme aboueſaide, nor there was not at euery moneth, after the forme of the ſentence offred me, pen and inke & libertie geuen me to conſult and deliberate w other learned men and friends what were beſt to doe, or to ſend vnto them. And furthermore, the very 8. day after the decree geuen, I proteſted before my ſeruaunts whom I had only commoditie to vſe as witnes of the nullitie of the decree for the euident and apparant matter in it, but if it were any in lawe, I appealed to the kings Maieſtie, becauſe my requeſt was not admitted to haue the copie of the articles to anſwere them particularly, and becauſe it is exceſſiue correction to ſequeſter my fruites and keepe me in priſone, with other cauſes to be deduced where I might haue oportunity. Which appellation I proteſted to intimate as ſoone as I coulde come to any preſence mete therfore, as I did in this aſſemble at my laſt repaire, deſiring therewith the benefite reſtitutionis in integrum, becauſe of mine impriſonment, and therefore doe anſwere this matter with proteſtation of that appeale, and vtterly deny all manner of contempt.

The 19. Article.

Item, that yon hitherto according to the ſayd intimation and monition, ſubmitted, reconciled, nor reformed your ſelfe, but cõtemptuouſly yet ſtill remaine in your firſt diſobedience.

Wincheſter.

To the 19. Article, I ſay that I haue bene all this while in priſon ſo kept, as no man could haue acceſſe to counſaile with me, nor any meanes to wryte or ſend to any man, hauing made continuall ſuite to Maiſter Lieutenaunte and maſter Marſhal, vnder whoſe cuſtody I am here, to make ſuite in my name to the Lordes of the Counſaile, that I might come to hearing, or els be bailed vpon ſurety: which I coulde not obtaine, and ſo haue remained vnder the benefite of my ſaid appeale to the kings Maieſtie, made as I might for y time, which I eftſoones deſire may haue libertie to proſecute.

And where as aunſwering to theſe Articles, for declaration of the integritie of my conſcience, I vſe in the ſame places generall wordes: I proteſt I meane not by thoſe words to ſetforth my ſelfe otherwiſe more arrogantly then as my direct entent (which excludeth malice) and purpoſe mouueth mee to ſay, and as my conſcience beareth witneſſe vnto me at this time, and therfore will ſay therein wyth S. Paule: Nihil mihi conſcius ſum, ſed non in hoc iuſtificatus ſum. Wherefore if any ſpecially be obiected vnto me, wherein by ignorance or ouerſight & negligence, any mine offence may appeare againſt the kings Maieſties lawes, Statutes and Iniunctions, I ſhal deſire and proteſt that it be not preiudiciall to mine aunſweare (for thys preſent, credo, as lawyers in ciuill matters vſe that terme) to be true, y is to ſay ſuche as wont any alteration in my conſcience, preſently I may of my ſelfe ſay in affirmation or denial, as afore is anſwered. And whereas I ſpeake of commaundement to be made to me againſt Gods lawe, I proteſt not to touch my ſoueraigne Lordes honor therin, which my ductie is by al meanes to preſerue, but that the commãdement geuen, reſolueth to be againſt Gods law on my part, in the obediẽce to be genẽ, becauſe I may not anſwer or ſay otherwiſe, but Eſt, eſt, non, non. So as my wordes and heart may agree together, or els I ſhould offend Gods lawe, which my soueraigne if he knew my conſcience, would not command me.

After theſe things thus paſſed, certaine of the Counſail by the kings appoyntment had ſondry daies and times acceſſe to him in the Tower to perſwade with hym: whiche were theſe, the Duke of Somerſet, the lord Treaſurer, the Lord priuie Seale, the Lord great Chamberlaine, and M. Secretary Peter. Who repairing to him the x. day of Iune an. 1550. he deſired of them to ſee the kings booke of proceedings: vpon the ſight wherof he would make a ful anſwer, ſeeming to be willinge in all thinges to conforme himſelfe therunto: and promiſing that in caſe any thing offẽded his conſcience, he would open it to none but to the Counſaile. Whereupon it was agreed the booke ſhould be ſent him to ſee his anſwer, that his caſe might be reſolued vpon, & that for the meane time he ſhould haue the libertie of the galery and gardine in the Tower, when the Duke of Northfolke were abſent.

Wincheſter requireth the ſight of the kinges booke of proceedinges.

The king then was lying at Grenewich, at which time the Lieftenant of the tower was appoynted to deliuer the kings booke to the biſhop of Wincheſter. Who within thre dayes after (which was the 13. of Iune) made declaration againe vnto the counſaile, that the Biſhop hauing peruſed it, ſaid vnto him he could make no direct anſwer vnleſſe he were at libertie, and ſo being he woulde ſay hys conſcience. Whereupon the Lordes and other that had bene with him the other day, were apointed to go to him againe to receiue a direct aunſwer that the Counſail therupon might determine further order for him.

Wincheſter denyeth to make any direct aunſwere to the booke vnleſſe he were at liberty.

The aunſwer of the biſhop being receiued, through the report of the Lordes which had ben with him, declaration was made again, the 8. day of Iuly 1550. that his anſwers were euer doutful, refuſing while he were in priſõ to make any direct aunſwer. Wherefore it was determined that he ſhoulde be directly examined whether he woulde ſincerely conforme himſelf vnto the kings maieſties proceedings or not. For which purpoſe it was agreed y particulare articles ſhould be drawne, to ſee whether he woulde ſubſcribe them or not, and a letter alſo directed vnto hym from the kinges highneſſe, with the which the L. Treaſurer, the L. great maiſter, the maiſter of the horſe, and maſter Secretarie Peter ſhoulde repaire vnto hym: the tenour of whyche letter hereafter enſueth.

Wincheſters aunſwers euer doubtfull.

Articles and letters ſent to Wincheſter.

¶ A letter ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſigned by the king, and ſubſcribed by the Counſaile.

The kings letter to Wincheſter.

IT is not (we thinke) vnknowen vnto you, with what clemency and fauour, we by the aduiſe of our Counſayle cauſed you to be heard and vſed vpon theſe ſundry complaintes and informations that were made to vs & our ſaid Counſaile of your diſordered doinges and wordes, both at the tyme of our late viſitation, and otherwiſe. Which notwithſtãding, conſidering that the fauour both then and many other tymes miniſtred vnto you, wrought rather an inſolent wilfulnes in your ſelfe, thẽ any obediente conformitie, ſuch as would haue beſeemed a man of your vocation, we could not but uſe ſome demonſtration of iuſtice towardes you, as well for ſuch notorious and apparaunt contemptes and other inobediences, as after and contrary to our commaundement were openly knowen in you, as alſo for ſome example and terrour of ſuch others as by your example ſeemed to take courage to mutter and grudge agaynſt our moſt godly proceedinges: whereof great diſcord & inconuenience at that tyme might haue enſued. For the auoyding whereof, & for your iuſt deſeruinges, you were by our ſayde Counſayle committed to warde. Where albeit we haue ſuffred you to remaine a long ſpace, ſending vnto you in the meane tyme at ſundry tymes diuers of the Noble men and others of our priuy Counſayle, and trauayling by them with clemencye and fauour to haue reduced you to the knowledge of your duety: yet in al this time haue you neyther knowledged your faultes, nor made any ſuch ſubmiſſion as might haue beſeemed you, nor yet ſhewed any apparãce either of repẽtãce, or of any good conformitye to our godly proceedinges. Wherewith albeit we both haue good cauſe to be offẽded, & might alſo iuſtly by the order of our lawes, cauſe your former doinges to be reformed and puniſhed to the exãple of others, yet for that we would both the world & your ſelf alſo ſhuld know that we delite more in clemency, then in the ſtraight adminiſtratiõ of iuſtice, we haue vouchſafed not only to addreſſe vnto you theſe our letters, but alſo to ſẽd eftſones vnto you 4. of our priuy cõuſel with certain articles: which being by vs with

Notorious contemptes in Wincheſter noted.

Anno 1551.

the aduiſe of our ſayde Connſaile conſidered, we thinke requiſite for ſondry conſiderations to be ſubſcribed by you, and therefore woulde and commaunde you to ſubſcribe the ſaide Articles vpon paine of incurring ſuch puniſhment and penalties, as by our lawes may be put vppon you for not doing the ſame. Geuen at our palace of Weſtminſter the 8.day of Iulye, the 4.yeare of oure raigne.

With this letter addreſſed from the king and his Counſaile, theſe Articles alſo were deliuered to the B.of Wincheſter here following.

The copie of the Articles.

The Biſhops aunſwere to this article in the margent.

WHereas I Steuen biſhop of Wincheſter haue ben ſuſpected as one too much fauouring the biſhop of Romes aucthoritie, decrees and ordinaunces, and as one that did not approoue or allow the kings maieſties proceedinges in alteration of certayne rites in religion, was conuented before the kings highnes counſaile and admoniſhed therof: and hauing certaine things appoynted for me to doe and preache for my declaration, haue not done that as I ought to do, although I promiſed to do the ſame wherby I haue not onely incurred the kings maieſties indignation, but alſo diuers of his highnes ſubiectes haue by mine example taken incouragement (as his graces connſaile is certainly enformed) to repine at his maieſties moſte godly proceedings: I am right ſorie therefore, and acknowledge my ſelfe condingly to haue ben puniſhed, and do moſt heartily thanke his maieſtie, that of his great clemencie it hath pleaſed his highneſſe to deale with me, not according to rigour, but mercye. And to the entent it may appeare to the world how little I do repine at his highnes doings, whych be in religion moſte godly, and to the common wealth moſt profitable, I doe affirm and ſay freely of mine owne will without any compulſion as enſueth.

The kinges ſupremacy.

1 Firſt, that by the lawe of God and the authoritie of ſcriptures the kings maieſtie and his ſucceſſors are the ſupreme heades of the churches of England, and alſo of Ireland.

The kinges authoritye in diſpenſing with holydayes and faſting dayes or in appointing the ſame.

2 Item, that the apoynting of holy daies or faſting daies, as Lent, imber daies, or any ſuche like, or to diſpence therewith, is in the kings maieſties authoritie and power: and his highnes as ſupreme head of the ſayde Churches of Englande and Irelande, and gouernour thereof, may appoynt the maner and time of the holy dayes and faſting dayes, or diſpence therewith, as to his wiſedome ſhall ſeeme moſt conuenient for the honour of God and the wealth of thys realme.

The kings booke of proceedinges.

3 Item, that the kings maieſtie hath moſte Chriſtianly and godly ſet foorth, by, and with the conſent of the whole parliament, a deuout and chriſtian booke of ſeruice of the church to be frequented by the church, which booke is to be accepted and allowed of all biſhops, paſtours, curates, and all miniſters Eccleſiaſtical of the realme of England, and ſo of him to be declared and commended in all places where he ſhal fortune to preach or ſpeake to the people of it, that it is a godly and chriſtian booke and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and obſerued of all the kings maieſties true ſubiectes.

The kinges full authoritye in his tender age.

4 I do acknowledge the kings maieſtie that nowe is (whoſe life God long preſerue) to be my ſoueraigne Lord and ſupreme head vnder Chriſt to me as a Biſhop of this realme, and naturall ſubiect to his maieſtie: and nowe in this his yonge and tender age to be my full and entire kinge, and that I and all other his highneſſe ſubiectes are bounde to obey all his maieſties proclamations, ſtatutes, lawes, and commaundements, made, promulgate and ſette foorth in this his highneſſe yong age as well as though his highnes were at this preſent 30 or 40. yeres olde.

Abrogation of the 6. articles.

5 Item, I confeſſe and acknowledge that the ſtatute commonlye called the ſtatute of ſixe articles, for iuſt cauſes and grounds, is by authoritie of parliament repealed and diſanulled.

The kinges iuriſdictiõ to alter and correct abuſes eccleſiaſticall.

6 Item, that his maieſtie and his ſucceſſours haue authoritie in the ſaid churches of England and alſo of Ireland to alter, reforme, correct, and amend al errours & abuſes, and all rites and ceremonies eccleſiaſtical, as ſhall ſeeme frõ time to time to his highneſſe and his ſucceſſors moſt conuenient for the edification of his people, ſo that the ſame alteration be not coutrary or repugnante to the ſcripture and lawe of God.

Subſcription of Wincheſter to the articles afore ſayd.

Subſcribed by Steuen Wincheſter, with the teſtimoniall handes of the counſaile to the ſame.

Wincheſter denieth to ſubſcribe to the firſt beginning of theſe Articles.

To theſe articles afore ſpecified, althoughe Wincheſter with his owne hand did ſubſcribe, graunting and conſenting to the ſupremacie of the King, as well then beyng as of hys ſucceſſours to come: yet becauſe hee ſtucke ſo muche in the firſt poynt touching his ſubmiſſion, and would in no caſe ſubſcribe to the ſame, but onely made hys aunſwere in the margent (as is aboue noted) it was therefore thoughte good to the king, that the Maiſter of the horſe, and maiſter Secretarie Peter ſhould repaire vnto him again with the ſame requeſt of ſubmiſſion, exhortinge hym to looke better vppon it: and in caſe the wordes ſeemed too ſore, then to referre it vnto him ſelfe in what ſort and with what wordes he ſhould deuiſe to ſubmit hym, that vpon yͤ acknowledge of his fault, the kings highnes might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined. which was the 11. day of Iune, the yeare aboueſaid.

When the maiſter of the horſe and ſecretarie Peter had bene with him in the tower according to their Commiſſion, returning from him again they declared vnto the king and his Counſaile how preciſely the ſayd Biſhop ſtoode in iuſtification of him ſelfe, that hee hadde neuer offended the kings Maieſtie: wherefore he vtterly refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion at all. For the more ſuretie of which deniall, it was agreed that a newe booke of Articles ſhould be deuiſed, wherwith the ſaid maiſter of the horſe and maiſter Secretarie Peter ſhould repaire vnto him againe, and for the more autentike proceeding wt him, they to haue with them a Diuine and a temporall Lawyer, whiche were the Biſhop of London, and maiſter Goodricke.

The copie of the laſt Articles ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

WHereas I Steuen Biſhop of Wincheſter haue bene ſuſpected as one that did not approue or allowe the Kings Maieſties proceedings in alteration of certaine rites in Religion, and was conuented before the kings highnes Counſaile, and admoniſhed thereof, and hauing certayne things appoynted for me to doe and preach for my declaration, haue not done therein as I ought to doe, whereby I haue deſerued hys maieſties diſpleaſure: I am righte ſorie therfore. And to the intent it may appear to the world how litle I doe repine at his highnes doings, which be in religion moſt godly, and to the common wealth moſt profitable, I doe affirme as followeth.

1 Firſt, that the late king of moſte famous memorie kyng Henrie the eight, our late ſoueraigne Lorde, iuſtly, and of good reaſon and ground hath taken away and cauſed to be ſuppreſſed and defaced, all monaſteries and religious houſes, and all conuenticles and conuents of Monks, Friers, Nonnes, Chanons, Bonhoms, & other perſons called religious, and that the ſame being ſo diſſolued, the perſons therein bound and profeſſed to obedience to a perſon, place, habit, and other ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies, vpon that diſſolution and order appoynted by yͤ kings maieſties authority as ſupreme head of the church, are clearely releaſed and acquited of thoſe vowes and profeſſions, & at their full libertye as thoughe thoſe vnwittye and ſuperſtitious vowes had neuer bene made.

2 Item, that any perſon may lawfully marrie without any diſpenſation from the B. of Rome or any other man, with any perſone whome it is not prohibited to contract matrimonie by the lawe Leuiticall.

3 Item, that the vowing and going of pilgrimage to Images, or to the bones and reliques of any Saincts hath ben ſuperſtitiouſly vſed and cauſe of much wickednes and idolatrie, and therfore iuſtly aboliſhed by the ſaid late king of famous memorie, and the Images and reliques ſo abuſed, haue ben of great and godly conſideratiõs defaced and deſtroyed.

4 Item, that the counterfaiting of S. Nicholas, S. Clement, S. Katherine, and S. Edmond by children heretofore brought into the church, was a meere mockerye & fooliſhneſſe, and therefore iuſtly aboliſhed and taken away.

5 Item, it is conuenient and godly, that yͤ ſcripture of the olde Teſtament and new, that is, the whole Bible, be had in Engliſh and publiſhed to be read of euery man, & that who ſoeuer doth repel & dehort me from the reading thereof, doth euell and damnably.

6 Item, that the ſayd late king of iuſt ground and reaſon did receiue into hys handes the authoritie and diſpoſition of chauntries and ſuch liuings as were geuẽ for the maintenaunce of priuate maſſes, and did well change diuers of them to other vſes.

7 Alſo the kings maieſtie that now is by the aduiſe & conſent of the Parliament, did vpon iuſte ground and reaſon, ſuppreſſe, aboliſh, and take away the ſayd chauntryes and ſuche other liuings as were vſed and occupied for maintenaunce of priuate Maſſes, and Maſſes ſatiſfactorye for the ſoules of thẽ which are dead, or finding of obites, lights, or other like things: the Maſſe that was wonte to be ſayde of prieſtes, was full of abuſes, and had very fewe thinges of Chriſtes inſtitution beſides the Epiſtle, Goſpell, Lordes prayer, and the wordes of the Lords ſupper: the reſt for the more part were inuẽted and deuiſed by biſhops of Rome, and by other men of the ſame ſort, and therfore iuſtly taken away by the ſtatutes and lawes of this realme: and the communion which is placed in the ſtead thereof, is very godly and agreeable to the Scriptures.

8 Item, that it is moſt conuenient and fit, and according to the firſt inſtitution, that all Chriſten men ſhould receiue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt in both the kindes, that is, in bread and wine.

9 And the maſſe wherein the Prieſt doth onely receiue and the other doe but looke on, is but the inuention of man, and the ordinance of the biſhop of Romes churche, nor agreeable to Scripture.

10 Item, that vpon good and godly cōſiderations, it is ordred in the ſaid boke and order, that the Sacrament ſhould not be lifted vp and ſhewed to the people to be adored, but to be with godly deuotion receiued as it was firſt inſtituted.

11 Item, that it is well, politikely and godly done, that the kings maieſtie by Act of Parlament, hath commanded all images which haue ſtande in Churches or Chappels, to be clerely aboliſhed & defaced, leaſt hereafter at any time they ſhould geue occaſion of Idolatrie or be abuſed, as many of them heretofore haue bene with pilgrimages and ſuch Idolatrous worſhipping.

12 And alſo that for like godly and good conſiderations, by the ſame authoritie of Parliament, all Maſſebokes, Cowchers, Grailes, and other bokes of the ſeruice in latin heretofore vſed, ſhould be aboliſhed and defaced, as wel for certaine ſuperſtitions in them contained, as alſo to auoid diſſention: and yͤ the ſaide ſeruice in the church ſhould be thorow the whole realme in one vniforin conformitie, and no occaſion through thoſe olde bookes to the contrary.

13 That biſhops, prieſts, and deacons haue no commaundement of the law of God, either to vow chaſtitie, or to abſtaine continually from mariage.

14 Item, that al canons, cōſtitutions, lawes poſitiue, and ordinances of man, which doe prohibite or forbid mariage to any biſhoppe, prieſt, or deacon, be iuſtly and vpon godly grounds and cōſiderations, taken away and aboliſhed by authority of Parlament.

15 The Homilies lately commanded and ſet foorth by the kings maieſtye to be red in the congregation of England, are godly and wholeſome, and doe teache ſuch doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

16 The boke ſet forth by the kings maieſty by authority of Parliament, containing the forme & maner of making and conſecrating of archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts and deacons, is godly & in no poynt contrary to the wholeſom doctrine of the goſpel, & therfore ought to be receiued and approued of all the faithfull members of the church of England, and namely the miniſters of Gods worde, & by them commended to the people.

17 That the orders of Subdeacon, Benet and Colet, and ſuche others as were commonly called Minores ordines, be not neceſſarye by the worde of God to be reckened in the church, and be iuſtly left out in the ſayd booke of orders.

18 That the holy Scriptures containe ſufficiently all doctrine required of neceſſity for eternal ſaluatiō through faith in Ieſus Chriſt, and that nothing is to be taught as required of neceſſity to eternal ſaluation, but that which may be concluded and proued by the holy Scriptures.

19 That vpon good and godly conſiderations, it was and is commaunded by the kings maieſties Iniunctions, that the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus in Engliſh ſhoulde be ſet vp in ſome conuenient place in euery pariſh Churche of thys realme, where as the pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to read the ſame.

20 And becauſe theſe Articles aforeſaid, do containe onely ſuch matters as be already publiſhed and openly ſet forthe by the kings maieſties authority, by the aduiſe of his highneſſe Counſaile, for many great and godly conſiderations, and amongſt others for the common tranquillity and vnity of the realme: his maieſties pleaſure by the aduiſe aforeſayd, is, that you the B. of wincheſter ſhall not only affirm theſe Articles wyth ſubſcription of your hande: but alſo declare and profeſſe your ſelfe well contented, willing, and ready to publiſh and preach the ſame at ſuch times and places, and before ſuche audience as to his Maieſtie from time to time ſhal ſeeme conuenient and requiſite, vpon the pain of incurring ſuche penalties and puniſhmentes; as for not doing the ſame, maye by his Maieſties lawes be inflicted vpon you.

These Articles were ſent the 15. of Iuly.

The biſhop of wincheſter receiuing and peruſing theſe Articles, made this anſwer againe: That firſt touching the Article of ſubmiſſion, he woulde in no wiſe conſent, affirming as hee had done before, that he had neuer offended the kings Maieſtye in any ſuch ſort as ſhoulde geue hym cauſe thus to ſubmit himſelfe: praying earneſtly to be brought vnto his trial: wherin he refuſed the kings mercy, and deſired nothing * but iuſtice. And for the reſt of the articles he anſwered that after he were paſt his triall in this firſte poynt, and were at libertie, then it ſhould appeare what he would do in them: not being (as he ſaid) reaſonable that he ſhould ſubſcribe them in priſone.

Of this anſwer when the king and hys counſel had intelligence by the foreſayde Maiſter of the horſe, Secretarie Peter, the biſhop of London, and M. Goodricke who had bene wyth him, it was agreed that he ſhould be ſent for before the whole counſel, and peremptorily examined once againe, whether he would ſtand at this poynt or no: which if he did, then to denoūce vnto him the ſequeſtration of his benefice, and conſequently the intimation, in caſe hee were not reformed within 3. monethes, as in the daye of his appearance ſhall appeare. The tenor and words of which ſequeſtration, with the Intimation followeth.

The wordes of the Sequeſtration with the Intimation to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The tenour of of the ſequeſtration read to Wincheſter.

FOr aſmuch as the kings maieſtie our moſt grations ſoueraigne Lord vnderſtandeth, and it is alſo manifeſtly knowne and notorious vnto vs, that the clemency & long ſufferaunce of his maieſtie woorketh not in you yͤ good effect and humblenes and conformitie, that is requiſite in a good ſubiect: and for that your firſt diſobediences, cōtēpts, and other miſbehauiours, for the which you were by hys Maieſties authoritie iuſtly cōmitted to warde, haue ſithes your ſaid committing, dayly more & more increaſed in you in ſuch ſort as a great ſlaunder and offence is therof riſen, in many parts of the realme, whereby alſo much ſlander, diſſention trouble, & vnquietnes is very like more to enſue if your foreſaid offences being as they be openly knowne, ſhould paſſe vnpuniſhed: we let you wit that hauing ſpeciall and expreſſe Commiſſion and commaundement from his Maieſty, alwell for your contumacies and contempts ſo long cōtinued and yet daily more increaſing, as alſo for the exchange of the ſlaunder & offence of the people, which by your ſayd ill demeanours is riſen, and for that alſo the Church of wincheſter may be in the meane time prouided of a good miniſter that may and will ſee all things done & quietly executed according to lawes and common orders of this Realme, & for ſondry other great and vrgent cauſes we do by theſe preſentes ſequeſter all the fruites, reuenues landes and poſſeſſions of your Biſhopricke of wincheſter & diſcerne, deeme & iudge the ſame to be committed to the ſeueral receite collection and cuſtody of ſuch perſon or perſons as his Maieſty ſhall appoynt for that purpoſe. And becauſe your former diſobediences and contemptes ſo lōg cōtinued, ſo many times doubled, renued and aggrauated, do manifeſtly declare you to be a perſon without all hope of recouery & plainly incorrigible: we eftſoones admoniſh and require you to obay his maieſties ſaid cōmaundement and that you do declare your ſelfe by ſubſcription of youre hand, both willing & well contēted to accept, allow preach and teache to others the ſayde articles, and all ſuche other matters as be or ſhalbe ſet forth by his maieſties authority of ſupreme head of this church of England, on this ſide, & within the terme of 3. monthes, whereof we appoynt one month for the firſt monition, one month for the ſecond monition and warning, and one moneth for the third and peremptorie monition.

The cauſes why this ſequeſtratiō was laid againſt Wincheſter.

Wincheſter ſequeſtred from his Byſhopricke.

Within which time as you may yet declare your cōformitie, and ſhal haue paper, pen and inke when you wil cal for them for that purpoſe, ſo if you wilfully forbeare and refuſe to declare your ſelf obedient and conformable as is aforeſayd, we intimate vnto you that his maieſtie, who like a good gouernor deſireth to keepe both his cōmon wealth quiet, and to purge the ſame of euill men (eſpecially miniſters) entendeth to proceede againſt you as an incorrigible perſon and vnmeet miniſter of this church, to depriuation of your ſayd biſhopprike.

Intimation geuē to Wincheſter.

Neuertheles, vpon diuers good conſiderations, and ſpecially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed that the ſayd biſhops houſe & ſeruants ſhould be maintained in their preſent eſtate, vntill yͤ time that this Iniunction ſhould expire, & the matter for the meane time to be kept ſecrete.

After this ſequeſtration, the ſayde B. was commenſed vnto Lambeth before the Archbiſhop of Cant. & other the kings commiſſioners by vertue of the kings ſpeciall letter ſent vnto the ſayde Commiſſioners, to witte, to the Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, Nicholas biſhoppe of London, Thomas biſhop of Ely, Henry biſhop of Lincoln, Secretarie Peter, Syr Iames Hales knight, Doctour Leyſon, Doctor Olyuer lawyers, and Iohn Goſnold Eſquire. &c. before them, and by them to be examined, by whome were obiected againſt him 19. ſpecial articles in order and forme heere following.

The names of the Commiſſioners delegate in the cauſe of Steue Gardiner.

Anno 1551.

Articles and poſitions miniſtred ioyntly and ſeuerally obiected to the B. of Wincheſter.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt Wincheſter by the Commiſſioners.

IN primis, that the kings Maieſtie iuſtly and rightfully is, and by the lawes of God ought to be the ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England and Ireland, and ſo is by the Clergie of this realme in their conuocation, and by the Act of Parliament iuſtly and according to yͤ lawes of God recogniſed.

2 Item, that his maieſtie as ſupreme head of yͤ ſaide churches, hath full power and authoritie to make and ſet ſuche Lawes, Iniunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning Religion and orders in the ſaid churches for the increaſe of vertue and repreſſing of all errours, hereſies, and other enormities and abuſes.

3 Item, that all and euery his graces ſubiectes are bound by the lawes of God to obey all his highneſſe ſaide lawes, Iniunctions, and proceedings concerning religion & orders in the ſayd Churches.

Wincheſter ſworne to the kinges ſupremacy.

4 Item, that you Steuen B. of winchester haue ſworne obedience to his Maieſtie, as ſupreme head of this Church of England and alſo of Ireland.

5 Item, that all and euery his graces ſubiects that diſobey any of his ſayde Maieſties lawes, Iniunctions, ordinances and proceedings already ſet forth & publiſhed, or hereafter to be ſet forth & publiſhed, ought worthely to be puniſhed according to his graces Eccleſiaſticall lawes, vſed within thys his realme.

Wincheſter after his oth, found diſobedient to the king and his proceedinges.

6 Item, that you yͤ ſayd Byſhop, as wel in the kings maieſties late viſitation wᵗin your Dioceſſe, as at ſondry other times, haue ben complained vpon, & ſundry informations made againſt you for your doings, ſayings & preachings againſt ſundry Iniunctions, orders and other procedings of his maieſtie ſet forth for reformation of errors, ſuperſtitions and other abuſes in religion.

7 Item, that after and vppon the occaſion of thoſe & other many complaints and informations, you haue ben ſundry times admoniſhed, commanded and enioyned to conforme your ſelfe, as to your duetie appertaineth.

The manifold tranſgreſſions of Wint. worthy of puniſhment

8 Item, that after the premiſſes, and for that thoſe former admonitions & commaundements notwythſtanding, you did yet ſtill ſhewe your ſelfe not conformable, & for that alſo by your example the people were much animated, & therby occaſion of muche vnquietneſſe miniſtred, you were called before the kings maieſties counſell in the moneth of Iune, the 2. yeare of his maieſties raigne, & by them on his highnes behalfe commaunded to preache a Sermon before hys maieſtie, and therin to declare the iuſtnes and godlines of his Maieſties father and his proceedings vppon certaine matters partly mentioned in certaine articles to you deliuered in wryting, and partly otherwiſe declared vnto you. The effecte whereof, was touching the vſurped authoritye of the B. of Rome, and that his pretenſed authoritie was iuſtly & godly taken away in this realm, & other the kings maieſties dominions: Touching the firſt ſuppreſſion and taking away of Monaſteries, Religious houſes, Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines and Images, the ſuperſtitions going about of S. Nicholas biſhop, S. Edmund, S. Katherin, S. Clement and ſuch like, for taking away of Chãtreis, Obites and Colleges, touching hallowing of Candels, water, aſhes, palme, holy breade, beades, creeping to the croſſe and ſuche like: touching the ſetting forthe of the kings maieſties authoritie in his yõg yeres to be as great, as if his highneſſe were of many more yeres, touching auricular confeſſion, touching the proceſſion & common praier in Engliſhe, and that things done in generall Councels againſt the worde of God, may be iuſtly reuoked in particular Councels.

Wincheſters cõtemptuous diſobedience to the king.

9 Item, that you receiuing the ſame, and promiſing to declare them in a ſermone by you made before his Maieſtie for that purpoſe, on the feaſt of S. Peter in the ſayd ſecond yere of his highneſſe raigne, did then and there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omit to declare and ſet forth many of the ſayd matters to the great contempt of his Maieſtie, and daungerous example of others.

10 Item, that you being alſo commanded, and on his maieſties behalf, for the auoyding of tumult, & for other great conſiderations inhibited to treate of any matter in controuerſie concerning the Maſſe or the communion (then commonly called the Sacrament of the aultar) did contrary to the ſayd commandement & inhibition, declare diuers your iudgements & opinions in the ſame, in manifeſt contempt of hys Maieſties ſayd inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and diſturbaunce of the common quiet, and vnity of the realme.

Wincheſter ſtubbernely refuſed to conforme himſelfe to the booke of the kinges proceedinges.

11 Item, that after the premiſſes, videlicet, in the moneths of May or Iune, or one of them, in the thirde yeare of hys highneſſe raigne, his Maieſtye ſent eftſoones vnto you, to know your conformity towards his ſaid reformation, and ſpecially touching the booke of Common praier then lately ſet forth by hys maieſtie, whereunto you at the ſame time refuſed to ſhewe your ſelfe conformable.

12 Item, that after that, videlicet the 9. day of July, in the fourth yeare of his Maieſties raigne, his highnes ſent vnto you hys graces letters, wyth a certaine ſubmiſſion and articles, whereunto hys grace willed and commanded you to ſubſcribe, to the whyche ſubmiſſion you contemptuouſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.

13 Item, that you hauing eftſoones certaine of the kyngs moſt honorable Councell ſent vnto you the 12. of Iulye, in the ſayd fourth yeare, with the ſame ſubmiſſion, and beyng in his maieſtyes behalfe required and commanded to conſider agayne better the ſayd ſubmiſſion and to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtode in iuſtification of your ſelfe, and woulde in no wiſe ſubſcribe thereunto.

14. Item, that after all thys, the 14. daye of Iulye, in the ſayde fourth yeare, the ſayd kings Maieſtie ſent yet againe vnto you certaine of his maieſties moſt honorable councell with an other ſubmiſſiõ and diuers other articles, willing and commaunding you to ſubſcribe your name thereunto, whych to do you vtterly refuſed.

15 Item, that after all thys, videlicet the 19. of Iulye in the ſayde fourth yeare, you being perſonally called before the whole counſaile, and hauing the ſayde ſubmiſſion and articles openly and diſtinctly read vnto you, and required to ſubſcribe the ſame, refuſed for vniuſt and fantaſticall conſiderations by you alledged, to ſubſcribe the ſame.

16 Item, that for your ſundry and manifolde contempts and diſobediences in this behalfe vſed, the fruites of your benefice were then by ſpeciall commiſſion of hys Maieſtie iuſtly and lawfully ſequeſtred.

17 Item, that after this, you had intimation and peremptorie monition, with communication that you ſhuld within 3. monethes next following the ſayde intimation, reconcile and ſubmit your ſelfe vpon paine of depriuation.

18 Item, that the ſaide 3. moneths are nowe fully expired and runne.

19 Item that you haue not hetherto, according to the ſayd intimation and monition ſubmitted: reconciled, nor reformed your ſelf, but contemptuouſly yet ſtill remaine in your diſobedience. Whereupon they required the B. of wincheſter, then and there perſonally preſent to be ſworne faithfully and truely to make anſwere.

After theſe articles were exhibited vnto him, and he hauing leaue to ſay for himſelf, wherin he vſed al the cautels, ſhiftes and remedies of the law to his moſt aduantage, by way of proteſting, recuſing and excepting againſt the commiſſion, and requiring alſo the copies as well of the Articles, as of his proteſtation of the Actuaries (which were W. Say and Tho. Argall) time and reſpite was aſſigned vnto hym to aunſwer to the ſayd Articles in wryting. But he ſo cauilled and dalied from day to day, to anſwer directly, although he was ſufficiently laboured and perſwaded to the ſame by ſondry callinges and Actes, and alſo aboundantly conuicted by depoſitions and witneſſes, eſpecially by mater induced by the L. Paget, and Andrewe Beynton, & M. Chalenor, pag. 816. (all which I referre to my firſt booke) that at the laſt he appealed from them, reputing them not to be competent and indifferent iudges to heare and determine his cauſe, vnto the kings royal perſon: notwithſtanding by proteſtation alwaies reſeruing to himſelfe the benefite of his appellation: And ſo proceded he to the anſwering of the foreſaid articles, but in ſuch crafty and obſtinate maner, as before he had ben accuſtomed, and as at large to them that be deſirous to vnderſtand the proceſſe thereof, in the firſt booke of the Actes and monuments of the Church aforeſayd may appeare.

But briefly to conclude, ſuch exceptions he vſed againſt the witneſſes produced againſt him, and he himſelf produced ſuch a number of witneſſes in hys defence, and vſed ſo many delaies and cauillations, that in the end the commiſſioners ſeeing his ſtubberneſſe, proceeded to the ſentence definitiue againſt him, as heere vnder followeth.

¶ Sentence definitiue agaynſt Stephen Gardiner B. of Wincheſter.

IN the name of God, Amen. By authority of a commiſſion by the high and mighty prince our moſte gracious ſoueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, and of the Church of England and alſo of Ireland in earth the ſupreme head, the tenour whereof hereafter enſueth: Edward the ſixt, &c. wee Thomas by the ſufferaunce of God Archbiſhop of Canterburye, primate of all Englande, and Metropolitane, wyth the right reuerende fathers in God,

Nicolas

Nicholas Biſhop of London, Thomas Byſhop of Ely, and Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, Syr William Peter Knight, one of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lordes two principall ſecretaries, Sir Iames Hales knight, one of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lordes Iuſtices of his common plees, Griffith Leiſon and Iohn Oliuer, Doctors of the Ciuill lawe, Richard Goodrike & Iohn Goſnold Eſquiers, delegates, and Iudges aſſigned & appointed, rightfully & lawfully proceeding according to the forme & tenor of ỹ ſaid commiſſion, for the hearing, examinatiõ, debating, & finall determination of ỹ cauſes and matters in the ſaid commiſſion mentioned and conteined, and vpon the contents of the ſame, and certaine articles obiected of office againſt you Steuen Biſhop of Wincheſter, as more plainely and fully is mentioned and declared in the ſaid commiſſion and articles, all which we repute & take here for to be expreſſed: & after ſondry iudiciall aſſemblies, examinations, & debatings of the ſaid cauſe & matters, with all incidents, emergents, & circumſtances to the ſame or any of them belonging, and the ſame alſo beeing by vs ofte heard, ſeene, and well vnderſtanded, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, cõſidered and fully wayed and pondred, obſeruing all ſuch order and other things as by the lawes, equitie, and the ſaid commiſſion ought or needed heerein to be obſerued, in the preſence of you Steuen Biſhop of Wincheſter, do procede to the geuing of our finall iudgement and ſentence diffinitiue in this maner following:

Wyncheſter d to be a ſgreſſor.

For aſmuch as by the actes inacted, exhibites, and allegations purpoſed, deduced, & alleaged, & by ſufficient proofes with your owne confeſſion in the cauſes aforeſaid had and made, we do euidently finde and perceiue that you Steuen Biſhop of Wincheſter haue not only tranſgreſſed the commaundements mentioned in the ſame, but alſo haue of lõg time, notwithſtanding many admonitions and commandements geuen vnto you to the contrary, remained, a perſon much grudging, ſpeaking, and repugning againſt the godly reformations of abuſes in religion ſet foorth by the kings highnes authoritie within this his realme: and foraſmuch as we do alſo finde you a notable, open, and contemptuous diſobeyer, of ſondry godly and iuſt commandements geuen vnto you by our ſayd ſoueraigne Lorde and by his authoritie, in diuers great and weighty cauſes, touching and cõcerning his princely office, the ſtate and common quietnes of this his Realme: and for aſmuch as you haue and yet do contemptuouſly refuſe to recogniſe your notorious negligences, & miſbehauiours, contempts, and diſobediẽces, remaining ſtill after a great number of ſeuerall admonitions alwaies more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendement, cõtrary both to your oth ſworne, obedience, promiſe, and alſo your bounden duety of allegiance: and for the great ſclaunder and offence of the people, ariſe in many partes of the Realme, through your wilfull doings, ſayings, and preachings, contrary to the common order of the Realme, and for ſondry other great cauſes by the actes, exhibites, your owne confeſſion, and proofes of this proceſſe more fully appearing, conſidering withall that nothing effectually hath ben on your behalfe alleaged, purpoſed, and proued, ne by any other meanes appeareth, whiche doth or may empayre or take away the proofes made againſt you, vpon the ſayde matters and other the premiſſes:

Therefore we Thomas Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane, Iudge delegate aforeſayd, calling God before our eyes, with expreſſe conſent and aſſent of Nicholas B. of London, Tho. biſhop of Ely, Henry B. of Lincolne, ſir Wil. Peter Knight, Sir Iames Hales Knight, Griffith Leiſon, and Ioh. Oliuer, doctors of the ciuill law, Rich. Goodricke, and Iohn Goſnold, Eſquires, Iudges, and Colleagues with vs in the matters aforeſaid, and with the counſaile of diuers learned men in the lawes, with whome we haue conferred in and vpon the premiſſes, do iudge and determine you Steuen Biſhop of Wincheſter, to be depriued and remooued from the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter, and from all the rightes, authoritie, emoluments, commodities, and other apurtenaunces to the ſayde Byſhoprike in any wiſe belonging, whatſoeuer they be, and by theſe preſences we doe depriue and remoue you from your ſayd Biſhopricke, and all rites & other commodities aforeſaide: and further pronounce & declare the ſayd Byſhopricke of Wincheſter to all effectes and purpoſes, to be voyde by this our ſentence definitiue, which we geue, pronounce, and declare in theſe writings.

Steuẽ Gardiner Biſh. of Wincheſter depriued of his Biſhoprike.

This ſentence diffinitiue being geuen, the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter vnder his former proteſtatiõs, diſſented frõ the geuing and reading thereof, and frõ the ſame as vniuſt of no efficacy or effect in law: and in that that the ſame conteineth exceſſiue puniſhmẽt, and for other cauſes expreſſed in his appellation aforeſayd, did then and there apud Acta, immediately after the pronouncing of the ſẽtence, by word of mouth, appeale to the kinges Royall maieſtie, firſt, ſecondly and thirdly, inſtantly, more inſtantly, moſt inſtantly, & aſked apoſtles, or letters dimiſſorials to be geuen and granted vnto him: And alſo vnder proteſtation not to recede from the ſayd appellation, aſked a copy of the ſayd ſẽtence, the Iudges declaring that they would firſt knowe the kinges pleaſure and his counſell therin: vpon the reading and geuing of which ſentence, the promoters willed Will. Say and Thomas Argall to make a publicke Inſtrument and the witneſſes then and there preſent to beare teſtimony thervnto. &c.

Steuẽ Gardiner appealeth from the Sentence to the king.

And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe and proceſſe of Steuen Gardiner late biſhop of Wincheſter, vnto whome the Papiſticall cleargy doth ſo much leane, as to a mighty Atlas: an vpholder of their ruinous Religion. And though I haue not here withal ſo fully expreſſed all his letters, anſweres, preachinges, examinations, defenſions, exhibites & atteſtations, with the depoſitions of all ſuche witneſſes as he could and did produce for the moſt aduantage of hys owne cauſe, with ſuch notes alſo and collections gathered vpon the ſame, as here I might, and as before I haue don: I muſt intreate ỹ reader to cõſider firſt ỹ greatnes of this volume which would not well beare the tedious tractatiõ thereof: and ſecondly to content himſelf in reſorting to our firſt hiſtory, where not onely he may peruſe the whole diſcourſe of this biſhops doinges ſet foorth at large: but alſo may briefely read in a few ſummarye notes collected, the whole courſe of his doctrine and Iudgement, touchyng what poyntes of religion he did conſent and agree, or not agree vnto. pag. 862.

The end of Wincheſters ſtory.

The Notes and collections hereof, read in the firſt edition, fol. 862.

And thus an end of Wincheſter for a while, til we come to talke of his death hereafter. Whome as wee number amongeſt good Lawyers, ſo is he to be reckoned amongeſt ignoraunt and groſſe Diuines, proud Prelates and bloudy perſecuters: as both by his cruell life and Phariſaicall doctrine may appeare, eſpecially in the article of the Sacrament, and of our iuſtification and Images, and alſo in crying out of the Paraphraſe, not conſidering in whoſe perſon the things be ſpoken, but what the Paraphraſt vttereth in the perſon of Chriſt, or of the Euangeliſt, and not in his own, that he wraſteth vnto the author, and maketh thereof hereſie, and abhomination.

Wincheſter a good lawyer yet but a naughty diuine, and a worſe Biſhop.

The like impudency and quarrelling alſo hee vſed agaynſt Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, & almoſt agaynſt all other true Interpreters of the Goſpell. So blinde was his iudgement, or els ſo wilfull was his mind in the truth of Chriſts doctrine, that it is hard to ſay whether in him vnſkilfulnes or wilfulnes had greater predomination. But agaynſt this doct. Gardiner we will now ſet and match on the cõtrary ſide, D. Redman, for ſo much as he departing this tranſitory life the ſame preſent yeare 1551. commeth now by courſe of hiſtory here to be mentioned. Who for his ſingular life and profounde knowledge, being inferiour in no reſpect to the ſayde Gardiner, ſhall ſtand as great a freend in promoting the goſpels cauſe, as the other ſeemeth an enemy by all maner of wayes to empayre and deface the ſame. For the more aſſured declaratiõ whereof, we will hereto adioyne (the Lorde willing) the learned communication betweene the ſaid Doct. Redman lying in his deathbed, and M. Wilkes, mayſter Alexander Nowell, Doct. Yong, and other witneſſes moe. Whereof the ſayd M. Wilkes thus recordeth, ſpeaking in his owne perſon and his owne wordes as followeth.

Wincheſter as vnſkilfull as wilfull.

D. Redman ſet to match Steuen Gardiner.

A note of the communication that I Richard Wilkes had with maiſter Doctor Redman being ſicke at Weſtminſter, but of good memory 2. Nouemb. 1551. in the preſence of M. Yong & an other, whõ I did not know, and 2. of M. Doct. Redmans ſeruants, the one called Elias, and the other vnknowne.

I The foreſayd Richard Wilkes comming to Doct. Redman lying ſicke at Weſtminſter, and firſt ſaluting him after my ordinary duetye, wiſhed him health both in ſoule & body, not doubting moreouer, but he did practiſe the godly counſaile in himſelfe, which he was wont to geue to other being in his caſe: and thankes be to God (ſaid I) who had geuen him ſtuffe of knowledge to comfort himſelf withall. To whom he anſwering again, ſaid in this wiſe: God of all comfort geue me grace to haue comfort in hym, and to haue my mind wholy fixed in him. M. Yong & I ſayd, Amen. Thẽ I cõmoned to him of his ſickenes, & the weaknes of his body, and ſaid ỹ though he were brought neuer ſo low, yet he, if it were his pleaſure that raiſed vp Lazarus, could reſtore him to health agayne. No, no ſaith he,

The communication and confeſſion of D. Redman in his deathbed.

that is paſt, and I deſire it not but the will of God be fulfilled.

After this or a little other like communication, I aſked if I mighte be ſo bolde not troubling him, to knowe hys mynde for my learning in ſome matters and poyntes of religion. He ſayd, yea, and that he was as glad to common wyth me, in ſuch matters, as with any man. And then I ſayde to hys ſeruauntes: I truſt I ſhall not trouble hym. No ſaid Ellis his ſeruaunt, my L. of London, M. Nowel and other haue communed with him, and he was glad of it. Then ſayd M. Redman, no you ſhall not trouble me. I pray God euer geue me grace to ſpeake the truth, and hys truth, and that which ſhall redound to his glory, and ſend vs vnitie in his Church, and we ſayd, Amen.

Communicatiō touching the Sacramēt of the Lordes Body & bloud.

I ſayde he ſhoulde do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to knowe his minde as touching the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

He ſayd, as man is made of two partes, of the body and the ſoule, ſo Chriſt would feede the whole man: but what (ſayth he) be the wordes of the text? Let vs take the wordes of the Scripture: and he rehearſed the text himſelfe thus: Accepit Ieſus panem: Chriſt tooke bread. wherein hys wyll was to inſtitute a Sacrament, Accipite, commedite: Take, eate. Here he told the vſe of it. what did he geue them? Hoc eſt corpus meum, he calleth it his body.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament.

Then I aſked him of the preſence of Chriſt.

Vnitio.

He ſaid, Chriſt was preſent with his ſacrament, and in thoſe that receaued it as they ought. And there was Mira vnitio, a wonderfull vnion (for that word was named betwixt Chriſt and vs) as S. Paul ſaith: Vos eſtis os ex oſſibus eius, & caro ex carne eius. Ye be bone of his bones, and fleſh of his fleſh. The which vnion was ineffable.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſent corporally, naturally, and really in the Sacramēt. Corporally, that is truely: ſo Chriſt is there otherwiſe not.

Then I aſked him what he thought of the opinion, that Chriſt was there corporally, naturally, and really.

He aunſwered: if you meane by corporally, naturally, and really, that he is there preſent Verè, I graunt.

Queſt. Whether Chriſt be there fleſh, bloud, & bone.

Then I aſked how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be ſpoken, that Chriſt was there fleſh, bloud & bone, as I haue heard the Stewards in their Leets giue charge when the 6. articles ſtode in effect, and charge the Inqueſt to enquire, that if there were any that would denie that Chriſt was preſent in the Sacrament of the aultar in fleſh, bloud, and bone, they ſhould apprehend them.

He ſaid, that was to groſſe, and could not well be excuſed from the opinion of the Capernaites.

Queſt. Whether Chriſt be receaued in minde & ſpirite, or with mouth & body, or with both?

Thē I aſked him: in as much as Chriſt was there Verè, howe do we receaue him? in our myndes and ſpirituall partes, or with our mouthes and into our bodies, or both?

He ſaid, we receaue him in our minds & ſoules by fayth.

Queſt. Whether Chriſtes very body be receaued into our very bodyes or no?

Then in aſmuch as he was much in this point, ẏ there was Mira vnitio, a marueylous vnion betwixt vs & Chriſt, in that we were Caro ex carne eius, & os ex oſſibus eius: Bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh: I deſired to knowe his opinion whether we receiued the very body of Chriſt wyth our mouthes, and into our bodies or no.

Here he pauſed & held his peace a litle ſpace, and ſhortly after he ſpake, ſaying: I will not ſay ſo: I can not tell: it is a hard queſtion, but ſurely ſaith he, we receiue Chriſt in our ſoule by faith. when you ſpeake of it other wayes, it ſoundeth groſly and ſauoureth of the Capernaites.

Queſt. Whether that be to be worſhipped which the prieſt ſheweth to the people betwixte his handes?

Then I aſked him what he thought of ẏ which ẏ Prieſt was wont to lift vp & ſhew the people betwixt his hāds?

He ſaide it is the Sacramente. Then ſayd I, they were wont to worſhip that which was lifted vp. Yea ſaith he, but we muſt worſhip Chriſt in heauen: Chriſt is neither lifted vp nor downe. I am glad, ſayd I, M. Doctour, to heare you ſay ſo much. I would not ſpeake of the holy Sacrament otherwiſe then reuerently, but I feare leaſt that Sacrament, and the little white peece of bread ſo lifted vp, hath robbed Chriſt of a great part of his honour.

Queſt. Whether the carying about of the Sacrament is to be alowed?

Then ſaid he, looking vp and praying, God graunt vs grace that we may haue ẏ true vnderſtanding of his word, whereby we may come to the true vſe of his Sacraments, and ſayd he woulde neuer allow the carying about of the Sacrament, and other fond abuſes about the ſame.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Tranſubſtantiation not to be founde in the Doctours.

Then after a little while pauſing, ſaid I: Maiſter Doctor, if I ſhuld not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in tranſubſtantiation. Ieſu M. wilkes (quoth he) wyll you aſke me that? Syr ſayde I, not if I ſhoulde trouble you. No, no, I will tell you ſaith he: Becauſe I founde the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation receiued in the Church, when I heard it ſpoken againſt, I ſearched the auncient Doctors diligently, & went about to ſtabliſhe it by them, becauſe it was receiued. And whē I had read many of them, I found little for it, & could not be ſatiſfied. Thē I went to the Schoole Doctors, and namely to Gabriell, and wayed his reaſons. The which when I had done, and perceiued they were no pithier, Langueſcebat opinio mea de tranſubſtantiatione, my opinion of Tranſubſtantiation waxed feeble, and then (ſayth he) I returned agayne to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had obſerued their ſayings, mine opinion that there ſhould be tranſubſtantiation, prorſus erat abolita: was quite daſhed.

Then ſayd I, you know that the Schoole Doctors dyd hold that panis non remanebat poſt conſecrationem, that bread remained not after conſecration as they called it.

The ſchoole Doctors (ſayth he) did not know what conſecratio doth meane: and here he pauſed a while. I pray you ſayd I, what ſay you that conſecratio doth meane? Sayth he, it is Tota actio, in miniſtring the Sacramente, as Chriſt did inſtitute it. All the whole thing done in the miniſtery, as Chriſt ordeyned it, that is, conſecratio, and what (ſaith he) neede we to doubt that bread remayneth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certaine good authors that be of the latter time, be of that opinion.

After that I had communed with M. Redman, and taken my leaue of him, M. Yong came foorth into the next chamber with me, to whome I ſaid that I was glad to ſee M. Doct. Redman ſo well minded. Then ſaid M. Yong to me, I am ſure he will not deny it. I enſure you ſaith he, M. Doct. hath ſo moued me, that where as I was of that opinion before in certaine things, that I would haue burned and loſt my life for them, now ſaith M. Yong, I doubt of them. But I ſee (ſaith he) a man ſhall knowe more & more by proceſſe of time, and reading and hearing of other, and M. Doct Redmans ſaying ſhall cauſe me to looke more diligently for them.

Alſo Ellis M. Doctour Redmans ſeruaunt ſhewed me that he did knowe that his maiſter had declared to kyng Henry 8. his Maieſty, that faith only iuſtifieth: but that doctrine as he thought, was not to be taught the people, leaſt they ſhould be negligent to do good workes.

The ſayd maiſter Yong hath reported (the which alſo I heard) that M. Doctor Redman ſhould ſay, that conſenſus Eccleſiæ, the conſent of the Church was but a weake ſtaffe to leane to, but did exhort him to reade the Scriptures, for there was that which ſhould comfort him when he ſhould be in ſuch caſe as he was then.

✽ Another communication betweene Doctor Redman lying in his death bead, and Mayſter Nowell then Schoolemaiſter in Weſtminſter, and certaine other, with notes of his cenſure & iudgement touching certayne poyntes of Chriſtes Religion.

1 IN primis, the ſayd D. Redman ſent for M. Nowell of his own mind, and ſaid he was willing to commune with him of ſuch matters as he had moued ẏ ſaid D. Redman of a day or two before: and he being deſired of the ſaid M. Nowell to declare his mind cōcerning certain points of our Religion, firſt ſaid: aſke me what ye will, and I wil anſwere you (before God) truly as I thinke, without any affection to the world, or any worldly perſon.

Witneſſes Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

2 Item, the ſaid D. Redman ſaid, that the ſea of Rome in theſe latter daies is Sentina malorū, that is, a ſinke of al euil.

Witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

3 Item, that Purgatory, as the ſchoolemen taught it and vſed it, was vngodly, and that there was no ſuch kynde of Purgatory as they fantaſied.

Witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

4 Item, that the offring vp of the Sacrament in Maſſes and Trentals for the ſinnes of the dead, is vngodly.

Witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

5 Item, that the wicked are not pertakers of the body of Chriſt, but receiue the outward Sacrament only.

Witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

6 Item, that the Sacrament ought not to be caried about in proceſſion: for it is taught what is the vſe of it in theſe wordes: Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam: Take, eate, and drinke, and do this in remembrance of me.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

7 Item, that nothing which is ſeene in the Sacramente, or perceiued with any outward ſence, is to be worſhipped.

Witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas, Richard Burton.

8 Item, that we receiue not Chriſtes body Corporaliter, id eſt, craſſè: corporally, that is to ſaye, groſly, like other

meates, and like as Capernaites did vnderſtand it.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

Chriſt is corporally eaten in the Sacrament. Anno 1551.

9 Item, that we receiue Chriſtes body ſic ſpiritualiter vt tamen verè: ſo ſpiritually, that neuertheleſſe truly.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

Chriſt ſpiritually & truely eaten in the Sacrament. Tranſubſtantiation hath no ground in the old Doctours.

10 Item, as touching tranſubſtantiation, that there is not in any of the old doctours any good ground or ſure proofe thereof, or any mention of it, as farre as euer he could perceiue, neither that he ſeeth what can be aunſwered to the obiections made againſt it.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Chriſt can neyther be lifted vp nor downe.

11 Item, being aſked of Maiſter Wilkes what that was which was lifted vp betwene the prieſtes handes, he aunſwered: he thought that Chriſt could neyther be lifted vp nor downe.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Prieſtes mariage lawfull by Gods word.

12 Item, that Prieſtes may by the lawe of God marry wiues.

witneſſes Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas.

Faith onely iuſtifieth, a true doctrine.

13 That this propoſition: Sola fides iuſtificat, ſo that fides ſignifie Veram, viuam, & acquieſcentem in Chriſto fidem, id eſt amplexum Chriſti: that is to ſay, that only faith doth iuſtifie, ſo that faith do ſignifie a true, a liuely, and a faith reſting in Chriſt and embracing Chriſt: is a true, godly, ſweete, and comfortable doctrine, ſo that it be ſo taught that the people take none occaſion of carnall libertie thereof.

True fayth defined.

witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ioh. Wright, Edwarde Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

Workes do not merite to ſaluatió.

14 Item, that our workes cannot deſerue the kingdome of God, and life euerlaſting.

witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edwarde Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

15 Item, that the ſayde D. Redman, at ſuch times as wee the foreſayd perſons, which haue ſubſcribed, heard his communication concerning the foreſaid pointes of Religion, was of quiet mind and of perfite remembraunce, as farre as we were able to iudge.

witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edward Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

¶ Alſo M. Yong of himſelfe doth declare further touching the former Articles in this wiſe.

¶ To the v. Article.

Doctour Yonges teſtimony of Doctour Redmans doctrine. Iudas receiued the ſame that Peter did, as Simon Magus receiued the ſame Baptiſme as Peter did.

INprimis, that D. Redman ſayd more, where as S. Auguſtine ſayde: Quòd Iudas idem accepit quod Petrus, that Iudas receiued the ſame that Peter did, he ſaid that he vnderſtode that of the Sacramente, and that after the ſame phraſe a man might ſay: Quòd Simon Magus idem Baptiſma recepit quod Apoſtoli, that Simon Magus receiued the ſame Baptiſme that the Apoſtles did, when he did receiue only the outwarde Sacramente to his condemnation: for he ſayd that he thought Chriſt would not vouchſafe to giue his holy fleſh to an vngodly man. And this he ſaide was alwayes his mind, though he knew that other men did otherwiſe thinke.

¶ To the vj. Article.

Carying about of the Sacrament.

Item, he ſayde, he neuer liked the cariage aboute of the Sacrament, and preached againſt it about 16. yeares ſince in Cambridge.

¶ To the x Article.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Item, when he was demaunded of tranſubſtantiation, he ſayde, that he had trauayled about it, and thinking that the doubtes which he perceyued dyd riſe thereon ſhoulde be made playne by the Schoolemen, did reade their bookes, and after that he had read them, the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation was euery day Magis & magis languida, that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no ſuche Tranſubſtantiation as they made, adding therto, that the whole Schoole did not knowe what was meant by conſecration, which he ſayd was the whole action of the holy Communion.

¶ To the xiij. Article.

Iuſtification by fayth onely.

Item, he ſayd that he did repent him that he had ſo much ſtriued againſt iuſtification by only faith.

¶ To the xiiij. Article.

Workes merite not eternal life.

Item, that workes had their crowne and rewarde, but that they did not deſerue eternall life, and the kyngdome of God, no not the workes of grace: Nam donum dei vita æterna. For euerlaſting life is the gift of God.

Although theſe teſtimonies aboue alledged may ſuffice for a declaration touching the honeſt life, ſounde doctrine, and ſincere iudgement of Doctour Redman: yet (velut ex abundanti) I thought not to cut off in this place, the teſtimoniall letter or Epiſtle of D. Yong writte to M. Cheke, ſpecially concerning the premiſſes. Which Epiſtle of Doct. Yong, as I receiued it written by his owne hand in the latine tongue, the copy whiche he himſelfe hath not, nor can deny to be his owne, & is extant to be read in the former booke of Actes and Monumentes, ſo I haue here exhibited the ſame faythfully tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue the tenour whereof here followeth.

The letter of M. Yong written to M. Cheke concerning Doct. Redman, tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh.

M. Yonges letter to M. Cheke touching Doct. Redman.

ALthough right worſhipfull, I am ſtricken into no little dampe and dolour of minde for the vnripe (but that it otherwiſe pleaſed almighty God) & lamentable death of that moſt bleſſed & learned man Doct. Redman, in ſomuch that all aſtonied with weeping and lamenting, I can not tell what to doe or thinke (yet neuertheleſſe perceiuing it to be your worſhips will and pleaſure, that ſo I ſhoulde do) I gladly cal my wittes together, and purpoſe by gods grace, here in theſe my letters, ſincerely and truely to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man ſpeake and confeſſe at the houre of his death as touching the controuerſies of religion, wherwith the ſpouſe of Chriſt is in theſe our dayes moſt miſerably troubled and tormented.

Commendation of D. Redman.

This Doct. Redman, being continually by the ſpace of xx. yeares or ſomewhat more exerciſed in the reading of the holy ſcripture, with ſuch induſtry, labor, modeſty, magnanimitie, and prayers to almighty God tryed and wayed the controuerſies of religiō, that in al his doings as he would not ſeeme to approue that was either falſe or ſuperſtitious so he would neuer improue that he thought to ſtand wyth the true worſhip of God. And albeit in certayne poyntes and articles of his fayth, he ſeemed to diuers whiche were altogether ignoraunt of that his ſingular grauitie, eyther for ſoftnes, feare, or lacke of ſtomacke to chaunge his mind and beliefe, yet they, to whom his former life and conuerſation by familiar acquayntaunce with him was throughly knowne, with them alſo which were preſent at his departure, may eaſely perceaue and vnderſtand, how in graue & weighty matters, not raſhly and vnaduiſedly, but wyth conſtant iudgement and vnfayned conſcience he deſcended into that maner of beliefe which at that time of his goyng out of this world, he openly profeſſed.

I geue your wiſedome to vnderſtand, that when death drew neare, he caſting away all hope of recouery, minded & talked of no other thing (as we which were preſēt heard) but of heaue and heauenly matters, of the latter day of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, with whom moſt feruently he deſired to be: whoſe incredible loue towardes vs miſerable ſinners, moſt worthely and not without teares hee often times vſed to extol and ſpeake of: and vs which wer there preſent, he earneſtly moued and exhorted to prepare oure ſelues to Chriſt, to loue one an other, and to beware of this moſt wretched & corrupt world. And beſides that he promiſed (calling God to witnes thereunto, to whom he truſted ſhortly to come) if any woulde demaund any queſtion that he would anſwere him what he thought in his iudgement to be the truth. At what time there were preſent M. Alexander Nowell, a man earneſtly bent to the true worſhipping of God, and one that had alway ſingularly well loued ẏ ſaid M. Redman: to whome he ſpake on this wiſe:

Exhortation of Doct. Redman to them that were about him.

M. Alexander Nowell now Deane of Paules.

Your excellent learning and purity of life I haue euer both highly fauoured, and had in admiration: and for no other cauſe (God be my iudge) I do aſke theſe things of you which I ſhall propound, but that I might learne & knowe of you what is your opinion and beliefe touchynge thoſe troblous controuerſies which are in theſe our dayes: and I ſhall receaue and approue your wordes as oracles ſent from heauen.

To whom when doct. Redman had geuen leaue to demaund what he would, and had promiſed that he woulde faythfully and ſincerely aunſwere (all affection ſet aſide) what he thought to be the truth, M. Nowel ſaid: I would (quoth he) right gladly, but that I feare by my talke and communication I ſhalbe vnto you, ſo feeble and nowe almoſt ſpent, a trouble and griefe. Then ſayd Doct. Redmā replying: what ſhall I ſpare my carcas (quoth he) whiche hath ſo ſhort a time here to remaine? Go to, go to (ſayd he) propound what you will. Thē M. Nowell put forth certayne queſtions in order, which I will here declare: wherunto the ſayd doct. Redman ſeuerally anſwered, as hereafter followeth.

The firſt queſtion that he aſked of him was, what hee thought of the biſhop of Rome. Unto whō Doct. Redmā anſwered that the Sea of Rome in theſe our latter dayes had much ſwarued from the true religiō and worſhipping of God & is with horrible vices ſtayned & polluted: which I therfore (quoth he) pronounce to be the ſincke of all euill and ſhortly wil come to vtter ruine by ſcourge of God, except

The Sea of Rome a ſincke of all ſinne.

kept it do fall the ſooner to repentance: wherewith he briefly complayned of the filthy abuſe of our Engliſhe Church.

Purgatory.

Beeing then aſked what his opinion was concerning purgatory, and what the Scholemen iudged therof, he anſwered, that the ſubtill reaſons of the Scholemen concerning purgatory, ſeemed to him to be no leſſe vayne, and friuolous, then diſagreeing from the truth: adding thereunto: that when we be rapt vp to the cloudes to meete Chriſt comming to iudgemēt with a great number of Angels in all glory and maieſty then euery one ſhall be purged with fire as it is written: The fire ſhall go before hym, and ſhall flame round about his enemies, and the fire ſhall burne in his ſight, and round about him ſhall be a great tempeſt: ſaying that diuers of the old writers approued this his ſentence concerning purgatory.

Pſal. 97. & 50.

The wicked eat not the fleſhe of Chriſt.

When he was aſked whether wicked and vngodly people in the holy communion did eate the body of Chriſt, and drinke his bloud: he aunſwered that ſuch kind of men dyd not eate Chriſtes moſt bleſſed fleſh, but only tooke the Sacramēt to their own damnation: ſaying that Chriſt would not gyue his moſt pure and holy fleſh to be eaten of ſuche naughty and impure perſons, but would withdraw hymſelfe from them. And that (quoth hee) that is obiected by S. Auguſtine, that Iudas receiued the ſelfeſame thing whych Peter receiued: that I thinke to be vnderſtanded of the externall Sacrament. And the like kynde of phraſe of ſpeaking (ſayde hee) we may vſe concerning the baptiſme of Magus: that Simon Magus receaued that which the Apoſtles did receaue. In deede as concerning the Sacrament of the externall baptiſme, Simon Magus receaued that whiche the Apoſtles did, but that internall grace, wherewith the Apoſtles were endued, and that holy ſpirit wherewith by baptiſme they were enſpired, he lacked. And ſo (quoth he) the wicked and forſaken people, which raſhly preſume to come to the holy table of the Lorde, do receiue the Sacrament and the ſelfeſame which good and godly men receiue: but the body of Chriſt, they do not receiue, for Chriſt doth not vouchſafe to deliuer it them. And thus he ſayd was his opinion and beliefe, although he knewe others to be of a contrary iudgement.

How Chriſt is preſent in the Sacramedt.

Being then after this demaunded whether he thought Chriſtes preſence to be in the Sacrament or no, he anſwered that Chriſt dyd geue & offer to faythfull and Chriſtian men, his very reall body and bloud verely & really vnder ſacramēts of bread & wine, in ſomuch that they which deuoutly come to bee partakers of that holy foode, are by the benefite thereof vnited and made one with Chriſte in hys fleſhe and body. And therefore he ſayde that Chriſt dyd diſtribute his body ſpiritually that he gaue it truly, not ſo yet neuertheleſſe that by theſe and the like wordes we ſhould conceiue any groſſe or carnall intelligence, ſuch as the Capernaites once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we myghte labour & endeuour to expreſſe by ſome kinde of wordes the ineffable maieſtie of this miſterie. For the maner whereby Chriſt is there preſent, and miniſtreth to the faythfull hys fleſh, is altogether inexplicable: but we muſt beleue (quoth he) and thinke, that by Gods mighty power & the holy operation of his ſpirit, this ſo notable a miſtery was made: & that heauen & earth was ioined together in that momēt, as the bleſſed man ſ. Gregory ſaith: ẏ loweſt parts are ioined to the higheſt: By which is vnderſtand that holy food, whereby they whiche be regenerate by the holy Ghoſt in baptiſme, are nouriſhed to immortalitie. And further hee ſayd that Chriſtes body was receiued in the ſayde Sacrament by faith: which being receiued both body and ſoule, were quickned to euerlaſting life.

The Capernaites groſſe errour of Chriſtes bodyly preſence in the Sacramēt.

Transubſtantiation.

Beeing then required to ſay his minde about tranſubſtantiation, he gaue anſwere that he had much trauelled in that point, and that he firſt much fauoured and enclined to that part which mainteined tranſubſtantiation: in ſearching the veritie whereof moſt ſtudiouſly, he had bene no little while occupied, and founde to ariſe thereabout infinite, and almoſt inexplicable abſurdities. In confutyng whereof, when he had but ſmally contented himſelfe, he ſaid he tooke in hand the Scholemens works, and peruſed Gabriell and other writers of that ſorte, for that by theyr helpe and aide he hoped that all inconueniences which did ſpring and ariſe by maintenance of Tranſubſtantiation, might be cleane conuinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was vtterly fruſtrate (ſayd he) for that he did finde in thoſe works many fond and fantaſticall things, which were both too fooliſh to be recorded in writing, and alſo to be alledged about ſuch a miſtery: and truly (ſaide he) euer after the reading of them, my former zeale and opinion, touching the maintenance of tranſubſtantiation, did euery day more and more decreaſe, and therefore in concluſion perſwaded himſelfe to thinke that there was no ſuch tranſubſtantiation as the Schoolemen imagined and fained to be, ſaying that in deede the auncient writers were plainely againſt the maintenance thereof: amongſt whome, he recited by name Iuſtine, Irene, and Tertullian, notorious aduerſaries to the ſame. Furthermore, he added hereunto, that the whole Schoole vnderſtoode not what this word Conſecratio was: which he defined to be the full and entire action of the whole Communion.

Conſecratio what it meaneth.

Being demaunded alſo whether we ought to worſhip Chriſt preſent in his holy Supper, he told vs that we are bound ſo to do: and that it was moſt agreeing to piety and godly Religion. Likewiſe being aſked whether he would haue the viſible Sacrament to be worſhipped, which we ſee with our eyes, and is lifted vp betweene the Prieſtes hands: he anſwered, that nothing which was viſible, and to be ſeene with the eye, is to be adored or worſhipped, nor that Chriſt woulde be eleuated into any higher, or pulled downe into any lower place, and that he can neither bee lifted vp higher, nor pulled downe lower.

Nothing to be worſhipped that may be ſeene. The Sacrament not to be caryed about.

Againe, being aſked what his iudgement was about the cuſtome and maner in carying about the Sacrament in ſolemne pompes, proceſſions and otherwiſe: he ſaid, that he alwaies miſliked and reproued that order: in ſo much that about xvi. yeares agon openly in the pulpit at Cambridge he ſpake againſt that abuſe and diſalowed that ceremony, ſhewing that Chriſt had expreſſed by playne and euident wordes a very fruitefull and right vſe of this Sacrament, when he ſayde Take ye: (by which phraſe quoth hee, he doth expreſſe that he will giue a gift:) Eate yee: (by whyche words he doth declare the proper vſe and order of that hys precious gift:) This is my body: (whereby he doth euidently and plainely ſhewe what by that gift they ſhould receaue, and how royall and precious a gift he woulde giue them: and therefore he iudged ſuch pompous and ſuperſtitious oſtentations vtterly to be condemned and taken as plaine mockeries and Counterfaite viſars.

His iudgement alſo being aſked about the Commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in oriſons whether he thought it profitable or no: he aunſwered, that it ſeemed to him to be no leſſe profitable then religious and godly: and that might be well proued out of the bookes of Machabees. The which bokes although Saint Hierome adiudging as not authentike, thought good to bee read in the Temples onely for the edifying of the Church, and not for the aſſertion of opinions: yet with me the opinions of the other writers, to whome thoſe bookes are allowed as Canons, preuaileth: which he in that point thinketh good to be read.

In this poynt the iudgement of Doct. Redman is not to be followed.

Being furthermore required to ſhew hys mynde about trentall Maſſes, and Maſſes of Scala cœli, he ſhewed them that they were altogether vnprofitable, ſuperſtitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountaine of ſuperſtition, not yelding the fruite which they promiſed to bring forth. The Sacrifice of the Supper of the Lorde, (the Euchariſt I meane) that ſacrifice he ſayd could not be offered for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Trentall Maſſes diſproued.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe diſproued.

Finally, of his owne voluntary will, and no man (as farre as I can call to remembrance) demaunding of him, he ſhewed his opinion concerning Iuſtification by Chriſt. I lament (ſaid he) and repent, beſeching God forgiuenes for the ſame, that to ſeriouſly and earneſtly I haue wythſtand this propoſition: that onely fayth doth iuſtifye, but I alwayes feared that it ſhould be taken to the libertie of the fleſhe, and ſo ſhould defile the innocencie of life which is in Chriſt. But that propoſition: that onely faith doth iuſtifye, is true (quoth he) ſweete and full of ſpirituall comfort, if it be truely taken, and rightly vnderſtanded. And when hee was demaunded what he thought to be the true and very ſenſe thereof: I vnderſtand (quoth he) that to be the liuely faith, which reſteth in our only Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt and imbraceth him: ſo that in our only Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, all the hope and truſt of our ſaluation be ſurely fixed. And as cōcerning good works (ſaid he) they haue their crowne and merite: and are not deſtitute of their rewards. Yet neuertheleſſe they do not merite the kingdome of heauen. For no workes (ſaid he) coulde not purchaſe and obteyne that bleſſed, happy and euerlaſting immortalitie: no nor yet thoſe things whiche we do vnder grace by the motion of the holy Ghoſt. For that bleſſed and immortall glory is giuen and beſtowed vpon vs mortall men, of the heauenly father for his Sonne our Sauiour Chriſtes ſake, as S. Paule teſtifieth, The gift of God is eternall life.

Faith onely iuſtifieth.

Workes do not merite ſaluation.

Rom. 6.

And theſe be the reſolutions which I heard him geue to the queſtions by M. Nowell propoſed. From which hys ſentence and iudgement ſo heard by me and of him vttered (as I remember) I neuer declined or varied. I beſeeche our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt to ceaſe theſe troublous ſtormes wherewith the Church is toſſed, and vouchſafe for his holy names ſake tenderly to beholde & looke vpon his poore

The iudgement of M. Yonge about the controuerſies of religion.

wretched

auncient writers were plaine-
ongſt whome, he
n, notorious ad-
oded heereunto,
what this word
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Conſecra what it meaneth.

whether we ought to worſhip
Supper, he told vs that we are
was moſt agreeing to piety and
being aſked whether he would
t to be worſhipped, which we
ifted vp betweene the Prieſtes
othing which was viſible, and
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Nothing be worſ pedthat may be ſeene. The Sacrament not be caryed bout.

nt was about the
e Sacrament in ſo-
s and otherwiſe: he ſaid, that he
ued that order; in ſo much that
nly in the pulpit at Cambridge
and diſalowed that ceremony,
preſſed by playne and euidente
o right vſe of this Sacrament,
by which phraſe quoth hee, he
ue a gift:) Eate yee: (by whyche
order of that hys
e doth euidently
ſhould receaue,
oulde giue them:
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ondemned and taken as plaine
e viſars.
g aſked about the Commemo-
emembrance of them in oriſons
table or no: he aunſwered, that
e profitable then religious and
ell proued out of the bookes of
kers although Saint Hierome
ood to bee read in
Church, and not
the opinions of
s are allowed as
nt thinketh good

In this poynt the iudgement of Doct. Redman is not to be followed.

ired to ſhew hys mynde about
s of Scala cœli, he ſhewed them
nprofitable, ſuperſtitious, and
he filthy and impure fountaine
the fruite which they promiſed
ce of the Supper of the Lorde,
at ſacrifice he ſayd could not be
e dead.

Trentall Maſſes diſproued.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe diſproued.

and no man (as
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ed and immortall glory is gi-
mortall men, of the heauenly
auiour Chriſtes ſake, as S.
l life.

Fayth onely iuſtifieth.

Workes do not merite ſaluation.

Rom. 6.

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wretched

The iudgement of D. Yonge about the controuerſies of religion.

Anno 1552.

wretched flocke ſo miſerably ſcattered and diſperſed, beſeeching him alſo of his goodnes to preſerue your worſhip. At London the third of Nouember.

* Heere followeth the hiſtory no leſſe lamentable then notable of William Gardiner an Engliſhman, ſuffering moſt conſtantly in Portyngale for the teſtimony of Gods truth.

The ſtory W. Gardiner, moſt lly martyred at bone in ngale.

COmming now to the yeare next following 1552. wee will ſomewhat ſtep aſide, and borow a little leaue, coaſting the Seas into Portingale amongſt the Popiſh marchauntes there, whither a certaine countryma͂ of ours doth call me, named William Gardiner, a man verely in my iudgement, not only to be compared with the moſt principall & chiefe Martirs of theſe our daies, but alſo ſuch one, as the auncient Churches in the time of the firſt perſecutions, can not ſhew a more famous: whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firme and ſtedfaſt conſtantnes, the inuincible ſtrength of his ſpirit, or the cruell and horrible tormentes: the report only and hearing whereof, were enough to put any man in horror or feare. Yet notwythſtanding ſo farre it was of that the ſame did diſcourage him, that it may be doubted whether the payne of his body, or the courage of his mind were the greater: when as in deede both appeared to be very great.

W. Gardiner, comrable ith the artyrs in e primie church.

Wherfore, if any prayſe or dignity amongſt men, (as reaſon is) be due vnto the Martirs of Chriſt for their valiant actes, this one man amongſt many, ſeemeth worthy to bee numbred and alſo to be celebrate in the Church with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatius, Greſcentius, and Gordianus. And if the Church of Chriſt do receiue ſo great and manifolde benefits by theſe martirs, with whoſe bloud it is watred, by whoſe aſhes it is enlarged, by whoſe conſtancie it is confirmed, by whoſe teſtimonie it is witneſſed, and finally through whoſe agonies and victories the truth of the Goſpell doth gloriouſly triumph: let not vs then thinke it any great matter, to requite them with our ducty againe, by committing them vnto memory, as a perpetuall token of our good will towards them. Albeit, they themſelues receiue no glory at our hands, and much leſſe challenge the ſame: but referre it wholy vnto the Lord Chriſt, fro͂ whom it came whatſoeuer great or notable thing there was in them. Notwithſtanding, for ſo much as Chriſt himſelfe is glorified in his Saints, we ca͂ not ſhew our ſelues thankefull vnto him, except we alſo ſhew our ſelues dutifull vnto thoſe, by whome his glory doth increaſe.

hat ducty to be geue Chriſtia͂s the bleſ- d Martyrs a. e memo- of hriſtes artyrs not be forten.

Hereupon I thinke it came to paſſe, that the auncient Chriſtians in the time of the firſt perſecutio͂s, thought good to celebrate yearely commemorations of the Martirdome of thoſe holy men, not ſo much to honour the͂, as to glorifie God in his ſouldiours, vnto whom all glory & praiſe doth worthely belong: and moreouer, that we being inſtructed by their example, might bee the more prompt and ready in the policies of thoſe warres, to ſtand more ſtoutly in battaile againſt our aduerſaries, and learne the more eaſily to contemne and deſpiſe thys worlde. For in conſidering the ende and death of theſe men, who will greatly long or luſte after this life, which is ſo many wayes miſerable, through ſo many afflictions dolorous, through ſo many caſualties ruinous, wherein conſiſteth ſo litte conſtancie & leſſe ſafety, being neuer free from ſome hard calamitie one or other? what good ma͂ would haue this world in reputatio͂, wherein he ſeeth ſo many good men ſo cruelly oppreſſed, & wherein no man can liue in quietnes, except he be wicked? wherfore I do not a little merueile, that in this great ſlaughter of good me͂ with ſo many ſpectacles and examples of cruell torme͂t, Chriſtians do yet liue as it were drowned in yͤ fooliſh deſires of this world, ſeeing dayly before their eyes ſo many holy and innocent men yeeld vp their ſpirits vnder the handes of ſuch tormentors, to lye in filthy priſons, in bondes, darknes, and teares, & in the end to be conſumed with fire. We ſee ſo many Prophets of God, euen Chriſt himſelf the ſonne of God, to be ſo cruelly and many waies afflicted in this world, tormoiled, ſcourged and crucified: & yet we laugh, drinke, and giue our ſelues vnto all loſenes of life, and all laſciuiouſnes. For honour & great poſſeſſions we contend: we build: we ſtudy & labour by al meanes to make our ſelues rich. Vnto whome it doth not ſuffice yͭ we with ſafety and freedome from their afflictions, racks, wheeles, ſcourges, yrons read hote, gredirons, fleſhhookes, mallets, and other kyndes of tormentes, may ſerue our Chriſt in peace and quiet: but being herewith not content, will giue ouer our ſelues to all kinde of wickednes, to be led away at the will and pleaſure of Sathan?

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at pro- cometh memory Martyrs s.

e world ch menes to wicked cially.

d men affic- n this d.

But what do we thinke in ſo doing? Eyther we muſt recken thoſe me͂ to be moſt miſerable in this life, or els our ſelues to be moſt vnhappy. But if their bleſſednes be moſt certaine and ſure, then let vs direct the courſe of our life to the ſame felicitie. Theſe men haue forſaken this life, which they might haue enioyed. But if we cannot willingly put of this life, yet let vs not be ſlow to amend and correct the ſame: and though wee cannot dye with them in like martyrdome, yet let vs mortifie the worldly and prophane affections of yͤ fleſh, which ſtriue agaynſt yͤ ſpirite & at the leaſt let vs not runne thus headlong into the lice͂tious deſires of the world, as we do. As the lyfe of Chriſten men is nowe, I praye thee, what doe theſe bondes, priſons, theſe woundes and ſcarres, theſe great fires, and other horrible tormentes of martirs, then vpbrayd vnto vs our ſlouthful ſluggiſhnes, & worthely make vs aſhamed therof? Which Martirs if in their liues they liued ſo innocently, & in their death continued ſo conſtant, what then is to be deemed of vs which ſuffer nothing for Chriſt, and will not take vpon vs the ſmall conflict agaynſt vices & our owne affections? How would we ſuffer the cruell looks of tirannes? yͤ fearfull kindes of torments, or the violent aſſaultes of the tormenters in any quarrell of godlines, if in peace and quietnes we are & yͭ with euery ſmall breath or winde of temptation we are blown away fro͂ God, ſo faynt harted wͭout any reſiſtaunce are caryed headlong into all kinde of wickednes & miſchiefe? One ſingeth ſonges of loue, an other watcheth all the night at dice, ſome ſpend their life & tyme day by day in hawking & hu͂ting, ſome tipple ſo at tauerns that they come home reeling. Others what ſoeuer deſire of reuenge doth put into their heads, that by and by they ſeek to put in practiſe. Some gape after riches: ſome ſwell with ambition: ſome thinke they are borne for no other purpoſe but for pleaſure and paſtime. All the world is full of iniury and periury, nay rather it is ſo rare a thinge paciently to ſuffer iniuries done vnto vs, that except we haue yͤ ſleight to doe iniury to other, wee thinke our ſelues ſcarſe men. There is no loue almoſt nor Charitie among men: neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

leſſons to vs, to plucke vs from this world.

The great difference betweene Chriſts Martyrs that haue bene, and the lyfe of Chriſtians which now is.

But amongſt al the reſt, vnſatiable couetouſnes and auarice ſo raigneth that no man almoſt is contented wͭ any tollerable eſtate of life, either that wil preſcribe himſelf any meaſure in hauing yͭ he poſſeſſeth: or in proling for yͭ which he lacketh: neuer quiet, but alwayes toiling, neuer ſatiſfied but alwaies vnſatiable. Whereby it ſo commeth, that the mindes of Chriſten men, being occupyed in ſuche worldly carks & cares, can ſcarſely find any vacant leiſure to think vpon heauenly things: and yet notwithſtanding wͭ theſe mindes, we will needes ſeeme Chriſtians. But nowe ſetting apart theſe complayntes ſpent in vayne, we will proſecute our purpoſed ſtory touching good W. Gardiner.

And firſt as co͂cerning his kinred, he was of an honeſt ſtocke, borne at Briſtow, a towne of Marchandiſe on the ſeacoſt of England, honeſtly brought vp and by nature geuen vnto grauitie, of a meane ſtature of body, of a comelye & pleaſant countenance, but in no part ſo excellent as in yͤ inward quallities of the mind, which he alwayes from his childhood preſerued without ſpot of reprehenſion. Alſo his handſome and indifferent learning did not a litle commend & beautifie his other orname͂ts. When he grew vnto thoſe yeares at which young men are accuſtomed to ſettle theyr minds to ſome kinde of life, it happened yͭ he gaue himſelfe to the trade of Marchaundiſe, vnder yͤ conduct & guidyng of a certaine marchant of Briſtow, called M. Paget, by who͂ he was at the laſt (being of the age of xxvi. yeares, or thereabout,) ſent into Spayne, and by chaunce the ſhip ariuing at Liſbone (which is the chiefe Citie of Portugale) he taryed there about his Marchandiſe, where at the laſt he hauing gotten vnderſtanding of the language and being accuſtomed to their maners, became a profitable ſerua͂t both vnto his maiſter & others, in ſuch things as pertayned vnto the trade of that vocation. Whereunto he did ſo applye himſelfe that neuertheleſſe he in that popiſh country reſeruing ſtill the religion of his owne country of England, euer kept himſelf ſound and vndefiled from the Portugals ſuperſtition. There were alſo beſides him diuers other good men in yͤ ſame Cittie. Neither did he lacke good books or the conference of good and honeſt men, vnto whome he would oftentimes bewayle his imbecilitie and weakenes that he was neither ſufficiently touched wͭ the hatred of his ſinnes, neither yet inflamed with the loue of godlines.

The firſt bringing vp and trade of W. Gardiner.

W. Gardiner folowed the trade of marchaundiſe.

The Godly diſpoſed minde of W. Gardiner.

Whileſt hee was there abiding, it happened that there ſhould be a ſolemne maryage, celebrate yͤ firſt day of September in the yeare aboueſayd, betweene two Princes: to ſay, the ſonne of the king of Portugale, & the Spaniſhe K. his daughter. The mariage daye being come, there was great reſort of the Nobility and Eſtates. There lacked no Biſhops with Miters, nor Cardinals with their hats, to ſet out this royall wedding. To be ſhort they we͂t forward to the wedding with great Pompe, where a great con-

A ſolemne mariage betweene the king of Portugals ſonne and the Spaniſh kinges daughter in Portugale.

courſe of people reſorted, ſome of good will, ſome for ſeruice ſake, and ſome (as the maner is) to gaze and looke. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole Citie, as in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladnes. In this great aſſembly of the whole kingdome, William Gardiner, who, albeit he did not greatly eſteeme ſuch kind of ſpectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there alſo, comming thether early in the morning, to the intent he might haue the more opportunitie and better place to behold and ſee.

A Popiſhe celebration of a mariage.

The houre being come, they flocked into the church with great ſolemnitie and pompe: the King firſt, and then euery eſtate in order. The greater perſons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were ſet in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their Maſſe: for that alone ſerueth for all purpoſes. The Cardinall did execute, with much ſinging and organe playing. The people ſtood with great deuotion and ſilence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking, their mindes being fully bent and ſet, as it is the maner, vppon the externall ſacramente. How greeuouſly theſe things did pricke and mooue this yong mans minde, it can not be expreſſed, partly to beholde the miſerable abſurditie of thoſe things, and partly to ſee the folly of the common people: and not only of the common people, but ſpecially to ſee the King himſelf and his Councell, with ſo many ſage and wiſe men (as they ſeemed) to be ſeduced with like Idolatry as the common people were: In ſo much that it lacked very little, but that he woulde euen that preſent day haue done ſome notable thing in the Kings ſight and preſence, but that the great preaſe and throng that was about him, letted that he could not come vnto the altar. What neede many words? when the ceremonies were ended, he commeth home very ſad and heauy in his minde: in ſo much that all his fellowes marueiled greatly at him: who albeit vpon diuers coniectures they conceiued the cauſe of his ſadnes, notwithſtanding they did not fully vnderſtand that thoſe matters ſo much troubled his godly mind: neither yet did he declare it vnto any man, but ſeeking ſolitarines & ſecret places falling downe proſtrate before God, with manifold teares bewayled the neglecting of his dutie, deliberating with himſelfe how he might reuoke that people from their impietie and ſuperſtition.

The Godly zeale of W. Gardiner in ſeing the Idolatry of the people and the great diſworſhip of God.

In this deliberation and aduiſe his mind being fully ſetled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer differred, he renounced the world, making vp all his accompts ſo exactly (as well of that whiche was due vnto him, as that whiche he ought vnto others) that no man coulde iuſtly aſke ſo muche as one farthing. Which thyng done, he continued night and day in prayer calling vppon God, and continuall meditation of the Scriptures, that ſcarſely he would take any meate by day, or ſlepe by night, or that moſt, aboue an houre or two of reſt in the night, as Pendigrace his felow companion both at bed and boord, being yet aliue, can teſtifie.

William Gardiner cleareth his bookes of accomptes.

William Gardiner continuing in watching and prayer.

The Sonday came againe to be celebrate either wyth like pompe & ſolemnitie, or not much leſſe, whereas the ſayd William was preſent earely in the morning, very cleanely apparelled euen of purpoſe, that he might ſtand neare the altar without repulſe, within a while after commeth the King with all his Nobles. Then Gardiner ſetteth hymſelfe as neare the alter as he might, hauing a Teſtament in his hand, the which he diligently read vpon, and prayed, vntill the time was come that he had appointed to worke his feate. The Maſſe began, which was then ſolemniſed by a Cardinall. Yet he ſate ſtill. He which ſaid Maſſe, proceeded, he conſecrated, ſacrificed, lifted vp on high, ſhewed his God vnto the people, all the people gaue great reuerence, and as yet he ſtirred nothing. At the laſt they came vnto that place of the Maſſe, whereas they vſe to take the ceremoniall Hoſte, and toſſe it too and fro round about the Chalice, making certaine circles and ſemicircles. Then the ſayd William Gardiner not being able to ſuffer any longer, ranne ſpeedily vnto the Cardinall: and (which is vncredible to be ſpoken) euen in the preſence of the King and all his Nobles and Citizens, with the one hande he ſnatched away the cake from the Prieſt, and trode it vnder hys feete, and with the other hand ouerthrew the chalice. Thys matter at the firſt made them all abaſhed, but by and by there roſe a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The Nobles and the common people ranne together, amongſt whome, one drawing out his dagger, gaue him a great wounde in the ſhoulder, and as he was aboute to ſtrike him againe to haue ſlaine him, the King twiſe commaunded to haue him ſaued. So by that meanes they abſteined from murther.

William Gardiners aduiſed preparation to the accompliſhment of his purpoſe.

The Cardinall at his Maſſe.

William Gardiner plucketh the Cardinals Idoll out of his hands at Maſſe as he was leaping about the Chalice.

William Gardiner wounded with a dagger.

William Gardiner brought before the king.

After the tumult was ceaſed, he was brought vnto the King: by whome he was demaunded what countreyman he was, and how he durſt be ſo bold to worke ſuch a contumely againſt his Maieſtie, and the Sacramentes of the Church? He anſwered: Moſt noble King, I am not aſhamed of my Countrey, which am an Engliſhman both by birth and religion, and am come hether only for traffike of Marchaundiſe. And when I ſaw in this famous aſſembly ſo great Idolatry committed, my conſcience neither ought neither could any longer ſuffer, but that I muſt needes do that which you haue ſeene me preſently do. Whiche thyng (moſt noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproche of your preſence, but onely for this purpoſe (as before God I do clearely confeſſe) to ſeeke the only ſaluation of this people.

When they heard that he was an Engliſhman, and called to remembraunce how the Religion was reſtored by K. Edward, they were by and by brought in ſuſpition, that he had bene ſuborned by Engliſhmen thus to do, to mocke and deride their religion. Wherefore they were the more earneſt vpon him to knowe who was the author and procurer that he ſhould commit that act. Vnto whome he anſwered, deſiring them that they would conceiue no ſuche ſuſpition of him, for ſo much as he was not moued thereunto by any man, but only by his owne conſcience. For otherwiſe there was no man vnder the heauen, for whoſe ſake he would haue put himſelfe into ſo manifeſt daunger: but that he ought this ſeruice firſt vnto God, and ſecondarily vnto their ſaluation: wherefore if he had done anye thing which were diſpleaſaunt vnto them, they ought to impute it vnto no man, but vnto themſelues, which ſo vnreuerētly vſed the holy Supper of the Lord vnto ſo great Idolatry, not without great ignominie vnto the Church, violation of the Sacraments, and the perill of their owne ſoules, without they repented.

Whileſt that he ſpake theſe with many other thynges more vnto this effect very grauely and ſtoutly, the bloud ran aboundantly out of the wounde, ſo that he was ready to faint. Whereupon Surgeons were ſent for, whereby he might be cured if it were poſſible, and be reſerued for further examination, and more greeuous torment. For they were fully perſwaded that this deede had diuers abbettors and ſetters on: which was the cauſe that all the other Engliſhmen alſo in the ſame citie came into ſuſpition, and were commaunded to ſafe cuſtody. Amongſt whome, Pendigrace, becauſe he was his bedfellow, was greeuouſly tormented and examined more then the reſidue, and ſcarcely was deliuered after two yeares impriſonment. The other were much ſooner ſet at libertie at the interceſſion of a certaine Duke. Notwithſtanding their ſuſpition coulde not yet be ſatiſfied, but they came vnto his chamber to ſeeke if there were any letters, to vnderſtand and find out the author of this enterpriſe. And when as they coulde finde nothing there, they came againe vnto him being greeuouſly wounded, with tormentes to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuſe him as gilty of moſt greeuous hereſie. Of both whiche pointes, with ſuche dexteritie as hee could, he cleered himſelfe. Wherein, albeit he ſpake in the Spaniſh tong well, yet he vſed the Latin tong much more exactly.

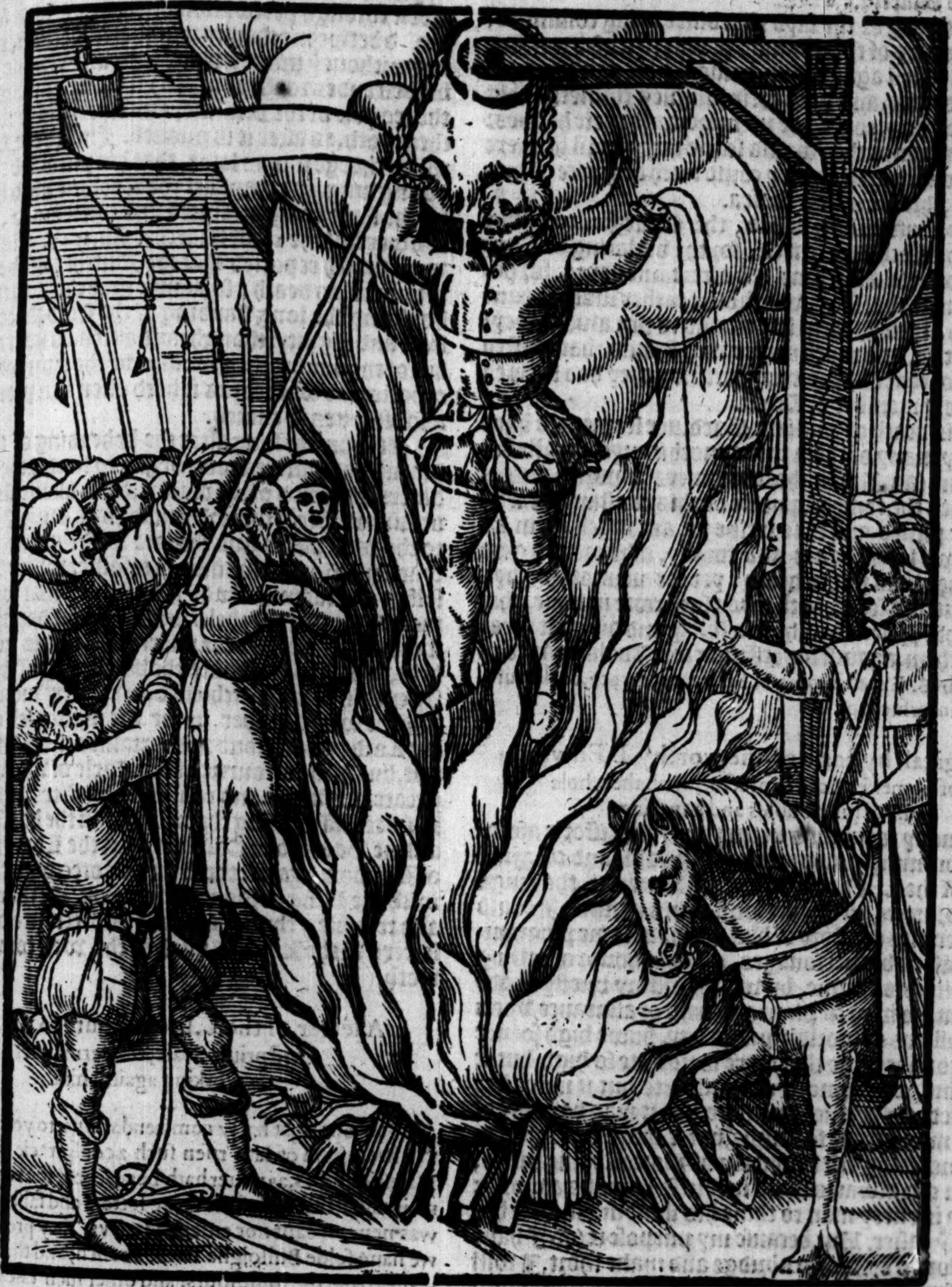
But they not being therewith ſatiſfied, added another ſtraunge kynde of torment, which (as I ſuppoſe) paſſeth the Bull of Phalaris. Becauſe there ſhoulde no kynde of extreme crueltie be left vnaſſayed, they cauſed a linnen cloth to be ſowed round like a ball, the which they wyth violence put downe his throate vnto the bottome of hys ſtomacke, tied with a ſmall ſtring which they held in their hands, and when it was downe, they pulled it vp agayne with violence, ſo plucking it too and fro through the meate pipe, in ſuche ſorte, as with muche leſſe griefe they might haue ridde him out of his life at once.

Thus at the laſt, when all tormentes and tormenters were wearied, and that it did nothing at all preuaile to go this way to worke, they aſked him whether he did not repent his wicked and ſeditious deede. As touching the deede, aunſwered, that it was ſo farre off that he did repent, that if it were to do againe, he thought he ſhould do the ſame. But as touching the maner of the deede, he was not a little ſory that it was done in the Kings preſence to the diſquietnes of his minde. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed vnto him, which neither enterpriſed or thought vpon any ſuch matter, but rather to be aſcribed vnto the King, in that he hauing power, woulde not prohibite ſo great Idolatry vſed among his people. This he ſpake with great feruencie.

After they had vſed all kynde of torments, and ſaw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and alſo that through his woundes and paynes he could not long liue, they brought him three dayes after to execution. And firſt of all, bringing him into the Veſtry, cut off his right hand, which he taking vp with his left hād, kiſſed. Then he was brought into the market place, wheras his other hand alſo was cut off: which he kneeling downe vpon the grounde, alſo kiſſed. Theſe things thus done after the manner and faſhion of Spaine, his armes being bound behinde him, & his feete vnder the horſe bellye, hee was caried to the place of execution.

he right nd of W. rdiner t of in the ſtry. The left nd of . Gardi- er cut of in e Market lace.

The order and manner of the cruell handlinge of *William Gardiner, an Engliſh Merchaunt, tormented* and burned in Portugall, in the cauſe of God and of his truthe.



he vvre- ed cruel- of the ortugals in rning a hriſtian artyr.

There was in that place a certaine engine, frō the which a great rope comming downe by a pulley, was faſtened about the middle of this Chriſtian Martyr, which firſt pulled him vp. Then was there a great pile of woode ſette on fire vnderneath him, into the which he was by little & little let downe, not with the whole body, but ſo, that his fete only felt the fire. Then he was hoiſed vp, and ſo let downe againe into the fire, and thus oftentimes pulled vppe and downe. In which great torment for al that, he continued wt a conſtant ſpirite: and the more terribly he burned, ye more vehemently he prayed.

illiam rdiner at s burning lled a- e to re- t.

At the laſt, when his feete were conſumed, the tormentors aſked him whether hee did not yet repent hym of his deede, and exhorted him to call vppon oure Ladie and the Saintes. Wherunto he anſwered, that as he had done nothing whereof hee did repent him, ſo hee had the leſſe neede of the helpe of our Lady or any other Sainte: and what eternall torments ſo euer they vſed, the truthe (he ſayde) remaineth alwaies one and like vnto it ſelfe: the which as he had before confeſſed in his life, ſo would he not nowe denie it in his death, deſiring them to leaue of ſuch vanities and follie. For when as Chriſt did ceaſe any more to be our aduocate, then he would pray to our lady to be his aduocate, and ſayd: O eternall God, father of all mercies, I beſeeche thee looke downe vpon thy ſeruant. &c. And when as they ſought by all meanes poſſible to ſtoppe his praying, and praiſing God in this ſorte, he cried out with a loude voyce, rehearſing the 43. Pſalme: Iudica me Deus, & diſcerne cauſam meam, de gente non ſancta. Judge me O God, and defende my cauſe againſt the vnmercifull people.

W. Gardiner would not pray to our Lady, ſo long as he had Chriſt to be his aduocate.

The prayer of W. Gardiner out of the 43. Pſalme.

He was not come vnto the latter ending of the Pſalme, when as they pulling him vp and downe in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt a ſonder, he fel downe in the midſt therof: wheras geuing his body for a ſacrifice, hee chaunged his temporall paines for perpetuall reſt and quietneſſe.

Thus it ſeemed good in the ſighte of God by this Meſſenger to prouoke the Portugales to ye ſincere knowledge of him: and therfore they ought the more to haue acknowledged the great loue & kindneſſe of God offred vnto them, and alſo the more to be mindefull of their owne duetie and thankefulneſſe towardes him. And if it be ſo great an of-

A leſſon for the Portugales.

The iuſt hand of God vpon perſecuters.

It is reported that that ſparcle lighted amōgeſt gunpouder.

fence to violate the ordinaunces of mans law, and to contemne the Ambaſſadours of Kyngs and Princes, lette the Portugalles and all other looke well vnto it, what it is ſo cruelly to handle the heauenly meſſenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether vnreuenged by the mighty hand of God, when as not onely the very ſame night, amongſt diuers of the kings ſhips which were in yͤ next hauen ready to ſaile, one was burned, being ſet on fire by a ſparcle of Gardiners fire driuen thether with the winde, but alſo yͤ kings ſonne which then was maried, died within halfe a yere, and the next yere after the King himſelfe alſo died, and ſo both within one yeare after the tormenting of this bleſſed Martyr.

Thus the body of the ſayd Gardiner being conſumed, yet the rage & fury of the common people ſo ceaſed not, but they were as cruell againſt him being deade, as they were when he was aliue, and with their tongues tormēted this Martyr, when they could doe no more with their handes: yea for very madnes they would ſcarſe tarry vntil he were burned, but euery man as they could catch any pece of him halfe burned, threwe it into the ſea.

The blind and miſerable cruelty of the Portugals agaynſt a poore Engliſhe man.

A Popcholy faſt for paceſying the wrath of theyr God of the Altar.

Thys Sacrifice thus ended, the Cleargie, to pacifie Gods wrath which they feared, for the violating of theyr aultar, appoynted a ſolemne faſt of certaine dayes, for penaunce to purge that facte, which facte rather ſhoulde haue taught them to purge them ſelues, and to put awaye theyr filthy Idolatrie, and much rather they ſhoulde haue faſted & repented for that their extreeme cruelty they had ſhewed vnto the liuely member of Chriſt.

Albeit this death of william Gardiner ſeemeth to haue profited very many of them litle or nothing: yet for all that there are ſome (as I haue hearde diuers reporte) oute of whoſe mindes the remembraunce of this conſtant Martir can neuer be pulled, and is ſo freſhe yet amongeſt them, as if it were nowe lately done: and finally, albeit it be a good while ſince hee was put to death, yet the memorie of hys death, as frutefull ſeede, hath taken ſuch roote in ſome, that euen vnto this preſent day, he is a liuely and diligent preaching vnto them, againſt ſuperſtition and Idolatry vſed in their Churches. Ex teſtimonio N. Fildi, Pendigrace, & aliorum, qui rei geſtæ interfuerunt.

The tragicall hyſtorie of the worthy L. Edward Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, with the whole cauſe of his troubles and handling.

Anno 1552.

The ſtory of the L. Protector Duke of Somerſet.

After ſo many troublous matters in this hiſtorie aforepaſſed, comming nowe to the lamentable and tragicall narration of the L. Edward duke of Somerſet, the kings vncle, and Protector of his perſon & of his realme, I could not wel enter into the ſtory of him, without ſome premonition firſt to all noble perſonages, of what honor or calling ſoeuer within this realme, by way of hiſtory briefly to admoniſh them, no man to plant any truſt or aſſurance vpon the brickle pillers of worldly proſperity, howe high ſoeuer it ſeemeth, conſideringe that there is no ſtate ſo high, but it hath his ruine, wiſedome ſo circumſpecte, but it maye bee circumuented, no vertue ſo perfecte, but it may be enuyed, neither any mans trade ſo ſimple, but it maye be beguiled.

Worldly proſperity not to be truſted vnto.

And therefore ſeeing the condition of mortall things is ſo, that no man can alwaies ſtand in this ſo ruinous a world: yͤ ſureſt way is euery man to chuſe his ſtanding ſo, that his fall may be yͤ eaſier. But becauſe my purpoſe is (as I haue ſaid in the ſtories before) to abridge and make ſhort, I will here ſtay, referring to the ſecrete cōſideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be vttered: and ſo falling into the ſtorie of the Lorde Protectoure Duke of Somerſet, we will (the Lorde willing) declare in order the original and whole occaſion of his trouble and decay, euen from the beginning.

Concorde maketh brethren ſtrong.

King Edwarde, after that both his father and mother were dead, had three vncles leaft him by his mothers ſide, Edwarde, Thomas, and Henry Semer, of the which two firſt, one was made Protectour of the Realme, and the other high admirall of the ſame. Theſe two brethren, ſo long as they were knit & ioyned together in amitie and cōcorde, preſerued both themſelues, the king their nephew, and the whole common wealth from the violence and feare of all danger. But the ſubtil old ſerpent alwaies enuying mans felicitie, through ſlanderous tongues ſought to ſowe matter, firſt of diſcord betwene them, then of ſuſpition, and laſt of all extreme hatred: in ſo much that the Protectour ſuffered his brother being accuſed (whether truely or falſely the Lorde knoweth) to be condemned, and to loſe hys heade. Wherby it came to paſſe (whether by yͤ correction of Gods iudgement vpon him, or whether that he after the death of his brother, and the king being yet but yong and tender of age, was the leſſe able to ſhift for himſelfe) that not long after he was ouermatched and ouerthrowen of his enemies, and ſo caſt into the Tower, and at laſt loſt hys head alſo, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the ſequele of this hyſtorie foloweth to be declared.

For the better introduction of which hyſtorie, firſte to begin with the foreſaide brother of the Lorde Protectoure, namely Sir Thomas Semer high Admirall of England, and the kings Vncle, here is to vnderſtande that he hadde maried Queene Katherine late wife to kinge Henrye the eight, of whome ye heard before, pag. 1342. Now it happened (vppon what occaſion I knowe not) that there fell a diſpleaſure betwixt the ſayde Queene and the Ducheſſe of Somerſet, and therupon alſo in the behalf of their wiues, diſpleaſure and grudge began betwene the brethrē. which albeit through perſwaſion of frendes it was for a time appeaſed betweene them: yet in ſhorte ſpace after (perchaunce not without yͤ priuie ſetting forward of ſome whych were backefrendes to the Goſpell) it brake out againe, both to the trouble of the Realme, and eſpecially to the cōfuſion of them both, as after it is proued. Firſt to the Lorde Admiralles charge it was laide, that hee purpoſed to deſtroy the young king, and tranſlate the Crowne vnto hymſelfe, and for the ſame being attainted and condemned, did ſuffer at Tower hill the 20. of Marche. An. 1549. As manye there were which reported that the Dutches of Somerſette had wrought his death: ſo manye moe there were, who miſdoubting the long ſtanding of the Lord Protectour in hys ſtate and dignity, thought and affirmed no les, but that the fall of the one brother, woulde be the ruine of the other: the experiment whereof as it hath often ben proued, ſo in theſe alſo eftſoones it enſued.

It was not long after the beheading of the Lorde Admirall, but inſurrections began to kindle the ſame yeare in diuers quarters of the realme, as is aboue ſtoried. By the occaſion wherof the lord Ruſſel, lord priuy Seale was ſent to the weſt parts, and the lord Dudley Earle of warwike was ſent wͭ an armie into Norfolke: where bothe he hymſelfe & a great number of Gentlemen that were with hym, meeting with the rebels were in great daunger: notwithſtanding in the ende the ouerthrowe was geuen to the rebels, which was aboute the beginning of Septemb. 1549. After this victorie atchieued, in the next moneth folowing, whiche was October, howe the matter fell oute betweene the Lorde Protectour and certaine other Lordes, I knowe not, but at the retourne of the Earle of warwike aforeſaid, greate workinge and conſultation there was amonge the Lordes, aſſembling them ſelues in the houſe of M. Yorke, and at Bainardes Caſtle, and in the Lorde Maiors houſe at London, againſt the Lorde Protectoure remaining then with the King at Hampton Court. Of the which buſineſſe and trouble, thus the Lorde Protectoure wryteth in hys letters to the Lorde Ruſſell in the weſt countrey, as followeth.

A letter of the L. Protectour, to the L. Ruſſel, Lord priuie Seale, concerning troubles working againſt him.

After our right harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, heere hath of late riſen ſuch a conſpiracie againſt the kinges Maieſtie and vs, as neuer hath bene ſeene, the which they can not maintaine, but with ſuch vaine letters and falſe tales ſurmiſed, as was neuer meant nor entended on vs. They pretend and ſay, that we haue ſolde Bulloigne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the ſouldiours, and other ſuch tales and letters they doe ſpreade abroade (of the which, if any one thing were true, we would not wiſh to liue) the matter now being brought to a marueilous extremitie, ſuch as we wold neuer haue thought it could haue come vnto, eſpecially of thoſe men towardes the kings maieſtie and vs, of whom we haue deſerued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauour and loue. But the caſe being as it is, this to require and pray you to haſte you hither, to the defence of the kings maieſtie, in ſuch force and power as you may, to ſhew the parte of a true Gentleman, and of a very frende: the which thing we truſte God ſhall rewarde and the kinges Maieſtie in time to come, and we ſhall neuer be vnmindefull of it too. We are ſure you ſhal haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your duety to the kings Maieſtie, we require you to make no ſtay, but immediately repair with ſuch force as yee haue, to his highneſſe Caſtle of Windſore, and cauſe the reſt of ſuch force as yee may make to followe you. And ſo we bid you right heartily farewel. From Hampton Court, the ſixt of October.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing frend,
Edward Somerſet.

An anſwere to the L. Protectors letter.

To this letter of the Lorde Protectoure ſent the ſixte of Octob. the L. Ruſſel returning anſwere againe vppon the

Anno 1552.

the eight of the ſayde moneth, firſt lamenteth the heauie diſſention fallen betweene the Nobilitye and him, which he taketh for ſuche a plague, as a greater could not be ſent of almighty God vpon this Realme, being the next way (ſaith he) to make of vs conquerors, ſlaues, & like to induce vpon the whole realme an vniuerſal calamitye & thraldome, vnleſſe the mercifull goodnes of the Lorde do helpe, & ſome wiſe order be taken in ſtaying theſe great extremities. And as touching the Dukes requeſt in his letters, for as much as he heard before of this broile of the Lords, & feared leaſt ſome conſpiracie had bene meant againſt the kings perſon, he haſted forwarde with ſuch company as he coulde make, for the ſurety of þ king, as to him appertained. Now perceiuing by the Lordes letters ſent vnto him the ſame ſixte day of Octo. theſe tumults to riſe vpon priuate cauſes betwene him and them, he therfore thought it expedient that a conuenient power ſhould be leuied, to be in a readines to withſtand the worſte (what perils ſoeuer might enſue) for the preſeruation both of the king, & ſtate of the realm from the inuaſion of forraine enemies, and alſo for the ſtaying of bloudſhed, if any ſuch thing ſhould be intended betwixt the parties in the heate of thys faction? And this hee thinking beſte for diſcharge of his allegeance, humbly beſeecheth his grace to haue þ ſame alſo in ſpeciall regard and conſideration, firſt that the kings Maieſtie be put in no feare, & that if there be any ſuch thing wherein he hath geuen iuſt cauſe to them thus to procede, hee will ſo conforme him ſelfe, as no ſuch priuate quarels do redound to the publike diſturbance of the Realme: certifying moreouer the Duke, that if it were true whyche he vnderſtandeth by the letters of the Lordes, þ he ſhould ſend about proclamations and letters for raiſing vp of the commons, he liked not the ſame. Notwithſtanding hee truſted well, that his wiſedome woulde take ſuch a way, as no effuſion of bloud ſhould follow.

he effect / f the L. / uſſels let- / er anſwe- / ng to the / ord Pro- / tector.

And thus muche being contained in his former letters of the eight of October, in his next letters againe, wrytten the 11. day of Octob. the ſaid Lord Ruſſel reioyſing to heare of the moſt reaſonable offers of the Lord Protectour made to the Lordes, wryteth vnto him, & promiſeth to doe what in the vttermoſt power of him (and likewiſe of ſir W. Harbert ioyned together with him) doe lie, to worke ſome honorable reconciliation betwene him & them: ſo as his ſayd offers being accepted & ſatiſfied, ſome good concluſion might enſue, according to their good hope & expectation: Signifying moreouer, that as touching the leuying of men, they had reſolued to haue the ſame in readineſſe for the benefite of the realme, to occurre all incõueniences what ſoeuer, either by forraine inuaſion or otherwiſe might happen, & ſo hauing their power at hand, to drawe neare, wherby they might haue the better oportunitie to be ſolicitours, and a meanes for this reformation on both parties. &c. And thus much for anſwer of the Lord Ruſſel to the Lorde Protectours letters.

he con- / es of the / cood aun- / er of the / . Ruſſell / the Lord / rotector.

he good / . Ruſſell a / licitor for / eace be- / tweene the / Lord Pro- / tector and / e Lordes.

But nowe to the matter againe of the Lordes, who together with the Earle of Warwike (vppon what occaſion God knoweth) being aſſembled at London, as ye heard, againſt the Lorde Protector: when the king with his counſaile at Hampton court heard therof, firſt Secretarye Peter with the kings meſſage was ſent vnto them, whome the Lords notwiſtanding detained ſtill with them, making as yet no anſwer to the meſſage. Wherupon the L. Protectour wryteth to them in this maner as followeth.

The Lordes / the Cõ- / ll aſſem- / led againſt / e Lorde / rotectour.

A letter of the Lorde Protectour, to the Counſaile at London.

The Lord / Protectors / letter to the / Lordes / of the / Counſaile / London.

MY Lordes, we commend vs moſt hartily vnto you, & wheras the kings Maieſtie was infourmed that you were aſſembled in ſuch ſorte as you doe and nowe remaine, and was aduiſed by vs and ſuch other of his Counſaile as were then heere aboute his perſone, to ſend M. Secretarie Peter vnto you, with ſuch meſſage as whereby mighte haue enſued the ſuretie of hys Maieſties perſone, with preſeruation of his realme and ſubiects, & the quiet both of vs and your ſelues, as maiſter Secretarye can well declare to you: his maieſtie and we of his Counſaile heere doe not a litle maruel that you ſtay ſtill with you the ſayd M Secretarie, & haue not as it were vouchſafed to ſend aunſwer to his Maieſtie, neyther by him nor yet any other. And for our ſelues we doe much more maruell and are right ſory, as both wee and you haue good cauſe to be, to ſee the manner of your doinges bente with violence, to bring the kings Maieſty and vs to theſe extremities. Which as we doe intende, if you wil take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and our allegeaunce doeth binde vs) to extremitye of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who geueth victory as it pleaſeth him: ſo that if any reaſonable conditions and offers woulde take place (as hetherto none hath bene ſignified vnto vs frõ you, nor we do not vnderſtand what you do require or ſeeke, or what you do meane) & that you do ſeek no hurt to the kings Maieſties perſon; as touching all other priuate matters, to auoid the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and to preſerue the kings Maieſties perſon, his realme and ſubiectes, you ſhall finde vs agreeable to any reaſonable conditions that you will require. For we doe eſteeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme, more then all other worldly things, yea more then our owne life. Thus praying you to ſend vs your determinate anſwer heerein by M. Secretarie Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer: we beſeeche God to geue both you and vs grace to determine this matter, as maye be to Gods honour, the preſeruation of the king, and the quiet of vs all, which may be, if the fault be not in you. And ſo we bid you moſt heartily fare well. From the kings maieſties Caſtle of Windſore, the 7. of Octob. 1549.

No worde hetherto ſent from the Lords to the Lord Protector, what they required of him to doe.

Reaſonable cõditions offered by the Lord Protector.

Your Lordſhips louing frend,
E. Somerſet.

After theſe letters receiued, and the reaſonable condition of the Lorde Protectour, and yet not much regarded of the Lordes, they perſiſting ſtill in their pretended purpoſe, tooke this aduiſe: firſt to keepe themſelues in the Citie of London, as ſtrong as they might: and therfore calling vpon the Maior and the Aldermen, they willed them in any caſe to prouide a good and ſubſtantiall watch by nyght, and a good warde by day, for the ſafegard of their Citie, and the portes and gates thereof: which was conſented vnto, and the Cõpanies of London in theyr turnes warned to watch and warde accordingly.

A ſolemne watch cõmaũded in London.

Then the ſayd Lordes and Counſailours demaunded of the Lorde Maior and hys brethren 500. menne to ayde them to fetche the Lorde Protectour out of Windſore from the king: but therunto the Maior anſweared, that he could graunt none aide without the aſſent of the common Counſaile of the citie: wherupon the next day a common councell was warned. But in this meane time the ſaid Lordes of the Counſaile aſſembled thẽſelues at the Lorde Maiors houſe of London, who then was Syr Henrye Amcottes Fiſhmonger, and W. Locke Mercer, and ſir John Ayleph Sheriffes of the ſaid citie, and there the ſaid Counſaile did agree and publiſhe a Proclamation forthwith agaynſt the Lorde Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth.

The Citye of London preſſed with 500. men to fetch the L. Protector.

The aunſwere of the Lorde Maior to the Lordes.

The Lordes aſſembled in the L. Maiors houſe.

1 Firſt, that the Protector by his malitious and euill gouernment, was the occaſion of all the ſedition that of late happened within the realme.

2 The loſſe of the kings peeces in France.

3 That he was ambitious and ſought his owne glorye, as appeared by building of moſt ſumptuous & coſtly houſes, in the time of the kings warres.

4 That hee eſteemed nothinge the graue Counſell of the Counſailours.

5 That he ſowed diuiſion betwene the Nobles, the gentlemen, and the commons.

6 That the Nobles aſſembled them ſelues together at Londõ for none other purpoſe, but to haue cauſed the protectour to haue liued wythin limites, and to haue put ſuch order for the ſuretie of the kings maieſtie as appertained: what ſoeuer the Protectours doinges were, whyche they ſayd were vnnaturall, ingrate, and traiterous.

7 That the Protectour ſclaundered the Counſaile to the king, and did that in him lay, to cauſe variaunce betweene the king and the nobles.

8 That hee was a great traitor, and therefore the Lordes deſired the citie & commons to aid them, to take hym from the king.

The effect of the proclamation ſet out agaynſt the Lord Protector.

And in witnes and teſtimonie of the contents of the ſaid Proclamation, the Lordes ſubſcribed theyr names, whych were theſe.

- The Lorde Rich, Lord Chauncellour.
- The Lord S. Iohn, lord great maiſter, & preſident of the Counſaile.
- The Lord Marques of Northampton.
- The Earl of Warwike, Lord great Chamberlaine.
- The Earle of Arundel, L. Chamberlaine.
- The Earle of Shrewſburie.
- The Earle of Southhampton, Wriotheſley.
- Sir Thomas Cheyney knighte, treaſurer of the kings houſe, and Lord Warden of the Cinque portes.
- Syr Iohn Gage knight, Conſtable of the Tower.
- Syr Wil. Peter knight, Secretarie.
- Syr Edwarde North knight.
- Syr Edwarde Montague, chief Iuſtice of the common place.
- Syr Rafe Sadler.
- Syr Iohn Baker.
- Syr Edw. Wootton.
- Doctour Wootton, Deane of Cant.
- Syr Rich. Southwell.

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The Lordes comming into the Guild hall.

After the foreſaide Proclamation was Proclaimed, the Lordes or the moſt parte of them continuing and lying in London, came yͤ next day to the Guild hal, during the time that the Lord Maior and their brethren ſate in their Court or inner chamber, and entred and communed a long while with the Maior, and at the laſt the Maior and his brethren came forth vnto the common Counſaile, where was read the kings letter ſent to the Maior and citizens, commaunding them to aid him with a thouſand wel appoynted men out of their citie, and to ſend the ſame with all ſpeede to his Caſtle at windſore.

Thys Letter by name was directed to Syr Henrye Amcottes knighte Lorde Maior, to Syr Roulande Hyll knight, Maior electe, and to the Aldermen and common Counſaile of the Citie of London. The daye and Date of the Letter, was the ſixte of October, in the thirde yeare of his raigne, being aſſigned with the hand of the King, and of the Lorde Protectour, the contentes of which letter, for the ſatiſfaction of the reader, are heere to be ſeene in maner and forme as followeth.

The Copy of the kinges letter ſent to the L. Maior, Aldermen and Citizens of Lõdon, in the behalfe of the L. Protectour.

EDWARD. By the King.

Truſtie and welbeloued, we greete you wel. Wee charge and commaunde you moſt earneſtly to geue order with all ſpeede for the defence and preſeruation of that our citie of London for vs, and to leuy out of hande, and to put in order as many as conueniently you maye, well weaponed and arraied, keeping good watch at the gates, and to ſende vs hither for the defence of oure perſon, one thouſand of that our Cittie, of truſtie and faithfull men to attend vpon vs and our moſt entirely beloued vncle, Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon, and Protector of our Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects, well harneſſed, and with good and conuenient weapon: ſo that they do make their repaire hither vnto vs this night, if it be poſſible, or at the leaſt to morow before noone, and in the meane time to doe what as appertaineth vnto your duetie for ours and our ſayd vncles defence againſt all ſuch as attempt any conſpiracie or enterpriſe of violence againſt vs our ſayd Vncle, & as you knowe beſt for our preſeruation and defence at thys preſent. Geuen vnder our Signet at our Honor of Hampton Court, the ſixte of October the thirde yeare of oure raigne.

You ſhall farther geue credite to our truſtie and welbeloued Owen Cleydon, the bearer heereof, in all ſuch things as hee ſhall further declare vnto you on the behalfe of vs and our ſaid vncle the Lord Protectour.

Edward Somerſet.

This Letter of the king and of the Lorde Protectoure was not ſo ſecretely deuiſed, nor ſo ſpeedily ſente, but the Lordes keeping at London, had knowledge immediately thereof (by the meanes, as ſome ſuppoſe, of the Lorde Paget, who was then with the King and the Protectour, but the truth the Lorde knoweth) being there ready furniſhed with their owne bandes of ſeruing men, and other ſouldiours and men of armes.

Who forthwith vpon the ſame addreſſed their letters in ſemblable wiſe to the ſayd Lorde Maior and Aldermen, in the kings name, not onely for ſupportation of armed men to ſerue their purpoſes, and for a ſufficient watche to fortifie their Citie, but alſo that they ſhould not obey any ſuche letters, Proclamations, or Iniunctions ſent to them from the Duke. Which letter of the Lordes at the ſame inſtante came likewiſe to the Lorde Maior and his brethren, the 6. day of the ſayde moneth of Octob. The tenour and copie of which letter heere enſueth.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of London.

The letter of the Lordes ſent to the L. Maior & Cōũcell of Londõ, agaynſt the Lord Protector.

After our right hearty commendations vnto your good Lordſhippe: knowing your heartie fauour and earneſt zeales to the preſeruation of the perſon of the kings Maieſtie & of this realme, and other his maieſties realmes and dominions, we haue thought good to aduertiſe you, that notwithſtanding all the good aduice and Counſell that wee coulde geue to the Duke of Somerſet, to ſtaye him ſelfe wythin reaſonable limites, and to vſe hys gouernement nowe in the tender age of hys Maieſtie, in ſuche ſorte as myght tende to his highneſſe ſuretie, to the conſeruation of hys eſtate, and to his honour: the ſayde Duke neuertheleſſe ſtill continuing in his pride, couetouſnes, and ambition: ceaſeth not daily by all the waies and meanes he can deuiſe, to enriche him ſelfe without meaſure, and to impouериſh his Maieſtie.

Hee buildeth in foure or fiue places moſte ſumptuouſly, and leaueth the poore ſouldiours vnpaide of their wages, vnuictualed, and in all things ſo vnfurniſhed, as the loſſes lately ſuſteined, to the greateſt diſhonor that euer came to the king & this realme, doe declare. Hee ſoweth daily diuiſion betweene the Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Commons. Hee rewardeth and entertaineth a number of thoſe that were Captaines of the Commons in theſe late inſurrections: and finally in ſuche wiſe ſubuerteth all lawes, iuſtice, and good order (as it is euident) that putting hys truſt in the Commons, and perceiuing that the Nobles and Gentlemen ſhoulde be an impediment to him in his deuiliſh purpoſes, hee laboureth firſt to haue them deſtroyed, and thinketh after eaſily enough to atchieue his deſire, which it appeareth plainly, is to occupie the kings Maieſties place: For his doings, who ſoeuer liſt to beholde them, doe manifeſtly declare, that hee mindeth neuer to render account to his Maieſtie of his proceedings.

Crimes layd to the Lord Pro- tectour by the Lor-

These thinges, with many moe too long to recite, conſidered, wee pondered wyth our ſelues, that either wee muſte trauaile for ſome reformation, or wee muſt in effecte as it were conſent with him to the deſtruction of oure ſoueraigne Lorde and Countrey. Whereuppon laying apart all reſpectes, and reſting onely vppon our dueties, wee ioyned in Counſell, and thought quietly to haue treated the matter with him. Who perceiuing that we ioyned for the king, and woulde haue ſuche order as might be for the ſuertie of his Maieſties perſone, and the common wealth, ſtraite put him ſelfe in force, and reſteth at plaine poynt (as it appeareth) eyther to goe through with his deteſtable purpoſe, in ſorte as hee hathe done, or to trie it by the ſworde.

[illegible]

Nowe, for as much as we ſee preſently, that vnleſſe there be a reformation, the perſonne of the kings Maieſtie is in moſte certaine daunger, and this Realme our naturall Countrey lyke to be deſtroyed wyth all our poſterities, like as we haue againe fully reſolued wyth Gods helpe, eyther to deliuer the kings Maieſtie and the realme from this extreeme ruine and deſtruction, or to ſpend our liues for the declaration of our faithfull hearts and dueties: ſo knowing your heartie good willes and trouth to his Maieſtie, and therefore nothing doubting of your readineſſe to ioyne with vs in our godly purpoſe, wee thoughte good to lette you knowe the very trouth of our enterpriſe, and in the kings Maieſties behalfe to require you, not onely to putte good and ſubſtantiall order for watche and warde, but alſo to haue an earneſt continuall regarde to the preſeruation within your City, of all harneis, weapons, and munitions, ſo as none be ſuffered to be conueyed to the ſayde Duke, nor any others attending about him: and beſides that, you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commandements to be ſent from the ſayd Duke. And thus we bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily fare well. From London, the ſixt of October.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing frendes.

Will. Saint Iohn.
W. Northampt.
Iohn Warwike.

Arundell.
Th. Southampton.
William Peter.

Edward North.
Iohn Gage.
Rich. Southwell.

After the receiuinge of theſe two Letters aboue mentioned, the one from the King, the other from the Lordes, whyche came both at one inſtaunte, wyth contrarye commaundement to the Lorde Maior and Citizens of London, the caſe ſeemed harde to them, and very doubtfull (as it was in deede) what waye to take, and what were beſt for the Citizens to doe. On the one ſide the name and authority of the king was much, on the other ſide the power and garriſons of the Lordes, lyinge then in London, was not little, which ſeemed then to be ſuche, as would haue no repulſe.

The Ci- of Londo- wrapped wi- two con- trary lett- at one in- ſtant.

The caſe thus ſtanding perplexedly, firſt by the mouth of the Recorder it was requeſted, that the Citizens would graunt their aide rather vnto the Lords, for that the Protectour had abuſed both the kings maieſtie, and the whole Realme, & that without he were taken from the king, and made to vnderſtande his follie, this Realme was in great hazard, and therfore required that the citizens would willingly aſſent to ayd the Lordes with 500. men.

The Re- der ſpe- keth for Lords.

Hereunto of a great parte of the Common Counſaile, was no other anſweare made but ſilence. But the Recorder (who at that time was M. Brooke) ſtill cryed vppon them for aunſwere. At the laſt ſtepped vp a wiſe and a good Citizen named George Stadlowe, and ſayde:

In thys caſe, it is good for vs to thinke of things paſt, to auoyde the daunger of thynges to come. I remember (ſayeth he) in a ſtorie wrytten in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betweene the King and his Barons, which was in the time of king Henry the thirde, & the ſame time the Barons (as our Lordes do now) demaunded aide of the Maior and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cauſe for the common weale, which was for yͤ execution of diuers good lawes againſt yͤ king, which would not ſuffer thoſe lawes

The gra- Oration a diſcre- Citizen ſpeaking for the whole name [illegible] George Stadlowe Parlia- man. Declar- betwe- the

to

Anno 1552.

to be put in execution: and the citie did aide them, & it came to an open battel, and the Lordes preuailed againſt yͤ king, and toke the king and ſonne priſoners, and vpon certaine conditions the Lordes reſtored the kinge and his ſonne againe to their liberties, & among all other conditions thys was one, that the king ſhould not only graunt his pardon to the lordes, but alſo to the citizens of London: the which was graunted, yea and the ſame was ratified by act of parlament. But what folowed of it? was it forgotte? No ſure, nor forgeuen neither, during the kings life. The liberties of the citie were taken away, ſtraungers appoynted to be our heads and gouernours, the Citizens geuen awaye body and goods, and from one perſecution to an other were moſt miſerably afflicted. Such is it to enter into the wrath of a Prince, as Salomon ſayeth: The wrath and indignation of a Prince is death. Wherfore, for as much as this aide is required of the kinges Maieſtie, whoſe voyce wee ought to hearken vnto, for he is our high Shepehearde, rather then vnto the Lordes, and yet I woulde not wiſhe the Lordes to be clearely ſhaken off; my counſell is, that they wyth vs, and we with them maye ioyne in ſute, and make our moſte humble petition to the kings maieſtie, that it would pleaſe his highnes to heare ſuch complaint againſt the gouernement of the Lorde Protectoure, as maye be iuſtly alleaged and proued, and I doubte not, but thys matter will be ſo pacified, that neither ſhal the king, nor yet the Lordes haue cauſe to ſeeke for further aide, neither we to offende any of them both.

The wrath of a king is death.

After this tale the Commons ſtayed, and the Lorde Maior and his brethren for that time brake vppe, till they had further communed wyth the Lordes. To make ſhort, I lette paſſe what order by the Citie was taken. But the concluſion was, that the Lordes (vppon what occaſion I knowe not) ſate the next daye in Counſaile in the Starre chamber, & from thence ſente ſir Philip Hobby wyth theyr letter of credence to the kings maieſtie, beſeeching his maieſtie to geue credit to that which the ſayd ſir Philip ſhould declare vnto his maieſtye in their names: and yͤ king gaue him liberty to ſpeake, and moſt gently heard all that he had to ſay. Who ſo hādled the matter, declaring his meſſage in the name of the Lords, that in the end the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kings preſence, & ſhortly was committed to warde in a tower within the caſtle of Windſore, called Bewchamp Tower, and ſoone after were ſtayed ſir Tho. Smith, maiſter Whalley, maſter Fiſher, & many other gentlemen that attended vpon the Lorde Protectour. The ſame day the Lordes of the Counſaile reſorted to the Kinge, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector, and the other that were there ſtayed, and conueyed them through the Citie of London vnto the Tower, and there left them.

...Lord Protector committed to priſon, in ...ndſore ...ſtle.

...he Lord Protector committed to the tower.

Shortlye after the Lordes reſorted vnto the Tower, and there charged the Lorde Protectour with ſundry articles, as follow.

...rticles ...iected a... the Lord Pro... ...ctour.

Articles obiected againſt the Lord Protectour.

1 INprimis, you toke vppon you the office of Protectour and Gouernour, vpon condition expreſſely and ſpecially, that you woulde doe nothinge in the kinges affaires, publikely or priuately, but by the aſſent of the late kinges executors.

2 Alſo you, contrary to the ſayde condition, of your owne authority, did ſtay and let iuſtice, and ſubuerted the lawes, as wel by your letters, as by your commaundements.

3 Alſo, you cauſed diuers perſones being areſted and impriſoned for treaſon, murder, manſlaughter, and felonie, to be diſcharged and ſet at large, againſt the kings lawes, and ſtatutes of this realme.

4 Alſo, you haue made and ordained Lieutenants for the kings armies & other weighty affaires, vnder your owne wryting and ſeale.

5 Alſo, you haue communed with the Ambaſſadours of other Realmes, diſcourſing alone with them the waighty cauſes of this Realme.

6 Alſo you haue ſometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well priuately as openly, diuers of the kings moſte honourable Counſailours, for ſhewing & declaring theyr aduiſes and opinions againſt your purpoſes in the kings waightye affaires, ſayinge ſometimes to them, that you neede not to open matters vnto them, and would therfore be otherwiſe aduiſed: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinyon, put them oute, and take other at your pleaſure.

7 Alſo, you had and helde againſt the lawe in your owne houſe, a Courte of Requeſtes, and thereby did enforce diuers the kinges ſubiectes to anſweare for their free holdes and goodes, and determined the ſame to the ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

8 Alſo, you being no Officer, without the aduiſe of the Counſaile, or the more part of them, did diſpoſe of the Offices of the kings gift, for money, and graunted leaſes and wardes of the kings, and gaue preſentations to the kings benefices & biſhoprikes, hauing no authority ſo to do. And farther, you did meddle with the ſelling of yͤ kings landes.

9 Alſo, you commaunded Multiplication and Alcumiſtry to be practiſed, to abuſe the kings coyne.

10 Alſo, you cauſed a proclamation to be made concerning encloſures, wherby the common people haue made diuers inſurrections, & leuied open warre, and diſtreined & ſpoyled diuers of the kings ſubiects, which proclamation went forth againſt the wil of the whole counſaile.

11 Alſo, you haue cauſed a commiſſion, with certaine articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning encloſures of commons, high wayes, decaying of cottages, and diuers other things, geuing the Commiſſioners authority to heare and determine the ſame cauſes, to the ſubuerſion of the lawes and ſtatutes of this realme: whereby much ſedition, inſurrection, and rebellion, haue riſen and growen among the kings ſubiects.

12 Alſo, you haue ſuffered the rebels and traitours to aſſemble and to lie in campe and armor againſt the king, his Nobles and gentlemen, without any ſpeedye ſubduing or repreſſing of them.

13 Alſo you did comfort and encourage diuers of the ſayde rebelles, by geuing of them diuers ſummes of your owne mony, and by promiſing to diuers of them, fees, rewardes, and ſeruices.

14 Alſo, you in fauour of the ſayde rebels, did againſt the lawes, cauſe a Proclamation to be made, yͭ none of the ſaid rebels or traitors ſhuld be ſued or vexed by any perſon for any their offences in the ſaid rebellion, to the clear ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

15 Alſo, you haue ſayd in the time of the rebellion, that you liked wel the doings and proceedings of the ſayde rebelles and traitors, and ſayde, that the couetouſnes of the gentlemen gaue occaſion to the common people to riſe: ſayinge alſo, that better it were for the Commons to die, then periſh for lacke of liuing.

16 Alſo, you ſaide that the Lordes of the parlamente were loth to encline themſelues to reformatiō of encloſures and other things: therfore the people had good cauſe to reforme the things them ſelues.

17 Alſo, you after the reporte and declaration of the defaultes and lackes reported to you by ſuche as did ſuruey Bulleine and the Peeces there, woulde neuer amende the ſame defaultes.

18 Alſo, you would not ſuffer the kings peeces beyōd the ſeas, called Newhauen, & Blackneſt to be furniſhed wyth men and vitailes, although you were aduertiſed of the defaultes therin by the captaines of the ſame peeces & others, & were thereto aduertiſed by the kings Counſaile: wherby the French king being the kings open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to inuade and win the ſayd peeces, to the kings great loſſe, and diſhonor of his realme.

19 Alſo, you declared and publiſhed vntruely, as well to the kings maieſtie, and other the young Lordes attendant vpon his graces perſone, that the Lordes of the Counſaile at London, minded to deſtroy the king, & you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewiſe you required the yong Lordes to put the king in remembrance therof, to the entent to make ſedition, and diſcord betwene the king and his Lordes.

20 Alſo, where the kinges Maieſties priuie Counſaile, of their loue and zeale that they did beare vnto the king & his Realme, did conſulte at London to haue communed wyth you, to the entent to moue you charitablie to amend your doings and miſgouernment, you hearing of their ſayd aſſembly, did cauſe to be declared by letters in diuers places, the ſaid Lordes to be high traitors to the king, to the great diſturbance of the realme.

And thus muche hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of the Lorde Protectoure, Duke of Somerſette, wyth the crimes and articles obiected againſt him, with his priſonment alſo in the Tower, and the terrible proclamatiō geuen out againſt hym. All which purpoſes of man, thoughe they ſeemed fully entended to no leſſe, but to the ſpilling of his life: yet the Lorde aboue, the onely diſpoſer of all mens purpoſes, ſo ordered the matter by the meanes of the kinge labouring for his Uncle, that in ſhort while after, hee was lette out of the Tower, and the Proclamation, whyche before had made hym a traitor, wythin three dayes was called in agayne, a Domino factum eſt iſtud,) wyth commaundement geuen, none of them to be ſolde. And ſo the Duke of Somerſet gratiouſly eſcaping thys aduerſitie, was a-

The mercifull working of the Lord for the Lord Protector.

The Lord Protectour deliuered out of the tower.

Anno 1552.

gaine reſtored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie: wherein he continued the ſpace of two yeares and two dayes.

The ſecond trouble of the Duke of Somerſet.

After the which time of reſpite being expired, the ſayde Duke of Somerſet was apprehended & committed againe to the Tower, and wyth him alſo Sir Michaell Stanhop, ſir Rauſe Vane, ſir Miles Partrige, & other. &c. At length the time being come of his arrainment, the foreſayde good Duke being conueied from the Tower, was brought thorow London with the axe of the tower before him, & wyth great preparance of bils, halbardes, pikes, and polaxes, in moſt forcible wiſe: a watch alſo ſette and appoynted before euery mans dore through the hie ſtreat of London, and ſo was he brought into weſtminſter hal, where the Lords of the counſaile ſitting as his iudges in the middle of the hal, vpon a newe ſcaffolde, he was there before them arrayned and charged both with treaſon and felonie.

The Duke of Somerſet agayne brought to the tower.

The vile tauntes of certayne Iuſtices and others ſitting in iudgement againſt the good Duke of Somerſet.

In the whiche iudgement, I paſſe ouer the vnſeemely ſpeach, the vile taunts, and deſpiteful rebukes, without all modeſty or honeſty, vſed by certaine of the Sergeants and Iuſtices, and ſome other ſitting there. Al which notwythſtanding he patiently & quietly did ſuffer, neither ſtorming inwardly in ſtomacke, nor reuiling them with wordes againe: but like a lambe folowing the true lambe, & example of all meekenes, was contented to take al things at their handes, and with no leſſe patience to beare now theyr vngentle and cruell railings, then hee did before their glauncing wordes and flatterings in time of his high eſtate and proſperitie. And as the patience of this good Duke was maruellous in forbearing his enemies, ſo alſo was his diſcretion and temperance no leſſe ſeene in anſwearing for himſelf to the articles to him obiected: wherunto he wiſely and ſubſtantially replied, putting himſelfe in the ende to be tried by his Peeres. who then at length after conſultation had, did frame and temper their verdicte thus, that as concerning ẏ caſe of treaſon, wherewith he was charged, they diſcharged him, but they accounted him guiltie of fellonie. When the people (which were there preſent to a great nõber) hearde the Lordes ſay, Not guiltie, (meaning by the caſe of treaſon) ſuppoſing no leſſe, but ẏ he had bene clearly acquited by theſe wordes, and eſpecially ſeeing the Axe of the Tower to be carried away, for great ioy and gladneſſe made an outcrie, well declaring theyr louing affection and hearty fauour vnto the Duke, whoſe life they greatly deſired. But thys opinion of the people was deceiued, and the innocent Duke condemned to die for fellonie. Which act of fellonie had bene made a litle before againſt the rebels, and vnlawfull aſſembles, ſuche as ſhoulde ſeeke or procure the death of any Counſailour, ſo that euery ſuche attempt and procurement, according to the act, ſhould be iudged felony. By the vertue of whych Act, the Duke being accuſed, with certaine other hys complices, to intende and purpoſe the death of the Duke of Northumberlande, and of certayne beſide, was therfore caſte and condemned of felonie, and ſo was returned toward the Tower againe.

The great patiẽce of the Duke of Somerſet in taking rebukes.

The diſcrete behauiour of the Duke in aunſwering for himſelfe.

The harty affection of the people toward the Duke of Somerſet.

The Duke of Somerſet condemned of felony.

Statut. an.5. Reg. Edw 6.

The Duke of Somerſet accuſed for ſeeking the death of the Duke of Northumberland.

At whoſe paſſage throughe the Citie, greate exclamations and outcries were made againe of the people, ſome reioycing ẏ hee was acquited, ſome bewayling that hee was condemned.

Thus the good Duke paſſing through a great parte of the Citie, landinge at the Crane of the Vinetrie, was conueyed vnto the Tower, where hee endured till the 22. of Ianuary. Vpon the which day at the comminge downe of the letter of execution from the Kinge and the Counſaile, the foreſayde Duke and Vncle to the Kyng, beinge founde no traitour, onely being caſte by the Acte of Fellonye, was deliuered vnto the Sheriffes, and ſo brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution, a few wordes here woulde be beſtowed in deſcribing the wonderful order and maner thereof, according as it hath faithfully ben ſuggeſted to vs vppon the credite of a certaine noble Perſonage, who not onely was there preſent at the deede doing, but alſo in a maner next vnto him vpon the ſcaffolde, beholding the order of all things with his eies, and with his penne alſo reporting the ſame in order and maner as here foloweth.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1552. the 22. day of Ianuary, in the ſixte yeare of the raigne of king Edward the ſixte, he being yet vnder age and gouernaunce of Tutours: the noble Duke of Somerſette, vncle to kynge Edwarde, was brought out of the tower of London, and accordinge to the maner, deliuered to the Sheriffes of the Citie: and compaſſed round about wͭ a great number of armed men, both of the garde and others, he was brought vnto the ſcaffolde on Tower hill: where as hee nothing chaunging neyther voyce nor countenance, but in a maner with the ſame geſture whych he commonly vſed at home, kneeling downe vppon both his knees, and lifting vpp his handes, commended himſelfe vnto God.

After that he had ended a fewe ſhort prayers, ſtanding vp againe, and turning him ſelfe towarde the Eaſt ſide of the Scaffold, nothing at all abaſhed (as it ſeemed vnto me ſtanding about the middeſt of the Scaffold, and diligently marking all things,) neither with the ſight of the axe, neyther yet of the hangman, or of preſent death: but wyth the like alacritie and chearefulneſſe of minde and countenance as before times he was accuſtomed to heare the cauſes and Supplications of other, and eſpecially the poore (towardes whom, as it were wyth a certaine fatherly loue to his children, he alwaies ſhewed himſelfe moſte attentiue) he vttered theſe wordes to the people.

Dearly beloued frendes, I am broughte hither to ſuffer death, albeit that I neuer offended againſt the king, neither by word nor dede, and haue bene alwaies as faithful & true vnto this Realme, as any man hath bene. But forſomuch as I am by a lawe condemned to die, I do acknowledge my ſelfe as well as others to bee ſubiecte thereunto. Wherefore to teſtifie my obedience whiche I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to ſuffer death: wherunto I willingly offer my ſelfe, with moſt hearty thankes vnto God, that hath geuen me this time of repentaunce, who might through ſodaine death haue taken away my life, that neyther I ſhould haue acknowledged him nor my ſelfe.

Moreouer (dearly beloued frendes) there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in minde of as touching Chriſtian religion: which ſo long as I was in authoritie, I alwayes diligently ſette forth and furthered to my power. Neither I repent me of my doinges, but reioyce therein, ſith that now the ſtate of Chriſtian religion commeth moſt neare vnto the forme and order of the Primitiue Church. Which thing I eſteeme as a great benefite geuen of God, both vnto you and me: moſt hartily exhorting you all, that this which is moſt purely ſet forth vnto you, you will with like thankfulneſſe accept and embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your liuing. Which thing if you do not, wythout doubt, greater miſchiefe and calamitie wil folow.

When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, ſodainely there was a terrible noiſe heard: whereupon there came a great feare on al men. This noiſe was as it had bene the noiſe of ſome great ſtorm or tempeſt, which vnto ſome ſemed to be heard from aboue: like as if a great deale of gunpouder being incloſed in an armorie, and hauing caught fire, had violently broken out. But vnto ſome againe, it ſeemed as though it had ben a great multitude of horſemen running together, or comming vppon them. Suche a noyſe was then in the eares of all men, albeit they ſaw nothing. Whereby it happened, that all the people being amaſed wythout any euident cauſe, wythout any violence or ſtroke ſtriken, or any man ſeene, they ran away, ſome into ẏ ditches and puddles, and ſome into the houſes thereabout: other ſome being afraide with the horrour and noyſe, fell downe groueling vnto the ground wͭ their polaxes and halbards, & moſt part of them cried oute: Ieſus ſaue vs, Ieſus ſaue vs. Thoſe whyche tarried ſtill in their places, for feare knewe not where they were. And I my ſelfe which was there preſent among the reſt, being alſo afraid in this hurly burly, ſtoode ſtil altogether amaſed, looking when any man woulde knocke me in the head. It hapned heere, as the Euangeliſts write, it dyd vnto Chriſt, when as the officers of the high Prieſtes and Phariſeis comming wyth weapons to take him, being aſtonied, ran backwardes, and fell to the ground.

In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, the people by chance ſpied one ſir Anthony Browne riding vnto the ſcaffold: which was the occaſion of a new noiſe. For when they ſaw him comming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithſtanding which they all wiſhed for, that the king by that meſſenger had ſent hys vncle pardone: and therfore with great reioyſing & caſting vp their cappes, they cried out, Pardon, pardone is come: God ſaue the king. Thus this good Duke, although hee was deſtitute of all mans helpe, yet he ſawe before hys departure, in how great loue & fauour he was with all men. And truely I doe not thinke, that in ſo great ſlaughter of Dukes as hath bene in England within theſe few yeares, there was ſo many weeping eyes at one time: and not without cauſe. For all men did ſee in the decay of this Duke, the publike ruine of al england, except ſuch as in dede did perceiue nothing. But now to returne from whence we haue ſtrayed, the Duke in the meane time ſtanding ſtil in ẏ ſame place, modeſtly and with a graue cõtenance, made a ſigne to the people wͭ his hand, that they would kepe themſelues quiet. Which thing being done, & ſilence obtained, he ſpake vnto them in this maner.

Dearely beloued frendes, there is no ſuch matter here in hande, as you vainely hope or beleeue. It ſeemeth thus good vnto almighty God, whoſe ordinance it is meete and

neceſſary

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neceſſary that we all be obedient vnto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am moſt willing to ſuffer: and let vs now ioyne in prayer vnto the Lord, for the preſeruation of the Kinges Maieſtie, vnto whome hitherto I haue alwaies ſhewed my ſelfe a moſt faithfull and true ſubiecte. I haue alwayes bene moſt diligent about his Maieſtie in his affayres both at home and abroade, and no leſſe diligent in ſeeking the common commoditie of the whole Realme. At whyche wordes all the people cried out, and ſaid, it was moſt true.

Then the Duke proceeding, ſaid: Unto whoſe Maieſtie I wiſh continuall health, with all felicitie & all proſperous ſucceſſe. Whereunto the people againe cryed out, Amen.

Moreouer, I do wiſhe vnto all his Counſaylours the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule in all things vprightly with iuſtice. Unto whome I exhort you all in the Lord, to ſhew your ſelues obedient, as it is your bounden duety, vnder the payne of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation and ſafegarde of the Kings Maieſtie.

Moreouer, for ſo much as heeretofore I haue had oftentimes affaires with diuers men, & hard it is to pleaſe euery man, therfore if there be any that hath ben offended & iniuried by me, I moſt humbly require & aſke him forgeuenes: but eſpecially almighty God, whome throughout all my life I haue moſt greeuouſly offended: and all other, whatſoeuer they be that haue offended me, I do with my whole hart forgeue them. Now I once againe require you, dearly beloued in the Lord, that you will keepe your ſelues quiete and ſtill, leaſt through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the ſpirite be willing and ready, the fleſh is fraile and wauering: and through your quietneſſe I ſhall be much more quieter. Moreouer, I deſire you all to beare me witnes, that I dye heere in the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt: deſiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I may perſeuere conſtant in the ſame vnto my liues end.

…he Duke
…Somerſet
…th in the
…th of Ie-
…Chriſt.

After this, hee turning himſelfe agayne aboute like a meeke lambe, kneeled down vpon his knees. Then doctor Coxe, which was there preſent to counſell and aduertiſe him, deliuered a certaine ſcroll into his hand, wherin was conteined a briefe confeſſion vnto God. Which being read, he ſtode vp againe vpon his feete, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and firſt bad the Sheriffes farewel, then the Lieutenant of the Tower and other, taking them all by the handes which were vpon the ſcaffold with hym. Then he gaue the Hangman certaine money. Which done, he put off his gowne, and kneeling downe againe in the ſtraw, vntied his ſhyrt ſtrings. After that, the hangman comming vnto him, turned downe his coller round about his necke, and al other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting vp his eyes to heauen, where his only hope remained, and couering his face with his owne handkercher, he layd himſelfe downe along, ſhewing no maner of token of trouble or feare, neyther did his countenaunce chaunge, but that before his eyes were couered, there began to appeare a red colour in the middeſt of his cheekes.

…Coxe
…ghoſtly
…er.

Thus this moſt meeke and gentle Duke lying along, and looking for the ſtroke, becauſe his doublet couered his necke, he was cōmaunded to riſe vp and put it off: and then laying himſelfe downe againe vpon the blocke, and calling thriſe vpon the name of Ieſus ſaying: Lord Ieſu ſaue mee, as he was the thyrd tyme repeating the ſame, euen as the name of Ieſu was in vttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head & life, & ſlept in the Lord Ieſus, being taken away from all the daungers and euils of this life, and reſting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whoſe truth and Goſpell he alwaies ſhewed himſelfe an excellent inſtrument and member, and therefore hath receyued the reward of his labours. Thus gentle Reader, thou haſt the true hiſtory of this worthy and noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwiſe, let it be counted as a lye.

…he godly
…d of the
…uke of So-
…erſet.

As touching the maners, diſpoſition, life, and conuerſation of the ſaid Duke and the Kings vncle, what ſhall we neede to ſpeake, when as he can not be ſufficiently commēded, according to the dignitie of his vertues? There was alwaies in him great humanitie, and ſuche meekenes and gentlenes, as is rare to be found in ſo high eſtate. He was prone and ready to geue eare vnto the cōplaints and ſupplicatiōs of the poore, & no leſſe attentiue vnto the affaires of the cōmon wealth. Which if he had liued together wyth king Edward, was like to do much good in reforming many miſorders within this realme. He was vtterly ignorāt of al craft and deceit, and as farre void of all pride and ambition, as he was frō doing of iniury, being indeede vtterly voyd of both. He was of a gentle diſpoſitiō, not coueting to be reuenged: more apt & ready to be deceiued, then to deceiue. His auncient loue & zeale of the Goſpell & of religion he brought with him to the ſtate of this his dignitie.

…e vertues
…the Duke
…Somerſet
…ared.

The zealous ſtanding of the Duke of Somerſet in defence of the truth againſt the Biſhops at Winſore.

The proofe whereof ſufficiently was ſeene in his conſtant ſtanding to gods truth, and zealous defence therof, againſt the Biſhops of Chicheſter, Norwich, Lincolne, London, and others mo, in the Conſultation had at Windſore, the firſt yeare of the kinges raigne.

A compariſon betweene Duke Humfrey Vncle to K. Henry. 6. and the Duke of Somerſet Vncle to K. Edward. 6.

Briefly, conſidering the nature and vertues of this Duke, I may (as ſeemeth) not vnaptly compare and reſemble him vnto Duke Humfrey, the good Duke of Gloceſter. Who likewiſe being vncle vnto king Henry 6. and Protector of the Realme (as this was alſo to king Edw. the 6.) yet he wanted not his enemies and priuy enueyers, eſpecially Henry Beauford Cardinal, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chancellour of England: who at that time diſdayning and enuying the rule and authoritie of thys Duke, procured much trouble agaynſt him, and great deuiſion in the whole realme, in ſo muche that all the Shops within the Citie of London were ſhutte in, for feare of the fauourers of theſe two great perſonages: For ech part had aſſembled no ſmall number of people.

Touching the trouble of the Duke of Gloceſter, read before pag. 673.

For pacifying wherof the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury and the Duke of Quimber, called the Prince of Portugale, rode eight times in one day betwene the two aduerſaries. Such were then the troubles of theſe tumultuous diuiſion within the realme, betweene theſe two: as is before expreſſed, pag. 679. not much vnlike to yͤ troubleſome diſcord betwixt parties in this Protectors dayes. And as in their afflictions and troubles, theſe two Dukes ſeemed not much vnlike, ſo in matters of religion, and in diſcerning truth from falſhood, their zeale ſeemed not much diſcrepant. Although the light of the Goſpell did not ſo fully then ſhine out, as in the time of this latter Duke (the Lord be prayſed therfore) yet the wiſedome and towardnes of yͤ other Duke alſo touching the ſame, was not vtterly vnworthy of his commendation. For the more manifeſt declaration whereof, amongeſt many other his godly doinges, we may take for example the prudent and famous acte of that noble Duke, in deſcerning and trying out the falſe lying miracle and popiſh hipocriſie of the blinde begger at S. Albons mentioned in his ſtory before, pag. 679. For the whiche cauſe, and for his dilligent ſtudye in reforming that and ſuch other blinde abuſes of fayned Religion, he was the more hated of the ſpiritualtie, and ſuche as Wincheſter then was.

A falſe miracle detected by Duke Humfrey of Gloceſter.

Finally, as thys Lorde Protector Duke of Somerſet the kinges vncle, by certayne of the Counſayle was then accuſed, arraigned & cōdemned for the treſpaſſe (as it was geuen forth) of felonie (although I neuer heard he murdered or robbed any) ſo the other vncle of king Henry the 6. was made away. Of whoſe deceaſe thus writeth Mayſter W. Tindall in his practiſe of Prelates: At yͤ laſt they found the meanes to contriue a driſt to bring their matters to paſſe & made a Parliamēt far from the Citizens of Londō, where was ſlayne the ſayd good Duke, & the onely wealth of the Realme, and yͤ mighty ſhield which ſo long had kept it from ſorowe, which ſhortly after his death fell vpon the by heapes. But the Chronicles (ſayth he) cannot tel wherfore he dyed, nor by what meanes. Neuertheles, this they teſtifie, that he was a vertuous man, godly and good to the common wealth.

The teſtimonye of M. William Tindall of good Duke Humfrey.

The happy ſucceſſe of the Duke of Somerſet in his victoryes.

But to leaue Duke Humfrey, and to return to the maners and vertues of the Duke of Somerſet, whiche before we were about to deſcribe: as he was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, ſo was he no leſſe fortunate a Captain in warfare abroad. Under whoſe gouernment & guidyng not onely diuers rebellious commotions were happily ſuppreſſed here at home, but alſo abroad in the expedition of Scotland ſuch a victory was geuen him of God, that to the loſſe ſcarſe of ſixe hundred of his own men, there were of the enemies as good, or little leſſe then x. thouſand ſlayn and put to flight, and euen the very ſame day and tyme in the which all the Idolatrous Images were here burnt at London. And yet al theſe warres notwithſtanding, wherunto he was agaynſt his will compelled, he was a man of nature ſingularly geuen to peace, as may be ſeene by the ſweete and peaceable exhortation by him ſet forth in print before, and ſent to the realme of Scotland.

Gods chaſtiſement vpon the Duke of Somerſet.

But as there is nothing in this worlde ſo perfect in all reſpectes, which is not blotted or darckned with ſome ſpot of vice adioyned withal: ſo amongſt the manifold commēdations of this Duke, one thinge there was too, whiche both deſteyned his honour and eſtimation much, and alſo more empayred and hindered his owne life & ſafety: which was, that he in condeſcending to the death of his brother, followed to raſhly the perſwaſion of certayne, whoſoeuer they were: for that matter lacked not perchaunce ſome ſingular fetche and pollicie of ſome, more craftely then godly diſpoſed perſons, as many good men haue ſuppoſed.

But what ſoeuer of that matter is to be deemed, credible, it is, that the ſaid Duke in ſuffering or procuring this death of his brother, not only endamaged himſelfe, & weakened his own power, but alſo prouoked the chaſtiſement of Gods ſcourge and rod, which did ſo light vpon him.

The beheading of the Earle of Surrey.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord Henry Earle of Surrey, who ſuffered alſo at the Tower next before the Lord Admirall, the Lorde Protectours brother, becauſe the caſting of him was ſo neare to the death of King Henry: as I know not vpon whome, or what cauſe the ſame did procede, ſo I paſſe it ouer and leaue it to the Lord. Notwithſtanding, as for the Duke of Somerſet, whatſoeuer his other vices and vertues were, this is certayne, that his ende (the Lord ſo working wyth him) was conſtant in Chriſtes truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the ſame.

Syr Rafe Vane, Syr Myles Partrige. Syr Michael Stanhop, and Syr Thomas Arundell ſuffered at Tower hyll.

Moreouer, on the xxvj. day of February, in the ſame yeare was ſir Rafe Vane, ſir Myles Partrige both hãged at the Tower hill: And ſir Michaell Stanhop, & ſir Thomas Arundell beheaded vppon the ſcaffold: all which foure were condemned by the ſaide Acte of vnlawfull aſſemblie, and as acceſſaries vnto the Duke of Somerſet.

Not long after the death of the Duke of Somerſet, in the next yeare folowing deceaſſed the King himſelfe about the moneth of Iune, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (the Lord graunting) in his due order and courſe heereafter. In the meane ſeaſon, before we come to cloſe vp the latter end and ſtory of this good King, the place heere preſent ſeemeth not vnfitte to intermixt by the way a few other things before, happning within the time of his reigne, namely concerning matters incident, of the Church & of Religiõ. Which ſtate of Religion begã wel to grow, & to come happely forward during this Kings daies, had not the vnhappy troubles of the outward ſtate amongſt the Lords not agreeing within themſelues, diſquieted the good towardnes of things begon. But the malice of the diuell how ſubtilly worketh it, if men could ſee it? So long as the Lordes agreed in concord among themſelues, Wincheſter and Boner, with all that faction, was cut ſhort, and began to condeſcend to good cõformitie. But afterward perceauing the ſtates and nobles of the Realme to be amõg themſelues diuided, and ẏ Lord Protectour the Kings vncle diſplaced, and his brother the Admirall before beheaded, and the yong King now left in that caſe, they begã vpon ſome hope to take more hart vnto them, till at laſt it came to paſſe, as they themſelues deſired. And thus though nothing elſe will leade vs, yet experience may teach vs what diſcorde worketh in publicke weales: and contrary, what a neceſſary thing concord is to the aduancemẽt eſpecially of Gods matters apperteining to his Church. Examples whereof in this Kings daies be not farre to ſeeke. For as touching the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell of peace, while publicke peace and the Goſpel did ioine together, marueilous it was how errour & Popery were in themſelues confounded, and aſhamed almoſt to ſhewe their faces. In ſo much that then both Doctour Smith, Chadſey, Standiſhe, Yong, Oglethorpe, with many moe recanted their former ignoraunce, whoſe recantations I haue to ſhew. Boner then with his owne hand ſubſcribed to the Kings ſupremacie, and promoted his Iniunctions.

Religion hindered by diſcorde.

Diſcorde what decay it worketh in a common wealth.

D. Smyth, Chadſey, Standiſh, Younge, Oglethorpe, reclaymed from their errours.

The ſame alſo did Steuen Gardiner, ſubſcribing wyth his owne hand to the firſt booke of the Kings proceedings, and no doubt had done no leſſe to the ſecond booke alſo ſet foorth by the King, had not the vnfortunate diſcorde fallen amongſt the nobles in time ſo vnfortunate, as then it did. Briefly during all that time of peace and concorde, what Papiſt was found in all the Realme, which for the Popes deuotion would or did once put his necke in the halter to die a Martyr for his ſake?

The Goſpell how it floriſhed ſo long as peace continued.

I ſhewed before how in theſe peaceable dayes of Kyng Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, with other learned men moe, were enterteined, placed and prouided for in the two Vniuerſities of this Realme, Oxford and Cambridge, who there with their diligent induſtrie did much good. The learned and fruitfull diſputations of whome, I haue likewiſe preſent in my handes heere to inſert, but that the bignes of this Volume driueth me to make ſhort, eſpecially ſeeing their diſputations be ſo long and prolixe as they be, and alſo in Latin, and require of themſelues a whole Volume to comprehend thẽ.

Peter Martyr, Martyn Bucer, & Paulus Phagius, placed in the vniuerſity.

First, Peter Martyr beeing called by the King to the publicke reading of the Diuinitie Lecture in Oxforde, amõgſt his other learned exerciſes did ſet vp in the publicke ſcholes iij. concluſions of Diuinitie to be diſputed & tryed by Argument. At whiche diſputations were preſent the Kings viſitours, to witte, Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, Doctour Coxe Chauncellour of that Vniuerſitie, Doctour Haynes Deane of Exeter, M. Richard Moriſon Eſquier; Chriſtopher Neuynſon Doctour of Ciuill law. The concluſions propounded were theſe.

The kinges Viſitors at the diſputation in Oxford. The concluſions to be diſputed in Oxford.

1. In the Sacrament of thankes geuing there is no tranſubſtantiation of bread and wyne into the body and bloud of Chriſt.
2. The body and bloud of Chriſt is not carnally or corporally in bread and wine, nor as other vſe to ſay, vnder the kindes of bread and wine.
3. The body and blond of Chriſt be vnited to bread and wyne Sacramentally.

They which were the chiefe diſputers againſt hym on the contrary ſide, were Doct. Treſham, D. Chadſey, and Morgan. The reaſons and principall Arguments of Peter Martyr heereunder follow.

¶ The Arguments of Peter Martyr vpon the firſt concluſion.

The Scriptures moſt plainely do name and acknowledge bread and wyne. In the Euangeliſtes we reade that the Lord Ieſus tooke bread, bleſſed it, brake it, and gaue it to his Diſciples. S. Paule likewiſe doth ofttimes make mention of bread.

Ergo, we alſo with the ſcriptures ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the ſacrament.

Cyprianus.

As in the perſon of Chriſt, his humanitie was ſeene outwardlye, and his Diuinitie was ſecret within: ſo in the viſible Sacrament the diuinitie inſerteth it ſelfe in ſuch ſort as can not be vttered, that our deuotion about the Sacraments might be the more religious.

Ergo, as in the perſon of Chriſt: ſo in the Sacrament both the natures ought ſtill to remaine.

Gelaſius.

The Sacramentes which we receaue of the body and bloud of Chriſt, are a Diuine matter: by reaſon whereof, we are made partakers by the ſame, of his Diuine nature, and yet it ceaſeth not ſtill to be the ſubſtance of bread and wine. And certes the repreſentation and ſimilitude of the body and bloud of Chriſt, be celebrated in the action of the myſteries, &c.

Auguſtinus.

As the perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God and man, when as he is true God, and true man. For euery thing conteyneth in it ſelfe the nature and veritie of thoſe things whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament of the Church is made of two things, that is, of the Sacrament that ſignifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is ſignified, &c.

Theodoretus.

Theſe viſible myſteries which are ſeene, he hath honored with the name of his body and bloud, not chaunging the nature, but adding grace vnto nature, &c. And the ſame Theodoretus againe ſayeth:

Thoſe myſticall ſacraments after ſanctification, do not paſſe out of theyr owne proper nature, but remayne ſtill in their former ſubſtance, figure, and ſhape, &c.

Ergo, lyke as the body of Chriſt remained in him, and was not chaunged into his diuinitie: ſo in the ſacrament the bread is not chaunged into the body, but both the ſubſtances remaine whole.

Origine.

If whatſoeuer entreth into the mouth, goeth downe into the belly, and ſo paſſeth through a man: euen that meate alſo which is ſanctified by the word of God and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath materiall within it, paſſeth into the belly, and ſo voydeth through a man. But thorough prayer, which is adioined to it, according to the meaſure of faith, it is profitable and effectuall, &c. And he addeth moreouer: For it is not the outward matter of the bread, but the word that is ſpoken vpon it, that profiteth him which eateth him worthely, &c.

Irenæus.

Ieſus taking bread of the ſame condition which is after vs, (that is, taking bread of the ſame nature and kinde as we vſe commonly to eate) did confeſſe it to be his body. And taking likewiſe the cup which is of the ſame creature which is after vs, (that is, which we commonly vſe to drinke) confeſſed it to be his bloud, &c.

Item, lib. 4. Like as bread which is of the earth, receauing the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the Euchariſt, conſiſting of two things, the one earthly, the other heauenly: ſo our bodies receauing the ſacred Euchariſt, be now not corruptible, hauing hope of reſurrection, &c.

¶ Argument.

Ba- The bread in the Sacrament is ſo chaunged into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made vncorruptible by hope.

ro- But our bodies are not made incorruptible by chaunging their ſubſtance.

co. Ergo, no more is the bread changed into the ſubſtance of the body.

Gregory.

Edw 6.

Anno 1552.

Gregory.

Notwithſtanding, whether we take leauened or vnleauened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Sauiour,&c.

¶ Argument.

Da- Where bread leauened or vnleauened is taken, there is ſubſtance of bread, and not accidences only.

ri- In the Sacrament bread is receaued either leauened or vnleauened:

j. Ergo, in the Sacrament is ſubſtaunce of bread and not accidences onely.

¶ Argument.

Ba- The body of Chriſt is named of that which is proportioned round, and is vnſenſible in operation.

ro- Accidences only of bread haue no figure of roundnes:

co. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not named of accidences, but of very bread ſubſtantiall.

¶ Argument.

The wordes of the Euangeliſt ſpeaking of that whyche Chriſt tooke, bleſſed, brake, and gaue, do importe it to be bread, and nothing elſe but bread.

Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chriſoſtome.

Chriſt in bread and wyne ſayde: do this in remembraunce of me.

Cyrillus.

He gaue to them peeces or fragments of bread.

Alſo the ſame Cyrill ſayth: In bread we receaue his precious body and his bloud in wyne.

Ergo, by theſe Doctours it remayneth bread after conſecration.

Ambroſe.

Before the bleſſing of the heauenly words, it is called another kynde of thyng. After conſecration the body of Chriſt is ſignified.

¶ Arguments of Peter Martyr diſputing with M. Chadſey vpon the firſt queſtion.

Da- The Analogie and reſemblaunce betwene the Sacrament and the thing ſignified, muſt euer be kept in all Sacraments.

ri- In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, this Analogie or reſemblaunce can not be kept, if bread be tranſubſtantiated:

i. Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread muſt needes remayne in the Sacrament of the Lords body.

The Maior of this Argument is certaine by S. Auſten, Lib. De catechiſandis rudibus, & Epiſt. ad Dardan. where hee ſayeth: Sacramentes muſt needes beare a ſimilitude of thoſe thyngs whereof they are Sacramentes, or elſe they can be no Sacramentes.

The Minor is thus proued.

¶ Argument.

Ba- The reſemblaunce betweene the Sacrament and the body of Chriſt is this: that as the properties of bread and wyne do nouriſh outwardly: ſo the properties of the body of Chriſt do nouriſh ſpiritually.

ro- Without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, there is no reſemblaunce of nouriſhing.

co. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, the Analogie can not hold.

¶ Argument.

Ba- Agayne, another reſemblaunce and ſimilitude or Analogie of this Sacramente is this, that as one loafe of bread, and one cuppe of wine conteineth many cornes and many grapes: ſo the myſticall congregation conteineth many members, and yet maketh but one bodie:

ro- Without the ſubſtance of bread & wine, no ſuch reſemblaunce or ſimilitude of coniunction can be repreſented:

co. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, the Analogie of this ſpirituall coniunction can not holde.

¶ Another Argument.

Ba- Euery Sacrament conſiſteth in two thynges, that is, in the thing ſignifieng, and the thing ſignified.

ro- Without the ſubſtance of bread and wine, there is nothing that ſignifieth in the Sacrament:

co. Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne in the Sacramente, can in no wiſe be tranſubſtanciate from theyr natures. The Minor is thus to be proued.

Feſ- There is no ſignification in any Sacrament without the element.

ti- The ſubſtaunce of bread and wine is the elemente of this Sacrament:

no. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, there is no ſimilitude nor ſignification in this Sacrament.

And for ſomuch as the aduerſaries ground their tranſubſtantiation ſo much vpon theſe wordes of Chriſt: This is my body: which they expound onely after ỹ litteral ſenſe, without troupe or figure: now that this their expoſition is falſe, and that the ſayde woordes are to be taken figuratiuely and ſpiritually, by three cauſes it is to be proued.

Three cauſes prouing that theſe wordes of Chriſt. Hoc eſt corpus meum, are not to be taken literally but ſpiritually.

1. Firſt by the wordes of the Scripture. 2. By the nature of a Sacrament. 3. By the teſtimonies of the fathers.

1. Firſt by theſe wordes of the ſcripture, where he ſayth: Doe this in remembraunce of mee, for ſo muche as remembraunce properly ſerueth not for thinges corporally preſẽt, but for thinges rather being abſent.

2. Secondly, where he ſaith: Vntill I come. Which wordes were vayne, if he were already come by conſecration.

Places of Scripture making agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

3. Thirdly, where S. Paule ſayth: The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt? Which wordes of breaking in no caſe can be verified vppon the body of Chriſt, which for the glory thereof is vnpoſſible.

4. Furthermore where as the Lord biddeth thẽ to take and eate, it is euident, that the ſame cannot be vnderſtand ſimply of the body of Chriſt without a trope, forſomuch as he cannot be eaten and chawed with teeth, as we vſe properly in eating other meates to doe.

5. The wordes moreouer of Luke and Paule ſpoken of the cuppe, doe argue likewiſe that the other words ſpoken of the bread muſt needes be taken miſtically. As where it is ſayd: This cup is the new teſtament: which woordes muſt needes be expounded thus: thys cup doth ſignifie the new Teſtament.

6. Item, theſe wordes of S. Iohn. chap. 6. My wordes be ſpirite and life. The fleſh profiteth nothing &c.

7. Itẽ, where in the ſame place of S. Iohn, Chriſt to refell the carnal vnderſtanding of the Capernaites of eating his body, maketh mention of his Aſcenſion, &c.

The ſecond cauſe why the wordes of Chriſt: This is my body, cannot be litterally expounded without trope, is ỹ nature of a ſacrament: whoſe nature and propertie is to beare a ſigne or ſignification of a thinge to be remembred, which thing after the ſubſtantiall and reall preſence, is abſent. As touching which nature of a ſacrament ſufficiently hath bene ſayd before.

The ſecõd cauſe, the nature of a Sacrament.

The third cauſe, why the woordes of conſecration are figuratiuely to be taken, is the teſtimonie of the auncient Doctours.

The third cauſe, the teſtimonye of the fathers.

Tertullianus.

This is my body: that is to ſay, this is a figure of my body.

Auguſt. Pſal. 3.

Chriſt gaue a figure of his body.

Auguſt. Contra Adamantum Manichæum.

He did not doubt to ſay: This is my body when he gaue a ſigne of his body.

Hieronimus.

Chriſt repreſented vnto vs his body.

Tertullianus Contra Martionem, Lib. 4. Auguſtinus, Pſal. 3. Auguſt. contra Adamantum, Cap. 12. Hieronimus.

Auguſt.

Auguſt. in his booke De Doctrina Chriſtiana declareth expreſſely that this ſpeache of eating the body of Chriſt, is a figuratiue ſpeach.

Auguſt de Doctrina Chriſtiana, Lib.

Ambroſius.

As thou haſt receaued the ſimilitude of his death: ſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious bloud.

¶ Argument.

Fe- The death of Chriſt is not preſent really in the ſacrament but by ſimilitude.

ri- The precious bloud of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament as his death is preſent:

o. Ergo, the precious bloud of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament.

Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib. 4. cap. 4.

The Minor of this argument is proued before by the wordes of Ambroſe.

The ſecond queſtion. Whether the body and bloud of Chriſt be in the bread and wine, or vnder the formes of bread and wine carnally and corporally.

The ſecond concluſion.

¶ Argument.

Di- The true natural body of Chriſt is placed in heauen.

ſa- The true naturall body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is:

mis. Ergo, the true naturall body of Chriſt can be in no place at once, but in heauen where he is.

The Maior is playne by the Scriptures: Ieſus was taken vp to heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of God. Math. 26 The poore ye haue alwayes with you, but me you ſhall not alwayes haue Iohn. 12. I leaue the world and go to my Father. Ioh. 16. Many ſhal ſay in that day: Loe here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt, beleue thẽ not, Mat. 24. Whõ the heauẽs muſt receiue

Math. 26. Iohn. 12. Iohn. 16. Math. 24.

for a time, vntill the reſtitution of all. Actes.3. Seeke thoſe things that are aboue, where Chriſt is, ſitting at the right hand of God, &c. Col.3.

Actes. 3. Col.3. Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

The Minor likewiſe is euident by S. Auſten, who ſpeaking of the glorified body of Chriſt, affirmeth the ſame to be in one certayne place, Propter veri corporis modum, that is, for the maner of a true body.

¶ Argument.

Da- Euery true naturall body requireth one certaine place. Auguſt.
ri- Chriſtes body is a true naturall body:
j. Ergo, Chriſtes body requireth one certayne place.

¶ Argument.

Comparatio a Maiori.

Auſten giueth not to the ſoule of Chriſt to be in mo places at once, but one. Auguſt. ad Dardanum.
Ergo, much leſſe is it to be giuen to the body of Chriſt to be in mo places at once, but in one.

¶ Argument.

Compariſon betweene Aungels and the body of Chriſt.

The nature of the Aungels is not to be in diuers places, but they are limited to occupy one certaine place at once. Baſilius de ſpirit. ſanct. cap. 22.
Ergo, the body of Chriſt, being the true naturall body of a man, can not fill diuers places at one time.

¶ Argument.

Ba- Whatſoeuer is in many & diuers places at once is God.
ro- The body of Chriſt is not God but a creature:
co. Ergo, the body of Chriſt can not be in moe places together.

¶ Argument.

Feſ- We muſt not ſo defende the Diuinitie of Chriſt, that we deſtroy his humanitie. Auguſt.
ti- If we aſſigne to the body of Chriſt pluralitie of places, we deſtroy his humanitie:
no. Ergo, we muſt not aſſigne to the body of Chriſt pluralitie of places.

¶ Argument.

Feſ- Whatſoeuer thing is circumſcribed, that is to ſay, conteined in the limits of any peculiar place, can not be diſperſed in mo places at once.
ti- The body of Chriſt is a thing circumſcribed:
no. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not diſperſed in mo places at one time.

¶ Argument.

Da- Euery quantitie, that is, euery body hauing magnitude, length, and other dimenſions, is circumſcribed in one peculiar place:
ri- The bodye of Chriſte hathe his dimenſions, and is a quantitie:
j. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is circumſcribed.

Cyrillus.

Cyrillus De trinit. Lib. 2. pag. 245.

The Maior is proued by Cyrillus. Whatſoeuer is vnderſtanded to be a body, the ſame is verely in a place, and in magnitude, and in quantitie. And if it be in quantitie, it can not auoyd circumſcription, that is, to haue his place.

¶ Argument.

Ba- If Chriſt had giuen his body ſubſtancially and carnally in the Supper, then was that body either paſſible, or impaſſible.
ro- But neither can you ſay that body to be paſſible or impaſſible, which he gaue at Supper:
co. Ergo, he did not giue his body ſubſtancially and carnally at Supper.

Auguſt.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

The Minor is proued thus. For if ye ſay it was paſſible, Auſten is againſt it, which ſayth: Ye ſhall not eate thys body which you ſee, nor drinke the ſame bloud which they ſhall ſhed, that ſhall crucifie me, &c. And if ye ſay, it was impaſſible, that may not be admitted by the words of the Euangeliſt, which ſayth: Eate, this is my body which ſhall be geuen for you: So that that body was paſſible and not impaſſible, wherein Chriſt was geuen.

Vigilius.

Vigilius contra Euticheu. lib.4.

One creature can not receaue in it ſelfe two contrary or diuers thynges together. But theſe two thyngs be diuers and farre vnlike, that is to ſay, to be conteyned in a place, and to be euery where. For the word is euery where, but the fleſhe is not euery where.

¶ Argument.

Fe- Bodyes organicall without quantitie be no bodies.
ri- The Popes doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be without quantitie:
o. Ergo, the Popes doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be no body.

¶ Argument.

Da- All things which may be deuided, haue quantitie.
ri- The body in the Popes Sacrament is deuided in iij. partes:
j. Ergo, the body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantitie, which is againſt their owne doctrine.

¶ Argument.

Fe- No naturall body can receaue in it ſelfe, and at one time, contrary or diuers qualities. Vigilius.
ri- To be in one place locall, and in another place not locall, in one place with quantitie, in another place without quantitie, in one place circumſcript, in another place incircumſcript, is for a naturall body to receyue contrary qualities:
o. Ergo, the body of Chriſt can not be in one place locall, and in another not locall, in one place with quantitie, and in another without quantitie, as our aduerſaries do affirme.

¶ Argument.

Fe- The wicked receaue not the body of Chriſt.
ri- The wicked do receaue the body of Chriſt, if tranſubſtantiation be graunted:
ſon. Ergo, tranſubſtantiation is not to be graunted in the Sacrament.

¶ Argument for probation of the Maior.

Ca- To eate Chriſt, is for a man to haue Chriſt dwelling and abiding in him. Auguſtine.
meſ- The wicked haue not Chriſt dwelling in them:
tres. Ergo, the wicked eate not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian.

Cyprianus de Cœna Domini. The eating of Chriſt, is our abyding in hym.

¶ Argument.

Bo- The holy Ghoſt could not come if the body of Chriſt were really preſent.
car- That the holy Ghoſt is come, it is moſt certayne:
do. Ergo, it can not be that Chriſt himſelfe ſhould be here really preſent.

For proofe of the Maior. Iohn 16. Vnleſſe I go from you, the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come: It is expedient for you that I go hence.

¶ Argument of Peter Martyr.

Ba- If the wicked and infidels doe receaue the body of Chriſt, they receaue him either with ſenſe or reaſon, or with fayth.
ro- But they receaue him neither with ſenſe, reaſon, nor with faith:
co. Ergo, wicked men and infidels receaue in no wiſe the body of Chriſt.

For declaration of the Maior: if yee ſay, they receaue him with ſenſe, that is againſt their owne lore, for the body of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament (ſay they) is not ſenſible, nor to be perceaued by any ſenſe, neither with reaſon can they receaue him, by their owne learning, for ſo much as this Sacramente exceedeth all reaſon: Nec fides habet meritum, vbi ratio præbet experimentum. And if ye ſay, that they receaue him with faith, how can that be, ſeeing infidels haue no faith?

What is to eate the body of Chriſt, the teaching of the Papiſtes heerein is ſtraunge, and differeth from the olde Doctours. For where the Papiſtes do teache, that wicked perſons and infidels, albeit they receaue not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament, which is the very body of Chriſt, they receiue with their mouth, and with their ſenſe the accidences of bread, and thus imagine a certaine body of Chriſt, ſuche as euill men and infidels may eate, and yet being eaten, it geueth them no nouriſhment nor life, nor maketh them no partakers of his ſpirite and grace: both Scripture and the auncient expoſitours of the Scripture do teach much otherwiſe. For the Scripture knoweth no ſuch kinde of eating Chriſtes body, but onely that which is fruitefull, wholeſome, and effectuall. He that eateth my fleſhe and drinketh my bloud, abideth in mee and I in him, &c. Iohn.6. And therefore it may appeare, that the Scripture meaneth by eating Chriſtes fleſh, to beleeue in Chriſtes Paſſion, which none can doe but onely the faithfull. And to the ſame ſenſe ſound all the old Doctours.

Cyprianus.

That we ſhould knowe, that eatyng is our dwellyng in hym, and our drinkyng is, as it were, a certayne incorporation in hym.

Item, the ſame Cyprian: The eatyng therefore of hys fleſhe is a certayne deſire to abyde in hym: and ſayeth moreouer, that none eateth of thys Lambe, but ſuche as be true Iſraelites, that is, true Chriſten men, without colour or diſſimulation.

And agayne hee ſayeth: That as meate is to the fleſhe, the ſame is fayth to the ſoule, the ſame is the woorde to the ſpirite, &c.

Moreouer: And therefore (ſayth hee) doing this we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we breake the holy bread, and diſtribute it, &c.

Anno 1552.

Auguſtinus.

It may not be ſayde, that any ſuche doe eate the body of Chriſt, becauſe they are accompted amongſt the members of Chriſt. Neither can they be both members of Chriſt, and members of an harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Chriſt ſayeth: He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him: hee ſheweth what it is, not Sacramentally, but in deede to eate hys body and drinke his bloud, which is, when a man ſo dwelleth in Chriſt, that Chriſt dwelleth in him. For ſo Chriſt ſpake thoſe wordes, as if hee ſhoulde ſaye: he that dwelleth not in me, and in whome I dwell not, let him not ſay nor thinke, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my bloud.

De
Lib
cap. 25.

Alſo in other places the ſayde Auſten affirmeth, that, to drinke is to liue: And ſayeth moreouer: Why prepareſt thou thy belly and thy teeth? beleeue and thou haſt eaten, &c.

All which kindes of eating can not be ſayd of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithfull.

And thus briefly we haue runne ouer all the arguments and authorities of Peter Martyr in that diſputation at Oxford, with Doctour Treſham, Chadſey, and Morgan, before the Kings viſitours aboue named. an. 1549.

Furthermore, who ſo liſteth more fully to be ſatiſfied and reſolued in all the occurrents touching the matter of thys Sacrament, let him reade the bookes firſt of the Archbiſhop Cranmer againſt Wincheſter: Secondly, the tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, tranſlated and extant in Engliſh: and thirdly the booke of Biſhop Ridley made in priſon, called A briefe declaration of the Lordes Supper.

The lyke diſputation alſo about the ſame time was appointed and commenſed at Cambridge, cōcerning the ſame matter of the Sacrament, the Kings viſitours being directed downe for the ſame purpoſe by the King. The names of which viſitours were theſe, Nicholas Ridley Byſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, M. Iohn Checke the Kings Scholemaiſter, Doctour May Ciuilian, and Thomas Wendy the Kings Phiſician. The concluſions in that diſputation propounded were theſe.

The firſt diſputation holden at Cambridge the 20. day of Iune. an. 1549. before the Kings Maieſties Commiſſioners by Doctor Madew reſpondent, whoſe firſt concluſion was this.

Tranſubſtantiation can not be prooued by the playne and maniſeſt wordes of Scripture, nor can thereof be neceſſarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the conſents of the auncient Fathers, for theſe thouſande yeares paſt. Doctour Glin, M. Langedale, M. Segewike, M. Yong, opponents.

Doctour Madew.

First of all (quoth he) I am very ſory, and do not a little lament the ſhortnes of time, to declare and diſcuſſe ſuch waighty matters of Religion in, as theſe be. But that notwithſtāding, if I had had in more plenty of time indeede: yet you ſhall vnderſtande, how that I haue euer both in hart and mind (if otherwiſe I could haue auoided it) abhorred all ſcholaſticall diſputations, and ſubtile ſophiſtications. In conſideration whereof, I beſeech thoſe that are to diſpute, not to alledge or bring forth any diſmembred, or curteled ſentences, or wreſted as hapneth many times, but the whole and full ſentences eyther of the Scriptures, or of the auncient Doctors: yea, and to auouch ſuche Authors ſayings, as are not ſuſpected, or fayned, but ſuche as be theyr owne very ſayings indeede, which if they do, there is no doubt, but the cleare light of this our diſputation, ſhall the ſooner appeare, and be manifeſt to this auditorie. And for a further declaration of my part, you ſhall vnderſtande that this my preface in my ſaid former moſt catholique & godly concluſion ſhall conſiſt in three principall points. 1. Firſt, what thing it was that Chriſt gaue to his diſciples. 2. Secondly, what ſeaſon or time this tranſubſtantiation did begin. 3. Thirdly, how many diueliſh abhominatiōs haue enſued vpon that horrible and peſtilēt inuention. As concerning the firſt, that is, what thing Chriſt gaue to his diſciples, that may very well appeare euen by our owne naturall ſences, as namely, by the ſight, by the touching, by the taſting, whiche can not be deceiued of their naturall iudgement. For the eye ſeeth nothing but bread and wine, the taſting ſauoureth nothing elſe, and the handes touche nothing elſe. He gaue alſo to their vnderſtanding not only his holy and ſacred doctrine, but alſo a ſpecial gift & pledge of his loue. He gaue the only materiall bread & wine ſanctified, as the firſt rude and plaine elements or principles to allure them withall, but he gaue them the gift of his grace and heauenly doctrine, as the very things ſignified by the ſenſible elementes, which thing playnly appeareth by the wordes of Chriſt our ſauiour, Non bibam. &c. I will not drinke hereafter of the fruite of this vine, vntill I drinke it new with you in the kingdome of God. Nowe this fruit or iuiſe of ẏ vine is nothing els but wine, as Chriſoſtome ſaith. And moreouer to proue the ſame true, if it be reſerued after the cōſecratiō for a time, it becommeth ſower, and tarte, therefore it is but wine. And as touching the bread, S. Paul ſayth thus, is not the bread which we breake, the communion, or participation of Chriſtes body? hee brake breade, therefore it was but bread, whiche he gaue them: for the body of Chriſt is not broken, as the ſcripture ſaythe of ẏ ſame, os non cōminuetis ex eo, you ſhall not breake a bone of him. Alſo he ſaith this is my bodye, not that the bread was his body, and the wine his bloud, but he ſpake thoſe wordes to, and of his owne mortall bodye, there ſitting amongeſt them at ſupper, or hee ſpake yet doubtfully as thus: this ſignifieth my body, it is one thing, whiche is ſeene, but it is an other thing which is vnderſtanded: for ẏ which is ſeen hath a bodely form, but ẏ which is vnderſtood thereby hath a ſpirituall fruite. S. Auſten ſayth. Let the word haue acceſſe to the element, ſo is it made a ſacrament: marke, he ſayth, let the word haue acceſſe, and not ſucceſſe. Now the thinge that hath acceſſe to an other thinge, doth not quench the thinge that it commeth to, no more doth is here, ergo it is bread and wine ſtill as before, howbe it ſacred, and holy: what ſaw you yeſterday (ſayth S. Auſten) vppon the aulter? Truely bread and wine, whiche your owne eyes can witneſſe ſaid he, what playner teſtimonye can be had of ſo auncient a father as he was, and of ſo rare knowledge in the ſcriptures of God? Seeing then ẏ oure eyes doe behould nothing, but bread and wine, it muſt needes follow that it is ſo in deede, or els our ſences be deceaued in their owne proper obiecte, which cannot be by any reaſon, or naturall philoſophy. And yet notwithſtanding ſome papiſtes dreame and phanteſie ſuch a corporal, reall, and groſſe preſence of Chriſts body in the ſacrament as they affirme it to be there euen as verily, as it was vpon the Croſſe. Indeede the bread is chaunged after a certayne maner, into Chriſtes body: for Chriſt gaue not hys owne natural bodye to his Diſciples at his laſt ſupper, but an onely ſigne or figure thereof. Chriſtes body is there with the bread: our ſences cannot be deceaued about the ſubſtaunce of bread, but they doe iudge there to be but one body, that is of bread, Ergo ſo it is. Alſo the very definition of a ſacrament doth playnly repugne vnto tranſubſtantiation. Bread nouriſheth the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body, but the accidentes doe not ſo, Ergo the ſubſtaunce doth remayne of the bread that nouriſheth: it is alſo called bread in the Actes, and in diuers other places of the ſcriptures, wherefore it is ſo, but in deede after a ſorte more holy then before: what gaue he in the ſupper? bread which is the body, that is to ſay, an holy ſigne of his body, as Auſten doth witneſſe ſaying: hee doubted not to ſay this is my bodye, whē it was but a ſigne of his body. The vnleauened bread was but a bare and naked ſigne of Chriſtes bodye, and ſo is this bread the ſame body, euen as baptiſme is. Now indeed there be two maner of ſignes, one that ſignifie onely, the other that doth exhibite the thing it ſelf. The firſt is applyed to the old lawe chiefly, the other to the law of grace. The old ancient & learned fathers, did neuer vſe to ſpeake of the ſubſtanciall chaunge, for becauſe that all the mutation is but condicionall, not ſubſtanciall, nor we deeme not the bodely ſubſtaunce ſacramentally, but yet we ſaye that this propoſition (that is my bodye) is but a figuratiue ſpeache, and no proper ſpeache, as ſome doe deeme. But it is as muche to ſaye, as this ſignifieth my bodye, or els thus, this is a ſacrament of my body, for the bodilye bread, and Chriſtes body are not contayned in place locally but myſtically. This portenteouſe and monſtrouſe tranſubſtanciation began firſt to enter, when the popiſhe prelates, & prieſtes began to vnderſtād this ſaid propoſition (this is my body) of the carnall and reall preſence of Chriſtes body, as hugo de ſancto victore, Gracian, Peter, Lombard and Innocent. 3. the very peſtilent poyſon of al Chriſtian religion, vnto whome we haue of long ſeaſon, yea alas to long geuen credite: vnder the which Innocente the ſaid deuiliſh terme, or vocable of tranſubſtantiation began anno, 1315. And Boniface after him Biſhop of Rome made the ſayde and blinde tranſubſtantiation to be the 3. article of the fayth, full wiſely no doubt, whereas an other biſhop of Rome after him affirmed plainly againſt Neſtor the heretike that bread remayneth there ſtill whoſe name was Gelaſius. 3. Now as touching ẏ moſt ſhamefull and deteſtable inconueniences which muſt needes follow this diueliſh terme or vocable of tranſubſtantiation, you ſhall vnderſtand the firſt is, that then ſuche Papiſtes will haue Chriſtes body ſtill proſtituted, and receaued euen of the wicked and naughty people, which is cleane contrary to that place of our ſauiour Chriſt, where he ſayth: Whoſoeuer eateth my fleſhe and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Nowe it is plaine, that euill perſons dwell not in Chriſt, nor Chriſt in them, wherefore they receiue not his body therin at all. For S. Auſtine tract. 8. ſuper Iohannem ſaith, that it is but bread which is ſeene after the Conſecration, Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread is there ſtill. 2. The ſeconde inconuenience that groweth heereof, is the fonde and ſuperſtitious reſeruation of the ſacrament in pixes, boxes, and ſuch like, with vaine tabernacles ouer the alter, where oftentimes it did putrifie for all their fooliſh honour, which began in Honorius daies the third Biſhop of Rome of that name, which corruption declareth it to be but onely bread, ſay all Papiſts what they liſt. 3. The third inconuenience that muſt needes follow Tranſubſtantiation, is adoration, which is too plaine Idolatry, as the Papiſts do know themſelues if they liſt, but they are ſo ſtiffenecked, that they will not know it, and ſo both haue, and yet alſo will keepe the world in blindnes ſtill if they might be ſuffered. But to be ſhort with you, euen as we are chaunged into Chriſt by receiuing the ſacrament, ſo is the bread chaunged into the body of Chriſt. But our ſubſtance is not chaunged into Chriſtes ſubſtance, Ergo, the ſubſtance of the bread is not changed into Chriſtes body. And to be ſhorte and playne with you (moſt honourable audience) the whole vniuerſall world hath bene, and yet is ſore deceaued and deluded about the eſtimation of this Sacrament. Therefore this is moſt true, when we do receaue the ſayd Sacrament worthely, then are we ioyned by faith ſpiritualy to Chriſt our ſauiour. And thus much haue I ſaid in this firſt matter.

The ſecond matter to be diſputed of is this.

That in the Lords Supper is none other oblation or ſacrifice, then one onely remembraunce of Chriſtes death, and of thankeſgiuing.

IN this concluſion, I will be muche ſhorter, and more compendious then in the firſt. In conſideration whereof, you ſhall vnderſtande, that the ſame is a very godly, and true catholique propoſition. For to offer Chriſt, and to exhibite the ſame, is all one thing, for in that that he is offered, he is ſet foorth for to eate, there is no difference at all betweene the maker of the ſacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Chriſt. The Lorde did commaund ſaying, Do this in remembraunce of me, hee made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other ſacrifice, but only that. The Apoſtle doth declare the maner of the thing doing, ſaying thus: He tooke bread in his hands, he bleſſed it, he brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples. What gaue he to them? forſooth bread, which was the ſacrament, and not his body. No earthly creature nor heauenly, did euer offer vp Chriſt at any time, but he himſelfe once for all, vpon the croſſe, Ergo, he can not, nor ought not to be offered many times, and often, though that Pighius with all the blinde rabble of Papiſts ſay the contrary. For truely in this point eſpecially they knowe not what they ſay, being ſo led by the old phariſaicall blindnes. But to the purpoſe. You ſhall vndeſtand good auditors, that the pure and cleane oblation and ſacrifice ſpokē of by the Prophet Malachy, is nothing elſe, then deuoute, and faithfull prayer, and thankeſgiuing, as Tertullian ſayth in his third booke contra Marcionem expounding the Pſalme, where it is ſayd thus: The ſacrifice of laude, and prayſe ſhall honor mee. So doth S. Hierome, Irenæus, and S. Auſten ſay alſo vppon Malachy. Where alſo they denie that Chriſt is eſſencially in the ſacrament. Yea and S. Auſten Epiſtola 95. ad Paulinum witneſſeth, that the mortifying of our earthly members is our true ſacrifice that be Chriſtians. And all the aunciente Fathers do call praiers by the name of ſacrifices. And for this purpoſe, whoſoeuer liſt to reade that moſt excellent and famous Clarke Zwinglius ca. 18. de articulis, ſhall finde the ſame confirmed of him by moſt grounded reaſons, whatſoeuer the Papiſts do barke againſt it. Thus I haue declared my mind in both matters now diſputable. And if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of argumentes, I will performe the ſame in my aunſwering thereunto.

There diſputed againſt this defendant Doctour Glin, M. Langedale, M. Segewike, and M. Yong, Students in Diuinitie.

Glin. Notwithſtanding right worſhipfull Maiſter Doctor, that you haue ſo exquiſitely declared your mind and opinion in euery of theſe matters now in contention before this honorable and learned audience, and alſo though iuſt occaſion be miniſtred to me to infringe your poſitions in both concluſions, yet I will not inuade the ſame as now indirectly with contrarious and vaine wordes to occupie the ſmall time which is appointed vs for the triall of the ſame, but we will go forthwith to the thing it ſelfe, whych conteineth in it matter ynough. It is but folly to vſe many wordes where fewe will ſerue our purpoſe, as ſayeth the maiſter of the Sentences. All words may ſignifie at pleaſure and commonly there bee moe thinges then vocables, like as ſometimes there was variance amongſt learned men of the vnitie of two ſubſtances in one perſonage of Chriſt God and Man. So is there now in our dayes variance of Tranſubſtantiation of bread and wine into the body and bloud of Chriſt. Wherefore I do require you firſt to ſhew me heare openly what the ſaid Tranſubſtantiation is, that we go not from the thing it ſelfe, which is our firſt and chiefeſt ground.

Madew. As for that I neede not to ſhew you, for euery man knoweth it.

Glin. Peraduenture it is not ſo good Maiſter Doctor. And I am perfectly aſſured that euery man doth not knowe it indeede: for it is not ſo light a matter as you make it to be.

Madew. Forſooth you know it your ſelfe, and ſo do all men elſe.

Glin. Well, yet I pray you ſhew me what thing Chriſt did demonſtrate and ſhew foorth by that article of the newter gender, where he ſaid, This is my body. What did he appoint in that article this? for if he meant by that, the bread, then Chriſt in the Sacrament is not onely of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of bread, of the nature of man, and of the diuine nature, which to ſay, were blaſpheme. The argument is good, and doth hold by that text, He ſpake the word, and it was done, he commaunded, and they were created. Moreouer, if he ſhould meane by that article of the newter gender (this) the materiall bread, then he woulde haue ſayd, This bread is my body, ſo making the article of the newter gender: or elſe he would haue ſayd thus, Heere with this bread is my body, to haue auoyded euer after all hereſies, errours, and ſchiſmes. But he ſaide not ſo, but ſpake the article of the newter gender, ſaying, This is my body, that is to ſaye, the thing or ſubſtance conteyned vnder the forme and kind of bread, which you ſee not with your bodely eyes is my body, according to my promiſe made to you before, that I woulde geue you my very fleſhe to eate, Iohn. 6. In like maner when he gaue the cup of his bloud, he ſayd not this in the newter gender, as he woulde haue done if he had meant the materiall creature of wine to haue remained, but he ſaide then in the maſculine gender, This is my bloud: That is to ſay the thing conteined vnder the forme of wine whiche you ſee not with your bodely eyes is my bloud. For truely the holy Ghoſt came downe to leade vs into all truth and veritie, and not to deceiue vs in ſo notable a point of our faith. But out of doubt he ſhould haue deceaued in this matter, if ſo be he had geuen vs onely materiall bread and wine in ſtead of his body and bloud, and not haue fulfilled his promiſe made Iohn 6. where he promiſeth thus. The bread whiche I will geue is my fleſhe, which I will geue for the life of the world. Heere be two giuings ſpoken of, with two relatiues, whereof the firſt with his relatiue, muſt needes be referred to his gift in the laſt ſupper, and the ſecond geuing of the ſame fleſhe of his, with his relatiue, muſt be applied of neceſſitie vnto his geuing of his body vpon the Croſſe. Nor we do finde in the whole Scripture, where Chriſt did fulfill his ſayde promiſe made in ẏ 6. of Iohn, but at thoſe ſaid two times. Wherefore if we be deceiued in this matter of Tranſubſtantiation, we may well ſay, O Lord thou haſt deceaued vs. But God forbid that we ſhould once thinke ſuch wickednes of him. He muſt alſo be vniuſt of his promiſe if it be not performed at any ſeaſon, as it is not indeede, if it were not at both the ſaid times. Then if it were performed (as the Catholique Churche of Chriſte dothe holde, determine, and beleeue) then muſt it needes be graunted, that he gaue at his laſt Supper his owne body and fleſh indeede and verely which he gaue vpon the Croſſe for the life of the world, though not in ſo fleſhly a manner and bloudie, yet the very ſame fleſh and bloud really after an vnbloudy ſort, and ſpiritually. He ſaid not This bread is my body, nor yet heere with the bread is my body, but, This is my body, which ſhall be geuen for you. Nor he ſaid not, this wine is my bloud, nor with this wine is my bloud, whiche circumſtance of plaine ſpeach he would haue vſed, if the pure creatures ſhould haue remained, but he ſayde, This is my bloud, which is ſhed for you and for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes, that is to ſay, the ſubſtance hidden vnder theſe viſible formes of bread and wine, are my very proper fleſhe and bloud. I pray you where do you find in the whole body of the Scripture expreſſed, or iuſtly vnderſtanded, that Chriſt gaue but only a bare and naked ſigne, figure, or ſacrament? Or where finde you that he gaue his body wyth bread, it remayning bread ſtill? And if you thinke to finde it, I pray you ſhewe me here, whether that bodye that hee gaue with materiall bread, were his true body or not? If not, then it was phantaſticall, if it were his true body (as you doe graunt) then muſt there needes be two very true bodyes in one place together. Now that it was his verye true body and bloud, it is certayne by the playne wordes of the text ſaying thus, which is betrayed or geuen, and which is ſhedde for you, and for many. But I will let all this paſſe ouer, and I do requyre of you this one queſtion whether that the ſacramentes of the old law, and of ẏ new law be all one?

Madew. If you doe conſider the thinges themſelues they be all one, but if you reſpecte the onely ſignes, figures and ſacramentes outwardly then they be diuers.

Glin. I doe perceiue your aunſwere very well, then further to our purpoſe, was Chriſt then after the ſame maner in the bread that came from heauen. In the paſchall lamb, and in Iſaac, as he is in this Sacrament? which if you do graunt me then theſe propoſitions were true, for Chriſt to ſay this Manna is my body, this Lambe is my body, this Iſaac is my bodye. Moreouer if the Sacramentes of the olde law, and of the law of grace be all one, in very deede, & effect (as you ſeeme to graūt) thē what difference is betweene the ſhew bread in Moyſes law, and the bread, that we doe breake that Saynt Paule ſpeaketh of? They then had that bread, which ſignified Chriſt and ſo doth ours (as you ſay) that was bread, ſo is ours, and ſo by your reaſon there is no difference betweene them: yea theyr Manna becauſe it came from heauen, was better then this earthly bread, that commeth from beneath, which is contrarye to the truth: for Saynt Paule ſayth, that the law was geuen by Moyſes, but the verity was geuē by Ieſus Chriſt. wherefore that which Chriſt gaue, was not onely a ſigne but alſo the veritye, that is to ſaye, the liuing breade, that came from heauen, the true Lambe that taketh awaye the ſinnes of the world, and Iſaac himſelfe which is Chriſt, or els you muſt graunt me that we chriſtians doe receiue leſſe then the Iewes did. For they receiued the breade called Manna from heauen, and we onely a poore morſel of bread from the earth. Theyrs was called Aungelles foode, and ours is (as you holde) little better then common breade. Me ſeemeth that you doe diſtruſt the doctrine of the faythe of Chriſtendome, for theſe fiue hundreth yeares, euen as though Chriſt had forſaken his Catholique Church after one thowſande yeares, but that is not ſo, for he promiſed his holy ſpirite to aſſiſt his ſpowſe the Church, and to lead her continually into all trueth from time to time, as neede ſhould require. As I remember you ſayd, that adoration did followe vpon tranſubſtanciation, but the fathers for one thowſand yeares paſt doe graunt adoration of the ſacrament therefore tranſubſtantiation alſo. The minor I proue by the moſt cleare teſtimonies of S. Auſten, S. Ambroſe, S. Deniſe, S. Baſile, and S. Chriſoſtome.

Madew. I denye (mayſter Doctour) that I ſayde any ſuche thing, and therwith I ſay that the Fathers do vnderſtand by adoration a certeine reuerent maner, that we ſhould receiue the Lordes ſupper with, which may be called a certē veneration, but no adoration.

Glin. No may? S. Auſten (de ciuitate Dei) witneſſeth that the Ethnikes, and Paynims doe eſteme the Chriſtians to worſhip and adore the gods of wheat and barly called Cæres, and the God of wyne called Bacchus. And agayne S. Auſten ſaith thus. Lo no man eateth of that bread except he firſt adore and worſhip it.

Madew. By your pacience S. Auſten in that place ſpeaketh of the honoring of Chriſtes body now ſitting in heauen.

Glin. Yea mayſter Doctor, thinke you ſo? And why not alſo of his bleſſed body in the ſacrament? Seing that he ſaith it is there, this is my body, which is geuen for you, ſayth he. More playnely he needed not to ſpeake for the reall preſēce of his bleſſed body, being both able & willing to verify his word. For if a cunning Lapidary ſhould ſay to you or me thys is a true right diamōd, a perfecte carbuncle, ſaphyre, emerode or any ſuch precious ſtone, we would beleue him, though we were ignorant of theyr natures. wherefore we ought much more to beleue our Sauiour Chriſt God, and man, in that he ſayth: this is my body. And why then ought we not to honor it in the ſacrament. Or how many bodies hath Chriſt, ſeeing you do graunt his body in heauen to be honored, but not his body here in the ſacrament.

Madew. Forſooth he hath but one very body, & no moe, but the ſame is ſacramentally in the ſacrament, and ſubſtancially in heauen, here by fayth, and there in deed.

Glin. Well yet once agayne to you thus. The very true body of Chriſt is to be honored, but the ſame very true body is in the Sacrament, ergo the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament is to bee honored.

Byſhop Ridley replyeth.

Rocheſter. Welbeloued frendes and brethren in our ſauior Chriſt you muſt vnderſtand that this diſputatiō, with the other that ſhalbe after this are appointed for to ſearch forth the playne trueth of the holy ſcriptures in theſe matters of religion, which of a long ſeaſon haue bene hidden from vs by the falſe gloſes of that greate Antichriſt and his Miniſters of Rome and now in our dayes muſt be reucyled to vs Engliſhe men, thorow the great mercy of God principally, and ſecondarily thorow the moſt gentle clemencye of our naturall ſoueraigne Lord the kings maieſty, whom the liuing Lord long preſerue to raigne ouer vs in health wealth & godlines, to mayntenaunce of Gods holy word, and to the exterpation of all blinde gloſes of men, that goe about to ſubuert the truth. For becauſe therfore that I am one that doth loue the truth, and haue profeſſed the ſame amongſt you: therfore I ſay becauſe of conferring my minde with yours, I will here gladlye declare what I thinke in this poynt now in controuerſy. Not becauſe this worſhipfull Doctor hath any need of my healpe in diſſoluing of argumentes propoſed agaynſt him, for as me ſemeth he hath aunſwered hitherto very well and clarkly according to the truth of Gods word. But now to the purpoſe. I do graūt vnto you (mayſter oponent) that the old auncient fathers do record and witneſſe, a certeine honour and adoration to be done vnto Chriſtes body, but then they ſpeake not of it in the ſacrament, but of it in heauen at the right hand of the father as holy Chriſoſtome ſayth, honor thou it, and then eat it but that honor may not be geuē to the outward ſigne but to the body of Chriſt it ſelf in heauen. For that body is there onely in a ſigne vertually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in ſpirite, effect, and fayth, to the worthy receiuer of it. For we receiue vertually onely Chriſtes body in the ſacrament.

Christ to be honoured in heauen not in the Sacrament.

Glin. How thē (if it pleaſe your good Lordſhip) doth baptiſme differ from this Sacrament? For in that we receiue Chriſt alſo by grace and vertually.

Rocheſter. Chriſt is preſent after an other ſort in baptiſm, then in this ſacrament, for in that he purgeth and waſheth the infant from all kinde of ſinne, but here he doth feed ſpiritually the receiuer in fayth, with all the merites of hys bleſſed death and paſſion. And yet he is in heauen ſtill really and ſubſtancially. As for example. The kinges Maieſty our Lord and maiſter is but in one place, whereſoeuer that his royall perſon is abiding for the time, and yet hys mighty power, and authoritye is euery where in his realmes and dominions. So Chriſtes reall perſon is onely in heauen ſubſtancially placed, but his migh is in all thinges created effectually. For Chriſtes fleſh may be vnderſtanded for the power, or inward might of his fleſh.

Chriſt worketh otherwiſe in Baptiſme, then the Sacramental bread.

Glin. If it pleaſe your fatherhood, S. Ambroſe and S. Auſten do ſay, that before the conſecratiō, it is but very bread, and after the conſecration it is called the verye bodye of Chriſt.

Obiect.

Madew. Indeed it is the very body of Chriſt ſacramentally after the conſecration, whereas before it is nothing but common bread, and yet after that it is the Lordes bread, & thus muſt S. Ambroſe and S. Auſten be vnderſtanded.

¶ Here the proctours cōmanded the Opponent to diuert to the ſecōd concluſion, but he requeſted them, that they would permit hym as long in this matter, as they would in the ſecond, and ſo he ſtill proſecuted the fyrſt matter as followeth

Glin.

The bread after the conſecration doth feed the ſoule, ergo the ſubſtaunce of common breade doth not remayne. The argument is good, for S. Ambroſe de ſacramentis ſaith thus. After the conſecration there is not the thing, that nature did forme, but that which the bleſſing doth conſecrate. And if the benediction of the Prophet Elias did turne the nature of water how much more then doth the benedictiō of Chriſt here both God and man.

Aunſwere. Well cauilled & lyke a Papiſte.

Madew. That book of S. Ambroſe is ſuſpected to be none of his workes.

Rocheſter. So ſay all the fathers.

Glin. I doe maruaile at that, for S. Auſten in his book of retractions maketh playne that, that was his own very worke.

Rocheſter. He ſpeaketh indeede of ſuch a booke ſo intituled to S. Ambroſe, but yet we do lacke the ſame book indeed.

Glin. Well, let it then paſſe to other mens iudgementes: what then ſay you to holy S. Ciprian 1200. yeares paſt? who ſaith that the bread which our Lord gaue to his diſciples, was not chaunged in forme, or quallitie: but in very nature, and by the almighty word was made fleſhe.

Cyprian.

Madew. I do aunſwere thus, that this word fleſhe may be taken two wayes either for the ſubſtaunce it ſelfe, or els for a natural propertie of a fleſhly thing. So that Ciprian

there

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there did meane of a naturall property, and not of fleſhlye ſubſtance. And cōtrarywiſe in the rod of Aarō, where both the ſubſtance, and alſo the property was changed.

Ambroſe.

Glin. Holy S. Ambroſe ſayth, the body there made by the mighty power of Gods worde, is a bodye of the Virgyne Mary.

Rocheſt. That is to ſay, that by the word of God the thing hath a being, that it had not before, and we doe conſecrate the body that we may receiue the grace and power of yͤ body of Chriſt in heauen by this ſacramentall body.

Glin. By your pacience (my Lorde) if it bee a bodye of the Virgyne as Saynt Ambroſe ſayth, which we do conſecrate as miniſters by Gods holy word, then muſt it needes be more then a ſacramentall, or ſpirituall bodye: yea a very body of Chriſt in deed, yea the ſame that is ſtill in heauen without all mouing from place to place, vnſpeakably, and farre paſſing our naturall reaſon, which is in this miſtery ſo captiuate, that it cannot conceiue how it is there, without a liuely fayth to Gods word. But let this paſſe: You do graunt that this breade doth quicken or geue lyfe, which if it doe, then it is not a naturall bread, but a ſuperſubſtanciall bread.

Rocheſter. So doth the effectuall, and liuely word of god, which for that it nouriſheth the ſoule, it doth geue life, for the diuine eſſence infudeth it ſelfe vnſpeakably into yͤ faithfull receiuer of the ſacrament.

Damaſcene.

Glin. How then ſay you to holy Damaſcene a Greeke authour, who as one Tritenius ſayth floriſhed one thowſand yeares paſt, he ſayth thus. The bodye that is of the holye Virgine Mary is ioyned to the Diuinitye after the conſecration in veritye, and in deede, not ſo as the body once aſſumpted into heauen, and ſitteth on the Fathers ryghte hand, doth remoue from thence, and commeth downe at the conſecration time, but that the ſame breade and wyne are ſubſtauncially tranſumpted into the verye bodye and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. If (ſayth he) thou doeſt not know the maner how it is brought to paſſe, let it be enough to thee to beleue, that it is done by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, and we do know no more but that the lyuing word of God is working, and almighty, but the very maner how, is inſcrutable to vs, and no great maruell ſayth he, for we cannot well expreſſe howe the materiall bread, wine, or water are tranſumpted naturally into the ſame body and bloud of the receiuer, and be become an other body, then they were before. So ſayth this great ancient Clarke, alſo this ſhewbread with wine and water, are chaunged by the comming of the holy Ghoſt into chriſtes body and bloud, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Chriſt) and the ſame.

Damaſcene expounded.

Rocheſter. Firſt I denye (Mayſter Doctour) that Damaſcene was one thowſande yeares paſt, ſecondarily that hee is not to be holden as an auncient father, for that he mainteyneth in his workes euill and damnable doctrine, as the worſhipping of images, and ſuch like. Thyrdly I ſay that in deede God by his holy ſpirit is the worker of that, whiche is done in the ſacrament. Alſo I graunt that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine ſpiritually into the Lordes breade and wine, by the ſanctifying of them in the Lordes word. But I denye that there is any mutation of the ſubſtaunces, for there is no other chaunge there indeed, then there is in vs, which when we do receiue the ſacrament worthely, then are we chaunged into Chriſtes body, bones and bloud, not in nature, but ſpiritually, and by grace, much like as Iſaias ſaw the burning cole, euen ſo we ſee not there the very ſimple bread, as it was before the conſecration, for an vnion cannot be but of two very thinges. Wherefore if we be ioyned to Chriſt receyuing the ſacrament, then there is no adnihilation of bread, which is, whē it is reduced to nothing as it is in your fained tranſubſtantiation.

A ſpirituall mutation of the bread and wine, but no mutation of the ſubſtance.

Glin. So I perceiue you would haue me to graunt, that the Sacrament is but a figure, which Theophilactus doeth deny.

Rocheſter. You ſay trueth, he denyeth it deed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not onely a figure.

Theophilact. expounded.

Glin. Whereas Saynt Paule ſayth that we being manye are one bread, he ſpeaketh not, nor meaneth one materiall bread, as you do here, ergo he ſpeaketh of a heauenly bread. And holy Chryſoſtome vpon Mathew ſayth, that the paſchall Lambe was a figure, but the miſtery is the verytye: For the Diſciples would not haue bene offended to haue dronken a figure of Chriſtes bloud being well accuſtomed to figures. For Chriſt did not inſtitute a figure for a figure but the cleare verity in ſtead of the figure, as Saynt Iohn ſayth, grace and verity was geuen by Chriſt. Doeſt thou ſee bread? (ſayth Chryſoſtome) doth it auoyd or paſſe as other meates do which we receiue? God forbid, ergo. &c.

The paſchall Lambe a figure.

Madew. That auncient Clarke Origene vpon the 15. of S. Mathew ſayth thus, as touching that which is materiall in the Sacrament, it deſcendeth, and iſſueth out as other nutrimentes doe. But as concerning that which is celeſtiall, it doth not ſo.

Glin. Chriſoſtome homile. 83. vpō Mathew ſayth, that we cannot be deceiued of Chriſtes wordes, but our naturall ſences may be deceiued in this poynt very ſoone and eaſely: his ſayd wordes cannot be falſe, but our ſences be many times beguiled of theyr iudgementes. Becauſe therefore that Chriſt ſayd this is my body, let vs not at any hand doubte (ſayth he) but let vs beleue it, and well perceiue it with the eyes of our vnderſtanding. And within a little after in that place, he ſayth thus. It was not enough that he was become man, and afterwardes to be ſcourged for vs but alſo he did reduce, and bring vs to be as one body with him, not thorow fayth onely, but in very deed alſo he maketh vs his body. And after that, he ſayth that theſe workes are not of mannes power: But the ſame thinges that hee wrought in his laſt ſupper, he nowe worketh alſo by his precept to his right miniſter, and we doe occupy the place of the ſame miniſters, but hee it is that doth ſanctify, and tranſumpt the creatures, he performeth ſtill the ſame.

Rocheſter. M. Doctour you muſt vnderſtand that in that place S. Chriſoſtome ſheweth vs that Chriſt deliuered to vs no ſenſible thing at his laſt ſupper.

Glin. Honourable ſyr by your pacience, I graunt that hee gaue to his Diſciples no ſenſible thing in ſubſtaunce, but a thing inſenſible, his owne precious body, and bloud vnder the onely kindes of creatures. And truely (as it ſeemeth) Theophilactus beſt knew the meaning of Chriſoſtome, becauſe all authors accept him as a faythfull interpreter of him. And he hath theſe ſame playne words, tranſelemented, and transformed. Alſo Theophilactus Alexandrinus ſuper Marcum, Cyrillus, and Saynt Auguſtine ſayth that before the conſecration it is breade, but afterwardes it is Chriſtes very body. In like maner S. Auguſtine vpon 33. Pſalme. ſayth, that in his laſt ſupper Chriſt did beare himſelfe in his owne handes. Now euery man may beare the figure of his body in his owne hands, but S. Auſten ſaith it there for a miracle. Ireneus in his fift booke is of the ſame minde. And Saynt Auguſtine ſayth I doe remember my wordes. &c. The law and figures were by Moiſes, but the verity and body came by Chriſt.

Rocheſter. Well, ſay what you liſt, it is but a figuratiue ſpeach, like to this if you will receiue, and vnderſtand he is Elias for a property, but indeede he was not Elias, but Iohn the Baptiſt. And ſo in this place Chriſt called it his body, when it was very bread. But better then the common breade, becauſe it was ſanctified by the worde of Chriſt.

¶ Here Mayſter Langdale replyed to Doctor Madew.

Langdale.

RIght worſhipfull Mayſter Doctor by your pacience I haue noted two thinges that you affirmed in youre poſition euen nowe before this honourable audience, the which as me ſeemeth, are not conſonant to the trueth of Gods worde. The firſt is as touching Chriſtes ſaying: I will not from hence forth drinke any more of the fruite of the Wyne, vntill I drinke it newe with you. &c. Whyche place of the Scripture you dyd (as I thinke) vnderſtand, and interprete as though nothing els remayned after the conſecration, but very wyne ſtill. Whereof I doe not a little maruell. Seeyng that, that moſt famous Clarke Eraſmus whoſe authoritye and ſentence you refuſe at this preſent onely, yet neuertheleſſe he is very worthy in thys matter of farre better eſtimation amongeſt learned men. Wherefore I truſt I ſhall not offend to alledge him before this learned and honourable auditorye, he playnely affirmeth that for all his great laboure in ſearching the Scriptures, he coulde neuer finde either in the Euangeliſtes or yet in the Apoſtolicall doctrine, that it might be, or was called wyne, after the conſecration. And therefore I cannot but maruell, if the thing be ſo open and playne, as in your declaration you ſeeme to make it, that ſuch a profound Clarke as he was, coulde not finde it out. For that ſayde place he intreated of in his paraphraſes, in his annotations, and in others of his lucubrations, and yet he playnely denyeth that ſame very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is wine, or may be ſo called after the conſecration duely performed by a right miniſter. I beſeeche you not to be offended, though I credite not your ſaying in this ſo weightye a matter of Chriſtian religion, as I do his.

Madew. No forſooth, I will not be offended one iote with you, but for to contẽt your minde in this poynt. It is moſt conſtant and ſure, that Eraſmus was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a chriſtian to beleue Chriſtes body and bloud to be in the ſacrament in what manner or condition ſoeuer it were.

Langdale. By your licenſe good mayſter Doctor, theſe be Eraſmus wordes. The Church of Chriſt hath determined very lately tranſubſtanciation in the ſacrament. It was of a long ſeaſon enough to beleue Chriſtes body to be eyther vnder the bread conſecrated, or els to be preſent after anye other maner. But yet (ſayth he) after that the ſayd Church had pōdered and weyed the thing more pithely wᵗ greater iudgement, then ſhe made a more certeyne determination of the ſame. In the which place 1. Cor. 7. Eraſmus ſayth that the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt equally from the Father, & the ſonne, was alſo determined of the ſame Church. But let this paſſe. And as touching the ſecond poynt, whiche I noted in your ſo eloquent declaration, which was that you did wreſt, and wring the ſaying of Tertullian from the verity of his minde, for you ſayde that he doth interpret the Prophette Malachye ſpeaking of our dayly ſacrifice in the new law, to meane nothing els, by that ſacrifice in that place, but praier and thankeſgeuing. But the ſayd ancient Clerke Tertullian hath not thoſe wordes that you doe alleadge of him, that is to ſaye, (nothing els,) And yet though that Oecolampadius do ſo interprete that place, yet (as me ſemeth) the iudgement of the hole Chriſten church is to be preferred in ſuche a matter of religion. But I will paſſe ouer this poynte, and returne to the matter it ſelfe. And firſt I doe requyre of your mayſterſhippe, whether that this ſentence (this is my body) be ſpoken of Chriſt figuratiuely or not?

Madew. After the minde of the common gloſe of Cyprian & Origene it is ſo taken in very deed.

Langdale. That cannot be by your pacience, for it is taken there ſubſtantially, ergo not figuratiuely.

Madew. I deny your argument.

Langdale. I proue my argument good thus. This worde ſubſtaunce doth playnely repugne, and is contrary to this word figure, ergo ſubſtancially, and figuratiuely do alſo repugne. Moreouer I aſke of you whether that this be a true propoſition or not, bread is Chriſtes body?

Madew. Yea forſooth, it is a true propoſition.

Langdale. Then thus to you. Chriſtes body was geuen for vs, but you ſaye that bread is Chriſtes body ergo bread was geuen for vs.

Rocheſter. Not ſo ſyr, for your former propoſitiō is of double vnderſtanding.

Langdale. Well, yet you M. Doctor doe graunt that Chriſt is ſubſtauncially in the ſacrament.

Madew. No I deny that I ſayd ſo euer.

Langdale. Yea? do you ſo? well I paſſe not thereupō greatly, for I will proue it by an other meanes. Chriſt did ſuffer his moſt glorious paſſion for vs really, and ſubſtauncially ergo he is alſo in the ſacrament ſubſtauncially. The argument is good, for becauſe that it is the ſame here, that was there crucified for vs, how be it here inuiſibly, indeede ſpiritually and ſacramentally, but there viſiblye, and after a mortall, and moſt bloudy maner.

Rocheſter. Mayſter Langdale, your argument doth well conclude, in caſe that his body were here in the ſacrament, after ſuch a ſort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not ſo, for he was betrayed, and crucified in his naturall body ſubſtauncially, and really in very deede: but in the Sacrament he is not ſo, but ſpiritually, and figuratiuely onely.

Langdale. By your good Lordſhips fauor that is not ſo, for he is there, not figuratiuely but verely, and indeed by the power of his mighty word, yea euen his very owne naturall body vnder the ſacramẽt, duely performed by the lawfull miniſter.

Madew. Oh ſay not ſo, for you ſpeake blaſphemy.

Langdale. No, no, M. Doctor, God forbid, that either I or any mā els ſhould be noted of blaſphemy, ſaying nothing, but the very playne trueth, as in my conſcience, & learning I do no leſſe.

Rocheſter. O M. Langdale, I wis it becommeth you, not heare to haue ſuch wordes.

Langdale. If it like your good Lordſhip I gaue not yͤ firſte occaſion of them, but onely did refute that, whiche I was vniuſtly burthened withall as reaſon doth require, and it greeued me to heare it. He ſayth (if it pleaſe your Lordſhippe) that there is a mutation or chaunge of the bread after it is conſecrated, which if it be ſo (as I graunt no leſſe) then I would inquyre of him, whether it be chaunged in the ſubſtaunce, or in the accidentes, or els in both, or in nothing. No man can iuſtly ſay that there is a chaunge into nothing. And all auncient fathers do agree, that the ſame accidentes are there ſtill after, that were before, nor no doctor ſayth, that there is any mutation of both the ſubſtance, and accidentes alſo, ergo the ſubſtaunce of bread is chaunged into ſome other thing, that is there really preſent vnder the formes of bread and wine, which by Chriſtes wordes, muſt needes be his owne bleſſed body.

Rocheſter. Syr you are deceiued greately, for there is no chaunge of the ſubſtaunces neither of the accidentes: but in very deed there do come vnto the bread other accidents, in ſo much that wheras the bread and wyne were not ſanctified before, and holy, yet afterwardes they be ſanctified, and ſo do receiue then an other ſort, or kind of vertue whiche they had not before.

No change neither of the ſubſtance, nor yet of the accidents in the Sacrament.

Here is to be noted, that Peter Martyr in his aunſwere at Oxford did graunt a chaunge in the ſubſtaunces of bread and wine, which in Cambridge by the Biſhop Doct. Ridley was denyed.

Langdale. By your pacience reuerend father, by ſuch meanes a man may eaſely auoyde all the miſteries of our chriſtẽ fayth: As where it is ſayde thus of God the father, this is my beloued ſonne. &c. A man may alſo wring that to be vnderſtood thus: this is yͤ image of my welbeloued ſonne, or this is the vertue of my well beloued ſonne: yea muche more iuſtly then your good Lordſhip doth yͤ other, becauſe S. Paule to the Hebrues doth call the ſonne the Image of the father, and in an other place he calleth him the power, or vertue of God, and Gods wiſedom. Now though he be ſo called in ſcripture, God forbid that we ſhoulde call hym onely Gods Image or Gods vertue, and not God himſelfe.

How Scripture may be abuſed to any purpoſe as commōly the Papiſtes vſe it.

Rocheſter. Oh gentle M. Langdale, you ought not to reaſon after ſuch a ſort as you do now, becauſe that a trope or figuratiue ſpeache is nocive ſomewhere, but not euery where, nor in this matter.

A figuratiue ſpeach ſomewhere hurtfull, ſomewhere not.

Langdale. Yet by your licenſe (honorable father) it doth appeare to me no trope at al in theſe words of chriſt, this is my body, which is geuen for you, and that for this reaſon: Chriſt did exhibite or geue againe the very ſame things at his laſt ſupper, by the which thinges he was ioyned to vs, but he was ioyned or knit vnto vs by his owne naturall fleſh, & bloud, ergo he did exhibite to vs at his laſt ſupper no leſſe agayne. My former propoſition I proue by the teſtimony of S. Chriſoſt. whoſe wordes in Chriſtes perſon are theſe: I would be your brother, I tooke vpon me common fleſh & bloud for your ſakes, and euen by the ſame things that I am ioyned to you, the very ſame I haue exhibited to you agayne. &c.

A fond reaſon wherefore this is my body ſhould ſeeme no figuratiue ſpeach.

¶ Here the Proctors commaunded Langdale to geue place to an other.

Rocheſt. We are not ioyned by natural fleſh, but do receiue his fleſh ſpiritually from aboue. &c.

¶ Here M. Segewicke replied.

Right worſhipful M. Doctor, I do alſo aſke of you firſt of all, whether the greeke article (this) of the neuter gender be referred to the word (bread) or to the word (body) if it be referred to the worde (bread) then Chriſt woulde not haue ſayd this, in the neuter gender, but rather this, in the maſculine gender.

Whether the article of the newter gender (this) be referred to the bread or to the body.

Rocheſter. Forſooth that article is referred to neyther of both, but may ſignify vnto vs any other kinde of thing.

Segewicke. No forſoothe, but it doth note vnto vs ſome excellẽt great thing determinately, & not ſo cōfuſedly as you ſay. For ſuch a great heap of articles, in the greek doth notify vnto vs a great and weighty thing to be in the ſacrament determinately, if wee may credite the auncient Fathers. Moreouer this word (bread) is not alwayes in the ſcriptures taken after one ſorte: wherefore I deſire you to ſhew me how it is taken in this place of S. Paule: we are many, one bread. &c.

Bread taken diuerſly in the Scripture.

Madew. Forſooth of the very wheaten bread.

Segewicke. Then after your minde, we are all very wheaten bread.

Rocheſt. Forſooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the felowſhip and vnity that is noted by the coagulation of many graynes into one bread or loafe.

How we are bread, and how not.

Segewicke. Well let that paſſe, then thus. It is the body, ergo no figure, for becauſe there is a perpetuall contrarietye betweene the law of Moyſes & the law of grace. Therein were figures & ſhadowes, and herein is the verity indeed.

Rocheſter. I do graunt it to be Chriſtes true body, & fleſh by a propriety of the nature aſſumpted to the godhead, yea and we do really eat and drinke his fleſh and bloud after a certeine reall property.

How the bread is Chriſts body.

Segewicke. It is not the figurate paſchall lambe, it is not the figuratiue Manna, nor yet yͤ figuratiue ſhewbread. &c. ergo it is no figure.

Madew. I do deny your argument.

Segewicke. I maynteyne my argument thus, all the ſhadowes are wholy paſt, ergo alſo ſo be the figures, for euery figure is a ſhadow, if then it be but a figure, all yͤ figures are not paſt as yet, but that is falſe, ergo ſo is the other.

The bread but a figure and how.

Rocheſt. It is nothing but a figure, or token of the true body of Chriſt as it is ſayd of Iohn the baptiſte, he is Elias, not that he was ſo in deede or perſon, but in property, and vertue he repreſented Elias.

Segewicke. So, but moſt learned father, when Chriſt ſayde I am the way, the truth, and the life: may it be vnderſtanded as you do the other place thus: I am yͤ vertue of the way, verity, and the life? But now to the matter it ſelfe. It is verily meat, ergo it is not figuratiuely.

Madew. This verbe or word (is) in this place is taken for that that ſignifieth.

Here he was commaunded to reply in the ſecond matter.

Segewicke.

Now as touching our ſecond concluſion thys I ſay. whereſoeuer Chriſt is there is a ſacrifice propiciatory, but in the Lordes ſupper is Chriſt, ergo in the Lordes ſupper is a ſacrifice propiciatory.

Chriſt not offered, but receaued in ſpirite.

Madew. Chriſt is not offered in the Lordes ſupper, but is receiued ſpiritually.

Chriſtes ſacrifice offered once for all is onely ſufficient without any other.

Segewicke. The prieſthood and the ſacrifice be coreſpondēt together, but Chriſtes prieſthood after the orde of Melchizedech is perpetuall, ergo alſo ſo is his ſacrifice.

Rocheſt. Chriſt is a Prieſt for euer, that is to ſay his ſacrifice, and prieſthood offered once for all, is auaylable for euer ſo that no other ſhall ſucceed him.

Chriſtes ſacrifice an end of all ſacrifices.

Legewicke. Where there is no oblatiō, there is no ſacrifice, ergo if Chriſt be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetuall ſacrifice. Item the ſame bloudy ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe was the very fine and end of all the bloudye ſacrifices figured in yͤ law after the order of Aarons prieſthoode. Wherefore you muſt needes graunt that he offered himſelfe alſo at his laſt ſupper after the order of Melchizedech vnder the formes of breade and wine: or els you muſt ſhewe the ſcripture where he did ſo, which I cannot perceiue to be done, but at his laſt ſupper onely after an vnbloudy maner. Item he is offered for the remiſſion of ſins dayly, ergo he is a ſacrifice propitiatorye ſtill in the newe law, as Saynt Auguſtine ſayth expounding theſe wordes of the Pſalme. Thou haſt not willed to haue ſacrifice and oblation, but. &c.

Rocheſter. S. Cyprian ſpeaketh much like yͤ ſorte, where he ſayth thus. It is the Lordes Paſſion, whiche we doe offer. &c.

Segewicke. In the olde law there were many ſacrifices propiciatory, ergo there be alſo in the new law, or els you muſt graunt that God is not ſo beneficiall now to vs, as then he was to them, ſeing that we be as frayle, and as nedy as euer were they, whiche muſt be eſpecially the moſte pure dayly ſacrifice of Chriſtes body and bloud, that holy Malachy ſpeaketh of.

What ſacrifice it is that Malachie ſpeaketh of.

Madew. As touching the place of Malachy the Prophet, I anſwere that it is nothing to your purpoſe for the offering of Chriſt dayly in the Sacrament. For that ſacrifice there ſpoken of is nothing els, but the ſincere & moſt pure preaching of Gods holy word, prayer and of thankeſgeuing to God the Father thorow Ieſus Chriſt.

Here M. Segewicke was commaunded to ceaſe to Mayſter Yong.

Yong.

Worſhipful mayſter Doctor, although you haue learnedly, and Clarkely defended theſe your concluſiōs this day: yet ſeeing that I am now placed to impugne thē in place of a better: I do begin thus to you. It hath pleaſed Chriſt to make vs partakers of his holy ſpirite, and that in very deede, by receiuing of the Chriſten fayth, hope, and charitye, ergo muche more of his owne bleſſed bodye, and bloud ſpiritually and in very deede in the Lordes ſupper. Item the Aungels foode was altogether holy from aboue, and heauenly called Manna, ergo alſo this celeſtial, and heauenly foode can be iuſtly eſteemed to be of no leſſe excelency then that, but without compariſon better: and ſo no very wheate, after due conſecration of it. Item the wordes of holy ſcripture are euermore effectuall, and working, ergo they muſt performe the thing indeede that they doe promiſe. For he that might create, might alſo chaunge at hys pleaſure, the natures, and ſubſtaunces of creatures, as appeareth that Chriſt did by chaunging water into wyne at a Mariage in Galile. But Chriſt in the Scripture dyd promiſe Iohn. 6. that the bread that he would geue, is hys fleſh in deede, whiche promiſe was neuer fulfilled till in his laſt ſupper, when he tooke bread, gaue thankes, bleſſed it, and gaue it to his diſciples ſaying, take, eate, this is my body. which bread then was his fleſh in deede, as doth well appeare in the ſayd place, and next promiſe depending vpon the ſame, thus, which fleſh I will geue for the life of the world. This laſt promiſe was fulfilled by him vpon the Croſſe, ergo the firſt was likewiſe at his laſt Supper. So that it was but one, and the ſame fleſh, firſt and laſt promiſed and performed.

The wordes of Scripture euer effectuall,

Rocheſter. In deed the wordes of holy ſcripture doe worke theyr effectes potencially and thorowly by the mighty operation of the ſpirite of God.

Yong. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip, man is fedde and nouriſhed with Chriſtes bloud, ergo thē it is his bloud indeed, though it do not ſo appeare, to our outward ſenſes, which be deceiued, for Chriſt ſayth this is my bloud; And alſo my bloud is drinke in deede. And becauſe that we ſhoulde not abhorre his bleſſed bloud in his naturall kinde, or his fleſh if they ſhoulde be ſo miniſtred vnto vs: of his moſt excellent mercy, and goodneſſe, condeſcending to our weake infirmityes, he hath appoynted them to be geuen vs, vnder the ſenſible kindes of his conuenient creatures, that is to ſay of bread and wyne. Alſo our body is fedde with Chriſtes body, which is meate in deede, but it can not be nouriſhed with that that is not there preſent, ergo Chriſts body that feedeth vs muſt needes be preſent in very deede in the ſacrament. Item the nature of bread is chaunged, but the nature of the bread, and the ſubſtaunce of it, is all one thing, ergo the ſubſtaunce alſo is chaunged. My firſt propoſition is S. Cyprian de cœna domini ſaying, that the bread in figure is not chaunged, but in nature.

Rocheſter. Cyprian there doth take thys worde nature for a propertye of nature onelye, and not for the naturall ſubſtaunce.

Yong. That is a ſtraunge acception, that I haue not read in any author before this time, but yet by your leaue, the communion of Chriſtes body, can not be there, where hys body is not, but the communion of Chriſtes body is in the ſacrament, ergo Chriſtes body is there preſēt in very deed.

Rocheſter. Grace is there communicated to vs by the benefite of Chriſtes body ſitting in heauen.

Yong. Not ſo onely, for we are members of his fleſh, and bones of his bones.

Rocheſter. We be not conſubſtantiall with Chriſt, God forbid that, but we are ioyned to his miſtical body thorow his holy ſpirite, and the communion of hys fleſhe is communicated to vs ſpiritually thorow the benefite of his fleſh in heauen.

Yong. Well I am contented, and do moſt humbly beſeche your good Lordſhippe to pardon me of my greate rudeneſſe and imbecillity, which I haue here ſhewed.

¶ Here ended the firſt diſputation holden at Cambridge the 20. day of Iune. 1549.

¶ The ſecond diſputation holden at Cambridge 24 of Iune: Ann. 1549.

Doctor Glin in his firſt concluſion.

The miſteries of fayth (as Auguſt. witneſſeth) may very profitably be beleued, but they cannot well be ſearched forth, as ſayth the ſcripture, I beleued, therefore I ſpake and he that confeſſeth me before men, him will I confeſſe before my father which is in heauen, we beleue euery man in his arte, therefore much more Chriſt our ſauior in his word. Marueil not moſt honorable Lordes and worſhipfull Doctours that I ſpeake this nowe, for once you your ſelues ſpake the ſame. But peraduenture ſome wyll ſay beleue not euery ſpirite. I aunſwere charity beleeueth all thinges, but not in all thinges. If thoſe thinges which I ſhall vtter, be conuinced as falſe, I ſhall deſire you to take them as not ſpoken at all. But theſe are the wordes of truth hoc eſt corpus meum, this is my body, Chriſt ſpake them, therefore I dare not ſay this bread is my body, for ſo Chriſt ſayd not, Chriſt ſayd thus, this is my body, and therefore I but duſte and aſhes, yea a worme before him, dare not ſay this is a figure of his body: heauen and earth (ſaith he) ſhal paſſe but my word ſhall not paſſe. Whatſoeuer our old father Adam called euery creature, that is his name to this day, yͤ new Adam (Chriſt Ieſus) ſayd this is my body, & is it not ſo? he neuer ſayd this is a figure of my bodye, nor eat you this figure, or ſigne of my body. And therfore whē yͤ paſchall lambe was ſet before him, he ſayd not, this is my body. Wherefore if at yͤ day of iudgemēt, Chriſt ſhould ſay vnto me, why haſt yͧ beleued yͭ this is my body? I would anſwere aunſwere him, becauſe thou haſt ſo called it. I beleued it not to be a figure, becauſe thou ſaydſt not, that it was a figure: Other reaſons to auouch I know not. Of the worde it ſelf, I contend not, but the thing it ſelfe I defend, for we muſt ſpeake regularly. Thus Chriſt, thus the Apoſtles, thus all the ancient fathers haue ſpoke, our fathers hadde but onely figures and ſhadowes, but the Churche of God hath the truth it ſelfe with the ſignes. Tertullian ſayth one figure conteyneth not another, but Melchizedech was a figure, ergo this is the body. The Sacramentes of the Iewes weare ſignes and tokens, but ours be both the ſignes and the thing ſigned alſo. Luther himſelfe confeſſed that the body was preſent with the bread, and could not denye it: Oecolampadius tooke it for a figure onely. Chriſoſtome demaunding wherefore Chriſt gaue his body before his paſſion, rather then at any other time, aunſwereth, that hee might tye the trueth to the figure, ſaying, take, eate, this is my body, not a figure of my body. And the ſame Chriſoſtome ſayth agayne, if it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore ſhould his Diſciples haue bene offended in calling a figure? Agayne in his 83. Homely vpon Mathew. They are not any humayne workes, which he did worke at his laſt ſupper, he it is that worketh, he maketh perfect, we are his miniſters, but it is he that ſanctifieth, and chaungeth the elementes of breade and wine into his bodye and bloud. Agayne doeſt thou ſee bread and wine? doe they paſſe into the priuy like other meates, God forbid. &c. Theophilus Alexandrinus vpon theſe wordes of Marke the Euangeliſt this is my body, ſayth. This whiche I geue, and which you receiue, is not onely bread, or a figure of Chriſtes body, but the trueth it ſelfe, for if it ſhould appeare as it is, in forme of fleſh & bloud, we ſhould loth it, and therefore the Lord condeſcendyng to our weakeneſſe, reteyneth the formes of bread and wine, and yet conuerteth the ſame into the trueth of his body and bloud. Theophilactus ſayeth the bread and the wine is the very body & bloud of Chriſt, and not a figure onely. If you ſtand in ſuſpēce of the author, or approue him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken amongeſt all the learned for a moſt faythfull interpreter of Chriſoſtome, the bread ſayth he is tranſelementate, and tranſmuted into an other ſubſtaunce then it was before. Auguſtine ſayth there was great heede taken in the primitiue Church, leaſt any part of the Sacrament ſhould fall downe to the grounde. &c. Cyrillus ſayth, leaſte wee ſhould abhorre fleſhe and bloud in the Sacrament of the Aultar, God humbleth himſelfe to our weakeneſſe, powring and infuſing the force of life into it, and making it the very trueth of his owne bleſſed body and bloud. Damaſcene calleth it a diuine body, or a body deifyed. Origene, Ireneus, Euſebius Hieronimus, with al the reſt of the auncient Catholicke Fathers are of the ſame opinion with me, all which to produce it were too long.

¶The Declaration of Doctor Glin vpon his ſecond concluſion.

The ſacrifice and offering vppe of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament of the Aulter (right honourable and worſhipfull) I will defend euen to the effuſion of bloud as a thing conſonant to ſcripture, whereof Paule ſpeaketh to ẏ Hebrues. But perchaunce ſome will obiect, Chriſt offered vp himſelfe, ergo you ought not to offer him. I aunſwere, yea, becauſe he offered himſelfe therfore, I offer him, for except he had offered himſelfe, I could not haue offered hym. But you will ſay, Chriſtes death is ſufficient, and therfore you ought not to offer him agayne. I aunſwere. So may we ſay, we neede neyther to faſt nor pray, for Chriſte hath done both ſufficiently for vs. Agayne you will obiect, if you offer him vppe agayne, you crucify him anew. I aunſwere, not ſo, for many haue offered him, that haue not crucified him, as Abraham, Iſaac, Moyſes, the Leuites, Anna, Samuel. We offer Chriſt, but not to the death, but in cōmemoration of his death, there being not onely commemoration thereof, but alſo the very preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud. Ireneus ſayth, Chriſt counſelled his Diſciples to offer the firſt fruites of all theyr goodes to God, not that he needed any of them, but for that they ſhoulde not ſhewe themſelues fruitleſſe, or vngratefull, and therefore Chriſt tooke the creature of bread, gaue thankes, and ſayde this is my body, and likewiſe the creature of the cuppe, and confeſſed ſaying, this is my bloud of the new Teſtament. Thus Chriſte hath taught a newe kinde of oblation, whiche the Church receiuing from the Apoſtles, offereth to God throwout all the whole world, who onely geueth vnto vs all kynd of foode, and the firſt fruites of his gracious giftes in the newe Teſtament, whereof Malachye thus ſayth, I haue no pleaſure in you ſayth the Lorde of Hoſtes, I will not receiue any ſacrifices at your handes, becauſe my name is glorified amongeſt the Nations from the Eaſt to the weſt ſayth the Lord, and in euery place is incenſe and pure ſacrifice offered to my name. But here may be obiected, Chriſte is the onely ſacrifice for ſinne, and wythout hym there is no moe. I aunſwere, notwithſtanding wee haue this commaundement, doe this in remembraunce of me, beſides that I denye not that it is a commemoration, but I denye that it is an onely commemoration. I denye his abſence, and I affirme his preſence.

Chriſt is the only true ſacrifice for ſinne and without him there are no moe.

Here endeth the declaration of Doctor Glin.

Mayſter Perne.

Where as you ſay (moſt reuerend mayſter Doctor) in your propoſition, I beleued, and therefore I ſpake, and we beleue, and therefore doe ſpeake, our conſciences, ſuggeſting the ſame vnto vs, and agayne that miſteryes are not to be ſearched, and the like, it ſemeth you go about to reſtrayne the ſearching of holye Scriptures, whereas Chriſte ſayth ſcrutamini ſcripturas, ſearche the Scriptures. Moreouer you haue cited the Fathers confuſedly, & without order, you left tranſubſtantiation and endeuour your ſelfe to proue the reall preſence in the Sacrament, wheras we denye nothing leſſe then his corporall preſence, or the abſence of his ſubſtaunce in the bread.

The Papiſtes reſtrayne the vſe of Scriptures.

Glin. You inueigh wonderfully you knowe not agaynſte what, for neyther I, nor yet Auguſt. doe denie the ſearching of the ſcriptures, but I ſayd out of Auguſtine miſteries are not to be ſearched: it is an other thing to ſearch miſteryes, then it is to ſearche the Scriptures, whereas you requyre of me a regulare order of citing the Doctours, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of tyme ſo to do: but if you deſire me ſo earneſtly to performe that, if time may be graunted me, I will eaſely fulfill your requeſt.

Perne. I pray you let me aſke you, what is a ſacrament?

Glin. A ſacrament is a viſible ſigne, of an inuiſible grace.

Perne. Auguſtine agaynſt Maximinus the Arian Biſhop maketh this diffinition of a ſacrament. A ſacrament is a thing ſignifiyng one thing and ſhewing an other thing.

Glin. I refuſe not his reaſon.

Perne. What is the thing figured by the ſacrament?

Glin. The thing figured is twofolde, to witte the thynge conteined, and the thing ſignified, the thing ſignified, and not conteined. For there be three thinges conteyned, the true body of Chriſt, the miſtical body and the fruit or benefite of the ſacrament.

Perne. The formes and ſignes of bread nouriſhe not, ergo ſomewhat els beſides the bare ſigne of bread doth remain, which nouriſheth ẏ is the ſubſtaunce of bread. For in euery ſacrament there is a ſimilitude, betwixte the ſigne and the thing ſigned, but betwixt the body of Chriſt, and the forme or kinde of bread, there is no ſimilitude, ergo the nature of a ſacrament is taken away.

Glin. I deny your minor mayſter Doctor.

Perne. The formes nouriſh not, but the bodye nouriſheth ergo there is no ſimilitude betwixt them, and ſo is the nature of a ſacrament cleane deſtroyd.

Glin. It is ſufficient to ſimilitudes that the bread whyche was doth nouriſhe, and yet certayne Doctors do affirme that the formes do nouriſh miraculouſly.

Rocheſter. Whoſoeuer taketh awaye all the ſimilitude of ſubſtaunces, conſequently he taketh away the ſacrament, for a ſimilitude is three folde, namely of nutrition, of vnity and conuerſion. But by a contrary ſimilitude, he is not charged into our ſubſtaunce, but we into his: for in nutrition this is the ſimilitude, that our bloud nouriſheth our bodyes, ſo the bloud of Chriſt doth nouriſh vs, but after a wonderfull maner, to wit by turning vs into himſelfe.

Glin. I haue aunſwered your reaſon (moſt reuerend Father) in that I ſayd that the formes do nouriſh miraculouſly, as certeine learned do affirme.

Perne. By what authority can you ſay that bread doth not remayne.

Glin. By the authority of Chriſt who ſayth this is my body.

Perne. By the ſame reaſon may we ſay that bread ſtill remayneth, for S. Paule calleth it bread ſundry times in hys epiſtles.

Glin. I denye not that it is breade, but that it is materiall bread, for Paule alwayes addeth this article (which) betokening (as all men hold) ſome chiefe thing.

Perne. We are chaunged into a new creature.

Glin. Not ſubſtancially, but actually.

Rocheſt. This is that bread which came downe from heauē, ergo it is not Chriſts body, for his body came not from heauen.

Chriſtes body came not from heauen.

Glin. We may ſay that Chriſt, God & man, came down frō heauen for the vnity of his perſon, or els for the mutuall cōmunity of the ſame his 2. natures in one, for his humain nature I know came not from heauen.

Rocheſter. The bread is his humaine nature, but yͤ humain nature of his came not from heauē, ergo neither the bread.

Glin. It is true that the bread came not frō heauē as bread ſimply, but as celeſtiall & heauenly bread. But I will aunſwere to that, wheras you hold that yͤ body of Chriſt came not from heauen: I by the body and fleſh of Chriſt do vnderſtand whole Chriſt, neyther ſeparating his ſoule, nor yet his Deity, although hys humanity is not turned into his diuinity by confuſion of ſubſtaunce, but is one by vnity of both. Or els thus I may reaſon, the God of glory is crucified, and the ſonne of Mary created the world. &c.

Christ is called a rocke a vyne, but in figure.

Rocheſter. So it is. But he is called a rocke and a vine, and ſo after your iudgement he is both a materiall rocke, & alſo a materiall vine.

Glin. The circumſtances there ſhew playnely that there is a trope or figure: for it foloweth I am the vine, you are the braunches: but here is no trope. For after theſe wordes, this is my body, he addeth, which is geuen for you.

The iudgement of the Papiſtes very groſſe.

Rocheſter. Your iudgement herein is very groſſe, and farre diſcrepant from the truth.

Glin. If my iudgement in this be groſſe (moſt reuerend father) thē are all the auncient fathers as groſſe in iudgemēt as I in this poynt and the catholicke church alſo.

Perne Shew vs one place, or one Doctor who ſayth that it remayneth not bread after the conſecration.

Glin. I wōder that you are not aſhamed to aſke that of me, for haue you not had almoſt infinite places and doctors alledged vnto you in my former declarations prouing as much as you requeſt at my handes?

Chriſt tooke brake, and gaue bread.

Perne. He tooke bread, he brake bread, ergo it is bread.

Glin. I haue anſwered often hereunto, and I graunt it is bread, but not onely, or materiall.

Perne. Ireneus affirmeth that a ſacramēt conſiſteth of a double matter, of a earthly matter, and of a heauenly, ergo the bread remayneth.

A Sacrament conſiſteth in a double matter.

Glin. Ireneus in that place by the earthly matter, meaneth the humanity of Chriſt, and by the heauenly matter, the deity of Chriſt.

Rocheſter. The humanity, and the diuinity of Chriſt make not a ſacrament, which conſiſteth of a viſible, and an inuiſible nature, & I deny that Ireneus can be ſo vnderſtanded: Therefore we deſire the learned auditory to ſearch Ireneus at home as opportunity will ſerue for this matter.

Glin. I wiſh them ſo to do alſo with all my hart.

Here Maiſter Grindall beginneth to diſpute.

Grindall.

Grindall replyeth.

Wheras you ſay (worſhipful M. Doct.) that we ſpeak not now as ſometimes we thought, and iudged in this matter, peraduenture you alſo iudge not ſo now of all thinges as you haue done tofore. But what we haue once bene, it forceth not, God reſpecteth no mans perſon. And wheras you ſay that you dare not contrary to Chriſt cal it a ſigne, or a figure, Auguſt. notwithſtanding dareth to call it a figure, and Tertullian likewiſe with many mo.

Auguſt. Tertull. with many moe call it a figure.

Glin. True it is, but they called it not a ſigne or a figure onely, but proue you (if you can) that after the conſecration remayneth any other ſubſtaunce then the reall body of Chriſt?

Grindall. If the formes do nouriſh (as you contend) they nouriſh the naturall and humayne body, for they be both as one, and are nouriſhed a like.

What the forme of bread & wine doe nouriſhe.

Glin. Your reaſon is meere phiſicall, and therfore to be reiected in matters of fayth, but I graunt they nouriſh, but miraculouſly.

Grindall. If you graūt that the formes do nouriſh, thē you graunt that bread remayneth.

Glin. I ſayd euen now that that is true, but the nature of it is chaunged and that miraculouſly.

It remayneth bread and wine after the conſecration.

Grindall. If it be the reall and ſubſtaunciall body of Chriſt becauſe Chriſt ſayde (this is my body) ergo becauſe the Lord ſayd I will not drinke of the fruit of this vine, and Paule calleth it bread after the conſecration it is therfore bread, & wine.

Glin. Truely ſyr you muſt bring better arguments, or els you will proue nothing for your purpoſe. For to your reaſons thus I anſwere: Chriſoſt. ſayth Chriſt did drinke of the bloud, but whether this ſentence I will not drinke of the fruit of the vine be ſpokē of the bloud it is not certayne. And truly Eraſmus denyeth that it is not to be found in all yͤ whole ſcripture, that it is called bread after the conſecration. Or els thus I may anſwere you. Euē as it is called bread for the forme, and kind, and accidentes which remayne, ſo for yͤ forme, & ſimilitude which it hath it may be called yͤ fruit of the vine after the conſecratiō. And wheras Chriſoſt. calleth it wine, he ſpeaketh of the nature wherof the ſacramēt neceſſarily is made. And I denye not but it may be called wine, but yet euchariſticall. &c.

How it is called bread and in what reſpect.

Rocheſt. The Euangeliſtes, Math. Marke, and Luke, call it the fruit of the vine, and Chriſoſt. ſaith that the fruit of the vine is nothing els but wine, ergo Chriſt gaue them wine, and dranke wine himſelfe alſo, not bloud.

Glin. Chriſt ſaid twiſe I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, once at the eating of the paſchall Lambe (as Luke ſayth) & then was it wine indeed: And agayne after the conſecration of his body and bloud he ſayd the like, and then it was not wine, which me think I can proue by the plain wordes of S. Luke if we compare him with Math. For if it were wine as they both affirme, then the wordes of Chriſt cannot well ſtand, becauſe firſt (as Luke ſheweth) he ſayde at his legall ſupper I will not drinke of the fruit of this vine. &c. And agayne in Math. after the conſecration of his body & bloud he dranke: it followeth therefore that that which he dranke was not wine by nature, for then muſt Chriſt nedes be a lyer, which were blaſphemy to ſay.

Rocheſt. Auguſt. doth thus reconcile thoſe places, ſaying it is ſpoken by a figure which we call hiſteron proteron.

Glin I know that Auguſt. ſayth ſo, but me thinke yͭ which I haue ſayd ſemeth to be the true meaning of the places.

Rocheſt. Auguſt. ſeeketh no ſtarting holes, nor yet any indirect ſhiftes to obſcure the truth.

Glin. Say your fatherhoode what you will of Aug. I thinke not ſo.

In theſe wordes this is my body is a trope.

Grindall. This cup is the new teſtament in my bloud, but here is a trope, ergo, in theſe wordes of Chriſt (this is my body) is a trope alſo.

Glin. I deny your argumēt: for wheras Luk ſaith this cup, Math. ſayth this is my bloud, & therfore as Aug. ſayth places that be darcke, are to be expounded by other that be light.

Rocheſt. All of your ſide, deny yͭ Chriſt euer vſed any trope in the inſtituting of ſacramentes.

Glin. For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, wherof you your ſelfe alſo do pretend the like.

Rocheſt. What vnderſtād you by this word (hoc, this) & in what words ſtandeth the force or ſtrength of the ſacrament? In this pronowne (hoc, this) or in this verbe (eſt, is) or els in this whole ſentence this is my body?

Glin. It is not made the true body, except all the wordes be ſpokē, as in baptiſme, I baptiſe thee in the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy ghoſt. For neither doth baptiſme conſiſt in this word ego I, or in baptiſe, or in this word (te, thee) or in theſe words in nomine, in the name, &c. but in all the wordes ſpoken in order.

Grindall. If to eat the body of Chriſt be a figuratiue ſpeach, as Auguſt. ſayth it is, ergo, then theſe wordes (this is my body) is a figuratiue ſpeach alſo.

Glin. It is a figuratiue ſpeach, becauſe we eat not the body of Chriſt after the ſame maner that we do other meates. &c.

Grind. Ciprian vnderſtandeth this of thoſe yͭ come vnworthely, & make no difference of yͤ Lordes body ſpeaking of yͤ diuidicatiō of the ſacramentes & not of the body of Chriſt.

Glin. Truely he ſpeaketh of the true body of Chriſt.

Rocheſt. They receiue vnworthely, who neither iudge themſelues, nor yet the ſacraments taking them as other common bread.

Grind. Auguſt. vpon the 33. pſal. ſayth Chriſt bare himſelfe in his owne handes after a ſort, not in deed or truely. &c.

Glin. You omit many other thinges which Auguſt. ſayth, & I confeſſe that he caried himſelfe in his own handes after a ſort, but Auguſt. deliuereth this vnto vs, and as a great miracle. And you know it was no great miracle to cary a figure of his body in his hands. And wheras you ſay yͭ Chriſt caryed himſelfe after a ſort in his owne handes, it is verye true, but yet diuerſly, for he ſat after one maner at his ſupper, & after an other maner he caried himſelfe in his hands. For Chriſt in the viſible figure bore himſelfe inuiſibly.

Grind. Tertullian calleth it a figure, ergo, it is ſo.

Glin. It is (as I haue ſayd) a figure, but not a figure onely. But heare what Tertullian ſayth, he tooke bread, and made it his body, ſaying, this is my body. &c.

Grind. Heare what Chriſoſt. vpon Math. homil. 11. ſup. ca. 5 if veſſels ſanctified to holy vſes. &c.

Glin. That worke is receiued not as Chriſoſtomes, but ſome mans els, as you know, or thus I anſwere, it is not yͤ true body in proper and viſible forme.

Here Mayſter Geſt diſputed.

The bread is not chaunged before the conſecration, ergo not after it neither.

Glin. I deny your argument M. Geſt.

Geſt. Chriſt gaue earthly bread, ergo there is no tranſubſtantiation.

Glin. I deny your antecedent.

Geſt. That that Chriſt tooke he bleſſed, that which he bleſſed he brake, what he brake he gaue, ergo he receiuing earthly bread, gaue the ſame bread.

Glin. Your order in reaſoning ſtandeth not, for by ẏ ſame reaſon may you gather that God tooke a rib of man, and therof built a rib and brought it vnto Adam. Ergo, what he receiued, he brought, but he receiued a rib, Ergo, he brought a ribbe.

Geſt. How is the body of Chriſt in heauen, and how in the ſacrament, whether circumſcriptiuely or diffinitiuely?

Glin. The body of Chriſt is in heauen circumſcriptiuely, but not ſo in the ſacrament. The angels alſo are contemed diffinitiuely. But I haue learned that the body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament, but not locally nor circumſcriptiuely, but after an vnſpeakable maner vnknowen to man.

Rocheſt. Ah, know you not?

Glin. Neither in other myſteries of fayth we know not the meane how, although this may partly be proued by reaſon. For as my ſoule is wholy in my head, and wholy in my foote, and wholy in my finger, and ſo in other partes of my body: and as there is one voyce or ſound which all men hearyng do vnderſtand, ſo the body of Chriſt beyng one and the ſame, is wholy in the aulter, and in many places els. For if God could do this in my ſoule, how much more in hys owne body.

Rocheſt. I beſeech you ſhew vs what difference is betwixt theſe two, to be in a place circumſcriptiuely, & diffinitiuely.

Glin. Your Lordſhip knoweth very well, but yet if any would know the difference, let hym read Auguſt. ad Voluſianum, & ad Dardanium, &c.

Geſt. If the bread be changed, it is made the body of Chriſt, but that is not ſo, Ergo, it is not changed.

Glin. I deny your Minor.

Geſt. It is not generate or begot, ergo it is not the body.

Glin. That foloweth not, as though to be made & to be generate or begot, were all one thing, or as though there were no other mutation then a generation, & ſo you impugne a thing ẏ you know not. But what call you the generation?

Geſt. The generation is the production of the accidents.

Glin. A new definition of a new philoſopher.

Geſt. That which he tooke, he bleſſed, that which he bleſſed, he brake, and gaue it vnto them, Ergo, &c.

Glin. Chriſt tooke bread, brake bread, & gaue his body, that is the ſubſtance of his body, ſaying, This is my body.

Geſt. The bread is not chaunged into the bloud of Chriſt, Ergo, not into his body neither.

Glin. I deny your antecedent.

Geſt. The maiſter of the ſentences ſaith it.

Glin. You vnderſtand him not, for the bread is changed into the bloud of Chriſt, by the power of Gods word.

Rocheſt. Ye dreame of a reall preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament, by the force of the wordes ſpoken, which the holy ſcripture doth impugne.

Glin. We ſay that not only by the power of the worde, but alſo by the ſpirit & ſecret vertue in the wordes it is brought to paſſe, for there is no power in one word alone, as before in baptiſme: but in all the wordes duly prolated, according to the cuſtome of the ancient catholike church.

Geſt. If there were any tranſubſtantiation, the accidences ſhould not remayne ſtill, but they haue no matter whereto they may leane or cleaue, but the accidentes remayne not themſelues alone, Ergo, &c.

Glin. I confeſſe the accidents cannot ſtande themſelues alone by their own nature without a ſubiect, but by ẏ power of God they may, not after the opinion of philoſophers, but of the ſcriptures, although I could ſhew out of ẏ ſcriptures, the accidents to haue bene without the ſubiect, as in Geneſis, The light was made without a ſubiect, whereas the ſubiect of the light was made the fourth day after, as Baſill beareth me record.

Here M. Pilkington diſputed.

Pilkington.

This one thing I deſire of you (moſt worſhipfull M. Doctor) that you will anſwer me with like breuitie, as I ſhall propound, and thus I reaſon. The body of Chriſt that was broken on the croſſe, is a full ſatiſfaction for the ſinnes of the whole world, but the ſacrament is not the ſatiſfaction of the whole world. Ergo, the Sacrament is not the body of Chriſt.

Glin. I deny your argument.

Pilking. It is a Sillogiſme.

Glin. It is not ſo, for there be 4. termines. Touching this word Sacrament, it is manifold: but thus I aunſwer. If you take the ſacrament for the matter of the ſacramēt, that is the body of Chriſt, then is your Minor propoſitiō true, and ẏ matter of ẏ ſacrament is the ſatiſfaction for ẏ ſinnes of the whole world, but if you take the ſacrament for the ſigne, which we call a ſacrament, then is your Minor propoſition falſe.

Pilking. The body of Chriſt hath ſatiſfied for the ſinnes of the whole world, but the ſacrament hath not ſatiſfied, Ergo the ſacrament is not the body of Chriſt.

Glin. I deny your Minor, vnderſtanding the Sacrament for the matter of the ſacrament.

Pilking. The ſacrament only profiteth him that receiueth it but many were ſaued before the inſtitution of this Sacrament was begun, ergo ẏ ſacrament is not ẏ body of Chriſt.

Glin. If you meane of the bare ſigne onely, it profiteth nothing, but if you meane of the thing ſignified, than what is ſpoke of the body of Chriſt, is ſpoke alſo of the thing of the ſacrament it ſelfe.

Pilking. Tranſubſtantiation is not a Sacrament, but that which I meane is a ſacrament, Ergo, that which I meane is not tranſubſtantiated.

Glin. I meane not that tranſubſtantiation is a ſacrament, neither do I ſay that the Sacrament is tranſubſtantiate, but the bread.

Pilking. The body of Chriſt is reſiant in heauen, & the body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament, Ergo the Sacrament is in heauen.

Glin. A goodly reaſon forſooth: but I aunſwer, he is after one ſort in heauen, and after another ſort in the ſacrament: for in heauen he is locally, in the ſacrament not ſo, in heauen viſibly and circumſcriptiuely, but in the ſacrament inuiſibly and ſacramentally.

Rocheſt. S. Auguſtine ſayth, take away the ſpaces from the bodies, and they ſhall be no where, and that which is no where, is not at all, ſo whileſt you take away the ſpaces and dymenſions from the body of Chriſt, in the Sacrament you bryng to paſſe that it is not there at all.

Glin. In that place Auguſtine ſpeaketh of naturall bodies, not of ſupernaturall, otherwyſe I could deny that Chriſt had a true body when he entred into his diſciples, ẏ gates beyng ſhut.

Rocheſt. Of the gates beyng ſhut, a diuers and doubtfull meanyng may be gathered, for it may be that he entered in before the gates were ſhutte, and afterward opened them beyng ſhut, &c.

Glin. Then it could be no myracle, but the Euangeliſts & all ſound interpreters ſay and affirme this to be a miracle of our ſauiour Chriſt.

Rocheſt. Whether Chriſt entred in miraculouſly, the gates beyng ſhut, or els open, the ſcripture ſetteth not downe.

Glin. As Chriſt (the wombe of the virgin being ſhut) was borne into the world without violation of her pure virginitie, or apertion of her wombe (for ſo he might haue bene polluted) ſo entred he through the dores to hys Diſciples miraculouſly.

Pilking. In the bodye of Chriſt which was geuen for vs, there are no accidents of bread, but in the ſacrament there be accidents of bread, ergo, in the Sacrament there is not the body of Chriſt.

Glin. In the matter of the ſacrament that is in the body of Chriſt, is no accidents of bread, but accidents are the very ſacrament it ſelfe.

Pilking I beſeech you what do we eate, the ſubſtaunce, or the accidents?

Glin. Both, as when we eate wholeſome, and vnwholeſome meates together, ſo we eate the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body, and yet not without the accidents of bread.

Pilking. I proue that the accidents are eaten, for whatſoeuer entreth in by the mouth, goeth into the priuy, but the accidents go in by the mouth, Ergo into the priuy.

Glin. This ſentence whatſoeuer entreth in by the mouth, &c. is not ment of all kynd of meats, as not of that which Chriſt eate after hys reſurrection.

Pilking. You ſhall not eate this body which you ſee.

Glin. That is not after that maner as you ſee it now, nor after the ſame viſible forme.

Where Chriſt is there be his miniſters.

Pilking. Whereſoeuer Chriſt is, there be his miniſters alſo (for ſo he promiſed) But Chriſt as you hold is in the Sacrament, Ergo his miniſters are there alſo.

Glin. To bee with Chriſt is ſpoken diuers wayes, as in hart, in mynd and place, and ſomeтymes both: or to bee with Chriſt is to miniſter vnto him, and to do his wil, &c.

The third diſputation holden at Cambridge as before.

M. Perne.

Chriſt at his laſt ſupper tooke bread, brake bread, diſtributed bread, Ergo, not his body, but a Sacrament of hys body, for the bones of Chriſt could no man breake, as witneſſeth the Prophet, ſayeng: Os non comminuetis ex eo, that is, you ſhall not breake a bone of hym. This cuppe is the cup of the new Teſtament in my bloud. In this ſentence there is a trope by theyr owne confeſſion, wherefore there is in the other alſo, This is my body, for the holy ſcripture is a perfect rule not onely of doyng, but alſo of ſpeakyng. Paule calleth it bread three tymes, Ergo it is bread, &c. And wheras they vrge ſo much this Pronoune (illum) it is not in the Greeke canon which hath panem, bread, not panem illum, that bread. There was no tranſubſtantiation in the Manna, Ergo, nor in this ſacrament, for there is this article (eſt) if that can proue tranſubſtantiation as they ſuppoſe. And if Manna were a figure (ſay they) then this is not. This myſterie or Sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meate. Manna gaue lyfe vnto them, as this doth vnto vs, yet was it but a figure. In euery ſacrament there ought to be a certaine analogie, both of the interne and externe thyng of the Sacrament, as Auguſtine ſayth, writyng to Bonifacius, but betwixt the formes of bread and wyne, and the body of Chriſt, there is no analogie at all, Ergo, they make not a Sacrament. As of many graynes, &c. This ſimilitude of Paule is ſpoken of yͤ ſubſtance of bread, not of the forme thereof, otherwyſe Paule ſhould in vayne compare vs to bread. As in Baptiſme there is materiall water, ſo in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt is materiall bread. Dionyſius called the Sacrament of Chriſtes bodye no otherwyſe then bread. Euſebius in eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria doth the ſame. Tertullian, lib. 4. againſt Marcion, ſayth thus, He gaue hys body, that is (ſayth he) a figure or type of hys body. Cyprian ſayeth, In his laſt ſupper he gaue bread and wyne, and hys body vpon the croſſe. The ſame Cyprian epiſt 6. lib. 1. and epiſt. 3. lib. 2. ſayeth, Chriſt dranke wyne at his laſt ſupper, becauſe he would root out the hereſie of certaine who onely vſed water in the miniſtration thereof. Chryſoſt. hom. 13. vpon Math. ſayth, That onely bread remayneth, &c. Theodoretus ſayth in hys firſt dialogue, bread remayneth ſtill in hys firſt nature as before. Auguſtine ſayth, The bread doth not looſe his firſt nature after the conſecration, but receyue yͤ another qualitie, whereby it differeth from common bread. The ſame Auguſt. lib. 3. agaynſt Maximinus ſayeth: Sacramentes are figures, beyng one thyng in deede, and ſhewyng forth an other thyng: he ſpeaketh of no tranſubſtantiation here. Agayne, writyng to Bonifacius he ſayth, The Sacrament of the body of Chriſt is the body of Chriſt, and ſo is the ſacrament of wyne alſo, &c. The ſacraments of the olde and new law, are all one in ſubſtaunce of matter, notwithſtandyng they be diuers in ſignes: which Sacramentes, why ſhould they not be one, whē as they ſignified al one thing. The body of Chriſt when it was on the earth, was not in heauen, ſo now it beyng in heauen, is not on the earth. Wherby it may appeare, that tranſubſtantiation is a moſt blaſphemous, ſacrilegious, and damnable errour, and a moſt vayne, vnſauory, and diueliſh papiſticall inuention, defended and maintayned onely by the papiſtes, the profeſſed and ſworn enemies of all truth. Thoſe who impugn this doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, are no new vpſtartes, as the enemies of the truth the papiſts beare the world in hand. But contrarily, thoſe who maintayne this diueliſh doctrine, are new ſprong vp cocatrices, as Manicheus, Euticus and others. Gelaſius ſayth, The ſacramentes which we receyue, are diuine thyngs, yet ceaſe they not to bee bread and wyne in nature. Out of this puddle of tranſubſtantiation, hath ſprong vp adoration of the ſacrament, and inducyng men to beleeue that Chriſt hath many bodies.

Their ought to be a certaine analogie in euery Sacrament betwene the thing that ſignifieth, & the thing that is ſignified.

Cyprian epiſt. 6. Cyprian epiſt. 6. li. 1. epiſt. 3 li. 2.

Aug. li. 3. contra Maximinum.

Tranſubſtantiation a moſt blaſphemouſe errour.

The declaration of the ſayd M. Perne in the 2. concluſion.

Mathew, Marke, Luke, and the apoſtle Paule, call it a commemoration or remembraunce of Chriſtes body and bloud. And Paule to the Hebrews ſayth: By one onely oblation once offered, are we made perfect to eternall ſaluation, &c. By hym therefore doe we offer vp the ſacrifice of laud and prayſe to God, that is the fruit of the lips, &c. It is called the Euchariſt, becauſe we offer to God praiſe and thankeſgeuyng, with deuout myndes, and it is called the cup of thankeſgeuyng, becauſe we geue thankes to God thereby alſo. You ſhall preach forth the Lordes death, &c. that is, you ſhall geue thanks & be myndfull of his death, &c. Geue your bodies a quick and liuyng ſacrifice, &c. The ſacrifice of prayſe and thankeſgiuing, ſhall honour me, &c. Chryſoſtome ſayth, The wyſe men offered three kyndes of ſacrifices, gold, frankencenſe and myrrhe, ſo we doe alſo, namely vertue, prayer, and almes deedes. Theſe be the ſacrifices wherewith Chriſt is pleaſed. And Auguſtine ſayth there are no other ſacrifices thē prayer, prayſe and thankſgeuyng, &c. Chryſoſtome homil. 46. vpon Iohn ſayth, to be conuerted or turned into Chriſt, is to be made pertaker of hys body and bloud.

Why it is called the Euchariſt.

No other ſacrifice, but onely prayſe and thankeſgeuing.

There diſputed againſt him M. Parker, M. Pollard, M. Vauiſor, and M. Yong.

Parker.

Chriſt whoſe wordes are to be beleeued, ſayd, This is my body, he ſaid not this bread is my body, or in this bread, or vnder this bread, or by this bread, but ſayd plainly, This is my body. And this he proued by theſe reaſons: Firſt, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promiſed. Thirdly, for that it was geuen. The tranſubſtantiation of the bread was prefigured by the Manna which came downe from heauen, all that bread was heauenly, and without any earthly matter or ſubſtance adioyned. Secondly, it was promiſed in thoſe wordes of Chriſt, yͤ bread that I will geue, is my fleſh, &c. Thirdly, it was geuen by Chriſt, and exhibited in hys laſt ſupper, ſayeng: Take, eate, this is my body.

Here they were forced to breake of through the want of tyme, yet Parker replied thus agaynſt Doct. Perne.

We geue thee thanks moſt holy Father, that thou haſt hid theſe thyngs from the wyſe and prudent, and haſt reuealed them to babes, for pryde is the roote of al hereſies whatſoeuer. And on the other ſide, to acknowledge our owne infirmitie and imperfection, is the firſt ſteppe to the true vnderſtandyng of the truth. Neſtorius the heretike affirmed, that there were two perſons in Chriſt, one that was man, another that was God, therefore he ſayd that in the Euchariſt was contayned true fleſh, but onely of hys pure manhoode. Agaynſt hym did the counſell of Epheſus conclude, ſayeng: That there was the reall fleſhe of the ſonne of God, &c. This he proued by the words of Chriſt, My fleſh is meate in deede, and what fleſh that is, he teacheth vpon the ſixt of Iohn, that is, quoth he, the fleſhe vnited to the deitie, and quickened by the holy Ghoſt, &c. Now that that fleſh is in the Sacrament, it is playne by Hillarius, lib. 8. de Trinitate, he proued the ſame alſo out of Chryſoſtome, homil. 45. vpon Iohn. We are one bodye with hym, mēbers of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, &c. Agayne in the ſame homilie, we are ioyned to hys fleſh, not onely by fayth and loue, but alſo in very deede, and truely. And agayne it pleaſed me to become your brother, and by the ſame thyngs wherin I was ioyned to you, haue I geuen my ſelfe agayne vnto you, &c.

Hillarius li. 8. de trinitat. Chriſoſt. ho. 45.

Perne. I graunt vnto you that Chriſt is in the ſacrament truely, wholy, & verely, after a certaine propertie & maner: I deny not hys preſence, but hys reall and corporall preſence I vtterly deny, for doubtles hys true and naturall body is in heauen, and not in the ſacrament: notwithſtādyng he dwelleth with vs, and in vs after a certaine vnitie. And alſo in the 6. chapter of Iohn, he ſpeaketh not of the fleſh of Chriſt crucified, &c.

Parker. The fleſh of Chriſt as it is in the ſacramēt, is quick and geueth lyfe, Ergo, his reall and ſubſtantiall fleſhe is in the ſacrament.

Perne. The fleſh of Chriſt in that it is vnited to the deitie, doth viuifie, and geueth lyfe, but not otherwyſe.

How Chriſts fleſhe geueth lyfe.

Rocheſt. Chriſt dwelleth in vs by fayth, and by fayth we receiue Chriſt both God and man, both in ſpirit and fleſh, that is, this ſacramentall eatyng is the meane and waye whereby we attayne to the ſpirituall eatyng, and in deede for the ſtrengthenyng of vs to the eatyng of this ſpirituall foode, was this ſacrament ordeyned. And theſe words This is my body, are ment thus, by grace it is my true body, but not my fleſhly body, as ſome of you ſuppoſe.

Parker. We are ioyned to Chriſt, not onely by faith, but alſo in very deede, ergo &c.

Rocheſt. We are ioyned to Chriſt that is, we are made pertakers of his fleſh and of immortalitie. And ſo lyke caſe is there a vnion betweene man and woman, yet is there no tranſubſtantiation of eyther, or both, &c.

Pollard. The ſacrament is not bare bread and nothing els, onely becauſe it is called bread ſo often in the Scriptures, and that I proue by three reaſons. Firſt, it is called bread becauſe of the ſimilitude. Secondly, becauſe of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact, as the Angels are called men, the holy ghoſt a tonge, the rod of Aaron a ſerpent, and ſuch lyke. The wordes of Chriſt do teach the ſame thyng, as appeareth in the healyng of the woman of Canaans daughter, Iairus ſonne, and many others, &c. Ergo, &c. Then he proued agaynſt Rocheſter, that ſomewhat els was in the Sacrament beſides power and grace by this reaſon. The euill receyue the body of Chriſt, as is playne out of Auguſtine, homil. 21. de verbis domini, but the euill and wycked receyue not the vertue or grace, Ergo, there is not onely grace and vertue in the ſacrament.

Why it is called bread ſo often.

Rocheſt. The euill do not receyue the Lord in Sacrament, but the ſacrament of the Lord, as Iudas, who in deed eate not the true body of the Lord.

Pollard. In the ſacrament be three thyngs, to wit, an outward ſigne, the matter of the Sacrament, and the fruite of the ſame, the euill receyue the outward ſigne, and the ſubiect of the Sacrament, but not the fruite of the Sacrament, Ergo, there is ſomewhat els in the Sacrament than onely grace. Alſo euery Sacrament ought to haue a certaine ſimilitude with the matter of the Sacrament, but the materiall bread hath not ſuch ſimilitude with the body of Chriſt, which is the matter of the Sacrament, Ergo, materiall bread is not a Sacrament.

Perne. I deny your Minor, for materiall breade doth ſo nouriſh the bodye, as the fleſhe of Chriſt doth the ſoule.

Here he beyng requeſted, gaue place to others.

M. Vauiſor.

Through the ſhortneſſe of tyme I am ſo conſtrayned, that neyther I can ſpeake without loſſe of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in ſpeakyng (as I doe) without great premeditation before this honourable, worſhipfull, and learned audience, I ſhall but ſhewe forth my childiſhneſſe herein, and if I ſhould hold my peace, I myght be thought to betray the truth of Gods cauſe. And therfore whileſt I can neyther ſpeake for the breuitie of tyme, nor yet hold my peace gods truth beyng in controuerſie, I haue determined although with the impairyng of my good name, to render a reaſon of my fayth, which if I cannot affourd probably in words, yet wyll I not faulte in ſayeng nothyng at all. For it ſeemeth better that I be eſteemed altogether fooliſh and vnlearned, amongſt ſo many graue learned Fathers & Doctours, then to forſake the iuſt defence of the truth, which euery good chriſtian man throughout the world, hath euer holden inuiolable. For who ſo forſaketh the manifeſt knowen truth, had neuer any true fayth therein. Which thyng that I may ouerpaſſe in Berengarius, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and many others, who are certaynely knowen to be of no leſſe variaunce amongeſt themſelues, then vncertayn of theyr fayth what to beleeue. Zuinglius wryteth thus of hymſelfe. Although this thyng which I meane to intreate of doth lyke me very well, yet notwithſtandyng, I dare define nothyng, but only ſhew my poore iudgement abroad to others, that if it pleaſe the Lord, others may be therby inſtructed by the ſpirit of God which teacheth all good thynges. In vayne doe I ſpende many wordes. You ſee playnely he dare not define anye thyng certainely, but doubteth whether it pleaſe GOD or not. Oecolampadius writyng to a certayne brother of hys, ſayth thus: Peace be with thee. As farre as I can coniecture out of the learned Fathers theſe wordes, Iohn. 6. This is my body, be figuratiue locutions, &c. You ſee hereby how vncertaine they be of their opinions. They leane not to the Scriptures, to Doctors, nor yet to the trueth, but to ſuppoſals and coniectures, who therefore hereafter wyll cleaue vnto them? But nowe I come to your Oration, whoſe beginnyng pleaſed me very well, and whoſe progreſſe therein offended me not. But in the end you concluded in ſuch ſort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirmyng my partes by the ſame. And herein you framed a Syllogiſme after this maner. What Chriſt tooke, that he bleſſed, what he bleſſed, that he brake, what he brake that he gaue, Ergo, what he receyued he gaue, &c. Whereto I aunſwer wyth a lyke Syllogiſme out of Geneſis. God tooke a ribbe out of Adams ſide, what hee tooke, he built, what he built that he brought, what he brought, that hee gaue to Adam to be hys wyfe, but he tooke a ribbe, Ergo, he gaue a ribbe to Adam to wyfe, &c. Alſo in your ſayd Oration, you ſhute much at thoſe wordes of Paule, where he calleth it bread ſo often, &c. But the Scripture in another place calleth it water, when in deede it was wyne, a rodde when it was a playne ſerpent.

Rocheſt. You haue pretended great zeale & words inough, but what pith or ſubſtance your reaſons will affourd, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Vauiſor. Chriſt gaue the ſame fleſh to vs, that he receyued of the virgine, but he tooke true and naturall fleſh of her, Ergo, he gaue vs true and naturall fleſhe. My Maior I proue by Auguſt. vpon the 98. Pſalme.

Rocheſt. M. Vauiſor you are in a wrong boxe, for yͤ place maketh altogether for maintenāce of adoration, if it make for any thyng.

Vauiſor. I know it very well, and therefore I alledge it as the ground of my reaſon. Theſe bee Auguſtines wordes, Chriſt of the earth receyued earth, and of the fleſh of Mary, he receyued fleſh, acknowledge his ſubſtance therefore?

Rocheſt. I acknowledge it.

Vauiſor. And in the very ſame fleſh he walked here vppon the earth, acknowledgge his ſubſtaunce.

Rocheſt. I acknowlegde it.

Vauiſor. And the very ſame fleſhe he gaue vs to eate, acknowledge hys ſubſtaunce.

Rocheſt. I acknowlege not hys reall ſubſtance to be there, but the propertie of hys ſubſtance.

Vauiſor. Then Vauiſor recited the place, to the ende hee myght proue that hys reall ſubſtaunce ought to bee acknowledged as well in the laſt place, as in the firſt and ſecond, affirmyng it out of Saint Auguſtine, who ſayeth thus. The Diſciples of Chriſt approchyng the Lordes table, by fayth dranke the ſame bloud which the tormenters moſt cruelly ſpilt, &c. but the tormenters ſpilt no figure of bloud, Ergo, &c. this place will not permit the other ſo to be illuded.

Rocheſt. It is no illuſion good M. Vauiſor, but ſurely you would moue a Saint with your impertinent reaſons.

Vauiſor. I beſeech your fatherhood to pardon my rudenes, for ſurely I cannot otherwyſe ſpeake without breache of conſcience.

Perne. That place of Auguſtine is to bee vnderſtoode of a ſpirituall kynd of eatyng.

Vauiſor. I demand whether the faythfull may receyue ſpiritually, ſo as they neede not to receiue ſacramentally.

Perne. They may.

Vauiſor. Then thus to you: To the ſpirituall eatyng, there is no need to come to the Lordes table, for ſo it is the meat of the ſoule, not of the teeth, but the faythfull come to the Lordes table, Ergo that place is to be vnderſtood of a ſacramentall eatyng. And agayne, Auguſtine ſayth, that he caried hymſelfe in hys hands.

Rocheſt. Auguſtine ſheweth a little after, what he meaneth thereby, where he ſayeth he caried hymſelfe in his owne hands, after a certayne ſort or maner.

Vauiſor. True it is that after one maner he ſate at the table, and after another maner was in the ſacrament.

¶M. Yong here diſputeth agaynſt Perne, as followeth.

Yong.

I Vnderſtand the meanyng of this worde Proprietas, proprietie, well enough, for in Hillarie and Euſebius, it ſignifieth not the vertue or power of any ſubſtance or beyng, but rather a naturall beyng or ſubſtance.

Rocheſt. I commend your great diligence in ſearchyng of authors, but in diuinitie the matter ſtandeth not ſo, for the proprietie of eſſence in the deitie, is the very eſſence, and what ſoeuer is in God, is God.

Yong. True it is (moſt reuerend father) that this worde Proprietas, proprietie, in Hillary in hys 8. booke de Trinitate, intreatyng there of the diuinitie of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy ghoſt, is ſo meant and taken, but the ſame Hillary almoſt in the ſame place ſpeaketh of our communion and vnitie wyth Chriſt, &c. Tertullian alſo writyng of the reſurrection of the fleſh, affirmeth that the fleſhe of our ſauiour is that whereof our ſoule is allied to God, that is it, which cauſeth that our ſoules are ioyned to hym, but our fleſh is made cleane, that the ſoule may be purged, our fleſh is annoynted, that the ſoule may be made holy, the fleſh is ſealed, that the ſoule may be comforted, the fleſhe is ſhadowed with the impoſition of the handes, that our ſoule may be lightened with the glory of the ſpirite. Our fleſh is clothed with a body and bloud, that the ſoule may be fed and nouriſhed of God.

Rocheſt. The fleſhe in deede is fed with the body and the bloud of the Lord, when our bodies by mortification are made lyke to his body. And our body is nouriſhed when the vertue and power of the body of Chriſt doth feede vs. The ſame Tertullian is not afrayd to cal it fleſh, and bloud, but he meaneth a figure of the ſame.

When our bodyes be fed with the bodye and bloud of Chri[illegible]

Yong. Then by your leaue it ſhould follow by good conſequence, that where anye mortification is, there muſt needes be a ſacramentall communion, which cannot be. Ergo, &c.

¶Here endeth the third, and laſt Diſputation holden at Cambridge. 1549.

This diſputation continued three dayes. In the firſt dyd aunſwer Doctour Madew. Agaynſt whome diſputed Doctour Glinne, M. Langdale, M. Segewike, M. Young.

In the ſecond diſputation did anſwer Doctor Glinne. Agaynſt whome diſputed M. Grindall, M. Perne, M. Beſt, M. Pilkington.

Aunſwerers and diſputers in thoſe diſputatiõs at Cambridge. Anno 1552.

In the third diſputation aunſwered M. Perne. Againſt whome diſputed one M. Parkar (not Doct. Math. Parkar) M. Pollard, M. Vauiſour, M. Yong.

At length the diſputations ended, the Biſhop of Rocheſter Doct. Nicolas Ridley after the maner of Scholes, made this determination vpon the foreſayde concluſions, as here followeth.

¶ The determination of Doctor Nicolas Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, vpon the concluſions aboue prefixed.

The determination of D. Nic. Ridley vpon the diſputations.

There hath bene an ancient cuſtome amongſt you, that after diſputations had in your common ſcholes, there ſhould be ſome determination made of the matters ſo diſputed and debated, eſpecially touching Chriſtian religion. Becauſe therefore it is ſeene good vnto theſe worſhipfull aſſiſtentes ioyned with me in commiſſion from the kings Maieſtie, that I ſhould performe the ſame at this tyme: I will by your fauourable pacience declare, both what I do thinke and beleue my ſelfe, and what alſo other, ought to think of the ſame. Which thing I would that afterwardes ye did with diligence way and ponder, euery man at home ſeuerally by himſelfe.

The principal groundes or rather headſprings of this matter are ſpecially fiue.

5. Princypall groundes to take away tranſubſtantiation.

The firſt is the authoritie, maieſtie, and veritie of holy Scripture.

The ſecond is the moſt certayne teſtimonies of the auncient Catholicke Fathers, who, after my iudgement, do ſufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abhominable hereſie of Eutiches that may enſue of Tranſubſtantiation.

The fiſt is the moſt ſure beliefe of the article of our fayth: He aſcended into heauen.

¶ The firſt grounde.

Tranſubſtantiation agaynſt the Scripture.

This Tranſubſtantiation is cleane agaynſt ye wordes of the ſcripture, and conſent of the auncient Catholick Fathers. The ſcripture ſayth: I will not drinke hereafter of thys fruite of the vine. &c. Now the fruite of this Vyne is wyne. And it is manifeſt that Chriſt ſpake theſe wordes after the Supper was finiſhed, as it appeareth both in Mathewe, Marke, and alſo in Luke, if they be well vnderſtanded. There be not many places of the ſcripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly materiall: For it is enough if there be any one playne teſtimonie for the ſame. Neither ought it to be meaſured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the veritie of the ſame. And the maieſtie of this veritie is as ample in one ſhort ſentence of the Scripture, as in a thouſand.

Scripture to be meaſured not by number but by authoritye.

Moreouer, Chriſt tooke bread, he brake bread, he gaue bread. In the Actes Luke calleth it bread. So Paule calleth it bread after the ſanctification. Both of them ſpeaketh of breakyng, which belongeth to the ſubſtaunce of bread, and in no wyſe to Chriſtes body, for the Scripture ſayth: Ye ſhall not breake a bone of hym. Chriſt ſayth, Doe ye this in my remembraunce. Saint Paule alſo ſayeth: Doe ye this in my remembraunce. And agayne, As often as ye ſhall drinke of this cup, do it in the remembraunce of me. And our Sauiour Chriſt in the 6. of Iohn, ſpeakyng againſt the Capernaits, ſayth: Labour for the meat that periſheth not. And when they aſked: What ſhall we do that we may worke the workes of God? He aunſwered them thus: This is the worke of God, that ye beleeue in hym whom he hath ſent. You ſee how he exhorteth them to fayth, for fayth is that worke of God. Agayne, This is the bread which came downe from heauen. But Chriſtes body came not downe from heauen. Moreouer, Hee that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in hym. My fleſh (ſayth he) is meat in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede. When they heard this, they were offended. And whileſt they were offended, he ſayd vnto them: What if ye ſhall ſee the ſonne of man aſcend vp where he was before? Whereby he went about to draw them from the groſſe and carnall eatyng. This body ſayth he, ſhall aſcend vp into heauen, meanyng altogether as S. Auguſtine ſayth: It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothyng. The wordes that I ſpeake vnto you, are ſpirit and lyfe, and muſt be ſpiritually vnderſtood. Theſe bee the reaſons which perſwade me to incline to this ſentence and iudgement.

Exod. 12.
1. Cor. 11.
Iohn. 6.
Iohn. 6.

¶ The ſecond ground.

The ſecond ground agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Now my ſecond ground agaynſt this tranſubſtantiation are the auncient Fathers a thouſand yeares paſt. And ſo farre of is it that they do confirme this opinion of tranſubſtantiation, that playne they ſeeme vnto me; both to thinke and to teach the contrary.

Dionyſius in many places calleth it breade. The places are ſo manifeſt and playne, that it needeth not to recite them.

Ignatius to the Philadelphians ſayth: I beſeech you brethren cleaue faſt vnto one fayth, and to one kynde of preachyng, vſing together one manner of thankeſgeuyng: for the fleſhe of the Lord Ieſu is one, and hys bloud is one which was ſhedde for vs: There is alſo one bread broken for vs, and one cuppe of the whole Church.

Irenæus writeth thus: Euen as the bread that commeth of the earth receauyng Gods vocation is nowe no more common breade, but Sacramentall breade, conſiſtyng of two natures, earthly and heauenly: euen ſo our bodyes receauyng the Euchariſt, are now no more corruptible, hauyng hope of the reſurrection.

Tertullian is very playne, for he calleth it a figure of the body, &c.

Chryſoſtome writyng to Cæſarius the Monke, albeit he be not receyued of dyuers, yet wyll I read the place to faſten it more deepely in your myndes: for it ſeemeth to ſhewe playnely the ſubſtaunce of bread to remayne. The wordes are theſe.

Before the bread is ſanctified, we name it bread: but by the grace of God ſanctifiyng the ſame thorough the miniſtery of the Prieſt, it is deliuered from the name of breade, and is counted worthy to beare the name of the Lordes body, although the very ſubſtaunce of bread notwithſtandyng doe ſtill remayne therin, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Sonne, &c.

Cyprian ſayth: Bread is made of many graynes. And is that naturall bread, and made of wheate? Yea it is ſo in deede.

The booke of Theodoret in Greeke, was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not bene his, it ſhould not haue bene ſet forth there, eſpecially ſeeyng it is directly agaynſt tranſubſtantiation: For he ſayth plainely, that bread ſtyll remayneth after the ſanctification.

Gelaſius alſo is very playne in this manner. The Sacrament (ſayth he) which we receyue of the body and bloude of Chriſt, is a diuine matter: by reaſon whereof we are made partakers by the ſame of the deuine nature, and yet it ceaſeth not ſtil to be the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne. And certes, the repreſentation and ſimilitude of the body and bloud of Chriſt be celebrated in the action of the myſteries, &c.

After this he recited certayne places out of Auguſtine and Cyrill, which were not noted.

Iſichius alſo confeſſeth that it is bread.

Alſo the iudgement of Bertram in this matter, is very playne and manifeſt. And thus much for the ſecond ground.

The third ground.

The third grounde, is the nature of the Sacrament, which conſiſteth in three things, that is, Unitie, Nutrition, and Conuerſion.

As touching vnitie, Cyprian thus writeth: Euen as of many graynes is made one bread, ſo are we one myſticall bodye of Chriſt. Wherfore bread muſt needes ſtill remaine, or els we deſtroy the nature of a Sacrament.

Alſo they that take away nutrition, which commeth by bread, do take away likewiſe the nature of the ſacrament. For as the body of Chriſt nouriſheth the ſoule, euē ſo doth bread likewyſe nouriſh the body of man.

Therfore, they that take away ye graynes or the vnion of the graynes in the bread, and deny the nutrition or ſubſtaunce thereof, in my iudgement are Sacramentaries: for they take away the ſimilitude betwene the bread & the body of Chriſt. For they which affirme tranſubſtantiation are in deed right Sacramentaries and Capernites.

As touchyng conuerſion (that lyke as the bread which we receyue, is turned into our ſubſtance, ſo are we turned into Chriſtes body) Rabanus and Chryſoſtome are witneſſes ſufficient.

The fourth ground.

They which ſay that Chriſt is carnally preſent in the Euchariſt, do take from him the veritie of mans nature. Eutiches granted the diuine nature in Chriſt, but his humaine nature he denied. So they that defend tranſubſtantiation aſcribe that to the humane nature, which onely belongeth to the deuine nature.

The fift ground.

The fiſt ground is the certaine perſwaſion of this Article of fayth: He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand &c.

Auguſtine ſayth: The Lord is aboue euen to the end of the world: but yet the veritie of the Lord is here alſo. For his body wherein he roſe agayne, muſt needes be in one place, but his veritie is ſpread abroad euery where.

Alſo in another place he ſayth: Let the godly receyue also that Sacrament, but let them not be carefull (ſpeaking there of the preſence of his body.) For as touchyng hys maieſty, his prouidence, his inuiſible and vnſpeakeable grace, theſe woordes are fulfilled which he ſpake: I am with you vnto the ende of the world. But accordyng to the fleſh which he took vpō hym, accordyng to that which was borne of the Virgin, was apprehēded of the Iewes, was faſtened to a tree, taken downe agayne from the croſſe, lapped in lynnen clothes, was buried and roſe agayne, and appeared after hys reſurrection, ſo you ſhall not haue me alwayes with you. And why? becauſe that as concernyng his fleſh he was conuerſant with hys Diſciples fourty dayes, and they accompanying hym, ſeyng hym, but not followyng hym, he went vp into heauen, and is not here, for he ſitteth at the right hand of hys Father, and yet he is here, becauſe he is not departed hence, as concernyng the preſence of hys diuine Maieſtie.

Marke and conſider well what Saint Auguſtine ſayeth: He is aſcended into heauen, and is not here, ſayth he. Beleeue not them therefore which ſay that he is yet here ſtill in the earth.

Moreouer, Doubt not (ſayeth the ſame Auguſtine) but that Ieſus Chriſt as concernyng the nature of hys manhoode, is there from whence he ſhall come. And remember well and beleeue the profeſſion of a Chriſtian man: that he roſe from death, aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of his father, and from that place, and none other (not from the aultares) ſhall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and he ſhal come as the Angell ſayd, as he was ſeene go into heauen: that is to ſay, in the ſame fourme and ſubſtaunce, vnto the which he gaue immortality, but chaunged not nature. After this fourme (meanyng hys humaine nature) we may not thynke that it is euery where.

And in the ſame Epiſtle he ſaith: Take away from the bodies the limitation of places and they ſhall be no where: and becauſe they are no where, they ſhall not be at all.

Vigilius ſayth: If the word and the fleſh be both of one nature, ſeeyng that the word is euery where, why then is not the fleſh alſo euery where? For when it was in earth, then verely it was not in heauen: and now when it is in heauen, it is not ſurely in earth. And it is ſo certayne, that it is not in earth, that as cōcernyng the ſame we looke for hym from heauen, whom as concernyng the word, we beleeue to be with vs in earth.

Alſo the ſame Vigilius ſayth: Which thyngs ſeeyng they be ſo, the courſe of the ſcripture muſt be ſearched of vs, and many teſtimonies muſt be gathered to ſhew plainly what a wickednes and ſacriledge it is to referre thoſe thyngs to the property of the diuine nature, which do onely belong to the nature of the fleſh: and contrarywyſe, to apply thoſe thinges vnto the nature of the fleſhe, which doe properly belong to the diuine nature. Which thyng the tranſubſtantiatours doe, whileſt they affirme Chriſtes body not to be conteyned in any one place, and aſcribe that to hys humanity, which properly belongeth to hys diuinitie: as they do which will haue Chriſtes body to be in no one certayne place limited.

Now in the latter concluſion concerning the ſacrifice, becauſe it dependeth vpon the firſt, I will in fewe wordes declare what I thinke. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controuerſie in the other would ſoone be at an end: Two things there be which do perſuade me that this concluſion is true: that is, certayne places of the ſcripture, & alſo certayne teſtimonies of the fathers. Saint Paul ſaith, Heb. 9. Chriſt beyng come an high Prieſt of good thinges to come, by a greater and more perfecter tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neyther by the bloud of Gotes and Calues, but by his owne bloud, entred once into the holye place, and obtayned for vs eternall redemption, &c. and now in the end of the world he hath appeared once to put away ſinne by the ſacrifice of hymſelfe.

And agayne: Chriſt was once offered to take away the ſinnes of many.

Moreouer he ſayth: With one offering hath he made perfect for euer thoſe that are ſanctified.

Theſe ſcriptures do perſwade me to beleeue that there is no other oblation of Chriſt (albeit I am not ignoraunt there are many ſacrifices) but that which was once made vpon the croſſe.

The teſtimonies of the auncient Fathers which confirme the ſame, are out of Auguſtine ad Bonifac. Epiſt. 23. Agayne in his booke of 43. Queſtions, in the 61. Queſtion. Alſo in his 20. booke agaynſt Fauſtus the Manichie, cha. 21. And in the ſame booke agaynſt the ſayd Fauſtus, cap. 28. thus he writeth: Now the Chriſtians keepe a memoriall of the ſacrifice paſt, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Fulgentius in hys booke De Fide, calleth the ſame oblation a Commemoration. And theſe thynges are ſufficient for this tyme for a ſcholaſticall determination of theſe matters.

Diſputations of Martin Bucer.

Ouer and beſide theſe diſputations aboue mentioned, other diſputations alſo were holden at Cambridge ſhortly after by Martin Bucer vppon theſe concluſions followyng.

Concluſions to be diſputed.

Concluſions diſputed at Cābridge by Martin Bucer.

1. The Canonicall bookes of holy Scripture alone, do ſufficiently teach the regenerated all thinges neceſſarily belongyng vnto ſaluation.
2. There is no Church in earth which erreth not as well in faith as in maners.
3. We are ſo iuſtified freely of God, that before our iuſtification it is ſinne, and prouoketh Gods wrath agaynſt vs, what ſo euer good worke we ſeeme to doe. Then beyng iuſtified we do good workes.

Diſputers agaynſt M. Bucer at Cambridge.

In theſe three Propoſitions agaynſt Bucer, diſputed M. Segewike, Yong, and Perne. Which diſputations becauſe they are long here to be recited, I mynde (the Lord willyng) to reſerue them to ſome other conuenient place. In the meane ſeaſon becauſe great controuerſie hath bene and is yet amongſt the learned, and much effuſion of Chriſten bloud about the wordes and meanyng of the Sacrament: to the intent that the veritie thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtfull ſcruples diſcuſſed, it ſhall not be out of place to adioyne to the former diſcourſes of Peter Martyr, and of Doctour Ridley aboue mentioned, an other certayne learned treatiſe in fourme of a Dialogue, as appertaynyng to the ſame Argument, compiled (as it ſeemeth) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr and other Authours, by a certayne learned and reuerend perſon of this Realme: who vnder the perſones of Cuſtome and Veritie, manifeſtly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men not to meaſure Religion by Cuſtome, but to try Cuſtome by truth and the word of God, for els cuſtome may ſoone deceyue, but the worde of God abydeth for euer.

A learned Dialogue betweene Cuſtome and Truth.

A fruitfull Dialogue declaring theſe wordes of Chriſt: This is my body.

CVSTOME. VERITIE.

A Dialogue betwene Cuſtome and Verjtye.

Cuſtome. I maruell much what madnes is cropen into thoſe mens harts, which now a days are not aſhamed ſo violently to tread downe the liuely worde of God, yea and impudently to deny God hymſelfe.

Veritie. God forbid there ſhould be any ſuch. In deede I remember that the Romiſh biſhop was wont to haue the Bible for his footeſtoole, & ſo to tread downe Gods worde euermore when he ſtood at his Maſſe. But thankes be to God he is now detected, and hys abhominations be opened and blowen throughout all the world. And I heare of no moe that oppreſſeth Gods word.

Cuſt. No mo ſay you? Yes doubtles there are an hundreth thouſand moe, and your parte it is Veritie to withſtande them.

Veri. As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to ſtand with falſehood. But what are they, diſcloſe them if you will haue them reproued.

Cuſtome. What? are you ſo great a ſtranger in theſe quarters? Heare you not how that mē do daily ſpeake againſt the Sacrament of the aulter, denying it to be the real body of Chriſt?

Veritie. In good ſooth I haue bene a great whyle abroade, and returned but of late into this countrey. Wherfore you muſt pardon me if my aunſwere be to ſeeke in ſuch queſtions. But goe forth in your tale. You haue bene longer here, and are better acquainted then I. What ſay they more then this?

Cuſt. Then this? why, what can they poſſible ſay more?

Veri. Yes there are many things worſe then this: for this ſeemeth in ſome part to be tollerable.

Cuſt. What? me thinketh you dally with me. Semeth it tolerable to deny the ſacrament?

Veritie. They deny it not ſo much as I can gather by your wordes.

Cuſtome. Nay then fare you wel: I perceyue you wil take their part.

Veri. I am not parciall, but indifferent to all parties: For I neuer go further then the truth.

Math.26.

Chriſts wordes. The Euangeliſtes. The old writers. The Catholicke Church.

Cuſt. I can ſcarſly beleue you. But what is more true then Chriſt, which is truth it ſelf? or who euer was ſo hardy before this tyme to charge Chriſt with a lye for ſayeng theſe wordes, This is my body. The words are euident & playne: there is in them not ſo much as one obſcure or darke letter, there is no cauſe for any man to cauill. And yet that notwithſtanding, where as Chriſt himſelfe affirmed it to be his body, mē now a days are not abaſhed to ſay, Chriſt lyed, it is not his body. The Euangeliſts agree all in one, the old writers ſtand of our ſide, the vniuerſall and catholike church hath bene in this mynd theſe xv. hundred yeare and more. And ſhall we thinke that Chriſt hymſelfe, hys Euangeliſts, all the whole Catholike church hath bene ſo long deceyued, and the truth nowe at length begotten and borne in theſe dayes?

The doctrine of the Papiſtes cōmonly ſtandeth vpon falſe reporters.

The ſenſe of Hoc eſt corpus meum. expounded.

Iohn 14.

Iohn.10. Actes.4.

Gen.37.

1.Cor.10.

1. Cor.10.

Gal.3. Rom.6.

Figuratiue ſpeaches moſt cōmon in Scripture.

The name of bread vſed in Scripture.

Veri. You haue moued a matter of great force and waight, and whereto without many words I can make no ful anſwer. Notwithſtanding becauſe you prouoke me thereto, if you will geue me licence I will take part with them of whome you haue made falſe report, for none of them euer reproued Chriſt of any lye. But contrarywiſe, they ſay that many men of late days, not vnderſtanding Chriſts words haue builded and ſet vp many fonde lyes vpon hys name. Wherfore, firſt I will declare the meaning of theſe words, This is my body, and next in what ſenſe the Church and the old fathers haue euermore taken them. Firſt therefore you ſhall vnderſtand, that Scripture is not ſo to be taken always as the letter ſoundeth, but as the intent and purpoſe of the holy ghoſt was, by whom the ſcripture was vttred. For if you follow the bare wordes, you will ſoone ſhake downe & ouerthrow the greateſt part of the chriſtiā fayth. What is plainer then theſe words: Pater maior me eſt. My father is greater then I am. Of thoſe plaine words ſprāg vp the hereſy of the Arrians, which denied Chriſt to be equal with his father. What is more euident then this ſaying: I and my father are both one. Thereof aroſe the hereſy of thē that denied three diſtinct perſons. They all had one ſoule and one hart, was ſpoken by the apoſtles. Yet had ech of thē a ſoule and hart peculiar to himſelfe. They are now not two, but one fleſh, is ſpoken by the man and his wife. Yet hath both the man and the wife his ſeuerall body. He is our very fleſh, ſayd Ruben by Ioſeph his brother, which notwithſtanding was not their reall fleſh. I am bread ſayd Chriſt, yet was he fleſh and no bread. Chriſt was the ſtone, ſayeth Paul, and was in deed no materiall ſtone. Melchiſedech had neither father nor mother, and yet in deed he had both. Behold the Lambe of God, ſayth Iohn Baptiſt by Chriſt, notwithſtanding Chriſt was a man & not a lambe. Circumciſion was called the couenant, where as it was but a token of the couenant. The Lambe named the Paſſeouer, and yet was it eaten in remembrance only of the paſſeouer. Iacob raiſed vp an aulter, & called it beyng made but of lyme and ſtone, the mighty God of Iſrael. Moſes when he had conquered the Amalakites, ſet vp an aulter, & called it by ẏ names of God, Iehoua, and Tetragrammatum, We all are one loafe of bread, ſayth Paule, yet were they not thereby turned into a loafe of bread. Chriſt hanging vpon the croſſe, appoynted S. Iohn to his mother, ſaying: Lo there is thy ſonne, & yet was he not her ſōne. So many as be baptiſed into Chriſt (ſaith Paule) haue put on Chriſt, and ſo manye as are baptiſed into Chriſt, are waſhed with the bloud of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding no man tooke the fonte water to be the naturall bloude of Chriſt. The cup is the new Teſtament, ſayth Paul, & yet is not the cup in deed the very new Teſtament. You ſee therfore that it is not ſtrange, nor a thing vnwont in ẏ ſcriptures, to call one thing by an others name. So that you can no more of neceſſitie enforce the chaunging of the bread into Chriſtes body in the ſacrament, becauſe ẏ words be plaine, This is my body, then the wiues fleſh to be the naturall & reall body & fleſh of the huſbād, becauſe it is written: They are not two but one fleſh: or the aulter of ſtone to be very God, becauſe Moſes with euident and playne words pronounced it to be the mighty God of Iſrael. Notwithſtandyng, if you wil needs cleaue to the letter you make for me, and hinder your own cauſe. For this I will reaſon, & vſe your owne weapon againſt you. The ſcripture calleth it bread. The Euangeliſts agree in the ſame. Paule nameth it ſo v. tymes in one place, the holy ghoſt may not be ſet to ſchoole to learne to ſpeake. Wherfore I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to ſay, but alſo to beleeue that in the ſacrament there remayneth bread.

Cuſt. Me thinketh your anſwer is reaſonable, yet cā I not be ſatiſfied. Declare you therfore more at large, what moueth you to thinke this of the ſacrament. For I thinke you would not withſtand a doctrine ſo long holdē and taught, vnles you were inforced by ſome ſtrong and likely reaſons.

Veri. Firſt, in examining the wordes of Chriſt, I get me to the meanyng & purpoſe for which they were ſpoken. And in this behalfe I ſee, that Chriſt ment to haue his death & paſſion kept in remembrance. For men of themſelues be & euermore were forgetfull of the benefites of God. And therfore it was behouefull that they ſhould be admoniſhed & ſtirred vp with ſome viſible and outward tokēs, as with the Paſſeouer Lambe, the braſen ſerpent, and other lyke. For the braſen ſerpent was a token that when the Iewes were ſtinged & wounded with ſerpents, God reſtored them and made them whole. The paſſeouer Lambe was a memory of the great benefit of God, which when he deſtroyed the Egyptians, ſaued the Iewes whoſe dores were ſprinkled with the bloud of a lambe. So likewiſe Chriſt left vs a memoriall & remembraunce of his death and paſſion in outward tokens, that when the childe ſhould demaund of his father what the breaking of the bread, & drinking of the cup meaneth, he myght anſwer him, that like as the bread is broken, ſo Chriſt was broken and rent vpon the croſſe, for to redeme the ſoule of man. And like as wine foſtereth and comforteth the body, ſo doth the bloud of Chriſt cheriſh & relieue the ſoule. And this do I gather by the words of Chriſt, and by the inſtitution and order of the ſacrament. For Chriſt charged the Apoſtles to do this in the remembrance of him. Wherupon thus I do conclude:

Feſ- Nothyng is done in remembraunce of it ſelfe.
ti- But the Sacrament is vſed in the remembraunce of Chriſt.
no. Therfore the Sacrament is not Chriſt.

Fe- Chriſt neuer deuoured hymſelfe.
ri- Chriſt did eate the Sacrament with his Apoſtles.
ſon. Ergo, the Sacrament is not Chriſt hymſelfe.

Beſide this I ſee, that Chriſt ordeined not his body, but a ſacrament of his body. A ſacrament (as S. Auguſtine declareth) is an outwarde ſigne of an inuiſible grace. Hys words are: Sacramentum eſt inuiſibilis gratię viſibile ſignum. Out of which words I gather two arguments. The firſt is this, the token of the body of Chriſt is the thyng tokened, wherfore they are not one. The ſecond is this.

Fe- One thyng cannot be both viſible and inuiſible.
ri- But the Sacrament is viſible, and the body of Chriſt inuiſible:
ſon. Therfore they are not one.

Which thing S. Auguſtine openeth very well by theſe wordes: Aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud res Sacramenti. Sacramentum eſt quod in corpus vadit: res autem Sacramenti eſt corpus Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Moreouer, I remember that Chriſt miniſtred this ſacrament not to great & deepe philoſophers, but to a ſort of ignorant and vnlearned fiſhers, which notwithſtanding vnderſtode Chriſtes meanyng right well, & deliuered it euen as they tooke it at Chriſtes hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared vnto them the meanyng therof. But the lay people, nor ſcarſly the Apoſtles themſelues could vnderſtand what is ment by tranſubſtantiation, impanation, dimenſions, qualitates, quantitates, accidens ſine ſubiecto, terminus a quo, & terminus ad quem, per modum quanti. This is no learnyng for the vnlearned and rude people, wherefore it is likely that Chriſt ment ſome other thyng then hath bene taught of late dais. Furthermore, Chriſtes body is food, not for the body, but for the ſoule, & therfore it muſt be receyued with the inſtrument of the ſoule which is fayth. For as ye receiue ſuſtenance for your body by your bodily mouth, ſo the foode of your ſoule muſt be receiued by fayth, which is the mouth of the ſoule. And for that S. Auguſtine ſharpely rebuketh them that thinke to eat Chriſt with their mouthe, ſaying: Quid paras dentem & ventrem, crede & manducaſti. i. Why makeſt thou redy thy tooth & thy belly? beleue & thou haſt eaten Chriſt. Likewiſe ſpeaking of eatyng the ſelfe ſame body, he ſayth to the Capernaites which tooke hym groſly as men do now a dayes: The words that I ſpeake are ſpirit and lyfe. It is the ſpirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothyng. And S. Auguſtine vpon theſe words of Chriſt ſayth: *Nō hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi eſtis, neque bibituri ſanguinem, quem effuſuri ſunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. Id ſpiritualiter acceptum viuificat: caro autē non prodeſt quicquam. Auguſt. Quinquagena. 2. Pſal 98.

Cuſtome. What meane you by this ſpirite, and by ſpirituall eatyng? I pray you vtter your mynde more playnely. For I know well that Chriſt hath a bodye, and therefore muſt be eaten (as I thinke) with the mouth of the bodye. For the ſpirit and the ſoule as it hath no body and fleſh, ſo it hath no mouth.

Veritie. You muſt vnderſtand, that a man is ſhaped of two partes; of the body, and of the ſoule. And eche of them hath his life and his death, his mouthe, his teethe, his foode, and abſtinence. For like as the body is nouriſhed and foſtered with bodily meats, or els can not endure, ſo muſt the ſoule haue his cheriſhing, otherwiſe it will decay, & pine away. And therefore we do & may iuſtly ſay that the Turkes, Iewes, and Heathen be dead, becauſe they lacke ẏ liuely foode of the ſoule. But how then, or by what meane wil you fede the ſoule? Doubtles not by the inſtrument of the body, but of the ſoule. For that which is receiued into the bodye, hath no paſſage from thence into the ſoul. For Chriſt ſayth, That what ſo entreth into the belly, is conueied into the draught. And where as you ſay that the ſpirite hathe no mouth, like as it hath no bodye or bones, you are deceiued. For the ſpirite hath a mouthe in his kinde, or elſe howe coulde a man eate and drinke Iuſtice? for vndoubtedly his bodily mouthe is no fit inſtrument for it. Yet Chriſt ſayeth, that he is bleſſed that hungreth and thirſteth for Iuſtice. If hee hunger and thirſt for Iuſtice, belike he both eateth and drinketh it, or otherwiſe he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth hys thirſt. Nowe if a man eate and drinke righteouſneſſe wyth hys ſpirite, no doubt his ſpirite hath a mouth. Whereof I will reaſon thus:

Da- Of what ſoeuer ſorte the mouth is, ſuche is hys foode.
ti- But the mouth of the ſpirite is ſpirituall, not bodily:
ſi. Therefore it receiueth Chriſtes body ſpiritually, not bodily.

And in like manner Chriſte ſpeaking of the eatyng of hys bodye, nameth him ſelfe the breade, not for the bodye, but of life for the ſoule, and ſayth: He that commeth to me, ſhal not hunger, and he that beleeueth in me, ſhall neuer thirſt. Wherfore who ſo will be relieued by the body of Chriſt, muſt receiue him as hee will be receiued, with the inſtrumente of faith appoynted thereunto, not with his teethe or mouthe. And where as I ſay that Chriſtes body muſt be receiued & taken with faith, I meane not that you ſhall plucke downe Chriſt from heauen, and put him in your faith, as in a viſible place: but that you muſt with your faith riſe and ſpring vp to him, and leauing this world, dwell aboue in heauen, putting all your truſt, cōfort and conſolation in him, which ſuffered grieuous bondage to ſet you at libertye & to make you free, creeping into his wounds, which were ſo cruelly pearced and dented for your ſake. So ſhall you feede the body of Chriſt, ſo ſhall you ſucke the bloud that was poured out and ſhed for you. This is the ſpiritual, ẏ very true, the onely eating of Chriſtes body. And therfore S.Gregorie calleth it Cibum mentis, non ventris. i. The foode of the minde and not of the bellie. And S.Cyprian ſayth likewiſe: Non acuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. We ſharpen not oure tooth nor prepare our bellie.

Now to returne to our former purpoſe, ſeeing it is plain that Chriſtes body is meat for our ſpirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I wil gather thereof this reaſon. The ſacrament is bodily foode and increaſeth the body: Ergo, the ſacrament is not the very body of Chriſt. That it noriſheth the body, it is euident: for Chriſte calleth it the fruite of the vine, whoſe duetie is to nouriſh. And for a proofe, if you conſecrate a whole loafe, it will feede you ſo well as your table bread. And if a little Mouſe get an hoſt, he will craue no more meate to hys dinner. But you will ſaye theſe are worldly reaſons. What then if the old Fathers recorde the ſame? Irenæus ſayth: Quando mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, ſit Euchariſtia corporis & ſanguinis Domini, ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. Beda witneſſeth the ſame by theſe wordes: Quia panis carnem confirmat, & vinum ſanguinem operatur in carne, hic ac corpus Chriſti myſticè, illud ad ſanguinem refertur. Wherefore as I ſayde before, ſeeing that Chriſtes body is ſpirituall meat, and the bread of the ſacrament bodily, I may conclude that the ſacrament is not Chriſtes body. Beſide this, where it was forbidden in the old law, that any man ſhould eat or drinke bloud, the Apoſtles notwithſtanding tooke the cup at Chriſtes handes, and dranke of it, & neuer ſtaggered or ſhranke at the matter: whereby it may be gathered, that they tooke it for a myſterie, for a token, and a remembraunce, farre otherwiſe then it hath of late bene taken.

Againe, when the ſacrament was dealte, none of thē all crouched downe and tooke it for his God, forgettinge hym that ſate there preſent before their eies, but tooke it, and eate it, knowing that it was a ſacrament and a remembrāce of Chriſtes body. Yea, the old Councels commanded that no man ſhould kneele downe at the time of the Communion, fearing that it ſhould be an occaſion of Idolatry. And long after the Apoſtles time, as Tertullian wryteth, womē were ſuffered to take it home with them, and to lap it vp in their cheſtes. And the prieſt many times ſent it to ſicke perſones by a childe: which no doubt would haue geuen more reuerence therto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about 300. yere agone. Honorius 3. the Biſhop of Rome tooke him and hanged him vp, and cauſed men to kneele and crouch downe, and all to begod him.

Pope Honorius 3. firſt author of worſhipping the Sacrament. An. 1220.

Futhermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Chriſt, doubtles it is the greateſt miracle that euer God wrought. But the Apoſtles ſaw no myracle in it. Nazianzenus an olde wryter, and Auguſtine entreating of al the myracles that are in the ſcripture, number the Sacrament for none. As for the apoſtles it appeareth wel that they had it for no maruel, for they neuer muſed at it, neither demanded how it might be: whereas in other thinges they euermore were ful of queſtions. As touching S.Auguſtine he not only ouerhippeth it, as no wonder, but by plaine & expres words, teſtifieth that ther is no maruel in it. For ſpeaking of the Lords ſupper and of the other ſacraments he ſayeth theſe words. *Hic Sacramēta honorem vt religioſa habere poſſunt, ſtuporem autem vt mira non poſſunt. Moreouer, a little before the inſtitution of the ſacrament, Chriſte ſpake of hys aſcenſion, ſaying, I leaue the world: I tary but a litle while wyth you. Let not your hearts be troubled becauſe I go from you, I tell you truthe it is for your profite that I goe from you, for if I goe not, the ſpirite of comfort cannot come to you. Ihon 14. Wyth many other like warnings of his departure. S.Steuen ſawe hym ſitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a ſpeciall reuelation of God: but he neuer ſaid that he ſawe him at the Communion, or that he made him * euery daye himſelfe. And in the Actes of the Apoſtles S.Peter ſayeth, that Chriſt muſt needes keepe the heauen till all be ended. Eſay, Salomon, and S.Steuen, ſaye that God dwelleth not in temples made with mans hand: S.Paule wyſheth that he were diſſolued and dead, and were with Chriſt, not in the aultar doutleſſe where he might be daily, but in heauen. And to be briefe, it is in oure Credo, & we do conſtantly beleeue, that Chriſte is aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth at his fathers right hande: and no promiſe haue we that he will come iumping downe at euery prieſts calling. Hereof I gather this reaſon.

Apoſtles & olde Doctours make no miracle nor maruell at the Sacrament.

* That is to ſay: Sacraments here may haue their honour as things religious but they are not to be wōdred at as miracles.

Actes.3.

Actes.17.

Chriſtes body can not both be gone, and be heere.
But he is gone, and hath left the world:
Therefore it is follie to ſeeke him in the world.

If Chriſt were both gone and tarried, then he ſhould ſeme to haue left himſelfe behinde him.

Cuſt. Fie, you be farre deceiued, I can not in no wiſe brooke theſe words. You ſhut vp Chriſt too ſtraitly, and impriſone hym in one corner of heauen, not ſuffering hym to goe at large. No, doubtleſſe, he hath deſerued more gentleneſſe at your hande, then to be tied vp ſo ſhorte.

Veri. I do neither locke vp, neither impriſon Chriſt in heauen: but according to the Scriptures declare that hee hath choſen a bleſſed place, & moſte worthy to receiue his maieſtie: in which place who ſo is incloſed, thinketh not himſelf (as I ſuppoſe) to be a priſonner: but if you take it for ſo hainous a thing, ẏ Chriſt ſhould ſit reſident in heauen in ẏ glory of his father, what thinke you of them that impriſon him in a litle boxe, yea and keepe him in captiuitie ſo long, vntil he be mouldy & ouergrowne with vermine, & when he is paſt mans meat, be not contented to hang him till he ſtincke, but will haue him to a newe execution, and burne hym too? This is wonderfull and extreme cruell impriſoning. But to returne to the matter, wee are certainely perſwaded by the worde of God, that Chriſt the very ſonne of God vouchſaued to take vppon him the body and ſhape of man, & that he walked & was conuerſant amongſt men in that ſame one, & not in many bodies, and that hee ſuffered death, roſe againe, and aſcended to heauen in the ſelfe ſame body, and that he ſitteth at his fathers ryght hande in hys manhode, in the nature and ſubſtance of the ſaid one body. This is our beliefe, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceiued, which leauing heauen, wil grope for Chriſtes body vpon the earth.

The body of Chriſt impriſoned by the Papiſtes in a boxe, and afterward burned when he is mouldye.

Cuſt. Nay ſir, but I ſee now you are farre out of the way. For Chriſt hath not ſo groſſe & fleſhly a body, as you think, but a ſpirituall and a ghoſtly body, and therefore without repugnaunce it may be in many places at once.

Chriſtes body is ſpirituall in the Sacrament, ſay the Papiſtes.

Veri. You ſay right wel, and do graunt that Chriſtes body is ſpiritual. But I pray you anſwer me by the waye: Can any other body then that which is ſpirituall, be at one time in ſondry places.

Cuſt. No truely?

Veri. Haue we that ſame ſelfe ſacrament that Chriſte gaue to his Diſciples, at his Maundie, or no?

Cuſt. No doubtleſſe, we haue the ſame.

Veri. When became Chriſtes body ſpirituall? was it ſo euē from his birth.

Cuſt. No, for doubtles before he aroſe from death, his bobody was earthly as other mens bodies are.

The Popes doctrine repugnant to it ſelfe.

Veri. Well, but when gaue Chriſte the Sacrament to hys Diſciples? before he aroſe from death or after?

Cuſt. You know your ſelfe he gaue it before his reſurrection, the night before he ſuffered hys Paſſion.

Veritie. Why then, me thinketh he gaue the Sacrament at that time, when his body was not ſpirituall.

Cuſt. Euen ſo.

Veri. And was euery portion of the Sacrament delt to the Apoſtles, and receaued into their mouthes the very reall and ſubſtantiall body of Chriſt?

Cuſt. Yea doubtles.

Veri. Marke well what ye haue ſaid, for you haue graunted me great repugnance. Firſt you ſay that no body being not ſpiritual can be in ſundry places at once. Then ſay you that at the maundy Chriſtes body was not ſpirituall: and yet hold you that he was there preſent viſible before the Apoſtles eyes, and in ech of theyr handes and mouthes all at one time: which graunts of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formall reaſon of youre wordes, in this ſort.

The Papiſtes though they be conuicted, yet they will not beleue.

Fe- No body being reall, naturall, and organical, and not ſpirituall, can be in many places at once.

ri- Chriſtes body in the Sacrament was in the Apoſtles handes and mouthes at one time, which were manye places:

ſon. Ergo, Chriſtes body in the ſacrament was not a reall, naturall, and organicall body, but ſpirituall.

Cuſt. In deede you haue driuen me into the ſtraites before I was ware of you, and I knowe not howe I may eſcape your handes honeſtly. But the beſt refuge that I haue, is thys, that I will not beleeue you.

Veri. I deſire you not to geue credence to me. Beleeue the worde of God, yea beleue your owne beliefe, for they bothe witneſſe againſte you that Chriſtes body is taken vp into heauen, and there ſhal remaine vntil he come to Iudge.

Cuſt. Tuſh, what ſpeake you of the word of God? There be many darke ſayings therein, which euerye man can not attaine to.

Cuſtome medleth but little with Scripture.

Veri. I graunt you there be certaine obſcure places in the ſcripture, yet not ſo obſcure but that a man wyth the grace of God may perceiue: for it was wrytten not for Aungels, but for men. But as I vnderſtand Cuſtome medleth but little with Scripture. How ſay you by S. Auguſtine, S. Hierom, S. Ambroſe, what if they ſtand on our ſide?

Cuſt. No, no, I know them well inough.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

Auguſt ibid.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 14.

Damaſus.

Ambroſ. in 10. cap. Luc.

Veri. So wel as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witneſſe, they will geue euidence againſt you. For S. Auguſtine commonly in euery of his bookes, but chiefly in an Epiſtle to his frende Dardanus, declareth that Chriſtes body is placed in one roume. I marueil you be not nearer of his counſel. His wordes are theſe: Noli dubitare ibi nunc eſſe hominem Chriſtum Ieſum, vnde venturus eſt. Memoriterq; recole & fideliter crede Chriſtianam confeſsionem: quoniam reſurrexit, aſcendit in cœlum, ſedet a dextris Dei patris, nec aliundè quam indè venturus eſt, ad viuos mortuoſque iudicandos. Et venturus eſt in eadem corporis ſubſtantia: cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abſtulit. Secundum hanc formam non eſt putandus vbique diffuſus. Cauendum enim eſt, ne ita diuinitatem aſtruamus hominis, vt humanitatem amittamus Dei. i. Do not dout the man Ieſus Chriſt to be there, frō whence he ſhall come. And remember well, and faithfully beleeue the Chriſtian confeſſion, that he is riſen, aſcended into heauen, ſitteth at the righte hande of God the father, and from thence ſhal come & from no other place, to iudge the quicke and the dead. And ſhall come in the ſame ſubſtaunce of body, to the which he gaue immortality, and tooke not the nature from it. After this forme he is to be thought not to be diſperſed in all places, for we muſt beware ſo to defend his Diuinitie, that we deſtroy not his humanitie. And in an other place of the ſame Epiſtle. Vna perſona Deus & homo, & vtrumque eſt vnus Chriſtus. Vbique per id quod Deus, in cœlo autem per id quod homo. Likewiſe vpon the 14. Pſalme. Donec ſeculum finiatur ſurſum eſt Dominus: ſed etiam hic nobiſcum eſt veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet, veritas autem eius vbique diffuſa eſt. i. While the world ſhall laſt, the Lorde is aboue, and alſo the veritye of the Lorde is with vs. For the body wherein he roſe againe muſt be in one place. But the verity of him is euery where diſpearſed. In like manner wryteth Damaſus an olde Byſhop of Rome in his Credo. Deuictis mortis imperijs, cum ea carne in qua natus, & paſſus eſt, & reſurrexit, aſcendit in cœlum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus & paſſus eſt. S. Ambroſe wryting vppon the 10. chapter of Luke recordeth the ſame: Ergo, nec ſupra terram, nec in terra, nec ſecundum terram quærere debemus Dominum, ſi volumus inuenire. Non enim ſupra terram quęſiuit qui ſtantem ad Dei dextram vidit. Maria quęrebat in terra tangere Chriſtum & non potuit. Stephanus tetigit quia quærebat in cœlo. i. Wherefore, neither aboue the earth, nor vppon the earth, nor according to the earth we ought to ſeeke the Lorde, if we wil finde him: For he did not ſeeke hym aboue the earth, which did ſee him ſitting at the right hande. And Marie ſought vppon the earth to touch Chriſt and coulde not. Steuen touched hym, becauſe he ſought hym in heauen. S. Hierome in an Epiſtle to Marcella, pronounceth that the bodye of Chriſte muſt needes be contained in ſome place, for he ſayeth: Veri Dei eſt vbique eſſe: veri hominis alicubi eſſe. i. The property of God is to be euery where, the propertie of man is to be in one place. The ſame Hierome in an other place calleth it a fooliſh thing to ſeeke for him in a narowe place, or in a corner, which is the lyghte of all the worlde: Stultum eſt eum paruo in loco, vel abſcondito quęrere, qui totius mundi eſt lumen. i. Fooliſhneſſe it is, in a ſmal place, or in a hidde corner to ſeeke hym which is the lyghte of all the whole worlde. Origine ſayeth likewiſe: Audiendi non ſunt qui Chriſtum demonſtrant in ædibus. i. They are not to be heard, which ſhewe Chriſt in houſes. The ſame alſo recordeth Beda, wryting vpon theſe wordes of Chriſte: Now a litle while ſhal you ſee me. He ſpeaketh in Chriſtes perſon. Therefore (ſayeth he) ſhall you ſee me but a little while after my reſurrection, becauſe I will not ſtill abide in the earth bodily, but in the manhoode which I haue taken, will aſcende vp to heauen. What needeth more wordes. All the olde fathers witneſſeth the ſame. You may by theſe ſoone iudge the reſt. Nowe to retourne to the matter, ſeeing that the worde of God in many and ſundrye places, the Credo, and the abridgement of the faith, ſeeing all the olde fathers doe conſtantly agree in one, that the body of Chriſt is aſcended into heauen, and there remaineth at the right hande of the father, and cannot be more then in one place, I doe conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Chriſt: firſt becauſe it is not in heauen, neyther ſitteth at the Fathers right hande: moreouer, becauſe it is in an hundreth thouſande boxes, where as Chriſtes bodye filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Chriſte, then woulde it neceſſarily followe, that ſinners and vnpenitent perſones receiue the body of Chriſt.

Cuſt. Marie, and ſo they do. For Paule ſaith plainly, that they receiue the body of Chriſt to their owne confuſion.

Veri. No not ſo. Theſe are not Paules wordes, but hee ſayeth: Who ſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of thys cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne condemnation, not iudging the bodye of the Lorde. Heere hee calleth it in playne wordes breade. And although the Sacrament be very bread, yet doeth the iniurie redounde to the body of Chriſt. As if a man breake the kynges Mace, or treade the broade Seale vnder his foote, although hee haue broken and defaced nothynge but ſiluer and waxe, yet is the iniurie the Kinges, and the doer ſhall be taken as a Traitour. Saint Ambroſe declareth the meaninge of Saint Paule by theſe wordes. Reus eſt corporis Domini, qui pœnas dabit mortis Chriſti, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini. The cauſe of the ordinance therof was the remembraunce of the death of Chriſte, which who ſo forgetteth, receiueth the Sacrament to their condemnation. That ſame witneſſeth S. Auguſtine. For the Sacrament, ſayeth he, is an outwarde token of loue and charitie. For like as many graines of corne are become one pece of bread, euen ſo they that receiue it ought to be one. Then ſayeth hee. Myſterium pacis ac vnitatis nobis Chriſtus in menſa ſua conſecrauit. Quid accepit myſterium vnitatis, & non ſeruat vnitatem, non myſterium accepit pro ſe, ſed teſtimonium contra ſe. Hee that readeth the Goſpel, wherein is declared the paſſion and death of Chriſte, and liueth contrary to the Goſpell, ſhall doubtleſſe be the more giltie of the death of Chriſte, becauſe hee heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not. In a certaine countrey the maner is, that when the Goſpell is read, the king ſhall ſtand vp with a naked ſword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his ſword in defence of the Goſpell. But if he himſelfe oppreſſeth the Goſpell, he beareth the ſword againſt himſelf, for the Goſpel ſhal turne to his iudgement, and condemnation. So wil Chriſt ſo much more extremely puniſh a manne which knowing him ſelfe to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flocke of Chriſte, yet notwithſtanding will impudently creepe into the company of Chriſtian men, & receiue the Sacramentes with them, as though he were one of the nomber. And this meant S. Paule by the vnworthy receiuing of the Sacrament of Chriſtes body. wherefore a man may vnworthely take the Sacrament, and be giltie of the death of Chriſte, although he receiue not Chriſtes body into hys mouthe, & chawe it with his teeth. But what if I proue that euerye Maſſing prieſt is giltie of the body and bloud of Chriſt?

Cuſt. I dare ſay, you can not proue it.

Veri. But if I do proue it, will you beleeue me.

Anno 1552.

Cuſt. I may well inough, for it is impoſſible to doe it. For Prieſtes commonly are confeſſed before they go to Maſſe: and how can they then take the Sacrament vnworthely?

Veri. In deede confeſſion, if it be diſcretely vſed, is a laudable cuſtome, and to the vnlearned man, and feeble cõſcience ſo good as a Sermone. But notwythſtanding becauſe it was, neuer neither commaunded of Chriſt, nor receiued of the Apoſtles, nor much ſpoken of the olde Doctours, it can not make much for ẏ due receiuing of the Sacrament. But how like you theſe wordes of S. Ambroſe? Is indignè ſumit, qui aliter ſumit, quam Chriſtus inſtituit. i. He taketh it vnworthely, that taketh it otherwiſe then Chriſt ordained it.

Cuſtome. This liketh me very wel. But what gather you of it?

Veritie. This will I gather. The Maſſing Prieſt taketh the Sacrament otherwiſe then Chriſt either commaunded or taught: Ergo, he taketh it vnworthely, and ſo conſequẽtly to his condemnation.

Cuſt. That is not ſo, for he doth altogether as Chriſt commaunded him.

Veritie. That ſhall appeare. For Chriſt commaunded it to be done in his remembraunce: the Prieſt doth it in remembraunce of dead men. Chriſt tooke breade: and left it breade: the Prieſt taketh bread and coniureth it away. Chriſt tooke bread and gaue thankes: the Prieſt taketh bread, and breatheth vppon it. Chriſte tooke bread, and brake it: the Prieſt taketh bread and hangeth it vppe. Chriſt tooke breade and dealt to hys Apoſtles: the Prieſt becauſe hee is an Apoſtle him ſelfe, taketh breade and eateth it euery whitte alone. Chriſt in a Sacrament gaue his owne body to be eaten in faith: the Prieſt for lacke of faith receiueth accidences, and dimenſions. Chriſt gaue a Sacrament to ſtrengthen mens faith: the Prieſt geueth a ſacrifice to redeeme mens ſoules. Chriſt gaue it to be eaten: the Prieſtes giueth it to be worſhipped. And to conclude. Chriſte gaue bread: the Prieſt ſayth he geueth a God. Here is difference inough betwene Chriſt, and the Prieſt. Yet moreouer Chriſt at his Supper ſpake his wordes out and in a plaine tounge: the Prieſte ſpeaketh nothing but Latine or Greeke, which tounges he ofttimes perceiueth not, and much he whiſpereth leaſt any other poore man ſhould perhaps perceiue him. So it commeth to paſſe that the Prieſte knoweth no more what hee himſelfe ſayeth, then what he doeth. This you may ſee that the Maſſing Prieſte receiueth the Sacrament of Chriſtes body farre otherwiſe then euer Chriſt minded, and ſo therfore vnworthely and, to his condemnation. Nowe if you thinke your ſelfe ſatiſfied, I will returne to my former queſtion, and proue more at large that Chriſtes body can not be eaten of the wicked, which thing muſt neceſſarily enſue, if the breade were turned into the body of Chriſt. Chriſt in the 6. of John, ſpeaking of the eating of his body, ſayeth: He that eateth of this bread, ſhall liue for euer. Whereof I gather thus: But vnfaithfull men take the Sacrament to theyr condemnation, and liue not for euer: Ergo, in the Sacrament they receiue not the body of Chriſt. Againe, Chriſte ſayeth: He that eateth me, ſhall liue for my ſake. Heereof I conclude thus: But impenitent perſonnes can not liue for Chriſtes ſake. Moreouer Chriſtes bodye muſt be receiued, and not with the mouth, as Gregorie recordeth, ſaying, that it is eaten wyth the teethe of the ſoule, not of the body, as I haue aboue more largely declared. But wicked, and impenitent perſons lacke faith: wherefore they can not eate the bodye of Chriſt. Againe, Chriſtes body can not be deuided from his ſpirite, but wicked men haue not the ſpirite of God. Ergo they haue not Chriſtes body. Heereunto agreeth all the old writers, affirming conſtantly that the vnfaithful be no meete veſſelles to receiue the body of Chriſte. S. Auguſtine ſayeth: Qui non manet in Chriſto, & in quo non manet Chriſtus, procul dubio non manducat carnem Chriſti, nec bibit eius ſanguinem, licet tantæ rei Sacramentum ad iudicium ſuum manducet & bibat. And in the perſone of Chriſt he ſayeth likewiſe: Qui non manet in me, & in quo ego non maneo, ne ſe dicat aut exiſtimet manducare corpus meum, aut ſanguinem meum bibere. Ambroſe auoweth the ſame, by theſe wordes: Qui diſcordat a Chriſto, non manducat carnem eius, nec bibit ſanguinem, etſi tantæ rei Sacramentum accipiat. In like maner wryteth Proſperus: Qui diſcordat a Chriſto, nec carnem Chriſti edit, nec ſanguinem bibit, etſi tantæ rei Sacramentum, ad iudicium ſuæ præſumptionis quotidie accipiat. And [illegible] S. Auguſtine ſayeth: Mali Sacramentum habent, rem autem Sacramenti non habent. Thus by the wordes of God by reaſon, and by the old fathers it is plaine, that vnfaithfull men eate not the bodye of Chriſt, receiue they the Sacrament neuer ſo oft: which thing could not be, if in the Sacramente there remained nothing but the body of Chriſt.

The Sacrament in the Scriptures is named Fractio panis, the breaking of bread: whiche, to ſay the trueth, were but a colde breaking, if there remained no breade to breake, but certaine phantaſies of white, and round. Yet where as they with wordes, croſſinges, bleſſinges, breathings, leapings, and much a do can ſcarſly make one God, they haue ſuche vertue in their fingers, that at one croſſe they be able to make 20. Gods, for if they breake the Sacrament euery portion, yea euery mite muſt needes be a God. After the Apoſtles time there aroſe vppe herretickes, whych ſayde that Chriſt walking here amongſt men bodely vpon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and ſo therewith dimmed mennes ſight. Againſt whom the old fathers vſed theſe argumentes: Chriſt increaſed in growing, faſted, hungred, eate, wept, ſweat, was weary, and in cõcluſion died, & had all other properties of a very body: wherfore he had a body. I will vſe the ſame kinde of reaſoning. It feedeth, it taſteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the litle ſely mouſe taketh it for bread, and to be ſhort, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: Ergo it is bread. The old fathers, whẽ there remained anye parte of the Sacramente, more then was ſpent at the Communion, they vſed to burne it, and of it there came aſhes. But there is nothing in the Sacrament that can turne to aſhes, but onely bread (for I thinke they burned not Chriſtes body to aſhes): Ergo, in the Sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the Emperour the 6, of that name was poyſoned in the hoſte: and Victor the Biſhop of Rome in the Chalice. But poyſon can not hang in Gods body, and bloude: wherefore there remayneth breade and wine. What needeth many wordes in a matter ſo euident? If you demaund either Gods word, or the doctours and the auncient wryters, or your reaſon, or your eyes, or noſe, or toung, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or the Mouſe, all theſe agree in one, and aunſwere together there is bread: wherefore if you reiect ſo many and ſo conſtant witneſſes, and ſo well agreeing in their tale, ſpecially being ſuch as will lie for no mans pleaſure, I will appeale from you, and take you as no indifferent iudge. If all theſe witneſſes ſuffice you not, I will call the Sacrament it ſelfe to recorde. It crieth vnto you, and plainely doth aduertiſe you what you ſhould thinke of it. I am, it ſayth, grated wyth ẏ tooth: I am conueied into the belly: I periſh: I can endure no ſpace: I canker: I ſuffer grene mould, blew mould, red mould: I breede wormes: I am kept in a boxe for feare of rattes: if you leaue me out al night, I ſhalbe deuoured before morning, for if the mouſe gette mee I am gone: I am bread, I am no God, beleeue them not. This crieth the Sacrament daily, and beareth witneſſe it ſelfe.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Reaſons prouing bread in the Sacramẽt.

The Sacrament geueth witnes that it is breade.

Cuſt. The deuill on ſuch like reaſons: and therfore I will neuer trouble my braines to make you aunſwere. But if it be true that you haue ſayde, why is the Sacrament ſo well of Chriſt himſelfe, as of hys Apoſtles, and the olde fathers called the body of Chriſt?

Veri. Becauſe it is no ſtraunge thynge in Scripture ſo to ſpeake, as I haue declared before. But will you ſtand to S. Auguſtines arbitrement in the matter?

Cuſt. To no man ſooner.

Veri. S. Auguſtine in an Epiſtle to his frende Bonifacius, geueth a good cauſe why the Sacramente, although it be not the body of Chriſt, is notwithſtanding called the bodye of Chriſt. His wordes be theſe: Si Sacramenta quandam ſimilitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta ſunt non haberent, omnino Sacramenta non eſſent. Ex hac autem ſimilitudine plerumque etiam ipſarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, ſecundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Chriſti, corpus Chriſti eſt: Sacramentum ſanguinis Chriſti, ſanguis Chriſti eſt. If Sacraments had not a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe things wherof they be Sacramentes, then were they no Sacramentes. Of the which ſimilitude many times they take their name. Wherfore after a certaine maner the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, is the body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of the bloud of Chriſt, is the bloud of Chriſt. &c. And vpon the 23. Pſalme he wryteth like wiſe: Chriſtus quodammodo ſe ferebat in manibus ſuis, cum diceret: Hoc eſt corpus meum. Chriſt after a certaine manner and faſhion, as it were, did beare himſelfe in his owne handes when he ſayde: This is my bodye. In manner (he ſayeth) and after a faſhion, not in very dede. Again, when faithful menne receiue the Sacrament, they thinke not of the breade nor marke the wine, but they looke farther, & beholde the very body of Chriſt ſpread vpon the Croſſe, and his very bloud poured downe for their ſakes. So in Baptiſme men regarde not greatly the water, but accompt them ſelues waſhed wyth the bloude of Chriſt. So ſayeth S. Paule: what ſo euer we bee that are Baptiſed, wee are waſhed in the bloude of Chriſt. Wherefore to the faithfull receiuers you may ſay that the water of Baptiſme is the bloude of Chriſte, and the breade and wine the body and bloud of Chriſt: for to them it is no leſſe then if the natures were altered and changed. Whyche thynge you maye very well learne of Chryſoſtome, whoſe wordes are theſe. Myſteria, omnia interioribus oculis con-

The cauſe why the ſcripture calleth the Sacrament the body of Chriſt.

Auguſtinus ad Bonifacium Epiſt. 23.

Auguſtine in Pſal. 23.

An other cauſe why the Scripture calleth the Sacrament the body of Chriſt.

Rom. 6.

Chriſoſt. in Ioan. Hom. 46.

ſideranda ſunt, hoc eſt ſpiritualiter. Interiores autem oculi poſtquam panem vident, creaturas tranſuolant, neque de illo pane à piſtore cocto cogitant, ſed de eo qui ſe dixit panem eſſe æternæ vitæ. All myſteries muſt be conſidered with inwarde eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually: As the inwarde eyes when they ſee the bread, they paſſe ouer the creatures, neither do they thinke of that bread which is baked of the baker, but of him which called himſelf the bread of eternal life. For theſe two cauſes the bread and wine are called the body and bloud of Chriſte. Nowe I thinke you are ſatiſfied concerning the meaning of theſe wordes: This is my body.

Cuſt. Yet one thing mooueth me very much.

Veri. What is that?

Cuſtome ſtandeth vpon authority & cómon voyce.

Cuſt. The Doctors and old wryters, men inſpired with the holy Ghoſt haue euermore bene againſt your doctrine: Yea, and in theſe daies the wiſeſt men and beſt learned call you heretickes, and your learning hereſie.

The right meaning of the Doctours miſconſtrued of cuſtome keepers.

The Doctours how they call the Sacrament the body of Chriſt & why?

The wordes of the Doctours againſt the Popes doctrine.

Veri. As touching the olde wryters, I remember well they ſpeake reuerently of the Sacramentes, like as euery man ought to doe. But where as they deliuer their minde wyth the right hand, you Cuſtome receiue it wyth the lefte. For where as they ſay, that it is the bodye of Chriſte, and that it muſt be verely eaten, meaning that it doeth effectually lay before the eyes Chriſtes body, and that it is to the faithfull man no leſſe then if it were Chriſte him ſelfe, and that Chriſte muſt be eaten in faith, not torne nor rent wyth the teeth: you ſay that howſoeuer it be taken, it is Chriſtes bodye, and that there is none other eatyng but wyth the mouth. And that the fathers meant no other thing then I haue ſayde, it ſhall appeare by their wordes. But as touching the learned and wiſe men of theſe dayes, I can not blame them if they call my doctrine hereſie: for they would condemne al auncient wryters of hereſie, if they were now aliue. But I will aunſweare you to them anone. In the meane while marke you how well their learning agreeth. They ſay, you muſt follow the letter, you muſt ſticke to the letter. But Origenes ſayeth: Si ſecundum literam ſequaris id quod ſcriptum eſt [niſi manducaueritis carnem filij hominis non erit vita in vobis] ea litera occidit. If ye folow after the letter, that which is wrytten [vnleſſe yee ſhall eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, there ſhal be no life in you] this letter killeth. Auguſtine in the third booke De doctrina Chriſtiana: Principio cauendum eſt ne figuratam dictionem ſecundum literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apoſtolus, litera occidit. Cum enim figuratè dictum ſic accipitur tanquam propriè dictum ſit, carnaliter ſapitur, neque vlla animæ mors congruentius appellatur. i. Firſt, thou muſt beware that thou take not a figuratiue ſpeache after the letter. For thereto pertaineth that the Apoſtle ſayeth: The letter killeth. For when a thing is ſpiritually meant, and the ſame is taken literally and properly ſpoken that is a carnall taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the ſoule rather then that. And in the ſame booke he teacheth a man to know the plain ſenſe from a figure, ſaying thus: Si præceptiua locutio eſt flagitium iubens, aut beneficentiam vetans, figurata eſt: Niſi manducaueritis carnem filij hominis, & biberitis eius ſanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitium videtur iubere: Ergo, Figura eſt præcipiens paſſioni Domini eſſe communicandum, & ſuauiter in memoria recondendum, quòd pro nobis caro eius crucifixa ſit. i. If the commaunding ſpeach be ſuch, as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be vndone, then this is a figuratiue ſpeach: Vnleſſe ye ſhal eat the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and ſhall drinke his bloud, there ſhall be no life in you. Becauſe in this ſpeach he ſeemeth to commaund a wicked thing, it is therefore a figuratiue ſpeache, commaunding that we ſhould communicate with the paſſion of our Lorde, and ſweetely to retaine it in our remembraunce. In like manner Chryſoſtome plucketh you from the plaine letter, and the bare wordes by this ſaying: Caro non prodeſt. i. hoc eſt ſecundum ſpiritum verba mea intelligenda ſunt. Quia qui ſecundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid eſt autem carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter vt res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita iudicanda ſunt quæ videntur, ſed myſteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda ſunt, hoc eſt ſpiritualiter. i. The fleſh profiteth not: that is to ſay, my wordes muſt be taken and expounded after the ſpirite. For hee that heareth after the fleſh, gaineth nothing. Nowe what is it to vnderſtand carnally? To take things ſimply as they be ſpoken, and not to conſider any meaning further therein. For things muſt not be iudged as they are ſeene, but all myſteries muſt be ſeene with inwarde eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually. What is ſo hainous in theſe dayes, as to call the Sacrament the token or the remembraunce of Chriſtes body? Yet did the olde wryters in manner neuer call it other. Tertullian in the 4. booke againſt the Martioniſtes: Chriſtus accepit panem, & corpus ſuum fecit: Hoc eſt corpus meũ dicendo, id eſt figura corporis mei. Chriſt took bread & made it hys body, ſaying: This is my body, that is to ſay, a figure of my body. Ambroſe vpon the 11. to the Corinthians: Quia morte Domini liberati ſumus, huius rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & ſanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata ſunt ſignificamus. Becauſe we are deliuered by the Lords death, in y^e^ remembraunce of the ſame by eating and drinking we ſignify the body and bloud which were offered vp for vs. Chryſoſtome in the lxxxiij. Homily vpon the Goſpel of Mathew: Quando dicunt, vndè patet Chriſtum immolatum fuiſſe, hæc adferentes eorum ora conſuimus. Si enim mortuus Chriſtus non eſt, cuius Symbolum ac ſignum hoc ſacrificium eſt? When they obiect vnto vs, and aſke: howe knowe you that Chriſte was offered vppe? then alledging theſe things, we ſtoppe theyr mouthes. For if Chriſt died not, then whoſe ſigne or token is this ſacrifice? Auguſtine to Adimantus: Non dubitauit Chriſtus dicere: Hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis ſui. Chriſt doubted not to ſay: This is my body, when he gaue but a ſigne of his body. Auguſtine vpon the thirde Pſalme: Chriſtus adhibuit Iudam ad conuiuium, in quo corporis & ſanguinis ſui figuram diſcipulis ſuis commẽdauit & tradidit. Chriſt receiued Iudas to the Supper, in the which he commended and deliuered a figure of his body and bloud vnto hys Diſciples. Rabanus, de inſtitutione clericorum: Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur. Becauſe the breade ſtrengtheneth the bodye, therefore it is aptly called Chriſtes body. And likewiſe the wine, becauſe it encreaſeth bloud in the fleſh, it doth reſemble the bloud of Chriſt. Druthmarus Monachus in Mathæum. Vinum lætificat & ſanguinem auget, & ideo non inconuenienter per hoc ſanguis Chriſti figuratur. Wine maketh glad the heart, and encreaſeth bloud, and therefore the bloude of Chriſt is not vnaptly ſignified thereby. Irenæus witneſſeth plainly that in the Sacrament remaineth bread and wine by theſe wordes: Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, iam non communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena, & cœleſti: As the earthly breade receiuing the vocation of God, is now no common bread but the Euchariſt, conſiſting of two things, the one earthly & the other heauenly. Heere he recordeth that there remaineth in the Sacrament an earthly nature, which is either breade or nothing. Gelaſius wryting againſt Neſtorius, auoweth the ſame, ſaying: In Euchariſtia non deſinit ſubſtantia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & ſimilitudo corporis & ſanguinis Domini in actione myſteriorum celebratur. i. In the Euchariſt the ſubſtance of the bread and nature of the wine ceaſſeth not to be: For the Image and ſimilitude of the body and bloud of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the myſteries. Chryſoſtome in his 20. Homely vpon the 1. Epiſtle to the Corinthians preferreth a poore man before the Sacramente, and calleth hym the body of Chriſte rather then the other. Whereof I may gather this reaſon:

Origines in Leuit. Hom. 17.

Auguſt. de doctrina Chriſtiana Lib. 3. cap. 16.

2. Cor. 3.

Auguſt. de doctrina Chriſtiana Lib. 3. cap. 16.

A rule to know a figuratiue ſpeach from the litterall.

Chriſoſt. in Ioan. hom. 46.

Tertullianus contra Martion. Lib. 4.

Bo- The poore man is not the naturall and reall body of Chriſt.
car- Euery poore member of Chriſte is the body of Chriſt, rather then the Sacrament: Chryſoſt.
do. Ergo, the Sacrament is not the naturall and reall body of Chriſt?

His wordes are: Hoc altare veneraris quoniam in eo proponitur corpus Chriſti. Eum autem qui reipſa corpus eſt Chriſti, afficis contumelia, & negligis pereuntem. This altare thou doeſt reuerence becauſe the body of Chriſt thereon is ſet before thee: but him which is the body of Chriſte in deede, thou doeſt ſpitefully intreate, and doeſt neglect him ready to periſh. Chryſoſtome in the 11. Homely vppon Mathewe: Quod ſi hæc vaſa ſanctificata ad priuatos vſus eſt transferre periculoſum, in quibus non verum corpus Chriſti, ſed myſterium corporis Chriſti continetur, quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri? If it be ſo perillous a matter to tranſlate theſe ſanctified veſſels vnto priuate vſes, in the which not the true body of Chriſt, but a myſterie of the bodye of Chriſte is contained, howe muche more then theſe veſſelles of our bodye? Athanaſius vppon theſe wordes: Qui dixerit verbum contra filium hominis, ſayeth: Ea quæ Chriſtus dicit non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia. Quod enim comedentibus ſuffeciſſet corpus, vt totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed idcirco meminit Aſcenſionis filij hominis in cœlum vt eos à corporali cogitatione auelleret. The wordes that Chriſte heere ſpeaketh, be not carnall but ſpirituall. For what bodye might haue ſufficed for all that ſhoulde eate, to be a nouriſhment of the whole worlde? But therefore hee maketh mention of the Aſcenſion of the ſonne of manne into heauen, to the entent to plucke them away from that corporall cogitation. Auguſtinus ad Marcellinum: In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Chriſti, quam pro peccatis noſtris erat oblaturus, & ſanguinis quem erat effuſurus. In iſto autem Sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio eſt carnis Chriſti quam pro nobis obtulit, & ſanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo Sacrificio, quid nobis ſit donandum figuratè ſignificatur: in hoc autem ſacrificio quid nobis donatum ſit, euidenter oſtenditur. In illis ſacrificijs prænunciabatur filius Dei occidendus: in hoc pro impijs annunciatur occiſus. In thoſe carnall oblations the fleſh of Chriſt was figured, which he ſhould offer for our ſinnes, and the bloud which he ſhould beſtow for vs. But in this ſacrifice is the geuing of thankes and memorial of the fleſh of Chriſt, which he hath offred for vs, and of the bloud which he hath ſhedde for vs. In that ſacrifice therfore is ſignified figuratiuely what ſhould be giuē for vs: in this ſacrifice what is giuen to vs, is euidently declared. In thoſe ſacrifices, the ſonne of God was before preached to be ſlaine: in thys ſacrifice he is ſhewed to be ſlaine already for the wicked. Origenes vpon Mat. expounding theſe wordes: This is my body, ſayth: Panis iſte quem Chriſtus corpus ſuum fatetur eſſe, verbum eſt nutritorium animarum. i. The bread which Chriſt confeſſeth to be hys body, is a nutritiue worde of our ſoules. Auguſtinus: Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, vnumquemque fidelium corporis & ſanguinis Domini tunc eſſe participem, quando in baptiſmate membrum efficitur Chriſti. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non priuabitur, quando in ſe hoc inuenit quod Sacramentū ſignificat. No manne ought in any wiſe to doubt but that euery faithfull man is then partaker of the body and bloud of the Lord, when in Baptiſme he is made a member of Chriſt. For he ſhall not be depriued of the participation and benefite of that Sacrament, when he findeth in himſelfe that thing which the Sacrament doeth ſignifie. Ambroſius: Tanta eſt vis verbi, vt panis & vinum maneant quæ ſunt, & mutētur in aliud. Such is the force & ſtrength of the worde, that the bread and wine remaine the ſame as they were, and yet are changed into an other thing. For it is not any longer common breade, but it is turned into a Sacrament: Yet notwithſtanding there remaineth bread and wine. Tertullian wryting againſt an hereticke named Martion, which taught that the creatures of God, as fleſh, bread, wine and ſuch like were naught and vncleanly: Non abiecit Deus creaturam ſuam, ſed ea repræſentauit corpus ſuum. God hath not caſt away his creature, but by it hee hath repreſented his body. Origenes vppon Leuiticus, ſpeaking of the drinking of Chriſtes bloud, ſayeth: Non ſanguinem carnis expetimus, ſed ſanguinem verbi. We doe not deſire ẏ bloud of the fleſh, but the bloud of the worde. Ambroſe called the Sacrament, Typum corporis Chriſti, and Baſilius Antitypum, which is as much to ſay, as a token, a figure, a remēbrance and example of Chriſtes body. Origine vpon the 14. chapt. of Mathew: In iſto pane, quod eſt materiale eijcitur in ſeceſſum: id autem quod fit per verbum Dei pro fidei ratione prodeſt. In thys bread that thing which is materiall, paſſeth throughe mans body: but that which is made by the word of God, by the meanes of faith doth profite. And leaſt perhaps you thinke that hee ſpake thoſe wordes of our common table bread, he concludeth the matter himſelfe with theſe words: Hæc diximus de pane ſymbolico: Theſe things we haue ſpoken of the myſticall bread. Auguſtinus contra aduerſarium legis & Prophetarum, declareth that it muſt needes be a figure and a remembraunce of the body of Chriſt: Iſta ſecundum ſanæ fidei regulam figuratè intelliguntur. Nam alioqui horribilius videtur eſſe humanam carnem vorare quam perimere, & humanum ſanguinem potare quàm fundere. Theſe things are vnderſtanded figuratiuely, according to the rule of ſound and true faith. For otherwiſe it ſeemeth to be more horrible to eate mannes fleſh, then to kill a man, and more horrible to drinke mannes bloud, then to ſhed it. And therfore he ſaith vpon the 98. Pſalme: Non hoc corpus quod videtis eſtis manducaturi, nec bibituri ſanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. i. Ye ſhall not eat this body which you ſee, and drinke that bloud which they ſhal ſhed that ſhall crucifie me: I commend vnto you a Sacrament. Tertullian: Aliud a pane corpus Ieſus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, ſed ipſum Chriſti verum corpus traditum eſt in crucem, quod panis figura in cœna exhibitium eſt. i. Ieſus hath an other body then breade, for breade was not geuen for vs, but the very true body of Chriſt was geuen vppon the croſſe, which body was exhibited in the Supper vnder the figure of bread.

This recordeth Theodoretus an auncient wryter, and auoweth that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the Sacrament. His wordes are theſe: Symbola viſibilia corporis & ſanguinis, ſui appellatione honorauit, non mutans naturam ſed naturæ addens gratiam. i. He hath honoured and dignified the viſible ſignes wyth the name of his body and of his bloud, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature. And in an other place, where hee maketh a true Chriſtian man to reaſon with an heretike, he geueth to the hereticke this part, to holde with the turning of breade and wine into the natural body and bloud of Chriſt. The heretickes wordes are theſe: Sacramentum Dominici corporis & ſanguinis, alia ſunt ante ſacram inuocationē: poſt inuocationem verò mutantur, & alia fiunt. The ſacramentes of the Lordes body and bloude before the holy inuocation are one thing, but after inuocation they are changed and made an other. This maketh Theodor. to be the heretikes part. Then bringeth he forth the true Chriſtian man, which reproueth the hereticke for ſo ſaying: Incidiſti in laqueos quos ipſe ſtruxeras: Neq; enim ſancta illa ſymbola poſt conſecrationem diſcedunt a natura ſua: Manent enim in priori & ſubſtantia, & figura, etenim & oculis videri & digitis palpari vt ante poſſunt. Thou art fallen into the ſnares which thou thy ſelfe haſt laid. For thoſe ſelfe ſame holy ſignes after this conſecration, do not go frō their nature, for they abide ſtill both in their former ſubſtance and figure, and may be both with eyes ſeene and felt wyth handes, as before. To the ſame agreeth well Chryſoſtome, ſaying, Poſtquam ſanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tametſi maneat natura panis. i. After the breade is ſanctified, it is called breade no more, althoughe the nature of bread ſtil remaine. Hereby you may vnderſtand, how & in what ſort the old fathers, how the primatiue and beginning church, how the Apoſtles, howe Chriſt himſelfe tooke theſe wordes: This is my body.

Chriſoſtomus.

Now to withſtand and ſtoutly to go againſt, not onely ancient wryters, or the congregation of Chriſtian people, which at that time was not ouergrown, no neither ſpotted with couetouſneſſe and worldly honour, but the Apoſtles alſo, and God himſelfe, no doubt it is great fondneſſe. But what ſpeake I of the olde fathers? It is not long ſince the ſacrament grew out of his right vnderſtanding. For thys word Tranſubſtantiatio, wherby they ſignifie turning of the breade into the body of Chriſt, was neuer neyther ſpoken, neither heard, neither thought among ẏ auncient fathers, or in the olde Churche. But aboue 500. yeares paſt, Pope Nicolas 2. in a Councell holden at Lateranum in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the changing of bread, & would haue made an article of the faith, and placed it in the Credo. After whiche time enſued Corpus Chriſti daye, Maſſes of Corpus Chriſti, reſeruation of the ſacrament, with honoure, with canapies, with ſenſing, wͭ kneeling, wyth worſhypping and adoration, and with ſo much as any man coulde deuiſe. For they thought they could not do to much to hym after that the Biſhoppe of Rome had allowed hym for a God. But not fully 200. yeare before that time, when thys doctrine firſt began to bud, and yet notwithſtandinge had not ſo preuailed, but that a greate number of learned and good men could know the Sacrament to be a Sacrament, and not himſelfe: Charles the great king of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome demaunded of a great learned man, whoſe name was Bertramus, what hee thoughte by that ſtraunge kinde of calling downe Chriſte from heauen, and turning a litle gobbet of bread into his naturall body. To whom Bertram made anſwere in this wiſe: Dicimus quòd multa differentia ſeparantur corpus in quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus & ſanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit, & hoc corpus quod in myſterio paſſionis Chriſti quotidie a fidelibus celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus & ſpecies eſt, illud autem ipſa veritas. Apparet ergo quod tam multa differētia ſeparentur, quantum eſt inter pignus & eam rem pro qua pignus traditur, & quantum inter imaginem, & rem eam cuius imago eſt, & quantum inter ſpeciem & veritatem. This wee ſay, that there is a great difference and ſeparation betwixt the body in the which Chriſte ſuffered, and the bloud which he ſhed vpon the Croſſe, & thys body which euery day is celebrated in the myſterie of the Paſſion of Chriſte. For this body is a pledge and a ſimilitude, but the other is the very truthe it ſelfe. Ergo, it appeareth that theſe two are ſeperated a ſunder by no leſſe difference, then is betweene a pledge, and the thing whereof ẏ pledge is geuen, or their is betweene an Image of a thing and the thing it ſelfe whereof the Image is, or then is betwene the forme of a thing and the veritie it ſelfe. This wrote Bertramus, Druthmarus & manye other, and yet were neuer in all their time once reproued of hereſie. Thys wrote Ioannes Scotus alſo, in whoſe life time men had not eies to eſpie his hereſies. But about 200. yeare after his death, he was iudged and condemned for an hereticke, & his bookes burned in a Councell holden at Vercellæ in Lombardie, in the yeare of our Lorde God. 1015. Since which time euen vntill this day although Idolatrye had great encreaſe, yet there neuer wanted ſome good men whiche boldly woulde profeſſe and ſette forth the truth, although they were well aſſured that their worldly reward ſhoulde be ſpite, malice, impriſonning, ſworde, fire, and all kindes of tormentes. Thus ſo ſhortly, and in ſo few wordes as I could, I haue declared to you what Chriſte meant by theſe wordes: This is my bodye, what the Apoſtles thought therein, & in what ſorte they deliuered them to their ſucceſſors, in what ſenſe and meaning the holy Fathers and olde wryters, and the Vniuerſall and Catholicke Churche hath euermore taken them.

Tranſubſtantiation a new inuention.

Carolus Magnus Bertramus.

Bertramus. Ioan. Scotus. Druthmarus.

Bertramus condemned for an hereticke 200. yeares after his death.

Anno 1552.

The ende and deceaſſe of king Edward the ſixt.

The deceaſe of king Edward.6.

Anno 1553.

THus hauing diſcourſed thinges done and paſt, vnder the raigne of king Edwarde, ſuche as ſeemed not vnfruitfull to be knowen, we will now draw to the ende and death of this bleſſed king, our young Joſias. Who about a yeare and a halfe after the death of the Duke of Somerſet hys Uncle, in the yeare of our Lorde 1553. entring into the 17. yeare of his age, and the 7. yeare of his raigne, in the month of June, was takẽ from vs, for our ſinnes no dout. Whome if it had ſo pleaſed the good wil of the Lord to haue ſpared with longer life, not vnlike it was by all cõiectures probably to be eſteemed by thoſe his towarde and bleſſed beginnings, but proceeding ſo as he began he would haue reformed ſuche a Common wealth heere in the Realme of England, as by good cauſe it might haue bene ſayd of hym, ÿ was ſayd in ÿ olde time of the noble Emperour Auguſtus in reforming and aduauncing the Empire of Rome: Quam quum ille lateritiam (vt aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit. Which Empire he receiued (he ſayd) of bricke, but he left it of fine Marble. But the condition of this Realme, and the cuſtomable behauiour of Engliſh people (whoſe propertie is commonly to abuſe the lighte of the Goſpell when it is offered) deſerued no ſuche benefite of ſo bleſſed a reformation, but rather a contrarye plague of deformation, ſuche as hapned after his raigne, as ye ſhall heare (the Lord graunting) in the nexte Queenes dayes that followed.

Ex Suetonio.

Thus then this godly and vertuous Impe, in the time and moneth aboue mentioned was cut from vs, of whoſe worthy life and vertues haue bene partly afore declared. Neuertheleſſe, to haue ſome monument of him remaining to teſtifie of the good nature and gentle diſpoſition of that Prince, we will adde heere for a remembraunce, thys little Epiſtle of his own hand wryting to the Archb. of Canterbury, his Godfather as followeth.

An Epiſtle of yong Prince Edward to the Archb. of Canterbury his Godfather.

Prince Edward when he wrote this epiſtle ſeemed to be very younge not aboue ſeauen yeares of age, lying then at Antile.

IMpertio te plurima ſalute colendiſsime Præſul, & chariſsime Suſceptor. Quia abes longè a me, vellem libenter audire te eſſe incolumem. Precor autem vt viuas diu, & promoueas verbum Dei. Vale. Antilæ decimo octauo Iunij.

Tuus in Chriſto filius
Edwardus Princeps.

An other Epiſtle of the young Prince Edward to the Archb. his Godfather.

An other Epiſtle of Prince Edward to his godfather.

ETſi puer ſum colendiſsime Suſceptor, non tamen immemor ſum vel officij erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere ſtudes. Nõ exciderũt mihi humaniſsimæ tuæ litteræ pridie diui Petri ad me datæ. Quibus ante hac reſpondere nolui, non quòd illas neglexerim, aut non minerim, ſed vt illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili reſponderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum verè paternum, quem in illis expreſsiſti, amplector & veneror, optoque vt multos viuas annos, tuoq; pio ac ſalubri conſilio pergas eſſe mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam & exoſculandam eſſe duco, quoniam diuus Paulus dicit: Pietas ad omnia vtilis eſt. Optimè valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Hartefordiœ tertio decimo Ianuarij.

1. Tit.4.

Tui ſtudioſiſsimus EDOVARDVS Princeps.

The aunſwere of the Archbiſhop to Prince Edwardes Epiſtle.

Alludit ad verba Terentij in Comœdia.

The aunſwere of Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cant. to the epiſtle of Prince Edward.

NOn magis poterit ipſa me ſeruare ſalus (fili in Chriſto chariſsime) quam ſalus tua. Mea vita non dicenda eſt vita abſq; tua & ſalute & valitudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac ſaluum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram eſſe & incolumem ſentio. Neque certè abſentia mea tam eſt iniucunda tibi quàm ſunt litteræ tuæ periucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi iuxta adeſſe & ingenium dignum tanto principe, & præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis litteris te ſic litteras video colere, vt interim doctrinæ cœleſtis tua nequaquam minima ſit cura: quę cuicunque ſit curæ, non poteſt illum quæuis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incœpiſti Princeps illuſtriſsime, & Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, vt quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet vniuerſam tuam Angliam. Nõ ſcribam prolixius, tum quidem vt me intelligas breuitate nonnihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc paruulum paruo gaudere, & ſimilem ſimili: tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in cauſa ſit, quò generoſa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat.

The report of the Princes Scholemaiſter, in commendation of his towardnes to the Archb.

RIght honorable and my ſingular good Lorde, after my moſt harty cõmendations: the oportunitie of this meſſenger forceth me to wryte at this time, hauing litle matter but onely to ſignify vnto your grace, that my Lords grace your godſonne is mery and in health, and of ſuch towardnes in learning, godlineſſe, gentlenes and all honeſt qualities, ÿ both you and I, and all this realme ought to thinke him and take him for a ſingular gift ſent of God, an Impe worthy of ſuch a father: for whome we are bound ſine intermiſsione, to render to God moſt harty thankes, wyth moſt humble requeſt of hys long & proſperous continuance. He hath learned almoſte foure bookes of Cato to conſtrue, to parſe, and to ſay wythout booke. And of hys owne courage nowe in the latter Booke hee will needes haue at one time 14. Verſes which he konneth pleaſantly and perfectly, beſides things of the Bible, Sattellitium Viuis, Æſops Fables, and Latin making, wherof he hath ſent your Grace a little taſt. Dominus Ieſus te diutiſsimè ſeruet.

Thus muche hetherto hauinge declared, touchinge the worthy vertues and ſingulare towardneſſe of this godlye impe, king Edward the ſixth, although I haue not, neither can inſert all things due to his commendation, but am enforced to let paſſe many memorable matters, well worthy to be proſecuted, if they might haue come to our hands: yet this one briefe note I thought not to ouerſlip (ſomethinge to recreate the wery reader in ſuche a dolfull ſtorye) being notified to me by one M. Edward Hunderhill, who waytinge ÿ ſame time, w the reſt of his felowes penſioners, and men at armes, as Syr Henry Gates, M. Robert Hal, M. Henry Harſton, and M. Staffordton hearde theſe wordes betweene the king and his counſaile.

The relation and teſtimonie of which perſone and perſons aboue named, come to this effect, that king Edw. the 6. the 4. yere of his raigne, being then but 13. yeres old and vpward, at Greenewiche vpon S. Georges day, when he was come from the ſermon, into ÿ preſence chamber, there being his vncle, the Duke of Somerſet, the Duke of Northumb. with other Lordes & Knights of that order, called the order of the Garter, he ſaid vnto them: My Lordes, I pray you, what ſaincte is S. George, that we here ſo honour hym? At which queſtion the other Lordes being all aſtonied, the L. Treaſurer (ÿ then was) perceiuing this, gaue anſwer, and ſaid: If it pleaſe your Maieſtie, I did neuer read in any hyſtorie of S. George, but only in Legenda aurea, where it is thus ſet downe, that S. George out with his ſworde, and ran the Dragon through with his ſpeare. The king, when he could not a greate while ſpeake for laughing, at length ſaide: I pray you my Lorde, and what did he with his ſworde the while? That I can not tell your maieſty, ſaid he. And ſo an end of ÿ queſtion of good S. George.

Now to returne againe from whence we haue digreſſed, which is to ſignifie ſome part of the order & manner of his godly departing: as the time approched when it pleaſed almighty God to call this young king from vs, which was the 6. day of Julye, the yeare aboue ſayde, about three houres before his death, this Godly childe, his eyes being cloſed, ſpeaking to himſelfe, & thinking none to haue heard him, made this prayer as followeth.

The prayer of king Edwarde before his death.

LOrde God, deliuer me out of this miſerable & wretched life, & take me among thy choſen: how be it not my will, but thy wil be done: Lord I commit my ſpirit to thee. Oh Lord thou knoweſt howe happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy choſens ſake ſend me life and health, that I may truely ſerue thee. Oh my Lorde God, bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine inheritaunce. Oh Lord God, ſaue thy choſen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realme from papiſtrie, and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people may praiſe thy holy name, for thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake.

Then turned he his face, & ſeeing who was by him, ſayd vnto them: Are ye ſo night, I thought you had bene further off? Then Doc. Owen ſaid, We heard you ſpeake to your ſelfe, but what you ſaide we knowe not. He then (after his faſhion ſmilingly) ſaid, I was praying to God. The laſt wordes of his pangs were theſe: I am faint, Lord haue mercy vpon me, & take my ſpirite. And thus he yeelded vp the ghoſt, leauing a wofull kingdom behinde vnto his ſiſter. Albeit he in his will hadde excluded his ſiſter Marye from the ſucceſsion of the crowne, becauſe of her corrupt religion: yet ÿ plage which God had deſtinate vnto this ſinfull Realme, coulde not ſo be voided, but that ſhee beinge the elder and daughter to king Henry, ſucceded in poſſeſsion of ÿ crowne. Of whoſe dreadfull and bloudy regiment, it remaineth nowe conſequently to diſcourſe.

Anno 1553.

The Lady Mary wedded to Cuſtome.

The Lady Mary in diſpleaſure both with her brother and father.

This briefly may ſuffice to vnderſtande, that for all the writing, ſending, and practiſing with the Lady Mary, by the King and his Counſayle, and alſo by the Biſhop Ridley, yet would ſhe not be reclaymed from her owne ſingular opinion fixed vpon cuſtome, to giue anye indifferente hearing to the word and voice of veritie. The whiche ſet will of the ſaid Lady Mary, both this yong King and alſo his father King Henry before him right well perceauing and conſidering, they were both much diſpleaſed agaynſt her: In ſo much that not onely her brother did vtterly ſequeſter her in his will, but alſo her own father conſidering her inclination, conceiued ſuche hart againſt her, that for a great ſpace he did ſeclude her from the title of Princeſſe, yea and ſeemed ſo egerly incenſed againſt her, that he was fully purpoſed to procede further with her (as it is reported) had not the interceſſion of Thomas Cranmer the Archbyſhop, reconciled the King agaıne to fauour and pardon his owne daughter. For the better vnderſtanding whereof, by theſe her owne letters copied out of her owne hand writing (which I haue to ſhew) ſomething may be perceiued, and more peraduenture may be geſſed. The words out of her owne hand writing be theſe. And firſt her letter to King Henry her father heere followeth.

✻ A Letter of the Lady Mary, to King Henry her father.

Lady Mary writeth to K. Henry her father.

IN my moſt humble wiſe I beſeeche your grace of your dayly bleſſing. Pleaſeth it the ſame to be aduertiſed, that this morning my Lord my Chamberleyne came and ſhewed me, that hee had receyued a letter from ſir William Paulet Controller of your houſe. The effect whereof was, that I ſhould with all diligence remoue vnto the Caſtle of Herford. Whereupon I deſired him to ſee the ſame letter, which he ſhewed me. Wherein was written, that the Lady Mary the Kings daughter ſhould remooue to the place beforeſayd, leauing out in the ſame the name of Princeſſe. Which when I heard, I could not a little marueyle, truſting verily that your grace was not priuie to the ſame letter as concerning the leauing out of the name of Princeſſe, for as much as I doubt not in your goodnes, but your grace doth take me for your lawfull daughter, borne in true Matrimonie. Wherefore if I ſhould agree to the contrary, I ſhould in my conſcience runne in the diſpleaſure of God, whiche I hope aſſuredly your grace will not that I ſo ſhould. And in all other things your grace ſhall haue me alwayes as humble and obedient daughter and handmayd, as euer was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to: as knoweth our Lorde, who haue your grace in his moſt holy tuition, wyth much honour and long life, to his pleaſure. Written at your Manor of Beaulien this ſecond day of October.

By your moſt humble daughter,
Mary Princeſſe.

✻ A proteſtation of the Lady Mary, to certayne Lordes ſent by the King her father, with certayne requeſtes vnto her.

The Proteſtation of Lady Mary.

Lady Mary ſtandeth to the Popes iudgement.

MY Lordes, as touching my remouing to Hatfield, I will obey his Grace, as my duety is, or to any other place that his grace will appoint me. But I proteſt before you and all other that be heere preſent, that my conſcience will in no wiſe ſuffer me to take any other then my ſelfe for the Kings lawfull daughter, borne in true matrimonie, or Princeſſe, and that I will neuer willingly and wittingly ſay or do, whereby any perſon might take occaſion to thinke that I agree to the contrary, not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Iudge: but that if I ſhould ſay or do otherwiſe, I ſhuld in my conſcience ſclaunder the deede of our mother holy Churche and the Pope, who is the iudge in this matter, and none other: and alſo diſhonor the King my Father, the Queene my Mother, and falſly confeſſe my ſelfe a Baſtard, which God defende that I ſhould do, ſeeing the Pope hath not ſo declared it by his ſentence definitiue, for to his iudgement I ſubmit me.

As you haue heard ſome part already of the ſtout courage of the Lady Mary toward her father, and alſo by her letters no leſſe was declared towarde king Edward her brother and other of his Counſaile: as well may appeare by the letters aboue ſpecified, betweene her and the King her brother and his counſaile: So now let vs inſert ſomewhat likewiſe of the ſtoute talke and demeanor of the ſayd Lady Mary toward D. Ridley Biſhop of London, who gently comming to her of meere good will, had his communication to her, and ſhe with him as here followeth.

Talke betweene Lady Mary and Byſhop Ridley.

About the eight of Sept. 1552. D. Ridley then Byſhop of Londō, lying at his houſe at Hadham in Hartfordſhire: went to viſite the Lady Mary then lying at Hunſden two myles off: & was gently entertayned of Sir Tho. Wharton & other her officers, til it was almoſt xi. of the clock. About which time the ſaid Lady Mary came forth into her chamber of preſence, and then the ſaid biſhop there ſaluted her grace, and ſayde, that he was come to doe his duety to her grace. Then ſhe thanked him for his paynes, and for a quarter of an houre talked with him very pleaſauntly: and ſayd, that ſhe knew him in the Court when he was Chapleine to her father, and could wel remember a ſermon that hee made before king Henry her father, at the mariage of my Lady Clinton ẏ now is, to Sir Anthony Broune &c. and ſo diſmiſſed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the biſhop being called for by the ſaid Lady Mary, reſorted againe to her grace, betwene whome this communication was, firſt the biſhop beginning in maner as followeth.

Byſhop Ridley offereth to preach before the Lady Mary.

Biſhop. Madame I came not onely to do my duetye to ſee your Grace, but alſo to offer my ſelfe to preache before you on Sonday nexte, if it will pleaſe you to heare me. At thys her countenaunce chaunged, and after ſilence for a ſpace, ſhe aunſwered thus.

Mary. My Lorde, as for this laſt matter, I pray you make the aunſwere to it your ſelfe.

Biſhop. Madame, conſidering mine office and calling, I am bounde of duety to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.

Lady Mary refuſeth to heare Biſhop Rydley to preach before her.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the aunſwere (as I haue ſayd) to this matter your ſelfe: for you know the aunſwere well enough. But if there be no remedy but I muſt make you aunſwere, this ſhall be your aunſwere: The doore of the pariſhe Churche adioyning ſhalbe open for you, if you come, and ye may preach, if you liſt, but neither I, nor none of mine ſhall heare you.

Biſhop. Madame, I truſt you will not refuſe Gods word.

Mary. I cannot tell what ye call Gods word. That is not Gods worde now, that was Gods word in my fathers dayes.

Biſhop. Gods worde is all one in all times, but hath bene better vnderſtanded and practiſed in ſome ages, then in other.

Mary. You durſt not for your eares, haue auouched that for Gods worde in my fathers dayes, that now you doe. And as for your new bookes, I thanke God I neuer read none of them: neuer did, nor neuer will doe.

It is lyke ſhee was perſwaded by Witches and blinde propheſies that king Edward ſhould not liue ſo long.

And after many bitter wordes againſt the forme of religion then eſtabliſhed, and againſt the gouernment of the Realme, and the lawes made in the young yeares of her brother, which ſhe ſayd ſhe was not bound to obey, til her brother came to perfect age, and then affirmed ſhee woulde obey them. She aſked the Biſhop whether he were one of the Counſaile: He aunſwered, No. You might well enough (ſayd ſhe) as the Counſaile goeth now a dayes.

And ſo ſhe concluded with theſe wordes: My Lord, for your gentlenes to come and ſee me, I thanke you, but for your offering to preache before me, I thanke you neuer a whit.

Byſhop Rydley repēted to haue dronken there where Gods worde was refuſed.

Then the ſayd B. was brought by ſir Thomas Wharton, to the place where he dined, & deſired to drink. And after he had dronke, he pauſed a litle while, looking very ſadly, & ſodenly brake out into theſe woordes: Surely I haue done amiſſe. Why ſo, quoth ſir Thomas Wharton? For I haue dronke (ſayd he) in that place where Gods word offred, hath bene refuſed: whereas if I had remembred my duetie, I ought to haue departed immediatelý, and to haue ſhakē of the duſt of my ſhoes for a teſtimonie agaynſt this houſe. Theſe wordes were by the ſayd biſhop ſpoken with ſuch a vehemencie, that ſome of the hearers afterward cōfeſſed their heare to ſtand vpright on their heades. Thys done, the ſayde Biſhop departed, and ſo returned to hys houſe. Teſtified by a certayn reuerend perſonage yet aliue, being then the biſhops Chaplaine.

¶ And thus making an ende of this ninth Booke, touching the ſtory and raigne of King Edward, and hauing alſo ſomewhat ſayde before of the nature and diſpoſition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next Booke following: we intend (the grace of God aſſiſting vs therein) now further to proceede in deſcribing the actes and proceedings of the foreſayde Lady Mary, comming now to be Queene, and aduaunced next after this godly King Edward, to the Crowne of this Realme of England.

¶ The ende of the ninth Booke.

The beginning of the tenth booke conteyning the horrible and bloudy tyme of QVEENE MARY.

The Preface to the Reader.

FORASMVCH AS WE ARE come now to the tyme of Queene Mary, when as ſo many were put to death for the cauſe eſpecially of the Maſſe, and the ſacramente of the Altar (as they cal it) I thought it conuenient vppon the occaſion geuen, in the ingreſſe of this foreſayd ſtory, firſt to prefixe before, by the way of Preface, ſome declaration collected out of dyuers writers and Authors, whereby to ſet foorth to the Reader the great abſurditie, wicked abuſe, and perillous idolatry of the popiſh Maſſe, declaring how and by whom it came in, clouted and patched vp of diuers additions, to the intent that the Reader, ſeeing the vayne inſtitution thereof, and waying the true cauſes why it is to be exploded out of all Churches, may the better thereby iudge of their death, which gaue their liues for the teſtimonie and the word of truth.

First, concerning the origine of this word Miſſa, whether it came of Miſſach in Hebrue. Deut. 16. or Mincha, Leuit. 6. which ſignifieth oblation: or whether it came of ſending away the Catechumeni, and perſons vnworthy, out of the place of miniſtration, (as certayne writers ſuppoſe) or elſe, Ex miſsis donarijs & ſymbolis quæ in offertorio proponebantur: that is, of giftes and oblations wont to be offred before the Communion: or whether Miſſa is deriued of Remiſſa, which in the former writers was vſed pro remiſsione: or whether Miſſa, pro licentia dimittendi populum, is taken of ſending away the congregation by the wordes of the Deacon, Ite miſſa eſt: or whether Miſſa hath his denomination of that which the Grecians call ἀφεσισ τοῦ λάου, dimiſſion of the people, alluding to the ſtory of the Hebrues, licenſed of Pharao to depart out of captiuitie after the eating of the Paſche Lambe, as I read in an old popiſh booke intituled De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus: or what tearme ſoeuer it be elſe, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch, or French: or howſoeuer elſe it taketh his appellation, as there is no certaintie amongſt themſelues that moſt magnifie the Maſſe, ſo it is no matter to vs that ſtand againſt it. To my iudgemente and coniecture this latter expoſition of the word ſeemeth more probable, both for that it is ioined with the word Ite, which ſignifieth departing: and alſo the time and order in ſpeaking the ſame, agreeth well thereunto. For as the old Hebrues, after the ſupper of the Lamb, and not before, were ſet at liberty ſtreight way, to departe out of captiuitie: ſo belike to declare our myſticall deliuerance by Chriſt, offred and ſlaine for vs, firſt goeth before the action of the holy ſupper: that done, then the Prieſt or Deacon ſayth, Ite miſſa eſt: meaning thereby the deliuerance and liberty which is ſpiritually wrought in vs, after that the body of Chriſt hath bene offered for vs. Or elſe, if Miſſa otherwiſe ſhould ſignifie the celebration or the action of the ſupper, it woulde not be ſaide Ite, but venite, miſſa eſt, &c.

Iſidorus libr. 6. Etym.
Hugo in ſpeculo eccleſ.
Tertull. contra Marc. lib. 3.
Cypria. de bono patient.

Moreouer, beſides other arguments, there be certayne places in Caſſianus which ſeeme to declare, that Miſſa ſignifieth dimiſſion of the congregation: as where he writeth of him which commeth not in time to the howers of prayer, ſaying it not to be lawfull for him to enter into the oratory, Sed ſtantem præ foribus congregationis, miſſam præſtolari debere. i. that he ought ſtanding without the dores, to waite for the miſſe of the congregation. And againe in the next Chapter following, he inſerteth the ſame vocable Miſſa in like ſenſe: Contenti, inquit ſomno qui nobis poſt vigiliarum miſſam vſque ad lucis indulgetur aduentum. i. Contented (ſayeth he) with ſo muche ſleepe as ſerueth vs for the miſſe, or breaking vp of the night vigill, vnto the comming of the day, &c.

Caſſianus de canonicis orationibus. lib. 3. c. 7.
Vigils were called in the olde tyme the aſſemblies of the congregation in the night, in common prayer and faſting.

But to let paſſe theſe coniectures, this by the way I geue to the Reader to note and vnderſtande, that as thys word Miſſa neuer yet entred into the Church nor vſage among the Greekes: ſo it is to be obſerued among our Latin interpretors, ſuch as haue tranſlated of old time the ancient Greeke Authours, as Euſebius, and the Tripartite hiſtory, and others: that where the Greeke writers haue theſe tearmes συνάγειν, συνάξεισ ποιεῖν and εκκλησιάζειν, that is, to call the congregation, to conuent aſſemblies, and ſo frequent together, the old tranſlator of Epiphanius, and other tranſlate vppon the ſame Miſſas facere, collectas agere, miſſas celebrare, &c. wherby it is not obſcure to be ſeene, that this word Maſſe in the olde time, was not onely and peculiarly applied to the action of conſecration, but as wel to all Chriſten aſſemblies collected, or congregations conuented, according as in the Dutch language this name (Meſſe) ſignifieth any ſolemne frequency, or panagyrie, or gathering together of the people. But of the name inough, and too much.

Socr. Eccl. hiſt. l. 1. c. 13. Epiph. trip. hiſt. li. 6. c. 13. Sozom. li. 2. cap. 31. Epiph. trip. hiſt. l. 3. c. 11. Socra. l. 5. cap. 9. Epiph. trip. hiſt. l. 6. c. 23. Socra. l. 6. cap. 15. καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζειν Epiph. trip. hiſt. li. 7. ca. 12. & apud ſeipſos miſſarum celebrare ſolennia, &c. Item collectas agere &c. quod Socrates græce li. 6. cap. 22. inquit, περὶ δὲ [illegible] συνάξεισ [illegible] &c.

To expreſſe now the abſurditie of the ſaide Maſſe, and the irreligious application thereof, vnſeemely, and perilous for Chriſtians to vſe, I will bring two or three reaſons of the worthy ſeruaunt and Martyr of God, Iohn Bradford, to which many more may be alſo added out of others.

First the Maſſe, ſayeth he, is a moſt ſubtile and pernicious enemie againſt Chriſt, and that double wayes: namely, againſt his Prieſthode, and againſt his ſacrifice, which he prooueth by this way. For the Prieſthoode of Chriſte, (ſayeth he) is an euerlaſting Prieſthoode, and ſuch an one as can not go to another. But the Maſſe vtterly putteth him out of place, as though he were dead for euer: and ſo God were a lier, which ſaid that Chriſt ſhould be a Prieſt for euer: which briefly commeth vnto this Argument.

The Maſſe a double enemy againſt Chriſt.

Fes- That thing is not perpetuall, nor ſtandeth not alone, which admitteth ſucceſſion of other to do the ſame thing that was done before.

ti- But the Maſſe Prieſts ſucceede after Chriſt, doing the ſame ſacrifice (as they ſay) which he did before.

no. Ergo, the Maſſe Prieſts make Chriſts Prieſthode not to be perpetuall.

The Maſſe iniurious to the Prieſthood of Chriſt.

Another Argument.

Ba- All Prieſts eyther be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchiſedech, or after the order of the Apoſtles, or after that ſpirituall ſort whereof it is written, Vos eſtis ſpirituale ſacerdotium, &c.

Maior.

ro- But our Maſſe Prieſts neither be after the order of Aaron, (for that is to reſume that which Chriſt hath aboliſhed:) neither after the order of Melchiſedech (for that is peculiar only to Chriſt:) neither after the order of the Apoſtles (for then ſhould they be Miniſters, not Maiſters, not Prieſts, but Preachers: (and which of the Apoſtles was euer named by the title of a Prieſt?) Againe, neither are they after the generall ſorte of the ſpirituall prieſthoode. For after that prerogatiue, euery true Chriſtian is a ſpirituall Prieſt as well as they, offering vp ſpirituall, not bodily ſacrifice, as prayers, thankeſgeuing, obedience, mortification of the bodie framed to the obedience of his commaundements.

Minor.

co. Ergo, our Maſſe Prieſts are no Prieſts (vnleſſe it be after the order of the Prieſtes of Baal.)

Concluſio.

Secondlye, concerning the ſacrifice of Chriſt aboue mentioned, hee reaſoneth in lyke manner: whyche wee haue reduced in the waye of Argumente, as followeth:

The Maſſe iniurious to the ſacrifice or death of Chriſt.

Da- To reiterate a thing once done, for the atteining or accompliſhing of the end wherefore it was begon, declareth the imperfection of the ſame thing before.

Maior.

ri- The Maſſe Prieſtes do reiterate the ſacrifice of Chriſt once done for the end wherefore it was begonne (that is, for propitiation and remiſſion à pœna & culpa pro viuis & pro defunctis:)

Minor.

j. Ergo, Maſſe Prieſtes make the ſacrifice of Chriſte to be vnperfect, and ſo are they iniurious to the ſacrifice of Chriſt.

Concluſio.

¶ For the confirmation of the premiſſes, marke heere (Reader) I beſeech thee, the Rubrike heere following, written before the Maſſe of the fiue woundes in the Maſſe booke.

Boniface Biſhop of Rome lay ſicke, and was like to die, to whome our Lord ſent the Archangell Raphael with the office of the Maſſe, of the fiue woundes, ſaying: Riſe and write this office, and ſay it fiue times, and thou ſhalt be reſtored to thy health immediatelye: and what Prieſt ſoeuer ſhall ſay this office for himſelfe, or for any other that is ſicke, fiue times, the perſon for whome it is ſayde, ſhall obteine health and grace, and in the world to come, (if he continue in vertue) life euerlaſting. And in whatſoeuer tribulation a man ſhall be in this life, if he procure this office to be ſaid fiue times for him, of a Prieſt, without doubt he ſhall be deliuered. And if it be ſaide for the ſoule of the dead, anone as it ſhall be ſaide and ended fiue times, hys ſoule ſhall be rid from paines. This hearing the Byſhop, he did erect himſelfe vp in his bed, coniuring the Aungell, by the name of almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he ſhould depart without doing him harme: who aunſwered, that he was Raphaell the Archangell, ſent vnto him of God: and that all the premiſſes were vndoubtedly true. Then the ſayde Boniface confirmed the ſaid office of the fiue woundes, by the Apoſtolike authoritie.

An other Argument againſt the Maſſe, for that it is an hinderance to the true ſeruice of God, and to the godly life of men: the declaration whereof is more at large by the ſaide Authour ſet out: but briefly in fourme of Argument may thus be contracted.

The Maſſe is an hinde- rance to the true ſeruice of God, and to the God- ly life of men.

Another Argument.

Maior. Da- Whatſoeuer cauſeth or occaſioneth a man to reſt in outward ſeruing of God, whoſe ſeruice ſhould be all inward in ſpirit and veritie, that hindreth the true ſeruice of God.

Minor. ti- The Maſſe occaſioneth a man to reſt in outward ſeruing. (as in hearing, ſeeing, and ſaying Maſſe, which be but outward ſenſes of a man, and as they ſay meritorious ex opere operato, etiam ſine bono motu intẽtionis.)

Conclusio. ſi. Ergo, the Maſſe hindreth ẏ right & true ſeruice of God.

Another Argument, proouing that Maſſe hindreth good life.

Maior. Di- Vpon the Maſſe riſeth falſe hope: and falſe remedie is promiſed to wicked liuers. For euill men hearing Maſſe in the morning, vpõ hope therof take more ſecuritie in doing al day what they liſt. And ſuch as haue in bibbing, brauling, tauerning, ſwearing, whoring, dicing, carding, committed wickednes, to them the maſſe is ſet vp, promiſing ſufficient propitiation ſacrifice, remedy of body and ſoule, for man and beaſt, a poena & culpa, pro viuis & mortuis: Though they neuer hearde preaching, neuer vſed praying, neuer repented, or how wicked ſo euer they haue bene: yet if they come to the Church, take holy bread and holy water, and heare a Maſſe, or finde a ſoule Prieſt vpon the remedie thereof, then they thinke themſelues diſcharged, and good Catholicke men.

The Maſſe hindereth good lyfe.

Minor. ſa- Vpon what cauſe ſoeuer riſeth falſe hope and falſe remedy is promiſed to wicked liuers, that hindreth good life.

Conclusio. mis. Ergo, the Maſſe hindreth good life.

Another Argument.

Maior. Da- Where one thing is ſufficient and ſerueth alone, there all other helpes be neadeles thereunto, wherein it ſerueth.

Minor. ti- The Maſſe, as they ſay, hath all, ſerueth for all: for by it commeth pardon for ſinnes, by it commeth deliuerance from Hell and Purgatory, by it commeth health for man and beaſt. In ſumma, the Maſſe is Mare bonorum, &c.

Conclusio. ſi. Ergo, all other helpes elſe be needeleſſe: hearing of Gods word, faith, praying in ſpirit, repenting, preaching, pietie, and other helps to good life, &c.

An other Argument, proouing that the Maſſe is diuers and contrary from the inſtitution of Christes Supper.

1. Chriſt ordeined his Supper to be a memoriall of his death and paſſion, to be preached vntill he come. The Maſſe is no memoriall thing of Chriſt remembred in the Sacrament: but rather they make the Sacrament to be Chriſt himſelfe offered and ſacrificed for remiſſion of ſinnes, both for the quicke and the dead.

2. Chriſt ordeined his Supper to be celebrate and receaued of the congregation. And therefore Paule biddeth the Corinthians to tarry one for another. In the Maſſe there is no ſuch thing, chooſe the people whether they will come or no, Sir Iohn is kinne to the tide, he will tarry for no man: if he haue a boy to ſay Amen, it is inough.

3. Chriſt receaued not but he diſtributed alſo the whole in euery part. Sir Iohn when he hath receaued all alone, he ſheweth the people the empty chalice. And if he diſtribute to the people once a yeare, it is but in one kinde alone.

4. Chriſt ordeined the Supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a diſtributing and a remembring matter. Contrary our Maſſe men make it a matter not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, piring, boxing, carying, recarying, worſhipping, ſtouping, kneeling, knocking, with ſtoupe downe before, hold vp higher, I thanke God I ſee my maker to day, &c. Chriſt ordeined it a table matter. We turne it to an altar matter: he for a memorie, we for a ſacrifice: he ſate, our men ſtand: he in his common tongue, we in a forreigne tongue. Whereby it is manifeſt to appeare how diuers and repugnant the Maſſe is to the inſtitution of the Lords Supper.

Another Argument, proouing that the Maſſe is contrary to Gods Commaundementes.

The doctrine of the Maſſebooke, cõtrary to Gods commaundementes.

Maior. Item, where the firſt table of Gods bleſſed and ſacred commaundements teacheth men to worſhip and ſerue him, and to direct the meditations of their harts only vnto him: and that in all places, at all times, both publikely and priuately.

Minor. The Maſſe booke doth point out ſeruice for Saincts and for creatures, by name, to be ſerued, at the leaſt 300. dayes and yeares, as appeareth by the Calenders, Maſſes, Collectes, martiloge, &c.

Conclusio. Ergo, the doctrine and inſtitution of the Maſſe booke, tendeth contrary to Gods holy commaundements.

Another reaſon againſt the Maſſe.

Item, where S. Paule in expreſſe wordes willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the Maſſe is celebrate in a tongue forreigne, ſtraunge, and vnknowne to the people, ſo that although the matter therein conteyned were holeſome, and conſonant to Scripture (as much as diſagreeing from the ſame) yet for the ſtraungenes of the tongue, it geueth but a ſound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant. Now both the tongue being ſtrange to the eares of the people, and the matter alſo in the Maſſe conteined, being repugnant to Gods word, what defence can the Maſſe haue, but vtterly it is to be reiected?

And forſomuch therefore, as the Maſſe ſo long vſed in a forreigne language hath not hitherto come to the vnderſtanding of the ſimple and vulgare ſort, to the intente they may themſelues perceiue the matter, and be theyr owne iudges, I haue heere ſet forth the chiefeſt parte thereof (which is the Canon) in Engliſhe, ſo as I found it in a certayne written copie, by Maiſter Couerdale tranſlated, adioining withall the Rubricke and circumſtaunce of the ſame in euery point, as is in the Maſſe booke conteyned.

¶ The whole Canon of the Maſſe, with the Rubricke thereof, as it ſtandeth in the Maſſebooke, after Salisbury vſe. Tranſlated word by word out of Laten into Engliſh.

The Rubrick.

After the Sanctus, the Prieſt immediately ioining hys handes together, and lifting vp his eies, beginneth theſe wordes: Te igitur clementiſſime, &c. that is to ſaye: Therefore moſt gracious father, through Ieſus Chriſt thy ſonne our Lord, we humbly beſeech thee.

Let him bow downe his body, while he ſayth:

And we deſire

Heere the Prieſt ſtanding vpright, muſt kiſſe the altar (a) on the right hand of the ſacrifice, ſaying:

that thou accept and bleſſe,

Heere let the Prieſt make three croſſes vpon the chalice and the bread, ſaying:

theſe ✠ giftes theſe ✠ (b) preſentes: theſe ✠ holy and vnſpotted ſacrifices.

When the ſignes are made vpon the chalice, let him lift vp his hands, ſaying thus:

Which firſt of al (c) we offer vnto thee for thy holy Catholike Church: that thou vouchſafe to pacifie, keepe, vnite, and gouerne it, throughout the whole world: with thy ſeruaunt our Pope N. and our Biſhop N.

That is (d) his owne Byſhop only.

and our King N.

And they are expreſſed by name.

Then let there follow.

and all true beleeuers, and ſuch as haue the Catholike and Apoſtolike faith in due eſtimation.

Heere let him pray for the liuing.

Remember Lord thy ſeruants & handmaides N. and N.

(a) And why not on the left hand aſwell? or why any ſuch kiſſing at all?

(b) Precious no doubt & princypall: or els arte thou to preſũptuous, that haſt already offered it vp for thy ſinnes & for the ſaluation of others.

(c) Who gaue you that cõmiſſion? will you offer bread and wine for the Church of Chriſt, who of very loue hath offred vp himſelfe for it already? Epheſ. 5.

(d) Charitye would pray for others alſo.

Anno 1552.

In the which prayer, a rule muſt be obſerued, for the order of charitie. Fiue times let the Prieſts pray. (a) Firſt for himſelfe. Secondly for father and mother, carnall and ſpirituall, and for other parents. Thirdly, for ſpeciall frends, pariſhioners and others. Fourthly, for all that ſtande by. Fifthly, for all Chriſten people. And heere may the Prieſt commend all (b) his frends to God. But my counſayle is, that none make ouerlong tarying there partly for diſtraction of mind: partly becauſe of immiſſions which may chaunce through euill Angels:

And all that ſtand heereby round about, whoſe fayth and deuotion, vnto thee is knowne and manifeſt: for whome we offer vnto thee, or which themſelues offer vnto thee, this ſacrifice (c) of prayſe, for them and theirs: for the redemption of their ſoules, for the hope of their ſaluation, and health, and render their vowes vnto thee the eternall liuing and true God.

Communicating and worſhipping the memoriall, fyrſt (d) of the glorious and euer virgin

Bowing downe a little, let him ſay:

Mary the mother of our God and Lord Ieſu Chriſt, & alſo of thy bleſſed Apoſtles and Martyrs, Peter, Paule, Andrew, Iames, Iohn, Thomas, Phillip, Bartholomew, Mathew Simon & Tadeus, Tinis, Cletus, Clemens, Sextus, Cornelius, Ciprianus, Laurence, Chriſogonus, Iohn and Paule, Coſme and Damian; and of all thy Saincts: By whoſe (e) merites & praiers, graunt thou, that in all things we may be defended wyth the helpe of thy protection, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Heere let the Prieſt behold the hoſte (a) with great veneration, ſaying:

Therefore Lord we beſeech thee, that thou being pacified, wilt receaue this oblation of our bond ſeruice, and of all thy houſhold: and order our dayes in thy peace, and command vs to be deliuered from eternall damnation, & to be nombred in the flocke of thine elect, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Heere againe, let him (b) behold the hoſte, ſaying:

Which oblacion we beſeech O almighty God in all things to make.

Heere let him make (c) three croſſes vpon both, when he ſayth:

✠ Bleſſed: ✠ appointed: ✠ ratified: reaſonable and acceptable: that vnto vs it may be.

Heere let him make a croſſe vpon the bread, ſaying:

✠ The body.

Heere vpon the chalice.

And ✠ bloud.

Heere with hands ioined together, let him ſay:

Of thy moſt dearely beloued Sonne our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt.

Heere let the Prieſt lift vp his hands, and ioyne them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift vp the hoſte, ſaying:

Who (d) the next day afore he ſuffered, tooke bread into his holy and reuerent hands: and his eyes beeing lift vp into heauen

Heere let him lift vp his eies.

Vnto the God almighty his father.

Heere let him bowe downe, and afterward erect hymſelfe vp a little ſaieng.

Rendring thanks vnto thee, he ✠ bleſſed, he brake.

Heere let him touch the hoſte, ſaying:

And gaue vnto his diſciples, ſaying: (e) take yee, and (f) eate of this ye all (g) for this is my body.

And theſe wordes muſt bee pronounced with one breath, and vnder one prolacion, without making of any pauſe betweene. After theſe wordes, let hym bow hymſelfe to the hoſte, and afterwarde lyfte it vp aboue hys forehead, that it may be (h) ſeene of the people: and let him reuerently lay it agayne before the chalice, in maner of a croſſe made with the ſame, and then let him vncouer the chalice, and hold it betweene his handes, not putting hys thombe and forefinger aſunder, ſaue only whẽ he bleſſeth, ſaying thus:

Likewiſe after they had ſupped, he taking this excellente cup into his holy and reuerent hands, rendring thankes alſo vnto thee,

Heere let him bow himſelfe, ſaying:

Bleſſed, and gaue vnto his diſciples, ſaying: take, and drinke of this (i) yee all.

Heere let him lift vp the chalice a little, ſaying thus:

For this is the cup of my bloud, of the new and euerlaſting teſtament (a) the myſterie of faith: which for you and for many, ſhall be ſhed to the remiſſion of ſinnes.

Heere let him lift the chalice to his breſt, or further then his head, ſaying:

As oft as ye doe theſe thinges, ye ſhall doe them (b) in remembraunce of me.

Here let him ſet downe the chalice againe, and rub hys fingers ouer the chalice. Then let him lift vp his armes, and couer the chalice. Then let him lift vp his armes (d) croſſe wiſe, his fingers being ioyned together vntill theſe wordes: De tuis donis (that is to ſaye, of thine owne rewardes.)

Wherefore O Lord, we alſo thy ſeruauntes, and thy holye people, being mindfull aſwell of the bleſſed paſſion and reſurrection, as of the glorious aſcention of the ſame Chriſt thy ſonne our Lord God, do offer vnto thy excellent maieſtie, of thine owne rewardes and giftes.

Here let there be made (e) fiue croſſes: Namely the three firſt vpon the hoſt and cup, ſaying.

✠ a pure hoſt: an holy hoſt: ✠ an vndefiled hoſt.

The fourth vpon the (f) bread onely, ſaying:

The holy ✠ (g) bread of eternall life.

The fifth vpon the cup, ſaying:

And ✠ cup of eternal ſaluation. Vouchſafe thou alſo with a mercifull and pleaſaunt countenaunce, to haue reſpecte hereunto, and to accept the ſame (h) as thou diddeſt vouchſafe to accept the giftes of thy righteous ſeruaunt Abell, and the ſacrifice of our Patriarcke Abraham and the holy ſacrifice, the vndefiled hoſt, that the high Prieſt Melchiſadech did offer vnto thee.

Here let the prieſt with his body bowed downe, and his handes holden a croſſe, ſay: Supplices te rogamus (we humbly beſeech thee) vntill theſe wordes, ex hac altaris participatione (of this partaking of the altar. And then let him ſtand vp, kiſſing the altar on the right ſide of the ſacrifice: and (i) let him make a ſigne of the croſſe vpon the hoſt, and in hys owne face, when he ſayth omni benedictione cœleſti (with al heauenly benediction.)

We (k) humbly beſeeche thee O almighty God commaund thou theſe to be brought by the hands of thy holy Aungell vnto thy high altar in the preſence of thy diuine maieſty: that as many of vs as.

Here erecting vp himſelfe, let him kiſſe the altar on the right ſide of the ſacrifice ſaying:

Of this participation of the altar, ſhall receiue thy ſonnes holy.

Here let him make a ſigne of the croſſe (l) vpõ the hoſt ſaying ✠ body.

Then vpon the cup, ſaying:

And ✠ bloud may be repleniſhed.

Here let him make a ſigne (in his owne face, ſaying wyth all heauenly benediction and grace thorow the ſame Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

Here let him pray for the dead.

Remember Lorde alſo the ſoules of thy ſeruauntes and handmaydens. N. and N. which are gone before vs with the marke of fayth, and reſt in the ſleepe of peace. We beſeeche thee O Lord, that vnto them and vnto (a) all ſuche as reſt in Chriſt, thou wilt graunt a place of refreſhing of light, and of peace, through the ſame Chriſt our Lorde. Amen.

Here let him ſmite once (b) vpon his breſt, ſaying:

¶ Vnto vs ſinners alſo thy ſeruauntes, hoping of the multitude of thy mercies, vouchſafe to geue ſome portion and fellowſhip with thy holy Apoſtles, and Martyrs, wyth Iohn, Stephen, Mathias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha Lucia. Agnes, Cecilia, Anaſtacia: and with all thy Saynctes, within whoſe fellowſhip we beſeeche thee admit vs, not waying our merite, but graunting vs forgeuenes, thorow Chriſt our Lord.

(c) here is not ſayd Amen.

By whom O Lord, all theſe good thinges thou doeſt euer create.

Here let him make a ſigne ouer the chalice (x) iii. times, ſaying.

Thou ✠ ſanctifieſt: thou quickeneſt: thou ✠ bleſſeſt, and geueſt vnto vs.

Here let him vncouer the chalice, and make a ſigne of the croſſe with the hoſt fiue times: (d) firſt beyond the chalice on euery ſide: ſecondly euen with the chalice: thirdly, within the chalice: fourthly, like as at the firſt: Fifthly before the chalice.

Thorow ✠ him: and with ✠ him: and in him, is vnto thee God father ✠ almighty, in the vnitie of the ✠ holy Ghoſt, all honour and glory.

Here let the Prieſt couer the chalice, and holde hys handes ſtill vppon the altar till the pater noſter be ſpoken ſaying thus.

World without ende, Amen. Let vs praye. Being aduertiſed by holſome preceptes and taught by (e) Gods inſtitution

So did not the Lord teach his diſciples to pray. Mat. 6. Luke, 11.

(b) And why not his enemies alſo? Math. 5.

(c) Why make ye then a ſatiſfactory ſacrifice of it?

(d) If ye hadde the Lordes matter in hand ye would do it in remembrance of him.

(e) Thus the merites & prayers of Chriſt are defaced.

(a) And why? for within a litle whyle, he looketh to haue it his God.

(b) That muſt he doe with a ſower & frowning coũtenance, if he follow the cautels of the Maſſe.

(c) Yea three at the leaſt: for this geere muſt be coniured as well as other things: leaſt when they thinke Chriſt to be naturally preſent, the deuill be there, & take vp the lodging before.

(d) The Scripture ſaith: Ea nocte the ſame nighte.

(e) He ſaith not let one of you take and eate it himſelfe alone.

(f) He ſaith not hang it vp, keepe it, worſhip it. &c.

(g) Enim haue they put in of theyr owne, and lefte out quod pro vobis datur.

(h) Yf it were the true Sacramentall bread of the body of the Lord it ſhould be takẽ & eaten and not lifte vp to be gaſed vpõ.

(i) Why takeſt thou it then alone? Or why ſhould not the lay people then drincke of the cup alſo? Be not they the Lordes diſciples? ſcholers of his heauenly ſchoole?

(a) Theſe words (miſterium fidei) haue ye here added declaring the cup to be but a miſticall repreſentation of the blood.

(b) How ſtandeth this with the remembrance of Saintes or of the dead. In quorum memoria. &c.

(d) By theſe crummes ye know what bread was wont to be vſed.

(e) And why no fewer croſſes then fiue?

(f) And why then be ye angry with vs?

(g) The bread of eternall lyfe, is Chriſt himſelfe, if this then be he, how canſt thou preſume to offer him vp vnto his father?

(h) Haue ye the [illegible]

[illegible]

inſtitution, we are bold to ſay.

Heere let the Deacon take the paten, and holde it vncouered on the right ſyde of the Prieſt (f) hys arme beeyng ſtretched out an high vntill da propitius. Heere let the Prieſt lift vp his hands, ſaying: pater noſter, &c. The quire muſt ſay: Sed libera nos &c.

Deliuer vs we beſeeche thee O Lorde from all euill paſt, preſent, and for to come, and that (g) by the interceſſion of the bleſſed, glorious, and our virgin Mary the mother of God, and thy bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paule and Andrew, with all Saincts.

Heere let the Deacon commit the patten to the Prieſt, kiſſing hys hande: and let the Prieſt (h) kiſſe the patten. Afterward let him put it (i) to his left eye, and then to the right. After that, let him make a croſſe with the paten (k) abone vpon his head, and ſo lay it downe againe into hys place, ſayeng:

geue peace graciouſly in our dayes: that we being helped through the ſuccour of thy mercy, may both be alway free from ſinne, and (a) ſafe from all trouble.

(b) Heere let him vncouer the chalice, and take the body, doing reuerence, ſhifting it ouer in the holow roome of the chalice, holding it betweene his thombes and forefingers: and let him breake it into three partes: the firſt breaking, while there is ſayd:

Through the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt thy Sonne.

The ſecond breaking.

who with thee in the vnity of the holy Ghoſt, liueth and reigneth God.

Heere let him hold two peeces in his left hand, and the third peece in the right hand vpon the brinke of the chalice, ſayeng this with (c) open voice.

world without ende.

Let the quire anſwere Amen. Heere let him make three croſſes (d) within the chalice with the thirde parte of the hoſte, ſaying:

The peace of the Lord (e) ✠ be alwayes ✠ with ✠ you.

Let the quire anſwere

And with thy ſpirite.

To ſaye Agnus dei, let the Deacon and ſubdeacon approch neere vnto the Prieſt, both being on the right hande, the Deacon neerer, the ſubdeacon farther off. And let them ſay (f) priuately.

O lambe of God that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world, haue mercy vpon vs: O lambe of God that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world, haue mercy vpon vs: O lambe of God that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world, graunt vs peace.

In Maſſes (g) for the dead it is ſayd thus.

O lambe of God that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world, geue them (h) reſt.

with this addition in the third repetition.

Euerlaſting.

Heere making a croſſe, let him put downe the ſaid third part of the hoſte into the ſacrament of the bloud, ſayeng:

This holy mingling together of the body and bloud of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt (i) be vnto me, and to all that receiue it, ſaluation of mind and body: an holeſome preparation both to deſerue and to receiue eternall life through the ſame Chriſt our Lord.

Afore the Paxe be geuen, let the Prieſt ſay:

O Lord holy father almighty eternall God, graunt me ſo worthily to take this holy body and bloud of thy Sonne our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, that (k) by this I may (l) merite to receyue forgeueneſſe of all my ſynnes, and be repleniſhed wyth thy holy ſpirite, and to haue thy peace: for thou art GOD alone, (m) neyther is there anye other without thee, whoſe glorious kingdome and Empyre endureth continuallye, worlde without ende. Amen.

Heere let the Prieſt (a) kiſſe the corporas on the right ſide, and the brinke of the chalice, and afterwarde let hym ſay to the Deacon.

Peace be vnto thee, and to the Church of God.

Aunſwere.

And with thy ſpirite.

On the right hand of the Prieſt, let the Deacon receaue the pax of him, and reach it to the ſubdeacon. Then to the ſtep of the quere, let the Deacon himſelfe beare the pax vnto the rectors of the quere. And let them bring it to the quere, eyther of them to his owne ſide, beginning at the eldeſt. But in feaſtes and feriall dayes (b) when the quere is not gouerned, the pax is borne from the deacon vnto the quere by two of the loweſt of the ſeconde forme, like as afore.

After the pax geuen, let the Prieſt ſay the prayers folowing, priuately, before he communicate, holding the hoſte (c) with both his hands.

O God father, thou fountaine & originall of all goodneſſe, who being moued with mercye, haſte willed thine onelybegotten ſonne for our ſakes, to deſcende into the lower partes of the worlde, and to be incarnate: whom I (d) vnworthy hold in my handes.

Here let the prieſt bowe (e) him ſelfe to the hooſt, ſaying I worſhippe thee, I glorifie thee, I prayſe thee, wyth whole intention of mind and hart: And I beſeech thee that thou (f) faile not vs thy ſeruauntes, but forgeue our ſinnes ſo as with pure hart and chaſte body wee may be able to ſerue thee (g) the onely liuing and true God, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

O Lord Jeſu Chriſt, thou ſonne of ye liuing God, who according to the will of the father, the holy Ghoſt working with all, haſt quickened the world through thy death: Deliuer me I beſeeche thee, through this thy holy body, and this thy bloude, from all my iniquities, and from all euils: And make me alway obey thy commaundements, and neuer ſuffer me to be ſeperated from thee for euermore, thou Sauiour of the worlde: who with God the father and the ſame holy Ghoſt, liueſt and raigneſt God worlde without end. Amen.

O Lord Jeſu Chriſt let not the ſacramẽt of thy body & bloud which I receiue (though vnworthy) be to my iudgment and damnation: but thorow thy goodnes, let it profite to the ſaluation of my body and ſoule. Amen.

To the body let him ſay with humilation afore he receaue.

Haile for euermore, thou moſt holy (a) fleſh of Chriſt: vnto mee afore all thinges and aboue all thinges the higheſt ſweetneſſe. The body of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt be vnto me ſinner, the way and life, in the ✠ name of the father and of the ſonne and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen.

Here let him take the body, (b) a croſſe being firſt made with the ſame body afore his mouth, ſaying.

Haile for euermore, thou heauenly drinke: vnto me before all thinges and aboue all thinges, the higheſt ſweetneſſe. The body and bloud of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt profite me ſinner for a remedy euerlaſtyng into life eternall Amẽ. In the ✠ name of the Father, and of the Sonne and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen.

Here let him take the bloud: whiche when it is receaued, let bow him ſelfe and ſay.

¶ The Prayer.

I render thãkes to thee O Lord holy Father almightie eternall God, whiche haſt refreſhed me out of the moſt holy body and bloud of thy Sonne our Lord Jeſu Chriſt. And I beſeech thee that this Sacrament of our ſaluation, whiche I vnworthy ſinner haue receiued, come not to my iudgement nor condemnation after my merites, but to the profite of my body, and to the ſaluation of my ſoule into life euerlaſtyng. Amen.

Which prayer being ſaid (c) let the Prieſt go to the right ſide of the altar, with the chalice betwene his handes, his fingers beyng yet ioyned together as afore & let the Subdeacon approch neare, and poure out wine and water into the chalice. And let the Prieſt rence his handes (d) leaſt any parcels of the body or bloud be left behind in his fingers or in the chalice (e). But whẽ any Prieſt muſt celebrate twiſe in one day, then at the firſt Maſſe hee muſt not receiue any ablutiõ, but put it in the Sacriſtie, or in a cleane veſſell till the end of the other Maſſe: and then let both the ablutions be receiued.

After the firſt ablution is ſayd this prayer.

That we haue receaued with mouth O Lorde, let vs take with a pure mynde, and (f) out of a temporall gift, let it be to vs a remedy euerlaſtyng.

Here let him (g) waſh his fingers in the holow rowme of the chalice with wyne beyng poured in by the Subdeacon: which, when it is drunke vp, let the prayer folow.

Lord let this (h) communion purge vs from ſinne, and make vs to be partakers of the heauenly remedy.

After the receiuyng of the ablutions, let the Prieſt lay the chalice vpõ the paten: that if ought remayne behynd, it may drop. And afterward bowyng him ſelfe let him ſay.

Let vs (a) worſhip the ſigne of the Croſſe, whereby we haue receaued the Sacrament of ſaluation.

Afterwarde let hym (b) waſhe his handes. In the meane ſeaſon, let the Deacon fold vp the corporas. When handes are waſhen, and the Prieſt returneth to the right ende of the altar (c) let the Deacon reache the chalice to ye Prieſtes mouth, that if ought of that which was poured in, doe remayne behynde (d) he may receaue it. After that, let hym ſay (e) the communion with his Miniſters. Then makyng a ſigne of the Croſſe in his owne face, lette the Prieſt turne hym ſelfe to the people: and (f) with his armes ſomewhat lifted vp, and his handes ioyned together,

let

(c) For falling.

(d) Holde him faſt Whyle ye haue him in your handes, leſt he flye from you as lyke he wil, if ye mocke with him to much.

(e) Why not? if it be his maker.

(f) If it faile, your kitchen wil be the colder.

(g) Note that the prieſt ſpeaketh all this to the hoſt: whereby it is euident how horribly they abuſe Gods creatures.

(a) that neuer was borne of our Ladye.

(b) Benedicite a gods name.

(c) Here be ſuch tricks, as S. Peter and Paule neuer wrote of.

(d(A daungerous matter I tell you.

(e) Magno conatu magnas nugas agunt.

(f) De munere temporali note well theſe wordes.

(g) A tokẽ that he hath had ſome corrupte matter in hand.

(h) What? dare ye cal it a Communion; D. Weſton will be angry, then.

(a) What it is, that theſe Idolaters will not worſhip? Very ſignes and tokens will not they ſticke at.

(b) He had neede I trow that hath daubed ſuch a muddy wall.

(c) Is the prieſt then to proud to take it vp himſelfe?

(d) For the pore Deacon is not worthy to receiue it.

(e) By this is meant, theſe few wordes that are ſpoken nexte before the laſt collect.

(f) Oh, what a Viſour of holynes is here?

let him ſay, Dominus vobiſcum: and turning him againe to the altar, let him ſay oremus: (let vs pray.)

(g) That is the laſt collect.

Then let him ſay the (g) poſtcommon, according to the number and order of the aforeſayd prayers. Before the Epiſtle, when the laſt poſtcommon is ended, and the Prieſt hath made a ſigne of the croſſe in his forehead, let him turne him agayne to the people, and ſay Dominus vobiſcum. Then let the Deacon ſay Benedicamus domino. At another tyme is ſayd Ite miſſa eſt. As oft as Ite miſſa eſt is ſayd, it is alway ſayd in turning to the people. And when Benedicamus domino, or Requieſcant in pace muſt be ſayde, let it be ſayde in turning to the altar. When theſe things are ſpoken, let the Prieſt (with his body bowed downe, and his hands ioyned together) in the middes before the altar, ſay (h) with a ſtill voice, this prayer.

(h) And why not with a loud voyce, if it be good. Becauſe it is not the Maſſemongers profeſsion, to edifie the people.

O holy Trinitie, let the office of my (i) bond ſeruice pleaſe thee, and graunt that this ſacrifice which I vnworthy haue offred in the eyes of thy maieſty, may be acceptable vnto thee: and that vnto me and all them for whome I haue offred it (k) it may auayle to obteyne remiſſion, thou beeyng mercifull, who lyueſt and reigneſt God, &c.

(i) Bondſeruice is as fit a name for the popiſhe Maſſe, as can be. For not onely cuſtome, but euill will alſo doth much, if maiſter money helpe not.

(k) What the Maſſe? in the Deuils name, for what intent then dyed Chriſt?

Which prayer being ended, let the Prieſt ſtand vpright, (l) croſſing himſelfe in his face, ſaying: In nomine patris, &c. And ſo, (when obeyſance is made) after the ſame order wherein they came afore to the altar at the beginning of the Maſſe, ſo hauing on their apparayle with the cenſor bearer, and other Miniſters, let them (m) go theyr waye agayne.

(l) That face hath much croſſing.

(m) Walke on as ye came: ye haue leaue to be trudging.

The ende of the Canon.

NOw it remayneth (as we haue promiſed before) to entreate of the partes and parcels of the Maſſe, declaring likewiſe how and by whome this popiſh or rather apiſh Maſſe became ſo clamperd and patched together with ſo many dyuers and ſondry additions: whereby it may the better appeare what hath bene the continuance of the ſame.

Firſt, in the beginning of this Preface it was declared before, how this word Maſſe was neuer vſed nor knowne in the old primatiue Church among the firſt Chriſtians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and deriue the origine of the Maſſe from Sainct Iames, and Baſilius, are farre deceiued. As I thinke that Sainct Iames was once Byſhop at Ieruſalem, ſo I thinke not contrary, but ſometymes he miniſtred the Communion there in breaking of bread, and that not without the Lords prayer, and other prayers of thankes gyuing. As we now in our Communion vſe like prayers, and theſe prayers make not the Communion to be a Maſſe. And like is to be ſayde of Sainct Peter: who though he dyd celebrate the Communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he ſayde Maſſe at Rome, as ſome report him to do.

Ex Euſebio. lib. 2.

How it commeth that S. Iames is thought to be the firſt ſetter vp of the maſſe.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the origine how this errour firſt came vp among the people, that Sainct Iames ſayd Maſſe at Ieruſalem, if a man conſider well hiſtories and authors which haue written. For in the hiſtory of Euſebius, Egeſippus thus writeth of Sainct Iames, Eum ab Apoſtolis primum conſtitutum fuiſſe Epiſcopum & liturgum, &c. Vpon the which word liturgus, it is not vnlike, and diuers ſuppoſe this errour to come, that Sainct Iames dyd firſt ſet and inſtitute the order of Maſſe. For ſo lightly the old tranſlators, whereſoeuer they fynde liturgia, or collecta, κοινωνία, they tranſlated it Miſſa: whereupon, the greateſt occaſion of this errour riſeth to make the people beleeue the Maſſe to be ſo auncient to proceede from the Apoſtles, and from Sainct Iames. Notwithſtanding that errour as it lightly came vp, ſo it may be as lightly exploded. For how could Sainct Iames ſay Maſſe then at Ieruſalem, or Sainct Peter at Rome, when as yet neyther the name of Maſſe was heard, nor the partes thereof inuented. And although Sigibertus in his Chronicles reporte, that in the Citie of Vaſath, being delyuered from the ſiege of the Hunnes, the paſtor of that Churche dyd celebrate Maſſe with thankes geuing aboute the yeare 453. yet Sigibert in ſo ſaying is to be taken, as ſpeaking rather after the vſe and maner of his time, when he wrote it, then of that time when it was done. For in all the workes of Sainct Auguſtine, and of Chriſoſtome, and in all that age, the name of Maſſe is not founde, but is called eyther the Supper of the Lord, or the Lords boord, or communion, Synaxis, ſacrifice, oblation, miſtery, celebration of the Sacrament, Euchariſtia, the miſticall table, Miſtagogia, cœna myſtica, or with ſome other like tearme they nominate it. The name of Maſſe was not yet deuiſed, nor the patches thereof compiled. Platina teſtifieth, that before Celeſtinus Pope, only the Epiſtle and Goſpell were read at the Communion, which being done, the Communion ended. And Gregory ſayeth, that the Apoſtles afore the miniſtration of the Sacrament, did vſe only the Lords prayer, that is, the Pater noſter. Let vs heare what Walafridus Strabo writeth of that matter, lib. de rebus Eccleſiaſtic. Capitu. 22. Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, & conſecrationum officio totum hoc Apoſtoli, & poſt ipſos proximi, (vt creditur) orationibus, & commemoratione paſsionis dominicæ, ſicut ipſe præcepit, agebant ſimpliciter, &c. i. That which nowe is done in the Church with ſuch a long circumſtance of ſo manie oriſons, leſſons, or readings, ſongs, and conſecrations: all that the Apoſtles, and they that nexte ſucceeded the Apoſtles (as it is thought) dyd accompliſhe ſimply with prayer onely, and wyth the commemoration of the Lords paſſion, &c. it followeth in the ſame Authour. And, as the report is, like as it is in the Romane Church vpon Good Friday, where the Communion is wont to be taken without any Maſſe: ſo it was in the old time with them, &c.

Siegebertus in Chronico.

Platina.

Gregor. in Regiſt. lib. 7. cap. 63.

Now how this Maſſe hath growne vp and increaſed ſince, let vs ſearch out, by the Lords helpe, out of Authors, ſo much as may be found.

The Introite.

COeleſtinus Pope gaue the firſt Introite, as Platina and Sigibertus writeth.

The Pſalme. Iudica me deus, &c.

And before the Prieſt do prepare himſelfe to his Maſſe, firſt with the Pſalme, Iudica me deus & decerne cauſam meam, &c. that was ordeined by the ſayd Cœleſtinus.

Platina. Sigibertus in vita Sergij. Sigibertus.

☞ And where they aſcribe to Sainct Ambroſe the two prayers which be vſed in the preparation to the Maſſe, and be added to the bookes of Ambroſe, Eraſmus iudgeth the ſame to be none of his, and that rightly as it ſeemeth, for therein is conteined errors, not elſe to be found in the bookes of Ambroſe, both in geuing adoration to the bread in the Sacrament, and making inuocation to Saincts, namely, to bleſſed Mary: as in the ſecond prayer, where he ſayth: Vt efficax hæc mea ſit deprecatio, beatæ Mariæ virginis ſuffragia peto, &c. i. And that this my prayer may be of efficacie, I deſire the ſuffrage and interceſſion of bleſſed Mary the virgine, &c. Whereby it may appeare, learned Ambroſe not to be the authour of ſuch an errour.

Chryſoſtome in the xj. homely vpon the Goſpell of Math. ſayth, that in his time (and afore his time) the vſe was to ſing whole pſalmes, till they were entred and aſſembled together. And ſo belike Cœleſtinus borowed thys cuſtome of the Greekes, and brought it into the Laten Church as Rupertus writeth.

Chriſoſt. hom. 11. in Mat.

Rupertus Tuicienſis. li. 2. de diui. officiis.

Gregory the great (as ſome write) called a Sinode at Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 594. In which Synode he appointed, that the introite of the Maſſe ſhould be taken out of ſome pſalme.

Chron. chron. Felicianus.

The Confiteor.

The Confiteor Pope Damaſus brought into the Maſſe as it is written: albeit peraduenture not this popiſh confiteor, which in the latter Church hath bin vſed, ſtuft full of Idolatry, & inuocation of Saints, againſt ẏ word of God.

Confiteor brought in by Pope Damaſus.

The Kyrie eleyſon.

The Kyrie eleyſon ix. times to be repeated in ſuch a tong, as few prieſts either vnderſtand, or do rightly pronounce, Gregory did inſtitute, about 600. yeares after Chriſt, taking it out of the Greekes Church, and yet tranſpoſing it otherwiſe, then there was vſed. For among the Greekes this Kyrie eleyſon (which they called their Letany) was ſong of all the people: The which Gregory ordeined to be ſong only of the Quere, adding thereto alſo Chriſte eleyſon, which the Grecians vſed not, as Gregory himſelfe writing to the Byſhop of Siracuſe, doth teſtifie.

Gregorius Ioanni epiſcopo Siracuſano lib. 7. Epiſt. 63.

Walafridus cap. 22.

Gloria in excelſis.

Next followeth Gloria in excelſis, &c. which words were ſong of the Angels at the birth of our ſauiour. Albeit theſe words alſo were corrupted, (as many other things were) in the Church. For where the words of the Angels himne were hominibus bona voluntas. i. to men good wil, ẏ Maſſe ſayd hominibus bonæ voluntatis. i. to men of good will, &c. This himne was brought into the Maſſe by Pope Symmachus (and not by Teleſphorus, as ſome not truely write that he ordeined three Maſſes on Chriſtmas day, for in his time there was no Maſſe. An. 140.) about the yeare of our Lord 510. And after, the ſaid himne was augmented by Hillarius Pictauienſis, with thoſe words that follow: Laudamus te, &c. ſinging it firſt in his owne church, which was Anno. 340. And afterward brought into other Churches by Pope Symmachus. An. 510. as is aforeſayd.

Hugo de S. Victore.

Dominus vobiſcum, with the aunſwere Oremus and the Collectes.

Dominus vobiſcum: with the anſwer of ẏ people, although we haue no certayne author named by whom it came: yet this is certayn, that it was deduced out of the Greek churche into the latin: as may appeare by the Liturge of Chriſoſtome and Baſilius (if the liturgie be rightly aſcribed vnto them) alſo by Origene, and other auncient writers: by whom, it may ſeeme that the liturgy, or maſſe (as they call it) did firſt begin with Dominus vobiſcum, and then ſurſum corda: after that Gratias agamus domino deo noſtro and ſo folowing vpon the ſame, verè dignum & iuſtum eſt. &c. To the which beginning of the Canon, other additiōs after were put vnto by others, as ye ſhal heare (by the Lordes grace) hereafter more at large.

Hugo de S. victore, writeth that this prayer was taken out of the auncient ſalutation of Booz ſaluting his harueſt folkes. And out of the booke of Paralip. where the prophet ſaluteth Azan the king with his company about him ſaying: Dominus vobiſcum. Honorius writeth thus: Præsbiter cū ſalutatione veteris teſtamenti, & Epiſcopus cum ſalutatione noui teſtamenti ſalutat populum quia dignius eſt nouum quàm vetus teſtamentum. i. As the Prieſte ſaluteth the people with the wordes of the olde Teſtament. Dominus vobiſcum. So the Biſh. vſeth the wordes of the new teſtament, ſaying: pax vobiſcum. &c. Concerning the Collectes Walfridus writeth: that as they be diuers and vncertayne, ſo they were made of diuers and ſondry authors, as euery of them thought it congrue. Hugo de S. victore affirmeth that chiefly they were made by Gelaſius and Gregorius.

Why they were called collects, W. Durandus and Micrologus ſhew the cauſe, for that in the city of Rome they ſayd them ouer the people collected together in the ſtation day, therefore they were called collectæ.

¶ The Graduall with Alleluya Tracte & Sequenties.

The Reſponſorie, which is called the Graduall (beyng wont to be ſong at the ſteps going vp) with alleluya, Honorius ſaith that Ambroſe made them, but Pope Gregory ordeined them to be receiued.

Vpon feſtiuall dayes the Sequencies, which were wont to be ſong, were chiefly compoſed by an Abbot, called Nokkerus de S.Gallo, And by Pope Nicholas commaunded to be ſong in the Maſſe.

The graduall the people were wont to ſing when the Biſhop was about to go vp to the pulpit, or ſome higher ſtanding, where the word of God might be the better and more ſenſibly heard at his mouth, reading the Epiſtle and the Goſpell.

¶ The Epiſtle and the Goſpell.

The reading of the Epiſtle and the Goſpell, although it was not vſed in the Apoſtles time: yet it ſeemeth to bee of auncient continuaunce: as Hugo ſayth, Primis temporibus ab Epiſtola Pauli, miſſa incipiebatur, poſt quam ſequebatur Euangelium, ſicut nunc. i. In former time, the Maſſe begon firſt with the Epiſtle of S. Paule: after which Epiſtle the folowed the Goſpell, as alſo now. &c.

Walafridus ſayth: it is vncerteine who firſt ordered & diſpoſed them ſo to be.

Some attribute them to Hierome, ſome to Damaſus, ſome to Teleſphorus aforeſayde. This is certayne, that Pope Anaſtaſius ordeined to ſtand vp at the hearing of yͤ Goſpell read, about the yeare of our ſauiour. 406.

Petrus Ciruelus, writeth thus: Legimus & circa annos Chriſtianæ Salutis. 500. fere, iam inſtitutas Epiſtolas in officio miſſali. &c. About 500. yeares almoſte, the Epiſtle ſayth he, was firſt brought into the maſſe.

Honorius lib. 1. Epiſtolam & Euangelium Alexander Papa legi ad miſſam cōſtituit. Hieronimus autem presbiter lexionariū, & Euangeliarium, vt hodie habet Eccleſia, collegit. Sed Damaſus Papa, vt nunc moris eſt, legi cenſuit. Alexander ſayth he, appoynted the Epiſtle, and the Goſpell, to be read at Maſſe. The tranſlation and the diſpoſition of them, in that order, as they ſtand, Hierome the Prieſt collected: but Damaſus would them to be read in the Churche, ſo as the vſe is now.

Betwixt the Epiſtle and the Goſpell, the olde Canons of the Spanyardes did forbid any Hymne or Canticle to be ſonge, in the order of the Maſſe, which now by the Romiſh order is broken.

¶ The Creede.

The Creede was made by the Synode of Conſtantinople, but by Damaſus the Pope, ordeined to be ſong at yͤ Maſſe. And where ſome affirme that it was brought in by Pope Marcus, about the yeare of our Lord. 340. to reconcile theſe two together, peraduenture thus it may be takē, that the one brought in the Creede, or Symbole of Nicene counſell, the other appoynted the Creede of Conſtantinople, as is ſayd.

¶ The Offertory.

After this, oblations were wont to bee offered of the people to the Prieſt: and the Offertorye to be ſonge of the quere.

Ex Rabano lib. 1. cap. 33. De inſtitu. Cleric.

☞ Of theſe oblations ſpeaketh Irenæus. Pro diuerſis ſacrificiorum ritibus, ſimplex oblatio panis & vini fidelibus ſufficiat. &c.

In ſtead of the ſondrye rites of ſacrifices, let the ſimple oblation of bread and wine ſuffice the faythfull.

Ireneus. lib. 4. cap. 18.

Item, Walafrid. omnis populus intrans eccleſiam debet ſacrificare, ſicut docet ordo inſtitutionis eccleſiaſticę. i. Euerye perſon entring in the Church muſt doe ſacrifice, as the order of Eccleſiaſtical inſtitution doth teach, what order this was, it is declared in ordine Romano by theſe wordes: populus dat oblationes ſuas, id eſt panem & vinum: primo maſculi, deinde fœminæ, nouiſsimè vero ſacerdotes & Diaconi offerunt, ſed ſolum panem, & hoc ante altare. i. The people geue euerye one his oblations, that is, bread and wine: firſt the men, then the women, after them Prieſtes and Deacons offer, but bread onely. &c.

Walafrid. in expoſitione ordinis Romi.

Likewiſe Bucardus teſtifieth the ſame In ſynodo Matiſcon. decretum eſt, vt in omnibus Dominicis diebus, alijſque feſtiuitatibus oblatio ab omnibus qui ad Miſſam conuenerint vtriuſque ſexus offeratur in Eccleſia, ſingulas oblationes offerentes, finita miſſa oblationes a præsbitero accipiant. i. In yͤ Sinod Matiſcon it was ordeined that euerye ſonday and feſtiuall day oblation was made of al the people which came to the maſſe, or liturgy, both men and women, in the church, euery perſon bringing and offering his owne oblation.

Burchardus, lib. 5. cap. 32.

Ex concil. Matiſcon. cap. 50.

The liturgye being done, they receiue the oblations of the prieſt. &c.

☞ Thus ye maye ſee what was their oblations and ſacrifice in the auncient time, in their liturgy. whereof now remayneth nothing, but the name onely with the ſong.

This offertory ſome aſcribe to Eutichianus about the yeare of our Lord. 280. but thereof no certayne euidence appeareth.

Orate pro me fratres. &c.

Nauclerus writeth that Pope Leo broughte in that which is ſayd in yͤ Maſſe: Orate pro me fratres & ſorores. &c.

Nauclerus. lib. 3. genera. 5.

¶ The Preface and the Canon.

The Preface of the Canon from verè dignum & iuſtum eſt. &c. to per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum is geuen to Gelaſius. ſurſum corda, ſeemeth to be borowed out of the old maner of the Greeke Church, S. Cyprian alſo maketh mention of the ſame and S. Auſt. de vera religione. cap. 3.

Ex vetuſto quodam libro de officio miſſe.
Cyprianus de oratione dominica.
Auguſt.

☞ And therfore Thomas waldenſis iudgeth that this part of the preface cannot be attributed to Gelaſius.

Tho. Waldenſis.

After Chriſtum dominum noſtrum, in the old liturgy then followed Qui predie quàm pateretur as Rhenanus ſuppoſeth, but then came Pope Gelaſius the firſt, about yͤ yeare of our Lord 497. which inſerted that which foloweth: Te igitur clementiſsime. &c.

B. Rhenanus in Tertul. De coro. militis.

☞ Whereby it is to bee noted that Polidorus Virgilius (which aſcribeth Qui predie to Pope Alexander) De inuent. lib. 5. cap. 10. is deceiued.

Polidorus Vergilius contraried.

The like is alſo to be ſaid of Panormitanus, who referreth the ſame clauſe Qui pridie. &c. to the Apoſtles. lib. de celebratione Miſſæ Cap. Cum Martha.

Panormitanus deceaued.

Furthermore note (good reader) howe this doth agree with the long Canon of Saynt Ambroſe lib. 4 De ſacramentis. cap. 5. Dicit Sacerdos: fac nobis hanc oblationem adſcriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem quod eſt figura corporis & ſanguinis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Qui pridie quam pateretur, in ſanctis manibus ſuis accepit panem, reſpexit ad cœlum ad te ſancte pater omnipotens æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit. &c. if it be true that either Panormitanus ſaith, or that Gelaſius made Qui pridie. &c. Howe can this Canon then be fathered vpon S. Ambroſe? And by the ſame reaſon alſo hys whole booke entituled De Sacramentis may be ſuſpected, as of diuers learned men it is.

Then came Pope Sixtus, 10. yeares after him, whiche broughte into the Canon Sanctus, Sanctus, thriſe to be ſong out of the booke of Eſay. And to annexe it together, ioyned alſo that whiche goeth before: per quem maieſtatem tuam. &c.

Rupertus.

Ex pont. Damaſ.
Liturgia Baſilij.

☞ He that writeth the liturgy of Baſilius, aſcribeth it to his name: whether hee doth it truely or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that ſeeing in the ſayde liturgye of Baſilius, the ſame Particle, ſanctus, ſanctus ſanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni ſunt cœli & terra gloria tua, oſanna in excelſis, is ſong: Therfore it muſt needes folowe, that either Leo whiche was aboute the yeare of our Lord.

460. borowed this out of Baſilius Liturgie, or els yͤ ſame is falſly attributed to Baſilius.

After this foloweth: Sanctum ſacrificium immaculatam hoſtiam, till ye come to placatus accipias, which Leo the firſt did make and inſtitute.

Humbertus Epiſc. contra libellum Nicete, Monachi.

The wordes in the communion, Hoc quotieſcunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis, &c were put in by Pope Alexander. 1. as Humbertus writeth: vnder Byſhop Alexander martyr & papa. 5. ab Apoſt. Petro paſsionem Domini inſerẽs Canoni Miſſæ, ait: Hoc quotieſcunque feceritis. &c.

Ex Actis Ro. pontif.

Pope Gregory the third about the yeare of our Lord, 732. put to his piece: Et eorum quorum memoria. &c.

☞ This Gregory the 3. called a coũcell at Rome wherein he decreed that Images ſhoulde not onely be had in tẽples, but alſo worſhipped, and that all gaynſayers ſhould be counted as herretickes.

Innocent. 3.

Innocentius the 3. of that name affirmeth Pope Gelaſius, which was about 490. yeares after Chriſt, to haue made a great piece of that Canon, as he himſelfe did ſomething therein, about the yeare of our Lord. 1215.

Panor. de celebratione miſſæ.

Panormitanus affirmeth that Gregory did adde to the Canon, this clauſe, Dieſque noſtros in pace diſponas.

Briefely Gregorius in regiſtro ſayth that one Scholaſticus made the moſt part of the Canon, finding alſo fault with the ſame, that in compoſing the Chanon, he woulde put in his owne prayers, & leaue out the Lords prayer. &c.

Autors reconciled.

☞ Where is to be noted, for the reconciling of theſe wryters together, of whom ſome impute the Canon to Gelaſius, ſome agayne to Scholaſticus: In my coniecture it may be ſayd, that both theſe be one, and ſo the matter is reconciled. The reaſon that moueth me is this, for ſo I finde In vetuſto quodam libro de officio miſſæ, after theſe wordes, Gelaſius Papa ex Scolaſtico effectus in ordine 48. fecit tractatus & hymnos. &c.

Ex vetuſto libro de officio miſſæ.

Gelaſius & Scholaſticus both one.

The eleuation and adoration.

Ex Actis Roma. pont.

The eleuation and adoration of the ſacrament, we cãnot finde to come in by any other, then by Honorius the iij. about the yeare of our Lord 1222. which ordeined that the people then ſhould kneele downe and worſhip the ſacrament.

The Pater noſter.

Ioannes Diaconus in vita Gregorij.

Ioannes Diaconus writing of Gregory, ſayth: Orationem dominicam mox poſt Canonem ſuper hoſtiam cenſuit recitari. i that Gregory cauſed the Lordes prayer to be recited immediately after the Canon vpon the hoſt. &c.

☞ Although the Apoſtles euer vſed the Lordes prayer at the ſupper of the Lord, as is ſayd before: yet Gregory belike placed it ſo in that order after the Canon, and brought it in with thoſe wordes: præceptis ſalutaribus &c.

Gregorius lib. 9. Reg. ad Ioan. Syra.

Gregorius in Reg. Dominica oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo: Apud nos vero a ſolo ſacerdote cantatur. i. The Lords prayer, ſayth he, amonge the Grecians was wonte to bee ſong generally of all the people: with vs it is ſong onelye of the prieſt.

Agnus.

Expoſit. Rom. ordinis.

The Agnus Pope Sergius aboute the yeare of our Lord. 700. brought into the Maſſe, as witneſſeth Expoſit. R. ord. propter officium confractionis dominici corporis, conſtitutum eſt a papa Sergio vt agnus dei decantetur. &c.

The Pax.

Ex decretis Innocentij PP. Cap. 1.

Innocentius ordeined the paxe to be geuen to the people. Pacis ait, oſculum dandum poſt confecta myſteria, vt conſtet populum ad omnia quę in myſterijs aguntur, præbuiſſe conſenſum. &c.

☞ Peter Martyr in his commẽtaryes in Iud. ſaith that it it was brought in by Pope Leo. 2. as it is ſaid: and yet ſuppoſeth the ſame not to be ſo, ſaying that this was an auncient custome in the Apoſtles time, for Chriſtians to ſalute one an other with the kiſſe of peace. &c.

Gabriel Biel. in can. lect. 81.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth alſo Gabriell Biel, writing in theſe wordes: Porrexit in primitiua eccleſia ſacerdos oſculum pacis miniſtro, cæteris impartiednum, vt per hoc ſignificaret, &c. i. In the primitiue Church, the prieſt gaue a kiſſe of peace to the miniſter, to be geuen by him to the people.

The diſtribution and communion.

After this foloweth the comunion, where in our popiſh Maſſe and Miniſters therof do much alter and degenerate from auncient antiquity, two maner of wayes.

Firſt in that they make no communion thereof, receyuing onely to thẽſelues, cõtrary both to theyr own wordes: where they ſay after theyr receiuing: Sacramenta que ſumpſimus. &c. and alſo to the auncient examples and decrees of the Apoſtles and others. And where it is decreed in the Epiſtle of Anacletus. Paracta autẽ conſecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Eccleſiaſticis carere liminibus. Sic enim & Apoſtoli ſtatuerunt, & S. Romana tenet eccleſia. &c. i. The conſecration being done, let all communicate together, vnles they will be thruſt out of the church dores. &c.

☞ Here note by the way (gentle Reader) how Gratianus the writer of the Popes decrees, is ouerſene, which in hys booke De conſecrat. diſt. 2. referreth this ſaying of Anacletus to Pope Calixtus. And likewiſe alſo Chocleus writing agaynſt Muſculus, followeth Gracianus in the ſame error.

Likewiſe in the Canons of the Apoſtles (if the Canõs were theyrs) we read: πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ, καὶ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει. &c. i. All the faithfull which reſort to the Church, and tary not out the end of the ſeruice, and receiue not the holy communion, ſuche, as bringing in diſorder to the Church, ought to be diſſeuered. &c. And agayne: Si quis epiſcopus, præſbiter, aut diaconus, aut quicunq́ue ex ſacerdotali conſortio, oblatione facta, non communicauerint, cauſam dicito. &c.

For how can that be a communion called, which is not common but priuate to one? As Micrologus writeth: Nec enim proprie communio dici poteſt, niſi plures de eodem ſacrificio participent. i. It can not be called a communion, excepte mo then one do participate of one ſacrifice. &c.

And Durandus: In primitiua eccleſia omnes qui celebrationi Miſſarum intererant, ſingulis diebus communicare ſolebãt, eo quod Apoſtoli omnes de calice biberunt. &c. i. In the primitiue time all that were preſent at the miniſtration, were wont euery day to communicate, becauſe that the apoſtles did altogether drinke of the cup. &c.

Secondly, they alter and degenerate therein from auncient antiquity, in that when they communicate alſo wyth the people, yet they depriue them of the holy cup: which deprauation was not in the church before the counſel of Cõſtance, about the yere of our Lord. 1414. For before it was ſo autentikly receiued, that it was counted a ſacriledge, to receiue the one without the other, as appeareth by the wordes of Pope Gelaſius: Cõperimus quod quidam ſumpta tantum modo corporis ſacri portione. &c. the whole in engliſh is thus: we vnderſtand that there be ſome, which receiuing the one part onely of the holy body, abſteine from the cup of the ſacrate bloud: who (becauſe they be taught ſo to do, by what ſuperſtition I cannot tell) eyther let thẽ receiue the ſacrament whole together, or let them abſteine from the whole ſacrament altogether, becauſe the diuiſion of that one and whole ſacrament, cannot be without great ſacriledge. &c.

Hytherto alſo perteineth the teſtimony of S. Auſten in theſe wordes: Et ibi vos eſtis in menſa, & in calice nobiſcum vos eſtis. Simul enim hoc ſumimus, ſimul bibimus, quia ſimul viuimus. &c. i. There be you at the table, and at the cup there alſo be you with vs: for together we receiue, and together we drinke, becauſe we liue together.

As alſo out of the booke of Gregory it is manifeſt that not onely the people receiued then in both kindes: but alſo the wordes were preſcribed to the miniſter, what he ſhould ſay in geuing the cup: Item ſacerdos calicem dando dicat: Sanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti cuſtodiat te ad vitam æternam. i. Let the prieſt ſay in geuing the cup: The bloud of our lord Ieſus Chriſt keepe thee to euerlaſting life. Amen.

Further in rẽdering the cauſe, why it ſhould ſo be done, Thomas Aquine writeth: Nam hoc valet ad repræſentandam paſsionem Chriſti, in qua ſeorſum fuit ſanguis a corpore ſeparatus. &c. Secundo, hoc eſt conueniens vſui huius ſacramenti, vt ſeorſum exhibeatur corpus Chriſti fidelibus in cibum, & ſanguis in potum. i. For that ſerueth to repreſent the paſſion of Chriſt, wherein his bloud was parted ſeuerally from the body. &c. Secondly, for that is conuenient to the vſe of the ſacramẽt, that the body ſhoulde ſeuerally be geuen to the faythfull to meat, and the bloud to drinke.

And therfore ſerued the office of the deacõs as we read, vt oblata a populo ſuper altare conſecranda diſponant, & perfectis myſterijs calicem ſacroſancti ſanguinis Domini, fidelibus propinent. i. To lay the offeringes of the people vpon the altar to be halowed, and when the miſteries be conſecrated, to diſtribute the cup of the ſacrate bloud of the Lord to the faythfull, &c.

But among all other teſtimonies to proue that the ſacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more euident then the place of Hierome. Ceterum dominica cæna omnibus debet eſſe communis, quia ille omnibus diſcipulis ſuis, qui aderant ęqualiter tradidit ſacramenta. i. The ſupper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his diſciples there preſent. &c.

And thus haue ye heard the Canon deſcribed, which otherwiſe is called ſecretum. i. the ſecrete of the maſſe, beinge ſo termed, becauſe the prieſt was wont to read it in ſecrete or in ſcilence. The reaſon thereof Pope Innocentius. iij. declareth in his third booke, for that the holy wordes, ſayth he of the Canon, ſhoulde not growe in contempt with the people by the dayly vſe and hearing thereof. And bringeth in an example concerning the ſame of certeine ſhepheards which in the fieldes vſing the ſame wordes of the Chanon vpō theyr bread and wine, the matter was turned ſaith he, into fleſh and bloud, and they plagued therefore from heauen: but with ſuch popiſh tales the Church hath bene lōg repleniſhed.

The Poſtcommon.

After the Canon and communion, then followeth the Poſtcommon, with the collectes, which the maſſe booke requireth alwayes to be vſed in an odde number, ſometime teaching to vſe but one, as in the ſondayes in Lent: and ſometime three: as in certen maſſes, from lowſonday, tyll the Aſcention: but neuer to paſſe the number of ſeauen.

Ite Miſſa eſt.

Laſt of all commeth Ite miſſa eſt, wherby the miniſter dimitteth and ſendeth away al the congregation there preſent to theyr buſineſſe, for as you hearde before, it was decreed in auncient time, that it was not lawefull to departe from the congregation in the time of holy miniſtration, before the end of the whole cōmunion. And therfore, all thinges being accompliſhed, the miniſter turning to the aſſemblye, pronounceth Ite miſſa eſt.

☞ Where note that vpon ſondayes and feſtiuall dayes onely when Gloria in excelſis, was ſonge, Ite miſſa eſt was wont to be ſayd: on the workedayes, Benedicamus Domino: ſometime Requieſcant in pace.

Now concerning ſuch trinckets as were to the foreſaid Maſſe apperteining or circumſtant, firſt the linnin Albes and Corporaſſes were brought in by Pope Marcus. Ann. 340. if that be true whiche is thought of ſome, where not agayne, that in the time of this Pope, it was nothyng offenſiue for euery honeſt Prieſt, to haue his owne proper wife. In the time alſo of this Marcus, was concilium Eliberinum, which condemned all kindes of Images and pictures in temples.

Contrary to the whiche counſell, Pope Gregorye the third, about the yeare of our Lord. 732. calling a counſel at Rome, did not onely ſtabliſh the Images before condēned, but condemned the gaynesayers for Heretickes, as is aforeſayd.

By Sixtus the ſecond it was ordeined that no liturgy ſhould be done ſaue onely vpon altars halowed, about the yeare of our Lord 260. as ſome ſuppoſe. But as I ſee no firme probation vpon the ſame: ſo haue I probable coniecture the ſame not to be true.

Some there be that ſhame not to ſay that S. Clement brought in the Albe and veſtmentes, to the popiſh maſſe.

Item that the ſacramēt of the bloud of the Lord ſhould be cōſecrate in chalices of glaſſe and not of wood, as it was in time before, they ſay it was the ordinaunce of Pope Seuerinus.

After this came in golden chalices, and a true prouerbe with all. That once they had wodden chalices, and goldē Prieſtes, nowe they haue golden Chalices, and wodden Prieſtes.

Sabinianus ordeined the ringing of bels, and burning of lampes in churches.

Vitalianus the playing on the organes.

Damaſus by the inſtinct of Hierome appoynted gloria patri after the pſalmes.

Pelagius deuiſed the Memento for the dead.

Leo brought in the Incenſe.

Eutichianus as other ſay, brought in the Offertorye, which was then after a farre other wiſe then it is, or hath bene vſed now a great whyle. For what time as manye of the Heathen being greatly accuſtomed with offeringes, were conuerted vnto Chriſt, and could not be wel brought from theyr olde long vſe of Offeringes, the Pope thought to beare ſomewhat with the weake, and permitted them to bring meates into the congregation or church, that whē the Byſhoppe had bleſſed them, they that brought them, might diſtribute them to the poore, or take them to theyr owne vſe. But afterward did Pope Gregory ſo helpe vp this ſentence: Non apparebis in conſpectu Dei tui vacuus. &c. Thou ſhalt not appeare in the ſight of thy God empty. &c. that as he willed the people to lay theyr offeringes vppon the Aultare: ſo they did, and haue not yet forgotten to doe ſo ſtill.

Soule maſſes, and maſſes applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, which brought in the Memento as is ſayd.

☞ Wherein note (good Reader) and marke, how theſe two ſtand together, that which our Sauiour ſayth in hys Euangely, hoc facite in mei commemorationem, do this in remembraunce of me: and that which they ſay In quorum memoria Corpus Chriſti ſumitur. &c. i. In whoſe commemoration the bodye of Chriſt is taken. &c. Chriſt woulde it to bee done in his remembraunce, and the Pope ſayth, doe it in remembraunce of the deade. &c. What can be more contrary.

Innocentius the third, ordeined that the Sacrament ſhould be reſerued in the Churche. The ſame brought alſo in auriculare confeſſion as a lawe, about the yeare of our Lord 1215. he did alſo conſtitute that no Archbiſhop ſhould enioy the pall, vnleſſe he were of his owne religion: and therefore no great maruell if there be ſuch vnity in popery.

Reſeruation of the Sacrament. Auricular confeſſion. A policy for vnity in popery.

Vigilius ordeined that the Prieſt ſhould ſay maſſe hauing his face toward the eaſt.

Platina writeth how the firſt latin maſſe was ſong in the ſixte counſell of conſtantinople, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord, 680. ſo that the ſayd Maſſe was there & then firſt allowed and not before. And yet they (I thinke) the greek Church ſhould haue knowne as ſoone the maſſe, if it had proceeded from Iames or Baſilius, as the Latine Church did know it.

The firſt Latin Maſſe ſonge at Conſtantinople. A Coniecture probable that the Romane maſſe is of no great antiquitye.

The opinion to thinke the Maſſe to helpe ſoules in Purgatory was confirmed by Pope Ioannes 19. by reaſō of a dreame wherein he dreamed that he ſaw and heard the voyces of deuilles lamenting and bewayling, that ſoules were deliuered from them, by the ſaying of Maſſes and diriges. And therefore did approue and ratify the feaſt of all ſoules brought in by Odilo: moreouer adioined alſo to the ſame, the feaſt of alhallowes, about the yeare of our Lord. 1003.

The feaſt of all ſoules.

The feaſt of all hallowes.

Concerning lent faſt, ſome thinke that Teleſphorus, about the yeare of our Lord. 140. was the author therof. But that peraduenture may be as true, as that which they alſo attribute to him, that he ordeined three maſſes of one prieſt to be ſayd on Chriſtmas day. Or if he did ordeine that faſt, yet he did ordeine it but freely to be kept: for ſo I finde among the decrees, that lent was commaunded firſt to bee faſted, but onely of the Clergy or church men.

Lent faſt.

3. Maſſes on Chriſtmas day.

Pope Leo commaunded the Sacrament to be cenſed.

Pope Boniface ſet in his foot for couering of yͤ altars.

Cenſing of the Sacrament. Couering of the Altars.

In S. Cyprians time, it ſeemeth that water was then myngled with the wyne, whereof we read mention in his ſecond booke of Epiſtles: which mixture is referred to Alexander the firſt, in the order of the Romaine Canon.

Cyprianus. li. 2. epiſt. 3. Ex libro ordinis Rom. officij.

As concerning the breaking of the body in 3. partes we read alſo mention to be made in the ſame booke of order, but no certaine author therof to be named. The wordes of the booke be theſe: Tripliciter, inquit, corpus Domini intelligitur. Vnum quod reſurrexit a mortuis, quod ſignificat particula in ſanguinem miſſa: Aliud quod adhuc viuit in terra ſignificatū per particulam a ſacerdote conſumptam. Tertium, quod iam requieſcit in Chriſto, quod etiam a tertia particula in altari reſeruata apte figuratur. &c. i. Three wayes is the body of the Lord vnderſtanded: One which roſe agayne from the dead, being ſignified by that part, which is let fall to the bloud in the chalice. The other is, that yet is liuing in the earth, whiche the part of the prieſt eaten doth ſignify. The third is that now reſteth in Chriſt, which alſo is figured by that particle, that is reſerued vpon the aultar.

The breaking of the hoſt in 3. Ex Rom. ordine. de officio Miſſe.

Dedication of churches came in by Felix the third: and that Churches might not be hallowed but by a Byſhoppe an. 492.

Dedication of Churches.

The canticle Gloria laus. &c. in the proceſſion before the Maſſe on Palmeſonday, was inſtituted by Theodulphus biſhop of Aurelia, as Sygibertus writeth, about the yeare of our Lord. 843.

Geuing of holy bread came in by this occaſion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and other. The maner was in auncient time, that the Miniſters were wont to receiue certaine meale of euerye houſe or family, wherewith a great loafe was made, called Panis Dominicus, able to ſerue in the Communion and to be diſtributed vnto the people, which then was wont euerye day to be preſent and to receiue, eſpecially they that offered the meale: for whom it was wont therfore to be ſayd in the Canon: Omnium circumſtantium, qui tibi hoc ſacrificium laudis offerunt. &c. But afterward the number of the people increaſing, and pietye decreaſing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordeined to communicate but onely vpon ſondayes.

Honorius in gēma lib. 1. cap. 66. Guliel. Durand in Ration. lib. 4. cap. 53.

At length folowed the thyrd conſtitution, that thriſe a yeare, at leaſt at Eaſter, euery man ſhould communicate, being thus prouided, that in ſtead of the dayly communiō before vſed, the pax did ſerue. And in ſtead of receiuing vpon the Sonday, bread was hallowed and ſondaylye geuen and diſtributed vnto the people, whyche alſo was called Eulogia: the conſtitution whereof ſeemeth to proceed from Pope Pius. For ſo wee reade in the decrees of the ſayde Pope Pius: Vt de oblationibus quæ offeruntur a populo, & conſecrationibus ſuperſunt, vel de panibus quos deferūt fideles ad eccleſiam, vel certe de ſuis præsbiter conuenienter

Holy bread.

Anno 1553

Ex ſanctionibus Eccleſiaſticis. Claſſ. 3. decreta pij. pape

partes inciſas habeat in vaſe nitido & conuenienti, & poſt Miſſarum ſolennia qui communicare non fuerint parati, eulogias omni die dominico, & in dieb⁹ feſtis exinde accipiāt. That is: That the Miniſter ſhal take of the oblations offered of the people, remayning of the conſecration, or els of the breade, which the faythfull will bring vnto the Church or els to take of theyr owne bread and cut it conueniently in portions in a cleane, & a conuenient veſſell: ſo that after the ſolemnity of the miniſtration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receiue euery ſondaye or feſtiuall day, Eulogies, or benedictions with the ſame. Hec ille.

As cōcerning holly water which they vſed to ſprinckle at the Church doore, vpon them that entred in, I will not ſay that it ſpronge from the Idolatrous vſe of the Gentiles.

Zozom. lib 6. cap. 6. Theodoritus. lib. 3. cap 16.

This I ſay as I finde in hiſtoria Sozomeni. Erat autem Romanis vetuſta conſuetudo vt quum limen templi tranſeūdū eſſet, ſacerdos ſecundum morē ethnicum madidos quoſdam oliue ramuſculos manu tenens ingredientes aſpergebat. &c. i. It was an olde cuſtome among the Romains, that at the entring in at the Church doore, the prieſt after the vſuall maner of the Ethniks, hauing in his hand moiſt braūches of Oliue, did ſprinckle with the ſame ſuch as entred in. &c.

To the which cuſtome this our maner of geuing of holye water is ſo like, that it ſeemeth to proceede out of the ſame.

Ex lib. conciliorum. De conſecra. diſt. 3. c. Aquam.

In the booke of the Popes decrees, & in the diſtinctiōs of Gratianus, there is a certayne decree fathered vpon Alexander the firſt, about the yeare of our Lord. 121. Whiche decree may well ſeme to be a baſtard decree, neither agreeing to ſuch a father, nor ſuch a time, concerning the coniuring of holy water. The wordes of the decree be theſe: Aquam ſale conſperſam in populis benedicimus, vt ea cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur, & purificentur, quod omnibus ſacerdotibus faciendum eſſe mandamus. Nam ſi cinis vitule aſperſus populum ſanctificabat, atque mundabat, multo magis aqua ſale aſperſa, diuiniſque precibus ſacrata populū ſanctificat atque mundat. Et ſi ſale aſperſo per Heliſæum Prophetam ſterilitas aquæ ſanata eſt: quanto magis diuinis precibus ſacratus ſal ſterilitatem rerū aufert humanarum, & coinquinatos ſanctificat & purgat, & cætera bona multiplicat, & inſidias diaboli auertit, & a phātaſmatis verſutijs homines defendit. That is: We bleſſe water ſprinckled with ſalt among the people, that all ſuch as be ſprinckled with the ſame may be ſanctified and purified: which thyng we charge and commaund all prieſts to do, for if the aſhes of the Cow, in the old law, being ſprinckled among yͤ people did ſanctify, and clenſe them, much more water ſprinckled with ſalt, and hallowed with godly prayers ſanctifieth and clenſeth the people: and if that Heliſeus the Prophet by the ſprinckling of ſalt, did heale and helpe the barrenneſſe of the water: how much more the ſalt being halowed by godly prayers taketh away the barrennes of humayne thinges, and ſanctifieth and purgeth them that bee defiled: alſo multiplieth other things that be good and turneth away the ſnares of the deuill, and defendeth mē from deceptions of phantaſy. &c.

Thus ye haue heard the author and father of holly water, which ſome alſo aſcribe to Pope Sixtus which ſucceeded Alexander. But as yͤ Papiſts do not agree in the fyrſt authour or inſtitutor of this hallowing of Elementes, ſo I thinke the ſame vntruely to be aſcribed to either, but leaning the probation of this to farther leaſure, let vs nowe heare in our owne tongue theyr owne words, which yͤ vſe in this theyr coniuration.

The forme and wordes vſed of the Prieſt in coniuring Salt.

Salt coniured.

I coniure thee thou creature of Salte by the ✠ liuyng God, by the ✠ true God, by the holy God. &c. That thou mayeſt be made a coniured Salte, to the ſaluation of them that beleue: And that vnto all ſuche as receiue thee, thou mayeſt be health of ſoule and body: and that from out of yͤ place, wherein thou ſhalt be ſprinckled, may flie away and depart all phantaſy, wickednes, or craftines of the deuils ſubtlety, and euery foule ſpirit. &c.

The forme of coniuring water.

Water coniured.

I coniure thee, thou creature of water in the name of ✠ God the father almighty, and in the name of Ieſu Chriſt his ſonne, our Lord, and in the vertue ✠ of the holy Ghoſt that thou become a coniured water to expell all power of the enemy. &c.

Who ſeeth not in theſe wordes blaſphemye intollerable, how that which only is due to the bloud of Chriſt, and promiſed to fayth onely in him, the ſame is transferred to earthly and inſenſate creatures, to be ſaluation both to bodye and ſpirite, inwardlye to geue remiſſion of ſinnes, to geue health and remedy agaynſt euils and deuils, againſt all phantaſies, wickedneſſe, and all foule ſpirites, and to expell the power of the enemy. &c. If this be true whereto ſerueth the bloud of Chriſt, and the vertue of Chriſtian fayth?

Therfore iudge thy ſelfe (gentle Reader) whether thou thinke this trompery rightly to be fathered vpon thoſe ancient fathers aforenamed, or els whether it may ſeme more like trueth that Iohn Sleydan writeth, whoſe woordes in his ſecond booke de Monarchijs are theſe: Horum decreta ſunt in libris inſerta conciliorum, ſed ex his plæraque tam ſunt leuicula, tam nugatoria, tam aliena prorſus a ſacris literis, vt credibile ſit ab alijs longo poſt tēpore fuiſſe conficta. &c. That is: The decrees of theſe foreſaid Biſhops and Martyrs be inſerted in the booke of Counſels, but of theſe decrees many therof be ſo childiſh, ſo trifling, and ſo farre diſagreeing from the holy ſcripture, that it is very like that the ſame were fayned and counterfayted of others, long after theyr time. &c. Thus muche ſayth Sleydane with moe woordes in that place. Unto whoſe teſtimony, if I might be ſo bolde alſo to adde my coniecture, I would ſuppoſe the coniuration of this foreſayd water and Salte, to ſpring out of the ſame fountayne, from whence proceeded the coniuring of flowers and braunches, becauſe I ſee the order and manner of them both to be ſo like and vniforme, as may appeare.

The maner of halowing flowers and braunches.

I coniure thee, thou creature of flowers and braūches in the name of ✠ God the father almighty: and in the name ✠ of Ieſu Chriſt his ſonne, our Lord: and in the vertue of the holy ✠ Ghoſt. Therfore be thou rooted out, and diſplāted from this creature of flowers and braunches all thou ſtrength of the aduerſary, all thou hoſt of the deuill, and all the power of the enemy: euē euery aſſault of the deuils. &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water: wherby thou mayſt partly coniecture the ſame not to be ſo olde, as Steuen Gardiner, in hys Letter agaynſt mayſter Ridley aboue mentioned, woulde haue, Pag. 753. being both deceiued himſelfe, and alſo goyng about to ſeduce other.

Furthermore as touching the reſeruing of reliques & the memoriall of ſayntes brought into the maſſe, Gregory the thyrd is the author therof, who alſo added to the canon therof, this clauſe: Quorum ſolennitates hodie in cōſpectu diuinæ maieſtatis tuę celebrantur. &c.

Finally it were to long to recite euery thing in order deuiſed and brought in particularly to the maſſe, and to yͤ Church. For after that mans brayne was once ſet on deuiſing, it neuer coulde make an end of heaping rite vppon rite, and ceremony vpon ceremonye, till all religion was turned well nighe to ſuperſtition. Thereof commeth oyle and creame brought in by Pope Silueſter not wont to be hallowed but by a byſhop. That the corporas ſhuld not be of ſilcke, but onely of fine linnen cloth. That the Pſalmes ſhould be ſong on ſides, the one ſide of the quier ſinging one verſe the other an other with gloria patri. &c. That baptiſme ſhould be miniſtred at no other time in the yere but onely at Eaſter and at Whitſontide (ſaue onely to infantes and ſuch as were in extreame infirmity) and that it ſhould be requyred 40. dayes before: ſo determined by Pope Siricius: and therfore was it that fontes were halowed onely at theſe two ſeaſons, the which hallowing they keep yet ſtill, but the ordinaunce they haue reiecte. Item that belles alſo were Chriſtened. Item, no Prieſte ſhoulde weare a beard, or haue long hayre, ſo appoynted by Pope Martine the firſt. Item that auriculare confeſſion ſhoulde be made, that the booke of decrees and decretals ſhould be ſtabliſhed and tranſubſtauntiation confirmed, in whiche three Actes Pope Innocentius the thyrd was the chiefeſt doer, about the yeare of our Lord. 1215.

And thus haue ye in ſum the gatheringes of the maſſe, with the Chanon and all the appurtenaunce of the ſame, which, not much vnlike to the Crow of Eſope being patched with the feathers of ſo manye byrdes, was ſo long a gethering, that the temple of Salomon was not ſo long in building, as the Popes Maſſe was in making. Whereby iudge now thy ſelfe (good Reader) whether this Maſſe did proceede from Iames and other Apoſtles or no. And yet this was one of the principall cauſes for which ſo much turmoyle was made in the Church, with the bloudſhed of ſo many Godly men, ſuffering in ſo many quarters of this realme: ſome conſumed by fire, ſome pined away with hunger, ſome hanged, ſome ſlayne, ſome racked, ſome tormented one way, ſome another: and that onely or chiefelye, for the cauſe of this aforeſayd popiſh Maſſe, as by the reading of this ſtory folowing, by the grace of Chriſt our Lord, ſhall appeare more at large. In whome I wyſhe thee to continue in health and to perſeuere in the truth.

⁂

The firſt entring of Queene Mary to the Crowne, with the alteration of Religion, and other perturbations happening the ſame time in this Realme of England.

⁂

WHat time King Edward by long ſickeneſſe beganne to appeare more feble and weake, in the meane while during the time of this his ſickeneſſe, a certayne mariage was prouided, concluded and ſhortly alſo vpon the ſame ſolempniſed in the moneth of May, betwene the Lord Gilford, ſonne to the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Iane the Duke of Suffolkes daughter, whoſe mother being then aliue, was daughter to Mary King Henryes ſecond ſiſter, who firſt was maried to the French king, and afterward to Charles Duke of Suffolke. But to make no long tariance hereupon, the mariage being ended, and the king waxing euery day more ſicke then other, where as in dede there ſeemed in him no hope of recouerye, it was brought to paſſe by the conſent not onely of the Nobility, but alſo of all the chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, that the king by his Teſtament did appoynt the foreſayde Ladye Iane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, to be inheretrice vnto the crowne of England, paſſing ouer his two ſiſters Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order ſubſcribed all the kinges Counſell, and chiefe of the Nobility, the Maior and city of London, and almoſte all the Iudges and chiefe Lawyers of this Realme, ſauing onely Iuſtice Hales of Kent, a man both fauoring true Religion, and alſo an vpright iudge as any hath bene noted in this Realme, who geuing his conſent vnto Lady Mary, would in no caſe ſubſcribe to Lady Iane. Of this man (God willing) you ſhall perceiue more in the ſequele of this ſtory. The cauſes layd agaynſt Lady Marye, were as well for that it was feared ſhe would mary with a Straunger, and thereby entangle the crowne: as alſo that ſhe would cleane alter Religion, vſed both in king Henry her father, and alſo in king Edwarde her brothers dayes, & ſo bring in the pope, to the vtter deſtruction of the Realme, which indeed afterward came to paſſe, as by the courſe and ſequele of this ſtory may well appeare.

Much probable matter they had thus to coniecture of her, by reaſon of her great ſtubbernes ſhewed and declared in her brothers dayes, as in the letters before mentioned, paſſing betwene her and king Edward, & the Counſell, may appeare. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by euery mans hand, King Edwarde an Impe of ſo great hope, not long after this departed, by the vehemency of his ſickenes, when he was ſixtene yeares of age: with whom alſo decaid in maner the whole floriſhing eſtate and honor of the Engliſh nation.

When king Edwarde was deade, this Iane was eſtabliſhed in the kingdome by the Nobles conſent, and was forthwith publiſhed Queene by proclamation at London, and in other Cityes where was any great reſort, and was there ſo taken and named. Betwene this young Damoſell and kyng Edwarde there was litle difference in age, though in learning & knowledge of the tongues ſhe was not onely equall, but alſo ſuperior vnto him, being inſtructed of a Mayſter right notablye learned. If her fortune had bene as good as was her bringing vppe, ioyned wyth fineneſſe of wit: vndoubtedly ſhe might haue ſemed comparable, not onelye to the houſe of the Vaſpaſians, Sempronians, and mother of the Grachies, yea, to anye other women beſide that deſerued high prayſe for theyr ſigulare learning: but alſo to the vniuerſity men, which haue taken many degrees of the Schooles.

In the meane time while theſe thinges were a working at London, Mary which had knowledge of her Brothers death, writeth to the Lords of the Councell in forme as foloweth.

¶ A Letter of the Lady Mary, ſent to the Lordes of the Counſell, wherein ſhee claymeth the Crowne after the deceaſe of king Edwarde,

MY Lordes, we greete you well, and haue receiued ſure aduertiſement that our deareſt Brother the king our late ſoueraigne Lord, is departed to Gods mercye: whiche newes howe they be woefull vnto our hart, he onely knoweth, to whoſe will and pleaſure we muſt and do humbly ſubmitte vs and our willes. But in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to witte, now after hys Maieſties departure and death, concerning the Crowne and gouernaunce of thys Realme of England, with the title of Fraunce, and all thinges thereto belonging, what hath bene prouided by Act of Parliament and the Teſtament and laſt will of our deareſt Father, beſides other circumſtaunces aduauncing our right, you know, the Realme, and the whole world knoweth, the Rolles and Recordes appeare by the authority of the kyng our ſayde Father, and the king our ſayde brother, and the ſubiectes of thys Realme, ſo that we verily truſt that there is no good true ſubiect, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignoraunt therof, and of our parte wee haue of our ſelues cauſed, and as God ſhall ayde and ſtrength vs, ſhall cauſe our right and title in this behalfe to be publiſhed and proclaymed accordingly. And albeit this ſo weighty a matter ſeemeth ſtraunge, that the dying of oure ſayde brother vpon Thurſday at night laſt paſt, we hytherto hadde no knowledge from you thereof, yet we conſider your wiſedomes and prudence to be ſuch, that hauing eftſoones amongeſt you debated, pondered, and well wayed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your own eſtate, the common wealth, and all our honours, wee ſhall and may conceiue greate hope and truſt with much aſſuraunce in your loyaltye and ſeruice, and therefore for the tyme interprete and take thinges not to the worſt, and that ye yet will like Noble men woorke the beſt. Neuertheleſſe wee are not ignoraunt of your conſultations, to vndoe the prouiſions made for our preferment, nor of the great bandes and prouiſions forceable, wherewith yee bee aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what ende, God and you know, and nature can but feare ſome euill. But be it that ſome conſideration politicke, or whatſoeuer thing elſe hath mooued you thereto, yet doubte you not my Lordes, but we can take all theſe your doynges in gracious part, being alſo right ready to remit & fullye pardon the ſame, with that freely to eſchewe bloudſhed and vengeance agaynſt all thoſe that canne or will intend the ſame: truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accept this grace and vertue in good part as appeateyneth, and that wee ſhall not be enforced to vſe the ſeruice of other our true ſubiectes and frendes which in thys our iuſt and right cauſe, God in whom our whole affiaunce is, ſhall ſend vs. Wherefore my Lordes we require you and charge you, and euery of you, that euery of you, of your allegeance whyche you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour and the ſurety of our parſon, onely employ your ſelues, & forth with vpon receit hereof, cauſe our right and title to the Crowne and gourrnement of this Realme to be proclaymed in our Citty of London, and other places as to your wiſedomes ſhall ſeeme good, and as to this caſe apperteineth, not fayling hereof as our verye truſt is in you. And thus our Letter ſigned with our hande, ſhalbe your ſufficient warrant in this behalfe.

Yeuen vnder our Signet, at our Manor
of Kenyngall, the ninth of Iulye.
1553.

To this Letter of the Ladye Marye, the Lordes of the Counſell make aunſwere agayne as foloweth.

¶ Aunſwere of the Lordes vnto the Lady Maryes Letter.

A letter of the Counſaile aunſwering agayne to the Lady Mary.

MAdame, we haue receiued your letters the ninth of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed title, which you iudge your ſelf to haue to the Imperiall crowne of this Realm, & all the dominions thereunto belonging. For anſwere whereof, this is to aduertiſe you, that foraſmuch as our ſoueraign Lady Quene Iane is after the death of our ſoueraign Lord Edward the ſixt, a prince of moſt noble memorye inueſted and poſſeſſed with the iuſte and right title in the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, not onely by good order of olde aunciente lawes of this Realme, but alſo by our late ſoueraigne Lordes Letters patentes ſigned with his own hand, and ſealed with the greate ſeale of Englande in preſence of the moſt parte of the Nobles, Counſellours, Iudges, with diuers other graue and ſage perſonages, aſſenting & ſubſcribing to the ſame: We muſt therfore as of moſt boũd duety and allegeance aſſent vnto her ſayde Grace, and to none other, except wee ſhoulde (which faythfull ſubiectes can not) fall into greeuous and vnſpeakeable enormities. Wherefore we can no leſſe do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you alſo, to aduertiſe you, that foraſmuch as the diuorce made betwene the king of famous memory K Henry the 8. & the Lady Katherine your mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the euerlaſting lawes of God, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, & by the moſt part of the noble & learned

Lady Iane inueſted in poſſeſſion of the crowne by king Edwards will and aſſent of the whole cõuſaile.

ned Vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and confirmed alſo by the ſundry actes of Parliamentes remaining yet in theyr force, and therby you iuſtly made illegitimate and vnheritable to the crown Imperiall of this realme, and the rules and dominions, and poſſeſsions of the ſame: you will vpon iuſt conſideration hereof, and of diuers other cauſes lawfull to be alledged for the ſame, & for the iuſt inheritaunce of the right line and godlye order taken by the late king our ſouereigne Lord king Edward the ſixt, and agreed vpon by the Nobles and greateſt perſonages aforeſayd, ſurceaſe by any pretence to vexe and moleſt any of our ſoueraigne Ladye Queene Iane her ſubiectes from theyr true fayth and allegeance due vnto her grace: aſſuring you, that if you will for reſpect ſhew your ſelfe quiet and obedient (as you oughte) you ſhall finde vs all and ſeuerall ready to doe you any ſeruice that we with duety may, and be glad with your quietnes to preſerue the cōmon ſtate of this realme: wherin you may be otherwiſe greuous vnto vs, to your ſelfe, and to them. And thus we bid you moſt hartily well to fare, from the Tower of London, this 9. of Iuly. 1553.

Lady Mary recounted illegitimate.

Your Ladyſhips frendes, ſhewing your ſelfe an obedient ſubiect.

Thomas Caunterbury.
The Marques of Wincheſter.
Iohn Bedford.
Wil. Morthhampton.
Thom. Ely Chauncellour.
Northumberland.
Henry Suffolke.
Henry Arundell.
Shreweſbury.
Pembrooke.
Cobham.

R. Riche.
Huntington.
Darcy.
Cheyney.
R. Cotton.
Iohn Gates.
W. Peter.
W. Cicelle.
Iohn Cheeke.
Iohn Maſon.
Edward North.
R. Bowes.

All theſe aforeſayd, except onely the Duke of Northumberland and ſyr Iohn Gates, afterward were either by eſpeciall fauor or ſpeciall or generall pardon diſcharged.

Lady Mary keepeth her ſelfe from the City of London.

After this aunſwere receiued, and the mindes of the Lordes perceiued, Lady Mary ſpeedeth her ſelfe ſecretlye away farre of from the City, hoping chiefly vpon the good will of the Commons, and yet perchaunce not deſtitute altogether of the ſecret aduertiſementes of ſome of the Nobles. When the Counſell heard of her ſodeine departure, and perceiued her ſtoutneſſe, & that all came not to paſſe as they ſuppoſed, they gathered ſpeedily a power of mē together, appointing an army, and firſt aſſigned that the Duke of Suffolke ſhoulde take that enterpriſe in hand, & ſo haue the leading of the Bande. But afterwarde alterynge their mindes, they thought it beſt to ſēd forth the Duke of Northumberland, with certaine other Lords and Gentlemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke ſhoulde keepe the Tower, where the Lord Gilford and the Lady Iane the ſame time were lodged.

The Duke of Northumberland ſent forth agaynſt Lady Mary.

In the which expedition yͤ Gard alſo, albeit they were much vnwilling at the firſt therunto, yet notwithſtanding through the vehemēt perſwaſions of the Lord Treaſurer, M. Chomley, & other, they were induced to aſſiſt the duke, and to ſet forward with him.

Theſe thinges thus agreed vpon, and the Duke nowe being ſet forwarde after the beſt array out of London, hauing notwithſtanding his times preſcribed, and hys iourneys appoynted by the Counſell, to the entent he woulde not ſeeme to do any thing but vpon warrant, Mary in the meane while toſſed with muche trauell vp and downe, to worke the ſureſt way for her beſt aduauntage, withdrewe her ſelfe into the quarters of Northfolke and Suffolke, where ſhe vnderſtood the Dukes name to be had in muche hatred, for the ſeruice that had ben done there of late vnder king Edward, in ſubduing the rebels: and there gathering to her ſuch aid of the commons in euery ſide as ſhe might, keepeth her ſelfe cloſe for a ſpace within Fremingham Caſtle. To whom firſt of al reſorted the ſuffolke men: who being alwayes forward in promoting the procedinges of the Goſpell, promiſed her theyr ayd & helpe, ſo that ſhe would not attempt the alteration of the religion which her Brother king Edward had before eſtabliſhed by lawes and orders publickely enacted and receiued by the conſent of the whole Realme in that behalfe.

Pollicie of the Lady Mary.

The Lady Mary taketh Fremingham caſtle.

The Suffolk mē gather to the Lady Maryes ſide.

To make the matter ſhort, vnto this condition ſhe eftſoones agreed, with ſuche promiſe made vnto them, that no innouatiō ſhould be made of religiō, as that no mā would or could then haue miſdoubted her. Whiche promiſe, if ſhee had as conſtantly kepte, as they did willingly preſerue her with theyr bodyes and weapons, ſhe had done a deed both worthy her bloud, & had alſo made her raygne more ſtable to her ſelfe through former tranquility. For though a man be neuer ſo puiſſant of power, yet brech of promiſe is an euill vpholder of quietnes, feare is worſer, but cruelty is yͤ worſt of all.

The Lady Mary promiſeth faithfully that ſhe would not alter religion.

Breach of promiſe in Queene Mary.

Thus Mary being garded with the power of yͤ Goſpellers, did vanquiſh the Duke, and all thoſe that came agaynſt her. In conſideration wherof, it was (me thinks) an heauy word that ſhe aunſwered to the ſuffolke men afterwardes, which did make ſupplication vnto her grace to performe her promiſe: For ſo muche (ſayth ſhe) as you being but mēbers, deſire to rule your head you ſhall one day well perceiue that members muſt obey theyr head, and not looke to beare rule ouer the ſame. And not onely that, but alſo to cauſe the more terror vnto other, a certaine Gentleman named M. Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndam ſide, for the ſame cauſe, that is, for aduertiſing her by humble requeſt, of her promiſe, was puniſhed, beyng three ſundrye times ſet on the pillory to be a gaſing ſtocke vnto all men. Diuers other deliuered her books and ſupplications made out of the Scripture, to exhorte her to continue in the true doctrine then ſtabliſhed, and for theyr good wils were ſent to priſon. But ſuch is the cōditiō of mans nature (as here you ſee) that we are for the moſt part more ready alway to ſeeke frendſhip whē we ſtand in need of helpe, thē ready to requite a benefit once paſt & receiued. Howbeit againſt all this, one ſhooteanker we haue, which may be a ſure cōfort to all miſerable creatures, yͤ equity & fidelity are euer perfect and certeinely found with the Lord aboue, though the ſame being ſhut out of the dores in this world, be not to be founde here among menne. But ſeeing our intent is to write a ſtory, not to treat of office, let vs lay Suffolke men aſide for a while, whoſe deſertes for theyr redines and diligence with the Queene, I will not here ſtand vpon. What ſhe performed on her part, the thing it ſelfe, and the whole ſtorye of this perſecution doth teſtifye, as hereafter more playnely will appeare.

On the contrary ſide, the Duke of Northumberland, hauing his warrant vnder the broade Seale, with all furniture in readines, as he tooke his voyage and was nowe forward in his way, what ado ther was, what ſtirring on euery ſide, what ſending, what riding and poſting, what letters, meſſages, and inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiers, what hartburning among yͤ people, what fayre pretēſes outwardly, inwardly what priuy practiſes there were, what ſpeeding of Ordinance dayly and hourely out of the Tower, what rumors and comming downe of ſoulders from all quarters there was, a world it was to ſee, & a proceſſe to declare, enough to make a whole Ilias. The greateſt helpe that made for the Ladye Mary, was the ſhort iourneis of the Duke, which by commiſſion were aſſigned to him before, as is aboue mentioned. For the longer the Duke lingered in his voyage, the Lady Marye the more encreaſed in puiſſaunce, the harts of the people being mightily bent vnto her. Which after the Counſell at London perceiued, and vnderſtode howe the common multitude did withdraw theyr hartes from them to ſtand with her, and that certaine Noble men begā to go the other way, they turned theyr ſong, and proclaymed for Queene the Lady Mary, eldeſt daughter to kyng Henrye the eight, and appoynted by Parliament to ſucceed K. Edward dying without iſſue.

And ſo the Duke of Northumberland, being by counſell and aduiſe ſent forth agaynſt her, was left deſtitute and forſaken alone at Cambridge, with ſome of his ſonnes, & a few other, among whome the Earle of Huntington was one: who there were arreſted and broughte to the Tower of London, as traytors to the Crowne, notwithſtandinge that he had there proclaymed her Queene before.

Thus haue you Mary nowe made a Queene, and the ſword of authority put into her hād, which, how ſhe afterward did vſe, we may ſee in ſequele of this booke. Therefore (as I ſay) when ſhe had bene thus aduaūced by yͤ goſpellers, & ſaw all in quiet by meanes yͭ her enemies were conquered, ſending the Duke captiue to the Tower before (which was the xxv. of Iuly) ſhe folowed not long after, being brought vp the third day of Auguſt to Londō, with the great reioyſing of many men, but with a greater feare of moe, and yet with flatterye peraduenture moſt great, of fayned hartes.

Thus comming vp to London, her firſt lodgyng ſhee tooke at the Tower, where as the foreſaid Lady Iane with her huſband the Lord Gilford, a litle before her commyng, were impriſoned: where they remained waiting her pleaſure almoſt fiue monethes. But the Duke within a moneth after his comming to the Tower, being adiudged to death, was brought forth to the ſcaffolde, and there beheaded. Albeit he hauing a promiſe, and being put in hope of pardon (yea though his head were vpon the blocke) if he would recant and heare maſſe, conſented therto, and denied in wordes that true religion, which before time, as well

in

An.no 1552.

e Duke f Nor- humber- land reno- nceth his re- igion. e Duke Northū- land be- aded. r Iohn ates and r Tho- as Palmer nfeſſing eir fayth ne be- aded.

in K. Henry the 8. dayes, as in K. Edwards he had oft euidently declared hymſelfe both to fauour and further: exhortyng alſo the people to returne to the Catholike fayth (as he termed it.) whoſe recantation the papiſtes forthwith did publiſh and ſet abroad, reioyſing not a litle at his conuerſion or rather ſubuerſion, as then appeared.

Thus the Duke of Northumberland with Sir Iohn Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer (which Palmer on the other ſide confeſſed his fayth that he had learned in the goſpel, and lamented that he had not lyued more Goſpellike) beyng put to death: In the meane tyme Queene Marye, entring thus her raigne with the bloud of theſe men: beſides hearyng Maſſe her ſelfe in the Tower, gaue a heauy ſhewe and ſignification hereby, but eſpecially by the ſodaine deliuering of Steuen Gardiner out of the Tower, that ſhe was not mynded to ſtand to that which ſhe ſo deeply had promiſed to the Suffolke men before, concernyng the not ſubuertyng or alteryng the ſtate of religion: as in very deede the ſurmiſe of the people was therein nothyng deceyued.

he true eaching iſhops ſplaced.

Beſides the premiſſes, other things alſo folowed which euery day more and more diſcomforted the people, declaring the Queene to beare no good will to the preſent ſtate of religion: as, not onely the releaſing of Gardiner beyng then made Lord Chauncellor of England and B. of Wincheſter, Doct. Poynet beyng put out, but alſo that Boner was reſtored to his biſhoprike agayne, and D. Ridley diſplaced. Itē, D. Day to the biſhoprike of Chicheſter, Iohn Scory beyng put out. Item, D. Tonſtall to the biſhoprike of Dureſme. Item, D. Heath to the biſhoprike of Worceſter, and Iohn Hooper committed to the Fleete. Item, D. Voſie to Exceter, and Miles Couerdale put out. Theſe things beyng marked and perceiued, great heauineſſe and diſcomfort grew more and more to all good mens hartes: but contrary to the wicked, great reioyſing. In which diſcord of minds, and diuerſitie of affections, was now to be ſeene a miſerable face of things in the whole commō welth of England. They that could diſſemble, tooke no great care how the matter went. But ſuch whoſe conſciences were ioyned to truth, perceiued already coales to bee kindled, which after ſhould be the deſtruction of many a true Chriſtian man, as in deed it came to paſſe. In the meane while Queene Mary after theſe beginnings, remouyng from ẏ Tower to Hampton Court, cauſed a Parliament to bee ſūmoned againſt the x. day of Octob. next enſuing, wherof more is to be ſayd hereafter.

A Parlia- ment Sum- oned.

iſhop idley reacheth Queene aryes e.

Ye heard before how diuers Biſhops were remoued, and other placed in their roumes: amongeſt whome was D. Ridley B. of London, a worthy man both of fame and learnyng. This D. Ridley in tyme of Queene Iane had made a Sermon at Paules croſſe, ſo commaunded by the Counſaile: declaryng there hys mynde to the people, as touching the Lady Mary, and diſſwading them, alledging there the incommodities and inconueniēces which might ryſe by receiuyng her to be their Queene, prophesieng as it were before, that which after came to paſſe, ẏ ſhe would bryng in forraine power to raigne ouer them: beſides the ſubuertyng alſo of Chriſtian Religion then already eſtabliſhed: ſhewyng moreouer, that the ſame Mary beyng in hys Dioceſſe, he accordyng to his duetie, beyng then her Ordinary, had trauailed much with her to reduce her to this Religion, and notwithſtandyng in all other poyntes of ciuilitie, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true fayth and doctrine, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe ſo ſtiffe and obſtinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceyued, but to diſturbe and ouerturne all that which with ſo great labours had bene confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this Sermon, Queene Mary was proclaymed, whereuppon hee ſpeedily repairyng to Fremingham to ſalute the Queene, had ſuch colde welcome there: that beyng diſpoyled of all his dignities, he was ſent backe vpon a lame halting horſe to the Tower.

.Rogers reacheth.

After hym preached alſo Maiſter Rogers the next ſonday, entreatyng very learnedly vppon the Goſpell of the ſame day.

This ſo done, Queene Mary ſeyng all things yet not goyng ſo after her mynd as ſhe deſired, deuiſeth wyth her Counſaile, to bring to paſſe that thyng by other meanes, which as yet by open lawe ſhe could not well accompliſh, directing forth an Inhibition by Proclamation, that no man ſhould preach or read openly in churches the word of God, beſides other thynges alſo in the ſame Proclamation Inhibited, the copye whereof here followeth.

¶ An inhibition of the Queene, for preaching, Printyng, &c.

August.18.

An inhibition of the Queene for preaching and printing.

The Queenes highnes well remembryng what great inconuenience and daungers haue growen to this her highnes Realme in tymes paſt, through the diuerſitie of opinions in queſtions of religion, and hearyng alſo that now of late, ſithence the beginnyng of her moſt gracious Raigne, the ſame contentions be agayne much reuiued through certayne falſe and vntrue reportes and rumors ſpreade by ſome lyght and euyll diſpoſed perſonnes, hath thought good to doe to vnderſtand to all her highnes moſt louyng ſubiectes, her moſt gracious pleaſure in manner followyng.

Q. Mary beginneth to ſet forth her popiſh religion. Religion here grounded vppon the Queenes will.

Firſt, her Maieſtie beyng preſerued by the onely goodneſſe of God, ſetled in her iuſt poſſeſſion of the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and other Dominions thereunto belongyng, cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knoweth ſhe hath euer profeſſed from her infancie hitherto. Which as her Maieſtie is mynded to obſerue and maintaine for her ſelfe by gods grace during her tyme, ſo doth her highneſſe much deſire and would be glad the ſame were of all her ſubiectes quietly and charitably embraced.

Termes of Papiſt and Heretike forbidden.

And yet ſhe doth ſignifie vnto all her maieſties louyng ſubiects, that of her moſt gracious diſpoſition & clemency, her highneſſe myndeth not to compell any her ſayde ſubiects thereunto, vnto ſuch tyme as further order by common aſſent may be taken therein: forbiddyng neuertheles all her ſubiects of all degrees, at their perils to moue ſeditions, or ſtirre vnquietnes in her people by interpreting the Lawes of this Realme, after their braynes and fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the tyme, tyll (as before is ſayd) further order may be taken, and therfore willeth and ſtraitly chargeth and commaundeth all her ſayd good louyng ſubiects, to lyue togethers in quiet ſort and Chriſtian charitie, leauyng those new found diuelish termes of Papiſt or heretike, and ſuch lyke, and applying their hole care, ſtudy and trauaile to lyue in the feare of God, exerciſing their conuerſations in ſuch charitable & godly doyng, as their lyues may in deed expreſſe that great hunger and thirſt of Gods glory and holy worde, which by raſh talke & wordes many haue pretended: and in ſo doing they ſhal beſt pleaſe God, and lyue without daungers of the lawes, and maintaine the tranquillitie of the Realme. Wherof as her highnes ſhall be moſt glad, ſo if any man ſhall raſhlye preſume to make any aſſemblies of people, or at any publike aſſemblies or otherwyſe, ſhall go about to ſtir the people to diſorder or diſquiet, ſhee myndeth according to her dutie, to ſee the ſame moſt ſurely reformed & puniſhed accordyng to her highnes lawes.

False ſurmiſe againſt true preachers, Printers and players.

And furthermore, foraſmuch alſo as it is well knowen, that ſedition and falſe rumours haue bene nouriſhed and maintayned in this Realme by the ſubtletie and malice of ſome euill diſpoſed perſons, which take vpon them without ſufficient authoritie to preach & to interprete the word of God after their owne brayne in churches and other places, both publike and priuate, & alſo by playing of Enterludes, and printyng of falſe fond bookes, balladeſ, rymes, and other lewd treatiſes in the Engliſh tongue, concernyng doctrine in matters now in queſtion, and controuerſie touchyng the high poyntes and myſteries of chriſten religion, which bookes, ballades, rymes, and treatiſes, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers ſet out to ſale to her graces ſubiects of an euil zeale, for lucre and couetouſnes of vile gayne. Her highnes therefore ſtraitly chargeth and commaundeth all and euery of her ſayde ſubiectes, of whatſoeuer ſtate, condition or degree they be, that none of them preſume from henceforth to preach, or by way of readyng in Churches or other publike or priuate places, except in ſchooles of the Vniuerſitie, to interprete or teach any ſcriptures or any maner poynts of doctrine concerning religion, neither alſo to print any bookes, matter, ballade, ryme, Enterlude, proceſſe or treatiſe, nor to play any Enterlude, except they haue her graces ſpeciall licence in writyng for the ſame, vpon payne to incurre her highneſſe indignation and diſpleaſure.

Here was the head of Wincheſter.

Preachyng, Printyng, Readyng and playing of Enterludes, reſtrayned.

And her highnes alſo further chargeth and commaundeth all and euery her ſayd ſubiectes, that none of them of their owne authoritie do preſume to puniſh, or to ryſe againſt any offender in the cauſes aboueſayde, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the Duke of Northumberland or his complices, or to ceaſe any of their goods, or violently to vſe anye ſuch offender by ſtrikyng or impriſonyng, or threatenyng the ſame, but wholy to referre the puniſhment of all ſuche offenders vnto her highnes and publike authority, whereof her maieſtie myndeth to ſee due puniſhment, accordyng

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to the order of her highnes lawes.

Neuertheles, as her highneſſe myndeth not hereby to reſtraine and diſcourage any of her louyng ſubiectes, to geue from tyme to time true information againſt any ſuch offenders in the cauſes aboueſayd, vnto her grace or her Counſaile, for the puniſhment of euery ſuch offender, according to the effect of her highnes lawes prouided in that part: ſo her ſayde highnes exhorteth and ſtraitly chargeth her ſayd ſubiectes to obſerue her commaundement & pleaſure in euery part aforeſayd, as they will auoyd her highnes ſayd indignation and moſt grieuous diſpleaſure. The ſeueritie and rigor whereof, as her highnes ſhall bee moſt ſory to haue cauſe to put the ſame in execution: ſo doth ſhe vtterly determine not to permit ſuch vnlawfull and rebellious doyngs of her ſubiects, whereof may enſue the daunger of her royall eſtate to remayne vnpuniſhed, but to ſee her ſayd lawes touching theſe points, to be throughly executed, which extremities, ſhe truſteth all her ſayd louyng ſubiects will foreſee, dread, and auoyde accordingly: her ſayd highnes ſtraightly charging and commaundyng all Mayors, Shiriffes, Iuſtices of Peace, Bailiffes, Conſtables, and all other publike Officers and Miniſters, diligently to ſee to the obſeruyng and executyng of her ſayde commaundementes and pleaſure, and to apprehende all ſuch as ſhall wilfully offend in this part, committyng the ſame to the next Gaole, there to remayne without bayle or maineprize, till vpon certificate made to her highnes or her priuy Counſaile, of their names and doyngs, and vpō examination had of their offences, ſome further order ſhall be taken for their puniſhment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenour of the lawes aforeſayd. Yeuen at our Manor of Richmond, the 18. day of Auguſt, in the 1. yeare of our moſt proſperous raigne.

M. Bourne preaching at Paules Croſſe.

M. Bournes Sermon at Paules croſſe. Auguſt. 13.

ABout this tyme or not long before, Boner B. of London beyng reſtored, appoynted M. Bourne a Canon of Paules, to preach at the Croſſe, who afterward was B. of Bathe, he takyng occaſion of the Goſpell of the day to ſpeake ſomewhat largely in iuſtifieng of Boner beyng thē preſent: which Boner ſayd he, vpon the ſame text in that place, that day foure yeares had preached before, and was vppon the ſame moſt cruelly and vniuſtly caſt into yͤ moſt vile Dungeon of the Marſhalſey, and there kept duryng the tyme of King Edward. Hys wordes ſounded ſo euill in the eares of the hearers, that they could not keep ſilence but began to murmure and to ſtirre in ſuch ſort, that the Mayor and Aldermen with other eſtates thē preſent, feared much an vprore. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the preacher, but who it was, it could not then be proued, albeit afterward it was knowen.

No maruell if Boner were ſo foule fallen away in ſuch a vyle dungeon in the Marſhalſey.

In fine, the ſturre was ſuch, that the Preacher pluckt in hys head, and durſt no more appeare in that place. The matter of hys Sermon tended muche to the derogation and diſprayſe of King Edward: which thyng the people in no caſe could abyde. Then M. Bradford at the requeſt of the Preachers brother, and other then beyng in the pulpit, ſtoode forth and ſpake ſo myldely, Chriſtianly, and effectuouſly, that with fewe wordes he appeaſed all: and afterward he and M. Rogers conducted the Preacher betwixt them from the Pulpit to the Grammar ſchole doore, where they left him ſafe, as further in the ſtory of Maiſter Bradford is declared. But ſhortly after they were both rewarded with long impriſonment, and laſt of all, with fire in Smithfield.

M. Iohn Bradford appeaſeth the people.

Bradford, and Rogers garded the preacher.

By reaſon of this tumult at Paules Croſſe, an order was taken by the Lordes of the Counſaile with the Mayor and Aldermen of London, that they calling the next day followyng a common counſaile of the Citie, ſhould therby charge euery houſholder to cauſe their children, apprentiſes, and other ſeruauntes, to keep their owne pariſh Churches vpon the holydays, and not to ſuffer them to attempt any thyng to the violatyng of the common peace. Willyng them alſo to ſignify the ſayd aſſembly the Queenes determination vttered vnto them by her highnes the 12. of Auguſt in the Tower. Which was, that albeit her graces cōſcience is ſtayed in matters of religion: yet ſhe graciouſly ment not to compell or ſtrayne other mens conſcience otherwyſe then God ſhal (as ſhe truſted) put in their harts a perſwaſion of the truth that ſhe is in, thorough the openyng of hys word vnto them, by godly vertuous, & learned preachers, &c.

Alſo it was then ordered, that euery Alderman in hys ward, ſhould forthwith ſend for the Curates of euery pariſh within their liberties, and to warne them not only to forbeare to preach themſelues, but alſo not to ſuffer any other to preach, or make any open or ſolemne readyng of ſcripture in their churches, vnles the ſayd preachers were ſeuerally licenſed by the Queene.

After this Sermon at Paules Croſſe aforenamed, the next day after it followed, that the Queenes Gard was at the croſſe with their weapons to gard the Preacher. And when men withdrew themſelues from the Sermon, order was taken by the Mayor, that the Ancients of all companies ſhould be preſent, leaſt the preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by hys ſmall Auditorie.

Auguſt. 1553.

The 5. of Auguſt, an. 1553. was one William Rutter committed (by the Counſaile) to the Marſhalſey, for vttering certayne wordes agaynſt Maiſter Bourne Preacher, for hys Sermon at Paules Croſſe on Sonday laſt before.

The 16. of Auguſt, was Humfrey Palden committed to the Counter for wordes agaynſt the ſayd Bournes ſermon at Paules croſſe.

A letter to the Shiriffe of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fiſher perſon of Ammerſham a preacher.

Fiſher.

Another letter to the B. of Norwich, not to ſuffer any preacher or other to preach or expound the ſcripture openly without ſpeciall licence from the Queene.

The ſame day was M. Bradford, M. Vernon and M. Beacon preachers committed to the charge of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

The ſame day alſo was M. Iohn Rogers Preacher commanded to keepe himſelfe priſoner in his owne houſe at Paules, without hauing conference with any other the thoſe of hys owne houſhold.

The 22. of Auguſt, there was two letters directed to M. Couerdall B. of Exceter, & M. Hooper B. of Glouceſter, for their indelayed repayre to the Court, and there to attend the Counſailes pleaſure.

The ſame day Fiſher perſon of Ammerſham made his appearance before the Counſaile, according to their letter the 16. of Auguſt, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of hys ſermon.

Fiſher.

The 24. of Auguſt was one Iohn Meluin a Scotte and and Preacher ſente to Newgate in London by the Counſaile.

The 26. of Auguſt there was a letter ſent to the Mayor of Couentry and his brethren, for the apprehenſion of one Symonds of Worceſter preacher, and then Vicare of S. Michaels in Couentry, and for the ſendyng of hym vp to the counſaile with his examinations and other matters they could charge hym with. With a Commiſſion to them to puniſh all ſuch as had by meanes of his preachyng had any talke againſt the Queenes proceedings.

The 29. of Auguſt, M. Hooper B. of Worceſter made his perſonall appearance before the Counſaile, accordyng to their letters the 22. of Auguſt.

The 31. of Auguſt, M. Couerdall B. of Excetter, made hys appearaunce before the Counſaile, according to their letters the 22. of Auguſt.

September. 1553.

The 1. of September, M. Hooper and M. Couerdall appeared againe before the Counſaile, whence M. Hooper was committed to the Fleete, and M. Couerdall commaunded to attend the Lordes pleaſure.

The 2. of September M. Hugh Saunders Vicare of S. Michaels in Couentry, was before the Counſaile for a ſermon, and was commanded to appeare agayne vppon Monday next after.

The 4. of September a Letter was directed from the Counſaile to M. Hugh Latimer for his appearaunce before them.

About the 5. day of September the ſame yeare, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a tyme he had bene commaunded to kepe his houſe, & found there the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the booke of Common prayer, both by the ſcriptures and Doctors, aſſiſted by Peter Martyr and a fewe other, as hereafter ye ſhall heare. But whileſt they were in hope to come to Diſputations, the Archbiſhop and other were impriſoned, but Peter Martyr was ſuffered to returne whence he came.

The ſame day there was a letter ſent to the Mayor of Couentry to ſet Hugh Symonds at liberty if he would recant his Sermon, or els to ſtay hym, and to ſignify ſo much to the Counſaile.

The 13. of September M. Hugh Latymer appeared before the counſaile accordyng to their letter the 4. of September,

tember, and was committed to the Tower cloſe priſoner, hauing his ſeruant Auſten to attend hym.

The ſame day the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury appearyng before the Counſaile, was commaunded to appeare the next day at after noone before them in the Starre chamber.

The 14. of September, the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, accordyng to their former dayes commaundement, made his appearaunce before the Lordes in the Starre chamber. where, they chargyng hym with treaſon, & ſpreadyng abroad of ſedicious bils, to the diſquieting of the eſtate, they committed hym from thence to the Tower of London, there to remayne till further Iuſtice and order at the Queenes pleaſure.

The 15. of September, there was a letter ſent to M. Horne Deane of Durham, for his appearaunce before thẽ, and another was ſent to hym the 7. of October next after, for his ſpeedie appearance.

The 16. of September, there was letters ſent to the Mayors of Douer and Rye, to ſuffer all French Proteſtantes to paſſe out of this Realme, except ſuche, whoſe names ſhall be ſignified to them by the French Embaſſadour.

October. 1553.

The firſt day of October, Queene Mary was crowned at weſtminſter, and the x. day of the ſayd moneth of October then followyng, began the parliament with a ſolemne Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, after the popiſh maner, celebrated with great pompe in the pallaice of weſtminſter. To the which Maſſe among the other Lordes, accordyng to the maner, ſhould come the biſhops, which yet remayned vndepoſed, which were the Archb. of Yorke, D. Taylor B. of Lincolne, Iohn Harley B. of Herford. Of the biſhops, D. Taylor, and M. Harley preſenting themſelues accordyng to their ductie, and taking their place amongeſt the Lordes, after they ſaw the Maſſe begin, not abidyng the ſight therof, withdrew themſelues from the company: for the which cauſe the Biſhop of Lincolne beyng examined, and proteſtyng his fayth, was vppon the ſame commanded to attend: who not long after at Ankerwyke by ſickeneſſe departed. M. Harley, becauſe he was maryed, was excluded both from the Parliament, and from hys biſhopricke.

Maſſe beyng done, the Queene accompanied with the Eſtates of the Realme, was brought into the Parliament houſe, there accordyng to the maner, to enter and begin the conſultation. At which conſultation or Parliament were repealed all ſtatutes made in the tyme of king Henry the 8. for Premunire, & ſtatutes made in K. Edward the ſixtes time for adminiſtration of common praier & the ſacramẽts in the Engliſh tongue: & further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this Parliament confirmed. In this meane while many men were forward in the erectyng of aulters & maſſes in churches. And ſuch as woulde ſticke to the lawes made in K. Edwardes tyme, till other ſhould be eſtabliſhed: ſome of them were marked, & ſome preſently apprehended. Among whom ſir Iames Hales, a knight of Kent, and Iuſtice of the Common place was one, who notwithſtandyng he had ventured hys lyfe in Queene Maries cauſe, in that he would not ſubſcribe to yͤ diſheriting of her by the kings will, yet for that he did at a quarter Seſſions geue charge vpon the ſtatutes made in the tyme of Henry the 8. and Edward the 6. for the ſupremacie and religion, he was impriſoned in the Marſhalſey, Counter, and Fleete, and ſo cruelly handled & put in feare by talke, that the warden of the Fleete vſed to haue in hys hearyng, of ſuch torments as were in preparyng for heretikes (or for what other cauſe God knoweth) yͭ he ſought to rid himſelfe out of this life, by woundyng himſelfe wyth a knife: and afterward was contented to ſay as they willed him: wherupon he was diſcharged, but after that hee neuer reſted till he had drowned himſelfe in a riuer, halfe a myle from his houſe in Kent. Of whom more is to be ſeen when you come to his ſtory.

During the time of this parliament, the Clergie lykewyſe after their wonted maner, had a Conuocation, with a diſputation alſo appoynted by the Queenes commaundement, at Paules Churche in London the ſame tyme, which was about the 18. of October. In the which Conuocation, firſt M. Iohn Harpeſfield Bacheler of Diuinitie, made a ſermon ad Clerum, the 16. of October. After the ſermon done, it was aſſigned by the biſhops, that they of the Clergye houſe, for auoyding confuſion of wordes ſhould chuſe them a Prolocutor. To the which roume and office by common aſſent, was named Doc. weſton Deane of weſtminſter, and preſented to the Biſhops, with an Oration of M. Pie Deane of Chicheſter, and alſo of Maiſter wymbiſley Archdeacon of London. which D. weſton beyng choſen and brought vnto the biſhops, made his gratulatory Oration to the houſe, with the anſwer agayne of B. Boner.

Orations of M. Pye and M. Wimſley, of Doct. Weſton & of B. Boner. in the conuocation houſe.

After theſe things thus ſped in the conuocation houſe, they proceeded next to the Diſputation appoynted, as is aboueſayd, by the Queenes Commaundement, about the matter of the ſacrament. which diſputation continued ſixe dayes. wherein D. weſton was chiefe on the Popes part who behaued himſelfe outragiouſly in tauntyng and checking. In concluſion, ſuch as diſputed on the contrary part were driuen ſome to flee, ſome to deny, & ſome to die, thogh to the moſt mens iudgements that heard the diſputation, they had the vpper hand, as here may appeare by yͤ report of the ſayd diſputation, the copy whereof we thought here to annexe, as followeth.

The true report of the diſputation had and begun in the Conuocation houſe at London, the 18 of October. Anno. 1553.

Where as dyuers and vncertayne rumoures bee ſpread abroad of the Diſputation had in the Conuocation houſe, to the entent that all men may know the certaintie of all things therein done and ſayd, as much as the memory of him that was preſent thereat can beare away, hee hath thought good at requeſt, throughly to deſcribe what was ſayd therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in queſtion, and of the enteraunce thereof.

A diſputation of Religion in Paules Church in London the 18. of October.

¶ Acte of the firſt day.

October. 18.

Firſt vpon wedneſday, beyng the 18. of October, at after noone, M. weſton the Prolocutor certified the houſe that it was the Queenes pleaſure, that the company of the ſame houſe beyng learned men, aſſembled, ſhould debate of matters of Religion, and conſtitute lawes therof, which her grace and the Parliament would ratifie. And for that (ſayd he) there is a booke of late ſet forth, called the Catechiſme (which he ſhewed forth) bearing the name of this honorable Synode, & yet put forth without your conſents as I haue learned, beyng a booke very peſtiferous, and ful of hereſies, and likewyſe a booke of Common prayer very abominable (as it pleaſed hym to terme it) I thought it therfore beſt, firſt to beginne with the articles of the Catechiſme, concernyng the ſacrament of the aultar, to confirm the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, and alſo tranſubſtantiation: wherfore (ſayd he) it ſhall be lawfull on Friday next enſuyng, for all men freely to ſpeake their conſcience in theſe matters, that all doubts may be remoued, and they fully ſatiſfied therein.

D. Weſton Prolocutor agaynſt the booke of Catechiſme ſet forth in king Edwardes time.

¶ Acte of the ſecond day.

The Friday commyng, beyng the 20. of October, whẽ men had thought they ſhould haue entred Diſputation of the queſtions propoſed, the Prolocutor exhibited two ſeueral bils vnto the houſe: the one for the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the aultar, the other concernyng the Catechiſme, that it was not of that houſes agreement ſet forth, and that they did not agree therunto: requiryng all them to ſubſcribe to the ſame, as he hymſelfe had done. wherunto the whole houſe did immediately aſſent, except ſixe, which were the Deane of Rocheſter, the Deane of Exceter, the Archdeacon of winchester, the Archdeacon of Hertford, the Archdeacon of Stow, and one other. And while the reſt were about to ſubſcribe theſe two articles. Iohn Philpot ſtood vp and ſpake firſt concernyng the Article of the Catechiſme, that he thought they were deceiued in the title of the Catechiſme, in that it beareth the tytle of the Synode of London laſt before this, although many of them which then were preſent, were neuer made priuye thereof, in ſettyng it forth, for that this houſe had granted the authoritie to make eccleſiaſticall lawes vnto certayne perſons to be appoynted by the kings maieſtie, & what ſo euer eccleſiaſticall lawes they or the moſt part of them dyd ſet forth, according to a ſtatute in that behalfe prouided, it might be well ſayd to bee done in the Synode of London, although ſuch as be of this houſe now, had no notice therof before the promulgation. And in this poynt he thought the ſetter forth therof, nothyng to haue ſlaundered yͤ houſe as they by their ſubſcription went about to perſwade the world, ſince they had our Synodall authoritie vnto them committed, to make ſuch ſpirituall lawes as they thought conuenient and neceſſary.

October. 20. Two billes exhibited in the Conuocation houſe by the prolocutor.

M Phillips. M. Haddon. M. Philpot. M. Cheyney M. Elmar. and one other refuſed to ſubſcribe to the billes.

The booke of the Catechiſme defended by M. Iohn Philpot.

And moreouer he ſayd, as concernyng the article of the naturall preſence in the ſacramẽt, that it was againſt reaſon

Anno 1553.

Agaynſt the article of naturall preſence.

ſon and order of learnyng, and alſo very preiudiciall to the truth, that men ſhould be mooued to ſubſcribe before the matte were throughly examined and diſcuſſed. But when he ſaw that allegation might take no place, being as a mā aſtonied at the multitude of ſo many learned men as there were of purpoſe gathered together to maintayne olde traditions more then the truth of Gods holy word, he made his requeſt vnto the Prolocutor, that where as there were ſo many auncient learned men preſent on that ſide, as in yͤ realme the like againe were not to be found in ſuch number, & that on the other ſide of them that had not ſubſcribed, were not paſt v. or vj. both in age and learnyng far inferior vnto them: therfore, that equalitie might bee had in this diſputation, he deſired that the Prolocutor would bee a meane vnto the Lords, that ſome of thoſe that were learned, & ſetters forth of the ſame Catechiſme might be broght into the houſe to ſhew their learning that mooued them to ſet forth the ſame, and that D. Ridley & M. Rogers, with two or three mo, might be licenced to be preſent at this diſputation, and to be aſſociate with them.

M. Philpots requeſt to the Prolocutor.

Requeſt to haue Doct. Ridley & M. Rogers at the diſputation.

Aunſwere of the Biſhops vnto the requeſt.

This requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was propoſed vnto the Biſhops, who made this aunſwer: that it was not in them to call ſuch perſons vnto our houſe, ſince ſome of them were priſoners. But they ſayd, they would be petitioners in this behalfe vnto the Counſayle, and in caſe any were abſent that ought to bee of the houſe, they willed them to bee taken in vnto them if they liſted. After this they myndyng to haue entred into diſputation, there came a Gentleman as meſſenger from the Lord great maſter, ſignifiyng vnto the Prolocutor, that the L. great maiſter, and the Earle of Deuonſhire would be preſent at the diſputations, and therfore he deferred the ſame vnto monday, at one of the clocke at after noone.

¶ The Acte of the third day.

The third Seſſiō. October. 23.

Upon Monday the xiij. of October, at the time apointed, in the preſence of many Erles, Lordes, Knights, gentlemen, and diuers other of the Court and of the Citie alſo, the Prolocutor made a Proteſtation, that they of the houſe had appoynted this diſputation, not to call the truth into doubt, to the which they had alredy all ſubſcribed, ſauing v. or ſixe, but that thoſe gainſayers might be reſolued of their arguments in the which they ſtood, as it ſhall appeare vnto you, not doubting but they will alſo condeſcēd vnto vs.

M. Haddon and M. Elmar refuſe to aunſwere, except their requeſt were graunted.

Then he demanded of M. Haddon whether he would reaſon againſt the queſtions propoſed, or no. To whom he made anſwer, that he had certified hym before in writyng, that he would not, ſince the requeſt of ſuch learned men as were demaunded to be aſſiſtent with them, would not bee graunted. M. Elmar likewyſe was aſked, who made the Prolocutor the like aunſwer, addyng moreouer this, that they had done too much preiudice already to the truth, to ſubſcribe before thematter was diſcuſſed: and little or nothyng it might auayle to reaſon for the truth, ſince all they were now determined to the contrary. After this he demaunded of M. Cheyney, whome the Prolocutor ſayd allowed the preſence with them, but he denyed the tranſubſtantiation by the meanes of certayne authorities vppon the which he ſtandeth, and deſireth to be reſolued, as you ſhall heare, whether he will propoſe his doubtes concernyng Tranſubſtantiation or no. Yea, quoth he, I would gladly my doubts to be reſolued, which moue me not to beleeue Tranſubſtantiation.

M. Cheyny the Archdeacon of Herford now B. of Glocester.

M. Cheynyes doubtes about tranſubſtantiation.

The firſt is out of S. Paule to the Cor. who ſpeakyng of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, calleth it oft tymes bread after the conſecration.

The ſecond is out of Origene, who ſpeaking of this ſacrament, ſayth, that the materiall part therof goeth down to the excrements.

The third is out of Theodoretus, who making mention of the ſacramentall bread and wine after the conſecration, ſaith that they go not out of their former ſubſtance, forme, and ſhape. Theſe be ſome of my doubts among many other, wherein I require to be anſwered.

Moremans aunſwere to S. Paule.

Then the Prolocutor aſſigned D. Moreman to anſwer him, who to Saint Paule anſwered him thus: That the Sacrament is called by hym bread in deede, but it is thus to be vnderſtood, that is is the ſacrament of bread, that is, the forme of bread.

Then M. Cheyney inferred and alledged, that Heſychius called the ſacrament both bread and fleſh.

M. Cheyny replyeth to Moremans aunſwere.

Yea quoth Moreman, Heſychius calleth it bread, becauſe it was bread, & not becauſe it is ſo. And paſſing ouer Origen, he came to Theodoretus, & ſayd, that men miſtooke hys authoritie, by interpreting a general into a ſpecial, as Peter Martyr hath done in yͤ place of Theodoret, interpretyng ὀυσία, for ſubſtance, which is a ſpecial ſignification of yͤ word whereas ὀυσία, is a general word, as well to accidence, as to ſubſtanc, and therefore I anſwer thus vnto Theodoret, yͤ the ſacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former ſubſtance, forme, and ſhape, that is to ſay, not out of their accidentall ſubſtance and ſhape.

After this M. Cheyney ſat him downe, & by and by M. Elmar ſtood vp as one that could not abide to heare ſo ſod an anſwer to ſo graue an authoritie, & reaſoned vpon the authoritie of Theodoret alledged before by M. Cheyney, & declared that Moremans aunſwer to Theodoret, was no iuſt nor ſufficient anſwer, but an illuſion and a ſubtill euaſion contrary to Theodorets meaning. For, ſaid he, if ὀυσία, ſhould ſignify an accident in the place alledged, as it is anſwered by M. Moreman, then were it a word ſuperfluous ſet in Theodoret there, where do follow two other wordes which ſufficiently do expound the accidēces of yͤ bread, yͭ is εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα, which ſignify in Engliſh, ſhape and forme: & ſo proue out of the ſame author by diuers allegations, yͭ ὀυσία, in Greek could not be ſo generally taken in that place as Moreman for a ſhift would haue it. But Moreman, as a man hauing no other ſalue for that ſore, affirmed ſtil that ὀυσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance, muſt needes ſignify an accidental ſubſtance properly. To whoſe importunity, ſince he could haue no other anſwer. Elmar as a man wearied with his importunity, gaue place.

After this ſtood vp Iohn Philpot and ſayd, yͭ hee could proue that by the matter that Theodoret intreateth of in the place aboue alledged, and by the ſimilitude whiche hee maketh to proue his purpoſe, by no meanes M. Moremans interpretation of ὀυσία, might be taken for an accidētall ſubſtaunce, as he for a ſhift would interprete it to be. For the matter which Theodoret intreateth of in yͤ place, is againſt Eutiches an hereticke, whiche denied two natures of ſubſtance to remayne in Chriſt beyng one perſon, and that his humanitie after the accompliſhment of yͤ myſterie of our ſaluation, aſcendyng into heauen, & beyng ioyned vnto the Diuinitie, was abſorpt or ſwalowed vp of yͤ ſame, ſo that Chriſt ſhould bee no more but of one deuine ſubſtance only by his opiniō. Againſt which opiniō Theodoret writeth, and by the ſimilitude of the ſacrament proueth the contrary againſt the hereticke: that like as in the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt after the conſecratiō, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſtes humanitie, with the ſubſtance of bread, remaining as it was befor, not beyng abſorpt of yͤ humanitie of Chriſt, but ioyned by the deuine operation therunto, euen ſo in the perſon of Chriſt being now in heauen, of whom this ſacrament is a repreſentation, there bee two ſeueral ſubſtances, that is, his diuinitie & humanitie vnited in one hypoſtaſie or perſon, which is Chriſt, the humanitie not beyng abſorpt by the coniunction of the diuinitie, but remaining in his former ſubſtance.

And this ſimilitude quoth Philpot, brought in of Theodoret to confound Eutiches, ſhould proue nothing at al, if the very ſubſtance of the ſacramentall bread dyd not remayne, as it did before. But if D. Moremans interpretation might take place for tranſubſtantiatiō, then ſhould the heretike haue thereby a ſtrong argument by Theodorets authoritie, ſo taken to maintayne his hereſie, and to proue hymſelfe a good chriſten man, and he might well ſay thus vnto Theodoret. Like as thou Theodoret, if thou were of D. Moremans mynd, doeſt ſay, that after the conſecration in the ſacrament, the ſubſtaunce of the bread is abſorpt or tranſubſtantiate into the humane body of Chriſt commyng thereunto, ſo that in the ſacrament is now but one ſubſtance of the humanitie alone, and not the ſubſtance of bread as it was before: euen likewiſe may I affirme and conclude by thine owne ſimilitude, that the humanitie aſcending vp by the power of God into heauen, & adioyned vnto the deitie, was by the might therof abſorpt & turned into one ſubſtance with the deitie: ſo that now there remayneth but one diuine ſubſtance in Chriſt, no more then in the ſacramental ſignes of the Lords ſupper, after yͤ conſecration doth remayne any more then one ſubſtaunce, accordyng to your beliefe and conſtruction.

In aunſweryng to this D. Moreman ſtackerd, whoſe defect Philpot perceiuyng, ſpake on this wyſe. Well, M. Moreman, if you haue no anſwer at this preſent ready, I pray you deuiſe one, if you can conueniently, agaynſt our next meetyng here agayne.

With that his ſaying the Prolocutor was grieuouſly offended, tellyng hym that he ſhould not bragge there, but that he ſhould be fully anſwered. Then ſayd Philpot, it is the thing that I only deſire, to be anſwered directly in this behalfe, & I deſire of you, & of all the houſe at this preſent, that I may be ſufficiently anſwered, which I am ſure you are not able to do, ſauyng Theodoretus authoritie and ſimilitude multitude vpright, as he ought to be taken. None other anſwer then was made to Philpots reaſons, but that hee was commaunded to ſilence.

Then ſtode vp the Deane of Rocheſter offeryng hym ſelfe to reaſon in the firſt queſtion agaynſt the natural preſence, wiſhing that the ſcripture and the auncient Doctors in this poynt might be weyghed, beleeued, and followed. And agaynſt this naturall preſence he thought the ſaying of Chriſt in Saint Mathew to make ſufficiently enough, if men would credite and follow ſcripture, who ſayd there of hymſelfe, that poore men wee ſhould haue alway with vs, but hym we ſhould not haue alwayes: which was ſpoken, quoth he, concernyng the naturall preſence of Chriſtes body, therefore we ought to beleeue as hee hath taught, that Chriſt is not naturally preſent on earth in the ſacrament of the aultar.

To this was aunſwered by the Prolocutor, that we ſhould not haue Chriſt preſent alwayes to exerciſe almes deeds vpon hym, but vpon the poore.

But the Deane proſecuted his argument, and ſhewed it out of S. Auſten further, that the ſame interpretation of the ſcripture alledged, was no ſufficient aunſwere, who writeth in the 50. treatiſe of S. John on this wiſe, on the ſame ſentence: When as he ſayd (ſayth S. Auſten) me ſhal ye not haue always with you, he ſpake of the preſence of his bodye. For by his maieſtie, by his prouidence, by his vnſpeakable & vniſible grace, that is fulfilled which is ſayd of him. Behold I am with you vntill the conſummation of the world. But in the fleſhe which the worde tooke vpon hym, in that which was borne of the virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Iewes, whiche was crucified on the Croſſe, which was let down from the croſſe, which was wrapped in cloutes, which was hid in the Sepulchre, which was manifeſted in the reſurrection, you ſhall not haue me alwayes with you. And why? for after a bodily preſence he was conuerſant with his diſciples fortie dayes, and they accompanying him, ſeyng and not folowing him, he aſcended & is not here, for there he ſitteth at the right hand of the father, and yet here he is, becauſe he is not departed in the preſence of hys maieſtie. After another maner we haue Chriſt alwayes by preſence of hys maieſty, but after the preſence of his fleſh it is rightly ſayd: You ſhall not verily haue me alwayes with you. For the Church had hym in the preſence of his fleſh a few dayes, and now by fayth it apprehendeth hym and ſeeth hym, not with eyes.

To this authority D. Watſon toke vpon him to aunſwer, and ſayd, he would anſwer S. Auſten by S. Auſten, and hauyng a certaine booke in hys hand of notes, he alledged out of the 70. treatiſe vpon S. John, that after that mortall condition and maner we haue not now Chriſt on the earth as he was heretofore before his paſſion.

Agaynſt whoſe aunſwer, John Philpot replyed and ſaid, that M. Watſon had not fully anſwered S. Auguſtine by S. Auguſtine, as he would ſeeme to haue done, for that in the place aboue mentioned by M. Deane of Rocheſter, he doth not onely teach the mortall ſtate of Chriſtes body before his paſſion, but alſo the immortall condition of the ſame after his reſurrection: in the which mortal body S. Auguſtine ſeemeth plainely to affirme, that Chriſt is not preſent vpon the earth, neither in forme viſibly, neither in corporall ſubſtance inuiſibly, as in few lynes after ȳ place aboue alledged. S. Auguſtine doth more plainely declare by theſe wordes, ſaying: Now theſe two manners of Chriſtes preſence declared, which is by his maieſtie, prouidence, & grace now preſent in the world, which before his aſcenſion was preſent in fleſh, and beyng now placed at the right hand of the father, is abſent in the ſame from the world, I thinke (ſaith Saint Auguſtine) that there remayneth no other queſtion in thys matter.

Now quoth Philpot, if S. Auguſtine acknowledged no more preſence of Chriſt to be now on earth, but onely his diuine preſence, and touching his humanitie to bee in heauen, we ought to confeſſe and beleeue the ſame. But if we put a third preſence of Chriſt, that is, corporally to bee preſent always in the ſacrament of the aultar inuiſibly, according to your ſuppoſitions, whereof S. Auguſtine maketh no mention at all in all his works: you ſhal ſeeme to iudge that which S. Auguſtine did neuer comprehend.

Why, quoth Watſon, S. Auguſtine in the place by me alledged, maketh he not mention how S. Steuen beyng in this world, ſaw Chriſt after his aſcenſion?

It is true, ſaid Philpot, but he ſaw Chriſt, as the ſcripture telleth, in the heauens beyng open, ſtandyng at the right hand of God the father. Further to this Watſon anſwered not.

Then the Prolocutor went about to furniſh vp an anſwere to S. Auguſtine, ſaying, that he is not now in the world after that maner of bodily preſence, but yet preſent for all that in his body.

To whom Philpot anſwered, that the Prolocutor dyd grate much vpon this worde Secundum, in S. Auguſtine, which ſignifieth after the maner, or in forme: but he doth not anſwer to id quod, which is that thyng or ſubſtance of Chriſt, in the which Chriſt ſuffred, aroſe, and aſcended into heauen, in the which thing and ſubſtance he is in heauen, and not on earth, as S. Auguſtine in the place ſpecified moſt clearely doth define.

Philpot replyeth to Weſton.

To this nothing els beyng aunſwered, the Deane of Rocheſter proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a booke of Annotations, ſundry authorities for the confirmation therof. To the which Moreman, who was appointed to anſwer him, made no direct aunſwer, but bade him make an argument, ſaying that maiſter Deane had recited many wordes of Doctors, but he made not one argument.

The Deane of Rocheſter.

Moreman.

Then ſaid the Deane, the authorities of the doctors by me rehearſed, be ſufficient arguments to proue mine intent, to the which my deſire is to be anſwered of you. But ſtill Moreman cried, make an argument to ſhift of the authoritie, which he could not anſwer vnto. After this ȳ Deane made this argument out of the inſtitution of the ſacramēt: Do this in remembraunce of me: and thus ye ſhall ſhew foorth the Lordes death vntill he come.

The ſacrament is the remembrance of Chriſt: Ergo, the ſacrament is not very Chriſt: for yet he is not come. For theſe words, Vntill he come, do plainly ſignify the abſence of Chriſtes bodye. Then the Prolocutor went about to ſhew that theſe wordes Vntill he come, did not import any abſence of Chriſt on the earth, by other places of ſcripture, where, Donec, vntill, was vſed in like ſenſe: but directly to the purpoſe he anſwered nothing.

Argument.

Weſton anſwereth to the Argument.

Donec in Scripture.

In concluſiō, the Deane fel to queſtioning with Moreman, whether Chriſt did eate the Paſchal lambe with hys diſciples, or no? He anſwered, Yea. Further, he demanded whether he eate likewiſe the Sacrament with them, as he did inſtitute it? Moreman aunſwered, Yea. Then he aſked what he did eate, and whether he eate his owne naturall body, as they imagine it to be, or no? which when Moreman had affirmed, then ſaid the Deane, it is a great abſurditie by you granted, and ſo he ſate downe.

M. Deanes queſtions.

Moreman affirmeth that Chriſt did eate his owne body.

Againſt this abſurditie, Philpot ſtood vp and argued, ſaying, he could proue it by good reaſon deduced out of ſcripture, that Chriſt eat not his owne natural body at the inſtitution of the ſacrament, and the reaſon is this.

Philpot.

Ba- Receiuing of Chriſtes body hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes with it annexed.

ro- Chriſt eating the ſacrament, had no promiſe of remiſſion of ſinne.

co. Ergo, Chriſt in the Sacrament did not eate his owne body.

Argument.

To this reaſon Moreman anſwered, denying the former part of the argumēt, that the ſacrament had a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes annexed vnto it.

Moreman denieth the Sacramen to haue a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes annexed vnto it.

Then Philpot ſhewed this to be the promiſe in the ſacrament: Which is geuen for you, which is ſhed for you for the remiſſion of ſinnes. But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promiſe, ſo that he droue Philpot to the 6. of S. John, to vouch this ſaying with theſe words: The bread which I will geue, is my fleſh, which I will geue for the lyfe of the world.

Philpot.

Moreman aunſwering nothing directly to this argument, Harpſfield ſtart vp to ſupply that which wanted in hys behalfe, and thinking to haue anſwered Philpot, confirmed more ſtrongly his argumēt, ſaying: Ye miſtake the promiſe which is annexed to the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament: for it pertained not to Chriſt, but to his Diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſaid: This is my body which is geuen for you, and not for Chriſt hymſelfe.

Harpeſfield affirmeth that which his fellow denyed.

You haue ſayd well for me, quoth Philpot, for that is myne argument. The promiſe of the body of Chriſt, tooke no effect in Chriſt: Ergo, Chriſt eate not his owne body.

Philpot.

Then the prolocutor to ſhoulder out the matter, ſayd: the argument was naught. For by the lyke argument he might go about to proue that Chriſt was not baptiſed, becauſe the remiſſion of ſinne which is annexed vnto Baptiſme, tooke no effect in Chriſt. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Chriſt was baptiſed, ſo he eate the ſacrament: but he tooke on hym Baptiſme, not that he had any neede therof, or that it tooke any effect in hym, but as our maiſter, to geue the church an example to folow him in the miniſtration of the ſacrament, and therby to exhibite vnto vs himſelfe, and not to geue himſelfe to himſelfe.

Weſton alſo is contrary to Moreman.

M. Philpots argument not ſoluted.

No more was ſaid in this. But afterward the Prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue againſt the naturall preſence, or no? To whom he anſwered, Yea, if he would heare hys Argument without interruption, and aſſigne one to aunſwer him, and not many, which is a confuſion to the Opponẽt, & ſpecially for him that was of an ill memory. By this time yͤ night was come on, wherfore the Prolocutor brake vp the diſputatiõ for that tyme, and appointed Philpot to be the firſt that ſhould begin the diſputation the next day after, concernyng the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

The conuocatiõ continued to the next day.

¶ The Acte of the fourth day.

M. Philpot not ſuffered by the Prolocutor to make his declaration.

ON the wedneſday the xxv. of Octob. Joh. Philpot, as it was before appointed, was redy to haue entred the diſputation, myndyng firſt to haue made a certaine Oration, and a true declaration in Latine of the matter of Chriſtes preſence, which was then in queſtion. which thing the Prolocutor perceiuyng, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any Oration or declaration of any matter, commandyng him alſo, that he ſhould make no argument in Latin but to conclude on his arguments in Engliſh.

D. Weſton contrary to his owne wordes.

Then ſaid Philpot, this is contrary to your order take at the beginning of this diſputatiõ. For then you appointed that all the arguments ſhould be made in Latine, and thereupon I haue drawn and deuiſed all myne argumẽts in Latine. And becauſe you M. Prolocutor haue ſaid heretofore openly in this houſe, that I had no learning, I had thoght to haue ſhewed ſuch learning as I haue, in a briefe Oration and ſhort declaration of the queſtions now in cõtrouerſie, thinking it ſo moſt conuenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeake otherwiſe in my declaration then ſhould ſtand with learnyng, or then I were able to warrant and iuſtifie by gods word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the houſe, ſo that the vnlerned ſort beyng preſent, might take the leſſe offence therat. But this allegation preuayled nothyng with the Prolocutor, who bade hym ſtill forme an argument in Engliſhe, or els to hold hys peace.

Then ſayd Philpot, You haue ſore diſappoynted me, thus ſodenly to go from your former order: but I will accompliſh your commandement, leauyng myne oration apart: and I wil come to my arguments, the which as wel as ſo ſodaine a warnyng will ſerue, I will make in Engliſh. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what maner of preſence I diſallow in the ſacrament, to the intent yͤ hearers may the better vnderſtand to what end & effect myne arguments ſhal tend: not to deny vtterly the preſence of Chriſt in his Sacrament truely miniſtred according to his inſtitution, but onely to deny that groſſe & carnal preſence which you of this houſe haue alredy ſubſcribed vnto, to be in the ſacrament of the aultar contrary to the true & manifeſt meaning of the ſcriptures: that by Tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramentall bread and wyne, Chriſtes naturall body ſhould by the vertue of the words pronounced by the Prieſt, be conteyned and included vnder the formes or accidences of bread & wyne. This kind of preſence imagined by men, I do deny, quoth Philpot, and agaynſt this I wyll reaſon. But before he could make an end of that he would haue ſayd, he was interrupted of the Prolocutor, and commaunded to deſcend to hys argument. At whoſe vniuſt importunitie Philpot beyng offended, and thinkyng to purchaſe hym a remedy therefore, he fell downe vpon hys knees before the Earles and Lordes which were there preſent, beyng a great number: wherof ſome were of the Queenes counſaile, beſeechyng them that he might haue libertie to proſecute hys arguments without interruption of any man: the which was gently graunted hym of the Lordes. But the Prolocutor puttyng in vre a poynt of the practiſe of Prelates, would not condeſcend therunto, but ſtill cryed: hold your peace, or els make a ſhort argument. I am about it, quoth Philpot, if you would let me alone. But firſt I muſt needes aſke a queſtion of my Reſpondent (who was D. Chedſey) concerning a word or twaine of your ſuppoſition, that is, of the ſacrament of the aultar, what he meaneth thereby, and whether he take it as ſome of the ancient writers doe, termyng the Lordes Supper the Sacrament of the aultar partly becauſe it is a Sacrament of that liuelye ſacrifice which Chriſt offered for our ſinnes vpon the aultar of the Croſſe, and partly becauſe that Chriſtes body crucified for vs, was that bloudy ſacrifice which the bloudſheddyng of all the beaſtes offered vpon the aultar in the old lawe, dyd prefigurate and ſignify vnto vs: in ſignification wherof the old writers ſometime do call the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, among other names which they aſcribe there vnto the ſacrament of the aultar, or whether you take it otherwyſe, as for the ſacrament of the aultare, which is made of lime and ſtone, ouer the which the ſacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the ſacrament of the Maſſe, as it is at this preſent in many places. This done, I wyll direct mine arguments according as your anſwer ſhall geue me occaſion.

The preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament diſtincted.

The true preſẽce of Chriſt in the Sacrament not denyed.

The groſſe preſence of the Papiſtes denyed.

Philpot craueth of the Lordes to proſecute his argumentes without interruptiõ.

Philpot agayne interrupted by the Prolocutor.

Altar diuerſly taken.

Then made D. Chedſey this anſwer, that in their ſuppoſition they tooke the ſacrament of the aultar, and the ſacrament of the Maſſe to be all one.

Ched

Then quoth Philpot, I wyll ſpeake plaine Engliſh, as M. Prolocutor willeth me, and make a ſhort reſolution therof: that the ſacrament of the aultar which ye reckẽ to be all one with the maſſe, once iuſtly aboliſhed, & now put in full vſe agayne, is no ſacrament at all, neither is Chriſt in any wyſe preſent in it: and this his ſayeng he offred to proue before the whole houſe, if they liſted to cal him therunto: and likewyſe offered to vouche the ſame before the Queenes grace, & her moſt honourable Counſaile, before the face of vj. of the beſt learned men of the houſe of the contrary opinion, and refuſed none. And if I ſhall not be able (quoth he) to maintayne by Gods word that I haue ſaid, & confound thoſe vj. which ſhall take vpon them to withſtand me in this poynt, let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London, before the court gates. This he vttred with great vehemency of ſpirit.

At this the Prolocutor with diuers other, were very much offended, demanding of hym whether he wiſt what he ſayd, or no? Yea, quoth Philpot, I wote well what I ſay, deſiring no mã to be offended with his ſaying, for that he ſpake no more thẽ by gods word he was able to proue. And prayſed be God, quoth he, that the Queenes grace, hath granted vs of this houſe (as our Prolocutor hath informed vs) that wee may freely vtter our conſciences in theſe matters of controuerſie in Religion: and therfore I will ſpeake here my conſcience freely grounded vpõ gods holy worde for the truth, albeit ſome of you here preſent miſlike the ſame.

Philpo offer in Co houſe.

Then diuers of the houſe beſide the Prolocutor, taunted & reprehended hym for ſpeaking ſo vnfaringly againſt the Sacrament of the Maſſe: and the Prolocutor ſayd he was mad, & threatned hym that he would ſend hym to priſon, if he would not ceaſe hys ſpeakyng.

The Prol cutor thre neth Phil pot.

Philpot ſeeyng hymſelfe thus abuſed, & not permitted with free liberty to declare his mynd, fel into an exclamation, caſtyng his eyes vp towards the heauen, and ſaid, O Lord what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be ſpoken & abidden by? and for very ſorrow and heauines, the teares trickled out of hys eyes.

After this, the Prolocutor beyng moued by ſome that were about hym, was content that he ſhould make an argument, ſo that he would be briefe therein. I wyll be as briefe, quoth Philpot, as I may conueniently be in vtteryng all that I haue to ſay. And firſt I wil begin to ground myne arguments vpon the authority of ſcriptures, whervpon all the buildyng of our fayth ought to be grounded: & after I ſhall confirme the ſame by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occaſion of my firſt argument out of the 28. of Mathew, of the ſayeng of the angell to the three Maries ſekyng Chriſt at the ſepulchre, ſayeng: He is riſen, he is not here: and in S. Luke in the 23. chap. the angell asketh thẽ, why they ſought hym that lyueth among yͤ dead. Likewyſe the ſcripture teſtifieth that Chriſt is riſen, aſcẽded into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of yͤ father: all the which is ſpoken of hys naturall body: Ergo, it is not on earth included in the ſacrament.

Philpot permitted to make a briefe argument.

Math.28. Luke.24.

Argument of M. Philpot.

I will confirme this yet more effectually by the ſaying of Chriſt, in the 16. of S. John: I came (ſayth Chriſt) from my father into the world, and now I leaue the world, and goe away to my father. The which commyng and goyng he meant of hys naturall body. Therfore we may affirme thereby, that it is not now in the world.

John.16.

But I looke here (quoth he) to be aunſwered wyth a blynd diſtinction of viſibly and inuiſibly, that he is viſibly departed in his humanitie, but inuiſibly he remaineth, notwithſtanding in the ſacrament. But that anſwer I preuẽt my ſelfe, that wt more expedition I may deſcend to the pith of myne arguments, whereof I haue a doſen to propoſe, & will proue that no ſuch diſtinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the anſwer which Chriſtes diſciples gaue vnto hym, ſpeakyng theſe words: Nowe thou ſpeakeſt plainly, and vttreſt forth no Prouerbe. Which wordes S. Cyrill interpretyng, ſayth: That Chriſt ſpake without any maner of ambiguitie, or obſcure ſpeach. And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Chriſt ſpake plainely & without parable, ſaying: I leaue the world now, and goe away to my father, then that obſcure, darke, & inperceptible preſence of Chriſtes natural body to remayne in the ſacrament vpon earth inuiſibly, contrary to the playne wordes of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more vncertain, or more parabolical & vnſenſible, then ſo to ſay. Here now will I attend what you will anſwer, & ſo deſcend to the confirmation of all that I haue ſaid, by anciẽt writers.

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Then D. Chedſey reciting his argument in ſuch order as it was made, toke vpon him to anſwere ſeuerally to euery parte therefore on this wiſe. Firſt to the ſaying of the Angell, That Chriſt is not heere: And why ſeeke yee the liuing among the dead? He anſweared, that theſe ſayings pertained nothing to the preſence of Chriſtes naturall body in the ſacrament, but that they were ſpoken of Chriſtes body being in the Sepulchre when the three Maries thought hym to haue bene in the graue ſtill. And therfore the Angell ſayde: Why doe yee ſeeke him that liueth, among the deade? And to the authoritie of the 16. of Iohn where Chriſt ſaith: Now I leaue the worlde, and goe to my Father. Hee meant that of hys Aſcenſion. And ſo likewiſe did Cyril, interpreating the ſaying of the diſciples that knewe plainly that Chriſt would viſibly aſcend into heauen, but that doeth not exclude the inuiſible preſence of his naturall body in the Sacrament. For S. Chryſoſtome wryting to the people of Antioche, doeth affirme the ſame, comparing Helias and Chriſt together, and Helias cloake vnto Chriſtes fleſh. Helias (quoth he) when he was taken vppe in the fierie chariote, leaft his cloake behinde him vnto his diſciple Heliſæus. But Chriſte aſcending into heauen, tooke his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behind him. Wherby we may right well gather, that Chriſtes fleſh is viſibly aſcended into heauen, and inuiſibly abideth ſtill in the Sacrament of the altare.

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To this Philpot replied, and ſaid, you haue not directly anſweared to the ſaying of the angel: Chriſt is riſen, and is not heere, becauſe you haue omitted that which was yͤ chiefeſt poynt of all. For (ſayd he) I proceeded further, as thus: He is riſen, aſcended, and ſitteth at the right hande of God the father: Ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your anſwere to Cyrill, by me alleaged, ſufficient. But by and by I will returne to your interpretation of Cyrill, and more plainly declare the ſame, after that I haue firſt refelled the authority of Chryſoſtome, which is one of your chief principles that you alleaged to make for your groſſe carnall preſence in the ſacrament. which being wel weied and vnderſtanded, pertaineth nothing therevnto.

At that the Prolocutour ſtartled, that one of the chiefe pillers in this point ſhould be ouerthrowen, & therfore recited the ſayd authoritie in Latine firſt, & afterward Engliſhed the ſame, wyllinge all that were preſent, to note that ſaying of Chryſoſtome, which he thought inuincible on their ſide. But I ſhall make it appeare, quoth Philpot, by and by to make litle for your purpoſe. And as he was about to declare his minde in that behalfe, the Prolocutor did interrupt him as he did, almoſt continually. wherwith Philpot not being content, ſaid: Maſter Prolocutour thinketh that he is in a Sophiſtrie ſchoole, where he knoweth right well the maner is, that when the Reſpondent perceiueth that he is like to be inforced with an argument to the which he is not able to anſwer, then he doth what he can with cauillation & interruption to driue him from the ſame. This ſaying of Philpot was ill taken of the Prolocutor and his adherents: and the Prolocutor ſaid, that Philpot could bring nothing to auoid that authoritie, but his owne vaine imagination. Heare quoth Philpot, and afterward iudge. For I wil do in this as al other authorities wherwith you ſhal charge me in refelling any of my argumentes that I haue to proſecute, anſwearing either vnto the ſame by ſufficient authorities of ſcripture, or els by ſome other teſtimonye of like authoritie to yours, & not of mine owne imagination: the which if I doe, I will it to be of no credite. And concerning the ſaying of Chryſoſtom, I haue 2. wayes to beat him from your purpoſe, the one oute of Scripture, the other of Chryſoſtome him ſelfe, in the place here by you alleaged.

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hriſo-
me.

Firſt, where hee ſeemeth to ſay, that Chriſte aſcending, toke hys fleſh with him, and leaft alſo hys fleſh behinde him, truth it is: for we all do confeſſe and beleue that Chriſt toke on hym oure humane nature in the virgine Maryes wombe, and through his paſſyon in the ſame, hath vnyted vs to hys fleſh, and thereby are we become one fleſhe with him, ſo that Chryſoſtome might therfore right well ſay, that Chriſt aſcending toke his fleſhe which hee receiued of the virgin Mary, away with him: and alſo left his fleſh behind him, which are we that be his electe in this worlde, whych are the mēbers of Chriſt, and fleſh of his fleſh: as very aptly S. Paul to the Epheſ. in the 5. chap. doth teſtifie, ſaying: We are fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones. And if percaſe any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the Sacrament, ſo that this interpretation can not ſo aptly be applied vnto him in that place, then will I yet interprete Chryſoſtome an other way by himſelfe. For in that place a fewe lines before thoſe wordes, whyche were heere no rather read, are theſe wordes: that Chriſte after hee Aſcended into heauē, leaſt vnto vs indued tō his Sacramēts, his fleſh in myſteries, that is, Sacramentally. And that myſticall fleſh Chriſt leaueth as well to his Churche in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, as in the ſacramentall bread and wine. And that S. Paul iuſtly doth witnes, ſaying: As many of vs as are baptiſed in Chriſt, haue put vpon vs Chriſt. And thus you maye vnderſtande that S. Chryſoſtome maketh nothyng for your carnall and groſſe preſence in the Sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.

Gal.3.

Nowe in this meane while M. Pye rounded the Prolocutor in the eare to put Philpot to ſilence and to appoint ſome other, miſtruſting leſt he would ſhrodely ſhake theyr carnal preſence in cōcluſion, if he held on long, ſeeing in the beginning he gaue one of their chiefe foundations ſuche a plucke. Then the Prolocutor ſayde to Philpot, that he had reaſoned ſufficiently enough, & that ſome other ſhuld now ſupply his rowme. wherwith he was not wel cōtent, ſaying: why ſir, I haue a doſen Argumentes concerning this matter to be propoſed, and I haue not yet ſcarce ouergone my firſt Argument: for I haue not brought in any confirmation therof out of any auncient wryter (whereof I haue for the ſame purpoſe manye) beinge hitherto ſtill letted by your oft interrupting of me.

Weſton.

Wel, quoth yͤ Prolocutor, you ſhal ſpeake no more now, and I commaund you to holde your peace. You perceyue, quoth Philpot, that I haue ſtuffe enoughe for you, and am able to withſtand your falſe ſuppoſition, and therefore you commaund me to ſilence. If you will not geue place, quoth yͤ Prolocutor, I wil ſend you to priſon. This is not, quoth Philpot, accordinge to youre promiſe made in this houſe, nor yet according to your brag made at Paules croſſe, that men ſhould be anſweared in this diſputation, to whatſoeuer they cā ſay, ſince you wil not ſuffer me of a doſen arguments to proſecute one.

A good ſolution for all his argumentes.

Then M. Pie toke vpon him to promiſe that he ſhuld be anſweared an other day. Philpot ſeeing he myghte not procede in hys purpoſe, being therewith iuſtly offended, ended, ſaying thus: A ſort of you here, which hitherto haue lurked in corners, and diſſembled with God & the worlde, are nowe gathered together to ſuppreſſe the ſincere truthe of Gods holy worde, and to ſette forth euerye falſe deuiſe, which by the Catholike doctrine of the Scripture, yee are not able to maintaine.

M. Elmar againe ſteppeth forth.

Then ſtepped forth M. Elmar Chapleine to the Duke of Suffolke: whome M. Moreman toke vpon him to anſweare. Againſt whō M. Elmar obiected diuers and ſundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he toke the day before in hand to proue, that ὀυσία in the ſentence of Theodoret brought in by M. Cheiney, muſt needes ſignifie ſubſtance, and not accidence. whoſe reaſons and approbations, becauſe they were all grounded and broughte out of the Greeke I doe paſſe ouer, for that they want theyr grace in Engliſh, and alſo their proper vnderſtanding. But hys allegations ſo incombred M. Moreman, that hee deſired a day to ouerview them, for at that inſtant he was wythout a conuenient anſweare.

ὀυσία.

Moreman deſireth a day to imagine ſome crafty ſhift.

Then did the Prolocutor cal M. Haddon deane of Exeter, & Chaplaine to the Duke of Suffolke, who proſecuted Theodoretes authoritie in confirminge M. Elmars argument. To whom D. watſon toke vpon hym to geue aunſwer, who after long talk was ſo confounded, that he was not able to anſwer to the word Myſterium. But for as much as he ſeemed to doubt therein, M. Haddon toke out of his boſome a Latine author to confirme his ſaying, & ſhewed the ſame to M. watſon, aſking him whether he thought yͤ tranſlation to be true, or yͤ the Printer were in any faulte. There may be a fault in the Printer, quoth watſon, for I am not remembred of this worde. Then did M. Haddon take out of his boſome a Greeke booke, wherin he ſhewed forth with his finger the ſame wordes, whiche M. watſon could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, becauſe they were for the moſte parte in Greeke, about the boulting out of the true ſignification of ὀυσία.

Watſon confounded by M. Haddon.

M. Watſon for a bare ſhift putteth the fault in the Printer.

Thē ſtept forth M. Perne, & in argument made declaration of his minde againſt tranſubſtātiation, & confirmed the ſayings and authorities alleaged by M. Elmar & M. Haddon. To whome the Prolocutor anſwered, ſaying: I much maruel, M. Perne, that you wil ſay thus, for ſomuch as on friday laſt you ſubſcribed to the contrary. which hys ſaying maſter Elmar did miſlike, ſaying to the Prolocutor that he was to blame ſo to reprehend any man, partlye for that this houſe (quoth he) is an houſe of free libertye for euery man to ſpeake his conſcience, and partly for that you promiſed yeſter day, that notwithſtanding any man had ſubſcribed, yet he ſhould haue free libertie to ſpeake his mind. And for that the night did approche, and yͤ time was ſpent, the Prolocutor geuing them praiſes for their learning, did yet notwythſtanding conclude, that al reaſoning ſet apart, the order of the holy churche muſt be receiued, & all thynges muſt be ordered thereby.

M. Pearne agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

D. Weſton praiſeth their learning to flatter them, but he anſwereth not their argumentes.

Anno 1554.

The acte of the fift day.

October 27.

On Friday the 27. of Octob. D. Weſton the Prolocutor did firſt propounde the matter, ſhewing that the Conuocation had ſpent 2. dayes in diſputation already aboute one only doctor, which was Theodoret, & about one onely worde, which was οὐσία. Yet were they come the 3. daye to anſwer al things that could be obiected, ſo that they would ſhortly put out their argumẽts. So M. Haddon Deane of Exeter, deſired leaue to appoſe M. Watſon, which wyth 2. other mo, that is, Morgan & Harpſfield, was appoynted to anſwer. M. Haddon demaunded this of him, whether any ſubſtãce of bread or wine did remaine after the conſecration. Then Maſter Watſon aſked of him againe, whether he thought there to be a reall preſence of Chriſtes body or no? M. Haddon ſaide, it was not meete nor orderlike, that hee which was appoynted to be reſpondent, ſhould be opponent, & he whoſe duty was to obiect, ſhuld anſwer. Yet M. Watſon a long while would not agree to anſwer, but that thing firſt being granted him. At laſt an order was ſet, and M. Haddon had leaue to go forwarde with his argument.

M. Haddon Deane of Excecter diſputeth againſt M. Watſon, Morgan and Harpſfield.

Then he proued by Theodorets words, a ſubſtance of breade and wine to remaine. For theſe are his wordes: The ſame they were, before the ſanctification, whiche they are after. M. Watſon ſayde, that Theodoret meant not the ſame ſubſtance, but the ſame eſſence. Whereupon they were driuen againe unto the diſcuſſing of the Greeke worde οὐσία, and M. Haddon proued it to meane a ſubſtaunce, bothe by the Etimologie of the word, and by the wordes of the Doctor. For οὐσία (quoth he) cõmeth of the Participle ὤν, which deſcendeth of the verbe εἰμί, and ſo commeth the Noune οὐσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance.

The wordes of Theodoretus alleaged.

A popiſh diſtinction betweene ſubſtãce and eſſence.

Then M. Watſon anſweared that it had not that ſignification onely. But M. Haddon proued yͭ it muſt nedes ſo ſignifie in that place. Then hee aſked Watſon when the bread & wine became Symboles? Wherunto he anſwered: after the conſecration and not before. Then gathered M. Haddon this reaſon out of hys author.

Argument of M. Haddon.

Da- The ſame thing, ſaieth Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were Symboles, the ſame they remaine ſtill in nature and ſubſtance, after they are Symboles.

ti- Bread and wine they were before:

ſi. Therefore bread and wine they are after.

Then M. Watſon fell to the deniall of the authour, and ſaid he was a Neſtorian: and he deſired yͭ he might anſwer to maſter Cheiney, whyche ſtode by, for that he was more meete to diſpute in the matter, becauſe he had granted and ſubſcribed unto the real preſence. M. Cheyney deſired paciẽce of the honorable men to heare hym, truſting that he ſhould ſo open the matter, that the veritie ſhould appeare: proteſting furthermore, that he was no obſtinate nor ſtubburne man, but would be conformable to all reaſon: and if they by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more then his, could anſwer his reaſons, then he would be ruled by them, and ſay as they ſayd: for he would be no author of ſchiſme, nor hold any thing cõtrary to the holy mother the church, which is Chriſtes ſpouſe. D. Weſton liked this well, and commended him highly, ſayuĩg that he was a well learned and a ſober man, & well exerciſed in all good learning, and in the Doctors, and finallye a man meete for his knowledge to diſpute in that place: I pray you heare him, quoth he. Then Maſter Cheiney deſired ſuch as there were preſent to pray 2. words with him unto God, and to ſay, Vincat veritas, Lette the veritie take place, and haue the victorie: and all that were preſent cried with a loud voyce, Vincat veritas, vincat veritas.

Watſon is driuẽ to a ſhamefull ſhift, to deny the author when he cannot aunſwer.

M. Cheyney.

M. Cheynyes prayer.

Then ſayde D. Weſton to him, that it was hypocriticall. Men may better ſay (quoth he) Vincit veritas, Trueth hath gotten the victorie. Maſter Cheyny ſayd againe, if he woulde geue hym leaue, he woulde bryng it to that poynte that he might wel ſay ſo.

Weſton.

Then he began wyth M. Watſon after thys ſorte: you ſayd, that M. Haddon was unmete to diſpute, becauſe hee graunteth not the naturall and real preſence: but I ſay you are muche more unmeete to aunſwere, becauſe you take away the ſubſtance of the ſacrament.

M. Cheny and Watſon diſputeth.

M. Watſon ſaid, he had ſubſcribed to the real preſence, & ſhould not go away from that. So ſayde Weſton alſo, & the reſt of the Prieſtes, in ſo muche that for a greate while hee could haue no leaue to ſay any more, till the Lordes ſpake, and willed that he ſhould be heard.

M. Haddon chalenged for ſubſcribing to the reall preſence.

Then he tolde them what hee meant by his ſubſcribing to the reall preſence, farre otherwyſe then they ſuppoſed. So then he went forwarde, and proſecuted M. Haddons argument in prouing that οὐσία was a ſubſtance, uſing the ſame reaſon that M. Haddon did before him: and when he had receiued the ſame aunſwere alſo that was made to M. Haddon, he ſaid it was but a leud refuge, when they could not anſwer, to deny the author, & proued the author to be a catholike doctor: and that being proued, he confirmed that was ſaide of the nature and ſubſtance, further. The ſimilitude of Theodorete is this, quoth he: As the token of Chriſtes body and bloud after the inuocation of the Prieſte, doe change their names, & yet continue the ſame ſubſtaunce, ſo the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion changed his name, & was called immortall, yet had it his former faſhion, figure, & circumſcription, and to ſpeake at one word, the ſame ſubſtance of his body. Therfore ſaid M. Cheiney, if in the former part of the ſimilitude you denye the ſame ſubſtaunce to continue, then in yͤ later parte of the ſimilitude which agreeth with it, I wil deny the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion to haue the former nature & ſubſtance. But yͭ were a great hereſy: therefore it is alſo a great hereſye to take away the ſubſtance of bread and wine after the ſanctification.

Then was M. Watſon enforced to ſaye, that the ſubſtaunce of the bodye in the former parte of the ſimilitude brought in by him, did ſignifie quantitie & other accidents of the ſacramentall tokens which be ſeene, and not the very ſubſtance of the ſame: and therfore Theodoret ſaith, Quæ videntur. &c. that is, Thoſe things which be ſeene. For according to Philoſophie, the accidentes of things be ſeene, and not the ſubſtances.

Then M. Cheiney appealed to the honorable mẽ, and deſired that they ſhoulde geue no credite to them in ſo ſaying: for if they ſhould ſo thinke as they woulde teache, after their Lordſhippes had ridden 40. miles on horſebacke (as their buſines doth ſometime require) they ſhould not be able to ſay at night, that they ſawe their horſes all yͤ day, but only the colour of their horſes: and by hys reaſon Chriſte muſt go to ſchole & learne of Ariſtotle to ſpeake. For when he ſaw Nathanaell under the fig tree, if Ariſtotle had ſtand by, he would haue ſaid no Chriſte, thou ſaweſt not him, but the colour of him. After this Watſon ſayde, what if it were graunted that Theodoret was on the other ſide? whereas they had one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other ſide.

Then the Prolocutor called for M. Morgan to helpe: and ſayd, that Theodoret did not more then he might lawfully do. For firſt he graunted the truthe, and then for feare of ſuche as were not fully inſtructed in the faythe, he ſpake, ἀινιγματωδῶς, that is, couertly, and in a myſterie: and thys was lawfull for him to do, for firſt he graunted the trueth, and called them the body of Chriſt, & bloud of Chriſt. Then afterward he ſeemed to geue ſomwhat to the ſences, and to reaſon, but that Theodorete is of the ſame minde that they were of, the words folowing, quoth he, do declare. For that which followeth is a cauſe of that whiche went before, and therefore he ſayth: The immortalitie. &c. whereby it doth appeare, that he meante the diuine nature, & not the humane. Then was Morgan taken in miſalleging of the text. For the booke had not this word (for). For the Greeke word did rather ſignify (truly) & not (for) ſo that it mighte manifeſtly appeare that it was the beginning of a newe matter, & not a ſentence rendring a cauſe of that he had ſayd before.

Then was it ſaid by Watſon again: ſuppoſe that Theodoret be wyth you, whych is one that we neuer hearde of printed, but two or three yeres ago: Yet he is but one, and what is one againſt the whole conſent of the church? After this M. Cheyney inferred, that not only Theodorete was of that minde, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine doe remaine, but diuers other alſo, & ſpeciallye Irenæus, who making mention of this ſacrament, ſayth thus: when the cuppe whych is mingled with wine, and the breade that is broken, doe receiue the worde of God, it is made the Euchariſte of the bodye and bloude of Chriſt, by the whiche the ſubſtaunce of our fleſh is nouriſhed, and doeth conſiſt. If the thankes geuing doe nouriſh our body, then ther is ſome ſubſtance beſides Chriſtes body.

To the which reaſon both Watſon and Morgan aunſweared, that Ex quibus, By the whych, in the ſentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and bloud of Chriſt, and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

Maſter Cheiney replied, that it was not the bodye of Chriſt which noriſhed our bodies. And let it be that Chriſtes fleſh noriſheth to immortalitie, yet it doth not anſwere that argument, although it be true, no more then that aunſwere which was made to my allegation out of S. Paule: The bread which we breake, &c. to certaine other like: whereunto you anſwered, that bread was not taken there in hys proper ſignification, but for that it had bene: no more then the rod of Aaron which was taken for the ſerpent, becauſe it had beene a ſerpent. After this M. Cheyney brought in

Dele-

Anno 1553.

Heſechius, and vſed the ſame reaſon that hee did of the cuſtome of burning of Symboles, and hee aſked them what was burnt. Maſter Watſon ſayd, we muſt not enquire nor aſke, but if there were any faulte, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſayde M. Cheiney, whereof came thoſe aſhes? not of a ſubſtance? or can anye ſubſtance ariſe of accidents?

arpſfield / lled in to / lpe mat-

Then was M. Harpſfield called in to ſee what he could ſay in the matter. who told a faire tale of the omnipotencie of God, and of the imbecilitie and weakneſſe of mans reaſons not able to attaine to godly things. And he ſayde, that it was conuenient whatſoeuer we ſawe, felt, or taſted, not to truſt our ſences. And he tolde a tale out of S. Cyprian, how a woman ſawe the Sacrament burning in her cofer, and that which burned there, quoth Harpſfielde, burneth heere, and becommeth aſhes. But what that was that burnt he could not tell. But M. Cheiney continued ſtill, and forced them with this queſtion, what it was that was burnt? It was eyther (ſayde he) the ſubſtance of breade, or els the ſubſtaunce of the body of Chriſte, which were too much abſurditie to graunt. At length they anſweared, that it was a miracle, wherat M. Cheiney ſmiled, and ſayd that he could then ſay no more.

ere is / odly / ſe, as if / ere out / the Le- / ales of

Then D. Weſton aſked of the company there, whether thoſe menne were ſufficiently anſweared or no: Certaine Prieſtes cried Yea, but they were not heard at all: for the great multitude which cried No, no. Which cry was heard and noiſed almoſt to the ende of Paules. Whereat D. Weſton being much mooued, anſwered bitterly, that hee aſked not the iudgement of the rude multitude & vnlearned people, but of them which were of the houſe. Then aſked he of M. Haddon and his fellowes, whether they woulde aunſwere them other three dayes. Haddon, Cheiney, and Elmar, ſayd No. But the Archdeacon of Wincheſter ſtoode vp and ſayde, that they ſhould not ſay but they ſhould be aunſweared, and though all other did refuſe to anſwer, yet he would not, but offered to anſwere them all one after another: wyth whoſe profer the Prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and ſayd that he ſhould goe to Bedlem: to whome the Archdeacon ſoberly made this anſwer: that he was more worthy to be ſent thether, who vſed himſelfe ſo ragingly in that diſputation, without any indifferent equalitie. Then roſe D. Weſton vp, and ſayde:

Weſton / oulde / now whe- / er they / ere ſuffi- / ently an- / ered, / hen he / d his had / ſwered / o argu- / ent.

. Philpot.

arke Wo- / ow impu- / ncie,

All the company hath ſubſcribed to our Article, ſauing only theſe men which you ſee. What their reaſons are, you haue heard. We haue anſweared them 3. daies, vppon promiſe (as it pleaſed him to deſcãt, wythout truth, for no ſuch promiſe was made) that they ſhould anſwer vs againe as long, as the order of diſputation doeth require, and if they be able to defend theyr doctrine, let them ſo doe.

ſtrong ar- / ment of / eſton. / here he / not able / anſwere / would / ut face.

Then M. Elmar ſtood vp & prooued how vaine a man Weſton was, for hee affirmed that they neuer promiſed to diſpute, but only to open & teſtifye to the worlde their conſciences: For whẽ they were required to ſubſcribe, they refuſed, and ſayd that they would ſhewe good reaſons whych mooued them that they coulde not with their conſciences ſubſcribe, as they had partly alreadye done, and were able to doe more ſufficiently: therefore (quoth he) it hath bene ill called a diſputation, & they were worthy to be blamed that were the anthours of that name. For we meant not to diſpute, nor now meane not to anſwer, before our argumẽts (quoth he) which we haue to propounde, be ſoluted, according as it was appoynted: For by anſwearing we ſhoulde but incumber our ſelues, and profit nothing, ſince the matter is already decreed vppon and determined, what ſoeuer we ſhall prooue, or diſpute to the contrary.

. Elmers / aſon why / ey would / t anſwer.

The acte of the ſixte day.

he 6. Acte / Seſsion.

ON Mondaye following, being the 30. of October, the Prolocutor demaunded of Iohn Philpot Archdeacon of Wincheſter, whether he would anſwere in the queſtions before propounded to their obiections, or no? To whome he made this anſweare, that he woulde willingly ſo doe, if, according to theyr former determination, they would firſte aunſwere ſufficiently to ſome of hys argumentes, as they had promiſed to do: whereof he had a dozen, not halfe of the firſt being yet decided: And if they woulde aunſwere fully, and ſufficiently but to one of his Arguments, he promiſed that he would anſwere all the obiections that they ſhoulde bryng.

ilpot.

Then the Prolocutor bade him propounde hys Argument, and it ſhould be reſolutely anſwered by one of them: whereunto M. Morgan was appoynted. Vpon Wenſday laſt (quoth he) I was inforced to ſilence before I had proſecuted halfe of mine Argument: the ſumme whereof was this (as was gathered by the iuſt context of the ſcripture) that the humain body of Chriſt was aſcended into heauen, and placed on the right hand of God the father: wherefore it coulde not be ſituate vpon earth in the ſacrament of the altare, inuiſible after the imagination of man. The argument was denied by Morgan: For the profe wherof, Philpot ſayd, that this was it wherwith he had to confirme his firſt argument, if they would haue ſuffred him ẏ other day, as now he truſted they would.

Argument.

Fe- One ſelfe and ſame nature (quoth he) receiueth not in it ſelfe any thing that is contrary to it ſelfe.

ri- But the body of Chriſt is an humane nature, diſtincte from the Deitie, and is a proper nature of it ſelfe.

o. Ergo, it cannot receiue any thyng that is contrarye to that nature, and that varieth from it ſelfe.

But bodely to be preſent, and bodely to be abſent, to be on earth, and to be in heauen, and al at one preſent time, be things contrary to the nature of an humaine body, Ergo, it cannot be ſaide of the humaine body of Chriſt, that the ſelfe ſame body is both in heauen, & alſo in earth at one inſtant, either viſibly or inuiſibly.

Morgan.

Morgan denied the Maior, that is, the firſte parte of the argument. The which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius an auncient wryter. But Morgan cauilled that it was no ſcripture, and bade him prooue the ſame out of ſcripture.

Here is a new euaſion inuented by Morgan who dare not plainely deny Vigilius authoritie, but vnder a colour.

Philpot ſayd he could alſo ſo do, and right well deduce the ſame out of S. Paule, who ſayeth, that Chriſt is like vnto vs in all poyntes, except ſinne: and therefore like as one of our bodies cannot receiue in it ſelfe any thing contrarye to the nature of a body, as to be in Paules churche, and at Weſtminſter at one inſtant, or to be at Londõ viſibly, & at Lincoln inuiſibly at one time: for that is ſo contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures (as Didimus and Baſilius affirme) that an inuiſible creature, as an Angell, cannot be at one time in diuers places, wherfore he concluded, that the body of Chriſt might not be in moe places then in one, which is in heauen, and ſo conſequently, not to be contained in the ſacrament of the altare.

One body can not be at once in diuers places.

Weſton.

To thys the Prolocutor tooke vpon him to anſweare, ſaying, that it was not true that Chriſte was like vnto vs in all poynts, as Philpot tooke it, except ſinne, For ẏ Chriſt was not conceiued by the ſeede of man, as we be.

Chriſt after his incarnation, was in al poynts like man, ſinne onely except.

Whereunto Philpot againe replied, that Chriſtes conception was propheſied before by the Angel to be ſupernatural, but after he had receiued our nature by the operation of the holy Ghoſt in the virgins wombe, hee became in all poynts like vnto vs, except ſinne.

Morgan.

Then Morgan inferred that thys ſaying of Paule dyd not plainly proue his purpoſe. Wel, quoth Philpot, I perceiue that you do anſwere but by cauillation, yet am I not deſtitute of other ſcriptures to confirme my firſt argumẽt, although you refuſe the probation of ſo ancient and catholicke a doctour as Vigilius is. Sainte Peter in the ſermone that he made in the thirde of the Actes, making mention of Chriſte, ſayth theſe wordes, whome heauen muſt receiue vntill the conſummation of all things. &c. Which words are ſpoken of hys humanitie. If heauen muſt holde Chriſt, then can hee not be heere on earth in the Sacrament, as is pretended.

Philpot.

Actes. 3.

Harpſfield ſteppeth in.

Then Morgan laughing at this, and geuing no directe anſwer at all, Harpfield ſtoode vp, being one of the Biſhop of Londons chaplaines, and tooke vpon him to anſwer to the ſaying of S. Peter, & demaunded of Philpot, whether he would, ex neceſsitate, that is, of neceſſitie, force Chriſt to any place, or no?

Philpot.

Philpot ſayd, that he would no otherwiſe force Chriſte of neceſſity to any place, then he is taught by the wordes of the holy Ghoſt, which ſounde thus: that Chriſtes humaine body muſt abide in heauen vntill the day of iudgement, as I rehearſed out of the chapter before mentioned.

Harpſfield.

Why quoth Harpſfield, do you not knowe that Chriſte is God omnipotent? Yes ſaid Philpot, I know that right wel, neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotencie. But of Chriſtes omnipotencie what he may do, is not our queſtion, but rather what he doeth. I knowe he may make a ſtone in the wall a manne, if he liſte, and alſo that he may make moe worldes, but doeth he therefore ſo? It were no good conſequent ſo to conclude: hee maye doe this, or that, therefore he doth it.

Ba- Only ſo much is to be beleeued of Gods omnipotencie, as is in the worde expreſſed.

ra- That Chriſtes body is both in heauen and heere alſo really in the ſacrament, is not expreſſed in the word.

co. Ergo, it is not to be beleeued that the body of Chriſte, being in heauen is heere alſo really in the ſacrament.

Why quoth the Prolocutor, then you will putte Chriſt in priſone in heauen. To the which Philpot anſwered, doe you recken heauen to be a priſone? God graunt vs all to come to that priſone.

If Weſton charge them for priſoning chriſt in heauen, how may they charge the papiſtes for priſoning Chriſt in a boxe.

After this, Harpſfield inferred that this word Oportet in S. Peter, which ſignifieth in Engliſhe muſt, did not import ſo much as I woulde inferre of neceſſitie, as by other places of Scripture it may appeare, as in the firſt to Tim. where Paule ſayeth, Oportet Epiſcopum eſſe vnius vxoris virum: A biſhop muſt be the huſband of one wife. Here quoth he, Oportet doeth not import ſuche a neceſſitie, but that hee that neuer was maried may be a Biſhop.

M. Philpot.

Oportet how it is taken diuerſly in Scripture.

To this Philpot ſaide againe, that the places were not like whych he went about to compare, and that in comparing of the Scriptures wee muſte not conſider the naked wordes, but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for yͤ in the place by him alleaged, S. Paule doeth declare of what qualitie a Biſhop ought to be. But in the other S. Peter teacheth vs the place where Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be vntil the ende of the worlde: which we ought to beleeue to be true. And this compariſon of this worde Oportet, doeth no more aunſwer mine argument, then if I ſhould ſay of you now being here Oportet te hic eſſe, you muſt nedes be heere, which importeth ſuch neceſſity for the time, that you can no otherwiſe be but here, & yet you would go about in wordes to auoide this neceſſitye with another Oportet, in an other ſenſe, as this, Oportet te eſſe virũ bonum, you muſt be a good man, where Oportet doeth not in very deede conclude any ſuch neceſſity, but that you may be an euill man. Thus you may ſee that your anſwere is not ſufficient, & as it were, no anſwere to mine argument.

Weſton.

Then the Prolocutour brought in another Oportet, to helpe this matter (if it mighte be) ſayinge, what ſay you to this, Oportet hæreſes eſſe, muſt hereſies needes be therefore becauſe of thys word Oportet?

Philpot.

Yea truely, quoth Philpotte, it cannot otherwiſe be, if you will adde that which followeth immediatly vpon theſe wordes of Paul, that is, Vt qui electi ſunt, manifeſtentur, that is: That ſuche as be yͤ elect of God, may be manifeſted and knowen.

Weſton.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the time hath bene that no hereſies were.

Philpot.

I knowe no ſuche time quoth Philpot. For ſince the time of Abell and Caine, hereſies haue bene, and then began they.

Weſton.

Then ſayd the Prolocutor, wil you nowe anſwer Morgan an argument or two?

Philpot.

I wil quoth Philpot, if I may firſt be anſwered to my argument any thyng according to truth and learning. What quoth the Prolocutor, you will neuer be anſweared. Howe I am anſweared, quoth Philpot, let all men that are here preſent, iudge: and ſpecially ſuch as be learned, & with what cauillations you haue dallied with me.

Firſt to the auncient authority of Vigilius, you haue anſwered nothing at all, but only denying it to be ſcripture yͭ he ſayth. Secondly, to the ſaying of S. Peter in the actes, yee haue aunſweared thus, demaunding of me whether I would keepe Chriſt in priſon or no, let men nowe iudge if this be a ſufficient anſwere or no.

Morgan.

Then ſtode Morgane vp againe, and aſked Philpotte whether he would be ruled by the vniuerſal church, or no.

Philpot.

Yes, quoth he, if it be the true Catholicke Church. And ſith you ſpeake ſo much of the Churche, I would faine that you would declare what the church is.

Morgan.

The church, quoth Morgan, is diffuſed and diſpearſed throughout the whole worlde.

Philpot.

That is a diffuſe definition quod Philpot, for I am yet as vncertaine as I was before what you meane by yͤ church: but I knowledge no church, but that which is grounded and founded on Gods word, as S. Paul ſayth, vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles & Prophets, and vpon the ſcriptures of God.

Moreman. Whether the Church was before the Scripture.

What quoth Moreman, was the Scripture before the church? yea quoth Philpot. But I will proue nay, quoth Moreman, and I wil begin at Chriſtes time. The Church of Chriſt was before any ſcripture wrytten. For Mathewe was the firſt that wrote the Goſpell, about a doſen yeares after Chriſt, Ergo, the church was before the ſcripture.

Scripture conſiſteth not onely in letters but is that which is inſpired in the hartes of good men by the holy Ghoſt.

To whom Philpot anſwering, denied this argument. Which when Moreman could not proue, Philpot ſhewed that his argument was Elenchus, or a fallace, that is, a deceiueable argument. For he toke the Scripture only to be that, whych is wrytten by men in letters, wheras in very deede, all Prophecie, vttered by the ſpirite of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was wrytten in paper & inke, for that it was wrytten in the heartes, and grauen in the mindes, yea, and inſpired in the mouthes of good men, and of Chriſtes Apoſtles by the ſpirite of Chriſt: As the ſalutation of the Angel was the ſcripture of Chriſte, and the word of God before it was written. At that Moreman cried, fie, fie, wondring that the Scripture of God ſhoulde be counted ſcripture, before it was wrytten, and affirmed that he had no knowledge that ſaid ſo.

Philpot.

To whom Philpot anſwered, that concerning knowledge in this behalfe, for the triall of the truth about yͤ queſtions in controuerſie, he woulde wiſh hymſelfe no worſe matched then with Moreman.

Weſton.

At the which ſaying the Prolocutor was greuouſly offended, ſaying, that it was arrogantly ſpoken of hym, that woulde compare with ſuche a worſhipfull learned man as Moreman was, being himſelfe a manne vnlearned, yea a madde man, meter to be ſent to Bedlem, then to be among ſuch a ſorte of learned and graue men as there were, and a man that neuer woulde be anſweared, and one that troubled the whole houſe: and therefore he did commaund him that he ſhoulde come no more into the houſe, demaunding of the houſe whether they would agree thereuppon, or no. To whome a great number aunſweraed, yea. Then ſayde Philpot againe, that he might thinke himſelfe happye that was out of that companie.

After this, Morgan roſe vp, and rounded the Prolocutor in the eare. And then againe the Prolocutor ſpake to Philpot and ſaid, leaſt you ſhould ſlaunder the houſe, & ſay that we will not ſuffer you to declare youre minde, we are content you ſhal come into the houſe as you haue done before, ſo that you be apparelled wyth a long gowne & a tippette as we be, and that you ſhall not ſpeake, but when I commaund you. Then quoth Philpot, I had rather be abſent altogether.

Thus they reaſoning to and fro, at length about the 13. of December, Q. Mary, to take vp the matter, ſendeth her commaundement to Boner Byſhoppe of London, that he ſhould diſſolue and breake vp the conuocation. The copie of which commaundement here followeth.

The precept of the Queene to Boner, Biſhop of London, for the diſſoluing of the foreſayde Conuocation.

MAria. &c. Reuerendo in Chriſto patri & Domino, Domino Edmundo London. Epiſcopo, ſalutem. Cum præſens cõuocatio Cleri Cantuarienſis prouinciæ apud Sãctum Paulum London. iam modo tenta & inſtans exiſtit, certis tamen vrgentibus cauſis & conſiderationibus nos ſpecialiter mouentibus, de aduiſamento Conſilij noſtri ipſam præſentem conuocationem duximus diſſoluendam: Et ideo vobis mandamus quòd eandem præſentem conuocationem apud ſanctum Paulum prædictum debito modo aſque aliqua dilatione diſſoluatis. diſſolui ue faciatis prout conuenit, ſignificantes ex parte noſtra vniuerſis & ſingulis Epiſcopis, nec non Archidiaconis, Decanis, & omnibus alijs perſonis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque dictæ Cantuarienſis Prouinciæ quorum intereſt, vel intereſſe poterit, quod ipſi & eorum quilibet huic mandato noſtro exequendo intendentes ſint & obedientes prout decet. Teſte meipſa apud Weſtmonaſterium 13. die Decembris. Anno regni noſtri primo.

During the time of this diſputation, the 20. day of Nouember, yͤ Maior of Couentrie ſent vp vnto yͤ Lordes of the Cõuſel Baldwine Clarke, I. Careleſſe, Tho. Wilcockes, and Richard Eſtlin, for their behauiour vpon All halowe day laſt before. Whereupon Careleſſe and Wylcocks were committed to the gatehouſe, and Clarke and Aſtlyn to the Marſhalſey.

The ſame day there was a letter directed to Sir Chriſtopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer knight, for the apprehenſion of John Huntingdon preacher, for making a rime againſt D. Stokes and the ſacrament. Who appearing before the counſell the 3. of December next after, was vpon his humble ſubmiſſion and promiſe, to amend aſwel in doctrine as liuing, againe ſuffered to depart.

In the daies of king Henry, and alſo of king Edward raigning after him, diuers noble men, Biſhops and other, were caſt into the Tower, ſome charged with treaſon as Lord courtney and the Duke of Northfolke (whoſe ſonne Lorde Henry Earle of Surrey had bene the ſame time beheaded, a worthy & ingenious gentlemen, for what cauſe, or by whom, I haue not heare to deale, this is certaine, that not many yeres after his death, folowed the beheading of both the L. Seimers, and at laſt of the Duke of Northumberland alſo) ſome for yͤ Popes ſupremacie, and ſuſpicious letters tending to ſedition, as Tonſtal B. of Durham, and other for other things, all which continued there priſoners til Q. Maries comming in. Unto whome the ſaide Q. eftſones graunted their pardone, and reſtored them to theyr former dignities. Amongſt whom alſo was Gardiner B. of Wincheſter, whom ſhe not onely freed out of captiuitie, but alſo aduaunced him to be high chancelor of Englande. Furthermore to the L. Courtney ſhe ſhewed ſuch fauour, that ſhee made him Earle of Deuonſhire, in ſo muche that there was a ſuſpition amongſt many, that ſhe would marie him, but that proued otherwiſe.

Anno 1553.

The ſame time Bonner alſo had bene priſonner in the Marſhalſey, whome likewiſe Queene Mary deliuered, & reſtored to the Biſhopricke of London againe, diſplacing Doct. Ridley, with diuers other good Biſhops moe, as is aboue mentioned, as Cranmer from Canterb. the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke likewiſe, Poynette from Wincheſter, John Hooper from Worceſter, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Herefoꝛde, Taylor from Lincolne, Ferrar from S. Dauids, Couerdale from Exceſter, Scorye from Chicheſter, &c. with a great number of Archdeacons, Deanes, and briefly all ſuche beneficed men, which either were married, or woulde conſtantly adheere to theyr profeſſion. All which were remoued from their liuings, and other of the contrary ſecte ſette in the ſame, as Cardinall Poole (who was then ſent for) Gardiner, Heath, White, Daye, Troubleſield, &c.

And as touching Cranmer, of whome mention was made before, for ſo much as there was a rumor ſpreade of hym the ſame time at London, that he hadde recanted, and cauſed Maſſe to be ſayde at Caunterburye, for purging of hymſelfe hee publiſhed abroade a declaration of hys truthe and conſtancie in that behalfe, proteſtinge that hee neyther had ſo done, nor mineded ſo to doe: adding moreouer, that if it woulde ſo pleaſe the Queene, he wyth Peter Martyr, and certaine other whome he would chuſe, would in open diſputation ſuſtaine the cauſe of the doctrine taught and ſet forth before in the time of king Edward, againſt all perſons whomeſoeuer. But while he was in expectation to haue this diſputation obtained, he with other biſhops were laid faſt in the Tower, and P. Martir permitted to depart the realme, and ſo went he to Argentine.

After this, in the moneth of Nouemb. the Archbyſhop Cranmer (notwithſtading he had earneſtly refuſed to ſubſcribe to the kings will, in diſheriting his ſiſter Marye, alledging many graue and pithy reaſons for her legitimation) was in Guild hall of London arraigned and attainted of treaſon, with the L. Jane, and three of the Duke of Northumberlandes ſonnes, which at the inſtaunce of certayne perſons were had againe to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which notwithſtanding, Cranmer beinge pardoned of treaſon, ſtoode onely in the action and caſe of doctrine, which they called hereſie, whereof hee was ryghte glad and ioyfull.

This being done in Nouember, the people, and eſpecially the Churchmen, perceiuing the Queene ſo eagerlye ſet vpon her olde religion, they likewiſe for theyr partes, to ſhewe themſelues no leſſe forwarde to ſerue the Queenes appetite (as the manner is of the multitude, commonlye to frame themſelues after the humour of the Prince and time preſent) began in their Quiers to ſet vp the pageants of S. Katherine, and of S. Nicholas, and of their proceſſions in Latine, after all their olde ſolemnitie with their gaye gardeuiance, and gray amites.

And when the moneth of December was come, the Parliament brake vp, but firſt of all ſuch ſtatutes were repealed, which were made either of Premunire, or touched anye alteration of religion and adminiſtration of Sacramentes vnder king Edward. In the which parliament alſo communication was moued of the Queenes mariage, wyth king Philip the Emperors ſonne.

In this meane while Cardinal Poole being ſent for by Q. Mary, was by the Emperour requeſted to ſtaye wyth hym, to the intente (as ſome thinke) that hys preſence in England ſhould not be a let to the mariage which hee intended betweene Philip his ſonne and Q. Marye. For the making wherof, he ſent a moſt ample Ambaſſade, with full power to make vp the mariage betwixt them: which tooke ſuch ſucceſſe that after they had communed of the matter a few daies, they knit vp the knot.

Anno. 1554.

The 13. of Januarie 1554. Doctor Crome for his preaching vpon Chriſtmas day without licence, was committed to the Fleete.

The 21. of Januarie, M. Thomas Wootten Eſquire, was for matters of religion committed to the Fleete cloſe priſonner.

This mention of mariage was about the beginning of January, and was very euill takē of the people, & of many of the nobility, who for his, and for religion, conſpiring among themſelues, made a rebellion: whereof ſir Thomas Wyate knight was one of the chief beginners: who beyng in Kent, ſaid (as many els perceiued) that the Queene and the Counſel would by forraine mariage bring vppon thys Realme moſte miſerable ſeruitude, & eſtabliſh popiſh religion. About the 25. of January newes came to London of this ſtur in Kent, and ſhortlye after of the D. of Suffolke, who was fled into Warwikeſhier & Leceſterſhire: there to gather a power. The Queene therefore cauſed them bothe wyth the two Carewes of Deuonſhire to bee proclaimed Traitors: and ſent into Kent againſt Wyate, Thomas D. of Norfolke, who being aboute Rocheſter bridge forſaken of them that went with him, returned ſafe to London without any more harme done vnto him, and wythoute bloudſhed on either partie.

The Duke of Norfolke ſent agaynſt M. Wyat.

Furthermore to apprehende the Duke of Suffolke, being fled into Warwikeſhiere, was ſent the Earle of Huntington in poſt, who entring the Citie of Couentrie before the Duke, diſappoynted him of his purpoſe. Wherefore the Duke in great diſtreſſe committed himſelfe to the keeping of a ſeruaunt of his named Underwoode in Aſtley Parke, who like a falſe traitor bewraied him. And ſo was brought vp to the Tower of London.

The Duke of Suffolke apprehended.

In the meane while Sir Peter Carewe hearynge of that was done, fledde into Fraunce, but the other were taken, and Wyat came towards London in the beginning of February. The Queene hearing of Wyates comminge, came into the Citie to the Guilde Hall, where ſhee made a vehement Oration againſt Wyate: the contentes, at leaſt, the effect wherof here foloweth, as nere as out of her owne mouth could be penned.

Queene Mary commeth into the Guildhall.

The Oration of Queene Marie in the Guild Hall.

I Am come vnto you in mine own perſon, to tel you that, which already you ſee and know, that is, how traiterouſly and rebelliouſly, a number of Kentiſh mē haue aſſembled them ſelues againſt both vs and you. Their pretence (as they ſayde at the firſt) was for a mariage determined for vs: to the which, and to all the Articles therof ye haue bene made priuie. But ſithens we haue cauſed certaine of our priuie Counſaile to goe againe vnto them, and to demaunde the cauſe of this their rebellion, and it appeared then vnto our ſayde Counſel, that the matter of the mariage ſeemed to be but as a Spaniſh cloake to couer their pretenced purpoſe againſt our religion, ſo that they arrogantly and traiterouſly demaunded to haue the gouernance of our perſon, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our Counſailers.

Queene Maryes Oration to the Londoners.

Demaundes pretended to be ſent from M. Wyat and hys company to Queene Mary.

Nowe louing ſubiectes, what I am ye right well knowe, I am your Queene, to whome at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme, and lawes of the ſame (the ſpouſall Ring wherof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor heereafter ſhall be left off) you promiſed your allegeaunce and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right, and true inheritour of the crowne of this Realme of England I take all Chriſtendome to witneſſe. My Father, as ye all know, poſſeſſed the ſame regall ſtate, which nowe rightly is deſcended vnto me: and to him alwaies ye ſhewed your ſelues moſt faithfull and louing ſubiectes, and therefore I doubte not, but ye will ſhew your ſelues likewiſe to me, and that yee will not ſuffer a vile Traitour to haue the order & gouernance of our perſon, and to occupie our eſtate, eſpecially being ſo vile a Traytor as Wyat is. Who moſt certainly as he hath abuſed mine ignorant ſubiects, which be on his ſide, ſo doth he entend and purpoſe the deſtruction of you, and ſpoile of your goodes. And this I ſay to you in the woorde of a Prince, I can not tel how naturally the mother loueth the childe, for I was neuer the mother of anye, but certainely, if a Prince and gouernour maye as naturally and earneſtly loue her ſubiectes, as the Mother doeth the Childe, then aſſure your ſelues, that I being your Ladie and Maiſtres, doe as earneſtly and as tenderly loue & fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that yee as heartely and faithfully loue me, and then I doubt not, but we ſhall geue theſe rebelles a ſhort & ſpeedy ouerthrow.

How he pretended the ſpoyle of theyr goodes it appeareth in that he comming to Southwarke, did hurt neither man, woman, nor childe, neyther in body nor in a penny of their goodes.

As concerning the Mariage, ye ſhall vnderſtand that I enterpriſed not the doing thereof without aduiſe, and that by the aduice of all our priuie Counſell, who ſo conſidered and wayed the great commodities that might enſue thereof, that they not onely thought it very honorable, but alſo expediēt, both for the wealth of the Realme, and alſo of you our Subiects. And as touching my ſelfe, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bente to my will, neither ſo preciſe, nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleaſure, I wold chuſe where I luſt, or that I am ſo deſirous, as needes I would haue one. For God I thanke him, to whome bee the praiſe therefore, I haue hetherto liued a Virgin, and doubt nothing, but with Gods grace am able ſo to liue ſtil. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might pleaſe God that I might leaue ſome fruit of my body behinde me, to be your Gouernour, I truſt you would not onely reioyce therat, but alſo I know it would be to your great comforte. And certainely, if I either did thinke or knowe, that this Mariage were to the hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the empeachment of any part or parcel of the royall ſtate of this realme of England, I would neuer conſent therunto, neither wold I euer mary while I liued. And in the word of a Queene I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appeare to all the Nobilitie and Commons in the highe Court of Parliament, that thys Marryage ſhall be for

Q. Mary excuſeth her maryage.

The promiſe of Queene Mary touching her Maryage.

the high benefit & cõmoditie of all the whole Realme, then I wil abſtaine from Mariage while I liue.

And now good Subiects, plucke vp your hearts, and like true men, ſtande faſt againſt theſe rebels, both our enemies and yours, and feare them not: for I aſſure you I feare them nothing at all, And I will leaue with you my Lord Haward, & my Lord Treaſoror, who ſhalbe aſsiſtants with the Mayor for your defence.

¶ Here is to be noted, that at the comming of Queene Mary to the Guild hall, being bruted before that ſhee was comming wͭ harneſſed men, ſuch a feare came among them that a number of the Londiners fearing leaſt they ſhoulde be there intrapped & put to death, made out of the gate before her entring in. Furthermore note, that when ſhee had ended her Oration (which ſhe ſemed to haue perfectly conned without booke) winchester ſtanding by her, when the Oration was done, with great admiration cried to yͤ people: O how happy are we, to whom God hath geuen ſuch a wiſe and learned Prince. &c.

February 3. M. Wyat in ſouthwarke.

M. Wyat came to Ludgate.

M. Wyat apprehended at Templebar.

M. Wyat executed.

Two dayes after, whiche was the 3. of Februarie, the L. Cobham was committed to the Tower, and M. Wyat entred into Southwarke. Who, for ſo muche as he coulde not enter yͤ way into London, returning another way by Kingſtone with his army, came vp through the ſtreetes to Ludgate, and returning thence, hee was reſiſted at Temple barre, and there yealded himſelf to Sir Clement Parſon, and ſo was brought by him to the Courte, & with hym the reſidue of his armye (for before, Sir George Harpar & almoſt halfe of his men ran awaye from him at Kingſtone bridge) were alſo taken, and aboute an 100. killed, and they that were taken were had to priſone, and a great manye of them were hanged, and he himſelfe afterwarde executed at the Tower hill, and then quartered, whoſe heade after being ſet vp vpon Haihil, was thence ſtolne away, and great ſearch made for the ſame. Of which ſtory ye ſhal here more (the Lord willing) heereafter.

February 12.

The 12. day of February was beheaded the lady Iane, to whom was ſent M. Fecknam, alias Howman, from the Queene 2. dayes before her deathe, to commune wyth her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Chriſte, to Queene Maries religion. The effect of which communication here followeth.

The communication had betweene the Ladie Iane and Fecknam.

Talke betweene the Lady Iane and Fecknam.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your heauy caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you beare out this ſorow of yours wyth a conſtant and patient minde.

Iane. You are welcome vnto me ſir, if your comming be to geue Chriſtian exhortation. And as for my heauye caſe (I thanke God) I do ſo little lament it, that rather I accompt the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of Gods fauor towarde me, then euer he ſhewed me at any time before: And therefore there is no cauſe why either you, or other, whych beare me good wil, ſhould lament or be grieued wyth thys my caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my ſoule health.

Lady Iane comfortably taketh her trouble.

Feck. I am heere come to you at this preſent ſent from the Queene and her counſaile, to inſtructe you in the true doctrine of yͤ right faith: although I haue ſo great confidence in you, that I ſhall haue (I truſt) little neede to trauaile wyth you much therein.

Iane. Forſooth I heartely thanke the Queenes highneſſe, which is not vnmindful of her humble ſubiect: and I hope likewiſe that you no leſſe will doe your duety therein both truely and faithfully according to that you were ſent for.

Feck. What is then required of a Chriſtian?

Iane. That he ſhould beleue in God the Father, yͤ Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

Feck. What? is there nothing els to be required or looked for in a Chriſtian, but to beleeue in him?

Iane. Yes, we muſt alſo loue him with all our heart, with all our ſoule, and with all our minde, and our neighbor as our ſelfe.

Feck. Why? then faith iuſtifieth not, nor ſaueth not.

Iane. Yes verely, faith (as Paule ſayth) only iuſtifieth.

Faith onely iuſtifieth.

Feck. Why? S. Paul ſayeth: If I haue all faith without loue it is nothing.

Iane. True it is: for how cã I loue him whom I truſt not? or how can I truſt him whome I loue not? Faith and loue go both together, and yet loue is comprehended in faith.

Feck. How ſhall we loue our neighbour?

Iane. To loue our neighbor is to feede the hungry, to cloth the naked, and geue drinke to the thirſty, and to doe to him, as we would doe to our ſelues.

Feck. Why? then it is neceſſary vnto ſaluation, to doe good workes alſo, and it is not ſufficient only to beleeue.

Iane. I denye that, and I affirme that faith onely ſaueth: but it is meete for a Chriſtian, in token that hee followeth his Maiſter Chriſte, to doe good workes: yet may wee not ſay that they profit to our ſaluation. For whẽ we haue done all, yet we be vnprofitable ſeruãts, and faith only in Chriſtes bloud ſaueth vs.

Feck. How many Sacraments are there?

2. Sacramentes.

Iane. Two. The one the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the other the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

Feck. No, there are ſeuen.

Iane. By what Scripture finde you that?

Feck. Well, we will talke of that heereafter. But what is ſignified by your two Sacraments?

Iane. By the Sacramente of Baptiſme I am waſhed wyth water, and regenerated by the ſpirite, and that waſhing is a token to mee that I am the childe of God. The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper offered vnto mee, is a ſure ſeale and teſtimonie that I am by the bloude of Chriſt, which he ſhedde for me on the Croſſe, made partaker of the euerlaſting kingdome.

Feck. Why? what doe you receiue in that Sacrament? Doe you not receiue the very body and bloud of Chriſt?

Iane. No ſurely, I doe not ſo beleeue. I thinke that at the Supper I neyther receiue fleſh nor bloude, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is dronken, putteth mee in remembraunce howe that for my ſinnes the body of Chriſt was broken, & his bloud ſhed on the Croſſe, and with that breade and wine I receiue the benefites that come by the breaking of his body, & ſheding of his bloud for our ſinnes on the Croſſe.

Feck. Why? doeth not Chriſt ſpeake theſe wordes: Take eate, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not ſay it is his body?

Iane. I graunt hee ſayeth ſo: and ſo he ſayth, I am the vine, I am the doore, but hee is neuer the more for that the doore nor the vine. Doth not S. Paul ſay, He calleth things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I ſhould ſay that I eate the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt: for then eyther I ſhould plucke away my redẽption, either els there were two bodies, or two Chriſtes. One body was tormẽted on the Croſſe. And if they did eate an other body, then had hee two bodies: either els if his body were eaten, than was it not broken vpon the Croſſe: or if it were broken vpon the Croſſe, it was not eaten of his Diſciples.

Rom. 4.

Feck. Why? is it not poſſible that Chriſte by hys power coulde make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be borne of a woman wythout ſeede of man, and as to walke vppon the ſea hauing a body, and other ſuche like myracles as he wrought by his power onely?

Iane. Yes verely: if God would haue done at his Supper any myracle, he myght haue done ſo: but I ſay that then he minded no worke nor myracle, but onely to breake his body, and ſhed his bloud on the Croſſe for our ſinnes. But I pray you to anſwere me to thys one queſtion: where was Chriſt when he ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body? Was hee not at the table when he ſayde ſo? Hee was at that time alyue, and ſuffered not till the next day. What tooke he but bread? What brake he but breade? and what gaue hee but breade? Looke what he tooke, he brake: and looke what hee brake, he gaue: and looke what he gaue, they did eate: and yet all this while he himſelfe was aliue, and at Supper before his diſciples, or elſe they were deceiued.

Feck. You ground your faith vppon ſuch authours as ſay and vnſay both with a breath, and not vpon the Church, to whom ye ought to geue credite.

Iane. No, I grounde my faith on Gods worde, and not vpon the Churche. For if the Churche be a good Churche, the faith of the Churche muſt be tried by Gods worde, and not Goddes worde by the Churche, either yet my Faithe. Shall I beleeue the Churche becauſe of antiquitye? or ſhal I geue credite to the Churche that taketh away from mee the halfe parte of the Lordes Supper, and will not lette any man receiue it in both kindes? Whych thing if they denie to vs, then denie they to vs part of our ſaluation. And I ſaye that it is an euill Churche, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Spouſe of the Deuill that altereth the Lordes Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church (ſay I) God will adde plagues, and from that Church will he take their parte out of the booke of life. Doe they learne that of S. Paule, when he miniſtred to the Corinthians in both kindes? Shall I beleeue this Churche? God forbid.

Feck. That was done for a good intent of the Churche, to auoide an hereſie that ſprong on it.

Iane. Why? ſhal the church alter Gods wil & ordinance for a good intẽt? How did king Saul? The Lord God defend.

With theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions he would haue had her leane to the Church, but it woulde not be. There were

many

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many more things whereof they reaſoned, but theſe were the chiefeſt.

After this Fecknam tooke his leaue, ſaying, that he was ſory for her: For I am ſure (quoth he) that we two ſhall neuer meete.

Iane. True it is (ſayd ſhe) that we ſhall neuer meete, except God turne your hart. For I am aſſured, vnleſſe you repent and turne to God, you are in an euill caſe: and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to ſend you his holy ſpirite: for he hath geuen you his great gift of vtterance, if it pleaſed him alſo to open the eyes of your hart.

he wordes ...e ſpoken ...enly.

¶ A letter of the Lady Iane ſent vnto her father.

Lady Ianes ...ter ſent ...her fa...

FAther, although it hath pleaſed God to haſten my death by you, by whome my life ſhould rather haue bene lengthened: yet can I ſo patiently take it, as I yeeld God more harty thankes for ſhortening my wofull dayes, then if all the world had bene geuen into my poſſeſsion with life lengthened at my owne will. And albeit I am well aſſured of your impacient dolours, redoubled manyfold wayes, both in bewayling your owne woe, and eſpecially (as I heare) my vnfortunate ſtate, yet my deare father (if I may without offence reioyce in my owne miſhaps) me ſeemes in this I may accompt my ſelfe bleſſed, that waſhing my handes with the innocencie of my fact, my giltles bloud may cry before the Lord, mercy to the innocent. And yet though I muſt needes acknowledge, that being conſtrayned, and, as you wot well inough, continually aſſayed, in taking vpon me I ſeemed to conſent, and therein greeuouſly offended the Queene and her lawes: yet do I aſſuredly truſt that this mine offence towards God is ſo much the leſſe, in that being in ſo royall eſtate as I was, mine enforced honour being neuer with mine innocent hart. And thus good father I haue opened vnto you the ſtate wherein I preſently ſtand. Whoſe death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeme right wofull, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, then from this vale of miſerie to aſpire to that heauenly throne of all ioy and pleaſure with Chriſt our Sauiour. In whoſe ſtedfaſt fayth (if it may be lawfull for the daughter ſo to write to the Father) the Lord that hetherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you that at the laſt we may meete in heauen with the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

his Pa...entheſis ...cludeth ...ith a prai... ..., a priuy ...monition ... her father ...at he fall ...t from his ...ligion.

At what time her father was floriſhing in freedome and proſperitie in the time of King Edward, there belonged vnto him a certayne learned man, ſtudent and Graduate of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford. Who then being Chaplayne to the ſayd Duke, and a ſincere Preacher (as he appeared) of the Goſpell, according to the doctrine of that time ſet footh and receiued, ſhortly after that the ſtate of Religion began to alter by Queene Mary, altered alſo in his profeſſion with the time, and of a Proteſtant, became a friend and defender of the Popes proceedings. At whoſe ſodayne mutation and inconſtant mutabilitie, this Chriſtian Lady being not a little agreeued, and moſt of all lamenting the daungerous ſtate of his ſoule, in ſliding ſo away for feare from the way of truth, writeth her minde vnto him in a ſharp and vehement letter: which as it appeareth to proceede of an earneſt and zealous hart, ſo woulde God it might take ſuch effect with him, as to reduce him to repentaunce, and to take better holde againe for the health and wealth of his owne ſoule. The copie of the letter is thys as followeth.

¶ Another letter of the Lady Iane to M. Harding, late Chaplayne to the Duke of Suffolke her father, and then fallen from the truth of Gods moſt holy worde.

...ke 9. ...ſharpe ...tter or ex...ration of ... Lady ...e to M. ...rding.

SO oft as I call to mynde the dreadfull and fearefull ſaying of God: That he which layeth holde vpon the plough, and looketh backe, is not meete for the kingdome of heauen: and on the other ſide, the comfortable words of our Sauiour Chriſt to all thoſe that forſaking themſelues, do folow him: I can not but marueill at thee and lament thy caſe: which ſeemedſt ſomtime to be the liuely member of Chriſt, but now the deformed impe of the deuil, ſometime the beutifull temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy kenel of Sathan, ſometime the vnſpotted ſpouſe of Chriſt, but now the vnſhamefaſt paramour of Antichriſt, ſometyme my faythfull brother, but now a ſtraunger and Apoſtata, ſometime a ſtoute Chriſten ſouldiour, but now a cowardly runneaway. Yea, when I conſider theſe things, I can not but ſpeake to thee, and cry out vpon thee, thou ſeede of Sathan, and not of Iuda, whome the deuill hath deceyued, the world hath begiled, and the deſire of life ſubuerted, and made thee of a Chriſtian an Infidell: wherefore haſt thou taken the Teſtament of the Lord in thy mouth? * Wherfore haſt thou preached the law and the wil of God to others? wherefore haſt thou inſtructed other to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when ye thy ſelfe doeſt now ſo ſhamefully ſhrinke, and ſo horrible abuſe the Teſtament and lawe of the Lord? when thou thy ſelfe preacheſt, not to ſteale, yet moſt abhominably ſtealeſt, not from men but from God, and committing moſt haynous ſacriledge, robbeſt Chriſt thy Lorde of his right members thy bodye and ſoule, and choſeſt rather to liue miſerably with ſhame to the worlde, then to dye and gloriouſly with honor to reigne with chriſt in whome euen in death is life? why doeſt thou now ſhew thy ſelfe moſt weake, when in deede thou oughteſt to bee moſt ſtrong? The ſtrength of a fort is vnknowne before the aſſault: but thou yeldeſt thy hold before anye battrie be made.

* This man a little before K. Edward dyed, was heard openly in his ſermōs in London to exhort the people with great vehemency after thys ſorte: that if trouble came, they ſhoulde neuer ſhrinke from the true doctrine of the Goſpell whiche they had receiued, but ſhould take it rather for a tryall ſent of God to proue them whether they would abide by it or no. All which to be true, they can teſtify that heard him, and be yet aliue: who alſo foreſeeing the plague to come were then muche confirmed by hys wordes.

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Oh wretched and vnhappy man, what art thou but duſt and aſhes? and wilt thou reſiſt thy maker that faſhioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou nowe forſake hym ye called thee from the cuſtome gathering amōg ye Romiſh Antichriſtians, to be an Ambaſſadour & meſſenger of hys eternall worde? Hee that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt creation and byrth preſerued thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea and inſpired thee with the ſpirit of knowledge (I cannot ſay of grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſſe thee? Dareſt thou deliuer vp thy ſelfe to an other, being not thine owne but his? How cāſt thou hauing knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vayn traditions of men: and whereas thou haſt bene a publicke profeſſor of his name, become now a defacer of his glorye? Wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhip the inuention of man, the golden calfe, the whore of Babilon, ye Romiſh Religion, the abhominable Idoll, the moſt wicked maſſe? wilt thou torment agayne, rent, and teare the moſt precious body of our Sauior Chriſt with thy bodily and fleſhly teeth? wilt thou take vpon thee to offer vp anye ſacrifice vnto God for our ſinnes, conſidering that Chriſt offered vp himſelfe (as Paule ſayth vppon the croſſe a liuely ſacrifice once for all? Can neither the puniſhment of the Iſraelites (which for their Idolatry they ſo oft receaued) nor the terrible threatninges of the Prophetes, nor the curſes of Gods owne mouth feare thee to honour anye other God then him? Doeſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not hys deare and onely ſonne for thee, ſo diminiſhing, yea, vtterly extinguiſhing his glory that thou wilt attribute the prayſe and honour due vnto him to the Idols, which haue mouthes and ſpeak not, eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not; which ſhall periſh with them that made them?

What ſayth the Prophet Baruc, where hee recited the Epiſtle of Ieremy written to the captiue Iewes? Did hee not forwarne them that in Babilon they ſhould ſee Gods of gold, ſiluer, wood, & ſtone borne vpon mens ſhoulders, to caſt a feare before the Heathen: But be not ye afrayd of them (ſayth Ieremy) nor doe as other doe? But when you ſee other worſhip thē, ſay you in your hartes: it is thou (O Lord) that oughteſt onely to be worſhipped: for as for thoſe Gods, the Carpenter framed them and poliſhed them, yea gilded be they, and layde ouer with ſiluer, and vayne thinges and cannot ſpeake. He ſheweth moreouer, the abuſe of theyr deckings, howe the Prieſtes tooke off their ornamentes and apparelled their women withall: how one holdeth a ſcepter, an other a ſworde in his hand, and yet can they iudge in no matter, nor defend themſelues, much leſſe anye other, from either battell or murther, nor yet from gnawing of wormes, nor any other euill thing. Theſe, & ſuch like wordes, ſpeaketh Ieremy vnto them, whereby he proueth them to be but vayne thinges, and no Gods. And at laſt he concludeth thus: Confounded be they that worſhip them. They were warned by Ieremy, and thou as Ieremye haſt warned other, and art warned thy ſelfe by many Scriptures in many places. God ſayth: he is a ielous God, which will haue all honour, glory, and worſhip geuen to him onely. And Chriſt ſaith in the 4. of Luke to Sathan which tempted him: euen to the ſame Sathan, the ſame Belzebub, the ſame deuill, whiche hath preuayled agaynſt thee: It is written (ſaith he) thou ſhalt honor the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue.

Baruch. 6.

Math. 4.

These and ſuch like doe prohibite thee and all Chriſtians to worſhip anye other God then whiche was before all worldes, and layd the foundations both of heauen and earth: and wilt thou honour a deteſtable Idol, inuented by Romiſh Popes, and the abhominable Colledge of craftye Cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelfe vp once for al, and wilt thou offer him vp agayne dayly at thy pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good intēt. O ſinck of ſinne: Oh child of perdition: doeſt yu dreame therein of a good intent, where thy conſcience beareth thee witnes of Gods threatned wrath againſt thee? How did Saule? who for that hee diſobeyed the worde of the Lorde for a good intent was

Good intent.

throwne from his worldlye and temporall kingdome. Shalt thou then that doeſt deface Gods honour, and rob him of his right, inherite the eternall and heauenly kingdome? wilt thou for a good intent diſhonour God, offend thy brother, and daunger thy ſoule, wherefore Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious bloud? wilt thou for a good intent plucke Chriſt out of heauen, and make his death voyde, and deface the triumph of his croſſe by offering him vp dayly? wilt thou either for feare of death, or hope of life, denie and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy pouertie, healed thy infirmitie, and yelded to thee his victory, if thou couldeſt haue kept it? Doeſt yͧ not conſider that the threed of thy life hangeth vpon him that made thee, who can (as hys will is) eyther twine it harder to laſt the longer, or vntwine it againe to breake it the ſooner? Doeſt thou not then remember the ſaying of Dauid a notable King, to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his 104. Pſalme, where he ſayth thus: When thou takeſt away thy ſpirit (oh Lord) from men, they die and are turned agayne to their duſt: but when thou letteſt thy breath go foorth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renue the face of the earth.

Pſal.104.

Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in hys Goſpell: Whoſoeuer ſeeketh to ſaue his life, ſhall loſe it: but whoſoeuer will loſe his life for my ſake, ſhall finde it. And in the ſame place: Whoſoeuer loueth father or mother aboue me, is not meete for me. He that will follow me, let him forſake hymſelfe, and take vp his croſſe and follow me.

Math.10.

Math.16.

The croſſe for Chriſtes ſake.

What croſſe? the croſſe of infamy and ſhame, of miſery and pouerty, of affliction and perſecution for his names ſake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heauenly ſhowers, pearce thy ſtony hart. Let the two edged ſword of Gods holy word ſhere aſunder the ſinowes of worldly reſpects, euen to the very marrow of thy carnall hart, that thou mayeſt once againe forſake thy ſelfe and embrace Chriſt. And like as good ſubiects will not refuſe to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal Gouernour, ſo flie not like a white linered milkeſop from the ſtanding wherein thy chiefe captaine Chriſt hath ſet thee in array of this life. Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, ſuſtine dominum. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarell is Gods, and vndoubtedly the victory is ours.

Pſal.26.

Antichriſt alſo hath his vnitie, which is not to be kept.

But thou wilt ſay, I will not breake vnitie. What? not the vnitie of Sathan and his members? not the vnitie of darkenes, the agreement of Antichriſt and his adherents? Nay thou deceaueſt thy ſelfe with the fond imagination of ſuch an vnitie as is among the enemies of Chriſt. Were not the falſe Prophetes in an vnitie? were not Iosephes brethren and Iacobs ſonnes in an vnitie? were not the Heathen, as the Amelechites, the Phereſites and Iebuſites in an vnitie? were not the Scribes and Phariſeis in an vnitie? Doth not King Dauid teſtifie: Conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus dominum? Yea theeues, murtherers, conſpiratours, haue their vnitie. But what vnitie? Tully ſayeth of amitie: Amicitia non eſt, niſi inter bonos. But marke my friend, yea friend, if thou be not Gods enemie: there is no vnitie but where Chriſt knitteth the knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be well aſſured, that where his truth is reſident, there it is verified that he himſelfe ſayeth: Non veni mittere pacem in terram, ſed gladium, &c. but to ſet one againſt another, the ſonne againſt the father, and the daughter againſt the mother in lawe. Deceaue not thy ſelfe therefore with the glittering and glorious name of vnitie: for Antichriſt hath this vnity, not yet in deede, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an vnitie, but a conſpiracie.

The agreements of euill men is no vnitie but a conſpiracie.

Thou haſt heard ſome threatnings, ſome curſes, and ſome admonitions out of the ſcripture to thoſe that loue themſelues aboue Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharpe and biting words to thoſe that denie him for loue of lyfe: Sayth he not: He that denieth me before men, I will denie him before my father in heauen? And to the ſame effect writeth Paule Heb. 6. It is impoſſible (ſayth he) that they which were once lightned, and haue taſted of the heauenly gifte, and were partakers of the holy Ghoſt, and haue taſted of the good word of God, if they fall and ſlide away, crucifyeng to themſelues the ſonne of God afreſh, and making of him a mockingſtocke, ſhould be renued againe by repentance. And againe ſaith he: if wee ſhall willingly ſinne after we haue receiued the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for ſinne, but the terrible expectation of iudgement and fire which ſhall deuoure the aduerſaries. Thus S. Paule writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doeſt thou not quake and tremble?

Math.10.

Heb.6.

Rom.10.

Well, if theſe terrible and thundring threatnings can not ſturre thee to cleaue vnto Chriſt, and forſake the world: yet let the ſweete conſolations and promiſes of the ſcriptures, let the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, holy Martyrs and Confeſſours encourage thee to take faſter holde by Chriſt. Harken what he ſayth: Bleſſed are you when men reuile you, and perſecute you for my ſake: reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen: for ſo perſecuted they the Prophetes that were before you. Heare what Eſay the Prophet ſayth: Feare not the curſſe of men, be not afrayde of theyr blaſphemies, for woormes and mothes ſhall eate them vp like cloth and wooll, but my righteouſnes ſhall endure for euer, and my ſauing health from generation to generation. What art thou then (ſayth he) that feareſt a mortall man, the child of man which vadeth away like the flower: and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that ſpread out the heauens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am thy Lorde thy God, that make the ſea to rage, and be ſtill, whoſe name is the Lorde of hoſtes. I ſhall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand. And our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples: They ſhall accuſe you and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my names ſake, and ſome of you they ſhall perſecute and kill: but feare you not (ſaith he) nor care you not what you ſhall ſay: for it is the ſpirit of your father that ſpeaketh within you. Euen the very heares of your head are all numbred. Lay vp treaſure for your ſelues (ſayth he) where no theefe commeth, nor moth corrupteth. Feare not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoule, but feare hym that hath power to deſtroy both ſoule and body. If ye were of the world, the world would loue his owne: but becauſe ye are not of the world, but I haue choſen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

Math.5.

Eſa.51.

Math.

Luke

Math.

Iohn.

Let theſe and ſuche like conſolations taken out of the Scriptures, ſtrengthen you to godward. Let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your minde, as Daniel and the reſt of the prophets, of the three children, of Eleazarus that conſtāt father, of the vij. of the Machabies children, of Peter, Paule, Steuen, and other Apoſtles and holy Martyrs in the beginning of the Church: As of good Symeon Archbiſhop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite other vnder Sapores the King of the Perſians and Indians, who contemned all torments deuiſed by the tyraunts for their ſauiours ſake. Returne, returne agayne into Chriſtes warre, and as becommeth a faithfull warriour, put on that armour that S. Paule teacheth to be moſt neceſſary for a Chriſtian man. And aboue all things take to you the ſhield of fayth, and be you prouoked by Chriſtes own example to withſtand the diuell, to forſake the world, and to become a true and faythfull member of his myſticall body, who ſpared not his owne body for our ſinnes.

Ephe.6.

Throw downe your ſelfe with the feare of his threatned vengeaunce for this ſo great and haynous an offence of Apoſtaſie: and comfort your ſelfe on the other part wyth the mercy, bloud and promiſe of him that is ready to turne vnto you whenſoeuer you turne vnto him. Diſdayne not to come agayne with the loſt ſonne, ſeing you haue ſo wandred with him. Be not aſhamed to turne againe with hym from the ſwill of ſtraungers, to the delicates of your moſt benigne and louing father, acknowledging that you haue ſinned againſt heauen and earth. Againſt heauen, by ſtayning the glorious name of God, and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure word to be euill ſpoken of through you. Againſt earth, by offending ſo many of your weake brethren to whom you haue bene a ſtumbling blocke through your ſodaine ſliding. Be not abaſhed to come home againe with Mary, and weepe bitterly with Peter, not only with ſhedding the teares of your bodily eyes, but alſo powring out the ſtreames of your hart, to waſh away out of the ſight of God the filth and mire of your offenſiue fall. Be not abaſhed to ſay with the Publicane, Lord be mercifull vnto me a ſinner. Remember the horrible hyſtory of Iulian of olde, and the lamentable caſe of Spyra of late, whoſe caſe (me thinke) ſhould be yet ſo greene in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you ſhould feare the like inconuenience, ſeeing you are falne into the like offence.

Luke.

Laſt of all, let the liuely remembrance of the laſt day be alwayes afore your eyes, remembring the terrour that ſuche ſhall bee in at that time, with the runnagates and fugitiues from Chriſt, which ſetting more by the worlde then by heauen, more by theyr lyfe, then by him that gaue them lyfe, dyd ſhrinke, yea, did cleane fall away from him that forſooke not them: and contrarywiſe, the ineſtimable ioyes prepared for them, that fearing no perill, nor dreading death, haue manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed ouer all power of darkeneſſe, ouer hell, deathe, and damnation, thorough theyr moſt redoubted Captaine Chriſt, who nowe ſtretcheth out his armes to receaue you, ready to fall vppon your necke and kyſſe you, and laſt of all to feaſt you with the deynties and delicates of his owne precious bloud, which vndoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he woulde not let to ſhed againe, rather then you ſhould be loſt. To whome with the Father and the holy Ghoſt be all honour, prayſe and glory euerlaſting. Amen.

Be conſtant, be conſtant, feare not for no payne,
Chriſt hath redeemed thee, and heauen is thy gayne.

¶A

¶ A Letter written by the Lady Iane in the ende of the new Teſtament in Greeke, the which ſhe ſent vnto her ſiſter Lady Katherine, the night before ſhe ſuffered.

I Haue heere ſent you (good Siſter Katherine) a booke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth then precious ſtones. It is the booke (deare Siſter) of the law of the Lord. It is his Teſtament and laſt will which he bequeathed vnto vs wretches: which ſhall leade you to the path of eternall ioy: and if you with a good minde reade it, and with an earneſt mind do purpoſe to follow it, it ſhall bring you to an immortall and euerlaſting life. It ſhall teache you to liue, and learne you to die. It ſhall winne you more then you ſhould haue gained by the poſſeſſion of your wofull fathers landes. For, as if God had proſpered him, you ſhould haue inherited his landes: ſo if you apply diligently this booke, ſeeking to direct your lyfe after it, you ſhall be an inheritour of ſuch riches, as neither the couetous ſhall withdrawe from you, neither theefe ſhall ſteale, neyther yet the mothes corrupt. Deſire with Dauid (good Siſter) to vnderſtande the lawe of the Lorde your God. Liue ſtill to dye, that you (by death) may purchaſe eternall life. And truſt not that the tenderneſſe of your age ſhall lengthen your life. For as ſoone (if God call) goeth the yong as the olde, and labour alwayes to learne to dye. Defye the world, denie the deuill, and deſpiſe the fleſhe, and delite your ſelfe onely in the Lorde. Be penitent for your ſinnes, and yet deſpayre not: be ſtrong in fayth, and yet preſume not, and deſire with S. Paule to be diſſolued and to be wyth Chriſt, with whome euen in death there is lyfe. Be like the good ſeruaunt, and euen at midnight be waking, leaſt when death commeth and ſtealeth vpon you like a theefe in the night, you be wyth the euill ſeruaunt found ſleeping, and leaſt for lacke of oyle, you be found like the fyue fooliſh women: and lyke hym that had not on the wedding garment, and then yee be caſt out from the marriage. Reioyce in Chriſt, as I do. Follow the ſteps of your mayſter Chriſt, and take vp your Croſſe: lay your ſinnes on hys backe, and alwayes embrace hym. And as touching my death, reioyce as I do (good Siſter) that I ſhall be deliuered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am aſſured that I ſhall for loſing of a mortall life, winne an immortall life: the which I pray God graunt you, and ſend you of his grace to liue in hys feare, and to dye in the true Chriſtian fayth, from the which (in Gods name) I exhort you that you neuer ſwarue, neither for hope of life, nor for feare of death. For if ye will denie his truth to lengthen your lyfe, God will denie you, and yet ſhorten your dayes. And if you will cleaue vnto him, he will prolong your dayes to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bring me now and you heereafter when it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well good Siſter, and put your only truſt in God, who only muſt helpe you.

* Heere followeth a certayne effectuall prayer made by the Lady Iane, in the time of her trouble.

O Lord, thou God and father of my life, heare mee poore and deſolate woman, which flyeth vnto thee, onely in all troubles and miſeries. Thou O Lord art the onely defendour and deliuerer of thoſe that put their truſt in thee: and therefore I beeyng defiled wyth ſinne, encombred with affliction, vnquieted wyth troubles, wrapped in cares, ouerwhelmed with miſeries, vexed with temptations, and greeuouſly tormented wyth the long impriſonment of this vile maſſe of clay my ſinfull body: do come vnto thee (O mercifull Sauiour) crauing thy mercy and helpe: without the which ſo little hope of deliueraunce is lefte, that I may vtterly deſpayre of any libertie. Albeit it is expedient, that ſeeyng our life ſtandeth vpon trying, we ſhould be viſited ſometyme wyth ſome aduerſitie, whereby we might both be tryed whether we be of thy flocke or no, and alſo knowe thee and our ſelues the better: yet thou that ſaydeſt that thou wouldeſt not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our power, be mercifull vnto me now a miſerable wretch, I beſeech thee: which with Salomon do cry vnto thee, humbly deſiring thee, that I may neyther be too much puffed vp with proſperitie, neither too much preſſed down wyth aduerſitie: leaſt I beeyng too full, ſhould denie thee my GOD, or beeyng too lowe brought, ſhould deſpayre and blaſpheme thee my Lord and Sauiour. O mercifull GOD, conſider my miſerie beſt knowne vnto thee, and be thou now vnto me a ſtrong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted aboue my power, but eyther be thou a deliuerer vnto me out of thys great miſerie, eyther elſe geue me grace paciently to beare thy heauie hand and ſharpe correction. It was thy righte hande that delyuered the people of Iſraell out of the handes of Pharao, which for the ſpace of foure hundred yeares, did oppreſſe them, and keepe them in bondage. Let it therefore lykewyſe ſeeme good to thy fatherly goodnes, to delyuer mee ſorrowfull wretch (for whome thy Sonne Chriſt ſhedde hys precious bloud on the Croſſe) out of thys miſerable captiuity & bondage, wherein I am now. Howe long wilt thou be abſent? for euer? Oh Lord haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and haſt thou ſhut vp thy louing kindnes in diſpleaſure? wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy cleane gone for euer, and thy promiſe come vtterly to an end for euermore? why doeſt thou make ſo long tarying? ſhall I deſpaire of thy mercy O God? farre be that from me. I am thy workmanſhip created in Chriſt Ieſu: geue me grace therefore to tary thy leyſure, and patiently to beare thy woorkes: aſſuredly knowing, that as thou canſt, ſo thou wilt deliuer me when it ſhall pleaſe thee, nothing douting or miſtruſting thy goodnes towardes me: for thou wotteſt better what is good for me then I do: Therefore do with me in all thinges what thou wilt: & plague me what way thou wilt. Onely in the meane time arme me I beſeech thee, with thy armour, that I may ſtand faſt, my loynes being girded about with veritie, hauing on the breſt plate of righteouſnes, & ſhod with the ſhoes prepared by the Goſpell of peace, aboue all thinges taking to me the ſhield of fayth, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery dartes of the wicked, and taking the helmet of ſaluatiō & the ſword of the ſpirit, which is thy moſt holy word: praying alwaies with al maner of praier & ſupplicatiō that I may refer my ſelfe wholy to thy wil, abiding thy pleaſure and comforting my ſelfe in thoſe troubles that it ſhall pleaſe thee to ſend me: ſeeing ſuch troubles be profitable for me, and ſeeing I am aſſuredly perſwaded that it can not be but well, all that thou doeſt. Heare me O mercifull father for his ſake, whō thou wouldeſt ſhoulde be a ſacrifice for my ſinnes: to whome with thee and the holy Ghoſt be all honour and glory. Amen.

Ephes. 6.

After theſe thinges thus declared, it remayneth nowe, comming to the end of this vertuous Lady, next to inferre the maner of her execution, with the wordes and behauiour of her in time of her death.

¶ Theſe are the wordes that the Lady Iane ſpake vpon the Scaffold at the houre of her death.

The wordes and behauiour of the Lady Iane vppon the Scaffold.

FIrſt when ſhe mounted vpon the Scaffold, ſhe ſayde to yͤ people ſtanding thereabout: good people I am come hether to dye, and by a lawe I am condemned to the ſame. The fact againſt the Queenes highnes was vnlawfull, and the conſenting thereunto by me: but touching the procurement and deſire therof by me or on my behalfe, I doe waſh my handes thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good Chriſtian people, this day: and therewith ſhe wrong her handes, wherein ſhe had her booke. Then ſaid ſhe, I pray you all, good Chriſtian people, to beare me witnes that I dye a true Chriſtian woman, and that I do looke to be ſaued by no other meane, but onely by the mercy of God in the bloud of his only ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: and I confeſſe that when I did know the word of God, I neglected yͤ ſame, loued my ſelfe and the world, & therfore thys plague and puniſhment is happily and worthily happened vnto mee for my ſinnes: and yet I thanke God of hys goodnes that hee hath thus geuen me a time and reſpite to repent: and now (good people) while I am aliue I praye you aſſiſt me with your prayers. And then kneeling down ſhe turned her to Fecknam ſaying: ſhall I ſay this pſalme? and he ſayd, yea. Then ſayd ſhe the Pſalme of Miſerere mei Deus in Engliſh, in moſt deuoute maner throughout to yͤ end, and then ſhe ſtoode vpp and gaue her mayden Maiſtreſſe Ellen her gloues and handkerchefe, and her book to Maiſter Bruges, and then ſhe vntyed her gowne, and the hangman preſſed vpon her to helpe her off with it, but ſhe deſiring him to let her alone, turned towardes her two Gentlewomen, who helped her of therwith, and alſo with her frowes paſt and neckerchefe, geuing to her a fayre handkerchefe to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled downe and aſked her forgeueneſſe, whom ſhe forgaue moſt willingly. Thē he willed her to ſtand vpon the ſtraw: which doing ſhe ſawe the blocke. Then ſhee ſayd, I pray you diſpatche me quickely. Then ſhe kneeled downe, ſaying: wil you take it of before I lay me downe? & the hangman ſayd, no Madame. Then tyed ſhe the kerchefe about her eyes, and feeling for yͤ block ſhe ſayd: what ſhall I doe? where is it? where is it? One of the ſtanders by guiding her thereunto, ſhe layd her head downe vpon the blocke, and then ſtretched forth her body and ſayd: Lord into thy handes I commend my ſpirit, and ſo finiſhed her life in the yeare of our Lord God. 1553. the 12. day of February.

¶ Certayne prety verſes written by the ſayd Lady Iane with a pinne.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere poſſunt.
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Iane Dudley.

Deo iuuante, nil nocet liuor malus:
Et non iuuante, nil iuuat labor grauis.
Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.

¶ Certaine Epitaphes written in commendation of the worthy Lady Iane Gray.

De Iana Graia Ioan. Parkhurſti Carmen.

Graia being her ſurname ſignifieth in Latin a Grecyan.

Miraris Ianam Graio ſermone valere?
Quo primum nata eſt tempore, Graia fuit.

In hiſtoriam Ianæ. I. F.

Tu, quibus iſta legas incertum eſt lector, ocellis:
Ipſe equidem ſiccis ſcribere non potui.

De Iana, D. Laurentij Humfredi decaſtichon.

Iana iacet ſæuo non æquæ vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenio, ſanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium latijs ornauit fœmina muſis,
Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali ſtirpe creata,
Ipſaque Reginæ nobilitata throno.
Bis Graia eſt, pulchrè Graijs nutrita camænis,
Et priſco Graiûm ſanguine creta ducum.
Bis Martyr, ſacræ fidei veriſsima teſtis:
Atque vacans regni crimine, Iana iacet.

February. 12. Lady Iane and L. Gylforde Dudley beheaded.

Thus the xij. day of February (as I ſayd) was beheaded the Lady Jane, and with her alſo the Lord Gilford her huſband, one of the Duke of Northumberlands ſonnes, two innocẽts in compariſon of them that ſate vpon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had willingly deuiſed, and by open Proclamation conſented to take from others and geue to them.

A wonderfull example vpon Morgan the Iudge who gaue ſentence agaynſt the Lady Iane.

Touching the condemnation of this Lady Jane, heere is to be noted, that the Judge Morgan who gaue the ſentence of condemnation againſt hir, ſhortly after he had condemned her, fell madde, and in his raving cried out continually to haue the Lady Jane taken away from hym, and ſo ended his life.

February 21.

Henry D. of Suffolke beheaded.

L. Thomas Gray apprehended and executed.

And not long after the death of the Lady Jane, vppon the xxi. of the ſame moneth, was Henry Duke of Suffolke her father alſo beheaded at the Tower Hill, the iiij. day after his condemnation: about which time alſo were condemned for this conſpiracie many Gentlemen and Yeomen, whereof ſome were executed at London, and ſome in the Countrey. In the number of whome was alſo Lorde Thomas Gray, brother to the ſayde Duke, being apprehended not long after in North wales, and executed for the ſame. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly eſcaped, as ye ſhall heare (the Lord willing) in another place.

February. 24.

The xxiiij. of the ſame moneth, the yeare of our Lorde 1554. Boner Biſhop of London ſent downe a Commiſſion, directed to all the Curates and Paſtors of his dioces, for the taking of the names of ſuch as would not come the Lent following to auriculare confeſſion, and to the receyuing at Eaſter: the copie of which monition heere followeth.

¶ A monition of Boner Byſhop of London, ſent downe to all and ſingular Curates of his Dioces, for the certifying of the names of ſuch as would not come in Lent to Confeſſion and receiuing at Eaſter.

A monition of Boner B. of London to all miniſters of his Dioces.

Edmund by the permiſsion of God, Byſhop of London, to all Parſons, Vicares, Curates and Miniſters of the Church, within the Citie and Dioces of London, ſendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lorde euerlaſting. For as much as by the order of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes and conſtitutions of thys Realme, and the lawdable vſage & cuſtome of the whole Catholicke Church, by many hundreth yeares agone, duely and deuoutly obſerued and kept, all faithfull people beeing of lawfull age and diſcretion, are bounde once in the yeare at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe them) to be confeſſed to theyr owne proper Curate, and to receaue the Sacrament of the aultar, with due preparation and deuotion: and for as much alſo as we be credibly enformed, that ſundry euill diſpoſed and vndeuout perſons, geuen to ſenſuall pleaſures and carnall appetites, following the luſts of their body, and neglecting vtterly the health of their ſoules, do forbeare to come to confeſsion according to the ſayd vſage, and to receaue the Sacrament of the aulter accordingly, geuing therby pernicious and euill example to the yonger ſort, to neglect and contemne the ſame: we minding the reformation heereof for our owne diſcharge, and deſirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be geuen: do will and commaund you by vertue heereof, that immediately vpon the receipt of this our commaundement, yee and euery ech of you within your cure and charge, do vſe all your diligence and dexteritie to declare the ſame, ſtraightly charging and commaunding all your pariſhioners, being of lawfull age and diſcretion, to come before Eaſter next comming, to confeſsion, according to the ſayd ordinaunce and vſage, and with due preparation and deuotion to receiue the ſayd Sacrament of the aulter, and that ye do note the names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed vnto you, and do not receiue of you the ſayd Sacrament, certifying vs or our Chauncellour or Commiſſary thereof before the ſixt day of Aprill next enſuing the date heereof: ſo that we knowing thereby who did not come to confeſsion, and receyuing the Sacrament accordingly, may proceede agaynſt them, as beeyng perſons culpable, and tranſgreſſours of the ſayd eccleſiaſticall lawe and vſage: Further alſo certifying vs or our ſayd Chauncellour or Commiſſary, before the day aforeſayde, whether ye haue your aultars ſet vp, chalice, booke, veſtiments, and all things neceſſary for Maſſe, and the adminiſtration of ſacraments and ſacramentals, with proceſsion and all other diuine ſeruice prepared and in readines, according to the order of the Catholike Church, and the vertuous and godly example of the Queenes Maieſties: and if ye ſo haue not, yee then with the Churchwardens cauſe the ſame to be prouided for, ſignifying by whoſe faulte and negligence the ſame want or faulte hath proceeded, and generally of the not comming of your pariſhioners to Church, vndue walking, talking, or vſing of themſelues there vnreuerently in the tyme of diuine ſeruice, and of all other open faults and miſdemeanours, not omitting thus to doo, and certifie as before, as you will anſwere vpon your perill for the contrarye. Geuen at London the 23. of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1554.

Comming to confeſsion.

Receiuing the ſacrament of the aultar.

The next moneth following, which was the moneth of March, and the 4. day of the ſayd moneth, there was a letter ſent from the Queene to Boner Biſhop of London, with certaine Articles alſo annexed, to be put in ſpeedy execution, conteining as heere followeth.

¶ Articles ſent from the Queene to the Biſhop of London, by him and his officers at her commaundement to be put in ſpeedy execution, with her letter to the ſayd Byſhop before prefixed.

A lett
Q. Mary
B. Bon.
Ca
dated.
March.

Right reuerend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloued we greete you well. And wheras heretofore in yͤ time of the late raigne of our moſt dearest brother K. Edward yͤ 6. whoſe ſoule god pardon, dyuers notable crimes exceſſes and faults, with ſundrye kindes of hereſies, ſimony, adultery, & other enormities haue bene committed within this our Realme and other our dominions, the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder ſince the beginning of our raigne, without any correction or reformation at all, & the people both of the laitie and alſo of the clergye, & chiefly of the clergy haue bene geuen to much inſolency & vngodly rule, greatly to the diſpleaſure of almighty God, & very much to our regret & euill contentation, & to no litle ſlander of other Chriſten realmes, and in a maner to the ſubuerſion & cleane defacing of this our realme, and remembring our duety to almighty god, to be to foreſee (as much as in vs may be) yͭ all vertue and godly liuing ſhould be embraced, floriſh & increaſe, and therewith alſo, yͭ all vice & vngodly behauiour ſhuld be baniſhed and put away, or at yͤ leaſt wiſe (ſo nigh as might be) ſo bridled and kept vnder that godlines and honeſty might haue yͤ ouer hand, vnderſtanding by very credible report and publike fame, to our no ſmal heauines and diſcomfort, that within your dioces as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like diſorder and euill behauiour hath bene done & vſed, like alſo to continue and increaſe vnleſſe due prouiſion be had and made to reforme yͤ ſame, which earneſtly in very deede we do mind & intend to the vttermoſt all yͤ waies we can poſſible, truſting of Gods furtherance and helpe in yͭ behalfe. For theſe cauſes, and other moſt iuſt cōſiderations vs mouing, we ſend vnto you certayne articles of ſuche ſpeciall matter, as among other thinges be moſt neceſſary now to be put in execution by you & your officers, extending to the end by vs deſired, and the reformation aforeſaide, wherein ye ſhall be charged with our ſpeciall commaundement, by theſe our letters to the intent you and your officers may yͤ more earneſtly and boldly proceed therunto without feare of any preſumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any ſuch our Lawes, as by our doinges of that is in the ſaid articles conteined, might any wiſe greue you whatſoeuer be threatned in any ſuch caſe. And therfore we ſtraightly charge and commaund you, and your ſayde officers to proceede to the execution of the ſaid Articles, without all tracte and delay, as ye will anſwere to the contrary. Geuen vnder our ſignet, at our Palace of weſtminſter the 3. day of march the firſt yeare of our raigne.

Articles ſent from the Queene vnto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers by her commaundement to be put in execution in the whole dioces.

FIrſt, that euery Byſhop and his Officers, with all other hauing Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, ſhall with all ſpeede and diligence, and all maner of waies to them poſſible, put in execution all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, heeretofore in the time of King Henry the eyght vſed within this Realme of England, and the dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme.

Item, that no B. or any his Officer, or other perſon aforeſayd, heereafter in any of their eccleſiaſticall writings, in proceſſe or other extraiudiciall actes, doe vſe to put in this clauſe or ſentence, Regia authoritate fulcitus.

Item, that no Byſhop or any his officers or other perſon aforeſaid, do hereafter exact or demaund in the admiſſion of any perſon to any eccleſiaſticall promotion, order or office, any oth touching the primacy or ſucceſſion, as of late in few yeares paſſed hath bene accuſtomed and vſed.

Item, that euery B. and his officers, with all other perſons aforeſayd, haue a vigilant eie, and vſe ſpeciall diligẽce and foreſight, that no perſon be admitted or receiued to any eccleſiaſticall function, benefice or office being a ſacramentary infected or defamed with any notable kinde of hereſie or other great crime, and that the ſaid B. do ſtay and cauſe to be ſtayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and Eccleſiaſticall promotions do not notably decay or take hinderãce by paſſing, or cõfirming of vnreaſonable leaſes.

Item, that euery Biſhop and all other perſons aforeſayde, do diligently trauaile for the repreſſing of hereſies and notable crimes, eſpecially in the Cleargie, duely correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

Item, that euery B. and all the other perſons aforeſayd, do likewiſe trauell for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty opinions, vnlawfull bookes, ballades, and other pernitious and hurtfull deuices, engendring hatred amongſt the people, and diſcord amongſt the ſame: And the Scholemaiſters, Preachers, and Teachers, do exerciſe and vſe their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or ſetting forth any euill and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Biſhop and his ſaid officers puniſhed and remoued.

Item, that euery B. and all the other perſons aforeſayd, proceeding ſummarely & with all celerity & ſpeed, may and ſhall depriue or declare depriued and amoue, according to their learning & diſcretion, all ſuch perſons frõ their benefices & eccleſiaſticall promotiõs, who cõtrary to the ſtate of their order, & the laudable cuſtome of the church, haue maried & vſed women as their wiues, or otherwiſe notably, and ſlaunderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelues: ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid proces, the fruites and profites of the ſaid benefices and Eccleſiaſticall promotions.

Item, that the ſaid B. and all other perſons aforeſayd, do vſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as haue married, whoſe wiues be dead, then with other whoſe women do yet remayne aliue. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſtes, as with the conſents of their wiues or women openly in the preſence of the B. do profeſſe to abſtaine, to be vſed more fauourably. In which caſe after penaunce effectually done, the Biſhop according to his diſcretion and wiſedome, may vpon iuſt conſideration, receiue and admit them agayne to their former adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame place, appointing them ſuch a portion to liue vpon, to be payde out of their benefice, whereof they be depriued, by diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop, or his Officer as he ſhall thinke may be ſpared of the ſaid Benefice.

Item, that euery Byſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee that they ſuffer not any religious man, hauing ſolemnely profeſſed chaſtitie, to continue with hys woman, or wife, but that all ſuch perſons, after depriuation of their benefice or Eccleſiaſticall promotion, be alſo diuorced euery one from his ſaide woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the offence therein.

Item, that euery Biſhop and all other perſons aforeſaid, do take order and direction with the Pariſhioners of euery Benefice where Prieſts do want, to repayre to the next Pariſh for diuine ſeruice, or to appoint for a conuenient time, till other better prouiſion may be made, one Curate to ſerue, Alienis vicibus, in diuers Pariſhes, and to allot to the ſaide Curate for his labour ſome portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerueth.

Item, that all and all maner of proceſſions of yͤ Church, be vſed, frequented, and continued after the old order of the Church in the latine tongue.

Item, that all ſuch holydaies and faſtingdaies be obſerued and kept, as were obſerued and kept in the latter time of king Henry the eight.

Ceremonies reſtored.

Item, that the laudable & honeſt ceremonies which wer wont to be vſed, frequented and obſerued in the Churche, be alſo hereafter frequented, vſed and obſerued.

Item that children be chriſtened by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhop, as heretofore hath bene accuſtomed and vſed.

Orders.

Item, touching ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to anye orders after the new ſorte and faſhion of orders: conſidering they were not ordered in very deede, the biſhop of the Dioces finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and habilitie in thoſe men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his diſcretion admit them to miniſter.

Comming to diuine ſeruice.

Item, that by the biſhop of the Dioces an vniforme doctrine be ſet foorth by Homelies, or otherwiſe for the good inſtruction & teaching of al people: And that the ſayd biſh. and other perſons aforeſaid, doe compell the pariſhioners to come to their ſeuerall Churches, and there deuoutly to heare deuine ſeruice, as of reaſon they ought.

Prouiſion for Catholicke ſcholemaiſters.

Item, that they examine all Scholemaiſters & teachers of children, & finding them ſuſpect, in any wiſe to remoue them and place Catholicke men in theyr rowmes, with a ſpeciall commaundement to inſtructe their children, ſo as they may be able to aunſwere the prieſt at the maſſe, and ſo helpe the prieſt to maſſe, as hath bene accuſtomed.

Item, that the ſayd Biſhop, and all other the perſons aforeſaid, haue ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the premiſſes with all kind of vertue godly liuing, and good example, with repreſſing alſo and keping vnder of vice and vnthriftines as they and euerich of them may be ſeene to fauour the reſtitution of true Religion, and alſo to make an honeſt accompt and reckening of their office and cure, to the honor of God, our good contentation, and the profite of this our Realme: and the dominions of the ſame.

March. 4.

A like preſcript alſo with Articles, was ſent from the ſaid Queene Mary to the Lord Mayor of London, the 4. day of March, in the yeare aboueſayd, which Lord Mayor vpon the ſame directed his commandement to the Aldermen, euerye one ſeuerally in his warde, conteing as followeth.

✻ By the Lord Mayor.

A preſcript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen.

ON the Queene our moſt gracious & moſt benigne ſoueraigne Ladies behalfe, we moſt ſtraightly charge & commaund you, that ye the ſaid Aldermen, faile not perſonally to call before your owne perſon in ſuch place within your ſayde warde as to you ſhall ſeeme moſt conuenient & meete vpon wedneſday nexte comming, which ſhalbe the 7. daye of this preſent moneth, at 7. of the clocke in the morning of the ſame daye, all and euery the houſholders both poore and rich of your ſayd warde, & then & there, openly and plainely for your owne diſcharge and for the eſchewing of the perils that to you might otherwiſe be iuſtly imputed & layd, do not onely ſtraitly admoniſh, charge, & commaund in the Queene our ſayd ſoueraigne Ladyes name and behalfe, al and euery the ſayd houſeholders, that both in theyr own perſons, and alſo their wiues, children, and ſeruantes being of the age of xij. yeares and vpwards and euery of them, do at al and euery time, and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Eaſter now approching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and Catholickely, vſe and behaue themſelues like good and faithful chriſtian people in all and euery thing and thinges touching & concerning the true fayth, profeſſion, and Religion of his Catholicke Church, both according to the lawes and precepts of almighty God, and alſo theyr bounden duetie of obedyence towards our ſoueraigne Lady yͤ Queene her lawes and Statutes, and her highnes moſt good example & gracious proceeding according to the ſame, and according alſo to yͤ right wholſome charitable & godly admonitiõ, charge and exhortation late ſet forth and geuen by yͤ right reuerẽd father in God the biſhop of London, our Dioceſan and ordinary to all the Perſons, Vicares, and Curates wythin this Dioces: but alſo that they and euery of them do truely without delaye aduertiſe you of the names & ſurnames of all and euery perſon and perſons that they or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceiue, or vnderſtand to tranſgreſſe or offend in anye poynt or Article concerning the premiſſes, at their vttermoſt perilles; That ye immediately after ſuch notice thereof to you geuen do forthwith aduertiſe vs thereof, fayle ye not thus to do with all circumſpection and diligence, as ye will aunſwere to our ſayd moſt dread ſoueraigne Lady the Queene, for the contrary at your like perill. Geuen at the Guildhall of the Citie of London, the v. day of March in the firſt of the raigne of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lady the Queene.

Blackwell.

Anno 1554.

And likewiſe do you geue to euery of the ſayd houſholders ſtraightly in commaundemente, that they or theyr wiues depart not out of the ſaid Citie vntill this holy time of Eaſter be paſt.

ABout the ſame yeare and time, when Doct. Boner ſet forth this preſcript or monitory, there came from the Quene another proclamation againſt ſtraungers and forreiners within this realme. The purpoſe & intent of which proclamation, becauſe it chiefly and moſt ſpecially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true profeſſors thereof, I thought here to annexe the tenor and maner of the ſame.

✻ A copy of the Queenes Proclamation for the driuing out of the Realme Straungers and Forreiners.

Q. Maryes proclamation for driuing out of ſtraungers.

THE Queene our ſoueraigne Lady vnderſtanding that a multitude of euill diſpoſed perſons, being borne out of her highnes dominions in other ſondry nations, flyeng from the obeyſaunce of the Princes and Rulers vnder whome they be borne, ſome for hereſie, ſome for murther, treaſon, robbery, and ſome for other horrible crimes, be reſorted into this her maieſties Realme, and heere haue made theyr demour, and yet be commoraunt and lingring, partly to eſchew ſuch conding puniſhment as their ſaid horrible crimes deſerue, and partly to dilate, plant, and ſowe the ſeedes of their malicious doctrine and lewd conuerſation among the good ſubiectes of this her ſaid Realme, of purpoſe to infect her good ſubiectes with the like, in ſo much as (beſides innumerable hereſies, which diuers of the ſame beeing heretickes haue preached and taught within her highnes ſayd Realme) it is aſſuredly knowne vnto her Maieſty, that not only their ſecret practiſes haue not fayled to ſtirre, comfort and ayde dyuers her highnes ſubiectes to this moſt vnnaturall rebellion againſt God and her grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill to practiſe with her people eftſoones to rebell, her Maieſtie therefore hauing (as afore is ſayd) knowledge and intelligence heereof, hath for remedie heerein determined, and moſt ſtraightly chargeth and commaundeth, that all and euery ſuch perſon or perſons borne out of her highnes dominions, now commoraunt or reſident within this Realme, of whatſoeuer Nation or Countrey, beeing eyther Preacher, Printer, Bookeſeller, or other Artificer, or of whatſoeuer calling elſe, not being Denizen or Marchant knowne, vſing the trade of Marchaundize, or ſeruaunt to ſuch Ambaſſadours as be liegers heere from the Princes and ſtates ioyned in league with her grace, ſhall within 24. dayes after this Proclamation, auoyde the Realme, vpon payne of moſt greeuous puniſhment by enpriſonment and forfayture and confiſcation of all their goodes and moueables, and alſo to be delyuered vnto their naturall Princes, or Rulers, agaynſt whoſe perſons or lawes they haue offended. Geuing to all Mayors, Sheriffes, Bayliffes, Conſtables, and all other her miniſters, officers, and good ſubiectes, ſtraightly alſo in charge, if they knowe any ſuch perſon not borne in the Queenes highnes dominions (except before excepted) that ſhall after the time and day limitted in this Proclamation, tarry within thys Realme, that they ſhall apprehende the ſame perſon or perſons, and commit him or them to warde, there to remayne without bayle or maynepriſe, till her graces pleaſure or her Counſayles be ſignifyed vnto them for the further ordering of the ſayde perſon or perſons. And that if any of her ſayde officers, after the ſayd 24. dayes apprehend, take, or knowe of any ſuch, they ſhall with diligence immediatly certifie her ſayd Counſell thereof, to the intent order may forthwith be geuē for their puniſhmēt according.

Cauſes layd agaynſt ſtraungers.

Pet. Martir and Iohannes Alaſco, baniſhed the realme.

In the meane while, vpō the Proclamation before mencioned, not only ẏ ſtrangers in K. Edwards time receiued into the Realme for Religion, amōg whō was Pet. Martir, Iohn Alaſco vncle to the King of Poleland, but many Engliſhmen fled, ſome to Freeſeland, ſome to Cleueland, ſome to high Germany, where they were diuerſly ſcattered into diuers companies & congregations, at Weſell, at Frankford, Emden, Markpurgh, Strauſborough, Baſill, Arow, Zurich, Geneua, and other places: where by the prouidence of God they were al ſuſteined, and there entertained with greater fauour among ſtrangers abroad, then they could be in their owne countrey at home, welneare to the number of 800. perſons, Students, & other together.

Engliſhmen fled out of the realm for religion. The number of Engliſh exiles well neare 800. perſons.

March 15. Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney vpon ſuſpicion of Syr Thom. Wyats riſing committed to the Tower.

In the ſaide moneth of March, the Lorde Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, whome the Queene at her firſt entring deliuered out of the Tower, and Lady Elizabeth alſo the Queenes Siſter, were both in ſuſpection to haue conſented to Wiats conſpiracie, and for the ſame this March were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the impriſonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou ſhalt note heere for thy learning (good Reader) a politicke point of practiſe in Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wint. not vnworthy to be conſidered. This Gardiner being alwayes a capitall enemie to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking nowe by the occaſion of maiſter Wyate to picke out ſome matter againſt the Lorde Courtney, and ſo in the end, to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, deuiſed a peſtilent practiſe of conueyance, as in the ſtory heere following may appeare.

The ſtory is this. The ſame day that Sir Tho. Wyate died, he deſired the Lieutenant to bring him to the preſence of the Lord Courtney. Who there before the Lieutenaunte and the Sheriffes, kneeling downe vpon his knees, beſought the Lorde Courtney to forgeue him, for that he had falſly accuſed both the Lady Elizabeth and him, and ſo being brought from thence vnto the ſcaffold to ſuffer, there openly in the hearing of all the people cleared the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lorde Courtney to be free and innocent from all ſuſpition of that commotion. At which confeſſion, Doctor Weſton there ſtanding by, cryed to the people, ſaying: Beleeue him not good people, for he confeſſed otherwiſe before vnto the Counſell.

After the execution done of Sir Thomas Wyat, which was the 11. day of Aprill, word was brought immediatly to the Lord Maior Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how maiſter Wyate had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lorde Courtney, and the wordes alſo which Doctor Weſton ſpake vnto the people, whereunto the Lord Maior aunſwering: Is this true quoth he? ſaid Weſton ſo? In ſooth I neuer tooke him otherwiſe but for a knaue. Upon this, the Lord Maior ſitting downe to dinner (who dyned the ſame day at the Bridgehouſe) commeth in Sir Martin Bowes with the Recorder, newly come from the Parliament houſe, who hearing of the Maior and Sheriffes this report of Wiats confeſſion, both vpon the Scaffold and alſo in the Tower, marueiled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrary to this, told the ſame day in the Parliament houſe, which was, that Sir Thomas Wyate ſhould deſire the Lord Courtney to confeſſe the truth, ſo as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not lōg after that a certaine prentice dwelling in S. Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denhā a plaſterer being one of Queene Maries ſeruaunts, amongſt other talke made mentiō how Sir Thomas Wyate had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, to be no cōſenters to his riſing. Which wordes being brought to Gardiner (by what meanes I know not) incontinent vpon the ſame, Syr Andrew Iudde was ſent by the ſayd Biſhop to ẏ Lord Maior, commaunding him to bring the ſaid prentiſe to the Star Chamber, which was accuſed of theſe words, that he ſhould ſay that Wyat was conſtrained by the Counſell to accuſe the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which fellow when he was come to the ſtarre Chamber, the aforeſaid Gardiner ſetting paſſe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how myraculouſly almighty God had brought the Queenes Maieſty to the Crowne, ẏ whole Realme in a maner being againſt her, & that he had brought this to paſſe for this ſingular intent and purpoſe, that this Realme being ouerwhelmed with hereſies, ſhee might reduce againe the ſame vnto the true Catholicke faith. And where ſhe tooke the Lady Elizabeth into her fauour, and loued her ſo tenderly, and alſo the Lord Courtney, who of long time had bene deteined in priſon, and by her was ſet at libertie, and receiued great benefites at her hands, and notwithſtanding all this, they had conſpired moſt vnnaturally and traiterouſly againſt her with that haynous Traytour Wiate, and by the confeſſion of Wyat (ſayde he) and the letters ſent to and fro may playnely appeare: Yet there was ſome in the City of London, whiche reported that Wyat was conſtrained by the Counſell to accuſe the Lady Elizabeth and the L. Courtney, & yet you my L. Maior (quoth he) haue not ſeene the ſame puniſhed.

The party is heere, ſayd the Lord Maior. Take hym with you (ſaid Gardiner) and puniſh him according to his deſert, & ſaid further: My Lord, take heede to your charge, the Citie of London is a whirlepoole and ſincke of all euill rumours, there they be bread, and from thence ſpread into all partes of this Realme.

There ſtood by the ſame time the Lord Shandoys, who being then Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and now hearing the Byſhop thus ſpeake, to ſooth his tale, came in wyth theſe words as followeth.

My Lordes (quoth he) this is a trueth that I ſhall tell you, I being Lieutenant of the Tower when Wiat ſuffred he deſired me to bring him to the Lorde Courtney, which when I had done, he fell down vpon his knees before him in my preſence, and deſired him to confeſſe the truth of hym ſelfe, as he had done before, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Queenes Maieſties mercy.

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the entent that the Reader perceiuing the proceedings of the biſhop in the premiſſes, and comparing the ſame with the true teſtimony of Wyat himſelfe, & with the teſtimony of the Sheriffes which were preſent the ſame time when Syr Thomas Wiat aſked the Lord Courtney forgeuenes, may the better iudge of the whole caſe and matter for the which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were ſo long in trouble. Of which her Graces trouble, hereafter (God willing) more ſhall be ſaid in the ſtory of her life. In the meane time, to let this matter ſtay, let vs now paſſe further in our hiſtory.

Not longe after this, Queene Mary partly fearing the Londiners by occaſion of Wiats cōſpiracy partly perceiuing moſt part of the City for religions ſake not greatly to fauour her proceedings, to theyr diſpleaſure and hinderaunce ſommoned a Parliament to be holdē at Oxford: as it were to gratify that Citty, where both the Vniuerſity, Towne, and Country had ſhewed themſelues very obedient and forward, eſpecially in reſtoring popiſh religion. For this purpoſe great prouiſion was made, as wel by the Queenes officers and by the townes men and inhabitantes of Oxford and the Country about.

But the Queenes minde in ſhort ſpace chaunged, and the ſame Parliament was holden at Weſtminſter in Aprill folowing. Then the Queene, beſide other thinges, propoſed concerning her mariage to king Philip, and reſtoring of the Popes ſupremacy. As touching her maryage it was agreed vpon: but the other requeſt could not as then be obteyned.

The ſame time when this Parliamēt was ſommoned, ſhe alſo ſommoned a Conuocation of biſhops & of the Clergy, writing vnto Boner (whom ſhe had made Vicegerēt in the ſtead of Cranmer being in the Tower) after yͤ tenor and forme of a new ſtile, differing from the olde ſtile of K. Henry, and K. Edward as foloweth.

* The ſtile of Q. Mary altered writing to Boner for the ſummoning of a Conuocation.

MAria Dei gratia Angliæ, Francię, Hibernię Regina, fidei defenſor. Reuerendo in Chriſto patri Edmondo London. Epiſ. Salutem. Licet nuper quibuſdam arduis & vrgentibus negotijs nos ſecuritatem, & defenſionem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ac pacem & tranquilitatem &c.

Where note good Reader, concerning the altering and chaunging the Queenes ſtile, the latter part thereof to bee left out of her title, which is: Eccleſiæ Anglicanę Hiberniæ ſupremum caput, becauſe in this preſent Parliament the ſupremacy being geuen away from the crowne of Englande to the Pope, thereupon this parcell of the title was alſo taken away. Likewiſe the ſayd Boner geuing his certificate vpon the ſame, leaueth out autoritate illuſtriſsimæ. &c. legitime ſuffultus: which parcel alſo in the ſame Parliament was repelled and taken away the ſame time.

¶ The dignity of Prieſtes extolled by Byſhop Boner.

IN this foreſayd conuocation, Bonor B. of Londō being Vicegerent and Preſident as is ſaid, made a certayne exhortation or oration to the Clergy (whether it was in this conuocatiō or much about the ſayd time) wherein he ſemeth to ſhew a great piece of his profound and deep learning in ſetting forth the moſt incomparable & ſuperangelical order of Prieſthood, as may appeare by this parcell or fragment of his foreſayd Oration. Being collected and gathered by ſome that ſtoode by, whiche as it came to our handes ſo I thought to impart it to the Reader, both for that the Author of ſo worthy a worke ſhould not paſſe vnknowen, and partly alſo, for that yͤ eſtimatiō of this bleſſed order ſhould loſe nothing of his preeminence, but might be knowne in moſt ample perfection, ſo as it ſtandeth aboue Angels and kinges, if it be true that Boner ſayth.

¶ A piece or fragment of the exhortation made by Boner Biſhop of London, to them of the Conuocation houſe, copyed out by them that ſtood by and heard him.

Boners Oration in prayſe of Prieſthood.

Prieſtes compared to the virgin Mary in three pointes.

WHerefore it is to be knowne that Prieſtes & Elders be worthy of all mē to be worſhipped for the dignity ſake which they haue of God, as in Mat. 16. Whatſoeuer ye ſhall loſe vpon earth. &c. And whatſoeuer you ſhall binde. &c. For a prieſt by ſome meanes is like Mary the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three poyntes: As the bleſſed Virgine by fiue wordes did conceiue Chriſt, as it is ſayd: Luke. 1. Fiat mihi ſecundum verbū tuum: that is to ſay, Be it vnto me according to thy word: ſo the prieſt by 5. wordes doth make the verye body of Chriſte. Euen as immediately after the conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her wombe: ſo immediatly after the ſpeaking of the wordes of conſecration, yͤ bread is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt. Secondly, as the Virgin caried Chriſt in her armes, and layd him in an Oxe ſtall after his byrth: euen ſo the Prieſt after the conſecration, doth lift vp the body of Chriſt, & placeth it, & caryeth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thyrdly, as the bleſſed Virgin was ſanctified before ſhe was conceiued: ſo the Prieſt being ordeined & annoynted before he doth conſecrate, becauſe without orders he could cōſecrate nothing, therefore the lay man cannot do the thing, although he bee neuer ſo holy, and do ſpeake the ſelfe ſame wordes of conſecration. Therfore here is to be knowne, that the dignity of Prieſtes by ſome meanes paſſeth the dignity of angels, becauſe there is no power geuen to any of the Aungels to make the body of Chriſt. Wherby the leaſt prieſt may do in earth, that the greateſt and higheſt Aungell in heauen can not do as S. Barnard ſayth: O worſhipful dignity of Prieſtes in whoſe hands the Sonne of God is, as in the wombe of the Virgin he was incarnate. S. Auguſtine ſayth, that Angels in the conſecration of the ſacred hoſt do ſerue him, and the Lorde of heauen deſcendeth to him. Whereupon Saynt Ambroſe vpon Saynt Luke ſayth: Doubt thou not the Aungels to be where Chriſt is preſent vpon the Aultare. Wherefore Prieſtes are to be honoured before all kinges of the earth, Princes and Nobles. For a Prieſt is higher then a King, happyer then an Aungell, Maker of his Creator. Wherefore. &c.

Prieſthood cōpared & preferred before the ſtate of Angels.

Blaſphemy.

It was declared a litle before, how Doct. Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower: where being in duraunce, and inuited to the Lieftenants table, he had certain talke or conference with Secretary Bourne M. Fecknam and other concerning the controuerſies in religiō: yͤ ſumme whereof, as it was penned with his owne hand, hereafter enſueth.

* Here foloweth the ſumme and effect of the communication betwene D. Ridley, and Secretary Bourne with others, at the Lieuetenauntes table in the Tower.

Sir Tho. Abridges.

MAiſter Thomas of Bridges ſayd at his brother mayſter Lieuetenantes boorde: I pray you M. Doctours, for my learning tell me what an heretick is. M. Secretary Bourne ſayd, I will tell you who is an hereticke: who ſo ſtubbernly & ſtifly maynteineth an vntruth, he is an hereticke. Ye meane ſyr (ſayd I) an vntruth in matters of religion, & concerning our fayth. Yea that is true ſayd he: & in this we are ſoone agreed. Then ſayd maiſter Fecknam, ſitting at the vpper end of the table, whom they called M. Deane of Paules: I wil tell you by S. Auſtine who is an hereticke. Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falſas opiniones gignit vel ſequitur, hereticus eſt, ſayth S. Auſtine. And then he engliſhed the ſame. Sir ſayd I, I wene S. Auſtine addeth the thyrd member, which is, vel vanæ gloriæ cauſa. Ye ſay euen true M. Doctor, ſayd he, and thus farre we did agree all three.

Who is an hereticke.

An hereticke defined by S. Auſten.

M. Fecknam began againe to ſay, who ſo doth not beleue that ſcripture affirmeth, but will obſtinately mainteine the contrary, he is Hæreticus, as in the ſacramēt of the aultar: Mathew doth affirm there to be Chriſts body. Marke doth affirme it, Luke affirmeth it, Paule affirmeth it, and none denyeth it: therfore to hold the cōtrary it is hereſy. It is the ſame body and fleſh that was borne of the virgine: & this is confirmed by vnity, antiquity & vniuerſalitye. For none before Berengarius did euer doubt of this, & he was an heretick, as M. doctor there knoweth full well: I do teſtify his owne conſcience ſayd he.

Fecknam prouoking M. Ridley.

Vnitie, Antiquitie, Vniuerſalitie.

Mary ſir, ſaide mayſter Secretary, maiſter Fecknam hath ſpoken well. Theſe be great matters, vnitie antiquitie and vniuerſalitie. Do ye not thinke ſo maiſter Doctour ſaid he to me?

Here while I ſtrayned curteſye and pretended as nothinge to talke, ſayd one of the Commiſſioners: peraduenture M. Ridley doth agree with M. Fecknam, and then there needes not much debating of the matter.

Syr ſaide I in ſome thinges I doe and ſhall agree with him, and in ſome things which he hath ſpoken to be playne, I doe not agree with him at all. Maiſter ſayde I, ye be (as I vnderſtād) the Queenes Commiſſioners here and if ye haue commiſſiō to examine me in theſe matters, I ſhall declare vnto you playnely my faythe, if yee haue not, then I ſhall pray you either geue mee leaue to ſpeake my minde freely, or els to hold my peace.

There is none here, ſayde M. Secretary, that doth not fauour you: and then euery man ſhewed what fauour they

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bare towardes me, and howe glad they woulde be of an agreement.

But as I ſtrayned to haue licence of thẽ in playn wordes to ſpeak my minde, ſo me thought they graunted me it but vix or agrè. Well at the laſt I was content to take it for licenced, and ſo began to talke.

B. Ridley aunſwering to Fecknam.

To M. Fecknams argumentes of the manifold affirmatiõ where no denial was, I anſwered: where is a multitude of affirmations in ſcripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the trueth of the matter: for that any one of the Euangeliſts ſpake inſpired by the holy ghoſt, was as true as that which is ſpoken of them all. It is as true that Iohn ſayth of Chriſt: Ego ſum oſtium ouium. i. I am the dore of the ſheepe, as if all had ſayde it. For it is not in ſcripture as in witnes of men where the number is credited more then one, becauſe it is vncertayne of whoſe ſpirit he doth ſpeake. And where M. Fecknam ſpake of ſo many, affirming without any negation. &c. Syr ſayd I, all they do affirme the thing which they ment. Now if ye take theyr wordes to leaue theyr meaning then do they affirme what ye take, but not what they ment. Syr ſayde I, if in talke with you, I ſhould ſo vtter my minde in wordes, that ye by the ſame do, and may playnely perceiue my meaning & could (if ye wold be captious) cauil at my wordes & writh them to an other ſenſe, I would thinke ye were no gentle companion to talke with, except ye would take my wordes as ye did perceiue that I did meane.

Truth in Scripture goeth not by number of affirmation where one is ſufficient.

Words in Scripture muſt be taken with theyr meaning.

Mary, quoth M. Secretary, we ſhould els do you plain iniury and wrong.

M. Fecknam perceiuing whereunto my talke went, why (quoth he) what circumſtaunces can ye ſhew me that ſhould moue to thinke of any other ſenſe, then as the wordes playnely ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. i. This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you?

Hoc eſt corpus meũ expoũded.

Syr ſayd I, euen the next ſentence that foloweth: vix. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. i. Do this in my remembraunce. And alſo by what reaſon, ye ſay the bread is turned into Chriſtes carnall body: By the ſame I may ſay, that is turned into his miſticall body. For as that ſayth of it: Hoc eſt corpus quod pro vobis tradetur: ſo Paule which ſpake by Chriſtes ſpirit ſayth: Vnus panis & vnum corpus multi ſumus omnes, qui de vno pane participamus. i. We being many are all but one bread and one body, in as much as we are partakers of one bread.

Reaſons why theſe wordes ought to be takẽ not literally.

Here he calleth one bread, one loafe, ſayd Mayſter Secretary.

Yea ſayd I, one loafe, one bread, all is one with me.

But what ſaye ye quoth maiſter Secretary, of the Vniuerſalitye, antiquitye, and vnity, that M. Fecknam dyd ſpeake of?

Vnitye with verity to be allowed.

Antiquitie.

I enſure you ſayd I, I thinke them matters weighty and to be conſidered well. As for vnity, the truth is, before God, I doe beleue it and embrace it, ſo it be with verity, & ioyned to our head Chriſt, and ſuch one as Paule, ſpeaketh of ſaying: Vna fides, vnus Deus, vnum Baptiſma. i. On fayth, one God, one Baptiſme. And for antiquity I am alſo perſuaded to be true that Iræneus ſayth: Quod primum verum. i. That is firſt is true. In our Religion Chriſtes fayth was firſt truely taught by Chriſt himſelfe, by his Apoſtles and by manye good men that from the beginning did ſucceede next vnto them: and for this controuerſy of the Sacramẽt I am perſwaded, that thoſe olde writers which wrote before the controuerſye and the vſurping of the ſea of Rome do all agree, if they be well vnderſtanded in this truth.

I am glad to heare, ſayd Maiſter Secretary, that ye do ſo well eſteme the Doctors of the church.

Vniuerſalitye hath a double vnderſtanding.

Now as for vniuerſality, it may haue 2. meanings: one to vnderſtand that to be vniuerſall which from the beginning in all ages hath bene alowed, another, to vnderſtand vniuerſalitye for the multitude of our age or of anye other ſinguler age.

No, no, ſayth maiſter Secretary, theſe 3. doe alwayes agree, and where there is one, there is all the reſt, and here he and I chaunged many wordes. And finally, to be ſhorte in this matter we did not agree.

There was none quoth mayſter Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our dayes Caroloſtadius, Oecolampadius. And Caroloſtadius ſayth, Chriſt poynteth to his owne body and not to the Sacrament, and ſayd: Hoc eſt Corpus meum. And Melancton writeth to one Micronius (Miconius ſayde I) theſe or like wordes: Nullam ſatis grauem rationem inuenire poſſum, propter quam a fide maiorum in hac materia diſſentiam. i. I can finde no grounded reaſon to cauſe me to diſſent from the beliefe of our foreelders.

Melancton ad Myconium.

The doctrine of the Sacrament not new.

Thus when hee had ſpoken at length, with manye other wordes mo: Sir ſayd I, it is certain that other before theſe haue written of this matter. Not by the way onelye, and obiter, as doth for the moſt all the olde writers, but euen ex profeſſo, and theyr whole bookes intreat of it alone, as Bertram.

Bertram ſaid the Secretary, what man was he? & who was he, and how do ye know? &c. with many queſtions.

Syr quoth I, I haue read his booke: He propoundeth the ſame which is now in controuerſy, and aunſwereth ſo directly that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that ẏ ſubſtance of bread remaineth ſtill in the Sacrament, and he wrote vnto Carolus Magnus.

Mary (quoth he) marke for there is a matter. He wrote quoth he, ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum, for no Authour maketh any ſuch mention of Bertramus.

Yes quoth I, Trithemius in Catalogo illuſtrium ſcriptorũ, ſpeaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time: but he ſpeketh quoth I of them that were of antiquitye. Here, after much talke of Bertram, what authors haue ye quoth M. Secretary to make of the ſacrament a figure?

Syr quoth I, ye knowe (I thinke) that Tertullian in playne wordes ſpeaketh thus: Hoc eſt corpus, id eſt, figura Corporis mei. i. This is my bodye, that is to ſay, a figure of my body. And Gelaſius ſayth playnly that Subſtantia panis manet. i. The ſubſtaunce of bread remayneth. And Origene ſayth likewiſe, Quod ſanctificatur ſecundum materiam, ingreditur ſtomachum & vadit in ſeceſſum. i. That which is ſanctified, as touching the matter or ſubſtance, paſſeth away into the draught. This when I had engliſhed, M. Secretarye ſayd to me, you know very well as any man. &c. and here, if I woulde, I might haue bene ſet in a fooliſhe Paradiſe of his commendation of my learning, and quòd eſſem vir multæ Lectionis. i. A manne of much readyng. But thys I woulde not take at his hand. He ſet me not vp ſo high, but I brought my ſelfe as low againe: and here was much adoe.

As for Melancton (quoth I) whõ M. Fecknam ſpake of, I maruell that ye will alledge him, for we are more nye an agrement here in England, then the opinion of Melancton to you: for in this poynt we all agree here, that there is in the ſacrament but one materiall ſubſtance: & Melanctõ as I weene, ſayth there are two.

Ye ſay trueth quoth M. Secretary: Melancthons opinion is ſo. But I pray you, ye haue read that the ſacramẽt was in olde time ſo reuerenced, that many were then forbidden to be preſent at the miniſtration thereof, Catecumeni (quoth he) and many moe.

Truth ſir (quoth I) there were called ſome Audientes, ſome Pœnitentes, ſome Catechumeni, and ſome Euergumeni, which were commaunded to depart.

Now (quoth he) then. And howe can ye then make but a figure or a ſigne of the Sacrament, as that booke whyche is ſet forth in my Lord of Canterburyes name, I wiſſe, ye can tell who made it, did not ye make it? & here was much murmuring of the reſt, as though they would haue geuen me the glorye of the writing of the booke, whiche yet there was ſayd of ſome there, to conteyne moſt haynous hereſy that euer was.

Mayſter Secretary (quoth I) that booke was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like agayn: as for me I enſure you (be not deceiued in me) I was neuer able to do or write any ſuch like thing, he paſſeth me no leſſe, then the learned mayſter his yong ſcholer.

Now, here euery man would haue his ſaying, which I paſſe ouer, not much materiall for to tell. But ſir quoth I, me thinkes it is not charitably done, to beare the people in hand that any man doth ſo lightly eſteme the ſacrament, as to make of it a figure. For that [but] maketh it a bare figure without any more profit, which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader moſt playnely.

Yes quoth he that they do.

Sir, no quoth I, of a truth: and as for me, I enſure you I make no leſſe of the ſacrament then thus: I ſay whoſoeuer receiueth the ſacrament, he receiueth therewith eyther life or death.

No quoth M. Secretary, ſcripture ſayth not ſo.

Sir quoth I, although not in the ſame ſoũd of words, yet it doth in the ſame ſenſe, and S. Auguſtine ſayth, in the ſound of words alſo: for Paule ſayth: The bread which we breake, is it not the partaking or felowſhip of the bodye of Chriſt? And S. Auguſtine, Manduca vitam, Bibe vitam, i. eate life, drinke life.

Then ſayd mayſter Pope, what can ye make of it whẽ ye ſay, there is not the reall body of Chriſt? whiche I doe beleue. &c. & I pray God I may neuer beleue other. How can it bring (as ye ſay) either life or death, when Chriſtes body is not there?

Syr quoth I, when you heare Gods word truely preached, if ye do beleue it and abide in it, ye ſhal and do receiue life withal: and if ye do not beleue it, it doth bring vnto you death:

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death: and yet Chriſtes body is ſtill in heauen and not carnall in euery preachers mouth.

I pray you tell me quoth he, how can you aunſwere to this: Quod pro vobis tradetur, which ſhall be geuen for you: was the figure of Chriſtes body geuen for vs?

No ſir quoth I, but the very body it ſelfe, wherof the ſacrament is a ſacramentall figure.

How ſay ye then quoth he, to Quod pro vobis tradetur: which ſhall be geuen for you.

Forſoothe quoth I, Tertullians expoſition maketh it playne, for he ſayth, Corpus eſt figura Corporis. i. The body is a figure of the body. Nowe put to Quod pro vobis tradetur: whiche ſhall bee geuen for you, and it agreeth exceedyng well.

In fayth quoth he, I would geue xl. poūd that ye were of a good opinion. For I enſure you I haue heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thanke you mayſter Pope, for your hart and minde, and ye knowe quoth I, I were a very foole if I woulde in this matter diſſent frō you, if that in my conſcience ẏ truth did not enforce me ſo to do. For iwiſe (as ye do perceiue, I trowe) it is ſomewhat out of my way, if I would eſteeme worldly gayne.

What ſay ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? Doth he not ſaye playnly, Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie ſed natura mutatus omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro. i. The Bread whiche the Lorde did deliuer, being changed, not according to the forme, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made fleſh.

True Syr, ſo he doth ſay, and I anſwere euen the ſame which once by chaunce I preached at Paules Croſſe in a Sermon, for the which I haue bene as vniuſtly & as vntruely reported as any poore man hath bene. For there, I ſpeaking of the ſacrament, and inueying againſt them that eſteemed it no better then a piece of bread, told euē the ſame thing of Pœnitentes, Audientes, Catecumeni, Energumeni, that I ſpake of before: and I bad them depart as vnworthy to heare the miſterye, and then I ſayd to thoſe that be Sancti: Cyprian the Martyr ſhall tel you how it is that Chriſt calleth it, ſaying Panis eſt corpus, cibus, potus, caro, &c. i. Breade is the body, meat, drinke, fleſh, becauſe that vnto this materiall ſubſtance is geuen the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then tooke I to vtter as the time would then ſuffer, that the materiall ſubſtaunce of bread doth remaine. M. Fecknam (which as is reported to me) did belie me openly in ẏ ſame matter at Paules croſſe, heard all this my talke (as red as ſkarlet in his face) and herein aunſwered me neuer one word.

You do know wel, quoth M. Secretary, that Origenes and Tertullian were not Catholicke but erred.

Syr quoth I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to haue erred in ſome thinges. But yet I neuer heard that it was eyther layd to Origēs charge or to Tertullian, ẏ euer they were thought to haue erred in this matter of the ſacrament.

What quoth M. Chomley, late chiefe Iuſtice, doth not Chriſt ſay plainly, that it is his very fleſh, & his very bloud, and we muſt needes eate him, or we can haue no life? Syr, quoth I: if you wil heare how S. Auguſtin expoūdeth that place, you ſhal perceiue that you are in a wrong boxe. And when I began to tell S. Auguſtines minde in his book de Doctrina Chriſtiana: Yea, yea, quoth M. Secretary, that is true, S. Auguſtine doth take it figuratiuely in deed.

Forty yeares agoe quoth M. Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.

Forty yeares ago (quoth I) all held that the Biſhop of Rome was ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church.

What then? was maſter Fecknam beginning to ſay. &c. but M. Secretary tooke the tale, and ſayde, that was but a poſitiue law.

A poſitiue law? quoth I, No Syr, he would not haue it ſo: for it is in his decrees, that he challēged it by Chriſtes owne word. For his decree ſayth: Nullis Synodicis conſtitutis, neq; Conſilijs, ſed viua voce Domini prælata eſt Eccleſia Romana omnibus Eccleſijs in toto Mundo: dicente Domino Petro, tu es Petrus. &c. The Church of Rome was aduaunced aboue all other Churches in the world, not by any Sinodicall conſtitutiōs, not yet any counſell, but by the liuely voyce of the Lord, according as the Lord ſayd to Peter: Thou art Peter. &c. And in an other place he entreateth. Tu es Cephas, id eſt, caput. i. Thou art Cephas, that is to ſay, the head.

Tuſh, it was not counted an article (quoth M. Secretary) of our faith.

Yes, ſayd I, if ye call that an article of our fayth, which is to be beleued vnder payne of damnation. For he ſayeth: Omninò definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem creaturam ſubeſſe Romano pontifici, de neceſſitate ſalutis. i. We do abſolutely determine, declare, and pronoūce, that euery creature is ſubiect to the obedience of the Byſhop of Rome vpon neceſſity of ſaluation.

And here whē we ſpake of lawes and decrees M. Roger Chomley thought himſelf much wrounged, ẏ he could not be ſuffred to ſpeake, the reſt were ſo ready to interrupt him: and then he vp and told a long tale what lawes were of kings of England made againſt the Biſh. of Rome, and was vehemēt to tell how they alway of the Clergy did flie to him. And here becauſe he ſemed to ſpeak of many things beſide our purpoſe, whereof we ſpake before, he was aunſwered of his owne felowes, and I let them talke.

B. Ridleys bookes geuen a way.

Finally, we departed in peace, and Maiſter Secretary promiſed in the end, that of theyr talke there ſhoulde come to me no harme. And after I had made my mone for lacke of my books, he ſayd they were all once geuen him: but ſith I know (ſaid he) who hath them now, write me the names of ſuch as ye would haue and I wil ſpeake for you the beſt I can.

Miniſters diuorced from their wiues.

Upon the Articles aboue mentioned, and Inquiſition made vpon the ſame, diuers Miniſters were diuorced from theyr wiues. Amongeſt whom was one Iohn Draper, and Ioane Golde his wife, in the Dioces of London, troubled and vexed for the ſame by Boner Biſh. of Londō, who ſent forth a Commiſſion with a proceſſe, to ſequeſter and ſeparate them, enioyning alſo penaunce to the poore woman.

Beſides this Iohn Draper, diuers other alſo were diuorced the ſame time agaynſt theyr wils, & ſome contented of theyr owne vnconſtant accorde, to be ſeparated of theyr wiues: as of Chicheſter one (who becauſe he ſoone recouered againe ſhall be here nameles) an other named Edmōd Alſtone, an other Alexander Bull, amongeſt whome alſo was D. Standiſh, with many other: whoſe names together in the end of this ſtory of Queene Mary, we may peraduenture, by Gods grace in a generall Catalogue, together comprehend.

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The 10. of March a letter was ſēt to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliuer the bodyes of M. Doc. Cranmer the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, M. D. Ridley, and M. Latimer, to Syr Iohn Williames to be conueyed by him vnto Oxford.

The 26. of March there was a letter directed to Syr Henry Doell and one Foſter to attach the bodyes D. Tailor Parſon of Hadley, and of Hēry Aſkew, and to ſend thē vp to the Counſell.

¶ How Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop, Biſhop Ridley, and M. Latimer were ſent downe to Oxford to diſpute, with the order and maner, and all other circumſtances vnto the ſayd diſputation, and alſo to theyr condemnation apperteining.

Aprill. 10. D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, & M. Latimer ſent downe to Oxford to diſpute

About the tenth of April, Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ridley B. of London, and Hugh Latimer B. alſo ſometime of Worceſter, were cōueyed as priſoners frō the Tower to Windſore: and after from thence to the Uniuerſitye of Oxford, there to diſpute with the Diuines & learned men of both the Uniuerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the preſence, ſubſtance and ſacrifice of the ſacrament. The names of the Uniuerſity doctors and Graduates, appoynted to diſpute agaynſt them were theſe: Of Oxford, Doctor Weſton Prolocutor, D. Treſham, Doctor Cole, D. Oglethorp, D. Pie, M. Harpsfield, M. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, D. Yong Uicechauncellor, Doctor Glin, Doctor Seton, D. Watſon, D. Sedgewike, D. Atkinſon, &c. The Articles or queſtions whereupon they ſhould diſpute, were theſe.

The Vniuerſitie Doctors appointed to diſpute againſt the Archb and his fellowes.

Three queſtiōs.

1 Whether the natural body of Chriſt be really in the ſacrament after the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, or no?

2 Whether in the Sacrament after the wordes of conſecration, any other ſubſtance do remayne, then the ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

3 Whether in the Maſſe be a ſacrifice propitiatory for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Letters ſent downe from Steph. Gardiner to Cambridge.

Touching the order and maner of al which things there done, with the notes, arguments, & all circumſtances there vnto perteining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leauing out nothing (as nere as we may) ẏ ſhall ſeeme neceſſary to be added, firſt here is to be vnderſtand that vpon ſaterday the 7. day of Aprill, the heads of the Colledges in Cambridge being congregate together, letters commyng downe from Steuen Gardiner L. Chauncellor, were red

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with Articles therewith annexed, that ſhould be diſputed vpon at Oxford: the contentes of the which three Articles are ſufficiently expreſſed before. Wherupon in the ſayd congregation of the aforeſayd Vniuerſity of Cambridge, there was graunted firſt a grace in this fourme propoſed by the Seniour Proctor: Placet vobis vt inſtrumentum fiat, quod horum iam prę lectorum articulorum doctrina ſana ſit & catholica, atque, cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei conſentiens, & veſtro conſenſu, & ſuffragijs comprebetur? That is: may it pleaſe you to haue an inſtrument made that the doctrine of theſe foreſaid Articles may be ſound and catholicke and conſonant with the verity of the right meaning fayth, & that the ſame may be approued by your conſent and voyces? Secondly in the ſayd congregation, an other grace was geuen and graunted, that Doctor Yong being the Vicechauncellor, D. Glin Doct. Atkinſon, Doct. Scot, and M. Sedgewicke ſhoulde goe to Oxford to defend the ſayde Articles agaynſt Caunterbury, London, and Latimer: Alſo to haue letters to the Oxford men, ſealed with theyr common ſeale: Item, an other grace graunted to M. Sedgewike, to be actuall Doctor, being therupon immediately admitted. The foreſayd letters being then drawne out, the third day after (whiche was the 11. day of Aprill) were read in the foreſayd congregation houſe and there ſealed.

A grace for Articles.

A grace for the Cambridge Doctours to diſpute agaynſt Cranmer, Ridley & Latimer.

The comming of the Cambridge men to Oxford.

Wherupon the next day after (the 12. of the ſayd month) the foreſayd Doctors, with the ful grace of that vniuerſity, ſet forward to Oxford: and comming thither the next daye after (being friday, the 13. of Aprill) were lodged all at the Croſſe Inne, with one Wakeline, being ſomtime ſeruant to Byſhop Boner.

Their welcomming to Oxford.

The Cambridge Doctors repayre to D. Weſton.

Anon after their comming, Doct. Crooke preſented thẽ with wine for theyr welcome: and ſhortly after, two of the Bedles came from the Vicechauncellor of Oxford, and preſented the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge with a diſhe of Apples, and a gallen of wine. After whome, next came M. Pye and Fecknam to welcome them. Then after conſultation concerning the deliuery of theyr letters and inſtrument of grace (which was in Doctor Seton and Watſons keeping) they went all to Lincolne Colledge to Doct. Weſton the Prolocutor, and to the Vicechauncellour D. Treſham: and there they deliuered theyr letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half houre after 8. they returned to theyr Inne again: but firſt they concluded of a Proceſſion, Sermon, & conuocation to be had the morowe folowing, and that the Doctors of Cambridge ſhould be incorporate in the Vniuerſity of Oxford, & likewiſe that the Doctors of Oxford ſhould be incorporate in the Vniuerſity of Cambridge. The ſame day the forenamed priſoners were diſſeuered, as was ſayd afore: Doctor Ridley to Alderman Iryſhes houſe M. Latimer to an other, and Doctor Cranmer remayned ſtill in Bocardo.

The three priſoners Cranmer, Ridley, & Latimer diſſeuered.

Conſultation.

The Doctors in theyr ſcarlet robes.

On Saterday (being the 14. of Aprill) at eighte of the clocke, the foreſayd Vicechauncellour of Cambridge wyth the other Doctours of the ſame Vniuerſitye: repayred to Lincolne Colledge agayne, and found the Prolocutour aboue in a Chappel, with the company of the houſe ſinging Requiem Maſſe, and taryed there vntill the end. Then they conſulting altogether in the Mayſters lodging, about 9. of the clocke came all to the Vniuerſity church called S. Maries, and there, after ſhort conſultation in a Chappell, the Vicechauncellor the Prolocutor. &c. of Oxford, cauſed the Vicechauncellor of Cambridge & the reſt of the Doctours of that Vniuerſity, to ſend for theyr ſkarlet robes, brought from Cambridge, ſaue that Doct. Seton and Watſon borowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the Regentes in the congregation houſe, had grãted all the Cambridge Doctors theyr graces, to be incorporate there, and ſo they went vp and were admitted immediately, D. Oglethorpe preſenting them, and the Proctour reading the ſtatute, and geuing them theyr othes.

Maſſe in pikeſauce, in prickeſong I would ſay.

The cauſes of their aſſembly declared.

Cambridge letters read.

Three Notaryes aſſigned.

Subſcribing to the articles.

That done, they came all into the Quier, and there held the conuocation of the Vniuerſity. They had Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt ſolemnly ſong in prickſong, by the Quier men of Chriſtes Church. But firſt the cauſe of the Conuocatiõ was opened in Engliſh, partly by the Vicechauncellour, and partlye by the Prolocutour, declaring that they were ſent by the Queene, and wherfore they were ſent: and cauſed Mayſter Say the Regiſter, openly to read the Cõmiſſion. That done, the Vicechauncellor read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded that 3. Notaries, Maiſter Say for the Conuocation, a Bedle of Cambridge for that vniuerſity, and one Maiſter White for Oxford, ſhoulde teſtifye of theyr doing: and then willed the ſayd Notaryes to prouide parchment, that the whole aſſemblye mighte ſubſcribe to the Articles, ſaue thoſe that had ſubſcribed before in the conuocation houſe at London and Cambridge, and ſo the Vicechauncellour began firſt: after him the reſt of the Oxford men, as many as could in the Maſſe time.

The Maſſe being done, they went in proceſſion: Firſt the Quier in theyr ſurplices followed the Croſſe: then the firſt yeare Regentes and Proctours: then the Doctors of law, and theyr Bedle before them: then the Doctors of diuinity of both Vniuerſities intermingled, the Diuinitye & arte Bedles going before them, the Vicechauncellour and the Prolocutour going together. After them Bachelers of Diuinity, Regentes, & non Regentes, in theyr aray: and laſt of all, the Bachelers of Law and Art. After whom followed a great company of ſcholers and ſtudents not graduate. And thus they proceded through yͤ ſtreet to Chriſts churche, and there the quier ſang a Pſalme, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the Cõmiſſioners, doctours, and many other to Lincolne Colledge, where they dyned with the Maior of the towne, one Alderman, foure Bedles, Mayſter Say, and the Cambridge Notary. After diner they went all agayne to S. Maries Church: & there after a ſhort conſultation in a Chappell, all the Commiſſioners came into the quier, and ſate all on ſeates before the Aulter, to the number of 33. perſons: And firſt they ſent to the Maior, that he ſhould bring in Doct. Cranmer, whiche within a while was brought to them with a great nũber of ruſty bilmen.

Thus the reuerend Archb. when he was brought before the Cõmiſſioners, reuerenced them with much humility, and ſtoode with his ſtaffe in his hande: who notwithſtanding hauing a ſtoole offred him, refuſed to ſit. Then the Prolocutor ſitting in the midſt in a ſkarlet gowne, began with a ſhort Preface or Oratiõ, in praiſe of vnity, and eſpecially in the church of Chriſt: declaring with all his bringing vp, and taking degrees in Cãbridge, and alſo how hee was promoted by king Henry, and had bene his cõſellor and a Catholicke man, one of the ſame vnity, and a mẽber thereof in times paſt: but of late yeares did ſeparate and cut of himſelfe from it, by teaching & ſetting forth of erronious doctrine, making euery yeare a new fayth: and therefore it pleaſed the Queenes grace, to ſend them of the Conuocation & other learned men to bring him to this vnity again, if it might be. Then ſhewed he him how they of the Conuocation houſe, had agreed vpon certayne articles, whereunto they willed him to ſubſcribe.

The Archb. aunſwered to the preface very wittily, modeſtly, and learnedly, ſhewing that he was very glad of an vnity, foraſmuch as it was Cõſeruatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Chriſtianorum. i. the preſeruer of all common wealthes, as well of the Heathen, as of the Chriſtians: and ſo he dilated the matter with one or two ſtoryes of the Romaynes Common wealth. Whiche thing when he had done, he ſayde, that he was verye gladde to come to an vnity, ſo that it were in Chriſt, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus ſpoken his full mind, the Prolocutor cauſed the articles to be read vnto him, and aſked if he would graunt and ſubſcribe vnto them. Then the Biſhop of Canterbury did reade them ouer three or foure times & touching the firſt article he aſked what they ment by theſe termes verũ & naturale. i. true & natural. Doe you not meane ſayth he, Corpus organicum. i. a ſenſible body? Some aunſwered, Idem quod natus eſt ex virgine. i. the ſame that was borne of the Virgine: and ſo confuſedly, ſome ſaid one thing, ſome an other. Then the Biſhop of Canterbury denyed it vtterly, and when he had looked vpon the other two, he ſayde they were all falſe and agaynſt Gods holy word: And therefore would not agree he ſayd, in that vnity with them. Which done, the Prolocutor firſt willing him to write his mynde of them that night, ſayd moreouer that he ſhould diſpute in them, and cauſed a copy of the articles to be deliuered him, aſſigning him to anſwere thereunto on Monday next, and ſo charged the Maior with him again, to be had to Bocardo where he was kept before: offring moreouer vnto him, to name what books he would occupy, and he ſhould haue them brought vnto him. The Archbiſhop was greatly cõmended of euery body for his modeſty: In ſo much, that ſome Maiſters of Arte were ſeene to weep for him, which in iudgement were contrary to him.

Then was Doctor Ridley brought in, who hearing yͤ articles read vnto him, anſwered, without any delay, ſaying: they were all falſe, and ſayd further, that they ſprange out of a bitter and ſower roote. His aunſweres were ſharp witty and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a ſermon that he made when he was Biſhop of Rocheſter, wherein (they ſayd) he ſpake with tranſubſtantiation. He denyed it vtterlye, and aſked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would ſay and affirme with the ſame. They could bring no proofe of it at all. After that he was aſked of one whether he deſired not my lord Chancellor that now is, to ſticke to the maſſe, and other things?

He ſayd, that my Lord would ſay no ſuch things or words of him: for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was aſked whether he woulde diſpute or not. He anſwered: that as long as god gaue him life, he ſhould not onely haue his hart, but alſo his mouth & penne to defend his truth: but he required time and bookes. They ſayd he could not, and that he ſhould diſpute on Thurſday, and till that time he ſhoulde haue bookes. He ſayde it was not reaſon that he might not haue his owne bookes, and time alſo to looke for his diſputations. Then gaue they him the articles, & bad him write his mind of them that night, & ſo did they commaunde the Maior to haue him from whence he came.

Laſt of all came in M. Latimer in like ſort, with a kerchiefe, & 2. or 3. cappes on his head, his ſpectacles hanging by a ſtringe at his breſt, and a ſtaffe in his hande, and was ſet in a chayre: for ſo was he ſuffered by the Prolocutour. And after his deniall of the articles, when he had Wedneſday appoynted for diſputation, he alledged age, ſickeneſſe, diſuſe & lack of bookes, ſaying that he was almoſt as meet to diſpute as to be a captayne of Calice: but he woulde (he ſayd) declare his minde either by writing or by word, and would ſtand to all that they coulde lay vpon his backe: complayning moreouer that he was permitted to haue neither pen, nor incke, nor yet any booke, but onely the new teſtament there in his hand, which he ſayd, he had read ouer 7. times deliberately, & yet could not find the maſſe in it, neither the marowbones nor ſinewes of the ſame. At whyche words the Commiſſioners were not a litle offended, & D. weſton ſayd, that he woulde make him graunt, that it had both marowbones & ſinewes in the new Teſtament. To whom M. Latimer ſayd agayne: that you will neuer doe M. Doct. and ſo forthwith they put him to ſcilence, ſo that where he was deſirous to tell what he ment by thoſe termes, he could not be ſuffred: there was a very great preaſe and throng of people: and one of the Bedles ſwounded by reaſon therof, and was caryed into the Veſtry. After this, bringing home the Prolocutor firſt, the Cambridge men, videlicet: D. Yong Vicechauncellour, Seton, Glin, Atkinſon, Scotte, watſon, Sedgewicke, went to the Croſſe Inne to ſupper. And this was on Saterday being the 14. day of Aprill.

On Sonday after, M. Harpſfielde preached at Saynt Maries the Uniuerſity Churche, at 9. of the clocke, where were diuers of the Doctors of the Uniuerſity in theyr robes and placed accordingly. After the Sermō they went all to dinner to Magdalen Colledge, & there had a great dinner. They ſupped at Lincolne Colledge with the Prolocutour, whether Doct. Cranmer ſent anſwere of his mynde vpon the Articles, in writing.

On Monday (being the 16. of Aprill) Mayſter Say, & M. white Notaryes, wente aboute in the morning to the Colledges, to gette ſubſcriptions to the Articles. And about viij. of the clocke the Prolocutour wyth all the Doctours and the Vicechauncellour mette together at Exeter Colledge, and ſo they went into the ſchooles: and when the Vicechauncellour, the Prolocutour, and Doctours were placed, and foure appoynted to be Exceptores Argumentorum, ſet a table in the middeſt, and foure Notaryes ſitting with them, D. Cranmer came to the Anſwerers place, the Maior and Aldermen ſitting by him, and ſo the diſputation began to be ſet a worke by the Prolocutor with a ſhort Præludium. Doctor Chedſey began to argue firſt, and ere he left, the Prolocutour diuers times, Doctor Treſham, Oglethorpe, Marſhal Vicechauncellor, Pye, Cole, & Harpſfield did interrupt and preſſe him with theyr Argumentes, ſo that euery manne ſayde ſomewhat, as the Prolocutour woulde ſuffer diſorderly, ſometime in Latine, ſometime in Engliſhe, ſo that three houres of the time was ſpent, ere the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge began: who alſo was interrupted as before. He beganne with three or foure queſtions ſubtelly. Here the Bedles had prouided drinke, and offered the Aunſwerer: but he refuſed with thankes. The Prolocutor offered him, if he would make water or otherwiſe eaſe himſelfe, he ſhould. Thus the diſputation continued vntill almoſt two of the clocke, with this applauſion Audientium: vicit veritas. Then were all the Argumentes (written by the foure appointed) deliuered into the hand of Mayſter Say, Regiſter. And as for the priſoner, he was had away by the Maior: And the Doctors dyned together at the Uniuerſity Colledge.

And thus much concerning the generall order and maner of theſe diſputations, with ſuch circūſtaunces as there happened, and thinges there done, as well before the diſputations, and in the preparation therof, as alſo in ẏ tyme of theyr diſputing. Now foloweth to inſerte and declare ẏ Orations, Argumentes, and aunſweres, vſed and brought forth in the ſayd diſputations on both partes.

❀ The Argumentes, reaſons, and allegations vſed in this diſputation.

On Monday D. weſton, withall the reſidue of the Uiſitours, Cenſors, and Opponētes: repayring to ẏ Diuinity ſchole, eche one enſtalled themſelues in theyr places. D. Cranmer with a route of ruſty bils was brought thyther, and ſet in the aunſweres place, with the Maior & Aldermen ſitting by him. where D. weſton Prolocutor, appareiled in a ſkarlet gowne (after the cuſtome of the Uniuerſity) began the diſputatiō, with this Oratiō. His wordes in latin as he ſpake them were theſe.

Aprill. 16.

Conueniſtis hodie fratres profligaturi deteſtandam illam hæreſin de veritate corporis Chriſti in Sacramento. &c. that is: Ye are aſſembled hither (brethrē) this day, to confound the deteſtable hereſy of the verity of the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament. &c. At which wordes thus pronounced of ẏ Prolocutor vnwares, diuers of the learned men there preſent, conſidering and well weying the wordes by him vttered, burſt out into a great laughter as though euen in the entraunce of the diſputations, he had bewrayed himſelfe and his Religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of chriſtes body in the Sacrament a deteſtable hereſye. The reſt of his Oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods word to call theſe queſtions into cōtrouerſy: for ſuch as doubted of the wordes of Chriſt, myghte well be thought to doubte both of the trueth and power of God. whereunto Doctor Cranmer deſiring licence, aunſwered in this wiſe.

D. Weſton ſpeaketh truer then he wiſte.

we are aſſembled (ſayth he) to diſcuſſe theſe doubtfull controuerſies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world: whereof ye thinke it vnlawfull to diſpute. It is in deed no reaſon (ſaith he) that we ſhould diſpute of ẏ which is determined vpon, before the truth be tryed. But if theſe queſtions be not called in controuerſy, ſurely mine anſwer then is looked for in vayne. This was the ſumme and effect of his anſwere: and this done, he prepared himſelfe to diſputations.

D. Cranmers aunſwere to the preface.

Then Chedſey the firſt Opponent began in this wyſe to diſpute.

D. Chadſey.

Reuerend M. Doctor, theſe 3. concluſions are put forth vnto vs at this preſent to diſpute vpon.

Articles.

1 In the Sacrament of the aultar is the naturall body of Chriſte, conceiued of the Virgine Mary, and alſo his bloud preſent really vnder the formes of bread & wine, by vertue of Gods word pronounced by the prieſt.

2 There remayneth no ſubſtaunce of breade and wyne after the conſecration, nor any other ſubſtaunc, but the ſubſtaunce of God and man.

3 The liuely ſacrifice of the Church is in the Maſſe, propitiatory as well for the quicke as the dead.

These be the concluſions propounded, wherupon this our preſent controuerſye doth reſt. Nowe to the ende wee might not doubt how you take the ſame, you haue already geuen vp vnto vs your opinion therof. I terme it your opinion, in that it diſagreeth from the catholicke. wherefore thus I argue.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the ſcripture.
Ergo, you are deceiued.

Argument.

Cranmer. I deny the antecedent.

Ched. Chriſt when he inſtituted his laſt ſupper, ſpake to his Diſciples: Take, eate, this is my body, which ſhall be geuen for you.
But his true body was geuen for vs:
Ergo, his true body is in the ſacrament.

☞ The right forme of this Argument is thus to be framed.

Argument.

Da- The ſame which was geuē for vs, is in ẏ ſacrament.
ri- But his true body was geuen for vs:
j. Ergo, his true body is in the ſacrament.

Cran. His true body is truely preſent to them that truelye receiue him: but ſpiritually. And ſo is it taken after a ſpirituall ſort. For when he ſayd: This is my body, it is all one as if he had ſayde, this is the breaking of my body, this is the ſheding of my bloud. As oft as you ſhal do this, it ſhal put you in remembraunce of the breaking of my body, and the ſheding of my bloud: that as truely as you receiue this ſacrament, ſo truly ſhal you receiue the benefite promiſed by receiuing the ſame worthely.

Aunſwere. How Chriſtes body is preſent in his Sacramēt.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the church, which ſaith that the true body is in the ſacrament.
Ergo your opinion therin is falſe.

Argument of the authoritye of the Church.

Cran. I ſay and agree with the Church, that the bodye of Chriſt is in the ſacrament effectually, becauſe the Paſſion of Chriſt is effectuall.

Aunſwere.

Ched.

Anno 1554. Aprill.

Ched. Chriſt, when he ſpake theſe woordes: This is my body, ſpake of the ſubſtaunce, but not of the effect.

Chriſtes body effectually, not ſubſtantially in the Sacrament.

Cran. I graunt he ſpake of the ſubſtaunce, and not of the effect after a ſorte: and yet it is moſt true that the bodye of Chriſt is effectually in the ſacrament. But I denye that he is there truly preſēt in bread, or that vnder the bread in his organicall body. And becauſe it ſhould be to tedious (hee ſayd) to make diſcourſe of the whole, he deliuered vp there his opinion therof to D. weſton writtē at large, with anſweres to euery one of theyr 3. propoſitions: which he diſired D. weſton, ſitting there on high, to read openly to the people: which he promiſed to doe. But it was not the firſt promiſe that ſuch Papiſtes haue broken.

Papiſtes falſe of promiſe.

The copye of this writing although it were not there read, yet the contentes therof here we haue drawne out as foloweth.

¶ An explication of Cranmer vpon the foreſayd Conclusions exhibited in writing.

The contents of Cranmers explication geuen vp in writing.

CRan. In the aſſertions of the Church and of religion, trifling and new fangled nouelties of wordes, ſo much as may be, are to be eſchewed, whereof riſeth nothing but contention and brawling about wordes and we muſt follow ſo much as we may, the maner of ſpeaking of the ſcripture.

How Chriſt is really preſent

In the firſt concluſion if ye vnderſtand by thys worde [really] reipſa i. in very deede and effectuallye, ſo Chriſte by the grace and efficacy of his Paſſion is in deed and truely preſent to all his true and holy members.

Organicall is called that which is a perfect body, hauing all the members and partes complete belonging vnto the ſame.

But if ye vnderſtand by this word [really] Corporaliter. i. Corporally, ſo that by the body of Chriſt is vnderſtanded a natural body and organicall: ſo the firſt propoſition doth vary, not onely from vſuall ſpeach and the phraſe of ſcripture, but alſo is cleane contrary to the holy word of God & chriſtian profeſſion: when as both the ſcripture doth teſtify by theſe wordes, and alſo the Catholicke church hath profeſſed from the beginning, Chriſt to haue left the world and to ſit at the right hand of the father till he come vnto iudgement.

Anſwere to the 2. Concluſion.

And likewiſe I aunſwere to the ſecond queſtiō: that is that it ſwerueth from the accuſtomed maner and ſpeach of Scripture.

Anſwere to the 3. Concluſion. The 3. Concluſion contumelious agaynſt Chriſt.

The thyrd concluſion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous wordes, & differing alſo much from the true ſpeach of ȳ Scripture, ſo as the wordes therof ſeeme to import in open ſenſe: it is moſt contumelious agaynſt our onely Lord and Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus, and a violating of his precious bloud, which vpon the aultar of the Croſſe is the onely ſacrifice and oblation for the ſinnes of all mankinde.

Ched. By this your interpretation which you haue made vpon the firſt concluſion, this I vnderſtand, the bodye of Chriſt to be in the Sacramente onely by the way of participation: in ſo much as we communicating therof: do participate the grace of Chriſt: ſo that you meane hereby only the effect therof. But our concluſiō ſtandeth vpon the ſubſtance, and not the efficacye onely, which ſhall appeare by the teſtimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thouſand yeare after Chriſt.

Math. 26. Math. 14. Luke. 22.

And firſt to begin with the Scripture, let vs conſider what is written in Math. 26. Marck. 14. Luke 22. fyrſte to the Corinthiās. 11. Mathew ſayth: As they ſat at ſupper Ieſus tooke bread. &c. In Marke there is the ſame ſenſe although not the ſame wordes: who alſo for one part of the Sacrament ſpeaketh more playnely, Ieſus taking breade. &c. After the ſame ſenſe alſo writeth Luke. 22. And when Ieſus had taken bread. &c. In the mouth of two or three witneſſes ſayth the Scripture, ſtandeth all truth. Here we haue three wytneſſes together, that Chriſt ſayd that to be his body which was geuē for many: and that to be his bloud which ſhould be ſhed for many: wherby is declared the ſubſtance and not onely the efficacy alone therof.

Ergo it is not true that you ſay there to be, not the ſubſtance of his body, but the efficacy alone therof.

Subſtance and efficacie both graunted in the Sacrament.

Cran. Thus you gather vpon mine aunſwere, as though I did meane of the efficacy, and not of the ſubſtance of the body: but I meane of them both, as well of the efficacye as the ſubſtance. And for ſo much as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that ſhal ſpeake ex tempore, therfore for the more ample and fuller aunſwere in the matter, this writing here I do exhibite.

¶ An explication exhibited by Cranmer.

An other explication for aunſwere exhibited in writing, by the Archb.

OUr Lord and Sauior Ieſus Chriſt, at the time of his Maundy, preparing himſelfe to die for our cauſe, that he might redeeme vs from eternall death, to forgeue vs all our ſinnes, and to cancell out the handwriting that was agaynſt vs: ȳ we through ingratefull obliuion ſhould not forget his death: therfore he at ȳ time of his holy ſupper did inſtitute a perpetuall memory of this his death, to be celebrated amōg chriſtians in bread & wine, according as it is ſayd: Do this in remembraunce of me. And ſo often as you ſhall eat this bread & drinke this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lordes death till he come. And this remembraunce or ſacrament of his holy paſſion, that is, of his body ſlayne & bloud ſhed, he would all chriſtians to frequent & celebrate in bread and wine, according as he ſayd: Take eate: and drink ye all of this. Therfore, whoſoeuer for mans tradition denyeth the cup of Chriſtes bloud to lay men, they manifeſtly repugne agaynſt Chriſt, forbidding that which Chriſt commaundeth to be done, and be like to thoſe Scribes and Phariſeis of whom the Lord ſpake: Ye hipocrites, ye haue reiected the cōmaundementes of God for your traditions. Well did Eſaye prophecy of you, ſaying: This people honoureth me with theyr lips, but theyr hart is farre from me. Without cauſe do they worſhip me, teaching the doctrines and preceptes of men.

The ſacrament and miſticall bread, being broken and diſtributed after the inſtitution of Chriſt, and the myſticall wine likewiſe being taken and receiued be not onely ſacramentes of the fleſhe of Chriſt wounded for vs, and of hys bloudſhedding but alſo be moſt certaine ſacraments to vs and (as a manne would ſay) ſeales of Gods promiſes and giftes, and alſo of that holy felowſhip which we haue with Chriſt and all his members. Moreouer they be to vs memorials of that heauenly food and nouriſhment wherwith we are nouriſhed vnto eternall life, and the thyrſte of our boyling conſcience quenched, and finally wherby the harts of the faythfull be repleniſhed with vnſpeakable ioy, and be corroborated and ſtrengthened vnto all workes of godlines. We are many (ſayth S. Paule) one bread and one body, all we which doe participate of one breade, and one cuppe. And Chriſt ſayth, Eate ye, this is my body. And drinke ye this is my bloud. And I am the liuing breade which came downe from heauen. He that eateth me, ſhall alſo liue for me. Not as your fathers did eate Manna in the deſert and are dead: He that eateth me, ſhall alſo liue for me.

Thus therefore true bread and true wine remayne ſtill in the Euchariſt vntill they be conſumed of the faythfull to be ſignes & as ſeales vnto vs annexed vnto Gods promiſes making vs certayne of Gods gifts towardes vs. Alſo Chriſt remaineth in them, & they in Chriſt, which eat his fleſh, & drinke his bloud, as Chriſt himſelfe hath promiſed. They that eat my fleſh & drinke my bloud abide in me, & I in them. Moreouer he abideth alſo in them which worthely receiueth the outward ſacrament, neither doth he depart ſo ſoone as the ſacramentes is conſumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nouriſhing vs ſo long as we remayne bodies of that head, & mēbers of the ſame. I acknowledge not here the naturall body of Chriſt, which is only ſpirituall, intelligible, and vnſenſible, hauing no diſtinctiō of mēbers & partes in it: but that body onely I acknowledge, & worſhip, which was borne of the virgin, which ſuffered for vs, which is viſible, palpable, & hath all the forme & ſhape and partes of the true naturall body of man.

Chriſt ſpake not theſe wordes of any vncertayne ſubſtance, but of the certayne ſubſtance of bread, which he then held in his hands & ſhewed his diſciples whē he ſayd: Eate ye, this is my body: and likewiſe of the cup: when he ſayde: Drinke ye, this is my bloud: meaning verely of that bread which by nature is vſuall and common with vs, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the vniting of many graynes together made by man, & by mans hand brought to that viſible ſhape being of a round compaſſe & without all ſenſe or life, which nouriſheth the bodye, and ſtrengtheneth the hart of man: Of this ſame bread (I ſay) and not of any vncertaine and wandring ſubſtance the old fathers ſay that Chriſt ſpake theſe wordes: Eate ye, this is my body. And likewiſe alſo of the wine which is the creature and fruite of the vine preſſed out of many cluſters of grapes, & maketh mens hart mery, of the very ſame wine (I ſay) Chriſt ſpake, drinke ye, this is my bloud. And ſo the olde Doctors doe call this ſpeaking of Chriſt, tropicall, figuratiue, anagogicall, allegoricall, which they do interprete after this ſort, that although the ſubſtance of bread & wyne doe remayne and be receiued of the faythfull, yet notwithſtanding Chriſt chaunged the appellation therof, & called the bread by the name of his fleſh, & the wine by the name of his bloud, non rei veritate, ſed ſignificāte miſterio. i. not that it is ſo in verye deede, but ſignified in a miſterye. So that wee ſhoulde conſider, not what they bee in theyr owne nature. But what they import to vs and ſignify, and ſhould vnderſtand the Sacrament not carnally, but ſpiritually, and ſhoulde attend not to the viſible nature of the Sacraments, neither haue reſpect onely to the outward bread &

cup

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cup, thinkyng to ſee there with our eye, no other thinges but onely bread and wyne, but that liftyng vp our myndes we ſhould looke vp to the bloud of Chriſt with our fayth, ſhould touche hym with our mynde, and receiue him with our inward man, and that beyng lyke Egles in this lyfe, we ſhould flye vp into heauen in our heartes, where that Lambe is reſident at the right hand of hys father, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, by whoſe ſtripes we are made whole, by whoſe paſſion we are filled at hys table, and whoſe bloud we receiuyng out of his holy ſide, do lyue for euer beyng made the gheſtes of Chriſt, hauing him dwellyng in vs through the grace of his true nature, and through the vertue and efficacie of his whole paſſion, beyng no leſſe aſſured and certified, that we are fed ſpiritually vnto eternall lyfe by Chriſtes fleſh crucified, and by hys bloudſhed, the true food of our myndes, then that our bodies be fed with meat and drinke in this lyfe: and hereof this ſayd myſticall bread on the table of Chriſt, & the myſticall wyne, beyng adminiſtred and receyued after the inſtitution of Chriſt, be to vs a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a ſacrament, and a ſeale.

And thereof is it that Chriſt ſayth not thus: This is my body, eate ye: but after he had biddē them eate, then he ſaid: This is my body which ſhalbe geuē for you. Which is to mean, as though he ſhould ſay: In eating of this bread, conſider you that this bread is no common thyng, but a myſticall matter, neither do you attend that which is ſet before our bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Conſider & behold my body crucified for you, that eate and digeſt in your myndes. Chaw you vpon my paſſion, be fed to my death. This is the true meat, this is the drinke that moyſteneth, wherwith you beyng truly fed, and inebriate, ſhall liue for euer. The bread and the wyne which be ſet before our eies are onely declarations of me, but I my ſelfe am the eternall food. Wherfore whenſoeuer at this my table you ſhall behold the ſacraments, haue not regard ſo much to them, as conſider ye what I promiſe to you by them, which is my ſelfe to be meat for you of eternall lyfe.

The onely oblation of Chriſt (wherewith he offered himſelfe to God the father once to death vpon the aultar of the croſſe for our redemption) was of ſuch efficacy, ỹ there is no more need of any ſacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all ỹ ſacrifice of ỹ old law he tooke away, performyng that in very deede, which they did ſignify and promiſe. Whoſoeuer therfore ſhal fixe the hope of his ſaluatiō in any other ſacrifice, he falleth frō the grace of Chriſt, and is contumelious againſt the bloud of Chriſt. (For) he was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we lyke ſheepe haue wandered aſtray. Euery man hath turned after his owne way, and the Lord hath layd all our iniquities vpon him. (For he) hath entered once for all into the holy place by the bloud, not of Goates or Calues, but by his own bloud, finding eternall redemption: (And) hath entered into heauen, to appeare now in the ſight of God for vs, not to offer hymſelfe oftentymes (for ſo ſhould he haue ſuffred many times) but now hath he appeared once to put away ſinne, through hys owne oblation. And as it is appoynted to all men once to dye, ſo alſo Chriſt once was offered: Who offering vp one oblation for ſinnes, ſitteth now for euer on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect for euer thoſe that be ſanctified. (For) where is remiſſion of ſinnes, there is now no more oblation for ſinne (but this only ſacrifice of Chriſt) whoſoeuer ſhall ſeeke any other ſacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, maketh the ſacrifice of Chriſt of no validitie, force, or efficacie. For if it be ſufficient to remit ſinnes, what neede is there of any other? For the neceſſitie of another, argueth and declareth this to be inſufficient. Almighty God graunt that we may truly leane to one ſacrifice of Chriſt, and that wee to hym agayne may repay our ſacrifices of thankſgeuing, of prayſe, of confeſſing hys name, of true amendment, of repentaunce, of mercifulnes towardes our neighbors, and of all other good workes of charitie. For by ſuch ſacrifices we ſhall declare our ſelues neither ingratefull to God, nor altogether vnworthy of this holy ſacrifice of Chriſt. And thus you haue out of the teſtimonies of holy ſcripture, and of the ancient Doctors of the Church, the true and ſincere vſe of the Lordes holy ſupper, and the fruite of the true ſacrifice of Chriſt. Which whoſoeuer through captious or wreſted interpretations, or by mens traditions, ſhal go about otherwiſe then Chriſt ordeined them, to alter or trāſubſtantiate, he ſhall aunſwere to Chriſt in the latter day, when he ſhal vnderſtand (but then to late) that he hath no participation with the body and bloud of Chriſt, but that out of the ſupper of eternal lyfe he hath eaten and dronken eternall damnation to hymſelfe.

Weſt. Becauſe we will not conſume and ſpend the tyme in waſte, this your writyng which you exhibite, hereafter ſhall be read in hys place. In the meane ſeaſon let vs now fall to the Arguments.

Argument.

Ched. The Scriptures in many places doe affirme, that Chriſt gaue hys natural body. Mat. 26. Mark. 14. Luk. 22. Ergo, I doe conclude that the naturall body is in the Sacrament.

Aunſwere.

Cran. To your argument I aunſwer: If you vnderſtand by the body natural (organicum) that is, hauyng ſuch proportion and members as he had liuyng here, then I aunſwer negatiuely.

Furthermore, concernyng the Euangeliſts, thus I ſay and graunt, that Chriſt tooke bread and called it hys body.

Ched. The text of the Scripture maketh agaynſt you: for the circumſtaunce thereto annexed doth teach vs, not only there to be the body, but alſo teacheth vs what manner of body it is, and ſayth: The ſame body which ſhall be geuen.

Argument.

Ba- That thyng is here conteyned, that is geuen for vs.
ro- But the ſubſtance of bread is not geuen for vs.
co. Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread is not here conteyned.

Aunſwere.

This word (cōteyned) diſtinguiſhed.

Cran. I vnderſtand not yet what you meane by this word [conteined]: If ye meane really, then I deny your Maior.

Ched. The Maior is the text of ſcripture. He that denyeth the Maior, denyeth the ſcripture. For the Scripture ſayth: This is my body which ſhall be geuen for you.

The body of Chriſt conteyned not really but ſacramentally.

Cran. I graunt he ſayd it was his body that ſhould be geuen, but he ſayd it was not his body which is here conteyned: but the body (ſayth he) that ſhall be geuen for you. As though he ſhould ſay: This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the ſheading of my bloud. What wyll ye ſaye then? is the bread the breakyng, and the cup the ſheddyng of the bloud really? If you ſo ſay, I deny it.

Chriſt ſayth not, this is my body which is here conteyned, but this is my body which ſhall be geuen for you.

Ched. If you aſke what is the thyng therein conteined, becauſe his apoſtles ſhould not doubt what body it was that ſhould be geuen, he ſayth: This is my body which ſhall be geuen for you, and my bloud which ſhall be ſhed for many. Ergo, here is the ſame ſubſtance of the body, which the day after was geuen, and the ſame bloud which was ſhed. And here I vrge the ſcripture, which teacheth that it was no fantaſticall, no fayned, no ſpirituall body, nor body in fayth, but the ſubſtance of the body.

Cran. You muſt proue that it is contayned: but Chriſt ſaid not which is conteined. He gaue bread, and called that his body. I ſticke not in the wordes of the Scripture, but in your word which is fayned and imagined of your ſelfe.

Ched. When Chriſt tooke bread and brake it, what gaue he?

Cran. He gaue bread. The bread ſacramentally & his body ſpiritually, and the bread there he called hys body.

Ched. This anſwer is agaynſt the Scripture, which ſayth that he gaue his body.

Cran. It did ſignify that which he did eate.

Ched. They did not eate the body as the Capernaites dyd vnderſtand it, but the ſelf ſame body which was geuen for the ſinnes of the world. Ergo, it was his body which ſhold be geuen, and hys bloud which ſhould be ſhed.

¶ In ſome other copies I finde this Argument
to be made by Chedſey.

Argument.

Ba- The ſame body is in the ſacrament, which was geuē
 for vs on the croſſe.
ro- But bread was not geuen on the croſſe for vs:
co. Ergo, bread is not geuen in the ſacrament.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I deny the Maior, which is, that the ſame naturall body is geuen in the ſacrament, which was geuen on the croſſe, except you vnderſtand it ſpiritually. And after hee denyed alſo the argument as vtterly naught, as he myght wel do, the Maior in ỹ ſecond figure beyng not vniuerſal.

When M. Chedſey had put forth his Argument, and proſecuted the ſame, and Doct. Cranmer anſwered as before is ſhewed, Doctor Oglethorpe, one of thoſe Doctors which the Prolocutor called Cenſores (belike to be Arbiters to order the diſputations) ſayd on this wyſe.

D. Oglethorp breaketh Priſcians head & ſpeaketh falſe latin. Cranmer aunſwereth to Oglethorpe.

D. Ogle. You come in ſtil with one euaſion or ſtarting hole to flee to. He vrgeth the ſcriptures, ſayeng ỹ Chriſt gaue his very bodye. You ſay that he gaue his body in bread. Quo modo prædicatur corpus? qualis eſt corpus? qualis eſt prędicatio, panis eſt corpus?

Doct. Cranmer might haue foūd fault with this argument as well as with his latin being made in no moode or figure.

Cranmer. You ſhould ſay, Quale corpus. I aunſwer to the queſtion: It is the ſame body which was borne of the virgin, was crucified, aſcended: but tropically, & by a figure. And ſo I ſay, Panis eſt corpus, is a figuratiue ſpeache, ſpeaking ſacramentally, for it is a ſacrament of his body.

Oglethorpe. This word body beyng prędicatum, doth ſignifie fit ſubſtance.

But ſubſtantia is not predicated denominatiuely:

Ergo, it is an eſſentiall predication, and ſo it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

Cran. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatiuely in an allegory or in a metaphore, or in a figuratiue locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Chriſt hath leſſe care for his ſpouſe the church, then a wiſe houſholder hath for hys family in makyng hys will or teſtament.

Cran. Your reaſon is drawne out of the affaires of men, and not taken out of the holy ſcriptures.

Ogle. But no houſeholder maketh hys Teſtament after that ſort.

Tropes may be vſed in mens teſtaments, why not?

Cran. Yes, there are many that ſo do. For what matter is it ſo it be vnderſtood and perceiued? I ſay Chriſt did vſe figuratiue ſpeach in no place more, then in his ſacraments, and ſpecially in this his ſupper.

Ogle. No man of purpoſe doth vſe tropes in his teſtamẽt, for if he doe, he deceyueth them that he comprehendeth in his teſtament: therfore Chriſt vſeth none here.

Cran. Yes, he may vſe them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

Ogle. The good man of the houſe hath a reſpect that hys heyres after his departure, may lyue in quiet and without brablyng.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do vſe tropes:

Therfore (I ſay) he vſeth no tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

West. Auguſtine in his booke entituled, De vnitate Eccleſię, the x. chap. hath theſe wordes followyng.

A place of Auguſtine recited by the Prolocutor.

Quid hoc eſt rogo? cum verba nouiſſima hominis morientis audiantur itur ad inferos, nemo eum dicit eſſe mentitum, & illius non iudicatur hęres qui fortè ea contempſerat. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram dei, ſi vel non credentes, vel contemnẽtes, expulerimus verba nouiſſima & vnici filij Dei & domini noſtri ſaluatoris, & ituri in cœlum & inde proſpecturi, quis ea negligat, quis non obſeruet, & inde venturi vt de omnibus iudicet?

Auguſt. de vnitate Eccleſię.

That is to ſay.

What a thing is this I pray you? when the laſt wordes of one lying on hys death bed are heard: which is ready to go to his graue, no man ſayth that he hath made a lye: and he is not accompted hys heyre, which regardeth not thoſe wordes. How ſhal we then eſcape gods wrath, if either not beleuing or not regardyng, we ſhall reiect the laſt wordes both of the only ſonne of God, and alſo of our lord and ſauior, both aſcending into heauen, & beholding from thence who deſpiſeth, and who obſerueth them not, & ſo ſhal come from thence to iudge all men?

The argument is thus formed.

Argument.

Ba- Whoſoeuer ſayth that the Teſtator lyed, is a wicked heyre.
ba- But whoſoeuer ſayeth that Chriſt ſpake by figures, ſayth that he did lye:
ra. Ergo, whoſoeuer ſayeth that Chriſt here ſpake by figures, is a wicked heyre.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I deny the Minor. As who ſay it is neceſſary that he which vſeth to ſpeake by tropes and figures, ſhould lie in ſo doyng.

Ogle. Your iudgement is diſagreeyng with all churches.

Cran. Nay, I diſagree with the papiſticall church.

Ogle. This you do through the ignorance of Logike.

Cran. Nay, this you ſay through the ignorance of the Doctours.

Weſton. I will go playnly to worke by Scriptures. What tooke he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What gaue he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What brake he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What did they eate?

Cran. Bread.

West. He gaue bread, therfore he gaue not his body.

Argument.

He gaue not his body, therfore it is not his body verily in deed and in truth.

Cran. I deny the argument.

Cole This argument holdeth a diſparatis. It is bread: Ergo, it is not the body, and it is ſuch an argument or reaſon, as cannot be diſſolued.

Diſparata, is a Schoole terme, meaning diuers ſubſtances being ſo ſondred in nature, that one can neuer be ſayd to be the other.

Cran. The lyke argument may be made. He is a rocke: Ergo, he is not Chriſt.

Cole. It is not lyke.

West. He gaue not his body in deede: Ergo, it was not his body in deed.

Cran. He gaue his death, his paſſion, and the ſacrament of his paſſion. And in very deede ſettyng the figure aſide, formally it is not his body.

West. Why? then the ſcripture is falſe.

Cran. Nay, the ſcripture is moſt true.

West. This ſayth Chriſoſtome Homil. 61. ad populum Antiochenum. Neceſſarium eſt dilectiſſimi, myſteriorum dicere miraculum quid tandem ſit, & quare ſit datum, & quę rei vtilitas, &c.

That is to ſay.

Chryſoſt. homil. 61.

Needfull it is (deare frends) to tel you what the miracle of the myſteries is, and wherfore it is geuen, and what profite there is of the thing. We are one body and members of his fleſh, and of hys bones. We that be in the myſterie, let vs follow that thyng which was ſpoken. Wherfore that we may become this thyng, not only by loue, but alſo that we may become one with that fleſh in deede, that is brought to paſſe by this foode which hee gaue vnto vs, myndyng to ſhew his great good will that he hath toward vs: and therefore he mixed hymſelfe with vs, and vnited his own body with vs, that we ſhould be made all as one thyng together, as a body ioyned and annexed to the head, for this is a token of moſt ardent and perfect loue. And the ſame thyng Iob alſo inſinuatyng, ſayd of hys ſeruauntes, of whom he was deſired aboue meaſure, in ſo much that they, ſhewyng their great deſire toward him, ſayde: who ſhall geue vnto vs to be filled with his fleſhe? Therefore alſo Chriſt dyd the ſame, who, to induce vs into a greater loue toward hym, and to declare hys deſire toward vs, dyd not onely geue hymſelfe to be ſeene of them ẏ would, but alſo to be handled and eaten, and ſuffered vs to faſten our teeth in hys fleſh, and to be vnited together, and ſo to fill all our deſire. Lyke Lyons therfore, as breathyng fire, let vs go from that table, beyng made terrible to the deuil, remembryng our head in our mynde, & his charitie which he ſhewed vnto vs. For parents many tymes geue theyr children to other to be fed, but I doe not ſo (ſayth he) but feed you with myne owne fleſhe, and ſet my ſelfe before you, deſiryng to make you all iolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to looke for thynges to come, who here geue my ſelfe to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother, I tooke fleſh & blound for you. Agayne my fleſh and bloud by the which I am made your kinſman, I deliuer vnto you.

Thus much out of Chryſoſtome. Out of which wordes I make this argument.

The ſame fleſh whereby Chriſt is made our brother & kinſman, is geuen of Chriſt to vs to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, by hys true, naturall, and organicall fleſh:

Ergo, his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh, is geuen to vs to be eaten.

Cran. I graunt the conſequence, and the conſequent.

West. Therfore we eate it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eate it through fayth.

West. He gaue vs the ſame fleſh to eate, wherby he became our brother and kinſman.

But he became our brother and kinſman by his true, naturall and organicall fleſh:

Therfore he gaue his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh to be eaten.

Cran. I graunt he tooke and gaue the ſame true, naturall, and organicall fleſh wherin he ſuffered, and yet he feedeth ſpiritually, and that fleſh is receyued ſpiritually.

Weſton. He gaue vs the ſame fleſhe which he tooke of the Virgin:

But he tooke not the true fleſh of the Virgine ſpiritually, or in a figure:

Ergo, he gaue his true naturall fleſh not ſpiritually.

Cran. Chriſt gaue to vs his owne naturall fleſhe, the ſame wherin he ſuffred, but feedeth vs ſpiritually.

West. Chryſoſtome is againſt you. Homil. 83. in 26. cap. Mat. where he ſayth: Veniat tibi in mentem quo ſis honore honoratus, qua menſa fruaris. Ea namq; re nos alimur, quã angeli, &c.

That is to ſay.

Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honored, and what table thou ſitteſt at: for with the ſame thyng we are nouriſhed, which the angels do behold and tremble at: neither are they able to behold it without great feare, for the brightneſſe which commeth thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heape or maſſe with hym. Being together one bodye of Chriſt, and one fleſh with him. Who ſhal ſpeake the powers of the Lord, and ſhall declare forth all his prayſes? What Paſtor hath euer nouriſhed hys ſheepe wyth hys owne members? Many mothers haue put forth their Infantes after their byrth, to other Nurſes: which he would not do, but feedeth vs with hys owne body, & conioyneth and vniteth vs to himſelfe.

Wherupon I gather this argument.

Lyke

Anno 1554.

Like as Mothers nurſe their children with mylke: ſo Chriſt nouriſhed vs with his body.

But mothers do not nouriſh their Infants ſpiritually with their mylke:

Therefore Chriſt doth not nouriſh thoſe that bee hys, ſpiritually with hys bloud.

Cran. He gaue vs the wyne for his bloud.

Weſt. If he gaue the wyne for his bloud (as you ſay) then he gaue leſſe then mothers do geue.

But Chryſoſtome affirmeth that hee gaue more then mothers geue.

Therfore he gaue not the wyne for his bloud.

Cran. You peruert myne aunſwer. He gaue wyne, yet the bloud is conſidered therin. As for example. whē he geueth Baptiſme, we conſider not the water, but the holy Ghoſt, and remiſſion of ſinnes. we receiue with the mouth yͤ Sacrament: but the thyng and the matter of the Sacrament we receiue by fayth.

Weſt. when Chriſt ſayd, eate ye, whether ment hee by the mouth or by fayth?

Cran. He ment that we ſhould receiue the body by fayth, the bread by the mouth.

Weſt. Nay, the body by the mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

Weſt. I proue it out of Chryſoſtome, wrytyng vpon the fifty Pſalme.

Erubeſcit fieri nutrix, quę facta eſt mater. Chriſtus autem nō ita ipſe nutritor eſt noſter: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos paſcit, & pro potu ſuum ſanguinem nobis propinauit. Item in 26. Mathęi, Homil. 83. Non enim ſufficit ipſi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi: ſed nos ſecum in vnam vt ita dicam, maſſam reducit, neque id fide ſolum, ſed reipſa nos corpus ſuum efficit?

That is to ſay.

She that is a mother, ſhameth ſometyme to play the Nurſe. But Chriſt our Nurſe doth not ſo play with vs. Therefore in ſtead of meate he feedeth vs with his owne fleſh, and in ſtead of drinke he feedeth vs with hys owne bloud. Likewiſe, vpon the 26. chap. of Mathew, the 83. homily, he ſaith: For it ſhal not be enough for him to become man, and in the meane whyle to be whipped: but he doth bring vs into one maſſe or lumpe with himſelf (as I may ſo call it) and maketh vs his body not by faith alone, but alſo in very deed.

Cran. I graunt: we make one nature with Chriſt. But that to be done with mouth we deny.

Weſt. Chryſoſt. 2. Cor. cap. 13. Homil. 29. hath theſe wordes: Non vulgarem honorem conſequutum eſt os noſtrum, accipiens corpus dominicū. i. No little honor is geuen to our mouth, receiuing the body of the Lord.

Cran. This I ſay, that Chriſt entreth into vs both by our eares & by our eyes. with our mouth we receiue the body of Chriſt, and teare it with our teeth, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. wherfore I ſay and affirme that the vertue of the ſacrament is much: & therfore Chryſoſtom many tymes ſpeaketh of ſacramēts no otherwyſe, then of Chriſt hymſelfe, as I could proue, if I might haue liberty to ſpeake, by many places of Chryſoſtom, where he ſpeaketh of the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt.

with the which worde of the ſacrament of the body, &c. D. Cole beyng highly offended, denied it to be the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, ſaue onely of the myſticall body which is the Church.

Cran. And why ſhould we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe, ſeeyng both Chriſt and the auncient Fathers do ſo call it?

Cole. How gather you that of Chryſoſtome?

Cran. Chryſoſtome declareth hymſelfe. Lib. 3. De Sacerdotio, cap. 3. O miraculum, O Dei in nos beneuolentia, qui ſurſum ſedet ad dextram patris, ſacrificij tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurq́; lambere cupientibus eum. Fit autem id nullis prę̄ſtigijs, ſed apertis & circumſpiciētibus circumſtantium omnium oculis.

That is to ſay.

O myracle, O the good wil of God towards vs, which ſitteth aboue at the right hand of the father, and is holdē in mens hands at the ſacrifice tyme, & is geuen to feed vpon, to them that are deſirous of him. And that is brought to paſſe by no ſubtletie or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the ſtanders by.

Thus ye heare Chriſt is ſeene here in earth euery day, is touched, is torne with the teeth, yͭ our tong is red wyth his bloud: which no man hauing any iudgement will ſay or thinke to be ſpoken without trope or figure.

Weſt. what miracle is it if it be not his body: & if he ſpeake only of the ſacrament, as though it were his body?

But harken what Chryſoſtome ſayth: Homil. 34. Quod ſummo honore dignum eſt, id tibi in terra oſtendo. Nam quemadmodum in regijs non parietes, non lectus aureus, ſed regium corpus in throno ſedens omnium præſtantiſſimum eſt: ita quoque in cœlis regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non Angelos, non Archangelos, non cœlos cœlorum, ſed ipſum horum omnium Dominum tibi oſtendo. Animaduertis quonam pacto quod omnium maximum eſt atque præcipuum in terra, non conſpicaris tantum ſed tangis, neque ſolum tangis, ſed comedis, atque eo accepto domum redis. Abſterge igitur ab omni ſorde animam tuam.

Chryſoſtome alleaged by D. Weſton.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 24.

That is to ſay.

I ſhew forth that thing on the earth vnto thee, which is worthy the greateſt honor. For lyke as in the pallace of kyngs, neither the walles, nor the ſumptuous bed, but the body of Kings ſittyng vnder the cloth of eſtate, and royall ſeat of Maieſtie, is of all things els the moſt excellent: ſo is in lyke maner, the kings body in heauen, which is now ſet before vs on earth. I ſhew thee neither Angels nor archangels, nor the heauen of heauens, but the very Lord & maiſter of all theſe things. Thou perceiueſt after what ſort thou doeſt not onely behold, but toucheſt, and not onely toucheſt, but eateſt that which on the earth is the greateſt and chiefeſt thyng of all other, and when thou haſt receiued the ſame, thou goeſt home: wherfore clenſe thy ſoule from all vncleanneſſe.

Vpon this, I conclude that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed vs vpon the earth.

Cran. what? vpon the earth? no man ſeeth Chriſt vppon the earth? He is ſeene with the eyes of our mynde, wyth fayth and ſpirit.

How the body of Chriſt is ſhewed vs vpon the earth.

Weſt. I pray you what is it that ſeemeth worthy hygheſt honour on the earth? It is the Sacrament or els the body of Chriſt.

Cran. Chryſoſtome ſpeaketh of the ſacrament, and the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the Sacrament.

Weſton. Ergo, then the Sacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

Weſt. That thyng is ſhewed forth, and is now in the earth [oſtenditur & * eſt] which is worthy higheſt honor.

But, only the body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honor:

Ergo, the body of Chriſt is now on the earth.

*This word [eſt] is not in Chryſoſtome.

This argument of Weſton ſtanding onely vpon affirmatiues in the ſecōd figure, hath no perfect forme in Logick.

Cran. I aunſwer, the body of Chriſt to be on the earth, but ſo as in a Sacrament, and as the holy Ghoſt is in the water of Baptiſme.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ſayth [oſtendo[I ſhew forth which noteth a ſubſtance to be preſent.

Cran. That is to be vnderſtood Sacramentally.

Weſt. He ſayth [oſtendo in terra] I ſhew forth on the earth, declaryng alſo the place where.

Cran. That is to be vnderſtood figuratiuely.

Weſton. He is ſhewed forth, and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

Cran. Your Maior and concluſion are all one.

Weſton. But the Maior is true: Ergo, the concluſion alſo is true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of moſt high honour.

But no figure is worthy of higheſt honour:

Ergo, that which is on the earth is no figure.

Cran. I aunſwer, that is true Sacramentally.

Cranmer aunſwereth to the place of Chryſoſtome how Chryſt is ſhewed forth on the earth, not bodily but in a Sacrament, that is Sacramentally & figuratiuely.

¶ Here weſton crieth to hym that he ſhould anſwer to one part, biddyng him repeat his wordes. which when he went about to doe, ſuch was the noyſe and crying out in the ſchoole, that his mylde voyce could not bee heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how yͤ Prolocutor did not well engliſh the words of Chryſoſtome, vſing for oſtenditur in terra, he is ſhewed forth on the earth, eſt in terra, he is on the earth, where as Chryſoſtome hath not [eſt] nor any ſuch word of beyng on the earth, but only of ſhewyng, as the grace of the holy Ghoſt, in baptiſmo oſtenditur, i. is ſhewed forth in Baptiſme: and oftentymes did inculcate this word oſtēditur. Then yͤ Prolocutor ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the ſchoole with hiſſing, clappyng of hands, and noyſe, calling him indoctum, imperitum, impudentem, i. vnlearned, vnſkilful, impudent. which impudent and reprochfull wordes, this reuerend man moſt paciently and meekely did abyde, as one that had bene inured wyth the ſuffryng of ſuch lyke reproches. And when the Prolocutor not yet ſatiſfied with this rude and vnſeemely demeanor, did vrge and call vpon him to anſwer the argument. Thē he bade the Notary repeat his words agayne.

Weſtō falſifieth the wordes of Chryſoſtome.

Vnreuerend wordes vſed in the Schoole agaynſt Doctor Cranmer.

Notary. That which is worthy moſt high honour, here I ſhew

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The body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth to vs here in earth diuers wayes: as in reading of the Scriptures, ſomtymes in hearing Sermons, & alſo in Sacramentes, and yet neither the Scriptures nor Sermõs, nor Sacraments are to be worſhiped.

ſhew forth to thee in earth.

The body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honor.

Ergo, he ſheweth forth the body of Chriſt here in earth.

Cran. That is ſhewed forth here on the earth which may be ſeene, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but theſe things be not true of the body.

Cole. Why ſhould not theſe thyngs be true of the bodye of Chriſt.

Cran. The Maior out of Chryſoſtome is true, meaning of the Sacrament. For in the Sacrament the true body of Chriſt, and not the figuratiue body is ſet forth.

Weſton. Shewe me ſomewhat in earth worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I cannot, but in the ſacrament onely.

Weſt. Ergo, the Sacrament is worthy greateſt honor.

Cran. So it is.

Iudges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my aunſwer be written likewyſe: I affirme that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth vnto vs. It is our faythe that ſeeth Chriſt.

Weſt. Oſtendo tibi. i. I ſhew it to thee, ſayth Chryſoſtome, not to thy fayth.

Cran. He ſpeaketh ſacramentally.

Weſt. Ergo, Chryſoſtome lyeth. For he ſpeaking of ſhewyng, ſaith: Ego Chryſoſtomus oſtendo. i. I Chryſoſtome doe ſhew. But he can ſhew nothing ſacramentally.

Ched. By force of argument we are brought to this poynt that the body of Chriſt is proued to be on earth, not onely ſacramentally, but in very deed alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy higheſt honour. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cran. I neuer heard a more vayne argument, & it is moſt vayne: alſo it hath myne anſwer vnto it.

Ched. Wil you affirme that it is abſurd which Chryſoſtom ſayth, that the body of Chriſt is touched?

The argument of Chedſey is not formall.

I touch the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as Thomas touched Chriſt.

Thomas touched Chriſt, and ſaid Dominus meus, Deus meus, my Lord, my God:

Ergo, that which he touched, was the Lord God.

¶ This Argument as I receyued it out of the Notaries booke, is not formall: but rather he ſhould conclude in the third figure thus:

Da- As Thomas touched the body of Chriſt, ſo we touch it in the ſacrament.
ti- Thomas touched the body of Chriſt corporally:
ſi. Ergo, we touch the body of Chriſt corporally in the ſacrament.

God cannot be touched.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it ſound doctrine to affirme that God is touched.

Ched. This is becauſe of the vnion: ſo that God is ſayd to be touched, when Chriſt which is both God and man, is touched.

Tertull. De reſurrectione carnis.

Tertullian De carnis reſurrectione, ſayth: Videamus de propria Chriſtiani hominis forma, quanta huic ſubſtantię friuolę & ſordidę apud deum prerogatiua ſit. Etſi ſufficeret illi quod, nulla omnino anima ſalutem poſſet adipiſci niſi dum eſt in carne, crediderit: adeò caro ſalutis cardo eſt, de qua cum anima deo alligatur, ipſa eſt quę efficit, vt anima alligari poſſit: ſed & caro abluitur, vt anima emaculetur: caro inungitur, vt anima conſecretur: ſignatur, vt anima muniatur: caro manus impoſitione adumbratur, vt anima ſpiritu illuminetur, caro corpore & ſanguine Chriſti veſcitur, vt anima de deo ſaginetur.

Quod ſymbolorum eſt, rei attribuitur.

That is to ſay.

Let vs conſider as concerning the proper forme of the chriſtian man, what great prerogatiue this vaine & foule ſubſtaunce of ours hath with God. Although it were ſufficient to it, that no ſoule could euer get ſaluation, vnleſſe it beleeue while it is in the fleſh: ſo much the fleſh auayleth to ſaluation, by the which fleſh it commeth, that where as the ſoule ſo is linked vnto god, it is the ſayd fleſh that cauſeth the ſoule to be linked: yet the fleſh moreouer is waſhed, that the ſoule may be cleanſed: the fleſh is annoynted that the ſoule may be conſecrated, the fleſh is ſigned that the ſoule may be defended, the fleſhe is ſhadowed by the impoſition of hands, that the ſoule may be illuminated with the ſpirit: the fleſh doth eate the body and bloud of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed of God. Wherupon I gather this argument.

The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, the body of Chriſt is eaten with the mouth.

Argument.

Item Phocęus 1. ad Cor. cap. 11. vpon theſe wordes: Reus erit corporis & ſanguinis, &c.

Ο ἔνοχος τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰούδας, παρῴνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, οὕτως ἀτιμάζουσι ἀκαθάρτοις δεχόμενοι, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν τότε καὶ καταράτῳ προσφέροντες στόματι· διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου, δηλοῖ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ θυόμενος, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, ὡς δῆθεν διὰ τούτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς. i. Quod ait, reus corporis & ſanguinis, iſtud declarat quod ſicuti Iudas ipſum quidem tradidit, Iudęi contumelioſè in ipſum inſaniebant: ſic ipſum inhonorant qui ſanctiſſimum ipſius corpus impuris manibus ſuſcipiunt, tanquam Iudęi ipſi tenent & execrabili ore recipiunt. Quòd crebro mentionem facit corporis & ſanguinis Domini, manifeſtat quòd non ſit ſimplex homo qui ſacrificatur, ſed ipſe Dominus omnium factor, tanquam per hęc quidem ipſos perterrefaciens.

That is to ſay.

Where as he ſayth: Is guilty of the body and bloud: this he declareth, that like as Iudas betraied him, & the Iewes were fierce and ſpitefull agaynſt hym: ſo do they diſhonor him which receiue his holy body with their impure hands and as the Iewes did hold him then, do now receyue hym with vnpure mouthes. And where as hee often maketh mention of the body & bloud of the Lord, he declareth that it is not ſimply man that is ſacrificed, but euen the Lord hymſelf, being the maker of all things, hereby (as it were) makyng them afrayd.

Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered) the body of Chriſt is touched with the hands.

Cranmer. You vouche two authors agaynſt me vpon ſundry thyngs. Firſt I muſt aunſwer Tertullian, and then the other.

Ched. They tend both to one meanyng.

Cran. Unto Tertullian I anſwer (becauſe our diſputation is wandring and vncertayne) that he calleth that the fleſh which is the Sacrament. For although God worke all thyngs in vs inuiſibly beyond mans reach: yet they are ſo manifeſt, that they may be ſeene, and perceyued of euery ſenſe. Therfore he ſetteth forth Baptiſme, vnction, and laſt of all the ſupper of the Lord vnto vs, which he gaue to ſignify his operation in vs. The fleſh liueth by the bread, but the ſoule is inwardly fed by Chriſt.

Weſton. Sticke to thoſe wordes of Tertullian: Corpus veſcitur vt anima ſaginetur, id eſt, The body eateth that the ſoul may be fed.

Ched. The fleſhe eateth the body of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed therewith.

Weſt. Here you ſee two kyndes of foode: of the ſoule and of the body.

Ched. He ſayeth, that not onely the ſoule, but the fleſhe is alſo fed.

Cran. The ſoule is fed with the body of Chriſt, the bodye with the ſacrament.

Ched. Is the ſoule fed with the body of Chriſt, & not with the ſacrament?

Cran. Read that which followeth, and you ſhall perceyue that by thyngs externall, an operation internall is vnderſtood. Inwardly we eat Chriſtes body, and outwardly we eat the ſacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, an other inwardly. Like as in Baptiſme the external element wherby the body is waſhed, is one: ſo the internal thyng wherby the ſoule is clenſed, is another.

Ched. The ſoule is fed by that which the body eateth.

But the ſoule is fed by the fleſh of Chriſt:

Ergo. the body eateth the fleſh of Chriſt.

Cran. We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eate Chriſtes bodye: Outwardly we eat the Sacrament.

Ched. I will repeate the Argument.

*The fleſh eateth Chriſtes body, that the ſoule may be fed therewith.

The ſoule is not fedde with the Sacrament, but with Chriſtes body.

Ergo, the fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Cran. The Sacrament is one thing, the matter of the Sacrament is another. Outwardly we receyue the Sacrament: Inwardly we eate the body of Chriſt.

Ched. I proue that we receyue that outwardly wherwith the ſoule is fed.

The ſoule is fed with the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, we eate the body of Chriſt outwardly.

The fleſh eateth Chriſt his body,

Ergo, the ſoule is fed therewith.

Cranmer. The fleſh (I ſay) eateth the Sacrament. It eateth not Chriſtes body. For Tertullian ſpeaketh of the Sacrament: and the place hath not [inde] thereof, but [de deo] of God.

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Ched. What ſay ye to Phoceus ſaying: They which receyue the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lordes bloude, as Iudas was.

West. That which foloweth in Tertullian doth take away your ſhift, where as he ſayeth: Non poſſunt ergo ſeparari in mercede, quos opera coniungit. i. They cannot be ſeparated in reward, whom one worke ioyneth together.

But manducation is the worke or labour, Ergo, &c.

¶ The forme of this Argument may be thus collected.

Da- One worke or labour ioyneth body & ſoule together.
ri- Manducation is a worke or labour:
j. Ergo, one manducation ioyneth together both bodye and ſoule.

* To the Maior of which Argument, thus it may be aunſwered: expounding the ſaying of Tertullian, vna opera coniungit, ſed non idem operandi modus. Agayne, opera here in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions.

* Cran. Your authoritie (I ſuppoſe) is taken out of the booke, De reſurrectione carnis. i. of the reſurrection of the fleſh: & the meaning therof is this. Tertulliã goeth about there to proue that the fleſh ſhall ryſe agayne, becauſe it is ioyned together in one worke with the ſoule. Thorough Baptiſme in this world, the body is waſhed, and the ſoule is waſhed: the body outwardly, the ſoule inwardly, the worke is one. In this worke they are ioyned. And he ſpeaketh of ſignes.

West. He ſpeaketh of eatyng in a ſigne.
Ergo, the reward is in a ſigne.

Cran. They are coupled in one worke, namely, in the Sacrament.

West. There are two workes:
Ergo, there are two rewards.
If the worke be in a figure.
Ergo, the reward is in a figure.

Cran. He ſpeaketh not of two workes. Two workes are but one worke. And yet he ſaith not, quos vna opera coniungit. i. whome one worke ioyneth together, but opera. i. A worke: as in Baptiſme the ſoule and the body are ioyned in vnderſtandyng.

West. The fleſh and ſoule ſhall haue one and the ſelfe ſame reward, becauſe they haue one worke.

Cran. Becauſe they be ioyned together in one worke.

Tres. For as much as the reuerend Doctors here haue impugned, and ouerthrowen your aſſertion & your aunſwers ſufficiently: I will fall to an other matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpoſe, and that in fewe wordes, agaynſt a certayne ſequele of your opinion. The ſequele is this: that betwene vs and Chriſt there is no further coniunction, whiles we receiue the Euchariſt, then a coniunction of the mynd, or a ſpirituall coniunction, whereby we are vnited & knit vnto Chriſt thorough faith & loue. As for the preſence of Chriſt concerning the ſubſtaunce that you vtterly deny. Wherupon in very deed you leaue but a ſpirituall vnion and ioyning together of mind. Howbeit you would ſeeme to think otherwiſe by your ſubtile anſwers. But I will declare by manifeſt teſtimonies of the fathers, ẏ this your ſequele which you accompt ſo ſure, is far wide from the truth. And I will beginne with S. Hillary, who is both an ancient and a learned author. For diſputyng agaynſt the Arrians, octauo de Trinitate, he ſayeth that this was their opinion: that the father and the ſonne are conioyned only through vnity of wil. Wherupon Arrius him ſelfe, when ſcripture was alledged agaynſt hym, dyd (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his falſe interpretations. But the catholike church hath alwayes beleued and euer maintayned, that Chriſt is one with the father in nature, and not by conſent of wil only. To ẏ proofe wherof, when the Catholikes vouched this teſtimony of Iohn, Pater & ego vnum ſumus. i. The father and I are one. The Arrians aunſwered, that [vnum ſumus] was to bee vnderſtand by the aſſent of their wyls, and agreement of their mynds, not by vnity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now a dais, where men do doubt of the ſacrament. But Hillary goyng on, and prouing the natural coniunctiõ betwene the father and the ſonne a fortiori, queſtioneth with his aduerſaries after this maner, I demand of them now which will needes haue the vnitie of will onely, betwene the father and the ſonne, whether Chriſt be now in vs truly by nature, or onely by the agreement of wyls? If (ſayth he) the worde be incarnate in very deed, and we receiue at the Lordes table the word made fleſh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in vs naturally, who beyng borne man, hath both taken the nature of our fleſh vppon him that is now inſeparable, and hath alſo myngled ẏ nature of his owne fleſh, vnto the nature of eternitie vnder the Sacrament of hys fleſh, to be communicated vnto vs. Thus much hath Hillary. Whereupon I aſke of you this queſtion. How Chriſt dwelleth now in vs? accordyng to fayth, or according to nature?

Coniunction betweene Chriſt and vs.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt dwelleth verely in vs carnally and naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our fleſh vpon him, and becauſe he hath communicated hys nature vnto vs.

Annſwere to Hillary.

Tres. Bucer contra Abrincenſem, referreth theſe words onely to the Euchariſt, ſaying: Chriſt doth exhibite all this vnto vs in his holy ſupper, & according to the holy fathers (ſaith he) Chriſt liueth therby in vs, not only by fayth and loue, as abſent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not abſent, neither are we ioyned to Chriſt onely by a ſpirituall vnion, (as you ſuppoſe) but alſo by a corporall and carnall vnion.

Bucer contra Abrincenſem alleaged by Treſham.

Cran. I knowe that M. Bucer was a learned man. But your fayth is in good caſe, which leaneth vpon Bucer.

Tres. I do not bring Bucer as a Patron of our fayth, but becauſe he is a man of your ſort, & yet bringeth this place of Hillary for that vnion which we haue by the ſacrament, and confeſſeth that by it we are carnally vnited to Chriſt, where as you thinke that we are ioined by it, only through faith and loue.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt was communicated vnto vs, not onely by fayth, but in very deed alſo when he was borne of the virgin. We haue fellowſhip with Chriſt, when we are vnited in the vnity of the church, when we are made fleſhe of hys fleſh, & bones of his bones: and ſo we are vnited in the communion, in baptiſme, and in fayth.

Chriſt communicated & vnited to vs by byrth, by vnity of the Church, by the communion, by Baptiſme, by fayth.

Tres. I pray you what fellowſhip haue we with Chriſt, in that he is made man? Are not the Turkes & Iewes therein ioyned with hym? For they are men as we are, and are ioyned with him in mans nature, in that he was born of a woman. I ſpeake now of a more nere vnitie. We are made one with Chriſt by the communion in a perfect vnitie.

Cran. * We are made ſo, I graunt: but we are made ſo alſo by baptiſme: and the vnity in baptiſme is perfect.

* We are vnited to Chriſt by cõmunion ſo as we are by Baptiſme.

Tres. We are not made one by baptiſme in a perfect vnity, as Hillary there ſpeaketh, but by the communiõ, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewyſe by Baptiſme: wherfore you vnderſtand not Hillary. You ſhal heare his words, which are theſe. He had now declared afore the Sacrament of his perfect vnion, ſaying: As the liuing father ſent me, ſo do I alſo liue by the father. And he that eateth my fleſh, ſhall alſo lyue through me. And a little after that he writeth thus: This truly is the cauſe of our life, that we haue Chriſt dwellyng by his fleſh in vs that are fleſhly, which alſo by him ſhal liue in ſuch ſort as he liueth by his father. Wherefore, of theſe words it is manifeſt, that we obtaine this perfect vnity by meanes of the ſacrament, & that Chriſt by it is carnally vnited vnto vs.

Obiection of Hillary.

Cran. Nay Hillary in that ſame place doth teach, that it is done by baptiſme: and that doctrine is not to be ſuffred in the Church, which teacheth, ẏ we are not ioyned to Chriſt by Baptiſme.

Anſwere to the place of Hillary.

West. Repeat the Argument.

Cran. You muſt firſt make an Argument.

Tres. It is made alreadye, but it ſhall be made agayne in this forme.

Argument.

Da- As Chriſt liueth by his father, so they that eate Chriſtes fleſh, liue by the ſame fleſh.
ti- But Chriſt liueth by the father, not only by fayth and loue, but naturally:
ſi. Ergo, we lyue not through the eating of Chriſtes fleſh by faith and loue onely, but naturally.

Cran. We liue by Chriſt, not only by faith and loue, but eternally in deed.

Tresh. Nay * naturally. I proue it thus.

* The Papiſtes by this one word [naturally] confound themſelues. For if the naturall body of chriſt were eaten and went naturally into our bodyes, then ſhould it follow, that the nature of his body being immaculate, & now alſo immortall, our bodyes vnited in nature to his pure & immortall body, naturally ſhould neuer ſinne nor dye. Wherefore it remayneth that the naturall vniting to Chriſtes body commeth not by the bodely eating of the Sacrament vnto our body, but to our ſoule, & ſo ſhall redounde at length vnto our bodyes.

As Chriſt liueth by the Father, ſo lyue we by hys fleſh eaten of vs:

But Chriſt liueth not by hys father onely by faith and loue, but naturally:

Therfore we do not lyue by eating of Chriſts fleſh onely by faith and loue (as you ſuppoſe) but naturally.

Cran. The Minor is not true.

Tres. This is the opinion of Arrius, that Chriſt is vnited to his father by coniunction of mynd, and not naturally.

Cran. I ſay not ſo yet, neither do I thinke ſo. But I wil tel you what I like not in your Minor. You ſay that Chriſt doth not liue by his father, only by faith and loue; but I ſay that Chriſt liueth not at all by his faith.

Weſt. Marke and conſider well this word [by faith] leaſt any occaſion of cauilling be geuen.

Treſ. Let that worde [by faith] be omitted. Neither dyd I meane that Chriſt liueth by his father thorough faith. Yet the ſtrength of the Argument remayneth in force. For els Hillary doth not confute ẏ Arrians, except there be a greter coniunction betwene vs & Chriſt, when he is eaten of vs, then only a ſpirituall coniunction. You do only graunt a vnion. As for a carnall or naturall vnion of the ſubſtance of fleſh, by which we are ioyned more then ſpiritually, you do not grant. But our lord Ieſus geue you a better mind, and ſhew you the light of his truth, that you may returne into the way of righteouſneſſe.

If that vnion of the ſubſtance of fleſh ſhould be graunted vnto our bodies then ſhould our bodies neuer dye nor ſee corruption.

Weſt. We came hether to diſpute, and not to pray.

Treſ. Is it not lawfull to pray for them that erre?

Weſt. It is not lawfull yet. But proceed.

Treſ. Agayne, I reaſon thus: As Chriſt liueth by hys father, after the ſame maner do we lyue by the eating of hys fleſh.

But Chriſt liueth not by his father onely in vnitie of will, but naturally:

Ergo, we do not lyue when we eate the fleſh of Chriſt, only by fayth and vnitie of will, but naturally.

The ſame argument againe repeated.

Cran. This is my faith, and it agreeth with the ſcripture: Chriſt liueth by his father naturally, & maketh vs to lyue by himſelfe in deede: naturally, and that not onely in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, but alſo in Baptiſme. For Infants, when they are baptiſed, do eate the fleſh of Chriſt.

Aunſwere.

Weſton. Aunſwer eyther to the whole argument, or to the partes therof. For this argument is ſtrong and cannot be diſſolued.

Cran. This is the argument.

As Chriſt liueth by his father, after the ſame maner do we lyue by his fleſh, beyng eaten of vs:

But Chriſt liueth not by his father onely in vnitie of will, but naturally:

Ergo, we eating his fleſh, do not lyue only by faith and loue, but naturally.

The Archb. repeateth the argument.

But the Maior is falſe: namely, that by the ſame maner we liue by Chriſt, as he liueth by his father.

Weſt. *Hillary ſayth: after the ſame manner, vpon theſe words: he that eateth my fleſh ſhal lyue by me. Ergo, Chriſt liueth by his father, and as he liueth by his father, after the ſame maner we ſhall lyue by his fleſhe. Here you ſee, that Hillary ſaith, after the ſame maner.

Cran. After the ſame manner, doth not ſignifie lyke in all things, but in deed and eternally: for ſo do we liue by Chriſt, and Chriſt liueth by his father. For in other reſpects Chriſt liueth otherwiſe by his father, then wee lyue by Chriſt.

* Chriſt not after his manhood but after his diuine nature liueth naturally by his father, which diuine nature of his worketh alſo in his manhoode an immortality: So our ſpirite and ſoule receauing the naturall bodye of Chriſt in the miſteries, by fayth do receaue alſo the nature of his body, that is, his pureneſſe, iuſtificatiõ, & lyfe, the operation wherof redounding likewiſe vnto our bodyes, doth make the ſame alſo capable of the ſame glory and immortality. And thus it is true, that as Chriſt liueth naturallye by his father, ſo we liue naturally by the bodye of Chriſt eaten in the miſteryes, hauing reſpecte both to the manhood of him and of vs. For as the fleſhe of Chriſt, in reſpecte of bare fleſhe, liueth not naturally by the father, but for that it is ioyned to his diuinity: So our fleſh liueth not naturally by Chriſts body eaten in the Sacramẽt (for then euery wicked man eating the Sacramẽt ſhould liue naturally by hym) but for that our fleſh is ioyned to the ſpirite and ſoule, whiche truely eateth the bodye of Chriſte by fayth: and ſo onely the bodyes of the faythfull doe lyue by eating the bodye of Chriſte naturally, in particypatyng the naturall propertyes of the bodye of Chriſte.

Weſt. He liueth by his father naturally and eternally:

Ergo, we liue by Chriſt naturally, and eternally.

Cran. We do not liue naturally, but by grace if you take naturally for the manner of nature. As Chriſt hath eternall lyfe of hys Father, ſo haue we of hym.

Weſt. I ſticke to this word naturally.

Cran. I meane it touching the truth of nature. For Chriſt liueth otherwiſe by his Father, then we lyue by Chriſt.

Weſt. Hillary in the 8. booke De Trinitate, denieth it when he ſayth: he liueth therfore by his father, and as he liueth by his Father, after the ſame manner we ſhall lyue by his fleſh.

Naturall expounded.

Cran. We ſhall lyue after the ſame maner, as concerning the nature of the fleſh of Chriſt: for as he hath of his father the nature of eternitie, ſo ſhall we haue of him.

Weſt. Anſwer vnto the partes of the Argument.

As Chriſt liueth by his father, after the ſame manner ſhall we lyue by his fleſh:

But Chriſt doth not lyue by his father onely in vnitie of will, but naturally:

Ergo, we eating his fleſh do not liue onely by faith and loue, but naturally.

The argument the third tyme repeated.

Cran. I graunt (as I ſaid) we liue by Chriſt naturally: but I neuer heard that Chriſt liueth with his Father in vnitie of will onely.

Weſt. Becauſe it ſemeth a meruaile vnto you, heare what Hillary ſayth: Theſe things are recited of vs to this ende: becauſe the heretikes fayning an vnitie of wyll onely betweene the father and the ſonne, did vſe the example of our vnity with god: as though that we beyng vnited to the ſonne, and by the ſonne to the father onely by obedience and wyll of religion, had no proprietie of the naturall communion by the ſacrament of the body and bloud.

But anſwer to the argument. Chriſt lyueth by his father naturally and eternally: therfore do we liue by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Cran. Cyrill and Hillary do ſay, that Chriſt is vnited to vs not onely by will, but alſo by nature: he doth communicate to vs hys owne nature, and ſo is Chriſt made one with vs carnally and corporally, becauſe he tooke our nature of the Virgine Mary. And Hillary doth not onely ſay that Chriſt is naturally in vs, but that we alſo are naturally in him, and in the father: that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternitie or euerlaſtingnes. For as the worde receiuing our nature, did ioyne it vnto himſelfe in vnitie of perſon, and did cõmunicate vnto that our nature, the nature of his eternitie, that like as he being the euerlaſting word of the Father, had euerlaſting life of the Father: euen ſo he gaue the ſame nature to hys fleſh. Likewiſe alſo did he communicate with vs the ſame nature of eternitie, which he and the father haue, and that we ſhould be one with them, not onely in wil & loue, but that we ſhould be alſo partakers of ẏ nature of euerlaſting life.

Weſt. Hilary where he ſaith: Chriſt cõmunicated to vs his nature, he meaneth ẏ, not by his natiuity, but by ẏ ſacrament.

Cranmer. He hath communicated to vs his fleſh by hys natiuitie.

Weſt. We haue communicated to him *our fleſh when he was borne.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to vs his fleſh whẽ he was borne, and that I will ſhew you out of Cyrill vppon this place: Et homo factus eſt.

Weſt. Ergo, Chriſt being borne gaue vs his fleſh.

Cran. In his natiuity he made vs *partakers of his fleſh.

Weſt. Write Sirs.

Cran. Yea write.

Ched. This place of Hilary is ſo dark, that you were compelled to falſifie it in your booke, becauſe you could not draw it to confirme your purpoſe.

¶ If Chriſt haue taken verily the fleſh of our body, and the man that was verely borne of the Virgin Mary is Chriſt, and alſo wee receaue vnder the true miſtery the fleſhe of his body, by meanes wherof we ſhalbe one (for the father is in Chriſt, and Chriſt in vs) how ſhall that be called the vnitie of will, when the naturall propertie brought to paſſe by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of vnitie? we muſt not ſpeake in the ſence of man, or of the worlde in matters concerning God: neither muſt wee peruerſly wraſt anye ſtraunge or wicked ſence out of the wholeſome meaning of the holy ſcripture, through impudent and vile contentiõ. Let vs read thoſe thinges that are written, and let vs vnderſtand thoſe thinges that wee read, and then wee ſhall performe the duetie of perfect fayth. For as touching that naturall and true being of Chriſt in vs except wee learne of him, wee ſpeake fooliſhly and vngodly that thing that we doe ſpeake: For he ſayth: My fleſh is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede: He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, abideth in me and I in him. As touching the veritie of his fleſhe and bloud, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the teſtimonie of the Lord, and alſo by our fayth, it is verily fleſh, and verily bloud.

Here you haue falſified Hillary, for you haue ſet verò ſub myſterio, for verè ſub myſterio, we receiue truly vnder a myſtery. Hillary thriſe reporteth verè ſub myſterio, and you interprete it twiſe verè ſub myſterio, but the third tyme you haue verò for verè.

Cran. Aſſuredly, I am not guilty of any deceite herein. It may be that the copy which I followed, had Sub vero myſterio, i. vnder a true myſterye: although touching ẏ ſenſe it differeth little. God I call to witneſſe, I haue alway hated falſifieng, and if you had laiſure and luſt to heare falſe citations, I could recite vnto you vj. hundred.

Weſt. Here ſhall be ſhewed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Baſill, the other at Paris.

Cran. I ſuppoſe that D. Smiths bookes hath vero.

Weſton. Here is Doctour Smith: let him aunſwere for hymſelfe.

M. Smith, M. Doctor: what ſay you for your ſelfe? ſpeake if you know it.

¶ Here Doctor Smith, eyther for the truth in hys booke alledged, or els aſtonied with Doctor Weſtons haſty calling, ſtayd to anſwer. For he onely put of his cappe, and kept ſilence.

Weſt. But your owne booke printed by Wolfe your owne Printer, hath vero.

Cran. That Booke is taken from me, which eaſily myght haue ended this controuerſie. I am ſure the booke of Decrees hath vero.

Cole. Now you admit the booke of Decrees, when it maketh for you.

Cran. Touching the ſence of the matter, there is little difference. The chaunge of one letter for an other, is but a ſmall matter.

West. No: Paſtor (as you know) ſignifieth a Byſhop, and Piſtor ſignifieth a Baker, But Paſtor ſhalbe Piſtor, a Biſhop ſhall be a Baker by this your chaunge of one letter. If verè and vero doe nothing chaunge the ſence.

Cran. Let it be ſo that in Piſtor and Paſtor one letter maketh ſome difference: yet let Piſtor be either a Baker or maker of bread, ye ſee here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the ſence.

Young. This diſputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appeare. I perceiue that I muſt goe an other waye to worke then I had thought. It is a common ſaying: againſt hym that denyeth principles, we muſt not diſpute. Therfore that we may agree of the principles, I demaund whether there be any other body of Chriſt then his inſtrumentall body.

Cran. There is no naturall body of Chriſte, but his organicall body.

Young. Againe I demaunde whether ſence & reaſon ought to geue place to faith.

Cran. They ought.

Yong. Thirdly, whether Chriſt be true, in all his wordes?

Cran. Yea, he is moſt true, and trueth it ſelfe.

Yong. Fourthly, whether Chriſt at his ſupper minded to doe that which he ſpake or no?

Cran. Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo: ſed fecit Diſcipulis Sacramentum. That is: In ſaying he ſpake, but in ſayinge hee made not, but made the ſacrament to his diſciples.

Yong. Anſwer according to the truthe: whether did Chriſt that as God and man, whych he ſpake, when he ſayde: This is my body?

Cran. This is a ſophiſticall cauillation: go plainly to work. There is ſome deceite in theſe queſtions. You ſeeke ſubtleneſſe, leaue your craftie fetches.

Young. I demaunde whether Chriſte by theſe wordes wrought any thing or no?

Cran. He did inſtitute the Sacrament.

Yong. But anſwere, whether did he worke any thing?

Cran. He did worke in inſtituting the Sacrament.

Yong. Now I haue you: for before you ſaid it was a figuratiue ſpeache.

But a figure worketh nothing.

Ergo, it is not a figuratiue ſpeach. A lyar ought to haue a good memorie.

Cran. I vnderſtode your Sophiſtrie before. You by working vnderſtande conuerting into the body of Chriſte: but Chriſt wrought the Sacrament, not in conuerting, but in inſtituting.

Young. Woe be to them that make Chriſt a deceiuer. Did hee worke any other thyng then hee ſpake, or the ſelfe ſame thing?

Cran. He wrought the ſacrament, and by theſe wordes he ſignified the effect.

Fes- Yong. A figuratiue ſpeach is no working thing.
ti- But the ſpeach of Chriſt is working:
no. Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran. It worketh by inſtituting, not by conuerting.

Young. The thing ſignified in the ſacramẽt, is it not in that Sacrament?

Cran. It is. For the thing is miniſtred in a ſigne. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for the ſigne. Auguſtine ſeparateth the Sacrament from the thing. The Sacrament (ſayeth he) is one, and the thing of the Sacrament an other.

Weſton. Sticke to thys Argument.
It is a figuratiue ſpeach.
Ergo, it worketh nothing.

Young. But the ſpeach of Chriſt is a working thing.
Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran. O howe many craftes are in this Argument? they are meere fallacies: I ſayd not that the words of Chriſt do worke, but Chriſt himſelfe: and he worketh by a figuratiue ſpeache.

Weſton. If a figure worke, it maketh of bread the bodye of Chriſt.

Cran. A figuratiue ſpeach worketh not.

Weſt. A figuratiue ſpeach by your owne cõfeſſion, worketh nothing.
But the ſpeach of Chriſt in the ſupper (as you graunt) wrought ſomewhat:
Ergo. The ſpeach of Chriſte in the Supper was not figuratiue.

Cran. I anſwer theſe are meere ſophiſmes: the ſpeach doth not worke, but Chriſt by the ſpeache doth worke the ſacrament.

The figuratiue ſpeach worketh not, but Chriſt by the figuratiue ſpeach worketh the Sacrament.

I looke for Scriptures at your handes: for they are the foundation of diſputations.

Young. Are not theſe wordes of ſcripture: This is my body? The word of Chriſt is of ſtrength: and by the Lordes wordes the heauens were made. He ſayd: This is my body. Ergo, he made it.

Cranmer. He made the Sacrament: and I deny your Argument.

Young. If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. Hee ſayde: This is my body. You ſay contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Chriſt, and fall from the faith.

Cran. You interprete the ſcriptures contrary to all the old wryters, and faine a ſtraunge ſenſe.

Yong. Ambroſe. De ijs qui initiantur ſacris, cap.9. ſayeth: De totius mundi operibus legiſti, quia ipſe dixit, & facta ſunt, ipſe mandauit & creata ſunt. Sermo Chriſti qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non poteſt ea quæ ſunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus eſt nouas res dare, quam mutare naturas: Sed quid argumentis vtimur? ſuis vtamur exemplis, incarnationiſq; exemplo aſtruamus myſterij veritatem. Nunquid naturæ vſus præceſſit cum Dominus Ieſus ex Maria naſceretur? Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta fœmina generare conſueuit. Liquet igitur quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo generauit: & hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine eſt. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Chriſti corpore, cum prçter naturam ſit ipſe Dominus Ieſus partus ex virgine? Vera vtiqne caro Chriſti quæ Crucifixa eſt, quæ ſepulta eſt: verè ergò illius Sacramentum eſt. Clamat Dominus Ieſus: Hoc eſt corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum cœleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur, poſt conſecrationem corpus ſignificatur. Ipſe dicit ſanguinem ſuum. Ante conſecrationem aliud dicitur: poſt conſecrationem ſanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen: hoc eſt, verum eſt. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod ſermo ſonat, affectus ſentiat.

Ambroſ. De ijs qui initiantur, &c. cap.9.

That is.

Thou haſt read of the workes of all the worlde, that he ſpake the word and they were made: he commaunded and they were created. Can not the word of Chriſt which made of nothing that which was not, chaunge thoſe things that are, into that they were not? For it is no les matter to geue newe things, then to chaunge natures. But what vſe wee Argumentes? let vs vſe hys owne examples, and lette vs confirme the veritie of the myſterie by example of hys incarnation. Did the vſe of nature goe before, when the Lord Ieſus was borne of Marye? If you ſeeke the order of nature, cõception is wont to be made by a woman ioyned to a man. It is manifeſt therfore, that contrary to the* order of nature, a virgin did conceiue: and this that we make, is the body of the virgin. What ſeekeſt thou heere the order of nature in ỹ body of Chriſte, when againſt the order of nature the Lorde Ieſus was conceiued of a Virgine? It was the true fleſh of Chriſte whiche was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truely the ſacrament of him. The lord Ieſus himſelfe crieth: This is my body. Before the bleſſing of the heauenly wordes, it is named another kinde: but after the conſecration the body of Chriſt is ſignified. He calleth it his bloud. Before conſecration, it is called an other thing: after conſecration it is called bloud, and thou ſayeſt Amen: that is, it is true. That the mouth ſpeaketh, let the inward mind confeſſe: that the word ſoũdeth, let the hart perceiue.

* As Chriſt Ieſus was conceaued agaynſt the order of nature: ſo in the inſtituting of this Sacrament the order of nature is not ot be ſought.

The ſame Ambroſe in his 4. booke of ſacraments the 4. chap. ſayth thus: Panis iſte, panis eſt ante verba Sacramẽtorum vbi acceſſerit conſecratio, de pane fit caro Chriſti. Hoc igitur aſtruamus: quomodo poteſt, qui panis eſt, corpus eſſe Chriſti conſecratione? conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cuius ſermonibus? Domini Ieſu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris, vbi venitur vt conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, iam non ſuis ſermonibus Sacerdos vtitur, ſed ſermonibus Chriſti. Ergò ſermo Chriſti hoc conficit Sacramentum. Quis ſermo? nempe is quo facta ſunt omnia. Iuſsit Dominus & factum eſt cœlum: iuſsit Dominus & facta eſt terra: iuſsit Dominus & facta ſunt Maria. &c. Vides ergo quam operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis eſt in ſermone Domini, vt inciperent eſſe quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius eſt, vt ſint quæ erant & in aliud commutentur.

Ambroſius lib. De Sacramentis cap.4.

That is to ſay.

This bread is breade before the wordes of the Sacraments, when the conſecration commeth to it, of bread it is made the fleſh of Chriſt. Let vs cõfirme this therfore: how can that whyche is breade, by conſecration be the bodye of Chriſt? by what wordes then is the conſecration made, and by whoſe wordes? by the wordes of our Lorde Ieſus. For touching all other things that are ſayde, praiſe is geuen to God, prayer is made for the people, for kinges, and for the reſt.

The wordes of Ambroſe in Engliſhe.

reſt. When it commeth, that the reuerent Sacrament muſt be made, then the Prieſt vſeth not his own wordes, but the wordes of Chriſt: therfore the word of Chriſte maketh this Sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made. The Lorde * commaunded, and heauen was made: the Lord commaunded and the earth was made: the Lord commaunded, and the ſeas were made, the Lord commaunded, and all creatures were made. Doeſt thou not ſee then how ſtrong in working the worde of Chriſte is? If therfore, ſo great ſtrength be in the Lords word, that thoſe things ſhuld begin to be which were not before, how much the rather is it of ſtrength to worke, ỷ theſe thinges which were, ſhoulde be chaunged into an other thing? Ambroſe ſayth that the wordes are of ſtrength to worke.

* But the Lord Ieſus here vſed not ſuch words of commaũding in the ſacrament as in creatiõ: for we read not, fiat, hoc corpus meũ as we read, fiat lux. &c.

Weſton. You omit thoſe wordes which follow, whych maketh the ſence of Ambroſe plaine. Read them.

Ambroſ. de Sacr. cap. 5.

Young. Cœlum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem: ipſe dixit & facta ſunt, ipſe mandauit & creata ſunt. Ergo tibi vt reſpondeam, non erat corpus Chriſti ante conſecrationem, ſed poſt conſecrationem dico tibi quòd iam * corpus Chriſti eſt. That is. Heauen was not, the ſea was not, the earth was not, but heare him that ſaid: he ſpake the worde and they were made: he commaunded, and they were created. Therfore to anſwer thee, it was not the body of Chriſt before conſecration, but after the cõſecration I ſay to thee, that now it is the body of Chriſt.

* Alloioſis rerũ & ſymbolorũ.

Cran. All theſe thinges are common. I ſay that God doth chiefly worke in the Sacraments.

Yong. How doth he worke?

Cran. By his power as he doth in Baptiſme.

Yong. Nay, by the worde he chaungeth the bread into hys body. This is the truth, acknowledge the truth, geue place to the trueth.

Cran. O glorious wordes, you are too full of wordes.

Yong. Nay O glorious trueth, you make no change at all.

Cran. Not ſo, but I make a great chaunge, as in them that are baptiſed, is there not a great chaunge when the child of the bondſlaue of the deuil, is made the ſonne of God? So it is alſo in the ſacrament of the ſupper when he receyueth vs into his protection and fauour.

Yong. If he worke in the ſacraments, he worketh in thys ſacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his Faithfull, not in the Sacraments.

Weſt. In the ſupper the words are directed to the breade: in baptiſme to the ſpirite. He ſayd not, the water is the ſpirite, but of the bread he ſayd: This is my body.

Cran. He called the ſpirit a Doue: when the ſpirit deſcended in likeneſſe of a Doue.

As the Doue is called the ſpirit: ſo the bread is called the body.

Weſt. He doth not call the ſpirit a Doue: but he ſayth, that he deſcended as a Doue. He was ſeene in the likeneſſe of a Doue. As in Baptiſme, the words are directed to him that is baptized, ſo in the ſupper the wordes are directed vnto the bread.

Iohn. 1.

Cran. Nay it is wrytten: Vpon whomeſoeuer thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirite deſcending. Hee calleth that whych deſcended, the holy ſpirit. And Auguſtine calleth the doue the ſpirit. Heare what Auguſtine ſayth in 1. Iohn. Quid voluit per columbam, id eſt, per ſpiritum ſanctũ, docere, qui miſerat eum. That is: What meant he by the Doue, that is, by the holy Ghoſt? forſoothe to teach who ſent him.

Auguſt. in. Iohn. cap. 1.

Yong. He vnderſtandeth of the ſpirit deſcending as a doue: the ſpirit is inuiſible. If you minde to haue the truth heard let vs proceede. Heare what Ambroſe ſaith: Vides quam operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis in ſermone domini. &c. vt ſupra. That is: You ſee what a working power the word of Chriſte hath. Therefore if there be ſo great power in the Lordes worde, that thoſe thinges whiche were not, begin to be, howe much more of ſtrength is it to worke that thoſe things that were, ſhould be chaunged into an other thing?

Ambroſe againe repeated, de Sacrament. cap. 4.

And in the 5. chap. Antequam conſecretur, panis eſt: vbi autem verba Chriſti acceſſerint, corpus eſt Chriſti. i. Before it is conſecrated, it is bread: but when the words of Chriſt come to it, it is the body of Chriſt.

Idem. cap. 5.

But hear what he ſayth more: Accipite, edite, hoc eſt corpus meum: Take yee, eate yee, this is my bodye. Ante verba Chriſti calix eſt vini & aquæ plenus: vbi verba Chriſti operata fuerint, ibi ſanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem. That is.

Before the wordes of Chriſte, the cuppe is full of wine and water, when the words of Chriſt haue wrought, there is made the bloude of Chriſte, which redeemed the people. What can be more plaine?

Aunſwere to Ambroſe.

Cran. Nay, what can be leſſe to the purpoſe? The wordes are of ſtrength to worke in this Sacrament, as they are in Baptiſme.

Pie. The wordes of Chriſt (as Amb. ſayth) are of ſtrength to worke. What do they worke? Ambroſe ſayeth, they make the bloud which redeemed the people.

Ergo, the naturall bloud is made.

Cran. The Sacrament of his bloud is made. The wordes make the bloude to them that receiue it: not that the bloude is in the cuppe, but in the receiuer.

Pie. There is made the bloud which redeemed the people.

Cran. The bloude is made: that is, the Sacrament of the bloude, by which he redeemed the people. [Fit] it is made; that is to ſay [oſtenditur] it is ſhewed forth there. And Ambroſe ſayth: we receiue in a ſimilitude. As thou haſt receiued the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious bloud.

Weſt. He ſayth in a ſimilitude, becauſe it is miniſtred vnder another likeneſſe. And this is the argument.

* There is made the bloud which redeemed the people.
But the naturall bloud redeemed the people.
Ergo, There is the naturall bloud of Chriſt.

You aunſwer, that wordes make it bloud to them that receiue it: not that bloude is in the cuppe, but becauſe it is made bloud to them that receiue it. That all men may ſee how falſely you would auoid the fathers, heare what Ambroſe ſayth in the 6. booke and 1. chap.

Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui ſimilitudinem video, nõ video ſanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de ſermone Chriſti qui operatur, vt poſſit mutare & conuertere genera inſtituta naturæ. Deinde vbi non tulerunt ſermonem diſcipuli eius, ſed audientes, quod carnem ſuam dedit manducari, & ſanguinem ſuum dedit bibendum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit: Verba vitæ eternæ habes. & ego à te quò recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam eſſet horror cruoris, ſed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideò in ſimilitudinem quidem accipis ſacramenti, ſed verè naturæ gratiam virtutemque conſequeris.

That is to ſay.

Peraduenture thou wilt ſay, how be they true? I which ſee the ſimilitude, do not ſee the trueth of the bloud. Firſt of all I told thee of ỷ word of Chriſt, which ſo worketh, that it can chaunge & turne kindes ordained of nature. Afterward, when the Diſciples coulde not abide the wordes of Chriſte, but hearing that he gaue hys fleſh to eate, and hys bloud to drinke, they departed: Only Peter ſayd, thou haſt the wordes of eternal life: whether ſhould I go from thee? Leaſt therefore moe ſhould ſay this thing, as though there ſhould be a certain horror of bloud, and yet the grace of redemption ſhould remaine: therfore in a ſimilitude thou receiueſt the ſacrament: but in deede thou obtaineſt the grace and power of his nature.

Cranmer. Theſe wordes of themſelues are plaine enough. (And he read this place againe: Thou receiueſt the Sacrament for a ſimilitude.) But what is that he ſayth: Thou receiueſt for a ſimilitude.) I thinke he vnderſtandeth the ſacrament to be the ſimilitude of his bloud.

Ched. That you may vnderſtand that trueth diſſenteth not from trueth, to ouerthrow that which you ſay of that ſimilitude, heare what Ambroſe ſayth lib. 4. De ſacrament.

Si operatus eſt ſermo cœleſtis in alijs rebus, non operatur in ſacramentis cœleſtibus? Ergo didiciſti quod e pane corpus fit Chriſti, & quod vinum & aqua in calicem mittitur. ſed fit ſanguis conſecratione verbi cœleſtis. Sed forte dices, ſpeciem ſanguinis non videri. Sed habet ſimilitudinem. Sicut enim mortis ſimilitudinem ſumpſiſti, ita etiam ſimilitudinem precioſi ſanguinis bibis, vt nullus horror cruoris ſit, & pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didiciſti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus eſt Chriſti.

That is to ſay.

If the heauenly word did worke in other things, doth it not worke in the heauenly ſacramentes? Therefore thou haſt learned, that of bread is made the body of Chriſte, and that wine and water is put into that cuppe: but by conſecration of the heauenly worde, it is made bloude. But thou wilt ſay peraduẽture, that the likenes of bloud is not ſene. But it hath a ſimilitude.

For as thou haſt receiued the ſimilitude of hys death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious bloud, ſo ỷ there is no horror of bloud, & yet it worketh the price of redemptiõ. Therfore thou haſt learned, that that which thou receiueſt, is the body of Chriſt.

Cran. He ſpeaketh of ſacraments ſacramentally. He calleth the ſacraments by the names of the things: for he vſeth the ſignes for the things ſignified: and therefore ỷ bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellencie and dignitie of the thyng ſignified by it. So doth Ambroſe interpreat hym ſelfe when hee ſayeth: In cuius typum nos calicem myſticum ſanguinis ad tuitionem corporis & animæ noſtræ percepimus. 1. Cor. 11.

That is.

For a type or figure wherof we receiue the myſtical cup of his bloud, for the ſafegard of our bodies and ſoules.

Ched. A type? hee calleth not the bloud of Chriſte a type or ſigne: but the bloude of Buls and Goates in that reſpecte was a type or ſigne.

Cran. This is new learning: you ſhall neuer read this among the fathers.

Ched. But Ambroſe ſayeth ſo.

Cran. He calleth the bread and the cup a type or ſigne of the bloud of Chriſt, and of his benefite.

Weſt. Ambroſe vnderſtandeth for a type of his benefit, that is, of redemption: not of the bloud of Chriſt, but of his paſſion. The cuppe is the type or ſigne of his death, ſeeing it is hys bloud.

Cran. He ſayeth moſt plainely, that the cuppe is the type of Chriſtes bloud.

Da-
ri-
j.

Ched. As Chriſte is truely and really incarnate, ſo is he truely and really in the Sacrament.
But Chriſt is really and truely incarnate.
Ergo, the body of Chriſt is truely and really in the ſacrament.

Cran. I deny the Maior.

Ched. I proue the Maior out of Iuſtine in hys 2. Apologie: ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν: οὕτω καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ ματαβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Cran. This place hath ben falſified by Marcus Conſtantius. Iuſtine meant nothing els, but that the bread which nouriſheth vs, is called the body of Chriſt.

Ched. To the Argument. As Chriſt is truely and naturally incarnate, &c. vt ſupra.

Cran. I deny your Maior.

Ched. The wordes of Iuſtine are thus to bee interpreated word for word.

Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Ieſus Chriſtus Saluator noſter, carnem habuit & ſanguinem pro ſalute noſtra: ſic & cibum illum conſecratum per ſermonem precationis ab ipſo inſtitutæ, quo ſanguis carneſque noſtræ per communionem nutriuntur, eiuſdem Ieſu qui caro factus eſt, carnem & ſanguinem eſſe accepimus. That is to ſay.

As by the worde of God Ieſus Chriſt our ſauiour, being made fleſh, had both fleſh and bloud for our ſaluation: ſo we are taught that the meat *conſecrated by the word of prayer, inſtituted of him, whereby our bloude and fleſh are nouriſhed by *cōmunion, is the fleſh and bloud of the ſame Ieſus, which was made fleſh.

* Of thankeſgeuing.

* Mutation.

Cran. You haue tranſlated it wel: But I deny your Maior. Thys is the ſence of Iuſtine: that that breade is called the body of Chriſt, and yet of that ſanctified meate our bodyes are nouriſhed.

Ched. Nay, he ſayeth of that ſanctified meate, bothe oure bodies and ſoules are nouriſhed.

Cran. He ſayth not ſo: but he ſayth that it nouriſheth our fleſh and bloud: and howe can that nouriſh the ſoule, that nouriſheth the fleſh and bloud?

Cole. It feedeth the body by the ſoule.

Cran. Speake vprightly. Can that which is receiued by the ſoule and the ſpirite, be called the meat of the body?

Weſt. Heare then what Irenæus ſayeth: Eum calicem qui eſt creatura, ſuum corpus confirmauit, ex quo noſtra auget corpora. Quando & mixtus calix & Fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia ſanguinis & corporis Chriſti, ex quibus augetur, & cōſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. This is ẏ ſame cup which is a creature, hee confirmed to be hys body, by which hee increaſeth oure bodyes: when both the cuppe mixed, and the breade broken, hathe ioyned to it the worde of God, it is made the Sacrament of the body and bloude of Chriſte, of whych the ſubſtaunce of our fleſhe is increaſed, and conſiſteth.

The ſubſtance of our fleſh is increaſed by the body and bloud of Chriſt:
Ergo, our body is nouriſhed by the body and bloude of Chriſt.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He calleth it the fleſhe and bloud: for the Sacrament of the body and bloud, as Tertullian alſo ſayth: Nutritur corpus pane Symbolico, anima corpore Chriſti. That is, Our fleſh is nouriſhed wyth Symbolicall or ſacramentall bread, but our ſoule is nouriſhed wyth the body of Chriſt.

Weſt. Looke what he ſayeth more. Quomodo carnem negant capacem eſſe donationis Dei quæ eſt vita æterna, quæ ſanguine & corpore Chriſti nutritur. li. 5. poſt duo folia a principio. That is: How doe they ſay, that the fleſh can not receiue the gift of God that is eternall life, which is nouriſhed wyth the bloud and body of Chriſte? That is in the 5. booke 2. leaues from the beginning.

Cran. The body is nouriſhed both with the ſacramēt, and with the body of Chriſt, with the ſacrament to a temporall life: with the body of Chriſt to eternall life.

Ched. I cannot but be ſorie when I ſee ſuch a manifeſt lie in your wrytings. For where you tranſlate Iuſtine on this faſhion: that the bread, water and wine, are not ſo to be taken in this ſacrament, as common meates and drinks are wont to be takē of vs: but are meats choſen out peculiarly for this, namely for the geuing of thankes, and therefore be called of the Greekes Euchariſtia, that is, Thankes geuinge, they are called moreouer the bloude and bodye of Chriſte (ſo haue you tranſlated it): the wordes of Iuſtine are thus: Wee are taughte that the meate conſecrated by the worde of prayer, by the which our fleſh and bloud is nouriſhed by Communion, is the body & bloud of the ſame Ieſus which was made fleſhe.

Note that the Archb. here did not tranſlate the words of Iuſtine, but onely gather the effect of his meaning.

Cran. I did not tranſlate it worde for worde, but onely I gaue the meaning: and I goe nothing from his meaning.

Cranmer purgeth himſelfe.

Harpſ. You remember, touching Iuſtine, to whom this Apologie was wrytten, namelye to an Heathen man. The Heathen thought that the Chriſtians came to the Churche to worſhip breade. Iuſtine aunſwearеth, that we come not to common bread, but as to. &c. as is ſayd afore. Weigh the place wel, it is right worthy to be noted: Our fleſh is nouriſhed: according to mutation.

Cran. We ought not to conſider the bare bread: but whoſoeuer commeth to the Sacrament, eateth the true body of Chriſte.

In eating the ſacrament no bread is conſidered but onely the true body of Chriſt.

Weſt. You haue corrupted Emiſſenus, for in ſtead of cibis ſatiandus, that is, to be filled with meat: you haue ſet cibis ſatiandus ſpiritualibus: that is, to be filled with ſpirituall meates.

Cran. I haue not corrupted it, for it is ſo in the Decrees.

Weſt. You haue corrupted an other place of Emiſſenus. For you haue omitted theſe wordes: Mirare cum reuerendum altare cibis ſpiritualibus ſatiandus aſcendis: ſacrum Dei tui corpus & ſanguinem fide reſpice, honorem mirare, merito continge. &c. That is: Maruell thou when thou commeſt vp to the reuerend altar to be filled with ſpiritual meats: looke in faith to the holy body and bloud of thy God: maruell at his honour: worthely touch him.

De conſecra. Diſt. 2. Quia.

Cran. Thys booke hath not that

Weſt. Alſo you haue falſified this place by euill tranſlating Honora corpus Dei tui. i. Honour the bodye of thy God. You haue tranſlated it: Honora eum qui eſt Deus tuus. i. Honoure him which is thy God. Whereas Emiſſenus hath not [honor him] but [honor the body of thy God.]

Cranmer charged with falſe tranſlating.

Cran. I haue ſo tranſlated him, and yet no les truely, then not without a weightye cauſe, for els it ſhoulde not haue bene wythout daunger, if I had tranſlated it thus: Honour the body of thy God: becauſe of certain, that according to the errour of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.

Cranmer purgeth himſelfe.

Weſt. Nay you moſt of all, haue brought the people into ẏ errour, whyche ſo longe haue taught that he ſitteth at the right hande of God the father: and counted me for an heretické becauſe I preached ẏ God had no right hande. Then I will appoſe you in the very Articles of your faith.

Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father.
But God the Father hath no right hand:
Ergo, where is Chriſt now?

Argument.

Cran. I am not ſo ignoraunt a nouice in the articles of my faith, but that I vnderſtand, that to ſit at the right hand of God, doth ſignifie to be equall in the glory of the Father.

The right hand of God what it ſignifieth.

Weſt. Now then take this Argument.
Whereſoeuer Gods authority is, there is Chriſtes body,
But Gods authoritie is in euery place:
Ergo, what letteth the body of Chriſt to be in euery place?

Moreouer you haue alſo corrupted Duns.

Cran. That is a great offence, I promiſe you.

Cranmer charged with miſtrāſlating Duns.

Weſt. For you haue omitted ſecundum apparentiam .i. as it appeareth. Where his wordes are theſe: Et ſi quæras quare voluit Eccleſia eligere iſtum intellectum ita difficilem huius articuli, cum verba Scripturæ poſſint ſaluari ſecundum intellectum facilem & veriorem, ſecundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo. &c. That is: And if you demaunde why the Churche did chuſe thys ſo harde an vnderſtanding of thys Article, where as the wordes of ſcripture may be ſalued after an eaſie & true vnderſtanding (as appeareth) of thys article, &c.

Cran. It is not ſo.

Weſt. Alſo you haue ſet forthe a Cathechiſme in the name of the Synode of London, and yet there be 50, whych witneſſing that they were of the number of the Conuocation, neuer heard one worde of this Catechiſme.

D. Cranmer chalenged for ſetting forth the Catechiſme in the name of the Conuocation.

Cran. I was ignorant of the ſetting too of that title: and as ſoone as I had knowledge therof, I did not like it. Therefore when I complained therof to the Councel, it was anſwered me by them, that the boke was ſo entituled, becauſe it was ſet forth in the time of the Conuocation.

D. Cranmer purgeth himſelfe concerning the Catechiſme.

Weſt. Moreouer, you haue in Duns tranſlated in Romana Eccleſia, pro Eccleſia Catholica. i. In the Churche of Rome, for the Catholicke Church.

Cran. Yea, but he meant the Romiſh Church.

D. Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating. Tho. Aquinas.

Weſt. Moreouer you haue depraued S. Thomas, namely where he hath theſe wordes: In quantum vero eſt ſacrificium, habet vim ſatisfactiuam: Sed in ſatisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quàm quantitas oblationis. Vnde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quòd plus omnibus miſit. Quamuis ergo hæc oblatio ex ſui quantitate ſufficiet ad ſatisfaciendum pro omni pœna: tamen fit ſatisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus ſecundum quantitatem ſuæ deuotionis, & non pro tota pœna. That is: In as muche as it is a ſacrifice, it hath the power of ſatiſfaction: But in ſatiſfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be waied then the quantity of the oblation. wherfore the lord ſayde in Lukes Goſpell, of the widowe which offered two mites, that ſhe caſt in more thē they al. Therfore, although this oblation of the quantitie of it ſelfe wil ſuffice to ſatiſfie for all paine, yet it is made ſatiſfactorie to them, for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantitie of their deuotion, and not for all the paine.

You haue thus turned it: Quod ſacrificium Sacerdotis habet vim ſatisfactiuam. &c. That is, That the Sacrifice of the prieſt hath power of ſatiſfaction. &c. And therefore in thys place you haue chopped in this word [Sacerdotis] of yͤ prieſt, wheras in the tranſlation of all the newe Teſtament, you haue not ſet it, but where Chriſt was put to death. And again, where ſ. Thomas hath [pro omni pœna] for all paine, your booke omitteth many things there.

Weſton triumpheth before the victory.

Thus you ſee brethren the truth ſtedfaſt and inuincible, you ſee alſo the craft and deceit of hereticks, the truth may be preſſed, but it cannot be oppreſſed: therefore crye altogether, Vincit veritas. i. The truth ouercommeth.

This diſordered diſputation ſometime in latine, ſometime in Engliſh, continued almoſt till 2. of the clock. which being finiſhed, and the arguments wrytten and deliuered to the handes of M. Say, the priſonner was had away by the Mayor, and the Doctors dined together at the vniuerſitie Colledge.

Diſputation at Oxford betweene D. Smith, with his other Colleagues and Doctors, and Biſhop Ridley. Aprill. 17.

Aprill. 17.

D. Smith ſent to diſpute agaynſt B. Ridley.

THe next day folowing which was the 17. of April, was brought forth D. Ridley to diſpute, againſt whom was ſet D. Smith to be principall opponent. Touching whych D. Smith, for ſo much as mention heere happeneth of hys name, firſt the reader is to be aduertiſed what is to be attributed to his iudgement in religion, which ſo oftentimes before hath turned and returned to and froe, grounded (as it ſeemeth) vpon no firme conſcience of doctrine, as both by hys articles by him recanted may appeare, and alſo by hys owne letter ſent a little before in king Edwardes dayes to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury from Scotlande. Which letter I thought heere to exhibite as a certaine Preface before his own arguments, or rather as a teſtimonie againſt him ſelfe, whereby yͤ reader may vnderſtand how deuoutly he magnified them, and their doctrine a little before, agaynſt whome he nowe diſputeth ſo buſely. Reade (I beſeeche thee, his Epiſtle, and iudge.

The true copie of a certaine Epiſtle of Doctor Rich. Smith, declaring his affection to the ſetting forth of Gods ſincere woorde.

A letter of D. Smith to Doct. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cant.

MOſt honorable, I commend me vnto your Lordſhip, doing the ſame to vnderſtand, that I wrote letters to your grace in Ianuarye laſt, and the 10. day of Februarie, declaring the cauſes of my ſodaine & vnaduiſed departyng from your grace ouer the ſea, and deſiring your good lordſhip of your charitye towarde them that repent of theyr ill Acts, to forgeue me your ſelfe all that wrōg I did towards your grace, and to obtaine in wryting the kings maieſties pardon for me in all poyntes concerning his lawes: vpon the receit wherof I would returne againe home, & wythin halfe a yeare (at the vttermoſt) afterwarde wryte, de Sacerdotum connubijs. &c. a Latine booke that ſhould be a iuſt ſatiſfaction for any thing that I haue wrytten agaynſte the ſame. Reliquaquè omnia dogmata veſtra, tum demum libenter amplexurum, vbi Deus mentem meam, vt ea citra cōſcientiæ lęſionem agnoſcam, doceamquè. I wrote not this that I want any good liuing heere, but becauſe mine abſence oute of the realme, is diſhonour to the Kings highnes and Realme, and becauſe I muſt needes (if I tarie heere a quarter of a yeare longer) wryte an aunſweare to your Graces booke of the Sacramente, and alſo a Booke of common places againſt all the doctrine ſette forth by the kinges Maieſtie, which I cannot do wyth good conſcience. wherefore I beſeeche your Grace helpe me home, aſſoone as yee may conueniently for Gods ſake, and ye ſhal neuer I truſt in God repent that facte.

D. Smith purpoſing to write for the mariage of Prieſtes.

Ex vrbe diui Andreę 14. Feb.
Richardus Smithæus.

And thus much touching the forenamed Doctor Rich. Smith, being ſet heere (as is ſayde) to diſpute againſt Byſhop Ridly, who was brought now yͤ next day after to the Archb. to aunſwer in the diuinitie ſchoole. Againſt whome alſo beſides D. Smith diſputed, D. weſton, D. Treſham, D. Oglethorpe, D. Glin, D. Seton, D. Cole, M. warde, M. Harpſfielde, D. watſon, M. Pye, M. Hardinge, M. Curtop, M. Fecknam. To all them hee aunſweared very learnedly. Hee made a preface to theſe queſtions, but they woulde not let him goe forth in it, but cauſed him to make an end of the ſame, and ſayde it was blaſphemie, and ſome ſaide he droue of the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpoſe, & ſo they wold not ſuffer him to ſay his mind. D. Smith coulde get nothing at his hand: in ſo muche that other did take his argumēts and proſecuted them. He ſhewed himſelfe to be learned, & a great clearke. They coulde bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

Diſputers againſt D. Ridley.

The diſputation beginneth.

Weſt. Prolocutor. Good Chriſten people and brethren, we haue begon this day our ſchoole, by Gods good ſpede I truſt, and are entring into a controuerſie, whereof no queſtion ought to be moued, concerning the veritie of the body of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt in the Euchariſt. Chriſt is true, which ſayde the wordes. The wordes are true whyche he ſpake, yea truth it ſelfe that cannot faile. Lette vs therefore pray vnto God to ſende downe vnto vs his holye ſpirite, which is the true interpreater of his worde: whiche maye purge away errours, and geue light that veritye may appeare. Let vs alſo aſke leaue and libertie of the Church to permit the truth receiued, to be called this day in queſtion, wythout any preiudice to the ſame. Your partes therefore ſhalbe to implore the aſſiſtaunce of almighty God, to pray for the proſperitie of the Queenes maieſtie, and to geue vs quiet and attentiue eares. Now go to your queſtions.

Doct Smith. This day (right learned M. Doctor) 3. queſtions are propounded, whereof no controuerſy among chriſtians ought to be moued, to wit:

1. Whether the naturall bodye of Chriſt our Sauiour, conceiued of the Virgine Marie, and offred for mans redemption vppon the croſſe, is verilye and really in the ſacrament by vertue of Gods worde ſpoken by the Prieſt. &c.
2. Whether in the ſacrament after the words of conſecration, be any other ſubſtance. &c.
3. Whether in the Maſſe be a ſacrifice propiciatorie. &c.

The queſtions.

Touching the which queſtiōs, although you haue publikely and partly profeſſed your iudgemēt and opinion on Saterday laſt: yet being not ſatiſfied with that your aunſwere, I wil aſſay againe to demaund your ſentence in the firſt queſtion: whether the true body of Chriſte, after the wordes pronounced, be really in the Euchariſt, or els only the figure. In which matter I ſtande heere nowe to heare your aunſweare.

The Preface or proteſtation of D. Ridley, before his diſputation.

The proteſtation of B. Ridley.

I Receiued of you the other day right worſhipful M. prolocutor, and yee my reuerend Maiſters, Commiſſioners from the Queenes maieſtie, and her honorable Counſell, three propoſitions: whereunto ye commaunded me to prepare againſt this day, what I thought good to aunſweare concerning the ſame.

Now whileſt I weied to my ſelfe, how great a charge of the Lordes flocke was of late committed vnto me, for the which I am certaine I muſt once render an accompte to my Lord God (and that howe ſoone, he knoweth) and that moreouer by the commaundement of the Apoſtle Peter, I ought to be redy alway to geue a reaſon of the hope yͭ is in me with mekenes and reuerence, vnto euery one that ſhall demaund the ſame: beſides this, cōſidering my duty to the Church of Chriſt, and to your worſhips being commiſſioners by publicke authority: I determined with my ſelfe to obey your commaundement, and ſo opēly to declare vnto you my minde touching the foreſayd propoſitions. And albeit plainely to confeſſe vnto you the trueth in theſe things which ye now demaund of me, I haue thought otherwyſe in times paſt then I now do, yet (God I call to record vnto my ſoule, I lie not) I haue not altered my iudgemēt, as now it is, either by conſtraint of any man, or lawes, either for

What moued Doct. Ridley to alter his iudgement from the Church of Rome.

Anno 1554. Aprill.

for the dread of any daungers of thys world, either for any hope of commodity: but onely for the loue of the truthe, reuealed vnto me by the grace of God (as I am vndoubtedly perſwaded) in his holy worde, and in the reading of the auncient Fathers.

Theſe things I do the rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you hereafter, as in times paſt it hath done to me: I meane, if ye thinke otherwyſe of the matters propoūded in theſe propoſitions, then I now doe, God may open vnto you in time to come.

But how ſo euer it ſhall be, I will in fewe wordes do that which I thinke yee all looke I ſhoulde doe: that is, as plainely as I can, I will declare my iudgement heerein. Howbeit of this I would yee were not ignoraunt, that I will not in deede wittingly and willingly ſpeake in any poynt againſt Gods worde, or diſſent in any one iote from the ſame, or from the rules of faith, and Chriſtian religion: which rules that ſame moſt ſacred word of god preſcribeth to the Churche of Chriſte, whereunto I nowe and for euer ſubmit my ſelfe, and all my doinges. And becauſe the matter I haue now taken in hand is waightie, and yee all wel know how vnready I am to handle it accordingly, aſwell for lacke of time, as alſo lacke of bookes: therefore heere I proteſt that I will publickly this daye require of you, that it may be lawfull for me concerning all mine aunſweares, explications, and confirmations, to adde or diminiſh whatſoeuer ſhall ſeeme hereafter more conuenient and mete for the purpoſe, through more ſound iudgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of euery particular thing. Hauing nowe by the way of Preface and proteſtation, ſpoken theſe fewe wordes, I will come to the anſwearinge of the propoſitions propounded vnto me, and ſo to the moſt brief explication and confirmation of mine anſweres.

D. Ridley ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Church of Chriſt.

West. Reuerend maiſter Doctour, concerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cauſe why you ſhould complaine. What bookes ſoeuer you will name, ye ſhall haue them, & as concerning the iudgement of your anſweres to be had of your ſelfe wyth farther deliberation: it ſhall (I ſay) be lawfull for you vntill Sonday next to adde vnto them what you ſhall thinke good your ſelfe. My minde is that we ſhoulde vſe ſhort arguments, leaſt we ſhuld make an infinite proceſſe of the thing.

This promiſe was not kept.

Rid. There is an other thyng beſides, whyche I woulde gladly obtaine at your handes. I perceiue that you haue wryters and Notaries here preſent. By all likelihoode our diſputations ſhalbe publiſhed, I beſeech you for gods ſake let me haue libertie to ſpeake my minde freely, & wythout interruption, not becauſe I haue determined to protract ẏ time with a ſolemne Preface, but leaſt it maye appeare that ſome be not ſatiſfied. God wotte I am no Oratour, nor I haue not learned Rhetoricke to ſet colours on the matter.

West. Among this whole company, it ſhall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Rid. I would chuſe two, if there were any here wͭ whome I were acquainted.

West. Here are two whych M. Cranmer had yeſterdaye. Take them if it pleaſe you.

Rid. I am contente wyth them: I truſte they are honeſt men.

Two Notaries permitted to Doct. Ridly. These 2. Notaries were M. ...ell, ſome... ...ime biſhop ...f Saliſbury ...d M. Gil... ...t Moun...

The firſt propoſition.

In the Sacrament of the aultare, by the vertue of Gods word ſpoken of the Prieſt, the naturall body of Chriſt borne of the virgine Marie, and his naturall bloude is really preſent vnder the formes of bread and wine.

The firſt propoſition.

The aunſwere of N. Ridley.

In matters appertaining to God, we may not ſpeake according to the ſence of man: nor of the worlde: Therefore this propoſition or cōcluſion is framed after an other maner of phraſe or kinde of ſpeeche, then the Scripture vſeth. Againe, it is very obſcure and darke, by meanes of ſundry wordes of doubtfull ſignification. And being taken in the ſence whych the Schoolemen teache, and at thys time the church of Rome doth defend, it is falſe and erroneous, and plaine contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlineſſe.

D. Ridleys aunſwere to the firſt propoſition.

The propoſition put forth in ...

The explication.

How farre the diuerſitie and newnes of the phraſe in all this firſt propoſition, is from the phraſe of the holy Scripture, and that in euery part almoſt, it is ſo plaine & euident to any that is but meanely exerciſed in holy wryte, that I neede not now (eſpecially in this company of learned men) to ſpend any time therein, except the ſame ſhalbe required of me hereafter.

First, there is a doubtfull ſenſe in theſe wordes [by the vertue of Gods word.] For it is doubtful what word of God this is: whether it be that which is red in the Euangeliſts, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Euangeliſts or in S. Paule, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowen to be Gods worde, & of ſuch vertue, ẏ it ſhould be able to worke ſo great a matter.

The firſt doubt.

Againe, there is a doubte in theſe wordes [of the Prieſt] whether no man may be called a Prieſt, but he whych hath authoritie to make propitiatorie ſacrifice for the quicke and the deade: and howe it may be prooued that thys authoritie was committed of God to any man, but to Chriſt alone.

2. Doubt in the word prieſt.

It is likewiſe doubted, after what order the ſacrificing Prieſt ſhall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or els after the order of Melchiſedech. For as farre as I know, the holy ſcripture doth allow no moe.

3. Doubt in the word ſacrificing.

West. Let thys be ſufficient.

Rid. If we lacke time at this preſent, there is time enough heereafter.

West. Theſe are but euaſions or ſtarting holes, you conſume the time in vaine.

D. West on interrupteth him in his explication.

Rid. I can not ſtart farre from you, I am captiue & bound.

West. Fall to it my maiſters.

Smith. That whych you haue ſpoken, may ſuffice at thys preſent.

Rid. Let me alone I pray you, for I haue not much to ſay behinde.

West. Goe forwarde.

Rid. Moreouer, there is ambiguitie in thys word, really, whether it be to be taken as the Logicians terme it, tranſcendenter, that is, moſt generally (and ſo it may ſignifie any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Chriſt, by any meanes: after which ſort we alſo graunt Chriſtes body to be really in the ſacramente of the Lordes Supper, as in diſputation, if occaſion be geuen ſhall be declared) or whether it be taken to ſignifie the very ſame thing, hauing body, life and ſoule, which was aſſumed & taken of the worde of God, into the vnitie of perſone. In which ſence, ſith the body of Chriſt is really in heauen, becauſe of the true manner of his body, it may not be ſayde to be here in the earth.

4. Doubt in the word really.

There is yet a further doubtfulneſſe in theſe words, vnder the formes of breade and wine, whether the formes be there taken to ſignifie the onely accidental and outward ſhewes of bread and wine: or there withall the ſubſtantial natures therof, which are to be ſeene by their qualities, and perceiued by exterior ſences.

5. Doubt in the words of formes of bread & wine.

Now the error and falſenes of the propoſition, after the ſenſe of the Romiſh church and ſcholemen, may hereby appeare, in that they affirm the bread to be tranſubſtantiated and chāged into the fleſh, aſſumed of the word of God, and that (as they ſay) by the vertue of the worde, whych they haue deuiſed by a certaine number of wordes, and cannot be founde in any of the Euangeliſtes, or in Paule, and ſo they gather that Chriſtes bodye is reallye contained in the ſacrament of the aultar. Which poſition is grounded vpon the foundation of tranſubſtantiation: which foundation is monſterous againſt reaſon, and deſtroieth the Analogie or proportion of the ſacraments, and therfore this propoſition alſo, which is builded vpon thys rotten foundation, is falſe erroneous, and to be counted as a deteſtable hereſy of the Sacramentaries.

The propoſition erroneous after the ſenſe of the Romiſhe Church.

Tranſubſtantiation not founded in ſcripture.

The Analogie of the ſacramēts is the ſimilitude and likenes whiche they haue with the thinges they repreſent.

West. We loſe time.

Rid. You ſhall haue time inough.

West. Fall to reaſoning. You ſhall haue ſome other day for this matter.

Rid. I haue no more to ſay concerning my explication. If you will geue me leaue and let me alone, I wil but ſpeake a word or two for my confirmation.

West. Go to: ſay on.

The confirmation of the foreſaid anſwere.

Confirmation of his aunſwere.

Feſ- There ought no Doctrine to bee eſtabliſhed in the church of God, which diſcenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many abſurdities, that cannot be auoided.

ti- But this doctrine of the firſt propoſition is ſuch.

no. Ergo, it ought not to be eſtabliſhed and maintained in the Church of God.

Argument.

The Maior or firſt part of my argument is plaine, and the Minor or ſecond part is prooued thus.

This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal preſence of Chriſtes fleſh, aſſumed and taken of the worde to be in the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, & that not by vertue & grace onely, but alſo by the whole eſſence and ſubſtance of the body and fleſh of Chriſt.

But ſuch a preſence diſagreeth from Gods word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but drawe wyth it manye abſurdities.

The reall preſence of Chriſtes body diſagreeth from the ſcriptures.

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Ergo, the ſecond part is true.

The firſt part of thys argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond may yet further be confirmed thus.

D. Weſton agayne interrupted D. Ridley.

Weſt. Thus you conſume time, which might be better beſtowed on other matters. Maiſter Opponent, I pray you to your arguments.

Smith. I will heere reaſon with you vppon tranſubſtantiation, which you ſay is contrary to the rule and Analogy of faith. The contrary whereof I proue by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation wyth you, I demaund firſt whether in the 6. chap. of Iohn, there be any mention made of the ſacrament, or of the reall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

Rid. It is againſte reaſon that I ſhoulde bee impeached to proſecute that which I haue to ſpeake in this aſſembly, being not ſo long, but that it may be comprehended in few wordes.

Weſt. Let him reade on.

7. Inconueniences come of the reall preſence.

Rid. Firſt of all, this preſence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

Thirdly, it deſtroyeth and taketh awaye the inſtitution of the Lordes ſupper.

Fourthly, it maketh precious thinges common to prophane and vngodly perſones: for it caſteth that whyche is holy vnto dogs, and pearles vnto ſwine.

Fiftly, it forceth men to maintaine many mōſtruous miracles without neceſſitie and authoritie of Gods worde.

Sixtly, it geueth occaſion to the heretickes which erred concerning the two natures in Chriſte, to defend their hereſies thereby.

Seuenthly, it falſifieth the ſayings of the godly fathers: it falſifieth alſo the Catholike Faith of the Church, whyche the Apoſtles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithfull (as one of the Fathers ſayeth) doe retaine and keepe vntill this day. Wherefore the ſecond parte of mine argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the partes thereof.

The 7. inconueniences declared by partes.

The firſt inconuenience.

The reall preſence againſt the ſcripture.

This carnall preſence is contrary to the worde of God, as appeareth, Iohn. 16. I tell you the trueth. It is profitable to you that I goe away, for if I goe not away, the comfortour ſhall not come vnto you. Actes 3. Whome the heauens muſt receaue vntill the time of reſtoring of all thinges which God hath ſpoken. Math. 9. The children of the Bridegrom cannot mourne ſo long as the Bridegrome is with them: But nowe is the time of mourning. Iohn 16. But I will ſee you againe, and your heartes ſhall reioyce. Iohn 14. I will come againe and take you to my ſelfe. Math. 24. If they ſhall ſay vnto you, behold, here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſte, beleeue them not: for whereſoeuer the deade carcaſe is, thither the Eagles will reſort.

2. The real preſence agaynſt the Articles of the fayth.

It varyeth from the articles of the faith: He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hande of God the Father. From whence (and not from any other place, ſayeth S. Auguſtine) he ſhall come to iudge both the quicke and the deade.

3. It deſtroyeth the inſtitution of the Lordes ſupper.

It deſtroyeth and taketh awaye the inſtitution of the Lordes ſupper, which was commaunded onely to be vſed and continued vntill the Lorde himſelfe ſhoulde come. If therefore he be nowe really preſent in the body of his fleſh, then muſt the ſupper ceaſe: For a remembraunce is not of a thing preſent, but of a thing paſt and abſent. And there is a difference betwene remembraunce and preſence, and (as one of the Fathers ſayeth) A figure is in vaine where the thing figured is preſent.

4. It prophaneth thinges holy and precious, & gendreth abſurdities.

It maketh precious things common to prophane and vngodly perſons, & conſtraineth men to confeſſe many abſurdities. For it affirmeth that whoremongers and murtherers, yea and (as ſome of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithles, miſe, rattes, & dogs alſo may receiue the verye real and corporal body of the Lord, wherin the fulnes of the ſpirite of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifeſt wordes of Chriſt in ſixe places & ſentences of the ſixt chap. of S. Iohn.

Anthropophagi, are a kinde of brutiſhe people that feed on mans fleſh.

It confirmeth alſo and maintaineth that beaſtly kinde of crueltie of the Anthropophagi, that is, the deuourers of mans fleſh: for it is a more cruel thing to deuoure a quicke man, then to ſlay him.

Pie. He requireth time to ſpeake blaſphemies. Leaue your blaſphemies.

Rid. I had little thought to haue hadde ſuch reprochefull wordes at your handes.

Weſt. All is quiet. Goe to the arguments M. Doctor.

Rid. I haue not many moe things to ſay.

Weſt. You vtter blaſphemies with a moſt impudent face: leaue off (I ſay) and get you to the argument.

Rid. It forceth men to maintaine many monſtrous myracles, wythout all neceſſitie and authoritie of Gods worde. For at the comming of thys preſence of the body and fleſh of Chriſt, they thruſt away the ſubſtaunce of breade, and affirme that the accidents remayne without any ſubiect, and in the ſtead thereof, they place Chriſtes body wythout hys qualities and the true maner of a bodye. And if the Sacrament be reſerued ſo long vntill it mould, & wormes breede ſome ſay that the ſubſtance of bread miraculouſly returneth againe, and ſome deny it. Other ſome affirme yͤ the real body of Chriſt goeth downe into yͤ ſtomacke of the receiuers, & doth there abide ſo long only as they ſhall continue to be good, but another ſort hold that the body of Chriſt is caried into heauē, ſo ſoone as the formes of bread be bruſed wyth the teeth. O works of miracles: Truely & moſt truly I ſee that fulfilled in theſe men, whereof S. Paule prophecied. 2. Theſſ. 2. Becauſe they haue not receiued the loue of the trueth, that they might be ſaued, God ſhall ſende them ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhoulde beleeue lies, and be all damned which haue not beleeued the truth. This groſſe preſence hath brought forth that fonde phantaſie of concomitaunce, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandement of the Lord for the diſtributing of the Lordes cuppe to the laitie.

It geueth occaſion to heretickes to maintaine and defend their errours: as to Martion, which ſayd that Chriſt had but a phantaſticall bodye: and to Eutiches which wickedly confounded the two natures in Chriſt.

Finally, it falſifieth the ſayings of the godly fathers and the Catholicke faith of the church, which Vigilius a Martyr, and graue wryter ſayeth was taught of the Apoſtles, confirmed wyth the bloude of Martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, vntil his tyme. By the ſayings of the fathers, I meane of Iuſtine, Irenee, Tertullian, Origene, Euſebius, Emiſene, Athanaſius, Cyrill, Epyphanius, Hierome, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others moſt auncient fathers. All thoſe places, as I am ſure I haue read, making for my purpoſe, ſo am I well aſſured that I coulde ſhewe the ſame, if I myght haue the vſe of mine owne bookes, whiche I will take on me to doe, euen vpon the pearill of my life, and the loſſe of all that I maye loſe in thys world.

But now (my brethren) thinke not, becauſe I diſalow that preſence which this firſt propoſition maintaineth (as a preſence which I take to be forged, phantaſticall, and beſides the authoritie of Gods worde, pernitiouſly brought into the Church by the Romaniſtes) that I therefore go about to take away the true preſence of Chriſtes body in his Supper rightly and duely miniſtred, whyche is grounded vpon the word of God, and made more plaine by the commentaries of yͤ faithfull fathers: They that thinke ſo of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceiued. And to make the ſame euident vnto you. I will in fewe words declare what true preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacramēt of the Lordes ſupper I hold and affirme with the worde of God and the auncient fathers.

I ſay and confeſſe with the Euangeliſt Luke, and wyth the Apoſtle Paule, that the bread on the which thankes are geuen, is the body of Chriſte in the remembraunce of hym and of his death, to be ſet forth perpetually of the faithfull vntill his comming.

I ſay and confeſſe the bread which we breake to be the Communion and partaking of Chriſtes bodye, wyth the auncient and the faithfull fathers.

I ſay and beleeue that there is not onely a ſignification of Chriſtes body ſette forth by the ſacrament, but alſo that therewith is geuen to the godly and faithfull, the grace of Chriſtes body, that is, the foode of life & immortalitye. And this I holde wyth Cyprian.

I ſay alſo with S. Auguſtine, that wee eate life, and wee drinke life: with Emiſene, that we feele the Lorde to be preſent in grace: wyth Athanaſius, that wee receiue Celeſtiall foode, which commeth from aboue: the propertie of natural Communion, wyth Hyllarius: the nature of fleſh and benediction whych geueth life in breade and wine, wyth Cyrill: and wyth the ſame Cyrill, the vertue of the very fleſh of Chriſt, life and grace of his body, the propertie of the onely begotten, that is to ſay, life, as he himſelfe in plaine words expoundeth it.

I confeſſe alſo with Baſil, that we receiue the myſticall Aduent and comming of Chriſt, grace, & the vertue of hys very nature: the ſacrament of his very fleſh, with Ambroſe: the body by grace, with Epiphanius: ſpirituall fleſh, but not that which was crucified, with Hierome: Grace flowing into a ſacrifice, and the grace of the ſpirite, with Chryſoſtome: grace and inuiſible veritie, grace and ſocietie of the members of Chriſtes body, with Auguſtine.

Finally, with Bertram (which was the laſt of all theſe) I confeſſe that Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament in thys reſpect: namely (as he writeth) becauſe there is in it the ſpirite of Chriſt, that is, the power of the worde of God, which not onely feedeth the ſoule, but alſo clenſeth it. Out of theſe I ſuppoſe it may clearely appeare vnto al mẽ, how farre we are frõ that opinion, wherof ſome go about falſly to ſlaunder vs to the world, ſaying we teach that the godly and faithfull ſhoulde receiue nothing elſe at the Lordes table, but a figure of the body of Chriſt.

¶ The ſecond propoſition.

After the conſecration there remayneth no ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, neyther any other ſubſtaunce, then the ſubſtaunce of God and man.

The Aunſwere.

THe ſeconde concluſion is manifeſtly falſe, directly againſt the word of God, the nature of the Sacramente, and the moſt euident teſtimonies of the godly Fathers: and it is the rotten foundation of the other two concluſions propounded by you, both of the firſt, and of the third. I will not therefore now tary vpon any further explication of this aunſwere, being contented with that which is already added afore to the aunſwer of the firſt propoſition.

¶ The firſt argument for the confirmation of this aunſwere.

IT is very playne by the worde of God, that Chriſt did geue bread vnto his Diſciples, and called it his body.

But the ſubſtance of bread is another maner of ſubſtãce, then is the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body God and man:

Therefore the concluſion is falſe.

The ſecond part of mine argument is playne, and the firſt is proued thus:

¶ The ſecond argument.

Da- That which Chriſt dyd take, on the which he gaue thankes, and the which he brake, he gaue to his Diſciples, and called it his body:

ri- But he toke bread, gaue thãks on bread, & brake bread:

ſi. Ergo, the firſt part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the Fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierome, Auguſtine, Theodoret, Cirill, Rabanus, and Bede. whoſe places I will take vpon me to ſhew moſt manifeſt in this behalfe, if I may be ſuffered to haue my bookes, as my requeſt is.

Bread is the body of Chriſt:

Ergo, it is bread.

*A tertio adiacente ad ſecundum adiacens cum verbi ſubſtantiui pura copula.

¶ The third Argument.

Ba- As the bread of the Lordes table is Chriſtes naturall body, ſo is it his myſticall body.

ro- But it is not Chriſtes myſticall body by tranſubſtantiation.

co. Ergo, it is not his naturall body by tranſubſtantiatiõ.

The ſecond part of my argument is plaine, and the firſt is proued thus: As Chriſt who is the veritie, ſpake of the bread: This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you, ſpeaking there of his naturall body: euen ſo Paul moued with ẏ ſame ſpirit of truth, ſaid: We though we be many, yet are we all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.

¶ The fourth Argument.

We may no more beleeue bread to be tranſubſtantiate into the body of Chriſt, then the wine into his bloud.

But the wine is not tranſubſtantiate into his bloud:

Ergo, neyther is that bread therefore tranſubſtantiate into his body.

¶ The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, & the ſecond part is proued out of the authoritie of Gods word in Mathew & Marke: I will not drinke of the fruite of the vine, &c. Now the fruite of the vine was wine, which Chriſt dranke and gaue to his diſciplis to drinke. With this ſentence agreeth playnely the place of Chryſoſtome on the xx. Chapter of Mathew. As Ciprian doth alſo, affirming that there is no bloud, if wine be not in the cup.

¶ The fift Argument.

Ba- The words of Chriſt ſpoken vpon the cup and vpon the bread, haue like effect and working.

ro- But the wordes ſpoken vpon the cup haue not vertue to tranſubſtantiate:

co. Ergo, it followeth that the wordes ſpoken vppon the bread, haue no ſuch vertue.

The ſecond part of the argument is proued becauſe they ſhuld then tranſubſtantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the new Teſtament: but neither of theſe thinges can be done, and very abſurde it is to confeſſe the ſame.

¶ The ſixt argument.

Da- The circumſtances of the ſcripture, the Analogie and proportion of the ſacraments, and the teſtimony of the faithfull Fathers ought to rule vs in taking the meaning of the holy ſcripture touching the ſacrament.

ti- But the wordes of the Lords ſupper, ẏ circumſtances of the ſcripture, the Analogie of the ſacramentes, & the ſaying of ẏ fathers do moſt effectually & plainely proue a figuratiue ſpeach in the words of the Lordes ſupper.

ſi. Ergo, a figuratiue ſenſe and meaning is ſpecially to be receaued in theſe wordes: This is my body.

The circumſtances and wordes of ſcripture.

The circumſtances of the ſcripture: Do this in the remẽbraunce of me. As oft as ye ſhall eate of this bread and drynke of this cup, ye ſhall ſhewe foorth the Lordes death. Let a man proue himſelfe, and ſo eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup. They came together to breake bread: and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break &c. For we being many, are all one bread, and one body. &c.

The Analogie of the ſacramentes.

The Analogie of the ſacramentes is neceſſary: For if the ſacramentes had not ſome ſimilitude or likenes of the things wherof they be ſacramentes, they could in no wiſe be ſacraments. And this ſimilitude in the ſacrament of the Lords ſupper, is taken three maner of wayes.

Analogie or ſimilitude in the ſacrament, three maner of waies.

1. The firſt conſiſteth in nouriſhing: as ye ſhall reade in Rabana, Cyprian, Auguſtine, Irenee, and moſt plainly in Iſodore out of Bertram.
2. The ſecond, in the vniting and ioyning of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.
3. The third is a ſimilitude of vnlike thinges, where, lyke as the bread is turned into one body: ſo wee, by the right vſe of this ſacrament, are turned through fayth into the body of Chriſt.

The ſayinges of the fathers for the figuratiue ſpeach.

The ſayinges of the Fathers declare it to be a figuratiue ſpeache, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Baſill, Gregory, Nazianzene, Hilary, and moſt plainely of all, in Bertram. Moreouer, the ſayinges and places of all ẏ Fathers, whoſe names I haue before recited againſt the aſſertion of the firſt propoſitiõ, do quite ouerthrow tranſubſtantiation. But of all other, moſt euidently and playnly, Irenee, Origen, Cyprian, Chriſoſtome to Ceſarius the Monke, Auguſtine againſt Adamantus, Gelaſius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chriſoſtome agayne on the xx. of Mathew, Rabane, Damaſene and Bertram.

Commendation of Bertram.

Here right worſhipfull maiſter Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners, it may pleaſe you to vnderſtãd, that I do not leane to theſe thinges onely, whiche I haue written in my former anſweres and confirmations, but ẏ I haue alſo for the proofe of ẏ I haue ſpoken, whatſoeuer Bertram a man learned, of ſound and vpright iudgement, and euer counted a Catholicke for theſe ſeuen hundreth yeares vntill this our age, hath written. His treatiſe whoſoeuer ſhall read and wey, conſidering the time of the writer, his learning, godlines of life, the allegations of ẏ auncient fathers, and his manifolde and moſt grounded argumentes, I cannot (doubtles) but much marueile, if he haue any feare of God at all, howe he can with good conſcience ſpeake againſt him in this matter of the Sacrament. This Bertram was the firſt that pulled me by the eare, and that firſt brought me from the common errour of the Romiſhe Church, and cauſed me to ſearche more diligently and exactly, both the ſcriptures and the writinges of the olde eccleſiaſticall Fathers in this matter. And this I proteſt before the face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the things I now ſpeake.

D. Ridley firſt brought to the knowledge of the ſacrament by Bertram.

¶ The third propoſition.

In the Maſſe is the liuely ſacrifice of the Churche, propitiable and auailable for the ſinnes, as well of the quicke as of the dead.

The third propoſition touching propiciatory Maſſe.

¶ The aunſwere to this propoſition.

I anſwere to this third propoſition, as I did to ẏ firſt. And moreouer I ſay, that being taken in ſuch ſenſe as the wordes ſeeme to import, it is not onely erroneous, but to all ſo much to the derogation and defacing of the death and paſſion of chriſt: that I iudge it may and ought moſt worthely to be counted wicked and blaſphemous againſt the moſt precious bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt.

Aunſweres to the third propoſition.

¶ The explication.

Concerning the Romiſh Maſſe whiche is vſed at this day, or the liuely ſacrifice therof, propitiatory and auaylable for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead, the holy ſcripture hath not ſomuch as one ſillable.

Explication of the ſame.

There is ambiguitie alſo in the name of Maſſe: what it

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Doubtes in the third propoſition.

ſignifieth, and whether at this day there be any ſuch in deed as the auncient fathers vſed: ſeeing that now there be neither Catechiſtes nor penitentes to be ſent away.

In the primitiue Churche the newly inſtructed in the fayth and the vnworthy were ſent away from the Communion.

The third doubt.

Againe touching theſe wordes (The liuely ſacrifice of the Church) There is doubt whether they are to be vnderſtand figuratiuely and ſacramentally, for the ſacrament of the liuely ſacrifice (after which ſort we deny it not to be in the Lords ſupper) or properly and without any figure: of the which maner there was but one only ſacrifice, and that once offered, namely vpon the aultar of the croſſe.

Moreouer, in theſe wordes [as well as] it may be doubted whether they be ſpoken in mockage, as men are wont to ſay in ſport of a fooliſh and ignoraunt perſon, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge: being apt in deede in neither of them both.

The 4. doubt.

There is alſo a doubt in the word [Propitiable] whether it ſignifie heere, that which taketh away ſinne, or that which may be made auayleable for the taking away of ſin: that is to ſay, whether it is to be taken in the actiue or in the paſſiue ſignification.

The falſenes of the third propoſition reproued.

But one ſacrifice in the ſcripture.

Now the falſenes of the propoſition, after the meaning of the Schoolemen and the Romiſhe Church, & impiety in that ſenſe which the wordes ſeeme to import, is thys: that they leaning to the foundation and their fond trãſubſtantiation, would make the quick and liuely body of Chriſtes fleſh (vnited and knit to the diuinitie) to lye hid vnder the accidents, and outward ſhewes of bread and wine. Which is very falſe, as I haue ſaid afore, and they building vpon this foundation, do hold that the ſame body is offered vnto God by the Prieſt in his daily maſſings to put away the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead, whereas by the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes it is euident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and liuely ſacrifice of the Church offered vpon the aultar of the croſſe, which was, is, and ſhall be for euer the propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole world: and where there is remiſſion of the ſame, there is (ſayth the Apoſtle) no more offering for ſinne.

¶ Arguments confirming his aunſwere.

The firſt argument. Heb. 5.

Ce- No ſacrifice ought to be done but where the Prieſt is meete to offer the ſame.
la- All other Prieſtes be vnmeete to offer ſacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, ſaue only Chriſt:
rent. Ergo, no other Prieſtes ought to ſacrifice for ſinne, but Chriſt alone.

The ſecond part of my argument is thus proued.

Argument.

Fe- No honour in Gods Church ought to be takẽ wherevnto a man is not called, as Aaron.
ri- It is a great honor in Gods Church to ſacrifice for ſin:
ſon. Ergo, No man ought to ſacrifice for ſinne but onely they which are called.

But onely Chriſt is called to that honour:

Ergo, no other prieſt but Chriſt ought to ſacrifice for ſin.

Heb. 7

That no man is called to this degree of honour but Chriſt alone, it is euident: For there are but two onely orders of Prieſthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchiſedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an ende, by reaſon that it was vnprofitable, and weake, and of the order of Melchiſedech there is but one Prieſt alone, euen Chriſt the Lord, which hath a prieſthoode that can not paſſe to any other.

Another Argument.

Ba- That thing is in vaine and to no effect, where no neceſſitie is wherefore it is done.
ro- To offer vp any more ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, there is no neceſſitie: for Chriſt our ſauiour did that fully and perfectly once for all:
co. Ergo, to do the ſame in the Maſſe, it is in vayne.

Heb. 9.

Another Argument.

Fe- After that eternall redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more dayly offering for the ſame:
ri- But Chriſt comming an high Biſhop, &c. found and obteined for vs eternall redemption.
o. Ergo, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Ab vna cauſa veritatis ad propoſitionem habentem illam cauſam, valet conſequentia.

Another Argument.

Ca- All remiſſion of ſinnes commeth only by ſhedding of bloud.
meſ- In the Maſſe there is no ſhedding of bloud:
tres. Ergo, in the Maſſe there is no remiſſion of ſinnes: and ſo it foloweth alſo that ther is no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the Maſſe, the paſſion of Chriſt is not in verity, but in a miſtery repreſenting the ſame: yea euen there where the Lords ſupper is duly miniſtred.

Heb. 9.

But where Chriſt ſuffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the Apoſtle ſayeth: Not that he might offer vp himſelfe often times (for then muſt he haue ſuffered often times ſith the beginning of the world) now where Chriſt is not offered, there is no propitiatory ſacrifice:

Ergo, in the Maſſe there is no propitiatory ſacrifice: For Chriſt appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put ſin to flight by the offering vp of himſelfe. And as it is appoynted to all men that they ſhall once dye, and then commeth the iudgement: euen ſo Chriſt was once offered to take away the ſinnes of many. And vnto them that looke for him, ſhall he appeare agayne without ſinne, vnto ſaluation.

Another Argument.

Da- Where there is any ſacrifice that can make the commers thereunto perfect, there ought men to ceaſe from offering any mo expiatory and propitiatory ſacrifices.
ri- But in the new teſtament there is one onely ſacrifice now already long ſince offered, which is able to make the commers thereto perfect for euer.
j. Ergo, in the new teſtament they ought to ceaſe from offering any more propitiatory ſacrifice.

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the ſame ende and purpoſe, out of which alſo may be gathered other manifeſt arguments, for more confirmation thereof.

Heb. 10.

BY the which will (ſayth the Apoſtle) we are ſanctified by the offering vp of the body of Ieſus Chriſt once for all. And in the ſame place: But this man after that he had offered one ſacrifice for ſinne, ſitteth for euer at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for euer them that are ſanctifyed, and by himſelfe hath he purged our ſinnes. I beſeech you to marke theſe wordes [by himſelfe] the whiche well wayed, will without doubt ceaſe all controuerſie.

[By himſelfe.]

The Apoſtle playnely denieth any other ſacrifice to remaine for him that treadeth vnder his feete the bloud of the teſtament by the which he was made holy. Chriſt will not be crucified againe, he will not his death to be had in deriſion.

Coloſ. 1.

He hath reconcyled vs in the body of his fleſh. Marke I beſeech you, he ſayth not, in the miſtery of his body: But in the body of his fleſh.

1. Iohn 2.

If any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, Ieſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſinnes, not for ours only, but for the ſinnes of the whole world.

The popiſh diſtinction betweene bloudy and vnbloudy ſacrifice.

I know that all theſe places of the Scripture are auoyded by two maner of ſubtile ſhiftes: the one is by the diſtinction of the bloudy and vnbloudy ſacrifice, as though our vnbloudy ſacrifice of the Church were any other then the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankeſgeuing, then a commemoration, a ſhewing forth, and a ſacramẽtall repreſentation of that one only bloudy ſacrifice offred vp once for all.

The papiſtes maintayne their ſacrifice propitiatory by the old Doctors falſly wreſted.

The other is by deprauing and wraſting the ſayings of the auncient Fathers vnto ſuch a ſtraunge kinde of ſenſe, as the Fathers themſelues in deede neuer ment. For what the meaning of the Fathers was, it is euidente by that which S. Auguſtine writeth in his Epiſtle to Boniface, & in the 83. chapter of his 9. booke againſt Fauſtus, the Manichee, beſides many other places, likewiſe by Euſebius, Emiſene, Cyprian, Chryſoſtome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholy concord and agree together in this vnity in the Lord, that the redemption once made in verity for the ſaluation of man, continueth in full effect for euer, and worketh without ceaſſing vnto the end of the world, that the ſacrifice once offered can not be conſumed: that the Lords death and paſſion is as effectuall, the vertue of that bloud, once ſhead, as freſhe at this day for the waſhing away of ſinnes, as it was euen the ſame day that it flowed out of the bleſſed ſide of our ſauiour: and finally, that the whole ſubſtance of our ſacrifice which is frequented of the Church, in the Lords Supper, conſiſteth in praiers, praiſe, and geuing of thankes, and in remembring and ſhewing forth of that ſacrifice once offered vpon the altar of the croſſe: that the ſame might continually be had in reuerence by myſtery, which once onely, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

Doctors making againſt the propitiatory ſacrifice of the maſſe.

The whole ſubſtance of our ſacrifice wherein it conſiſteth.

These are the things (right worſhipfull M. Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners) which I could preſently prepare to the aunſwering of your three foreſayde propoſitions: being deſtitute of all helpe in this ſhortnes of time, ſodaine warning, and want of bookes. Wherefore I appeale to my firſt proteſtation, moſt humbly deſiring the helpe of the ſame (as much as may be) to be graunted vnto me. And becauſe ye haue lately giuen moſt vniuſt and cruell ſentence againſt me, I do heere appeale (ſo farfoorth as I may) to a more indifferent & iuſt cenſure & iudgemẽt of ſome other ſuperiour, competent, & lawful iudge, & that according to the approued ſtate of the church of England. Howbeit, I confeſſe that I am ignoraunt what that is at this

B. Ridley appealeth from the vniuſt ſentence of his aduerſaries, to ſome other ſuperiour competent iudge.

this preſent, through the trouble and alteration of the ſtate of the Realme. But if this appeale may not be graunted to me vpon earth, then do I flye (euen as to my onely refuge and alone hauen of health) to the ſentence of the eternall iudge, that is, of ye almighty God, to whoſe moſt mercifull iuſtice towardes his & moſt iuſt mercifulnes, I doe wholly commit my ſelfe and all my cauſe, nothing at all deſpayring of the defence of mine Aduocate and alone Sauiour, Ieſus Chriſt, to whome, with the euerlaſting Father, and the holy Spirit, the ſanctifier of vs all, be now, and for euer, all honour and glory, Amen.

Albeit this learned Byſhop was not ſuffered to reade all that is aboue prefixed before the Diſputations, yet becauſe he had it then ready, and offered it vp to the Prolocutour after the Diſputations & ſentence pronounced: I thought heere the place not vnmeete to annexe the ſame together with the reſt. Now let vs heare the Arguments and aunſweres betweene Doctour Smith and him.

¶ D. Smith beginneth to oppoſe.

Smith. You haue occaſioned me to go otherwiſe to worke with you, then I had thought to haue done. Me ſeemed you did in your ſuppoſition abuſe the teſtimonies of ſcripture concerning the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, to take away hys preſence in the Sacrament, as though this were a ſtrong Argument to inforce your matter withall:

Smithes argument.

Chriſt did aſcend vnto heauen.
Ergo, he is not in the Sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to diſproue this reaſon of yours.

Chriſtes Aſcenſion is no let to his reall preſence in the Sacrament.
Ergo, you are deceiued, whereas you do grounde youre ſelfe vpon thoſe places.

Aunſwere.

Rid. You import as though I had made a ſtrong Argument by Chriſtes going vp into heauen. But howſoeuer mine Argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only ſtay vpon his Aſcenſion, but both vpon hys Aſcenſion, and his * abiding there alſo.

* The veritie of M. Ridleyes anſwere touching the reall being of Chriſt in earth to be reſtrained by his aſcending and abiding in heauen, ſtandeth vpon a neceſſitie, whiche we call [Neceſſitas conſequentiæ] by thys demonſtration:

Da- Euery naturall body muſt neceſſarily be contayned in his peculiar and certaine place.
ri- Chriſtes body is a naturall body:
i. Ergo, Chriſtes body not to be in one certaine place at once contayned, it is impoſſible according to the rule: Omnes propoſitiones de impoſſibili & de neceſſe equipollent dicto diſſimiliter ſe habenti, & modo ſimiliter.

Smith. Chriſtes going vp to heauen, and his abiding there, hinder not his reall preſence in the Sacrament.
Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid. Of Chriſtes reall preſence there may be a double vnderſtanding, if you take the reall preſence of Chriſt according to the reall and corporal ſubſtance which he tooke of the virgine: that preſence being in heauen, cã not be on the earth alſo. But if you meane a reall preſence, ſecũdum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Chriſti pertinet. i. according to ſome thing that appertaineth to Chriſtes body, certes the Aſcenſion and abiding in heauen are no let at all to that preſence. Wherefore Chriſtes body after that ſort is heere preſent to vs in the Lords ſupper: by grace I ſay as Epiphanius ſpeaketh it.

West. I will cut off from henceforth all equiuocation and doubt. For whenſoeuer we ſpeake of Chriſtes body, wee meane that which he tooke of the Virgin.

Rid. Chriſtes Aſcenſion and abiding in heauen can not ſtand with this preſence.

Argument.

Smith. Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the earth for all his Aſcenſion and continuall abode in heauen vnto the day of Dome.
Ergo, his Aſcenſion and abiding in heauen, is no let to his reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Aunſwere.

Rid. Maiſter Doctour, this Argument is nothing worth I do not ſo ſtraightly tye Chriſt vp in heauen, that he may not come into the earth at his pleaſure. For when he will, he may come downe from heauen, and be on the earth, as it liketh himſelfe. Howbeit I do affirme that it is not poſſible for him to be both in heauen and earth at one tyme.

Smith. Marke I pray you my Maiſters, diligently that be here, what he aunſwereth. Firſt he ſaith, that the ſitting of Chriſt at the right hande of his father, is a let to the reall preſence of his body in the Sacrament: and then afterward he flyeth from it agayne.

Rid. I woulde not haue you thinke that I do imagine or dreame vpon any ſuch maner of ſitting, as theſe men heere ſit in the Schoole.

Smith. Ergo, it is lawfull for Chriſt then to be heere preſent on the earth, when he will himſelfe.

Rid. Yea when he will, it is lawfull indeede.

Smith. Ergo, his aſcending into heauen, doth not reſtrayne his reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Rid. I do not gaynesay, but that it is lawfull for hym to appeare on the earth, when he wil: but proue you yt he wil.

Chriſtes abode in heauen is no let for him to appeare on earth when he will, but whether he wil, that muſt be proued. Againe it is one thing to appeare on earth, another ſtill in the Sacrament, and to be preſent the ſame time with his body in heauen, whẽ he is bodely preſent in earth

Smith. Then your aunſwere dependeth vppon the will of Chriſt, I perceiue, Therfore I will ioyne agayn with you in this ſhort argument.

Chriſt, albeit hee doth alway abide in heauen after hys aſcenſion, was ſeene really and corporally on the earth.
Ergo, not withſtanding his Aſcenſion and continuall ſitting at the right hand of the father, hee may be really and corporally in the ſacrament.

Ryd. If the Notaries ſhould ſo recorde your Argument, as you haue framed it, you peraduenture woulde be aſhamed thereof hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt after his Aſcention was ſeen really and corporally vpon the earth.

Ergo, notwithſtanding his Aſcention and abiding with his father, he may be corporally in the Sacrament.

Ryd. I graunt the antecedent: but I deny the conſequent.

Smith. Do you graunt the antecedent?

Rid Yea I graunt the antecedent. I am content to let you haue ſo muche. Becauſe I knowe that there be certayne auncient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you vſe that propoſition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

He was ſeene on earth after his Aſcenſion, Ergo &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it my ſelfe.

Chriſt after his Aſcenſion was ſeene really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heauen continually:
Ergo, notwithſtanding his Aſcenſion and continuall abyding at the right hand of the father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Rid. Let vs firſt agree about the continuall ſitting at the right hand of the father.

Chriſtes continuall ſitting in heauen expended.

Smith. Doth he ſo ſit at the right hand of his father, that he doth neuer forſake the ſame?

Rid. Nay I do not binde Chriſt in heauen ſo ſtraitly. I ſee you go about to beguile me wt your equiuocations. Such equiuocatiõs are to be diſtincted. If you meane by his ſitting in heauen, to reigne with his father, hee may be both in heauen and alſo in earth. But if ye vnderſtande his ſitting to be after a corporall manner of ſitting, ſo is hee alwayes permanent in heauen. For Chriſt to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is reſident in heauen, is cleane contrary to the holy ſcriptures, as Auguſtine ſaith: Corpus Chriſti eſt in cœlo, ſed veritas eius vbiq; diffuſa eſt. i. The body of Chriſt is in heauen: but his truth is diſperſed in euery place.

Chriſt cannot be both corporally here, and corporally alſo in heauen at one tyme.

Now if continually he abide in heauen after the maner of his corporall preſence, then his perpetual abiding there, ſtoppeth or letteth that the ſame corporall preſence of hym cannot be in the ſacrament.

Smith. Act. 3. We read that Chriſt ſhal ſit perpetually at the right hand of God, vnto the conſummacion of the worlde.

West. I perceaue you are come here to this iſſue, whether the bodye of Chriſt may be together both in earth and in heauen. I will tell you, that Chriſt in very deede, is both in earth and in heauen together and at one time, both one & the ſame naturall Chriſt after the veritie and ſubſtaunce of his very body, Ergo, &c.

Rid. I deny the Antecedent.

West. I proue it by 2. witneſſes. Firſt by Chriſoſt. hom. 17. ad Hebræos. Nõne per ſingulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidẽ, ſed recordationẽ facientes mortis eius. Et vna eſt hæc hoſtia, nõ multæ. Et quomodo vna, & non multæ quæ ſemel oblata eſt in ſancto ſanctorum: Hoc autem ſacrificium exemplar eſt illius: id ipſum ſemper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, craſtina alium, ſed ſemper eundem ipſum. Proinde vnum eſt hoc ſacrificium: alioqui hac ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Chriſti ſunt. Nequaquam, ſed vnus vbiq; eſt Chriſtus: & hic plenus exiſtens, & illic plenus, vnum Corpus, i. Do we not offer euery day? We do ſo in deede: but doing it for the remembraunce of his death. And this offering is one and not many. And howe is it one, and not many whiche was offred in the holy place? This ſacrifice is a paterne of that: The ſelf ſame we alwaies offer: Not now as offering one Lambe to day, and an other to morowe, but alwaies one & the ſame Lambe. Wherfore here is but one ſacrifice: for els by this meanes, ſeeing there be many ſacrifices in many places be there many Chriſtes? not ſo, but one Chriſt in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one onely body. Now thus I argue.

Chriſoſt Hom. 17. ad Hebræos.

Argument.

We offer one thing at all times.
There is one Chriſt in all places, both here complect, and there complete:
Ergo, by Chriſoſtome there is one body both in heauen and earth.

Aunſwere.

Rid. I remember the place well. Theſe thinges make nothing againſt me.

West. One Chriſt is in all places, here full and there full.

One Chriſt but not one body, nor after on bodely ſubſtance in all places.

Rid. One Chriſt is in all places, but not one bodye in all places.

Weſt. One body ſayth Chryſoſtome.

Aunſwere to Chryſoſt.

Rid. But not after the maner of bodely ſubſtance he is in all places, nor by circumſcription of place. For [hic] & [illic] heere and there, in Chryſoſtome do aſſigne no place, as Auguſtine ſayth: Surſum eſt dominus, ſed vbiq; eſt veritas domini: The Lord is aboue: But the truth of the Lord is in all places.

Weſton. You can not ſo eſcape. He ſayeth not the veritie of Chriſt is one: but one Chriſt is in all places, both heere and there.

One Chriſt and one ſacrifice in all places, and how: to wit, chriſt by veritie the ſacrifice by, ſignification.

Rid. One ſacrifice is in all places, becauſe of the vnitie of him whome the ſacrifice doth ſignifie: not that the ſacrifices be all one and the ſame.

Weſt. Ergo, by your ſaying it is not Chriſt, but the ſacrifice of Chriſt.

But Chryſoſtome ſayeth, one body & one Chriſt is there, and not one ſacrifice.

* Ex libro Ridlei ipſius manu deſcripto.

Rid. I ſaye that both Chriſt and the ſacrifice of Chriſt is there: Chriſt by ſpirit, grace, and veritie: the ſacrifice by ſignification. *Thus I graunt with Chryſoſtome, that there is one Hoſt or Sacrifice, and not many: and this our Hoſt is called one by reaſon of the vnitie of that one, which one onely all our Hoſtes do repreſent. That only hoſt was neuer other, but that which was once offered on the aultar of the croſſe, of which hoſt all our hoſtes are but ſacramentall examples.

Sacrifice why it is called one.

How one chriſt is offered in many places at once.

And where you alledge out of Chryſoſtome, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, both here ful Chriſt, and there full Chriſt: I graunt it to be true, that is: that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, in a myſtery and ſacramentally, and that he is full Chriſt in all thoſe places, but not after the corporall ſubſtance of our fleſh which he toke, but after the benediction which geueth life: and he is geuen to the godly receiuers in bread and wine as Cyrill ſpeaketh. Concerning the oblation of Chriſt, whereof Chryſoſtome heere ſpeaketh, he himſelfe doth clearely ſhew what he meaneth thereby, in ſaying by the way of correction: We alwayes do the ſelfeſame: howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his ſacrifice.

Weſt. The ſecond witnes is Bernard in a Sermon that he made of the Supper of the Lord, who ſayth:

Bernard.

Vnde hoc nobis pijſsime Ieſu, vt nos vermiculi, reptantes ſuper faciem terræ nos inquam qui puluis & cinis ſumus, te præſentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus & integer ſedes ad dextram patris, qui etiam vnius horæ momento, ab ortu ſolis vſque ad occaſum, ab Aquilone vſque ad Auſtrum, præſto es, vnus in multis, idem in diuerſis locis. That is to ſay: How commeth this to vs, moſt gentle Ieſu, that wee ſeely wormes, creeping on the face of the earth, that we (I ſay) which are but duſt and aſhes, may deſerue to haue thee preſent in our hands, and before our eyes, who both together full and whole doeſt ſit at the right hand of the father, and who alſo in the moment of one houre, from the riſing of the Sunne, to the going downe of the ſame, art preſent one, and the ſelfeſame in many and diuers places.

The time of Bernard conſidered.

Rid. Theſe wordes of Bernarde make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in ſuch a time, that in this matter he may worthely be ſuſpected. He hath many good and fruitefull ſayings: as alſo in that ſame foreſayde place by you alledged. But yet he followed in ſuch an age, when as the doctrine of the holy ſupper was ſore peruerted. Notwithſtanding yet I will ſo expounde him, rather then reiect him, that he ſhall make nothing for you at all. He ſayth that we haue Chriſt in myſterie, in a ſacrament, vnder a veyle or couer, but hereafter ſhall haue him without all veyle or couer. In the meane time, heere nowe hee ſayth, that the verity of Chriſt is euery where. The verity of Chriſt is both heere and there, and in all places.

Bernard rather expounded then reiected.

Weſt. What do you call verity? He ſayeth not the verity of Chriſt, but the verity of the body of Chriſt.

What is the verity of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. The verity of the body of Chriſt is the true faith of the body of Chriſt: after that verity he is with them whiche truly beleeue vpon him.

Weſt. Chriſt is one and the ſame in diuers places. I vrge theſe words [in diuerſis locis] in diuers places, and yet I am not ſatiſfyed.

Smyth. Chriſt was ſeene really and corporally on the earth after his aſcenſion, and continually ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo, the aſcenſion and perpetual ſitting in heauen, hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament.

To be reſident & not reſident, import contradiction.

Rid. If by perpetuall ſitting, you meane the reſidence of his body in heauen, your reaſon conteineth manifeſt contradiction.

Smith. Theſe two haue no contradiction in them at all, both to ſit continually at his Fathers right hand, and alſo to be ſene here really in earth after his aſcenſion. Firſt, you wil geue me that Chriſt ſitteth in heauen at yͤ right hand of his father. For ſo it is written. Act. 5. Heauen muſt needes receyue hym vnto the tyme of the reſtoring of all, &c. Secondly, he was alſo ſeene of Paule heere corporally on earth: Wherfore theſe two do import, as ye ſee, no contradiction.

Rid. What letteth, but that Chriſt, if it pleaſe him, and when it pleaſeth him, may be in heauen and in earth, and appeare to whome he will? and yet notwithſtanding you haue not yet proued, that he will ſo do. And though Chriſt continually ſhall be reſident in heauen vnto the iudgement, yet there may be ſome intermiſſion, that notwythſtanding. But this controuerſie (as I ſayd) is amongſt all the auncient Doctours and writers. And that Chriſt hath bene heere ſeene, that they graunt all: but whether then he being in earth or in heauen, that is doubtfull.

Smith. I will proue, that he would appeare in earth.

He ſo would, and alſo did appeare heere in earth after his aſcenſion. Ergo, &c.

Rid. He appeared, I graunt: but how he appeared, whether then being in heauen or in earth, that is vncertayne. So he appeared to Steuen, being then corporally ſitting in heauen. For ſpeaking after the true maner of mans body, when he is in heauen, he is not the ſame time in earth: and when he is in earth, he is not the ſame time corporally in heauen.

Smith. Chriſt hath bene both in heauen and in earth all at one time.

Ergo, you are deceiued in denying that.

Rid. I do not vtterly deny Chriſt heere to haue bene ſeene in earth. Of vncertayne things I ſpeake vncertaynely.

Smith. He was ſeene of Paule, as being borne before hys time, after his aſcending vp to heauen. 1. Cor. 15.

But his viſion was a corporall viſion:

Ergo, he was ſeene corporally vpon the earth after hys aſcending into heauen.

Rid. He was ſeene really and corporally in deede: but whether being in heauen or earth, it is a doubt. And of doubtfull things we muſt iudge doubtfully. Howbeit you muſt proue that he was in heauen in the ſame time, whē he was corporally on earth.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this viſion may inforce the reſurrection of Chriſt?

Rid. I accompt this a ſound and firme Argument to proue the reſurrection. But whether they ſaw him in heauen or in earth, I am in doubt: and to ſay the truth, it maketh no greate matter. Both wayes the Argumente is of lyke ſtrength. For whether he were ſeene in heauen, or whether he were ſeene on earth, either of both maketh ſufficiently for the matter. Certaine it is, he roſe againe: for he coulde not haue bene ſeene, vnleſſe he had riſen againe.

Smith. Paule ſawe hym as he was heere conuerſaunt on earth, and not out of heauen as you affirme.

Rid. You runne to the beginning agayne: that you take for graunted, which you ſhould haue proued.

Smith. You make delayes for the nonce.

Rid. Say not ſo, I pray you. Thoſe that heare vs, be learned: they can tell both what you oppoſe, and what I anſwere well enough, I warrant you.

Treſh. He was ſeene after ſuch ſort, as yͭ he might be heard.

Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or elſe how could he be heard?

Rid. He that found the meanes for Steuen to beholde him in heauen, euen hee could bring to paſſe well enough, that Paule might heare him out of heauen.

Da- Smith. As other ſaw him, ſo Paule ſaw him.
ti- Other did ſee him viſibly and corporally on earth:
ſi. Ergo, Paule ſaw him viſibly and corporally on earth.

Rid. I graunt he was ſene viſibly and corporally: but yet haue you not proued that he was ſeene in earth.

Smith. He was ſeene ſo of him, as of other.

But he was ſeene of other being on earth, and appeared viſibly to them on earth:

Ergo, he was ſeene of Paule on earth:

Rid. Your controuerſie is about [exiſtens in terra] that is, being on earth: if Exiſtere, to be, be referred as vnto yͤ place, I deny that Chriſt after that ſort was on the earth. But if it be referred as to the veritie of the body, then I graunt it. Moreouer, I ſay that Chriſt was ſeene of men in earth after his aſcenſion, it is certayne. For he was ſene of Steuen: he was ſeene alſo of Paule. But whether he deſcended vnto the earth, or whether he being in heauen, did reuele or manifeſt himſelfe to Paule, when Paule was rapt into the third heauen, I know that ſome contend about it: & the Scripture, as far as I haue read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherfore we cannot but iudge vncertainly of those things which be vncertayne.

Smith. We haue Egeſippus and Linus agaynſt you, whiche write that Chriſt appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after hys Aſcenſion. Lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter ouercome with the requeſtes and mournings of the people, whiche deſired him to get hym out of the Citie becauſe of Nero his lying in waite for him, began without company to conuey hymſelfe away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he ſeeth Chriſt come to meete him, and worſhipping him, he ſayd: Maiſter, whether walke you? Chriſt anſwered, I am come againe to be crucifyed. Linus writing of the paſſion of Peter, hath the ſelfeſame ſtory. Saint Ambroſe hath the ſame likewiſe, and alſo Abdias, ſcholer to the Apoſtles, which ſaw Chriſt before his aſcending into heauen. With what face therefore dare you affirme it to be a thing vncertaine, which theſe men do manifeſtly witnes to haue bene done?

Rid. I ſayd before that ỹ Doctors in that matter did vary.

Smith. Do you thynke thys ſtory is not certayne, beeyng approued by ſo auncient and probable authoritie?

Rid. I do ſo thinke, becauſe I take and eſteeme not theyr wordes, for the wordes of Scripture. And though I dyd graunt you that ſtory to be certayne, yet it maketh not againſt me.

Smith. Such things as be certayne, and approued of them, you do reiect as things vncertayne.

Rid. The ſtory of Linus is not of ſo greate authoritie: although I am not ignorant that * Euſebius ſo writeth alſo in the ſtory of the Church. And yet I accompt not theſe mens reports ſo ſure as the Canonicall ſcriptures. Albeit if at any time he had to any man appeared heere on the earth after his Aſcenſion, that doth not diſproue my ſaying. For I goe not about to tye Chriſt vp in fetters (as ſome do vntruly report of vs) but that he may be ſene vpō the earth according to his Diuine pleaſure, whenſoeuer it liketh him. But we affirme that it is contrary to the nature of his manhode and the true maner of his body, that he ſhould be together and at one inſtant both in heauen and earth, according to his corporall ſubſtaunce. And the perpetuall ſitting at the right hand of the father, may (I graunt) be taken for the ſtabilitie of Chriſtes kingdome, and his continuall or euerlaſting equalitie with his father in the glory of heauen.

Smith. Now where as you boaſt that your faith is the very fayth of the auncient Church: I will ſhew heere that is not ſo, but that it doth directly ſtriue againſt the fayth of the old Fathers. I will bring in Chryſoſtome for this poynt. Hom. 2. ad populum Antiochenum. Tanquam maximam hæreditatem, Eliſæus melotem ſuſcepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit hæreditas, omni auro prætioſior: & erat duplex Helias ille: & erat ſurſum Helias, & deorſum Helias. Noui quòd iuſtum illum beatum putatis, & velletis quiſque eſſe vt ille. Quid igitur, ſi vobis demonſtrauero quid aliud, quod illo multo maius omnes ſacris myſterijs imbuti recipimus. Helias quidem melotem diſcipulo reliquit: Filius autem dei aſcendens ſuam nobis carnem dimiſit. Sed Helias quidem exutus: Chriſtus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipſam habens aſcendit. That is: Eliſeus receiued the mantell, as a right great inheritaunce. For it was in deede a right excellent inheritaunce, and more precious then any gold beſide. And the ſame Helias was a double Helias: He was both Helias aboue, and Helias beneath. I know well you thinke that iuſt man to be happy, and you would gladly be euery one of you as he is, what will you then ſay if I ſhall declare to you a certayne other thing, whych all we that are indued with theſe holy myſteries, do receiue much more then that? Helias in deede left his mantell to his ſcholer. But the ſonne of God aſcending, dyd leaue heere his fleſh vnto vs. Helias left it putting off the ſame. But Chriſt both left it to vs, and aſcended alſo to heauen hauing it with him.

Rid. I graunt that Chriſt did both: that is, both tooke vp his fleſhe wyth hym, aſcending vp, and alſo did leaue the ſame behynde him with vs, but after a diuers manner and reſpect. For he tooke his fleſh with him, after the true and corporall ſubſtance of his body and fleſh: againe, he left the ſame in myſterie to the faithfull in the ſupper to be receiued after a ſpirituall communication and by grace. Neither is the ſame receiued in the Supper onely, but alſo at other times, by hearing the Goſpell and by fayth. For, the [bread] which we breake, is the communication of the body of Chriſt: And generally: vnles ye eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye ſhall haue no life in you.

Smith. Chryſoſtome in his booke de dignitate Sacerdotij. lib. 3. cap. 3. ſayth: O miraculum, O Dei beneuolentiam. Qui ſurſum ſedet, tempore ſacrificij, hominnm manibus continetur. Or, as other haue tranſlated it: O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem, qui cum patre ſurſum ſedet, in illo ipſo tēpore articulo, omniū manibus pertractatur, ac ſeipſe tradit volentibus ipſum accipere & complecti. That is: O miracle, O good will of God. He that ſitteth aboue, at the ſacrifice time, is conteyned in the handes of men. Or els as other haue tranſlated, thus: Oh myracle, Oh the gentlenes of God. Hee that ſitteth aboue with the father, is handled with the handes of all men at the very ſame moment of time, and doth himſelfe deliuer hymſelfe to them that are deſirous to take him and embrace him.

Rid. He that ſitteth there, is here preſent in miſtery and by grace; and is holden of the godly, ſuche as communicate him, not onely ſacramentally with the hand of the bodye, but much more holeſomely with the hand of the hart, and by inward drinking is receaued: but by the ſacramentall ſignification he is holden of all men.

Seton. Where is then the miracle if hee be onely preſent thorough his grace and in miſtery onely?

Rid. Yes, there is a miracle, good ſir, Chriſt is not idle in his ſacraments. Is not the miracle great (trow you) when bread, which is wont to ſuſteine the body, becommeth food to the ſoule? He that vnderſtandeth not that miracle, hee vnderſtandeth not ỹ force of that miſterye. God graunt we may euery one of vs vnderſtād his truth, & obey the ſame.

The miracle in the Sacrament wherein it conſiſteth.

Smith. Chriſoſtome calleth it a miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God in heauen, and at the ſame tyme is held in the handes of men: not that he is handled wyth the handes of men onely in a miſterye, and is with them through grace. Therfore while you deny that, you are altogether deceiued, and ſtray far from the truth.

Harpſ. The former place of Chriſoſtome is not to bee let ſlip. Let me before I begin, aske this one queſtion of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloke or mantell, and the gift of his prophecy to his Scholer?

Rid. Yes ſurely, it is a great matter.

Harpſ. Did not Elias then leaue great grace?

Rid. He did ſo.

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a farre greater grace then Helias: for he could not both leaue his cloke and take it with hym: Chriſt doth both in his fleſh.

Rid. I am well content to graunt, that Chriſt lefte muche greater thinges to vs, then Helias to Eliſeus, albeit he be ſayde to haue left his double ſpirite with him: for that the ſtrength and grace of the body of Chriſt, whiche Chriſt aſcending vp, here left with vs, is the onely ſaluation & lyfe of all men which ſhalbe ſaued: which life Chriſt hath here left vnto vs, to be receaued by fayth through the hearyng of ỹ word, and the right adminiſtration of the ſacraments. This vertue and grace Chriſoſtome, after the phraſe and maner of Iohn the Euangeliſt, calleth Chriſtes fleſh.

How Chriſt tooke vp his body, and left it with vs. The phraſe of Chryſoſt conſidered.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a greater matter. He caryed vp and left behinde. You vnderſtand not the compariſon. The compariſon is in this, that Elias left his mantel, and carryed it not with him, Chriſt left his fleſh behind him & caryed it with him alſo.

Compariſon betweene Elias mantell, and Chriſtes fleſhe. Elias tooke his mantell, & left neither mantel, nor Sacrament of his mantell behind him. Chriſt tooke his fleſhe and left a Sacramēt of his fleſhe, which was more then Elias did: & yet the ſayd Elias afterward caſt down his mantell.

Rid. True it is, and I my ſelfe did affirme no leſſe before. Now where you ſeeme to ſpeake many thinges, in deede you bring no new thing at all. Let there be a compariſon betweene grace and grace, & then Chriſt gaue the far greater grace, when he did inſerte or graffe vs into his fleſhe.

Harpſ. If you wil geue me leaue, I will aſke you this queſtion. If Chriſoſtome would haue ment ſo, that Chriſt left his body in the Euchariſt, what playner wordes thincke you, or more euident could he haue vſed then theſe?

Rid. Theſe things be not of ſo great force as they beare a great ſhewe outwardly. Hee might alſo haue vſed groſſer wordes if he had liſted to haue vttered his minde ſo groſely: for he was an eloquent man. Now he ſpeaketh after ỹ maner of other Doctors, which of miſticall matters ſpeake miſtically, and of Sacramentes Sacramentally.

Harpſ. The compariſon lyeth in this: That which was impoſſible to Elias, is poſſible to Chriſt.

Rid. I graunt. It was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to ỹ other impoſſible. Helias left his cloke: Chriſt both left hys fleſh and tooke it with him.

Harpſ. Helias left behinde him, & could not take with him: Chriſt both left behinde him, and alſo tooke with hym. Except you wil ſay: the compariſon here made to be nothing.

Rid. He tooke vp his fleſh with him to heauen, and lefte here the communion of his fleſh in earth.

Harpſfield anſwered.

West. You vnderſtand in the firſt place his fleſh for verye true fleſh: and in the ſecond place for grace, & communion of his fleſh: and why do you not vnderſtand it in ỹ ſecond place alſo for his true fleſhe? I will make it euident, howe blockiſh and groſſe your anſwere is.

Rid. Theſe be tauntes and reproches, not beſeeming (as I thinke) the modeſty of this Schole.

West. Elias left his cloke to his diſciple: but the ſonne of God, going vp to heauen, left his fleſhe. But Elias certeinely left his cloke behinde, and Chriſt likewiſe his fleſh,

Quam ſit ſtupida & craſſa reſponſio tua.

and yet aſcending, he carryed the ſame with him to. By which wordes we make this reaſon.

Chriſt left his fleſh to his Diſciples, and yet for all that he tooke the ſame vp with him:

Ergo, he is preſent heere with vs.

D. Weſton ſpeaking to the audiēce in Engliſh.

Heere Doctour Weſton crying to the people, ſayd vnto them: Maiſter Doctour aunſwereth it after this faſhion:

He caried his fleſh into heauen, and he left here the communion of his fleſh behinde. Aſſuredly the aunſwere is to vnlearned.

Rid. I am glad you ſpeake in Engliſhe. Surely I wiſhe that all the whole world might vnderſtand your reaſons and my aunſweres. Reliquit nobis carnem ſuam. i. He left vs his fleſh. This you vnderſtande of his fleſh, and I vnderſtand the ſame of grace. He caried his fleſhe into heauen, and left behind the communion of his fleſh vnto vs.

West. Ye Iudges, what thinke ye of this aunſwere.

But where were theſe Iudges in K. Edwardes tyme.

Iudges. It is ridiculous and a very fond aunſwere.

Rid. Well, I take your wordes paciētly for Chriſtes cauſe.

West. Weſton heere citeth a place: Spargimur ſanguine Chriſti: We are ſprinkled with the bloud of Chriſt.

How ye are ſprinckled with Chriſtes bloud.

Rid. M. Doctor, it is the ſame bloud, but yet ſpiritually receiued. And in deede all the Prophetes were ſprinkled with ẏ ſame bloud, but yet ſpiritually I ſay, and by grace. And whatſoeuer they be that are not ſprinckled with thys bloud, they can not be partakers of ẏ euerlaſting ſaluatiõ.

* This he repeated in Engliſhe to the people alſo.

West. * Here I bring Bernard vnto you againe. Euen from the Weſt vnto the Eaſt, from the North vnto the South, there is one and the ſelfeſame Chriſt in many and diuers places.

Aunſwere to Bernard.

The Papiſtss make Chriſt to haue a monſterous body.

Rid. The aunſwere is ſoone made, that one Chriſte is here and in diuers places. For God according to hys Maieſtie, and according to his prouidence, as S. Auſten ſayeth, is euery where with the godly, according to his indiuiſible and vnſpeakeable grace. Or elſe, if we ſhould vnderſtande Bernard according to the corporall preſence, how monſtrous or huge, & giantlike a body would you then make Chriſtes body to be, which ſhould reach euen from North to South, from Weſt to Eaſt.

West. Nay, nay, you make a monſtrous aunſwer and vnlearned.

Here they returne agayne to Latin.

B. Ridley falſly charged to ſet forth the Catechiſme.

Ward. Before I come in with thoſe reaſons which I had purpoſed to bring againſt you, I am minded to come again to M. Doctours argument, by which you being brought into the briers, ſeemed to doubt of Chriſtes preſence on the earth. To ẏ proofe of which matter I will bring nothyng elſe, then that which was agreed vpon in the Catechiſme of the Synode of London, ſet out not long ago by you.

Rid. Syr, I geue you to witte, before you goe any farther, that I did ſet out no Catechiſme.

D. Weſton in K. Edwards dayes ſubſcribed.

West. Yes, you made me ſubſcribe to it when you were a Byſhop in your ruffe.

Rid. I compelled no man to ſubſcribe.

Warde. Yes by roode, you are the very author of that hereſie.

Rid. I put foorth no Catechiſme.

Cole. Did you neuer conſent to the ſetting out of thoſe things, which you allowed?

Of this Catechiſme read before pag. 1357.

Rid. I graunt that I ſawe the booke. But I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I conſented to the booke: I was not the author of it.

The Iudges* geue an vntrue verdite: for D. Cranmer meaning by the Counſell, ſpake no word of Ridley.

Iudges. * The Catechiſme is ſo ſet foorth, as though the whole conuocation houſe had agreed to it. Cranmer ſayd yeſterday that you made it.

Rid. I thinke ſurely that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The Catechiſme hath this clauſe: Si viſibiliter & in terra, &c. i. If viſibly on the earth, &c.

Rid. I aunſwere that thoſe articles were ſet out, I both witting and conſenting to them. Myne owne hand will teſtifie the ſame, and M. Cranmer put hys hand to them likewiſe, and gaue them to other afterward. Now, as for the place which you alledge out of it, that may eaſely be expounded, and without any inconuenience.

Ward. Chriſt is the power and vertue of his Father.

Ergo, he was not of ſo little ſtrength, that he coulde not bring to paſſe whatſoeuer he would himſelfe.

A poſſibili ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.

Rid. I graunt.

Ward. Chriſt was the wiſedome of the father.

Ergo, that he ſpake, he ſpake wiſely, and ſo as euery man might vnderſtand: neither was it hys mynde to ſpeake one thing in ſtede of another.

Rid. All this I graunt.

Argument of the wiſedome & truth of Chriſt. Hillar. in Pſal. 118.

Ward. Chriſt was likewiſe the very truth: Ergo, he made and perfourmed in deede, that which he intended to make. And likely it is, that he doth neither deceiue, nor coulde be deceiued, nor yet would go about to deceiue other.

West. Hilarius in Pſalmum 118. hath theſe wordes. Vera omnia ſunt, & neque ocioſè, neque inutiliter conſtituta dei verba, ſed extra omnem ambiguitatem ſuperfluæ inanitatis, ignita, & ignita vehementer, ne quid illic eſſe quod non perfectum ac proprium ſit, exiſtimetur. That is: All Gods wordes or ſayings are true, and neither idlely placed, nor vnprofitably, but fiery, and wonderfull fiery without all doubtfulnes of ſuperfluous vanitie, that ther may be nothing thought to be there, which is not abſolute and proper.

Ward. He is the truth of the father: Ergo, he can neyther deceiue, nor yet be deceyued, eſpecially, I meane, when he ſpake at his latter end, and his teſtament.

Aunſwere to Maiſter Wardes argument.

Rid. Chriſt is the very truth of the father: and I perceyue well to what ſcope you driue your reaſon. This is but a farre ſet compaſſe of wordes. If that theſe words of Chriſt: This is my body, which you meane, be rightly vnderſtoode, they are moſt true.

Ward. He tooke, he brake, he gaue, &c. what tooke he?

Ridley. Bread, his body.

Ward. What brake he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. What gaue he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. Gaue he bread made of wheate, & materiall bread?

Rid. I know not whether he gaue bread of wheate: but he gaue true and materiall bread.

Ward. I will proue the contrary by Scriptures.

This argument is not formall in the 2. figure.

He deliuered to them that which he bad them take.

But he bad not them take materiall bread, but his owne body.

Ergo, he gaue not materiall bread, but his owne body.

Aunſwere.

Rid. I deny the Minor. For he bad them take his body Sacramentally in materiall bread: and after that ſort it was both bread, which he bad them take, becauſe the ſubſtaunce was bread, and it was alſo his body, becauſe it was the Sacrament of his body, for the ſanctifying and the comming to of the holy Ghoſt, which is alwayes aſſiſtent to thoſe myſteries which were inſtituted of Chriſt, and lawfully adminiſtred.

Harpſ. What is he that ſo ſayeth: By the comming vnto of the holy ſpirite?

Theophilact. in Math. 26.

Rid. I haue Theophilact for mine author for this maner of ſpeaking. And heere I bring him, that ye may vnderſtand that phraſe not to be mine, vpon Mathew. 26. Furthermore, the ſaid Theophilact writing vppon theſe wordes: This is my body, ſheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, whih is ſanctifyed on the aultar.

Ogle. That place of Theophilact maketh openly agaynſt you. For he ſayth in that place, that Chriſt ſayd not: This is a figure of my body, but my body. For ſayeth he, by an vnſpeakeable operation it is transformed, although it ſeeme to vs to be bread.

The words of Theophilacte [ſayd not this is a figure of my body] aunſwered.

Rid. It is not a figure, that is to ſay non tantum eſt figura. i. it is not only a figure of his body.

West. Where haue you that word [tantum] onely?

Rid. It is not in that place, but he hath it in another & Auguſtine doth ſo ſpeake many times, & other Doctours mo.

West. Heere Weſton repeating the wordes of Theophilact in Engliſh, ſayd: He ſayth it is not a figure, and you ſay it is a figure.

And the ſame Theophilact ſayth moreouer: that the cõuerſiõ or turning of the bread is made into the Lords fleſh.

* This argument is without perfect mode and forme, hauing the Minor negatiue in the 2. figure.

* That which Chriſt gaue, we do geue.

But that which he gaue was not a figure of his body, but his body:

Ergo, we geue no figure, but his body.

☞ As concerning the authoritie of Theophilactus, what hee thought and might haue ſpoken of that Author, D. Ridley dyd not then ſpeake, nor could conueniently (as he himſelfe afterward declared, reporting and writing with his owne hande the diſputations in the priſon) becauſe of the vproares and clamours which were ſo great, and he of ſo many called vpon, that he could not aunſwere as he would, and what he thought touching the authoritie of Theophilactus, but aunſwered ſimply to that, whych was brought out of that author, on this ſort.

Conuerſion after what ſort in the Sacrament.

I graunt (quoth he) the bread to be conuerted and turned into the fleſh of Chriſt, but not by tranſubſtantiation, but by a Sacramentall conuerſion or turning. It is transformed ſaith Theophilactus, in the ſame place, by a myſticall benediction, and by the acceſſion or comming of the holy Ghoſt vnto the fleſh of Chriſt. He ſayeth not: by expulſion or driuing away the ſubſtance of bread, and by ſubſtituting or putting in his place the corporall ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes fleſh. And where he ſayth: It is not a figure of the body: we ſhoulde vnderſtande that ſaying, as he himſelfe doth elſewhere adde onely, that is: it is no naked or bare figure only. For Chriſt is preſent in his myſteries, neither at any time (as Cyprian ſayeth) doth the diuine Maieſtie abſent himſelfe from the diuine myſteries.

West. You put in onely, and that is one lye. And I tell you farther,

Anno 1554. Aprill

farther, Peter Martyr was fayne to denye the Author, becauſe the place was ſo playne agaynſt him. But marke his wordes, how he ſayth: It is no figure, but his fleſh.

Rid. To take his wordes, and not his meaning, is to doe iniury to the author.

Hard. No other Doctour maketh more agaynſt you. For the wordes in Greeke are μετ ἀςοιχεῖται, which is in Latine, tranſelementatur, ŷ is, turned from one elemēt into an other. And ſhewing the cauſe why it is in forme of breade, he ſayth: Quoniam infirmi ſumus, & horremus crudas carnes cōmedere, maximè hominis carnē: ideo panis quidem apparet, ſed caro eſt. That is: Becauſe wee are infirme, and abhorre to eate raw fleſh, ſpecially the fleſh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is fleſh.

Har- ... the table ... the ... Theophil. ... Cap.

Rid. That word hath not that ſtrength which you ſeeme to geue it. You ſtrayne it ouermuch, and yet it maketh not ſo much for your purpoſe. For the ſame Author hath in an other place, ἡμεῖς μεταςοιχειούμεθα, That is, We are tranſelemented, or transformed and chaunged into the body of Chriſt: & ſo by that word, in ſuch meaning as you ſpeake of, I could proue as well that we are transformed in deed into the very body of Chriſt.

he worde ... Theophil. xpended.

Ward. Learned M. Doctour, thus you expound the place, Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body. i. a figure of my body.

Rid. Although I know there be that ſo expound it, yet that expoſition is not full to expreſſe the whole.

rgument n the 3. fi- ure.

Da- Ward. My ſheepe here my voyce, and folow me.
ti- But all the ſheepe of Chriſt heare this voice: This is my body, without a figure:
ſi. Ergo, the voyce of Chriſt here hath no figure.

Rid. The ſheepe of Chriſt folow the voyce of Chriſt, vnles they be ſeduced and deceiued through ignorance.

Ward. But the Fathers tooke this place for no figuratiue ſpeach.

Rid. Yet they do all number this place among figuratiue & tropicall ſpeaches.

Ward. Iuſtinus Martyr in his Seconde Apology hath thus:

uſtinus Martyr. Apolog. 2.

ὀυ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον ὀυδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Neq; verò hæc pro pane potuue communi ſumimus: Imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Ieſus Chriſtus, Seruator noſter incarnatus, habuit pro ſalute noſtra carnem & ſanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi conſecratum hoc alimentum, quo ſanguis & carnes noſtræ per immutationem enutriuntur, eiuſdem incarnati carnem & ſanguinem eſſe ſumus edocti.

This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Engliſhed.

☞ For wee doe not take this for common breade and drinke, but like as Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, incarnate by the word of God, had fleſh and bloud for our ſaluation: euen ſo we bee taught the foode wherewith our fleſhe and bloud is nouriſhed by alteration, when it is conſecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the fleſhe & bloud of the ſame Ieſus incarnate.

D. Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating a place of Iuſtine. Read his aunſwere to this before pag. 1379.

Doctor Cranmer hath thus tranſlated it: Breade, water and wine, are not to be taken as other common meates and drinkes be, but they bee ordeined purpoſedly to geue thankes to GOD, and therefore bee called Euchariſtia, and be called the bodye and bloud of Chriſt: and that it is lawfull for none to eat and drinke of them but that profeſſe Chriſt, and liue according to the ſame: and yet the ſame meat and drinke is chaunged into our fleſh and bloud, and nouriſheth our bodyes.

Rid. O good Mayſter Doctor, goe ſincerely to worke. I know that place, and I know how it is vſed.

Ward. Warde here repeated the place agayne out of Iuſtine: We are taught. &c. as aboue.

Rid. O what vnright dealing is this? I haue the ſelfe ſame place of Iuſtine here copyed out. You know your ſelfe which are ſkilfull of Greeke, howe the wordes here be remoued out of the right place, and that without any iuſt cauſe.

umptum exemplari Dom. Rid- i deſcrip-

Ward. I ſtand ſtill vpon mine argument. What ſay you?

Rid. If you will that I ſhould aunſwere to Iuſtine, then you muſt heare. I haue but one tongue, I can not aunſwere at once to you all.

West. * Chriſt gaue vs his very and true fleſh to be eaten,

But he neuer gaue it to be eaten, but in his laſt ſupper, and in the ſacrament of the aultar.

Ergo, there is the very true fleſh of Chriſt.

* In this argument if the Minor be a negatiue, the forme is falſe: if it be affirmatiue æquipollenter. The Maior is to be denyed.

Rid. If you ſpeake of the very true fleſhe of Chriſt, after the ſubſtance of his fleſh, taken in the wombe of the Virgine Mary, and not by grace and ſpiritually, I then do deny the firſt part of your reaſon. But if you vnderſtand it of the true fleſh, after grace and ſpirituall communication, I then graunt the firſt part, and deny the ſecond. For he geueth vnto vs truly his fleſh, to be eaten of al that beleue in him. For he is the very & true meat of the ſoule, wherewith we are fed vnto euerlaſtinge life, according to this ſaying: My fleſh is meat indeed. &c.

Ward. Deſiderio deſideraui hoc paſcha manducare vobiſcum. i. I haue deſired with my harty deſire to eat this Paſchall with you. What Paſchall I pray you deſired he to eate? If you ſtand in doubt, you haue Tertullian. Lib. 4. Contra Martionem: Profeſſus itaq; ſe concupiſcentia concupiſcere edere paſcha ſuum (indignum enim vt alienum concupiſceret Deus) acceptum panem & diſtributum diſcipulis ſuum corpus illum fecit: Hoc eſt corpus meum, dicendo. &c. i. He therfore proteſting a great deſire to eat his Paſchall, his owne Paſchall I ſay (for it was not meete that he ſhoulde deſire any other then his owne) taking bread and diſtributing it to his Diſciples, made it his body, ſaying: This is my body.

Tertull contra Martion. lib. 4.

What ſay you? did he vnderſtand by this Paſchall the Iudaicall Lambe, or by that whiche afterward he gaue in his Supper.

Rid. I ſuppoſe that the firſt he vnderſtoode of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer, and afterward of the Euchariſt.

Ward. Nay, then Tertullian is agaynſt you, which ſayth.

Argument.

Ba- He deſired to eate his Paſſeouer.
ro- But the Iudaical Paſſeouer was not his, but ſtraūge from Chriſt.
co. Ergo, he meant not of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer.

Aunſwere.

Rid. The Iudaicall Paſſeouer was not ſtraunge from Chriſt, but his owne: inſomuch as hee is the Lord of all: and as well the Lord of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer, as of his owne ſupper.

Ward. What aunſwere you then to Tertullian, the which ſayth: He deſired to eate his owne Paſſeouer, and not the Iuiſh Paſſeouer, which ſtood vpon wordes without fleſh.

Rid. Tertullian may here dallye in ſenſe Anagogicall. I know that Cyprian hath theſe wordes: Tunc inſtituit quidē Euchariſtiam, ſed vtrumq; erat Chriſti. i. He began thē to inſtitute the holy Euchariſt, but both were Chriſtes.

Anagogicall ſenſe is that which hath a high and miſticall vnderſtanding that lyeth abſtruſe & profound vnder the externall letter.

Ward. Auguſtine the Pſalme. 96. writing vppon theſe wordes: Adorate ſcabellum pedum eius. i. Worſhipp his footeſtoole. &c. Quæro, inquit, quid ſit ſcabellum pedum eius. Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra ſcabellum pedum meorum: Fluctuans conuerto me ad Chriſtum, quia ipſum quæro hic, & inuenio quomodo ſine impietate adoretur ſcabellum pedum eius. Suſcepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de terra eſt, & de carne Mariæ carnem accepit. & quia in ipſa carne hic ambulauit, & ipſam carnem nobis manducandam ad ſalutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnē māducat niſi prius adorauerit. Inuentum eſt, quo modo tale ſcabellum pedum Domini adoretur, vt non ſolum non peccemus adorādo, ſed peccemus non adorando ipſum. &c. i. I aſke (ſayth he) what is the footſtoole of his feete, and the Scripture telleth me: The earth is the footſtoole of my feete. And ſo in ſearching thereof I turne my ſelfe to Chriſt, becauſe I ſeeke him here in the earth, and I find how, without impiety, the footſtole of his feete may be worſhipped: for he tooke earth of earth, in that he is fleſh of the earth, and of the fleſhe of Marye he tooke fleſh, and becauſe that in the ſame fleſh here he walked and alſo he gaue the ſame fleſh to vs, to be eaten vnto ſaluation. But no man eateth that fleſhe excepte hee haue worſhypped before. And ſo it is found, how ſuch a footeſtoole of the feet of the Lord is to be worſhipped, ſo that, not only we ſinne not in worſhipping, but alſo do ſinne in not worſhipping the ſame.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Eſay. 66.

Da- He gaue to vs his fleſh to be eaten, ŷ which he tooke of the earth, in which alſo here he walked. &c.
ti- But he neuer gaue his fleſh to be eaten, but when hee gaue it at his Supper, ſaying: This is my body.
ſi. Ergo, in the Euchariſt he gaue vs his fleſh.

If the Minor of this argument (as is ſayd before) be equipollent to affirmatiue, then it commeth next to the Mode Datiſi.

Rid. You do alledge the place of Auſten vpon the Pſalme. 98. where he ſayth: that Chriſt gaue his fleſhe to be eaten which he tooke of the earth, and in whiche here he walked inferring hereupon that Chriſt neuer gaue the ſame hys fleſhe to be eaten, but onely in the Euchariſt, I deny your Minor, for he gaue it both in the Euchariſt to be eaten and alſo otherwiſe, as wel in the word, as alſo vpon the croſſe.

How Chriſt gaue his fleſh to be eaten and when.

Smith. What if Auguſtine ſay, that Chriſt did not onelye geue himſelf to vs in a figure, but gaue his own very fleſh in deed and really?

Rid. I neuer ſayd that Chriſt gaue onely a figure of his body. For in deed he gaue himſelfe in a reall communication, that is, he gaue his fleſh after a communicatiō of his fleſh.

Weſt. Here weſton read the place of Auguſtine in Engliſh, and afterwardes ſayd: Ye ſay, Chriſt gaue not his body, but a figure of his body.

Rid. I ſay not ſo, I ſay he gaue his own body verely. But he gaue it by a reall, effectuall, and ſpirituall cōmunicatiō.

Chriſt gaue himſelfe not only in a figure, but in deede by a reall and effectuall communication of his fleſhe.

☞ After this, Doctour Glinne began to reaſon, who (notwythſtandinge Mayſter Ridley hadde alwayes taken him for his olde frend) made a very contumelious Preface agaynſt him. This preface Mayſter Ridley therefore did the more take to hart, becauſe it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought that Doctour Glins minde was to ſerue the turne. For afterwarde hee came to the houſe wherein Mayſter Ridley was kept, and as farre as Mayſter Ridley could call ro remembraunce, before Doctor Young and Doctour Oglethorpe he deſired him to pardon his wordes. The whiche Mayſter Ridley did euen from the very hart, and wyſhed earneſtly, that God would geue, not onely to him, but vnto all other, the true and euident knowledge of Gods Euangelicall ſincerity, that all offences put a part, they being perfectly and fullye reconciled, might agree and meete together in the houſe of the heauenly father.

D. Glinne diſputeth.
D. Glinne B. Ridleys old frend deſireth him of Pardon.
B. Ridley forgeueth D. Glin.

Glin. I ſee that you elude, or ſhift away all ſcriptures and fathers, I will go to worke with you after an other ſort.

Chriſt hath here his Church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you ſpeake contumeliouſly of the Sacramentes.

B. Ridley purgeth himſelfe againſt D. Glin.

Rid. This is a greuous contumely, that you call me a ſhifter away of the Scriptures, and of the Doctours. As touching the Sacraments, I neuer yet ſpake contumeliouſly of them. I graunt that Chriſt hath here his Churche in earth: but that Church did euer receiue & acknowledge the Euchariſt to be a ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, and not the body of Chriſt really, but the body of Chriſt by grace.

Clin. Then I aſke this queſtion, whether the Catholicke Churche hath euer or at any time bene Idolatrous?

Rid. The Church is the piller and ſtay of trueth, that neuer yet hath bene idolatrous in reſpect of ẏ whole: but peraduenture in reſpect of ſome part therof, which ſometimes may be ſeduced by euill Paſtors and through ignoraunce.

Glin. *That Churche euer hath worſhipped the fleſhe of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.

But the church hath neuer bene idolatrous:

Ergo it hath alwayes iudged the fleſh of Chriſt to be in the Euchariſt.

* This argumēt hauing the Minor a negatiue neyther is formable in the 3. figure, neyther doth it conclude rightly but ſhould conclude thus: Ergo to worſhip the fleſh of Chriſt in the Euchariſt is no Idolatry. Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu deſcripto.

Rid. And I alſo worſhippe Chriſt in the Sacrament: but not becauſe hee is included in the Sacrament: like as I worſhip Chriſt alſo in the Scriptures, not becauſe hee is really included in them. Notwithſtanding I ſay that the body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament: but yet Sacramētally and ſpiritually, according to his grace geuing life, and in that reſpect, really, that is, according to hys benediction geuing life.

Furthermore I acknowledge gladly the true body of Chriſt to be in the Lordes Supper, in ſuch ſort as ẏ church of Chriſt (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and is taught of the holy ghoſt, and guided by Gods word) doth acknowledge the ſame. But the true church of Chriſt doth acknowledge a preſence of Chriſtes body in the Lords Supper to be cōmunicated to the godly by grace and ſpiritually, as I haue often ſhewed, and by a Sacramental ſignification, but not by the corporall preſence of the body of his fleſh.

Glin. Auſten contra Fauſtum. Lib. 20. cap. 13. Non nulli propter panem & calicem, Cererem & Bacchum nos colere exiſtimabāt. &c i. Some there were which thought vs in ſtead of bread and of the cup, to worſhip Ceres and Bacchus.

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum lib. 20. cap. 13.

Upon this place I gather that there was an adoratiō of the ſacramēt amōg the fathers. And Eraſmus in an Epiſtle to the brethren of low Germany, ſayth that the worſhipping of the ſacrament was before Auſten & Cyprian.

Rid. We do handle the ſignes reuerently: but we worſhyp the Sacrament as a Sacrament, not as a thing ſignified by the Sacrament.

Glin. What is the Symbole or Sacrament?

Rid. Bread.

Glin. Ergo we worſhip bread.

Ridley. There is a deceipte in this worde [Adoramus.] wee worſhip the Symboles when reuerently we handle them. We worſhippe Chriſt whereſoeuer we perceiue his benefites. But we vnderſtand his benefite to be greateſt in the Sacrament.

Equiuocation of this word worſhip, diſtincted.

Glin. So I may fall down before the bench here, and worſhip Chriſt: and if any man aſke me what I doe, I may aunſwere I worſhip Chriſt.

Rid. We adore and worſhip Chriſt in the Euchariſt. And if you meane the externall ſacrament, I ſay, that alſo is to be worſhipped as a Sacrament.

Glin. So was the fayth of the primitiue Church.

Rid. Would to God we woulde all folow the fayth of that Church.

We wor- ſhip C in the Eu chariſt: but we worſhip not the E chariſt fo Chriſt.

Glin. Thinke you that Chriſt hath now his Church?

Rid. I do ſo.

Glin. But all the Church adoreth Chriſt, verely and really in the Sacrament.

Rid. You know your ſelfe that the Eaſte Churche woulde not acknowledge tranſubſtantiatiō, as it appeareth in the Councell of Florence.

Cole. That is falſe. For in the ſame they did acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, although they would not entreat of ẏ matter, for that they had not in theyr commiſſion ſo to doe.

Rid. Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the Article was propounded vnto them.

Cole. It was not becauſe they didde not acknowledge the ſame, but becauſe they had no commiſſion ſo to do.

This Co cell of Flo rence wa but of la yeares in the tyme o the Co cell of Ba

Curtop. Reuerend Syr, I will proue and declare, that the body of Chriſt is truly and really in the Euchariſt: & wheras the holy Fathers, both of the weſt and Eaſte Churche haue written, both manye thinges and no leſſe manifeſt of the ſame matter, yet I will bring forth onelye Chriſoſtome. The place is in cap. 10. Corinth. 1. Homel. 24.

Chriſoſtom. cap. 10. Cor. 1. Hom. 24.

*That which is in the cup, is the ſame that flowed frō the ſide of Chriſt.

But true and pure bloud didde flowe from the ſide of Chriſt:

Ergo, his true and pure bloud is in the cup.

*The Maior ſhould be thus: Whatſoeuer did flow from the ſide of Chriſt is in the cup, &c. or els the argument beyng in the 3. figure is affirmatiue and falſe.

Rid. It is his true bloud which is in the Chalice (I graunt) & the ſame which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But how? It is bloud in deede, but not after the ſame maner, after which maner it ſprang from his ſide. For here is the bloud but by the way of a Sacrament.

Agayne, I ſay, like as the bread of the Sacrament and of thankes geuing is called the bodye of Chriſt geuen for vs: ſo the cup of the Lord is called the bloud which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But that Sacramentall breade is called the body, becauſe it is the Sacrament of his body: euen ſo likewiſe the cuppe is called the bloud alſo, whiche flowed out of Chriſtes ſide, becauſe it is in the Sacrament of that bloud which flowed out of his ſide, inſtituted of the Lord himſelfe for our ſinguler commodity, namely for our ſpirituall nouriſhment, like as Baptiſme is ordeined in water to our ſpirituall regeneration.

Cur. The Sacrament of the bloud is not the bloud.

Rid. The Sacrament of the bloud, is the bloud, and that is attributed to the Sacrament, which is ſpoken of the thing of the Sacrament.

Weſton. Here weſton repeateth Curtoppes argument in Engliſh.

*That which is in the Chalice, is the ſame which flowed out of Chriſtes ſide.

But there came out very bloud:

Ergo, there is very bloud in the Chalice.

*This argument concludeth not directly and being in the 3. figure affirmatiue it is not formall.

Rid. The bloud of Chriſt is in the Chalice in deed, but not in the reall preſence, but by grace and in a Sacrament.

Weſt. That is very wel. Then we haue bloud in ẏ chalice.

Rid. It is true, but by grace and in a Sacrament.

Here the people hiſſed at him.

Rid. O my mayſters, I take this for no iudgement: I will ſtand to Gods iudgement.

Wat. Good Syr, I haue determined to haue reſpect of the time, and to abſtayne from all thoſe thinges whiche maye hinder the entraunce of our diſceptation: and therfore firſt I aſke this queſtion: when Chriſt ſayd in the vi. of Iohn Qui manducat carnem meam. i. He that eateth my fleſh. &c. doth he ſignify in thoſe wordes the eating of his true and naturall fleſh, or els of the bread and Symbole?

Rid. I vnderſtand that place of the very fleſhe of Chriſt to be eaten, but ſpiritually: And farther I ſay, that the ſacrament alſo perteineth vnto the ſpirituall manducation. For without the ſpirit to eat the Sacrament, is to eate it vnprofitably. For who ſo eateth not ſpiritually, he eateth hys owne condemnation.

Spirituall eating of the fleſh of Chriſt.

Wat. I aſke them whether the Euchariſte be a Sacrament.

Rid. The Euchariſt taken for a ſigne or ſymbole, is a Sacrament.

Wat. Is it inſtituted of God?

Rid. It is inſtituted of God.

Anno 1554. Aprill.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the ſupper.

Wat. With what wordes is it made a Sacrament?

Rid. By the wordes and deedes which Chriſt ſayd and did, and commaunded vs to ſay and do the ſame.

Wat. It is a thing commonly receiued of all, that the Sacramentes of the new law geue grace to them that worthily receiue.

Rid. True it is that grace is geuen by the Sacrament, but as by an inſtrument. The inward vertue & Chriſt geue the grace through the ſacrament.

Wat. What is a ſacrament?

Rid. I remember there be many definitions of a ſacrament in Auſtine: but I will take that which ſemeth moſt fit to this preſent purpoſe. A ſacrament is a viſible ſigne of inuiſible grace.

Wat. Ergo, grace is geuen to the receiuers.

Rid. The ſociety or coniunction with Chriſt through the holy Ghoſt, is grace, and by the Sacrament we are made the members of the myſticall body of Chriſt, for that by the ſacrament the part of the body is ingrafted in the head.

Wat. But there is a difference betwene the myſticall body, and naturall body.

Rid. There is (I graunt you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

Wat. *The Euchariſt is a ſacrament of the new teſtamēt,

Ergo, it hath a promiſe of grace:

But no promiſe of grace is made to bread and wine:

Ergo, bread and wine be not the ſacramentes of ẏ new Teſtament.

Rid. I graunt that grace perteineth to the Euchariſt, according to this ſaying: The bread which we breake is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Chriſt? And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh vnworthely the ſacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord, eateth & drinketh his owne damnation: euen ſo he that eateth and drinketh worthy, eateth life, and drinketh life. I graunt alſo that there is no *promiſe made to bread and wyne. But in as much as they are ſanctified and made the Sacramentes of the body & bloud of the Lord, they haue a promiſe of grace annexed vnto them, namely of ſpirituall partaking of the body of Chriſt to be communicated and geuen, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receiue the Sacrament.

Wat. If the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine do remayne, the ſociety betwixt Chriſt and vs, is promiſed to them that take bread and wine.

But that ſociety is not promiſed to bread and wine, but to the receiuers of his fleſhe and bloud. Iohn. 6. Qui manducat. &c.

Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne remayneth not.

Rid. The promiſe vndoubtedly is made to the fleſh and the bloud, but the ſame be receiued in ẏ ſacramēt through faith.

Wat. Euery Sacrament hath a promiſe of grace annexed vnto it.

But bread and wine haue not a promiſe of grace annexed vnto it.

Ergo, the bread and wine are not ſacramentes.

Rid. True it is, euery ſacrament hath grace annexed vnto it inſtrumentally. But there is diuers vnderſtandyng of this word [Habet] hath. For the ſacrament hath not grace included in it: but to thoſe that receiue it well, it is turned to grace. After that maner the water in Baptiſme hath grace promiſed, and by that grace the holy ſpirite is geuen, not that grace is included in water, but that grace commeth by water.

Wat. This promiſe is made to the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt, and not to bread and wine.

Ergo, the ſacrament is not bread and wyne, but the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Rid. There is no promiſe made to him that taketh cōmō bread and common wine: but to him that receiueth the ſanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promiſe of grace made: neither is the promiſe geuen to the ſymboles, but to the thing of the ſacrament. But the thing of the ſacrament is the fleſh and bloud.

Wat. Euery ſacrament of the new teſtament geueth grace promiſed of God, to thoſe that worthely receiue it.

Rid. This ſacramēt hath a promiſe of grace, made to thoſe that receiue it worthely, becauſe grace is geuen by it, as by an inſtrument, not that Chriſt hath transfuſed grace into the bread and wyne.

Wat. But this promiſe which is made, is not but to thoſe that worthely receiue the fleſh & bloud: not ẏ bread & wine.

Rid. That propoſition of yours hath a diuers vnderſtanding. There is no promiſe made to thē that receiue cōmon bread, as it were: but to thoſe that worthely receiue the ſāctified bread, there is a promiſe of grace made, like as Origen doth teſtify.

Wat. Where is that promiſe made?

1. Cor. 11.

Rid. The bread which he brake, is it not a communication of the body of Chriſt? [And] we being many are one bread, one body of Chriſt?

Wat. What doth he meane by bread in that place?

Rid. The bread of the Lordes table, the Communiō of the body of Chriſt.

Chriſoſt. in 1. Cor cap. 10.

Wat. Harken what Chryſoſtome ſayth vpō that place: Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Chriſti eſt? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid ſignificare voluit, & multam inter hæc conuenientiam oſtendere. Non enim participatione tantum & acceptione, ſed vnitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud vnitum eſt Chriſto, ita & nos per hūc panē vnione coniungimur. That is: The bread which we break, is it not the Communication of Chriſtes bodye? wherefore did he not ſay participation? becauſe hee would ſignify ſome greater matter, and that he would declare a great conuenience and coniunction betwixt ẏ ſame. For we do not communicate by participation onely and receiuing, but alſo by couniting. For likewiſe as that body is counited to Chriſt, ſo alſo we by the ſame bread are conioyned and vnited to him.

Aunſwere to Chriſoſtome.

Rid. Let Chryſoſtome haue his maner of ſpeaking and his ſentence. If it be true, I reiect it not. But let it not be preiudiciall to me to name it true bread.

In 1. Cor. cap. 10.

Wat. All (ſaith Chryſoſtome) which ſit together at one boord, do cũmunicate together of one true body. What do I call (ſayth he) this cōmunicating? we are all the ſelfe ſame body. What doth bread ſignify? The body of chriſt. What be they that receiue it? The body of Chriſt. For many are but one body. Chryſoſtome doth interpret this place agaynſt you: All we be one bread, & one myſticall bodye, which doe participate together one breade of Chriſt.

Bread ſignifieth the body after Chriſoſtome.

One bread, one miſticall body.

Rid. All we be one myſticall body, which do communicate of one Chriſt in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickning.

Wat. Of what maner of bread ſpeaketh he?

Rid. Of the bread of the Lordes table.

Wat. Is that bread one?

Rid. It is one, of the Church being one, becauſe one bread is ſet forth vpō the table: and ſo of one bread altogether do participate which communicate at the table of the Lord.

Wat. See how abſurdly you ſpeake. Do you ſay all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?

Rid. All, I ſay, which at one table together haue communicated in the myſteryes, might well ſo do. Albeit the heauenly and celeſtiall bread is likewiſe one alſo, whereof the Sacramentall bread is a myſtery: the which being one, all we together do participate.

Watſon cauilleth about this word all.

Wat. A peruerſe aunſwere. Which all? Meane you all chriſtian men?

Rid. I do diſtribute this word [All]: for all were wont together to communicate of one bread deuided into parts. All (I ſay) which were one cōgregatiō, and which all did communicate together at one table.

Wat. What? do you exclude then from the body of Chriſt, all them which did not communicate being preſent?

Cyprianus de Cœna Domini.

Feck. But Cyprian ſayth: panis quem nulla multitudo conſumit. i. Bread which no multitude doth conſume. Which cannot be vnderſtanded, but onely of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. Alſo Cyprian in this place did ſpeake of the true body of Chriſt, and not of materiall bread.

M. Fecknams reaſon.

Feck. Nay, rather he did there intreat of the Sacrament in that tractation De Cœna domini, writing vpon the Supper of the Lord.

Rid. Trueth it is, and I graunt, hee intreateth there of the Sacrament: but alſo he doth admixt ſomething there withall of the ſpirituall manducation.

Smith. When the Lorde ſayth: This is my bodye, he vſeth no tropicall ſpeach:

Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid. I deny your antecedent.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 33. Concio, 1.

Smith. I bring here Auguſtine in Pſal. 33. Conc. 1. expounding theſe wordes: Ferebatur in manibus ſuis. He was caried in his owne handes. 1. Regum.

Hoc quomodo poſsit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim ſuis nemo portatur, ſed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de Dauid ſecundum literā, non inuenimus: de Chriſto autē inuenimus. Ferebatur enim Chriſtus in manibus ſuis cū diceret: Hoc eſt corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus ſuis. &c. That is. How may this be vnderſtāded to be done in mā? For no man is caryed in his owne handes, but in the handes of other. How this may be vnderſtanded of Dauid after ẏ letter, we do not find. Of Chriſt we find it. For Chriſt was borne in his own hands when he ſayth: This is my body: for he caried that ſame body in his owne handes, &c.

Auguſtine here did not ſee how this place after ẏ letter could

could be vnderſtãded of dauid, becauſe no man cã cary him ſelfe in his owne handes. Therfore ſaith he, this place is to be vnderſtãded of Chriſt after the letter. For Chriſt caried himſelfe in his owne hands in his Supper, when he gaue the Sacrament to his Diſciples, ſaying: This is my body.

The place of Auguſtine aunſwered.

Rid. I deny your argument, and I explicate the ſame. Auſtine could not find after his own vnderſtanding, how this could be vnderſtand of Dauid after the letter. Auſtine goeth here from other in this expoſition, but I goe not from him. But let this expoſition of Auſtine be graunted to you: although I know this place of ſcripture be otherwiſe red of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and alſo otherwiſe to be expounded. Yet to graũt to you this expoſition of Auſtine, I ſay yet notwithſtanding it maketh nothing agaynſt my aſſertion: for Chriſt did beare himſelfe in his owne handes, when he gaue the ſacrament of his body to be eaten of his diſciples.

Smith. Ergo, it is true of Chriſt after the letter, that he was borne in his owne handes.

Rid. He was borne literally, & after that letter which was ſpoken of Dauid: but not after the letter of theſe wordes Hoc eſt corpus meum.

The place of Auſten how Chriſt was caryed in his handes ad literã i. litterally.

I graunt that S. Auſtine ſayth, that it is not found literally of Dauid, that he caryed himſelfe in his own hands, and that is found of Chriſt. But this word [ad literam] literally, you do not well referre to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did beare it. S. Auſtines meaning is this: that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal Dauid, the ſonne of Ieſſe, did beare himſelfe in his handes, but of that ſpirituall Dauid which ouerthrew Goliah the deuill: that is, of Chriſt our ſauior, the ſonne of the virgine it may well be found literally, that he bare himſelfe in his owne handes after a certayne maner, namely in carying yͤ Sacrament of himſelfe. And note that S. Auſten hath theſe wordes [quodam modo] after a certain maner: whiche manifeſtly doth declare howe the Doctours meaning is to be taken.

Ferebatur, quodam modo in manibus ſuis. Aug. i. Chriſt was borne in his owne handes ſacramentally.

Smith. When then was he borne in his owne handes, and after what letter?

Rid. He was borne in the ſupper ſacramentally, when he ſayd: This is my body.

Smith. Euery man may beare in his own hands a * figure of his body.

* A figure he may beare but not a ſacrament.

But Auguſtine denyeth that Dauid could cary himſelfe in his handes.

Ergo, he ſpeaketh of no figure of his body.

Rid. If Auſten could haue founde in all the Scripture that Dauid had caryed the ſacramẽt of his body, then he would neuer haue vſed that expoſition of Chriſt.

Smith. But he did beare himſelfe in his owne handes:

Ergo he did not beare a figure onely.

Rid. He didde beare himſelfe, but in a Sacrament: and Auſten afterward addeth [quodam modo] that is, Sacramentally.

Quodam modo.

Smith. You vnderſtand not what Auſten meant when hee ſayd [quodam modo:] For he ment that he did beare his very true body in that ſupper, not in figure and forme of a body, but in forme and figure of bread.

Ergo, you are holden faſt, neither are ye able to eſcape out of his labirinth.

Doctor Weſton repeated this place agayne in Engliſh, which done, then Doct. Treſham thus began to ſpeake, moued (as it ſeemed to M. Ridley) wyth great zeale, and deſired that he might be in ſted of Iohn Baptiſt in conuerting the hartes of the fathers, and in reducing the ſayde B. Ridley agayne to the mother church. Now at the firſt, not knowing the perſon, he thought he had bene ſome good old man, which had the zeale of God, although not acording to knowledge, and began to aunſwere him with manſuetude and reuerence. But afterwarde hee ſmelled a foxe vnder a ſheepes clothing.

D. Treſham prayeth for conuerting Ridley.

God almightye graunt that it may be fulfilled in me, that was ſpoken by the Prophet Malachy of Iohn Baptiſt, which maye turne the hartes of the Fathers to the children, and the hartes of the children to theyr fathers, that you at length may be conuerted. The wiſe man ſayth: Sonne, honour thy father and reuerence thy mother. But you diſhonor your father in heauen, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye ſette not by her.

Rid. Theſe bywordes do pollute your ſchoole.

The decree of Laterane Coũcell alleaged for tranſubſtãtiatiõ.

Treſ. If there were an Arrian whiche had that ſubtle wit that you haue, he might ſoone ſhift of the authority of the ſcriptures and fathers.

Weſt. Either diſpute, or els hold your peace, I pray you.

Treſ. I bring a place here out of the Councell of Laterane, the which Counſell repreſenting the vniuerſall Churche, wherein were congregated 300. Biſhops & 70. Metropolitans, beſides a great multitude of other, decreed yͭ bread & wine, by the power of Gods word, was trãſubſtantiate into the body & bloud of yͤ Lord. Therefore whoſoeuer ſayth contrary cannot be a childe of the church, but an hereticke.

Rid. Good Syr, I haue heard what you haue cited out of the Councell of Laterane, and remember that there was a great multitude of Biſhops and Metropolitanes, as you ſayde: but yet you haue not numbred how many Abbots, Priors, and Friers were in that councell, who were to the number of 800.

One of the Scribes. What, will you denye then the authority of that Counſell for the multitude of thoſe Priors?

Rid. No ſyr, not ſo much for that cauſe, as for that eſpecially, becauſe the doctrine of that Councell agreed not wyth the word of God as it may well appere by the actes of that Councell which was holdẽ vnder Innocentius the third, a man (if we beleue the hiſtoryes) moſt pernitious to the church and common wealth of Chriſt.

Treſ. What, doe you not receiue the Councell of Laterane? Whereupon he with certayne other cryed, Scribite, ſcribite, write, write.

Rid. No ſyr, I receiue not that Councell: Scribite, & reſcribite: write, and write agayne.

Treſ. Euill men do eat the naturall body of Chriſt:

Ergo the true and naturall body of Chriſt is on the aultare.

Rid. Euill men do eate the very true and naturall bodye of Chriſt ſacramẽtally, and no further, as S. Auguſtine ſaith: but good men do eat the very true body both ſacramentally and ſpiritually by grace.

Treſ. I proue the contrary by S. Auſten, Lib. 5. contra Donatiſtas Cap. 8. Sicut enim Iudas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, ſed malè accipiendo peccauit, &c. Like as Iudas, to whome the Lorde gaue the morſell did offend, not in taking a thing that was euill, but in receiuing it after an euil maner. &c. And a litle after, Quia aliquis non ad ſalutem manducat, non ideo non eſt corpus. i. Becauſe ſome do not eate vnto ſaluation, it foloweth not therefore that it is not his body.

Rid. It is the body to them, that is, the ſacrament of the body: and Iudas tooke the ſacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Auſten hath diſtincted theſe thinges well in an other place, where he ſayth: Panem Domini, & panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem dominum: boni autem manducant & panem Domini, & panem Dominum. That is. The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lorde. Euill men eate the breade of the Lord, but not breade the Lorde. But good men eate both the breade of the Lord and breade the Lord.

Weſt. Paule ſayth, the body, and you ſay, the ſacrament of the body.

Rid. Paule meaneth ſo in deed.

Wat. You vnderſtand it euill concerning the ſigne: for the Fathers ſay, that euill men doe eat him which deſcended from heauen.

Rid. They eate him indeede, but ſacramentally. The fathers vſe many times the ſacrament, for the matter of the ſacrament, and al that ſame place maketh agaynſt you: and ſo here he cited the place.

Weſt. I bring Theophilacte, which ſayth, that Iudas dyd taſte the bodye of the Lord. Oſtendit Dominus crudelitatem Iudæ, qui cum argueretur, non intellexit, & guſtauit carnem Domini. &c. id eſt. The Lord did ſhewe the cruelty of Iudas, whiche, when he was rebuked, did not vnderſtand, and taſted the Lordes fleſh. &c.

Rid. This phraſe to Diuines is well knowne, and vſed of the Doctors. He taſted the fleſh of the Lord Inſenſibiliter, Inſenſibly, that is the ſacrament of the Lordes fleſh.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ſayth, that the ſame puniſhmẽt remaineth to them whiche receiue the body of the Lorde vnworthily, as to them which crucified him.

Rid. That is, becauſe they defile the Lordes body: for euill menne doe eate the body of Chriſt ſacramentally, but good men eate both the ſacrament, and the matter of the Sacrament.

Wat. You reiecte the Councell of Laterane, becauſe (you ſay) it agreeth not with Gods worde. What ſay you then to the Councell of Nice? The wordes of the Councell be theſe:

Ne humiliter ſpectemus propoſitum panem & potum, ſed exaltata mente fideliter credamus iacere in illa ſacra menſa agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi à ſacerdotibus ſacrificatum. Let vs not not looke alow by the grounde vpon the bread and the drinke ſet before vs, but lifting vppe our minde, let vs faithfully beleue, there vpon yͤ holy table to lye the Lambe of God taking away the ſinnes of the world, being ſacrificed of the prieſtes.

Rid. That Councell was collected out of auncient Fathers and is to me of great authoritie, for it ſayth: Poſitum eſſe panem in altari, & exaltata mente conſiderandum eum qui in cœlis eſt. i. That breade is ſet vpon the aultare, and hauing our mindes lifted vp, we muſt conſider him which is in heauen. The wordes of the Councell make for me.

Wat. (Exaltata mente) with a minde exalted: That is, not as brute beaſtes at the racke or maunger, hauing an eye onely vpon the thing that is ſet before them. Agnus Dei iacet in menſa: the * Lambe of God lieth on the table, ſayeth the Councell.

Rid. The Lambe of God is in heauen, according to the veritie of the body: and here he is with vs in a miſtery, according to his power, not corporally.

Wat. But the Lambe of God lyeth on the table.

Rid. It is a figuratiue ſpeach, for in our minde we vnderſtand him which is in heauen.

Wat. But he lyeth there, the Greeke word is κεῖται.

Rid. He lyeth, there that is, he is there preſent, not corporally, but he lyeth there in his operation.

Wat. He lyeth, but his operation lyeth not.

Rid. You thinke very groſſely of the ſitting or lying of the Celeſtiall Lambe on the Table of the Lorde. For we may not imagine any ſuch ſitting or lying on ẏ table, as the reaſon of man would iudge: but all thinges are here to be vnderſtand ſpirituallye. For that heauenly Lambe is (as I confeſſe) on the table, but by a ſpirituall preſence, by grace, and not after any corporall ſubſtance of his fleſh taken of ẏ virgin Mary.

And indeed the ſame Canon doth very playnly teach, that the bread which is ſet on the table, is materiall bread, and therefore it (the Canon I meane) commaundeth that we ſhoulde not creepe on the ground in our cogitation, to theſe thinges which are ſet before vs, as who ſhoulde ſay, what other things are they (as much as perteineth to their true ſubſtaunce) then breade and wine? but rather (ſayth the Canon) lifting vp our mindes into heauen, let vs conſider to fayth the Lambe of God, which taketh awaye the ſins of ẏ world, ſitting or lying vpon ẏ table. For a lifted vp fayth ſayth he, ſeeth him, which ſitteth on the right hande of God the father, after ẏ true maner of a body, ſet by grace on the Lordes Table, and taking away the ſinnes of the worlde. For I thinke you meane not ſo, as though the Lambe did lye there proſtrate with his members ſpreade vpon the table.

Smith. I bring an other place out of the Councell of Nice, Nullus Apoſtolorum dixit, hæc eſt figura corporis Chriſti, Nullus venerabilium præsbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris ſacrificium figuram: Ergo. &c. That is, None of the Apoſtles ſayd, this is a figure of the body of Chriſt: None of the reuerend Elders ſayd, the vnbloudy ſacrifice of the aultar to be a figure.

Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid. This Chanon is not in the Councell of Nice. For I haue read ouer this Councell many times.

Then came in an other whom M. Ridley knew not, & ſayd, the vniuerſall church both of the Greekes & Latines of the Eaſt and of the weſt, haue agreed in the Councell of Florence vniformably in ẏ doctrine of the ſacrament, that in the Sacrament of the Aultar there is the true and reall Body.

Rid. I denye the Greeke and the Eaſt Churche to haue agreed either in the Councel at Florence, or at any time els with the Romiſh Church in the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. For there was nothing in the Councell of Florence, wherein the Greekes would agree with the Romaniſtes: albeit hitherto I confeſſe it was left free for euery Churche to vſe, as they were wont, leuened or vnleauened bread.

Here cryed out D. Cole, & ſayde, they agreed together concerning tranſubſtantiation of breade into the bodye of Chriſt. M. Ridley ſayd, that could not be.

Here ſtart vp an other vnknowne to M. Ridley, but thought to be one of the Scribes, who affirmed with him, ẏ in deed there was nothing decreed cõcerning trãſubſtãtiation, but the Councell left that, as a matter not meete nor worthy to diſturbe the peace and concord of the church. To whom M. Ridley anſwered agayne, ſaying: that he ſayd ẏ trueth.

Pie. What ſay you to that councell, where it is ſayde, that the Prieſt doth offer an vnbloudy ſacrifice of the Bodye of Chriſt?

Rid. I ſay, it is well ſayd, if it be rightly vnderſtand.

Pie. But he offereth an vnbloudy ſacrifice.

Rid. It was called vnbloudy, and is offered after a certain maner, and in a miſterye, and as a repreſentation of that bloudy ſacrifice, and he doth not lye which ſayth, Chriſt to be offered.

West. I with one argument will throw downe to ẏ ground your opinion, out of Chryſoſtome, Homi. 24. in. 1. ad Corinth. and I wil teach, not onely a figure or ſigne, or grace onely, but the very ſame body which was here conuerſant in the earth, to be in the Euchariſt.

We worſhip the ſelfe ſame body in ẏ Euchariſt, whiche the wiſe men did worſhip in the maunger.

But that was his naturall & reall body, not ſpirituall:

Ergo the reall body of Chriſt is in the Euchariſt.

Agayne, the ſame Chryſoſtome ſayth: We haue not here the Lord in the maunger, but on the aultare. Here a woman holdeth him not in her handes, but a prieſt.

Sacrifice called vnbloudy is nothing els but a repreſentation of the bloudy Sacrifice of Chriſt.

Weſton playeth Golyah with Dauid.

This argument after the diſpoſition & termes, as it ſtandeth, is not formall.

Rid. We worſhip I confeſſe, the ſame true Lord and Sauiour of the world, which the wiſe men worſhipped in the maunger, howbeit we do it in myſtery, and in the ſacramẽt of the Lordes ſupper, and that in ſpiritual liberty, as ſayth S. Auſt Lib: 3. de doctrina Chriſtiana: not in carnall ſeruitude: that is, we do not worſhip ſeruilely the ſignes for the thinges: for that ſhuld be, as he alſo ſayth, a part of a ſeruile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of fayth, him preſent after grace and ſpiritually ſette vppon the Table: and we worſhip him which ſitteth aboue, & is worſhipped of the Aungels. For Chriſt is alwaies aſſiſtant to his myſteries, as the ſayd Auguſt. ſayth. And the diuine maieſty, as ſayth Cyprian, doth neuer abſent it ſelfe from the diuine myſteries, but this aſſiſtaunce and preſence of Chriſt, as in Baptiſme is wholy ſpirituall, and by grace, and not by any corporal ſubſtaunce of the fleſh: euen ſo is it here in the Lords ſupper, being rightly & according to the word of God duely miniſtred,

West. That which the woman did hold in her wombe, the ſame thing holdeth the prieſt.

Rid. I graunt the prieſte holdeth the ſame thing, but after an other maner. She did holde the natural body: the prieſt holdeth the myſtery of the body.

The ſame thing but the maner diuers.

West. Weſton repeated agayne his argumẽt out of Chryſoſtome in Engliſh.

Rid. I ſay that the author meant it ſpiritually.

West. Weſton here diſſoluing the diſputations, had theſe wordes: Videtis præfractum hominis animum, glorioſum, vafrum, inconſtantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcuſſas, Itaque clamate: Vicit veritas: that is, Here you ſee, the ſtubborne, the glorious the crafty, the vnconſtant minde of this man. Here you ſee this day, that the ſtrength of the trueth is without foyle. Therefore I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the note, and he beganne, and they folowed. Verity hath the victory: Veritye hath the victory.

D. Weſton bloweth vp the triumph.

¶ The diſputation had at Oxford, the 18. day of Aprill. 1554. betwene Mayſter Hugh Latimer Aunſwerer, and Mayſter Smyth and other Oppoſers.

After theſe diſputations of Byſhop Ridly ended, next was brought out Mayſter Hugh Latimer to diſpute, vpon Wedneſday, which was the eighteenth day of Aprill, which diſputation beganne at eight of the clocke, in ſuche forme as before: but it was moſt in Engliſh. For mayſter Latimer the anſwerer alleged that he was out of vſe with the Latine, and vnfit for that place.

M. Hugh Latimer diſputeth.

Aprill. 18.

There replyed vnto him M Smith of Orial colledge, Doctor Cartwright, mayſter Harpſfield, and diuers other had ſnatches at him, and gaue him bitter tauntes. Hee eſcaped no hiſſinges and ſcornefull laughings, no more then they that went before him. He was very faynt, and deſired that he might not long tary. He durſt not drinke, for feare of vomiting. The diſputation ended before xi. of the clock. Maiſter Latimer was not ſuffered to read, that he had (as he ſayd) paynfully writtẽ: but it was exhibited vp, and the Prolocutor read part therof, and ſo proceeded vnto the diſputation.

M. Smith of Oriall Colledge Opponent to M. Latimer.

M. Latimers writings could not be read.

¶ The Preface of Weſton vnto the diſputation folowing.

Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by ẏ helpe of God) to vanquiſh the ſtrength of the Argumentes, and diſperſed opinions of aduerſaryes, agaynſt ẏ truth of the reall preſence of the Lordes body in the ſacramẽt. And therfore, you father, if you haue any thing to anſwere, I do admoniſh that you aunſwere in ſhort and few wordes.

Weſtõs preface.

Lat. I pray you good mayſter Prolocutour, doe not exacte that of me, which is not in me, I haue not theſe xx. yeares much vſed the Latine tongue.

West. Take your eaſe father.

Lat. I thanke you Syr, I am well. Let me here proteſt my

M. Latimer requireth to diſpute in the Engliſh tongue.

my fayth: for I am not able to diſpute, & afterwardes doe your pleaſure with me.

¶ The proteſtation of mayſter Hugh Latimer, geuen vp in writing to Doctor Weſton.

The concluſions whereunto I muſt aunſwere, are theſe.

The three concluſions.

1 The firſt is, that in the ſacramēt of the Aultar, by the vertue of Gods word pronounced by the Prieſt, there is really preſent, the naturall body of Chriſt, conceiued of the virgin Mary, vnder the kindes of the appearaunces of bread and wine: and in like maner his bloud.

2 The ſecond is, that after conſecration, there remaineth no ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, nor none other ſubſtaunce, but the ſubſtance of God and man.

3 The third is, that in the Maſſe there is the liuely ſacrifice of the church, which is propiciable, as wel for the ſins of the quicke, as of the dead.

The aunſweres of M. Latimer geuen vp in writing concerning the queſtions aforeſaid.

Concerning the firſt concluſion, me thinketh it is ſette forth with certayn new found termes, that be obſcure, and doe not ſound according to the ſpeach of the ſcripture. Howbeit, howſoeuer I vnderſtand it, this I do aunſwere playnely, though not without perill: I aunſwere (I ſay) that to the right celebration of the Lordes ſupper, there is no other preſence of Chriſt required, then a ſpirituall preſence: and this preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian man, as a preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and Chriſt abideth in vs, to the obteining of eternall life, if we perſeuer. And this ſame preſence may be called moſt fitly, a reall preſence, that is, a preſence not fayned, but a true and a faythfull preſence. Which thing I here rehearſe, leaſt ſome Sycophant or ſcorner ſhould ſuppoſe me with the Anabaptiſtes, to make nothing els of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare ſigne. As for that, which is fayned of many concerning theyr corporall preſence, I for my part take it but for a papiſticall inuention, and therfore thinke it vtterly to be reiected.

The preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, how it is a reall preſence.

Anſwere to the 2. concluſion.

Concerning the ſeconde concluſion, I dare be bolde to ſay, that it hath no ſtay or grounde in Gods word, but is a thing inuented and founde out by man: and therefore to be taken as fond and falſe: and I had almoſt ſayd, as the Mother and Nourſe of the other errors. It were good for my Lordes & mayſters of the tranſubſtantiation, to take heede leaſt they conſpire with ẏ Neſtorians, for I do not ſee how they can auoyd it.

Anſwere to the 3. concluſion.

The third concluſion (as I do vnderſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtlely to ſow ſedition agaynſt the offering which Chriſt himſelfe offred for vs in his own proper perſon, according to that pithy place of Paule. Hebr. 1. when he ſayth: That Chriſt his owne ſelfe hath made purgation of our ſinnes. And afterwardes: That he might (ſayth he) be a mercifull and a faythfull Byſhop, concerning thoſe thinges which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our ſinnes. So that the expiation or taking away of our ſinnes, may be thought rather to depend on this: that Chriſt was an offring Biſhop, then that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himſelfe: and therefore it is needleſſe that he ſhould be offered of any other. I will ſpeake nothing of the wonderfull preſumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a maniſeſt vocation, ſpecially in that it tendeth to the ouerthrowing and making fruitleſſe (if not wholy, yet partly) of the Croſſe of Chriſt: for truely it is no baſe or meane thyng, to offer Chriſt. And therefore worthily a man may ſay to my Lordes and mayſters the offerers: By what authority doe ye this? And who gaue you this authority? where? when? A man can not (ſayth the Baptiſt) take any thing, except it be geuen him frō aboue: much leſſe then may any man preſume to vſurp any honor, before he be therto called. Again, If any mā ſin (ſayth S. Ioh.) we haue (ſayth he) not a maſſer or offerer at home, which can ſacrifice for vs at maſſe: but we haue (ſayth he) an aduocate Ieſus Chriſt, which once offered himſelfe long ago: of which offering, the efficacy and effect is perdurable for euer, ſo that it is needles to haue ſuch offerers.

Heb. 1. The taking away of ſinnes depēdeth rather in the perſon of the offerer then in the thing offered, but that he that was the offerer was offered himſelfe.

1. Iohn. 2.

What meaneth Paule, when he ſayth: They that ſerue at the aultar, are partakers of the aultar? and ſo addeth: So the lord hath ordeined, that they that preach the Goſpell, ſhall liue of the Goſpell. Whereas he ſhould haue ſayd: The Lord hath ordeined, that they that ſacrifice at maſſe, ſhould liue of theyr ſacrificing, that there might be a liuing aſſigned to our ſacrificers now, as was before Chriſtes comming, to the Iewiſh Prieſtes. For now they haue nothing to alleadge for theyr liuing, as they that be Preachers haue. So that it appeareth, that the ſacrificing Prieſthoode is chaunged by Gods ordinaunce, into a preaching Prieſthoode, and the ſacrificing Prieſthoode ſhoulde ceaſe vtterly, ſaiuing in as much as all Chriſtian men are ſacrificing prieſtes.

The ſacrificing Prieſthoode chaunged into a Preaching Prieſthood.

The ſupper of the Lord was inſtituted to prouoke vs to thankes geuing, for the offering which the Lorde hymſelfe did offer for vs, muche rather then that our Offerers ſhould do there as they do. Feede (ſayth Peter) as muche as ye may, the flock of Chriſt: nay rather let vs ſacrifice as much as we may, for the flocke of Chriſt. If ſo be the matter be as now men make it, I can neuer wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of ſacrificing, which at this day is in ſuch a price and eſtimation, that to feed is almoſt nothing with many. If thou ceaſe from feeding the flocke, how ſhalt thou be taken? truely catholicke enough. But if thou ceaſe from ſacrificing and maſſing, howe wyll that be taken? at the leaſte I warrant thee, thou ſhalt be called an hereticke. And whence I pray you, come theſe papiſticall iudgementes? Except perchance they thinke a mā feedeth the flocke, in ſacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned paſtors? For no man is ſo fooliſh, but ſoone may he learne to ſacrifice and maſſe it.

Thus loe, I haue taken the more payne to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in conſideration of my debilitye thereunto: that all men may knowe, howe that I haue ſo done not without great paynes, hauing not any manne to helpe me, as I haue neuer before bene debarred to haue. O ſir, you may chaunce to liue till you come to this age and weakenes that I am of. I haue ſpoken in my time before 2. kinges, more then one, two or three houres together, without interruption: but nowe that I maye ſpeake the truth (by your leaue) I could not be ſuffered to declare my minde before you, no, not by the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, without ſnatches, reuilinges, checkes, rebukes, tauntes, ſuch as I haue not felte the like, in ſuch an audience, all my life long. Surely it can not be, but an heinous offence that I haue geuen. But what was it? Forſooth I had ſpoken of the foure marowbones of the Maſſe. The which kinde of ſpeaking, I neuer read to be a ſinne againſt the holy ghoſt.

I could not be alowed to ſhewe what I meant by my Metaphor: But ſir nowe (by your fauor) I will tell your maiſterſhip what I meane.

The firſt is the Popiſh conſecration: which hath bene called a Gods body making.

The ſecond is Tranſubſtantiation.

The third is the Miſſall oblation.

The fourth adoration.

Theſe chiefe and principall portions, partes & poyntes belonging or incident to the maſſe, and moſt eſteemed and had in price in the ſame, I call ẏ marowbones of the maſſe, which in deed you by force, might, and violence intrude in ſound of wordes in ſome of the ſcripture, with racking and cramping, iniuryng, and wronging the ſame: but els in deede, playne out of the ſcripture, as I am throughly perſwaded, although in diſputation I could now nothing do, to perſwade the ſame to others, being both vnapt to ſtudy and alſo to make a ſhew of my former ſtudy, in ſuch readines as ſhould be requiſite to the ſame.

I haue heard much talke of maiſter Doctor Weſton to and fro, in my time: but I neuer knew your perſon to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queenes maieſties Commiſſioner. I pray God ſend you ſo right iudgement, as I perceiue you haue a great wit, great learning, with many other qualityes. God geue you grace euer well to vſe them, and euer to haue in remembrāce that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the lowe things on the earth: and that there is no coūſell agaynſt the Lord: and alſo that this world hath bene, and yet is a tottering world. And yet agayn, that though we muſt obey the princes, yet that hath this limitatiō, namely, in the Lord. For who ſo doth obey them agaynſt the Lorde, they be moſt pernicious to them, and the greateſt aduerſaries that they haue: for they ſo procure Gods vengeance vpon them, if God be onely the ruler of thinges.

There be ſome ſo corrupt in minde, the truth being taken from them, that they thinke gaynes to be godlineſſe: Great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing and raging about queſtions and ſtrife of wordes, I call thē men of no learning, becauſe they know not Chriſt, how much els ſo euer they know. And on this ſort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Chriſt, vnlearned men: for it is nothing but playne ignoraunce, to knowe anye thinge without Chriſt: where as who ſo knoweth Chriſt, the ſame hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to ſeek. The Apoſtle S. Paul confeſſeth of himſelfe to the Corinthians, that he dyd know nothing, but Ieſus Chriſt crucified. Many meane babble many things of Chriſt which yet know not Chriſt: but pretending Chriſt, do craftily colour and darken hys glory. Depart from ſuch men, ſayth the Apoſtle S. Paule to Timothie.

It is not out of the way to remember what S. Auguſtine ſayth. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be againſt the Epiſtles of Petilian: Who ſo euer (ſaith he) teacheth any thyng neceſſarily to be beleued, which is not contayned in the olde or new Teſtament, the ſame is accurſed. Oh beware of this curſe if you be wiſe. I am much deceyued if Baſilius haue not ſuch like wordes: What ſo euer (ſaith he) is beſides the holy ſcripture, if the ſame be taught as neceſſarily to be beleeued, that is ſinne. Oh therefore take heede of this ſinne.

There be ſome that ſpeake many falſe things more probable, and more like to the truth, then to the truth it ſelfe. Therefore Paule geueth a watch word: Let no man (ſaith he) deceiue you with probabilitie and perſwaſions of woordes. But what meane you (ſaith one) by this talke ſo far from the matter? Well, I hope good maiſters, you will ſuffer an old man a little to play the child, and to ſpeake one thyng twiſe. Oh Lord God, you haue chaunged the moſt holy Communion, into a priuate action: and you deny to the Laitie the Lordes cup contrary to Chriſtes commaundement, and you do blemiſh the annuntiation of the Lordes death till he come: for you haue chaunged the Common prayer called the diuine ſeruice, with the adminiſtration of the ſacramentes, from the vulgar and knowen language, into a ſtrange tongue, contrary to the wyll of the Lord reuealed in his word. God open the dore of your hart, to ſee the things you ſhould ſee herein. I would as fayne obey my ſoueraigne as any in this realme: but in theſe things I can neuer do it with an vpright conſciẽce. God be mercifull vnto vs. Amen.

Weſton. Then refuſe you to diſpute? will you here then ſubſcribe?

Lat. No good maiſter, I pray you be good to an olde man. You may (if it pleaſe God) be once old, as I am: ye may come to this age, and to this debilitie.

Weſt. Ye ſaid vpon ſaterday laſt, that ye could not find the maſſe, nor the marybones thereof in your booke: but wee will finde a maſſe in that booke.

Lat. No good M. Doctor, ye cannot.

Weſt. What find you then there?

Lat. Forſooth a Communion I find there.

Weſt. Which Communion,* the firſt or the laſt?

Lat. I find no great diuerſitie in them: they are one ſupper of the Lord, but I like the laſt very well.

Weſt. Then the firſt was nought belike.

Lat. I do not wel remember wherin they differ.

Weſt. Then cake bread & loafe bread are all one with you. Ye call it the Supper of the Lord, but you are deceyued in that: for they had done the ſupper before, and therfore the Scripture ſayth: Poſtquam cœnatum eſt, that is, After they had ſupped. For ye know that S. Paul findeth fault wyth the Corinthians, for that ſome of them were drunken at this ſupper: and ye know no man can be drunken at your Communion.

Lat. The firſt was called Cœna Iudaica, that is, The Jewiſh Supper, when they did eate the Paſchall Lambe together: the other was called Cœnadominica, that is, The Lordes ſupper.

Weſt. That is falſe, for Chryſoſtome denieth that. And S. Ambroſe in cap. 10. prioris ad Corinthios, ſaith, that Myſterium Euchariſtiæ inter cœnandum datum, non eſt cœna dominica: that is, The myſterie of the ſacrament, geuen as they were at ſupper, is not the ſupper of the Lord.

And Gregory Nazianzene ſayth the ſame: Rurſus Paſche ſacra cum diſcipulis in cœnaculo ac poſt cœnam, dieque vnica ante paſſionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis domibus, & ante cœnam & poſt reſurrectionem peragimus: that is, Agayne, he kept the holy feaſt of Paſſeouer with his Diſciples in the dinyng chamber after the ſupper, and one day before his paſſion. But we keepe it both in the Churches and houſes of prayer, both before the ſupper, and alſo after the reſurrection.

And that firſt Supper was called ἀγάπη, can you tell what that is?

Lat. I vnderſtande no Greeke. Yet I thinke it meaneth charitie.

Weſt. Will you haue all thing done that Chriſt did then? Why, then muſt the Prieſt be hanged on the morrow. And where find you I pray you, that a woman ſhould receyue the ſacrament?

Lat. Will you geue me leaue to turne my booke? I finde it in the xj. chapter to the Corinthians. I trow theſe be hys wordes: Probet autem ſeipſum homo, &c.

I pray you good maiſter what Gender is homo?

Weſt. Marrie the common gender.

Cole. It is in the Greeke, ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Har. It is ἀνήρ, that is, vir.

Lat. It is in my booke of Eraſmus tranſlation, Probet ſeipſum homo.

δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν. 1. Cor. 11.

Feck. It is Probet ſeipſum in deed, and therfore it importeth the Maſculine gender.

Latimer. What then? I trowe when the woman touched Chriſt, he ſaid: Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit: that is, Who touched me? I know that ſome man touched me.

Weſton. I will be at hoſt with you anone. When Chriſt was at his ſupper, none were with hym, but his Apoſtles onely.

Argument.

Ergo, he ment no woman, if you will haue this inſtitution kept.

Lati. In the twelue Apoſtles was repreſented the whole Church, in which you will graunt both men and women to bee.

The Apoſtles repreſented the whole Church.

Weſt. So thorough the whole hereticall tranſlated Bible, ye neuer make mention of Prieſt, tyll ye come to the putting of Chriſt to death. Where find you then that a prieſt or miniſter, (a minſtrel I may cal him wel enough) ſhould do it of neceſſitie?

Weſton ſcorneth the name of Miniſter.

Lat. A miniſter is a more fit name for that office, for ye name of a prieſt importeth a ſacrifice.

The name of Miniſter more fit thẽ the name of Prieſt.

Weſt. Well, remember that ye cannot finde that a woman may receiue by ſcripture. M. Opponent fall to it.

Smith. Becauſe I perceiue that this charge is layd vppon my necke, to diſpute with you: to the ende that the ſame may go forward after a right maner and order, I wil propoſe three queſtions, ſo as they are put forth vnto me. And firſt I aſke this queſtion of you, although the ſame in deed ought not to be called in queſtion: but ſuch is the condition of the Church, that it is alwayes vexed of the wycked ſort. I aſke (I ſay) whether Chriſtes body be really in the ſacrament?

Lat. I truſt I haue obteined of M. Prolocutor, that no mã ſhall exact that thyng of me, which is not in me. And I am ſory that this worſhipfull audience ſhould be deceyued of their expectation for my ſake. I haue geuen vp my mynde in writing to M. Prolocutor.

M. Latimer modeſtly maketh himſelfe vnable to diſpute.

Smith. Whatſoeuer ye haue geuen vp, it ſhall be regiſtred among the Acts.

Latimer. Diſputation requireth a good memory: Aſt abolita eſt mihi memoria, My memorie is gone cleane, and marueilouſlye weakened, and neuer the better I wis for the pryſon.

Weſt. How long haue ye bene in priſon?

Lat. Theſe three quarters of this yere.

Weſt. And I was in priſon ſixe yeres.

Lat. The more pitie Sir.

Weſt. How long haue you bene of this opinion?

Lat. It is not long ſir that I haue bene of this opinion.

Weſton. The tyme hath bene when you ſayd Maſſe full deuoutly.

Lat. Yea, I cry God mercy hartily for it.

Weſt. Where learned you this new fangleneſſe?

Lat. I haue long ſought for the truth in this matter of the Sacrament, and haue not bene of this mynde paſt ſeuen yeres: and my L. of Canterbury his booke hath eſpecially confirmed my iudgement herein. If I could remember all therein conteined, I would not feare to anſwer any man in this matter.

Then they hiſt and clapt their handes at him. M. Latimer confirmed by Doct. Crãmers booke.

Treſ. There are in that booke ſixe hundred errors.

Weſt. You were once a Lutheran.

Lat. No, I was a Papiſt: For I neuer could perceiue how Luther could defend his opinion without tranſubſtantiation. The Tigurines once did write a booke agaynſt Luther, and I oft deſired God that he might liue ſo long to make them anſwer.

The zeale of M. Latymer ſometymes in Popery agaynſt the Tygurines.

Weſton. Luther in hys booke De priuata Miſſa, ſayd, that the deuill reaſoned with hym, and perſwaded hym that the Maſſe was not good. Fol. 14. Contigit me, &c. Wherof it may appeare, that Luther ſaid Maſſe, and the deuill diſſwaded hym from it.

In that booke the deuill doth not diſſuade him ſo much from ſaying Maſſe, as to bring him to deſperation for ſaying Maſſe, ſuch temptatiõs many times happen to good men.

Lat. I do not take in hand here to defend Luthers ſayings or doyngs. If he were here, he would defend himſelf well enough I trow. I told you before that I am not meete for diſputations. I pray you read myne aunſwer, wherein I haue declared my fayth.

Weſt. Do you beleue this, as you haue written?

Lat. Yea Sir.

Weſt. Then haue you no faith.

Lat. Then would I be ſory Sir.

Treſ. It is written, Iohn. 6. Except ye ſhall eate the fleſhe of the ſonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye ſhall haue no lyfe in you.

Here Treſham began to diſpute in Latin.

you. Which when the Capernaites and many of Chriſtes diſciples heard, they ſaid, This is a hard ſaieng, &c. Now that the truth may the better appeare, here I aſke of you, whether Chriſt ſpeaking theſe wordes, did meane of his fleſhe to be eaten with the mouth, or of the ſpirituall eatyng of the ſame?

Lat. I aunſwer (as Auguſtine vnderſtandeth) that Chriſt meant of the ſpirituall eating of his fleſh.

Treſ. Of what fleſh ment Chriſt, his true fleſh, or no?

Lat. Of his true fleſh, ſpiritually to be eaten in the ſupper by faith, and not corporally.

Treſ. Of what fleſh ment the Capernaites?

Latimer. Of hys true fleſhe alſo: but to bee eaten wyth the mouth.

D. Treſhams argument without forme or mode, concluding affirmatiuely in the 2. figure.

Treſh. They (as ye confeſſe) did meane his true fleſh, to be taken with the mouth. And Chriſt alſo (as I ſhall prooue) did ſpeake of the receiuyng of his fleſh with the mouth.

Ergo, they both did vnderſtand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Lat. I ſay, Chriſt vnderſtoode it not of the bodily mouth: but of the mouth of the ſpirit, mynd, and hart.

D Treſham flyeth to Cuſtome.

Treſ. I prooue the contrary: that Chriſt vnderſtandeth it of the eatyng with the bodily mouth. For where as cuſtome is a right good maiſtreſſe and interpreter of things, and where as the actes put in practiſe by Chriſt, doe certainly declare thoſe things which he firſt ſpake: Chriſtes deeds in his ſupper, where he gaue his body to bee taken with the mouth, together with the cuſtom which hath ben euer ſince that tyme, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth euidently inferre that Chriſt did vnderſtand his words here cited of me out of the vj. of Iohn, of the eatyng with the mouth.

The Sacrament geuen to the mouth the body to fayth.

Lat. He gaue not his body to be receyued with the mouth, but he gaue the ſacrament of hys body to be receyued with the mouth: he gaue the ſacrament to the mouth, his body to the mynd.

Treſham. But my reaſon doth conclude, that Chriſt ſpake concernyng hys fleſhe to bee receyued wyth the corporall mouth: for otherwyſe (which God forbid) he had bene a deceyuer, and had bene offenſiue to the Capernaites and his Diſciples, if hee had not meant in this point, as they thought he ment: for if he had thought as you do fayne, it had bene an eaſie matter for him to haue ſayd: *You ſhall not eate my fleſh with your mouth, but the Sacrament of my fleſh: that is to ſay, ye ſhall receyue with your mouth, not the thyng it ſelfe, but the figure of the thyng, and thus he might haue ſatiſfied them: but ſo he ſayd not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was woont: Therfore Chriſt meant the ſelfe ſame thyng that the Capernaits dyd, I meane concerning the thyng it ſelfe to bee receyued with the mouth: videlicet, that his true fleſh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreouer, for as much as you doe expound for (corpus Chriſti) the body of Chriſt (Sacramentum corporis Chriſti) the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, & hereby do ſuppoſe that we obteine but a ſpirituall vnion, or vnion of the mynd betweene vs and Chriſt, playne it is that you are deceyued in this thyng, and do erre from the mynd of the Fathers: for they affirme by playne and expreſſe wordes, that we are corporally and carnally ioyned together. And theſe be the wordes of Hyllarie: Si verè igitur carnem corporis noſtri Chriſtus aſſumpſit, & verè homo ille, qui ex Maria natus fuit, nos quoque verè ſub myſterio carnē corporis ſui ſumimus, & per hęc vnum erimus, quia pater in eo eſt, & ille in nobis. Quomodo voluntatis vnitas aſſeritur, cum naturalis per ſacramentum proprietas perfectè Sacramentum ſit vnitatis? That is, Therefore if Chriſt dyd truely take the fleſh of our body vpon hym, and the ſame man be Chriſt in deede which was borne of Mary, then we alſo doe receyue vnder a myſterie, the fleſhe of hys body in deede, and thereby ſhall become one, becauſe the father is in hym, and he in vs. How is the vnitie of wyll affirmed, when a naturall proprietie, by the ſacrament is a perfect Sacrament of vnitie?

* And what doth Chriſt els meane by theſe words where he ſayth: My words be ſpirite & lyfe: the fleſh profiteth nothing.

Thus farre hath Hyllarie. Loe here you ſee how manifeſtly theſe wordes confound your aſſertion. To be ſhort I my ſelfe haue heard you preachyng at Greenewich, before king Henry the eight, where you did openly affirme, that no Chriſtian man ought to doubt of the true and reall preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, for as much as he had the worde of Scripture on his ſide, (videlicet, Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body: wherby he might be confirmed. But now there is the ſame truth: the word of Scripture hath the ſelfe ſame thyng which it then had. Therfore why do you deny at this preſent, that whereof it was not lawfull once to doubt before when you taught it?

M. Latimer charged to preach the contrary doctrine before the king at Grenewich.

Lat. Will you geue me leaue to ſpeake?

Treſ. Speake Latine I pray you, for ye can doe it if ye liſt, promptly enough.

Lat. I can not ſpeake Latine ſo long and ſo largely. Maiſter Prolocutor hath geuen me leaue to ſpeake Engliſh: And as for the words of Hyllarie, I thinke they make not ſo much for you. But he that ſhall anſwer the Doctours, had not neede to be in my caſe, but ſhould haue them in a readineſſe, and know their purpoſe. Melancthon ſayth, if the Doctours had foreſeene that they ſhould haue bene ſo taken in this controuerſie, they would haue written more playnely.

Melanc iudgeme of the old Doctou

Smyth. I will reduce the words of Hyllary into the forme of a Syllogiſme.

Argum

Da- Such as is the vnitie of our fleſh with Chriſtes fleſh,
 such, (yea greater) is the vnitie of Chriſt with the
 Father.
ti- But the vnitie of Chriſts fleſh with ours, is true and
 ſubſtantiall:
ſi. Ergo, the vnitie of Chriſt with the Father is true and
 ſubſtantiall.

Lat. I vnderſtand you not.

Seat. I know your learning well enough, & how ſubtell ye be: I will vſe a few wordes with you, and that out of Cyprian, De cœna Domini. The old Teſtament doth forbidde the drinking of bloud. The new Teſtament doth cōmand the drinking and taſting of bloud: but where doth it commaund the drinking of bloud?

D. Se reaſoneth againſt M. Latimer of S. Cyprian.

Lat. In theſe wordes: Bibite ex hoc omnes: that is, Drinke ye all of this.

Seat. Then we taſte true bloud.

Latimer. We do taſte true bloud, but ſpiritually: and this is enough.

Seat. Nay, the olde and new Teſtament in this doe *differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid to drinke bloud.

By that reaſon the new & old teſtamēt ſhould not differ, but ſhould be contrary one fro the other, which can not be true in natural or moral precepts.

Lat. It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the maner of the thing.

Seat. Then there is no difference betwene the drinkyng of bloud in the new Teſtament, and that of the old: for they alſo dranke ſpiritually.

Latimer. And we drinke ſpiritually alſo, but a more precious bloud.

Weſt. Auguſtine vpon the 45. Pſalme, ſaith: Securè bibite ſanguinem quē fudiſtis. i. Drinke boldly the bloud which ye haue poured out.

Ergo, it is bloud.

Lat. I neuer denied it, nor neuer wyll go from it, but that we drinke the very bloud of Chriſt in deed, but ſpiritually, for the ſame S. Auguſtine ſaith: Crede & manducaſti. i. Beleue, and thou haſt eaten.

Weſt. Nay, Credere, non eſt bibere nec edere. i. To beleue, is not to drinke or eate. You will not ſay, I pledge you, when I ſay, I beleue in God. Is not (manducare) to eate, in your learnyng put for (credere) to beleeue?

Edere in ſome place is taken for credere but that in all places it is ſo taken it followeth not.

Weſton. I remember my L. Chauncellor demanded M. Hooper of theſe queſtions, whether *(Edere) to eate, were (Credere) to beleeue, and (Altare) an Aultar, were Chriſt, in all the Scripture, &c. And he anſwered yea.

Then ſaid my Lord Chauncellor: Why, then *Habemus Altare de quo non licet edere. i. Wee haue an Aultare, of which it is not lawfull to eate, is as much to ſay, as Habemus Chriſtum, in quo non licet credere. i. We haue a Chriſt, in whom we may not beleeue.

This place of the Hebrewes alluded to the old Sacrifice of the Iewes, in the of propi on the day, cary the fleſh of the ſacrifice of the to be burned out Altar out none of which ued in the Taberna ſhould thereof ly the was car by the Prieſt the holy place.

Treſ. Beleeue, and thou haſt eaten, is ſpoken of the ſpirituall eatyng.

Latimer. It is true, I doe allowe your ſaying: I take it ſo alſo.

Weſton. We are commaunded to drinke bloud in the new Lawe.

Ergo, it is very bloud.

Lat. We drinke bloud, ſo as appertaineth to vs to drinke to our comfort, in ſacramentall wyne. We drinke bloud Sacramentally: he gaue vs his bloud to drinke ſpiritually, he went about to ſhew, that as certainly as we drinke wyne, ſo certainly we drinke his bloud ſpiritually.

Weſt. Do not you ſeeme to be a papiſt, which do bryng in new wordes, not found in the ſcripture? Where find you, that (Sacramentaliter) Sacramentally, in Gods booke?

Lat. It is neceſſarily gathered vpon ſcripture.

Weſt. The old Teſtament doth forbid the taſting of bloud, but the new doth commaund it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touchyng the maner thereof.

Weſt. Heare ye people, this is the argument.

That which was forbidden in the olde Teſtament, is commaunded in the new.

To drinke bloud was forbidden in the old Teſtament

and commaunded in the new.
Ergo, it is very bloud that we drinke in the new.

¶This argument, becauſe the Maior thereof is not vniuerſall, is not formall, and may well be retorted agaynſt Weſt. thus.

Ce- No naturall or morall thyng forbidden materially in the old Teſtament, is commaunded in the new.
la- To drinke mans naturall bloud, is forbidden materially in the old Teſtament:
rent. Ergo, to drinke mans naturall bloud materially, is not commaunded in the new.

Lat. It is commaunded ſpiritually to be dronken, I graunt it is bloud dronken in the new Teſtament, but we receyue it ſpiritually.

Pie. It was not forbidden ſpiritually in the old law.

Latimer. The ſubſtance of bloud is dronken, but not in one maner.

Pie. It doth not require the ſame maner of drinkyng.

Lat. It is the ſame thyng, not the ſame manner. I haue no more to ſay.

Weſton. Here Weſton cited the place of Chryſoſtome, of Iudas treaſon: O Iudę dementia. Ille cum Iudæis triginta denarijs paciſcebatur, vt Chriſtum venderet, & Chriſtus ei ſanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat: That is, O the madneſſe of Iudas, He made bargayne with the Iewes for thirtie pence to ſell Chriſt, and Chriſt offred him his bloud which he ſold.

Lat. I graunt he offred to Iudas his bloud, which he ſold, but in a ſacrament.

Weſton. Becauſe ye can defend your Doctors no better, ye ſhall ſee how worſhipfull men ye hang vpon, and one that hath bene of your mynd, ſhall diſpute with you. M. Cartwright, I pray you diſpute.

Cart. Reuerend father, becauſe it is geuen me in commaundement to diſpute with you, I will do it gladly. But firſt vnderſtand ere we go any further, that I was in the ſame errour that you are in: but I am ſory for it, and do confeſſe my ſelfe to haue erred. I acknowledge myne offence, and I wyſhe and deſire God that you alſo may repente wyth me.

Latimer. Wyll you geue me leaue to tell what hath cauſed M. Doctour here to recant? It is poena legis, the payne of the law, which hath brought you backe, and conuerted you, and many moe: the which letteth many to confeſſe God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can diſſolue it.

Cartwright. That is not my cauſe, but I wil make you this ſhort Argument, by which I was conuerted from myne errours.

If the true bodye of Chriſt bee not really in the Sacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the Apoſtles tyme.
But Chriſt would not ſuffer his church to erre:
Ergo, it is the true body of Chriſt.

Lat. The popiſh Church hath erred, & doth erre. I thinke for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen hundred yeares, there was no mentiō made of any eating but ſpiritually: for before theſe fiue hundred yeares, the Church did euer confeſſe a ſpirituall manducation. But the Romiſh church begate the errour of tranſubſtantiation. My Lord of Caunterburies booke handleth that very well, and by him I could anſwer you, if I had hym.

Cart. Linus and all the reſt do confeſſe the body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament: and S. Auguſtine alſo vpon the 98. Pſalme, vpon this place: Adorate ſcabellum pedum. &c. grāteth it to be worſhipped.

Lat. We doe worſhip Chriſt in the heauens, & we do worſhip him in the Sacrament: but the maſſing worſhip is not to be vſed.

Smyth. Doe you thinke that Cyrill was of the auncient Church?

Lat. I do thinke ſo.

Smyth. He ſayth, that Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally: Theſe be Cyrils words of the myſticall benediction.

Lat. That (*corporally) hath another vnderſtanding, then you do groſſely take it.

¶ Cyrill ſayth, that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in vs, but he ſayth not that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in yͤ bread. which dwelling of Chriſt in vs, is as our dwelling is alſo in Chriſt, not locall or corporall, but ſpiritual & heauenly (corporally) therfore it is to be takē here in the ſame ſenſe as S. Paul ſaith, the fulnes of diuinitie to dwell in Chriſt corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and ſubſtantially, with all his vertue and power, &c. And ſo dwelleth Chriſt corporally in vs alſo.

Smyth. Here Smyth repeateth theſe words of Cyrill: Per communionem corporis Chriſti, habitat in nobis Chriſtus corporaliter: That is, By the communicating of the bodye of Chriſt, Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally.

Latimer. The ſolution of this is in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

Smyth. Cyrill was no papiſt, and yet theſe be his wordes: Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally, but you ſay he dwelleth in vs ſpiritually.

The immodeſt behauiour of this Iacke ſcorner to be noted.

Latimer. I ſay both: that he dwelleth in vs both corporally and ſpiritually, accordyng to his meanyng: Spiritually by fayth, and corporally by taking our fleſh vpon hym. For I remember I haue read this in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

Weſton. For becauſe your learnyng is let out to Ferme, and ſhut vp in my Lord of Caunterburies booke. I wyll recite vnto you a place of S. Ambroſe, De apparatione ad Miſſam, where he ſayth: Videmus principem ſacerdotem ad nos venientem, & offerentem ſanguinem, &c. That is, wee ſee the chiefe Prieſte commyng vnto vs, and offeryng bloud, &c.

Likewiſe both Auguſtine in the 38. Pſal. and Chryſoſtome, concerning the incomprehenſible nature of God, Tom. 3. ſay: Non ſolum homines, &c.

August. in Pſal. 31. Chriſoſt. De incomprehenſibili Dei natura.

Lat. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge myne ignoraunce, and theſe teſtimonies are more then I can beare away.

Weſt. Then muſt you leaue ſome behynde you for lacke of cariage.

Latimer. But for Chryſoſtome, hee hath many figuratiue ſpeaches, and Emphaticall loquutions, in many places, as in that which you haue now recited: but he ſayeth not, For the quicke and the dead; he taketh the celebration for the ſacrifice.

Chriſoſt. full of figuratiue ſpeaches and Emphaticall loquutions.

Weſt. You ſhall heare Chryſoſtome againe, vpon the ninth chap. of the Actes: Quid dicis? Hoſtia in manibus ſacerdotis, &c. He doth not call it a cup of wyne.

Chriſoſt. in Act. cap. 9

Lat. Ye haue myne anſwer there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, Propitiatorium ſacrificium, i. A propitiatorie ſacrifice.

Weſt. You ſhal heare it to be ſo: and I bring another place of Chryſoſtome out of the ſame treatiſe: Non temerè ab Apoſtolis eſt inſtitutum, &c.

Weſton. He is too precious a thing for vs to offer: he offereth hymſelfe.

Weſton. Here in an other place of Chryſoſtome to the people of Antioche, Homil. 69. and alſo to the Philippians he ſayeth: There ſhould bee a memorye and ſacrifice for the dead.

Chriſoſt. ad populum Antioch. Hom. 69

Lat. I doe ſay that the holy communion beareth the name of a ſacrifice, becauſe it is a ſacrifice memoratiue.

Weſt. How ſay you to the ſacrifice for the dead.

Lat. I ſay that it needeth not, or it booteth not.

Weſt. Auguſtine in his Enchiridion, the 110. chap. ſayeth: Non eſt negandum defunctorum animos pietate ſuorum viuentium releuari, quum pro illis ſacrificium Mediatoris offertur: That is, we muſt not deny, that the ſoules of the dead are relieued by the deuotion of their friendes which are liuing, when the ſacrifice of the Mediatour is offered for them. where he prooueth the veritie of Chriſtes body, & praying for the dead. And it is ſayd, that the ſame Auguſtine ſayd maſſe for his mother.

Auguſt Encherid. cap. 110.

Auguſt. falſly belyed to ſay Maſſe for his Mother.

Lat. But that maſſe was not like yours, which thing doth manifeſtly appeare in his writings, which are agaynſt it in euery place. And Auguſtine is a reaſonable man, he requireth to be beleued no further, then he bringeth ſcripture for his proofe, and agreeth with Gods word.

Weſt. In the ſame place he prooueth a propiciatorie ſacrifice and that vpon an aulter, and no Oyſter boord.

The blaſphemous mouth of D. Weſton, calling the Lordes table an Oyſter bord.

Lat. It is the Lords table, and no Oyſter boord. It may be called an aultar, and ſo the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propiciatorie ſacrifice, but only Chriſt. The doctors might be deceiued in ſome points, though not in all things. * I beleeue them when they ſay well.

Cole. Is it not a ſhame for an old man to lye? You ſay, you are of the old fathers fayth, where they ſay well, and yet ye are not.

Doctores legendi ſunt cum venia.

Lat. I am of their faith when they ſay well. I referre my ſelfe to my L. of Caunterburies booke wholy herein.

Smyth. Then are you not of Chryſoſtomes faith, nor of S. Auguſtines fayth.

Lat. I haue ſaid, when they ſaid well, and bring ſcripture for them, I am of their faith, and further Auguſtine requireth not to be beleeued.

Weſt. Origen. Hom. 13. vpon Leuiticus.

Latimer. I haue but one worde to ſay, Panis Sacramentalis,

the

Anno 1554. Aprill.

the Sacramentall bread, is called a Propitiation, becauſe it is a Sacrament of the Propitiation. What is your vocation?

Weſt. My vocation is at this tyme to diſpute, otherwiſe I am a Prieſt, and my vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where haue you that authoritie geuen you to offer?

Weſt. Hoc facite, Do this, for facite in that place is taken for offerte, that is, offer you.

Facere, for ſacrificare, with D. Weſton.

Lat. Is Facere nothing but ſacrificare to ſacrifice? Why then no man muſt receiue the ſacrament but prieſtes onely: for there may none offer but prieſts.

Ergo, there may none receiue but prieſts.

Weſt. Your argument is to be denied.

If Chriſt offered himſelfe at the Supper, and the next day vpon the Croſſe, then was Chriſt twiſe offered.

Lat. Did Chriſt then offer himſelfe at his ſupper?

Pye. Yea, he offred himſelfe for the whole world.

Latimer. Then if this worde (Facite) Do ye, ſignifie Sacrificate, Sacrifice ye, it followeth, (as I ſayd) that none but Prieſtes onely ought to receiue the Sacrament, to whom it is onely lawfull to ſacrifice: and where find you that, I pray you?

Weſt. Fourty yeare agone, whether could you haue gone to haue found your doctrine?

Lat. The more cauſe we haue to thanke God, that hath now ſent the light into the world.

Weſtōs rayling.

Weſt. The light? Nay lite and lewd Preachers: for you could not tell what you might haue: Ye altered & changed ſo often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to ſpoile and rob the Church.

Latimer. Theſe things pertayne nothyng to mee. I muſt not aunſwere for other mens deedes, but onely for myne owne.

Weſt. Well, M. Latimer, this is our entent, to wyll you well, and to exhort you to come to your ſelfe, and remember that without Noes Arke, there is no health. Remember what they haue bene that were the beginners of your doctrine, none but a few flying Apoſtataes, runnyng out of Germany for feare of the fagot. Remember what they haue bene which haue ſet forth the ſame in this Realme: A ſort of flyngbraines and light heads, which were neuer conſtant in any one thyng, as it was to be ſeene in the turnyng of the Table, where lyke a ſort of Apes, they coulde not tell which way to turne their tailes, looking one day Weſt, and another day Eaſt, one that way, and an other this way. They will be lyke (they ſay) to the Apoſtles, they wyll haue no Churches. A houell is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no reuerence. They get them a Tankard, and one ſayth, I drinke, and I am thankfull: the more ioy of thee, ſayth another. And in them was it true that Hyllary ſayth: Annuas & meſtruas de deo fides facimus. id eſt, We make euery yere and euery month a fayth. A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worſhipping of Chriſt in the Sacrament: by whoſe procurement that hereſie was put into the laſt Cōmunion booke: ſo much preuayled that one mans authoritie at that tyme. You neuer agreed with the Tygurines or Germaines, or with the Churche, or with your ſelfe. Your ſtubbornneſſe commeth of a vayne glory, which is to no purpoſe: for it will do you no good when a fagot is in your beard. And we ſee all by your owne confeſſion, how little cauſe you haue to be ſtubborn, for your learning is in feoffers hold. The Queenes grace is mercifull, if ye will turne.

D. Weſtons Apes haue tayles.

Blaſphemous lyes of D. Weſtō ſitting in Cathedra peſtilentiæ.

Who be theſe or where be they M. Oblocutor, that will be lyke the Apoſtles that will haue no Churches that be runnagates out of Germany that get them tancardes? that make monthly faythes? that worſhip not Chriſt in all his Sacramentes? Speake truth mā and ſhame the deuill.

Lat. You ſhall haue no hope in me to turne, I pray for the Queene daily euen from the bottome of my hart, that ſhe may turne from this religion.

Weſt. Here you all ſee the weakenes of hereſie againſt the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Here all good Readers maye ſee how this glorious Prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victorye or no, that I ſuppoſe they haue not yet, neyther heard nor ſeene. And geue that he had the victory, yet what great meruayle was it, diſputyng as hee dyd, Non ſine ſuo Theſeo: that is, not without his tipplyng cuppe ſtanding at his elbow all the time of his diſputation, notwithout a priuy notyng and ſmilyng of them that beheld the matter, but ſpecially at that tyme, when Doctour Ridley diſputyng with one of the Opponentes, the ſayd Prolocutor tooke the cuppe, and holding it in hys hand, ſayd to the Opponent: Vrge hoc, vrge hoc: Nam hoc facit pro nobis. In which wordes as he mooued no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof: ſo I thought here alſo not to leaue the ſame vnmentioned, ſomwhat alſo to delight the Reader withal, after his tedious wearines in reading the ſtory therof.

Vrge hoc quoth Weſton, with his beerepot.

¶ To the Reader.

And thus haſt thou (louyng Reader) the whole action and ſtage of this Doctourly diſputation ſhewed forth vnto thee, againſt theſe three worthy Confeſſours and Martyrs of the Lorde, wherein thou mayeſt behold the diſordered vſage of the Uniuerſitie men, the vnmanerly manner of the Schoole, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceneſſe and interruption of the Doctors, the full pith and ground of all their argumēts, the cenſures of the Iudges, the railyng language of the Oblocutor, with his blaſt of triumph in the latter ende, being both the actor, the moderator, and alſo Iudge himſelfe. And what maruell then if the courage of this victorious Conquerour, hauyng the lawe in his owne handes, to doe and ſay what him liſted, would ſay for himſelf, Vicit veritas, although he ſayd neuer a true word, nor made neuer a true concluſion almoſt in al that diſputation.

It followed furthermore after diſputation of theſe three dayes being ended, that M. Harpſfield the next day after, which was the xix. of Aprill, ſhould diſpute for his forme, to be made Doctor. To the which diſputation the Archb. of Cant. was brought forth, and permitted among the reſt to vtter an argument or two, in defence of his cauſe. As in ſequele hereof may appeare.

✻ Diſputation of Maiſter Harpeſfield Bachiler of Diuinitie, aunſwering for his forme to be made Doctour.

Harpeſfield.

I Am not ignoraunt what a weighty matter it is, to entreat of the whole order and trade of the ſcriptures: and moſt hard it is to, in the great contention of Religion, to ſhew the ready way, whereby the ſcriptures may be beſt vnderſtanded. For the oftē reading of them doth not bring the true vnderſtanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the redy way, not to folow our owne heads and ſenſes, but to geue ouer our iudgement vnto the holy catholike Church, who hath had of olde yeres the truth, and alwayes deliuered the ſame to their poſteritie: but if the often readyng of ſcriptures, and neuer ſo paynefull comparing of places ſhould bring the true vnderſtandyng, then diuers heretikes might preuaile euen agaynſt whole generall Councels. The * Iewes did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Sauiour that they waited for. But what auailed it them? Notwithſtanding, I know right well, that diuers places of the ſcripture doe much warne vs of the often reading of the ſame, and what fruit doth therby follow: as Scrutamini, &c. Search the ſcriptures: for they do beare witneſſe of me, &c. Lex Domini, &c. The law of the Lord is pure, able to turne ſoules. And that ſaying of S. Paule: Omnis Scriptura, &c. All Scripture inſpired from aboue, doth make that a man may bee inſtructed to all good workes. Howbeit, doth the lawe of the Iewes conuert their ſoules? are they by reading inſtructed to euery good worke? The letter of the old Teſtament, is the ſame that we haue.

The heretikes alſo haue euer had the ſame ſcriptures which we haue that be Catholikes. But they are ſerued as Tantalus that the Poetes do ſpeake of, who in the plentye of thynges to eate and drinke, is ſayd to bee oppreſſed with hunger and thirſt. The ſwifter that men do ſeeke the Scriptures without the Catholike church, the deeper they fall, and fynde hell for their labour. Saint Cyprian neuer ſwaruing from the Catholike Church, ſaith: He that doth not acknowledge the Church to bee his mother, ſhall not haue God to be his father. Therefore it is true Diuinitie, to bee wiſe with the Church, where Chriſt ſayeth: Niſi manducaueritis, &c. Vnleſſe ye eate my fleſhe, and drinke my bloud, ye haue no lyfe in you.

If he had meant of onely eating bread, and drinkyng wyne, nothyng had bene more pleaſaunt to the Capernaites, neither would they haue forſaken hym. The fleſhe profiteth nothing to them that doe ſo take it. For the Capernaites did imagine Chriſt to be geuen in ſuch ſorte as he lyued. But Chriſt ſpake high thinges: not that they ſhould haue hym as fleſhe in the market, but to conſider his preſence with the ſpirite, * vnder the formes whereby it is geuen. As there is an alteration of bodies by courſes and tymes of ages, ſo there is no leſſe * varietie in eatyng of bodies.

Theſe things which I haue recited briefly, M. Harpſfield did with many more wordes ſet out: and hereupon D. Weſton diſputed againſt hym.

Weſt. Chriſtes real body is not in the ſacrament:

Ergo, you are deceyued.

Harpſ. I deny the antecedent.

Weſt. Iohn the 6. Dico veritatem vobis, &c. I ſpeake the truth vnto you: It behoooueth me that I go away from you. For vnleſſe I do depart, that comforter cannot come, &c.

Upon this I will make this argument.

Chriſt is ſo gone away as he did ſend the holy Ghoſt.

But the holy Ghoſt did verily come into the world:

Ergo, Chriſt is verily gone.

Harpſ. He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

Weſt. S. Auguſtine ſayth, that theſe wordes: Ego ero, &c. I wyll be with you euen to the end of the world, are accompliſhed, ſecundum maieſtatem, According to his maieſtie: But ſecundum præſentiam carnis, non eſt hic, By the preſence of hys fleſh, he is not here. The Church hath hym not in fleſh, but by beliefe.

Harpſ. We muſt diligently weigh that there are two natures in Chriſt: the diuine nature, & humane nature. The diuine nature is of ſuch ſort, that it cannot chuſe but bee in all places. The humane nature is not ſuch, that of force it muſt be in all places, although it be in diuers, after a diuers maner. So where that the doctors do entreat of hys preſence by maieſtie, they do commend the maieſtie of the Diuine nature not to hinder vs of the * natural preſence here in the ſacrament.

Weſt. He ſayth further: Me autem non ſemper habebitis: Ye ſhall not haue me alwayes with you, is to be vnderſtanded in the fleſhe.

Harpſfield. The preſence of the fleſh is to bee conſidered, that he is not here as he was wont to lyue in conuerſation with them, to be ſeene, talked withall, or in ſuch ſort as a man may geue hym * any thyng: after that ſort he is not preſent.

Weſt. But what ſay you to this of S. Auguſtine: Nõ eſt hic, He is not here.

Harpeſfield. I do anſwer out of S. Auguſtine vpon Iohn, Tractatu. 25. vpon theſe wordes. Non videbitis me. Vado ad patrem, &c. I goe to the Father, ye ſhall not ſee me: That is, Such as I now am. Therefore I doe deny the maner of hys preſence.

Weſt. I wil ouerthrow S. Auguſtine with S. Auguſtine: who ſaith this alſo: Quomodo quis poſſit tenere Chriſtum? fidem mitte & tenuiſti: that is, How may a man hold Chriſt? ſend thy fayth, and thou holdeſt hym.

So he ſheweth, that by ſending our fayth, we do hold Chriſt.

Harpeſfield. In deed no man holdeth Chriſt, vnleſſe he beleeue in him, but it is another thing to haue Chriſt mercyful and fauourable vnto vs, and to haue him preſent in the Sacrament.

There ſ. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of holding him by faith, as he is fauourable vnto vs.

Weſt. Nay, he ſpeaketh there how the Fathers had him in the fleſhe, and teacheth that we haue him not ſo in fleſhe, as they had him long tyme, ſayeng: Your fathers dyd holde Chriſt preſent in the fleſh, do you hold him in your heart. What wordes can be more plaine? Further he ſayth, He is gone, & is not here: he hath left vs, and yet hath not forſaken vs. Hic eſt maieſtate, abijt carne: He is here in maieſtie, and gone touching the fleſhe.

Harpſ. I doe vnderſtand Auguſtine thus: that Chriſt is here in his fleſh to them that receiue him worthily: to ſuch as doe not worthily receiue him, to them he is not preſent in the fleſhe. I iudge S. Auguſtine meaneth ſo. We haue hym, and haue hym not: we haue him in receiuyng hym worthily, otherwyſe not.

Weſt. Nay, Tenere carnem eſt tenere corticem literæ: I wyll proſecute another argument. Cyrill doth ſay: By the maieſtie of his diuinitie he is euer here, but the preſence of hys fleſhe hath be taken away.

Hapſfield. The ſenſe of Cyrill is thus to be vnderſtanded: The moſt true fleſhe of Chriſt is at the right hande of the Father. Thus the Fathers taught, and ſo they beleeued. Thus ſayd Cyrill: Thus ſaid Auguſtine, and becauſe this is the foundation of our fayth, they did oftentymes teach it. Therefore, when they proue this, (the body to bee in heauen,) they do not make agaynſt the preſence in the ſacrament.

So vnleſſe ye can plainly ſhew, that the fathers do directly ſay, he is not in the ſacrament, you make nothyng againſt me: for I haue ſhewed why the Fathers ſo ſpake. They did teach the great difference betwene the diuine nature, and the humane nature, as I haue before ſayd.

Weſton. I will then proue, that he is not in the ſacrament. Uigilius againſt ý hereticke Eutiches, vpon theſe words: Me autem non ſemper habebitis, ſayeth: The ſonne of God as touching his humanitie, is gone from vs, by his diuinitie hee remayneth with vs. And that ſame Uigilius in hys fourth booke, ſayeth: Hee that is in the heauen, is not in the earth, ſpeakyng of Chriſt.

Harpſ. I wyll ſhew you the reaſon of theſe wordes. The hereticke Eutiches did beleeue that the diuine nature of Chriſt was faſtned on the croſſe, and beleeued that Chriſt had no naturall body. To this Uigilius ſayd, that the humane nature was taken vp and aſcended, which could not ſo haue done, vnleſſe he had had a body. This he ſayd not, to take away the preſence in the ſacrament.

how then doth the ſame body remaine ſtill vnleſſe eyther ye make him to haue 2. bodyes: or els make 2. contradictoryes true in one propoſition.

For what had he to referre this ſentence to the Sacrament? Hee neuer dyd ſo much as dreame of the Sacrament.

Weſt. Cyrill ſayth: Although he be abſent from vs in body, yet are we gouerned by his ſpirit.

Cyrillus.

Harpſ. By theſe wordes he gaue vs a cheerefulneſſe, to aſpire vpwards, ſeeking therehence our helpe. For as touching his conuerſation, he is not ſo in the Sacrament, as one meet to be liued withall. But let hym teach vs that he is not there to feed vs: for after that ſort he is there.

The body of Chriſt is here to feede our bellyes, but not to be liued withal.

Weſt. You haue ſatiſfied me with your anſwers, in doyng the ſame learnedly, and catholikely. But now to an other argument.

* Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the earth by his body, as he was abſent from heauen when he liued here.

But when he did liue bodily on earth, the ſame naturall body was out of heauen.

Ergo, now whileſt his naturall body is in heauen, it is not in earth.

* The argument holdeth a proportione.

Harpſ. I deny the Maior.

Weſt. Fulgentus ad Tranſimundum Regem, libro ſecundo, ſaith: Secundum humanam ſubſtantiam abſens erat cœlo, cum deſcẽdit de cœlo. Theſe are Fulgentius wordes touchyng hys humane ſubſtaunce. He was abſent from heauen, when he deſcended from heauen, and touching the ſame ſubſtance, now he is in heauen, he is not on the earth: but concernyng the diuine nature, he neuer forſooke, neither heauen nor earth.

¶ After theſe wordes, not waityng Harpſfields aunſwer, he offered maiſter Cranmer to diſpute: who began in this wyſe.

Cranmer. I haue heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignitie of the ſcriptures, which I doe both commend, & haue maruelled thereat within my ſelfe. But where as you referre the true ſenſe & iudgement of ý ſcriptures to the catholicke churche as iudge thereof, you are much deceued, ſpecially for ý vnder the name of the church you appoynt ſuch Iudges as haue corruptly iudged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the ſcriptures. I wonder likewyſe why you attribute ſo little to the diligent readyng of the ſcriptures, and conferryng of places, ſeyng the ſcriptures do ſo much commend the ſame, as wel in diuers other places, as alſo in thoſe which you your ſelfe haue alredy alleged. And as touching your opinion of theſe queſtiõs, it ſemeth to me, neither to haue any groũd of the word of god, nor of the Primitiue church. And to ſay the truth, ý ſcholemen haue ſpoken diuerſly of them, and do not agree therein among themſelues. Wherfore myndyng here briefly to ſhew my iudgement alſo, I muſt deſire you firſt to aunſwere me to a fewe queſtions which I ſhall demaund of you. Which beyng done, we ſhall the better proceed in our diſputation. Moreouer, I muſt deſire you to beare alſo with my rudenes in the Latin tonge, which through long diſuſe is not now ſo prompt and ready with me, as it hath bene. And now all other things ſet apart, I mynd chiefly to haue regard to the truth. My firſt queſtion is this: How Chriſtes body is in the ſacrament, accordyng to your mynde or determination?

The opinion of M. Harpſfeld reproued, referring the ſence of the Scripture rather to the iudgemẽt of the Church then to the diligent reading & conferring of places.

Then anſwered a Doctor, he is there as touching hys ſubſtance, but not after the maner of his ſubſtance.

Harpſfield. He is there in ſuch ſort and manner, as he may be eaten.

Chriſt preſent in the Sacramẽt in ſubſtance, but not after the maner of ſubſtance.

Cran. My next queſtion is: Whether he hath his quantitie & qualities, forme, figure, and ſuch like properties.

Harpſfield. Are theſe your queſtions, ſayd Maiſter Harpſfield? I may likewiſe aſke you when Chriſt paſſed thorough the virgines wombe, an ruperit necne? When they had thus a while contended, there were diuers opinions in this matter.

All the doctors fell in a buzzing, incertaine what to anſwer: ſome thought one way, ſome another, and thus maſter Doctors could not agree.

The Rabines could not agree among themſelues.

Then maiſter Cranmer ſaid thus: you put of queſtions with queſtions, and not with aunſweres. I aſke one thyng of you, and you aunſwer another. Once agayne I aſke: Whether he haue thoſe properties which he had on the earth?

Treſh. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging

Chriſtes body without his properties in the Sacrament.

Anno 1554. Aprill.

longing to a body.

Smyth Stay you Maiſter Treſham. I wyll aunſwere to you Maiſter Doctor, with the wordes of Damaſcene: Transformatur panis,&c. The bread is transformed,&c. But if thou wilt enquire how, Modus impoſſibilis, The manner is impoſſible.

The Doctours in a doubt.

Then two or three other added their aunſwers to this queſtion, ſomewhat doubtfully. A great hurley burley was among them: ſome affirming one thyng, and ſome another.

Cran. Doe you appoynt me a body, and cannot tell what maner of bodye? Either he hath not his quantitie, or els you are ignorant how to anſwer it.

Harpſ. Theſe are vaine queſtions, & it is not meet to ſpend the tyme on them.

Lanfrancus contra Berengariũ.

Weſt. Heare me a while, Lanfrancus ſometyme Biſhop of Caunterbury, doth anſwer in this wiſe vnto Berengarius vpon ſuch like queſtions: Salubriter credi poſſunt, fideliter queri non poſſunt: They may be well beleued, but neuer faithfully aſked.

Cranmer. If ye thinke good to aunſwer it, ſome of you declare it.

Harpſ. He is there as pleaſeth hym to be there.

Cranmer. I would be beſt contented with that aunſwere, if that your appoynting of a carnall preſence had not driuen me of neceſſitie to haue enquired for diſputatiõs ſake, howe you place hym there, ſithence you will haue a naturall body.

The Papiſtes would haue Chriſtes body in the Sacramẽt, but they cannot tell how.

When agayne he was anſwered of diuers at one time, ſome denying it to be quantum, ſome ſaying it to be quantitatiuum, ſome affirming it to haue modum quanti, ſome denying it, ſome one thyng, ſome an other: vp ſtart D. Weſton, and doughtily decided (as he thought) all the matter, ſaying: It is Corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti. i. It is a body (ſayeth he) hauyng quantitie, but not according to the maner of quantitie.

Whereunto M. Warde, a great Sophiſter, thinkyng the matter not fully anſwered, did largely declare and diſcourſe his ſentence: How learnedly and truely I cannot tell, nor I thinke he hymſelfe neither, ne yet the beſt learned there. For it was ſayd ſince, that farre better learned then he, layd as good eare to hym as they could, & yet could by no meanes perceyue to what ende all his talke tended.

M. Ward in the miſty cloudes of dunſes quidditics.

In deed he told a formall tale to cloute vp the matter. Hee was full of quantum & quantitatiuum. This that followeth, was as it is thought, the effect, yet others think no. How be it we wyll rehearſe the ſumme of his wordes, as it is thought he ſpake them.

Aristotle muſt helpe to tell vs how Chriſt is in the Sacrament, Chriſt ſine modo quantitatiuo in the Sacramẽt.

Warde. We muſt conſider (ſayth he) that there are duæ poſitiones, Two poſitions. The one ſtandeth by the order of partes, with reſpect of the whole. The other in reſpect of that which conteyneth. Chriſt is in the Sacrament in reſpect of the whole. This propoſition is in one of Ariſtotles Predicamentes, called Situs. I remember I dyd entreat theſe matters very largely, when I dyd rule and moderate the Philoſophicall diſputations in the publike Schooles. This poſition is ſine modo quantitatiuo, as by an enſample: you can neuer bring heauen to a quantitie. So I conclude that he is in the Sacrament, quantum ſine modo quantitatiuo.

These wordes he amplified very largely, and ſo high he clymed into the heauens with Duns his ladder, and not with the ſcriptures, that it is to be marueled how he could come downe again without falling. To whom M. Cranmer ſaid: Then thus do I make myne argument.

D. Cranmers argument.

Cran. In heauen his body hath quantitie, in earth it hath none by your ſaying.

Ergo, he hath two bodies, the one in heauen, the other in earth.

Here ſome would haue anſwered him, that he had quãtitie in both, and ſo put of the antecedent: but thus ſaid M. Harpſfield.

Harpſ. I denye your argument, though ſome would not haue had hym ſay ſo.

Cran. The argument is good. It ſtandeth vpon contradictories, which is the moſt ſureſt hold.

Harpſ. I deny that there are contradictions.

Cran. I thus proue it. Habere modum quantitatiuum & non habere, ſunt contradictoria.

Sed Chriſtus in cœlis, vt dicitis, habet modum quantitatiuũ, in terra non habet:

Ergo, duo ſunt corpora eius in quę cadunt hęc contradictoria: Nam in idem cadere non poſſunt.

Aristotle.4. Metaph. Impoſſibile eſt idem ſimul eſſe & non eſſe.

Weſt. I deny the Minor.

Harpſ. I aunſwer, that the Maior is not true. For Habere quantum, & non habere, non ſunt contradictoria niſi ſic conſiderantur eiuſdem ad idem, eodem modo & ſimpliciter.

Weſt. I confirme the ſame: for one body may haue modum quantitatiuum, and not haue: and idem corpus was paſſible and impaſſible, one body may haue woundes, and not woundes.

Cran. This cannot be at one tyme.

Weſton. The enſample of the Potter doth proue that I ſay: who of that that is clay now, maketh a pot or cuppe forthwith.

Cran. But I ſay againe, that it is ſo but at diuers tymes: as one piece of meat to be rawe and ſodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would haue it otherwiſe, that Chriſt ſhould be here and in heauen at one time, & ſhould haue modum quantitatiuum, and not haue: which cannot be but by ſuch argument as I haue ſhewed you.

Weſt. But I ſay, Chriſtes body was paſſible and not paſſible at one * inſtant.

Seat. You may aſke as well other queſtions, how he is in heauen? whether he ſit or ſtand, and whether he bee there as he liued here.

Cran. You your ſelfe by putting a naturall preſence, doe force me to queſtion how he is here. Therfore, next I doe aſke this queſtion: whether good and euill men do eat the body in the ſacrament?

Harpſ. Yea, they do ſo, euen as the ſunne doth ſhine vppon kings pallaices, and on dung heapes.

Cran. Then doe I enquire how long Chriſt tarieth in the eater.

Harpſ. Theſe are curious queſtions, vnmeet to be aſked.

Cranmer. I haue taken them out of your Schooles and Schoolemen, which you your ſelues doe moſt vſe: and there alſo doe I learne to aſke how farre he goeth into the body.

Harpſ. Wee know that the bodye of Chriſt is receyued to nouriſh the whole man concernyng both body and ſoule: Eo vſq; progreditur corpus quouſq; * ſpecies.

Cran. How long doth he abide in the body?

Seat. S. Auguſtine ſaith, our fleſh goeth into his fleſh. But after he is once receiued into the ſtomacke, it maketh no matter for vs to know how far he doth pierce, or whether he is conueied.

¶Here M. Treſham and one M. London anſwered, that Chriſt beyng geuen there vnder ſuch forme and quantitie as pleaſed him, it was not to be enquired of his tarying, or of his deſcending into the body.

Harpſ. You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the ſcripture: ſaying alwayes that we ſhould fetch the truth out of the ſcripture, and now you your ſelfe bring queſtions out of the Schoolemen, which you haue diſallowed in vs.

Cran. I ſay as I haue ſayd alway, that I am conſtrayned to aſke theſe Queſtions, becauſe of this carnall preſence, which you imagine: and yet I know right wel, that theſe queſtions be anſwered out of the Scriptures: As to my laſt queſtion: How long he abideth in the body? &c. The ſcripture anſwereth plainly, that Chriſt doth ſo lõg dwell in his people, as they are his members. Wherupõ I make this argument.

Ba- They which eate the fleſh of Chriſt, do dwel in hym, and he in them.

ro- But the wicked doe not remaine in hym, nor he in them:

co. Ergo, the wicked do not eate his fleſh, nor drinke his bloud.

Harpſ. I will anſwer vnto you, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, not that how ſo euer a man do eate, he eateth the body: but he that eateth after a certaine maner.

Cran. I cannot tel what maner ye appoint, but I am ſure that euill men do not eate the fleſh and drinke the bloud of Chriſt, as Chriſt ſpeaketh in the ſixt of Iohn.

Harpſ. In the ſixt of Iohn, ſome things are to be referred to the godly, and ſome to the vngodly.

Cranmer. Whatſoeuer he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertayne vnto good men.

Harpſ. If you do meane onely of the worde of eating, it is true: if concerning the thing, it is not ſo: And if your meaning be of that which is conteined vnder the word of eating, it may be ſo taken, I graunt.

Cran. Now to the Argument, He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in mee, and I in hym. Doth not this proue ſufficiently, that euill men doe not eate that the good doe?

Treſh. You muſt adde, Qui manducat dignè: He that eateth woorthily.

Cran. I ſpeake of the ſame manner of eatyng, that Chriſt ſpeaketh of.

Weſton. Auguſtinus ad fratres in Eremo, Sermon. 28. Eſt quidam

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dam manducandi modus.i. There is a certaine manner of eating. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of two maners of eating: the one of them that eat worthely, the other that eat vnworthely.

The 6. chap. of Iohn is to be referred partly to the Supper, partly to faith after the papiſtes.

Harpſ. All thinges in the 6. of Iohn are not to be referred to the Sacrament, but to the receiuing of Chriſte by faith. The fathers doe agree that there is not entreatie made of the ſupper of the Lorde, before they come vnto, Panis quem ego dabo vobis, caro mea eſt. &c.

Cran. There is entreatinge of Manna both before & after.

Harpſ. I will apply an other anſwer. This argument hath a kinde of poyſone in it, which muſt be thus bitten away, that Manna and this Sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacie of him ſelfe, but of God.

Comparison betweene eating of Manna, & eating the body of chriſt.

Cran. But they that did take Manna worthily, had fruite thereby: and ſo by your aſſertion, he that doth eat the fleſh of Chriſt worthily, hath his fruite by that.

Therefore the like doth folow of them both: and ſo there ſhould be no difference betwene Manna & thys ſacrament by your reaſon.

Harpſ. When it is ſayde, that they which did eate Manna, are dead, it is to be vnderſtand, that they did want the * vertue of Manna.

*If M. Harpſfield do meane of bodily life, they which eate the Sacrament doe die, as well as they which did eate the Manna. If he meane of ſpiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat Manna, nor all ſaued that do eate the Sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of Manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bringeth ſaluation: but only the ſpirituall beleeuing vppon Chriſtes bodely paſsion, which onely iuſtifieth both them and vs. And therefore as the effect is ſpirituall, whych Chriſt ſpeaketh of in this chapter: ſo is the cauſe of that effecte ſpirituall whereof hee meaneth, which is our ſpirituall beleeuing in him, and not our bodely eating of him.

Cran. They then which doe eate either of them worthely, doe liue.

Harpſ. They doe lyue whiche doe eate Manna worthely, not by Manna, but by the power of God geuen by it. The other which doe eate this Sacrament, do liue by the ſame.

Cran. Chriſte did not entreate of the cauſe, but the effecte which folowed: he doth not ſpeake of the cauſe whereof the effect proceedeth.

Harpſ. I do ſay the effects are diuers, life and death, which do folow the worthy, and the vnworthy eating therof.

Cran. Sithens you will needes haue an addition to it, we muſt vſe both in Manna & in this Sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or vnworthily.

Chriſt ſpake abſolutely of Manna, and of the Supper, ſo that after that abſolute ſpeaking of the Supper, wicked men can in no wiſe eate the fleſhe of Chriſte, and drinke his bloud.

August. in Iohn, tract. 26.

Further Auguſtine vpon Iohn, Tractatu 26. vppon theſe wordes, Qui manducat, &c. ſayth: There is no ſuche reſpecte in common meates, as in the Lords body. For who that eateth other meates, hath ſtill hunger, and needeth to be ſatiſfied daily: but hee that doth eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinketh his bloud, doth liue for euer. But you know wicked men not to doe ſo.

Ergo, wicked men doe not receiue.

Harpſ. S. Auguſtine meaneth, that hee who eateth Chriſtes fleſh, &c. after a certaine manner, ſhould liue for euer. Wicked men doe eate, but not after that maner.

Argument in the 1. figure and 2. mode.

Ca- Cran. Onely they which participate Chriſt, be of the myſticall body.

me- But the euill men are not of the myſticall body:

ſtres. Therefore they doe not participate Chriſt.

Doct. Cranmer commended for his modeſty.

Weſton. Your wonderfull gentle behaueour and modeſty (good maſter D. Cranmer) is worthy muche commendation: and that I may not depriue you of your right & iuſte deſeruing, I geue you moſt hearty thankes in myne owne name, and in the name of all my brethren. At which ſaying all the Doctors gently put off theyr cappes. Then M. Weſton did oppoſe the Reſpondent on this wiſe.

Tertull. contra Martion.

Weſt. Tertullian doth cal the ſacrament the ſigne and figure of the Lorde.

August. ad Dardan.

S. Auguſtine ad Dardanum ſayeth: Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis. i. The Lorde did not ſticke to ſay, this is my body, when hee gaue a ſigne of his body.

Auguſt. de doctrina Chriſtiana.

Beſides this, he geueth rules howe to vnderſtand the ſcriptures, ſaying: If the Scriptures ſeeme to commaund ſome heynous thing, then it is figuratiue, as by example: Manducare carnem & bibere ſanguinem, eſt tropicus ſermo. i. To eate the fleſh and drinke the bloud, is a tropicall ſpeache.

Aunſwere to Tertull.

Harpſ. Tertullian did wryte in that place againſt Martion an heretique, who denied Chriſt to haue a true body, and ſaid, he had onely a fantaſticall body. He went aboute to ſhewe that we had Chriſt both in heauē and in earth: and though we haue the true bodye in the Sacrament, yet hee woulde not goe about ſo to confounde him, as to ſay, that Chriſte was truely in the Sacrament: For that heretique woulde haue thereat rather marueiled, then beleeued it. Therefore hee ſhewed him, that it was the figure of Chriſte: and a figure can not be, but of a thing that is, or hath bene extant.

Aunſwere to Auguſt.

To the texte of Auguſtine: the Churche hathe neuer taught the contrarye. There is an outwarde thing in the Sacrament, which ſometimes hath ſundry names. For it maye be called a Figure in this declaration: That Bodye which is in the ſacrament, is a figure of Chriſt dwelling in heauen.

Aunſwere to Auguſt. De doctrina Chriſtiana.

To the thirde: That whych is brought by Auguſtine for example, about the vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be vnderſtanded, as tending to a generall manner of eating: ſo Manducare carnem, & bibere ſanguinem. i. To eate the fleſh, and drinke the bloude, may be a figuratiue ſpeache to exclude Anthropophagiam. i. The eating of mans fleſh, the which is, when we eate mans fleſh cutte into morſels, as we eate common meate: ſo as we neither haue nor eat Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The 2. queſtion.

Weſt. I vnderſtand your ſhort & learned anſweare, which doth ſufficiently content me. But nowe to the ſecond queſtion, which is of tranſubſtantiation.

The ſcripture calleth it bread.

Ergo, it is bread.

Harpſ. In the name of breade all is ſignified whyche wee doe eate.

Theodoretus Dial. 1.

Weſt. Theodoretus an ancient wryter, in his firſte Dialogue, ſayth, that Chriſt changed not the nature, but called it his body.

A ſingle ſole aunſwere to Theodoretus.

Harpſ. He doeth there ſpeake de Symbolo, which is, Externa ſpecies ſacramenti. i. The outwarde forme of the Sacrament. Hee meaneth that, that doth tarie in his owne nature. Moreouer, as it was reported, hee brought for his anſwere Auguſtinum in ſententijs Proſperi.

Theodoretus Dial. 2.

Weſt. Theodorete alſo in hys seconde Dialogue of theſe kindes of breade and wine ſayeth: Nec naturam egrediuntur, manent etiam in ſua ſubſtantia. i. They goe not oute of their owne nature, but they tarie in their owne ſubſtaunce.

Harpſ. They are vnderſtanded to be of the ſame ſubſtance wherein they are * turned.

*And how are they turned if they remayne in Priori ſubſtātia. Simbolum quid.

Weſt. But what ſay you by this? Manent in priori ſubſtantia: They remaine in their former ſubſtance.

Harpſ. Symbola manent: The outward ſignes doe tarie.

Weſt. But what is meant here by this word, Symbolum?

Harpſ. The outwarde fourme or ſhape onely of the Nature.

Weſt Then you can not call them a ſubſtance.

Harpſ. Yes Syr, euery thing hath a certaine ſubſtaunce in hys kinde.

Weſt. That is true, but accidentes are not ſubſtaunces in theyr kinde.

Harpſfielde. Sunt quid in ſuo genere. Of thys they contended much.

Chriſoſt. ad Cæſarium Monachum.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ad Cæſarium Monachum ſayeth, Sicut antequam conſecratur, panis eſt: ſic poſtquam conſecratur, liberatus eſt ab appellatione panis, donatuſque eſt appellatione corporis Domini, cum natura remanet: That is. Like as before it is conſecrated, it is breade: ſo after it is conſecrated, it is deliuered from the name of breade, and is endued with ẏ name of the Lordes body, where as the nature doth remaine.

Harpſ. Where reade you this place, I pray you?

D. Weſton compyleth his argumentes out of Pet. Martyrs ſtory.

Weſt. Here in Peter Martyr. I finde it: I haue hys Booke in my hand.

Harpſ. The authour ſhall be of more credite, before that I make ſo much of him, as to frame an anſwere vnto it.

Gelaſius.

Weſton. In deede I knowe not well where he findeth it. But Gelaſius ſayeth, that the nature of breade and wine doe tarrie.

Harpſ. What is that Gelaſius?

Weſt. A Biſhop of Rome.

Harpſ. Then he allowed the Maſſe.

Weſt. Yea, and oftentimes ſayde it: and Purgatorie he alſo allowed, and ſo prayer for the deade, reliques, and inuocation to ſaintes.

Harpſ. Belyke then hee meant nothing againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Origenes in Mat. cap 15.

Weſt. It doeth appeare ſo in deede. But Origene vppon Math. the 15. Chapter ſaith, that the material breade doeth tarrye, and is conueyed into the priuie, and is eaten of wormes.

Harpſ. Tuſhe, tuſhe, thys place appertaineth vnto holye breade.

Weſt. What, doth it appertaine to holy bread?

Harpſ. Yea, vnto holy breade.

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West. By what meanes can you ſhewe how this myraculous worke bringeth Chriſt into the ſacrament.

Harpſ. By the ſcriptures I proue that, which ſayeth: Hoc eſt corpus meum. This is my body.

West. It doeth reioyce all vs not a little, that you haue ſo well maintained the ſound doctrine of the ſacrament of the Altare, wherein you haue faithfully cleaued to the Catholike Church, as an onely ſtay of our religion: by the whych meanes you haue proued your ſelfe meete to be authoriſed further towardes the practiſing of the ſcripture.

And heere I doe openly witneſſe, that I doe throughly conſente wyth you, and haue for diſputations ſake onely, brought theſe argumētes againſt you, which you haue right learnedly ſatiſfied: and nowe all things being done, after our forme and maner, we wil end this diſputation, ſaying: In oppoſitum eſt ſacra theologia. In oppoſitum eſt. &c.

¶ Thus haue ye heard in theſe foreſaide diſputations, about the holy ſupper of the Lorde, the reaſons and arguments of the Doctors, the anſweres and reſolutions of the Biſhops, and the triumphe of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the victorie, to Vicit veritas, who rather in my minde ſhoulde haue exclaimed, vicit poteſtas: As it happeneth alwaies, Vbi pars maior vincit meliorem. For els if poteſtas had not helped the Prolocutor more then veritas, there had ben a ſmall victoria. But ſo it is where iudgements be partiall, and parties be addicted, there all thinges turne to victorie, though it be neuer ſo meane and ſimple, as in this diſputation might well appeare.

For firſt of the Opponents part, neither was there almoſt any argument in true moode & figure rightly framed: neither could the anſwearers be permitted to ſay for them ſelues: and if they anſweared any thing, it was condemned before they began to ſpeake. Againe, ſuch diſturbaunce and confuſion, more like a conſpiration then anye diſputation, without al forme and order, was in the ſchooles during the time of their anſwering, that neither could the anſwearers haue place to vtter their minds, neither would the Opponents be ſatiſfied with any reaſons. Cōcerning the which diſturbaunce of that miſruled diſputation, you ſhall heare what M. Ridley him ſelfe reporteth by his owne deſcription, in maner as foloweth.

The reporte and narration of M. Ridley concerning the miſordered diſputation had againſt him and his felow priſoners at Oxford.

B. Ridleyes report of the miſorder of this diſputation.

I Neuer yet ſithence I was borne ſaw, or heard any thing done or handled more vainely, or tumultuouſly, then the diſputation which was with mee in the Schooles at Oxforde. Yea verely, I coulde neuer haue thought that it had ben poſſible to haue founde amongeſt men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in thys Realme, any ſo brazen faced and ſhameleſſe, ſo diſorderly and vainely, to behaue themſelues, more like to Stageplayers in Enterludes, to ſet forth a Pageant, then to be graue Diuines in Schooles to diſpute. The Sorbonical clamours (which at Paris I haue ſeene in time paſt when Popery moſt raigned) might be worthely thought (in cōpariſon of this thraſonical oſtentation) to haue had muche modeſtie. And no greate maruaile, ſeeing they which ſhould haue beene Moderatours, and Ouerſeers of others, and whych ſhoulde haue geuen good enſample in wordes and grauitie: they themſelues, aboue all other gaue worſte enſample, and did (as it were) blow the trompe to the reſt, to raile, rore, rage, and cry out. By reaſon wherof (good chriſten reader) manifeſtly it may appeare, that they neuer ſought for any truth or verity, but onely for the glory of the worlde, and their owne bragging victorie. But leaſt by the innumerable railings & reprochful tauntes, wherwith I was baited on euery ſide, our cauſe, yea rather Gods cauſe & his churches, ſhould be euill ſpoken off, and ſlandered to the world through falſe reportes, and vntrue enſamples geuen out of oure diſputation, and ſo the veritie might ſuſtaine ſome damage, I thought it no les then my duety to wryte mine anſweres: to the intent ẏ who ſo euer is deſirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceiue, as well thoſe things which were chiefly obiected, as ſummarily that which was anſwered of me vnto euery of them. How be it (good Reader), I confeſſe this to be moſt true, that it is vnpoſſible to ſet forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuouſly and confuſedly obiected of their partes being ſo many, ſpeaking many times all together ſo thicke that one coulde not well heare an other, either all that was anſweared on my behalfe, to thē ſo ſondry and diuers Opponents.

No veritie but glory ſought for in this diſputation.

Moreouer, a great parte of the time appoynted for the diſputations, was vainly cōſumed in opprobrious checks and reuiling tauntes, with hiſſing and clapping of hands, and that in the Engliſh tongue, to procure the peoples fauour wythall. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did beholde, proteſting openly, that ſuche exceſſiue and outragious diſorder, was vnſeemely for thoſe ſchooles and men of learning and grauitie, and that they which were the doers and ſtirrers of ſuche things, did nothing elſe but bewray the ſlenderneſſe of theyr cauſe, and theyr owne vanities: I was ſo farre off by thys my humble complaynt from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to heare ſuche rebukes, checkes, and tauntes for my labour, as no perſone of any honeſtie wythout bluſhing coulde abide to heare the like ſpoken of a moſte vile varlet, againſt a moſte wretched Ruffian.

Tauntes, reuilinges vſed in this diſputation.

At the firſte beginning of the Diſputation, when I ſhould haue confirmed mine anſweare to the firſte propoſition in fewe wordes, and that (after the maner and lawe of Schooles) afore I coulde make an ende of my firſte probation, which was not very long, euen the Doctors themſelues cried oute, hee ſpeaketh plaſphemies, hee ſpeaketh blaſphemies. And when I on my knees beſoughte them, and that heartily, that they woulde vouchſafe to heare me to the ende, (whereat the Prolocutour being moued, cryed out on hie, Let him reade it, let him reade it) yet when I began to reade it agayne, there followed immediately ſuch ſhowting, ſuch a noyſe and tumult, and confuſion of voyces, crying, blaſphemies, blaſphemies, as I to my remembraunce neuer hearde, or read the like, excepte it be that one whych was in the Actes of the Apoſtles, ſtirred vp of Demetrius the ſiluer Smith, and other of hys occupatiō, crying out againſt Paule, Greate is Diana of the Epheſians, great is Diana of the Epheſians: and except it be a certaine diſputation whych the Arrians had againſt the Orthodoxes, and ſuche as were of godlye iudgemente in Aphryca, where it is ſayde, that ſuche as the Preſident and rulers of the Diſputation were, ſuche was the ende of the diſputations. All were in a hurly burly, and ſo great were the ſlanders which the Arrians caſt out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This wryteth Victor in the ſecond booke of his Hyſtorie.

D. Ridley could not be ſuffered to read forth his proteſtation.

The which cries and tumultes of them agaynſt mee ſo preuailed, that wild I, nild I, I was enforced to leaue of ẏ reading of my probations, although they were ſhort. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the ſame aſke any one that was there, and not vtterly peruerted in Poperie, and I am aſſured hee will ſay, I ſpeake the leaſt. But to complaine of theſe things further, I will ceaſe.

And further ſpeaking of thys diſputation, hee concludeth with theſe wordes: And thus was ended thys moſte glorious diſputation of the moſt holy Fathers, ſacrificers, Doctours, and Maiſters, which fought moſt manfully (as yee may ſee) for theyr god and goodes, for theyr faith and felicitie, for theyr countrey and kitchin, for theyr beautye and belly, with triumphant applauſes and fauour of the whole Vniuerſitie.

The 3. priſoners at Oxford called before the Commiſſioners. April. 20.

After the diſputation of maiſter Latimer ended, whych was the 18. day of April, the Friday following whych was the 20. day of the ſayde moneth, the Commiſſioners ſate in ſaint Maries Church, as they did the Saterday before, and Doctor Weſton vſed particularly diſſwaſions wyth euery of them, and woulde not ſuffer them to anſweare in anye wiſe, but directly and peremptorily, (as his wordes were) to ſay whether they woulde ſubſcribe, or no. And firſte to the Biſhop of Canterbury he ſaid he was ouercome in diſputations: whome the Byſhop aunſweared, that where as Doctour Weſton ſayde, he had anſweared and oppoſed, and could neither mainteine his own errors, nor impugne the veritie, all that he ſaid, was falſe. For he was not ſuffered to Oppoſe as he woulde, nor could anſwere as he was required, vnles he would haue brauled with them, ſo thick theyr reaſons came one after an other. Euer foure or fiue did interrupt him, that he coulde not ſpeake. Maiſter Ridley and M. Latimer were aſked, what they would do, they ſayde, they would ſtande to that they had ſayd. Then were they all called together, and ſentence read ouer them, that they were no members of the Church. And therefore they, theyr fautors and patrones were condemned as heretikes: and in reading of it, they were aſked, whether they would turne or no, & they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turne. So were they condemned all three.

D. Cranmer Biſhop Ridley and M. Latimer condemned.

After which ſentence of condemnation being awarded againſt them, they aunſweared againe euery one in theyr turne, in maner and effect of words, as foloweth, the archbiſhop firſt beginning thus.

The Archbiſhop of Caunterburie.

From this your iudgement and ſentence, I appeale to the

the

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the iuſt iudgement of God almighty, truſtin
wyth him in heauen, for whoſe preſence in th
thus condemned.

Doctour Ridley.

Although I be not of your companye, ye
but my name is wrytt[illegible] e,
ſentence wil ſende vs ſ[illegible] ld
of nature haue come.

Do[illegible]

I thanke God moſt [illegible] ath
life to this end, that I may in this caſe glori
kinde of death.

Doctor Weſtons anſwere vnto Latim

If you goe to heauen in thys faith, then
come thither, as I am thus perſwaded.

After the ſentence pronounced, they were
from the other, videlicet, the Archbiſhop wa
Bocardo, D. Ridley wa[illegible] eri
ſter Latimer to the Ba[illegible]

On Saterday foll[illegible]
nerall proceſſion and [illegible] Do
was cauſed to beholde [illegible] ut
Doctour Ridley out of the Sheriffes houſe.
being brought to ſee it, from the Bayliffes h
that he ſhould haue gone to burning, and ſp
guſtine Cooper a Catchpoll, to make a qu
when he came to Karfox, and ſawe the mat
faſt as his olde bones would carrie him, to
ſhop, and would not looke towardes it. La
ſton caried the ſacrament, and foure doctors
napie ouer him.

Immediately after [illegible] ge
wryteth to the Proloc[illegible] ol

Doctor Ri[illegible] ut

Ridleyes letter to the Prolocutor.

Maiſter Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſur
miſed me openly in the ſchooles, after my p
I ſhould ſee howe my anſweares were there take
the Notaries whom ye appoynted, (me fateor ne
to wryte what ſhould be ſayd, and to haue had li
added vnto them, or to haue altered them, as v
ration ſhould haue ſeemed me beſt. Ye grāted
liuery of my aunſwere vnt[illegible] oſiti
ſame: theſe promiſes are [illegible] ur
be any part of the cauſe [illegible] e
may be perfourmed: for [illegible] m
for at a righteous Iudges [illegible] d
ſweres in wryting, to you[illegible] pr
deſire and require earneſtly a copie of the ſame,
grace procure the paines of the wryter to be pa
accordingly. Maiſter Prolocutor, in the time o
in the Scholes, when I would haue cōfirmed m
thorities and reaſons, ye ſaid then openly, that I
and place to ſay and bring whatſoeuer I could a
the ſame your ſaying was then there confirm
Commiſſioners: yea, and (I dare ſay) the audie
then that I ſhoulde haue [illegible] o h
ſayde what I coulde for [illegible] on
aſſertions. Nowe that t[illegible] o
geuen before the cauſe [illegible] ca
uaile. &c.

Papiſtes haue ſmall conſcience in performing promiſes.

Aprill. 13.

On Monday next enſuing, after theſe
paſt, being the xxiij. of the ſayde moneth o
ſton Prolocutor tooke his iourney vp to L
letters certificatorie from ẏ vniuerſitie v
by whome the Archb. of Cant. directed h
catorie vnto the Counſaile. The whych
Prolocutor had receiued & had caried the
way to London, by th[illegible] the
the contentes thereo[illegible] ag
carie them. &c. Like[illegible] ol
Prolocutors going [illegible] t
wherein he deſireth hi[illegible] w
Biſhops in London, the forme of which
Ridley, then of the Archb. and laſtly an
Ridley to the Archbiſhop, here in order fo

A letter of B. Ridley to the Pro

Maiſter Prolocutour, I deſire you, and in
you, that you truely bring forth and ſhe
wrytten and ſubſcribed [illegible] han
houſe of the Conuoca[illegible] ny
Lordes of Dureſme, E[illegible] h,
alſo to ſhewe and exhi[illegible] vn

the iuſt iudgement of God almighty, truſting to be preſent wyth him in heauen, for whoſe preſence in the altare, I am thus condemned.

Doctour Ridley.

Although I be not of your companye, yet doubte not I but my name is wrytten in an other place, whether thys ſentence wil ſende vs ſooner, then we ſhoulde by the courſe of nature haue come.

Doctour Ridley.

I thanke God moſt hartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this caſe glorify God by that kinde of death.

Doctor Weſtons anſwere vnto Latimer.

If you goe to heauen in thys faith, then will I neuer come thither, as I am thus perſwaded.

After the ſentence pronounced, they were ſeparated one from the other, videlicet, the Archbiſhop was retourned to Bocardo, D. Ridley was caried to the ſheriffes houſe, maſter Latimer to the Bailiffes.

On Saterday following, they had a Maſſe with a generall proceſſion and great ſolemnitie. Doctor Cranmer was cauſed to beholde the Proceſſion oute of Bocardo, Doctour Ridley out of the Sheriffes houſe. Latimer alſo being brought to ſee it, from the Bayliffes houſe, thoughte that he ſhould haue gone to burning, and ſpake to one Auguſtine Cooper a Catchpoll, to make a quicke fire. But when he came to Karfor, and ſawe the matter, he ranne as faſt as his olde bones would carrie him, to one Spenſers ſhop, and would not looke towardes it. Laſt of all, D. Weſton caried the ſacrament, and foure doctors caried the Canapie ouer him.

Immediatly after the ſentence was geuen, D. Ridley wryteth to the Prolocutor, in maner, as foloweth.

Doctor Ridley to the Prolocutor.

Maiſter Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſure, howe you promiſed me openly in the ſchooles, after my proteſtation, that I ſhould ſee howe my anſweares were there taken and wrytten of the Notaries whom ye appoynted, (me fateor neminem recuſare) to wryte what ſhould be ſayd, and to haue had licence for to haue added vnto them, or to haue altered them, as vpon more deliberation ſhould haue ſeemed me beſt. Ye graũted me alſo at the deliuery of my aunſwere vnto your firſt propoſition, a copie of the ſame: theſe promiſes are not performed. If your ſodaine departure be any part of the cauſe therof, yet I pray you remember that they may be perfourmed: for performaunce of promiſe is to be looked for at a righteous Iudges handes. Nowe I ſend you here my aunſweres in wryting, to your ſecond and third propoſitions, & doe deſire and require earneſtly a copie of the ſame, & I ſhal by Gods grace procure the paines of the wryter to be paid for and ſatisfied accordingly. Maiſter Prolocutor, in the time of my aunſwearing in the Scholes, when I would haue cõfirmed my ſayings with authorities and reaſons, ye ſaid then openly, that I ſhould haue time and place to ſay and bring whatſoeuer I could an other time, and the ſame your ſaying was then there confirmed of other of the Commiſsioners: yea, and (I dare ſay) the audience alſo thoughte then that I ſhoulde haue had an other daye, to haue broughte and ſayde what I coulde for the declaration and confirmation of mine aſſertions. Nowe that this was not done, but ſo ſodainly ſentence geuen before the cauſe was perfectly heard, I canne not but maruaile. &c.

On Monday next enſuing, after theſe things done and paſt, being the xxiij. of the ſayde moneth of Aprill, D. Weſton Prolocutor tooke his iourney vp to London, with the letters certificatorie from ẏ vniuerſitie vnto the Queene, by whome the Archb. of Cant. directed his letters ſupplicatorie vnto the Counſaile. The whych letters after the Prolocutor had receiued, & had caried them welneare halfe way to London, by the way he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the contentes thereof, ſente them backe againe, refuſing to carie them. &c. Likewiſe Biſhoppe Ridley, hearing of the Prolocutors going to London, wryteth to him his letters, wherin he deſireth him to cary his anſwers vp to certaine Biſhops in London, the forme of which letters, firſt of D. Ridley, then of the Archb. and laſtly an other letter of D. Ridley to the Archbiſhop, here in order foloweth.

A letter of B. Ridley to the Prolocutor.

Maiſter Prolocutour, I deſire you, and in Gods name require you, that you truely bring forth and ſhew al mine anſwers, wrytten and ſubſcribed with mine owne hande, vnto the higher houſe of the Conuocation, and ſpecially to my L. Chauncelor, my Lordes of Dureſme, Ely, Worceſter, Norwich, and Chicheſter, and alſo to ſhewe and exhibite this my wryting vnto them, whyche in theſe fewe lines heere I wryte vnto you: and that I did make thys requeſt vnto you by this my wryting, know ye that I did take witneſſe of them by whome I did ſend you this wryting, and alſo of thoſe whiche were then with them preſent, videlicet, the two Bailiffes of Oxforde, and of maſter Iriſhe Alderman, then there called to be a witneſſe.

By me Nicholas Ridley
23. of April, An. 1554.

The copie of the Archb. of Canterb. letters to the Counſaile, ſent by Doctour Weſton, who refuſed to deliuer them.

The Archb. writeth to the Counſell.

In right humble wiſe ſheweth vnto your honourable Lordſhips, Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterburie, beſeeching the ſame to be a meanes for mee vnto the Queenes highneſſe for her mercy and pardon. Some of you knowe by what meanes I was broughte and trained vnto the will of oure late ſoueraigne Lorde king Edwarde the ſixte, and what I ſpake againſt the ſame, wherein I referre me to the reportes of your honoures and woorſhips. Furthermore, this is to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhippes, that vpon Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday laſt paſt, were open diſputations heere in Oxforde againſt me, maiſter Ridley, and maiſter Latimer, in three matters concerning the Sacrament: Firſt of the reall preſence, ſecondly of Tranſubſtãtiation, & thirdly of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe: vpon Monday againſt me, vpon Tueſday againſt Doctour Ridley, and vppon Wedneſday againſt maiſter Latimer. Howe the other two were ordered, I knowe not, for we were ſeperated, ſo that none of vs knoweth what the other ſayd, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my ſelfe I can report. Doctour Chadſey was appoynted to diſpute againſt me, but the diſputation was ſo confuſed, that I neuer knewe the like, euery man bringing foorth what him liked, without order, and ſuch haſt was made, that no aunſweare coulde be ſuffered to be taken fully to any argument, before an other brought a newe argument: and in ſuche waightie matters the diſputation muſt needes be ended in one day, which can ſcantly well be ended in three moneths. And when we had anſweared them, they woulde not appoynte vs one day to bring foorth our proofes, that they might anſweare vs, being required by me thereunto, whereas I my ſelfe haue more to ſay, then can be well diſcuſſed, as I ſuppoſe in twentie dayes. The meanes to reſolue the truth, had bene to haue ſuffered vs to aunſweare fully to all that they coulde ſay, and then they again to anſweare vs fully to all that we can ſay. But why they woulde not anſweare vs, what other cauſe can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to anſwere vs, or elſe for ſome conſideration they made ſuch haſt, not to ſeke the truth, but to condemne vs, that it muſt be done in poaſt haſte before the matters coulde be throughly heard: for in all haſte we were all 3. condemned of hereſie. Thus much I thought good to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhippes, that you may knowe the indifferent handlinge of matters, leauing the iudgement thereof vnto your wiſedomes. And I beſeeche your Lordſhips to remember me a poore priſonner vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, and I ſhall pray as I doe daily, vnto God for the long preſeruation of your good Lordſhippes in all godlineſſe and felicitie. April. 23.

The Archb. not ſuffered to aunſwere fully to any argument.

Haſt made in condemning the Archb. and hys fellowes.

Doctour Ridley to the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie.

B. Ridley writeth to the archbiſhop.

I wiſhe ye might haue ſeene theſe mine anſweares before I had deliuered them, ẏ yee myght haue corrected them. But I truſte in the ſubſtaunce of the matter wee doe agree fully, both led by one ſpirite of truth, and both walking after one rule of Gods worde. It is reported that Sergeant Morgane, the chiefe Iuſtice of the Common place is gone madde. It is ſayde alſo that Iuſtice Hales hath recanted, peruerted by D. Moreman. Item, that M. Rogers, D. Crome, and M. Bradforde ſhall be had to Cambridge, and there be diſputed with, as we were here, and that the Doctours of Oxforde ſhall goe likewiſe thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye haue red mine anſweares, ſende thẽ againe to Auſten, except ye wil put any thing to them. I truſt the day of oure deliuerie out of all miſeries, and of our entrance into perpetuall reſt, and vnto perpetuall ioye and felicitie draweth nie: the Lorde ſtrengthe vs wyth hys mighty ſpirite of grace. If you haue not to wryte with, you muſt make your man your frende. And this bearer deſerueth to be rewarded, ſo he may and will doe you pleaſure. My man is truſtie, but it greeueth both him and mee, that when I ſende hym with any thing to you, your man will not let him come vp to ſee you, as he maye to M. Latimer, and yours to me. I haue a promiſe to ſee how my anſwers were wrytten in the ſchooles, but as yet I cannot come by it. Praye for me, I pray for you, and ſo ſhall I for you. The Lord haue mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magiſtrates, that Gods extreme plagues light not on this realme of England.

This Iuſtice Morgan gaue ſentence againſt Lady Iane.

Diſputation in Cambridge intended.

Turne, or burne.

These diſputations being thus diſcourſed and ended, which were at Oxforde in the moneth of April, as is aforeſayd: nowe let vs returne againe to the proſecuting of our ſtory, touching other things likewiſe yͤ happened in other parties of the realme, in this tumultuous time of Queene Marie. And becauſe thinges that happened in that time, were ſo many and diuers, that it is hard to keepe a perfecte order in reciting them all: to the entent therefore to inſerte things leaſt out before, or els to proſecute the ſame more at full, we haue thought heere a litle to interrupt the order of time (albeit not muche) returning againe to the moneth of Iulie the yeare before, videlicet. 1553. In the which moneth of Iuly I ſhewed before howe the Duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the Gard, and brought to London by the Earle of Arundell and other Lordes and Gentlemen appoynted for that purpoſe on S. Iames day, being the 25. day of Iuly, and ſo to the tower, where they remained. Theſe be the names of them which were committed to the Tower with the Duke.

The names of them that were committed to the Tower with the Duke of Northumberland.

Firſt the Earle of warwike, the Earle of Huntington, Lord Ambroſe, and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Haſtings, who was deliuered againe yͤ ſame night, ſir Iohn Gates, ſir Henry Gates, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Thom. Palmer, and D. Sandes Chancelour of Cambridge.

The 26. day the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the B. of London, Lord Robert Dudly, and ſir Richard Corbet were brought and committed to the Tower.

The 27. day the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, and the Lord Mountacute chiefe Iuſtice of the common place, were committed to the Tower.

Vppon the Friday being the 28. of Iulye, the Duke of Suffolke, and Sir Iohn Cheeke were committed to the Tower.

The 30. of Iulye, the Lorde Ruſſell was committed to the Sheriffe of Londons cuſtodie.

The 31. day the Earle of Rutlande was committed to the Fleete.

The Duke of Suffolke deliuered out of the Tower.

Vppon the monday the laſt of Iuly, the Duke of Suffolke was deliuered out of the Tower againe.

Vpon thurſday the 3. of Auguſt, the Queene entred into the citie of London at Algate, & ſo to the Tower, where ſhee remained ſeuen daies, and then remoued to Richmond.

Vppon friday the fourth day, doct. Day was deliuered out of the Fleete.

Vpon saterday the 5. day, the Lorde Feries was committed to the tower, and the ſame daye D. Boner was deliuered out of the Marſhalſey. The ſame day at nyght D. Cockes was committed to the Marſhalſey, and one M. Edward Vnderhill to Newgate. Alſo the ſame day doctor Tonſtal and Ste. Gardiner were deliuered out of the Tower, and Gardiner receiued into the Queenes priuie counſaile, and made Lord Chancelor.

Boner ſet at libertie.

Vppon Sunday the 7. day, Henry Dudley captaine of the Garde at Guynes, whych before had beene ſente to the French king by his coſin the Duke of Northumberlande, after the diſpatch of his amballage with the French kinge, returned to Guines, & ſo was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

Vppon mondaye the ſeuenth day of Auguſt, Dirige in Latine was ſonge wythin the Tower, by all the Kynges Chappel, and the biſhop of wincheſter was chief miniſter, wherat was preſent the Queene, and the moſt parte of the Counſaile.

Vppon Tueſday the viij. day of Auguſt, the kings body was brought to weſtminſter, and there buryed, where D. Day Biſhop of Chicheſter preached. The ſame daye a Maſſe of Requiem was ſonge within the tower, by the Byſhop of wincheſter, who had on his Miter, & did al things as in times paſt was done, at whyche Maſſe the Queene was preſent.

King Edwardes body buryed.

Vpon thurſday the Duke of Northfolke came foorth of the Tower, with whom the Duches of Somerſet was alſo deliuered this thurſday.

Vppon ſonday the 11. of Auguſt, Doctor Bourne preached at Paules Croſſe, of the whych ſermone reade before, pag. 1339.

In the weeke folowing, commaundement was geuen throughout the citie, that no Prentiſes ſhould come to the ſermon, nor weare any knife or dagger.

Vppon the wedneſday, being the xvi. daye of Auguſt, M. Bradford, M. Beacon, and M. Veron, were committed to the Tower: with whom alſo M. Sampſon ſhoulde haue bene committed, and was ſought for the ſame time in M. Elſinges houſe in Fleeteſtreete (where M. Bradforde was taken) and becauſe he was not founde, the Byſhop of wincheſter fumed like a prelate with the meſſenger.

M Bradford with others committed to the Tower.

Vpon the Fridaye being the 18. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberland, the marques of Northampton, and the Earle of warwicke were arrayned at weſtminſter, and there yͤ ſame day condemned, the Duke of Northfolke that day being the high Iudge.

Vpon saterday the 19. of Auguſt, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Iohn Gates, ſir Henrye Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer were araigned at weſtminſter, & condemned the ſame day, the L. Marques of wincheſter being hie Iudge.

Vpō which day, a letter was ſent vnto ſir Henry Tirrel, Anthony Browne, and Edmonde Browne Eſquiers, praying them to committe to warde all ſuche as ſhall contemne the Queenes order of religion, or ſhall keepe themſelues from church, there to remaine vntill they be conformable, and to ſignifie their names to the counſaile.

D.W preach Paule Croſſe.

Vpon Sonday the 20. of Auguſt, Doctour watſon the Byſhoppe of wincheſters Chaplaine Preached at Paules Croſſe, at whoſe Sermone was preſente the Marques of winchester, the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Penbroke, the Lord Rich, and two hundreth of the Garde wyth their Halbardes, leſt the people would haue made any ſturre againſt the Preacher.

Vppon Monday the 21. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberlande, the Marques of Northampton, Syr Andrewe Dudley, Syr Iohn Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer hearde a Maſſe wythin the Tower, and after Maſſe they all fiue receaued the Sacrament in one kinde onely, as in the Popiſhe time was vſed. On the whiche day alſo Queene Mary ſet forth a Proclamation, ſignifying to the people that ſhe could not hide any longer the religiō which ſhe from her infancy had profeſſed. &c. inhibiting in the ſaid Proclamation Printing & Preaching, the tenour wherof, read before pag. 1334.

Vppon the Tueſday, being the 22. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberlande, Syr Iohn Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower hil, as before is sayd, pag. 1338. The ſame day certaine noble perſonnages heard Maſſe wythin the Tower, and likewiſe after maſſe, receaued the Sacrament in one kinde.

Execution at the To hill.

Vppon Sonday the 27. day of Auguſt, Doctour Chedſey Preached at Paules Croſſe, and the ſame daye the Byſhop of Canterbury, Syr Thomas Smith, and the deane of Paules were cited to appeare the weeke following before the Queenes Commiſſioners, in the Biſhops Conſiſtorie within Paules.

In this meane time it was noyſed abroade by running rumours falſely and craftely deuiſed, eyther to ſtabliſh the credite of the Maſſe, or els to brynge Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury out of credite, that he to currye fauour with Queene Mary, ſhould promiſe to ſay Dirige Maſſe after the old cuſtome, for king Edward, and that he had already ſayd Maſſe at Caunterburie, &c. wherefore to ſtoppe the noyſe and ſlaunder of thoſe rumours, the ſayde Thomas Archb. of Caunter. the 7. day of September ſette forth a letter, which was alſo printed, in purgation of him ſelfe, the copie of which letter heere enſueth.

A purgation of Thomas, Archbiſhoppe of Caunterburie, againſt certaine ſclaunders falſely raiſed vpon him.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury purgeth himſelfe agaynſt falſe rumours.

AS the deuill, Chriſtes auncient aduerſarie, is a lier and the father of lies, euen ſo hath he ſtirred vp his ſeruaunts and members, to perſecute Chriſt and his true worde and religion with lying: which hee ceaſſeth not to doe moſt earneſtly at this preſent time. For where as the Prince of famous memorie kinge Henrie the eighte ſeeing the greate abuſes of the Latine Maſſe, reformed ſome things therein in his life time, and after our late ſoueraigne Lord king Edward the 6. tooke the ſame whole away for the manifolde and great errours and abuſes of the ſame, and reſtored in the place therof Chriſtes holy Supper according to Chriſtes own inſtitution, and as the Apoſtles vſed the ſame in the primatiue Church: the deuill goeth about nowe by lying to ouerthrow the Lordes holy Supper againe, and to reſtore his Latine ſatiſfactorie Maſſe, a thing of his owne inuention and deuiſe. And to bringe the ſame more eaſilye to paſſe, ſome haue abuſed the name of mee Thomas Archb. of Canterburie, bruting abroad that I haue ſet vp the Maſſe again at Canterburie, & that I offred to ſay Maſſe at the buriall of our late ſoueraign prince K. Ed. 6. & that I offred alſo to ſay Maſſe before the Queenes highneſſe and at Paules Churche, and I wot not where. And although I haue bene well exerciſed theſe xx. yeres to ſuffer and beare euill reports and lyes, and haue not bene much greued thereat, but haue borne all things quietly, yet when vntrue reports & lyes turne to the hinderance of Gods truth, they are in no wiſe to be ſuffered. Wherefore theſe bee to ſignifie vnto the world, that it was not I that dyd ſet vp the Maſſe at Caunterbury, but it was a falſe flatteryng, lying, and diſſembling monke, which cauſed Maſſe to be ſet vp there without mine aduiſe or Counſell: Reddat illi Dominus in die illo. And as for offering my ſelfe to ſay Maſſe before the Queenes highneſſe or in any other place, I neuer did it, as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will geue me leaue, I ſhalbe ready to prooue, againſt all that will ſaye the contrary, that all that is contained in the holy Communion ſet out by the moſt innocent and godly Prince king Edward the 6. in his high court of Parliament, is conformable to that order which our Sauiour Chriſt did both obſerue and commaund to be obſerued, & which his Apoſtles & primatiue church vſed many yeares, whereas the Maſſe in many things not onely hath no foundation of Chriſte, his Apoſtles, nor the primatiue Church, but is manifeſtly contrary to the ſame, and cōtaineth many horrible abuſes in it. And although many, either vnlearned or malitious, do report that M. Peter Martyr is vnlearned, yet if the Queenes highnes wil graunt thereunto, I with the ſayde M. Peter Martyr, and other 4. or 5. whiche I ſhall chuſe, will by Gods grace take vppon vs to defende, not onely the common praiers of the Church, the miniſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites & ceremonies: but alſo al the doctrine and religion ſet out by our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord king Edward the 6. to be more pure and according to Gods worde, then any other that hath bene vſed in England theſe 1000. yeares: ſo that Gods word may be iudge, & that the reaſons and proufes of both parties may be ſette out in wryting, to the intent, as well that all the worlde maye examine and iudge thereon, as that no man ſhall ſtart backe from his wrytinge. And where they boaſt of the faith that hath bene in the Churche theſe 1500. yeres, we will ioyne with them in this poynt, and that the ſame doctrine and vſage, is to be followed, whiche was in the Church. 1500. yeres paſt, and we ſhall prooue that the order of the Churche, ſet out at this preſent in this Realme by Acte of Parlament, is the ſame that was vſed in the Church. 1500. yeres paſt, & ſo ſhall they be neuer able to prooue theirs.

The ſame Thurſday beinge the 7. of Septemb. Lorde Mountacute chiefe Juſtice, and Lorde chiefe Baron were deliuered out of the Tower.

The 13. of September the reuerende father M. Hughe Latimer was committed to the Tower.

The 14. of Septemb. the biſhop of Caunterburye was committed to the Tower.

The 16. of September, one Maiſter Graye of Cambridge called before hym one M. Garth, for that he would not ſuffer a boy of Peter houſe to helpe hym ſaye Maſſe in Penbroke hal, which was before any law was eſtabliſhed for that behalfe.

The Queene came to the Tower of London vpon the Thurſday being the 28. of September, and vpon the Saterday following, ſhee rode from the Tower thorough the Citie of London, where were made many Pageants to receiue her, and ſo was triumphantly brought to Weſtminſter to White hall.

Uppon the Sonday being the firſt day of October, the Queenes highneſſe went from White hall to Weſtminſter Abbey, accompanied wyth the moſt part of the Nobility of this Realme, namelye theſe: The Duke of Norfolke, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Shrewſburie, the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earls of Darby, Bedford, Worceſter, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, Oxford, Suſſex, Deuonſhire, Penbroke, the Lord Dacres of the North, Lord Ferris, Lorde Cobham, Lord Aburgeiny, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scroupe, Lord Rich, Lord Vaus, Lorde Hawarde, Lord Conias, Lord Morley, Lorde Paget, and the Lorde Willowbye, with many other Nobles, and all the Embaſſadours of diuers countreys, the Maior of London wyth all the Aldermen. Alſo out of the Abbey to receiue her comming, came three ſiluer Croſſes, and to the number of fourſcore or neare vppon, of ſinging men, all in very rich & gorgeous coapes. Amongeſt whom were the Deane of Weſtminſter, and diuers of her Chaplaines, which bare euerye one ſome enſigne in their handes, and after them followed 10. Byſhops mytred all, and their Croyſer ſtaues in theyr handes, and rich Copes vpon them euery one. And in this order they returned frō Weſtminſter hal, before the Quene to the Abbey, where ſhe was crowned by Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lorde Chancellor of England. At the time of the Coronation Doctour Day Biſhop of Chicheſter made a ſermon to the Queenes maieſtie, and to the reſt of the nobilitie.

Alſo there was a generall Pardon proclaimed wythin the Abbey at the ſayd time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the priſonners of the Tower and of the Flete were excepted, and 62. more. Wherof M. Whitchurch and M. Grafton were two.

The thirde of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge did chalenge one M. Pierſon, for that hee miniſtred ſtill the Communion in his owne Pariſh, and did receyue ſtraungers of other Pariſhes to the ſame, and woulde not ſay maſſe. Whereupon within 2. dayes after, he was cleane diſcharged from farther miniſtring in his Cure.

Uppon the Wedenſday following, the Archb. of Yorke was committed to the Tower.

Uppon Thurſdaye being the 5. of October. 1553. the Queene road to the Parliament in her roabes, and all the nobilitie with her, and when they were ſet in the Parliament houſe, the Biſhop of Wincheſter made to them a ſolemne Oration, and Sergeant Pollarde was choſen ſpeaker of the Parliament. The ſame day the Biſhops of Lincolne, Harford, and Weſtcheſter, were diſcharged from the Parliament and Conuocation.

Alſo the 10. daye of October, the Earle of Huntington was deliuered out of the Tower.

Q. Mary rideth to the Parliament houſe Sergeant Pollard ſpeaker in the Parliament. The Earle of Huntington deliuered out of the Tower.

Upon the Sonday after, being the 15. of Oct. M. Laurence Saunders preached at Alhallowes in Breadſtreete in ẏ morning: where he declared the abhomination of the maſſe, with diuers other matters very notably and godly. Wherof more ſhalbe heard (by the Lordes leaue) heereafter when we come to his ſtory. In which his doing, as he ſhewed himſelfe to be Gods faithful miniſter, ſo is he ſure not to be defrauded of gods faithful promiſe, who ſayth: Omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram patre meo qui eſt in cœlis. Math. 10. But about noone of the ſame day he was ſent for by the biſhop of London, and from thence committed to the Marſhalſee.

M. Saunders for preaching agaynſt the Maſſe committed to the Marſhalſey.

Upon the Sonday folowing, being the 20. of October, Doctor Weſton preached at Paules Croſſe. Who in the beginning of his Sermonr willed the people to praye for the ſoules departed on this wiſe: You ſhall pray for all them ẏ be departed, that be neither in heauē, nor hell, but in a place not yet ſufficiently purged to come to heauē, that they may be releued by your deuout prayers. He named the Lordes table an oyſter board. He ſaide that the Catechiſme in Latin, lately ſette out, was abhominable hereſie, & likened the ſetters out of the ſame Catechiſme to Iulianus Apoſtata, and the booke for a Dialogue ſet out by the ſayd Iulianus Apoſtata, wherein Chriſt and Pilate were the ſpeakers: with many other things. Which Sermon with al the poynts thereof, maiſter Couerdall the ſame time learnedly confuted by wryting, which remaineth yet in my handes to be ſeene.

D. Weſtons popiſh Sermon at Paules.

Weſtons ſermon confuted by M. Couerdalle.

In the weeke following, began the diſputations in the conuocation houſe in Paules Churche, whereof ſufficient hath bene before declared, pag. 1342.

The 26. day of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge went to Clarehall, and in the preſence of Doctoure Walker, diſplaced Doctour Madewe, and placed Maiſter Swynborne in the Maiſterſhip there, by force of the Lorde Chauncellours letters, for that he was (as they termed it,) Vxoratus, that is, maried.

The 28. day of October, the Papiſtes in the kings colledge in Cambridge (not tarying the making of any lawe, but of their blinde zeale) had their whole ſeruice againe in the Latin tong, contrary to the law then in force.

Running before the law:

The laſt of October, the Vicechauncelloure of Cambridge, did ſharpely reproue and threaten one M. Thrackold, for that he challenged the ſayd Vicechauncellor, who had ſuffered maiſter Bouell (contrary to the ſtatutes then in force) quietly wythout puniſhment to depart, notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſweare to the ſupremacie of the Queene, and the abrogation of the biſhop of Rome.

The third day of Nouember, the Vicechauncellor ſent for the Curate of the rounde Pariſh in Cambridge, commaunding hym not to miniſter any more in the Engliſh toung, ſaying: he would haue one vniforme order of ſeruice throughoute the Towne, and that in Latine, wyth Maſſe, which was eſtabliſhed the xij. day of this moneth.

The Queenes proceedinges maintained in Cambridge before the law.

The 6. day of Nouember, M. Pollarde preached at S. Michaels, and in his Sermon approued Purgatorie.

The 28. day of Nouember, the Archdeacons Officiall viſited in Hynton, where hee gaue in charge to preſent all ſuche as did diſturbe the Queenes proceedings, in letting the Latine ſeruice, the ſetting vp of their altars, and ſaying of Maſſe, or any parte thereof: whereby it was eaſie to ſee how theſe good fellowes ment to proceede, hauing the law once on their ſide, that thus readely againſt a manifeſt law would attempt the puniſhment of any man.

The 15. day of December, there was two Proclamations at London: the one for the repealing of certaine actes made by kynge Edwarde, and for the ſetting vppe of the Maſſe, for the 20. day of December then next folowing: the other was, that no man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe that would ſay Maſſe.

K. Edwardes Actes repealed.

The Parliament beginning aboute the v. daye of October, continued till the fifth of December. In the whyche Parliament were diſſolued as well all Statutes made of Premunire, in the time of King Henrie viij. &c. as alſo other lawes and ſtatutes concerning religion and adminiſtration of Sacraments decreed vnder king Edwarde the 6. as is partly aboue touched. In the which Parliament moreouer was appoynted the 20. day of December next enſuing the ſame yeare. 1553. that all the olde forme and manner of Church ſeruice, vſed in the laſt yere of king Henry, ſhould now againe be reſtored.

On Newyeares euen being the laſt of December, the Lorde Marques of Northampton was deliuered oute of the Tower.

A prieſt of Canterbury repenting his ſaying Maſſe.

About this time a Prieſt at Caunterbury ſayde Maſſe on the one day, & the next day after he came into the pulpit and deſired all the people to forgeue him, for he ſaid he had betraied Chriſte, but not as Iudas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long Sermon againſt the Maſſe.

The day after Newyeares day, being the ſeconde daye of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord. 1554. foure Ambaſſadours came into London from the Emperour, and were honorably receiued. Their names were theſe. Le Countie de Egmont, Le Countie de Lalen, Mounſieur Corire, Le Chauncellour Nigre.

About this time a great number of newe Byſhoppes, Deanes. &c. were choſen, more then were made at one time ſince the Conqueſt. Theyr names are theſe.

New Biſhops made.

D.Holyman B. of Briſtow.
D.Coates B. of Weſtcheſter.
D.Hopton Byſhop of Norwiche.
D. Bourne B. of Bathe.
D.White B. of Lyncolne.
D Mores B. of Rocheſter.
D.Morgan Biſhop of S.Dauies.
D.Poole B. of S. Aſſe.
D.Brookes Biſh. of Gloceſter.
D.Moreman, coadiutour to the Byſhop of Exceter, & after his deceaſe Byſhop of Exceter.
D.Glin B. of Bangor.
Maiſter Fecknam Deane of Paules.
D.Rainoldes Deane of Briſtow, with others.

The 12. day of Ianuarie, the Vicechancellour of Cambridge called a congregation generall, wherein amongſte other things, he ſhewed that the Quene would haue there a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt vppon the 18. day of Februarie then next following, for that it was her birthe day, whyche was fulfilled the day appoynted, and that very ſolemnely.

D.Crome committed to the Fleete.

Upon the Saterday being the 13. of Ianuarie Doctour Crome was committed to the Fleete. Alſo vpon the Sonday following, one M. Addington was committed to the Tower. Alſo this ſame Sonday knowledge was giuen in the Court openly by the B. of Wincheſter, that the marryage betweene the Queenes maieſtie & the king of Spaine was concluded, and the day following, being monday and the 15. of Ianuary, the Maior, with the Aldermen and certaine Commoners were at the Court, and there they were commanded by the Lord Chauncellor to prepare the Citie ready to receiue the ſaid king of Spaine, who declared vnto them what a Catholicke, mighty, prudent & wiſe prince the ſaid king is, with many other commendations of him.

The mariage of Q.Mary.

Upon the Saterday folowing, being the 20. of Ian. the Court of the firſt fruites and tenthes was diſſolued.

Upon the Thurſday at night, following the 25. day of Ianuarie, the Lorde Marques of Northampton was againe committed to the Tower, and ſir Edward Warnar with him, who were brought to the Tower by the Maior.

Iuſtice Hales committed to the Marſhalſey. M. Rogers committed to Newgate.

Uppon the Saterdaye followinge, being the 26. of Ianuary, Iuſtice Hales was committed to the Marſhalſee, and the ſame day maiſter Rogers was cõmitted to Newgate. Upon this Saterday, Sonday, and Monday folowing the Londiners prepared a number of ſouldiors (by the Queenes commaundement) to goe into Kent againſt the Commons: whereof were chiefe Captaines the Duke of Northfolke, the Earle of Wormewood, ſir Harry Iernyngham, ſir George Haward, and 10. other captaines. Which ſoldiors when they came to Rocheſter bridge, where they ſhould haue ſet vpon their enemies, moſt of them (as it is ſayde) lefte theyr owne Captaines, and came wholy to the Kentiſhmen, and ſo the forſaid Captaines returned to the Court, both void of men and victory, leauing behind them both 6. peeces of ordinance, and treaſure.

Aboute the latter ende of Ianuarie, the Duke of Suffolke with his brethren departed from his houſe at Shene, and tooke hys voyage into Leyceſter ſhyre. After whome was ſent the Earle of Huntington to take hym and bring hym to London, who proclaimed the ſaid Duke traytor by the way as he roade.

Straunge ſightes ſeene before the comming in of king Philip, and ſubuerſion of Religion.

And thus paſſing to the moneth of Februarie, heere is to be noted by the way of ſtory, that vpon the 15. day of the ſayd moneth being Thurſday, there was ſeene wythin the Citie of London, aboute 9. of the clocke in the forenoone, ſtraunge ſightes. There was ſeene two Sunnes both ſhining at once, the one a good prety way diſtaunt from the other. At the ſame time was alſo ſeene a Rainebowe turned contrary, and a great deale higher then hath bene accuſtomed. The common ſtandinge of the Raynebowe is thus ⌒ but thys ſtoode thus ‿ with the heade downward, and the feete as it were vpwarde. Both theſe ſightes were ſene, as wel at Weſtminſter, in Cheapeſide, on the South-ſide of Paules, as in very many other places, and that by a great number of honeſt men. Alſo certaine Aldermen went out of the Guild Hall to beholde the ſight.

As touching the riſing of maſter Wyate, with Syr W. Cobham and others in Kent, and there comming to London in the moneth of Februarie: alſo of the Queenes comming to the Guilde Hall, and her Oration there made: and after of the taking of the ſaid Wyat and his company: likewiſe of the apprehenſion of the Duke of Suffolke with his brother Lord Iohn Gray: and the next day after of beheading of Lord Gildford and Lady Iane, which was the 12. day of February, and how the day before, which was 11. of the ſayd moneth, Lord William Haward and ſir Edwarde Haſtings, were ſent for the Ladie Elizabeth: and how the ſame Sonday, Syr Harrye Iſeley, M. Culpeper, and M. Winter were committed to the Tower, the B. of Wincheſter, the ſame daye being the 11. of Februarie, preaching before the Queene, and perſwading her to vſe no mercy towarde theſe Kentiſhmen, but ſeuere execution, all whyche was in the moneth of February: becauſe moſt of theſe matters haue bene briefly touched before, or els may be founde in other Chronicles, I wil ceaſe to make any further ſtory of them: hauing ſomwhat notwithſtanding to declare touching the rainment and death of the Duke of Suffolke.

The Lady Elizabeth ſent for. The byſhop of Wincheſter preacheth.

Uppon Saterday, beinge the 17. day of Februarye, the Duke of Suffolke was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and the ſame day condemned to die by his Peres, the Earle Arundel was chiefe Iudge for this day.

The Duke of Suffolke arraigned.

Uppon the Sonday following, which was the 18. day of the ſayd moneth, Seſſions was kept in London, whych hath not before bene ſene to be kept vpon the Sonday.

Upon the monday the 19. of Februarie, the Lord Cobhams 3. ſonnes, and 4. other men were arraigned at Weſtminſter: of whiche ſonnes the youngeſt was condemned, whoſe name is Thomas, and the other two came not at the barre, and the other 4. were condemned.

Upon the Tueſday being the 20. of February, the Lord Iohn Gray was araigned at Weſtminſter, and there condemned the ſame day, and other 3. men, whereof one was named Nailer.

The Lord Iohn Gray arraygned.

Upon the Wedenſday the 21. of Februarie, the L. Thomas Gray, and ſir Iames Croft were broughte throughe London to the Tower with a number of horſemen.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton committed to the Tower.

Upon the Thurſday being the 22. of Februarie, ſyr Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Uppon the Friday being the 23. of Februarie. 1554. the Duke of Suffolke was beheaded at the Tower hil, the order of whoſe death heere followeth.

The godly ende and death of the Duke of Suffolke beheaded at Tower hil. An. 1554. Febr. 23.

The order and maner of the Duke of Suffolkes death.

On Friday the 23. of February. 1554. about 9. of ye clocke in the fore noone, the Lorde Henrie Gray duke of Suffolke, was broughte forth of the Tower of London vnto the Scaffolde on the Tower hill, wyth a greate company, &c. and in his comming thither, there accompanied him Doctor Weſton as his Ghoſtly father, notwythſtanding, as it ſhould ſeeme, againſt the will of the ſayde Duke. For when the Duke went vp to the Scaffolde, the ſayd Weſton being on his left hand, preaſed to goe vp wyth hym. The Duke with his hand put him downe againe of the ſtaires: and Weſton taking holde of the Duke, forced hym downe likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond time, the Duke againe put him downe.

D.Weſto the Duke Ghoſtly fa ther, again the Du will. Weſton p back by th Dukes ha

Then Weſton ſayde that it was the Queenes pleaſure he ſhoulde ſo doe. Wherewyth the Duke caſting hys handes abroade, aſcended vppe the Scaffolde, and pauſed a pretie while after. And then he ſayde: Maiſters I haue offended the Queene, and her lawes, and thereby am iuſtly condemned to die, and am willing to die, deſiring all men to be obedient, and I praye God that thys my death may be an enſample to all men, beſeeching you all to beare mee witneſſe, that I die in the faithe of Chriſte, truſting to bee ſaued by his bloude onely, and by no other trumperie, the whych died for me, and for all them that truely repent, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in him. And I do repent, deſiring you all to pray to God for me, that when you ſee my breathe departe frõ me, you wil pray to God that he may receiue my ſoule. And then he deſired all men to forgeue him, ſaying that the Queene had forgeuen him.

The wor of the Du to the peo ple.

The godly fayth and confeſſion of the Du at his dea

Then M. weſton declared with a loude voyce that the Queenes Maieſtie had forgiuen him. With that, diuers of the ſtanders by ſaid with meetely good and audible voice: ſuch forgiuenes God ſend thee, meaning Doctor weſton. Then the Duke kneeled downe vpon his knees, and ſayd the Pſalme Miſerere mei Deus, vnto the end, holding vp his handes, and looking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the Pſalme, he ſayd: In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum, &c. Then he aroſe and ſtoode vp, and deliuered his cap and his ſkarffe vnto the executioner.

Then the ſayd executioner kneeled downe and aſked the Duke forgiuenes. And the Duke ſayd, God forgiue thee & I do, & when thou doeſt thine office, I pray thee do it wel, and bring me out of this world quickly, and God haue mercy to thee. Then ſtood there a man and ſayd, my Lord, how ſhal I do for the money that you do owe me? And the Duke ſayd, alas good felow, I pray thee trouble mee not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled downe and ſaid, Our father which art in heauen, &c. vnto the ende. And then he ſaide, Chriſt haue mercy vpon me, and layd downe his head on the blocke, and the executioner tooke the Axe, and at the firſt chop ſtroke off his head, and held it vp to yͤ people, &c.

The ſame day a number of priſoners had their pardon, and came through the Citie with their halters about theyr neckes. They were in * number about two hundreth.

Upon the Saterday the 24. of February. Syr william Gentlow was committed as priſoner to the maiſter of the horſe to be kept. This Syr william was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeths Gentlemen.

Upon the Sonday beeing 25. of February, Syr Iohn Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this weeke, all ſuche Prieſtes within the Dioces of London as were married, were diuorced from theyr liuings, and commaunded to bring in their wiues within a fortnight, that they might likewiſe be diuorced from them. This the Byſhop did of his owne power.

Upon the Tueſday in the ſame weeke, being the 27. of February, certayne Gentlemen of Kent were ſente into Kent to be executed there. Their names were theſe, the two Mantels, two Kneuets, and Bret: with theſe, Maiſter Rudſton alſo and certayne other were condemned, and ſhould haue bene executed, but they had their pardon.

Gentlemen ſent into Kent to be executed. M. Rudſton with certain others pardoned.

As touching the foreſayde Maiſter Mantell the elder, heere by the way is to be noted, that as he was lead to execution, and at his firſt caſting vnder the Gallowes, the rope brake. Then they woulde haue had him recanted the trueth, and receiued the ſacrament of the aultar (as they tearme it) and then they ſayd he ſhould haue the Queenes pardon: but Maiſter Mantell like a worthy Gentleman, refuſed their ſerpentine counſell, and choſe rather to dye, then to haue lyfe for diſhonouring of God.

Moreouer, as touching the ſayid M. Mantell, for that he was reported falſely to haue fallen from the conſtancie of his profeſſion, to cleare himſelfe thereof, and to repone the ſiniſter ſurmiſe of his recantation, he wrote this briefe Apologie in purgation of himſelfe: the copie whereof you ſhall heare.

¶The Apologie of M. Mantell the elder.

Math. 10.

The beliefe of M. Mantell the elder.

D. Bourne ſent to M. Mantell.

PErceiuing that already certayne falſe reports are rayſed of me concerning my aunſweres in the behalfe of my beliefe, whiles I was priſoner in the Tower of London, and conſidering how ſore a matter it is to be an occaſion of offence to any of thoſe little ones that beleeue in Chriſt: I haue thought it the duty of a Chriſtian man as neare as I can (with the truth) to take away thys offence. It pleaſed the Queenes Maieſty to ſend vnto me M. Doct. Bourne, vnto whome at the firſt meeting I acknowledged my fayth in all points to agree with the foure Creedes, that is, the common Creede, the Creede of Nicene, Quicunque vult, and Te Deum laudamus.

Further, as concerning confeſſion and penaunce, I declared that I could be contente to ſhewe vnto anye learned Miniſter of Chriſtes Church, any thing that troubled my conſcience, and of ſuch a mā I would moſt willingly heare abſolution pronounced.

M. Mantell apoſed in the Sacrament.

Touching the Sacrament of the aulter (as he termed it) I ſayd that I beleeued Chriſt to be there preſent as the holy Ghoſt ment when theſe words were written: Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Further, when this would not ſatisfye, I deſired him to conſider that I was a condemned man to dye by a law, and that it was more meete for me to ſeeke a readines and preparation to death. And in ſo much as I diſſented not from him in any article of the Chriſtian fayth neceſſary to ſaluation, I deſired him for Gods ſake no more to trouble me with ſuch matters, as whiche to beleeue is neyther ſaluation, nor not to beleeue, damnation. He aunſwered, that if I diſſented but in the leaſt matter frō the catholick Church, my ſoule was in great daunger, therefore much more in thys great matter, alleadging this text: Qui offenderit in minimo, factus eſt reus omnium. He that offendeth in the leaſt of theſe, is gilty of them all. Yea (quoth I) Verum eſt, ex hiſce mandatis i. It is true, of theſe commaundementes of God. To this I deſired him to conſider, that it was not my matter, neither was I able in theſe matters to keepe diſputation, nor minded ſo to doe, and therefore to take theſe few wordes for a full aunſwere, that I not onely in the matter of the ſacrament, but alſo in all other matters of Religion, Beleeue as the holy Catholicke Church of Chriſt (grounded vpon the Prophetes and Apoſtles) beleeueth. But vppon this worde Church we agreed not, for I tooke exception at the Antichriſtian Popiſh Church.

Math. 5. Iacob 2.

The Church.

D. Bourne and M. Mantell diſagree in the Maſſe.

Then fell we in talke of the Maſſe, wherein wee agreed not: for I, both for the occaſion of Idolatry, and alſo the cleare ſubuerſion of Chriſtes inſtitution, thought it nought, and he è cōtra vppon certaine conſiderations ſuppoſed it good. I founde fault that it was accounted a Sacrifice propiciatory for ſinne, and at certaine other applications of it. But he ſayde that it was not a propiciatory ſacrifice for ſinne (for the death of Chriſt onely was the Sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the ſame. Then I: if ye thinke ſo, certaine blaſphemous collectes left out, I could be content (were it not for offending my poore brethren that beleeue in Chriſt, which know not ſo muche) to heare your Maſſe. See (quoth he) howe vayne glory toucheth you. Not ſo ſir (quoth I) I am not now I thanke God, in caſe to be vayne glorious.

Bourne maketh the Maſſe a communion.

1. Cor. 11.

Then I found further faulte with it, that it was not a communion. Yes (ſayth he) one Prieſt ſaying Maſſe here, and an other there, and the third in an other place &c. is a communion. This agreeth ſcarcely with theſe words of Paule (ſayd I): Non in melius, ſed in deterius conuenitis i. Ye come not after a better maner, but after a worſe. Yea, and it is a communion to (ſaid he) when they come together. Now draweth on the time (quoth hee) that I muſt depart from you to the Court, to ſaye Maſſe before the Queene, and muſt ſignifie vnto her in what caſe I finde you, and me thinke I finde you ſore ſeduced. Then I ſayd, I pray you report the beſt, for I truſt you finde me not obſtinate. What ſhall I ſay are ye content to heare Maſſe, and to receaue the ſacrament in the Maſſe? I beſeeche you, ſayd I, ſignifie vnto her Maieſtie, that I am neither obſtinate, nor ſtubburne, for time and perſwaſion may altar me, but as yet my cōſcience is ſuch, that I can neither heare Maſſe, nor receaue the ſacrament after that ſort, Thus after certaine requeſtes made to the Queenes Maieſtie concerning other matters, he departed.

Mantell neither obſtinate nor ſtubborne.

The next daye hee came to me agayne and brought with him S. Cyprians woorkes, for ſo I had required him to doe the day before, becauſe I woulde ſee his ſermon De mortalitate. He had in thys booke turned in and interlyned certaine places both concerning the Church and the ſacrament: which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would ſerue, and at his next cōming I ſayd that I was wholy of Cyprians mynd, in the matter of the Sacrament. Doctour Weſton and Doctour Mallet came after to me, whome I aunſwered muche after that ſorte as I did the other. Doctour Weſton brought in the place of Ciprian, Panis iſte non effigie ſed natura mutatus. &c. I aſked of him how natura was taken in the Conuocation houſe in the diſputation, vpon the place of Theodoret.

To be ſhort Doctour Bourne came often vnto me, and I alwayes ſayde vnto him that I was not minded nor able to diſpute in matters of Religiō, but I beleued as the holy Catholick Church of Chriſt, grounded vpon the Prophetes and Apoſtles doth beleue, and namely in the matter of the Sacrament, as the holy fathers Cyprian and Auguſtine do write and beleued, and this aunſwere and none other they had of me in effecte, what wordes ſoeuer haue bene ſpread abroad of me that I ſhould be conformable to all thinges &c. The trueth is, I neither heard Maſſe nor receaued the ſacrament during the time of my impriſonment.

M. Mantell cōſtant in his religion.

One time he willed me to be confeſſed. I ſayd I am content. We kneeled downe to pray together in a windowe. I beganne without Benedicite, deſiring him not to looke at my hand for any ſuperſtitious particular enumeration of my ſinnes. Therewith he was called away to the Cōucell, & ego liberatus Thus muche I beare onely for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I haue offended any Chriſtian, from the bottome of my hart I aſke them forgeuenes. I truſt God hath forgeuen me, who knoweth that I durſt neuer deny him before men, leaſt he ſhoulde deny me before his heauenly father.

Thus haue I left behinde me written with myne own hand the effect of all the talke, eſpecially of the worſt that euer I graunted vnto, to the vttermoſt I can remember, as (God knoweth) all the whole communication I haue not written, for it were both to long and to fooliſh ſo to doe. Now I beſeche the liuing God which hath receiued me to his mercy and brought to paſſe that I dye ſteadfaſt and vndefiled in his trueth, at vtter defiaunce and deteſtation of all Papiſticall and Antichriſtian doctrine, I beſeech him (I ſay) to keepe and defend al his choſen for his names ſake, from the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome that Antichriſt, and from the aſſault of all his ſatellites. Gods indignation is knowne: he will trie and proue who be his. Amend your liues. Deny not Chriſt before men, leaſt he deny you before his heauenly father. Feare not to loſe your liues for him, for yee ſhall fynde them agayne. God hold his mercifull hand ouer thys Realme, and auert the plagues imminent, from the ſame. God ſaue the Queene, and ſend her knowledge in his truth. Amen, pray, pray, pray ye Chriſtians, and comfort your ſelues with the Scriptures.

Written the 2. of March. an. 1554. by me Walter Mantell priſoner, whom both God and the world hath forgeuen his offences. Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of Mayſter Walter Mantell, who if he had cōſented vnto the Queene, what time ſhe ſent Doctour Bourne vnto him, to deny his fayth, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and eſcaped with life.

March 3. Sir Gawen Carew and M. Gibbes, brought to the Tower. March 7.

Upon the Saterday being the iij. of March, ſir Gawen Carew, and maiſter Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horſemen.

In Lōdon the vij. day of March, euery houſholder was commaunded to appeare before the Alderman of their ward, and there were commaunded, that they, their wiues and ſeruaunts ſhould prepare themſelues to ſhrift, and receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, and that neither they, nor any of them ſhould depart out of the Citie, vntill Eaſter was paſt.

March. 18. Lady Elizabeth brought to the Tower. March 24.

Upon the Sonday following, being the xviij. daye of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the Queenes Siſter, was brought to the Tower.

Upon Eaſter euen, being the xxiiij. of March, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham were deliuered out of the Tower.

March. 25. The Pixe riſen out of the Sepulchre from all the watchmē at S. Pancraſe Church.

The xxv. day (being Eaſter day) in the morning, at S. Pancraſe in Cheape, the Crucifixe with the Pixe were taken out of the Sepulchre, before the Prieſt roſe to the reſurrection: ſo that when after his accuſtomed maner he put his hande into the Sepulchre, and ſayde very deuoutely: Surrexit non eſt hic, he found his words true, for he was not there in deede. Whereupon being halfe diſmayed, they conſulted amongſt themſelues whom they thought to be likelieſt to do this thing. In which debatement they remembred one Marſh, which a little before had bene put from that perſonage, becauſe he was married, to whoſe charge they layde it. But when they coulde not proue it, beeing brought before the Maior, they then burdened him to haue kept company with his wife, ſince that they were by commaundement diuorſed. Whereto he aunſwered, that hee thought the Queene had done him wrong to take from him both his liuing and his wife: which words were then noted, and taken very greeuouſly, and he and his wife were both committed to ſeuerall Counters, notwithſtanding that he had bene very ſicke.

M. Marſh burthened with ſuſpicion and with his mariage.

Aprill. 8. A Cat hanged with a ſhauen crowne, vpon the gallowes in Chepeſide.

The viij. of Aprill, there was a Cat hanged vpon a gallowes at the Croſſe in Cheape, apparelled like a Prieſt, ready to ſay Maſſe, with a ſhauen crowne. Her two forefeete were tyed ouer her head, with a rounde paper lyke a wafer cake put betweene them: whereon aroſe great euil will againſt the Citie of London. For the Queene and the Byſhops were very angry withall: and therefore the ſame after noone, there was a Proclamation, that who ſoeuer could bring foorth the partie that did hang vp the Cat, ſhould haue xx. nobles, which reward was afterwardes increaſed to xx. markes, but none could, or would earne it.

The number and occaſion of gallowes ſet vp in the City of London.

As touching the firſt occaſion of ſetting vp this Gallowes in Cheapeſide, heere is to be vnderſtand, that after the Sermon of the Byſhop of Wincheſter (aboue mentioned) made before the Queene for the ſtraite execution of Wyats ſouldiours, immediately vppon the ſame the xiij. of February, were ſet vp a great number of Gallowes in diuers places of the Citie, namely two in Chepeſide, one at Leaden hall, one at Bilynges gate, one at S. Magnus Church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleeteſtreete, foure in Southwarke, one at Allgate, one at Byſhops gate, one at Alderſgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at Saint Iames parcke corner, one at Cripplegate: all which Gibbets & gallowes to yͤ number of xx. there remained for terrour of other, frō the xiij. of February, till the iiij. of Iune, & then at the cōming in of King Philip were taken downe.

M. Wiats words touching the Lady Elizabeth.

The xj. day of Aprill, was Syr Thomas Wyat beheaded and quartered at the Tower hill, where hee vttered theſe woordes, touching the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earle of Deuonſhyre. Concerning (ſayd he) what I haue ſayd of other in my examination, to charge any other as partakers of my doings, I accuſe neyther my Lady Elizabeths grace, nor my Lord of Deuonſhyre. I can not accuſe them, neyther am I able to ſay, that, to my knowledge, they knew any thing of my riſing. And when Doctour Weſton tolde him, that his confeſſion was otherwiſe before the Counſell, he aunſwered: that which I ſaid then, I ſayd: but that which I ſay now, is true.

Aprill. 17. Sir Iames Croft. M. Winter. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

Uppon the Tueſday beeing the xvij. of Aprill, Syr Iames Croft, and Maiſter Winter, were brought to the Guild hall, with whom alſo the ſame time, and to the ſame place was brought ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treaſon, for that he was ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracie with the Duke of Suffolke & the reſt, agaynſt yͤ Queene, where he ſo learnedly and wiſely behaued himſelfe (as well in clearing his owne caſe, as alſo in opening ſuch lawes of the Realme as were then alledged agaynſt him) that the Queſt which was charged with his matter, could not in conſcience, but finde him not gilty: for yͤ which the ſaid xij. perſons of the Queſt, being alſo ſubſtantiall mē of the Citie, were bounde in the ſumme of 500. poundes a peece, to appeare before yͤ Queenes Counſell at a day appointed, there to anſwere ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt thē for his acquiting. Which Queſt appeared accordingly before the Counſell in the Starre chamber vppon Wedneſday, being the xxv. of Aprill, and S. Markes daye. From whēce, after certaine queſtioning, they were cōmitted to priſon, Emanuell Lucar, & maiſter Whetſtone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleete.

The Queſt troubled for Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

Aprill. 25.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas Archbyſhop of Cant. of Doctour Ridley, and M. Latymer, which was the xx. of this moneth of Aprill, & alſo of their diſputations, becauſe we haue ſayd enough before, it ſhall not neede now to beſtow any further rehearſall thereof.

L. Thomas Gray beheaded.

The Friday next following, after the condemnation of them, the xxvij. of Aprill, Lord Thomas Gray, the late Duke of Suffolkes brother, was beheaded at Tower hil.

Aprill. 27. Aprill. 28.

Upon the Saterday, beeing the xxviij. of Aprill, Syr Iames Croft, and Maiſter Winter were agayne brought to the Guild hall, where Sir Iames Croft was arraigned and condemned, and becauſe the day was farre ſpent, Maiſter Winter was not arraigned.

W. Thomas condemned. May. 18.

Upon the Thurſday, being the xvij. of May, William Thomas was arraigned at the Guild Hall, and there the ſame day condemned, who the next day after, was hanged, drawne, and quartered. His accuſation was, for cōſpiring the Queenes death: which how true it was, I haue not to ſay. This is certaine, that he made a right godly ende, and wrote many fruitefull exhortations, Letters and Sonets in the priſon before his death.

A certaine diſputation intended to be had at Cambridge.

In the moneth of May it was ſo giuen out, and bruited abroad, that a ſolemne diſputation ſhould be holden at Cambridge (as ye heard before in Maiſter Ridleys letter page. 1396) betwene M. Bradford, M. Saunders, mayſter Rogers, and other of that ſide, and the Doctours of both the Uniuerſities on the other ſide, like as had bene in Oxford before, as you haue heard. Whereupon yͤ godly Preachers which were in priſon hauing word therof, albeit they were deſtitute of their bookes, neither were ignorant of the purpoſe of the aduerſaries, and how yͤ cauſe was preiudicate before, alſo how the diſputations were cōfuſedly handled at Oxford: neuertheleſſe they thought not to refuſe the offer of diſputatiō, ſo that they might be quietly and indifferently heard, and therefore wiſely pondering the matter with themſelues, by a publicke conſent, directed out of priſon a declaration of their minde by writing, the vij. day of May. Wherein firſt as touching the diſputation, although they knew that they ſhould do no good, wheras all things were ſo predetermined before, yet neuertheles, they would not deny to diſpute, ſo that the diſputation might be either before the Queene, or before the Counſaile, or before the Parlamēt houſes, or elſe if they might diſpute by writing: for elſe if the matter were brought to the Doctours handling in their owne ſcholes, they haue ſufficient proofe (they ſayd) by the experience of Oxford, what little good will be done at Cambridge: and ſo cōſequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their Religion, and exhorting the people withall to ſubmit themſelues with all patience and humilitie, either to the will or puniſhmēt of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be theyr Iudges in this behalfe, and ſo ende their proteſtation, the copie and contents whereof I thought not vnfit here to be inſerted.

The preachers in priſon refuſe not to diſpute before indifferent Iudges.

✲ A copie of a certayne declaration drawne and ſent out of priſon by Mayſter Bradford, Mayſter Saunders, and dyuers other godly Preachers, concerning theyr diſputation, and doctrine of their Religion, as followeth.

A declaration of the godly preachers written and ſent abroad out of priſon.

Becauſe we heare that it is determined of the magiſtrats and ſuch as be in authoritie, eſpecially of the Clergye, to ſend vs ſpeedely out of the priſons of the Kings Bench, the Fleete, A cauſe of a pretended diſputation to be had at Cambridge.

Fleet, the Marſhalſey, and Newgate, where preſently we are, and of long time ſome of vs hath ben, not as rebelles, traytors, ſeditious perſons, theeues, or tranſgreſſours of any lawes of this realme, inhibitions, Proclamations, or commaundements of the Queenes highnes, or of any of yͤ Councels (Gods name be prayſed therfore) but alonely for the conſcience we haue to God and his moſt holy word & truth, vpon moſt certayne knowledge: becauſe we ſay, we heare that it is determined, we ſhal be ſent to one of the vniuerſities of Cambridge, or Oxford, there to diſpute with ſuch as are appointed in that behalfe: in that wee purpoſe not to diſpute otherwiſe then by writing, except it may be before the Queenes highnes and her Counſell, or before yͤ Parlament houſes, and therfore perchaunce it will be bruted abroad, that we are not able to mayntaine by the truth of Gods word, and the conſent of the true and Catholicke Church of Chriſt, the doctrine we haue generally and ſeuerally taught, and ſome of vs hath writtē & ſet forth (wherthrough the godly and ſimple may be offended & ſomwhat weakened:) we haue thought it our bounden dutie, now whileſt we may, by writing to publiſh and notifie the cauſes why we will not diſpute otherwiſe then is aboueſayd, to preuent the offences which might come thereby.

The cauſes why they will not otherwiſe diſpute then before indifferent Iudges.

Firſt, becauſe it is euidently knowne vnto the whole world, that the determinations of both the Vniuerſities in matters of Religion, eſpecially wherin we ſhould diſpute, are directly againſt Gods word, yea againſt their own determinations in the time of our late ſoueraigne Lord and moſt godly Prince, King Edward: and further it is knowen they be our open enemies, and haue already condemned our cauſes, before any diſputation had of the ſame.

The matter of the diſputation is againſt Gods word. The ſecond cauſe.

Secondly, becauſe the Prelates and clergie do not ſeeke either vs or the verity, but our deſtruction and their glory. For if they had ſought vs (as charity requireth) thē would they haue called vs forth hereaboutes before theyr lawes were ſo made, that franckly and without perill we might haue ſpoken our conſciences. Againe, if they had ſought for the veritie, they woulde not haue concluded of controuerſies, before they had bene diſputed: ſo that it eaſely appeareth that they ſeeke their owne glory and our deſtruction, and not vs and the veritie: and therefore we haue good cauſe to refuſe diſputation, as a thing which ſhall not further preuaile, then to the ſetting forth of their glory, and the ſuppreſſion of the veritie.

In the diſputation neither charitie nor veritie ſought for.

The third cauſe. The Iudges of the diſputation profeſſed enemies againſt the truth.

Thirdly, becauſe the Cenſors and Iudges (as we heare who they be) are manifeſt enemies to the truth, and that which worſe is, obſtinate enemies, before whome pearles are not to be caſt, by the commaundements of our Sauior Ieſus Chriſt, and by his owne example. That they be ſuch their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Conuocation houſe in October laſt paſt, do moſt euidently declare.

The 4. cauſe. Want of bookes neceſſary for diſputation.

Fourthly, becauſe ſome of vs haue bene in priſon theſe 8. or 9. monethes, where we haue had no bookes, no paper, no penne, no inke, or conuenient place for ſtudy, we thinke we ſhould do euill thus ſodainly to deſcend into diſputation with them, which may alledge as they liſt, the fathers and their teſtimonies, bicauſe our memories haue not that which we haue read ſo readily, as to reproue, when they ſhall report and wreſt the authors to their purpoſe, or to bring forth that we may haue there for our aduantage.

The 5. cauſe. Example of the diſputation at Oxford.

Fiftly, becauſe in diſputation we ſhall not be permitted to proſecute our Argumentes, but be ſtopped when we would ſpeake, one ſaying thus, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, eſpecially D. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his minde and meaning of the propoſitions, & had oftentimes halfe a doſen at once ſpeaking againſt hym: alwayes letting him to proſecute his argument, and to aunſwere accordingly: we will not ſpeake of the hiſſing, ſcoffing, and taunting, which wonderfully then was vſed. If on this ſorte and much worſe they handled theſe fathers, much more will they be ſhameles bold with vs if we ſhuld enter into diſputation with them.

The 6. cauſe. Notaries not indifferent.

Sixtly, becauſe the Notaries that ſhall receiue & write the diſputations, ſhal be of their appointment, and ſuch as either do not or dare not fauour yͤ truth, and therefore muſt write eyther to pleaſe them, or elſe they themſelues (the Cenſours and Iudges we meane) at their pleaſure wyll put to and take from, that which is writtē by yͤ Notaries, who can not, nor muſt not haue in their cuſtody that which they write, longer then the diſputation indureth, as their doings at Oxford declareth. No copy nor ſcroule could any man haue by their good will. For the Cenſors and Iudges will haue all deliuered into their hands: Yea, if any man was ſene there to write (as the report is) the ſame man was ſent for, and his writings taken from him: ſo muſt the diſputation ſerue only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For theſe cauſes we all thinke it ſo neceſſary not to diſpute with them, as if we did diſpute we ſhuld do that whiche they deſire & purpoſely ſeek, to promote the kingdome of Antichriſt, and to ſuppreſſe (as much as may be) yͤ truth. We will not ſpeake of the offence that might come to the godly, whē they ſhuld heare, by the report of our enemies, our aunſweres and arguments framed (you may be ſure) for their fantaſies, to the ſclaundering of the veritie.

Exceptions taken agaynſt the aduerſaries.

Therfore we publiſh, and by this writing notifie vnto the whole congregation and church of England, that for theſe aforeſaid cauſes we will not diſpute with thē, otherwiſe then with the penne, vnleſſe it be before the Queenes highnes and her Councell, or before the houſes of the parliament, as is aboue ſayd. If they will write, we will aunſwere, & by writing confirm and proue out of the infallible veritie, euen the very word of God, and by the teſtimonye of yͤ good and moſt auncient fathers in Chriſtes Churche, this our fayth and euery peece thereof, which hereafter we in a ſumme do write and ſend abroad purpoſely, that oure good brethren and ſiſterne in the Lord may knowe it: and to ſeale vp yͤ ſame, we are ready through Gods helpe and grace to geue our liues to yͤ halter or fire, or otherwiſe as God ſhall appoynt, humbly requiring, & in the bowels of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, beſeeching all that feare God, to behaue themſelues as obedient ſubiects to the Queenes highnes and the ſuperiour powers, which are ordeyned of god vnder her, rather after our exāple to geue their heads to the blocke, then in any poynt to rebell or once to mutter agaynſt the Lordes annoynted: we meane our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Mary, into whoſe hart we beſeech the Lord of mercye plentifully to poure the wiſedome and grace of his holy ſpirite, now and for euer. Amen.

Conditions aſſigned how they would diſpute.

Exhortation to obedience.

The confeſſion and fayth of the priſoned Preachers.

Firſt we confeſſe and beleue all the Canonicall bookes of the old Teſtament, and al the bookes of the new Teſtament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, and are therfore to be heard accordingly, as the Iudge in all controuerſies and matters of religion.

The Catholicke Church.

Secondly, we confeſſe and beleue the Catholick church whiche is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, as a moſt obedient and louing wife, to embrace and follow the doctrin of theſe books in all matters of religion, and therefore is ſhee to be heard accordingly: ſo that thoſe which will not heare this church thus following and obeying the word of her huſband, we accompt as heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, according to this ſaying: If he will not heare the Church, let him be vnto thee as a Heathen.

The Creede.

Thirdly, we beleue and confeſſe all the Articles of faith & doctrine ſet forth in the Simbole of the Apoſtles, whiche we commonly cal the Creede, and in the Symboles of the Councels of Nice, kept. An. dom. 324. of Conſtantinople An. dom. 384. of Epheſus kept An. dom. 432. of Calcedon, kept An. dom 454. of Toletum, the firſt and fourth. Alſo the Symboles of Athanaſius, Irenæus, Tertullian, & of Damaſus, which was about the yeare of our Lorde. 376. we confeſſe and beleue (we ſaye) the Doctrine of the Symboles generally and particularly: ſo that who ſoeuer doth otherwiſe, we hold the ſame to erre from the truth.

Iuſtification by fayth onely in Chriſt.

What fayth is.

Fourthly, we beleue and confeſſe concerning iuſtification, that as it commeth onely from Gods mercy through Chriſt, ſo it is perceaued and had of none whiche be of yeares of diſcretion, otherwiſe then by fayth onely: which fayth is not an opinion, but a certaine perſwaſiō wrought by the holy Ghoſt in the minde and hart of man, where through as yͤ minde is illumined, ſo the hart is ſoupled to ſubmitte it ſelfe to the will of God vnfaynedly, & ſo ſheweth forth an inherēt righteouſnes, which is to be diſcerned in the Article of iuſtification, from the righteouſnes which God endueth vs withall iuſtifying vs, although inſeperably they goe together. And this we do not for curioſitie or contention ſake, but for conſcience ſake, that it might be quyet, whiche it can neuer be, if we confounde without diſtinction, forgeuenes of ſinnes, and Chriſtes Iuſtice imputed to vs, with regeneratiō and inherent righteouſnes. By this wee diſalowe Papiſticall doctrine of free will, of workes of ſupererogation, of merites, of the neceſſitie of auricular confeſſion, and ſatiſfaction to Godwardes.

Righteouſnes in man, righteouſnes without man.

The doctrine of free iuſtification defended for no curioſitie, but for quiet of conſcience.

Seruice in the vulgar tongue.

Fiftly, we confeſſe and beleue concerning the exteriour ſeruice of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God, and therfore in the congregation al thinges publike ought to be done in ſuch a tongue as may be moſt to edifie & not in Latin, where the people vnderſtād not the ſame.

Inuocation to God alone.

Sixtly, we confeſſe and beleue that God onely by chriſt Ieſus is to be prayed vnto and called vpon, & therfore we diſalow inuocation or prayer to Saints departed this life.

Purgatory and Maſſes ſuffragatory, denied.

Seuenthly, we confeſſe and beleeue, that as a man departeth this life, ſo ſhall he be iudged in the laſt day generally, & in the meane ſeaſon is entred either into the ſtate of

the

An.no 1554. May.

Two ſacramentes.

the bleſſed for euer, or damned for euer, and therefore is either paſt all helpe, or elſe needes no helpe of any in this life. By reaſon whereof we affirme Purgatory, Maſſes of Scala cœli, Trentals, and ſuche Suffrages as the Popiſhe Church doth obtrude as neceſſary, to be the doctrine of Antichriſt.

Eightly, we confeſſe and beleeue the Sacramentes of Chriſt, which be Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper, that they ought to be miniſtred according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, concerning the ſubſtantiall partes of them: and that they be no longer Sacraments, then they be had in vſe, and vſed to the end for the which they were inſtituted.

The ſupper to be miniſtred in both kindes.

And heere we playnly confeſſe that the mutilation of the Lords Supper, and the ſubtraction of the one kinde from the lay people, is Antichriſtian.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

And ſo is the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramentall bread and wyne after the words of conſecration, as they be called.

Agaynſt Adoration of the ſacrament.

Item, the adoration of the Sacrament, with honor due vnto God: the reſeruation and carying about of the ſame.

The maſſe to be no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Item, the Maſſe to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and dead, or a worke that pleaſeth God.

Inhibition of Prieſtes mariage Antichriſtian.

All theſe we confeſſe and beleeue to be Antichriſtes doctrine: as is the inhibition in Mariage as vnlawfull to any ſtate. And we doubt not by Gods grace, but we ſhal be able to prooue all our confeſſions heere to be moſt true by the veritie of Gods word, and conſente of the Catholicke Churche, which followeth and hath followed the gouernaunce of Gods ſpirit, and the iudgement of his word.

And this thorough the Lordes helpe we will do, eyther in diſputation by word before the Queenes hyghneſſe and her Counſayle, eyther before the Parliament houſes, of whome we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, eyther with our pennes, whenſoeuer we ſhall be thereto by them that haue authoritie required and commaunded.

Exhortation agaynſt rebelliõ.

In the meane ſeaſon, as obedient Subiectes wee ſhall behaue our ſelues towardes all that be in authoritie, and not ceaſe to pray to God for them, that he woulde gouerne them all, generally and particularly with the ſpirite of wiſedome & grace. And ſo we hartily deſire, & humbly pray all men to do, in no point conſenting to any kinde of rebellion or ſedition againſt our ſoueraigne Lady the Queenes highnes: but where they can not obey, but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelues with all patience and humilitie to ſuffer as the will and pleaſures of the higher powers ſhall adiudge: as we are ready thorough the goodnes of the Lord to ſuffer whatſoeuer they ſhall adiudge vs vnto, rather then we will cõſent to any doctrine contrary to this which we heere confeſſe, vnleſſe we ſhall be iuſtly conuinced therof, either by writing or by word, before ſuch Iudges as the Queenes hyghnes and her Counſell, or the Parlamẽt houſes ſhall appoint: For the Vniuerſities and Clergy haue condemned our cauſes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all diſputation of the ſame: and therefore moſt iuſtly we may, & do appeale from them to be our Iudges in this behalfe, except it may be in writing, that to al men the matter may appeare. The Lord of mercy endue vs all with the ſpirit of his truth and grace of perſeuerance therein vnto the end. Amen.

The bigger part agaynſt the better.

Appeale from the Vniuerſitie Doctors as not indifferent iudges.

The 8. of May, Anno Dom. 1554.

The names of the priſoned preachers ſubſcribing to this declaration.

Robert Menauen, aliâs Robert Ferrar.
Rowland Taylor.
Iohn Philpot.
Iohn Bradford.
Iohn. Wigorne and Glouc. Epiſcopus, aliâs
Iohn Hooper.
Edward Crome.
Iohn Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
I. P.
T. M.

☞ To theſe things abouesayd, do I Myles Couerdale late of Exon, conſent and agree with theſe my afflicted breethren being priſoners with mine owne hand.

And thus much concerning this preſent declaration ſubſcribed by theſe preachers, which was on the viij. day of May.

May. 19.
Lady Elizabeth.
Sir Iohn Williams.

Furthermore, the xix. day of the ſayd moneth, the Lady Elizabeth, Siſter to the Queene, was brought out of the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of Syr Iohn williams, after Lord williams of Tame, of whom, her highnes was gently and curteouſly entreated: who afterward was had to Woodſtocke, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield Knight of Oxeborough in Northfolke: who on the other ſide, both forgetting her eſtate, and his owne duty, (as it is reported) ſhewed hymſelfe more hard & ſtraight vnto her, then either cauſe was geuen of her part, or reaſon of his owne part would haue led him, if either grace or wiſedome in him might haue ſene before, what daunger afterward might haue enſued thereof. Whereof we haue to entreate more at large (the Lorde willing) hereafter in the ſtory & life of Queene Elizabeth.

Sir Henry Benefield.

Iuly. 20.
K. Phillip arriueth at Southampton.

Upon the Friday following, being the xx. of Iuly, and S. Margarets day, the prince of Spaine lãded at Southhampton. The Prince him ſelfe was the firſt that landed: who immediately as he ſet foote vppon the land, drew out his ſword, and caried it naked in his hãd a good prety way.

King Philip caryeth his ſword naked comming into England.

Then met him without the Towne a little the Maior of Southampton, with certayne Commoners, who deliuered the keyes of the Towne vnto the Prince, who remoued his ſword (naked as it was) out of his right hand, into his left hand, and ſo receiued the keyes of the Maior without any word ſpeaking, or countenaunce of thankefulnes, and after a while deliuered the keyes to the Maior againe. At the Towne gate met hym the Earle of Arundell and Lord williams, and ſo he was brought to his lodging.

The keyes of Southampton deliuered to K. Phillip.

Iuly. 25.
Mariage betweene K. Phillip and Q. Mary.

Upon the wedneſday following, being S. Iames day, and the xxv. of Iuly, Philip Prince of Spayne, & Mary Queene of England, were maryed together ſolemnely in the Cathedrall Church at Wincheſter, by the Byſhop of Wincheſter, in the preſence of a great number of noble men of both the Realmes. At the time of this mariage the Emperours Embaſſadour being preſent, opẽly pronounced, ÿ in cõſideration of that Mariage, the Emperour had graũted & giuen vnto his ſonne, the Kingdome of Naples, &c.

August. 1.

Whereupon the firſt daye of Auguſt following, there was a Proclamation, that from that tyme foorth, the ſtyle of all maner of writings ſhould be altered, and this following ſhould be vſed.

☞ Philip and Mary by the grace of God, Kyng and Queene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the Fayth, Princes of Spayne and Cicill, Archdukes, of Auſtrich, Dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flaunders and Tyroll.

Of this Mariage, as the Papiſtes chiefly ſeemed to be very glad, ſo diuers of them after diuers ſtudyes, to ſhew forth their inward affections, ſome made Interludes and Pagentes, ſome drewe foorth Genealogies, deriuing his petigrue from Edwarde the third and Iohn of Gaunt, ſome made Verſes. Amongſt all other, Mayſter Whyte, then Byſhop of Lincolne (his Poeticall vayne beeyng drunken with ioye of the Mariage) ſpued out certayne Verſes: the copy whereof we haue heere inſerted.

¶ Philippi & Mariæ Genealogia, qua ambo Principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo, Edwardi tertij, Angliæ, Franciæque Regis filio deſcendiſſe oſtenduntur, Whito Lincolnienſe Authore.

ILle parens regum Gandaua ex vrbe Iohannes
Somerſetenſem comitem profert Iohannem.
Somerſetenſis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit Comitiſſam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni ſeptimus huius
Henrico octauo ſolium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fauſto quaſi ſydere nata
Iure tenes ſacram, teneaſque Maria coronam.

¶ Verſes of M. White Byſhop of Lincolne, concerning the Marriage of Philip and Mary.

NVbat vt angla anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque ſuum fontem regia ſtirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis dæmon vetus hoſtis,
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida ſpes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timiduſque ad prælia Gallus,
Cæſar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (ſtirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex,
Pontificum ſed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo vxorati Patres in dæmone nollent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate, volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius vrſus,
Sed fidum regni Conſilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis noſtræ Catelina Viatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat ſua limina ſanguis,
Cum ſit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.

¶ Aunſwere by the reuerend Byſhop of Norwich to the Byſhop of Lyncolne.

EXterno nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,
Vt ſint pulſa ſuis ſceptra Britanna locis:
Vult Dæmon generis noſtri antiquiſſimus hoſtis,
Anglorum non vult anchora ſola Deus.
Nolunt hoc Galli, nolunt Scoti armipotentes,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, vult Italus Golias.

Vult grex Pontificum, ſtirps Caypha, turba bicornis,
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pia turba patrum.
Nolunt octo, quibus ſunt vincla iugalia curæ,
Quinque cathenati Dæmonis arte volunt.
Hoc neque tu prorſus Dudlæe animoſe volebas:
Inuitum regni Conſilium voluit.
Dedecus hoc non vult fortiſsimus ille Viatus,
Inuitus populus, ſic proceresque volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam ſemper mala cuncta voletis:
Non vult Graius Dux, nec pia turba volet.
Quot tulit Hiſpanus rex ergò commoda ſecum,
Reginæ ſocias cum dedit ille manus?

¶ Another aunſwere by the ſayd Author.

Hiſpano nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,
Extirpetur ſtirps vt quoque Nobilium:
Vult pater id veſter diſturbans omnia Dæmon,
Non vult Anglorum ſed pater Altitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, Papicolæque volunt.
Grex mitratorum vult, Cayphæ ipſa propago:
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pius ordo patrum.
Nolunt octo, pios qui iure colunt hymenæos,
Quinque cathenati pro impietate volunt.
Dudlæus minimè voluit Northumbrius Heros;
Cui ſua perchara eſt patria, nemo volet.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba volet.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis vt exulet omnis,
Non Graius, ſed nec Cantia turba volet.
Ergò magis clarus quî ſit (rogo) ſanguis auitus,
Quando iugalis ſit iunctus vterque thoro?

¶ Other Verſes aunſwering to Byſhop White, made by I. C.

Quamlibet Anglorum ſtirps ementita Philippo,
Et Maria Hiſpana de genetrice fuit:
Vt tamen Hiſpano, confuſi ſanguinis Angla
Nuberet in gentis dedecus atque patris,
Noluit Anglorum priſcæ virtutis amator,
Sed Deus in noſtram perniciem voluit.
Noluit in noſtram, niſi conſpirata, ſalutem
Turba: quid ad nos ſi gens inimica volet?
Pontifices ſati, quaſi Cayphas, omina dantes
Nolebant: at grex cacolucos voluit.
Elegere pij connubia talia nolle:
Velle quidem demens hæreſis illa fuit.
Conſilium multo præſtantius octo mariti,
Quinque cathenatis ob malefacta, dabant.
Noluit hos iungi thalamos Northumbrius héros.
O conſultores, qui voluere, malos.
Noluit haud æquo confligens marte Viatus,
Solaque quæ voluit, turba Papalis erat.
Nolebat Graius, neque terra Britanna volebat:
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, tulimus.
Sed tulimus pariter fata infœlicia, quando
Infœlix Maria eſt nupta Philippe tibi.

* Other verſes aunſwering likewiſe.

Nubat vt Hiſpano Regina Maria Philippo
Dic age Whyte mihi, quos voluiſſe vides?
Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil,
Velle & nolle Dei eſt: quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluiſtis:
Quid voluit, quoniam neſcis inepte, ſcias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates vt vanus & augur,
Et mendax Whitus pſeudopropheta foret.
Regi non regi nupſit, non nupſerat, Angla eſt,
Nõ Angla eſt, grauida eſt, nõ grauida eſt, grauius eſt.
Parturit atque parit, ſic vos voluiſtis ouantes,
Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos menſes, mox deſerit idem:
Sponſa eſt, mox vidua eſt: hoc voluit Dominus.
Irrita fruſtrentur ſemper ſic vota malorum,
Perniciem patriæ qui voluere ſuæ.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Phillip meth to ndſore. e Armes England en down d the mes of Spayne ſet vp.

After the conſummation of which mariage, they both remoued frõ Wincheſter to ſondry other places, and by eaſy iourneyes came to Windſore Caſtle, where he was ſtalled in the order of the Garter, vppon Sonday, being the xij. of Auguſt. At which tyme an Herald tooke downe the armes of England at Windſore, and in the place of them woulde haue ſet the armes of Spaine, but he was commaunded to ſet them vp againe by certayne Lordes. From thence, they both remoued to Richmond, and frõ thence by water came to London, and landed at ẏ Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe through which they paſſed both into Southwark parke, & ſo to Southwarke houſe called Suffolk place, where they lay that night being the 18. of Auguſt.

K. Phillip commeth to London.

Auguſt. 19.

And ẏ next day, being Saterday, and the xix. of Auguſt the king and Queenes maieſties rode from Suffolk place (accompanied with a great number, as wel of noble men as gentlemen) through the City of London to White Hall and at Londõ bridge as he entred at the draw bridge, was a vayne great ſpectacle ſet vp, two Images repreſentyng 2. Gyantes, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagoge holding betweene them certain Latin verſes, which for the vayne oſtentation of flattery, I ouerpaſſe.

Vayne pageants of London.

And as they paſſed ouer the bridge, there was a number of ordinaunce ſhot at the Tower, ſuch as by old mens report the like hath not bene heard or ſeene theſe hundreth yeares.

From London Bridge they paſſed to the Conduit in Gracious ſtreete whiche was finely painted, and among other thinges, the ix. worthies, whereof king Henry the 8. was one. He was paynted in harneſſe hauing in one hand a ſworde, and in the other hand a booke, wherupon was written Verbum Dei, deliuering the ſame booke (as it were) to his ſonne ng Edward, who was paynted in a corner by him.

Wincheſter cannot abide the booke called Verbum Dei.

But hereupon was no ſmall matter made, for the Biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chauncellour, ſet for the painter and not onely called him knaue for paynting a booke in K. Henries hand, and ſpecially for writing therupon Verbum Dei, but alſo rancke Traytour and Villaine, ſaying to hym that he ſhould rather haue put the book into the Queenes hand (who was alſo paynted there) for that ſhe had reformed the church and religion, with other things according to the pure and ſincere word of God in deede.

The paynter ſent for to the B. of Wincheſter.

The Paynter anſwered and ſayd, that if he had knowẽ that that had bene ths matter wherfore his Lordſhip ſent for him, he coulde haue remedied it, and not haue troubled his Lordſhip.

The paynters aunſwere.

The biſhop anſwered & ſaid, that it was the Queenes maieſties will and commaundement that he ſhoulde ſend for him: and ſo commaunding him to wype out the booke and Verbum Dei too: he ſent him home. So the Paynter departed, but fearing leaſt he ſhould leaue ſome parte eyther of the booke, or of Verbum Dei, in king Henries hand: hee wiped away a piece of his fingers withall.

Here I paſſe ouer and cut of other gaudes & Pageantes of paſtime ſhewed vnto him in paſſing through London, with the flattering verſes ſet vp in Latine, wherein were blaſed out in one place the fiue philips, as the fiue worthies of the worlde, Philip of Macedonia Philip ẏ Emperor, Philippus Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip Prince of Spayne and king of England.

V. Phillips.

In an other Poetry K. Philip was reſembled by an Image repreſenting Orpheus, and all Engliſhe people reſembled to brute & ſauage beaſtes following after Orpheus harpe, and daunſing after king Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the arte of the Latine verſes, which was fine and cunning, but that I paſſe ouer ẏ matter, hauing other grauer thinges in hand, and therefore paſſe ouer alſo the ſight at Paules church ſide of him that came downe vpon a rope tyed to the battilmentes with his head before, neyther ſtaying himſelfe with hand or foote: which ſhortly after coſt him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let paſſe touchyng the young floriſhing Roode newly ſet vp agaynſt this preſent tim welcome king Phillip into Paules Churche. The ſetting vp of which Roode was this, and may make as good a Pageant as the beſt.

An 2. Mariæ Boner in his royaltie, and all his Prebendaries about him in Paules Quiere, the Roode layde a long vpon the pauement, and alſo all the doores of Paules being ſhut, the Biſhop with other, ſayde and ſong diuers prayers by the Rood: that being done they annoynted the Roode with oyle in diuers places, and after the annoynting crept vnto it and kiſſed it.

The erecting vp of the Roode at Paules.

After that they tooke the ſayd Roode and reyſed hym vppe and ſet him in his olde accuſtomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Quiere ſang Te Deum, and when that was ended, they rang the Belles, not only for ioy, but alſo for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

B. Boners God the Roode of Paules ſet vp with Te Deum.

Not long after this, a mery fellow came into Paules and ſpyed the Roode with Mary and Iohn new ſet vppe whereto (among a great ſorte of people) he made low curteſie and ſayd: ſir, your Maiſterſhip is welcome to towne. I had thought to haue talked further with your Maiſterſhip, but that ye be here clothed in the Queenes colours. I hope

Salutation to the Roode of Paules.

Anno 1554. Aprill.

hope yee bee but a ſommers byrd, in that ye be dreſſed in white and greene, &c.

The Prince thus being in the Church of Paules, after Doctour Harpeſfield had finiſhed his Oration in Latine, ſet forwarde through Fleeteſtreete, and ſo came to white hall, where he with the Queene remayned four dayes after, and from thence remoued vnto Richmond.

After this, all the Lordes had leaue to departe into theyr countreies, with ſtraite commaundement to bring all their harneſſe and artillery into the Tower of London with all ſpeede. Now remained there no Engliſh Lord at the court but the Byſhop of winchester. From Richmond they remoued to Hampton Court, where the hall doore within the Court was continually ſhut, ſo that no man might enter, vnleſſe his arrand were firſt knowne: which ſeemed ſtraunge to Engliſh men that had not bene vſed thereto.

Septemb. 3.

About the eight day of September, Byſhop Boner began his viſitation, who charged vj. men in euery pariſh to inquire (according to their othes) and to preſent before him the day after S. Mathewes day, being the xxij. of September; all ſuch perſons as either had or ſhould offend in any of his Articles, which he had ſet forth to the number of 37. Of the whiche viſitation of Boner, I haue ſomewhat more largely to entreate, after that firſt I ſhall ouerpaſſe a few other things folowing in courſe of this preſent ſtory.

Septemb. 17.

The xvij. day of September, was a Proclamation in London, that all Vacabonds and maſterles men, as well ſtraungers as Engliſhmen, ſhould depart the Citie within fiue dayes: & ſtraitly charging all Inholders, Victuallers, Tauerners, and Alehouſekeepers, with all other that ſell victuals, that they (after the ſaid fiue dayes) ſhould not ſell any meate, drinke, or any kind of victuall to any Seruingman whatſoeuer, vnleſſe he brought a teſtimoniall from his Maiſter to declare whoſe ſeruaunt he was, and were in continuall houſhold with his ſayd Mayſter, vpon payne to runne in daunger of the law if they offend herein.

Septemb. 30.

The B. of Winchester preacheth.

Vppon the Sonday following, beeyng the xxx. daye of September, the Biſhop of winchester Lord Chauncellour of England preached at Paules Croſſe, at whoſe Sermon were preſent all the Cōſell that were at the Court, namelye the Marques of winchester, the Earle of Arundell, Lord North, Sir Anthony Browne, Maiſter Rocheſter, Maiſter walgraue, Maiſter Englefild, Lord Fitzwaters, and Secretary Peter, & the Biſhop of London, Dureſme, & Ely, which iij. ſate vnder the Biſhops armes. The Goſpell wherof he made his Sermon is writtē in the xxij. cha. of Math. where the Phariſeis came vnto Chriſt, & amōgſt them one aſked Chriſt which was the greateſt commaundement. Chriſt aunſwered: Thou ſhalt loue thy Lorde God with all thy hart, &c. and thy neighbour as thy ſelfe, in theſe two is comprehended the Lawe and the Prophetes.

A blaſphemous mouth agaynſt the true preachers of Gods word.

After his long declaration of theſe wordes, ſpeaking very much of loue and charitie, at the laſt he had occaſion vpon S. James his wordes, to ſpeake of the true teachers, and of the falſe teachers, ſaying, that all the Preachers almoſt in King Edwards tyme, preached nothing but voluptuouſneſſe, and filthy and blaſphemous lyes, affirming their doctrine to be that falſe doctrine whereof S. James ſpeaketh: ſaying, that it was full of peruerſe zeale, earthly, full of diſcord and diſcenſiō, that the preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, & that they taught that it was lawfull for a man to put awaye his wyfe for adultery, and marry another, and that if a man vowed to day, he might breake it to morrowe at hys pleaſure, wyth many other thyngs which I omit. And when he ſpoke of the Sacrament, he ſayd that all the Church from the beginning haue cōfeſſed Chriſtes natural body to be in heauen, & here to be in the Sacramēt, and ſo concluded that matter: & then willed al men to ſay with Joſephs brethren: Peccauimus in fratrem. We haue all ſinned againſt our brother, and ſo (ſayd he) haue I to. Then he declared what a noble King & Queene we haue, ſaying that if he ſhould go about to ſhew that the King came hether for no neceſſitie or neede, & what he had brought with him, it ſhould be ſuperfluous, ſeing it is euidently knowen that he hath x. times as much as we are in hope & poſſeſſion of, affirming him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle & temperate a Prince as euer was in Englād, and if it were not ſo proued, then to take him for a falſe liar for his ſo ſaying: Exhorting all men to make much of him, & to wynne him whyleſt we had him, and ſo ſhould we alſo winne all ſuch as he hath brought with him, and ſo made an ende.

The church neuer confeſſed the naturall body of Chriſt ſo to be in the Sacrament, that the ſubſtaunce of bread was taken away before the time of pope Innocent the 3. anno. 1215.

Winchester preacheth in commendation of king Phillip.

Vpon the Tueſday following, being the ſeconde day of October, xx. carts came from weſtminſter laden (as it was noyſed) with gold and ſiluer, and certain of the Gard with them through the Citie to the Tower, and there it was receiued in by a Spanyard, who was the Kings Treaſurer, and had cuſtody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mattes, and mayled in little bundels about two foote long, and almoſt halfe a foote thicke, and euery cart were ſixe of thoſe bundels. what it was in deede God knoweth, for it is to vs vncertayne.

Aboute the ſame time, or a little before, vppon Corpus Chriſti day, the proceſſiō being made in Smithfield, when after the manner the Prieſt with his pixe went vnder the Canapy, by chaunce there came by the way a certaine ſimple man, named John Streate, a ioyner of Colemā ſtreete, who hauing ſome haſt in his buſines, and finding no other way to paſſe through, by chaunce went vnder the Canapy by the Prieſt. The Prieſt ſeeing the man ſo to preſume to come vnto the Canapy, being belike afraid, and worſe feared then hurt, for feare let his Pixe fall downe. The poore man being ſtraight wayes apprehended, was had to the Counter, the Prieſt accuſing him vnto the Counſayle, as though he had come to ſlay him, whē as ẏ poore man (as he himſelfe hath ſince declared vnto vs) had no ſuch thought euer in his mind. Then from the Counter he was had vnto Newgate, where he was caſt into the Dongeon, there chayned to a poſt, where he was cruelly & miſerably handled & ſo extremely dealt withall, that being but ſimple before, he was now feared out of his wit altogether, and ſo vpon the ſame had to Bedlem. wherupon the briefe Chronicle of London in this poynt is not to be credited, which vntruely reported, that he fayned himſelfe in Newgate to be mad: which thing, we in writing of this hiſtory by due inquiſition of the partie, haue found to be contrary.

About the v. day of October, and within a fortnight folowing, were diuers as well houſholders as ſeruaunts & prentiſes apprehended and taken, and committed to ſondry priſons, for the hauing and ſelling of certaine bookes which were ſent into England by the Preachers that fled into Germany and other Countreys, which bookes nipped a great number ſo neare, that within one fortnight there were little leſſe then threeſcore impriſoned for this matter: among whome, was M. Browne a Goldſmith, Mayſter Sparke a Draper, Randall Tirer a Stationer, M. Beſton a Marchaunt, with many other.

Vpon the Sonday being the xiiij. daye of October, the old Byſhop of Dureſme preached in the ſhroudes.

Vpon S. Lukes day following, being the xviij. of October, the Kyngs Maieſty came from weſtminſter to Paules Church along the Streetes, accompanied with a great number of Noble men, and there he was receyued vnder a Canapy at the weſt dore, and ſo came into the Chauncell where he heard Maſſe (which a Spaniſhe Byſhop and his owne Chappell ſong) and that done, he returned to weſtminſter to dyner agayne.

Vpon the Friday being the xxvj. of October, certayne men, whereof I ſpake before, which were of Mayſter Throgmortons queſt, being in number viij. for the other foure were deliuered out of priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelues and ſayd they had offended, like weakelyngs, not conſidering truth to be truth but of force for feare ſayd ſo: theſe viij. men I ſay (whereof Maiſter Emanuell Lucas, and M. whetſtone were chiefe) were called before the Counſaile in the Starre chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all thyngs in that matter according to theyr knowledge and with good conſciences, euen as they ſhoulde aunſwere before God at the daye of iudgement. where maiſter Lucas ſayde openly before all the Lordes, that they had done in the matter lyke honeſt men and true and faythfull ſubiects, and therfore they humbly beſought the Lord Chauncellor and the other Lordes, to be meanes to the King and Queenes Maieſties, that they might be diſcharged and ſet at liberty, & ſayd that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit themſelues to their maieſties, ſauing and reſeruing theyr trueth, conſciences and honeſty. Some of the Lordes ſayde that they were worthy to pay a thouſand poundes a peece, and other ſome ſayd that Mayſter Lucas and Maiſter whetſtone were worthy to pay a thouſand markes a peece, and the reſt fiue hundreth poūds a peece. In concluſion, ſentence was geuen by the Lorde Chauncellour, that they ſhould pay a thouſand Markes a peece, and that they ſhould go to priſon againe, & there remayne till further order were taken for their puniſhment.

Vpon the Tueſday being the xxx. of October, the Lorde John Gray was deliuered out of the Tower and ſet at liberty.

Vpon Sonday the fourth of Nouember, fyue Prieſtes dyd penaunce at Paules Croſſe, which were contente to put away their wiues, and take vpon them agayne to miniſter. Euery of them had a Taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the Preacher did diſple them.

Vpon wedneſday the vij. of Nouember, the Lord Paget & Syr Edward Haſtings Maiſter of the horſe, were ſent as Ambaſſadours, I knowe not whither, but as it was adiudged, to Cardinall Poole, who lay all the ſommer before at Bruxelles, and it was thought: they were ſent to accompany and conducte him into England, where at that time he was nominated and appoynted Byſhoppe of Caunterbury.

Vpon the Friday folowing the 9. of Nouember Mayſter Barlow late Byſhop of Bathe, and M. Cardmaker were brought before the counſell in the Starre Chamber, where after communication they were commaũded to the fleete.

Vpon the Saterday being the tenth of Nouember, the Sheriffes of London had commaũdement to take an inuẽtory of euery one of theyr goods which were of M. Throgmortons queſt, & to ſeale vp theyr doores, which was done the ſame day. M. whetſtone, maiſter Lucas, and Mayſter Kytcley, were iudged to pay 2000. pounds a piece and the reſt 1000. Markes a piece, to be payd within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted thoſe 4. whiche confeſſed a fault and ſubmitted themſelues whoſe names are theſe, M. Loe, M. Poynter, M. Beſwicke, and M. Cater.

Mention was made a little before of the viſitation of M. Boner biſhop of Londõ, whiche began (as is ſayd) about the moneth of September: for the better preparation whereof were ſet forth certayne Articles to the number of 37. which articles partly for the tediouſnes of them, partly for that maiſter Bale in a certayne treatiſe hath ſufficiently paynted out the ſame in theyr coulours, partly alſo, becauſe I will not infect this booke with them, I ſlippe them ouer, proceeding in the progreſſe of this biſhop in his viſitation in the Countye of Eſſex. who paſſing through the ſayde Countye of Eſſex being attended with diuers worſhipfull of the ſhyre (for ſo they were commaunded) arriued at Sterford in Hertfordſhyre where hee reſted certayne dayes, ſolacing himſelfe after that paynefull peregrination with no ſmall feaſting and banqueting with his attendants aforeſayd, at the houſe of one Perſons his Nephew whoſe wife he commonly called his fayre Niece (and fayre ſhe was in deede) he tooke there great pleaſure to heare her play vpõ the Virginals (wherin ſhe excelled) in ſo much ỹ euery dinner (ſitting by his ſweete ſide) ſhe roſe and played three ſeuerall times at his requeſt of his good and ſpirituall deuotiõ towards her. Theſe certeine daies thus paſſed in this biſhoplike faſhion, he proceded in his popiſh viſitation towards Hadham his owne houſe and pariſh, not paſt two myles from Sterford, being there moſt ſolemnly rong out, as in all other places wheras he paſſed. At lẽgth drawing nere vnto Hadham, when he heard no bels there ſtyrring in honor of his holines, he grew into ſome choler & the nearer he approched the hotter was his fit, & the quieter the bels were, the vnquieter was his moode. Thus rode he on chafing and fuming with himſelfe. what meaneth (ſayth he) that knaue the Clarke, that he ringeth not, and the parſon that he meeteth me not? with ſundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient prelate comming to the towne, alighted, calling for the key of the Church, which was then all vnready, for that (as they thẽ pretended) he had preuẽted his time by two houres, whervpon he grew frõ coler to plaine melancholy, ſo as no man willingly would deale with him to qualify the raging humor ſo farre incorporated in his breſt. At laſt the Churchdoore being opened, the Byſhop entred, and finding no ſacrament hanged vp, nor roode loft decked after the Popyſh precept (which hade commaunded about the ſame tyme a well fauoured Roode, and of able ſtature vniuerſally in all Churches to be ſet vp) curtailed his ſmall deuotions, and fell from al coler and melancholy to flat madnes in the vppermoſt degree, ſwearing and raging with an huntynge othe or two, and by no beggers, that in his owne Churche where he hoped to haue ſene beſt order, he foũd moſt diſorder (to his honors moſt heauy diſcomfort, as he ſayde) calling the Parſõ (whoſe name was Doctor Bricket) knaue, and hereticke. who there humbled himſelfe and yelded as it were, to his fault, ſaying he was ſory his Lordſhip was come before that he and his pariſh looked for him: and therfore could not do theyr dueties to receiue him accordingly: & as for thoſe thinges lacking, he truſted, a ſhort time hereafter ſhould cõpaſſe that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleaſed his Lordſhip to come to hys poore houſe (where his dynner was prepared) he woulde ſatiſfy him in thoſe thinges, which his Lordſhip thought amiſſe. Yet thys ſo reaſonable an aunſweare, nothyng could ſatiſfy nor aſſwage his paſſion vnreaſonable. For the Catholicke Prelate vtterly defied him and his chere, commaunding him out of his ſighte ſaying: (as hys by worde was) before God thou art a knaue, auant hereticke, and therwithal, whether thruſting or ſtriking at him, ſo it was that with his hand he gaue ſyr Thomas Ioſſelin Knight (who was then amongeſt the reſt, & ſtood next the biſhop) a good flewet vpon the vpper part of the neck, euen vnder his eare (as ſome ſay which ſtood by) but as he himſelf ſaid he hit him full vpon the eare: wherat he was ſomewhat aſtonied at the ſodennes of the quarrell for that time. At laſt, he ſpake and ſaid, what meaneth your Lordſhip? haue you bene trayned in will Somers ſcole, to ſtrike him who ſtãdeth next you? The Biſhop ſtill in rage either heard not, or would not heare.

Syr Thomas Ioſſelyn ſtrokẽ of Boner.

Then M. Fecknam Deane of Paules ſeing the biſhop ſtil in this bitter rage, ſaid: O M. Ioſſelin, you muſt beare with my lord: for truly his long impriſonment in the marſhalſey, and the miſuſing of him there hath altered hym, ỹ in theſe paſſions he is not ruler of himſelfe, nor it booteth any man to geue him counſell vntill his heat be paſt, & then aſſure your ſelfe M. Ioſſelin my lord will be ſory for thoſe abuſes that now he cãnot ſee in himſelfe. whervnto he merily replied and ſayd: ſo it ſeemeth Maiſter Fecknam, for now that he is come forth of the marſhalſey, he is ready to go to Bedlem. At which mery concieptc ſome laughed and moe ſmiled becauſe the nayle was ſo truely hitte vpon the head. The Biſhop nothing abaſhed at his own folly, gaue a deafe eare, as no maruell it was that hee ſhamed little to ſtrike a ſtraunger, which ſpared not the burning of ſo many good men.

Fecknam excuſeth B. Boner by the Marſhalſey.

Syr Tho. Ioſſelyns Apothegma touching B. Boner.

After this worthy combate thus finiſhed and atchiued, this marſhiall Prelate preſently taketh him to his horſe agayne (notwithſtanding he was minded to tary at Hadhã 3. or 4. daies, and ſo had made prouiſiõ in his owne houſe) and leauing his dinner rode that night with a ſmall company of his houſeholde to ware (where he was not looked for 3. dayes after) to the great wonder of all the countrey why he ſo preuented his day afore ſtalled.

At this haſty poſting away of this Biſhop, his whole trayne of attendants there left him. Alſo his Doctors and chaplaines (a few excepted) taryed behind, and dined at D. Brickets as merily as he rode towards ware all chafingly: which diner was prepared for the biſhop himſelf. Now whether the Biſhoppe were offended at thoſe ſolemnities which he wanted and was accuſtomed to be ſaluted withall in other places where he iornied, ioyning to ỹ his great God was not exalted aboue ground ouer ỹ aultar, nor his blocke almighty ſet ſeemely in the roode loft to entertayne ſtraungers, and therupõ took occaſion to quarrell with D. Bricket (whoſe religion percaſe he ſomewhat ſuſpected) I haue not perfectly to ſay, but ſo it was ſuppoſed of diuers the cauſe therof to riſe, which draue the biſhop ſo haſtily frõ ſuch a dinner. Teſtified by ſuch as there and thẽ were preſent, Rich. K. &c.

B. Boner driuẽ from a good dinner.

¶ A ſtory of a Roode ſet vp in Lankaſhyre.

In this Viſitation of Biſhop Boner aboue mentioned, ye ſee how the biſhop tooke on for not ſetting vp the Roode and ringing the bels at Hadham. Ye heard alſo of the precept, which commaũded in euery pariſh a Rood to be erected both well fauoured and of an hable ſtature. By the occaſion whereof, it commeth in mind (and not out of place) to ſtorye likewiſe what happened in a certayne Towne in Lankaſhyre nere to Lancaſter called Cockram, where the Pariſhioners & Churchwardens hauing the ſame time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in theyr pariſh church had made theyr bargayn and were at a price with one that could cunningly karue & paynt ſuch idols, for the framyng of theyr Roode: who according to his promiſe, made them one, & ſet it vp in theyr Church. This done, he demaunded his mony. But they miſliking his workemanſhip, refuſed to pay him, whereupon he arreſted them, and the matter was brought before the Maior of Dancaſter, who was a very meet man for ſuch a purpoſe, and an olde fauourer of the Goſpell, which is rare in that country. Then the karuer began to declare how they had couenaunted with him for the making of a Rood, with the appurtenaunces ready karued and ſet vp in theyr Churche, which he according to his promiſe had done and nowe demaunding his money they refuſed to pay him. Is this true, quoth the Maior to the wardens? Yea Syr, ſayd they. And why do ye not pay the poore man his due, quoth he? And it pleaſe you Mayſter Maior (quoth they) becauſe the Roode wee had before was a welfauored man, and he promiſed to make vs ſuch an other: but this that he hath ſet vs vp now, is ỹ worſt fauored thing that euer you ſet your eies on, gaping & grinning in ſuch ſort that none of our Children dare once looke him in the face or come nere him. The maior thinking that it was good enough for ỹ purpoſe if it had bene worſſe, my maiſters (quoth he) howſoeuer the rood like you, the poore mans labor hath bene neuer the leſſe, and it is pity that he

A ſtory of a Roode ſet vp in Lankeiſhire.

The men of Cockram not pleaſed with theyr Roode.

The Roode of Cockram driuing the childrẽ out of the Church.

ſhould haue any hinderaunce or loſſe thereby. Therfore I will tell you what you ſhal do: Pay him the mony ye promiſed him, and goe your wayes home and looke on it, & if it will not ſerue for a God, make no more a doe: but clap a payre of hornes on his head, and ſo will he make an excellent deuill. This the Pariſhioners tooke well aworth, the poore man had his mony, and diuers laughed well therat: but ſo did not the babiloniſh Prieſtes.

The Maior of Dancaſter a good man.

This Maior aboue mentioned continued a Proteſtant almoſt fifty yeares, & was the onely releuer of M. Marſh the Martyr (whoſe ſtory foloweth hereafter) with meate, drinke, and lodging while he laye in Lancaſter Caſtle the ſpace of iij. quarters of a yeare, before he was had to Cheſter to be burned. &c.

About this time or the moneth next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Boner biſhop of London, to all Parſons and Curates within hys Dioces, for the aboliſhing of ſuch ſcriptures & wrytinges as had bene paynted vpon Churche walles before, in king Edwardes dayes. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to expreſſe, that the world might ſee the wicked proceedinges of theyr impious zeale, or rather theyr malicious rage agaynſt the Lord and his word, & agaynſt the edyfying of Chriſtian people: whereby it might appeare by this blotting out of theſe Scriptures, not only how blaſphemouſly they ſpake agaynſt the holy Scriptures of God, but alſo howe ſtudiouſly they ſought by all maner of meanes, to keepe the people ſtill in ignoraunce.

¶ A Mandate of Boner Byſhop of London, to aboliſh the Scriptures and writings paynted vpon the Church Walles.

The Scriptures paynted on Church walles raſed out.

EDmund by Gods permiſsion biſhop of London, to all & euery Parſons, Vicars, Clarkes, and lettered, within the pariſhe of Hadham, or within the precinct of our dioces of London wherſoeuer being, ſendeth greeting, grace, & benediction. Becauſe ſome children of iniquity, geuen vp to carnall deſires and noueltyes, haue by many wayes enterpriſed to baniſh the auncient maner & order of the Church and to bring in and eſtabliſh ſectes and hereſies: taking from thence the picture of Chriſt, and many thinges beſides inſtituted and obſerued of auncient time laudably in the ſame, placing in the roome therof ſuche thinges, as in ſuch a place it behoued them not to do: & alſo haue procured as a ſtay to their hereſies (as they thought) certayne ſcriptures wrongly applied, to be paynted vpon the Churche walles, all which perſons tende chiefly to this end, that they might vphold the liberty of the fleſh & mariage of prieſtes, and deſtroy as much as lay in them, the reuerend ſacramēt of the aultar and might extinguiſh and enaruate holydayes, faſting dayes, and other laudable diſcipline of the Catholicke church, opening a window to all vices, and vtterly cloſing vp the way vnto vertue: Wherefore we being mooued with a chriſtian zeale, iudging that the premiſes are not to be longer ſuffered do for diſcharge of our duety, cōmit vnto you ioyntly & ſeuerally, & by the tenor hereof do ſtraightly charge and cōmaund you, that at the receit hereof, with all ſpeed conuenient, you doe warne, or cauſe to be warned, firſt, ſecōd, & third time, & peremptorily, all and ſinguler Churchwardens and Pariſhioners whoſoeuer within your foreſayd Dioces of London, whereſoeuer any ſuch Scriptures or payntings haue bene attempted, that they aboliſh and extinguiſhe ſuch maner of Scriptures, ſo that by no meanes they bee either readde or ſeene, and therein to proceede moreouer as they ſhall ſee good and laudable in this behalfe. And if after the ſayd monition, the ſayd Churchwardens and Pariſhioners ſhall be founde remiſſe and negligent, or culpable, then you ioyntly and ſeuerally ſhall ſee the foreſayd Scriptures to be raſed aboliſhed and extinguiſhed forthwith: citing al and ſinguler thoſe Churchwardens and Pariſhioners (whome we alſo for the ſame do cite here by the tenour hereof) that all and ſinguler the ſayde Churchwardens and Pariſhyoners being ſlacke and negligent, or culpable therein, ſhall appeare before vs our Vicar generall and principall officiall, or our Commiſſary ſpeciall in our Cathedrall Church of S. Paule at Londō, in the Conſiſtory there, at the houre appoynted for the ſame, the ſixt day next after theyr citation if it be a court day, or els at the next court day after enſuing, whereas either we or our Officiall or Commiſſary ſhall ſit: there to ſay and alledge for themſelues ſome reaſonable cauſe: if they haue or cā tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, and otherwiſe puniſhed for theyr ſuch negligence, ſlackeneſſe, & fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to do and receiue, as law & reaſon requireth. And what you haue done in the premiſes, do you certify vs, or our Vicar, principall Officiall, and ſuch our Commiſſary, diligently and duely in all thinges, and through all thinges, or let him among you thus certify vs, which hath taken vpon him to execute this Mandate: In witnes whereof we haue ſet our ſeales to theſe preſentes. Dated in the byſhops pallace at London the 25. daye of the moneth of October in the yeare of our Lorde 1454. and of our tranſlation the 16,

Note well theſe cauſes reader, why the Scriptures ſhould be raſed out.

Scriptures open a window to vices with Boner.

About this time the L. Chauncellour ſent M. Chriſtopherſon vnto the vniuerſity of Cābridge with theſe 3. Articles, which he enioyned them to obſerue.

M. Ch ſtophe ſent to C bridge Gardin iniunct

The firſt, that euery ſcholer ſhould weare his apparell according to his degree in the ſcholes.

The ſecond was touching the pronūciation of yͤ Greeke tongue.

The third, that euery Preacher there ſhould declare the whole ſtile of the king and Queene in theyr ſermons.

In this vniuerſity of Cambridge, and alſo of Oxford, by reaſon of the bringing of theſe thinges, and eſpecially for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the Vniuerſities: of whō, ſome of theyr own accord gaue ouer, ſome were thruſt out of their felowſhips ſome were miſerably handled: in ſo much that in Cābridge in the Colledge of Saint Iohn, there were 24. places void together, in whoſe roomes were taken in 24. other which neither in vertue nor in religiō ſemed to anſwere to them before. And no leſſe miſerable, was the ſtate of Oxforde, by reaſon of the time, and the ſtraight dealing of the viſitours that for ſetting forward theyr Papiſticall procedinges, had no regard or reſpect to the forwardnes of good wittes, and the maynteinaunce of good letters beginning then more & more to floriſh in that Vniuerſity.

In Cam bridge 34. plac voyde a one ty in one Col ledge.

And for ſo much as we haue entred into the mention of Oxford, we may not paſſe ouer in ſilēce the famous exhortation of D. Treſham who ſupplying the roome of yͤ Subdeane in Chriſtes Church, after he had called all the Studentes of the Colledge together, with great Eloquence & art perſuaſory, began to commend the dignity of the maſſe vnto them, declaring that there was ſtuffe in Scripture enough to proue the maſſe good. Then to allure them to the catholick ſeruice of the Church, he vſed theſe reaſons declaring that there were a goodly cōpany of Copes, that were appoynted to Windſore, but he had foūd the Queene ſo gracious vnto him, that they ſhould come to Chriſtes church. Now if they like honeſt men, would come to Church, they ſhould weare them on holydayes. And beſides all this, he would get them the Lady Bell of Bampton, & that ſhould make the ſweeteſt ring in all England. And as for an holy waterſprinckle, he had already the fayreſt that was within the realme, wherfore he thought that no man would be ſo mad to forgo theſe commodityes. &c.

A Popi exhorta of Doct. Treſham.

The great reaſons of D. Treſh.

Which thinges I rehearſe, that it may appeare what want of deſcretion is in the fathers of popery, & into what idle follies ſuch men do fall. Whome I beſeech the Lord if it be his pleaſure, to reduce to a better truth, & to opē theyr eyes to ſee theyr owne blindnes.

To proceed now further in the courſe & race of our ſtory where as we left, being before in the moneth of Nouember it foloweth more that in the * xij. day of the ſame month of Nouember being Monday, beganne the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, to the beginning whereof both the king and Queene rode in theyr Parliament robes hauing 2. ſwords borne before them. The Earle of Penbroke bare his ſword, & the Earle of Weſtmerland bare the Queenes. They had ij. cappes of maynteinaunce borne before them: whereof the Earle of Arundell bare one, and the Earle of Shrewſbury the other.

* Where note that the Pri of Quee Marys Statutes doth co his ſuppu tation, which ſaith, tha this Parli ment beg the 12. of this mone which day was then Sonday.

Cardinall Poole landed at Douer vpon the Wedneſday being the xxi. day of Nouember, on which day one Act paſſed in the parliamēt for his reſtitution in bloud, vtterly repealing as falſe & moſt ſlaunderous that Act made agaynſt him in king Henry the eightes tyme, and on the next day being Thurſday and the xxij. of Nouember, the King and the Queene both came to the Parliament houſe to geue theyr royall aſſent & to eſtabliſh this Act agaynſt his comming.

Cardinall Poole co meth in England. Ex Sta an. 1. & 2 Regis P lip & M cap. 8. Nouem 28.

Vpon the Saterday being the xxiiij. of Nouember, the ſayd Cardinal came by water to London, & ſo to Lambeth houſe which was ready prepared agaynſt his comming.

Vpon the Wedneſday folowing being the 28. of Nouember, there was generall proceſſion in Paules for ioy yͭ the Queene was conceiued and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter ſent from the counſell to the Byſhop of London. The ſame day at this proceſſion was preſent ten Biſhops with al the Prebendaries of Paules, and alſo the Lord Maior with the Aldermen, and a greate number of Commons of the City in theyr beſt aray. The Copy of the Coūcels letter here foloweth, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

❀ A Copy of a letter ſent from the Counſell vnto Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, concerning Queene Mary conceiued with Childe.

AFter our harty commendations vnto your good Lordſhippe whereas it hath pleaſed almighty God amongeſt other his infinite

Anno 1554.

finite benefites of late moſt graciouſlye poured vpon vs and thys whole Realme, to extend his benediction vpon the Queenes maieſty in ſuch ſort, as ſhe is conceiued and *quicke of childe. Whereby (her maieſty being our natural liege Lady, queene & vndoubted inheritor of this imperiall crowne) good hope of certayn ſucceſsion in the crowne is geuen vnto vs, & conſequẽtly the great calamities, which (for want of ſuch ſucceſsion might otherwiſe haue fallen vpon vs, & our poſterity) ſhall by Gods grace be well auoyded, if we thankefully acknowledge this benefite of almighty God, endeuoring our ſelues with earneſt repentance to thanke honor and ſerue him, as we be moſt bounden: Theſe be not onely to aduertiſe you of theſe good newes, to be by you publiſhed in all places within your Dioces, but alſo to pray and require you, that both your ſelfe do geue God thankes with vs for this his eſpecial grace, and alſo geue order that thankes may be openly geuen by ſinging of Te Deum in all the churches within your ſayde Dioces: and that likewiſe all prieſtes and other Eccleſiaſticall miniſters, in theyr Maſſes and other diuine ſeruices, may continually pray to almighty God, ſo to extend his holy hand ouer his maieſty, the kinges highnes and this whole Realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power graciouſly thus begon may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye woulde of your ſelfe haue had ſpecial regard without theſe our letters yet for the earneſt deſire we haue to haue this thing done out of hand, & diligently continued, we haue alſo written theſe our letters, to put you in remembraunce: and ſo bid your Lordſhippe moſt hartily well to fare. From Weſtminſter the 27. of Nouember 1554.

Your aſſured louing frendes.

S. Winton. Chancel.
Arundell.
F. Shreweſbury.
Edward Darby,
Henry Suſſex.

Iohn Bathon.
R Rich.
Thomas Warthom.
Iohn Huddilſtone.
R. Southwell.

Alſo the ſame day in the afternoone, Cardinall Poole came to the Parliament houſe, which at that preſent was kept in the great Chamber of the Court at whitehall: for that the Queene was then ſicke, and could not go abroad: where as (the King and Queenes Maieſties ſittyng vnder ẏ cloth of Eſtate, & the Cardinall ſitting on theyr right hand, with all the other Eſtates of the Parliament being preſent) the Byſhop of wincheſter being Lord Chauncellor, began in this maner.

¶ The wordes of Wincheſter for receiuing of the Cardinall.

MY Lordes of the vpper houſe, & you my Maiſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reuerend father in God my Lord Cardinall Poole come frõ the apoſtolicke Sea of Rome. As Ambaſſador to the king and Queenes Maieſties, vpon one of the weightieſt cauſes that euer happened in this Realme, & whiche perteineth to the glory of God, and your vniuerſall benefite. The which Ambaſſage theyr Maieſties pleaſure is to be ſignified vnto you all by his owne mouth, truſting that you will receiue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankefull wiſe, as their highneſſes haue done, and that you will geue an attent and inclinable eare vnto him.

when the Lord Chauncellor had thus ended his talke, the Cardinall taking the time then offered, began hys Oration, wherin he declared the cauſes of his comming, and what were his deſires and requeſtes. In the which meane time, the Court gate was kept ſhut vntill he had made an end of his Oration. The tenour and wordes whereof here followeth.

¶ The tenour of Cardinall Pooles Oration. made in the Parliament houſe.

MY Lordes all, and you that are the Commons of thys preſent Parliament aſſembled, which in effecte is nothing els but the ſtate and body of the whole realm, as the cauſe of my repayre hither hath bene moſt wiſely & grauely declared by my Lord Chancellor, ſo before that I enter to the particularities of my Commiſſion, I haue ſomewhat touching my ſelfe, and to geue moſt humble and harty thankes to the king and Queenes Maieſties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled and baniſhed from this Cõmon wealth, hath reſtored me to be a mẽber of the ſame, & of a man hauing no place, neither here, or els where within this Realme, haue admitted me in place, where to ſpeake and to be heard. This I proteſt vnto you all, that though I was exiled my natiue cõtry without iuſt cauſe as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and deſire that I had to profite & doe you good. If the offer of my ſeruice might haue bene receiued, it was neuer to ſeek, and where that could not be taken, you neuer fayled of my prayer, nor neuer ſhall.

But leauing the rehearſall thereof, and comming more neare to the matter of my Commiſſion, I ſignify vnto you all that my principall trauell is, for the reſtitution of thys noble realme to the auncient nobility, and to declare vnto you, that the Sea Apoſtolicke from whence I come, hath a ſpeciall *reſpect to this realme aboue all other, & not without cauſe ſeing that God himſelfe, as it were by prouidẽce hath geuen this realme, prerogatiue of Nobility aboue other, which to make more playne vnto you, it is to be conſidered that this Iland, firſt of all Ilandes receyued the light of Chriſtes religion. For as ſtories teſtifye, it was prima prouinciarum quę amplexa eſt fidem Chriſti.

More for the vauntage that was hoped by it then for any great loue.

England of all Ilandes, receaued firſt the faith of Chriſt.

For the Britaines being firſt inhabitauntes of thys Realme (notwithſtanding the ſubiection of Emperours and heathen Princes) did receiue Chriſtes fayth from the Apoſtolicke Sea vniuerſally, and not in partes as other Countryes nor by one and one, as Clockes increaſe theyr houres by diſtinction of times, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that theyr ill merites or forgetfulnes of God had deſerued expulſion, and that Straũgers being Infidels had poſſeſſed this land, yet God of his goodnes not leauing where he once loued, ſo illuminated the hartes of the Saxons being Heathen menne, that they forſooke the darckenes of heathen errors and embraced the light of Chriſtes religion. So that within ſmall ſpace, idolatry and Heathen ſuperſtition was vtterly abandoned in this Iland.

This was a great prerogatiue of Nobilitye, whereof though the benefite therof be to be aſcribed to God, yet the meane occaſion of the ſame came frõ the * church of Rome. In the faith of which Church, we haue euer ſince continued and conſented with the reſt of the world in vnity of religion. And to ſhew further the feruent deuotion of the inhabitantes of this Iland towards the Church of Rome, we read that diuers princes in the Saxons time wͭ great trauel & expenſes went perſonally to Rome, as Offa & Adulphus which thought it not enough to ſhew themſelues obedient to the ſaid Sea, vnleſſe that in theyr owne perſons they had gone to that ſame place from whence they had receiued ſo great a grace and benefite.

In this time of Carolus Magnus who firſt founded the Vniuerſity of Paris, he ſent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, which firſt broughte learning to that Vniuerſity, wherby it ſeemeth that the greateſt part of the world ſet the light of the religion from England.

Adrian the fourth being an Engliſhmã, cõuerted Norway from infidelity, which Adrian afterwards, vpõ great affection and loue that he bare to this Realme, being hys natiue cõtry, gaue to Henry the ſecond king of England the righte and ſegniory of the dominion of Ireland, which perteyned to the Sea of Rome.

* That the fayth of the Britaines came firſt from Rome, neyther doth it ſtand with the circũſtaunce of our ſtoryes: neyther if it ſo did yet that faith and doctrine of the Romaniſtes was not ſuch then as it is now. Read before.

Of this Offa read before.

Of Alcuinus read before.

I will not rehearſe the manifolde benefites that thys Realme hath receiued frõ the Apoſtolicke Sea, nor how ready ẏ ſame hath bene to releiue vs in all our neceſſities. Nor I will not rehearſe the manifold miſeryes & calamities that this realme hath ſuffered by ſwaruing from that vnity. And euen as in this realme, ſo in all other cõtries which refuſing the vnity of the Catholick fayth haue folowed fantaſtical doctrine, the like plagues haue happened. Let Aſia and the Empyre of Greece be a ſpectacle vnto the world who by ſwerning from the vnity of the Churche of Rome are brought into captiuity & * ſubiectiõ of the Turk. All ſtories be full of like examples. And to come vnto the latter time, looke vpon our neighbours of Germany, who by ſwaruing from this vnity, are miſerably afflicted with diuerſity of ſectes and diuided in factions.

What ſhall I rehearſe vnto you the tumultes & effuſiõ of bloud, ẏ hath happened there of late dayes? Or trouble you with the rehearſall of thoſe plagues that haue happened ſince this innouation of religion, where you haue felt the bitternes, and I haue heard the report? Of all whiche matters I can ſay no more, but ſuch was the miſery of the time. And ſee how far forth this fury went. For thoſe that liue vnder the * Turk, may freely liue after theyr conſciẽce, and ſo was it not lawfull here.

If men examine well vpon what grounds theſe innouations began: they ſhall wel finde that the root of this as of many other miſchiefes, was auarice, and that the luſt & carnall affection of one man confounded al lawes both diuine and humaine. And notwithſtanding all theſe deuiſes and policies practiſed within this realme againſt ẏ church of Rome, they needed not to haue loſt you, but that they thought rather as frendes to reconcile you, then as enemies to infeſt you. For they wanted not great offers of the moſt mighty Potentates in all Europe to haue ayded the Church in that quarrell. Then marke the ſequell: There

Nay, rather what riches and treaſures the Sea of Rome hath ſuckt out of England it is incredible.

* The cauſe of their ſubiectiõ to the Turke cannot be proued to come by ſwaruing from the vnitie of the church of Rome for they were neuer fully ioyned vnto it. And as touching the ſubiection of Aſia and Grecia to the Turkes, read in the ſtory of the Turkes before.

* And why thẽ do ye more cruell then the Turke perſecute other for their conſcience.

ſeemed by theſe chaūges to riſe a great face of riches & gayn which in profe came to great miſery and lacke. See how God then can confound the wiſedome of the wiſe, & turne vniuſt pollicy to meere folly, & that thing that ſeemed to be done for reliefe, was cauſe of playne ruine & decay. Yet ſee that goodnes of God, which at no time fayled vs, but moſt beningly offred his grace, when it was of our partes leaſt ſought, and worſe deſerued.

And when all light of true religion ſeemed vtterly extinct, as the churches defaced, the aultars ouerthrown, the Miniſters corrupted: euen like as in a lampe the light being couered, yet it is not quenched, euen ſo in a few remained the confeſſion of Chriſtes fayth, namely in the breſt of the Queenes excellency, of whom to ſpeake without adulation, the ſaying of the prophet may be verefied: Ecce quaſi derelicta.

And ſee how miraculouſly God of his goodnes preſerued her highnes, contrary to the expectatiõ of man, yͭ whẽ numbers conſpired againſt her, and pollicies were deuiſed to diſherite her, and armed power prepared to deſtroy her yet ſhe being a virgine helpeles, naked and vnarmed, preuayled, & had the victory of tyrants, which is not to be aſcribed to any* pollicy of man, but to yͤ almighty great goodnes and prouidẽce of God, to whom the honor is to be geuen. And therefore it may be ſayd, Da gloriam Deo. For in mans iudgement, on her graces part, was nothing in appearaunce, but deſpayre.

What policy is this, to make promiſe to get ſtrength and to breake it as the Queene did?

And yet for all theſe practiſes and deuiſes of ill menne here you ſee her Grace eſtabliſhed in her eſtate being your lawfull Queene and Gouerneſſe, borne among you, whõ God hath appointed to raigne ouer you for the reſtitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errours and ſectes. And to confirme her grace the more ſtrongly in this enterpriſe, loe how the prouidẽce of God hath ioyned her in mariage with a Prince of like religion, who being a King of great might, armor & force, yet vſeth towards you neither armor nor force, but ſeeketh you by the way of loue and amity: in which reſpect great cauſe you haue to geue thãkes to almighty God, that hath ſent you ſuch a catholicke Gouerneſſe. It ſhall be therefore your part agayne to loue, obey and ſerue them.

And as it was a ſinguler fauor of God to conioyne thẽ in mariage, ſo it is not to be doubted but that he ſhall ſend them* iſſue, for the comfort & ſurety of this commõ wealth. Of all Princes in Europe, the Emperour hath trauayled moſt in the cauſe of Religion, as it appeareth by his actes in germany: yet happely by ſome ſecret iudgement of god, he hath not atchiued the end. With whom in my iourny hitherwardes I had conferẽce touching my legation, wherof whẽ he had vnderſtanding, he ſhewed great appearance of moſt earneſt ioy & gladneſſe, ſaying that it reioyced him no leſſe of yͤ recõcilemẽt of this realme vnto chriſtiã vnity, thẽ that his ſonne was placed by mariage in yͤ kingdome, and moſt glad he was of al, that the occaſion therof ſhould come by me, being an Engliſh man borne, which is, (as it were) to call home our ſelues. I can well compare hym to Dauid, which though he were a man elect of God, yet for that he was contaminate with bloud and warre, he could not build the temple of Ieruſalẽ, but left the finiſhing therof to Salomon, whiche was Rex pacificus. So may it bee thought that the appeaſing of controuerſies of religion in chriſtianity, is not appoynted to this Emperor, but rather to his ſonne, who ſhall performe the building that his Father hath begonne. Which church can not be perfectly builded, without vniuerſally in all Realmes we adhere to one head, and doe acknowledge him to be the Vicare of God, and to haue power frõ aboue. For al power is of God, according to the ſaying, Non eſt poteſtas niſi a Deo. And therefore I conſider that all power, beyng in God, yet for the conſeruation of quiet & godly life in the world, he hath deriued that power frõ aboue into two partes here in earth: whiche is into the power Imperiall and Eccleſiaſticall. And theſe two powers, as they be ſeuerall and diſtinct, ſo haue they two ſeuerell effectes and operations. For ſecular Princes to whome the temporall ſword is committed, be miniſters of god to execute vengeance vpon tranſgreſſors and euill liuers, and to preſerue the wel doers and Innocentes from iniury and violence. Which power is repreſẽted in theſe two moſt excellent perſõs, the king & Queenes Maieſties here preſent, who haue this power committed vnto them immediately from God, without any ſuperior in that behalfe.

*The Cardinall here appeareth to be a falſe prophet.

Charles the Emperour cõpared to Dauid.

Two powers in earth: Eccleſiaſticall and Imperiall.

The other power is of miniſtratiõ, which is the power of the keies, and order in the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, which is by the authority of gods word, & examples of the apoſtles, and of all old holy fathers from Chriſt hitherto, attributed and geuen to the Apoſtolick ſea of Rome by ſpeciall prerogatiue. From which ſea I am here deputed Legate & Embaſſador, hauing full and ample cõmiſſiõ from thence, and haue the keyes committed to my handes. I confeſſe to you that I haue the keyes, not as mine owne keies, but as the keyes of him that ſent me: and yet cannot opẽ, not for wãt of power in me to geue, but for certain impedimẽts in you to receiue, which muſt be taken away before my commiſſion can take effect. This I proteſt before you, my Commiſſion is not of preiudice to any perſõ. I come not to deſtroy but to build, I come to reconcile, not to condemne, I come not to compell, but to call agayne, I am not come to call any thing in queſtion already done, but my Commiſſion is of grace and clemency, to ſuch as will receiue it. For touching al matters that be paſt, they ſhalbe as things caſt into the ſea of forgetfulnes.

The power of the keyes clarkely declared.

But the meane whereby you ſhall receiue this benefit, is to reuoke and repeal thoſe lawes and ſtatutes, which be impediments, blocks, and barres to the executiõ of my cõmiſſion. For like as I my ſelfe had neither place nor voyce to ſpeake here among you, but was in all reſpectes a baniſhed man, till ſuche time as ye had repealed thoſe lawes, that lay in my way: euen ſo cannot you receiue the benefite and grace offred from the apoſtolick ſea, vntill the abrogation of ſuch lawes, wherby you haue diſioined and diſſeuered your ſelues from the vnity of Chriſtes Church.

It remayneth therefore, that you like true chriſtians & prouident men for the weale of your ſoules & bodyes, ponder what is to be done in this ſo weighty a cauſe, and ſo to frame your actes and procedings, as they may tend firſt to the glory of God, and next to the conſeruation of your cõmon wealth, ſurety and quietnes.

The next day after, the 3. Eſtates aſſembled agayne in the great chamber of the Court at Weſtminſter: where the king and queenes maieſties, and the Cardinall being preſent, they did exhibite (ſitting all on theyr knees) a ſupplication to theyr highneſſes, the tenor wherof enſueth.

* The Copy of the ſupplication and ſubmiſſion exhibited to the king and Queenes maieſties, by the Lordes and Commons of the Parliament.

WE the Lordes ſpirituall, and temporall, and the commõs of this preſent parliament, aſſembled, repreſenting the whole body of the realme of England, and dominions of the ſame, in our own names particularly, and alſo of the ſayd body vniuerſally in this ſupplicatiõ directed to your maieſtyes, with moſt hũble ſute, that it may by your gracious interceſſion and meane be exhibited to the moſt reuerend father in God, the Lord Cardinall Poole Legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy father Pope Iulius the third, and the Sea Apoſtolick of Rome, do declare our ſelues very ſorye and repentaunt for the ſchiſme and diſobedience committed in this realme and the dominions of the ſame, againſt the ſayd ſea Apoſtolicke, either by making, agreing, or executing any lawes, ordinaunces, or commaundementes agaynſt the ſupremacye of the ſayde ſea, or otherwiſe doing or ſpeaking, that might impugne the ſame: Offring our ſelues & promiſing by this our ſupplication, that for a token and knowledge of our ſayd repentance, we be, and ſhalbe alway ready, vnder and with the authorities of your Maieſties, to the vttermoſt of our power, to doe that ſhalbe in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of the ſayd lawes and ordinaunces in this preſent parliament, as well for our ſelues, as for the whole body, whom we repreſent.

Whereupon we moſt humbly beſeech your maieſties, as perſons vndefiled in the offence of his body towardes the ſayde Sea, which neuertheleſſe God by his prouidence hath made ſubiecte to your maieſties ſo to ſet forth this our moſte humble ſute, that we may obteine from the ſea Apoſtolicke, by the ſayd moſt reuerent father, as wel particularly as vniuerſally, Abſolution, releaſe and diſcharge from all daunger of ſuch Cenſures, and ſentences, as by the lawes of the church we be fallen in, and that we may, as children repentant, be receiued into the boſome & vnity of Chriſtes church, ſo as this noble Realme, with all the members therof, may in vnity and perfect obedience to the Sea Apoſtolicke, and Popes for the time being, ſerue GOD and your Maieſties to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of his Honour and Glorye. Amen.

The Supplication being read, the king and Queene deliuered the ſame vnto the Cardinall, who (perceiuing yͤ effect thereof to aunſwere his expectation) did receiue the ſame moſt gladly from theyr Maieſties: and after he had in fewe wordes geuen thankes to God, and declared what great cauſe he had to reioyce aboue all others, that his comming from Rome into England had takẽ moſt happy ſucceſſe: He by the Popes authority, did geue them this abſolution folowing.

¶An abſolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole, to the whole Parliament of England, in the preſence of the King and Queene.

Anno 1554.

OUr Lord Jeſus Chriſt which with his moſt precious bloud hath redemed and waſhed vs frõ all our ſinnes and iniquities, that he might purchaſe vnto himſelfe a glorious ſpouſe without ſpot or wrinckle, & whõ the Father hath appoynted head ouer all his church: he by his mercy abſolue you. And we by apoſtolick authority geuen vnto vs by the moſt holy lord Pope Julius the 3. his Vicegerent in earth) do abſolue & deliuer you, and euery of you with the whole Realme and the Dominions therof, from all Hereſy and Schiſme, and from all and euerye iudgement, Cenſures, and paynes, for that cauſe incurred: & alſo we do reſtore you agayn, vnto the vnity of our Mother the holy Church: as in our Letters more playnely it ſhall appeare: In the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

When all this was done they went into the Chappell, and there ſinging Te Deum, with great ſolemnity, declared the ioy and gladneſſe that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The reporte of thys was with great ſpede ſent vnto Rome, as well by the king and Cardinals Letters, which hereafter folow: as alſo otherwiſe. Wherupõ the pope cauſed there at Rome proceſſions to be made, and thankes to be geuẽ to God with great ioy, for the conuerſion of England to his Churche: and therefore prayſing the Cardinals diligence, and the deuotion of the king and queen, on Chriſtmas euen, by his Buls he ſet forth a generall pardõ to all ſuch as did truely reioyce for the ſame.

¶A copy of king Philips Letter, written with his owne hand to Pope Iulius, touching the reſtoring of the Realme of England.

Nouember. 30.

MOſt holy Father, I wrote yeſterday vnto Don Iohn Maurique, that he ſhoulde declare by worde of mouth, or els write to your holynes, in what good ſtate the matter of religion ſtoode in this Realme, and of the ſubmiſsion to your holineſſe, as to the chiefe. As this day, which is the feaſt of S. Andrew, late in the euening, we haue done God that ſeruice (to whoſe onely goodneſſe we muſt impute it, and to your holynes, who haue taken ſo great payne to gayne theſe ſoules) that this realme with full & generall conſent of all them that repreſent the ſtate, being very penitẽt for that was paſt and well bent to that they come to doe, ſubmitted themſelues to youe holynes, & to that holy Sea, whom at the requeſt of the Queene and me, your Legate did abſolue. And foraſmuch as the ſayd Don Iohn ſhall ſignify vnto your holineſſe, all that paſſed in this matter, I will write no more therof, but onely that the Queene & I, as moſt faythful & deuout children of your holynes, haue receiued the greateſt ioy and comfort hereof, that may be expreſſed with tong: Conſidering that beſides the ſeruice done to God hereby, it hath chaunced in the time of your holynes, to place as it were in the lappe of the holy Catholicke churche, ſuch a kingdome as this is. And therfore I thinke I cannot be thankefull enough for that is done this day. And I truſt in hym, that your holyneſſe ſhall alway vnderſtand, that the holy ſea hath not had a more obedient ſonne then I, not more deſirous to preſerue and encreaſe the authority of the ſame. God guid and proſper the moſt holy perſonage of your holineſſe as I deſire. From London the xxx. of Nouember. 1554.

Your holines moſt humble
Sonne the king. &c.

¶Here foloweth likewiſe the Cardinals letter to the ſayd Pope concerning the ſame matter.

THoſe things which I wrote vnto your holines of late, of that hope, which I truſted would come to paſſe, that in ſhort ſpace this realme would be reduced to the vnity of the church, & obedience of the Apoſtolick ſea, though I did write them not without great cauſe: yet neuertheleſſe, I could not be voyd of all feare, not onely for that difficulty, which the mindes of our countreymen did ſhew, beyng ſo long alienated from the ſea Apoſtolicke, and for the old hatred which they had borne ſo many yeares to that name: but much more I feared, leaſt the firſt entry into the cauſe it ſelf ſhuld be put of by ſome other by matter or conuention comming betwixt.

For the auoyding wherof, I made great meanes to the king and Queene, which litle needed, for their own godly forwardnes, and earneſt deſire to bring the thing to paſſe, farre ſurmounted my great and earneſt expectation. This day in the euening being S. Andrewes day, (who firſt brought his brother Peter to Chriſt) it is come to paſſe by the prouidence of God, that this Realme is reclaymed to geue due obedience to Peters ſeat and your holyneſſe, by whoſe meanes it may be cõioyned to Chriſt the head, & his body, which is the Church. The thing was done and concluded in Parliament (the king and queene being preſent) with ſuch full conſent & great reioyſing, that incontinently after I had made my Oration, and geuen the Benediction with a great ioy, and ſhout, there was diuers times ſayde, Amen, Amen: which doth euidently declare, that that holy ſeed, although it hath bene long oppreſſed, yet was not vtterly quenched in them: which chiefly was declared in the *Nobility. Returning home to my houſe, theſe thinges I wrote vnto your holynes vpon the ſodaine reioyſing that I had of ſo weighty a matter, ſo luckely brought to paſſe by the diuine prouidence, thinking to haue ſent my letters by the kings poſt, who (as it was ſayd) ſhould haue departed ſhortly: but afterwardes, chaunging my purpoſe, when I had determined to ſend one of mine owne men, I thought good to adde this much to my Letters, for the more ample gratulation and reioyſing at that good chaũce: which thing as it was right great gladnes to me, through the euent of the ſame (being it ſelfe very great, and ſo holy, ſo profitable to the whole Church, ſo healthſome to this my Countrey, which brought me forth, ſo honorable to ẏ ſame (which receiued me) ſo likewiſe I toke no leſſe reioyſing of ẏ Princes themſelues, through whoſe vertue and godlineſſe the matter did take ſucceſſe and perfection. Of how many, and how great things may the Church (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, & our mother) make her accompt through thoſe her children? Oh notable zeale of godlines, Oh auncient fayth which vndoubtedly doth ſo manifeſtly appeare in thẽ both that who ſo ſeeth them, muſte needes (whether he wyll or no) ſay the ſame which the Prophette ſpake of, of the firſte children of the Church: Iſti ſunt ſemen, cui benedixit Dominus. Hæc plantatio Domini ad gloriandum. That is. Theſe are the ſeede which the Lord hath bleſſed. This is the Lordes planting to glory in. How holily did your holines with al your authority and earneſt affection fauour this mariage, which truly ſemeth to expreſſe a great ſimilitude of ẏ higheſt king, which being heyre of the world, was ſet down by his father from the Regall ſeat, to be Spouſe and Sonne of the Virgine, & by this meanes to comfort all mankind: for euen ſo this king himſelfe, the greateſt heyre of all men which are in the earth, leauing his fathers kingdoms that are moſt great, is come into his litle kingdome, and is become both the ſpouſe, and ſonne of this Virgine (for he ſo behaueth himſelfe as though he were a ſonne, whereas in deed he is an huſbande) that he might (as he hath in effect already performed) ſhew himſelfe an ayder & helper to recõcile this people to chriſt, & his body, which is the church. Which things ſeing they are ſo, what may not our mother the Churche her ſelfe looke for at his handes that hath broughte this to paſſe, to conuerte the hartes of the Fathers towardes theyr Sonnes, and the vnbeleuers to the wiſedome of the righteous, which vertue truely doth wõderfully ſhine in him. But the Queene, which at that time when your holines ſent my Legate vnto her, did riſe vp as a rodde of incẽce ſpringing out of the trees of mirre, and as Frankincence out in the deſert, ſhe I ſay, whiche a litle before was forſakẽ of all men, how wonderfully doth ſhe now ſhine? what a ſauour of myrre & frankincẽce doth ſhe geue forth vnto her people? which (as ẏ Prophet ſaith, of the mother of Chriſt) brought forth before ſhe laboured, before ſhe was deliuered brought forth a man childe, who euer heard of ſuch a thing? and who hath ſeene the lyke of this? ſhal ẏ earth bring forth in one day, or ſhal a whole natiõ be brought forth together? But ſhe hath now brought forth a whole nation before the time of that deliuery, wherof we are in moſt great hope.

*The Popes authority as much welcome to the Nobilitie of England, as water into the ſhippe.

Oh diſſimulatiõ of a flattering Cardinall.

What ſimilitude is betwixt light and darckenes, 2. Cor. 6.

Cardinal Poole flattereth the king.

Scripture well applyed.

How great cauſe is geuen to vs to reioyce? How great cauſe haue we to geue thankes to Gods mercy, your holines and the Emperors maieſty, which haue bene cauſers of ſo happy and ſo godlye a mariage, by whiche we beyng reconciled, are ioyned to God the father, to Chriſt & to the Church? of the which, although I cannot comprehend in wordes the ioy that I haue taken, yet I can not keepe ſilence of it. And to this my reioyſing, this alſo was ioyned (which whẽ I had perceiued by the letters of the reuerend Archb. of Conſane, your holynes Nuncio, with the Emperours maieſtye, brought me marueilous great gladnes) ẏ your ſaid holynes began to reſtore to ẏ aũciẽt bewty, thoſe thinges which in the Church of Rome through the corruptiõ of times were deformed, which truely whẽ it ſhalbe finiſhed, thẽ in deede may we wel cry out with ẏ Prophet, and ſpeake vnto your holynes with theſe wordes. Exue te ſtola luctus & vexationis & indue te decore, qui a deo tibi eſt in gloria ſempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a deo ſempiternũ, pax iuſtitiæ, & honor pietatis. Tum autẽ dicetur, cir-

The Scripture ſpeaking of Sion and Ieruſalem, vnaptly applyed to the Pope.

Anno 1554. Nouember.

cumſpice & vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente ſole uſq; in occidẽtem, verbo ſancto gaudentem. That is: Put of the ſtoole of ſorow and vexation and put on comlineſſe, whiche thou haſt of God in euerlaſting glory. For thy name ſhall be named of God euerlaſting, peace of righteouſnes, and honor of godlines: & then it ſhall be ſayd: looke about and ſee thy ſonnes gathered together from the ſonne riſing to the going downe of the ſame, reioyſing in the holy worde. There is nothing truely (to ſpeake of thy children gathered together in the Weſt, which prepare thẽſelues to meet theyr mother) which they had rather ſee, thẽ her apparelled (that I may vſe the wordes of the prophet) in that garment of righteouſnes, wherwith God adorned her in times paſt. This one thing remayneth, that your holines ioy, and the ioy of all the vniuerſall Church maye be perfited, which together with vs her vnworthy children, ceaſeth not to pray to God for it. The almighty God preſerue your holines long to continue in health, for the profite of his church. Frõ London the laſt of Nouember. 1554.

Your moſt humble ſeruaunt Reginald Poole Cardinall.

December 2.

A Sermon of Steuen Gardiner preached at Paules Croſſe.

Upon the Sonday folowing, being the 2. of December the Byſhop of Wyncheſter Lorde Chauncellour of England preached at Paules Croſſe, at whiche Sermon was preſent the King and Cardinall Poole. Hee tooke for hys Theame this parte of the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Romaynes the 13. chap. This alſo we know the ſeaſon (brethren) that we ſhould now awake out of ſleep, for now is our ſaluation nearer, then when we beleued &c.

Some notes whereof as they came to my hands faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by ſundry copyes) I haue here thought good to ſet forth.

A dreaming Sermõ of the B. of Wincheſter.

Firſt, he ſhewed how the ſaying of S. Paul was verified vpon the gentiles, who had a long time ſlept in darke ignorance not knowing god: therfore S. Paul (quoth he) to ſtir vp theyr heauy dulneſſe, willed them to wake out of theyr long ſleepe, becauſe theyr ſaluation was nearer then when they beleued. In amplifying this matter, & comparing our times with theyrs: he tooke occaſiõ to declare what difference the Jewiſh Sacramentes had, from thoſe of the Chriſtians, wherein he vſed theſe wordes:

Euen as the Sacramentes of the Jewes did declare Chriſt to come, ſo doth our ſacraments declare Chriſt to be already come: but Chriſt to come, and Chriſt to be come is not al one. For now that he is come, the Jewes ſacramẽts be done away, and ours only remayne, which declare yͤ he is already come, & is nearer vs then he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in ſignes, but we haue him in the Sacrament of the aultar, euen his very bodye. Wherefore nowe alſo it is time that we awake out of our ſleepe, who haue ſlept, or rather dreamed theſe xx. yeares paſt, as ſhall more eaſely appere by declaring at large ſome of the propertyes and effectes of a ſleepe or dreame. And firſt, as men intending to ſleep, do ſeparate themſelues frõ company, and deſire to be alone: euen ſo haue we ſeperated our ſelues from the ſea Apoſtolick of Rome, and haue bene alone, no Realme in Chriſtendome like vs.

Wincheſter very expert (as it appeareth) in ghoſtly dreames.

Secondly, as in ſleep men dreame ſometime of killing, ſometime of maiming, ſometime of drowning, or burning ſometime of ſuch beaſtlineſſe as I will not name, but wyll ſpare your eares: ſo haue we in this our ſleepe, not onely dreamed of beaſtlines but we haue done it in deede. For in this our ſleepe, hath not one brother deſtroyed an other? Hath not halfe our money bene wiped away at one tyme? And agayn thoſe that would defend their conſcience, were ſlayne: and others alſo otherwiſe troubled, beſides infinite other thinges: which you all know as well as I: whereof I report me to your owne conſciences.

Farther in a mans ſleepe all his ſenſes are ſtopped, ſo yͤ he can neither ſee, ſmell, nor heare, euen ſo wheras the ceremonies of the church were inſtituted to moue and ſtirre vp our ſenſes, they being taken away, were not our ſenſes (as ye would ſay) ſtopped and we faſt a ſleepe? Moreouer whẽ a man would gladly ſleepe, he will put forth the candle leaſt peraduenture it may let his ſleepe, & awake hym: So of late all ſuch writers as did holde any thing with the Apoſtolick Sea were condemned, and forbiddẽ to be read and Images (whiche were * lay mens bookes) were caſt downe and broken.

Who putteth out the candell but they which extincte Gods word & forbid the Scriptures that ſhould geue vs light? * They forbid lay mens bookes but you forbid the booke of God.

The ſleep hath continued with vs theſe xx. yeares, and we all that while without a head. For when King Henry did firſt take vpon him to be head of the church, it was thẽ no Church at all. After whoſe death, King Edward (hauing ouer him Gouernors and Protectours which ruled as them liſted) coulde not be head of the Churche but was onely a ſhadow or ſigne of a head: and at length it came to paſſe, that we had no head at all, no, not ſo much as our 2. Archbiſhops. For on the one ſide, the Queene being a woman could not be head of the Church, and on the other ſide they both were conuicted of one crime & ſo depoſed. Thus while wee deſired to haue a ſupreame head among vs, it came to paſſe that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the North, in the time of King Henry the 8. (I am ſure) the king was determined to haue geuen ouer the ſupremacy agayne to the Pope: but the houre was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, leaſt ſome would haue ſayd, that he did it for feare.

After this M. Kneuet, and I were ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Emperor to deſire him that he would be a meane betwene the popes holines and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the ſea of Rome: but the time was neyther yet come. For it might haue bene ſayd, that it had bene done for a ciuill pollicy. Agayne, in the beginning of Kyng Edwardes raigne, the matter was mooued, but the tyme was not yet: for it would haue bene ſayd that the king (being but a child) had bene bought and ſolde. Neither in the beginning of the Queenes raigne was the houre come. For it would haue bene ſayd that it was done in a tyme of weaknes Likewiſe when the king firſt came, if it had bene done, they might haue ſayd it had bene by force & violence. But now euen now, *hora eſt, the houre is come, when nothing can be obiected, but that it is the mere mercy and prouidence of God. Nowe hath the Popes holyneſſe, Pope Julius the 3. ſent vnto vs this moſt reuerend father, Cardinall Poole, an Ambaſſadour from his ſide. What to doe? not to reuẽge the iniuries done by vs agaynſt his holines: ſed benedicere maledicẽtibus, to geue his benedictiõ to thoſe which defamed and perſecuted him.

And that we may be the more meete to receiue the ſayd benedictiõ, I ſhall deſire you that we may alway acknowledge our ſelues offẽders agaynſt his holines. I do not exclude my ſelfe forth of the number. I will flere cum flentibus, & gaudere cum gaudentibus, that is: weep with them that weep and reioyce with them which reioyce. And I ſhall deſire you that we may deferre the matter no longer, for now hora eſt the houre is come. The King and the Queenes Maieſties haue already reſtored our holy Father the Pope to his ſupremacy and the three eſtates aſſembled in the Parliament repreſenting the whole body of the Realme haue alſo ſubmitted themſelues to his holines, and his ſucceſſors* for euer. Wherefore let not vs any longer ſtay. And euen as S. Paule ſayd to the Corinthians, that he was theyr father, ſo may the Pope ſaye that he is our Father: for we receiued our doctrine firſt from Rome, therefore he may challenge vs as his owne. We haue all cauſe to reioyce, for hys holyneſſe hath ſent hither, and preuẽted vs before we ſought him: ſuch care hath he for vs. Therefore let vs ſay: Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea, Reioyce in this day which is of the Lordes working: that ſuche a noble man of byrth is come, yea ſuche a holye Father (I meane my Lord Cardinall Poole) which can ſpeake vnto vs, as vnto brethren, and not as vnto ſtraungers: who hath a long time bene abſent. And let vs now awake, whiche ſo long haue ſlept, and in our ſleepe haue done ſo much naughtines agaynſt the Sacramentes of Chriſt, denying the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar, and pulled downe the *aultars which thing Luther himſelfe would not doe, but rather reproued them that did, examining them of theyr beliefe in Chriſt.

This was the ſumme of this Sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed, firſt for the Pope, Pope Julius the 3. withall his Colledge of Cardinals, the B. of Londõ with the reſt of that order: then for the king and Queene & the nobility of this Realme, and laſt for the commons of the ſame, with the ſoules departed, lying in the paynes of Purgatory. This ended (the time being late) they beganne in Paules to ring to theyr Euening ſong, wherby the precher could not be well heard, whiche cauſed him to make a ſhort end of this clerkly Sermon.

About this very time a Poſte or Meſſenger was ſent frõ the whole Parliament to the Pope, to deſire him to cõfirme and eſtabliſh the ſale of Abbey landes and Chauntry landes: For the Lordes and the Parliament would graũt nothing in the Popes behalfe before theyr purchaſes were fully confirmed.

Upon the Thurſday folowing, being the 6. day of December, and S. Nicholas day, all the whole Conuocation both Biſhops and other: were ſent for to Lambeth to the Cardinall, who the ſame day forgaue them all theyr periurations, ſchiſmes, and hereſies, and they all there kneeled downe and receiued his abſolution, and after an exhortation and gratulation for theyr conuerſion to the catholicke church made by the Cardinall, they departed.

Upon the Wedneſday, being the 12. of December, fiue of the 8. menne (which lay in the Fleete, that were of M. Throgmortons queſt) were diſcharged and ſet at libertye vpon their fine payed, which was ccxx.li. a piece, and the other foure put vp a Supplication, therein declaring, that their goodes did not amount to the ſumme that they were appointed to pay, and ſo vpon that declaration paying lx. li. a piece, they were deliuered out of priſon vpon S. Thomas day before Chriſtmas, beyng the xxi. of December.

Upon the Saterday followyng, beyng the xxij. of December, all the whole Parliament had ſtrait commaundement, that none of them ſhould depart into their countrey this Chriſtmas, nor before the Parliament were ended. which commaundement was wonderful contrary to their expectations. For as well many of the Lordes, as alſo many of the inferior ſort had ſent for their horſe, and had them brought hither.

Upon the Friday following, being the 28. of December, and Childermas day, the Prince of Piedmont came to the court at weſtminſter.

Anno. 1555.

Upon Newyeares day at night folowing, certain honeſt men and women of the Citie, to the number of xxx. & a miniſter with them named M. Roſe, were taken as they were in a houſe in Bow Churchyard at the Communion, and the ſame night they were al committed to priſon. And on the Thurſday following, being the 3. day of January, M. Roſe was before the B. of winchester beyng L. Chancellor, and from thence the ſame day he was committed to the Tower, after certaine communication had betweene the Biſhop and him.

The ſame day the Act of the ſupremacie paſt in the parlament. Alſo the ſame day at night was a great tumult betwene Spaniards & Engliſh men at weſtminſter, wherof was like to haue enſued great miſchief through a Spaniſh Frier, which got into the Church and rong Alarum. The occaſion was about two whores which were in the cloiſter of weſtminſter with a ſort of Spaniards, whereof whileſt ſome playd the knaues with them, other ſome dyd keepe the entry of the Cloiſter with Dags in harneis. In the meane tyme certaine of the Deanes men came into the cloiſter, and the Spaniards diſcharged their dags at them and hurt ſome of them. By and by the noyſe of this doyng came into the ſtreetes, ſo that the whole towne was vp almoſt, but neuer a ſtroke was ſtriken. Notwithſtandyng, the noiſe of this doyng with the Deanes men, and alſo the ringing of the Alarum made much ado, and a great number alſo to be ſore afrayd.

Ye heard a little before the Councels letter ſent to B. Boner, ſignifiyng the good newes of Queene Mary to be not onely conceyued, but alſo quicke with childe, which was in the moneth of Nouember, the xxviij. day. Of this child great talke began at this tyme to ryſe in euery mans mouth, with buſy preparation, and much ado, eſpecially amongſt ſuch as ſemed in England to cary Spaniſh hartes in Engliſh bodies. In number of whom here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendatiō for his worthy affection toward his Prince and her iſſue, one ſir Rich. Southwel, who being the ſame tyme in the parlament houſe when as the Lordes were occupied in other affaires & matters of importance, ſodainly ſtarting vp, for fulnes of ioy, braſt out in theſe wordes folowing: Tuſh my Maiſters (quoth he) what talke ye of theſe matters? I would haue you take ſome order for our yong maiſter that is now comming into the world apace, leſt he find vs vnprouided, &c. By the which wordes both of him, and alſo by the foreſaid letters of the counſaile, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an aſſured opinion was thē conceiued in mens heds of Queene Mary, to be conceiued and quicke with child. In ſo much that at the ſame tyme, and in the ſame Parliament: there was eftſoones a bill exhibited, and an Act made vpon the ſame, the wordes wherof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificate, as vnder followeth.

¶ The wordes of the Acte.

Albeit we the Lordes ſpirituall and temporal, & the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, haue firme hope & confidence in the goodnes of almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouſly preſerued the Queenes maieſty from many great imminent perils and daungers: euen ſo he will of his infinite goodnes, geue her highnes ſtrength, the rather by our continuall prayers to paſſe well the danger of deliuerance of chylde, wherwith it hath pleaſed him (to al our great comforts) to bleſſe her: Yet foraſmuch as all things of this world be vncertaine, and hauing before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconſtant gouernment during the tyme of the raigne of the late king Edward the 6. do plainly ſee the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perils that may enſue to this whole realme, if foreſight be not vſed to preuent all euill chances if they ſhould happen: For the eſchewyng hereof, we the Lordes ſpirituall & temporall, and the commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, for and in conſideration of a moſt ſpeciall truſt and confidence, thot we haue and repoſe in the kings maieſty, for and cōcerning the politike gouernment, order, and adminiſtration of this realm in the tyme of the yong yeres of the iſſue or iſſues of her maieſties body to bee borne, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the Queenes highnes out of this preſent lyfe, during the tender yeares of ſuch iſſue or iſſues (which God forbid) according to ſuch order and maner, as hereafter in this preſent Acte his highnes moſt gracious pleaſure is, ſhould be declared and ſet forth, haue made our humble ſute by the aſſent of the Queenes highnes, that his maieſtie would vouchſafe to accept and take vppon hym the rule, order, education, and gouernment of the ſayd iſſue or iſſues to bee borne, as is aforeſayd, vpon which our ſute beyng of his ſaid maieſtie moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his highneſſe not onely to declare, that like as for the moſt part his maieſty verely truſteth that almighty God (who hath hitherto preſerued the Queenes maieſty) to geue this realme ſo good an hope of certayne ſucceſſion in the bloud royall of the ſame realme, will aſſiſt her highnes with his graces and benedictions, to ſee the fruite of her body well brought forrh, lyue and able to goucrne (whereof neither all this realme, ne all the world beſides, ſhould or coulde receiue more comfort then his maieſty ſhould and would) yet if ſuch chaunce ſhould happen, hys maieſty at our humble deſires is pleaſed and contented, not onely to accept and take vpō him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and gouernmēt of ſuch iſſues as of this moſt happy Mariage, ſhall be borne betweene the Queenes highnes and him: but alſo during the time of ſuch gouernment, would by all wayes and meanes, ſtudy, trauaile, and employ hymſelfe to aduance the weale both publike & priuate, of this realme and dominions thereunto belonging, according to the ſayd truſt in his maieſtye repoſed, with no leſſe good will and affection, then if his highneſſe had bene naturally borne amongſt vs. In conſideration whereof, be it enacted by the King and the Quenes moſt excellent maieſties, by the aſſent of the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame, &c. as it is to be ſeene in the Acte more at large ratified and confirmed at the ſame Parliament, to the ſame entent and purpoſe.

Order taken by Parliament for Q. Maries child.

Truſt diſapoynted.

¶ Thus much out of the Acte and ſtatute I thought to rehearſe, to the entent the Reader may vnderſtand, not ſo much how Parliaments may ſometimes be deceiued (as by this childe of Queene Mary may appeare) as rather what cauſe we Engliſhmen haue to render moſt earneſt thanks vnto almighty god, who ſo mercifully againſt the opinion, expectatiō, and working of our aduerſaries, hath helped & deliuered vs in this caſe, which otherwiſe might haue opened ſuch a window to the Spaniardes to haue entred and repleniſhed this land, that peraduenture by this tyme Engliſhmen ſhould haue enioyed no great quiet in their owne countrey: the Lord therefore make vs perpetually myndfull of his benefits, Amen.

Thus we ſee then, how man doth purpoſe, but God diſposeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great labour, prouiſion, and order taken in the Parliament houſe for their yōg maiſter long looked for, commyng ſo ſurely into the world in the end appeared neither yong maiſter, nor young maiſtreſſe, that any man yet to this day can heare of.

Furthermore, as the labour of the lay ſort was herein deluded: ſo no leſſe ridiculous it was to behold what litle effect the prayers of the Popes Churchmen had wyth almighty God, who trauailed no leſſe with their proceſſions Maſſes, and Collects, for the happy deliuerance of thys yong maiſter to come, as here followeth to be ſeene.

The Prayers of the Papiſtes of what litle effect they are with God.

¶ A prayer made by D. Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, daily to be ſayd for the Queenes deliueraunce.

O Moſt righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the firſt woman, haſt threatened vnto all women a common, ſharpe, and ineuitable malediction, and haſt enioyned them that they ſhould conceiue in ſinne, and beyng conceiued, ſhould be ſubiect to many and grieuous tormentes, and finally be deliuered with the danger and ieopardy of their lyfe: We beſeech thee, for thine exceeding great goodnes and bottomleſſe mercy, to mittigate the ſtraightnes of that law. Aſſwage thine anger for a while and cheriſh in the boſome of thy fauour and mercye, our moſt gracious Queene Mary, beyng now at the poynt of her deliuerance. So helpe her, that without danger of her lyfe, ſhe may ouercome the ſorow, and in due ſeaſon bring forth a chyld, in body beautifull and comely, in mynd noble and valiant. So that afterward ſhe forgetting the trouble, may with ioy, laude & prayſe

A prayer for Queene Mary and her childe, turned out of Latin into Engliſhe.

Anno 1554. Ianuary.

the bountifulneſſe of thy mercy, and together with vs, praiſe and bleſſe both thee and thy holy name, world withouten ende. This (Oh Lord) we deſire thee, we beſeeche thee, and moſt hartily craue of thee. Heare vs oh Lord, and graunt vs our petition: Let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy Church ſay: Where is theyr God?

¶ A ſolemne prayer made for king Phillip and Queene Maries childe, that it may be a male chylde, welfauoured and wittie, &c.

A deuout prayer made by the Catholickes for Q. Mary being great & quicke with childe.

O Moſt mighty Lord God, which regardeſt the prayer of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their requeſt, bowe downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the eies of thy mercy, vnto vs wretched ſinners, bowing ỹ knees of our hartes, and with many and deepe ſighes bewayling oure ſinnes & offences, humbly with eyes intent, & hands diſplayed, praying & beſeeching thee, with the ſhield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy ſeruant, and our Queene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom through thy grace thou haſt willed to be conceiued with chyld: and at the time of her trauaile graciouſly with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer her, and from all danger with the child in her conceiued, mercifully preſerue.

* The Papiſtes call the Proteſtantes hereticks and enemies to the croſſe of Chriſt, euen as Achab called Elias the diſturber of Iſraell, when he was onely the diſturber himſelfe.

It hath ſeemed good in thy ſight mercifull Father, by thy ſeruaunt Mary, to worke theſe wõders, that is to ſay: in her hands to vanquiſh and ouerthrow the ſtout enemy & to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of * heretikes, Infidels, enemies to thee, and to the croſſe of thy beloued ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, that of thy ſeruaunt thou mighteſt ſpeake in farre countreys. Therefore for theſe wonderfull workes which thou doeſt to thy ſeruaunts, thou art magnified Lord God for euer, and we thy people bleſſe thee the God of heauen, which haſt wrought vpon vs this great mercy, and haſt excluded from vs the heretike, the enemy of truth, the perſecuter of thy church. We know, we know that we haue grieuouſly (Lord) ſinned, that we haue bene deceiued by vanitie, and that we haue forſaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our ſinnes be increaſed vp to heauen, and we our ſelues haue offended, and our princes & our prieſts for theſe our ſinnes haue deſerued an hypocrite to our prince, our ſinnes haue deſerued a Tyrant to our Gouernour, that ſhould bryng our lyfe to bitternes. We be not worthy to haue ſo gentle and mercifull a Queene, ſo godly a ruler, & finally ſo vertuous a prince: at the very beginning of whoſe raigne, a new light as it were of Gods religion, ſeemed to vs for to ſpring & riſe. The Iews did bleſſe ỹ widow Iudith with one voice, ſaying: Thou art the glory of Ieruſalem, thou art the ioy of Iſraell, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou haſt loued chaſtity, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer.

Q. Mary compared of the Papiſtes to Q. Iudith.

Marke how forgetting his prayer, he falleth to the prayſing of Q. Mary.

And we the Engliſh people with one agreeable conſent do cry: Thou Mary art the glory of England, our ioy, the honour of thy people, for that thou haſt embraced chaſtitie: thine heart is ſtrengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therfore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer. But bow downe, O moſt mercifull Father, thine eare, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confeſſion. Thou knoweſt Lord, that againſt Phillip, not by humane, but by thy ordinaunce our king, and againſt thy ſeruaunt Mary by thy prouidence our Queene, the reſtorers and maintainers of thy Teſtament & of the faith & moſt cõſtãt defenders of thy church: thou knoweſt I ſay, that againſt theſe our two gouernors (the enimies of thy holy * Teſtament, & of the Church thy ſpouſe) be moſt ranke Rebels and ſpitefull murmurers, walking after their luſtes, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh wordes of pride, to the end they may ſet vp the kingdome of heretikes & ſchiſmatikes. By the power of their handes they would * chaunge thy promiſes, and deſtroy thine inheritaunce, and ſtop and ſhut vp the mouthes of them ỹ praiſe thee, and extinguiſh the glory of thy catholike Church and aultar.

* The Teſtamẽt ſetteth vp onely the glory of Chriſt.

* If the chaunging of Gods promiſes, deſtroying his inheritance, ſtopping the mouthes of Gods people, if contentions, warres, and ſchiſmes, be tokens of heretickes, who ſo great heretickes as the papiſts be?

It is manifeſt and plaine, how many contentiõs how many conſpiracies and ſeditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many, & how great troubleſome vexations, how many hereſies & ſchiſmes (for theſe be the moſt ready deuiſes, and euident tokens of heretickes) for our ſinnes do hang ouer vs, if thy ſeruant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwellyng place in the midſt of his people, to ỹ intent to deliuer vs out of ỹ hands of our enemies. Turne therfore thy countenance vnto vs, ſhew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Puniſh vs for our ſinnes according to thy will & pleaſure, onely now deliuer vs. We bowing the knees of our hart, beſeech thee that thou wilt not reſerue vnto vs puniſhment for euer, & we ſhall prayſe thee, all the days of our life. Heare our cry, and the praier of thy people, & open to them the treaſure of thy mercy, thy gracious fauour, the ſpring of liuely water. Thou that haſt begon, make in the hand of the ſeruaunt a perfect worke. Suffer not, we pray thee, the * faythleſſe rebels to ſay of thy ſeruaunt and her Counſellours, that they haue deuiſed matters which they cannot performe. And graunt vnto thy ſeruant an happy and an eaſie trauail. For it is not impoſſible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iuſtice, nor vnwonted to thy mercy.

It is well knowen vnto vs, how maruelouſly thou diddeſt worke in Sara of the age of xc. yeares, and in Elizabeth the barren, and alſo far ſtriken in age: for thy counſel is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art ỹ ſearcher of harts & thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy ſeruãt neuer luſted after man, neuer gaue her ſelfe to wanton cõpany, nor made her ſelfe pertaker wt them that walk in lightnes: but ſhe conſented to take an huſband with thy feare, & not with her luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy ſeruaunt toke an huſband, not for carnal pleaſure, but only for the deſire & loue of poſteritie, wherein thy name might be bleſſed for euer and euer. Geue therfore vnto thy ſeruaunts, Phillip our king, and Mary our Queene, a male iſſue, which may ſit in the ſeat of thy kingdome. Geue vnto our Queene thy ſeruant, a little infant in faſhion and body, comely & beautifull, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

Graunt the ſame to be in obedience like * Abraham, in hoſpitalitie like Loth, in chaſtitie and brotherly loue, lyke Ioſeph, in meekenes & myldnes like Moſes, in ſtrength & valiantnes like Sampſon. Let him be found faythful as Dauid after thy hart. Let him be wiſe among kings as the moſt wiſe Salomon. Let him be like Iob, a ſimple and an vpright man, fearing God & eſchewyng euill. Let hym finally be garniſhed with the comelynes of all vertuous cõditions, and in the ſame let him waxe old and lyue, that he may ſee his childrens children to the third & fourth generation. And geue vnto our ſoueraigne Lord and Lady, K. Phillip and Queene Mary, thy bleſſing and long life vpõ earth. And graunt that of thẽ may come kings & Queenes which may ſtedfaſtly continue in faith, loue, and holyneſſe. And bleſſed be their ſeed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art bleſſed for euer and euer, Amen.

¶ Another prayer for Queene Mary, and her conceiued chyld.

Another prayer for the ſame.

O Almighty father, which diddeſt ſanctifie the bleſſed Virgine and mother of Mary in her conception, and in the byrth of Chriſt our ſauiour (thy onely ſonne:) alſo by thy omnipotent power didſt ſafely deliuer the prophet Ionas out of the Whales belly: Defend O Lord, we beſeech thee, thy ſeruaunt Mary our Queene, with child conceyued, and ſo viſite her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not onely the child thy creature within her conteined, may ioyfully come from her into this worlde, and receyue the bleſſed Sacraments of Baptiſme and Confirmation, enioying therwith dayly encreaſe of all princely and gracious gifts both of body & ſoule, but that alſo ſhe, the mother, thorowe thy ſpeciall grace and mercy, may in tyme of her trauaile auoyde all exceſſiue dolour and payne, and abide perfect and ſure from all perill and danger of death, with long and proſperous life, thorough Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

It followeth now further in proceſſe of the ſtory, that vpon the Tueſday, being the x. of Ianuary, xix. of the lower houſe of the Parliament, with the Speaker, came to the White Hall to the kyng, and there offred him the gouernment of the realme, and of the Iſſue, if the Queene ſhould faile, which was confirmed by act of Parliament, within ten dayes after.

Upon Wedneſday folowing, beyng the xxvi. of Ianuary, the Parliament was cleane diſſolued. In this Parliament, among other things, the biſhop of Rome was eſtabliſhed, and all ſuch lawes as were made againſt hym ſince the xx. yeare of K. Henry the 8. were repealed, & alſo cardinall Poole, biſh. Pates, Lilly & other were reſtored to their bloud. Alſo there was an acte made for ſpeakyng of words: that whoſoeuer ſhould ſpeake any thyng agaynſt the king or Queene, or that might moue any ſedition or rebellion, at the firſt tyme to haue one of his eares cut of, or to forfeit an C. markes: and at the ſecond tyme to haue both his eares cut off, or els to forfeit an C. pounds, & who ſo euer ſhould write, cipher, or print any of the premiſſes, to haue their right hand cut off.

Alſo in this Parliament, three ſtatutes were reuiued for triall of hereſie: one made in the fift yere of Richard the 2. an other in the 2. yeare of Henry the 4. and the third, in the 2. yeare of Henry the 5. Alſo the doyng of M. Roſe and the other that were with him, was commoned of in this Parliament, and vpon that occaſion an acte was made, that certaine euill prayers ſhould be treaſon agaynſt the Queenes highnes. The prayers of theſe men were thus: God turne the hart of Queene Mary from Idolatrie, or els ſhorten her dayes. Wherof read the ſtatute, Ann. 1. & 2. Reg. Phil. & Mariæ. Cap. 9.

Anno 1555. January.

As touching the taking of M. Roſe & his felows, word was brought therof to M. Hooper being thē in the Fleete, whereupon the ſaid M. Hooper ſendeth aunſwer againe, with a letter alſo of conſolation ſent to the ſayd priſoners: the copie wherof I thought here not to ouerpaſſe.

¶ The aunſwer of M. Hooper to a letter ſent vnto him concerning certaine priſoners taken in Bowe churchyard.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I perceiue by your letter, how that vpon Newyeres day at night, there were taken a godly company of Chriſtians, whileſt they were praying. I doe reioyce in that men can be ſo well occupied in this perilous time, and flee vnto God for remedy by prayer, as well for theyr owne lackes and neceſſities, as alſo charitably to pray for them that perſecute them. So doth the worde of God commaund all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to reuile any Magiſtrate with wordes, or to meane him euill by force or violence. They alſo may reioyce that in well doyng, they were taken to the priſon. Wherfore I haue thought it good to ſend them this little writing of conſolation: praying God to ſend them pacience, charitie & conſtancie in the truth of his moſt holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to ſend his true word into this Realme againe amongeſt vs, which the vngodly Biſhops haue now baniſhed. Janua. 4. ann. 1555.

¶ A letter of conſolation ſent from M. Hooper to the godly brethren taken in Bow churchyard, in prayer, and layd in the Counter in Breadſtreat.

A letter of M. Hooper full of most heauenly consolatió.

THe grace, fauor, conſolation, and ayd of the holy ghoſt, be with you now and euer, So be it.

Dearely beloued in the Lord, euer ſithens your impriſonment, I haue bene marueilouſly mooued with great affections and paſſions, as well of myrth and gladnes, as of heauines & ſorow. Of gladnes in this, that I perceyued how ye be bent & geuen to prayer and inuocation of gods helpe in theſe darke & wicked proceedings of men agaynſt Gods glory. I haue bene ſory to perceiue the malice and wickednes of men to be ſo cruel, diueliſh, & tyrannicall, to perſecute the people of God for ſeruyng of God, ſaying & hearing of the holy Pſalmes, and the word of eternall life. Theſe cruell doings do declare, that the Papiſtes Church is more bloudy and tyrannicall, then euer was the ſword of the Ethnikes and Gentiles.

When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing wherfore, and by whom ye were takē, I remembred how the Chriſtians in the Primatiue Church were vſed by the crueltie of vnchriſtened heathens, in the tyme of Traiane the Emperour about 77. yeares after Chriſtes aſcenſion into heauen: and how the Chriſtians were perſecuted very ſore, as though they had bene traytors and mouers of ſedition. Wherupon the gentle Emperor Traiane required to know the true cauſe of Chriſtian mens trouble. A great learned man called Plinius, wrote vnto him & ſaid, it was becauſe the Chriſtians ſaid certaine pſalmes before day, vnto one called Chriſt, whō they worſhipped for god. When Traiane the Emperour vnderſtood it was for nothyng but for conſcience & religion, he cauſed by hys commaundements euery where, that no man ſhould be perſecuted for ſeruing of God. But the Pope & his church hath caſt you into priſon, beyng taken euen doyng the worke of God, and one of the excellents workes that is required of Chriſtian men: that is, to wit, whiles ye were in praier, & not in ſuch wicked & ſuperſtitious prayers as the papiſts vſe, but in the ſame prayer that Chriſt hath taught you to pray. And in his name onely ye gaue God thanks for that ye haue receiued, and for his ſake ye aſked for ſuch thyngs as ye want. O glad may ye be that euer ye were borne, to be apprehended whileſt ye were ſo vertuouſly occupied. Bleſſed be they that ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake. For if God had ſuffred them that tooke your bodies, then to haue taken your life alſo, now had ye bene following the Lamb in perpetual ioyes, away from the company and aſſembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not haue you ſodainly ſo to depart, but reſerueth you, gloriouſly to ſpeake and maintaine his truth to the world.

Be ye not careful what ye ſhall ſay, for God will go out & in with you, and will be preſent in your harts, & in your mouthes to ſpeake his wiſedome, although it ſeemeth fooliſhnes to the world. He that hath begun this good worke in you, continue you in the ſame vnto the end: & pray vnto him, that ye may feare him only, that hath power to kill both body & ſoule, and to caſt them into hel fire. Be of good comfort. All the haires of your hed are numbred, and there is not one of them can periſh, except your heauenly father ſuffer it to periſh. Now ye be in the field & placed in ẏ forefront of Chriſts battel. Doubtles, it is a ſinguler fauour of God, & a ſpecial loue of him towards you, to geue you this foreward & preeminence, & a ſigne that he truſteth you before others of his people. Wherfore (deare brethren and ſiſters) continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cauſe is moſt iuſt and godly, ye ſtand for the true Chriſt (who is after the fleſh in heauen) & for his true religion and honor, which is amply, fully, ſufficiently and abundantly conteyned in the holy Teſtament, ſealed with Chriſtes owne bloud. How much be ye bound to God, to put you in truſt with ſo holy and iuſt a cauſe.

Math. 10. Lu. 12.

The firſt onſet of this perſecution geuen in Bowchurchyarde.

Remember what lookers vpon you haue, to ſee & behold you in your ſight, God & all his Angels, who be ready alway to take you vp into heauen, if ye be ſlaine in his fight. Alſo you haue ſtanding at your backes all the multitude of the faithfull, who ſhal take courage, ſtrength, and deſire to follow ſuch noble & valiant Chriſtians as you be. Be not afraid of your aduerſaries: for he that is in you, is ſtronger then he that is in them. Shrinke not although it be payne to you, your paynes be not now ſo great, as here after your ioyes ſhall be. Read the comfortable chapiters to the Romans. 8. 10. 15. Heb. 11. 12. And vpon your knees thanke God that euer ye were accompted worthy to ſuffer any thing for his names ſake. Read the 2. chap. of ſ. Lukes goſpell, & there you ſhal ſee how the ſhepeherds that watched vpon their ſheep all night, as ſoone as they heard that Chriſt was borne at Bethlem, by and by they went to ſee him. They did not reaſon nor debate with thēſelues, who ſhould keepe the wolfe from the ſheep in the meane time, but did as they were commanded, & committed their ſheep vnto him, whoſe pleaſure they obeyed. So let vs do now we be called, commit all other thinges to him that calleth vs. He will take heed that all things ſhall be well. He wil helpe the huſband, he will comfort the wyfe, he will guide the ſeruaunts, he will keepe the houſe, he will preſerue the goods: yea, rather then it ſhould be vndone, he will waſh the diſhes, and rocke the cradle. Caſt therfore all your care vpon God, for he careth for you.

1. John 4.

Comfort taken out of Scriptures.

True obedience putteth no doubtes.

All carefulnes to be caſt vpon the Lorde.

Beſides this, you may perceiue by your impriſonment that your aduerſaries weapons againſt you, be nothyng but fleſh, bloud, and tyrannie. For if they were able, they would maintaine their wicked religion by Gods worde: but for lacke of that, they would violently compell ſuch as they cannot by holy Scripture perſwade, becauſe the holy word of God, and all Chriſtes doyngs be contrary vnto them. I pray you pray for me, & I will pray for you. And although we be aſunder after the world, yet in Chriſt (I truſt) for euer ioyning in the ſpirite, and ſo ſhall meete in the pallace of the heauenly ioyes, after this ſhort and tranſitorie lyfe is ended. Gods peace be with you. Amen. The 14. of January. 1554.

All the ſtrēgth of the Popes religiō ſtandeth in outward force.

Upon the Friday after this following, being the 18. of January, all the Counſaile went vnto the Tower, & there the ſame day diſcharged and ſet at libertie all the priſoners of the Tower, or the moſt part of them, namely, the late duke of Northumberlands ſonnes, Ambroſe, Robert, and Henry, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John Rogers, ſir James Crofts, ſir Nich. Throgmorton, ſir Nicholas Arnall, ſir George Harper, ſir Edw. Warner, ſir W. Sentlow, ſir Gawen Carew, M. Gybbes, Cuthbert Vaughan, wyth many other.

January. 18. Gentlemen deliuered out of the Tower by the Queenes pardon.

Upon the Tueſday folowing, being the xxij. of January, all the preachers that were in priſon were called before the B. of Wincher, L. Chancellour and certain other, at the biſhops houſe at S. Mary Oueries. From whence (after communication beyng aſked whether they would conuert and enioy the Queenes pardon, or els ſtande to that they had taught: they all aunſwered that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were cōmitted to ſtraiter priſon then before they were, with charge that none ſhould ſpeake with them.

January. 22. The Preachers called before the B. of Winchester at S. Mary Ouerys.

Amongſt the which number of priſoners, one James George the ſame tyme died in priſon, being there in bands for religion & righteouſnes ſake: who therfore was exempted to be buried in the popiſh churchyard, and was buried in the field.

James George dyed in priſon, and was buryed in the fieldes.

Upon the Wedneſday folowing beyng the 23. of January, all the biſhops with all the reſt of the Conuocation houſe were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repaire euery man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to intreat the people and their flocke with all gentlenes, and to endeuour themſelues to winne the people rather by gentlenes then by extremity & rigor, and

January. 23.

Anno 1554.
January.

and ſo let them depart.

January. 25.
Generall proceſſion for ioy of the Realmes cõuerſion.

Upon the Friday following, being the 25. of January & the day of the Conuerſion of S. Paule, there was generall and ſolemne proceſſion through London to geue God thanks for their conuerſion to ẏ catholike church: wherin (to ſet out their glorious pompe) there were fourescore & ten croſſes, 160. prieſts and clerkes, who had euery one of them copes vpon their backs, ſinging very luſtely. There followed alſo for the better eſtimation of the ſight, 8. Biſhops, and laſt of all came Boner the B. of London, carying the popiſh pixe vnder a Canapy.

Beſides, there was alſo preſent the Maior, Aldermen, and all the liuery of euery occupation. Moreouer, the king alſo himſelfe, and the Cardinall came to Paules Churche the ſame day. From whence after Maſſe they returned to weſtminſter againe. As the king was entred the Church at the ſteps goyng vp to the Quiere, all the Gentlemen that of late were ſet at libertie out of the Tower, kneeled before the king and offred vnto him themſelues and their ſeruices.

After the proceſſion there was alſo commaundement giuen to make Bonefires at night. whereupon did riſe among the people a doubtful talke why all this was done. Some ſayd it was that the Queene, beyng then (as they ſaid) with child, might haue a ſafe deliuery. Others thoght that it was for ioy that the realme was ioyned agayne to the ſea of Rome, which opinion of both, ſeemed moſt true.

January. 28.
Commiſſion from the Cardinall to ſit vpon the perſecuted Preachers for religion.

Upon the Monday folowing being the 28. of January, the B. of winchester and the other biſhops, had Commiſſion from the cardinall to ſit vpon, and order according to the lawes, all ſuch preachers and heretikes (as they termed them) as were in priſon, and according to this Commiſſion, the ſame day the B. of winchester and the other biſhops with certaine of the counſail, ſate in S. Mary Oueries church, and called before them theſe three, M. Hooper, M. Rogers, and M. Cardmaker, who were brought thether by the ſhriues, from whence after communication, they were committed to priſon till the next day, but Cardmaker this day ſubmitted himſelfe vnto them.

January. 29.
M. Hooper and M. Rogers condemned.

Upon the Tueſday beyng the 29. of January, Hooper, Rogers, D. Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them, where ſentence of excommunication and iudgement eccleſiaſticall was pronounced vpon M. Hooper, and M. Rogers by the Biſh. of winchester, who ſate as Judge in Caiphas ſeat, who droue them out of the church according to their law and order. D. Taylor and Bradford were cõmitted to priſon till the next day.

January. 30.
D. Ferrar, D. Taylor, and M. Saunders condemned.

Upon the wedneſday being the 30. of January, Doct. Taylor, D. Crome, M. Bradford, M. Saunders, and D. Ferrar ſometyme B. of S. Dauids, were before the ſayd biſhops, where iij. of them, that is to ſay, D. Taylor, M. Sanders, and M. Bradford were likewiſe excommunicated, & ſentence pronounced vpon them, & ſo committed to the Shiriffes. D. Crome deſired two months reſpite, and it was granted him, & M. Ferrar was againe committed to priſon till another tyme. All theſe men ſhewed thẽſelues to be learned (as in deed they were no leſſe) but what auaileth either learning, reaſon or truth it ſelf, where will beareth rule.

After the examination and condemnation of theſe good men and preachers aboue recited, Commiſſions and Inquiſitours were ſent abrode likewiſe into all partes of the realme: by reaſon wherof a great number of moſt godly & true chriſtians (out of all the quarters of the realme, but eſpecially Kent, Eſſex, Northfolke, and Suffolke) were apprehended, brought vp to London, and caſt in priſon, and afterward (moſt of them) either conſumed cruelly by fire, or els thorough euill handlyng died in the priſons, & were buried on dunghils abroad in the fields, or in ſome backeſide of the priſon. Of all which matters, cõcerning the tragicall handling of theſe bleſſed Martyrs and witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, of all the bloudy perſecution of this tyme, now followeth (the Lord ſo grantyng) ſeuerally and more particularly in this next booke in order to be declared: after that I ſhall firſt recite a generall ſupplication, giuen vp in the name of the preachers aforeſayd lying in priſon, vnto the King and Queene, during the tyme of the Parliament, as followeth.

¶ Vnto the King and Queenes moſt excellent Maieſties, and to their moſt honourable and high Court of Parliament.

A ſupplication of the perſecuted preachers to the king & Queene.

IN moſt humble and lamentable wiſe complain vnto your maieſties, and to your high court of Parliament, your poore deſolate & obedient ſubiectſ, H.F.T.B.P.R.S.&c. That where as your ſaid ſubiects liuing vnder the lawes of God and of this realme in the days of the late moſt noble king Edward 6. did in all thyngs ſhew themſelues true, faithfull and diligent ſubiects, accordyng to their vocation, as well in the ſincere miniſtring of Gods holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, & in the dayly practiſe of ſuch vertues and good demeanor, as the lawes of God at all tymes, and the ſtatutes of the realme did then allow: Your ſayd ſubiects neuertheleſſe, contrary to all lawes of iuſtice, equitie and right, are in very extreme maner, not onely caſt into priſon (where they haue remained now theſe 15. or 16. months) but their liuings alſo, their houſes and poſſeſſions, their goodes and bookes taken from them, and they ſlandered to be moſt hainous heretikes, their enemies themſelues being both witneſſes, accuſers, and Iudges, belying, ſlandering, and miſreportyng your ſaid ſubiectes at their pleaſure, whereas your ſayd ſubiectes beyng ſtraightly kept in priſon, cannot yet be ſuffred to come forth and make aunſwer accordingly.

The long impriſonment of the Chriſtian Preachers. Vnorderly proceedings of the aduerſaryes againſt Gods people.

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Maieſties, and this your high court of Parliament, graciouſly to tender the preſent calamitie of your ſayd poore ſubiects, and to call them before your preſence, graunting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the playne Engliſh tong, to aunſwer before you or before indifferent Arbiters to be appointed by your Maieſties vnto ſuch articles of controuerſie in religion as their ſayd aduerſaries haue already condemned them of, as of hainous hereſies: Prouided, that all things may be done with ſuch moderation & quiet behauior, as becommeth ſubiectes and children of peace, & that your ſaid ſubiects may haue the free vſe of all their owne bookes and conference together among themſelues.

Requeſt of the Preachers to ſtand to the triall of their doctrine before indifferent Iudges.

Which thing beyng granted, your ſaid ſubiects doubt not but it ſhall plainly appeare that your ſayd ſubiects are true and faithful chriſtians, & neither heretikes, neither teachers of hereſie, nor cut of from the true catholike vniuerſal church of Chriſt: Yea, that rather their aduerſaries themſelues be vnto your Maieſties, as were the charmers of Egypt vnto Pharao Sedechias & his adherents, vnto the king of Iſrael, and Bariesu to the Proconſul Sergius Paulus. And if your ſaid ſubiects be not able by the teſtimonie of Chriſt, his prophets, Apoſtles, & godly fathers of his church to prooue, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and ſeruice, taught and ſet forth in the tyme of our late moſt godly prince and king, Edward the 6. is the true doctrine of Chriſtes Catholicke church, and moſt agreeable to the articles of the chriſtian fayth: your ſayd ſubiects offer themſelues then to the moſt heauy puniſhment, that it ſhall pleaſe your maieſties to appoynt.

Actes 13.

Wherfore for the tender mercy of God in Chriſt (which you looke for at the day of iudgement) your ſayd poore ſubiectes in bonds, moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent maieſties, and this your high court of Parliament, beningly and graciouſly to heare and graunt this their petition, tendyng ſo greatly to the glory of God, to the edifiyng of his church, to the honor of your maieſties, to the commendation and maintenãce of iuſtice, right, and equitie, both before God and man. And your ſayd ſubiectes according to their bounden duety, ſhall not ceaſe to pray vnto almighty God, for the gracious preſeruation of your moſt excellent maieſties long to endure.

The ende of the tenth Booke.

¶ Here beginneth the eleuenth Booke,

*wherein is diſcourſed the bloudy murthering of Gods Saintes, with the par*ticular Proceſſes and Names of ſuch good Martyrs, both Men and *Women, as in this tyme of Queene Mary, were* put to death.

¶ The Story, Life, and Martyrdome of Maiſter IOHN ROGERS.

THE fourth daye of February, ſuffered the conſtant Martyr of God, M. Iohn Rogers, concernynge whoſe life, examinations, and ſuffring, here followeth in order ſet forth. And firſt touching his lyfe and bringing vp.

Iohn Rogers brought vp in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably trauelled in good learning, at the length was choſen and called by the Merchants Aduenturers, to be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he ſerued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy ſeruant and Martyr of God, william Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forſaken their natiue country.) In conferring with them the ſcriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Goſpell of God, in ſo much that he caſt of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himſelfe with them two in that paynefull & moſt profitable labour of tranſlating the Bible into the Engliſhe tongue, which is intituled: The Tranſlation of Thomas Mathew. He knowing by the ſcriptures, that vnlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is both honeſt and honourable amongeſt all men, ioyned hymſelfe in lawfull matrimonye, and ſo went to wittemberge in Saxony, where he with much ſobernes of liuyng did not onely greatly encreaſe in all good and godly learnyng: but alſo ſo much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tong, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which miniſtery, he diligently and faithfully ſerued many yeares, vntil ſuch tyme as it pleaſed God by ẏ faithfull trauell of his choſen and deare ſeruant king Edward the ſixt, vtterly to baniſh all Popery forth of England, & to receiue in true Religion, ſettyng Gods Goſpell at libertie. He then beyng orderly called, hauyng both a conſcience and a ready good will to helpe forward the worke of the Lord in his natiue country, left ſuch honeſt and certaine conditions as he had in Saxony, and caine into England to preach the Goſpel, without certaintie of any condition. In which office, after he had a ſpace diligently and faithfully trauailed, Nicholas Ridley then biſhop of London, gaue him a Prebende in the Cathedrall Churche of Paules, and the Deane and the Chapter choſe hym to be the Reader of the Diuinitie leſſon there, wherein he diligently trauailed, vntill ſuch tyme as Queene Mary obtaining the crowne, baniſhed the Goſpell and true religion, and brought in the Antichriſt of Rome, with his Idolatry and ſuperſtition.

After the Queene was come to the Tower of Londō, he beyng orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement Sermon at Paules Croſſe, confirmyng ſuch true doctrine as he and other had there taught in K. Edwards dayes, exhortyng the people conſtantly to remayne in the ſame, and to beware of all peſtilent Popery, Idolatry, and ſuperſtition. The Councel beyng then ouermatched with popiſh and bloudy biſhops, called hym to accompt for his Sermon: To whom he made a ſtout, wittie, & godly anſwer, and yet in ſuch ſort handled himſelf, that at that time he was clearely diſmiſſed. But after that, Proclamation was ſet forth by the Queene to prohibite true preachyng, he was called agayne before the Counſel, (for the biſhops thirſted after his bloud.) The Counſell quarelled wyth hym concerning his doctrine, and in concluſion commanded hym as priſoner to keepe his owne houſe, and ſo hee did: although by flying he might eaſily haue eſcaped their cruell hands, and many thyngs there were, which myght haue mooued hym thereunto. He did ſee the recouery of religion in England for that preſent, deſperate: he knew he could not want a liuyng in Germany, and he coulde not forget his wyfe and x. children, and to ſeeke means to ſuccour them. But all theſe things ſet apart, after he was called to anſwer in Chriſtes cauſe, he would not depart, but ſtoutly ſtood in defence of the ſame, and for the triall of that truth, was content to hazard his lyfe.

M. Rogers called to accompt for his Sermon at Paules Croſſe.

M. Rogers agayne called before the Counſell, and commaunded to keepe his houſe.

Thus he remayned in hys owne houſe as priſoner a long tyme, till at the length through the vncharitable procurement of Boner Biſhop of London, who could not abyde ſuch honeſt neighbours to dwell by him, he was remooued from his owne houſe, to the priſon called Newgate, where he was lodged among theeues and murtherers, for a great ſpace: during which tyme, what buſineſſe he had with the aduerſaries of Chriſt, all is not knowen, neither yet any certaintie of his examinations, further thē he hymſelfe did leaue in writyng, which God would not to be loſt, but to remayne for a perpetuall teſtimony in the cauſe of Gods truth, as here followeth recorded and teſtified by his owne writyng.

M. Rogers ſent to Newgate.

¶ *The Examination and aunſwere of Iohn* Rogers made to the L. Chancellor, and to *the reſt of the Counſell, the 22. of Ianuary,* Anno. 1555.

The Lord Chauncellour.

FIrſt the L. Chancellour ſaid vnto me thus. Sir, ye haue heard of the ſtate of the realme in which it ſtandeth now.

Examination & aunſwere of M. Iohn Rogers.

Rogers. No my Lord, I haue bene kept in cloſe priſon, and except there haue bene ſome generall thyng ſayd at the table whē I was at dinner or ſupper, I haue heard nothing, and there haue I heard nothing whereupon any ſpeciall thing might be grounded.

L. Chan. Then ſayd the L. Chancellor: Generall thynges, generall things, mockingly? ye haue heard of my L. Cardinals commyng, and that the Parliament hath receyued his bleſſing, not one reſiſting vnto it, but one man which did ſpeake againſt it. Such an vnitie, and ſuch a myracle hath not bene ſeene. And all they, of which there are eyght ſcore in one houſe, ſayd one that was by (whoſe name I know not) haue with one aſſent and * conſent, receyued pardon of their offences, for the ſchiſme that we haue had in England, in refuſing the holy father of Rome to be hed of the Catholike Church. How ſay ye, are ye content to vnite and knit your ſelfe to the fayth of the catholike church with vs in the ſtate in which it is now in England? wyll ye do that?

*Ful ſore againſt theyr wills if they could otherwiſe haue choſen.

Rogers.

Anno 1554. February.

Rogers. The Catholike Church I neuer did nor will diſſent from.

L.Chancel. Nay, but I ſpeake of the ſtate of the Catholike church, in that wyſe in which we ſtand now in England, hauyng receaued the Pope to be ſupreme head.

No head of the Catholicke Church, but Chriſt.

Rog. I know none other head but Chriſt, of his catholike church, neither will I acknowledge the Biſhop of Rome to haue any more authoritie then any other biſhop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the olde and pure Catholike church 400. yeres after Chriſt.

L.Chaun. Why didſt thou then acknowledge King Henry the 8. to be ſupreme head of the church, if Chriſt be the onely head?

The ſupremacie of king Henry 8. how it is to be taken.

Rog. I neuer graunted hym to haue any ſupremacy in ſpirituall thyngs, as are the forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, geuing of the holy Ghoſt, authoritie to be a Iudge aboue the worde of God.

Tonſtall B. of Dureſme. N. Biſhop of Worceſter.

L.Chan. Yea ſaid he, and Tonſtall B. of Dureſme, and N. B. of Worceſter, if thou hadſt ſaid ſo in his dayes (and they nodded the hed at me, with a laughter) thou hadſt not ben alyue now.

Rog. Which thing I denied, and would haue told how hee was ſaid and ment to be ſupreme head. But they looked & laughed one vpon another, and made ſuch a buſines, that I was cõſtrayned to let it paſſe. There lyeth alſo no great waight thereupon: for all the world knoweth what the meanyng was. The L. Chancellor alſo ſayd to the L. Wil. Haward, that there was no inconuenience therin, to haue Chriſt to be ſupreme head, and the B. of Rome alſo: and when I was ready to haue anſwered that there could not be two heds of one church, and haue more plainly declared the vanity of that his reaſon, the L. Chancellor ſaid: what ſaiſt thou? make vs a direct anſwer whether thou wilt be one of this catholike church, or not, with vs in the ſtate in which we are now?

The meaning why K. Henry was titled ſupreame head.

The Biſhops contrary to theyr former doinges and wrytinges.

Rog. My L. without faile I cannot beleeue, that ye your ſelues do thinke in your harts that he is ſupreme head in forgeuing of ſinne. &c. (as is before ſayd) ſeyng you, & all the biſhops of the realme haue now xx. yeares long preached, and ſome of you alſo written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath ſo long agone condeſcended vnto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

L.Chan. Tuſh that Parlament was with moſt great crueltie conſtrained to aboliſh and put away the primacie frõ the biſhops of Rome.

Rog. With crueltie? why then I perceyue that you take a wrong way with crueltie to perſwade mens conſciences. For it ſhould appeare by your doyngs now, that the cruelty then vſed hath not perſwaded your conſciences. How would you then haue our conſciences, perſwaded wyth cruelty.

L.Chan. I talke to thee of no cruelty, but that they were ſo often & ſo cruelly called vpon in that Parlament, to let the Act go forward, yea and euen with force driuen thereunto, where as in this parliament it was ſo vniformly receiued, as is aforeſayd.

Truth goeth not by number nor by the greater part.

Rog. Here my L. Paget told me more plainly, what my L. Chauncellor ment. Unto whom I anſwered: My Lord what will ye conclude thereby? that the firſt Parliament was of leſſe authoritie, becauſe but few condeſcended vnto it? and this laſt Parliament of great authoritye, becauſe more condeſcended vnto it? It goeth not (my Lord) by the more or leſſer part, but by the wyſer, truer, & godlier part: and I would haue ſayd more, but the L. Chauncellour interrupted me with his queſtion, willyng me once agayne to aunſwer him. For (ſayd he) we haue mo to ſpeake with thẽ thou, which muſt come in after thee. And ſo there were in deed ten perſons moe out of Newgate, beſides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which graunted vnto them, and ix. of the contrarye: which all came to priſon agayne, and refuſed the cardinals bleſſing, and the authoritie of his holy fathers Church, ſauyng that one of theſe ix. was not aſked the queſtion other wyſe then thus, whether hee would be an honeſt man as his father was before hym, and aunſwering yea, he was ſo diſcharged by the friendſhip of my Lord William Haward (as I haue vnderſtanded): He bade me tell hym what I would doe: whether I would enter into one Church with the whole Realme as it is now, or not? No, ſayd I, I will firſt ſee it proued by the Scriptures. Let me haue pen, inke, and bookes, &c. And I ſhall take vpon me plainly to ſet out the matter, ſo that the contrary ſhall be proued to be true, & let any man that wil, conferre with me by writyng.

10. Priſoners out of Newgate to be conuented before Gardiner. 9. Of theſe priſoners refuſed the Popes authoritye: the 10. yelded.

Steph Gardiner refuſed to haue the truth to be tryed by learning.

L.Chan. Nay, that ſhall not be permitted thee. Thou ſhalt neuer haue ſo much profered thee as thou haſt now, if thou refuſe it, and wilt not now condeſcend and agree to the catholike church. Here are ij. things, Mercy, and Iuſtice: If thou refuſe the Queenes mercy now, then ſhalt thou haue Iuſtice miniſtred vnto thee.

Rog. I neuer offended, nor was diſobediẽt vnto her grace, and yet I will not refuſe her mercy. But if this ſhal be denied me to conferre by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not wel, but to far out of the way. Ye your ſelues (all the Biſhops of the Realme) brought me to the knowledge of the pretenſed primacie of the Biſhop of Rome when I was a yong man twenty yeares paſt: and wil ye now without collation haue me to ſay and do the contrary? I cannot be ſo perſwaded.

L.Chan. If thou wilt not receiue the Biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the Catholike Church, then thou ſhalt neuer haue her mercy thou maiſt be ſure. And as touching conferring and triall, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to vſe any conferring and triall with thee. For S. Paule teacheth me that I ſhall ſhun and eſchew an heretike after one or two monitions, knowing that ſuch an one is ouerthrowen and is faulty, in as much as he is condemned by his owne iudgement.

Rog. My L. I deny that I am an heretike: proue ye that firſt, and then alledge the foreſayd text. But ſtill the Lord Chancellor played on one ſtring, ſaying.

L.Chan. If thou wilt enter into one Church with vs, &c. tell vs that, or els thou ſhalt neuer haue ſo much profered thee agayne, as thou haſt now.

Rog. I will fynd it firſt in the Scripture, and ſee it tryed therby, before I receiue hym to be ſupreme head.

Wor. Why? do ye not know what is in your Creed: Credo eccleſiam ſanctam catholicam. I beleeue the holy Catholike Church.

Rog. I fynde not the biſhop of Rome there. For [Catholike] ſignifieth not the Romiſh Church: It ſignifieth the conſent of all true teaching Churches of all tymes, and all ages. But how ſhould the Biſhop of Romes Church bee one of them which teacheth ſo many doctrines yͭ are plainly and directly againſt the word of God? Can that biſhop be the true head of the Catholike Church that doth ſo? that is not poſſible.

L.Chancellor. Shew me one of them, one, one, let me heare one.

Rog. I remembred my ſelfe, that amongſt ſo many I were beſt to ſhew one, and ſayd I will ſhew you one.

L.Chan. Let me heare that, let me heare that.

Rog. The B. of Rome and hys Church, ſay, read, and ſing all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly againſt the firſt to the Corinthians, the 14. chapter.

L.Chan. I deny that, I deny that, that is againſt the word of God. Let me ſee you proue that, how proue ye that?

Rog. Thus I began to ſay the text from the beginning of the chap. Qui loquitur lingua, &c. to ſpeake with tonge ſayd I, is to ſpeake with a ſtrange tong: as Latine or Greeke, &c. and ſo to ſpeake, is not to ſpeake vnto mẽ, but to God. But ye ſpeak in Latin, which is a ſtrange tong, wherfore ye ſpeake not vnto men, but vnto God * (meanyng God only at the moſt.) This he graunted, that they ſpeake not vnto men, but vnto God.

L.Chan. Well, then it is in vayne vnto men.

Rog. No, not in vaine. For one man ſpeaketh in one tong, and another in another tong, and all well.

L.Chan. Nay I wil proue then, that he ſpeaketh neyther to God nor to man, but vnto the wynde.

Rog. I was willing to haue declared how and after what ſort theſe two textes do agree (for they muſt agree, they be both the ſayings of the holy Ghoſt, ſpoken by the Apoſtle Paule) as to witte, to ſpeake, not to men, but vnto God, and to ſpeake into the wynd: and ſo to haue gone forward with the proofe of my matter begon, but here aroſe a noyſe and a confuſion. Then ſayd the L. Chancellor.

L.Chan. To ſpeake vnto God, and not vnto God, were vnpoſſible.

Rog. I will proue them poſſible.

L.Haward. No ſayd my Lorde William Haward to my L. Chauncellour: nowe will I beare you witneſſe that hee is out of the way. For he graunted firſt, that they whiche ſpeake in a ſtraunge ſpeach, ſpeake vnto God: and now he ſayth the contrary, that they ſpeake neither to God, nor to man.

Rog. I haue not graunted or ſayde (turning me to my L. Haward) as ye report. I haue alledged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They muſt agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you vnderſtand not the matter.

L. Haward. I vnderſtand ſo much, that that is not poſſible. This is a poynte of Sophiſtrie, quoth Secretarye Bourne.

L.Chan. Then the Lord Chauncellor began to tell the L.

Haward

Hawarde, that when hee was in high Dutchlande, they at Hale, which had before prayed and uſed their ſeruice all in dutch, began thẽ to turne part into latin, & part into dutch.

Worceſt. Yea and at Wittembergh to.

Rog. Yea (but I could not be heard for the noiſe) in an Uniuerſitie, were men for the moſt part vnderſtande the Latine, and yet not all in Latine. And I would haue tolde the order & haue gone forward both to haue anſwered my lord and to haue proued the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiuing their talking and noyſe to be too noyſome, I was faine to thinke this in my heart (ſuffering them in the meane while to talke one of them one thynge, and an other a nother) Alas, neither wil, theſe men heare me if I ſpeake, neither yet wil they ſuffer me to write. There is no remedy but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and ſaid that I would make the texts to agree, and to proue my purpoſe well enough.

L.Chan. No, no, thou canſt proue nothing by the ſcripture. The ſcripture is dead: it muſt haue a liuely expoſitor.

Rog. No the Scripture is aliue. But let me goe forwarde wyth my purpoſe.

Wor. All heretikes haue alleaged the ſcriptures for them, and therefore we muſt haue a liuely expoſitor for them.

Rog. Yea, all heretikes haue alleaged the Scriptures for them: but they were cõfuted by the ſcriptures, and by none other expoſitor.

Wor. But they wold not confeſſe that they were ouercome by the ſcriptures, I am ſure of that.

Rog. I beleeue that: and yet were they ouercome by them, and in all Cõcels they were diſputed with & ouerthrowen by the ſcriptures. And heere I would haue declared howe they ought to procede in theſe daies, & ſo haue come againe to my purpoſe, but it was vnpoſſible, for one aſked one thing, an other ſaide an other, ſo that I was faine to holde my peace, and let them talke. And euen whẽ I would haue taken holde on my proofe, the Lord Chauncelor bad, to priſon with me again: and away, away (ſaid he) we haue more to talke withall: if I woulde not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Then vp I ſtoode, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then ſir Richard Southwell, who ſtoode by in a window, ſayd to me: thou wilt not burne in this geare when it commeth to the purpoſe, I know well that.

Rog. Sir I cannot tel, but I truſt to my Lorde God yes, lifting vp mine eyes vnto heauen.

B.of Ely. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the Queenes Maieſties pleaſure and meaning, and ſet it out wyth large wordes, ſaying that ſhee tooke them that woulde not receiue the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacie, to be vnworthy to haue her mercy. &c.

Roger. I ſayde, I would not refuſe her mercye, and yet I neuer offended her in all my life: And that I beſought her Grace and all their honors to be good to me, reſeruing my conſcience.

Diuers ſpeake at once. No, quoth they then, a great ſorte of them, and ſpecially Secretary Bourne, a maried prieſt, and haue not offended the lawe?

Rog. I ſayd, I had not broken the Queenes lawe, nor yet any poynt of the law of the Realme therin, For I married where it was lawfull.

Diuers at once. Where was that ſayd they? thinking that to be vnlawfull in all places.

Rog. In Dutchland. And if ye had not heere in England made an open law that Prieſtes might haue had wiues, I would neuer haue come home again: for I brought a wife and eight children with me: whych thing yee might be ſure that I would not haue done, if the lawes of the realme had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noiſe, ſome ſaying that I was come too ſoone with ſuch a ſort: I ſhould finde a ſoure comming of it, and ſome one thing, ſome another. And one ſaid (I coulde not well perceyue who) that there was neuer catholike man or countrey, that euer graunted that a prieſt might haue a wife.

Rog. I ſayd the Catholike churche neuer denied mariage to Prieſts, nor yet to any other man, and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the ſergeaunt which brought me thether, hauing me by the arme.

Wor. Then the B. of Worceſter turned his face towardes me, and ſaide that I wiſt not where that church was or is.

Rog. I ſayd yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith went the ſergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effecte of all that was ſpoken vnto me, and of all that I anſweared thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect anſwere to al ẏ former obiections, as alſo a due proofe of that which I had taken in hande: but at this preſent I was informed that I ſhould to morrow come to further anſwer. Wherefore I am compelled to leaue out that which I wold moſt gladly haue done, deſiring here the hearty & vnfained helpe of the praiers of all Chriſtes true members, the true imps of the true vnfained Catholicke Churche, that the Lorde God of all cõſolation, wil now be my comfort, aid, ſtrẽgth, buckler and ſhield: as alſo of all my brethren that are in the ſame caſe & diſtreſſe, that I and they all may deſpiſe all maner of threats and cruelty, and euen the bitter burning fire and the dreadfull dart of death, and ſticke like true ſoldiors to our deare & louing captaine Chriſt, our onely redemer, and ſauiour, and alſo the only true head of the church, that doth all in vs al, which is ẏ very property of an heade (and is a thing that all the Biſhops of Rome cannot doe,) and that we doe not traiterouſly run out of his tents, or rather out of the plaine field from him, in the moſt ieopardy of the battaile, but that wee may perſeuere in the fight (if he will not otherwiſe deliuer vs) till we be moſt cruelly ſlayne of his enemies. For this I moſt hartely, and at thys preſent, with weeping teares moſt inſtantly & earneſtly deſire and beſeeche you all to pray: And alſo if I die, to be good to my poore and moſt honeſt wife, being a poore ſtraunger, and all my little ſoules, hers and my children. Whom with all the whole faithfull and true catholicke congregation of Chriſt the Lord of life and death, ſaue, keepe and defend, in all the troubles and aſſaults of this vaine world, and to bryng at the laſt to euerlaſting ſaluation, the true & ſure inheritance of all croſſed Chriſtians. Amen, Amen.

M. Rogers carefull prayer for his wife and children.

The 27. day of Ianuarie at night.

The 2. confeſsion of Iohn Rogers, made and that ſhould haue bene made (if I might haue ben heard) the 28. and 29. day of Ianuarie. 1555.

First being aſked againe by the Lord Chauncelor, whether I would come into one Church wyth the Biſhops and whole realme, as now was concluded by Parliamẽt, (in the which all the Realme was conuerted to the Catholike churche of Rome) and ſo receiue the mercy before profered me, ariſing againe with the whole realme, out of the ſchiſme and errour in which we had long bene, with recantation of my errors: I anſwered, that before I coulde not tell what his mercy meant, but now I vnderſtoode that it was a mercy of the Antichriſtian church of Rome, whyche I vtterly refuſed, & that the riſing which he ſpake off, was a very fall into errour and falſe doctrine. Alſo that I had and woulde be able by Gods grace, to proue that all the doctrine which I had euer taught, was true and catholike, and that by the ſcriptures and the authoritie of the fathers that liued 400. yeres after Chriſtes death. He aunſweared that ſhould not, might not, nor ought not be graunted me: for I was but a priuate man, & might not be heard againſt the determination of the whole realme. Should (quoth he) when a Parliament hathe concluded a thinge, one, or anye priuate perſon haue authority to diſcuſſe, whether they had done right or wrong? No that may not be.

The 2. examination of Maiſter Rogers.

Wincheſters mercy, what it meaneth.

To riſe to the Pope, is to fall from Chriſt.

I aunſwered ſhortly, that all the lawes of men myght not, neither coulde rule the worde of God, but that they all muſt be diſcuſſed and iudged thereby, and obey therto: and my conſcience, nor no chriſtian mans could be ſatiſfied with ſuch lawes as diſagreed from that worde: and ſo was willing to haue ſaid much more, but the L. Chauncellor began a long tale to very ſmal purpoſe, concerning mine anſwer, to haue defaced me, that there was nothing in mee wherefore I ſhould be heard, but arrogancie, pride, and vainglory. I alſo graunted mine ignorauncy to be greater then I coulde expreſſe, or then he tooke it: but yet that I feared not by Gods aſſiſtance & ſtrẽgth, to be able by wryting to performe my word, neither was I (I thanked God) ſo vtterly ignorant as he would make me, but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendred therfore. Proud man was I neuer, nor yet vaine glorious. Al the world knew wel, where and on which ſide pride, arrogancie, and vaineglory was. It was a poore pride ẏ was or is in vs, God it knoweth.

Whatſoeuer is once concluded in a Parliament ought not to be reformed afterward by no doctrine nor the word of God, by the Biſhop of Wincheſters diuinitie.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter iudgeth M. Rogers, by his own diſeaſe.

Then ſayde hee, that I at the firſt daſhe condemned the Queene and the whole realme, to be of the churche of Antichriſt, and burdened me highly therewithall. I aunſweared that the Queenes maieſty (God ſaue her grace) would haue done wel enough, if it had not ben for his counſel. He ſayde, the Queene wente before him, and it was her owne motion, I ſaid without faile, I neither could nor I wold euer beleeue it.

Then ſayde D. Aldriſe the biſhop of Carlile, that they the biſhops woulde beare him witneſſe. Yea (quoth I) that I beleeue well, and with that the people laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morrow they had kept the dores ſhut, and would let none in, but the Byſhops adherentes and ſeruauntes, in maner, yea and the firſte day the

D. Aldreſſe witneſſeth with the B. of Wincheſter.

thouſand man came not in. Then maſter Comptroler and Secretary Bourne, woulde haue ſtande vppe alſo to beare witneſſe, and did.

I ſayd it was no great matter: and to ſay the truthe, I thought that they were good helpers thereto them ſelues: but I ceaſed to ſay any more therein, knowyng that they were too ſtrong and mighty of power, and that they ſhould be beleued before me, yea and before our ſauior Chriſt, and all his Prophets and Apoſtles thereto in theſe daies.

The opinion of M. Rogers touching the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, required.

Then after many wordes he aſked me what I thought concerning the bleſſed ſacrament, and ſtoode vp and put off his cap, & al his felow biſhops (of which there were a great ſort new men, of whom I knew few) whether I beleeued in the ſacrament to be the very body and bloude of our ſauiour Chriſt that was borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the croſſe, really and ſubſtantially.

Act. 3.

Cruelty ſhewed without cauſe.

M. Rogers a yeare and a half in durance.

I aunſwered, I had often tolde him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therfore ſuſpected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithſtanding, euen as the moſt part of your doctrine in other poyntes is falſe, and the defence therof onely by force and crueltie: ſo in thys matter I thinke it to be as falſe as the reſt. For I cannot vnderſtand [really and ſubſtantially] to ſignifie otherwyſe then corporally: but corporally Chriſt is only in heauē, and ſo cannot Chriſt be corporally alſo in your ſacrament. And here I ſomewhat ſet out hys charitie after thys ſorte: My Lord (quoth I) ye haue dealt with me moſt cruelly. For ye haue ſet me in priſon without law, and kept me there now almoſt a yere and a halfe. For I was almoſt halfe a yere in my houſe, where I was obedient to you (God knoweth) and ſpake wͭ no man. And now haue I bene a full yeare in Newgate at great coſtes and charges, hauing a wife and 10. children to finde, and I had neuer a penie of my liuings which was againſt the lawe.

Hee anſweared, that D. Ridley which had geuen them me, was an vſurper, and therfore I was the vniuſt poſſeſſour of them.

Ste. Gardiner calleth kyng Edward an vſurper.

Was the king then an Vſurper (quoth I) which gaue D. Ridley the Biſhopprike?

Yea (quoth he) and began to ſette out the wrongs that the king had done to the B. of London, and to himſelf alſo. But yet I do miſuſe my termes (quoth he) to call the King vſurper. But the word was gone out of the aboundance of the heart before: and I thinke that he was not very ſorye for it in hart. I might haue ſayd more cōcerning that matter, but I did not.

I aſked hym wherefore he ſet me in pryſon. He ſaid becauſe I preached againſt the Queene.

M. Rogers impriſoned againſt all law and right.

I aunſweared that it was not true: and I woulde be bound to proue it, and to ſtand to the triall of the law, that no man ſhould be able to proue it, and thereupon woulde ſet my life. I preached (quoth I) a ſermon at the Croſſe, after the Queene came to the Tower: but therein was nothing ſaid againſt the Queene, I take witneſſe of al the audience: which was not ſmall. I alleaged alſo that he had after examination let me goe at libertie after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou didſte read thy lectures after (quoth hee) againſt the commaundement of the Counſell.

That did I not (quoth I:) lette that be proued and let me die for it. Thus haue ye now againſt the law of God & man handled me, & neuer ſent for me, neuer conferred with me, neuer ſpoke of any learning, till now that ye haue gotten a whip to whip me with, & a ſword to cut off my necke, if I will not condeſcende vnto your minde. Thys charitie doth all the world vnderſtand.

M. Rogers puniſhed before any law was broken.

I might and woulde haue added, if I coulde haue bene ſuffred to ſpeake, that it had ben time enough to take away mens liuings, and thereto to haue priſoned them, after that they had offended lawes. For they be good Citizens that breake not lawes, and worthy of praiſe and not of puniſhment. But theyr purpoſe is to kepe men in priſon ſo long, vntil they may catche them in their lawes, and ſo kill them. I could & would haue added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty deuiſed law was caſt into the Lions den. Item, I might haue declared, that I moſt humbly deſired to be ſet at libertie, ſending my wife to him with a ſupplication, being great with childe, & with her 8. honeſt women, or thereabout, to Richmond, at Chriſtmas was a 12. monthe, whiles I was yet in my houſe.

M. Goſnold laboured for M. Rogers.

Item, I wrote two ſupplications to him out of Newgate, and ſent my wife many times to hym. M. Goſnolde alſo that worthy man, who is nowe departed in the Lord, laboured for mee, and ſo did diuers other worthy men alſo take paines in the matter. Theſe things declare my Lorde Chauncellors Antichriſtian charitie, which is, that he hathe and doth ſeeke my bloud, and the deſtruction of my poore wife and my ten children.

This is a ſhort ſumme of the wordes which were ſpoken the 28. day of Ianuarye at after noone, after that Maiſter Hooper had bene the firſt, & M. Cardmaker the ſecond in examination before me. The Lorde graunte vs grace to ſtand together, fighting lawfully in hys cauſe, till wee be ſmitten downe together, if the Lords wil be ſo to permitte it. For there ſhall not a haire of our heades pearish againſt hys will, but with his will. Whereunto the ſame Lorde graunt vs to be obedient vnto the ende, and in the end. Amen: Sweete, mighty, and mercifull Lord Ieſus the ſonne of Dauid and of God, Amen, Amen, let euery true Chriſtian ſay and pray.

Great m cy of Wi cheſt. no leſſe then the Foxe hath to th chickens the Wolfe to ſuck the bloud of Lambes.

Then the clocke being (as I geſſed) aboute foure, the L. Chauncellor ſayde, that he and the Churche muſt yet vſe charitie with me (what maner of charitie it is, all true chriſtians do well vnderſtand, as to wit, the ſame that the foxe doeth with the chickens, and the wolfe with the Lambes) and gaue me reſpite til to morow, to ſee whether I would remember my ſelfe wel to morrow, and whether I would returne to the catholike churche (for ſo he calleth hys Antichriſtian falſe churche) againe, and repent, and they woulde receiue me to mercy.

I ſayde that I was neuer oute of the true Catholicke Church, nor would be: but into hys churche, woulde I, by Gods grace, neuer come.

The Popes church is the ch of Antichryſt.

Well (quoth he) then is our church falſe and Antichriſtian.

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the ſacrament?

Falſe, quoth I, and caſt my handes abroade.

Then ſayd one, that I was a player. To whom I anſweared not: for I paſſed not vpon his mocke.

M. Rogers warned to appeare th next day.

Come againe quoth the Lord Chancellour, to morrow betweene nine and ten.

I am ready to come againe, whenſoeuer ye cal quoth I.

And thus was I broughte by the ſhiriffes to the Counter in Southwarke, Maiſter Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being preſent, ſo that we hadde much to doe to goe in the ſtreates.

Thus much was done the 28. day of Ianuarie.

M. Rog & M. Hoo per brought agayne before the Chauncellour.

THe ſecond day, which was the 29. of Ianuary, we were ſent for in the morning about 9. of the clocke, and by the Shriffes fetched from the Counter in Southwarke, to the Church againe, as to wit, to S. Mary Oueries, where we were the daye before in the after noone, as is ſayde. And when Maiſter Hooper was condemned (as I vnderſtoode afterward) then ſent they for me. Then the Lorde Chauncellour ſayd vnto me:

Gardiners wordes to M. Rogers.

Rogers (quoth hee) here thou waſt yeſterday, and wee gaue thee liberty to remember thy ſelfe this night, whether thou wouldeſt come to the holy catholicke church of Chriſt agayne or not. Tell vs nowe what thou haſte determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and ſory, and wilt returne againe and take mercy.

Aunſwere of M. Rogers to the Biſhop of Winche

My Lorde, quoth I, I haue remembred my ſelfe right wel what you yeſterday laid for you, and deſire you to giue me leaue to declare my minde what I haue to ſay thereunto, and that done, I ſhall anſwere you to your demaunded queſtion.

M. Rogers not ſuffe here to de fend him by wryti

When I yeſterday deſired that I myght be ſuffered by the Scripture and authoritie of the firſte, beſt, and pureſt Churche to defende my doctrine by wryting (meaning not onely of ẏ primacie: but alſo of all the doctrine that euer I had preached) ye anſwered me that it might not, nor ought not to be graūted me, for I was a priuate perſon: and that the parlament was aboue the authoritye of all priuate perſons, & therfore the ſentēce therof might not be found faultie and valureles by mee being but a priuate perſone. And yet my Lorde, quoth I, I am able to ſhewe examples, that one man hath come into a generall Councell, and after the whole had determined and agreed vppon an act or article, that ſome one mā comming in afterward, hath by the word of God declared ſo pithely that the counſel had erred in decreeing the ſayd Article, that he cauſed the whole Counſell to chaunge and aulter their Acte or Article before determined. And of theſe examples (ſayde I) I am able to ſhewe two. I can alſo ſhewe the authoritie of S. Auguſtine, that when hee diſputed with an hereticke, hee woulde neyther himſelfe, nor yet haue the heretike, to leane vnto the determination of two former Councels, of the whyche the one made for him, and the other for the hereticke that diſputed againſt him: but ſayd that he would haue the ſcriptures to be their iudge which were cōmon and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Whole C cells t by priuat perſons.

Contra Max lib. 3. cap.

Item I could ſhewe (ſayde I) the authoritye of a learned Lawyer Panormitanus, whiche ſaith: that vnto a ſimple

lay

Extra. De Appel Significa

Anno 1555. Febru-a-

laye man that bringeth the worde of God with hym there ought more credite to be geuen, then to a whole Councell gathered together. By theſe thinges will I proue that I ought not to be denied to ſay my minde, and to be heard againſt a whole Parlament, bringing the worde of God for me and the authoritie of the olde Churche 400. yeares after Chriſt, all be it that euery man in the Parliament had willingly and without reſpect of feare and fauor agreed therunto (which thing I doubte not a little off, ſpecially ſeeing the like had bene permitted in that olde Churche, euen in generall Councels, yea and that in one of the chiefeſt councels that euer was, vnto which neither any Actes of thys Parlament, nor yet any of the late general Councels of the Biſhops of Rome oughte to be compared.) For, ſayde I, if Henry the eight were aliue, and ſhould call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and heere I woulde haue alledged the example of the Acte of making the Queene a Baſtarde, and of making himſelfe the Superiour head, but I coulde not, being interrupted of one, whome God forgeue) then will ye (poynting to my Lorde Chauncellour) and yee and yee, and ſo yee all (poyntinge to the reſt of the Byſhops) ſay, Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is mete that it be ſo enacted, &c.

ceſſe your the B. of Winchest.

Here my L. Chauncellor would ſuffer me to ſpeake no more: but bad me ſit downe mockingly, ſaying that I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, and I woulde take vppon me to be their inſtructer.

Rogers ſuffered ſpeake.

My Lorde (quoth I) I ſtand and ſit not: ſhall I not be ſuffred to ſpeake for my life?

Shall we ſuffer thee to tel a tale, and to prate quoth he? and with that he ſtode vp, and began to face me, after hys olde arrogant proude faſhion, for he perceiued that I was in a way to haue touched them ſomwhat, which he thought to hynder, by daſhing mee oute of my tale, and ſo hee dyd. For I could neuer be ſuffered to come to my tale agayne, no not to one word of it: but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and as his maner is, taunt vpon taunt, and checke vpon checke. For in that caſe (being Gods cauſe) I tolde hym he ſhould not make me afraid to ſpeake.

Marke here the ſpirite of this pre-

L.Chaun. See what a ſpirit this fellow hath, ſayde he, finding fault at mine accuſtomed earneſtneſſe, and harty maner of ſpeaking.

The godly ſpirite of M. Rogers.

Rog. I haue a true ſpirite, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the word of God, and would further haue ſayd, that I was neuer the worſe, but the better, to be earneſt in a iuſte and true cauſe and in my maſter Chriſtes matters: but I might not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towardes his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told hym that his Church of Rome was the Churche of Antichriſte, meaning the falſe doctrine and tyrannicall lawes, with the maintenance thereof by cruel perſecution vſed by the Biſhops of the ſaid church (which the B. of winchester and the reſt of his fellow biſhops that are now in Englād, are the chiefe members): Of lawes I meane (quoth I) and not of all men and women which are in the popes church. Likewiſe when I was ſaide to haue denied their ſacramēt (whereof he made his wonted reuerent mention, more to maintaine his kingdom therby, then for the true reuerence of Chriſtes inſtitution: more for his owne and his Popiſh generations ſake, then for religion or Gods ſake) I tolde him after what order I did ſpeake of it (for the manner of hys ſpeakyng, was not agreeing to my wordes, which are before recited in the communication that wee had the 28. of Ianuarie) wherewith he was not contented, but he aſked the audience whether I had not ſimply denied yͤ ſacramēt. They would haue ſaid, and did what he liſted: for the moſt of them were of his owne ſeruants at that day, the 29. day of Ianuary I meane. At the laſt I ſaid, I wil neuer denye that I ſayd, that is, that your doctrine of the Sacrament is falſe: but yet I tell you after what order I ſayde it.

The church of Rome is the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the lawes and doctrine now vſed in Rome.

How the Biſhop of Winchester ſeketh for bloud.

To be ſhort, he red my condemnation before me perticularly, mentioning therein but 2. Articles, firſte that I affirmed the Romiſh catholike church, to be the church of antichriſt, and that I denied the reality of their ſacrament. He curſed me to be diſgraded and condemned, and put into the handes of the laitie, and ſo he gaue me ouer into the ſhriues hands, which were much better then his.

¶The copie of which his condemnation here I thought to put downe in Engliſh, to the entent that the ſame being here once expreſſed, may ſerue for all other ſentences condemnatory through the whole ſtorie to be referred vnto.

The Sentence condemnatorie againſt Maiſter Rogers.

IN the name of God Amen, wee Steuen by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of winchester, lawfully and ryghtly proceeding with all godly fauoure by authority and vertue of our office, againſte thee Iohn Rogers prieſt, alias called Mathewe before vs perſonally heere preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlaundered of hereſie, hauing heard, ſeene, and vnderſtand, and with al diligent deliberation wayed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merites of the cauſe, all thinges being obſerued, which by vs in thys behalfe, in order of law ought to be obſerued, ſitting in our iudgement ſeat, the name of Chriſt being firſt called vpon, and hauing God onely before our eyes: becauſe by the actes enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine owne confeſſion iudicially made before vs, we do finde, that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended diuers errours, hereſies, and damnable opinions, contrarye to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely theſe: That the catholike churche of Rome, is the church of Antichriſt: Item, that in the Sacrament of the aultare, there is not ſubſtantially nor really the natural bodye and bloude of Chriſte. The which aforeſayde hereſies and damnable opinions being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the vniuerſall and Apoſtolicall Church, thou haſt arrogantly, ſtubburnely, and wittingly mainteined, held, and affirmed, and alſo defended before vs, as wel in thys iudgement, as alſo otherwiſe, and with the like obſtinacie, ſtubbornneſſe, malice and blindneſſe of heart, both wittingly and willingly haſte affirmed, that thou wilt beleeue, maintaine and holde, affirme, and declare the ſame: wee therefore S. wint. B. Ordinarie and Dioceſan aforeſayd, by the conſent and aſſent as well of our reuerend brethren the Lord Biſhops heere preſent and aſſiſtent, as alſo by the counſell and iudgement of diuers worſhipfull lawyers and profeſſours of Diuinitie, wyth whome wee haue communicated in thys behalfe, doe declare and pronounce thee the ſayde Iohn Rogers, otherwiſe called Mathewe, through thy demerites, tranſgreſſions, obſtinacies, & wilfulneſſes (whych thou manifolde wayes haſt incurred by thine owne wicked and ſtubburne obſtinacie) to haue bene and to be guiltie in the deteſtable, horrible, and wicked offence of hereticall prauitie and execrable doctrine, and that thou haſte before vs ſondry times ſpoken, maintained, and wittingly and ſtubbornely defended the ſayde curſed and execrable doctrine in thy ſundry cōfeſſions, aſſertions, and recognitions heere iudicially before vs oftentimes repeated, and yet ſtil doeſt maintaine, affirme and beleue yͤ ſame, and that thou haſte beene and arte lawfully and ordinarily conuicted in this behalfe. Wee therefore (I ſay) all be it folowing the example of Chriſt, Which woulde not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould conuert and liue, we haue gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by al lawfull meanes that wee coulde, and all wholeſome admonitions that wee did knowe, to reduce thee againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the vniuerſall catholike churche, notwithſtandinge haue founde thee obſtinate and ſtifnecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and hereſies, and refuſing to retourne againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the holy mother Church, and as the childe of wickedneſſe and darkeneſſe ſo to haue hardned thy heart, that thou wilt not vnderſtand the voice of thy ſhephard, which with a fatherly affection doth ſeeke after thee, nor wilte not be allured to his fatherly and godly admonitions: wee therefore Ste. the B. aforeſaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, ſhuldeſt now become more wicked, and infect the Lords flocke with thine hereſie (which we are greatly afraide off) wyth ſorrowe of minde and bitterneſſe of hearte doe iudge thee, and diffinitiuely condemne thee the ſayde Iohn Rogers, otherwiſe called Mathew, thy demerites & defaultes being agrauate through thy damnable obſtinacy, as gilty of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate impenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to returne to the lappe and vnity of the holy mother church, and that thou haſt ben and art by law excommunicate, & doe pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon: Alſo we pronoūce and declare thee being an heritike, to be caſt out from the church, & left vnto the iudgement of the ſecular power, & now preſently ſo doe leaue thee as an obſtinate heretike, and a perſone wrapped in the ſentence of the greate curſe, to be diſgraded worthely for thy demerites [requiring them notwithſtanding in the bowels of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that thys execution and puniſhment worthely to be done vpon thee, may ſo be moderated, that the rigor therof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentlenes too much mitigated, but that it may be to the ſaluation of thy ſoule, to the extirpation, terror, and conuerſion of the heretikes, to the vnitie of the Catholike fayth] by thys our ſentence definitiue which we heere lay vpon, and againſt thee, and doe with ſorrowe of heart promulgate in this forme aforeſaid.

The ſentence definitiue againſt M. Rogers.

His Articles.

Theſe murderers pretend a ſorrow of hart, and yet they will not ceaſe from murdering.

After this ſentence being read, he ſent vs (M. Hoper, I

M. Rogers and M. Hooper ſent to Newgate.

meane, and me) to the Clinke, there to remaine till nyghte: and when it was darke, they caried vs, M. Hoper going before with the one ſherife, and I comming after with the other, with bils and weapons enough, out of the Clinke, & led vs through the biſhops houſe, and ſo thorow S. Marie Oueries churchyarde, and ſo into Southwarke, and ouer the bridge on proceſſion to Newgate through the city. But I muſt ſhewe you this alſo, that when he had red the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curſſe, and what a vengeable daungerous matter it were to eate and drinke with vs that were accurſed, or to geue vs anye thyng: for all that ſo did, ſhoulde be pertakers of the ſame great curſſe.

A vengeable thing to be in the Popes Church.

Well my Lord (quoth I) heere I ſtand before God and you, and all this honorable audience, and take him to witneſſe, that I neuer wittingly or willingly taughte any falſe doctrine: and therfore haue I a good conſcience before God and all good men. I am ſure that you and I ſhall come before a iudge that is righteous, before whome I ſhall be as good a man as you: and I nothing dout but that I ſhall be found there a true member of the true Catholike church of Chriſt & euerlaſtingly ſaued. And as for your falſe churche ye neede not to excommunicate me forth of it. I haue not bene in it theſe 20. yeares, the Lorde be thanked therefore. But now ye haue done what ye can my Lorde, I pray you yet graunt me one thing.

M. Rogers wordes to the the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

What is that? quoth he.

That my poore wife being a ſtraunger, may come and ſpeake with me ſo long as I liue. For ſhe hath ten children that are hers & mine, and ſomewhat I would counſell her what were beſt for her to do.

M. Rogers requeſt to haue his wife come to him while he liued, could not to be graunted,

No (quoth he) ſhee is not thy wife.

Yes my Lord (quoth I) and hath ben theſe 18. yeres.

Should I graunt her to be thy wife, quoth he?

Chuſe you, quoth I, whether ye will or not: ſhe ſhalbe ſo neuertheleſſe.

Shee ſhall not come at thee quoth he.

Then I haue tried out all your charitie, ſayde I. You make your ſelfe highly diſpleaſed with the Matrimonie of prieſtes, but you maintaine open whoredom: as in Wales (quoth I) where euery prieſt hath his whore opēly dwelling with him and lying by him: euen as your holy Father ſuffereth all the prieſtes in Dutchlande and in Fraunce to do the like. Therto he anſwered not, but looked as it were, a ſquint at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw him laſt.

Other good matter there is beſides penned by M. Rogers in the priſon, which he thought and would haue anſwered, if he myght haue bene permitted, touching whych matter, as heere vnder foloweth to be ſeene by hys owne ſetting downe.

Hitherto dearely beloued, ye haue heard what was ſaid: nowe heare what I purpoſed the nighte before to haue ſayd if I could haue bene permitted. Two things I purpoſed to haue touched. The one howe it was lawfull for a priuate man to reaſon and wryte againſt a wicked acte of Parliament, or an vngodly counſell, whych the L. Chauncelor the day before denied me. Thother was to proue that proſperitie was not alwaies a token of Gods loue.

And thys I purpoſe to ſpeake off, becauſe the Lorde Chauncellour boaſted of hym ſelfe that hee was deliuered fourth of priſon, as it were by myracle, & preſerued of God to reſtore true religion, and to puniſh mee and ſuche other, whom he termed hereticks. Concerning theſe two poynts in this manner I purpoſed to haue proceeded. It is not vnknowen to you, that king Henrie the eight in hys time made his daughter the Queene that now is, a baſtarde: he aboliſhed the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, hee pulled downe Abbeys, and all this hee did by the conſent of Parliament.

King Edwarde the ſixte in hys time made lawfull the mariage of prieſts, turned the ſeruice into Engliſh, abolyſhed the idolatrous Maſſe, with all like ſuperſtitious trūperie, ſette vp the holy Communion, and all by conſent of Parliament.

The Queene that nowe is, hath repealed the Acte that made her baſtarde, hath broughte in the Biſhop of Rome, and ſette him in his olde authoritie, beginneth to ſet vp abbeis againe, hath made the mariage of prieſtes vnlawfull, hath tourned the Engliſh ſeruice into Latine againe, hath ſet vp the Maſſe againe wt like baggage: and pulled downe the holy Communion: and all this is done by conſente of Parliament.

If the Acts of Parliament made in king Henries time & in K. Edwards, had theyr foundatiō vpon Gods word, where vpon all poſitiue lawe ought to be grounded, then theſe which are ſtabliſhed in the Quenes time, being cleane contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by gods worde, ſo are they wicked, and therfore to be both ſpoken, and wrytten againſt of all menne, as well of priuate as of publique perſons.

If your Actes, my Lord Chancellour which you haue lately coyned (I call them yours, becauſe ye only beare the ſwinge, deuiſe, and decree, what yee liſt all other men are forced to followe,) be good, and according to Gods word, then the former Actes were naught, whych thing ye ſeeme to ſay, in vtterly taking of them away, and ſetting vp of the contrary: if the former were nought, why then did ye conſent vnto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntarie and aduiſed wryting, as it appeareth, and will to the worldes ende in your Booke, de vera Obedientia, where you proue the Queene a Baſtard, and the biſhop of Rome to be an vſurper, and to haue no authoritie in the Realme of Englande?

Yee muſt neede confeſſe, that the moſte parte of your Actes of Parliament in theſe latter dayes, haue bene according to the fantaſies of a fewe. King Henry in his time eſtabliſhed by Parliament in a manner what he liſted, and many thinges that might well haue bene amended.

In Kinge Edwardes dayes the Duke of Somerſette and Northumberlande, bare a great ſtroke in thyngs, and did not all things ſyncerely. Euen ſo, ſince the Queene that nowe is, came to the gouernement of the realme, al things are ordered by your deuiſe, and head, and the whole Parliament houſe is ledde as you liſt, by reaſon whereof they are compelled to condeſcende to thinges both contrarye to Gods manifeſt worde, and alſo contrary to theyr owne conſciences: ſo great is your crueltie.

For, to bryng youre wicked purpoſes to paſſe, and to eſtabliſh your Antichriſtian kingdome (whych I truſte the Lorde wyth the breathe of hys mouthe will ſpedely blowe ouer) yee haue called three Parliamentes in one yeare and an halfe, that what you coulde not compaſſe by ſubtill perſwaſion, ye might bring to paſſe by tyrannical threatning: for if yee hadde not vſed cruell force in your doinges, yee had neuer broughte to paſſe ſuche thinges as this daye yee haue, to the vtter defacing and aboliſhing of Gods true religion, and to the caſting away and deſtruction of your natural Countrey, ſo much as in you lieth.

And as it is moſte true that Actes of Parliament haue in theſe latter dayes bene ruled by the fantaſies of a fewe, and the whole Parliament houſe, contrary to their minds was compelled to conſent to ſuch things as a few had conceiued: So it muſte needes be graunted that the Papiſtes at all times were moſte readie to apply them ſelues to the preſent worlde, and like menne pleaſers to follow the fantaſies of ſuche as were in authoritie, and turne with the eſtate, which way ſo euer it tourned. Yea, if the eſtate ſhould chaunge ten times in one yeare, they woulde euer be ready at hande to chaunge with it, and ſo folowe the crie, and rather vtterly to forſake God, and be of no religion, then that they would forgoe luſt or liuing, for God or for religion.

King Henrie by Parliamente, accordinge to Goddes worde putte downe the Pope: the Clergie conſented, and all men openly by othe refuſed this vſurped ſupremacie, knowing by Gods worde Chriſt to be head of the churche, and euery Kinge in hys Realme to haue vnder and next vnto Chriſte, the chiefe Soueraigntie.

King Edward alſo by Parliament, according to Gods worde, ſette the marriage of Prieſtes at libertie, aboliſhed the Popiſh and idolatrous maſſe, chaunged the Latin ſeruice, and ſette vp the holy Communion: the whole Clergie conſented heereunto: many of them ſet it forth by their preaching: and all they by practiſing confirmed the ſame.

Notwythſtanding, now when the ſtate is altered, and the lawes chaunged, the Papiſticall cleargie wyth other, like worldlinges, as menne neither fearing God, neyther flying worldly ſhame, neither yet regardinge their conſciences, othes, or honeſtie, like wauering weather Cockes, tourn rou͂d about, & putting on harlots foreheades, ſing a newe ſong, and crie wyth an impudent mouth: Come againe, come againe to the catholicke churche, meaning the Antichriſtian church of Rome which is the Synagogue of Sathan, and the very ſincke of all ſuperſtition, hereſie and Idolatrie.

Of what force I pray you may a man think theſe Parliamentes to be, which ſcantly can ſtand a yere in ſtrength? Or what credite is to be geuen to theſe law makers, which are not aſhamed to eſtabliſh contrary lawes, and to condempne that for euill, which before (the thing in it ſelfe and the circumſtances remaining al one) they affirmed, and decreed to be good. Truelye, yee are ſo readye, contrarye to all ryghte to chaunge and turne for the pleaſure of manne, that at the lengthe I feare, GOD wyll vſe you lyke

chaunge-

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chaungelings, and both tourne you foorth of his kingdom, and out of your owne countrey.

Yee charge the Goſpell preachers with the vndoyng of thys realme: nay it is the turning papiſts, whych haue not onely ſette a ſale theyr Countrey like Traitours, but alſo troubled the ſimple people, ſo that they canne not tell what they may beleeue. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be newe doctrine in King Edwardes dayes, nowe they crie againſt it, as it were moſte abhominable hereſye. This fault I truſt yee ſhall neuer finde at our hands.

Therefore, to conclude that whiche I purpoſed, for ſomuche as the Actes of Parliament of theſe latter times are one contrary to an other, and thoſe which yee nowe haue ſtabliſhed in your time, are contrary to Gods moſt manifeſt worde, as is the vſurped ſupremacie of the Byſhoppe of Rome, the Idolatrous Maſſe, the Latine Seruice, the prohibiting of lawfull marriage (which Sainte Paul calleth the Doctrine of Deuilles) wyth many ſuche other: I ſay it is not onely lawfull for any priuate man, which bringeth Gods worde for hym, and the authoritie of the primatiue and beſt Churche, to ſpeake and wryte againſt ſuch vnlawfull lawes, but it is hys duetie, and he is bounde in very conſcience to doe it: which thyng I haue proued by diuers examples before, and nowe will adde two but one other, which is wrytten in the fifth of the Actes, where it appeareth that the high Prieſtes, the Elders, Scribes, and Phariſies decreed in their Councell, and gaue the ſame cõmaundement to the Apoſtles, that they ſhould not preache in the name of Chriſte, as yee haue alſo forbidden vs: notwythſtanding when they were charged therewithall, they aunſweared. Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus, that is, we ought more to obey God then man: euen ſo we may and doe anſwere you. God is more to be obeyed then mã: & your wicked lawes can not ſo tongue tie vs, but we will ſpeake the truthe.

The Apoſtles were beaten for theyr boldneſſe, and they reioyced that they ſuffered for Chriſtes cauſe. Yee haue alſo prouided roddes for vs, and bloudy whippes: yet when ye haue done that whiche Goddes hande and Counſell hathe determined, that yee ſhall doe, be it life or deathe, I truſte that God wil ſo aſſiſt vs by his holy ſpirite and grace, that wee ſhall paciently ſuffer it, & praiſe God for it: and whatſoeuer become of mee and others, whiche nowe ſuffer for ſpeaking, and profeſſing of the truthe, yet be yee ſure that Goddes worde will preuaile and haue the ouer hande, when youre bloudy lawes and wicked decrees, for want of ſure foundation, ſhall fal in the duſt: and that which I haue ſpoken of your Actes of Parliament, the ſame may be ſayd of the generall Councels of theſe latter dayes, whych haue bene wythin theſe fiue hundreth yeares, where as the Antichriſt of Rome, by reaſon of hys vſurped authority ruled the roaſte, and decreed ſuche things as made for his gaine, not regarding Goddes glorye: and therefore are they to be ſpoken, wrytten, and cried againſt of all ſuch as fear God, and loue hys truthe.

And thus muche I purpoſed to haue ſayde, concerning the firſt poynte.

Nowe touching the ſecond poynte. That where as my Lorde Chauncellour hadde the daye before ſayde hys pleaſure of them that ruled the Realme, while hee was in pryſone, and alſo reioyced as though God hadde make this alteration, euen for his ſake and his Catholike Churche, as hee calleth it, and to declare as it were by myracle, that we were before in a Schiſme and Hereſie, and the Realme was nowe brought to an vnitie, and to a trueth, and I can not tell whereto: Thereto was I fully purpoſed to haue ſayde. Secondlye, my Lorde, where as yee yeſterdaye ſo highly diſpraiſed the gouernment of them that ruled in innocent King Edwardes dayes, it maye pleaſe your Lordſhippe to vnderſtande, that wee poore Preachers, whome yee ſo euill allowe, did moſte boldly and plainely rebuke theyr euill gouernaunce in manye things, ſpeciallye theyr couetouſneſſe, and neglecte and ſmall regarde to liue after the Goſpell: as alſo theyr negligence to occaſion other to liue thereafter, wyth mo things then I can now rehearſe. Thys can all London teſtifie wyth vs, I would alſo haue tolde hym, what I my ſelfe for my parte did once at Pauls Croſſe, concerning the miſuſe of Abbeys, and other church goodes: and I am aſſured right well, that neuer a Papiſte of them all did euer ſo much therein as I did, I thanke the Lorde therefore: I was alſo (as it is well knowen) faine to aunſweare therefore before all the Counſell, and manye of my brethren did the like, ſo that wee for the not rebuking of theyr faultes, ſhall not aunſweare before God, nor be blame worthy before menne. Therefore lette the Gentlemen and the Courtiers them ſelues, and all the Citizens of London, teſtifie what we did.

But my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did vnto you, and for that they were of a contrary Religion vnto you. Wherefore in that you ſeeme ſo infeſt againſt them, it is neither any iuſt or publique cauſe, but it is your owne priuate hate, that maketh you to reporte ſo euill of their gouernaunce. And yee may now ſay what yee liſt of them, when they be partely dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what ſhal be ſayde of you when your fall ſhall folowe, yee ſhall then heare. And I muſte lay my conſcience to you: I feare me ye haue and wil with your gouernance bring England out of Gods bleſſing into a warme ſunne. I pray God you doe not.

I am an Engliſhe manne borne, and God knoweth, doe naturally wiſhe well to my Countrey. And my Lorde, I haue often proued, that the thyngs which I haue much feared afore hande ſhoulde come to paſſe, haue in deede followed. I praye God I may faile of my geſſing in thys behalfe: but truely that will not be wyth expellyng the true worde of God out of the Realme, and wyth ſheading of innocent bloude.

And as touching your reioycing, as thoughe God had ſette you alofte to puniſhe vs by myracle, (for ſo you reporte and bragge openly of your ſelfe) and to miniſter Iuſtice, if wee will not receaue youre holye fathers mercye, and thereby to declare youre churche to be true, and oures falſe, to that I aunſweare thus: Goddes workes be wonderful, & are not to be comprehẽded, and perceiued by mãs wiſedome, not by the witte of the moſte wiſe and prudent. Yea, they are ſooneſt deceiued, and doe moſte eaſely iudge amiſſe of Goddes wonderfull workes, that are moſte worldly wiſe. God hathe made all the wiſedome of thys worlde fooliſhneſſe, firſt Corinthians the firſte, and the ſeconde Chapter. Dedit dilectam animam ſuam in manus inimicorum eius. Hierem. xij.

That is.

Hee doeth putte his beloued and deare heart, into the handes of the ennemies thereof.

Thys thing doeth God, whiche thing all wiſe menne accompte to be the moſte fooliſh and vnwiſe parte that can be. Will the wiſe of the worlde (trowe ye) putte their moſt deare frendes and tenderly beloued children, into their enmies handes, to kill, ſlaye, burne: &c. that is vnto them a madneſſe aboue all madneſſe. And yet doeth God vſe thys order, and thys is an highe and ſingular wiſedome in his ſyght, which the world taketh to be moſt extreme madnes.

Canne the worlde ſhewe a cauſe whye hee ſuffered the greate multitude of innocente children to be murthered of Herode, of Aſcalon, or why he putte that moſte holy man Iohn Baptiſte, into the handes of Herode hys ſonne to be headed, and that in priſone ſecreatly wythout open iudgement moſte tyrannouſly? Whye he ſuffered hys beloued Apoſtle Iames, to be beheaded of another Herode. Acts 12? Whye he ſuffered his beloued ſeede of Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, to be foure hundred yeares in thraldome and bondage, and vnder Pharao? And all the ſtocke of Iuda and Beniamin hys beloued children and Churche, to come vnder the power, ſweard, and tyrannie of Nabuchodonoſor? No verely, but hys true Catholicke Churche knoweth diuers cauſes hereof, whyche are nowe too long to reherſe, and whych I would right gladly ſhew, if I had time.

But this I am righte ſure off, that it was not becauſe that the aforeſayd Godly menne were in hereſies, and ſubiecte to falſe gods ſeruices, and Idolatrie, and that theyr aduerſaries were men of God, and beloued of God. The contrarye was true: Ihon Baptiſt was beloued of God, and Herode hated, and ſo forth of the reſt: and Iohn Baptiſt, the innocent children, Iames, the Children of Iſrael, in Egypte, and in Babylon, were the catholike members and people of God: and theyr aduerſaries, into whoſe handes they were putte and deliuered, and that of GOD, and by hys good will and pleaſure were Idolatrers and the people of the Deuill: but they woulde be called the chiefe members of God, and reioyced that they hadde the true God, and that it was nowe declared by myracle, that the Iſraelites hadde but a falſe God, and a falſe religion, ſeeing they were deliuered into the Babylonians handes. And all the other (the Herodes and Pharao I meane) plainely determined, that if the menne whiche they killed and handled euil, hadde bene Goddes people, God would neuer haue ſuffered them to come into their hands, but rather haue done the contrarye, and haue lette Iohn Baptiſt kill Herode, and the Iſraelites Pharao, and Nabuchodonoſor. Euen the like is nowe to be ſeene in vs, and in our moſt cruell aduerſaries.

They are not therfore the catholike Church, becauſe our merciful God hath at this preſent geuẽ our liues into their

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handes: neyther are wee therefore heretickes, becauſe wee ſuffer puniſhment at theyr handes, as the Lord Chauncellour by hys reioycing, ſeemeth to gather: the contrarye is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true Catholike church, becauſe wee ſuffer for the ſame Doctrine which Iohn Baptiſte, Iames, the Iſraelites, yea Chriſte, & the Apoſtles, did teache: of which none taught any thing of oure aduerſaries doctrine, namely that the rotten Antichriſtian heade of Rome, ſhoulde be the heade of Chriſtes church: But they haue manifeſtly taught the contrary, ſpecially Paule 2. to the Theſſalonians, the 2. chapter. Iohn in the Apocalipſe, Dan. 11. which thing, if I might haue life and Bookes, I would ſo (by Gods grace) ſet forth, that all the world ſhould ſee it: and that our aduerſaries with their Antichriſtian head, are the members of the Deuils church, as they vndoubtedly are. And in like caſe, as the aboue mētioned holy men, though they in their dayes, were counted to be heretickes, ſeditious, and diſturbers of the whole worlde, (for vnto Iohn Baptiſte it was ſayde, Iohn 1. wherefore baptiſeſt thou, if thou be not Helias, nor that Prophet? &c. As who ſaye, thou haſte no ſuch authoritie to beginne a newe Ceremonie in the Churche. For we be in ordinarie poſſeſſion of the churche: and of vs thou haſte receiued no ſuch power. we abide by our circumciſion: and the like coulde I declare of Iames, and of all the Apoſtles and Prophetes, and of our Sauiour Chriſte him ſelfe, that were all condemned as heretickes & blaſphemers of God, and diſturbers of the whole world. Paule and Silas. Act. 16. heard like wordes of the Philippians: theſe men trouble our Citie, ſeeing they are Iewes, and preache inſtitutions, whych are not lawful for vs to receiue, ſeeing we be Romaines. And in 17. In Athens, the wiſe menne of this world, & ſuche as gaue their endeuour to wiſedom, ſaid by S. Paule: Quid vult ſpermologus hic dicere? That is, what will this prater (as my Lord Chancelour ſayd to me, ſhall we ſuffer this felow to prate, whē I would faine haue ſayd that thyng, that I haue heere wrytten) trifler, newes caryer, or bringer, that telleth what ſo euer men will haue him, for gaine and aduauntage, that will for a piece of bread ſay what yee will haue hym. &c. And an other ſayd in the ſame place: hee ſeemeth to be a preacher of newe Deuelles. &c. And Actes 21. The Iewes ſay by Paule, laying handes on hym, helpe O yee Iſraelites (ſaye they) this is the manne that teacheth all men euery where againſt the people (meaning the Iewes) and the law and this place (meaning Ieruſalem) and yet was neuer a worde of theſe true. And Actes 22. the ſame Iewes ſayde of Paule: out of the earthe wyth that man, or away wyth him. For it is not lawfull for him to liue, or he is not worthy to liue. And howe many moe of theſe examples are to be found in the Bible? Although (I ſay) theſe men were in their dayes taken for heretickes, of them that were then in authoritye, and of the great multitude of the worlde, yet it is nowe wel knowen, yea and very ſhortly after their deathes this was known: yea, and euen in theyr liues alſo vnto the true Catholicke Churche, that they were not onely the chiefe and ſpeciall members of the true Catholicke Churche, but alſo the founders and builders thereof, (notwithſtanding the ſiniſter iudgement, that the wiſe and mighty menne, and the great multitude of the worlde hadde of them) and in theyr conſciences they were alwayes aſſuredlye certified of the ſame. Euen the ſame ſhall the world find true in vs, ſhortlye after oure deathes, as alſo there be at thys houre (the Lorde be thanked therefore) not a fewe, that already know it, as we our ſelues alſo are by Gods grace aſſuredly certified in our conſciences, that we are no heretikes, but members of the true catholike church, and that our aduerſaries the biſhops and popiſh cleargie, which wil haue that title, are the members of Sathans churche, and theyr Antichriſtian head of Rome wyth them.

But here they wil crie out: loe theſe men wil be ſtil like Iohn Baptiſt, the Apoſtles, and the Prophets. &c.

I anſwere, we make not our ſelues like vnto them, in the ſingular vertues and giftes of God, geuen vnto them: as of miracles doing, and of many other things. The ſimilitude and likeneſſe of them and vs, conſiſteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the ſufferinge of perſecution and infamie for the ſame.

we haue preached theyr very doctrine and none other thing: that we are able ſufficiently to declare by theyr wrytings: & by wryting for my part, I haue profered to proue the ſame (as is now often ſayd.) And for this cauſe we ſuffer the like reproche, ſhame, and rebuke of the worlde, & the like perſecution, leeſing of our liues and goodes, forſaking (as our maiſter Chriſt commandeth) father, mother, ſiſter, brethren, wiues, children, and all that there is, being aſſured of a ioyfull reſurrection, and to be crowned in glorye wyth them, according to the vnfallible promiſes made vnto vs in Chriſt, our onely and ſufficient mediatour, reconciler, prieſt and ſacrifice, which hath pleaſed the father, and quieted and pacified his wrath againſt our ſinnes, & made vs wythout ſpot or wrinkle in his ſight by imputation, although wee, of, and in our ſelues are beſpotted, & be blotted wͭ many filthy ſinnes, which if the great mercy graunted in Chriſt, did not put away, by not imputing them vnto vs of his meaſureleſſe vnſpeakeable mercye and loue to ſaue vs, they woulde haue brought vs to euerlaſting damnation, and death perpetuall. Heerein, and in no other, doe we affirme our ſelues to be like vnto our head Chriſte, and all his Apoſtles, Prophetes, Martyrs and Saintes: And heerein oughte all Chriſtian menne to be like them, and heerein are all true Chriſten men and women lyke them euery one, according to the meaſure of yͤ faith that God hath dealt vnto them, and to the diuerſitie of the gifts of the ſpirite geuen vnto them. But let vs nowe conſider, yͭ if it be Gods good will and pleaſure, to geue hys owne beloued heart, that is, hys beloued church and the members therof, into the handes of theyr ennemies, to chaſten, trie & proue them, and to bryng them to the true vnfained acknowledging of theyr owne naturall ſtubburneſſe, diſobedience towardes God, and his commaundements, as touching the loue of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their naturall inclination, readineſſe & deſire, to loue creatures, to ſeeke their owne luſts, pleaſures and things forbidden of God, to obtaine a true and earneſt repentaunce, and ſorowfulneſſe therefore, and to make them to ſigh and crie for the forgeueneſſe of the ſame, and for the aide of the ſpirite, daily to mortifie and kill the ſaide euill deſires and luſtes: yea and often falling into groſſe outwarde ſinnes, as did Dauid, Peter, Magdalen, and other, to ariſe againe alſo thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, wyth many other cauſes: lette vs alſo conſider what he hereafter doeth with the ſaid enemies, into whoſe hands he hath geuen his tenderly beloued dearlings to be chaſtened and tried. Forſothe, wheras he but chaſteneth his dearlings, and croſſeth them for a ſmall while, accordinge to his good pleaſure, as all fathers doe with their children. Heb. 12. Prouerb. 3. He vtterly deſtroyeth, yea and euerlaſtingly damneth the vnrepentant enemies. Let Herode tell me what he wanne by killing Iames, and perſecuting Peter, and Chriſtes tender dearlings, and beloued ſpouſe and wife, hys Churche. Verely God thought him not worthy to haue death miniſtred vnto him by mē or Angels, or any worthy creatures, but thoſe ſmall, and yet moſt vile beaſtes, lice, and ſmall wormes, muſt conſume and kill his beaſtly, vile, and tirannous body. Pharao and Nabuchadonoſer, for all their pride and moſt mighty power, muſt at the length let Gods dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea out of their handes and tirannie. For when it could not be obtained at theyr handes, that Gods congregation mighte haue true mercy miniſtred vnto them, but the counterfaite mercye of theſe our dayes, that is to ſaye, extreeme crueltie, and euen the very and that moſt horrible and cruel death, God aroſe and awoke out of his ſleepe, and deſtroyed thoſe ennemies of his flock, with a mighty hand, and a ſtretched out arme. Pharao did wyth moſte great and intollerable labors and burdens, expreſſe and bring vnder the poore Iſraelits, and yet did the Courtiers vndoubtedly noyſe abroade, that the king was mercifull vnto them, to ſuffer them to liue in his land, and to ſette them aworke, that they might gette them theyr liuings. If he ſhoulde thruſte them out of hys lande, whether ſhould they go, like a ſort of vagabunds and runagates? This title & name of mercy, wold that tyrāt haue, and ſo did his flattering falſe Courtiers ſpreade hys vayne praiſe abroade. Haue not wee the like examples nowe a dayes? O that I had nowe time to wryte certaine thyngs pertaining to our wincheſters mercy. Howe mercifull hee hath bene to me and to my good brethren I will not ſpeake of, neither yet vnto the Duke of Suffolkes moſte innocent daughter, and to her as innocent huſband. For althoughe their fathers were faultie, yet had their youth and lacke of experience deſerued a pardon by all true merciful mennes iudgements. O that I had time to painte out thys matter a right: but there be many aliue that can doe it muche better when I am deade. Pharao had hys plagues: and hys moſte flouriſhinge lande was by his counterfaite mercye, whych was in deede righte crueltie and abhominable tyrannie, vtterly deſtroyed. And thinke yee that thys bloudy butcherly Byſhoppe of wincheſter and his moſte bloudie brethren ſhall eſcape? Or yͤ Englande ſhall for theyr offences, and ſpecially for the maintenaunce of theyr Idolatrie, and wilful following of them not abide a great brunt? Yes vndoubtedly.

Gods iuſtice vpon his enemies and perſecutors.

Wincheſters mercy.

If God looke not mercifully vpon England, the ſeedes of vtter deſtruction are ſowen in it already, by theſe hypocriticall Tyrauntes, and Antichriſtian Prelates Popiſhe Papiſtes, and double Traytours to theyr naturall Countrey. And yet they ſpeake of mercy, of bleſſing of the Catholicke Church, of vnitie, of power and ſtrengthening of the Realme. This double diſſimulation will ſhew it ſelfe one day when the plague commeth, which will vndoubtedly light vpon theſe crowneſhorne capteines, and that ſhortly, whatſoeuer the godly and the poore Realme ſuffer in the meane while by Gods good ſufferaunce and will.

Spite of Nabuchodonoſors beard, and maugre his heart, the captiue, thrall and miſerable Iewes muſt come home agayne, and haue their Citie and temple builded vp agayne by Zorobabell, Eſdras, and Nehemias, &c. And the whole Kingdome of Babylon muſt go to ruine, and be taken in of ſtraunges, the Perſians and the Medes. So ſhall the diſperpled Engliſh flocke of Chriſt be brought againe into theyr former eſtate, or to a better I truſt in the Lorde God, than it was in innocent Kyng Edwardes dayes, and our bloudy Babylonicall Byſhops, and the whole crowneſhorne companye brought to vtter ſhame, rebuke, ruyne, decaye, and deſtruction: for God can not, and vndoubtedly wyll not ſuffer for euer theyr abhominable lying falſe doctrine, theyr hypocriſie, bloudthriſt, whoredome, idleneſſe, theyr peſtilent lyfe pampored in all kynde of pleaſure, theyr thraſonicall boaſting, pryde, theyr malicious, enuious, and poyſoned ſtomackes, which they beare towardes hys poore and miſerable Chriſtians. Peter truely warneth, that if iudgemente begynneth at the houſe of God, what ſhall be the ende of them that beleeue not the Goſpell? If the righteous ſhall ſcant be ſaued, where ſhall the vngodly and ſinfull appeare? Some ſhall haue theyr puniſhmente heere in thys worlde, and in the worlde to come, and they that doo eſcape in thys worlde, ſhall not eſcape euerlaſtyng damnation. Thys ſhall bee youre ſauce, O yee wicked Papiſtes, make yee merry heere as long as yee may.

After that I. Rogers (as yee haue heard) had bene long & ſtraitly impriſoned, lodged in newgate amõgſt theeues, oft examined: and very vncharitably intreated & at lẽgth vniuſtly and moſt cruelly by wicked wincheſter cõdemned the 4. of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1555. beeyng Monday in the morning, hee was warned ſodenly by the kepers wife of newgate, to prepare himſelf to the fire: who then being ſound a ſleepe, ſcarſe with much ſhogging could be awaked. At length being rayſed and waked, and byd to make haſte, then, ſaide he, if it be ſo, I neede not to tye my poyntes: and ſo was had downe, firſt to Boner to bee diſgraded. That done, hee craued of Boner but one petition. Boner aſking what that ſhould be: nothing ſayde he: but that he might talke a few words with his wife, before his burning. But that coulde not bee obteined of hym. Then ſaid he, you declare your charitie, what it is: and ſo he was brought into Smithfield by Maiſter Cheſter, and Maiſter woodrofe, then Shiriffes of London, there to bee burnt, where he ſhewed moſt conſtant paciencie, not vſing many wordes, for he could not be permitted, but onely exhorting the people conſtantly to remaine in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content paciently to ſuffer and beare all ſuch bitternes and cruelty as had bene ſhewed him, but alſo moſt gladly to reſigne vp his life, and to geue his fleſh to the conſuming fire for the teſtimonie of the ſame.

Febr.4.

M. Rogers warned to prepare to death.

M.Rogers diſgraded.

M. Rogers could not be ſuffered of Boner to ſpeake to his wife before his burning.

M.Rogers brought to Smithfield.

Briefly and in few wordes to comprehend the whole order of his lyfe, doynges, and Martyrdome, firſt this godly M. Rogers was committed to priſon (as is abouesayd) & there continued a yeare and halfe. In priſon he was mery, and earneſt in all he went about. He wrote much: his examinations he penned with his owne hand, which elſe had neuer come to light. wherein is to be noted by the way a memorable working of Gods prouidence. Ye heard a litle aboue how M. Rogers craued of Boner, going to hys burning, ỹ he might ſpeake a few wordes before with hys wife, whiche coulde not be graunted. what theſe wordes were which he had to ſay to his wife, it is for no man certeinly to define. Likely it may be ſuppoſed that his purpoſe was, amongſt other things, to ſignifie vnto her of the booke written of his examinations and aunſweres whych he had priuily hid in a ſecret corner of the priſon where he lay. But where mans power lacketh, ſee how Gods prouidence worketh. For notwithſtanding ỹ during the tyme of his impriſonment, ſtraite ſearch there was to take away his letters and writings: yet after his death, his wyfe and one of her ſonnes called Daniell, cõming into ỹ place wher he lay, to ſeeke for his bookes and writings, and now ready to go away, it chaunced her ſonne aforenamed, caſting his eye aſide to ſpy a blacke thing (for it had a blacke couer belike becauſe it ſhuld not be known) lying in a blind corner vnder a payre of ſtayres. who willing his mother to ſee what it was, found it to be the booke written with his own hand, contayning theſe his examinatiõs & anſwers with other matter aboue ſpecified. In the latter end where of this alſo was conteyned, which becauſe it concerneth a Propheticall forewarning of thinges pertayning to the Church I thought to place the ſame his woordes, as they be there written, which are theſe. If God looke not mercifully vppon Englande, the ſeedes of vtter deſtruction are ſowne in it already, by theſe hipocritical tyrauntes, & Antichriſtian Prelates, Popiſh Papiſts, and double traytors to their naturall country. And yet they ſpeake of mercy, of bleſſing, of the Catholicke Churche, of vnitie, of power, & ſtrengthning of the realm. This double diſſimulation will ſhewe it ſelfe one daye when the plague commeth, whiche will vndoubtedly light vppon theſe crowneſhorne Captaines, and that ſhortly, whatſoeuer the godly and ỹ poore realme ſuffer in the meane while by Gods ſufferaunce and will.

The copie of M. Rogers examinations by gods prouidence preſerued.

M.Rogers ſeemeth to propheſie here of England, and that truely.

Spite of Nabuchodonozers beard, and maugre hys hart, ỹ captiue, thral & miſerable Iewes muſt come home agayne, and haue their Citie and temple builded vp again by Zorobabell, Eſdras, & Nehemias, &c. And the whole kingdome of Babilon muſt goe to ruine and be taken of ſtraungers, the Perſians and Medes. So ſhal ỹ diſperckled engliſh flock of Chriſt be brought agayn into their former eſtate, or to a better I truſt in the Lorde God, then it was in innocent king Edwardes dayes, and our bloudye Babilonicall Biſhops, and the whole crowneſhorn company, brought to vtter ſhame: rebuke, ruine, decay and deſtruction, for God cannot and vndoubtedly will not ſuffer for euer theyr abhominable lying, falſe doctrine, their hipocriſie, bloudthirſt, whoredome, idlenes, their peſtilent life pampred in all kinde of pleaſure: their thraſonicall boaſting, pride, their malicious, enuious, and poyſoned ſtomackes which they beare towardes his poore and miſerable Chriſtians. Peter truely warneth that if iudgement beginneth in the houſe of God, what ſhal be the end of them that beleeue not the Goſpell? If the righteous ſhall ſcant bee ſaued, where ſhall the vngodly and ſinfull appeare? Some ſhall haue their puniſhment here in this world and in the worlde to come, and they that doe eſcape in this worlde, ſhall not eſcape euerlaſting damnation. This ſhall be your ſauce O ye wicked Papiſtes, make yee merye here as long as ye may.

He meaneth here of the returne of the exiles into England.

1.Pet.4.

Furthermore, amongeſt other his wordes & ſayinges, which may ſeeme prophetically to be ſpoken of hym, thys alſo may be added, and is notoriouſly to be marked, that he ſpake being then in priſon, to the Printer of this preſente booke, who then alſo was laid vp for like cauſe of religion: Thou (ſayd he) ſhalt liue to ſee the alteration of this religiõ and the goſpell to be freely preached againe: And therefore haue me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumſpect in diſplacing the Papiſts, & putting good miniſters into churches, or els their ende will be worſe then ours. And for lacke of good miniſters to furniſh churches, his deuiſe was (M. Hooper alſo agreeing to the ſame) that for euery x. Churches, ſome one good and learned ſuperintendent ſhuld be appointed, which ſhould haue vnder him faythfull Readers, ſuche as might well be got, ſo that popiſh Prieſts ſhoulde cleane be put out, and the biſhop once a yeare to ouerſee the profiting of the Pariſhes, and if the miniſter did not his dutye, as well in profiting himſelfe in his book, and his Pariſhioners in good inſtructions, ſo that they may be trayned by little & litle to geue a reckoning how they do profite, thẽ he to be expelled, and an other put in his place. And the Byſhop to do the like with the ſuperintendent, this was hys counſell and requeſt. Shewing moreouer, and proteſtyng in his commendations to hys brethren by the Printer aforeſayd, that if they woulde not ſo doe, their ende he ſayde would be worſe then theirs.

M.Rogers propheſieth of the returne of the Goſpell.

M.Rogers counſell in placing good miniſters.

Ouer and beſides diuers other thinges touching M. Rogers, this is not to be forgottẽ, how in the dayes of K. Edward the ſixt, there was a controuerſie among the Biſhops and clergye, for wearing of prieſtes caps, and other attire belonging to that order. M. Rogers beyng one of ỹ number which neuer went otherwiſe then in a round cap, during all the time of K. Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of vniformitie, but vpõ this condition, that if they would needes haue ſuch an vniformitie of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it ſhoulde alſo be decreed with all that the Papiſtes for a difference betwixt them and other, ſhuld be conſtrayned to weare vpon their ſleeues a Chalice with an hoſt vpon it. whereunto if they

A note touching Prieſtes cappes.

would conſent, he would agree to the other, otherwiſe he would not he ſayd conſent to the ſetting forth of the ſame, nor euer weare the cap, as in deede he neuer did.

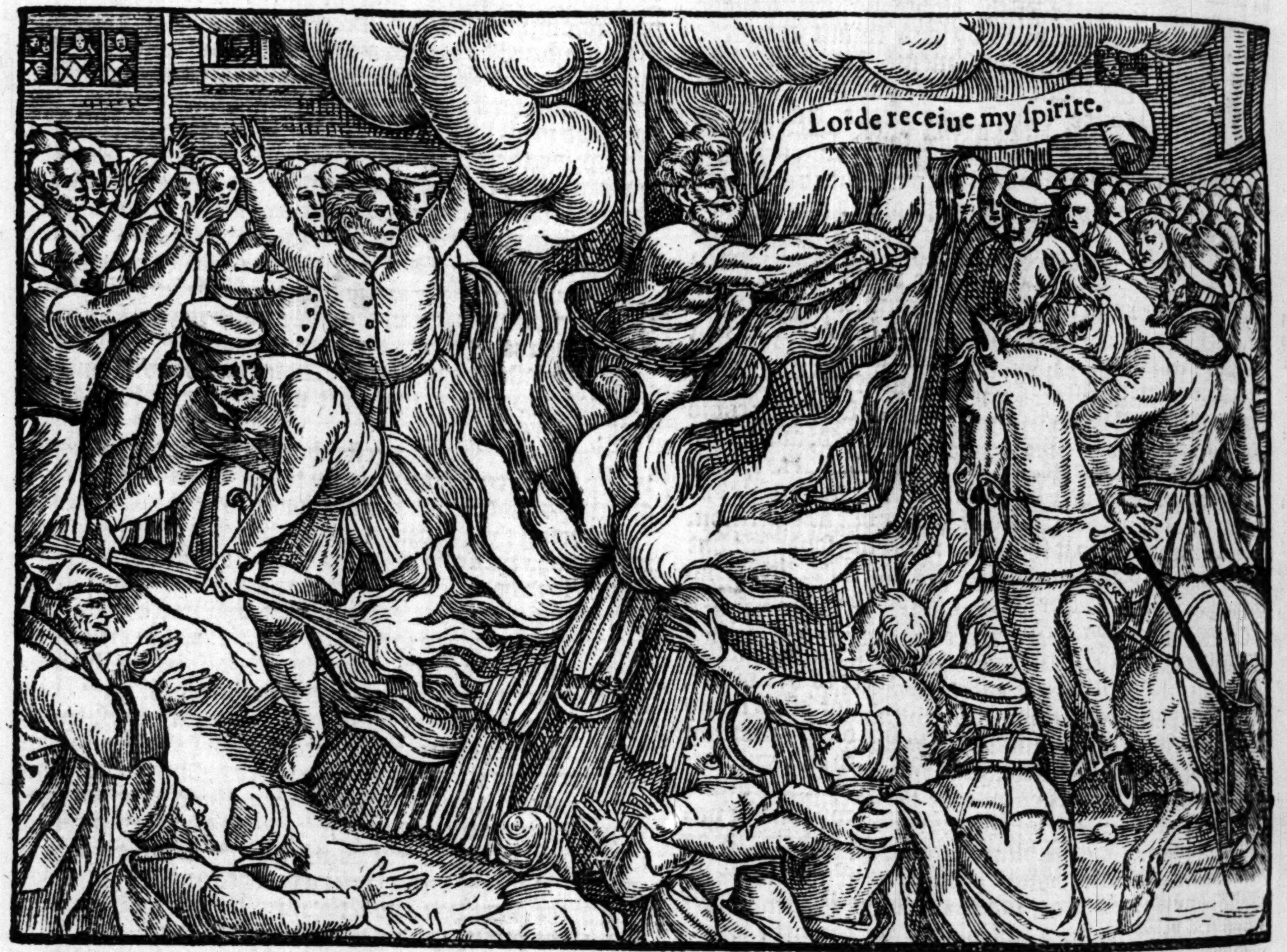
Prouiſion by M. Rogers for the priſoners.

To proceede now further in deſcribing the doinges of this man, during the time while he remayned pryſoner in Newgate, he was to the priſoners beneficiall and liberall, for whome he had thus deuiſed, that he with his fellowes ſhould haue but one meale a day, they paying notwythſtanding, for the charges of the whole: the other meale ſhould be geuen to them that lacked on the other ſide of the priſon. But Alexander their keeper, a ſtrait man, and a right Alexander, a Coperſmith in deede, of whoſe doings more ſhall be ſaid God willing hereafter, would in no caſe ſuffer that. The Sonday before he ſuffered, he dronke to M. Hooper (beeing then vnderneath him) and bad them commende him vnto him, and tell him, there was neuer little fellow better would ſticke to a man then hee woulde ſticke to him, preſuppoſing they ſhould both be burned together, although it hapned otherwiſe, for M. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and ſuch actes of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Alexander Andrew Gayler of Newgate compared to Alexander the Coperſmith.

Now when the time came, that he being deliuered to the Sheriffes, ſhould be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield the place of his execution, firſt came to him M. Woodroſe one of the foreſaid Sheriffes, and calling M. Rogers vnto him, aſked him if he would reuoke his abhominable doctrine, and his euill opinion of the Sacrament of the aulter. M. Rogers anſwered and ſayd: that which I haue preached, I will ſeale with my bloud. Then quoth maiſter Woodroſe, thou art an hereticke. That ſhall be knowne, quoth Rogers, at the day of iudgement. Well, quoth mayſter Woodroſe, I will neuer pray for thee. But I will pray for you, quoth M. Rogers, and ſo was brought the ſame day, which was Monday the fourth of February, by the Sheriffes toward Smithfield, ſaying the Pſalme Miſerere by the way, all the people wonderfully reioycing at hys conſtancie, with great prayſes and thankes to God for the ſame: and there in the preſence of M. Rocheſter, Comptroller of the Queenes houſholde, Sir Richard Southwell, both the Sheriffes, and a woonderfull number of people, he was burned into aſhes, waſhing his handes in the flame as he was in burning. A little before his burning at the ſtake, his pardon was brought if he woulde haue recanted, but he vtterly refuſed it. He was the firſt Protomartyr of all that bleſſed company that ſuffered in Queene Maryes time, that gaue the firſt aduenture vpon the fire. His wife and children being xj. in number, x. able to go, and one ſucking on her breſt, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this ſorowfull ſight of hys owne fleſh and bloud could nothing moue him, but that he conſtantly and cheerefully tooke his death with woonderfull patience, in yͤ defence & quarell of Chriſtes Goſpell.

The burning of M. Iohn Rogers, Vicar of S. Pulchers, and Reader of Paules in London.


Lorde receiue my ſpirite.

✱ The hiſtory and martyrdome of Laurence Saunders, burned for the defence of the Goſpell at Couentry. An. 1555. February 8.

February. 8.

The ſtory of Laurence Saunders, Martyr.

After that Queene Mary by publicke proclamation in the firſt yeare of her raigne, had inhibited the ſincere preaching of Gods holy word, as is before declared, dyuers godly Miniſters of the word which had the cure and charge of ſoules committed to them, did notwithſtanding according to their bounden duty, feede their flocke faythfully, not as Preachers authorized by publicke authoritye (as the godly order of the Realme was in the happy daies of bleſſed King Edwarde) but as the priuate paſtors of particular flockes, among whome, Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worſhipfull parentage. His bringing vp was in learning from his youth, in places meete for that purpoſe, as namely, in the ſchoole of Eaton. From whence (according to the manner there vſed) he was choſen to go to the Kings Colledge in Cambridge, where he continued ſcholler of the Colledge three whole yeares, and there profited in knowledge, and learning very much for that time: ſhortly after that, he did forſake the Vniuerſitie, and went to his parents, vpon whoſe aduiſe he minded to become a Merchaunt, for that his mother was a Gentlewoman of good eſtimation, being left a widdow, and hauing a good portion for him among his other brethren, ſhe thought to ſet him vp welthely, and ſo he comming vp to London, was bound prentiſe with a Marchaunt, named Sir William Cheſter (who afterward chanced to be Sheriffe of London the ſame yeare that Saunders was burned at Couentry.) Thus by the minde of his frends Laurence ſhould needes haue bene a Marchant, but almighty God which hath his ſecret working in all things, ſaw better for his ſeruant, as it fell out in the end, for although that Saunders was bound by faſt indenture to play the Marchant, yet the Lord ſo wrought inwardly in his hart, that he could find no liking in that vocation: ſo that when hys other fellowes were buſily occupied about that kinde of trade, he would ſecretly withdraw himſelfe into ſome priuy corner, and there fall into his ſolitary lamentations, as

Scholers are taken out of Eton Colledge into the kinges Colledge at Cambridge.

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M. Saun-
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Ann. 1555.

one not lyking with that kind and trade of life.

It hapned that his maiſter, being a good man, and hearing his prentiſe thus in his ſecret prayers inwardely to moorne by himſelfe, called him vnto him, to knowe what the cauſe was of that his ſolitarines and lamentation, who then perceiuing his minde nothing to fantaſie that kind of life, (for ſo Saunders declared vnto him) and perceauing alſo his whole purpoſe to be bent to the ſtudy of his booke, and ſpirituall contemplation, like a good man, directed his letters incontinently vnto his frends, and geuing him his Indenture, ſo ſet him free. And thus Laurence Saunders being rauiſhed with the loue of learning, and eſpecially with the reading of Gods word, taryed not long time in the trafficke of marchandiſe, but ſhortly returned to Cambridge againe to his ſtudy, where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the ſtudy of the Greeke tongue, wherein he profited in ſmall time very much: Therewith alſo he ioyned the ſtudy of the Hebrue. Then gaue he himſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture, to furniſh himſelfe to the office of a Preacher.

In ſtudy he was diligent and paynefull, in godly life he declared the fruites of a well exerciſed conſcience, he prayed often and with great feruour, and in his praiers as alſo at other times, hee had hys parte of ſpirituall exerciſes, which his harty ſighing to God declared. In which when any ſpeciall aſſault did come, by prayer he felt preſente relief: then was his company marueilous comfortable. For as his exerciſes were ſpeciall teachinges, ſo in the ende they proued ſingular conſolations: wherein he became ſo expert, that within ſhort ſpace he was able to comforte other which were in any affliction, by the cõſolation wherwith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the Uniuerſitie, till he proceeded Maiſter of Arte, and a long ſpace after.

In the beginning of K. Edwards raigne, when Gods true religion was begon to be reſtored, after licence obteined, he began to preach, and was ſo well liked of them which then had authoritie, that they appointed him to read a Diuinitie lecture in the Colledge at Fothringa, where by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant to Gods true knowledge, and ſtopped the mouth of the aduerſaries. He marryed about that time, and in the marryed eſtate led a life vnblameable before all men. The College of Fothringa being diſſolued, he was placed to be reader in the Minſter at Lichefield: where he ſo behaued himſelfe in teaching and liuing, that the very aduerſaries did geue him a full report as well of learning, as of much godlines. After a certaine ſpace, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leiceſter ſhyre, called Churchlangton, wherupon he keeping reſidence, taught diligently, and kept a liberall houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the Citie of London, named Alhallowes in Breadſtreete. Then minded he to geue ouer his Cure in the Countrey: and therefore after he had taken poſſeſſion of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the Countrey, clearely to diſcharge hymſelfe thereof. And euen at that tyme began the broyle aboute the clayme that Queene Mary made to the Crowne, by reaſon whereof he could not accompliſh his purpoſe.

In thys trouble, and euen among the begynners of it, (ſuche I meane as were for the Queene) he preached at Northampton, nothing medling with the eſtate, but boldly vttered his conſcience againſt Popiſh doctrine and Antichriſts damnable errours, which were like to ſpring vp agayne in England as a iuſt plague for the little loue which the Engliſh nation did beare to the bleſſed word of God, which had bene ſo plentifully offred vnto them. The Queenes men which were there and heard him, were highly diſpleaſed with him for his Sermon, and for it kept him among them as priſoner. But partly for loue of hys brethren & frends, which were chiefe doers for the Queene among them, partly becauſe there was no lawe broken by his preaching, they diſmiſſed him. He ſeeing the dreadfull dayes at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeale, preached with diligence at both thoſe benefices, as tyme coulde ſerue him, ſeeing he could reſighe neither of them now, but into the hand of a Papiſt.

Thus paſſed he to and fro in preaching, vntill that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At which tyme he was at his benefice in the countrey, where he (notwithſtanding the proclamation aforeſayd) taught diligently Gods truth, confirming ẏ people therein, and arming them againſt falſe doctrine, vntill he was not only commaunded to ceaſe, but alſo with force reſiſted, ſo that he could not procede there in preaching. Some of his frends perceiuing ſuch fearefull manaſſings, counſeled him to flie out of the realme, which he refuſed to do. But ſeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towardes London, to vyſite the flocke, of which he had there the charge.

On Saterday, the 14. of October, as he was comming nigh to the Citie of London, Sir Iohn Mordant a Counſellour to Queene Mary, did ouertake him, & aſked him whether he went. I haue (ſayd Saunders) a cure in London, and now I go to inſtruct my people according to my duety. If you wil follow my councell, quoth M. Mordant let them alone, and come not at them. To this Saunders aunſwered: how ſhall I then be diſcharged before God, if any be ſick and deſire conſolation, if any want good counſell & neede inſtruction, or if any ſhould ſlipp into errour & receaue falſe doctrine? Did not you, quoth Mordãt preach ſuch a day, and named the day, in Breadſtreet in London? Yes verely, ſayd Saunders, that ſame is my cure. I heard you my ſelf, quoth M. Mordant: and will you preach now there agayne? If it pleaſe you ſayde Saunders, to morow you may heare me agayne in that ſame place, where I wil confirme by the authoritie of Gods worde, all that I ſayd then, and whatſoeuer before that time I taught them.

M. Mordant diſſwadeth Laurence Saunders from preaching.

I would counſell you (quoth the other) not to preache. If you can and will forbid me by lawfull authoritie, then muſt I obey, ſayde Saunders. Nay quoth hee, I will not forbid you, but I doe geue you counſell. And thus entred they both the Citie, & departed eche from other. M. Mordant of an vncharitable minde, went to geue warning to Boner Biſhop of London, ẏ Saunders woulde preach in his Cure the next day. Saunders reſorted to his lodging, wt a minde bent to doe his duety. where becauſe he ſeemed to be ſomewhat troubled, one which was there about him aſked him how he did. In very deede (ſayth hee) I am in priſon till I be in priſon: meaning that his minde was vnquiet vntill he had preached, and that then hee ſhoulde haue quietnes of minde, though he were put in priſon.

M. Saunders in priſon, till he was in priſon.

The next day whiche was Sonday, in the forenone he made a ſermon in his pariſh, entreating that place whiche Paule writeth to the Corinthians: I haue coupled you to one man, that ye ſhoulde make your ſelues a chaſt Virgine vnto Chriſt. But I feare leſt it come to paſſe, that as the Serpent beguiled Eue: euen ſo your wittes ſhould be corrupt from the ſinglenes which ye had towardes Chriſt. He recited a ſumme of that true Chriſtian doctrine, through whiche they were coupled to Chriſt, to receiue of him free iuſtification through fayth in his bloud. The Papiſticall doctrine hee compared to the Serpentes deceiuing, and leſt they ſhuld be deceiued by it, he made a compariſon betweene ẏ voice of God, and the voice of the Popiſh Serpent: deſcending to more particular declaratiõ therof, as it were to let them plainely ſee the difference that is betweene the order of the Church ſeruice ſet forth by king Edward in the Engliſhe tongue: comparing it with the popiſh ſeruice then vſed in the Latine tongue.

M. Saunders ſermon at Alhallowes. 2. Cor. 11.

The firſt he ſayd was good, becauſe it was accordyng to the worde of God. Corinth. 14. and the order of the primatiue Church. The other he ſayd was euill, and though in that euill hee intermingled ſome good Latine wordes: yet was it but as a little hony or milke mingled with a great deale of poyſon, to make them to drinke vp al. This was the ſumme of hys ſermon.

In the after noone hee was ready in his Churche to haue geuen an other exhortation to his people. But the B. of London interrupted him by ſending an officer for hym. This officer charged him vpon the payne of diſobedience and contumacie, forthwith to come to the Biſhop his maiſter. Thus, as the Apoſtles were brought out of the Temple where they were teaching, vnto the rulers of ẏ prieſts ſo was Laurence Saunders brought before this Byſhop in his Pallace of London, who had in his company the aforenamed Sir Iohn Mordant & ſome of his Chapleins. The biſhop layd no more to Laurence Saunders charge but treaſon for breaking the Queenes proclamation, hereſie and ſedition for his Sermon.

M. Saunders apprepended by B. Boner at his ſermon.

Sir Iohn Mordant accuſer of L. Saunders.

Preaching of Gods word, made treaſon with Biſhop Boner.

The treaſon, and ſedition, his charitie was content to let ſlip, vntill an other time. But an hereticke hee woulde now proue him and all thoſe, he ſayd, which did teach and beleue that the adminiſtration of the Sacramentes and al orders of the Church are moſt pure, which doe come moſt nigh to the order of the primitiue Church. For the Church was then but in her infancie, and could not abide that perfection whiche was afterward to be furniſhed with ceremonies. And for this cauſe Chriſt himſelfe, & after hym the Apoſtles did in many thinges beare with the rudenes of ẏ Church. To this Laurence Sãders anſwered wt the authoritie of S. Auguſtine, that ceremonies were euen from the beginning inuented and ordayned for the rude infancy & weake infirmitie of man, and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitiue Church, ẏ it had fewe ceremonies, and of the rudenes of the Church Papiſticall,

Ceremonies intented onely for weake infirmitie.

Anno 1555. February.

becauſe it had ſo many ceremonies, partly blaſphemous, partly vnſauery and vnprofitable.

B. Boner ſeketh the bloud of M. Saunders.

After much talke had concerning this matter, the Byſhop willed him to write what he beleued of tranſubſtantiation. Laurence Saunders did ſo, ſaying: My Lorde, ye do ſeeke my bloud, and ye ſhall haue it: I pray God that ye may be ſo baptiſed in it, that ye may thereafter loath bloudſucking, and become a better man. This writing the Byſhop kept for his purpoſe, euen to cut the writers throate, as ſhall appeare heereafter. The Byſhop when he had his will, ſent Laurence Saunders to the Lord Chauncellour, as Annas ſent Chriſt to Cayphas: and lyke fauour found Saunders as Chriſt his Mayſter did before him. But the Chauncellour beeing not at home, Saunders was conſtrayned to tary for him by the ſpace of foure houres, in the vtter chamber, where he found a Chaplein of the Biſhops very merily diſpoſed with certeine Gentlemen playing at the Tables, with diuers other of the ſame family or houſe, occupied there in the ſame exerciſe.

M. Saunders ſent from Annas to Cayphas.

All this time Saunders ſtood very modeſtly and ſoberly at the ſcreene or Cupbord, bareheaded, Syr Iohn Mordant his guide or leader walking vp and downe by hym: who (as I ſayd before) was then one of the Counſell. At the laſt, the Byſhop returned from the Court, whome, as ſone as he was entred, a great many ſuters met and receiued: ſo that, before he could get out of one houſe into another, halfe an hour was paſſed. At the laſt, he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where in the meane way Saunders leader gaue him a writing containing the cauſe, or rather the accuſation of the ſayd Saunders, which when he had perviſed, where is the man, ſayd the Byſhop? Then Saunders being brought forth to the place of examination, firſt, moſt lowly and meekely kneeled downe, and made curteſie before the table where the Byſhop did ſit: Unto whom the Byſhop ſpake on this wiſe.

Wichesters talke with M. Saunders.

How hapneth it (ſayd he) that notwithſtandyng the Queenes Proclamation to the contrary, you haue enterpriſed to preach?

M. Saunders anſwere to M. Wincheſter.

Saunders denyed that he dyd preache: Saying, that for ſo much as he ſaw the perillous tymes now at hande, he did but (according as he was admoniſhed, and warned by Ezechiel the Prophet,) exhort his flocke and Pariſhioners to perſeuer and ſtand ſtedfaſtly, in the doctrine which they had learned, ſaying alſo, that he was moued and pricked forward thereunto by that place of the Apoſtle wherein he was commaunded rather to obey God then man: and moreouer, that nothing more moued or ſtirred hym thereunto, then his owne conſcience.

Wincheſter.

A goodly conſcience ſurely ſayd the Byſhop. This your conſcience could make our Queene a Baſtard or miſbegotten: would it not I pray you?

M. Saunders.

Then ſayd Saunders, we (ſayd he) do not declare or ſay that the Queene is baſe or miſbegotten, neither go aboute any ſuch matter. But for that let them care whoſe writings are yet in the hands of men, witneſſing the ſame, not without the great reproch and ſhame of the Authour: priuely taunting the Byſhop hymſelfe, which had before (to get the fauour of Henry 8.) written and ſet foorth in print a booke of true obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queene Mary to be a Baſtard. Now M. Saunders going forwards in his purpoſe, ſayd: we do only profeſſe and teach the ſinceritie and puritie of the word, the which albeit it be now forbidden vs to preache with our mouthes, yet notwithſtanding I do not doubt, but that our bloud hereafter ſhall manifeſt the ſame. The Byſhop being in thys ſort prettily nipped and touched, ſaid: Cary away this frenſie foole to priſon. Unto whome M. Saunders aunſwered, that he did geue God thankes which had geuen hym at the laſt, a place of reſt and quietneſſe, where as he might pray for the Byſhops conuerſion.

A priuy nippe to Wincheſter.

Wincheſters booke de vera obedientia.

Note how Wincheſter confuteth M. Saunders.

A notable example of the Lord comforting his ſeruauntes in their troubles.

Furthermore, he that did lye with him afterwardes in priſon in the ſame bed, reported that he heard him ſay that euen in the time of his examination, he was wonderfully comforted, in ſo much as not only in ſpirite, but alſo in body, he receaued a certayne taſte of that holy communion of Saincts, whileſt a moſt pleaſant refreſhing did iſſue from euery part and member of the body vnto the ſeate & place of the hart, and from thence did ebbe and flow to and fro, vnto all the partes againe.

M. Saunders in priſon a yeare and 3. monthes.

This Saunders continued in priſon a whole yeare and 3. moneths. In all which ſpace he ſent diuers letters to diuers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: and other to his wife and alſo to others, certifying them both of the publike calamitie of the time, and alſo of his priuate afflictions, and of ſondry his conflictes with his aduerſaries: As in writing to his friend, he ſpeaketh of Weſton conferring with him in priſon, whereof you ſhall heare anone (by the leaue of the Lorde) as followeth in the ſtory. In the meane time the Chauncellor, after this little talke with M. Saunders (as is aforeſaid) ſent him to the priſon of the Marſhalſey, &c. For the Caiphas (Wincheſter I meane) did nothing but bayte him with ſome of his curriſh eloquence, and ſo committed hym to the priſon of the Marſhalſey, where he was kept priſoner one whole yeare and a quarter. But of his cauſe and eſtate, thou ſhalt nowe ſee, what Laurence Saunders himſelfe did write.

¶ A parcell of a Letter of Laurence Saunders ſent to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, as an aunſwere to certayne thyngs wherewith he had before charged hym.

A fragm of M.Saun ders lette

He meane the procla mation of which men tion is ma before.

Satis pena uit qui re ſiſtere non potuit.

Touching the cauſe of my impriſonment, I doubt whether I haue broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, foraſmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to vſe according to our conſciences, ſuch ſeruice as was then eſtabliſhed. My doctrine was then agreeable vnto my conſcience and the ſeruice then vſed. The Act which I did (he meaneth publike teaching of Gods word in his owne pariſh, called Alhallowes in Breadſtreete in the Citie of London) was ſuch, as being indifferently weyed, ſounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at the leaſt no wilfull breaking of it, foraſmuch as I cauſed no bell to be roong, neyther occupyed I any place in the Pulpit, after the order of Sermons or Lectures. But be it that I did breake the Proclamation, this long time of continuance in priſon may be thought to be more then a ſufficient puniſhment for ſuch a fault.

Act. 24.

A good teſtimony of a good conſcience.

Touching the charging of me with my Religion, I ſay wyth S. Paule: This I confeſſe, that after the way which they call hereſie, ſo worſhip I the God of my forefathers, beleeuing all thyngs which are written in the lawe and the Prophets, and haue hope towards God, &c. And herein ſtudy I to haue alway a cleare conſcience towardes God, and towards men: ſo that God I call to witneſſe, I haue a conſcience. And this my conſcience is not grounded vpon vayne fantaſie, but vpon the infallible veritie of Gods word, with the witneſsing of his choſen Church agreeable vnto the ſame.

Iohn. 10.

Math. 7.

How the Wolfe is knowen fro the true ſhepheard.

It is an eaſie thing for them, which take Chriſt for theyr true Paſtor, and be the very ſheepe of his paſture, to diſcerne the voice of their true ſhepheard, from the voyce of wolues, hyrelings, and ſtraungers, for as much as Chriſt ſayeth: My ſheepe heare my voice, yea and thereby they ſhall haue the gift to know the right voice of the true ſhepeheard, and ſo to follow him, and to auoyde the contrary, as he alſo ſayeth: The ſheepe follow the ſhepheard, for they knowe his voyce: A ſtraunger will they not follow, but will flie from him: for they knowe not the voice of a ſtranger. Such inward inſpiration doth the holy Ghoſt put into the children of God, being in deede taught of God, but otherwiſe vnable to vnderſtand the true way of their ſaluation. And albeit that the Wolfe (as Chriſt ſaith) commeth in ſheepes clothing, yet he ſayth: by their fruites yee ſhall knowe them. For there be certayne fruites whereby the Wolfe is bewrayed, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe in ſondry ſortes of deuoute holines in outwarde ſhew, he ſeemeth neuer ſo ſimple a ſheepe. That the Romiſh religion is rauening & woluiſh, it is apparant in 3. principall points.

The inconueniences of the Romiſh religion, in 3. poyntes.

Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of cōſcience, in obſcuring, or rather burying of Chriſt, and his office of ſaluation.

Eſay. 26. Math. 15.

Thirdly, it ſpoyleth God of his true worſhip and ſeruice in ſpirit and truth, appointed in his preſcript commaundementes, and driueth men vnto that inconuenience, againſt the which Chriſt with the Prophet Eſay doth ſpeake ſharply: This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hart is far from me. They worſhip me in vaine, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. And in another place: ye caſt aſide the commaundemente of God to mayntayne your owne traditions.

Wherefore I in conſcience weying the Romiſh Religion, and by indifferent diſcuſsing thereof, finding the foundation vnſtedfaſt, and the building thereupon but vayne: and on the other ſide hauing my conſcience framed after a right and vncorrupt religion, ratified and fully eſtabliſhed by the word of God, and the conſent of his true Church. I neyther may, nor do entend by Gods gracious aſsiſtance, to be pulled one iot from the ſame, no though an Angell out of heauen ſhould preach another Goſpell then that which I haue receyued of the Lord.

* Explicita Fides is w a man hat to anſwe to euery poynt of h fayth by ſufficient ground learning.

And although that for lacke either of ſuch deepe knowledge and profound iudgement, or of ſo expedite vttering of that I do know and iudge, as is required in an excellent clarke, I ſhall not be able ſufficiently to aunſwere, for the conuincing of the gaineſayer: yet neuertheleſſe, this my proteſtation ſhall be of me premiſed, that for the reſpect of the grounds and cauſes before conſidered, albeit I cannot * explicita fide as they call it, conceiue all that is to be conceiued, neither can diſcuſſe all that is to be diſcuſſed, nor can effectually expreſſe all that is to be expreſſed in the diſcourſe of the doctrine of this moſt true religion, whereunto to I am profeſſed: Yet do I bind my ſelfe as by my humble ſimplicity, ſo by my fidem * implicitam: that is, by faith in generalty (as they call it) to wrap my beliefe in the credit of the ſame, that no authority of that romiſh religion repugnant thereunto, ſhall by any meanes remoue me from the ſame, though it may hap that our aduerſaries will labour to beguile vs with entiſing wordes, and ſeeke to ſpoyle vs through Philoſophy and deceitfull vanity after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Chriſt, &c.

And thus much out of M. Sanders letter, ſo much as remained thereof. The reſidue, becauſe it was rent away, I could not adioine hereunto. Notwithſtãding by this alredy expreſſed, it is ſufficient to vnderſtand how good was ye cauſe & eſtate of this bleſſed child of god, being priſoner for Chriſtes cauſe. For ye defence wherof he wholy beſtowed & reſigned himſelf in ſuch ſort as he forbad his wife to ſue for his deliuery, & whẽ other of his friends had by ſuite almoſt obtained it, he diſcouraged them, ſo that they did not folow their ſuite, as by this letter following may appeare.

Ann. 1555. Februa-

¶ A letter of M. Saunders to his wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord.

Entirely beloued wife, euen as vnto mine owne ſoule and body, ſo do I dayly in my harty prayer wiſh vnto you, for I doo dayly, twiſe at the leaſt in this ſort remember you. And I do not doubt (deare wife) but that both I and you, as we be written in the booke of life, ſo we ſhall together enioy the ſame euerlaſtingly, through the grace and mercy of God our deare father, in hys ſonne our Chriſt. And for this preſent life, let vs wholy appoynt our ſelues to the will of our good God, to glorifie him either by life or by death, and euen that ſame mercifull Lord make vs worthy to honour him either way as pleaſeth him Amen. I am mery, I thanke my God and my Chriſt, in whome and through whome I ſhall (I knowe) be able to fight a good fight, and finiſhe a good courſe, and then receiue the crowne which is layde vp in ſtore for me, and all the true Soldiours of Chriſt. Wherefore wife, let vs in the name of our God, fight luſtely to ouercome the fleſh, the deuil and the world. What our harneſſe and weapons be in this kind of fight, looke the 6. vnto the Epheſians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no ſuite for me in any wiſe. Thanke you knowe whome, for her moſt ſweete and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my iourney whether I am paſſing. God ſend vs all good ſpeede, and a ioyfull meeting. I haue too fewe ſuche frends to further me in that iourney, which is in deede the greateſt friendſhip. The bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

2.Tim.4.

M.Saunders would haue no ſuite made for him.

A priſoner in the Lord Laurence Saunders.

This his conſtancie is ſufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, Antichriſt and death. To neither of theſe did he geue place: but by ſuffering their malice, got ye victory ouer them both. One of the conflictes which he had with Antichriſt & hys members, I haue gathered out of a letter of his own hand writing. It was with Doctour Weſton, a man, whome though I ſhould prayſe, yet would all good and godly mẽ worthely diſprayſe. Of this the ſaid Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which he ſent to one of his frends, which wrote to him to knowe what Doct. Weſton dyd at the Marſhalſey: whereunto he thus aunſwereth.

Antichriſt and death two enemies.

M. Weſton came to conferre with M. Grimoald. What he hath cõcluded with him, I know not: I wiſh it may be to Gods glory, Amen, Amen. M. Weſton of his gentlenes viſited me, & offred me frendſhip in his worldly wily ſort, &c. I had not ſo much good maner, as to take it at his hãd: for I ſaid, that I was well inough, and ready cherefully to abide the extremity, to keepe thereby a good cõſcience. You be a ſleepe in ſin (ſaid he.) I would awake (quoth I) and do not forget Vigilate & orate. i. Watch & pray. What church was there, ſaid he 30. yeres paſt? What church was there, quoth I, in Helias time? Ioane of Kent, ſayd he, was of youre Church. No, quoth I, we did cõdemne her as an heretick. Who was of your Church, ſayd he 30. yeares paſt? Such (quoth I) as that Romiſh Antichriſt, and his rabble haue reputed and condemned as herretickes, Wickliffe, ſayd he, Thorpe, Oldcaſtle, &c. Yea, quoth I, with many moe, as ſtoryes do tell.

Doct. Weſton and M. Gri. would dyed both about the Coronation of Q. Elizabeth.

The church goeth not alwayes by number.

The B. of Rome hath, ſayd he, long tyme played a part in your rayling ſermons: but now be ye ſure he muſt play another maner of part. The more pitie, quoth I, and yet ſome cõfort it is to ſee how that the beſt learned, wiſeſt, & holieſt of you all, haue heeretofore had him to play a part likewiſe in your ſermõs & writings, though now to pleaſe the world, you do turne with the weathercocke. Did you euer ſaid he, heare me preach againſt the Biſhop of Rome? No (quoth I) for I neuer heard you preach. But I trowe you haue ben no wiſer then other, &c. with more about the Sacrament. Pray, pray. God keepe your family & bleſſe it.

Wincheſters booke De Vera Obedientia.

What a bleſſed taſte thys good man had of Gods holy ſpirit, by diuers and ſondry his letters may right wel appeare to him that is diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame: whereof certayne we haue here thought good, the Lord willing, to expreſſe, firſt beginning with that whiche he wrote out of the Marſhalſey to D. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, priſoners for the like cauſe of Chriſt in Oxford.

What a bleſſed taſte of M. Sanders had of chriſtes comforts:

To the Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſh. Ridley, and M. Latimer, being priſoned in Oxford.

In my moſt humble wiſe I ſalute you moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, Immortall thanks and euerlaſting prayſes be geuen vnto that our father of mercies, Whiche hath made vs meete to be pertakers of the inheritaunce of Saintes in light, whiche hath deliuered vs from the power of darckenes, and hath tranſlated vs into the kingdome of his beloued Sonne, by whome we haue redemption through his bloud. &c O moſt happy eſtate, that in an vnſpeakable wiſe our life is hid with Chriſt in God: But whenſoeuer Chriſt which is our life ſhall ſhew himſelfe, then ſhall we alſo appeare with him in glory. In ye meane ſeaſon as our ſight is but in a glaſſe, euen in a darcke ſpeaking, ſo wee walke in fayth, not after outward appearaunce; the which fayth although for want of outward appearaunce, reaſon reputeth but as vaine, yea the choſen of God do know the effect thereof, to bring a more ſubſtanciall taſte and liuely fruition of very felicitie and perfect bleſſednes, then reaſon can reach or ſences receaue. By this fayth we haue in our profeſſion all good thinges, yea euen them whiche the eye hath not ſeene, and the eare hath not heard, neither hath entred the hart of man. &c. Then if hereby we doe enioy all good thinges, it followeth that we muſt needes poſſeſſe, haue and enioy you moſt reuerend Fathers, who be no ſmall part of our ioy and good thinges geuen vs of God.

M.Saunders writeth to D. Cranmer Ridley, &c.

Coloſſ. 1.

Coloſſ. 3.

1. Cor. 13.

Eſay. 54.

1. Cor. 2.

We heretofore haue had the fruition of you by bodily preſence to our inexplicable benefite, prayſed be that oure gracious God therfore. And nowe in ſpirite we haue the experience of vnſpeakeable cõfort, by your reuerẽt fatherhoodes for ye in this ſo glorious ſort, ye become a towne ſet vpon a hill, a candle vpon a candleſtick, a ſpecktacle vnto ye world both to the Angels & vnto men. So ye, as we to our great cõfort do feele, you alſo may aſſuredly ſay with ſaint Paule, ye the things which happẽ vnto vs, do chance vnto ye great furtherance of the Goſpell, ſo ye our bonds in chriſt are manifeſt, not onely throughout all the iudgement hall, but in all wholl Europa, in ſo much that many of the brethren in the Lord, being incouraged through our bondes, dare more boldly ſpeake the word without feare. And herein as you haue with ſ. Paule greatly to reioyce, ſo we doe reioyce with you, and we do in deed with you geue thãks for this worthy excellẽt fauour of our God, towards you, that chriſt is thus magnified in you, yea and hereafter ſhal be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death. Of which thing truely wee are aſſured in our prayers for you, and miniſtring of the ſpirite. And although for your owne partes Chriſt is vnto you life, and death aduantage, and that your deſire is (as in deede it were better for you) to be looſed, and to be wt Chriſt, yet for the Church of Chriſt were it much more neceſſary, that ye ſhuld abide in the fleſhe. Yea that mercifull God, euen for his Chriſtes ſake graunt that ye may abide and continue for the furtheraunce of the Churche and reioyſing of fayth, that the reioyſing therof may be the more aboundant through Ieſus Chriſt by your reſtoring, Amen, Amen.

Math. 5.

1. Cor. 4.

Phil. 1.

Phil. 1.

Phil. 1.

But if it ſeeme better otherwiſe vnto the diuine wiſedome ye by ſpeedy death he hath appoynted you to glorifie him, ye Lords wil be done. Yea euen as we do reioyce both on your behalfes, & alſo on our own, that God is magnified by life, and ſhuld be more aboundantly glad for the continuance thereof: ſo we ſhall no leſſe reioyce to haue ye ſame wrought by death. We ſhall geue thankes for this honour geuen vnto you, reioyſing that ye are accounted worthye to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt, and that it is geuen to you of God, not onely that ye ſhoulde beleue in him, but alſo that ye ſhould ſuffer for his ſake. And herein we ſhal haue to reioyce in the behalfe of the Churche of Chriſt, whoſe faith may be the faſter fixed vpon Gods veritie, being confirmed with three ſuch worthy witneſſes. Oh thankes be to God for this his vnſpeakeable gift.

And now moſt reuerend Fathers, that you may vnderſtand the trueth of vs and our eſtate howe we ſtand in the lord, I do aſſure your reuerences, partly by ye I perceaue by ſuch of our brethren as be here in bondes wt me, partly by that I heare of them which be in other places, & partly by that inward experiẽce which I moſt vnworthy wretch haue of Gods good comfort (more aboundance whereof I knowe there is in others) you may be aſſured (I ſay) by Gods grace, that you ſhall not be fruſtrate of your hope of

An.no 1555. February.

The conſtant minde of a chriſtian ſouldiour.

Epheſ.1.
Rom.8.
Galat.4.
2.Cor.4.
Pſal.116.
Phil.1.

our conſtaunt continuance in the cheerefull confeſſion of Gods euerlaſting veritie. For euen as we haue receyued the word of truth, euen the Goſpell of our ſaluation, wherein we beleeuing, are ſealed with the holy ſpirit of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritaunce (the which ſpirite certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath ſente the ſpirite of his Sonne into our harts, crying, Abba, Father) ſo after ſuch portion as God meaſureth vnto vs, we with the whole Church of Chriſt, and with you reuerend fathers, receiuing the ſame ſpirite of faith, according as it is written: I beleeued, and therefore I haue ſpoken. We alſo beleeue, and therefore ſpeake. For the which we in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, hauing euen ſuch a fight as we haue ſeene in you and haue heard of you, are in no wiſe afraid of our aduerſaries.

1.Cor.4.
2.Cor.4.
2.Tim.2.
2.Cor.4.

And foraſmuch as we haue ſuch an office, euen as God hath had mercy on vs, we go not out of kind, but euẽ with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the Goſpell, knowing moſt certainely that though we haue this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellency of thys power might be Gods and not ours: yet ſhall we not be daſhed in pieces: For the Lord will put his hand vnder vs. [When] we are troubled on euery ſide, yet are we not without ſhift: [When] we are in pouerty, we are not vtterly without ſome thing: [When] we ſuffer perſecution, we are not forſaken therein: [When] we are caſt downe, yet we ſhall not periſh: but to communicate with our ſweete Sauiour Chriſt in bearing the croſſe, it is appointed vnto vs, that euen with him alſo we ſhall be glorified. For it is a true ſaying: If we be dead with him, we ſhall alſo liue with him: If we be patient, we ſhall alſo raigne with him: If we deny him, he ſhall alſo deny vs. Wherefore be we of good cheere, alwayes bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Ieſus, that the life of Ieſus might appeare alſo in our body: For we know that he which raiſed vp the Lorde Ieſus, ſhall rayſe vp vs alſo by the meanes of Ieſus, and ſhall ioyne vs to himſelfe together with you. Wherefore we are not weeried: but though our outward man periſh, yet the inwarde man is renued day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentane and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternall weight of glory vnto vs, while we looke not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene. For the things which are ſeene, are temporall: but the things which are not ſeene, are eternall.

Eſay.12.
Pſal.48.

We teſtifie vnto you, Reuerend fathers, that we drawe theſe waters with ioy out of the wels of the ſauiour. And I truſt we ſhall cõtinually with you bleſſe the Lord, & giue thanks to the Lord out of the wels of Iſraell, we truſt to bee merry together at that greate Supper of the Lambe, whoſe ſpouſe we are by faith, and there to ſing that ſong of euerlaſting Haleluyah, Amen. Yea come Lorde Ieſu. The grace of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt be with you, Amen.

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to bee ſeene how this worthy warriour prepared himſelfe to the appoynted fight, and to keepe hys ſtandyng in Chriſtes Campe.

Laurence Saunders to his wyfe.

M.Saunders letter to his wife.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt Ieſu our onely comfort, in all extreme aſſaultes, Amen.

2.Cor.4.
2.Cor.4.
2.Cor 4.
Pſal.126.

Fayne woulde this fleſh make ſtrange of that which the ſpirit doth embrace. Oh Lorde how loth is this loitering ſluggard to paſſe forth in Gods pathe? It fantaſieth forſooth much feare of fraybugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forwarde by the reyne of Gods moſt ſweete promiſe, and of hope which pricketh on behinde, great aduenture there were of fainting by the way. But bleſſed, and euerlaſtingly bleſſed be that heauenly father of ours, who in his Chriſt, our ſufficient Sauiour, hath vouched ſafe to ſhine in our harts, that he geueth vs the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Ieſu Chriſt: and hauing this treaſure in our earthen veſſels, that the excellencie of the power might be Gods, and not oures, we are [according to his good will] troubled on euery ſide, yet are we not without ſhift: we are in pouerty, but yet not without that is ſufficient: we ſuffer perſecution, but are not forſaken therein: we are caſt downe, neuertheles we periſh not: we beare in the body the dying of the Lorde Ieſus, that the life of Ieſus might alſo appeare in our body. Wherefore by the grace of our Chriſt we ſhall not be weeried, neyther be diſmayed by this our probation thorough the fire of affliction, as though ſome ſtrange thing had hapned vnto vs: but by his power we ſhall reioyce, in as much as we are pertakers of Chriſtes paſſion, that when he doth appeare, we may be merry and glad, knowing that our tribulation which is momentane and light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternall weyght of glory vnto vs, while wee looke not on the thyngs which are ſeene, but on the things whych are not ſeene. They that ſowe in teares, ſhall reape in ioye. For he that goeth on his way weeping and ſcattering his good ſeede, ſhall doubtles come agayne wyth ioy, and bring his whole ſheaues wyth him. Then, then ſhall the Lorde wipe awaye all teares from our eyes. Then, then ſhall be brought to paſſe that ſaying which is written: Death is ſwallowed vp in victory. Death, where is thy ſting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thankes be to God which hath geuen vs the victory thorough our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

1.Cor.15.
1.Pet.4.
Actes.17.
Gods promiſes firme and ſure.
Eſay.49.
1.Pet.5.
Iob.13.
Truſt vpon Gods promiſe.
Pſal.103.

In the meane ſeaſon it remayneth for vs to followe S. Peters bidding: Let them (ſayth he) that are troubled according to the will of God, commit their ſoules to him with well doing, as a faithfull Creator and Maker. He is our maker: we are his handyworke and creatures, whome now when he hath made, he doth not leaue and forſake as the ſhipwright doth the ſhyp, leauing it at all aduentures to be toſſed in the tempeſt, but he comforteth vs his creatures, and in him we liue, moue, and haue our being: ye not onely that, but now that he hath in his deare Chriſt repayred vs, being before vtterly decayed, and redeemed vs, purging vs vnto himſelfe as a peculiar people by the bloud of hys Sonne he hath put on a moſt tender good will and fatherly affection toward vs, neuer to forget vs: vnto whome by ſuch promiſes he hath plighted ſuch faith, that though it were poſſible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender harted to the childe of her wombe, yet may not it be that his faithfull beleeuers ſhould be forgotten of him. He biddeth vs to caſt our care on him, and ſayth, that aſſuredly he careth for vs. And what though for a ſeaſon he doth ſuffer vs to be turmoyled in the troublous tempeſtes of temptation, and ſeemeth as in much anger to haue geuen vs ouer, and forgotten vs? let not vs for all that leaue off to put our truſt in him, but let vs with godly Iob conclude in our ſelues and ſay: Euen though he kill mee, yet will I put my truſt in him. Let vs with the bleſſed Abraham in hope, euen contrary to hope by beliefe, leane vnto that our louing Lord, who though for our probation, he ſuffereth vs to be afflicted, yet will he not bee alwayes chiding, neyther keepeth he his anger for euer: for he knoweth whereof wee bee made: he remembreth that we are but duſt. Wherefore, looke how high the heauen is in compariſon of the earth, ſo great is his mercy towards them which feare him. Looke how wide the Eaſt is from the Weſt, ſo farre hath he ſet our ſinnes from vs. Yea, like as a father pitieth his owne children, euen ſo is the Lorde mercifull vnto them that feare him. Oh what great cauſe of reioycing haue we in our moſt gracious God? we can not but burſt foorth into the prayſing of ſuche a bountifull benefactour, and ſay with the ſame Pſalmiſt: Prayſe the Lord O my ſoule, and all that is within me prayſe his holy name. Praiſe the Lord O my ſoule, and forget not all his benefites.

Saunders godly bequeſt to his wife.
Experience of the comfortes of Chriſt in priſon.

Deare wife, riches haue I none to leaue behynde mee, wherewith to endow you after the worldly maner. But that treaſure of taſting how ſweete Chriſt is vnto hungry conſciences (whereof I thanke my Chriſt, I do feele part, and would feele more) that I bequeath vnto you, and to the reſt of my beloued in Chriſt, to retaine the ſame in ſenſe of hart alwayes. Pray, pray, I am merry, and I truſt I ſhall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the deuils in hell. I vtterly refuſe my ſelfe, and reſigne my ſelfe vnto my Chriſt in whome I knowe I ſhall be ſtrong as he ſeeth needefull. Pray, pray, pray.

Laurence Saunders.

M.Saunders wife not ſuffered to ſpeake with him in priſon.

As the ſayde Mayſter Saunders was in priſon, ſtrayte charge was geuen to the keeper, that no perſon ſhoulde ſpeake with him. His wife yet came to the priſon gate with her yong childe in her armes, to viſit her huſband. The keeper, though for his charge, hee durſt not ſuffer her to come into the priſon, yet did he take the little babe out of her armes, and brought him vnto his father. Laurence Saunders ſeeing him, reioyced greatly, ſaying, that he reioyſed more to haue ſuch a boy, then he ſhould if two thouſand pounde were geuen him. And vnto the ſtanders by, which prayſed the goodlines of the childe, he ſayde: what man fearing God woulde not loſe this life preſent, rather then by prolonging it heere, he ſhould adiudge this boy to be a Baſtard, his wife a whoore, and himſelfe a whooremonger? Yea, if there were no other cauſe, for which a man of my eſtate ſhould looſe his life, yet who woulde not geue it, to aduouch this child to be legitimate, and his mariage to be lawfull and holy?

I do (good Reader) recite thys ſaying, not onely to let thee ſee what he thought of Prieſts mariage: but chiefly to let all maryed couples and parents learne to beare in their boſome true affections: naturall, but yet ſeaſoned with the true ſalt of the ſpirit, vnfaynedly and throughly mortifyed to do the naturall workes and offices of maried couples & parents, ſo lõg as with their doing they may keepe Chriſt with a free confeſſing faith, in a conſcience vnfoyled: otherwiſe, both they and their owne liues are ſo to be forſaken, as Chriſt required thẽ to be denyed, and geuẽ in his cauſe, And now to come to the examination of this good man, after that the Biſhops had kept him one whole yeare and a quarter in priſon, at the length they called him, as they did the reſt of his felowes, openly to be examined. Of the which his firſt examination the effect and purpoſe thus foloweth.

Anno 1555. Februa-

Saūders ught to amnati

¶ The Examination of Laurence Saunders.

Prayſed be our gracious God who preſerueth his from euill, and doth geue them grace to auoyd al ſuch offẽces as might hinder his honor, or hurt his Church. Amen.

Being conuented before the Queenes moſt honorable Councell, ſundry biſhops being preſent, the Lord Chauncellor began to ſpeake in ſuch forme as foloweth.

The firſt examination of M. Saū-

L.Chan. It is not vnknowne, that you haue bene Priſoner for ſuch abhominable hereſies & falſe doctrine as hath bene ſowne by you: and now it is thought good that mercy be ſhewed to ſuch as ſeeke for it. wherfore if now you will ſhew your ſelfe conformable, & come home agayne, mercy is ready. we muſt ſay that we haue fallen in maner all: but now we bee riſen agayne, and returned to the Catholicke Churche, you muſt riſe with vs, and come home vnto it. Geue vs forthwith a direct aunſwere.

Saun. My Lord, and my Lordes all, my it pleaſe your honors to geue me leaue to aunſwere with deliberation.

Chan. Leaue of your painting and pride of ſpeech. For ſuch is the faſhion of you all to pleaſe your ſelues in your glorious wordes. Aunſwere yea or nay.

Saund. My Lord, it is no time for me now to paynt. And as for pride, there is no great cauſe why it ſhould be in me. My learning I confeſſe to be but ſmall: and as for riches or worldly wealth I haue none at all. Notwithſtanding it ſtandeth me in hand to aũſwere to your demaund circumſpectly, conſidering that one of theſe two extreme perilles are like to fall vpon me: the loſing of a good conſcience, or ẏ loſing of this my bodye and life. And I tell you trueth, I loue both life and liberty, if I coulde enioy them without the hurt of my conſcience.

M. Saunders ſtandeth vpon his conſcience.

Chan. Conſcience? you haue none at all, but pride and arrogancy, * deuiding your ſelues by ſingularitye from the Church.

* Of this diuiding ſpeaketh S. Paule. 2. Cor. 6. & Ierem. 50. Come out and diuide your ſelues from them. &c.

Saun. The Lorde is the knower of all mens conſciences. And where your Lordſhip layeth to my charge thys deuiding my ſelfe from the Church (as you do mean, & is now among you concluded vpon, as I do vnderſtand) I do aſſure you, that I lyue in the fayth wherein I haue bene brought vp ſithens I was 14. yeare old: being taught that the power of the B. of Rome is but vſurped, wt many other abuſes ſpringing thereof. Yea this I haue receiued euen at your hands that are here preſent, as a thing agreed vpon by the Catholicke Church and publicke authority.

Argument. Conſcience ought neuer to ſtand vpon things vncertaine. Tyme and authoritye be thinges of them ſelues alwayes vncertayne. Ergo, conſcience ought neuer to ſtand vpon tyme and authoritye.

Chan. Yea mary, but I pray you, haue you receiued by cõſent and authoritye all your hereſies of the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar?

Saund. My Lorde, it is leſſe offence to cutte off an arme, hand, or ioynt of a man, then to cut of the head. For ẏ man may liue though he do lacke an arme, hand or ioynt, and ſo he can not without his head. But you, all the whole ſort of you, haue agreed to cut of the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, whome now you will haue to be the head of your Church agayne.

Bish. of Lond. And if it like your Lordſhip, I haue his hand agaynſt the bleſſed ſacrament. How ſay you to that?

Saunders. What I haue written, that I haue written, and farther I will not accuſe my ſelfe. Nothing haue you to burden me withall, for breaking of your lawes ſince they were in force.

Chan. Well, you be obſtinate and refuſe liberty.

Saund. My Lord, I may not buy liberty at ſuche a pryce: but I beſeech your honours to be meanes to the Queenes Maieſty for ſuche a pardon for vs, that wee may liue and keep our conſciences vnclogged, and we ſhal liue as moſt obedient ſubiectes. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for my ſelfe, that by Gods grace I will abide the moſte extremity that man may do againſt me, rather then to do againſt my conſciẽce.

A lawfull requeſt, but it could not be heard. To liue as the Scripture leadeth vs, is not to liue as we liſt.

Chan. Ah Syrra, you will liue as you liſt. The Donatiſtes did deſire to liue in ſingularity: but in deed they were not meete to liue on earth: no more be you, and that ſhall you vnderſtand within theſe ſeuen dayes: and therefore away with him.

The Papiſts deſire the Pope, the Proteſtants Chriſt one to be their head: now which of theſe two are moſt like the Donatiſtes.

Saund. Welcome be it, whatſoeuer the will of God ſhalbe, either life or death. And I tell you truely, I haue learned to dye. But I exhort you to beware of ſheading of innocent bloud. Truly it will cry. The ſpirite of God reſt vpon all your honors. Amen. This is the ſumme and forme of my firſt examination. Pray. &c.

This examination being ended the officers led him out of the place, & ſo ſtayed vntill the reſt of his fellowes were likewiſe handled, that they might haue them altogether to priſon. Laurence Saunders ſtanding among the Officers ſeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and ſpake freely, warning them wel of that, which by their falling from Chriſt to Antichriſt they did deſerue, & therefore exhorting them by repentaunce to riſe agayne, and to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger fayth, to confeſſe him to the end, in the defiance of Antichriſt, ſinne, death & the deuill: ſo ſhould they reteine the Lordes fauor and bleſſing.

M. Saunders freely preacheth Chriſt.

The copyes of his other examinations and excommunication came to the hands of ſuch as do keepe them ſtill in ſecret. But in them as he defended Chriſtes cauſe ſtoutly: ſo warned he the Phariſaicall biſhops and papiſts, of their hypocriſy and tyranny freely, and cleared himſelfe of theyr vniuſt quarrellinges truly. After he was excommunicate and deliuered to the ſecular power, he was brought by the Shriffe of London, to the priſon called the Counter in his owne pariſh in Breadſtreet: wherat he reioyced greatly, both becauſe he found there a felow priſoner, M. Cardmaker, with whom he had Chriſtian and comfortable conference, and alſo becauſe out of priſon, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his pariſhners: as by his letter here after ſhall be declared.

The 2. examination here lacketh.

M. Saunders deliuered to the ſecular power.

The fourth day of February, the Biſhop of London did come to the priſõ where he was, to diſgrade him: which when he had done, Laurence Saunders ſayd to hym: I thanke God I am none of your Church.

M. Saunders degraded by B. Boner.

The day folowing in the morning, the Shriffe of London deliuered him to certayn of the Queenes Gard, which were appoynted to cary him to the City of Couẽtry, there to be burned. The fyrſt night they came to S. Albõs, wher M. Grimoald (a man who had more ſtore of good giftes, then of great conſtancy) did ſpeake with him.

M. Saunders caryed to Couentrye.

After M. Saunders had geuen him a leſſon meete for his lightnes, he tooke a cup into his hand, and aſked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald by his ſhrugging and ſhrinking ſhewing what he was, ſayd: of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you: but of that other which you meane, I will not promiſe you. Well ſayde Mayſter Saunders, my deare Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath begon to me of a more bitter cup then mine ſhall be, and ſhall I not pledge my moſt ſweet Sauior? yes I hope.

After they were come to Couentry, the ſame nyght a poore Shoomaker, which was wont to ſerue him of ſhoes, came to him after his maner & ſayd: Oh my good Mayſter God ſtrengthen and comfort you. Gramercies good Shoomaker, quoth M. Saunders, and I pray thee to pray for me: for I am the vnmeeteſt man for this high office, that euer was appoynted to it: but my gracious God and deare father is able to make me ſtrõg enough. That ſame night he was put into the common Gayle among other priſoners, where he ſlept litle, but ſpent the night in prayer, and inſtructing of others.

A good Shoomaker of Couentrye.

M. Saunders put in the common gayle in Couentrye.

The next day, which was the viij. of Februarye hee was lead to the place of execution in the Parcke without the City, going in an old gowne, and a ſhyrte, barefooted, and ofttimes fell flat on the ground and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the Officer appoynted to ſee ẏ execution done, ſayd to M. Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the Queenes Realme with falſe doctrine and hereſy: wherfore thou haſt deſerued death (quoth he) but yet if thou wilt reuoke thy hereſies, ẏ Queene hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom M. Saunders aunſwered: it is not I, nor my fellow Preachers of Gods truth, that haue hurt the queenes Realme, but it is your ſelfe, & ſuch as you are, which haue alwayes reſiſted Gods holy word: it is you which haue & do marre the Queenes Realme. I do hold no hereſies, but the doctrine of God, the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt: that hold I, that beleue I, that haue I taught, and that will I neuer reuoke. With that this Tormentor cryed, away with him and away from him went M. Saunders with a mery courage towardes the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he roſe vppe agayn, & tooke the ſtake to which he ſhuld be chayned, in his armes and kiſſed it ſaying: welcome the Croſſe of Chriſt, welcome euerlaſting life: and being faſtened to the ſtake, and fire put to him, full ſweetely he ſlepte in the Lord.

February. 8. M. Saunders brought to the place of execution.

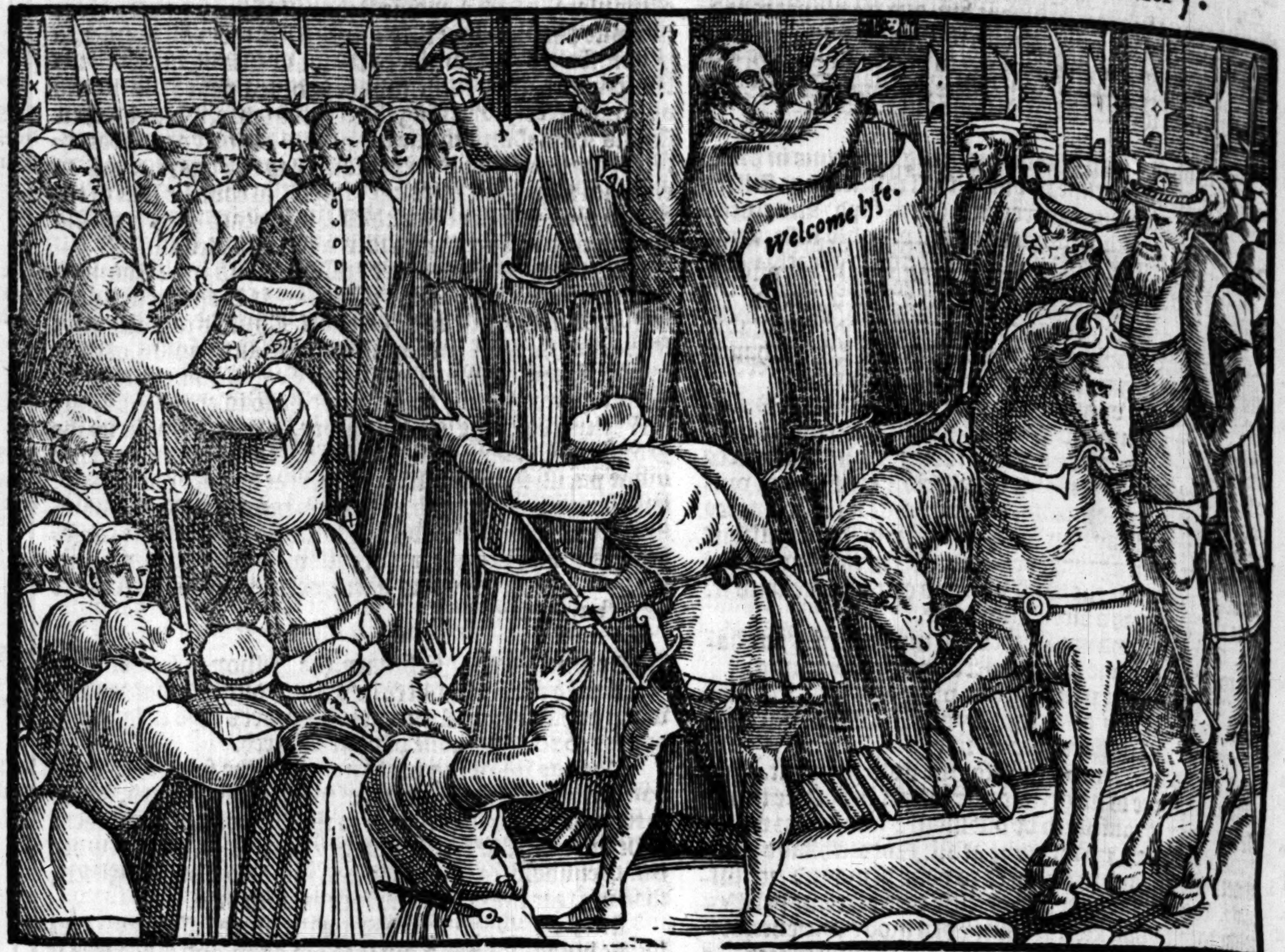
Achab accuſeth Elias for troubling Iſraell.

And thus haue ye the full hiſtory of Laurẽce Saũders whom I may well compare to S. Laurence, or any other of the old Martyrs of Chriſtes church: both for the feruent zeale of the truth and Goſpell of Chriſt, & the moſt cõſtant pacience in his ſuffering: as alſo for the cruell tormẽts that

The burning of Mayſter Laurence Saunders at Couentry.

The Martyrdome of M. Laurēce Saunders at Couentry.

Anno 1555. February. 8.


Welcome lyfe.

he in his paciēt body did ſuſteine in the flame of fire. For ſo his cruell enemies hādled him, that they burned him with greene wodde, & other ſmothering rather then burning fewell, which put him to much more payne, but that ye grace & moſt plentifull conſolation of Chriſt, which neuer forſaketh his ſeruauntes, & gaue ſtrength to S. Laurence gaue alſo pacience to this Laurence, aboue all that his tormēts could worke agaynſt: which well appered by his quiet ſtāding, and ſweet ſleeping in the fire, as is aboue declared.

A Compariſon betweene Laurence Saunders and S. Laurence.

Strength to ſtād in Chriſt, commeth not of our ſelues, but it is the gift of God.

And to the intent to geue to the Reader to vnderſtand the better, what the grace of Chriſt worketh in his ſeruāts, and agayne, how feeble & weake man is of himſelfe without this grace geuen from aboue, though he ſeeme otherwiſe neuer ſo ſtout in himſelfe: here therfore haue we added to the foreſayd ſtory of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble, was betwene him and Doct. Pendleton, by the example whereof, ſuch as ſtand, may learne to vnderſtād and take heed with due feare, & not to bragge: to leane to the grace of the Lord, and not to preſume in themſelues.

¶ A certayne communication betwene Laurence Saunders and Doctor Pendleton, in the beginning of Queene Maries tyme.

Talke betweene M. Saunders, & Doctour Pendleton.

D. Pendleton a ſtout preacher of the Goſpel in K. Edwards tyme.

At the chaunge of religion in this Realme, and the beginning of Queene Maries reigne, Doct. Pendleton and M. Saunders men knowne to the world, not only to be learned but alſo earneſt preachers of Gods word in the time of bleſſed king Edward, met together in the country, where by occaſiō they were at that time, and as the caſe required (by reaſon of the perſecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was beſt for them to doe, in ſo daungerous a ſeaſon. Whereupon M. Saunders, whether thorow very frayltie in deed of his weake fleſh that was loth to taſt of the bitter cup, though his ſpirite were ready therunto: or whether it were vpon the miſtruſt of hys owne ſtrength, that he might receiue the greater power from aboue: or whether it were not for any one of the ſayd cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch like: ſemed ſo fearefull and feeble ſpirited, that he ſhewed himſelfe in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at leaſt to betake him to his heeles and to fly the land, rather then to ſticke to his profeſſion and abyde by his tackle: ſo as Doctor Pendleton (who on the cōtrary ſide, appeared not ſo big of body, but as bold in courage, nor ſo earneſt before in Pulpit, but as ready now to ſeale the ſame with his bloud) toke vppon him to comfort M. Saūders all that he might, admoniſhing him (as he could do it very well) not to forſake cowardly his flocke when hee had moſt neede to defend the wolfe from them: neither hauing put to his hand to Gods plough, to ſtart now aſide and geue it ouer, nor yet (that is worſt of all) hauyng once forſakē Antichriſt, to fall either himſelfe, or to ſuffer others by his example to returne to theyr vomit agayne.

M. Saunders timerous in Chriſtes cauſe at the firſt beginning.

After which and ſuch like perſwaſions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good hart vnto him: what man (quoth he) there is a great deale more cauſe in me to be afeard thē in you, for as much as you ſee, I cary a greater maſſe of fleſh vpon my backe then you do, and being ſo laden with a heauier lumpe of this vile carkaſe ought therfore of nature to be more frayle then you: & yet ſayth he, I will ſee the vttermoſt drop of this greaſe of mine moltē away, & the laſt gobbet of this fleſh conſumed to aſhes, before I wil forſake God and his truth. Whereunto the other anſwering but litle, & wiſhing that almighty God would geue him more ſtrength thē he preſently felt in himſelfe, acknowledging his owne weaknes, conſēted notwithſtanding though it were ſomewhat fayntly, to ioyne wt him in the profeſſion of the Goſpell, & ſo to go vp to London & ſet forth the ſame: wherupon they gaue ech other theyr hāds.

The ſtout bragges of D. Pendleton at the firſt beginning.

God geueth ſtrength where feblenes is confeſſed.

Now when they were come to London, Lord what a great chaunge was there betwene theſe two perſons. The poore feeble faynt harted Saunders, by the goodnes of almighty God, taking hart of grace to him, ſeking the ſame in humility, boldly & ſtoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightely beating down Antichriſt, & luſtely preached Chriſt his maiſter, for the which he afterward ſuffered moſt willingly as is afore declared. Wheras on the other ſide, Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the ſequele, had bene more ſtout in words, the conſtant in deeds, and a greater bragger, then a good warrior) folowed Peter ſo iuſtly in crackes, howſoeuer he did in repentance (which God onely knoweth) that he came not ſo ſone to London but he chaūged his tipet, & playd ye Apoſtata, preaching in ſtede of ſound doctrine, nothing almoſt but errors & lyes, aduauncing Antichriſt, and ouerthrowing poore Chriſt with all his mayne: ſo his former boldnes came to nothing, vnleſſe it were a contrarye key, becomming of a faithfull paſtour a falſe runnagate, and of a true Preacher a ſworne enemy of Gods euerlaſting Teſtament, to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of hys flock, and the vtter vndoing, without Gods greater mercy, of his owne ſoule. Wherein are ſpecially to be conſidered the deepe and maruellous iudgementes of God, who as he can and doth make ſtrong whome it pleaſeth hym, when he ſeeth his time, & moſt commonly ſuch as appeare moſt feebleſt: euen ſo contrariwiſe throweth he downe o-

Example how feeble man is of himſelfe without the Lord ſupport him.

ther ſome, ſeeme they neuer ſo ſtoute, ſtand they neuer ſo much in theyr own conceites. Wherefore let him that ſtandeth take heed he fall not, and let vs pray continually to almighty God though we haue fayth, that he will helpe and encreaſe our faith, that in him it may be made ſtrōg, which of it ſelfe is ſo weake, that it is ſone ouerthrowne.

This bleſſed man of God enduring long time in priſō, did not paſſe all his time in vnfruitfull idlenes, but ſtill frō time to time did viſite his frendes (as is ſayd) and eſpecially his wife, with many letters full of godly inſtruction & conſolatiō. All which letters it ſhall not be greatly needful here to inſert, partly becauſe they are to be found in the booke of letters, partly becauſe we entēd alſo (if God will) to proſecute the ſame more at large. In the meane time it ſhall not be out of place here preſētly to cōprehend certein of them, as in order foloweth.

¶ A letter ſent to M. Farrar Biſhop of S. Dauids, Doctor Tailor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot.

GRace, mercy and peace, in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. &c. Good fathers and deare brethren, be thankefull vnto our moſt gracious God, which hath preſerued vs, and ſhall (I doubt not) from blaſpheming his bleſſed name: yea not onely that, but alſo ex ore Infantium & Lactentium perficiet laudem. &c. i. Out of the mouthes of very babes and ſucklinges ſhall be ſet forth his praiſe. They offer vs (forſooth) our liberty & pardon, ſo that we will riſe with them vnto that faith which we with them were fallen from. Yea or no, muſt be anſwered in haſt. They will not admit any needfull circumſtances, but all (as heretofore) moſt deteſtable & abhominable. Riſe with them we muſt vnto the vnity. And pardon (ſay I) of me muſt not be ſo dearely purchaſed. A pardon I deſire, for to liue with an vnclogged cōſcience. The Donatiſts (ſay they) ſought for ſuch ſingularitye, but they were not meete to liue in a common wealth, no more be you, as you ſhall ſhortly vnderſtand. Wherefore away with him, yea the time was named within thys ſeuennight. There be 12. houres in the day. Death ſhall be wellcome (ſay I) as being looked for long ſince, and yet do iuſtice ye were beſt, for Abels bloud cryed ye wot what. The ſpirite of God be vpon you, & God ſaue your honors. Thus departed I from thē. Pray, pray. Ah, ah, puer ſum, neſcio loqui. i. I am a childe, I cannot ſpeake. My brother P. ſhall ſhew you more herein. By him ſend me word what you haue done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I woulde gladly meet with my good brother Bradford, on the backeſide about 11. of the clock. Before that time I cannot ſtart out, we haue ſuch outwalkers, but then will they be at dinner.

Yours as you know, Laurence Saunders.

¶ A Letter which L. Saunders did write to his wife, and others of the faythfull, after his condemnation to the fire, written the laſt of Ianua. 1555. out of the Counter in Breadſtreete.

THe grace of Chriſt, wt the cōſolation of the holy Ghoſt, to the keeping of fayth and a good conſcience, cōfirme & keep you for euer veſſels to Gods glory. Amen.

Oh what worthy thanks can be geuē to our gracious God for his vnmeaſurable mercies plētifully poured vpō vs: And I moſt vnworthy wretch cannot but poure forth at this preſent, euē from the bottom of my hart, the bewayling of my great ingratitude and vnkindnes towardes ſo gracious a good God and louing father. I beſeech you all, as for my other many ſinnes, ſo eſpecially for that ſinne of my vnthankefulneſſe, craue pardon for me in your earneſt prayers, commendyng me to Goddes greate mercyes in Chriſt.

To number theſe mercies in particular, where to number the drops of water which are in the Sea, the ſandes on the ſhore, the ſtarres in the ſkie, O my deare wife & ye the reſt of my frends, reioyce with me, I ſay reioyce wt thankſgeuing for this my preſent promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnifye my God, not onely in my life by my ſlow mouth & vncircūciſed lips, bearing witnes vnto hys truth, but alſo by my bloud to ſeale the ſame, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church. And as yet I teſtify vnto you, that the comfort of my ſweete Chriſt doth driue from my phantaſy the feare of death. But if my deare huſband Chriſt doe for my triall, leaue me alone a little to my ſelfe, alas I know in what caſe I ſhalbe thē: but if for my proofe he do ſo, yet am I ſure he will not be long or far from me. Though he ſtand behind the wal & hide himſelfe (as Salomō ſaith in his miſtical ballet) yet will he peep in by a creſt to ſee how I do. He is a very tender harted Ioſeph: though he ſpeak roughly to his brethren & handle thē hardly, yea & threatē greuous bondage to his beſt beloued brother Beniamin: yet can he not conteyne hymſelfe from weeping with vs & vpon vs, with falling on our neckes, and ſweetly kiſſing vs. Such, ſuch a brother is our Chriſt vnto vs all. Wherfore haſten to go vnto him as Iacob did with his Sonnes and family, leauing theyr country and acquayntaunce. Yea this our Ioſeph hath obteined for vs, that Pharao the Infidell ſhall miniſter vnto vs chariots, wherin at eaſe we may be caryed to come vnto him: as we haue experience how our very aduerſaries do help vs vnto our euerlaſting bliſſe by theyr ſpedy diſpatch, yea & how all thinges haue bene helpinges hereunto: bleſſed be our God. Be not afrayde of fraybugges which lye in the way. Feare rather the euerlaſting fire: feare the Serpent which hath that deadly ſting of which by bodely death they ſhall be brought to taſte which are not grafted in Chriſt, wanting fayth and a good conſcience, and ſo are not acquaynted with Chriſt the killer of death. But oh my deare wyfe and frends, we, we whom God hath deliuered from the power of darckues, and hath tranſlated vs into the kingdom of his deare ſonne, by putting of the old man, & by fayth putting on the newe, euen our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, his wiſedome, holines, righteouſnes & redēption, we I ſay haue to triumph agaynſt the terrible ſpitefull Serpent the Deuill, ſinne, hell, death & damnation. For Chriſt our braſen Serpent hath pulled away the ſting of this ſerpēt, ſo that now we may boldly in beholding it ſpoyled of his ſting, triūph & with our Chriſt & al his elect ſay: Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victory? Thankes be to God, who hath geuen vs [Vs] the victory through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

Chriſt a ſweete brother vnto vs.

The ſting of death pluckt out. 1. Cor. 15.

Wherfore be mery my deare wife, & all my deare felow heyres of the euerlaſting kingdome alwayes remēber the Lord. Reioyce in hope, be pacient in tribulation, continue in prayer, & pray for vs now appoynted to the ſlaughter yͭ we may be vnto our heauenly father, a fat offering, and an acceptable ſacrifice. I may hardlye write to you. Wherfore let theſe few words be a witnes of commendations to you and all them which loue vs in fayth, and namely vnto my flocke, among whom I am reſident by Gods prouidence, but as a priſoner.

To this his flocke the pariſh of Alhallowes in Bredſtreate. He wrote alſo a fruitefull letter, exhorting and charging them to beware of the Romiſh religiō and conſtantly to ſticke to the truth which they had confeſſed.

And although I am not ſo amōg them, as I haue bene to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth god now preach vnto them by me, by this my impriſonment and captiuity which now I ſuffer among them for Chriſtes Goſpelles ſake, bidding them to beware of the Romiſh Antichriſtian religion and kingdome, requiring and charging them to abide in the trueth of Chriſt, which is ſhortly to be ſealed wt the bloud of theyr Paſtor: who though he be vnworthy of ſuch a miniſtery, yet Chriſt there high paſtor is to be regarded, whoſe truth hath bene taught thē by me, is witneſſed by my chaynes, & ſhall be by my death, through the power of that hye paſtor. Be not carefull good wife, caſt your care on the Lord, & commend me vnto him in repentant praier, as I do you and our Samuell: whom euen at the ſtake, I will offer as my ſelfe vnto God. Fare ye wel all in Chriſt, in hope to be ioyned wt you in ioy euerlaſting. This hope is put vp in my boſome, Amen, Amen, Amen, Pray, pray.

✱ An other Letter to Mayſtres Lucy Harington, a Godly Gentlewoman, and frendly to him in his troubles.

An other comfortable letter of M. Saunders.

YOur moſt gentle commendations, whereof this meſſenger made remembraunce vnto me, was for two cauſes very comfortable. Firſt, for that thereby I vnderſtood of the ſtate of your health & bodely welfare, for the which I gene thankes vnto god, who graunt the long continuaunce thereof to his honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I will dayly ſay, Amen. And farther I was refreſhed by the expreſſing of your mindefull frendſhip towardes me farre vnworthy thereof. Wherein I take occaſion of much reioyſing in our ſo gracious a God and mercifull Father, who as he hath in his vnmeaſurable mercy by fayth handfaſted vs his choſen childrē vnto his deare ſonne our Chriſt, as the ſpirituall ſpouſe of ſuch an heauēly huſband: ſo he linketh vs by loue one vnto an other, being by that bond cōpact together with charitable readines to doe good one vnto another: ſo that firſt to the glory of our God & his Chriſt, thē to our owne ioying in the teſtimony of a good cōſcience, and laſt of all to the ſtopping of the mouthes and confuſiō of our aduerſaries, we beare the badge as the right ſpouſe of our Chriſt, which himſelfe noted in this ſaying: Herein ſhall all men know that ye be my Diſciples, if ye loue one another. Then farther, by this bond of mutuall loue, is ſette forth the fatherly prouidence of God towardes vs his children, that though it be he that careth for vs, in whome we liue, mooue and be, who feedeth all fleſh with bodely ſuſtenaunce, yet hath he appoynted vs in theſe preſent neceſſities, to ſtand in his ſted one vnto another. Wherein is not onelye ſette forth our dignitye, but alſo that vnſpeakeable accorde and vnitye among vs the many members in his myſticall body. And though that either

The true badge of Chriſt. Iohn 13.

ther for lacke of ability, or els through diſtaunce of place, power and oportunity of helping one another doe fayle: yet wonderfull is the working of Gods children through the ſpirite of prayer, as wherby they fetch all heauenly influence frō Chriſt theyr celeſtiall head by his ſpirite, to be meaſured ſeuerally as maye ſerue to the mayntenaunce of the whole body.

Iohn. 15.

Prayer diſtributeth Gods bleſſinges from one to an other.

Thus doth our faythfull prayer which we make one for another, diſtribute and ſcater Gods bountiful bleſſinges both ghoſtly and bodely, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arme may not reach forth ſuch Gods riches. According herunto I well perceiue and vnderſtand your readines to do good vnto all, and eſpecially I haue experience of your readye good will towardes me in your hartye deſire, to ſtretch out your helping hand to relieue my lacke, and of your helpe to be extended to me in the other ſpirituall ſort by your good prayer, I doubt not: as I alſo ther in aſſure you of my helpe, being all that I may do, & yet the ſame not ſo much as I would do.

My need concerning bodely neceſſaryes, is as yet furniſhed by Gods prouiſion, ſo that I am not driuē to any extremity wherfore to be burdenous to you, as your gentle beneuolence prouoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If God make me worthy to be eis witnes at this preſent, in geuing this corruptible body to burne for the teſtimony of his truth, it is enough for me to ſay vnto you that I haue a poore wife and childe whom I loue in the Lord, and whome I know for my ſake you will tender when I am departed hence. &c.

¶ An other Letter to Mayſtres Lucy Harrington.

Another letter of M. Saunders.

GRace and mercy. &c. It happeneth oftentimes that aboundaunce of matter bringing with it much vehemēcy of frendly affection, maketh men dumbe, and euen then chiefely when there is moſt eger purpoſe of ſpeaking, ſilence doth ſuppreſſe, and cauſeth the party ſo affected, vnperfectly to expreſſe that he goeth about to vtter. Such impediment by much matter mingled with feruency of affection, feele I ſome times in my ſelfe, letting the vtteraunce either by tongue or writing, of the aboundance of the hart. The loue of our moſt gracious God and heauenly Father beſtowed vpon vs in the merites of Chriſt our Sauiour, who may by cōceipt of minde comprehend, paſſing in deed al vnderſtanding? much leſſe may the ſame by any meanes be expreſſedly vttered. And as ſuche heauenlye bleſſinges which by fayth we fetch from aboue, be inexplicable: ſo is it hard to vtter, when the faythfull are ſet on fire by loue, theyr readines to reach forth and to geue by charity, as by fayth they haue receiued. But (alas) we cary this treaſure in earthen veſſels. Many times fayth is feble and then loue loſeth her feruor. Pray we therfore, Lord encreaſe our fayth, and loue forthwith will be on fire. And immortall thanks be geuen vnto our God, who in our Chriſt hath beſtowed vpon vs the firſt fruites of his ſpirite, who cryeth in our hartes Abba Father. And (as S. Paule ſayth) ſeeing we haue the ſame ſpirit of fayth, according as it is written: I beleeued and therfore haue I ſpoken? we alſo beleue and therfore we ſpeak: Yea God knoweth this ſpirit putteth in vs a minde to ſpeake, but in attempting therof, we are driuen wt Moyſes to ſay: O Lord, I am ſlow mouthed and of vncircumciſed lippes: & with Ieremy: O Lord I cannot ſpeake.

2. Cor. 4. Fayth many tymes in vs is feeble.

Rom 8. 1. Cor 4.

Exod. 8. Ierome. 1.

Albeit that this infancy reſtraineth the opening of ſuch aboundance of hart in my tender Chriſtian duety to be declared towardes you, yet I beſeech you let this be ſetled in your vnderſtanding, that as S. Paule expreſſeth vnto his Corinthians that they were in his hart eyther to liue or to dye, with many other ſuch ſayings vttered vnto them and the Galathians, expreſſing his vehement affection towardes them: ſo in ſome part I would be like affected towardes all Gods children, and eſpecially towardes you whō I know in Chriſt, and to whom I will not ſay, how muche I am indebted. I thanke you for your great frendſhyp and tender good will towards my wife: yea that good gracious God recompēce you, which may worthely with the more counteruayle the ſame, and fulfill that which lacketh of thankefull duety in vs. And becauſe of that which heretofore I haue conceiued of you and of your more then naturall loue towardes me and mine: I make my ſelfe thus bold to lay this burdē vpon you, euen the care and charge of my ſayd poore wife I meane, to be vnto her a mother & miſtres to rule and direct her by your diſcreet counſell. I know ſhe conceiueth of you the ſame that I do, & is thankfull vnto God with me for ſuch a frend, and therfore I beſeech you euen for Chriſtes ſake, put neuer from you thys frendly charge ouer her, whether I liue longer or ſhortly depart. But to charge you otherwiſe, thankes be to God, neither I neither ſhe haue any ſuch extreme need: if we had I would be as bold with you as mine owne mother. I beſeech you geue my harty ſalutations vnto M. Fitzwilliams & my good Lady, with thankes alſo for my poor wife and child, the Lord recompence them.

M. Saunders commēdeth the care of his wyfe to Maiſtres Harrington.

Laurence Saunders.

Furthermore as touching his fatherly care & affection to his wife and his litle child, the ſame is liuely ſet forth in an other letter, which he did write to his wife: wherein he admoniſhed her, that ſhe ſhould not reſort much to the priſon, where he was, for daūger of trouble that might enſue, the tenour of whoſe letter here foloweth.

¶ An other letter to his wife with a certayne remembraunce to M. Harrington and M. Hurland.

An other letter of M. Saunders to his wyfe.

GRace and comfort. &c. Wife you ſhall do beſt not to come often vnto the Grate where the Porter may ſee you. Putte not your ſelfe in daunger where it needes not: you ſhall I think, ſhortly come farre enough into daunger by keeping fayth and a good conſcience: which (deare wife) I truſt you do not ſlacke to make reckoning and account vpon by exerciſing your inward man in meditation of Gods moſt holy word, being the ſuſtenance of the ſoule, and alſo by geuing your ſelfe to hūble prayer: for theſe two thinges be very meanes how to be made members of our Chriſt meet to inherite his kingdome.

Do this (deare wife) in earneſt, and not leauing of, and ſo we two ſhall with our Chriſt and all his choſen children, enioye the mery world in that euerlaſting immortality, wheras here will nothing els be found but extreme miſery, euen of them which moſt greedely ſeeke this worldlye wealth: and ſo, if we two continue Gods children graffed in our Chriſt, the ſame Goddes bleſſing which we receiue, ſhall alſo ſettle vpon our Samuel. Though wee do ſhortly depart hence and leaue the poore Infant (to our ſeeming) at all aduentures, yet ſhall he haue our gracious God to be his God: for ſo hath he ſayd and he cannot lye: I will be thy God (ſayth he) and the God of thy ſeed. Yea if you leaue him in the wildernes deſtitute of all helpe, being called of God to do his wil either to dye for the confeſſion of Chriſt, either any worke of obedience: that God which heard the crye of the litle poore infant of Agar Saraes handmayden and did ſuccour it, wil do the like to the child of you or any other fearing him and putting your truſt in him. And if we lacke fayth (as we do in deede many times) let vs call for it and we ſhall haue the encreaſe both of it and alſo of any other good grace needefull for vs: and be mery in GOD, in who alſo I am very mery and ioyfull. O Lord what great cauſe of reioycing haue we, to thinke vpō that kingdome which he voucheth ſafe for his Chriſtes ſake, freely to geue vs, forſaking our ſelues and folowing him? Deare wife this is truely to follow him, euen to take vp our croſſe and followe him, and then as we ſuffer with him, ſo ſhall we raigne with him euerlaſtingly. Amen. Shortly, Shortly, Amen.

Care of children in tyme of neceſſitye ought to be left to God who will not ſee the forſaken.

What it is to follow Chriſt.

⁂ An other letter to his wife, to Mayſter Robert Harrington, M. Hurland. &c.

An other letter of M. Saunders to his wyfe & other frendes.

GRace and comfort, &c. Deare wife reioyce in our gracious God, and his our Chriſt, and geue thankes moſte humbly and hartely to him for this dayes worke, that in any part I moſt vnworthy wretch ſhould be made worthy to beare witnes vnto his euerlaſting verity, which Antichriſt with his, by mayne force (I perceyue) and by moſte impudēt pride and boaſting, wil go about to ſuppres. Remember God alway my deare wife, and ſo ſhal gods bleſſing light vpon you and our Samuel. O remēber alwaye my wordes for Chriſtes ſake: be mery and grudge not agaynſt God, and pray, pray. We be al mery here thanks be vnto God, who in his Chriſt hath geuē vs great cauſe to be mery, by whō he hath prepared for vs ſuch a kingdom, and doth and will geue vnto vs ſome litle taſte therof, euē in this life, and to all ſuch as are deſirous to take it. Bleſſed (ſayth our Chriſt) be they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſſe, for ſuch ſhall be ſatisfied. Let vs goe, yea let vs run to ſeeke ſuch treaſure, and that with whole purpoſe of hart to cleaue vnto the Lord, to finde ſuche Riches in his heauenly word through his ſpirite obteyned by prayer. My deare Frendes and Brethren Mayſter Harryngton and Mayſter Hurland, pray, pray. Spiritus quidem promptus eſt, caro autem infirma. That is. The ſpirite is ready, but the fleſhe is weake. When I looke vpon my ſelfe, quid ego ſtupidus & attonitus habeo quod dicam, niſi illud Petri, exi a me Domine quia homo peccator ſum? i. Being aſtoniſhed and confoūded, what haue I els to ſay, but thoſe wordes of Peter: Lorde goe from me: for I am a ſinnefull man? But then feele I that ſweete comforte: Lucerna pedibus meis verbum Domini, lumen ſemitis meis, & hæc mea eſt conſolatio in humilitate mea. i. The word of the Lorde is a Lanterne to my feete, and a light vnto my pathes: and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then waxe I bolde with the ſame Peter to ſay: Domine ad quem ibimus, verba vitæ æternæ habes. i. Lord to whom ſhall we go? thou

Math. 5.

Luke 5. Pſal. 119.

Iohn. 6.

thou haſt the wordes of euerlaſting life. This comfort haue I when the geuer thereof doth geue it. But I looke for battels with the roote of vnfaythfulnes, the which I feele in me, will moſt egerly geue vnto my conſcience, when wee come once to the combate. We be (I wene) within the ſound of the trumpe of our enemies. Play ye that be abroade the part of Moyſes, Orantes in omni loco, ſuſtollentes puras manus. i. Praying in all places, lifting vp pure hands, & Gods people ſhal preuayle: yea our bloud ſhalbe theyr perditiō who do moſt triumphantly ſpill it, & we then being in the handes of our God, ſhall ſhine in his kingdome, and ſhal ſtād in great ſtedfaſtnes, agaynſt thē which haue dealt extremely with vs: And whē theſe our enemies ſhall thus ſee vs, they ſhalbe vexed with horrible feare, and ſhall wonder at the haſtines of the ſodaine health, and ſhall ſay with themſelues, hauing inward ſorow and mourning for very anguiſh of minde: Theſe are they whom we ſometime had in deriſion and ieſted vpon: we fooles thought their liues to be verye madnes, and their end to be without honor, but loe how they are accounted among the childrē of God. The bleſſing of God be with you all. &c.

Laurence Saunders.

¶To his wife a litle before his burning.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Deare wife be mery in the mercies of our Chriſt, & ye alſo my deare frendes. Pray, pray for vs euery body. We be ſhortly to be diſpatched hēce vnto our good Chriſt. Amen, Amen. Wife I would you ſent me my ſhyrte which you know wherunto it is cōſecrated. Let it be ſowed down on both the ſides and not open. Oh my heauenly father look vpon me in the face of thy Chriſt, or els I ſhall not be able to abide thy countenaunce: ſuch is my filthines. He will do ſo, and therefore I will not be afrayd what ſinne, death, hell, and damnation cā do agaynſt me. O Wyfe alwayes remember the Lord. God bleſſe you, yea he will bleſſe thee good wyfe & thy poore boy alſo: onely cleaue thou vnto him, and he will geue thee all thinges. Pray, pray, pray.

¶An other letter to M. Robert and Iohn Glouer, written the ſame morning that he was burnt.

GRace and conſolatiō in our ſweet Sauiour Chriſt, Oh my deare brethren whom I loue in the Lord, being loued of you alſo in the Lord, be mery & reioyce for me, now ready to go vp to that mine inheritance, which I my ſelfe in deed am moſt vnworthy of, but my deare Chriſt is worthye, who hath purchaſed the ſame for me with ſo deare a price. Make haſte my deare brethrē, to come vnto me, that we may be mery, eo gaudio quod nemo tollet a nobis. i. with that ioy which no man ſhall take from vs. Oh wretched ſinner that I am, not thankefull vnto this my Father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a veſſell vnto his honor. But O Lorde, nowe accept my thankes, though they proceed out of a not enough circumciſed hart. Salute my good Siſters your wiues, & good ſiſters feare the Lord. Salute all other that loue vs in the trueth. Gods bleſſing be with you alwayes. Amen. Euen now towards the offering of a burnt ſacrifice. O my Chriſt helpe, or els I periſh.

Laurence Saunders.

¶After theſe godly letters of M. Saūders diuerſly diſperſed and ſent abroad to diuers of the faythfull cōgregation of Chriſt, as is afore to be ſeene, now in the latter end we will adioyne two other letters writtē not by Mayſter Saunders the martyr, but by M. Ed. Saunders the Iuſtice his brother, ſent to this our Saunders in priſon, although conteining no great matter worthy to be knowen, yet to this intent that the reader may ſee in theſe two brethren ſo ioyned in nature, and ſo deuided in religiō, ẏ word of the Lord verified, truely ſaying: brother ſhalbe agaynſt brother. &c. as by the contentes of theſe two letters folowing may appeare.

¶A letter of Iuſtice Saunders, to his brother Laurence.

AFter my moſt harty commendations, theſe bene to acertaine you that I haue ſpoken with M. Baſſet, who hath ſhewed me that 4. pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his handes of the profite of the Prebēdary at York, the which you ſhall haue although as he thinketh, it was not due vnto you by the reaſon of your depriuation: before it was due. As concerning your conſcience in Religion, I beſeech God it maye be lightened by the holy Ghoſt, and that you may alſo haue the grace of the holy Ghoſt to follow the counſell of Sainct Paule to Timothe. 2. Recte tractare verbum veritatis. That is. To handle rightly the word of truth. Wherein you ar diſſenting from many holy and Catholicke men, eſpecielly in the Sacramēt, maketh me in my conſcience to condemne yours. For althoughe I haue not hitherto fancied to read Peter Martir & other ſuch. &c. yet haue I had great deſire to ſee Theophilact and diuers others of his ſort and opinion both notable and holy Fathers (if any credit be geuen to the writinges of our auncient fathers before vs) and ſurely the ſentences and iudgementes of two or three of them hath more confirmed my conſcience then 300. of the Zuinglians or as many of the Lutherians can or ſhould doe. Thus in haſte willing to reliefe you to the end you might conuert, if you ſhall need towardes your finding, if you ſhall require it of me, you ſhall vnfaynedly finde my mony ready, as knoweth our Lord, who ſend vs al thinges good for vs. Scribled this Thurſday by your brother and petitioner to God.

Iuſtice ſayth. Audi Alteram partem.

Ed. Saunders

¶An other letter of Iuſtice Saunders to his brother wherein he ſeeketh to winne him to Popery.

Greeting with proteſtation.

AS nature and Brotherly loue with godly charity requireth, I ſend you by theſe letters (quantum licet) moſt harty cōmendation, being ſory for your faule and your diſobedient handlyng of your ſelfe towardes my Lord Chauncellour, who I aſſure you, mindeth your good and preſeruation, if you can ſo conſider and take it. I would be glad to know whether you haue not had with you of late ſome learned men to talk with you by my Lord Chaūcellours appoyntment, and howe you can frame your ſelfe to reforme your errour in the opinion of the moſte bleſſed and our moſt comfortable Sacrament of the aultar. Wherein I aſſure you I was neuer in all my life more better affected then I am at thys preſent, vſing to my great comforte hearing of Maſſe, and ſomewhat before the ſacring time, the meditation of S. Barnard, ſette forth in the third leafe of this preſent booke. The accuſtomable vſing whereof I am fullye profeſſed vnto during my life, and to geue more fayth vnto that confeſſiō of holy Barnarde, thē to Luther &c. or Latimer. &c. for that the antiquity, the vniuerſality of the open church, and the conſent of all holy Saynts and Doctors do confirme the ſame, acertayning you that I haue bene earneſtly moued in mine owne cōſcience theſe ten or twelue daies paſt, and alſo betweene God and my ſelfe, to mooue you to the ſame, moſt earneſtly deſiring you, and as you tender my naturall, godly, or frendly loue towardes you, that you would read ouer thys booke this holy time, at my requeſt, although you haue alreadye ſeene it, and let me know wherein you cannot ſatiſfy your owne conſcience. Thus fare you well for this time.

He meaneth peraduenture when the Sanctus is ſinging for then the Organs pipe merely and that may giue ſome Comfort. The meditatiōs of S. Bernard ſent by Iuſtice Saunders to his brother.

By yours, from Seriantes Inne.
Ed. Saunders.

¶The Life and Martyrdome of Mayſter Iohn Hooper Byſhop of Worceſter and Glouceſter, burnt for the defence of the Goſpell at Glouceſter. Anno. 1555. February. 9.

The ſtory, life. & Martyrdome of M. Iohn Hooper Martyr.

IOHN HOOPER Student and graduate in the Vniuerſity of Oxford, after the ſtudy of other ſciēces, wherin he had aboundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods ſecret vocation was ſtyrred with feruēt deſire to the loue & knowledge of the Scriptures. In the reading & ſearching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence, ioyned with earneſt prayer: ſo neyther wanted vnto him the grace of the holy Ghoſt to ſatiſfy his deſire, and to opē vnto him the light of true Diuinity.

Thus Mayſter Hooper growing more and more by Gods grace, in ripenes of ſpirituall vnderſtanding, and ſhewing withall ſome ſparckles of his feruent ſpirite being then about the beginning of the 6. Articles, in the time of king Henry the 8. fell eſtſoones into diſpleaſure & hatred of certaine Rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to ſtyr coales agaynſt him, wherby, and eſpecially by the procurement of Doctour Smith, he was compelled to voyde the Vniuerſity, and ſo remouing from thence, was retayned in the houſe of Syr Thomas Arundell, and there was his Steward, till the time that Syr Thomas Arundell hauing intelligence of his opinions & religion, which he in no caſe did fauor, and yet exceedingly fauouryng the perſon & conditions of the man, found the meanes to ſend him in a meſſage to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, writing his letter priuily to the biſhop, by conference of learning to do ſome good vpon him, but in any caſe requiring him to ſend home his ſeruaunt to him agayne.

M. Hooper ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Wincheſter after long conference with M. Hooper 4. or 5. dayes together, when he at length perceiued that neither he could do that good, which he thought, to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to M. Arundels

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dels requeſt, he ſent home his ſeruaunt agayne, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breſt a grudging ſtomacke agaynſt Mayſter Hooper ſtill.

M. Hooper forced to auoyd the houſe of Syr Thomas Arundel.

M. Hooper flyeth agayne out of England.

It followed not long after this (as malice is alwayes working miſchiefe) that intelligence was geuen to maſter Hooper to prouide for himſelfe, for daunger that was working agaynſt him. Whereupon M. Hooper leauing M. Arundels houſe, and borowing an horſe of a certayne friend (whoſe life he had ſaued a little before from the gallowes) tooke his iourney to the Sea ſide, to goe to Fraunce, ſending backe the horſe agayne by one, which in deede did not deliuer him to the owner. M. Hoper being at Paris taried there not long, but in ſhort time returned into England agayne, & was retayned of M. Sentlow, till the tyme that he was agayne moleſted and laid for: whereby he was cōpelled (vnder the pretence of being Captayne of a ſhip going to Ireland) to take the Seas, and ſo eſcaped he (although not without extreme perill of drowning) through Fraunce, to the higher partes of Germany. Where he entring acquaintance with the learned men, was of thē frendly and louingly entertained, both at Baſil, and eſpecially at Zuricke of Mayſter Bullinger, being his ſinguler frend. Where alſo he maryed his wife, which was a Burgonian, and applied very ſtudiouſly the Hebrue toung.

Great frendſhip betweene M. Bullinger and M. Hooper.

At length when God ſaw it good to ſtay the bloudy time of the 6. Articles, and to geue vs king Edward to raygne ouer this Realme, with ſome peace and reſt vnto the goſpel, amongeſt many other Engliſh exiles, which thē repared homeward, M. Hooper alſo, moued in cōſciēce, thought not to abſent himſelfe, ſeing ſuch a time and occaſion offered to helpe forward the Lordes worke, to the vttermoſt of his ability. And ſo comming to M. Bullinger, and other of his acquayntance in Zuricke (as duty required) to geue them thankes for their ſinguler kindnes and humanity toward him manifolde wayes declared, with like humanity agayne purpoſed to take his leaue of thē at his departing, & ſo did. Unto whom M. Bullinger agayne (who had alwayes a ſpeciall fauor to M. Hooper) ſpake on thys wyſe: M. Hooper (ſayde he) although we are ſory to parte wyth your company for our own cauſe, yet much greater cauſes we haue to reioice, both for your ſake, and eſpecially for the cauſe of Chriſtes true religion, that you ſhall now returne out of long baniſhment vnto your natiue country agayn, where not onely you may enioy your own priuate liberty but alſo the cauſe and ſtate of Chriſtes Church by you may fare the better as we doubt not but it ſhall.

M. Bullingers wordes to M. Hooper at his departing from Zurick.

An other cauſe moreouer why we reioyce with you & for you, is this, that you ſhal remoue not only out of exile, into liberty: but you ſhall leaue here a baren, a ſower, & an vnpleaſant country, rude & ſauage, and ſhal go into a land flowing with milke and hony, repleniſhed wͭ al pleaſure & fertility. Notwithſtanding wͭ this our reioycing, one feare and care we haue, leaſt you being abſent, and ſo far diſtant from vs, or els comming to ſuch aboundance of wealth & felicity, in your new welfare, and plenty of al thinges, and in your floriſhing honors, where ye ſhall come peraduenture to be a Biſhop, and where ye ſhall finde ſo many new frends, you wil forget vs your old acquaintance & welwillers. Neuertheles howſoeuer you ſhall forget & ſhake vs of, yet this perſwade your ſelfe, yͤ we will not forgette our old frend & felow M. Hooper. And if you ſhal pleaſe not to forget vs agayne, then I pray you let vs heare from you.

The aunſwere of M Hooper to M. Bullinger.

Whereunto M. Hooper aunſwering agayne, firſt gaue to M. Bullinger and the reſt right harty thankes, for that their ſinguler good will, and vndeſerued affection, appearing not onely now, but at all times towardes him: declaring moreouer that as the principal cauſe of his remouing to his countrey was the matter of Religion: ſo touching the vnpleaſantnes and barrennes of that cōtry of theirs, there was no cauſe therein, why he could not finde in his hart to continue his life there, as ſoone as in any place in the world, and rather then in his owne natiue country, if there were nothing els in his cōſcience that moued hym ſo to do. And as touching the forgetting of his olde frendes, although (ſayd he) the remembraunce of a mans countrey naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but god had bleſſed his country of England with many great commodities: yet neither the nature of country nor pleaſure of commodities, nor newneſſe of frendes ſhould euer induce him to the obliuion of ſuch frendes and benefactors, whō he was ſo intirely bound vnto: & therfore you ſhall be ſure (ſayde he) from time to time to heare from me, and I wyll write vnto you as it goeth with me. But the laſt newes of al I ſhal not be able to write: for there (ſayd he) taking M. Bullinger by the hand) where I ſhall take moſt paynes, there ſhall you heare of me to be burned to aſhes: and that ſhalbe the laſt newes which I ſhal not be able to write vnto you, but you ſhall heare it of me, &c.

M. Hooper propheſyeth of himſelfe.

To this alſo may be added an other like prophetical demonſtration, forſhewing before the maner of his Martyrdome wherewith he ſhould glorify God, which was this. When M. Hooper being made Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter ſhould haue his armes giuē him by the Herold, as the maner is here in Englād, euery Biſhop to haue his armes aſſigned vnto him (whether by the appoyntment of M. Hoper, or by yͤ Herold I haue not certainly to ſay) but the armes which were to him allotted was this: a Lambe in a fiery buſh, and the ſunne beames from heauen deſcending downe vpon the Lambe, rightly denoting (as it ſeemed) the order of his ſuffering, which afterward folowed.

A note M.Hoo armes figur his Mar dome.

But now to the purpoſe of our ſtory againe: Thus whē M. Hooper had taken his farewell of M. Bullinger and his frends in Zurick, he made his repayre agayn into England in the raigne of K. Edward 6. where he comming to London vſed continually to preach, moſt tymes twyſe, at leaſt once euery day, and neuer fayled.

M.Hoo returne agayne England.

In his Sermons, according to his accuſtomed maner, he corrected ſinne, and ſharply inueyed agaynſt the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuſes of the Churche. The people in great flockes and companies, daily came to heare his voyce, as the moſt melodious ſounde and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the Prouerbe ſayth: Inſomuch that often times, when he was preaching, the Church ſhoulde be ſo ful, that none could enter further then the dores therof. In his doctrine he was earneſt, in tong eloquent, in the ſcriptures perfect, in paynes indefatigable.

The note ble dilig of M.Hoo per in prea ching.

Moreouer, beſides other his giftes and qualities, this is in him to be maruelled, that euen as he began ſo he cōtinued ſtill vnto his liues end. For neither could his labour and payne taking breake him, neither promotion change him, neither daynty fare corrupt him. His life was ſo pure and good, that no kinde of ſclaūder (although diuers went about to reproue it) could faſtē any fault vpō him. He was of body ſtrong, his health whole & ſoūd, his wit very pregnant, his inuincible pacience able to ſuſtein whatſoeuer ſiniſter fortune and aduerſity could doe. He was conſtant of iudgement, a good Iuſticer, ſpare of dyet, ſparer of wordes, & ſpareſt of time. In houſekeping very liberall, and ſometime more free then his liuing would extend vnto. Briefly, of all thoſe vertues and qualities required of S. Paul in a good B. in his epiſtle to Timothe, I know not one in this good B. lacking. He bare in countenaūce & talke alwayes a certayn ſeuere & graue grace, which might peraduenture be wiſhed ſometimes to haue bene a little more populare and vulgarlike in him: but he knewe what he had to doe beſt himſelfe.

The ſingu ler vertues of M.Hoo per deſcri bed.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honeſt Citizen, & to me not vnknowne, which hauing in himſelfe a certaine cōflict of conſcience, came to his doore for coūſell: but being abaſhed at his auſtere behauior durſt not come in, but departed, ſeking remedy of his trobled minde at other mens hands, which he afterward by yͤ help of almighty God did finde & obtayn. Therefore in my iudgement, ſuch as are appointed & made gouernours ouer yͤ flock of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their life, maners, countenaunce and externall behauiour, as neither they ſhew themſelues to familiar & light whereby to be brought in contempt, nor in the other ſide agayn, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, then appertayneth to the edifiyng of the ſimple flocke of Chriſt. Neuertheles, as euery mā hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, ſo this diſpoſition of fatherly grauitie in this man neither was exceſſiue, neither did hee beare that perſonage which was in him without great conſideratiō. For it ſeemed to him peraduenture, that this licencious and vnbridicled life of the common ſorte, ought to be chaſtened, not onely with wordes and diſcipline, but alſo with the graue and ſeuere countenaunce of good men.

Diſcretion how mini ſters and preachers ought to behaue themſelue

After he had thus practiſed himſelf in this popular and common kinde of preaching: at length, and that not wythout the great profite of many, he was called to preache before the kinges maieſtie, and ſoone after, made Biſhop of Glouceſter by the kinges commaundement. In that office he continued two yeares, and behaued himſelf ſo wel, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and ſharpe correcting of ſinne) could finde no fault with hym: and after that he was made Biſhop of Worceſter.

M. Hoo made Bi ſhop of Glo and Wo ceſter.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter & vnlucky contention concerning the ordering and conſecration of Biſhops, and of their apparell, with ſuche other like trifles, began to diſturbe yͤ good & lucky beginning of this godly byſhop. For notwithſtanding that godly reformation of religion then begon in the church of England, beſides other ceremonies more ambitious then profitable or tending to edification, they vſed to weare ſuche garmentes and apparell as the popiſh Biſhops were wont to doe: firſt a Chymere, & vnder

Popiſh a tyre.

der that a white Rochet: then a Mathematicall cap wyth iiij. angles, deuiding the whole world into foure partes. Theſe trifles tending more to ſuperſtition thē otherwyſe, as he could neuer abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſwaded to weare them. For this cauſe he made ſupplication to the kings maieſtie, moſt humbly deſiring his highnes, eyther to diſcharge him of the biſhopricke, or els to diſpenſe with him for ſuch ceremoniall orders. whoſe petition the kyng graunted immediatly, writyng his letter to the Archb. after this tenour.

¶The Kings letters or grant, for the diſpenſation of Iohn Hooper elected B. of Glouceſter, written to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury and other Biſhops.

Right reuerend father, and right truſty and welbeloued, wee greete you well. Whereas we by the aduiſe of our Counſail, haue called and choſen our right welbeloued and well worthy, M. Iohn Hooper, profeſſor of Diuinitie, to be our B. of Glouceſter, as well for his great knowledge, deepe iudgement and long ſtudy, both in the ſcriptures and other prophane learnyng, as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready vtteraunce and honeſt life for that kynd of vocation: to the intent all our louing ſubiectſ which are in his ſayd charge and elſewhere, might by his ſound and true doctrine, learne the better their duety towards God, theyr obedience towards vs, and loue towards their neighbors: from conſecrating of whom, we vnderſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would haue you omit and let paſſe certayne rites and ceremonies offenſiue to his conſcience, wherby ye thynke you ſhould fall in Premunire of lawes: we haue thought good by the aduiſe aforeſaid, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all maner of dangers, penalties and forfaitures, you ſhould run and be in any maner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge therfore.

Yeuen vnder our ſignet at our Caſtell of Wyndſore, the 5. of Auguſt, the 4. yeare of our raigne.

Ed. Somerſet.	W. Paget.
W. Wiltſhire.	An. Wingfield.
W. North.	N. Wootton.

Beſides this letter of the kyng, alſo the Earle of Warwicke (which was afterward D. of Northumberland) adioined his letter to the foreſayd Archb. of Cant. to this purpoſe and effect, that M. Hooper might not be burdened with the oth vſed then commonly in the conſecratiō of biſhops, which was againſt his conſcience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be ſeene, as followeth.

After my moſt harty commendatiōs to your grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable things, wherein this bearer my L. elect of Glouceſter, craueth to be borne withall at your hands, you would withſafe to ſhew him your graces fauour the rather at this my inſtaunce: which thyng partly, I haue taken in hand by the kyngs Maieſties owne motion. The matter is wayed by his highnes, none other but that your grace may facily condeſcend vnto. The principal cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid bearer with an oth burdenous to his conſcience. And ſo for lacke of tyme I commit your grace to the tuition of almighty God. From Weſtm. the 23. of Iuly, 1550.

Your graces moſt aſſured louing friend. I. Warwike.

¶Both this graunt of the King, and alſo the Earles letters aforeſayd notwithſtandyng, the biſhops ſtill ſtoode earneſtly in the defence of the foreſayd ceremonies, ſayeng it was but a ſmall matter, and that the fault was in the abuſe of the thyngs, and not in the thyngs themſelues: addyng moreouer, that he ought not to be ſo ſtubburne in ſo light a matter, and that his wilfulneſſe therein was not to be ſuffered.

To be ſhort, whileſt both parties thus contended about this matter more then reaſon would, in the meane tyme occaſion was geuen, as to the true Chriſtians to lament, ſo to the aduerſary to reioyce. In concluſion, this Theologicall contentiō came to this end, that the biſhops hauyng the vpper hand, M. Hooper was faine to agree to this condition, that ſometymes he ſhould in hys Sermon ſhewe himſelfe apparelled as the other Biſhoppes were. Wherefore, appoynted to preach before the king as a new player in a ſtrange apparel, he commeth forth on the ſtage. His vpper garment was a long ſcarlet Chymere downe to the foote, and vnder that a white linnen Rochet that couered all his ſhoulders. Upon his head he had a Geometriall, that is, a foure ſquared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cauſe of ſhame the ſtraungenes hereof was that day to that good preacher, euery mā may eaſily iudge. But this priuate contumely and reproch in reſpect of the publike profite of the Church, which he onely ſought, hee bare and ſuffered paciently. And I would to God in lyke maner, they which tooke vpon them the other part of that tragedy, had yelded their priuate cauſe whatſoeuer it was to the publike concord and edifieng of the Church: for no man in all the Citie, was one haire the better for that hote contention.

I will name no body, partly for that hys oppugners beyng afterwards ioyned in the moſt ſure frendſhip with him, in one & for one cauſe, ſuffred martyrdome, and partly for that I commonly vſe accordyng to my accuſtomed maner, to keep my pen from preſumptuous iudging of any perſon: yet I thought to note the thyng for this conſideration, to admoniſh the reader hereby, how wholeſome & neceſſary the croſſe of Chriſt is ſometyme in the church of Chriſt, as by the ſequele hereof did afterward appeare. For as in a ciuill gouernance & common wealth, nothyng is more occaſion of warre, then ouermuch peace: ſo in the church, and among churchmen, as nothyng is more pernitious then too much quietnes, ſo nothyng more ceaſeth priuate contentions oftentymes riſing amongſt thē, then the publike croſſe of perſecution.

The croſſe maketh peace.

Furthermore, ſo I perſuaded my ſelfe, the ſame not to be vnexpedient, to haue extant ſuch examples of holy and bleſſed men. For if it do not a little appertaine to our publike conſolation and comfort, when we read in the ſcriptures of the foule diſſenſion betweene Paule and Barnabie: of the fall of Peter, and of Dauids murder and adultery: why may or ſhould it not be as well profitable for our poſteritie, to heare and know the fals of theſe godly Martyrs, whereby we may the leſſe deſpayre in our infirmitie, conſideryng the ſame or greater infirmities to raign in the holy Saints of God, both Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs.

The falles and infirmityes of holy Saints and Martyrs lefte for our conſolation.

And this by the way, thou haſt heard (good Reader) hitherto the weakenes of theſe good men, plainly and ſimply, as the truth was, declared vnto thee, to the ende theyr fall may miniſter occaſion to vs, eyther of eſchewyng the lyke, or els to take hart and comfort in the lyke fall & frailenes of ours. Now agayne on the other part it remayneth to record after the foreſayd diſcord, the godly reconciliations of theſe good men in tyme of perſecution, who afterward beyng in pryſon for the truths ſake, reconciled them ſelues agayne with moſt godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter ſent by Biſhop Ridley, to the ſayd Biſhop of Glouceſter. The copy whereof as it was written wyth hys owne hand in Latine, hereafter followeth tranſlated into Engliſh.

Note how diſcorde & reconſiliation happeneth many times amongeſt good men.

¶To my deare brother and reuerend fellow Elder in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper, grace and peace.

A letter of reconſiliatiation ſent by Doctour Ridley to Biſhop Hooper.

My dearely beloued brother and fellow Elder, whom I reuerence in the Lord, pardon me, I beſeech you, that hitherto ſince your captiuity and myne, I haue not ſaluted you by my letters: where as (I doe in deed confeſſe) I haue receiued from you (ſuch was your gentlenes) two letters at ſundry times: but yet at ſuch tyme as I could not be ſuffered to write vnto you agayne: or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters myght ſafely come vnto your hands. But now my deare brother, for as much as I vnderſtand by your workes, which I haue but ſuperficially ſeene, that we throughly agree and wholy conſent together in thoſe things which are the grounds and ſubſtantial points of our Religion, agaynſt the which the world ſo furiouſly rageth in theſe our dayes, howſoeuer in tyme paſt in certaine bymatters and circumſtances of Religion, your wiſedome and my ſimplicitie (I graunt) hath a little iarred, ech of vs followyng the abundance of hys owne ſenſe and iudgement: now (I ſay) be you aſſured, that euen with my whole heart (God is my witnes) in the bowels of Chriſt, I loue you in the truth, and for the truthes ſake, which abideth in vs, and (as I am perſwaded) ſhall by the grace of God, abide in vs for euermore.

1. Cor. 10. B. Ridley and Biſhop Hooper ioyne handes togither.

And becauſe the world (as I perceiue brother) ceaſeth not to play his pageant, and buſily conſpireth agaynſt Chriſt our Sauiour, with all poſſible force and power, **Exalting high thyngs agaynſt the knowledge of God**: let vs ioyne handes together in Chriſt, and if we cannot ouerthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in vs lyeth, let vs ſhake thoſe **high altitudes, not with carnall, but with ſpirituall weapons**: and with all brother, let vs prepare our ſelues to the day of our diſſolution, by the which, after the ſhort tyme of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, we ſhall triumph together wyth hym in eternall glory.

I pray you brother ſalute in my name your reuerend fellowe priſoner and venerable father, D.C. by whome ſince the firſt day that I heard of hys moſt godly and fatherly conſtancie, in confeſſing the truth of the goſpell, I haue conceyued great conſolation and ioy in the Lord. For the integritie and vprightnes of that man, his grauitie & innocency all England I thinke hath known lõg ago. Bleſſed be God therfore, which in ſuch abundãce of iniquitie and decay of all godlines, hath geuen vnto vs in this reuerend old age, ſuch a witneſſe for the truth of hys Goſpell. Miſerable and hard harted is he, whom the godlynes and conſtant confeſſion of ſo worthy, ſo graue, and innocent a man, wyll not mooue to acknowledge and confeſſe the truth of God.

I do not now brother require you to write any thing to me agayne: for I ſtand much in feare leſt your letters ſhould be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Neuertheles know you, that it ſhall be to me great ioy to heare of your conſtancy & fortitude in the Lordes quarell. And albeit I haue not hitherto written vnto you, yet haue I twiſe (as I could) ſent vnto you my mynde touchyng the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neyther can I yet brother, be otherwiſe perſwaded: I ſee me thinks ſo many peryls, whereby I am earneſtly mooued to counſell you not to haſten the publiſhing of your works, eſpecially vnder the title of your owne name. For I feare greatly leſt by this occaſion both your mouth ſhould be ſtopped hereafter, and al thyngs takẽ away frõ the reſt of the priſoners, wherby otherwiſe, if it ſo pleaſe God they may bee able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord my moſt deare brother, and if there be any mo in priſon with you for Chriſtes cauſe, I beſeech you, as you may, ſalute them in my name. To whoſe prayers I doe moſt humbly and hartily commend my ſelfe and my fellow priſoners and concaptiues in the Lorde, and yet once agayne, and for euer in Chriſt, my moſt deare brother, farewell.

N. Ridley.

B Ridley reioyſeth to heare of B. Hoopers cõſtancye.

M. Hooper after all theſe tumultes and vexations ſuſteined about his inueſting and prieſtly veſtures, at length entring into his Dioces, did there employ his tyme which the Lord lent hym vnder King Edwardes raigne, wyth ſuch diligence, as may be a ſpectacle to all biſhops, which ſhall euer hereafter ſucceed him, not only in that place, but in whatſoeuer Dioces through the whole realme of England, ſo carefull was he in his Cure, that he left neyther paynes vntaken, nor wayes vnſought, how to trayne vp the flocke of Chriſt in the true word of ſaluation, continually labouring in the ſame. Other men commonly are woont for lucre or promotions ſake, to aſpire to Biſhoprickes, ſome huntyng for them, and ſome purchaſing or buying them, as men vſe to purchaſe Lordſhips, & when they haue them, are loth to leaue them, and thereupon alſo loth to commit that thing by worldly lawes, whereby to looſe them.

The diligent care of B. Hooper in his Dioces.

To this ſort of men M. Hooper was cleane contrary, who abhorred nothing more then gain, labouring alwais to ſaue and preſerue the ſoules of his flocke. Who beeyng B. of two Dioceſſes, ſo ruled and guided eyther of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one familie. No father in his houſehold, no gardiner in his garden, nor huſbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, then he in his Dioces amongſt his flocke, goyng about his townes and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That tyme that he had to ſpare from preaching, he beſtowed either in hearing publike cauſes, or els in priuate ſtudy, prayer, and viſiting of ſchooles, with hys continuall doctrine, he adioyned due & diſcrete correction, not ſo much ſeuere to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, & welthy ſtate, thought they might do what they liſted. And doubtleſſe he ſpared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poore, to the great ſhame of no ſmall number of men now adayes. Whereof many we do ſee ſo addicted to the pleaſing of great and rich men, that in the meane tyme they haue no regard to the meaner ſort of poore people, whome Chriſt hath bought as dearely as the other.

M. Hooper B. of two Dioces.

M. Hooper a light to all churchmen.

But now agayne we will returne our talke to maiſter Hooper, all whoſe lyfe in fine was ſuch, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the reſt a perpetuall leſſon and ſermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a biſhop he was, ye may conceiue and know euidently by this: that euen as he was hated of none but of them which were euill, ſo yet the worſt of them all could not reproue his lyfe in any one iote.

The order and gouernance of M. Hoopers houſe.

I haue now declared his vſage and behauiour abroad in the publike affaires of the Church: and certainly there appeared in him at home no leſſe example of a worthy prelates life. For although he beſtowed & conuerted the moſt part of his care vpon the publike flocke and congregation of Chriſt, for the which alſo he ſpent his bloud: yet neuertheles there lacked no prouiſiõ in him, and to bring vp his owne children in learning and good maners: euen ſo much that ye could not diſcerne whether he deſerued more praiſe for his fatherly vſage at home, or for his biſhoply doyngs abroad. For euery where he kept one religion in one vniforme doctrine and integritie. So that if you entred into the Biſhops pallace, you would ſuppoſe to haue entred into ſome Church or temple. In euery corner thereof, there was ſome ſmel of vertue, good example, honeſt conuerſation, and reading of holy ſcriptures. There was not to be ſeene in hys houſe any courtly roylyng or idleneſſe: no pompe at all, no diſhoneſt word, no ſwearing could there be heard.

The ca... M. Ho... in inſtr... ting h... mily.

As for the reuenues of both his biſhoprikes, although they did not greatly exceede, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing ſurmounted therof, he purſed nothing, but beſtowed it in hoſpitalitie. Twiſe I was (as I remember) in his houſe in Worceſter, where in hys common hall I ſaw a table ſpread with good ſtore of meate, and beſet full of beggers and poore folke: and I aſking hys ſeruauntes what this ment, they told me that euery day their Lorde & maiſters maner was, to haue cuſtomably to dinner a certayne number of poore folke of the ſayd citie by courſe, who were ſerued by foure at a meſſe, with whote & wholeſome meats: and when they were ſerued (being afore examined by him or his deputies of the Lordes praier, the articles of their fayth, and x. commaundements) then he himſelfe ſate downe to dinner, and not before.

The ho... tality of ... Hooper.

After this ſort and maner M. Hooper executed ẏ office of a moſt carefull and vigilant paſtor, by the ſpace of two yeres and more, ſo long as the ſtate of religion in K. Edwards tyme did ſafely floriſh and take place: and would God that all other biſhops would vſe the like diligence, care, and obſeruance in their function. After this, K. Edward beyng dead, and Mary beyng crowned Queene of England, religion beyng ſubuerted & chaunged, this good B. was one of the firſt that was ſent for by a purſiuant to be at London, and that for two cauſes.

M. Hoope... called vp ... London ... Queene Maryes comming in.

First, to anſwer to D. Heath then appointed Biſh. of that Dioces, who was before in K. Edwards days depriued thereof for papiſtry.

Two cau... why M. Hooper was called vp.

Secondarily, to render account to D. Boner Biſhop of London, for that he in King Edwardes tyme was one of his accuſers, in that he ſhewed hymſelfe not conformable to ſuch ordinaunces as were preſcribed to hym by the king and his Counſayle, openly at Paules Croſſe. And although the ſaid M. Hooper was not ignoraunt of the euils that ſhould happen towards him (for he was admoniſhed by certaine of his frends to get him away and ſhift for hymſelfe) yet hee would not preuent them, but taryed ſtill, ſayeng: Once I did flee and tooke me to my feete, but now, becauſe I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly perſwaded to tary, and to liue and dye with my ſheepe.

And when at the day of his appearaunce (which was the firſt of September) he was come to London, before he could come to the foreſayd D. Heath and Boner, hee was intercepted & commaunded violently agaynſt hys wyll to appeare before the Queene and her Counſaile, to anſwer to certaine bonds and obligations, wherein they ſayd hee was bound vnto her. And when he came before thẽ, Wincheſter by and by receyued hym very opprobriouſly, and raylyng and ratyng of hym, accuſed him of Religion. Hee agayne freely and boldly told his tale, and purged hymſelfe. But in fine it came to this concluſion, that by them he was commaunded to ward (it beyng declared vnto hym by his departure, that the cauſe of his impriſonment was only for certaine ſummes of money, for the which he was indebted to the Queene, and not for religion.) This how falſe and vntrue it was, ſhall hereafter in his place more plainly appeare.

M. Hoope... refuſed to flye away.

M. Hoope... commaun... vp to London.

M. Hooper... charged to anſwere ... the Que... for bonds ... debt.

The next yeare, beyng 1554. the 19. of Marche, he was called agayne to appeare before Wincheſter and other the Queenes Commiſſioners: where, what for the Biſhop, and what for the vnruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cauſe, he was depriued of hys Biſhoprikes. Which how, & in what order it was done, here now followeth to be ſeene by the teſtimonie and report of one, which being preſent at the doing, committed the ſame to writyng.

M. Hoope... commaunded to warde.

M. Hoo... depriued ... his Biſho... prickes.

¶ A letter or report of a certaine godly man, declaring the order of M. Hoopers depriuation from hys Biſhoprike. An. 1554. March. 19.

A lette... reporting the ord... M. Hoop... depriua...

FOr ſo much as a rumor is ſpread abroad of the talk had at my L. Chuancellours, betweene hym with other Commiſſioners there appoynted, and M. Hooper cleane contrary to the veritie and truth thereof in deede, and therfore to bee iudged rather to be riſen of malice, for the diſcrediting of the truth by falſe ſuggeſtions and euill reportes, then otherwiſe, I thought it my duetie, beyng preſent thereat my ſelfe, in writyng to ſet forth the whole effect of the ſame: partly that the veritie therof may be knowen to the doubtfull people, and partly alſo to aduertiſe them, how vncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their hands: which with all humilitie vſed hymſelfe towards them, deſiryng that with patience he might haue bene permitted to ſpeake, aſſuryng all men, that where I ſtood in a mammeryng and doubt, which of theſe two religions to haue credited, eyther that ſet forth by the kings maieſty that dead is, or els that now mainteyned by the Queens maieſty, theyr vnreuerend behauiour towards M. Hooper, doth moue me the rather to credite hys doctrine, then that which they with railyng and cruell words defended, conſideryng that Chriſt was ſo handled before. And that this which I haue written here, was the effect of theyr talke, as I acknowledge it to bee true my ſelfe: ſo I appeale to all the hearers conſciences, that there were preſent, (ſo they put affection away) for the witneſſe to the ſame.

¶ The Biſhops of Wint. of London, of Dureſme, of Landaffe, of Chicheſter, ſate as Commiſſioners.

Lord Chauncellour.

At M. Hoopers commyng in, the L. Chauncellour aſked whether he was maried.

Hooper. Yea, my L. and will not be vnmaried, tyll death vnmary me.

Dureſme. That is matter enough to depriue you.

Hooper. That it is not my Lord, except ye do agaynſt the Law.

The matter concerning mariage, was no more talked of then for a great ſpace: but as well the Commiſſioners, as ſuch as ſtood by, began to make ſuch outcries, & laughed, and vſed ſuch geſture as was vnſeemely for the place, and for ſuch a matter. The Biſhop of Chicheſter D. Day, called M. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement wordes, and ſcornefull countenance. Bekonſall called him beaſt: ſo did Smyth one of the clerkes of the Counſayle, and diuers other that ſtode by. At length the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, that all men might liue chaſt that would, and brought in this text: Caſtrauerunt ſe propter regnum cœlorum, That is, There be that haue gelded themſelues for the kingdom of heauen, Math. 19.

M. Hooper ſayd, that text proued not that all men could lyue chaſte, but ſuch onely to whome it was geuen: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and ſcorning, with callyng hym beaſt, that the text could not be examined. Then M. Hooper ſayd, that it did appeare by the olde Canons that marriage was not forbidden vnto Prieſtes, and named the Decrees. But the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extrauagants. But M. Hooper ſaid, that booke was not it which he named.

Then cryed out the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſayd: You ſhall not haue any other, vntill ye be iudged by this. And then began ſuch a noyſe, tumult, and ſpeakyng together of a great many that fauoured not the cauſe, that nothyng was done ne ſpoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwardes Iudge Morgan began to rayle at M. Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious & fowle words of hys doyng at Glocester, in puniſhing of men, & ſaid, there was neuer ſuch a tyrant as he was. After that D. Day Biſhop of Chicheſter ſaid, that the Councel of Ancyra, which was before the Councell of Nice, was againſt the marriage of Prieſts.

Then cryed out my L. Chancellor, & many with him, that M. Hooper had neuer read the Councels.

Yes my Lord (quoth M. Hooper) and my L. of Chicheſter Doctor Day knoweth, that the great Councell of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, decreed that no Miniſter ſhould be ſeparated from his wife. But ſuch clamours and cries were vſed, that the Councel of Nice was not ſeene.

After this long brutiſh talke, Tonſtall Biſhop of Dureſme, aſked M. Hooper whether he beleeued the corporal preſence in the ſacrament. And maiſter Hooper ſaid plainly that there was none ſuch, neither did he beleue any ſuch thyng.

Then would the Biſh. of Dureſme haue read out of a booke, for his purpoſe belike (what booke it was, I cannot tell:) but there was ſuch a noiſe and confuſe talke on euery ſide, that he dyd not read it. Then aſked Wincheſter of M. Hooper, what authoritie moued him not to beleue the corporall preſence? He ſaid, the authoritie of gods worde, and alleged this text: Quem oportet cœlum ſuſcipere, vſque ad tempus reſtaurationis omnium. i. Whom heauē muſt hold, vntill the latter day.

Then the B. of Wincheſter would haue made that text to haue ſerued nothing for his purpoſe, & he ſaid, he might be in heauen, and in the ſacrament alſo.

M. Hooper would haue ſayd more to haue opened the text, but all men that ſtood next about the Biſhop, allowed ſo his ſaying with clamours and cryes, that M. Hooper was not permitted to ſay any more agaynſt the Byſhop. Whereuppon they bade the Notaries write that hee was married, and ſayd, that he would not goe from hys wyfe, and that he beleeued not the corporall preſence in the Sacrament, wherfore he was worthy to be depriued from his biſhoprike.

Articles taken agaynſt M. Hooper.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truely remember) of the confuſe and troubleſome talke that was betweene them, and except it were haſty and vncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk, at that time. Atq; hęc ille hactenus.

¶ The true report of M. Hoopers entertainment in the Fleete, written with his owne hand, the ſeuenth of Ianuary. 1554.

The firſt of September, 1553. I was committed vnto the Fleete, from Richmount, to haue the liberty of the priſon: and within ſixe dayes after, I payd for my liberty v. pounds ſterling to the warden for fees: who immediately vpon the payment therof, complayned vnto Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo was I committed to cloſe priſon one quarter of a yeare, in the Tower chamber of the Fleete, vſed very extremely. Then by the meanes of a good Gentlewoman, I had liberty to come downe to dinner and ſupper, not ſuffered to ſpeake wyth any of my friends: but as ſoone as dinner & ſupper was done, to repaire to my chamber agayne. Notwithſtādyng whileſt I came downe thus to dinner and ſupper, the warden and his wyfe picked quarels with me, and complayned vntruely of me, to their great friend the biſhop of Wincheſter.

M. Hoopers report of his impriſonment in the fleete.

This good gentlewoman is thought to be Miſtres Wilkinſon.

After one quarter of a yeare and ſomewhat more. Babington the warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked Maſſe: and thereupon the warden reſorted to the B. of Wint. & obteyned to put me into the wardes, where I haue continued a long tyme, hauing nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of ſtraw, and a rotten couering with a tike and a few fethers therein, the chamber being vile and ſtinking, vntill by gods meanes good people ſent me bedding to lye in. Of the one ſide of which priſon is the ſinke and filth of the houſe, and on the other ſide the towne ditch, ſo that the ſtinch of the houſe hath infected me with ſundry diſeaſes.

Babington Warden of the fleete a wicked Tyrant to Gods people.

During which tyme I haue bene ſicke: & the doores, barres, haſpes, and chaines being all cloſed, and made faſt vpon me, I haue mourned, called and cried for helpe. But the warden when he hath knowen me many tymes redy to dye, and when the poore men of the wardes haue called to helpe me, hath commanded the dores to be kept faſt, and charged that none of his men ſhould come at me, ſaying: let him alone, it were a good riddance of hym. And among many other tymes, he did thus the 18. of October, 1553. as many can witnes.

The barbarous cruelty of the Warden of the Fleete.

I payed alwayes like a Baron to the ſayd warden, as well in fees, as for my boord, which was xx. s. a weeke, beſides my mans table, vntill I was wrongfully depryued of my biſhoprike, and ſince that tyme I haue payed hym as the beſt gentleman doth in his houſe: yet hath he vſed me worſe and more vilely, then the verieſt ſlaue that euer came to the hall Commons.

The ſaid warden hath alſo impriſoned my man William Downton, & ſtripped him out of his cloths to ſearch for letters, & could find none but only a little remembrance of good peoples names, that gaue me their almes to releue me in priſon: and to vndoe them alſo, the warden deliuered the ſame bill vnto the ſaid St. Gardiner, Gods enemy and myne.

W. Downtō M. Hoopers man.

I haue ſuffered impriſonment almoſt eighteene monethes, my goods, liuyng, friends, and comfort taken from me, the Queene owing me by iuſt account 80. poundes or more. She hath put me in priſon, and geueth nothyng to finde me, neither is there ſuffred any to come at me, wherby I might haue reliefe. I am with a wicked man and woman, ſo that I ſee no remedy (ſauing gods helpe) but I ſhall be caſt away in priſon before I come to iudgement. But I commit my iuſt cauſe to God, whoſe will be done, whether it be by life or death. Thus much wrote he hymſelfe of this matter.

M. Hooper 18. monethes in priſon.

Queene Mary indebted to M. Hooper.

Anno 1555. February.

¶ Another examination of M.Hooper.

M Hooper againe conuented before the biſhop of Wincheſter.

THe xxij. of January followyng, 1555. Babington the warden of the Fleete was commaunded to bryng M. Hooper before the Biſhop of wincheſter, with other Biſhops and Commiſſioners at the ſayd wincheſters houſe at S. Mary Oueries, where as in effect thus much was done.

Gardiner exhorteth M. Hooper to returne to the Popes church.

The Biſhop of wincheſter in the name of hymſelfe and the reſt, moued Maiſter Hooper earneſtly to forſake the euill and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the dayes of K. Edward the ſixt, and to returne to the vnitie of the Catholique Church, and to acknowledge the Popes holyneſſe to bee head of the ſame Churche, accordyng to the determination of the whole Parliament, promiſing, that as he hymſelfe, with other his brethren had receyued the Popes bleſſyng and the Queenes mercye: euen ſo mercy was ready to be ſhewed to him and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcend to the Popes holyneſſe.

The Pope not worthy to be a member of Chriſts church.

M. Hooper aunſwered: that for as much as the Pope taught doctrine altogether contrarye to the doctrine of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Chriſtes Church, much leſſe to be head thereof: wherefore he would in no wyſe condeſcend to any ſuch vſurped iuriſdiction, neither eſteemed he the Church, whereof they call hym head, to be the Catholicke Church of Chriſt: for the Church onely heareth the voyce of her ſpouſe Chriſt, & flieth the ſtraungers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any point to me vnknowen, I haue offended the Queenes maieſtie, I ſhall moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe to her mercy, if mercye may be had with ſafetie of conſcience, and without the diſpleaſure of God.

Queene Mary will ſhew no mercy but to the Popes friendes.

Aunſwer was made, that the Queene would ſhew no mercy to the Popes enemies. whereuppon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleete againe: who did ſo, and ſhifted him from his former chamber into another, nere vnto the wardens owne chamber, where he remayned ſixe days: and in the meane tyme, his former chāber was ſearched by D. Martin and others, for writyngs and bookes, which M. Hooper was thought to haue made but none was found.

¶ Here followeth another examination of M. Hooper.

An other examination of M. Hooper before the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his fellowes.

THe 28. of January, wincheſter and other the Commiſſioners, ſate in iudgement at S. Mary Oueries, whereas M. Hooper appeared before them at after noone agayne, and there after much reaſonyng and diſputation to and fro, hee was commaunded aſide, tyll M. Rogers (which was then come) had bene likewiſe examined. Examinations beyng ended, the two Shiriffes of London were commaunded about foure of the clocke, to cary them to the Counter in Southwarke, there to remayne vntill the morow at ix. a clocke, to ſee whether they would relent and come home agayne to their Catholicke Church. So M. Hooper went before with one of the Shiriffes, and M. Rogers came after with the other, and beyng out of the Church doore, M. Hooper looked backe and ſtayed a little tyll M. Rogers drewe neare, vnto whom he ſayd: Come brother Rogers, muſt we two take this matter firſt in hand, and beginne to fry theſe fagots? Yea Sir (ſayd M. Rogers) by Gods grace. Doubte not (ſayde M. Hooper) but God wyll geue ſtrength. So goyng forwardes, there was ſuch a preaſe of people in the ſtreetes, which reioyced at theyr conſtauncie, that they had much adoe to paſſe.

M. Hoopers wordes to M. Rogers.

M. Hooper earneſt in his Mayſters cauſe.

By the way the Shiriffe ſayd to M. Hooper: I wonder that ye were ſo haſtie and quicke with my L. Chancellour, and dyd vſe no more pacience? He aunſwered: M. Shiriffe, I was nothyng at all impacient, althogh I was earneſt in my maiſters cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hand for it goeth vpon life and death: not the life and death of this world only, but alſo of the world to come. Then were they committed to the Keeper of the Counter, and apointed to ſeueral chambers, with commaundement that they ſhould not be ſuffred to ſpeake one with another, neyther yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

The thyrd and laſt exrmination of M. Hooper.

Upon the next day followyng, the 29. of January, at the houre appoynted they were brought agayne by the Shiriffes, before the ſayd Biſhop and Commiſſioners in the Churche, where they were the day before. And after long and earneſt talke, when they perceyued that M. Hooper would by no meanes condeſcend vnto them, they condemned hym to be diſgraded, and read vnto hym his condemnation. That done, M. Rogers was brought before them, and in lyke maner entreated, and ſo they deliuered both of them to the ſecular power the two ſhirifs of London, who were willed to cary them to the Clinke, a priſon not far from the B. of wincheſters houſe, and there to remayne till night.

M. Hooper condemned.

When it was darke, M. Hooper was led by one of the Shiriffes, with many bils and weapons, firſt through the B. of wincheſters houſe, and ſo ouer London bridge, thorough the Citie to Newgate. And by the way ſome of the Sergeaunts were wylled to goe before, and put out the Coſterdmongers candles who vſe to ſit with lyght in the ſtreetes: eyther fearyng (of lykelihoode) that the people would haue made ſome attempt to haue taken hym away from them by force, if they had ſeene hym goe to that pryſonne: or els beyng burdened with an euill conſcience, they thought darckeneſſe to be a moſt fitte ſeaſon for ſuch a buſineſſe.

But notwithſtandyng this deuiſe, the people hauyng ſome foreknowledge of his comming, many of them came forth of their dores with lights and ſaluted hym, prayſing God for his conſtancie in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen hym in the ſame to the ende. M. Hooper paſſed by, and required the people to make their earneſt prayers to God for hym, and ſo went through Chepeſide to the place appoynted, & was deliuered as cloſe priſoner, to the Keeper of Newgate, where he remained ſixe dayes, no body beyng permitted to come to him, or to talke with him, ſauyng his Keepers, and ſuch as ſhould be appoynted thereto.

During this tyme, Boner B. of London, and others at his appoyntment, as Fecknam, Chedſey, and Harpſfield, &c. reſorted diuers tymes vnto hym, to aſſay if by any meanes they could perſwade him to relent and become a member of their Antichriſtian church. All the ways they could deuiſe, they attempted. For beſides the diſputations and allegations of teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and of auncient writers wraſted to a wrong ſenſe, accordyng to their accuſtomed maner, they vſed alſo all outward gentlenes and ſignifications of friendſhip, with many great profers and promiſes of worldly commodities, not omittyng alſo moſt grieuous threatnyngs, if with gentleneſſe they could not preuaile, but they found hym alwayes one man, ſtedfaſt and immoueable.

When they perceiued that they could by no means reclayme him to their purpoſe, with ſuch perſwaſions and offers as they vſed for his conuerſion, then went they about by falſe rumours and reports of recantations (for it is well knowen, that they and their ſeruaunts dyd ſpread it firſt abroade) to bring hym and the doctrine of Chriſt which he profeſſed, out of credite with the people. So the brute beyng a little ſpread abroad, and beleeued of ſome of the weaker ſort, by reaſon of the often reſort of the Byſhop of London and other, it encreaſed more, & at the laſt came to M. Hoopers eares. wherewith he was not a little greued, that the people ſhould geue ſo light credite vnto falſe rumors, hauyng ſo ſimple a ground, as it may appeare by a letter which he wrote vpon that occaſiō, the copy whereof followeth.

⁂ A letter of Maiſter Hooper for the ſtoppyng of certayne falſe rumours ſpread abroad of hys recantation.

THe grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt bee wyth all them that vnfainedly looke for the comming of our Sauiour Chriſt, Amen.

Deare brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, and my fellowe priſones for the cauſe of Gods goſpell: I do much reioice and geue thankes vnto God for your conſtancie and perſeuerance in affliction, vnto whom I wiſh continuaunce vnto the end. And as I do reioyce in your faith and conſtancie in afflictions that be in priſon: euē ſo do I mourne and lament to heare of our dere brethren that yet haue not felt ſuch dangers for gods truth, as we haue, and do feele, and be daily lyke to ſuffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet ſuch is the report abroade (as I am credibly enformed) that I John Hooper a condemned man for the cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould now after ſentence of death (beyng in Newgate priſoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abiure that which heretofore I haue preached. And this talke ariſeth of this, that the B. of London and his chaplains reſort vnto me. Doubtleſſe, if our brethren were as godly as I would wiſh thē, they would thinke, that in caſe I did refuſe to talke with them, they might haue iuſt occaſion to ſay, that I were vnlearned, & durſt not ſpeake with learned men, or els proud and diſdainfull to ſpeake with them. Therefore to auoyd iuſt ſuſpition of both, I haue and do daily ſpeake with thē when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am

neyther

neither proud, nor vnlearned. And I would wiſh all men to do as I doe in this poynt. For I feare not their arguments, neither is death terrible vnto me, praying you to make true report of the ſame, as occaſion ſhall ſerue: and that I am more cōfirmed in the truth which I haue preached heretofore by their commyng.

Therfore, ye that may ſend to the weake brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch reports of recantations as they do. For I haue hitherto left all thinges of the world, and ſuffred great paynes and impriſonment, & I thanke God I am as ready to ſuffer death, as a mortall man may be. It were better for them to pray for vs, then to credite or report ſuch rumors that be vntrue. We haue enemies enough of ſuch as know not God truely. But yet the falſ report of weake brethren is a double croſſe. I wiſh you eternall ſaluation in Ieſus Chriſt, and alſo require your continuall prayer, that he which hath begon in vs, may continue it to the end.

I haue taught the truth with my tong, and with my pen heretofore, & hereafter ſhortly will confirme the ſame by Gods grace with my bloud. Forth of Newgate the 2. of February, an. 1554.

Your brother in Chriſt,
Iohn Hooper.

Vpon Monday mornyng the B. of London came to Newgate, and there diſgraded M. Hooper, the ſentence of which his degradation here followeth.

¶ Degradatio Hooperi.

IN nomine ✠ patris, ✠ & filij, ✠ & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. Quoniam per ſententiam diffinitiuam à reuerendo in Chriſto patre & Domino Stephano permiſſione diuina, Winton. Epiſcopo in & contra te Iohannem Hooper præsbyterum, ſuæ iuriſdictionis ratione hæreſis & delicti infra illius diœceſin Winton. notoriè commiſſi exiſtentem, nuper ritè & legitimè prolatam, conſtat ſufficienter & legitimè nobis Edmundo London. Epiſcopo te prę fatum Iohannem Hooper hęreticum manifeſtum & obſtinatum, ac pertinacem fuiſſe & eſſe, ac conſtat ſimiliter tanquā hæreticum huiuſmodi per dictam ſententiam pronunciatum & declaratum fuiſſe, maioriſq; excommunicationis ſententia ob id innodatum & inuolutum ſimiliter eſſe, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum & degradandum, curięq; ſeculari ob demerita tua huiuſmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictę ſententię, ad quā nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, & expreſſius liquet & apparet: Idcirco nos Edmundus Epiſc. London. antedictus, quia noſtra & vniuerſitatis etiam intereſt noſtras hic partes interponere, & vicariam operam mutuamq; viciſſitudinem impendere, in cuius etiam diœceſi tu Iohannes Hooper per idem hęreſis crimen tunc & ſæpius, & ante & poſt commiſiſti, iſtis inquam & alijs prædictis attentis & exequendo omni meliori & efficaciori modo, quo poſſumus, ſententiam prędictam, ſic vt præmittitur, latam in te qui infra fines & limites diœceſis noſtrę London. notoriè conſiſtēs, & in hac parte culpabilis & tranſgreſſor etiam notoriè exiſtens, ad actualem degradationem tui prę fati Iohannis Hooper (culpa tua exigente ac iuſtitia id poſcente) duximus procedendum fore, ac ſic etiam realiter procedimus, vt deinde iuxta iuris exigentiam & temporis retroacti morem laudabilem & normam conſuetam, te in Arca Eccleſię manere nolentem, curię ſeculari, ritè & legitimè ac effectualiter tradere poſſumus. Quod ipſum ſic fieri debere, nos per hanc noſtrā ſententiam ſiue decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, & declaramus in hijs ſcriptis.

After the ſentence of degradation thus declared, now let vs ſee the forme and maner of their degradyng, which here alſo followeth. But firſt here is to be noted, that the diſgrading of this bleſſed B. did not proceed agaynſt hym as againſt a B. but as onely againſt a Prieſt, as they termed him: for ſuch as he was, theſe Baalamites accompted (for) no Biſhop.

Here followeth the forme and maner vſed in the diſgrading of B. Hooper.

THe fourth day of February, the yere aboue mentioned, in the Chappell in Newgate, the Biſhop of London there ſitting with his Notarie and certaine other witneſſes, came Alexander Andrew the Gaoler, bringyng wyth hym M. Hooper and M. Rogers, beyng condemned before by the Chauncellor: where the ſayd Biſhop of London, at the requeſt of the foreſayd Wincheſter, proceeded to the degradation of the parties aboue mentioned, M. Hooper and M. Rogers, after this forme and maner. Firſt, he put vpon them all the veſtures and ornaments belonging to a Prieſt, with all other things to the ſame order appertainyng, as though (beyng reueſted) they ſhould ſolemnly execute in their office. Thus they beyng apparelled and inueſted, the B. beginneth to plucke of, firſt the vttermoſt veſture, and ſo by degree and order commyng downe to the loweſt veſture, which they had onely in takyng Bennet and Collet: and ſo beyng ſtript and depoſed, he depriued them of all order, benefite and priuiledge belonging to the Clergy: and conſequently, that beyng done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the ſayd parties ſo diſgraded, to be geuen perſonally to the ſecular power, as the Shiriffes beyng for that yere, M. Dauy Wodrofe, and M. William Cheſter: who receiuing firſt the ſayde M. Rogers at the handes of the B. had him away with them, bringyng hym to the place of execution where he ſuffered. The witneſſes there preſent, were M. Harpſfield Archdeacon of Londō, Rob. Coſin, and Rob. Willerton, canons of Paules, Th. Mountague, & George Howe clerkes, Triſtram Swadocke, and Richard Clunney Sumner, &c.

M. Hooper and M. Rogers diſgraded togither.

Dauy Woodrofe, William Cheſter Shriefes.

The ſame Monday at night beyng the 4. of February, his keeper gaue hym an inkeling that he ſhould be ſent to Gloceſter to ſuffer death, whereat he reioyced very much, liftyng vp his eyes and hands into heauen, & praiſing god that he ſaw it good to ſend him amongeſt the people, ouer whom he was paſtor, there to confirme with his death the truth which he had before taught them: not doubting but the Lord would geue him ſtrength to performe the ſame to his glory: and immediately he ſent to his ſeruāts houſe for his bootes, ſpurs, and cloke, that he might be in a redines to ride when he ſhould be called.

M. Hooper glad that he ſhould ſuffer amongeſt his owne flocke.

The next day following, about foure of the clocke in the morning before day, the Keeper with others came to him and ſearched him, & the bed wherin he lay, to ſee if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the ſhiriffs of London and other their officers forth of Newgate, to a place appoynted not farre from S. Dunſtanes Church in Fleeteſtreete, where ſixe of the Queenes Garde were appoynted to receiue hym & to cary hym to Glouceſter, there to be deliuered vnto the ſhiriffe, who with the L. Shandois, M. Wickes, and other Commiſſioners were apointed to ſee execution done. The which Gard brought hym to the Angel, where he brake his faſt with them, eating his meat at that tyme more liberally then he had vſed to doe a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horſe, and lept cheerefully on horſebacke without help, hauyng a hood vpon his hed vnder his hat that he ſhould not be known, and ſo tooke his iourny ioyfully towards Gloceſter, and alwayes by the way the Gard learned of hym where he was accuſtomed to bait or lodge, and euer caried hym to an other Inne.

M. Hooper caryed to Gloceſter to be burned.

Vpon the Thurſday following, he came to a towne in his Dioces, called Ciceter, xv. miles frō Gloceſter, about eleuen of the clocke, and there dyned at a womans houſe which had always hated the truth, and ſpoken all euil ſhe could of M. Hooper. This woman perceiuing the cauſe of his commyng, ſhewed him all the frendſhip ſhe could, and lamented his caſe with teares, confeſſing that ſhee before had oftē reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not ſtand to his doctrine.

A woman of Ciceter confirmed by the conſtancy of M. Hooper, which rayled at him before.

After dinner he rode forwardes, & came to Glouceſter about v. of the clocke, and a mile without the towne was much people aſſembled which cried & lamented his eſtate: in ſo much, that on of the Gard rode poſt into the town, to require ayde of the Mayor and ſhiriffes, fearyng leaſt hee ſhould haue bene taken from them.

M. Hooper commeth to Glouceſter.

The Officers and their retinue repayred to the Gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keepe theyr houſes, &c. but there was no man that once gaue any ſignification of any ſuch reſcue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingrams houſe in Glouceſter, and that nyght (as he had done all the way) he did eate hys meat quietly, and ſlept his firſt ſleepe ſoundly, as it was reported by the of the Gard and others. After his firſt ſleepe he continued all that night in prayer vntil the morning, and then he deſired that he might go into the next chamber (for the Gard wer alſo in the chamber where he lay) that there being ſolitary, he might pray and talke with God: ſo that all that day, ſauing a litle at meat, and when he talked at any time with ſuch as the Gard licenced to ſpeake with hym, he beſtowed in prayer.

The quiet minde of M. Hooper in his troubles.

Amongeſt other that ſpake with hym, Sir Anthony Kingſton Knight, was one. who ſeemyng in tymes paſt his very friend, was then appointed by the Queenes letters, to be one of the commiſſioners, to ſee execution done vppon hym. Maiſter Kingſton beyng brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer, and as ſoone as he ſawe M. Hooper, he burſt forth in teares. Maiſter Hooper at the firſt bluſh knew hym not. Then ſayde maiſter Kingſton, why my Lord, doe ye not know me an olde friend of

Syr Anthony Kingſton commeth to M. Hooper.

Anno 1555. February.

Syr Anthony Kingſtones perſwaſions.

yours Anthony Kingſton.

Yes M. Kingſton, I do now know you well, and am glad to ſee you in health, and do prayſe God for the ſame.

But I am ſory to ſee you in this caſe: for as I vnderſtand you bee come hether to dye. But (alas) conſider that lyfe is ſweete, and death is bitter. Therefore ſeeyng lyfe may bee had, deſire to lyue: for lyfe hereafter may doe good.

M. Hooper replyeth.

In deed it is true M. Kingſton, I am come hether to end this lyfe, and to ſuffer death here, becauſe I wyll not gainſay the former truth that I haue heretofore taught amongeſt you in this Dioceſſe, and els where, and I thank you for your friendly counſail, although it be not ſo frendly as I could haue wiſhed it. True it is (M. Kingſtone) that death is bitter, and lyfe is ſweete: but (alas) conſider that the death to come is more bitter, and the lyfe to come is more ſweete.

Lyfe compared with lyfe, and death with death.

Therefore for the deſire and loue I haue to the one, and the terror and feare of the other, I do not ſo much regard this death, nor eſteeme this lyfe, but haue ſetled my ſelfe through the ſtrength of gods holy ſpirit, paciently to paſſe through the torments and extremities of the fire, now prepared for me, rather then to denye the truth of his worde, deſiring you and others in the meane tyme, to commende me to Gods mercy in your prayers.

Syr Anthony. Kingſtone.

Well (my Lorde) then I perceyue there is no remedye, and therefore I wyll take my leaue of you: and I thanke God that euer I knew you, for God did appoynt you to call me beyng a loſt child: and by your good inſtructions, where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forſaking and deteſting of the ſame.

Syr Anthony Kingſtone conuerted by M. Hooper.

M. Hooper.

If you haue had the grace ſo to do, I do highly prayſe God for it: and if you haue not, I pray God ye may haue, and that you may continually lyue in hys feare. After theſe and many other wordes, the one tooke leaue of the other, M. Kyngſton with bitter teares, M. Hooper with teares alſo tricklyng downe hys cheekes. At which departure M. Hooper tolde hym, that all the troubles he had ſuſtained in priſon, had not cauſed hym to vtter ſo much ſorrow.

A blynd boy commeth to M. Hooper.

The ſame day in the after noone, a blind boy, after long interceſſiõ made to the Gard, obteined licence to be broght vnto M. Hoopers ſpeache. The ſame boy not long afore had ſuffered impriſonment at Glouceſter for confeſſyng of the truth. M. Hooper after hee had examined hym of hys fayth, and the cauſe of his impriſonment, beheld hym ſtedfaſtly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) ſayde vnto hym: Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward ſight, for what conſideration he beſt knoweth: but he hath geuen thee an other ſight much more precious: for he hath endued thy ſoule with the eie of knowledge and fayth. God geue thee grace continually to pray vnto him, that thou loſe not that ſight: for then ſhouldeſt thou bee blynd both in body and ſoule.

Gods grace vpon a blynd boy at Glocester.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papiſt and a wicked man, which appeared to be ſory for M. Hoopers trouble, ſaying: Sir, I am ſory to ſee you thus. To ſee me? why (ſaid he) art thou ſory? To ſee you (ſayth the other) in this caſe. For I heare ſay ye are come hither to dye, for the which I am ſory. Be ſory for thy ſelfe man (ſayd M. Hooper) and lament thine owne wickednes: for I am well, I thanke God, and death to mee for Chriſtes ſake is welcome.

M. Hooper cõmitted to the Shiriffes of Glocester.

The ſame night he was committed by the Gard (their Commiſſion beyng then expired) vnto the cuſtodie of the Shiriffes of Glouceſter. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the Mayor & Aldermen repaired to M. Hoopers lodgyng, and at the firſt meetyng ſaluted hym, and tooke hym by the hand. Vnto whom Hooper ſpake on this maner. M. Mayor, I geue moſt heartie thankes to you, and to the reſt of your brethren, that you haue vouchſafed to take mee a pryſoner and a condemned man by the hand: wherby to my reioyſing it is ſome deale apparant that your olde loue and friendſhippe towardes me, is not altogether extinguiſhed: and I truſt alſo, that all the thynges I haue taught you in tymes paſt, are not vtterly forgotten, when I was here by the godly K. that dead is, appoynted to be your biſhop and Paſtor. For the which moſt true and ſincere doctrine, becauſe I wyll not now account it falſehood and hereſie, as many other men doe, I am ſent hither (as I am ſure you knowe) by the Queenes commaundement, to dye, and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my bloude. And now M. Shiriffes I vnderſtand by theſe good men, and my verye friends, (meanyng the Gard) at whoſe handes I haue found ſo much fauour and gentleneſſe by the way hitherward, as a priſoner could reſonably require (for the which alſo I moſt hartily thanke them) that I am committed to your cuſtodie, as vnto them that muſt ſee me brought to morrow to the place of execution. My requeſt therefore to you ſhall be onely, that there may be a quicke fire, ſhortly to make an end, and in the meane tyme I will be as obedient vnto you, as your ſelues would wiſh. If you thinke I do amiſſe in any thyng, hold vp your finger, and I haue done. For I come not hether as one enforced or compelled to dye (for it is well knowen, I might haue had my lyfe with worldly gayne:) but as one willing to offer and geue my lyfe for the truth, rather then to conſent to the wicked papiſticall religion of the Biſhop of Rome, receiued and ſet forth by the maieſtrates in England, to Gods high diſpleaſure and diſhonor: and I truſt by Gods grace to morrow to dye a faithfull ſeruaunt of God, and a true obedient ſubiect to the Queene.

The wordes of M. Hooper to the Mayor and the Shiriffes of Glocester.

These and ſuch lyke wordes in effect vſed M. Hooper to the Mayor, Shiriffes, and Aldermen, whereat manye of them mourned and lamented. Notwithſtandyng, the two Shiriffs went aſide to conſult, and were determined to haue lodged him in the common gaole of the towne called Northgate, if the Gard had not made earneſt interceſſion for hym: who declared at large how quietly, mildlye, and paciently he had behaued himſelfe in the way, addyng therto, that any child might keepe him well enough, & that they themſelues would rather take paines to watch with him, then that he ſhould be ſent to the common priſon. So it was determined at the length he ſhould ſtill remaine in Rob. Ingrams houſe, and the ſhiriffes and the ſergeants and other officers did appoynt to watch with him ỹ nyght themſelues. His deſire was that he might goe to bed that night betimes, ſaying that he had many things to remember: and ſo did at fiue of the clocke, and ſlepte one ſleepe ſoundly, and beſtowed the reſt of the night in prayer. After he gate vp in the morning, he deſired that no man ſhould be ſuffred to come into the chamber, that he might be ſolitarie till the houre of execution.

About 8. of the clocke came ſir John Bridges L. Shãdoys, with a great band of men, ſir Anthony Kingſton, ſir Edmund Bridges, & other Commiſſioners appoynted to ſee execution done. At nine of the clocke M. Hooper was willed to prepare hymſelfe to be in a readines, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought downe from his chamber by the ſhiriffes, who were accompanied with bils, glaues, and weapons. When he ſaw the multitude of weapons, he ſpake to the Shiriffes on this wyſe: Maiſter Shiriffes (ſayd he) I am no traytor, neyther neded you to haue made ſuch a buſineſſe to bryng me to the place where I muſt ſuffer: for if ye had wylled me, I would haue gone alone to ỹ ſtake, & haue troubled none of you al. And afterward lookyng vppon the multitude of people which were aſſembled, beyng by eſtimation to the number of ſeuen thouſand (for it was market day, and manye alſo come to ſee his behauiour towards death) hee ſpake vnto thoſe that were about hym, ſaying: Alas, why bee theſe people aſſembled and come together? Peraduenture they thinke to heare ſome thyng of me now, as they haue in tymes paſt, but alas ſpeach is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death is well known vnto them. When I was appointed here to bee their Paſtor, I preached vnto them true and ſincere doctrine, and that out of the worde of God. Becauſe I will not now accompt the ſame to be hereſie and vntruth, this kinde of death is prepared for me.

So he went forward led betwene the two Shiriffes, (as it were a Lambe to the place of ſlaughter) in a gowne of his Hoſts, his hat vpon his hed, & a ſtaffe in his hand to ſtay himſelf withall. For the griefe of the Sciatica, which he had taken in priſon, cauſed him ſomething to halt. All the way being ſtraitly charged not to ſpeake, he could not bee perceiued once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way which mourned bitterly for him, he would ſometimes lift vp his eyes towards heauen, & looke very cherefully vpon ſuch as he knew: & he was neuer known during the tyme of his beyng amongſt them to looke with ſo chearefull and ruddiſh a countenaunce as he did at that preſent. When he came to the place appoynted where hee ſhould dye, ſmilingly he beheld the ſtake and preparation made for him, which was neare vnto the great Elme tree ouer againſt the colledge of prieſtes, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houſes, & the bowes of the tree were repleniſhed with people, and in the chamber ouer the colledge gate ſtood the prieſts of the colledge. Then kneeled he downe (for as much as he could not bee ſuffred to ſpeake vnto the people) to prayer, and beckened vnto him ſixe or ſeuen times whom he knew wel, to heare the ſaid praier, to make report therof in time to come (pou-

ryng

ring teares vpon his ſhoulders & in his boſome) who gaue attentiue eares vnto the ſame: the which prayer hee made vpon the whole Creede, wherein he continued for the ſpace of halfe an houre. Now after he was ſomewhat entred into his prayer, a boxe was brought and laid before him vpon a ſtoole, with his pardon (or at the leaſt wiſe it was fained to be his pardon) from the Queene, if he would turne. At the ſight thereof he cried: If you loue my ſoule, away with it, if you loue my ſoule, away with it. The boxe being taken away, the Lorde Shandoys ſaide: Seeing there is no remedie, diſpatch quickely. Maſter Hooper ſayde: Good my Lord, I truſt your Lordſhip wil geue me leaue to make an ende of my prayers.

Then ſaid the Lorde Shandoys to ſir Edmund Bridges his ſonne (which gaue eare before to maiſter Hoopers prayer at his requeſt:) Edmond, take heede that he do nothing els but pray: if he doe, tel me, and I ſhall quickly diſpatche hym. Whiles this talke was, there ſtepped one or two in vncalled, whych hearde hym ſpeake theſe wordes folowing:

Lorde (ſayd he) I am hell, but thou art heauen: I am ſwill and a ſinke of ſinne, but thou art a gratious God and a mercifull redemer. Haue mercy therefore vpon me moſt miſerable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and accordinge to thine ineſtimable goodneſſe. Thou that art aſcended into heauen, receiue me hel to be partaker of thy ioyes, where thou ſitteſt in equal glory wyth thy father. For well knoweſt thou Lorde wherefore I am come hither to ſuffer, and why the wicked doe perſecute thys thy poore ſeruant: not for my ſinnes and tranſgreſsions committed againſt thee, but becauſe I will not allowe their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy bloude, and to the deniall of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did pleaſe thee by thy holy ſpirit to inſtruct me: the which with as much diligence as a pore wretch might (being thereto called) I haue ſet foorth to thy glorye. And well ſeeſt thou my Lord and God, what terrible paines and cruell torments be prepared for thy creature: ſuch, Lord, as without thy ſtrength none is able to beare, or paciently to paſſe. But al things that are impoſsible with man, are poſsible with thee. Therefore ſtrengthen mee of thy goodneſſe, that in the fire I breake not the rules of pacience, or els aſſwage the terrour of the paines, as ſhall ſeeme moſt to thy glory.

As ſone as the Mayor had eſpied theſe menne whyche made report of the former wordes, they were commanded away, and could not be ſuffered to heare any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himſelf to the ſtake, and put off his hoſteſſe gowne, and deliuered it to the ſheriffes, requiring them to ſee it reſtored vnto the owner, and put off the reſt of his geare, vnto his doublet and his hoſe, wherin he would haue burned. But the Sheriffes woulde not permit that, (ſuch was their greedineſſe) vnto whoſe pleaſures (good man) he very obediently ſubmitted him ſelfe: and his doublet, hoſe, and peticote were taken off. Then being in hys ſhirt, he toke a poynt from his hoſe him ſelfe, & truſſed hys ſhirt betweene his legges, where he had a pound of gunne pouder in a bladder, and vnder each arme the like quantitie deliuered him by the Garde. So deſiring the people to ſay the Lordes prayer with him, and to pray for hym, (who performed it with teares, during the time of his paines) he went vp to the ſtake. Now when he was at the ſtake, three yrons made to binde him to the ſtake, were brought: one for his necke, an other for his middle, and the thirde for his legges. But he refuſing them ſaid: ye haue no neede thus to trouble your ſelues. For I doubt not but God will geue ſtrength ſufficient to abide the extremitie of the fire, wout bands: notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting the frailty and weakeneſſe of the fleſh, but hauing aſſured confidence in Gods ſtrength, I am content ye doe as ye ſhall thinke good.

M. Hooper bound to the ſtake.

So the hoope of yron prepared for hys middle, was brought, whych being made ſomewhat to ſhorte (for hys belly was ſwolne by impriſonment) he ſhranke and put in his belly wͭ his hand, vntil it was faſtened: and when they offered to haue bound his necke & his legs wyth the other two hoopes of yron, he vtterly refuſed them, & would haue none, ſaying: I am wel aſſured I ſhall not trouble you.

The weeping of the people at M. Hoopers burning.

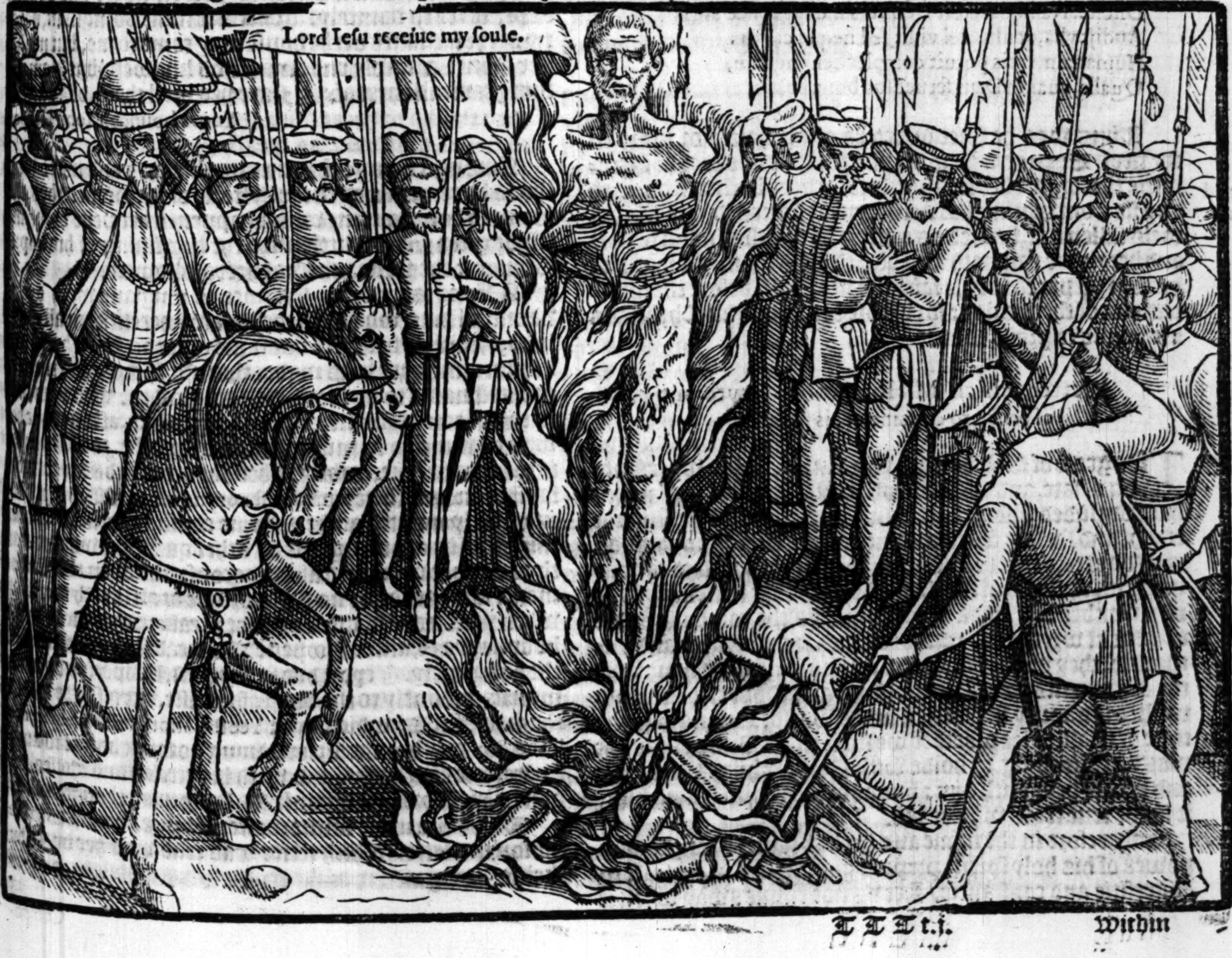
Thus being ready, he loked vpon the people, of whom he might be wel ſene (for he was both tal, and ſtode alſo on an high ſtoole) and behelde rounde about him: and in euery corner there was nothing to be ſeene but weeping and ſorowful people. Then lifting vp his eyes and handes vnto heauen, he praied to himſelfe. By and by hee that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aſke him forgeueneſſe. Of whom he aſked why he ſhould forgeue hym, ſaying: that he knewe neuer any offence he had committed againſt him. Oh ſir (ſaid the mā) I am appoynted to make ẏ fire. Therein (ſaid M. Hooper) thou doeſt nothing offend me: God forgeue thee thy ſinnes & doe thine office, I pray thee. Then the Reedes were caſt vp, and he receiued two bundels of them in hys owne handes, embraced them, kiſſed them, and put vnder either arme one of them, and ſhewed with his hand how the reſt ſhoulde be beſtowed, and poynted to the place where any did lacke.

He forgeueth his executioner.

Anone commandement was geuen that fire ſhould be ſet to, and ſo it was. But becauſe there were put to no fewer greene fagots then two horſes could carry vpon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a prety while alſo before it toke the Reedes vppon the fagottes. At length it burned aboute him, but the winde hauing full ſtrength in that place (it was alſo a lowring & a cold morning) it blew the flame from him, ſo that he was in a maner no more but touched by the fire.

Fire put to M. Hooper.

The burning of M. Iohn Hooper, Biſhop at Glocester. An. 1555. Februarie 9.


Lord Ieſu receiue my ſoule.

Anno. 1555. February.

A new fire made to M. Hooper.

within a ſpace after, a few dry fagottes were brought, and a newe fire kindeled wyth fagottes, (for there were no more Reedes:) and that burned at the neather partes, but had ſmall power aboue, becauſe of the winde, ſauinge that it did burne his haire, and ſcorch his ſkinne a litle. In the time of which fire, euen as at the firſt flame, hee prayed, ſaying mildely and not verye loude (but as one wythoute paynes:) O Ieſus the ſonne of Dauid haue mercye vpon me, and receiue my ſoule. After the ſeconde was ſpente, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he ſayde with an indifferent loud voyce: For Gods loue (good people) let me haue more fire. And all this while his nether partes did burne: for the fagottes were ſo fewe, that the flame did not burne ſtrongly at his vpper partes.

M. Hooper calleth for more fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreeme then the other two: and then the bladders of gonnepouder brake, which did him ſmall good, they were ſo placed, and the winde hadde ſuche power. In the whych fire he prayed with ſomewhat a loude voyce: Lorde Ieſu haue mercye vppon me: Lorde Ieſu haue mercy vppon mee: Lorde Ieſus receiue my ſpirite. And theſe were the laſt wordes hee was heard to vtter. But when he was blacke in the mouth, and his tongue ſwolne, that he coulde not ſpeake, yet hys lippes went till they were ſhronke to the gummes: and he knocked his breaſt with his handes, vntill one of his armes fell off, and then knocked ſtill with the other, what time the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers ends, vntill by renuing of yͤ fire, his ſtrength was gone, and his hande did cleaue faſt in knocking to the yron vpon hys breſt. So immediately bowing forwardes, he yelded vp his ſpirite.

The laſt wordes of M. Hooper.

The bleſſed Martyr long tormented in the fire.

In clariſsimi Doctrina & pietate viri Iohannis Hoperi Martyrium, Conradi Geſneri carmen.

AVreus Hoperus flammis inuictus & igni,
Atque ſuum Chriſtum confeſſus ad vltima vitæ
Momenta, integritate ſua præclarus, & ardens
Exterius flammis, diuinus Martyr: at intus
Eximio fidei feruore accenſus, ad aſtra
Spiritus aſcendit, cœleſti luce beatus,
In terris cinereſque manent, & fama coruſca
Flammæ inſtar lucens, lucebit dum ſtabit orbis,
Vtcunque immanes Boreæ, magnæque procellæ
Flatibus aduerſis tam clarum abrumpere lumen
Nitantur fruſtra. Nam quæ Deus ipſe ſecundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta ſed vltro
Et commenta ruunt, vaſtaque voragine ſidunt.
Hoperi exemplo, quotquot ſpiratis Ieſu
Doctrinam Chriſti, diſcrimina temnere vitæ,
Durare, & voſmet rebus ſeruare ſecundis
Diſcite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora: nec auris
Audijt vlla, oculus vel vidit, ſed neque captus
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier vnquam,
Qualia, quanta Deus ſeruet ſua bona beatis.

The patient end of this holy martir.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Euen as a Lambe, paciently he aboade the extremitie therof, neither mouing forwardes, backwards, or to any ſide: but hauing his nether partes burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a childe in his bedde: and hee nowe raigneth as a bleſſed Martyr in the ioyes of heauen prepared for the faithfull in Chriſt, before the foundations of the worlde: for whoſe conſtancie all Chriſtians are bound to praiſe God.

A letter which M. Hooper did wryte out of priſon to certaine of his frendes.

A letter exhortatory of M. Hooper to certayne of his friendes.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write vnto you of late, and told you what extremity the parlament had concluded vpon, concerning Religion, ſuppreſſing the truth, and ſetting forth the vntruth, intending to cauſe all men by extremitie to forſweare them ſelues, and to take againe for the head of the Churche, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemie, as the word of God & al ancient wryters do record: and for lacke of lawe and authoritie, they wil vſe force and extremitie, which haue bene the arguments to defend the Pope and Poperie, ſith thys wicked authority began firſt in the world. But now is the time of triall, to ſee whether we feare more God or man. It was an eaſie thing to holde with Chriſt whiles the Prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true triall who be his.

The popes religion ſtandeth onely vpoon force and extremitie.

Wherefore in the name and in the vertue, ſtrength, and power of his holy ſpirit, prepare your ſelues in any caſe to aduerſitie and conſtancie. Let vs not runne away when it is moſt time to fight. Remēber none ſhalbe crowned, but ſuch as fight manfully: and he that endureth vnto the end, ſhalbe ſaued. Ye muſt now turne al your cogitations from the pearil you ſee, and marke the felicitye that foloweth the pearil: either victorie in this world of your enemies, or elſe a ſurrender of this life to inherite the euerlaſtinge kyngdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicitie or miſerie of this worlde: for the conſideration and too earneſt loue or feare of either of them draweth from God.

Neithe felicitie the mi of this world be looke vpon.

Wherefore thinke with your ſelues as touching the felicitie of the worlde, it is good: but yet none otherwiſe then it ſtandeth with the fauour of God. It is to be kept: but yet ſo farre forth as by keeping of it we looſe not God. It is good abiding and tarrying ſtill among our friendes heere: but yet ſo, yͭ we tary not therewithall in Gods diſpleaſure, and hereafter to dwell with the deuils in fire euerlaſting. There is nothing vnder God but may be kept, ſo yͭ God being aboue all things we haue, be not loſt.

Aduer compared with ad ſitie.

Of aduerſitie iudge the ſame. Impriſonment is painfull, but yet libertie vpon euell conditions is more painful. The priſons ſtincke, but yet not ſo much as ſweete houſes, where as the feare and true honour of God lacketh. I muſt be alone and ſolitary. It is better ſo to be and haue God wͭ me, then to be in company with the wicked. Loſſe of goods is great, but loſſe of Gods grace & fauour is greater. I am a poore ſimple creature, & can not tel how to anſwer before ſuch a great ſort of noble, learned, & wiſe men: It is better to make anſwere before the pompe & pride of wicked men, then to ſtand naked in the ſight of all heauen and earth before the iuſt God at the latter daye. I ſhall die then by the handes of the cruell man, he is bleſſed that looſeth thys life full of miſeries, and finedeth the life of eternall ioyes. It is paine and griefe to departe from goods and frends: but yet not ſo muche, as to departe from grace and heauen it ſelfe. Wherefore, there is neither felicitye nor aduerſitye of this world, that can appeare to be great, if it be wayed with the ioyes or paines in the world to come.

Antithe betweene ioyes and paynes in this world and in the world to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you: do the ſame for me, for Gods ſake. For my parte (I thanke the heauenly Father) I haue made mine accompts, and appoynted my ſelfe vnto the wil of the heauenly father: as he will, ſo I will by hys grace. For Gods ſake as ſoone as ye can, ſend my poore wife and children ſome letter from you, and my letter alſo which I ſent of late to D. As it was tolde me, ſhee neuer had letter from me ſithens the cōming of M. S. vnto her: the more to blame the meſſengers, for I haue wrytten diuers times. The Lord comfort them, and prouide for them for I am able to doe nothing in worldly things. Shee is a godly and wiſe woman. If my meaning had bene accompliſhed, ſhe ſhould haue hadde neceſſary things: but that I meant, God can performe, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious Iewell nowe and daintely kept, neuer ſo daintely: for neither mine owne man, nor any of the ſeruants of the houſe may come to me, but my keper alone: a ſimple rude mā (God knoweth) but I am nothing carefull thereof. Fare yee well the 21. of Ian. 1555.

M. Hoope care and commendation of his wife.

Yours bounden, Iohn Hooper.

Amongſt many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembred in the hyſtorie of M. Hooper, thys alſo is not to be forgotten, which happened betwene hym, and a bragging Frier a little after the beginning of his impriſonment: the ſtorie whereof heere followeth.

Talke betwene M. Hooper and a Fryer in the priſo

A Frier came from Fraunce to England wyth greate vaunt, aſking who was the greateſt hereticke in all England, thinking belike to doe ſome great act vpon hym. To whom aunſwere was made, that M. Hooper had then the greateſt name to be the chiefeſt ringleader: who was then in the Fleete. The Frier comming to him, aſked whye hee was committed to priſon. He ſayd for debt. Nay, ſayde he, it was for hereſie, which when the other had denyed, what ſayſt thou (quoth he) to hoc eſt corpus meum? M. Hooper being partly mooued at the ſodaine queſtion, deſired that hee mighte aſke of him againe an other queſtion, whyche was thys: what remained after the conſecration in the Sacrament: any breade or no? No breade at all ſayeth hee. And when yee breake it, what doe yee breake: either bread or the body, ſayde Maiſter Hooper? No bread ſayd the Frier, but the body onely. If you doe ſo, ſayd M. Hooper, ye do great iniurie, not onely to the body of Chriſte, but alſo yee breake the Scriptures, which ſaye: Yee ſhall not breake of hym one bone. &c. Wyth yͭ the Frier hauing nothing be like to aunſwere, recoyled backe, and with his circles and croſſes began to vſe exorciſme againſt M. Hooper, as though. &c.

If the ma riall body of Chri be broke in the ſacra ment, the the com maundem of Gods word bro ken.

Thys and more wrote maſter Hooper, to miſtres Wilkinſon in a letter, which letter was read vnto her by Iohn Kelke.

Anno 1555. Februa

Compariſon betwene M.Hooper and Polycarpus.

compari- ſon be- twene M. Hooper & Polycarpus

When I ſee and beholde yͤ great patience of theſe bleſſed Martyrs in our daies, in their ſufferings ſo quietly and cõſtantly abiding the tormentes that are miniſtred vnto them of princes for Gods cauſe: mee thinkes I maye wel and worthely compare them vnto the olde Martyrs of the primatiue Churche. In the number of whome, if compariſon be to be made betwixt Saint and Saint: Martyr and Martyr, with whom, might I match this bleſſed martyr M. John Hooper better throughe the whole catalogue of the olde Martyrs, then with Polycarpus the auncient Biſhop of Smirna, of whome Euſebius maketh mention in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtorie? For as both agreed together in one kinde of puniſhmẽt, being both put to the fire, ſo which of them ſhewed more patience and conſtancie in the time of their ſuffering, it is hard to be ſayde. And though Polycarpus being ſet in the flame (as the ſtorie ſaith) was kepte by myracle from the tormente of the fire, till hee was ſtricken downe with weapon, and ſo diſpatched: yet Hooper by no leſſe myracle armed with patience & feruent ſpirit of Gods comfort, ſo quietly deſpiſed the violence thereof, as though he had felt litle more then did Polycarpus in yͤ fire flaming round about him.

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

Moreouer, as it is wrytten of Polycarpus when hee ſhould haue bene tied to the ſtake, he required to ſtand vntied, ſaying theſe wordes: Sinite me, qui namque ignem ferre poſſe dedit, dabit etiam vt ſine veſtra clauorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam. That is, Let me alone, I pray you, for he that gaue me ſtrength to come to this fire, will alſo geue mee patience to abide in the ſame, without your tying. So likewiſe Hooper, with the like ſpirite, when hee ſhoulde haue bene tied with thre chaines to the ſtake, requiring them to haue no ſuch miſtruſt of him, was tied but with one, who and if he had not bene tied at all, yet (no doubte) woulde haue no leſſe aunſwered to that great patience of Polycarpus.

Of this Polycarpus read before.

And as the ende of them bothe was much agreeing, ſo the life of them both was ſuch, as might ſeme not farre diſcrepant. In teaching, like diligent both, in zeale feruent, in life vnſpotted, in manners and conuerſation inculpable, Biſhops & alſo martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching ſo pithy and fruitful, that as they both were ioyned together in one Spirite, ſo mighte they be ioyned in one name together of πολύκαρπος, to wit, much fruitful. to which name alſo ὁπωεος is not much vnlike. In thys the Martyrdome of M. Hooper may ſeeme in ſuffering to goe before, though in time it followed the Martyrdome of Polycarpus, for that he was bothe longer in priſone, and there alſo ſo cruellye handled by the malice of hys keepers, as I thinke none of the olde martyrs euer ſuffered the like. To thys alſo adde howe hee was diſgraded by Boner, wyth ſuche contumelies and reproches, as I thinke in Polycarpus time was not vſed to any.

M.Hooper compared to Polycarpus in life.

The cruell handling of M.Hooper.

And as wee haue hitherto compared theſe two good Martyrs together, ſo nowe if we ſhould compare the enemies and authours of their death one wyth the other, wee ſhould finde no inequalitie betwixt them both, but that the aduerſaries of M. Hooper ſemed to be more cruell and vnmerciful. For they that put Polycarpus to death, yet miniſtred to him a quicke diſpatch, moued belike by ſome compaſſion not to haue him ſtande in the torment: where the tormentors of M. Hooper ſuffred him without all compaſſion to ſtand three quarters of an houre in the fire. And as touching the chiefe doers and authors of his martyrdome, what Conſul or Proconſul was there to be conferred with the Chancelour heere, which brought this Martyr to burning? Let this ſuffice.

The enemies of M. Hooper and of Polycarpus compared.

This good Biſhop and ſeruaunte of God being in priſon, wrote diuers Bookes and Treatiſes, to the number of 24. wherof ſome he wrote to the parlament in Latine, and one to the Biſhop of Chicheſter D. Day: beſides he wrote of the ſacraments, of the Lordes praier, and of the x. Commaundements, with diuers other.

Bookes and treatiſes written by M.Hooper.

Here folowe certaine of M.Hoopers letters.

As you haue hearde the whole ſtorie of the life and martyrdome of thys good manne declared: ſo nowe let vs conſequently adioyne ſome parte of hys letters, wrytten in the time of hys impriſonment, moſte fruitfull and worthy to be read, eſpecially in theſe daungerous dayes, of all true Chriſtians, which by true mortification ſeeke to ſerue and followe the Lorde, through all tempeſts and ſtormes of thys malignaunt worlde, as by the readyng and peruſing of the ſayde letters, you ſhall better feele and vnderſtande.

More of his letters ye ſhall read in the book of Letters of the Martyrs.

A letter of M.Hooper to certaine godly profeſſors and louers of the truth, inſtructing them howe to behaue them ſelues in that wofull alteration and change of Religion.

The grace, mercye, and peace of God the father through oure Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, be wͭ you my deare brethren, and withal thoſe that vnfaimedly loue and embrace his holy Goſpel. Amen.

A letter of M. Hooper.

It is told me, that the wicked Idol the Maſſe is ſtabliſhed again by a law, & paſſed in the parlamẽt houſe. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, & what penaltie is appointed in the Acte, to ſuch as ſpeake againſt it: alſo whether there be any compulſion to conſtraine men to be at it. The ſtatute thorowly knowen, ſuch as be abroad & at liberty, may prouide for themſelues, & auoid the danger the better. Doubtles there hath not bene ſeene before our time, ſuch a parliament as this is, yͭ as many as were ſuſpected to be fauourers of Gods word, ſhuld be baniſhed out of both houſes. But we muſt geue God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his bleſſed ſeruant king Edward yͤ ſixth, and pray vnto him that we deny it not, nor diſhonour it wͭ Idolatrie, but that we may haue ſtrength and pacience rather to die ten times, then to denie him once. Bleſſed ſhall we be, if euer God make vs worthy of that honor, to ſhed our bloude for hys names ſake: And bleſſed then ſhall we thinke yͤ parents which brought vs into this worlde, that we ſhoulde from this mortalitie be caried into immortalitie. If we followe the commaundement of S. Paule, that ſayth: If ye then be riſen againe with Chriſt, ſeeke thoſe thynges which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hande of God. We ſhall neither departe from the vaine tranſitorie goodes of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with ſo great paines as other doe.

The fauourers of Gods word ſecluded out of the Parliament, both in the hye houſe and lower agaynſt all right and reaſon.

Coloſ.3.

Let vs pray to our heauenly father, that we may know and loue his bleſſed will, and the glorious ioy prepared for vs in time to come, and that we maye knowe and hate all things contrary to his bleſſed will, and alſo the paine prepared for the wicked in the world to come. Ther is no better waye to be vſed in this troubleſome time for your conſolation, then many times to haue aſſemblies together of ſuch men and women as be of your religion in Chriſt, and there to talke and renewe among your ſelues the truthe of your Religion, to ſee what ye be by the worde of God, and to remember what yee were before yee came to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and conferre the dreames and falſe lies of the Preachers that nowe preache, with the worde of God that retaineth all truth, and by ſuch talke and familiar reſorting together, ye ſhall the better find out all their lies, that nowe goe about to deceiue you, & alſo both know and loue the truth that God hath opened to vs. It is much requiſite, that the members of Chriſte comfort one an other, make prayers together, conferre one wyth an other, ſo ſhal ye be the ſtronger, and Gods ſpirite ſhal not be abſent frõ you, but in the middeſt of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wiſe in all godly things, pacient in aduerſitie, and ſtrong in perſecution.

He exhorteth the brethren to reſorte and conferre among thẽ ſelues together.

Conference amongeſt brethren comfortable.

Ye ſee how the congregation of the wicked by helping one an other, make their wicked religion and them ſelues ſtrong againſt Gods truth and his people. If ye may haue ſome learned man that can oute of the Scriptures, ſpeake vnto you of faith and true honouring of God, alſo that can ſhewe you the deſcent of Chriſtes Church from the beginning of it vntill this day, that ye may perceiue by the life of youre forefathers theſe two things: the one, that Chriſtes worde, which ſaid, that all his muſt ſuffer perſecution and trouble in the worlde, be true: the other, that none of al his before our time, eſcaped trouble: then ſhal yee perceiue that it is but a follie for one that profeſſeth Chriſt truely, to looke for the loue of the world.

Iohn.10.

Thus ſhal ye learne to beare trouble, & to exerciſe your religion, and feele in dede that Chriſtes wordes be true: In the worlde ye ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And when ye feele your religion in dede, ſay, ye be no better then your forefathers, but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy ſouldiours for this warre: and pray to God when yee come together, that hee will vſe and order you and youre doings to theſe three endes, which ye muſt take heede of: the firſt, that ye glorifie God: the next, that yee edifie the Church and Congregation: the thirde, that ye profite your owne ſoules.

Three thinges to be taken heede of.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceiued. For although thys time be not yet ſo bloudye and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that coulde not beare the name of Chriſt, wythout daunger of lyfe and goodes: yet is oure time more perillous both for body and ſoule. Therefore of vs Chriſt ſayde: Thinke ye when the ſonne of manne commeth, hee ſhall finde faithe vppon the earthe? Hee ſayd not, Thinke ye he ſhal find any man or woman Chriſtened, & in name a

Luke.18.

Anno. 1555. February.

Faith more ſcarſer now then in the old time vnder Tyrauntes.

Chriſtian? but he ſpake of the faith that ſaueth the Chriſtian man in Chriſte: and doubtleſſe the ſcarcitie of Faith is nowe more (and will, I feare, encreaſe) then it was in the time of the greateſt tyrannes that euer were: and no maruell why. Read ye the 6. chap. of ſ. Iohns Reuelation, and ye ſhall perceiue amongeſt other thinges, yͤ at the opening of the fourth Seale, came out a pale horſe, and hee that ſate vpon him was called death, and hell followed hym. This horſe is the time wherin hipocrites and diſſemblers entred into the Churche vnder the pretence of true Religion, as Monkes, Friers, Nonnes, Maſſing Prieſtes, wyth ſuche other, that haue killed moe ſoules with hereſie and ſuperſtition, then all the tyrannes that euer were, killed bodies wͭ fire, ſword, or baniſhment, as it appeareth by hys name that ſitteth vpon yͤ horſe, who is called death: for all ſoules that leaue Chriſte, and truſt to theſe hypocrites, liue to the deuill in euerlaſting paine, as is declared by him that foloweth the pale horſe, which is hell.

The pale horſe in the Apocalips chap. 6. what it meaneth.

Mo ſoules ſlaine by Monkes and Fryers, &c. then bodyes by Tyrantes.

The 6. chapt. of the Apocalips opened.

Theſe pretenſed and pale hypocrites, haue ſtirred the earthquakes, that is to witte, the Princes of the worlde, againſt Chriſtes church, & haue alſo darkened the Sunne, and made the Moone bloudy, and haue cauſed the Starres to fal from heauen, that is to ſay, haue darkned with miſts and daily doe darken (as ye heare by theyr Sermons) the cleare ſunne of Gods moſt pure worde: the Moone, which be Gods true Preachers, whych fetche onely lighte at the Sunne of Gods word, are turned into bloud, priſons, and chaines, that theyr light can not ſhine vnto the worlde as they woulde: whereuppon it commeth to paſſe, that the Starres, that is to ſay, Chriſtian people fall from heauen, that is to wit, from Gods moſt true worde, to hypocriſie, moſt deuiliſh ſuperſtition and Idolatrie. Let ſome learned man ſhew you al the articles of your beliefe & monuments of Chriſtian faith, from the time of Chriſt hitherto, and yee ſhall perceiue that there was neuer mention of ſuche articles as theſe hypocrites teach. God bleſſe you, and pray for me, as I do for you.

Out of the Fleete, by your brother
in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

To maiſter Ferrar Biſhop of S. Dauies, D. Tailor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot, priſonners in the kings benche in Southwarke.

An other letter of M. Hooper.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I am aduertiſed by diuers, as well ſuch as loue the truthe, as alſo by ſuche as yet be not come vnto it, that ye and I ſhalbe caried ſhortly to Cãbridge, there to diſpute in the faith, and for the religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that we haue and doe profeſſe. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Chriſt readie, not only to goe to Cambridge, but alſo to ſuffer by Gods helpe, death it ſelfe in the maintenaunce thereof. Weſton and his complices haue obtained foorth the commiſsion already, and ſpedily (moſt like) he wil put it in execution. Wherfore deare brethren, I doe aduertiſe you of the thing before for diuers cauſes. The one to comfort you in the Lorde, that the tyme draweth nigh and is at hand, that we ſhall teſtifie before Gods enemies, Gods truth. The next, that ye ſhoulde prepare your ſelues the better for it. The third, to ſhew you what wayes I think were beſt to vſe our ſelues in this matter, and alſo to hear of euery one of you, your better aduiſe, if mine be not good. Ye knowe ſuch as ſhallbe Cenſors and Iudges ouer vs, breath and thirſt our bloud, and whether we by Gods help ouercome after the word of God, or by force and ſubtiltie of our aduerſaries be ouercome, this will be the concluſion, our aduerſaries wil ſay, they ouercome, and ye perceiue howe they reporte of thoſe great learned men and godly perſonages at Oxforde.

Commiſsion geuen out for M. Hooper and other, to diſpute at Cambridge.

Wherefore I minde neuer to aunſweare them, except I haue bookes preſent, becauſe they vſe not onely falſe allegation of the Doctors, but alſo a peece of the Doctors againſt the whole courſe of the Doctors minde. The next, that we may haue ſworne Notaries, to take things ſpoken indifferently: which will be very harde to haue, for the aduerſaries will haue the ouerſight of all thinges, and then make theirs better then it was, & our worſe then it was. Then if we ſee that two or three, or more will ſpeake together, or with ſcoffes and tauntes illude and mocke vs: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeale, to be hearde before the Queene and the whole Counſaile, and that would much ſet foorth the glory of God. For many of them knowe already the truthe, many of them erre rather of zeale then malice, and the others that be indurate, ſhoulde be aunſweared fully to their ſhame (I doubte not) althoughe to oure ſmart and bloudſhedding. For of this I am aſſured that the Commiſsioners appoynted to heare vs and iudge vs, meane nothynge leſſe then to heare the cauſe indifferently; for they be ennemies vnto vs & vnto our cauſe, and be at a poynt already to geue ſentẽce againſt vs: ſo that if it were poſsible with S. Stephen to ſpeak, ſo that they could not reſiſt vs; or to vſe ſuche ſilence & pacience as Chriſt did, they will proceede to reuenging.

The counſell of M. Hooper how and vpon what cautions to diſpute with the aduerſaries.

Wherefore my deare brethren, in the mercy of Ieſus Chriſte, I would be glad to knowe your aduiſe this day or to morowe, for ſhortly we ſhall be gone, and I verily ſuppoſe that we ſhall not cõpanie together, but be kept one abroade from an other. They will denie our appeale: yet let vs chalenge the appeale, and take witneſſe thereof of ſuche as be preſent, and require for indifferencie of hearing and iudgement to be heard, either before the Queene and the Counſaile, or els before all the Parliament, as they were vſed in king Edwardes dayes. Further, for my part I will require both bookes and time to anſwere. Wee haue bene priſoners now three quarters of a yeare, and haue lacked oure bookes, and oure memorie by cloſe keeping, and ingratitude of their partes, be not as preſent and quicke as theirs be. I truſt God will be with vs, yea I doubt not but he will, and teache vs to doe all thinges in hys cauſe godly and cõſtantly. If our aduerſaries that ſhalbe our iudges, may haue their purpoſe, we ſhall diſpute one day, be condemned the next day, and ſuffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemne vs (as farre as I knowe) and ſo one of the Conuocation houſe ſayde this weeke to Doct. Weſton. To whome Weſton made this anſwere: It forceth not, quoth hee, for a lawe, wee haue commiſsion to proceede with them: when they be diſpatched, let their frendes ſue the lawe.

Note ho the Pap procee a gaynſt all order and law.

Nowe, howe ſoone a man may haue ſuch a commiſsion at my Lord Chancelors hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained, as an enditement for Chriſt at Cayphas hande. Beſides that, the Byſhoppes hauing the Queene ſo vpon their ſides, may do all things both without the aduiſe, and alſo the knowledge of the reſt of the Lordes of the temporaltie: who at this preſent haue found out the marke that the Biſhops ſhote at, and doubtles be not pleaſed with their doings. I pray you helpe that our brother Sanders and the reſt in the Marſhalſey may vnderſtande theſe things, and ſende me your anſwere betime. Iudas non dormit: nec ſcimus diem neque horam. i. Iudas ſlepeth not: neither know we the day nor the hour. Dominus Ieſus Chriſtus ſuo ſancto numine nos omnes conſoletur & adiuuet. Amen. i. The Lord Ieſus Chriſt with his holy ſpirite comfort and ſtrengthen vs all Amen. May 6. 1554.

Yours and with you vnto death, in Chriſt, I. Hooper.

An exhortation to pacience, ſent to his godly wife Anne Hooper: whereby all the true members of Chriſt may take comfort and courage, to ſuffer trouble & affliction for the profeſsion of his holy Goſpel.

Our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt (dearely beloued & my godly wife) in ſ. Mathewes Goſpell ſaid to his diſciples, that it was neceſſary ſclaunders ſhoulde come: and that they coulde not be auoided, he perceiued as wel by the cõdition of thoſe that ſhould peariſh & be loſt for euer in the world to come, as alſo by their affliction that ſhould be ſaued. For he ſawe the greateſt part of the people would contemne & neglecte, whatſoeuer true doctrine or godly wayes ſhould be ſhewed vnto them, or els receiue it & vſe it as they thought good to ſerue their pleaſures without any profite to their ſoules at all, not caring whether they liued as they were commanded by Gods word or not: but would thinke it ſufficient to be counted to haue the name of a Chriſtian man, wyth ſuch workes and frutes of his profeſſion and Chriſtianitie, as his fathers and elders after their cuſtome & maner, eſteeme and take to be good fruites and faithful works, and will not try them by the worde of God at all. Theſe men by the iuſt iudgement of God, be deliuered vnto the crafte and ſubtiltie of the deuill, that they may be kept by one ſclaunderous ſtũbling blocke or other, that they neuer come vnto Chriſt, who came to ſaue thoſe that were loſt: as yee may ſee howe God deliuereth wicked menne vp vnto their owne luſtes, to do one miſchiefe after an other carelesse, vntill they come into a reprobate minde, that forgetteth it ſelfe and can not knowe what is expedient to be done, or to be leaſt vndone, becauſe they cloſe their eyes, and will not ſee the lyghte of Gods worde offered vnto them, and being thus blinded, they preferre their owne vanities before the truth of Gods worde. Whereas ſuch corrupt mindes be, there is alſo corrupt election and choyſe of Gods honor: ſo that the minde of man taketh falſehode for truthe, ſuperſtition for true religion, death for life, damnation for ſaluation, hell for heauen, and perſecution of Chriſtes members, for Gods ſeruice and honour. And as theſe men wilfully and voluntarily reiect the worde of God: euen ſo God moſt iuſtly deliuereth them into the blindnes of mind & hardnes of heart, that they can not vnderſtand, nor yet conſent to any thyng that God would haue preached and ſet forth to his glory, after his owne will and worde: wherefore they hate it mortally, & of all things moſt deteſt Gods holy worde. And as yͤ deuill hath entred into their hearts, that they them ſelues can not, nor will not come to Chriſt to be inſtructed by hys holy word: euen ſo can they not abide any other man to be a Chriſtian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, perſecute him, robbe him, impriſone hym, yea and kil him, whether he be man or womã, if God ſuffer it.

Mat.18.

An effectu letter of M. Hooper ſent to hys wife.

Math.24.

Rom.1.2. Theſ.2.

Errour taken for truth and perſecution for Gods ſeruice.

Iohn.3.&.

And

Anno 1555. Februa ry.

And ſo much are thoſe wicked men blinded, that they paſſe of no law, whether it be Gods or mans, but perſecute ſuch as neuer offended, yea, do euil to thoſe that daily haue prayed for them, and wiſh them Gods grace.

No reſpect of nature with the perſecuting aduerſaries.

In their Pharaonical and blind furie they haue no reſpect to nature. For the brother perſecuteth the brother, the father the ſonne: and moſt deare frends, in diueliſh ſclaunder and offence are become moſt mortal ennemies. And no marueile, for when they haue choſen ſundrye maiſters, the one the deuill, the other God, the one ſhall agree with the other, as God and the deuell agree betweene them ſelues. For this cauſe, that the more parte of the worlde doth chuſe to ſerue the deuill vnder cloaked hypocriſie of Gods title, Chriſt ſayd: It is expedient and neceſſary that ſclanders ſhould come, and many meanes be deuiſed to keepe the litle babes of Chriſt from the heauenly father. But Chriſt ſayth: Wo be vnto him by whome the offence commeth: Yet is there no remedy, man being of ſuch corruption and hatred towardes God, but that the euil ſhalbe deceiued, & perſecute the good: and the good ſhall vnderſtand the truth, and ſuffer perſecution for it vntill the worlds ende. For as he that was borne after the fleſh, perſecuted in times paſt, him that was born after the ſpirite: euen ſo is it now. Therefore, for ſo much as we liue in this life amongſt ſo many great pearils and daungers, we muſt be wel aſſured by gods word how to beare them, and how paciently to take them, as they be ſent to vs frō God. We muſt alſo aſſure our ſelues that there is no other remedy for Chriſtians in the time of trouble, then Chriſt himſelf hath appoynted vs. In S. Luke he geueth vs thys commaundement: Ye ſhall poſſeſſe your liues in pacience, ſayeth he. In the which words, he geueth vs both commaundement what to doe, and alſo great comfort and conſolation in all troubles. Hee ſheweth alſo what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles: and when troubles happen, he biddeth vs be pacient, and in no caſe violently nor ſeditiouſly to reſiſt our perſecuters, becauſe God hath ſuch care and charge of vs, that he wil keepe in the mids of all troubles the very heares of our heade, ſo that one of them ſhall not fall away without the wil and pleaſure of our heauenly father. Whether the haire therfore tarie in the head, or fal from the head, it is the wil of the father. And ſeeing he hath ſuch care for the haires of our head, howe much more doeth he care for our life it ſelfe? Wherefore let Gods aduerſaries do what they luſt, whether they take life or take it not, they can do vs no hurt: for their crueltye hath no further power then God permitteth them: and that which commeth vnto vs by the will of our heauenly father, can be no harme, no loſſe, neither deſtruction vnto vs, but rather gain, wealth, and felicitie. For all troubles and aduerſitie that chaunce to ſuch as be of God, by the wil of the heauenly father, can be none other but gaine and aduantage.

Math.18.

Gene.4. Galat.4.

Luke 21.

Patience in troubles, onely the chriſtian mans remedy.

Rom.8.

That the ſpirite of manne may feele theſe conſolations, the geuer of them the heauenly father muſt be prayed vnto for the merites of Chriſtes paſſion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, vntill it be regenerated and poſſeſſed with Gods ſpirit, to beare paciently the troubles of the minde or of the body. When the minde and heart of a man ſeeth of euery ſide ſorow and heauines, & the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but ſuche things as be troublous & wholely bent to robbe the poore of that hee hath, and alſo to take from him hys life: except the man weighe theſe brittle and vncertaine treaſures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body with the life in Chriſtes precious bloud, and ſo for the loue and certaintie of the heauenly ioyes contemne all thyngs preſent, doubtles he ſhall neuer be able to beare the loſſe of goodes, life, or any other things of this world.

Prayer neceſſary. Iames 1. 1.Cor.1.8.

Therefore S. Paule geueth a very godly and neceſſary leſſon to all men in this ſhort and tranſitorie life, and therin ſheweth howe a man may beſt beare the iniquitie and troubles of this world: If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt (ſayth he) ſeeke the things which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hande of God the father. Wherefore the Chriſtian mans faith muſt be alwayes vppon the reſurrection of Chriſte, when he is in trouble, and in that glorious reſurrection he ſhall not onely ſee continuall and perpetuall ioy and conſolation: but alſo the victorie and triumph of all perſecution, trouble, ſinne, death, hell, the deuil, and al other tyrants and perſecuters of Chriſt and of Chriſtes people, the teares and weepings of the faithfull dryed vppe, theyr woundes healed, their bodies made immortall in ioy, their ſoules for euer praiſing the Lord, and coniunction and ſocietie euerlaſting, wyth the bleſſed company of Gods electes in perpetuall ioy. But the wordes of S. Paule in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall doe little profite to the reader or hearer, and geue him no pacience at all in this impacient and cruell world.

Coloſſ.3. A leſſon how to beare trouble.

In this firſt part S. Paule commaundeth vs, to thinke or ſet our affections on things that are aboue. When he biddeth vs ſeeke the thyngs that are aboue, hee requireth that oure mindes neuer ceaſe from prayer and ſtudie in Gods word, vntill we ſee, knowe, and vnderſtande the vanities of thys worlde, the ſhortneſſe and miſerie of thys life, and the treaſures of the worlde to come, the immortalitie thereof, and the ioyes of that life, and ſo neuer ceaſe ſeeking, vntill ſuche time as we know certainly, and be perſwaded what a bleſſed man hee is, that ſeeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though hee looſe it: and in ſeekynge to haue ryght iudgement betwene the life preſent and the life to come, wee ſhall finde howe little the paines, impryſonment, ſclaunders, lies, and death it ſelfe is in thys worlde, in reſpect of the paines euerlaſting, the priſonne infernall, and dungeon of hell, the ſentence of Gods iuſt iudgement, and euerlaſting death.

Two thinges commaunded by S. Paule writing to the Coloſſians. The firſt is to ſee and know what thinges are aboue and what thinges are beneath and and to diſcerne rightly betwene them. The ſecond is to ſet our affection vpon them that are aboue and not vpon the other And this leſſon is harder then the other.

When a man hath by ſeeking the worde of God, found out what the things aboue be: then muſt hee (as S. Paule ſaith) ſet his affections vpon them. And this commaundement is more harde then the other. For mans knowledge many times ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better then thys life preſent, as you maye ſee howe daily men and women can praiſe and commende, yea, and wiſhe for heauen, and to be at reſt there? yet they ſette not their affection vpon it, they do more affect and loue in dede a trifle of nothing in this worlde that pleaſeth their affection, then the treaſure of all treaſures in heauen, which their owne iudgement ſayth is better then all worldly thinges. Wherefore we muſt ſet our affections vpon the things that be aboue: that is to ſay, when any thing worſe then heauen vpon the earth, offereth it ſelfe to be ours, if we wil geue our good willes to it, and loue it in our heartes, then ought we to ſee by the iudgement of Gods worde, whether we may haue the worlde without offence of God, and ſuche thyngs as be for this worldly life, wythout his diſpleaſure. If wee can not, S. Paules commaundement muſt take place: Set your affections on things that are aboue. If the riches of thys world may not be gotten nor kept by Gods lawe, neyther our liues be continued without the deniall of hys honour, we muſt ſet our affection vpon the richeſſe and lyfe that is aboue, and not vpon things that be on the earth. Therfore this ſecond commaundement of S. Paul requireth, that as our minds iudge heauenly things to be better then thyngs vpon the earth, and the life to come better then the life preſent: ſo we ſhould chuſe them before other, & preferre them, and haue ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the world doth and hath done, for they chooſe the beſt and approoue it, and yet follow the worſte.

How thinges of this world may be poſſeſſed and how not.

But theſe thyngs (my godly wife) require rather cogitation, meditation, and praier, then wordes or talke. They be eaſie to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſie to be vſed and practiſed. Wherefore, ſeeing they be Gods gyftes, and none of ours, to haue as our owne when we would, we muſt ſeke them at our heauenly fathers hand, who ſeeth and is priuy how poore and wretched we be, and how naked, how ſpoiled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed giftes we be by reaſon of ſinne. He did commaund therefore his Diſciples, when he ſhewed them that they ſhoulde take paciently the ſtate of thys preſent life full of troubles and perſecution, to praye that they myghte well eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be able to ſtande before the ſonne of man. When ye finde your ſelfe too much oppreſſed (as euery man ſhalbe ſometime wyth the feare of Gods iudgement) vſe the 77. Pſalme, that beginneth: I will crie vnto God with my voyce, and he ſhall hearken vnto me. In which Pſalme is both godly doctrine and great conſolation vnto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of minde.

Scriptures woulde bee muſed vpon rather then talked vpon.

Math.24. Luke.2.

Pſal.27. Read alſo M. Hoopers expoſition vpon thys Pſalme, moſt comfortable for all broken and afflicted hartes.

Vſe alſo in ſuche trouble the 88. Pſalme, wherein is conteined the praier of a man, that was brought into extreme anguiſh & miſery, and being vexed with aduerſaries & perſecutions, ſaw nothing but death & hel. And although hee fealt in hym ſelfe, that hee had not onely man, but alſo God angry towards him: yet he by praier humbly reſorted vnto God, as the only port of conſolation, and in the midſt of his deſperate ſtate of trouble, put the hope of his ſaluation in him, whome he fealt his enemie. Howbeit no man of him ſelfe can doe this, but the ſpirite of God that ſtryketh the mans heart with feare, prayeth for the man ſtriken and feared with vnſpeakeable gronings. And when you feele your ſelfe, or know any other oppreſſed after ſuche ſorte, be glad: for after that God hath made you to know what you be of your ſelfe, he wil doubtles ſhew you comfort, and declare vnto you what you be in Chriſt his onely ſonne: and vſe praier often, for that is the meanes whereby God will be ſoughte vnto for hys giftes. Theſe Pſalmes be for the purpoſe, when the minde can take no vnderſtandinge, nor the hart any ioy of gods promiſes: and therfore were theſe

Rom.8.

What Pſalmes are to be vſed in diſtreſſe and tribulation.

Read alſo the fourth chapter of Eccle.
Coloſſ.3.

Note this well to thy comfort that art afflicted.

Rom.8.

Conſolation.

Patience.

Afflictions be the meſſengers and ſeruauntes of Cod.

Luke.2.

Pacience the gift onely of God.

Pſalmes alſo made.6.22.30.31.38.69. from the whiche you ſhall learne bothe pacience and conſolation. Remember, that although your life (as all Chriſtian mens be) be hid and appeareth not what it is, yet it is ſafe (as S. Paule ſayth) with God in Chriſt: and when Chriſt ſhall appeare, then ſhall our liues be made open with him in glorie. But in the meane time wyth ſeeking and ſetting our affections vpon the things that be aboue, we muſt paciently ſuffer whatſoeuer God ſhal ſend vnto vs in this mortal life. Notwithſtanding it might fortune ſome woulde ſay. Who is ſo perfect, that can lette all things paſſe as they come, & haue no care of thẽ: ſuffer all things, and feele nothing: be attempted of the Deuill, the worlde, and the fleſh, and be not troubled? Verely no man liuing. But this I ſay, that in the ſtrength of Ieſus Chriſt things that come, maye paſſe with care, for we be worldly, and yet are we not caried with them from Chriſt, for we be in him godly. We may ſuffer things and fele them as mortall men, yet beare them and ouercome them as Chriſtian men. We may be attempted of the deuill, the fleſh, and the worlde: but yet although thoſe things pinche, they doe not pierce, and although they worke ſinne in vs, yet in Chriſte no damnation to thoſe that be grafted in him. Hereof may the chriſtian man learne both conſolation & patience. Conſolation, in that he is compelled both in his body & goodes to feele paine and loſſe, and in the ſoule heauineſſe and anguiſh of minde: howbeit none of them both ſhall ſeparate him from the loue that God beareth him in Chriſt. He may learne patience, for as much as his enemies both of the body and ſoule, and the paines alſo they vexe vs wythall for the time, if they tarie with vs as long as we liue, yet when death commeth, they ſhall auoide, and geue place to ſuche ioyes as be prepared for vs in Chriſt: for no paines of the world be perpetuall, and whether they ſhall afflicte vs for all the time of our mortal life, we know not, for they be the ſeruauntes of God to goe and to come, as he commandeth them. But we muſt take heede we meddle not forceablye nor ſeditiouſly, to put away the perſecution appoynted vnto vs by God, but remember Chriſtes ſaying: Poſſeſſe you your liues by your patience. And in thys commãdement God requireth in euery man and woman this pacient obediẽce. Hee ſayeth not, it is ſufficient that other holy Patriarkes, Prophetes, Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, and Martyrs continued their liues in pacience, and pacient ſuffering the troubles of this world: but Chriſt ſaith to euery one of his people: By your owne pacience ye ſhall continue your life: not that man hath pacience of him ſelfe, but that he muſt haue it for him ſelfe of God, the onely geuer of it, if he purpoſe to be a godly man. Nowe therefore, as our profeſſion and religion requireth pacience outwardly wythout reſiſtaunce and force: ſo requireth it pacience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, althoughe he vſe vs that be as hys owne creatures, as him liſteth.

Math.3.

To ſuffer for Chriſt, is honorable.
Math.24.
Heb.11.

We may not alſo murmure againſt God, but ſay alwaies his iudgements be right & iuſt, and reioyce that it pleaſeth him by troubles to vſe vs, as he vſed heeretofore ſuch as he moſt loued in this worlde, and haue a ſingular care to this commandemẽt: Gaudete, & exultate, Be glad & reioyce, for he ſheweth great cauſe why: Your rewarde (ſayth he) is great in heauen. Theſe promiſes of him that is yͤ truth it ſelfe, ſhal by Gods grace) worke both cõſolation and pacience in the afflicted chriſtian perſon. And when our ſauior Chriſt hath willed menne in trouble to be content and pacient, becauſe God in the ende of trouble in Chriſt hath ordained eternall conſolation: he vſeth alſo to take from vs all ſhame and rebuke, as though it were not an honor to ſuffer for chriſt, becauſe yͤ wicked world doth curſſe & abhorre ſuch poore troubled Chriſtians. Wherfore Chriſte placeth all his honourably, and ſayeth: Euen ſo perſecuted they the Prophetes that were before you. Wee may alſo ſee with whome the afflicted for Chriſtes ſake, be eſteemed by S. Paul to the Hebrews, where as the number of the bleſſed and glorious company of Saintes appeare nowe to our faith in heauen in ioy: yet in the letter, for the time of this life, in ſuch paines and contempt, as was neuer more. Let vs therefore conſider both them and all other thinges of the worlde ſithens the fall of man, and we ſhall perceiue nothing to come to perfection, but wyth ſuch confuſion and diſorder to the eye of yͤ world, as though things wer rather loſt for euer, then like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who euer came to heauen (no not Chriſt him ſelfe) vntill ſuche time as the world had thought verely yͭ both he & al his had ben cleane deſtroyed and caſt away: as the wiſe man ſayth of the wicked people: We thought them to be foles, but they be in peace.

Sap.5.
Example taken of our meate and drinke how thinges neuer come to their perfection before they be vtterly waſted.

Wee may learne by things that nouriſh and maintaine vs, both meat and drinke, to what lothſomnes and (in maner) abhorring they come vnto, before they worke theyr perfection in vs. From life they be brought to the fire, and cleane altered from that they were when they were aliue: from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all to hacked: from the trencher to the mouth, and as ſmall ground as the teethe can grinde them: and from the mouth into the ſtomack, and there ſo boyled and digeſted before they nouriſh, that who ſoeuer ſaw the ſame, would loth and abhorre hys owne nouriſhment, before it come to hys perfection.

Vnmortified men be no people to God.
Math.[illegible]

Rom.8.

Is it then any marueile if ſuche Chriſtians as GOD delighteth in, be ſo mangled and defaced in thys worlde, whych is the kitchin and mill to boyle and grinde the fleſh of Gods people in, till they atchieue their perfection in the worlde to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meate when it is ful digeſted, and not before: ſo muſt hee looke for hys ſaluation when hee hath paſſed thys troublous worlde, and not before. Rawe fleſhe is not meate wholeſome for man: and vnmortified men and women, be not creatures meete for God. Therefore Chriſt ſayeth, that his people muſt be broken, and all too torne in the mill of thys worlde, and ſo ſhall they be moſte fine meale vnto the heauenly father. And it ſhall be a Chriſtian mannes parte, and the ductie of a mynde replcaniſhed wyth the ſpirite of God, to marke the order of God in all his things, howe he dealeth wyth them, and howe they ſuffer and be content to lette God do his will vpon them, as S. Paule ſayeth: They waite vntill the number of the electes be fulfilled, and neuer be at reſt, but looke for the time when Gods people ſhall appeare in glorie.

Example of Abraham.
Example of Ioſeph.

Iohn.9.

1.Pet.4.
Iudgement firſt beginneth with the houſe of God.
Coloſſ.3.

We muſt therfore paciently ſuffer, and willingly attend vppon Gods doings, althoughe they ſeeme cleane contrary after our iudgement, to our wealth and ſaluation: as Abraham did, when hee was bid to offer his ſonne Iſaac, in whom God promiſed the bleſſing and multiplying of hys ſeede. Ioſeph at the laſt came to that which God promiſed him, although in the meane time, after the iudgemẽt of the worlde, he was neuer like to be (as God ſaid he ſhould be) Lorde ouer hys brethren. When Chriſte woulde make the blinde man to ſee, he put clay vppon hys eyes, whych after the iudgement of man, was meanes rather to make hym double blind, then to geue him his ſight: but he obeied, and knew that God could worke his deſire, what meanes ſoeuer he vſed contrary to mans reaſon: and as touching this world, he vſeth all hys after the ſame ſort. If any ſmart, his people be the firſt: if any ſuffer ſhame, they begin: if any be ſubiecte to ſclaunder, it is thoſe that hee loueth: ſo that hee ſheweth no face or fauour, nor loue almoſt in thys worlde outwardly to them, but laith clay vpon their ſore eyes, that be ſorowfull: yet the pacient man ſeeth (as S. Paul ſayeth) life hid vnder theſe miſeries and aduerſities, and ſight vnder foule clay, and in the meane time he hath the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and beleueth Gods promiſes to be his conſolation in the worlde to come, whych is more worthe vnto him, then all the worlde is worth beſides: and bleſſed is that man in whom Gods ſpirite beareth recorde that he is the ſonne of God, what ſoeuer troubles he ſuffer in thys troubleſome worlde.

Rom.8.

Math.24.

Luke.21.

Fleſh neuer mery with vertue, nor ſory with vyce.

Math.24.

And to iudge things indifferently (my godly wife) the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers time, ſoone after the deathe and reſurrection of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſu, whereof hee ſpake in S. Mathewe. Of the whych place you and I haue taken manye tymes greate conſolation, and eſpecially of the latter parte of the Chapter, wherein is contained the laſt daye and ende of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for ſuche as loue the comming of our ſauiour Chriſte to iudgement. Remember therefore that place, and marke it againe, and yee ſhall in thys time ſee great conſolation, and alſo learne muche pacience. Was there euer ſuche troubles, as Chriſte threatned vppon Ieruſalem? was there ſithens the beginning of the worlde, ſuche affliction? who was then beſt at eaſe? The Apoſtles that ſuffered in body perſecution, and gathered of it eaſe and quietneſſe in the promiſes of God. And no marueile, for Chriſt ſayeth: Lifte vp your heades, for your redemption is at hande, that is to ſaye, your eternall reſt approcheth and draweth neare. The world is ſtarke blind, and more fooliſh then fooliſhneſſe it ſelfe, and ſo be the people of the worlde. For when God ſayth, trouble ſhal come, they will haue eaſe. And when God ſayeth, be merrye and reioyce in trouble, we lament and mourne, as thoughe we were caſtawayes. But this our fleſh (which is neuer merry with vertue, nor ſorrie with vice, neuer laugheth wyth grace, nor euer weepeth wyth ſinne (holdeth faſt wyth the worlde, and letteth God ſlippe. But (my dearely beloued wife) you knowe howe to perceiue and to beware of the vanitie and craftes of the deuill wel enough in Chriſt. And that yee may the better haue pacience in the ſpirite of God, reade againe the 24. chap. of S. Mathew, and marke what difference is betwene the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, and the deſtruction of the whole world, and you ſhall ſee, that then here were left aliue many offenders to repent: but at the

latter

ſtruction Ieruſa- m and de- lation of e whole orld com- red.

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latter day there ſhall be abſolute iudgement and ſentence (neuer to be reuoked) of eternall life and eternal death vpon all mē, and yet towards the end of the world, we haue nothing ſo much extremitie, as they had then, but euen as we be able to beare. So doth the mercifull father lay vpon vs now impriſonment (and I ſuppoſe for my part, ſhortly death,) now ſpoile of goodes, loſſe of frends, and the greateſt loſſe of all, the knowledge of Gods word. Gods wyll be done. I wiſh in Chriſt Ieſu our onely mediatour and Sauiour, your conſtancie and conſolation, that you may liue for euer and euer, whereof in Chriſt I doubt not: to whome for his bleſſed and moſt paynefull paſſion I commit you. Amen. 13. October. 1553.

* To a certayne godly woman, inſtructing her how ſhe ſhould behaue her ſelfe in the time of her wydowhoode.

An other letter of M. Hooper.

THe grace of God, and the comfort of his holy ſpirite, be with you and all them that vnfaynedly loue hys holy Goſpell. Amen.

I thanke you (deare ſiſter) for your moſt louing remembrance, and although I can not recompence the ſame, yet do I wiſh with all my hart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in theſe perilous dayes, in the whiche the Lorde will trie vs. I truſt you do encreaſe by reading of ỹ ſcriptures, the knowledge you haue of God, and that you diligently apply your ſelfe to folow the ſame: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do hartily pray you, to conſider the ſtate of your wydowhoode, and if God ſhall put in your minde to change it, remember the ſaying of Saint Paule 1. Corinth. 7. It is lawfull for the wydow or mayden to marry to whome they liſt, ſo it be in the Lord: that is to ſaye, to ſuche a one as is of Chriſtes Religion. Dearely beloued in Chriſt, remember theſe words, for you ſhall fynde thereby great ioy and comfort, if you chaunge your ſtate. whereof I wyll when I haue better leyſure (as now I haue none at all) further aduertiſe you. In the meane time, I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good ſpirit, who ſtabliſh and confirme you in all well doing, and keepe you blameleſſe to the day of the Lorde. watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

1. Cor. 7.

To marry in the Lorde what it is.

Yours aſſured in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

To all my deare breethren, my relieuers and helpers in the Citie of London.

An other letter of M. Hooper to his friendes in London.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I haue receaued frō you (dearely beloued in our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt) by the hands of my ſeruaunt William Dowton, your liberalitie, for the which I do moſt hartely thanke you, and I prayſe God hyghly in you for you, who hath mooued your hartes to ſhewe this kyndnes towardes me, praying him to preſerue you from all famine, ſcarcitie, and lacke of the truth of his worde, whiche is the liuely foode of youre ſoules, as you preſerue my body from hunger & other neceſſities, which ſhould happen vnto me, were it not cared for by ỹ beneuolence and charitie of godly people. Such as haue taken all worldly goodes and lands from me, & ſpoiled me of all that I had, haue impriſoned my body and appointed no one halfepeny to feede or relieue me withal: but I do forgeue them, and pray for them dayly in my poore prayer vnto God, and from my hart I wiſhe their ſaluation, and quietly & patiently beare their iniuries, wiſhing no farther extremitie to be vſed towards vs. Yet if it ſeeme contrary beſt vnto our heauenly father, I haue made my reckening, & fully reſolued my ſelfe to ſuffer the vttermoſt that they are able to do againſt me, yea death it ſelfe, by the aide of Chriſt Ieſu, who died the moſt vile death of ỹ croſſe for vs wretches & miſerable ſinners. But of this I am aſſured, ỹ the wicked world wͭ all his force & power, ſhal not touch one of ỹ heares of your heads without leaue & licēce of our heauenly father, whoſe wil be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Onely we pray, that our willes may be ſubiect vnto his will, & then although both we & all the world ſee none other thing but death, yet if he thinke life beſt, we ſhal not die, no, although the ſword be drawen out ouer our heades: as Abraham thought to kill his ſonne Iſaac, yet when God perceaued that Abraham had ſurrendred his will to Gods will, and was content to kill his ſonne, God then ſaued his ſonne.

The chriſtian charitie of M. Hooper to his enemies.

M. Hooper fully reſolued to ſuffer.

Dearely beloued, if we be contented to obey Gods will, and for his commaundements ſake, to ſurrender our goods and our ſelues to be at his pleaſure, it maketh no matter whether we keepe goodes and lyfe, or loſe them. Nothyng can hurt vs that is taken from vs for Gods cauſe, nor nothing can at length do vs good, that is preſerued contrary vnto Gods commaundement. Let vs wholy ſuffer God to vſe vs and ours after his holy wiſedome, and beware we neither vſe nor gouern our ſelues contrary to his will by our own wiſedome, for if we do, our wiſedome will at length proue fooliſhnes. It is kept to no good purpoſe ỹ we keepe contrary vnto his commaundements. It can by no meanes be taken from vs that he would ſhould tary wͭ vs. He is no good Chriſtian that ruleth himſelfe & his, as worldly meanes ſerueth: for he ỹ ſo doth ſhall haue as many changes as chāceth in the world. To day with ỹ world he ſhall like and prayſe the truth of God, to morow as the world will, ſo will he like and prayſe the falſhood of man: to day with Chriſt, and to morow with Antichriſt. wherefore deare brethren, as touching your behauiour towards God, vſe both your inward ſpirites and your outward bodyes, your inward and your outward man (I ſay) not after the meanes of men, but after ỹ infallible word of god.

Gods will to be obeyed in all thinges.

Difference betweene the true chriſtian, and the worldling.

Refraine from euill in both, and glorifie your heauenly father in both. For if ye thinke ye can inwardly in the hart ſerue him, and yet outwardly ſerue with the world in externall ſeruice, ỹ thing that is not God, ye deceaue your ſelues, for both the body and the ſoule muſt together concurre in the honour of God, as S. Paule plainly teacheth, 1. Cor. 6. For if an honeſt wife be bound to geue both hart and body to fayth and ſeruice in mariage, and if an honeſt wiues fayth in the hart cannot ſtand with an whoriſhe or defiled body outwardly: muche leſſe can the true fayth of a Chriſtian in the true ſeruice of Chriſtianitie, ſtand with the bodely ſeruice of externall Idolatry: for the miſtery of mariage is not ſo honorable betweene man and wife, as it is betweene Chriſt & euery chriſtian man, as S. Paule ſaith.

Both the inward man and outward man muſt concurre in the honour of God.

Therefore deare brethren, pray to the heauenly father, that as he ſpared not the ſoule nor the body of his dearely beloued ſonne, but applyed both of them with extreame payne, to work our ſaluation both of body and ſoule: ſo he will geue vs al grace to apply our bodyes and ſoules to be ſeruauntes vnto him: for doubtles he requireth as wel the one as the other, and cannot be miſcontented with the one and well pleaſed with the other. Either he hateth both, or loueth both: he deuideth not his loue to one and his hatred to the other. Let not vs therfore good brethren, deuide our ſelues, and ſay our ſoules ſerue him whatſoeuer our bodyes doe the contrary, for ciuill order and pollicy.

But (alas) I know by my ſelfe, what troubleth you, that is, the great daunger of the worlde, that will reuenge (ye thinke) your ſeruice to God, with ſword and fire, with loſſe of goodes and landes. But (deare brethren,) way of the other ſide, that your enemies, and Gods enemies, ſhal not do ſo much as they would, but as much as God ſhall ſuffer them, who can trap them in their own counſels, and deſtroy them in the midſt of their furies. Remember ye be the workemen of the Lord, and called into his Vineyard, there to labour till euening tide, that ye may receaue your peny, which is more worth then al the kinges of the earth. But he that calleth vs into hys vineyard, hath not told vs how ſore and how feruently the ſunne ſhall trouble vs in our labour: But hath bid vs labour and committe the bitternes thereof vnto him: who can and will ſo moderate al afflictions, that no man ſhall haue more layd vppon him, then in Chriſt hee ſhall be able to beare: Vnto whoſe mercifull tuition and defence I commend both your ſoules and bodyes. 2. September. 1554.

Gods enemies can do no more then he geueth them leaue. Math. 20.

Yours with my poore prayer, Iohn Hooper.

To a Marchant of London, by whoſe meanes he had receaued much comfort in his great neceſſitie in the Fleete.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Chriſt Ieſus our Lorde. I thanke God and you for the great helpe and conſolation I haue receaued in the time of aduerſity by your charitable meanes but moſt reioice that you be not altered from trueth, although falſhoode cruelly ſeeketh to diſtayne her. Iudge not (my brother) truth by outward appearaunce, for truth now worſe appeareth and more vilely is reiected then falſhoode. Leaue the outwarde ſhewe, and ſee by the worde of God what truth is, and accept truth, and diſlike her not though man call her falſhoode. As it is now, ſo hath it bene heretofore, the truth reiected and falſhode receaued. Such as haue profeſſed truth, for truth haue ſmarted, and the frendes of falſhode laughed them to ſcorne. The tryall of both hath bene by contrary ſucceſſe: the one hauing the cōmendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falſhode by God, flouriſhing for a tyme with endles deſtruction, the other afflicted a little ſeaſon, but ending with immortall ioyes. Wherfore deare brother aske and demaund of your book, the Teſtament of Ieſus Chriſt in theſe woefull and wretched dayes, what you ſhould thinke, and what you ſhould ſtay vpon for a certayne truth, and whatſoeuer you heare taught try it by your

An other letter of M. Hooper to a helper of his.

Truth is not to be eſteemed by outward appearaunce.

booke,

booke, whether it be true or falſe. The dayes be dangerous and full of perill, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heauen and heauenly things. It is a trouble to loſe the treaſures of this life, but yet a very payne if they be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray, and in Chriſt dayly require helpe, ſuccour, mercy, wiſedome, grace, and defence, that the wickednes of thys world preuayle not againſt vs. We began well, God preſerue vs vntill the end. I would write more often vnto you, but I do perceaue you be at ſo much charges with me, that I feare you would thinke when I write I craue. Send me nothing till I ſend to you for it, and ſo tell the good men your partners, and when I neede, I will be bold of you. 3. December 1554.

Yours with my prayer, Iohn Hooper.

¶ To Maiſtres Wilkinſon, a woman harty in Gods cauſe, and comfortable to his afflicted members.

This Miſteries Wilkinſõ afterward dyed in Exile at Franckford.

THe grace of God, and the comforte of his holy ſpirit be with you, Amen.

I am very glad to heare of your health, and do thanke you for your louing tokens. But I am a great deale more glad to heare how Chriſtianly you auoyd Idolatry, & prepare your ſelfe to ſuffer ỷ extremity of the world, rather thẽ to endaunger your ſelfe to God. You doe as you ought to do in this behalfe, and in ſuffering of trãſitory paynes, you ſhall auoyd permanent tormẽts in the world to come. Uſe your life, and keepe it with as much quietnes as you can, ſo that you offende not God. The eaſe that commeth wyth his diſpleaſure, turneth at length to vnſpeakeable paynes, and the gaynes of the world, with the loſſe of his fauour, is beggery and wretchednes. Reaſon is to be amended in this cauſe of Religion: For it will chooſe and follow an errour with the multitude if it may be allowed, rather then turne to faith and folow the truth with the people of God. Moyſes found the ſame fault in himſelfe, and did amende it, chooſing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, then to vſe the libertie of the kings daughter, that accounted him as her ſonne. Pray for contentation and peace of the ſpirit, and reioyce in ſuch troubles as ſhall happen vnto you for the truthes ſake, for in that part Chriſt ſaith you be happy. Pray alſo for me I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heauenly father: to whoſe tuition and defence I commend you.

Gaynes with Gods diſpleaſure is beggary.

Heb. 11.
Math. 5.

✻ To my deere frendes in God Mayſter Iohn Hall and his wyfe.

An other letter exhorting to ſtand faſt in the truth.

THe grace of God be with you, Amen. I thanke you for your louing and gentle frendſhip at all times, praying God to ſhew vnto you ſuch fauour, that whatſoeuer trouble and aduerſitie happen, ye go not backe from him. Theſe dayes be daungerous and full of perill, but yet let vs comfort our ſelues in calling to remembrance the dayes of our forefathers, vpon whom the Lord ſent ſuch troubles, that many hundrethes, yea many thouſandes dyed for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, both men and women, ſuffering with patience and conſtancie as much cruelty as Tyrants could deuiſe, and ſo departed out of this miſerable world, to the bliſſe euerlaſting, where as now they remaine for euer, lookyng alwayes for the end of this ſinfull world, when they ſhall receiue their bodies againe in immortalitie, and ſee the number of the elects aſſociated with them in full and conſummate ioyes. And as vertuous men ſuffering Martyrdome, and tarying a little whyle in this world with paynes, by and by reſted in ioyes euerlaſtyng, and as their paynes ended their ſorowes and began eaſe, ſo dyd their conſtancie and ſtedfaſtnes animate and confirme all good people in the truth, and gaue them encouragement and luſt to ſuffer the like, rather then to fall with the world to conſent vnto wickednes and Idolatry. Wherefore my deare frends, ſeeing God of his part, hath illuminated you with the ſame gift and knowledge of true fayth, wherein the Apoſtles, the Euangeliſtes, and all Martyrs ſuffered moſt cruell death, thanke him for his grace in knowledge, and pray vnto him for ſtrength and perſeuerance, that through your owne fault, you be not aſhamed nor afeard to confeſſe it. Ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell ſhall neuer preuaile againſt it, nor Antichriſt with all his impes proue it to be falſe. They may kill and perſecute, but neuer ouercome. Be of good comfort, and feare more God then man. This life is ſhort and miſerable: happy be they that can ſpende it to the glory of God. Pray for me as I do for you, and commende me to all good men and women. 22. December 1554.

Heb. 11.

Conſolation taken by the example of the ancient martyrs.

Your brother in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

¶ To my dearely beloued ſiſter in the Lord Maiſtres Anne Warcop.

An other letter written to one Maiſteries Warcop by Maiſter Hooper.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I thanke you for your louing token. I pray you burden not your ſelfe too much. It were meete for me rather to beare a payne, then to be a hinderaunce to many. I did reioice at the comming of this bearer, to vnderſtand of your conſtancie, and how ỷ you be fully reſolued by Gods grace, rather to ſuffer extremitie, then to go frõ that truth in God which you haue profeſſed. He that gaue you grace to begin in ſo infallible a truth, will folow you in the ſame vnto the end. But my louing Siſter, as you be traueling this perilous iourney, take this leſſon with you, practiſed by wiſe mẽ: whereof ye may reade in the ſecond of S. Mathewes Goſpell. Such as traueled to finde Chriſt, followed only the ſtarre, and as long as they ſaw it, they were aſſured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their iourney. But when they entred into Ieruſalem, where as the ſtarre led them not thether but vnto Bethlem, and there aſked the Citizens the thing that the ſtarre ſhewed before: as lõg as they taried in Hieruſalem and would be inſtructed where Chriſt was borne, they were not only ignorant of Bethelem, but alſo loſt the ſight of the ſtarre that led them before. Whereof we learne, in any caſe whiles we be going in this life, to ſeeke Chriſt that is aboue, to beware we looſe not the ſtarre of Gods word, that onely is ỷ marke that ſheweth vs where Chriſt is, and which way we may come vnto him. But as Ieruſalem ſtood in ỷ way, and was an impediment to theſe wiſe men: ſo doth the ſinagogue of Antichriſt, that beareth the name of Ieruſalem, which by interpretation is called the viſion of peace, and amõgſt the people now is called the Catholicke Church, ſtand in the way that pilgrimes muſt go by thorough this world to Bethelem the houſe of ſaturitie and plentifulnes, and is an impediment to all Chriſtian trauellers: yea and except the more grace of God be, will keepe the pilgrimes ſtill in her that they ſhal not come where Chriſt is at all. And to ſtay them in deede, they take away ỷ ſtarre of light which is Gods word that it can not be ſene: as ye may ſee how the celeſtial ſtar was hid frõ the wiſe men, whẽ they aſked of the Phariſeis at Hieruſalem where Chriſt was borne. Ye may ſee what great dangers hapned vnto theſe wiſe men, whiles they were a learning of liers where Chriſt was. Firſt they were out of their way, and next they loſt their guide & conductour, the heauenly ſtarre. Chriſt is mounted frõ vs into heauen, & there we ſeeke him (as we ſay:) let vs therfore go thetherward by the ſtar of his word, & beware we happen not to come into Hieruſalem the Church of men and aſke for him. If we do, we go out of the way & loſe alſo our conductour and guide that only leadeth vs ſtraight thether.

The ſureſt way is to follow the Starre.

Ieruſalem ſignifieth the viſion of peace.

Bethelem ſignifieth as much as the houſe of bread, or of ſaturitie.

Chriſt is not to be ſought nor aſked for but onely by the ſcriptures.

The Poets write in fables, that Iaſon when he fought with the Dragon in the Ile of Colchis, was preſerued by the medicines of Medea, and ſo wan the golden fleeſe. And they write alſo that Titan, whome they faine to be ſonne and heyre of the high God Iupiter, would needes vpon a day haue the conduction of ỷ ſunne round about ỷ world, but as they faine, he miſſed of the accuſtomed courſe: whervpon whẽ he went too high, he burned heauẽ, and when he went too low, he burned the earth & the water. Theſe prophane hiſtories do ſhame vs that be Chriſtian men, Iaſon againſt the poyſon of the dragon, vſed only the medicine of Medea. What a ſhame is it for a Chriſtian man againſt the poyſon of the deuill, hereſie, & ſinne, to vſe any other remedy, then Chriſt & his word? Titan for lacke of knowledge, was afeard of euery ſigne of the Zodiacke that the Sunne paſſeth by: wherfore he now went too low, & now to high, and at length fell downe and drowned himſelfe in the ſea. Chriſtian men for lacke of knowledge, and for feare of ſuch daungers as chriſtian men muſt needes paſſe by, go cleane out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

Examples of Iaſon and Titan.

Siſter take heede, you ſhall in your iourney towardes heauen, meete with many a monſtrous beaſt: haue ſalue of Gods word therfore ready. You ſhal meete huſbãd, children, louers and frends, that ſhall if God be not with them (as God be prayſed he is, I would it were with all other alike) be very lettes and impedimentes to your purpoſe. You ſhall meete with ſclaunder and cõtempt of the world, and be accoumpted vngracious & vngodly: you ſhal heare & meete with cruell tiranny to do you all extremities: you ſhall now and then ſee the troubles of your own cõſcience, and feele your owne weakenes: you ſhall heare that you be curſed by the ſentence of the Catholicke Church, wyth ſuch like terrours: but pray to God, and follow the ſtarre of his word, and you ſhall arriue at the port of eternall ſaluation, by the merites only of Ieſus Chriſt: to whome I commend you and all yours moſt hartily.

Letters in the way to the kingdome of heauen.

Yours in Chriſt Iohn Hooper.

¶ Unto theſe letters of Maiſter Hooper heeretofore recited, we thought not inconuenient, to annexe alſo another certaine Epiſtle, not of Maiſter Hoper, but writtẽ to hym by a famous learned man Henry Bullinger, chiefe ſuperintendent

An. 1555. Febru-

intendent in the Citie of Zuricke. Of whoſe ſingulare loue and tender affection toward Maiſter Hooper, ye heard before in the beginning of Maiſter Hoopers life diſcourſed. Now how louingly he writeth vnto him, ye ſhall heare by this preſent letter, as followeth.

Letter of M. Bullenger to M. Hooper translated out of Latin into English.

¶ To the moſt reuerend father M. Iohn Hooper
Byſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, and now priſoner
for the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, my fellow Elder
and moſt deare brother, in England.

The heauenly father graunt vnto you, and to all thoſe which are in bands and captiuitie for his name ſake, grace and peace through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, with wiſedome, patience and fortitude of the holy Ghoſt.

I haue receiued from you two letters (my moſt deare brother:) the former in the moneth of September of the yeare paſt, the latter in the moneth of May of this preſent yeare, both written out of priſon. But I doubting leaſt I ſhould make aunſwere to you in vayne, whileſt I feared that my letters ſhould neuer come vnto your handes, or elſe increaſe and double your ſorrow: did refrayne from the duety of writing. In the which thing I doubt not, but you will haue me excuſed, eſpecially ſeeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole yeare, to aunſwere to my whole libels rather then letters, whereas I continued ſtill notwithſtanding in writing vnto you: as alſo at this preſent, after I heard that you were caſt in priſon, I did not refraine from continuall prayer, beſeeching our heauenly Father through our onely mediatour Ieſus Chriſt, to graunt vnto you and to your fellowe priſoners, faith and conſtancie vnto the ende. Now is that thyng happened vnto you (my brother) the which we did oftentimes prophecie vnto our ſelues at your being with vs, ſhould come to paſſe, eſpecially when we did talke of the power of Antichriſt and of his felicitie and victories. For you know the ſaying of Daniell: His power ſhall be mighty, but not in his ſtrength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make hauocke of all things, and ſhall proſper and practiſe, and he ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holy people after his owne will. You knowe what the Lord warned vs of before hand by Mathew, in the tenth chapter, by Iohn in the 15. chapter, and the 16. and alſo what that choſen veſſell Saint Paule hath written in the ſecond to Timothy and the third chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by Gods grace) of your faith and patience, whileſt you knowe that thoſe things which you ſuffer are not looked for or come by chaunce, but that you ſuffer them in the beſt, trueſt, and moſt holy quarell: for what can be more true and holy, then our doctrine, which the Papiſtes, thoſe worſhippers of Antichriſt do perſecute? All things touching ſaluation, we attribute vnto Chriſt alone, and to his holy inſtitutions, as we haue bene taught of him and of his diſciples, but they would haue euen the ſame things to be communicated as well to their Antichriſt and to his inſtitutions. Such we ought no leſſe to withſtand, then we reade that Helias withſtoode the Baalites. For if Ieſus be Chriſt, then let them knowe that he is the fulnes of his Church, and that perfectly: but and if Antichriſt be King and Prieſt, then let them exhibite vnto him that honor. How long do they halt on both ſides? Can they geue vnto vs any one that is better then Chriſt? Or who ſhall be equall with Chriſt, that may be compared with him, except it be he whome the Apoſtle calleth the Aduerſarie? But if Chriſt be ſufficient for his Church, what needeth this patching and peecing? But I know well enough, I neede not to vſe theſe diſputations with you which are ſincerely taught, and haue taken roote in Chriſt, being perſwaded that you haue all things in him, and that we in hym are made perfect.

The power of Antichriſt deſcribed in Daniell chapt. 8. Math. 10. Iohn. 15. 16. 2. Tim. 2. 3.

The doctrine of the Proteſtants, what it is, wherefore they are perſecuted.

Epheſ. 1.

2. Theſ. 2. Chriſt is ſufficient, and not be patched with the Pope.

Apoc. 21.

Go forwardes therefore conſtauntly to confeſſe Chriſt, and to defye Antichriſt, being mindfull of this moſt holy and moſt true ſaying of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt: He that ouercommeth, ſhall poſſeſſe all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſonne: but the fearefull, and the vnbeleeuing, and the abhominable, and the murtherers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and Idolaters, and all lyers, ſhall haue theyr part in the lake which burneth with fyre and brimſtone, whych is the ſecond death. The fyrſt death is ſoone ouercome, although a man muſt burne for the Lordes ſake: for they ſay well that do affyrme thys our fyre to be ſcarcely a ſhadowe of that which is prepared for the vnbeleeuers, and them that fall from the trueth. Moreouer, the Lorde graunteth vnto vs, that wee may eaſily ouercome by his power the fyrſt death, the which he hymſelfe dyd taſte and ouercome, promiſing withall ſuch ioyes as neuer ſhall haue ende, vnſpeakeable, and paſſing all vnderſtanding, the which we ſhall poſſeſſe ſo ſoone as euer we departe hence. For ſo agayne ſayeth the Angell of the Lord: If any man woorſhip the beaſt and his Image, and receyue hys marke in hys forehead, or on his hande, the ſame ſhall drinke of the wrath of God, yea of the wyne which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb: and the ſmoke of their tormẽts ſhal aſcend euermore, and they ſhall haue no reſt day nor night, which worſhip the beaſt & his Image, and whoſoeuer receiueth the print of his name. Here is the paciẽce of Saintes: here are they that keep the commandements of God, and the fayth of Ieſus. To this he addeth by and by: I heard a voyce ſaying to me, write: bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord, frõ henceforth (or ſpeedely they be bleſſed. Io. 5) euen ſo ſayth the ſpirite, for they reſt frõ their labours, but their works follow thẽ: for our labour ſhall not be fruſtrate or in vayne.

Apoc. 14. Gods wrath vpon the beaſt and them that take his marke.

In this time of Antichriſt is the pacience and fayth of Gods children tryed, whereby they ſhall ouercome all his tyranny read. Math. 24.

Therefore ſeeing you haue ſuch a large promiſe, be ſtrong in the Lorde, fight a good fight, be faythfull to the Lorde vnto the ende: conſider that Chriſt the ſonne of God is your Captaine, and fighteth for you, and for that all the Prophets, Apoſtles and Martyrs, are your fellow ſouldiours. They that perſecute and trouble vs, are men, ſinfull, and mortall, whoſe fauour a wiſe man would not buy with the value of a farthing: & beſides that, our life is frayle, ſhort, brickle, and tranſitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lorde, who graunt vnto you, and to all your fellow priſoners fayth and conſtancy. Commend me to the moſt reuerend fathers and holy Confeſſours of Chriſt, Doctor Cranmer Biſhop of Canterbury, D. Ridley Biſhop of London, and the good old father D. Latimer. Them and all the reſt of the priſoners with you for the Lordes cauſe, ſalute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Miniſters, the whiche do wiſh vnto you the grace of God, and conſtancy in the truth.

Concerning the ſtate of our Church, it remayneth euen as it was when you departed from vs into your countrey. God graunt we may be thankfull to him, and that we doe not onely profeſſe the faith with wordes, but alſo expreſſe the ſame effectually with good workes to the praiſe of our Lord. The word of God increaſeth dayly in that part of Italy that is neare vnto vs, and in Fraunce.

In the meane while the godly ſuſtaine greeuous perſecutions, and with great conſtancy and glory, through tormentes they goe vnto the Lord. I and all my houſhold, with my ſonnes in law and kinſmen, are in good health in the Lord. They doe ſalute you, and pray for your conſtancie, being ſorrowfull for you and the reſt of the priſoners. There came to vs Engliſhmen Studentes, both godly and learned: They be receaued of oure Magiſtrate. Tenne of them dwell together, the reſt remayne here and there with good men. Amongeſt the other, Mayſter Thomas Leuer is deare vnto me and familiar. If there be anye thing wherein I may doe any pleaſure to your wife and childrẽ, they ſhall haue me wholly at commaundement: whereof I will write alſo to your wife, for I vnderſtand ſhee abideth at Franckford. Be ſtrong and mery in Chriſt, wayting for his deliueraunce, when, and in what ſort it ſhall ſeeme good vnto hym. The Lorde Ieſus ſhewe pittie vppon the Realme of Englande, and illuminate the ſame with his holy Spirite to the glorye of his name, and the ſaluation of ſoules. The Lorde Ieſus preſerue and deliuer you from all euill, with all them that call vpon hys name. Farewell, and farewell eternally. The 10. of October. 1554. From Zurich.

M. Tho. Leuer.

You know the hand, H. B.

¶ The hiſtory of D. Rouland Taylour, which ſuffered for the truth of Gods word, vnder the tyranny of the Romayne Byſhop. 1555. the 9. day of February.

The towne of Hadley was one of the firſt that receaued the worde of God in all Englande at the preachinge of M. Thomas Bilney: By whoſe induſtrye the Goſpell of Chriſt had ſuch gracious ſucceſſe, and took ſuch root there, that a great number of that pariſhe became exceeding wel learned in the holye ſcriptures, as well women as men: ſo that a man might haue found among them many that had often read the whole Bible through, and that coulde haue ſayd a great part of S. Paules epiſtles by hart, and very wel & readily haue geuen a godly learned ſentence in any matter of controuerſie. Their children and ſeruantes were alſo brought vp and trayned ſo dilligently in ẏ right knowledge of Gods worde, that the whole towne ſeemed rather an Vniuerſitie of ẏ learned, then a town of Clothmaking or labouring people: And that moſt is to be commended, they were for the more part faythfull followers of Gods word in their liuing.

Hadly towne commended. Thomas Bilney.

In this towne was D. Rouland Taylor, Doctour in both the Ciuill and Canon lawes, and a right perfect Diuine, parſon. Who at his firſt entring into his benefice, did not, as the common ſort of beneficed mẽ do, let out his benefice to a Farmar, that ſhould gather vp the profites, and ſet in an ignoraunt vnlearned Prieſt to ſerue the Cure, & ſo they may haue the fleece, litle or nothing care for feeding the flocke: But contrarily he forſooke the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Tho. Cranmer, with whome he before was in houſholde, and made hys perſonal abode and dwelling in Hadley among ẏ people cõmitted to his charge. Where he as a good ſhepheard, abiding and dwelling among his ſheepe, gaue himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of holy ſcriptures moſt faythfull endeuouring himſelfe to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gaue vnto Peter, ſaying, Peter loueſt thou me?

D. Taylour, a Doctour in both lawes, and a diuine.

Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury.

A good ſhepheard and his conditions.

Iohn.2.
Feede with worde.

Anno 1555. February-

me? Feede my Lambes, Feede my ſheepe, Feede my ſheepe. This loue of Chriſt ſo wrought in him, that no Sonday nor holy day paſſed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the worde of God, the doctrine of their ſaluation.

Feede with example.

Not onely was his worde a preaching vnto them, but all his lyfe and conuerſation was an example of vnfayned chriſtian life, and true holynes. He was voyde of all pride, humble, and meeke as any childe: ſo that none were ſo poore, but they might boldly as vnto their father, reſorte vnto him, neither was his lowlines childiſh or fearefull, but as occaſion, time and place required, he would be ſtout in rebuking the ſinfull and euill doers, ſo that none was ſo rich but he would tell him playnely his fault, with ſuch earneſt and graue rebukes as became a good Curate and Paſtor. He was a man very milde, voyde of all rancour, grudge or euill will, ready to do good to all men, readely forgeuing his enemies, and neuer ſought to do euil to any.

Feede with almes.

Commendation of Doct. Taylours wife and his children.

To the poore that were blinde, lame, ſicke, bedred, or that had many childrẽ, he was a very Father, a carefull patrone, and diligent prouider, in ſo much that he cauſed the pariſhioners to make a generall prouiſion for thẽ: and he himſelfe (beſide the continuall reliefe that they alwayes found at his houſe) gaue an honeſt portion yearely, to the common almes boxe. His wife alſo was an honeſt, diſcrete, and ſober matrone, and his children well nourtred, brought vp in the feare of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and liuely image or paterne of all thoſe vertuous qualities deſcribed by S. Paule in a true Byſhop, a good ſalt of the earth ſauourly biting the corrupt maners of euill men, a light in Gods houſe ſet vpõ a Candleſticke for all good men to imitate and folow.

The Papiſtes and their naturall workes.

Thus continued this good Shepheard among hys flocke, gouerning and leading them through this wilderneſ of the wicked world, all the dayes of the moſt innocent and holy King of bleſſed memory, Edward the vj. But after it pleaſed God to take King Edward from this vale of miſery vnto his moſt bleſſed reſt, the Papiſtes, who euer ſembled and diſſembled, both with King Henry the eight, and king Edward his ſonne, now ſeing the time conuenient for their purpoſe, vttered their falſe hypocriſie, openly refuſing all good reformation made by the ſayd two moſt godly Kings, and contrary to that, they had all theſe two Kings dayes preached, taught, written, and ſworne, they violently ouerthrew the true doctrine of the Goſpell, and perſecuted with ſword and fire all thoſe that would not agree to receaue againe the Romaine Byſhop as ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church, and allow all the errours, ſuperſtitions, and idolatries, that before by Gods worde were diſproued and iuſtly condemned, as though nowe they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true Religion.

Foſter a lawyer, and Ioh. Clerke of Hadley, two notorious Papiſtes.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichriſt, a certayne Petigentleman after the ſort of a Lawyer, called Foſter, being Steward and keeper of Courtes, a man of no great ſkil, but a bitter perſecutour in thoſe daies, with one Iohn Clerke of Hadley, which Foſter had euer bene a ſecrete fauourer of all Romiſh Idolatry, cõſpired wͭ the ſaid Clerke to bring in the Pope & his maumentry againe into Hadley Church. For as yet Doct. Taylour, as a good ſhepheard, had retained and kept in his Church, the godly Churchſeruice and reformation made by king Edward, & moſt faithfully and earneſtly preached againſt the popiſh corruptions, which had infected the whole countrey round about.

Iohn Auerth a right popiſhe Prieſt.

Therefore the foreſayde Foſter and Clerke hyred one Iohn Auerth, Perſon of Aldam, a very money Mammoniſt, a blinde leader of the blinde, a Popiſh Idolatour, and an open Aduouterer and whoremonger, a very fit Miniſter for their purpoſe, to come to Hadley, and there to geue the onſet to begin againe the Popiſh Maſſe.

Marke how vnwillingly the people were to receiue the papacy agayne.

To this purpoſe they builded vp with all haſte poſſible the aultar, entending to bring in their Maſſe agayn, about the Palme Monday. But this their deuiſe tooke none effect: for in the night the aultar was beaten downe. Wherefore they built it vp againe the ſecond time, and layde diligent watch, leaſt any ſhould againe breake it downe.

On the day following came Foſter and Iohn Clerke, bringing with them their Popiſh Sacrificer, who brought with him all his implementes and garmentes, to play his Popiſh Pageant, whome they and their men garded with ſwordes and buklers, leaſt any man ſhould diſturbe him in his Miſſall Sacrfice.

D. Taylours cuſtome to ſtudy.

When Doctour Taylour, who (according to hys cuſtome) ſate at his booke ſtudying yͤ word of God, heard the bels ring, he aroſe and went into the Churche, ſuppoſing ſome thing had bene there to be done, according to his Paſtorall office: and comming to the Churche, he founde the Church dores ſhut and faſt barred, ſauing the Chauncell dore, which was onely latched: where he entring in, and comming into the Chauncell, ſaw a Popiſhe Sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new ſhauen crown, ready to begin his Popiſh ſacrifice, beſet rouͫd about with drawne ſwordes and bucklers, leſt any mã ſhould approch to diſturbe him.

Maſſe brought in to Hadley with ſword and buckler.

D. Taylor rebuked the deuill.

Then ſaid Doctour Taylour: Thou Deuill, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this church of Chriſt, to prophane and defile it with this abhominable Idolatry? Wyth that ſtart vp Foſter, and with an irefull and furious countenaunce, ſayd to Doctour Taylour: thou Traytour, what doeſt thou heere, to let and diſturbe the Queenes proceedings? Doctour Taylour aunſwered: I am no traytour, but I am the ſhepheard that God & my Lord Chriſt hath appointed to feed this his flocke: wherfore I haue good authoritie to be here: & I command thee, thou popiſh wolfe, in the name of God to auoyd hẽce, and not to preſume here with ſuch a Popiſh Idolatry, to poyſon Chriſtes flocke.

The Papiſtes call al their trumpery the Queenes proceedings. For you muſt remember that Antichriſt rayneth by an others arme, and not by hys owne power. Read Daniell, of the king of faces the 8. chapter.

Then ſaid Foſter: wilt thou traytourly hereticke make a commotion, & reſiſt violently the Queenes proceedings.

Doctour Taylour anſwered: I make no cõmotion, but it is you Papiſtes that maketh commotions and tumultes. I reſiſt onely with Gods word, agaynſt your Popiſh Idolatries, which are againſt Gods word, yͤ Queenes honor, & tend to yͤ vtter ſubuerſiõ of this realme of England. And further thou doeſt againſt the Canon law, which cõmandeth that no Maſſe be ſaid, but at a conſecrate aultar.

D. Taylor here playeth a right Elias, 3. Reg. 18.

When the Parſon of Aldam heard that, hee began to ſhrinke backe, & would haue left his ſaying of Maſſe. Thẽ ſtart vp Iohn Clerke, and ſaid: M. Auerth, be not afrayd, ye haue a * Superaltare. Go forth with your buſines man.

* Superaltare is a ſtone conſecrated by the biſhop, commonly of a foote long which the Papiſtes cary in ſtead of an Altar, when they maſſe for money in gentlemens houſes.

Then Foſter with his armed mẽ, tooke Doctour Taylour, and led him with ſtrong hand out of the Church, and the Popiſh Prelate proceeded in his Romiſhe Idolatry. Doct. Taylours wife, who folowed her huſband into the Church, when ſhe ſaw her huſband thus violently thruſt out of his Church, ſhe kneeled downe, & held vp her hãds, and with loude voyce ſayd: I beſeeche God the righteous Iudge to auenge this iniury, that this Popiſh Idolatour this day doth to the bloud of Chriſt. Then they thruſt her out of the Church alſo, and ſhut to the dores: for they feared that the people woulde haue rent their Sacrificer in peeces. Notwithſtãding, one or two threw in great ſtones at the windowes, and miſſed very little the popiſh maſſer.

The Papiſtes argumentes wherewith they maintayne their doctrine. Sap. 2.

Thus you ſee how without conſente of the people, the Popiſhe Maſſe was agayne ſet vp, wyth battayle aray, with ſwordes and buckelers, with violence and tyranny: which practiſe the Papiſtes haue euer yet vſed. As for reaſon, lawe, or Scripture, they haue none on their parte. Therefore they are the ſame that ſaith: The law of vnrighteouſnes is our ſtrength: Come, let vs oppreſſe the righteous without any feare, &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haſte poſſible, this Foſter and Clerke made a complaint of Doctour Taylour, by a letter written to Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellour.

D. Taylour cited by a letter miſſiue.

When the Byſhop heard this, he ſent a letter miſſiue to Doct. Taylour, commaunding him within certaine daies, to come and to appeare before him vpon his allegiance, to aunſwere ſuch complayntes as were made againſt him.

D. Taylours frendes would haue him to flye.

When Doctour Taylours frends heard of thys, they were exceeding ſory and agreeued in minde: which then foreſeing to what end the ſame matter would come, ſeing alſo all truth and iuſtice were troden vnder foote, and falſehode with cruell tyranny were ſet aloft and ruled all the whole route: his frendes I ſay came to him, and earneſtly counſelled him to departe and flye, alledging and declaring vnto him, that he could neyther be indifferently heard to ſpeake his conſcience and mind, nor yet looke for iuſtice or fauour at the ſayd Chauncellours handes, who as it was well knowne, was moſt fierce and cruell: but muſt needes (if he went vp to him) wayte for impriſonment and cruell death at his hands.

The valiant courage of D. Taylour in Chriſtes cauſe.

Then ſayd D. Taylour to his frends: Deare frendes, I moſt hartely thanke you, for that ye haue ſo tender a care ouer me. And although I knowe, that there is neither iuſtice nor truth to be looked for at my aduerſaries handes, but rather impriſonment and cruell death: yet know I my cauſe to be ſo good and righteous, and the truth ſo ſtrong vpon my ſide, that I will by Gods grace go and appeare before them and to their beardes reſiſt their falſe doings.

Math. 10.

Then ſayd his frendes: M. Doctour, we thinke it not beſt ſo to do. You haue ſufficiẽtly done your ducty, and teſtified the truth, both by your godly Sermons, and alſo in reſiſting the Parſon of Aldam, with other that came hyther to bring in againe the popiſh Maſſe. And for as much as our Sauiour Chriſt willeth and biddeth vs, that when they perſecute vs in one City, we ſhould flie into another: we thinke in flying at this time ye ſhould do beſt, keeping your ſelfe againſt another time whẽ the Church ſhall haue

great

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great neede of ſuch diligent teachers, and godly Paſtors.

Oh (quoth Doct. Taylour) what will ye haue me to do? I am now olde, and haue already liued too long to ſee theſe terrible and moſt wicked dayes. Flye you, and do as your conſcience leadeth you. I am fully determined (with Gods grace) to go to the Biſhop, & to his beard to tell him that he doth nought. God ſhall well hereafter raiſe vp teachers of his people, whiche ſhall with much more diligence and fruite teach them, then I haue done. For God will not forſake his Church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth vs, and not without a iuſt cauſe.

As for me, I beleeue before God, I ſhall neuer be able to do God ſo good ſeruice, as I may do now: nor I ſhall neuer haue ſo glorious a calling, as I now haue, nor ſo great mercy of God profered me, as is now at this preſent. For what Chriſtian man woulde not gladly dye agaynſt the Pope and his adherents? I know that the Papacie is the kingdome of Antichriſt, altogether full of lyes, altogether full of falſehode: ſo that all their doctrine, euen from Chriſtes Croſſe be my ſpeede and S. Nicholas, vnto the end of their Apocalyps, is nothing but Idolatry, ſuperſtition, errours, hypocriſie and lyes.

The Papacy the kingdome of lyes.

Wherefore I beſeech you, and all other my frendes, to pray for me, & I doubt not, but God will geue me ſtrẽgth and his holy ſpirit, yͭ all mine aduerſaries ſhal haue ſhame of their doings.

When his frends ſaw him ſo conſtaunt, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him vnto God: and he within a day or two prepared himſelfe to his iourney, leauing his cure with a godly olde Prieſt, named Syr Richard Yeoman, who afterward for Gods truth was burnt at Norwich.

Syr Rich. Yeoman D. Taylours Curate, and Martir of Chriſt.

There was alſo in Hadley one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who (after Sir Richard Yeoman was driuen away) vſed dayly to reade a chapter, and to ſay the Engliſh Letany in Hadley Church. But him they ſet vp to London, and caſt him in priſon in Newgate: where after a yeare impriſonment, he died.

Iohn Alcocke of Hadley troubled for Gods truth, and dyed in priſon.

But let vs returne to Doctour Taylour agayne, who being accompanied with a ſeruaunt of his owne, named Iohn Hull, tooke his iourney towardes London. By the way this Iohn Hull laboured to counſell and perſwade him very earneſtly to flie, and not to come to the Byſhop, and profered himſelfe to go with him to ſerue him, and in all perils to venter his life for him, and with him.

D. Taylours iourney.

But in no wiſe would Doctour Taylour conſent or agree thereunto, but ſayd: Oh Iohn, ſhall I geue place to this thy counſell & worldly perſwaſion, and leaue my flock in this daunger? Remember the good ſhepheard Chriſt, whiche not alonely fed his flocke, but alſo died for hys flocke. Him muſt I follow, and with Gods grace will do.

Iohn Hull a faythfull Seruaunt to D. Taylour.

Therefore good Iohn pray for me: and if thou ſeeſt me weake at any time, comfort me, and diſcourage me not in this my godly enterpriſe and purpoſe. Thus they came vp to London, and ſhortly after Doctour Taylour preſented himſelfe to the Biſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, then Lord Chauncellour of England.

D. Taylour agayne aduiſed to flye but he refuſed ſo to do.

The firſt meting betweene Wincheſt. and D. Taylour.

For this hath bene one great abuſe in Englande theſe many yeares, that ſuch offices as haue ben of moſt importance and waight, haue commonly bene committed to Biſhops and other ſpirituall men, whereby three diueliſh miſchiefes and inconueniences haue happened in this Realme, to the great diſhonour of God, and vtter neglecting of the flocke of Chriſt: the which three be theſe.

A great abuſe in Englande and 3. miſchiefes comming thereof.

Firſt, they haue had ſmall leyſure to attende to theyr paſtorall cures, which thereby haue bene vtterly neglected and left vndone.

The firſt miſchiefe.

Secondly, it hath alſo puft vp many Byſhops and other ſpirituall perſons into ſuch hautines and pryde, that they haue thought no noble man in the Realme worthy to be their equall and fellow.

The ſecond miſchiefe.

Thirdly, where they by this meanes knew the very ſecretes of Princes, they being in ſuch high offices, haue cauſed the ſame to be knowne in Rome, afore the kings could accompliſh and bring their ententes to paſſe in England. By this meanes hath the Papacy bene ſo maintained, and things ordered after their wils and pleaſures, that much miſchiefe hath happened in this Realme and others, ſometime to the deſtruction of Princes, and ſometime to the vtter vndoing of many common wealthes.

The third miſchiefe.

Now when Gardiner ſaw Doctour Taylour, he according to his common cuſtome, all to reuiled him, calling him knaue, Traytor, hereticke, with many other villanous reproches: which all Doctour Taylour heard patiently, and at the laſt ſayd vnto him:

D. Taylours patience and magnanimitie.

My Lord (quoth he) I am neither Traytour nor hereticke, but a true ſubiect, and a faithfull Chriſtian man, and am come according to your cōmandement, to know what is the cauſe that your Lordſhip hath ſent for me.

Then ſayde the Biſhop, art thou come, thou villaine? How dareſt thou looke me in the face for ſhame? Knoweſt thou not who I am?

Yes (quoth Doctor Taylor) I knowe who yee are. Ye are Doctor Steuen Gardinar Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellour, & yet but a mortall man I trow. But if I ſhoulde be afrayde of your Lordly lookes, why feare you not God, the Lord of vs all? Howe dare yee for ſhame looke any Chriſtian man in the face, ſeeing ye haue forſaken the trueth, denyed our ſauioure Chriſt and hys word, & done contrary to your own othe & writing? with what countenaunce wil ye appeare before the Iudgement ſeate of Chriſt, and aunſwere to your othe made, firſt vnto that bleſſed king Henry 8. of famous memorye, and afterward vnto that bleſſed king Edward the 6. his ſonne?

Steuen Gardiners Lordly lookes.

The notable anſwere of Doctor Taylour to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The biſhop anſwered: Tuſh, tuſh, that was Herodes othe, vnlawfull, and therfore worthy to be broken. I haue done well in breaking it: and (I thanke God) I am come home agayne to our mother to the Catholicke Churche of Rome, and ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt doe.

Herodes othe. Here the biſhop confeſſeth vnlawfull othes ought not to be kept.

Doctor Taylor anſwered: Should I forſake yͤ Church of Chriſt, which is founded vppon the true foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, to approue thoſe lyes: erroures, ſuperſtitions and Idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day ſo blaſphemouſly do approue? Nay God forbid.

Let the pope and his returne to our ſauioure Chriſt, and his word, and thruſt out of the Churches ſuch abhominable Idolatries as he maintayneth, and then wil chriſten men turne vnto him. You wrote truely agaynſt hym, and were ſworne agaynſt him.

The true church of Chriſt wherunto all men ought to turne.

I tell thee (quoth the Biſhop of Wincheſter) it was Herodes oth, vnlawfull, and therfore ought to be broken and not kept, and our holy father the Pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Then ſayd D. Taylor: but you ſhall not ſo be diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtles will require it at youre handes, as a lawfull othe made to your liege & ſoueraigne Lorde the king, from whoſe obedience no man can aſſoyle you, neither the Pope nor none of his.

Chriſt will require lawfull othes and promiſes.

I ſee (quoth the Biſhop) thou art an arrogant knaue, and a very foole.

My Lord (quoth Doctor Taylor) leaue your vnſeemly rayling at me, which is not ſeemely for ſuch a one in authoritie as you are. For I am a Chriſtian man, and you know that He that ſayeth to his brother Racha, is in daunger of a Counſell, and he that ſayth thou foole, is in daunger of hel fire.

Gardiner agayne rayling. Rayling wordes become not a magiſtrate. Math. 5.

The Biſhop anſwered, ye are all falſe, and lyars all the ſort of you. Nay (quoth D. Taylor) we are true men, and know that is written: Os quod mentitur, occidit animam: & agayne, Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. i. The mouth that lyeth ſlayeth the ſoule. And agayne Lord God thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeake lyes. And therefore we abide by the truth of gods word which ye contrary to your own conſcience deny and forſake.

Thou art maryed (quoth the B.) Yea, (quoth Doctour Taylor) that I thank God I am, and haue had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony, and bleſſed be God yͭ ordayned matrimony, and commaunded that euerye man that hath not the gift of continency ſhoulde mary a wife of his owne, and not liue in adultery, or whoredome.

Maryage obiected to D. Taylour. Mariage defended.

Then ſayd the biſhop: thou haſt reſiſted the Queenes Proceedinges, and wouldeſt not ſuffer the Parſon of Aldam a very vertuous and deuout Prieſt, to ſay Maſſe in Hadley. Doctor Taylor anſwered. My Lorde I am Parſon of Hadley, and it is agaynſt all right, conſcience and lawes, that any man ſhall come into my charge & preſume to infect the flock committed vnto me, with venome of the Popiſh Idolatrous Maſſe.

One Idolater holdeth with an other.

The Maſſe.

With that the Biſhop waxed very angry, & ſaid, Thou art a blaſphemous hereticke in deede, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed ſacrament (and put of his cap) and ſpeakeſt agaynſt the holy Maſſe, which is made a ſacrifice for the quick and the dead. D. Taylor anſwered, Nay I blaſpheme not the bleſſed ſacrament which Chriſt inſtituted, but I reuerence it as a true chriſtian ought to doe, and confeſſe that Chriſt ordayned the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and paſſion, which: when we keepe according to his ordinaunce, we (through fayth) eat the body of Chryſt, and drinke his bloud geuing thanks for our redemption, and this is our ſacrifice for the quicke & the dead, to geue God thankes for his mercifull goodnes ſhewed to vs, in that he gaue his ſonne Chriſt vnto the death for vs.

The communiō.

The true ſacrifice for the quicke and dead, what it is.

Thou ſayſt well (quoth the Biſhop) It is all yͭ thou haſt ſayd, and more to, for it is a propitiatory ſacrifice for yͤ quick & dead. Thē anſwered D. Taylor: Chriſt gaue hymſelfe

Propitiatory ſacrifice offered neuer more then once.

Anno 1555. February.

Our ſacrifice is onely memoratiue.

Winchesters ſtrong argument cary him to priſon.

ſelfe to die for our redemption vpon the Croſſe, whoſe body there offered, was the propitiatory Sacrifice, full, perfect, and ſufficient vnto ſaluation, for all them that beleeue in him. And this ſacrifice did our Sauiour Chriſt offer in his owne perſon himſelfe once for all, neither can any Prieſt any more offer him, nor we neede no more propitiatory ſacrifice, and therefore I ſay with Chryſoſtome, and all the Doctours: Our Sacrifice is only memoratiue, in the remembrance of Chriſtes death and paſſion, a ſacrifice of thankeſgeuing, and therefore Fathers called it Euchariſtia: And other ſacrifice hath the Church of God none.

It is true (quoth the Byſhop) the Sacrament is called Euchariſtia, a thankeſgeuing, becauſe we there geue thanks for our redemption, and it is alſo a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, which thou ſhalt confeſſe ere thou and I haue done. Then called the Biſhop his men, and ſayde: haue this fellow hence, and carry him to the Kings bench, and charge the keeper he be ſtraitly kept.

D. Taylours prayer agaynſt the pope and his deteſtable enormities.

Then kneeled Doctor Taylour down and held vp both his hands, and ſaid: Good Lord, I thanke thee, and from the tiranny of the Byſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable errours, Idolatries, and abhominations, good Lord deliuer vs: And God be prayſed for good King Edwarde. So they caried him to priſon, to the Kings Bench, where he lay priſoner almoſt two yeares.

☞ This is the ſumme of that firſt talke, as I ſawe it mentioned in a Letter that Doctour Taylour wrote to a frend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confeſſed his truth, and was founde worthy for truth to ſuffer priſon and bands, beſeeching his frendes to pray for him, that he might perſeuere conſtaunt vnto the ende.

The godly behauiour and cõuerſation of D. Taylour in the priſon.

Being in priſon, Doctour Taylour ſpent all hys tyme in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the priſoners and ſuch as reſorted to him, to repentance and amendement of life.

Priſons turned into churches, & churches into dens of theeues.

Within a fewe dayes after, were diuerſe other learned and godly men in ſondry countreys of England committed to priſon for Religion, ſo that almoſt all the priſons in England were become right Chriſtian ſchooles & Churches, ſo that there was no greater comfort for Chriſtian harts, then to come to the priſons, to beholde their vertuous conuerſation, and to heare their prayers, preachings, moſt godly exhortations, and conſolations.

The lamantable diſtreſſe of gods true worſhippers in thoſe dayes.

Now were placed in Churches, blinde and ignoraunt Maſſemongers, with their Latine bablings and apiſhe ceremonies: who lyke cruell wolues ſpared not to murther all ſuch, as any thing at all, but once whiſpered againſt their Popery. As for the godly preachers which were in King Edwardes tyme, they were either fled the Realme, or elſe, as the Prophets did in Kinge Achabs dayes, they were priuely kept in corners. As for as many as the Papiſtes could lay hold on, they were ſent into priſon, there as Lambes waiting when the Butchers would call them to the ſlaughter.

Iohn Bradford and D. Taylour priſon fellowes in the kinges Bench.

When Doctour Taylour was come into yͤ priſon called the Kings Bench, hee founde therein the vertuous and vigilant preacher of Gods word, M. Bradford: which mã for his innocent and godly liuing, his deuout, & vertuous preaching, was worthyly counted a miracle of our time, as euen his aduerſaries muſt needes cõfeſſe. Finding this man in priſon, he began to exhort him to faith, ſtrength, & patience, and to perſeuere conſtant vnto the end. M. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had prouided hym ſuch a cõfortable priſonfelow: & ſo they both together lauded God, and cõtinued in prayer, reading, & exhorting one the other: In ſo much that D. Taylour told his friends yͭ came to viſite him, that God had moſt graciouſly prouided for him, to ſend him to that priſon where he founde ſuch an angell of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

¶ Doctour Taylour brought foorth to be depriued.

D. Taylour defenneth maryage of Prieſtes.

¶ After that Doct. Taylour had lyen in priſon a whyle, he was cited to appeare in the Arches at Bow Church to aunſwere vnto ſuch matter, as there ſhould be obiected againſt him. At the day appoynted, he was led thether, hys keeper wayting vpon him. Where, whẽ he came, he ſtoutly and ſtrongly defended his Mariage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctours of the primitiue Church, by both Lawes Ciuill and Canon, that it is lawfull for Prieſts to marry, and yͭ ſuch as haue not the gift of continencie, are bounde in paine of damnation to marry. This did he ſo plainely proue, that the Iudge could geue no ſentence of diuorce againſt him, but gaue ſentence hee ſhould be depriued of his benefice becauſe he was maried.

D. Taylour depriued hſs Benefice becauſe of his mariage.

You do me wrong then (quoth Doctour Taylour) and alledged many lawes and conſtitutions for himſelfe, but al preuailed not. For he was againe caried into priſon, & his liuings taken away, and geuen to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was geuen or ſold, I wote not whether, to one Maiſter Newealle, whoſe great vertues were altogether vnlike to Doctour Taylour his predeceſſour, as the pore Pariſhioners full well haue proued.

Seldome commeth a better.

⁂ Doctour Taylour brought agayne before Wincheſter, and other Byſhops.

After a yeare and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the Papiſtes got certaine olde tyrannous lawes, which were put downe by King Henry the eight, and by king Edward, to be againe reuiued by Parlament: ſo that now they might Ex officio, cite whome they would, vpon their owne ſuſpicion, and charge hym wyth what Articles they luſted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpoſe, burne them: when theſe lawes were once ſtabliſhed, they ſent for Doctour Taylour with certaine other priſoners, which were agayne conuented before the Chauncellour and other Commiſſioners about the 22. of Ianuary. The purpoſe and effect of which talke betwene them, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed by himſelfe in hys owne letter written to a frend of his, I haue annexed the ſayd letter heere vnder as foloweth.

The papiſts rule and raigne.

¶ A Letter of Doctour Taylour, contayning and reporting the talke had betweene him and the Lord Chauncellour and other Commiſsioners, the 22. of Ianuary.

Whereas you would haue me to write the talke betweene the King and Queenes moſt honourable Counſell and me on Tueſday, the xxij. of Ianuary, ſo farre as I remember: Firſt my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: You, among other are at this preſent time ſent for, to enioy the Kings and Queenes Maieſtis fauour and mercy, if you will now riſe againe with vs from the fall whiche wee generally haue receaued in this Realme, from the which (God be praiſed) we are now clearely deliuered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe with vs now, and receaue mercy now offered, you ſhall haue iudgement according to your demerites. To this I aunſwered: that ſo to riſe, ſhould be the greateſt fall that euer I could receiue: for I ſhould ſo fall from my deare Sauiour Chriſt, to Antichriſt. For I do beleeue that the Religion ſet foorth in King Edwards dayes, was according to the veyne of the holy Scripture, which conteineth fully all the rules of our Chriſtian Religion, from the which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I liue, by Gods grace.

The pardon is profered.

Note thys aunſwere. The religion ſet forth in king Edwardes dayes.

Then Mayſter Secretary Bourne ſayde: whyche of the Religions meane ye of in King Edwards dayes? For ye knowe there were diuers bookes of Religion ſet foorth in his dayes. There was a Religion ſet foorth in a Cathechiſme by my Lord of Caunterbury. Do you meane that you will ſticke to that?

Secretary Bourne cauilleth agaynſt the religion ſet forth in K. Edwardes dayes.

I aunſwered: My Lorde of Caunterbury made a Cathechiſme, to be tranſlated into Engliſh, which booke was not of his owne making: yet he ſet it foorth in his owne name, and truely that booke for the time did much good. But there was after that ſet foorth by the moſt innocent King Edward (for whome, God bee prayſed euerlaſtingly) the whole Churchſeruice, with great deliberation, and the aduiſe of the beſt learned men of the Realme, and authoriſed by the whole Parliament, and receiued and publiſhed gladly by the whole Realme: which booke was neuer reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was ſo fully perfited, according to the rules of our Chriſtian Religion in euery behalfe, that no Chriſtian conſcience could be offended with any thing therein contayned: I meane of that booke reformed.

A teſtimony of the booke of ſeruice ſet out in K. Edwardes dayes.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: Diddeſt thou neuer reade the booke that I ſet foorth of the Sacrament?

I aunſwered that I had read it.

Then he ſayd: How likeſt thou that booke? With that, one of the Counſell (whoſe name I know not) ſayd: My Lord, that is a good queſtion: for I am ſure, that booke ſtoppeth all their mouthes. Then ſayd I: My Lord, I thinke many things be farre wide from the truth of Gods word in that booke.

His right name might be Syr Iohn Clawbacke.

Then my Lord ſayd: Thou art a very varlet. To that I aunſwered: that is as ill as Racha or Fatue. Then my Lord ſayd: thou art an ignoraunt beetill brow.

Math. 5.

D. Taylour learned in diuinitie, and alſo in the ciuill lawe.

To that I aunſwered: I haue read ouer and ouer agayne the holy Scriptures, and S. Auguſtines workes through, S. Cyprian, Euſebius, Origine, Gregory Nazianzen, with diuers other bookes through once: therefore I thanke God I am not vtterly ignoraunt. Beſydes theſe, my Lorde, I profeſſed the Ciuill lawes, as your Lordſhip did, and I haue read ouer the Canon law alſo.

Gardiners booke de vera obedientia.

Then my Lord ſayd: with a corrupt iudgement thou readeſt all things, Touching my profeſsion it is Diuinitie, in whiche I haue written diuers bookes. Then I ſaide: my Lord, ye did write one booke De vera obedientia: I would you had bene conſtant in that: for in deede you neuer did declare a good conſcience, that I heard of, but in that one booke.

Then my Lord ſayd: tut, tut, tut, I wrote agaynſt Bucer in Prieſtes Mariages: but ſuch bookes pleaſe not ſuch wretches, as thou art, which haſt bene maryed many yeares.

To that I aunſwered: I am maryed in deed, and I haue hadde nine children in holy Matrimonye, I thanke God: and this I am ſure of, that your proceedinges now at this preſent in this Realme agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages is the maintenance of the doctrine of deuils, agaynſt naturall lawe, Ciuill lawe, Canon law, generall Counſels, Canons of the Apoſtles, auncient Doctours, and Gods lawes.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme, ſaying: You haue profeſſed the Ciuill law, as you ſay. Then you know that Iuſtinian writeth, that Prieſtes ſhoulde at theyr taking of orders ſweare, that they were neuer maryed: and he bringeth in to proue that, Canones Apoſtolorum.

To that I aunſwered: that I did not remember any ſuch lawe of Iuſtinian. But I am ſure that Iuſtinian writeth in Titulo de indicta viduitate, in Cod. that if one would bequeath to his wife in his Teſtamēt a legacy, vnder a conditiō that ſhe ſhuld neuer mary agayne, and take an othe of her accompliſhing of the ſame, yet ſhe may mary agayne if he die, notwithſtanding the aforeſayd cōdition and othe taken and made agaynſt Mariage: and an othe is an other maner of obligation made to God, then is a Papiſticall vow made to man.

Moreouer in the Pandects it is conteined, that if a man doth manumit his handmayde vnder a condition, that ſhee ſhall neuer mary: yet ſhe may mary, and her Patrone ſhall looſe ius patronatus, for his adding of the vnnaturall, and vnlawfull condition agaynſt Matrimony.

Then my Lord Chauncellor ſayd: thou ſayſt that Prieſtes may be maryed by Gods law. How proueſt thou that?

I aunſwered: by the playne wordes and ſentences of S. Paul, both to Timothy, & to Titus, where he ſpeaketh moſt euidentlye of the mariage of Prieſtes, Deacons, and Byſhoppes. And Chryſoſtome writing vpon the Epiſtle to Timothy ſayth: It is an hereſye to ſay that a Biſhop may not be maryed.

Then ſayd my Lord Chauncellor: thou lyeſt of Chryſoſtome: But thou doeſt, as all thy companions doe, belye euer without ſhame, both the Scriptures and the Doctors. Diddeſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the Canon lawe Prieſtes may be maried? whiche is moſt vntrue: and the contrary is moſt true.

I aunſwered: We read in the Decrees, that the foure generall Councels, Nicene, Conſtantinopolitane, Epheſine, and Chalcedone, haue the ſame authority that the foure Euangeliſtes haue. And we read in the ſame decrees (which is one of the chiefe bookes of the Canon law) that the Councell of Nicene, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, did allow Prieſtes & biſhops mariages. Therfore by the beſt part of the Canon law, Prieſtes may be maried.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: thou falſifieſt the generall Councell. For there is expreſſe mention in the ſayde Decree, that Prieſtes ſhoulde be diuorced from their wiues, whiche bee maried.

Then ſaid I: if thoſe words be there, as you ſay, then am I content to loſe this great head of mine. Let the booke be fetched.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme: Though they be not there, yet they may be in Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, which Euſebius wrote, out of which booke the Decree was taken.

To that ſayd I: it is not like that the Pope woulde leaue out any ſuch ſentence, hauing ſuch authority, & making ſo much for his purpoſe.

Then my Lord Chauncellor ſayd: Gratian was but a patcher, & thou art glad to ſnatch vp ſuch a patch as maketh for thy purpoſe. I anſwered my Lord, I can not but maruell that you do call one of the chiefe Papiſtes that euer was, but a patcher.

Then my Lord Chauncellor ſayd: Nay I call thee a ſnatcher & a patcher To make an end: wilt thou not returne agayne with vs to the Catholicke Church? and with that he roſe.

And I ſayd. By Gods grace I will neuer departe from Chriſtes Church. Then I required that I might haue ſome of my frendes to come to me in priſon: and my Lord Chauncellour ſayde: thou ſhalt haue iudgement within this weeke: and ſo was I deliuered agayne vnto my keeper, My Lord of Dureſme would that I ſhould beleue as my father and my mother. I alledged S. Auguſtine: that we ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

And thus muh was conteined in the foꝛeſayd letter of Doctoꝛ Taylour foꝛ that matter.

Beſides this letter moꝛeouer he directed an other wꝛiting in like maner to an other frend of his concerning the cauſes wherfoꝛe he was condemned, whiche we thought likewiſe here to expꝛeſſe as foloweth.

¶ The copy of an other Letter to his frend touching his aſſertions of the Mariage of Prieſtes, and other cauſes for the which he was condemned.

It is hereſy to defend any doctrine agaynſt the holy ſcripture. Therfoꝛe the Loꝛd Chauncellour and Biſhops cōſenting to his ſentence agaynſt me, be heretickes. Foꝛ they haue geuen ſentence agaynſt the mariage of pꝛieſts, knowing that S. Paul to Timothe and Titus wꝛiteth playnly, that Biſhops, Pꝛieſtes, & Deacons may be maried: knowing alſo that by S. Paules doctrine, it is the doctrine of yͤ deuils to inhibite Matrimony. And S. Paule willeth euery faythfull Miniſter to teach the people ſo, leaſt they be deceiued by the marked Marchauntes. 1. Tim. 4.

The B. of Wint. and his fellowes proued to be open heretickes by Scripture and by the true definition of hereſy.

Theſe Byſhops are not ignoꝛaunt, that it is onely S. Paules counſell, and lawfull, but Gods commaundemēt alſo to mary, foꝛ ſuch as cannot otherwiſe liue chaſte, neither auoyd foꝛnication.

They know that ſuch as do mary, do not ſinne.

They know that God, befoꝛe ſinne was, oꝛdeined matrimony, & that in Paradiſe, betwene two of his pꝛincipall creatures, man, and woman.

1. Tim. 4. Biſhops ſinne agaynſt their owne conſciēce & that for 9. or 10. cauſes.

They knowe what ſpirite they haue, whiche ſaye it is euill to mary (ſeing God ſayd: it is not good foꝛ man to be alone without a wife) hauing no ſpeciall gift contrary to the generall commaundemēt and oꝛdinance, diuers times repeated in the booke of Geneſis, which is to encreaſe and multiply.

1. Cor. 7. Gene. 2. Gene. 1.

They know that Abꝛaham caried into the lād of Canaan his old & yet barrayne wife the vertuous womā Sara with him, leauing father and mother, and country otherwiſe at Gods commaundement. Foꝛ though father & mother, and other frendes are deare and neare, yet none are ſo dearely and nearely ioyned together, as man & wife in matrimony, which muſt neede be holy, foꝛ that it is a figure & ſimilitude of Chꝛiſt and his Church.

Gene. 12. Mariage is no impediment for a good man to walke in the obediēce of Gods cōmaundement.

They know that S. Paul geueth a great pꝛayſe to matrimony, calling it honoꝛable, and that not onely to and among many, but to and among all men without exceptiō, whoſoeuer haue need of that Gods remedy, foꝛ mans and womans infirmity.

Ephe. 5. Aeb. 13.

They know yͭ if there were any ſinne in Matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bedcompany. But S. Paul ſayth: that the bedcompany is vndefiled.

They know that the hauing of a wife was not an impediment foꝛ Abꝛaham, Moyſes, Iſaac, Iacob, Dauid. &c. to talke with God, neither to yͤ Leuites, biſhops, & pꝛieſts office in the time of the old Teſtament oꝛ the New.

Gene. 18. Exod. 18. Gene. 25. Gene. 31. 1. Reg. 7.

They know yͭ Chꝛiſt would not be cōceiued, oꝛ boꝛne of his bleſſed mother the virgine Mary, befoꝛe ſhe was eſpouſed in mariage, his owne oꝛdinaunce.

Math. 1.

They know by S. Cypꝛian and Sainct Auguſtine that a vow is not an impediment ſufficient to let Matrimony oꝛ to diuoꝛce the ſame.

They know that S. Chꝛyſoſtome ſayth it is hereſie to affirme that a biſhop may not haue a wife.

Chriſoſtome. It is hereſie to deny Prieſtes Mariage.

They know that Ambꝛoſe will haue no commaundement but counſaile onely to be geuen, touching the obſeruing of virginitie.

Ambroſ. 3. Q. 1. Integritat.

They know that Chꝛiſt with his bleſſed mother & the Apoſtles were at a mariage, and beautified and honoured the ſame with hys pꝛeſence, and firſt miracle.

To be ſhoꝛt: they know that al that I haue here wꝛitten touching the mariage of Pꝛieſtes, is true & they know that the papiſtes themſelues do not obſerue touching that matter, their owne lawes and Canons, and yet they continue marked in conſcience with an hote iron, as deteſtable heretickes in this behalfe. The Loꝛde geue them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

My ſecond cauſe why I was condemned an hereticke is, that I denyed Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two iuggling woꝛdes of the papiſtes, by the whiche they doe beleue and will compel al other to beleue yͭ Chꝛiſtes natural body is made of bꝛead, & the Godhead by and by to be ioyned thereunto: ſo yͭ immediately after yͤ woꝛds (called the woꝛdes of conſecration) there is no moꝛe bꝛead and wine in the ſacrament, but the ſubſtaunce onely of the bodye and bloud of Chꝛiſt together with his Godhead: ſo that the ſame being now Chꝛiſt, both God and man ought to be woꝛſhipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both foꝛ the quick & the dead, as a ſacrifice pꝛopiciatory and ſatiſfactoꝛy foꝛ the ſame, This matter was not lōg debated in woꝛds: but becauſe I denyed the foꝛeſaid papiſticall doctrine, (yea rather playne moſt wicked Idolatry, blaſphemy and hereſie) I was iudged an hereticke.

The 2 cauſe of D. Taylours condemnation. Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two iuggling words of the Papiſtes.

I did alſo affirme the pope to be Antichꝛiſt, and popery Antichꝛiſtianitie.

The 3. article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

And I confeſſed the Doctrine of the Bible to be a ſufficient doctrine, touching all and ſingular matters of Chꝛiſtian Religion, and of ſaluation.

The 4. article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

I alſo alledged that the othe againſt the Supꝛemacy of the Biſhop of Rome, was a lawfull othe, and ſo was the othe made by vs all, touching the kings oꝛ Queenes pꝛeeminence. Foꝛ Chꝛiſoſtomus ſayth: That Apoſtles, Euan-

The 5. article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

Anno 1555. February.

geliſtes, and all men in euery realme were euer, and ought to be euer, touching both body and goodes, in ſubiection to the kingly authority, who hath the ſworde in his hand, as Gods principall officer and Gouernour in euery Realme. I deſired the Biſhops to repent for bringing the Realme from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from light to darkenes, from verity to vanity.

All men muſt obey kinges.

Thus you know the ſumme of my laſt examination, & condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

D. Taylour neuer afrayd of death.

God be prayſed: ſince my condemnation, I was neuer frayd to dye: Gods will be done. If I ſhrinke from Gods truth, I am ſure of an other maner of death thē had Iudge Hales. But God be prayſed, euen from the bottome of my hart, I am vnmoueably ſetled vppon the Rocke, nothyng doubting, but that my deare God will performe and finiſh the worke that he hath begon in me, and other. To him be al honor both now and euer through Chriſt our onely and whole Sauior. Amen.

And thus much wrote Doctour Taylour concerning this matter, to his frend.

You heard in the former aunſweres a little before certeine allegations touched of Doctour Taylour out of S. Cyprian, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, and Ambroſe, touching the lawfulnes of Prieſtes mariage. Now ye ſhal heare the places of the ſayd Doctors cited and produced out of their owne bookes, as here enſueth,

¶ The places of the Doctours alledged before in Doctour Taylours Letter.

S. Cyprian in his 11. Epiſtle. Lib. 1.

Cyprian. lib. 1. Epiſt. 11. A Deacon, or Virgin or any other that hath dedicate himſelf to virginitye if he cannot liue chaſte, by S. Cyprians iudgement ought to mary.

THis queſtion was asked of S. Cyprian, what ſhoulde be done with thoſe religious perſons, that could not keepe their chaſtity as they had vowed. He anſwered thus: Thou doeſt aske what we do iudge of Virgins, whiche after they hadde decreed to liue chaſtly, are afterward found in one bed with a man. Of the which thou ſayſt that one of them was a Deacon. We do with great ſorrow ſee the great ruine of many perſons whiche commeth by the reaſon of ſuch vnlawfull and perilous cōpanying together. Wherfore, if they haue dedicate themſelues vnto Chriſt in fayth, to liue purely and chaſtly, then let them ſo remayne without any fable and ſtronglye & ſtedfaſtly abide the rewarde of virginitye. But & if they will not abide, or els cannot abide: then it is better to mary, then for to fall into the fire of concupiſcence: And let thē geue to the brethren & ſiſterne none occaſion of ſclaunder. &c.

¶ Saynt Auguſtine in his booke, De bono coniugali ad Iulianum.

Auguſt, de Bono coniugali ad Iulianum.

CErtayne men doe affirme, thoſe men to be aduouterers, that doe marry, after that they haue vowed chaſtity. But I do affirme that thoſe men do greuouſly ſinne, the whiche do ſeparate them. &c.

¶ Ambroſe. 32. Queſt. 1. Cap. Integritas.

The Pope & his Byſhops commaundeth, and counſelleth not to mary, yea & to burne men for marying.

CHaſtitye of the bodye ought to bee deſired of vs: the whiche thing I do geue for a counſell, and do not commaund it imperiouſly. For Virginity is a thing that alonelye ought to be coūſelled, but not to be commaunded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will and not a precept.

¶ A briefe recapitulation out of Doctour Taylours cauſes afore touched for the Reader, more euidently to ſee how the Papiſtes do agaynſt their own knowledge, in forbiddinge Priſtes Mariage.

THe Popes Clergy forbidding Eccleſiaſtical perſons to mary, do againſt their conſcience & knowledge as may well be proued by theſe cauſes hereunder folowing.

1. Firſt, they know that Matrimony in the old teſtament, De iure inſtitutionis, is indifferently permitted to all menne without any exception.
2. Secondly, they know, that in the old Teſtament, De facto, both Prieſtes, Leuites, Prophets, Patriarches, and al other had theyr wiues.
3. Thirdly, they know that Matrimony was permitted & inſtituted of God for two principall endes: to wit, for procreation, and auoyding of ſinne.
4. Fourtly, they know, that in the old teſtamēt, God, not onely inſtituted and permitted Matrimony to be free, but alſo induceth & appoynteth mē to mary and take wiues, in theſe wordes: It is not good for a man to be alone. &c.
5. Fiftly, they know, that in the new teſtament S. Paule permitteth the ſtate of Matrimony free to all men, hauing not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.
6. Sixtly, they know that in the new Teſtament the ſayd S. Paule not only permitteth, but alſo expreſſely willeth & chargeth men hauing not the gift, to mary, ſaying: For auoyding fornication let euery man haue his wife. &c.
7. Seuenthly, they know that in the new Teſtament the ſayd S. Paul, not onely permitteth and commaūdeth, but alſo commendeth and prayſeth the ſtate of Matrimonye, Hebr. 13. Calling it honorable: and the bedcompany to be vndefiled. &c.
8. Eighly, they know, that in the new teſtament Chriſt himſelfe, not onely was not conceiued nor borne of the virgine before ſhe was eſpouſed in matrimonye, but alſo that both he and his bleſſed mother did beutify and honour the ſtate of matrimony with their preſence: yea in the ſame began his firſt miracle.
9. Ninthly, they know, both by the old teſtament & new, that mariage is no impediment to walke in the obediēce of Gods commandement, for both Abraham caryed into the land of Canaan his old, yea and barrayne wife, the vertuous woman Sara with him: & alſo to Iſaac, Iacob, Moſes, Dauid, and other, their mariage was no impedemēt to them to talk with God: neither to other Leuites, biſhops, and Prieſtes in the time both of the old teſtament, & of the new. Agayne, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, & other both to haue their wiues with them, and alſo to ſupply the office of Apoſtleſhip.
10. Tenthly, they know both by the old teſtamēt & new, ẏ ſinnefull fornicatiō & adultry depriueth man of Gods fauor & graces of the holy Ghoſt, which graces eſpecially be requiſite in men of the Church.
11. Eleuenthly they know in theyr owne ſecret conſcience, & by experience, that neither they which enioyne this vow of chaſtity, nor they which take it, doe obſerue the vowe of chaſtity. Whereupon riſe inconueniences more then can be expreſſed: but the Lord aboue knoweth all, beſides the ſecret murders peraduenture of many a poore infant. &c.
12. Twelfthly, they knowe, by S. Cyprian. Epiſt. 11. and S. Auguſtine. Lib. De bono coniugali ad Iulianum, that a vowe is no impediment ſufficient to let Matrimony, or to diuorce the ſame.
13. Thirtenthly, they know that Chryſoſtome affirmeth it to be an hereſy to ſay, that a byſhop may not haue a wife.
14. Fourtenthly, they know that S. Ambroſe. 32. q. 1. Integritas, will haue no commaundement, but counſel onely to be geuen, touching the obſeruing of virginity.
15. Fiftenthlye, they knowe that before the time of Pope Hildebrand, that is, during that time of 1000. yeares after Chriſt, mariage was neuer reſtrained by any forceable neceſſity of vow, from men of the Church.
16. Sixtenthly, they know, that S. Paul calleth it the doctrine of deuils, to forbid meates, and maryage which God hath left free with thankes geuing for neceſſity of man and woman.

After that Doct. Taylour thus with great ſpirite and courage had aunſwered for himſelfe, and ſtoutly rebuked his aduerſaries for breaking their oth made before to king Henry and to king Edwarde his ſonne, and for betraying the realme into the power of the Romain biſhop, they perceiuing that in no caſe he could be ſtyrred to their wils and purpoſe, that is, to turne with them from Chriſt to Antichriſt, committed him therupon to priſon againe, where he endured till the laſt of Ianuary.

✻ D. Taylour the fourth tyme with M. Bradford, and M. Saunders, brought before Wincheſter and other Byſhops.

Gardin. Hopto. Bonn. Capo. Tonſtall.

VPon which day & yeare aforeſayd, D. Tailour and M. Bradford, and M. Saūders were agayne called to appeare before the byſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Norwich, of London, of Saliſbury, and of Dureſme, and ther were charged agayne with hereſy & ſchiſme, and therfore a determinate anſwere was required: whether they would ſubmit themſelues to the Romayne byſhop & abiure their errors or els they would according to theyr lawes proceed to theyr condemnation.

When D. Taylour and his felowes, M. Bradford and M. Saunders heard this, they anſwered ſtoutly and boldly, that they would not depart frō the truth which they had preached in king Edwards dayes, neither would they ſubmit themſelues to the romiſh Antichriſt but they thanked God for ſo great mercy, that he would cal them to be worthy to ſuffer for his word and truth.

When the Biſhops ſaw them ſo boldly, conſtantly, and vnmoueably fixed in the truth, they read ẏ ſentēce of death vpon them, which whē they had heard, they moſt ioyfully gaue God thankes, and ſtoutly ſayde vnto the Byſhops: We doubt not but God the righteous Iudge, will require our bloud at your handes, and the proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this receiuing agayne of Antichriſt, and your tiranny that ye now ſhew agaynſt the flocke of Chriſt.

So was Doctor Taylour nowe condemned, committed to the Clinke, & the keepers charged ſtraitlye to keepe him: for ye haue nowe an other maner of charge (quoth the Lord Chauncellour) then ye had before: therefore looke ye take heed to it.

When the keeper brought him toward the priſon, yͤ people flocked about to gaſe vpō him: vnto whō he ſayd: God be prayſed (good people) I am come away from thē vndefiled, & will confirme the truth with my bloud. So was he beſtowed in the Clincke till it was toward night, and thē he was remoued to the Counter by the Poultry.

When D. Taylour had lyen in the ſayd Counter in the poultry a ſeuennight or there aboutes priſoner, the fourth day of February, Anno 1555. Edmund Boner Byſhop of London with others, came to the ſaid Counter to diſgrade him, bringing with them ſuch ornaments, as do appertein to theyr maſſing Mūmery. Now being come, he called for the ſayd D. Taylor to be brought vnto him (the biſhop being then in the chamber, where the keeper of the Counter and his wife lay.) So D. Taylour was brought downe frō the chamber aboue that, to the ſayd Boner. And att his comming, the Biſhop ſayd: Mayſter Doctour, I woulde you would remember your ſelfe, and turn to your mother holy Church: ſo may you do wel enough, and I wil ſue for your pardon. Wherunto M. Taylor aunſwered: I would you and your felowes would turne to Chriſt. As for me I will not turne to Antichriſt. Well (quoth the byſhop) I am come to diſgrade you: wherfore put on theſe veſtures. No (quoth Doct. Taylour) I will not. Wilt thou not, ſaid the Biſhop? I ſhall make thee, ere I goe. Quoth Doct. Taylor, you ſhal not by the grace of God. Thē he charged him vpon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him.

So he willed another to put them on his backe: & whē he was throughly furniſhed therwith, he ſet his handes by his ſide, walking vp and down, and ſayd: how ſay you my Lord, am I not a goodly foole? how ſay you my mayſters? If I were in cheape, ſhould I not haue boyes enough to laugh at theſe apiſh toyes, & toying trumpery? So the byſhop ſcraped his fingers thūbes, & the crowne of his head, and did the reſt of ſuch like deuiliſh obſeruaunces.

At the laſt, when he ſhould haue geuen D. Taylour a ſtroke on the breſt with his Croſierſtaffe, the Biſhoppes Chapleine ſayd: my Lord ſtrike him not, for hee wyll ſure ſtrike agayne. Yea by S. Peter will I, quoth Doct. Taylour. The cauſe is Chriſtes: and I were no good Chriſtian if I would not fight in my Mayſters quarrell. So the byſhop laid his curſe vpon him, but ſtroke him not. Then D. Taylor ſayd: though you do curſe me, yet God doth bleſſe me. I haue the witnes of my conſcience, that ye haue done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God (if it be hys will) forgeue you. But from the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome, & his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs. And in going vp to his chamber, he ſtill ſayd: God deliuer me from you, God deliuer me frō you. And when he came vp, he told Maiſter Bradford (for they both lay in one chāber) that he had made the Byſhop of London afearde: for (ſayth he laughingly) his Chapleine gaue him counſel not to ſtrike me with his Croſierſtaffe, for that I would ſtrike agayne: and by my troth (ſayde he rubbing his handes) I made him beleue I would do ſo in deed.

The night after that he was diſgraded, his wyfe and his ſonne Thomas reſorted to him, and were by the gentlenes of the keepers permitted to ſuppe with hym. For this difference was euer found betweene the keepers of the byſhops priſons, and the keepers of the kinges priſons: that the Biſhops keepers were euer cruell, blaſphemous, and tyrannous, like theyr Mayſters: but the keepers of the kinges priſons ſhewed for the moſt part, as much fauor, as they poſſible might.

So came Doctor Taylours wife, his ſonne, and Iohn Hull his ſeruaunt, to ſup with him: and at their comming in afore ſupper, they kneeled downe and praied, ſaying the Letany.

After ſupper walking vp and downe, he gaue GOD thankes for his grace, that had ſo called him and geuen him ſtrength to abide by his holy worde: and turning to hys ſonne Thomas: My deare ſonne (ſayd he) almighty God bleſſe thee, & geue thee his holy ſpirit, to be a true ſeruaunt of Chriſt, to learn his word, and conſtantly to ſtand by his truth all thy long life. And my ſonne, ſee that thou feare God alwaies. Flee from all ſinne & wicked liuing: be vertuous, ſerue God with dayly prayer, and apply thy booke. In any wiſe ſee thou be obedient to thy Mother, loue her, and ſerue her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and folow her good counſell in all thinges. Beware of lewd company of young men that feare not God, but folowe theyr lewde luſtes and vayne appitites. Flye from whoredome, and hate all filthy liuing, remembring that I thy father do dye in the defence of holy mariage. And another day whē god ſhall bleſſe thee, loue & cheriſh the poore people, & coūt that thy chiefe riches is to be rich in almes: and when thy mother is waxed old, forſake her not, but prouide for her to thy power, and ſee that ſhe lacke nothing: For ſo will GOD bleſſe thee, and geue the long life vpon earth and proſperity: which I pray God to graunt thee.

D. Taylour counſelleth his wyfe.

Then turning to his wife: My deare wife (quoth he) continue ſtedfaſt in the feare and loue of God, keepe your ſelfe vndefiled from theyr Popyſh Idolatryes, and ſuperſtitions. I haue bene vnto you a faythfull yokefelow, and ſo haue you bene vnto me, for the which I pray GOD to reward you, and doubt you not deare wife, but God wyll reward it.

Now the time is come that I ſhall be taken from you, & you diſcharged of the wedlocke bond towards me: therfore I will geue you my counſell what I thinke moſt expedient for you. You are yet a childbearing woman, and therfore it will be moſt conuenient for you to marry. For doubtleſſe you ſhall neuer be at a conuenient ſtay for your ſelfe and our poore children, nor out of trouble, tyll you be maryed. Therfore as ſoone as God will prouide it, marry with ſome honeſt faythfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will prouide an honeſt huſband for you, & he wil be a mercifull father to you and to my children: whom I pray you, bring vp in the feare of God, & in learning, to the vttermoſt of your power, and keep them from this romiſh Idolatry. When he had thus ſaid, they with weping teares prayed together, and kiſſed one the other: & he gaue to his wife a booke of the Church ſeruice, ſet out by Kyng Edward, which in the time of his impriſonment he daylye vſed. And vnto his ſonne Thomas he gaue a Latin booke, cōteining the notable ſayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria: & in the end of that book he wrote his Teſtament and laſt Vale, as hereafter foloweth.

His laſt token to his wyfe and his ſonne.

¶ The laſt will and Teſtament of Doctor Rowland Taylour, Parſon of Hadley.

D. Taylours will and teſtament written in the booke which he gaue to his ſonne.
Iob. 1. 2.
Apoc. 14.
Luke 12.

I Say to my wife, and to my children: The Lord gaue you vnto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. I beleue that they are bleſſed which dye in the Lord. God careth for Sparowes, and for the heares of our heades. I haue euer founde him more faythfull and fauorable, thē is any father or huſband. Truſt ye therefore in him by the meanes of our deare Sauior Chriſtes merites: beleue, loue, feare and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promiſed to helpe. Count me not dead, for I ſhall certainely liue, and neuer dye. I go before, and you ſhal folow after, to our long home. I go to the reſt of my children, Suſan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary: I haue bequeathed you to the onely omnipotent.

I ſay to my deare frendes of Hadley, and to all other which haue heard me preache: that I depart hence with a quiet conſcience, as touching my doctrine: for the which I pray you thanke God wͭ me. For I haue after my little talent declared to other, thoſe leſſōs yͭ I gathered out of gods booke, the bleſſed Bible. Therefore if I or any Aungell from heauen ſhould preach to you any other Goſpell, then that ye haue receiued, Gods great curſe vpon that Preacher.

A pure conſciēce fully quieted.

Beware for Gods ſake, that ye deny not God, neyther decline from the word of fayth, leſt God decline from you, & ſo do ye euerlaſtingly periſhe. For Gods ſake beware of Popery: for though it appeare to haue in it vnitye, yet the ſame is in vanity, and Antichriſtianity, and not in Chriſts fayth and verity.

A graue warning agaynſt Popery.

Beware of the ſinne agaynſt the holy ghoſt, now after ſuch a light opened ſo playnly and ſimply, truly, throughly and generally to all England.

The ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt.

The Lord graunt all men his good and holy ſpirit, encreaſe of his wiſedome, contemning the wicked world, harty deſire to be with God & the heauenly company, through Ieſus Chriſt our only Mediator, Aduocate, righteouſnes, life, ſanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen, Pray, Pray.

A godly prayer.

¶ Rowland Taylour departing hence in ſure hope,
without all doubting of eternal ſaluatiō, I thāke
God my heauenly father, through Ieſus Chriſte
my certeine Sauiour. Amen.
The 5. of February. Anno. 1555.

Pſalme. 27.

The Lord is my lighte and my ſaluation: whome then ſhall I feare.

Roma. 8.

God is he that iuſtifieth: who is he that can condemne?

Anno 1555. February.

Pſalm.30.
In thee O Lord haue I truſted, let me neuer be confounded.

D. Taylour lead from the Coūter by night toward Hadley.

On the next morow, after that Doct. Tailour had ſupped with his wife in the Counter (as is before expreſſed) which was the fift day of February, the Shiriffe of London, with his Officers came to the Counter by two of the clocke in the morning, and ſo brought forth Doctor Taylour, and without any light lead him to the woolſacke, an Inne without Algate. D. Taylours wife ſuſpecting that her huſband ſhould that night be caried away, watched all night within S. Butolphes Churchporch beſide Algate, hauing with her two children, the one named Elizabeth of xiij. yeares of age (whom being left without father or mother, Doctour Taylour had brought vp of almes from iij. yeares olde) the other named Mary, D. Taylours owne daughter.

The laſt meeting and leaue-taking with his wyfe and children.

This Sheriffe was M.Cheſter.

Now, when the Shiriffe & his company came againſt S. Butolphes church, Elizabeth cried ſaying: O my deare father. Mother, mother, here is my father led away. Then cried his wife: Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? for it was a very darcke morning, that the one could not ſee the other. D. Taylour aunſwered: deare wife, I am here, and ſtayed. The Shiriffes men would haue led him forth, but the Shiriffe ſayd: ſtay a litle mayſters, I pray you, and let him ſpeake with his wife, and ſo they ſtayed.

Then came ſhe to him, and he tooke his daughter Mary in his armes, and hee, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled downe & ſayd the Lordes prayer. At which ſight the Sheriffe wept apaſe, & ſo did diuers other of yͤ company. After they had prayd, he roſe vp & kiſſed his wife, & ſhooke her by the hand, & ſayd: Farewell my deare wife, be of good cōfort, for I am quiet in my conſcience. God ſhal ſtirre vp a father for my children. And then he kiſſed his daughter Mary and ſayd: God bleſſe thee, and make thee his ſeruant: & kiſſing Elizabeth, he ſayde: God bleſſe thee. I pray you all ſtande ſtrong & ſtedfaſt vnto Chriſt & his word, & keepe you from idolatry. Thē ſaid his wife: God be with thee deare Rowland. I will with Gods grace meet thee at Hadley.

And ſo was he led forth to the woolſacke, and his wife folowed him. As ſoone as they came to the woolſacke, hee was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with foure Yeomen of the Gard, and the Shiriffes men. Doctor Tailor, as ſoone as he was come into the chamber, fell downe on his knees & gaue himſelfe wholy to prayer. The Sheriffe then ſeing D. Taylours wife there, would in no caſe graunt her to ſpeake any more with her huſband, but gētly deſired her to go to his houſe and take it as her owne, & promiſed her ſhe ſhould lack nothing, & ſent two Officers to conduct her thither. Notwithſtanding, ſhe deſired to go to her mothers, whither the Officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there, till they came agayne.

The Shrieffes gentlenes ſhewed to the womā.

D. Taylour brought to the ſigne of the Woolſacke.

Thus remayned Doctour Taylour in the woolſacke, kept by the Shiriffe and his company, till 11. of the clocke. At which time the Sheriffe of Eſſex was ready to receyue him: and ſo they ſet him on horſeback within the Inne, the gates being ſhut.

At the comming out of the gates, Iohn Hull (before ſpokē of) ſtood at the rayles with Thomas Doctour Taylours ſonne. When Doctour Taylour ſaw them, he called them, ſaying: Come hither my ſonne Thomas. And Iohn Hull lifted the child vp, and ſet him on the horſe before hys father. And Doct. Taylour put of his hatt and ſayd to the people that ſtood there looking on him: good people, this is mine owne ſonne, begottē of my body in lawful matrimony: and God be bleſſed for lawful matrimony. Then lift he his eies towardes heauen, & prayed for his ſonne, layd his hat vpon the childes head, & bleſſed him, and ſo deliuered yͤ child to Iohn Hull, whō he tooke by the hand: & ſayd: farewell Iohn Hull, the faythfulleſt ſeruaunt yͭ euer man had. And ſo they rod forth, the Shriffe of Eſſex with foure yeomen of the Gard, and the Shriffes men leading him.

D. Taylour taketh his leaue of his ſonne Thomas and Iohn Hull.

A good teſtimony for all ſeruants to marke.

Arthur Fayſie.

When they were come almoſt at Burntwood, one Arthur Fayſie, a man of Hadley, who before tyme had bene Doctour Taylours ſeruaunt, met with them, and he ſuppoſing him to haue bene at liberty, ſayd: Mayſter Doctor I am glad to ſee you agayne at liberty, and came to him, & tooke him by the hand. Soft Syr (quoth the Shiriffe) he is a priſoner: what haſt thou to do with him? I cry you mercy (ſayd Arthur) I knewe not ſo muche, and I thought it none offēce to talk to a true man. The Shyriffe was verye angry with this, and threatned to cary Arthur with him to priſon: notwithſtādyng, he bad him get him quickely away & ſo they rode forth to Burntwood: where they cauſed to be made for D. Taylour a cloſe hood, with two holes for hys eyes to looke out at, & a ſlit for his mouth to breath at. This they did, that no man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeak to any man, which practiſe they vſed alſo with others. Theyr owne conſciences told them, that they lead innocent lābes to the ſlaughter. Wherefore they feared, leaſt if the people ſhould haue heard them ſpeake, or haue ſeene them, they might haue bene much more ſtrengthened by theyr godly exhortatiōs, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in Gods word, and to flye the ſuperſtitions and Idolatries of the Papacy.

A cloſe hoode made for Doct. Taylour that no man ſhould know him.

All the way Doct. Taylour was ioyfull and mery, as one that accounted himſelfe goyng to a moſt pleaſant banquet or bridall. He ſpake many notable things to the Shiriffe and Yeomen of the Gard that conducted him, and oftē moued them to weepe through his much earneſt calling vpon them to repēt, and to amend theyr euill and wicked liuing. Oftentimes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and reioyce, to ſee him ſo cōſtant and ſtedfaſt, voyd of all feare, ioyfull in hart, & glad to dye. Of theſe yeomē of the gard, three vſed D. Tailour frendly, but the fourth (whoſe name was Homes) vſed him very homely, vnkindly, and churliſhly.

At Chelmeſford mette them the Shiriffe of Suffolke, there to receiue him, and to carye him forth into Suffolke. And being at ſupper, the Shiriffe of Eſſex very earneſtlye labored him to returne to the Popiſh Religion, thinkyng with fayre words to perſwade him, and ſayd good mayſter Doctor, we are right ſory for you, cōſidering what loſſe is of ſuch one as ye might be if ye would: God hath geuē you great learning and wiſedome, wherefore ye haue bene in great fauor and reputation in times paſt with the Counſell and higheſt of this realme. Beſides this, ye are a mā of goodly perſonage, in your beſt ſtrength, & by nature like to liue many yeares, and without doubt, ye ſhould in time to come be in as good reputation as euer ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloued of all men, as well for your vertues as for your learning: and me thinke it were great pity you ſhoulde caſt away your ſelfe willingly, & ſo come to ſuch a paynfull and ſhamefull death. Ye ſhould do much better to reuoke your opinions, and returne to the Catholicke Church of Rome, acknowledge the Popes holineſſe to be the ſupreme head of the vniuerſall church, & reconcile your ſelfe to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye ſhall finde fauor at the Queenes handes, I & all theſe your frends will be ſuters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye ſhall obteine. This councell I geue you, good Mayſter Doctor, of a good hart, a good will towarde you: and thereupon I drinke to you. In like maner ſayd all the yeomen of the Gard: vpon that condition Maiſter Doctor we will all drinke to you.

When they had all dronke to him, & the cup was come to him, he ſtayed a litle, as one ſtudying what aunſwere he might geue. At the laſt, thus he aunſwered and ſayd: Maiſter Shiriffe, and my Mayſters all, I hartely thanke you of your good will. I haue harkened to your wordes and marked wel your councels. And to be playne with you, I do perceiue that I haue bene deceiued my ſelf, and am like to deceiue a great many of Hadley, of their expectatiō. With that woorde they all reioyced. Yea good Mayſter Doctour (quoth the Shiriffe) Gods bleſſing on your hart: holde you there ſtill. It is the comfortableſt word, that we heard you ſpeake yet. What? ſhould ye caſt away your ſelfe in vayne? Play a wiſe mans part, & I dare warrant it, ye ſhall finde fauour. Thus they reioyced very much at the worde, and were very mery.

At the laſt: good Mayſter Doctor (quoth the Shiriffe) what meant ye by this, that ye ſayd ye thinke ye haue bene deceiued your ſelfe, and thinke ye ſhall deceiue many one in Hadley? would you know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea (quoth the Shiriffe) good Mayſter Doctour, tell it vs playnely.

Then ſayd Doctour Taylour, I will tell you how I haue bene deceiued, and as I think, I ſhall deceiue a great many. I am as you ſee, a man that hath a very great carkaſe, which I thought ſhould haue bene buried in Hadley Churchyarde if I had dyed in my bed, as I well hoped I ſhoulde haue done: but herein I ſee I was deceyued: and there are a greate number of wormes in Hadley Churchyard, which ſhould haue had ioly feeding vpon this cariō, which they haue looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceiued, both I and they: for this carkaſe muſt bee burnt to aſhes and ſo ſhall they loſe theyr bayt and feding, that they looked to haue had of it.

When the Shiriffe and his company heard him ſay ſo, they were amaſed, and looked one on another, marueiling at the mans conſtaunt minde, that thus without all feare, made but a ieſt at the cruell torment, and death now at hād prepared for him. Thus was theyr expectation clean diſappoynted. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefeſt wealth & proſperity: namely, that he ſhoulde ſhortly dye & feed wormes in his graue: which meditation if all our Biſhops, & ſpirituall men had vſed, they had not for a litle worldly glory forſaken the word of God, & truth, which they in king Edwardes dayes had preached and ſet forth, nor yet to mayntaine the Biſhop of Romes authority, haue committed ſo many to the fire as they did.

But let vs returne to Doctor Taylour, who at Chelmeſford was deliuered to the Shiriffe of Suffolke, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he ſuffered. When they were come to Lanham, the Shiriffe ſtaid there two daies: and thither came to him a great number of Gentlemē and Iuſtices vpon great horſes, which all were appointed to ayde the Shiriffe. These Gentlemen labored Doctor Tailor very ſore, to reduce him to the Romiſh religiō, promiſing him his pardō (which ſaid they) we haue here for you. They promiſed him great promotions, yea a Biſhopricke if he would take it: but all theyr labor & flattering wordes were in vayne. For he had not built his houſe vpp on the ſand in perill of falling at euery puffe of wynde, but vpon the ſure and vnmoueable rocke Chriſt. wherfore he abode conſtant and vnmoueable vnto the end.

After two dayes, the Shiriffe & his company led Doctor Taylour towardes Hadley, and comming within a two mile of Hadley, he deſired to light of his horſe to make water: which done, he lept, and ſet a friſke or twain, as mē commonly do in dauncing. Why Maiſter Doctour (quoth the Shiriffe) how do you now? He aunſwered: Well God be prayſed, good Mayſter Shiriffe. Neuer better: for now I know I am almoſt at home. I lacke not paſt two ſtiles to go ouer, and I am euen at my fathers houſe. But mayſter Shiriff (ſayd he) ſhall not we go through Hadley? Yes ſayd the Shiriffe, you ſhall go through Hadley. Thē ſayd he: O good Lord, I thanke thee. I ſhall yet once ere I dye ſee my flocke, whom thou Lord knoweſt I haue moſt hartely loued, and truly taught. Good Lord bleſſe them, & keep them ſtedfaſt in thy word and truth.

Whē they were now come to Hadley, and came riding ouer the bridge, at the bridgefoote waited a poore man with fiue ſmall children: who when he ſaw D. Taylour, he and his children fell down vpon theyr knees, and held vp their handes, and cryed with a loud voice, and ſayd: O deare father, and good ſhepheard, Doctour Taylour: God helpe & ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a time ſuccoured me, and my poore children. Such witnes had the ſeruant of God of his vertuous & charitable almes geuē in his life time. For God would now the poore ſhould teſtify of his good deeds, to his ſinguler comfort, to the example of others, and confuſion of his perſecutors and tyrannous aduerſaryes. For the Shiriffe and other that lead him to death, were wonderfully aſtonied at this: and the Shiriffe ſore rebuked the poore man for ſo crying. The ſtreets of Hadley were beſet on both ſides the way with men and women of the towne and countrey, who wayted to ſee him: whome when they beheld ſo led to death, wt weeping eyes and lamētable voyces they cryed, ſaying one to another: ah good Lord, there goeth our good ſhepheard from vs, that ſo faythfullye hath taught vs, ſo fatherly hath cared for vs, & ſo godly hath gouerned vs. O mercifull God: what ſhal we poore ſcattered Lambes do? what ſhall come of this moſt wicked world? Good Lord ſtrengthen him and comfort him: with ſuch other moſt lamentable and pitious voyces. Wherefore the people were ſore rebuked by the Shiriffe and the Catchpoles his men, that led him. And Doct. Taylour euermore ſayde to the people: I haue preached to you Gods word & truth, and am come this day to ſeale it with my bloud.

Comming agaynſt the Almes houſes, which hee well knew, he caſt to the poore people money, which remayned of that good people had geuen him in time of his impriſonment. As for his liuing, they tooke it from him at his fyrſt going to priſon, ſo that he was ſuſteined all the time of his impriſonment by the charitable almes of good people that viſited him.

Therfore the money that now remayned, he putte in a gloue ready for the ſame purpoſe, & (as is ſayd) gaue it to the poore Almeſmē ſtanding at theyr dores to ſee him. And comming to the laſt of the almes houſes, and not ſeing the poore that there dwelt readye in theyr dores, as the other were, he aſked: is the blinde man and blinde woman, that dwelt here, aliue? It was aunſwered yea: they are there within. Then threw he gloue and all in at the window, & ſo rode forth.

Thus this good father and prouider for the poore, now tooke his leaue of thoſe, for whom all his life he had a ſinguler care and ſtudy. For this was his cuſtome, once in a fourtnight at the leaſt, to call vpō Syr Henry Doyll, and others the rich Clothmakers, to go with him to the almeſhouſes, and there to ſee howe the poore liued: what they lacked in meat, drinke, clothing, bedding, or any other neceſſaries. The like did he alſo to other poore men that had many children, or were ſicke. Then would he exhort & cōfort them, and where he found cauſe, rebuke the vnruely, and what they lacked, that gaue he after his power: and what he was not able, he cauſed the rich and wealthy men to miniſter vnto them. Thus ſhewed he hymſelfe in all thinges an example to his flocke, worthy to be folowed: & taught by his deede, what a great treaſure almes is to all ſuch, as cherefully for Chriſtes ſake do it.

At the laſt, comming to Aldam Common, the place aſſigned where he ſhould ſuffer, and ſeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, hee aſked what place is this, & what meaneth it that ſo much people are gathered hyther? It was anſwered: It is Aldham Cōmon, the place where you muſt ſuffer: and the people are come to looke vpō you. Then ſayd he: thanked be God, I am euen at home, and ſo light from his horſe, and with both his handes, rent the hood from his head.

Aldam Common.

D. Taylour is come home.

Now was his head notted euilfauoredly, and clypped much like as a man would clippe a fooles head: which coſt the good Biſhop Boner had beſtowed vpon him, when he diſgraded him. But whē the people ſaw his reuerend and aūcient face, with a long white beard, they burſt out with weeping teares, and cryed ſaying: God ſaue thee good D. Taylor. Ieſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, and helpe thee. The holy Ghoſt comfort thee: with ſuch other like Godly wiſhes. Then would he haue ſpoken to ye people: but the yeomen of the Gard were ſo buſy about him, that as ſoone as he opened his mouth, one or other thruſt a tip ſtaff into his mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeake.

B. Boners coſt and liberalitye vpon D. Taylour.

The people wiſheth God to helpe him.

Then deſired he licence of the Shiriffe to ſpeake: but ye Shiriffe denyed it to him, and bad him remember hys promiſe to the Counſell.

D. Taylour could not be ſuffered to ſpeake to the people.

Well (quoth Doctour Taylour) promiſe muſt be kept. What this promiſe was, it is vnknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Counſell ſent for them, and threatned them, they would cut theyr tongues out of theyr heades, except they would promiſe, that at theyr deathes they would keep ſilence, and not ſpeake to the people: wherefore they deſirous to haue the vſe of theyr tonges, to call vpō God as long as they might liue, promiſed ſilence. For the Papiſtes feared muche, leaſt this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Chriſts ordinances to the Popiſh traditions, ſhould not ſo quietly haue bene receiued, as it was, eſpecially this burning of ye Preachers: but they meaſuring others myndes by theyr own, feared leſt the tumult or vprore might haue bene ſtirred, the people hauyng ſo iuſt a cauſe not to bee contented with theyr doinges, or els (that they moſt feared) ye people ſhould more haue bene confirmed by their godly exhortatiōs to ſtand ſtedfaſt agaynſt their vaine Popiſh doctrine, & idolatry. But thanks to God, which gaue to his witneſſes fayth and pacience, with ſtout and manly hartes to deſpiſe all tormentes: neither was their ſo much as any one man that once ſhewed any ſigne of diſobedience toward ye magiſtrates. They ſhed theyr bloud gladly in the defēce of ye trueth, ſo leauing example vnto all men of true & perfect obedience: which is to obey God more then mē, and if need require it, to ſhed theyr owne bloud rather then to depart from Gods truth.

The Goſpellers are not ſeditious, as the Papiſtes commonly bee.

Doctor Taylor perceiuing that he could not be ſuffred to ſpeake, ſat down, and ſeing one named Soyce, he called him and ſayd: Soice, I pray thee come & pull of my bootes & take them for thy labor. Thou haſt long looked for thē, now take them. Thē roſe he vp, and put of his clothes vnto his ſhirt, and gaue thē away. Which done, he ſaide with loud voyce: Good people, I haue taught you nothing but Gods holye word, and thoſe Leſſons that I haue taken out of Gods bleſſed booke, the holy Bible: and I come hyther this day to ſeale it with my bloud. With that woorde Homes, yeoman of the Gard, aforeſayd, who had vſed doctour Taylour very cruelly all the waye, gaue him a great ſtroke vpon the head with a waſter, and ſayd: Is that the keeping of thy promiſe, thou hereticke: Then he ſeyng they would not permit him to ſpeak, kneled down and prayed, & a poore woman that was among the people, ſtepped in & prayed with him: but her they thruſt away, and threatned to tread her down with horſes: notwithſtādyng ſhe would not remoue, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the ſtake and kiſſed it, and ſet hymſelfe into a pitch barrell, which they had ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtood with his backe vpright agaynſt the ſtake, with his handes folded together, and his eyes toward heauen, & ſo he continually prayed.

Soyce pulleth of his bootes.

D. Taylour confeſſeth the truth.

Homes a cruell Tyrant.

D. Taylour prayeth.

A good woomā comming to pray with him could not be ſuffered

Then they bound him with chaynes: and the Shiriffe called one Richard Doningham a Butcher, and commaūded him to ſet vp Fagots: but he refuſed to do it, and ſayd: I am lame Syr, and not hable to lift a Fagot. The Shyriffe threatned to ſend him to priſon: notwithſtanding hee would not do it.

Richard Doningham.

Then appoynted he on Mulleine of Carſey, a man for

Anno 1555. February.

The tormentours.

Warwicke a cruell tormentour. This king was alſo one of them which went with his halbert to bring them to death which were burnt at Bery.

his vertues fit to be a hang man, and Soice a very dronkard, and Warwicke, who in the commotion time in king Edwardes dayes, loſt one of his eares for his ſeditious talke, amongeſt whō was alſo one Robert King a deuiſer of Enterludes, who albeit was there preſent & had doyng there with the gunnepouder, what he ment and did therin (he himſelfe ſayth he did it for the beſt, and for quicke diſpatch) the Lord knoweth which ſhal iudge al, more of this I haue not to ſay.

D. Taylor is pacient.

Theſe foure were appoynted to ſet vp the Fagots and to make the fire, which they moſt diligently did: and this Warwicke cruelly caſt a Fagot at him, which lyght vpon his head, and brake his face, that the bloud ran downe his viſage. Then ſayd Doctour Taylour: Oh frend, I haue harme enough, what needed that.

Syr Iohn Shelton.

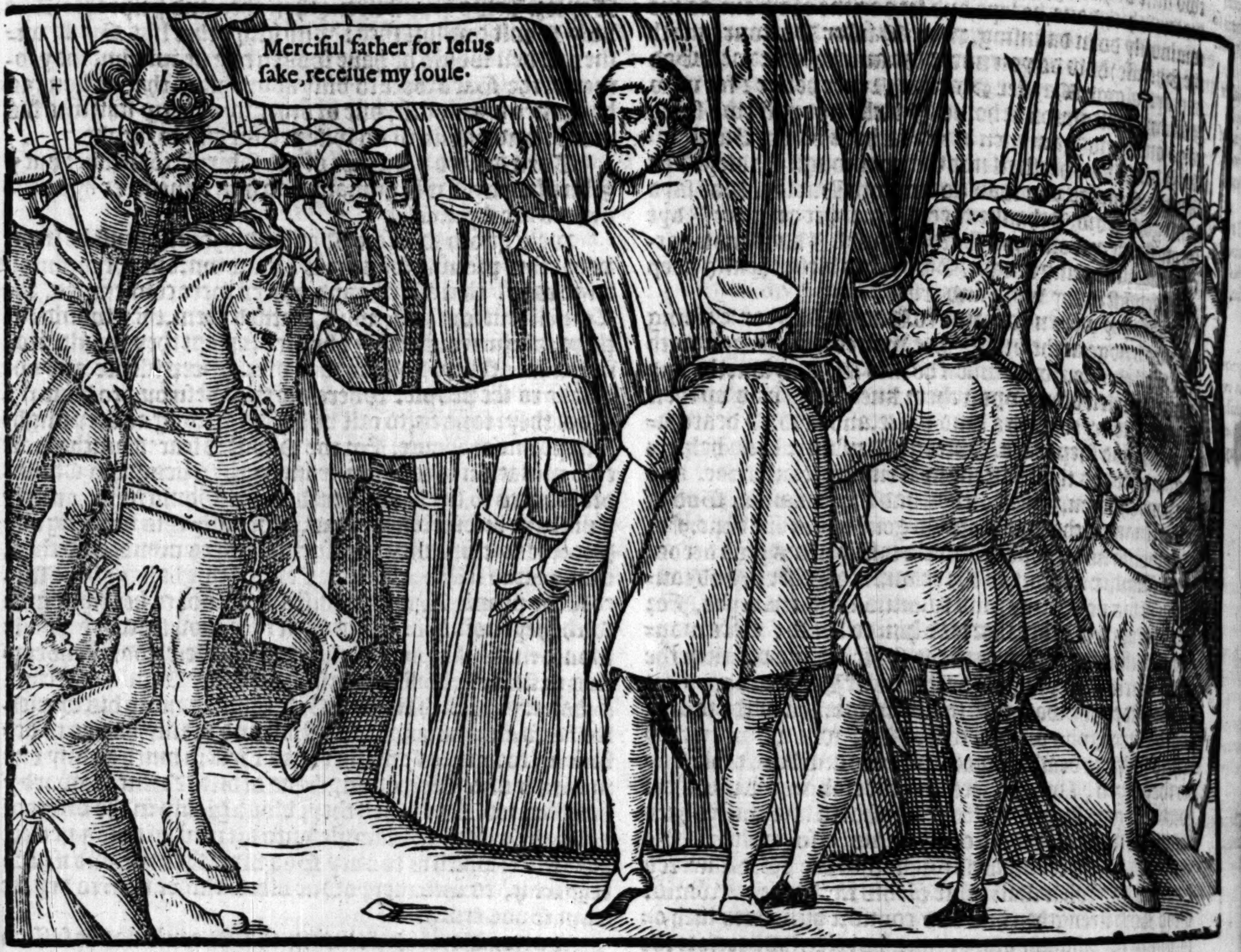
Furthermore Syr Iohn Shelton there ſtanding by as Doct. Taylour was ſpeaking and ſaying the Pſalme Miſerere in Engliſhe, ſtroke him on the lippes: ye knaue, ſayd he, ſpeake Latine, I will make thee. At the laſt they ſet to fire: and Doctour Taylour holding vppe both hys handes, called vpō God, and ſayd: Mercifull father of heauen, for Ieſus Chriſt my Sauiours ſake, receiue my ſoule into thy handes. So ſtood he ſtill without either crying or mouing, with his handes folded together, till Soice with an Halberd ſtroke him on yͤ head that the braynes fell out, and the dead corpes fell downe into the fire.

D. Taylo laſt wo

Soyce ſt keth h downe with an Holbard.

Thus rendred the man of God his bleſſed ſoule into the handes of his mercifull father, and to his moſt deare and certeine Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whome he moſt entyrelye loued, faithfully and earneſtly preached obediently followed in liuing, and conſtantly glorified in death.

The Martyrdome of Doctour Taylour, burned at Hadley for the testimony of the Goſpell. February. 9. Anno. 1555.


Merciful father for Ieſus ſake, receiue my ſoule.

An example of ſingular courage in D. Taylor.

They that were preſent and familiarlye conuerſaunt with this Doctour Taylour, reported of him, that they neuer did ſee in him any feare of death, but eſpecially & aboue all the reſt which beſides him ſuffered at the ſame time, alwayes ſhewed himſelfe mery and cherefull in tyme of hys impriſonment, as well before his condēnation as after: he kept one countenaunce and like behauiour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and preſence of maiſter Iohn Bradford, who then was in priſon & chamber with him.

D. Taylor careles of his death.

The ſame morning, when he was called vp by the ſhiriffe to goe to his burning (about three of the clocke in the morning) being ſodenly awaked out of his ſound ſleepe he ſat vp in his bed, and putting on his ſhyrt, had theſe wordes (ſpeaking ſomewhat thicke after his accuſtomed maner:) Ah horſon theeues, ah horſon theues, robbe God of his honor, robbe God of his honor? Afterward being riſen and tying his poyntes, hee caſt his armes about a balke whiche was in the chamber betwene Mayſter Bradfordes bed & his: and there hanging by the handes, ſayde to M. Bradford: O Maiſter Bradford (quoth he) what a notable ſway ſhould I geue if I were hanged, meaning for that he was a corpulent and bigge man. Theſe thinges I thought good here to note: to ſet forth and declare to thoſe that ſhall read this hiſtory, what a notable and ſinguler gift of ſpirit and courage God had geuen to this godly and bleſſed martyr.

At what time Doctour Taylour was depriued of hys benefice of Hadley, there was one called Syr Robert Bracher, a falſe pretenſed Proteſtant in king Edwardes dayes, and afterward a deadly enemy to the ſame Religiō: who was alſo one of them that ſo vnmercifully thruſt Doctor Taylors wife and children out of the dores, as ſhe her ſelfe yet can teſtify: & notwithſtanding the ſame, now ſince became a Proteſtant agayne.

Syr Robe Brachers cōming to Hadley.

This Syr Robert Bracher aforeſayde, comming to Hadley to the buriall of a certayne frend of his and Gods great enemy one Walter Clarke, albeit he came ſomewhat to late to the market (as he ſayd) yet deſirous to vtter ſuch Popiſhe pelfe and packeware as he brought with him, hee opened there his baggage of peſtilent doctrine, preaching in the ſame towne of Hadley agaynſt iuſtification of fayth, of the corporall preſence, of praying for the dead, and Auricular confeſſion. Whereof Doctour Taylour hauing vnderſtanding by Letters, writeth agayn to them of Hadley directing his Letter to his wife in confutation of the ſayde Popiſh poyſoned Sermon: the Copy of which Letter we thought not vnworthy here in the ende of this ſtory to bee annexed, as vnder foloweth.

A popiſhe Sermon of Syr Robe Bracher.

¶ A Letter of Doctor Taylour of Hadley, written to his wife.

This cap was a ni cap ſent by M. Couer dale to D. Taylor by his wyfe.

Deare wife, I pray God be euer with vs through Chriſt our onely Mediator. Amen.

I thanke you for my cap: I am ſomething proud of it: for it is one ſteppe from the Clergy in theſe dayes. I thanke God, my hart is cleane deuided from theyr proceedinges: for I knowe that no man can ſerue two maiſters, ſpecially if they agree no better thē Chriſt and Antichriſt do. I am glad that Hadley can skill of ſuch packing ware as was brought thether the firſt day of May laſt paſt. Chriſtes ſheepe can diſcerne Chriſtes voyce from the voice of ſtraungers, theeues, or hirelings. The packebringer was ſory that he came to late to the funerall market of his faithfull friend. But here I will leaue them both to Gods iudgement, and ſomethyng touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his openyng day. At the firſt he called the Scripture (as I heare) full of darke ſentences, but in deed it is called of Dauid, a candle to our feete, and a light to our pathes. Our Sauior Chriſt calleth hys word, the light which euill doers do flee from and hate, leaſt their deeds ſhould be reproued thereby, S. Paule would haue vs to walke as children of light, and in any wyſe not to continue in ignorance or darkenes. But all we in the world pertaine to two princes, eyther to the father of light & truth, or els to the prince of darkenes and lyes.

In theſe dayes preachers declare euidently of whome they are ſent, and with what ſpirit they ſpeake, & to what prince they belong: For they cry out againſt Gods, Lightes, Sunne, Moone, Starres, torches, lampes, lanternes, creſſets, and candles in Gods booke the Bible, prouided of Gods great goodnes and mercy to auoyd all foule darknes, cloudes, and miſtes, or dangerous doutfull wayes in this our iourney to our heauēly father, long home, manſion houſes, and dearely purchaſed heritage. Eſay gods faithfull meſſenger ſayth: Woe be vnto them that call ſweete ſower, good euill, and light darkenes. Therfore commeth my people into captiuitie, becauſe they haue no vnderſtanding. Our Sauiour Chriſt pronounceth errours and hereſies to remaine among the people, ſo long as ignorance of the ſcriptures remayneth. And hereby it appeareth to all good conſciences, what they meane, which defame or accuſe Gods bleſſed word beyng full of light, as though it were full of darkenes. Theſe Owles would haue all day lights ſcraped out of bookes, hartes, and Churches. Oh Lord turne their heartes and tongues: bowe them from the waye of darkeneſſe, leaſt they goe to the prince of darkeneſſe, and be caſt into the pit of vtter darkenes, where is weepyng and gnaſhyng of teeth.

Now, touching the packes of wooll, and the packes of cloth, I feare they were as all other wares bee, tranſubſtantiate into flockes, euen his very fineſt packing ſtuffe againſt onely faith iuſtifieng, and for the corporal preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament, for praying for ſoules departed, and for auricular confeſſion. Abrahams iuſtification by fayth, by grace, by promiſe and not by workes, is plainly ſet forth both in the epiſtle to the Rom. cap. 4. and to the Gal. ca. 3. and Abrahams works of obedience in offring vp his ſonne ſo long after his iuſtification, muſt needes be taken as a fruite of a good tree iuſtifieng before men, and not of iuſtification before God: for then had man to glory in, then dyd Chriſt die in vayne.

And where as the 6 chap. of Iohn was alledged, to proue that Chriſt did geue his body corporally in his ſupper, euē as he had promiſed in the ſayd 6. chap. it is moſt vntrue. For onely he gaue his body ſacramentally, ſpiritually, and effectually in his ſupper to the faythfull Apoſtles, and corporally he gaue it in a bloudy ſacrifice for the lyfe of the worlde vppon the croſſe once for all. There in hys owne perſon, in hys owne naturall body he bare all our ſinnes. By whoſe ſtripes we were healed, as S. Peter proueth 1. Pet. 2. and Eſay. 53. In deed receiuyng Chriſts ſacrament accordingly as it was inſtituted, we receyue Chriſtes body & Chriſts bloud, euen as I ſayd before, the Apoſtles dyd.

But the popiſh Maſſe is another matter. The Maſſe as it is now, is but one of Antichriſts youngeſt daughters, in the which the deuill is rather preſent and receyued, then our ſauiour, the ſecond perſon in Trinitie, God and man. O Lord God heauenly father, for Chriſtes ſake we beſeeche thee to turne agayne England to the right way it was in in K. Edwards tyme, from this Babylonicall ſtewiſh ſpirituall whoredome, conſpiracie, tyranny, deteſtable enormities, falſe doctrine, hereſie, hardnes of hart, and cōtempt of thy word and commaundements, from this euident and open idolatry, ſacriledge, ſimonie, blaſphemy, ſuperſtition, hypocriſie, tranſubſtantiate angell of lyght and day deuill, kyngdome of lyes, foule vayne ſchiſmes, ſects, ſedition, apoſtaſie, gay ſweete poyſon, honied and ſugred viperous venome, wily woluiſhneſſe, ſathanicall ſubtletie, and abhomination in the ſight of God, and of all ſuch as put on the true ſpectacles of holy ſcripture. I am the more playne now in this matter, becauſe I feare greatly, that many will be to much ready to go from Chriſt to Antichriſt, frō the Bible, true Gods ſeruice and religion, to Latine lying Legendes, Portaſes, Maſſe bookes and ſuperſtition. They ſay theyr Church cannot erre in any poynt, whē in deed they be not of gods church and therfore they can do nothyng but erre, euen as they doe almoſt in all caſes of true fayth.

But to come agayne to the packer rather then preacher, hee bringeth S Chryſoſtome writyng Ad populum Antiochenum, where he makyng a compariſon betweene Chriſtes fleſh and Elias cloke caſt downe to Elizeus, when Elias was taken vp in the fiery Chariot, at length he ſayeth, that Chriſt aſcendyng vp to heauen, tooke hys fleſh with hym, and alſo left hys fleſh behynd hym in earth.

The meaning of Chriſoſt. rightly expounded concernyng Elias cloke.

The meanyng of it is, he dyd aſcend with hys fleſh, and left a memoriall cloke of the ſame body and fleſh, which he calleth hys fleſh, as he in the ſacramentall phraſe calleth bread his body, becauſe it repreſenteth his body: and as in the lyke manner of Sacramentall ſpeach, a Lambe was called the Paſſeouer, the Circumciſion, Gods couenaunt. He tooke vp hys fleſh corporally, & leaſt his fleſh in myſtery and ſacrament ſpiritually. Or it may be ſayd, that he left hys fleſh vpon earth: that is, hys myſticall body, his faythfull people, whom S. Paule calleth the members of hys body, of hys fleſh, of hys bones, Epheſ. 5. In the 49. chap. of Geneſis, there is no word of Chriſtes ſacrament, but there is a propheſie of Chriſtes paſſion, wherein hys Fole was bound, that is, hys body. And where hee ſpeaketh there of grapes and wyne, it is as that is ſpoken of Chriſt in an other place, where hee ſayeth: Ego ſolus torcular calcaui: I alone dyd treade the wyne preſſe meanyng thereby, that Chriſt alone ſuffered paynefull paſſion for the remiſſion of ſinnes, and for the conſolation of all hys faithfull ſouldiors.

Of this memoriall cloke read before in D. Ridleys diſputations.

The place of Geneſis. 49.

It is not true that the packer ſayd, that Chriſts infinite power may make his body to bee in a thouſand places at once, as a loafe to be in a thouſand bellies: for then myght Chriſt deuide the partes of hys body, as a loafe is deuided and ſo conſumed, & then myght ſcripture be falſe, appointyng Chriſtes body to bee but in one place. Act. 3. Phil. 3. Heb. 3. The articles of our faith tel vs ſufficiently where Chriſtes body is. It was neuer in two places at once, neyther euer ſhall be, neither euer can be corporally and naturally, neither euer was, is, can, or ſhall be eaten ſo with any corporall mouthes, as the Capernaites and the papiſtes moſt erroneouſly and heretically doe iudge. If our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt hath no other body natural then is made of the ſubſtãce of bread and is in a thouſand places at once, as I haue often ſayd in Hadley: we are not yet redeemed, neyther ſhall our bodies ryſe againe, & be made lyke vnto his glorious body. We are ſure that our ſauiour Chriſts body is made of none other ſubſtaunce then of his mother the bleſſed virgin Maries ſubſtaunce. We are ſure, that he taketh not the nature of Angels, much leſſe of bread. Only he taketh on hym the ſeed of Abraham. Heb. 2. In all thynges lyke vnto vs, ſin only except. And this is a comfortable doctrine to vs chriſtians, beleuing ſtedfaſtly as the true catholike fayth is, that Chriſt hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Vpon this rocke Chriſts church is builded, and the gates of hell ſhall neuer preuayle agaynſt it. Math. 16.

Chriſtes natural body cannot be diuided.

Chriſtes body was neuer in two places at once.

Heb. 2.

I ſpeake nothing now of auricular confeſſion and praying for ſoules departed, becauſe I do not heare what authors the packer brought in for this purpoſe. Sure I am that he can bryng no authenticall and canonicall warrant for ſuch his packware. He may ſay what hee wyll of Hebricians and Grecians, and fleſhe vnder formes, and not aboue formes, or aboue the bourd. He may coniure and conuey, paſſe & repaſſe, euen what he wil in ſuch clouds and myſtes. He reproued the ſcriptures as full of darkenes, & yet is full of darkenes hymſelfe. He did wittily, to bring proofes out of Iewry, Turky, and other ſtrange places, for his rounde whyte cake, for that ſuch his pedlary pelfe packe is contrary to the plain ſimplicity of Chriſtes ſupper. He glaunced at prieſts mariage. He myght agaynſt that haue brought as auncient a Doctor as any be alledged out of Hebrue, for hys maſſe and wafer cake, that is, D. Deuill. 1. Tim. 4.

Auricular confeſſion.

Praying for the dead.

He meaneth by the place 1. Tim. 4. where S. Paule ſpeaketh of the doctrine of Deuills. &c.

I meruaile that he dyd not confute and confound S. Paul for the ſentences written aboue the aultar, of the which, hee made mention in the pulpit. For he and his fellowes of Oxford bee ſo profound, ſo excellent, ſo glorious, and triumphant clarkes, that they can eaſily prooue a man an aſſe, and writers in the Bible ignorant, ſimple, full of errors, ful of hereſies, & beggerly fooles. Yet they wil be called catholikes, faithfull true chriſtian people, defenders of the holy mother the Church: but truely they take part with the prince of darknes, with Antichriſt, with Iezabell, Apoc. 2. They wyll not be called Papiſts, Phariſes, Iewes, Turkes, heretikes, and ſo forth: but whatſoeuer they will be called, Gods religion had neuer more euident aduerſaries, and that in all the chiefe points of it: no not then, when our ſauiour Chriſt whypt ſuch Merchants out of the temple, callyng them a company of theeues Math. 21. God geue them grace to repent. God be thanked that the Nobilitie ſomethyng of late hath ſpied and ſtopped their tyranny. O vnhappy England: Oh more vngrate people, ſooner bewitched then the foliſh Galathians. We haue now none excuſe.

English people likened to the Galathians.

We haue vndoubtedly ſeene the true trace of the propheticall Apoſtolicall primatiue catholike church. We are warned to beware, leaſt we be led out of that way, ſocietie, and rule of Religion. Now we ſhall ſhew what countrey men we bee, whether ſpirituall and heauenly, or carnall and worldly. We had as true knowledge as euer was in any countrey, or in any tyme, ſince the beginnyng of the world, God be prayſed therfore. If Hadley beyng ſo many yeares perſwaded in ſuch truth, will now willingly and wittingly forſake the ſame, and defile it ſelfe withe the Cake god, Idolatry, and other Antichriſtianitie thereunto belongyng, let

The Cake god.

The carefull zeale of Doctor Taylour for Hadley.

let it ſurely looke after many and wonderfull plagues of God ſhortly. Though another haue the Benefice, yet as God knoweth, I cannot but be carefull for my deare Hadley. And therefore as I could not but ſpeake, after the firſt abhominable Maſſe begun there, I beyng preſent, no more I can not but write now beyng abſent, hearyng of the wicked prophanation of my late pulpit, by ſuch a wily Wolfe. Gods loue, mercy, goodnes and fauour hath bene vnſpeakable, in teachyng vs the right way of ſaluation and iuſtification: Let vs all haue ſome zeale, ſome care how to ſerue him accordyng to his good will written. The God of loue and peace be euer in Hadley, through Chriſt our onely aduocate. Amen.

Rowland Taylor.

The proceedings of the Popes catholickes in maintayning their religion.

After that Steuen Gardiner Biſh. of wincheſter, had got the lawes, and the ſecular arme on his ſide (as ye haue heard) with full power and authoritie to raigne and rule as he liſted, and had brought theſe godly biſhops and reuerend preachers aforeſayd vnder foote, namely, the Archbiſhop of Cant. D. Ridley B. of London, M. Latimer, M. Hooper B. of worceſter and Glouceſter, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, all which he had now preſently condemned, and ſome alſo burned, he ſuppoſed now all had bene cocke ſure, and that Chriſt had bene conquered for euer, ſo that the people beyng terrified with example of theſe great learned men condemned, neuer would ne durſt once route againſt their violent religion: not much vnlike in this behalfe, to the manner of the Turkes, who when they cannot maintaine their ſect by good learnyng and truth of Gods word, thinke by violẽce of ſword to force whome they can to their beliefe, and that done, afterward make lawes, no man vnder payne of hereſie to diſpute or once to call in queſtion any of their proceedyngs. Euen ſo St. Gardiner and his fellowes, when they ſee they cannot preuaile by triall of Gods word, and diſcourſe of learnyng, neither are diſpoſed ſimply to ſeeke for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions agaynſt Gods word to bee intricate, obſcure, and inſufficient to bee his owne iudge, and therefore that of neceſſitie muſt bee iudged by the Popes Church, and ſo hauyng Kyngs and Queenes of theyr ſide, they ſeeke not to perſwade by the worde of God, nor to winne by charitie, but in ſtead of the law of God, they vſe (as the Prouerb ſaith) τῶ νόμῳ χείρων, compelling men by death, fire, and ſworde, (as the Turkes do) to beleue that in very deed they think not. And in deed after fleſh and bloud this ſeemeth to bee a ſure way. Neither peraduenture are they ignoraunt how gaily this way thriueth with the Turkes, and therefore thinke they to practiſe the ſame, at leaſt wiſe ſo they do, vpon what example ſo euer they doe it. And thus condemned they theſe godly learned preachers and biſhops aforeſayd, ſuppoſing (as I ſaid) that all the reſt would ſoone be quailed by their example. But they were deceiued, for win 8. or 9. dayes after that Ste. Gardiner had geuen ſentence againſt M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, being the 8. of Febru. ſixe other good men wer brought likewyſe before the biſhops for the ſame cauſe of religion, to be examined, whoſe names were W. Pigot butcher, St. Knight Barber, Th. Tomkins weauer, Th. Hawkes gentleman, Ioh. Laurence prieſt, Will. Hunter prentiſe.

The maner of proceeding like in the Catholickes, & in the Turkes.

νόμος τῶν χείρων. Prouerb.

February. 8.

6. Men conuented before B. Boner for hereſie.

Ste. Gardiner geueth ouer his murthering office to B. Boner.

St. Gardiner ſeyng thus his deuiſe diſappointed, and that cruelty in this caſe would not ſerue to his expectation gaue ouer the matter as vtterly diſcouraged, & from that day medled no more in ſuch kinde of condemnations, but referred the whole doyng therof to Boner B. of London: who ſupplied that part right doughtily, as in the further proceſſe of this hyſtory hereafter euidently and too muche may appeare. Thus B. Boner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his Conſiſtory at Paules, the L. Maior and certaine Aldermen ſitting with him, the 6. perſons aforenamed, vpon the 8. day of Febr. in the yere aforeſaid, and in the next day beyng the 9. of Febr. red the ſentence of condemnation vpon them, as appeareth in Boners own regiſters. Such quicke ſpeed theſe men could make in diſpatching their buſines at once. Notwithſtandyng, becauſe the death of theſe condemned martyrs did not folow incontinently before the next month of March, I wyll deferre the proſecuting of their matter, til I come by ẏ grace of the Lord, to the tyme and day of their ſuffering.

February. 9. Ex Regiſt. Boneri Lond.

6. Men condẽned by B. Boner.

In the meane tyme, what was the cauſe that their execution was ſo long deferred after their condemnation, I haue not preciſely to ſay, vnleſſe peraduenture the ſermon of Alphonſus the Spaniſh Frier, and the kings Confeſſor did ſome good. For ſo I find, that when theſe ſixe perſons aforeſaid, were caſt vpon ſaterday the 9. of Febr. vpõ ſonday following, which was the x. of February, the ſayd Alphonſus a Gray Frier, preached before the king, in which ſermon he did earneſtly inuey againſt the biſhops for burning of men, ſaying plainly that they learned it not in ſcripture to burne any for his conſcience: but the cõtrary, that they ſhould lyue & be conuerted, with many other things more to the ſame purport. But touchyng the lingeryng of theſe mens death, as I haue not certainly to affirme, ſo I let it paſſe.

Februar Alph K. Phi confeſſ preach agaynſt burnyng o heretikes.

Vpon the 14. of February, M. Rob. Ferrar B. of S. Dauids, was ſent toward S. Dauids, there to be cõdemned and executed. Touching whoſe martyrdome, for ſo much as it fell not before the month of March, we will deferre the hiſtory thereof till we come to the day and tyme of his ſuffering.

February. 14.

Furthermore, this foreſaid 14. day of February, the L. Chauncellor & other his felow Biſhops, cauſed the image of Thomas Becket, that olde Romiſh traitor, to be ſet vp ouer the Mercers Chappell dore in Chepeſide in Londõ, in the forme and ſhape of a biſhop, with Miter and Croſier. Howbeit within two dayes after his erection, his two bleſſing fingers were firſt broken away, and on the next day (beyng the 17. of February) his head alſo was ſtriken of: wherupon aroſe great trouble, and many were ſuſpected: among whom one M. Ioh. Barnes Mercer, dwellyng ouer agaynſt the ſame Chappel, was vehemently by the Lord Chancellour charged withall, as the doer therof & the rather, for that he was a profeſſour of truth. Wherefore he and three of his ſeruauntes were committed to pryſon: and at his deliuery (although it coulde not be proued vpon him) he was bound in a great ſumme of money, as well to build it vp agayne as often as it ſhould be broken downe, as alſo to watch and keepe the ſame. And therfore at this his compelled charges, the Image was agayne ſet vp the ſecõd day of March, then next enſuing, but (for lack belike of carefull watching) the 14. day of the ſame moneth in the night, the head of that daungerous beaſt (ouer whõ there was ſuche a charge geuen) was agayne the ſeconde tyme broken of: which thing was ſo heynouſly taken, that the next day (being the 15. day) there was a Proclamation made in London, that who ſoeuer woulde tell who did ſtrike of his head (though he were of counſayle, and not the principall doer) he ſhoulde haue not onely his pardon, but alſo one hundreth crownes of gold, with harty thãks. But it was not knowne who did it.

Tho. Beckets Image ſet vp at Mercers chappell. February. 17.

M. Iohn Barnes troubled for Becke Image.

Beckets Image. Beckets Image agayne broken downe.

The 18. day of February, Queene Mary at length after long delaye, made full aunſwere to the kinge of Denmarkes letters, who had written before two letters to the ſayd Queene, in ẏ behalfe of M. Couerdale, for his deliueraunce, who at that time went vnder ſureties, and was in great danger, had he not bene reſcued by the great ſuite & letters of the ſayd K. of Denmarke.

February. 18. Q. Mary aunſwereth to the K. of Denmarkes letters touching M. Couerdale.

The matter and copy of which his ſute and letters, as they came to our hands, we haue here ſet forth and expreſt where by the ſingular loue of this good king towards the truth of Gods word and the profeſſors thereof might the better appeare to the world.

Firſt this vertuous and godly king Chriſtianus, hearyng of the captiuitie of Myles Couerdale, of whome hee had had ſome knowledge before (being there in Denmark in King Henry the eight his tyme) and lamentyng hys daungerous caſe, and partly through the interceſſion of M. Machabeus Superintendent in Denmarke, who was partly of* kinne to Maiſter Couerdales wife, made interceſſion by letters to Queene Mary, deſiring and requeſtyng the ſayd Myles Couerdale to be ſent vnto hym. The date of which hys firſt letters, was about the Calends of May. An. Dom. 1554. The copy whereof here followeth.

M. Couerdale.

* This M. Machabeus and M. Couerdale maryed two ſiſters.

¶ Chriſtianus Dei gratia, Daniæ, Noruegiæ, &c. Rex. &c. eadem gratia Sereniſſimæ ac potentiſſimæ principi D. Mariæ, Angliæ, Galliæ, & Hyberniæ Reginæ, conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem.

Sereniſſima princeps, conſanguinea chariſſima pro neceſſitudine mutua ac coniunctione, non ſolum regij nominis inter nos, ſed etiam ſanguinis, maximè vero vtrinque inter hęc regna noſtra à vetuſtiſſimis vſque temporibus propagata ac ſeruata, nõ modo commertiorum, ſed omnium officiorum viciſſitudine & fide, facere non potuimus quin pietatis & doctrinę excellentis commendatione, verè reuerendi viri Ioannis Machabæi, ſacræ Theologiæ doctoris & profeſſoris præſtantiſſ. ſubditi ac Miniſtri noſtri imprimis dilecti, ſupplicibus grauiſſimiſque pręcibus cõmoti, ad ſerenitatem veſtram has literas daremus. Expoſuit is nobis, in hac recenti perturbatione ac motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo eueniſſe dolemus, & nunc indies in melius verti ſperamus) quendam nomine Milonem Couerdalum, nuper diœceſis Exonienſis, piæ laudatiſſimæque memoriæ proximi Regis Serenitatis veſtræ fratris, conſanguinei itidem noſtri chariſſ. authoritate

The epiſtle of the K. of Denmarke to Q. Mary for the deliueraunce of M. Couerdale.

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ritate conſtitutum Epiſcopum, nunc in triſtiſſ. calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum vitæ, nulla atrocioris delicti culpa, ſed illa fatali temporum ruina incidiſſe. Quæ quidem hic Machabæus noſter, quod ei affinitate (& quod grauius eſt) pietatis, eruditionis, ac morum ſimilitudine, tanquam frater deuinctus ſit, non minus ad ſe pertinere exiſtimat. Itaque noſtram opem implorat, vt quam ipſe gratiam & fauorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocentis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipſe non minus ſuum putat) accommodemus. Mouemur profecto non temere, illius viri (cui ſuo merito imprimis bene volumus) commiſeratione, eiuſque maximè teſtimonio de captiui Antiſtitis innocentia atque integritate: de qua quidem eſt vt eo melius ſperemus, quod multis iam morte mulctatis ſontibus, de ipſo integrum adhuc deus eſſe voluit. Proinde non dubitauimus ſerenitatem veſtram quanta poſſimus diligentia atque animi propenſione rogare, vt noſtra cauſa captiui illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, eumq; vt à ſceleris: ita à pœnæ etiam atrocitate alienum eſſe voluit, & temporum offenſam, qua ipſum quoq; affligi veriſimile eſt, nobis noſtręq; amicitię regię & precibus, pręſertim hoc primo auditu, benignè condonare, ſaltem eatenus, vt ſi fortè hoc rerum ſtatu grauis eius præſentia ſit, incolumis ad nos cum ſuis dimittatur. Id nobis ſummi benificij loco, & Serenitati veſtrę inflorentiſſ. regni auſpicijs (quæ auguſta, fauſta, ac fortunata ſerenitati veſtræ ex animo optamus) ad clementię laudem honorificum erit: & nos dabimus operam, vt cum amicitiæ noſtrę habitam rationem intellexerimus, eo maiore ſtudio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumque officiorum erga Serenitatem veſtrá eiuſque vniuerſum regnum & ſubditos incumbamus. Deum optimum maximum precamur, vt Serenitati veſtrę ad gloriam ſui nominis & publicam ſalutem fœlices omnium rerum ſucceſſus & incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Datę ex arce noſtra Coldingeum, ſeptimo Calendas Maij. Anno. 1554.

Veſter conſanguineus, frater
& amicus Chriſtianus Rex.

Q. Maryes ſlender anſwere to the kinges firſt letter.

To theſe letters of the king, Queene Mary aunſwering agayne, declared that the ſayd Miles Couerdale was in no ſuch captiuitie for any religion, but for certayn debt: ſo neither plainly graunting, nor expreſly denying his requeſt, but vſing a colorable excuſe for ſhifting of the matter, as appeareth by his ſecond letter ſent to the Queene, dated the 24. day of Sept. as followeth.

¶ Chriſtianus Dei gratia Danię, Norwegię, Gottorum, & Vandalorum Rex: Sleſwici, Holſatiæ, Stormarię, ac Dithmerſiæ Dux: Comes in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorſt, Sereniſſ. principi dominæ Mariæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Reginæ, fidei defenſ. &c Sorori & conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem, & omnium rerum optatos & fauſtos ſucceſſus.

REdditæ ſunt nobis literæ Serenitatis veſtræ, quibus benignè admodum ad deprecationem noſtram, qua pro D. Milonis Couerdali eccleſiæ Exon. nuper nominati Epiſcopi incolumitate vſi ſumus, reſpondetur: ita vt intelligamus, licet alterius cauſæ quam quę nobis innotuerat, periculum ſuſtineat, tamen Sereniſſ. veſtram noſtrę interceſſionis eam rationem habiturã eſſe, vt illá ſibi profuiſſe ipſe Couerdalus ſentiat. Cui quidẽ promiſſioni regię cum tantum meritum tribuamus, vt ea freti non dubitauerimus eius captiui propinquos (nobis inprimis charos) à mœrore ac ſollicitudine ad ſpem atque expectationem certę ſalutis vocare, facere nõ potuimus, quin & gratias ſereni. veſtrę pro tã prõpta ac benigna voluntate, non modo huius beneficij, ſed etiã perpetuę inter nos ac regna noſtra conſeruandę ac colendę amicitię ageremus, & quantum in nobis eſſet, quod ad applectanda perſequendaque hęc auſpicata initia pertineret, nihil prętermitteremus. Neque vero nobis de clementia ac moderatione Sere. veſtræ vnquam dubium fuit, quam deus opt. max. ad gloriam ſui nominis & fructum pub. vtilitatis vt magis ac magis effloreſcere velit, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes ærarias, neque aliud grauius delictum D. Couerd. teneri Sere. veſtra ſcribat, eſt ſanè, vt ipſius cauſa lætemur, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque eius noſtris precibus liberaliter donari. Nam & accepimus ipſum epiſcopatu, cuius nomine ærario obſtrictus fuerat, ceſſiſſe, vt inde ſatiſfactio peteretur: maxime cum neque diu eo potitus fuiſſe, neque tantum emolumenti inde percepiſſe dicatur. Quinetiam ſi qua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte cauſa reperiri poſſet, tamen ſollicitudinem ac dubitationem nobis Serenitatis veſtræ tam amice, atque officioſe deferẽtes literæ omnem exemerunt: vt exiſtimemus Sere. veſtrã, quoad eius fieri poſſet, magis honorem noſtrum, quam quid ab eo exigi poſſit, conſideraturam. Itaque Sere. veſtram repetitis precibus vrgere non conſtituimus: ſed potius teſtatum facere, quam accepta nobis Sere. veſt. gratificatio ſit, cuius talem euentum omnino ſperamus, vt ipſe Couerd. coram vobis ſuæ incolumitatis à Sere. veſt. exoratæ beneficium propediem repræſentare poſſit. Illud vero imprimis Seren. veſt. viciſſim perſuaſum eſſe cupimus, nos non ſolum referendæ gratiæ, ſed etiam ſtabilendæ prouehendæque inter nos ac regna vtrinque noſtra amicitiæ ac neceſſitudinis mutuæ occaſionem aut facultatem nullam eſſe prætermiſſuros. Deus opt. max. Sere. veſt. diu fœliciter ac beate incolumem eſſe velit. Datæ ex oppido noſtro Ottonienſi, 24. Septembr. Anno. 1554.

Veſter frater & conſanguineus Chriſtianus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

¶ Chriſtierne by the grace of God King of Denmarke Norway, Gotland, and of the Vandales: Duke of Sleſwike, Holſton, Stormar, and Detmarſh: Earle of Oldenburgh, and Delmenhorſt, &c. To the moſt noble princeſſe & Lady Mary Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. Our moſt dearely beloued ſiſter and coſin, wiſheth proſperitie, with good and luckie ſucceſſe of all thyngs.

The ſame epiſtle in Engliſhe.

WE haue receiued your Maieſties letters, whereby aunſwere is rendred, & that very graciouſly vnto our petitiõ, which we made for the ſafegard of maiſter Couerdall late called biſh. of Exon. So that we perceiue, though he be in daūger for an other cauſe then was ſignified vnto vs afore, yet your maieſtie will ſo regard our interceſſion that Couerdale him ſelfe ſhall vnderſtand it to haue done him good. To the which regall promiſe, ſeyng we (as reaſon is we ſhould do) attribute ſo much, that truſting vnto ye ſame, we doubt not, where as he beyng in captiuitie, his frendes (whom we ſpecially tender) are therfore in heauineſſe and care, your good promiſe doth call them from ſuch ſorow & ſolicitude, to the hope & expectation of his aſſured welfare: we could not do otherwiſe, but rẽder thãkes vnto your maieſty for ſuch your ready & gracious good will, not onely in reſpect of this benefite, but alſo of the cõſeruation & keping of perpetuall amitie betwene vs & our realmes, & ſo as much as in vs lyeth, to omit nothing that to the noriſhing & cõtinuance of theſe fortunate beginnings might appertaine. Neither had we euer any doubt cõcerning the clemẽcie & moderation of your goodnes, whom we hartily beſeech almighty God, euer more and more proſper, vnto the glory of his name, & profite of the cõmon weale. wherfore ſeyng your Maieſtie writeth that maiſter Couerdale is in daūger for certaine accomptes of money, & not for any other more greeuous offence, we haue cauſe on his behalfe to reioyce: & therfore we doubt ſo much the leſſe, that at our requeſt he ſhall graciouſly haue his deliuerãce geuẽ him, and be out of daunger. For as touching the Byſhoprike, by reaſon whereof he came in debt, we vnderſtãd he yelded it vp, that paymẽt might thereof be required, ſpecially ſeing he is reputed neither to haue enioyed it lõg, neither to haue had at any time ſo great cõmodity of it. More ouer, though it be poſſible to finde ſome perplexitie in the accõpt, or happily ſome other cauſe, yet your maieſties letters offering ſuch fauour and benignitie, haue taken from vs all carefulneſſe and doubt: In ſo much that we thinke your maieſtie (as much as may be) will haue more reſpect vnto our honour, then vnto that whiche might of hym be required. And therefore wee purpoſe not to trouble your Maieſtie by repeting of our petition, but to declare howe greatly we eſteeme it, that your maieſtie would gratify vs herein: whereof we plainely hope for ſuch an end, that Couerdale him ſelfe ſhall ſhortly in our preſence make declaration concerning the benefite of his welfare obtayned of your maieſtie. And of this wee deſire your maieſtie to be ſpecially aſſured agayne, that wee will not onely omit no occaſion or oportunitie to requite this benefite, but alſo to eſtabliſh and amplifie our mutual loue & amitie betweene vs and our realms on either ſide. Almighty God preſerue your maieſtie in proſperous health and felicitie. Geuen at our Citie of Otton the 24. of Septemb. Ann. D. 1554.

To theſe letters it was a great while before the queene would aunſwere. At length through great ſute made, the next yeare, the 18. of February, ſhe aunſwered agayne in this wiſe.

¶ Sereniſſ. principi D. Chriſtiano Dei gratia Daniæ, &c. Regi Sleſwici, &c. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh, &c. fratri & amico noſtro chariſſimo.

February. 18. The anſwere of Queene Mary to the King of Denmarkes letter. M. Couerdale deliuered and ſent to the King of Denmarke.

MAria dei gratia Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hieruſalem, & Hyberniæ, &c. Sereniſſimo principi Chriſtiano, eadem gratia, Daniæ, Noruegiæ, Gothorum & Vandalorum Regi: Sleſuici, Holſatię, Stormarię, & Ditmerſię Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorſt. &c. fratri & amico noſtro chariſſ. ſalutem, proſperumque rerum incrementum. Cum intellexerimus ex Serenitatis veſtrę literis, quas hic nuntius nobis attulit, deſyderium veſtrum obtinendi à nobis pro M. Couerdalo ſubdito noſtro exeundi è regno noſtro, & ad vos proficiſcendi facultatem:

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tatem: facile quidem in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem conceſſimus. Et quanquam ille natus ſubditus noſter nondum explicatus fuerat à debitione certæ cuiuſdam pecuniȩ quã noſtro ærario ſoluere iure tenebatur, tamen maiorem veſtri deſyderij quam noſtri debiti rationem habendam eſſe duximus. Quin inſuper animum & voluntatem gratificandi veſtrȩ Serenitati pro noſtra mutua amicia, in qua alia etiam te poſſumus, cum oportunitas feret, libenter oſtendemus. Deus Veſt. Serenitatem diutiſſimè ſeruet incolumen. Ex Regia noſtra Weſtmonaſterij, 18. Febr. 1555.

February. 15.

The effect of B. Boners intimation ſent into his dioces to receiue the Cardinalls abſolution, and to be reconciled to the Pope, in the Lent nexte folowing.

The ſame month, the 19. day was a certaine intimation ſet forth and printed in the name of Boner, wherein was conteyned a generall monition and ſtrait charge geuen to euery man and woman within his Dioces, to prepare themſelues againſt Lent, then neare approchyng, to receyue the glad tidynges of peace and reconciliation ſent from Pope Julius 3. by Poole his Cardinall and Legate De Latere, and ſo receyue alſo the ioyfull benefite of abſolution, beyng ſent firſt from the Cardinall to Boner, and from him to euerich of his Archdeacons to be miniſtred to euery priuate perſon within his Dioces, that would come the ſaid holy tyme of Lent to his Paſtor or Curate to bee confeſſed, and to receyue of hym wholeſome counſaile, penance and abſolution: Signifiyng moreouer, that as he was authoriſed by the foreſayd Cardinall, ſo he for ỷ ſame purpoſe had indued with the like authoritie, al and ſingular Paſtors and Curates within his Dioces, to reconcile and aſſoyle from their former hereſie and ſchiſme, & from the cenſures of the Church, ſuch as would reſort vnto thẽ. And leſt any ſcruple or doubt riſing peraduenture, in their conſciences, ſhould be any ſtay or let in this behalfe, he had aſſigned and deputed therfore through his Dioces certain learned men, to whom they might reſort, or els myght open their griefes to any of his Archdeacons, or els come to hys owne perſon, and ſo ſhould be reſolued.

And therefore all maner of doubtes and obſtacles ſet aſide, hee ſtraightly willed and commaunded euery man and woman to come to confeſſion, and to enioy this benefite of reconciliation and abſolution, agaynſt the firſt Sonday next after Eaſter enſuyng, and not to fayle, For the which purpoſe he had ſpecially commaunded the Paſtours and Curates of euery pariſh, to certifie vp in writyng the names of euery man and woman ſo reconciled, and ſo forth. The copy of which intimation here vnder followeth.

¶ The declaration of the B. of London, to be publiſhed to the lay people of his dioceſſe, concernyng their reconciliation.

Edmund by the permiſſion of God, B. of London, vnto all and ſinguler the lay people of his Dioceſſe, doth ſend greeting in our ſauiour Jeſu Chriſt.

Whereas this noble realme of England, diuidyng it ſelfe from the vnitie of the catholike church, and from the agreement in religion with all other chriſtian Realmes, hath bene, beſides many other miſeries & plagues, which Gods indignation hath poured vpon it, grieuouſly alſo vexed, and ſore infected with many and ſondry ſortes of ſectes of heretikes, as Arrians, Anabaptiſtes, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many other, all which ſectes be moſt repugnant and contrary one agaynſt another, & all agaynſt Gods truth, and Chriſtes Catholicke fayth: whereupon hath growen ſuch ſlaunder to the realme, ſuch malice and diſagreement among our ſelues, the inhabitants thereof, ſuch treaſons, tumultes, and inſurrections agaynſt our prince, ſuch blaſphemy and diſhonour vnto God, as no mans tong or pen is able to expreſſe: It hath pleaſed the goodnes of God to caſt his eye of mercy & clemency vpon vs, and to moue the Popes holines to ſend his moſt godly meſſenger, the moſt Reuerend father in God, the L. Cardinall Poole Legate de Latere, to bryng vs the glad tidings of peace, and reconciliation, & to reduce and bryng home vnto the folde, the loſt ſheepe that were gone aſtray, whoſe meſſage as it hath bene honourablye receyued of the Kyng and Queenes maieſties, euen ſo the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and commons at the laſt Parliamente hath receyued it, reuokyng all lawes (the which in the tyme of ſchiſme were promulgate againſt the authoritie of the Popes holynes, and reſtoryng the ſame and the church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realme before the ſayd ſchiſme, the which reconciliation was alſo moſt glad and ioyfully embraced as well of all the clergy and conuocation of the prouince of Cant. as alſo of many other perſons, and beyng ſo great & neceſſary, to be extended to euery perſon of the Realme, it hath pleaſed the ſayd L. Legates grace to geue, & imparte vnto me the ſayd B. of London, for my ſayd Dioceſſe, and to all ſuch as I ſhall appoynt in that behalfe, power & authoritie to abſolue and reconcile all and euery perſon therof, as well of the Clergy as of the Laitie, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errors, and (beyng penitent) will humbly require to be reſtored to the vnitie of the Catholike church, as by the letters of the ſayde L. Legates grace ſent vnto me, and from me ſent vnto euery of the Archdeacons within my dioces, more at large may, and doth appeare. And forasmuch as in myne owne perſon, as well for the multitude of people, as diſtaunce of places, I cannot miniſter this benefit vnto euery priuate perſon my ſelfe, and for that alſo the holy tyme of Lent is now at hande, in which euery true chriſten man ought to come vnto his owne Paſtor and Curate, to be of him confeſſed, and to receyue at his hand wholeſome counſaile, penance and abſolution: theſe are therefore as well to geue knowledge vnto euery one of you, as alſo to ſignifie & declare, that for that purpoſe, I haue by the ſayd authoritie choſen, named and deputed, and ſo by theſe preſentes, doe chuſe, and depute all and ſinguler paſtors and curates, hauing cure of ſoules within my Dioceſſe, and beyng themſelues reconciled herein, that they and euery of them by authoritie hereof, ſhall haue full power and authoritie to abſolue all ſuch as be lay perſons of their pariſhes, from hereſie and ſchiſme, and from the cenſures of the Church, into ỷ which they be fallen by occaſion therof alſo, & to reconcile to the church al ſuch which ſhal declare themſelues penitent, and deſirous to enioy the benefit of the ſayde reconciliation. And whereas diuers paſtors and curates in ſondry pariſhes, peraduenture bee not able to ſatiſfye the myndes, and to appeaſe the conſciences of ſome of theyr pariſhioners, in caſes that ſhal trouble them, I haue therfore geuen alſo authoritie to euery Archdeacon of my dioces, within his Archdeaconry, to name and appoynt certayne of the beſt learned in euery Deanry of their Archdeaconry, to ſupply that lacke, ſo that euery man ſo troubled, may repaire to any one of thẽ within the ſaid Deanry, whom he ſhall lyke beſt, to be inſtructed and appeaſed in that behalfe, And alſo I haue appoynted, that if this beyng done, there ſhall yet remayne any ſcruple in the parties conſcience, and himſelfe not ſatiſfied, then the ſaid partie to repaire vnto one of myne Archdeacons or chaplens, vnto whom his mynd ſhal be moſt inclined vnto, or els to repaire vnto myne owne ſelfe, to bee reſolued in his ſaide ſcruple or doubt, and to receiue and take ſuch order therin as to one of the ſayd Archdeacons, or vnto me ſhall therin appeare to be moſt expedient.

Further certifieng and declaring vnto you, that I haue geuen commaundement herein to all my Archdeacons, that they moniſh and commaund euery paſtor, & Curate within their Archdeaconries, that they hauing knowlege hereof, doe in the firſt holiday next then followyng, at the maſſe tyme, when the multitude of people is preſent, declare all theſe thyngs vnto their pariſhioners, and exhort them that they eſteeme this grace accordingly, and reconcile themſelues to the church before the firſt Sonday after Eaſter next enſuyng, which thyng I alſo do commaunde by the tenour hereof, with intimation that the ſayd tyme beyng once paſt, and they not ſo reconciled, euery one of them ſhall haue proceſſe made agaynſt hym, accordyng to the Canons, as the cauſe ſhall require: for which purpoſe the paſtours and Curates of euery pariſh ſhall be commaunded by their Archdeacon, to certifie me in wrytyng, of euery man and womans name, that is not ſo reconciled.

Further, herewith I do ſignify and declare vnto you, that our holy father the Pope, Julius the 3. of that name, lyke a moſt tender and naturall father, hearyng of the returne and recouery of his prodigall child this Realme of England, hath hymſelfe made much ioy and gladnes hereat, and alſo all other true chriſten Realmes haue done the lyke. Exhortyng you therefore in our Lord, not to bee vnthankfull your ſelues, or negligent in this behalfe, but diligently to ſeeke for it, ioyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to vſe it, remembryng with all the monition and charge which came from me the laſt yeare, concernyng your commyng to confeſſion in Lent, and receiuyng the ſacrament at Eaſter, which monition to all effects and purpoſes, I haue now here repeated and renewed, chargyng you, and alſo al your Curates therwith. And becauſe al our duetie is, earneſtly and deuoutly to pray for the proſperous eſtate of our ſoueraignes, the King and Queene of this Realm, I do finally require and pray you, as hartily as I can, to pray for their maieſties accordingly, and ſpecially that it may pleaſe almighty God, to ſend vnto her grace a good tyme, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but vnto vs all great ioy, much comfort, and ineſtimable profite. Geuen at London the 19. day of the moneth of Febr.

in the yere of our Lord God, after the computation of the church of England, 1554. and of my tranſlation, the 16.

Anno 1555. Febru- ry.

* The forme of abſolution, to be kept by the Paſtors and Curates, in priuate confeſſions, concernyng this reconciliation.

The abſolu tion of B. Boner to be vſed in his Dioces.

OVr Lord Ieſus Chriſt abſolue you, and by the Apoſtolike authoritie to me graunted and committed, I abſolue you from the ſentences of excommunication, and from all other cenſures and paynes, into the which you be fallen by reaſon of hereſie, or ſchiſme, or any other wayes: and I reſtore you vnto the vnity of our holy mother the Churche, and the Communion of all Sacramentes, diſpenſing with you for all manner of irregularitie: and by the ſame authoritie, I abſolue you from all your ſinnes, In the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen.

¶ The lamentable hiſtory of Maiſter Iames Hales, Iudge.

The hiſtory of Iudge Hales.

IN the hiſtory of M. Hooper mention was touched a litle before of Iudge Hales, wherefore ſomethyng would be ſayd more in this place touching that matter. But becauſe the ſtory of that man and of his ende is ſufficiently comprehended in our firſt booke of Acts and Monumẽts, we ſhall not greatly need to ſtand vpon reherſall of euery perticular matter touching the whole, but only taking the chiefeſt, and leauyng the reſt, we will report ſomewhat of the communication betwene the B. of Wincheſter & hym: declaring withal how falſe and vntrue the excuſe is of our aduerſaries, which ſo preciſely by the law defend thẽſelues and ſay, that in all their doyngs they did nothing but by yͤ Law, to beare them out. Which if it be ſo, how did they thẽ to Anne Aſkew? What law had they when they had condemned her firſt for a dead woman, then afterward to racke her? By what law did they cal vp M. Hooper & priſon him for the Queenes debt, when the Queene in very deede did owe hym foure ſcore poundes, and kept hym a yeare and a halfe in priſon, and gaue hym neuer a penny? pag. 1577. By what law did B. Boner condemn and burne Richard Mekins, a lad of xv. yeares, when the firſt Iurie had quit hym, and at the ſtake reuoked all hereſies, and praiſed the ſayd Boner to be a good man: and alſo hauing him in priſon, would not ſuffer his father and mother to come to hym, to comfort their owne chylde? pag. 1168. What lawe had they to put Maiſter Rogers in priſon, when hee dyd neyther preache nor reade Lecture after the tyme of the Queenes inhibition, and when they had kept hym in his owne houſe halfe a yeare, beyng not depriued of anye liuyng, yet would not let hym haue a halfepeny of his owne liuyngs to relieue hym, his wyfe, and xi. childrẽ? pag. 1574. By what law was Thomas Tomkins hand burnt, and afterward his body conſumed to aſhes? What good law or honeſtie was there to burne the 3. poore womẽ at Garnſey, with the infant chyld fallyng out of the mothers wõbe when as they all before theyr death recanted their wordes and opinions, and were neuer abiured before? So here likewyſe in this caſe, what order or right of law did Steuen Gardiner follow in troublyng & impriſoning Iudge Hales, when he had done nothyng neither agaynſt Gods law, nor mans law, in proceeding by order of law againſt certayne preſumptuous perſones, which both before the law, and agaynſt the law then in force, tooke vppon them to ſay their Maſſe? as ye ſhall heare in theſe his anſwers and communication had with Steuen Gardiner here vnder enſuyng.

The Catholickes proued to doe agaynſt the law in Q. Maryes tyme.

¶ The communication betwene the Lord Chauncellour and Iudge Hales, beyng there among other Iudges, to take his oth in Weſtminſter hall.

An. 1553. October. 6.

Lord Chauncellour. I. Hales.

Communication betwene Iudge Hales and the B. of Winchester.

MAiſter Hales ye ſhall vnderſtand, that lyke as the Queenes highnes hath heretofore conceiued good opinion of you, eſpecially for that ye ſtood both faithfully & lawfully in her cauſe of iuſt ſucceſſion, refuſing to ſet your hand to the booke among others yͭ were againſt her grace in that behalfe: ſo now, through your owne late deſertes againſt certaine her highnes doings, ye ſtand not well in her graces fauor: and therfore, before ye take any othe, it ſhall be neceſſary for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I pray you my L. what is the cauſe?

Chaunc. Information is geuen, that he haue indited certaine prieſts in Kent, for ſaying maſſe.

Hales. My L. it is not ſo, I indited none, but in deed certaine inditements of like matter were brought before me at yͤ laſt aſſiſes there holden, & I gaue order therin as the law required. For I haue profeſſed yͤ law, againſt which, in caſes of iuſtice, I wil neuer (God willing) proceede, nor in any wiſe diſſemble, but wͭ the ſame ſhew forth my cõſcience, & if it wer to do again, I would do no leſſe thẽ I did.

Chanc. Yea, M. Hales, your conſcience is knowen well enough. I know ye lacke no conſcience.

Hales. My L. ye may do well to ſearch your owne conſcience, for myne is better known to my ſelfe, then to you: & to be plaine, I did as wel vſe iuſtice in your ſaid maſſe caſe by my conſcience, as by lawe, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in trial to the vttermoſt that can be obiected. And if I haue therin done any iniury or wrong, let me be iudged by the law, for I will ſeeke no better defence, conſideryng chiefly that it is my profeſſion.

Chaunc. Why M. Hales although you had the rigor of the lawe on your ſide, yet ye might haue had regarde to the Queenes highnes preſent doyngs in that caſe. And further, although ye ſeeme to be more then preciſe in the law, yet I thinke ye would be very loth to yeld to the extremitie of ſuch aduantage as might be gathered agaynſt your proceedings in the law, as ye haue ſomtyme taken vpon you in place of iuſtice, and if it were well tried, I beleue ye ſhould not be well able to ſtand honeſtly therto.

Iuſtice Hales for Iuſtice ſake troubled.

Hales. My L. I am not ſo perfect, but I may erre for lacke of knowledge. But both in conſcience and ſuch knowlege of the law as God hath geuen me, I will doe nothing but I will maintaine it, & abide in it: and if my goods and all that I haue be not able to counterpeiſe the caſe, my bodye ſhalbe redy to ſerue the turne, for they be all at yͤ Queenes highnes pleaſure.

Chanc. Ah ſir, ye be very quicke & ſtout in your aunſwers, But as it ſhould ſeeme, that which you did was more of a will, fauouring the opinion of your religion agaynſt the ſeruice now vſed, then for any occaſion or zeale of Iuſtice, ſeyng the Queens highnes doth ſet it forth as yet, wiſhing all her faithfull ſubiects to embrace it accordingly: & where you offer both body & goods in your triall, there is no ſuch matter required at your hands, and yet ye ſhal not haue your owne will neither.

Wincheſter quarelleth with M. Hales religion.

Hales. My L. I ſeeke not wilfull wil, but to ſhew my ſelfe as I am bound in loue to God, & obedience to yͤ Queenes maieſtie, in whoſe cauſe willingly for iuſtice ſake, all other reſpects ſet apart, I did of late (as your Lordſhip knoweth) aduenture as much as I had. And as for my religion, I truſt it be ſuch as pleaſeth God, wherein I am ready to aduenture as well my life, as my ſubſtance, if I be called therunto. And ſo in lacke of myne owne power and wyll, the Lords will be fulfilled.

Chanc. Seeyng ye be at this point M. Hales, I wyll preſently make an ende with you. The Queenes hyghneſſe ſhall be informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace ſhall thereupon determine, ye ſhall haue knowledge. Until which time ye may depart as ye came, without your oth: for as it appeareth, ye are ſcarſe worthy the place appoynted.

Hales. I thanke your Lordſhip, and as for my vocation, beyng both a burthen and a charge more then euer I deſired to take vppon me: when ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe the Queenes highnes to eaſe me thereof, I ſhall moſt humbly with due contentation obey the ſame: and ſo hee departed from the barre.

Not many dayes after this communication or colloquie in Weſtminſter hall, which was October 6. An. 1553. Maiſter Hales at the commaundement of the Biſh. was committed to the Kynges Benche, where hee remayned conſtant vntill Lent: then was remooued to the Counter in Breadſtreete, and afterward from thence was caried to the Fleete.

M. Hales committed to the Kings Bench.

Beyng in the Fleete, what it was that he had granted vnto the Byſhops by their fraudulent aſſaults and perſwaſions, namely, of D. Day biſhop of Chicheſter, and of Iudge Portman (as it is thought) ouercome at laſt, I haue not to ſay.

This is certaine, that ſhortly after callyng hymſelfe better to remembraunce, he was brought to great repentaunce and terror of conſcience. In ſo much, that for very anguiſh of hart, he was redy with his penknife to kil him ſelfe there in the priſon, and had (no doubt) ſo done, had not the mercifull prouidence of the Lord, reſcued hym miraculouſly, as ye ſhall heare.

M. Hales about to kill himſelfe in priſon.

It hapned when ſupper tyme came that he ſhould be called downe, M. Hales hauing little mynd either to eate or drink, gate him ſtraight way to bed, where he lay al the night ſobbing & groning, & tooke (God knoweth) litle reſt or ſleepe. At length when morning came, about ſixe of the clock, he ſent his ſeruant for a cup of beere, vnder pretence

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as though he were thirſty, and deſirous to drink, whether the cauſe were true or fained, it is vnknowen: but this followed, ẏ his man was yet ſcarſe out of the chamber, when he with his penknife had wõded himſelf in diuers places of his body, and was purpoſed (no doubt) to haue deſtroyed himſelfe, had not the goodneſſe of the Lord geuen preſent helpe in tyme of opportunitie. whereby it is euident for all men to vnderſtand, how gods fauour was not abſent from the man, although he thought hymſelfe vtterly forſaken for his deniall, as by the ſequele may wel apeare.

Gods mercifull prouidence in reſcuing M. Hales.

For as ſoone as he had ſent his man out of his chamber (ſee what God would haue done) euen afore the chamber dore eftſoones the Butler met him: who being deſired to fil the drinke, & taking the cup, the other returned agayne vnto his M. at the ſame very tyme when he was working his owne deſtructiõ: wherby M. Hales at that time was ſtopt of his purpoſe, & preſerued not without gods manifeſt good will & prouidence. when winchester had knowledge of it, ſtraightway he taketh occaſion thereby to blaſpheme the doctrine of the Goſpell, which he openly in the ſtarre chãber called the doctrine of deſperation. M. Hales being within a while after recouered of thoſe woundes, & deliuered out of priſon, getteth hymſelfe home vnto hys houſe: where he, either for the greatnes of his ſorrow, or for lacke of good counſell, or for that he would auoyde the neceſſitie of hearing maſſe, hauing all things ſet in an order a good while before that, pertaining to his teſtament, caſting himſelf into a ſhalow riuer, was drouned therein: which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of Ianuary before, an. 1555.

Wincheſter might rather haue ſayd how their cruell dealing worketh deſperation.

Iudge Hales drowned himſelfe.

The vnhappy chance of this ſo worthy a Iudge, was ſurely the cauſe of great ſorrowe and griefe vnto all good men, & it gaue occaſion beſides vnto certayne Diuines, to ſtand ſome thyng in doubt with themſelues, whether hee were reprobate, or ſaued, or no: about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Iudge, the ſame ſhalbe his Iudge: and he it is that will lay all things open when the time commeth. This in the meane time is certaine & ſure, that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wiſe to be allowed, which if he did wittingly, then do I diſcommend the mans reaſon. But if he did it in phreneſie & as beyng out of his wit, thẽ do I greatly pity his caſe.

The cauſe of Iudge Hales drowning conſidered.

Yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing gods iudgements bee ſecret, and we likewiſe in doubt vpon what entent hee dyd thus puniſh himſelfe, neither againe is any man certaine, whether he did repent or no, before the laſt breth went out of his body, me ſeemeth their opinion is more indifferent herein, which do rather diſallow the example of the dead, then diſpayre of his ſaluation.

Otherwyſe, if we wyll adiudge all thoſe to hell, that haue departed the world after this ſort, how many examples haue wee in the firſt perſecutions of the Churche, of thoſe men and women, who beyng regiſtred in the works of worthy writers, haue notwithſtanding their praiſe and commendation.

For what ſhall I thinke of thoſe yong men, who being ſought for to do ſacrifice to heathen Idols, did caſt downe themſelues headlong, and brake their owne neckes, to auoyd ſuch horrible pollution of themſelues? what ſhall I ſay of thoſe virgins of Antioch, who to the end they might not defile themſelues with vncleannes, and with idolatry through the perſwaſiõ of their mother, caſting themſelues headlong into a riuer together with their mother, did fordo themſelues, although not in the ſame water, yet after the ſame maner of drouning, as this M. Hales did? what ſhall I ſay of other two ſiſters which for the ſelf ſame quarell did violently throw themſelues headlong into the ſea, as Euſebius doth record? In whome though perchaunce there was no leſſe confidence to beare out the pains which ſhould be miniſtred of the wicked vnto them, yet that their good deſire to kepe their faith and religion vnſpotted, was commended and praiſed.

Examples in the tyme of the firſt perſecution.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccle. lib. 8.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus, & that in an other virgin likewiſe, whoſe name is expreſſed in Hierome to be Braſſila Dyrachina, who to keepe her virginitie, fayned her ſelfe to be a witch, and ſo conuentyng with the yong man which went about to deflowre her, pretended that ſhe would geue hym an Hearbe which ſhould preſerue hym from all kynd of weapons: & ſo to proue it in her ſelfe, layd the herbe vppon her owne throte, bidding him ſmite, wherby ſhe was ſlayne, and ſo with the loſſe of her lyfe, her virginitie was ſaued.

Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 13. Braſſila. Dyrrachina.

Hereunto may be ioyned the like death of Sophronia a Matrone of Rome, who whẽ ſhe was required of Maxentius the tyrant to be defiled, and ſaw her huſband more ſlacke then hee ought to haue bene in ſauyng her honeſty, biddyng them that were ſent for her, to tary a whyle tyll ſhe made her ready, went into her chamber, and wyth a weapon thruſt her ſelfe through the breſt and dyed. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy acte of Achetes, which biting of his owne tong, did ſpit it out into the harlots face?

These examples I do not here inferre as going about either to excuſe, or to mainteyne the hainous facte of M. Hales, which I would wiſh rather by ſilence might bee drouned in obliuion: but yet notwithſtãding as touching the perſon of the man, whatſoeuer his fact was, becauſe we are not ſure whether he at the laſt breath repented: Againe, becauſe we do not know, nor are able to comprehẽd the bottomles depth of the graces and mercies which are in Chriſt Ieſu our ſauiour, we will leaue therfore the final iudgement of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed iudge both of the quicke and the dead.

¶ De Iacobo Haliſio carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit grauitas, prudentia, norma,
 Iunctaq; ſyncera cum pitate fides:
Tam caro firma tibi fortiſque Haliſe fuiſſet,
 Sanctorum prima claſſe ferendus eras.
Inſtituit ſedenim ſua quis ſic tempora vitæ
 Sanctorum, vt nullis ſint maculata malis.
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
 Tu tua fac cures, cętera mitte Deo.

¶ The hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins, hauyng firſt his hand burned, after was burned hymſelfe by B. Boner, for the conſtant teſtimonie of Chriſtes true profeſſion.

March. 16. The hiſt. of Thomas Tomkins Martyr.

Mention was made before of ſixe priſoners, brought & examined before B. Boner, the 8. of February, whoſe names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, Laurence, and Hunter. All which, though they receiued theyr condemnation together the next day after, yet becauſe the tyme of their execution was then driuen of from February til the next month of March, I did therefore referre the ſtory of them to this preſent moneth of March aforeſayde, wherin now remayneth ſeuerally to entreat of the Martyrdome of theſe 6. perſons, as the order and time of their ſuffrings ſeuerally do require. Of the which 6. aforenamed martyrs, the firſt was Tho. Tomkins burned in Smithfield, the 16. day of March, an. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins a weauer by his occupation, dwellyng in Shordich, and of the Dioces of London, was of ſuch conuerſation and diſpoſition ſo godly, that if any woman had come vnto him with her web, as ſometyme they did three or foure in a day, hee would alwayes begin with praier. Or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewyſe firſt begin with prayer. And if any had ſought vnto hym to borrowe money, he would ſhew him ſuch money as he had in his purſe, and bid hym take it.

The godly lyfe & diſpoſition of Thomas Tomkins.

And when they came to repay it agayne, ſo far of was he from ſeeking any vſury at their hand, or from ſtraight exaction of his due, that he would bid them keepe it longer, while they were better able. And theſe were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, teſtified yet to this preſent day by the moſt part of all his neighbors, and almoſt of all his Pariſh which knew him, as M. Skinner, M. Leche, and other moe. Of whom moe then halfe a doſen at once came to me diſcrete and ſubſtantiall men, reporting ẏ ſame vnto me, recordyng moreouer as followeth: That Doct. Boner B. of London kept the ſayd Tomkins with hym in priſon halfe a yeare. Duryng which tyme the ſayd Biſhop was ſo rigorous vnto hym, that he beat hym bitterly about the face, whereby his face was ſwelled. whereupon the Biſh. cauſed hys beard to be ſhauen, and gaue the Barbour xij. d.

Touching which ſhauyng of Thomas Tomkyns beard, this is more to be added: Biſhop Boner hauyng Tomkins with him priſoner at Fulham, in the month of Iuly, did ſet him with his other worke folkes, to make hay. And ſeing him to labour ſo well, the Biſhop ſittyng him downe, ſayd: wel, I like thee well, for thou laboureſt well: I truſt thou wilt be a good Catholicke. My Lord, ſayd he, Saint Paule ſayth: He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eate. Boner ſaid: Ah, ſ. Paul is a *great man with thee. And ſo after ſuch other talke, the B. inferring moreouer, wiſhed his beard of, ſaying, that ſo he would loke like a catholike. My L. ſaid Tomkins, before my beard grew, I was, I truſt a good chriſtian, & ſo I truſt to be my beard beyng on. But Boner in fine ſent for the Barber, & cauſed his beard to be ſhauẽ of. The very cauſe was for that Boner had pluckt of a peece of his beard before.

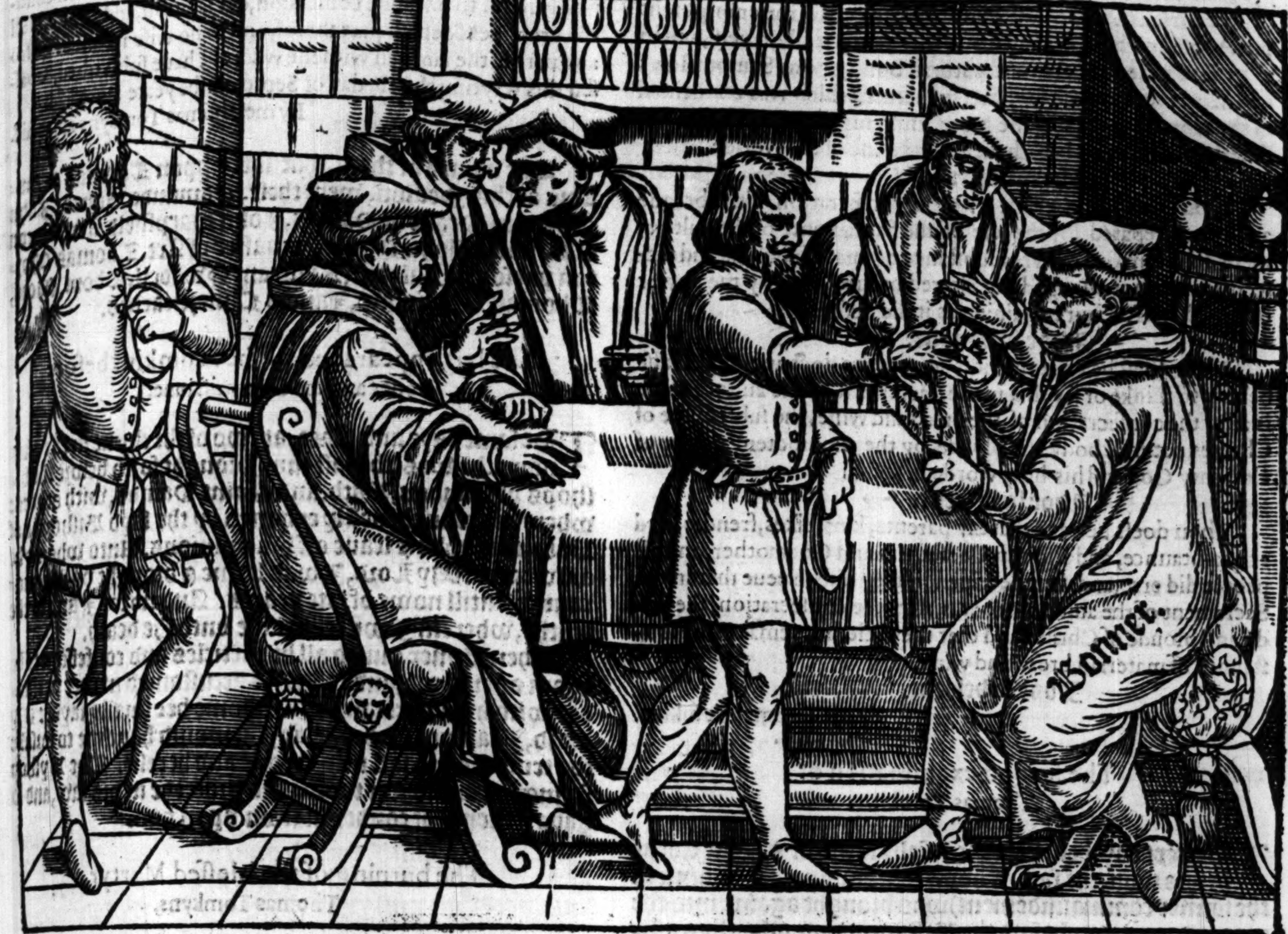
Tomkins maketh the Biſhops hay.

* And ſo ſhould he be with you, if you were a right Biſhoppe.

The

Queene Mary. Anno 1555. Febru.

The burning of Thomas Tomkins hand by Biſhop Boner, who not long after burnt alſo his body.



The notable conſtãcie in a true Chriſtian Souldiour.

The rage of this biſhop was not ſo great againſt him, but the conſtancie of the partie was much greater with pacience to beare it: who although he had not the learning as other haue, yet hee was ſo endued with Gods mighty ſpirite, and ſo conſtantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods truth, that by no meanes he could be remooued from the confeſſion of truth, to impietie and error. Whereuppon Boner the Byſhop being greatly vexed agaynſte the poore man, when he ſawe that by no perſwaſions he coulde preuaile with him, deuiſed an other practiſe not ſo ſtraunge as cruel, further to try his conſtancie, to the intent, that ſeeing he could not otherwiſe conuince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might ouerthrow him by ſome foreſeeling and terror of death. So hauing with him M. Harpſfielde, M. Pendleton, Doctor Chedſey, maiſter Willerton, and other ſtanding by, hee called for Thomas Tomkins, who comming before the Biſhop, and ſtanding as he was woont in defence of his faith, the biſhop fel from beating to burning. Who hauing there a taper or waxe candle of three or foure wikes ſtanding vpon the table, thought there to repreſent vnto vs, as it were, the olde Image of king Porſenna. For as he burned the hand of Scæuola, ſo this Catholike biſhop tooke Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly ouer the flame, ſuppoſing that by the ſmart and pain of the fire being terrified, he wold leaue off the defence of his doctrine, which he had receiued.

B. Boner playeth K. Porſenna in burning the hand of Scæuola.

Tomkins compared to Scæuola, Boner more cruell then Porſenna the Hetruſcan.

Tomkins thinking no otherwiſe, but there preſently to die, began to commend him ſelfe vnto the Lord, ſaying: O Lorde into thy handes I commend my ſpirite. &c. In the time that hys hand was in burning, the ſayde Tomkins afterwarde reported to one Iames Hinſe, that hys ſpirite was ſo rapte vp, that he fealt no paine. In the whiche burning he neuer ſhronke, till the vaines ſhronke, and the ſinewes braſte, and the water did ſpirte into maiſter Harpſfieldes face: In ſo much that the ſayd maiſter Harpſfield mooued wyth pitie, deſired the Byſhop to ſtay, ſaying, that he had tried hym enough. This burning was in the Hall at Fulham.

And where the Byſhoppe thought by that meanes to driue him from his opinions, it prooued muche otherwiſe: for this Chriſtian Scæuola, ſo valiauntly did deſpiſe, abide, and endure that burning, that we haue leſſe cauſe hereafter to meruaile at the manfulneſſe of that Romaine Scæuola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Hetruſcan Tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scæuola was halfe burned, either ſatiſfied with his puniſhment, or ouercome by his manhoode, or driuen away by feare, ſent hym home ſafe vnto his people: whereas Boner hitherto not contented with the burning of hys hande, reſted not vntill he had conſumed his whole body into aſhes, at London in Smithfield.

But before we come to his ſuffering, we will firſte entreat of ſome parte of his examination & articles, with hys anſweres and confeſſion thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in Regiſter recorded.

The firſt examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The firſt examination of Thomas Tomkins before Boner B. of London.

This faithfull and valiaunt ſouldiers of God Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the ſpace (as is ſayde) of halfe a yere in priſon, about the 8. day of Februarye, was broughte with certaine other before Boner ſitting in hys Conſiſtorie, to be examined. To whome firſt was brought forth a certaine bill or ſchedule ſubſcribed (as it appeared) with his owne hande, the fifte day of the ſame moneth laſte before, conteining theſe wordes folowing.

The confeſſion of Tomkins ſubſcribed with his owne hand.

Thomas Tomkins of Shordiche, and of the Dioces of London, hath beleeued and doth beleeue, that in the ſacrament of the aultare, vnder the formes of breade and wine, there is not the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, but only a token and remembraunce thereof, the very body and bloude of Chriſt onely being in heauen and no where els.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

Tomkins conſtãt in his fayth.

Wherupon he was aſked whether he did acknowledge the ſame ſubſcription to be of his own hand. To the which he grãted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This being done, the Byſhop went about to perſuade him, (wͭ wordes, rather then wͭ reaſons) to relinquiſh his opinions, & to returne againe to the vnity of the catholicke church, promiſing if he would ſo do, to remit all that was paſt: but he conſtantly denied ſo to do. When the Biſhop ſaw he could not ſo conuince him, he brought forth and read to him an other wryting contayning Articles and Interrogatories whereunto he ſhoulde come the next day and anſwere: in the meane time he ſhuld deliberate vnto himſelf what to do, & ſo the next day, being the 9. day of March, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, to be preſent in the ſame place againe, to geue his determinate anſwer what he would do in the premiſſes, and then either to reuoke and reclaime himſelf, or els in the after noone the ſame day to come againe & haue iuſtice (as he called it) miniſtred vnto him: the copy of which articles here foloweth.

Anno. 1555. March.

Articles obiected and miniſtred the 8. day of Februarie againſt Tho. Tomkins, with his owne hand ſubſcribing to the ſame.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt Tho. Tomkins. Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

THou doeſt beleeue that in the Sacrament of the aultare vnder the formes of bread and wine there is not, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy woorde, really, truely, and in very deede, the very true and naturall body of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as touching the ſubſtaunce thereof, which was conceiued in the wombe of the virgine Mary, and hanged vppon the croſſe, ſuffering Paſsion and death there for the life of the worlde.

I doe ſo beleeue.

Subſtance of bread remaineth in the ſacramēt.

Thou doeſt beleeue that after the conſecration of the breade and wine prepared for the vſe of the Sacramente of the aultare, there doth remaine the very ſubſtance of material bread and materiall wine, not changed nor altered in ſubſtance by the power of almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I doe ſo beleeue.

The naturall preſēce of Chriſt in the ſacrament denyed.

Thou doeſt beleeue that it is an vntrue doctrine, and a falſe beliefe to thinke or ſay that in the Sacrament of the aultare there is after the conſecration of the bread and wine, the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes naturall body and bloude, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy worde.

I doe ſo beleeue.

The errour of the forelders touching the Sacrament.

Thou doeſt beleeue that thy parents, kinsfolkes, frendes, and acquaintaunce, and alſo thy Godfathers and Godmother, and all people did erre, and were deceiued, if they did beleeue that in the Sacrament of the aultar there was, after the conſecration, the body and bloude of Chriſte, and that there did not remaine the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and wine.

I doe ſo beleeue.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The ſecond examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The ſecond examination.

THe next day, being the 9. of Februarie, at 8. of the clocke before noone, the ſaid Thomas Tomkins, (according to the former commaundement) was brought againe into the place afore named, before the Biſhoppe and other hys aſſiſtants, where the foreſayd Articles were propounded vnto him: whereunto he aunſwered as foloweth.

Aunſwere of Tomkins to the articles.

To the firſt he ſaid, that he did ſo beleeue, as in the ſame is contained.

To the ſecond he ſayd that it was onely bread, & a participatiō of Chriſtes death and paſſion, and ſo do the ſcriptures teach.

To the third he ſaid and did beleeue, it was a falſe doctrine, to beleeue and thinke as is contained in this Article.

To the fourth, he did alſo beleeue the ſame.

After this aunſwere, he did alſo ſubſcribe hys name to the ſayd Articles. Whereupon the Biſhop drawing out of his boſome another confeſſion ſubſcribed wyth Tomkins owne hande, and alſo that article that was the firſt day obiected againſt him, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then willed him to reuoke and deny his ſayd opinions: the which he vtterly refuſed to do, and therfore was commaunded to appeare before the Byſhop againe in the ſame place at two of the clocke in the after noone.

The Biſhop repeateth againe the confeſsion of Thom. Tomkins wrytten before by the ſayd Biſhop of London, and ſubſcribed by the ſayd Tomkins, the 26. day Septemb. An. 1554. which is this.

The firſt confeſſion of Tomkins offered to B. Boner, and now here agayne repeated.

The Maſſe full of ſuperſtition and idolatry.

I Thomas Tomkins of the Pariſh of Shordich, in the Dioceſſe of London, hauing confeſſed and declared openly heeretofore to Edmund Biſhop of London mine Ordinarie, that my beliefe hathe bene many yeares paſt, and is at this preſent: that the body of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt is not truely and in very deede in the Sacrament of the aultare, but onely in heauen, and ſo in heauen, that it can not nowe in deede be really and truely in the Sacramente of the altare.

And moreouer, hauing likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid Ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholicke Churche, hathe allowed and doeth allowe the Maſſe and ſacrifice made and done therein, as a wholeſome, profitable, & a godly thing: yet my beliefe hath ben many yeres paſt, & is at this preſent, that the ſaid Maſſe is full of ſuperſtition, plaine idolatrie, and vnprofitable for my ſoule, & ſo haue I called it many times, and take it at this preſent.

Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred in the vulgar tongue.

Hauing alſo likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid Ordinarie, that the Sacrament of Baptiſme oughte to be onely in the vulgar tounge, and not otherwiſe miniſtred, and alſo without any ſuch ceremonies, as cuſtomably are vſed in the Latine church, and otherwiſe not to be allowed.

Finally, being many times and ofte called openly before my ſaid Ordinarie, and talked withall touching all my ſayd confeſſions and declarations, both by the ſaide mine Ordinarie & diuers other learned men, aſwel his Chaplaines as other, and counſelled by all them to embrace the truthe, and to recant mine errour in the premiſſes, which they tolde me was plaine hereſie and manifeſt errour: do teſtifie and declare hereby, that I do and wil continually ſtand to my ſaide confeſsion, declaration, and beliefe, in all the premiſſes & euery part therof, and in no wiſe recant or go frō any part of the ſame. In witneſſe wherof I haue ſubſcribed, & paſſed this wryting the 26. day of Septemb. the yeare aforeſayd.

Tomkins conſtantly ſtandeth to the truth of the Goſpel.

By me Thomas Tomkyns aforeſaid.

The laſt appearance & condemnation of Thomas Tomkins Martyr.

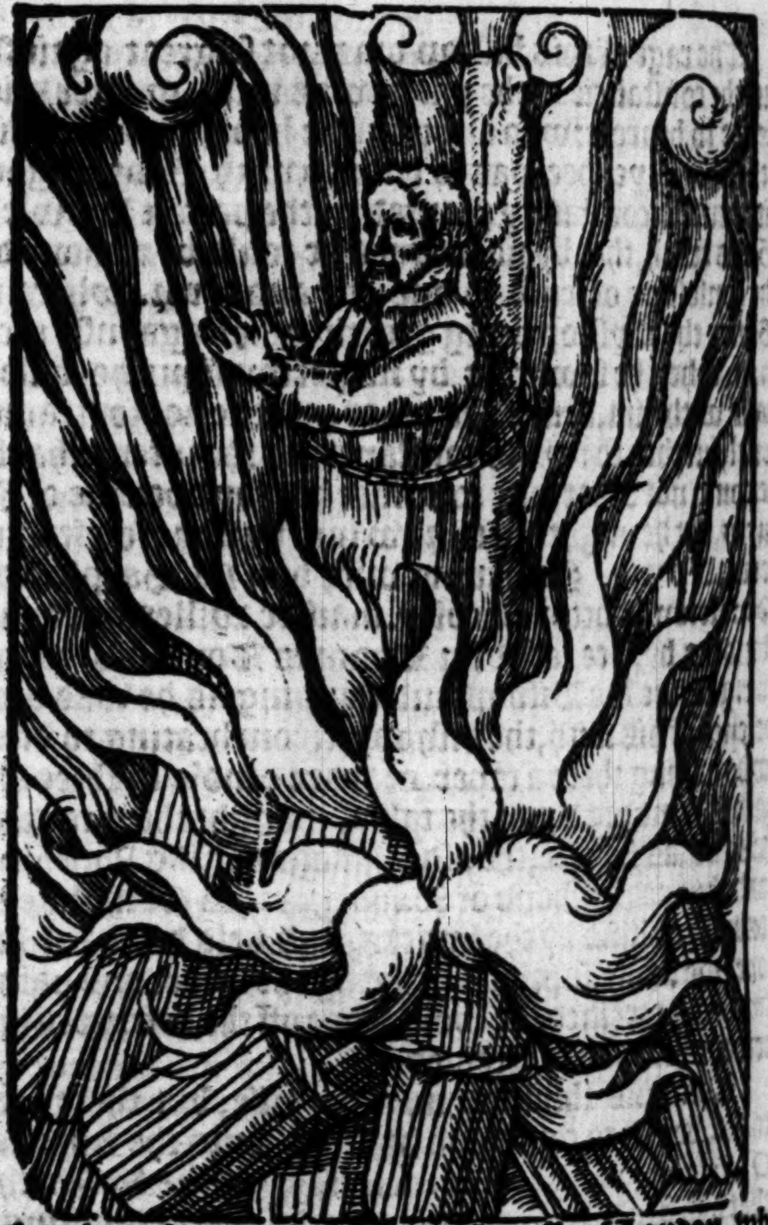
The names of them that ſate vppon Thomas Tomkins at this Seſſion, were theſe, Edmunde Boner, Iohn Fecknam Deane of Paules, Iohn Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, Iohn Morwen maſter of Art, Thomas Morton parſon of Fulham, Triſtram Swadell, Thom. More, Thomas Beckinſaw, Iames Cline, clearkes.

The laſt appearance of Tho. Tomkins before Boner and the Commiſsioners.

THe ſame daye and place, at two of the clocke in the after noone, he was (the laſt time) brought forth before the biſhops of London, Bath, and Saint Dauids, with others: where hee was earneſtly exhorted by the ſayd Biſhoppe of Bath, to reuoke & leaue off his opinions. Vnto whome he anſweared: My Lord, I was borne & brought vp in ignoraunce vntill nowe of late yeares. And nowe I know the truthe, wherein I will continue vnto the death.

Then Boner cauſed all his articles and confeſſion to be again openly red, and ſo in hys accuſtomed maner perſuaded with hym to recant. To whome hee finally ſayde: My Lord, I can not ſee but that you would haue me to forſake the truth, and to fall into errour and hereſie. The Byſhop ſeeing he would not recant, did proceede in his law, and ſo gaue ſentence of condemnation vpon him.

The burning of the bleſſed Martyr, Thomas Tomkyns.



The Martyrdome of Thomas Tomkins i Smithfield, An. 1555. March 16.

Sentence read aga Thomas Tomkins, March. 1

Then he deliuered him to the Sheriffe of London, who caried him ſtraighte vnto Newgate, where hee remayned moſt ioyous and conſtant, vntill the 16. day of March next after: on which day, hee was by the ſayde Sheriffe conueied into Smithfield, and there ſealed vp his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of Gods holy name, and confirmation of the weake.

A notable hiſtorie of W. Hunter, a yong man of 19. yere, purſued to death by iuſtice Browne for the Goſpels ſake, worthy of all young men and parents to be red.

THe 26. day of the ſayde moneth of Marche, the yeare aforeſayde, followed the Martyrdome of William Hunter, a right godly young man of the age of xix. yeares, and borne of like godly parents: by whome hee was not onely inſtructed in true religion and godlineſſe, but alſo confirmed by them vnto death, after a rare and ſtrange example,

Anno 1555. March.
W. Hunter ſe & rtyr. ch. 26.

worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parentes. wherein may appeare a ſingulare ſpectacle, not onely of a maruelous fortitude in the partie ſo young: but alſo in hys parents, to beholde nature in them ſtriuing with religion, and ouercome of the ſame. Wherby Chriſtian parents may learne what is to be done not only in their children, but alſo in them ſelues, if neede at any time do require, or godlyneſſe ſhould demaund the duetie of a chriſtian man againſt naturall affection. Example whereof in the ſequele of thys hyſtorie we haue here preſēt before our eyes. Which hyſtorie as it was faithfully drawen out by Robert Hunter hys owne brother (who being preſent with his brother William, & neuer left him till his death, ſent the true report vnto vs) we haue heere with like faithfulneſſe placed and recorded the ſame, as followeth.

W. Hunter ſe in Colman ſtreete with Thomas Taylour.
W. Hunter threatned for not receiuing at a Maſſe.
W. Hunter willed of his Maiſter to depart.
W. Hunter commeth to his father to Burntwoode.

William Hunter being a prētiſe in London, in the firſt yeare of Queene Marie, was commaunded at the Eaſter next following, to receiue the Communion at a Maſſe, by the Prieſt of the Pariſh where hee dwelte, called Colman ſtreete: whyche, becauſe hee refuſed to doe, hee was verye much threatned that he ſhoulde be therefore brought before the Biſhop of London. Wherefore William Hunters maſter, one Thomas Taylour, a ſilke weauer, required William Hunter, to go and depart from him, leſt that he ſhuld come in daunger, becauſe of him, if hee continued in hys houſe. For the which cauſes, William Hunter tooke leaue of his ſaid maiſter, and thence came to Burntwoode where his father dwelt, with whome he remained afterwarde, about the ſpace of halfe a quarter of a yeare.

After this it happened, within 5. or 6. weekes, that William going into the chappell of Burntwoode, and fineding there a Bible lying on a deſke, did reade therein. In the meane time there came in one father Atwell a Sumner, which hearing William read in yͤ Bible, ſaid to him, what medleſt thou with the Bible? Knoweſt thou what thou readeſt, and canſt thou expound the Scriptures?

Father Atwel a Sumner or Promotar.

To whome William aunſweared and ſayde: father Atwell, I take not vppon me to expounde the Scriptures, except I were diſpenſed withall, but I fineding the Bible here when I came, red in it to my comfort. To whome father Atwell ſayde: it was neuer mery ſince the Bible came abroad in Engliſh.

Talke betwene Atwell & W. Hunter concerning the Bible.

To the which wordes William anſweared, ſaying: Father Atwell, ſay not ſo for Gods ſake, for it is Gods booke, out of the which euery one that hathe grace, may learne to knowe what things both pleaſe God, & alſo what diſpleaſeth him. Then ſayd father Atwel: could we not tell before this time, as well as now, how God was ſerued? William anſweared: no father Atwel, nothing ſo wel, as we maye now, if that we might haue his bleſſed word amongſte vs ſtill as we haue had. It is true ſayde father Atwell, if it be as you ſay.

The Catholickes cannot abide the Bible.

Well ſayd William Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may haue the bleſſed Bible amongeſt vs continually. To the which wordes father Atwell ſayd, I perceiue your minde well enoughe, you are one of them that miſliketh the Queenes lawes, and therefore you came frō London, I heare ſay. You learned theſe waies at London, but for all that, ſayde father Atwel, you muſt turne an other leafe, or els you and a great ſorte moe heretickes wil broyle for this geare, I warrāt you. To the which wordes William ſayd: God geue me grace that I may beleeue hys worde, & confeſſe his name, whatſoeuer come therof. Confeſſe his name, quoth olde Atwell? no, no, ye will goe to the deuill all of you, and confeſſe his name.

Atwell not able to reaſon, but he is able to accuſe the innocent.

What, ſayde William? you ſay not well father Atwell. At the which wordes hee went oute of the Chappell in a great furie, ſaying: I am not able to reaſon with thee, but I will fetch one ſtraight way which ſhall talke with thee, I warrant thee thou hereticke. And hee leauing William Hunter reading in the Bible, ſtraight wayes brought one Thomas wood, who was then vicar of Southweld, which was at an alehouſe euen ouer againſt the ſayde Chappell: who hearing olde Atwell ſay, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the chappel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, tooke the matter very hainouſly, ſaying: Sirha, who gaue thee leaue to reade in the Bible and to expound it?

The vicar of Southweld angry with W. Hunter for reading in the Bible.

Then William aunſwered: I expound not the Scriptures Syr, but reade them for my comfort. What medleſt thou with them at all, ſayde the Vicar? It becommeth not thee, nor none ſuche to meddle with the Scriptures. But William aunſwered: I wil read the Scriptures God willing, while I liue, and you ought (M. vicar) not to diſcourage any mā for that matter, but rather exhort men diligētly to read the ſcriptures for your diſcharge and their own.

Vnto the which the Vicare aunſwered: It becommeth thee well to tell me what I haue to doe. I ſee thou arte an hereticke, by thy wordes. William ſayd, I am no hereticke for ſpeaking the truthe. But the Vicar ſayde, it is a merye worlde when ſuch as thou arte, ſhall teache vs what is the truthe. Thou art medling, father Atwel telles me with the 6. of Iohn, wherein thou maiſt perceiue, how Chriſt ſaith: Except that yee eate the fleſh of Chriſt and drinke his bloude, yee haue no life in you. William ſayd, I reade the 6. of Iohn, in deede: howbeit, I made no expoſition on it.

The Catholicks in no wyſe will be controled.

Then ſaid father Atwel, when you read it I ſaide, that you there might vnderſtande howe that in the Sacrament of the aultar is Chriſtes very natural body and bloud: vnto the which you anſwered, howe that you would take the ſcriptures as they are, & that you woulde meddle wyth no great expoſition, except that ye were diſpenſed with all.

W. Hunter examined of the ſacrament.

Ah, ſayd the Vicar? what ſay you to the bleſſed (Sacrament of the aultar) beleeueſt thou not in it, & that the bread and wine is tranſubſtantiated into the very body & bloude of Chriſt? William anſwered, I learne no ſuch thing in the 6. of Iohn, as you ſpeake of. Why ſayde the Vicare, doeſt thou not beleue in the Sacrament of the aultare? I beleue ſayde William Hunter, all that Gods word teacheth. Why ſayd the Vicar thou mayeſt learne this which I ſay plainly in the 6. of Iohn.

The Catholicks lyke to the Capernaites.

Then ſayde William, you vnderſtand Chriſte wordes muche like the carnall Capernaites, whych thoughte that Chriſte woulde haue geuen them his fleſh to feede vppon, which opinion our ſauiour Chriſt corrected, when he ſaid. The wordes which I ſpeake to you, are ſpirite and life.

Now, quoth the Vicar, I haue found you out: now I ſee that thou art an hereticke in deede, and that thou doeſt not beleeue in the ſacrament of the aultar.

Hereſy miſtaken with the Papiſtes.

Then ſaid William Hunter, wheras you doubt my beliefe, I would it were tried whether that you or I woulde ſtand faſter in our faith. Yea thou hereticke, (ſayde the Vicar) wouldeſt thou haue it ſo tried? William Hunter aunſwered, that which you call hereſie, I ſerue my Lorde God withall.

Then ſayd the Vicar: canſt thou ſerue God wyth hereſie? But William anſwered, I would that you and I were euen now faſt tied to a ſtake, to proue whether that you or I would ſtand ſtrongeſt to our faith. But the Vicare aunſwered: it ſhal not ſo be tried. No quoth William, I thinke ſo: for if I might, I thinke I knowe who woulde ſooneſt recant, for I durſt ſette my foote againſt yours euen to the death. That we ſhall ſee, quoth the Vicar, and ſo they departed, the Vicar threatning William much, how that hee would complaine of him: with other much communication which they had together.

The vicar complayneth to Iuſtice Browne of W. Hunter.

Immediately after, this Vicare of weilde tolde maiſter Browne of the cōmunication which William Hunter and he had together. Which when M. Browne vnderſtoode, immediatly he ſent for Williams father and the Conſtable, one Robert Salmon. For immediatly after William Hūter and the Vicar had reaſoned together, he tooke hys leaue of his father and fled, becauſe Woode the Vicare threatened him. Now when the Conſtable and Williams father were come, and were before M. Browne, he aſked where Williā Hunter was. His father anſwered, ſaying: if it pleaſe you Syr, I knowe not where he is become. No, quoth maiſter Browne? I will make thee tel where he is, and fetche hym forth alſo ere I haue done with thee. Sir ſaide Williams father, I know not where he is become, nor where to ſeke for hym.

Iuſtice Browne ſendeth for Hūters father.

Then ſayde M. Browne, why diddeſt thou not bryng him whē thou haddeſt him? I promiſe thee if thou wilt not fetche him, I will ſend thee to priſon till I ſhal gette hym. Wherefore ſee that thou promiſe me to fetch him, or els it is not beſt to looke me in the face any more, nor yet to reſt in Burntwood. Wel, quoth M. Browne to Williams father, ſee that thou ſeeke him forth, and bring him to me.

The fruite of the Popes doctrine to ſet the father agaynſt the ſonne.
An vnreaſonable requeſt of Iuſtice Browne.
The father pretended to ſeeke the ſonne.

Williams father aunſwered: Syr, would you haue me ſeeke out my ſonne to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth M. Browne, I will deale wel enough for that matter: thou ſhalt not neede to care for the matter. Fetch hym, and thou ſhalt ſee what I will doe for him.

Moreouer, if thou lackeſt money, quoth he, thou ſhalte haue ſome, & bad the Conſtable M. Salmon to geue him a crowne, but Williams father tooke none of him. How be it M. Browne would neuer reſt, till Williams father hadde promiſed him to ſeeke out his ſonne. And thus M. Brown ſent the Conſtable home againe, and Williams father, cōmaunding hym to ſeeke out William Hunter, and then to come againe and bring him to him.

After that olde father Hunter had ridden a two or three dayes iourneyes to ſatiſfie maiſter Brownes expectation, it happened that William mette with his father in the high way as he trauailed, and firſt he ſeeing his father, came to hym, and ſpake to hym, and told him how that he thought

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that hee ſought for hym: and then hys father confeſſing it, wept ſore and ſayde, that maiſter Browne charged him to ſecke him, and bring him to him: howbeit, ſayde he, I will returne home agayne, and ſaye I can not finde you. But william ſaide: father, I will go home with you & ſaue you harmeles, what ſoeuer commeth of it.

The ſonne meeteth with him in the way.

The working of nature betwene the father & the ſonne.

And thus they came home together: but william as ſoone as he was come home, was taken by the ſayde Conſtable, and laid in the ſtockes till the day. Maiſter Browne hearing that william Hunter was come home, ſente for him to the Conſtable, who broughte him immediatly to maiſter Browne.

William Hunter broughte before Iuſtice Browne.

Now when william was come, maiſter Browne ſaid to him, ah ſyrha, are yee come? and then by and by he commaunded the Bible to be brought, and opened it, and then began to reaſon wyth william on this maner, ſaying: I heare ſay you are a Scripture manne, you: and can reaſon much of the ſixt of Iohn, and expound as pleaſeth you, and turned the Bible to the ſixt of S. Iohn, and then he laid to his charge, what an expoſition hee made, when the Vicare and he talked together. And william ſayde, he vrged me to ſay ſo much as I did.

Talke betweene W. Hunter, and Iuſtice Browne about the Sacrament.

Wel, quoth M. Browne, becauſe you can expound that place ſo well, how ſay you to an other place, turning to the xxij. of S. Luke? and maiſter Browne ſayde, looke heere (quoth he) for Chriſt ſayth, that the bread is his body.

Bread broken but not chaunged.

To the which william aunſwered, the text ſayth, howe Chriſt tooke bread, but not that he changed it, into an other ſubſtaunce, but gaue that which hee tooke, and brake that which he gaue, which was bread, as is euident by the text. For els he ſhould haue had two bodies, which to affirm I ſee no reaſon, ſayd william.

M. Browne in a pelting chafe.

At the which anſweare M. Browne was very angry, & tooke vp the Bible and turned the leaues, and then flong it downe againe in ſuch a fury, that william could not wel finde the place againe whereof they reaſoned.

Then M. Browne ſaide, thou naughty boye, wilt thou not take thyngs as they are, but expounde them as thou wilt? doth not Chriſt call the bread his body plainely, and thou wilt not beleeue that the breade is hys body after the conſecration? thou goeſt about to make Chriſt a lier.

How Chriſt called bread his body.

But william Hunter aunſwered: I meane not ſo ſir, but rather more earneſtly to ſearche what the minde of Chriſt is in that holy Inſtitution, wherin he commendeth vnto vs the remembraunce of his death, paſſion, reſurrection and comming againe, ſaying: This doe in the remembraunce of mee. And alſo though Chriſte call the breade hys body, as he doeth alſo ſay, that hee is a vine, a doore, &c. yet is not his body turned into breade, no more then he is turned into a doore, or vine. wherefore Chriſt called the breade his body by a figure.

M. Browne in a rage.

At that worde M. Browne ſayde, thou art a villaine in dede. wilt thou make Chriſt a lier yet ſtil? and was in ſuch a furie with william, and ſo raged, that william could not ſpeake a worde, but hee croſſed him, and ſcoffed at euerye worde. wherefore william ſeeing him in ſuche furie, deſired hym that he woulde either heare him quietly, and ſuffer hym to aunſweare for himſelfe, or elſe ſend him away. To the which maiſter Browne aunſweared: in deede I will ſende thee to morrowe to my Lorde of London, and hee ſhall haue thee vnder examination, and thus lefte of the talke, and made a letter immediatly, and ſente william Hunter with the Conſtable to Boner Biſhop of London, who receiued william.

M. Browne ſendeth vp William Hunter to B. Boner.

After that hee had read the letter, and the Conſtable returned home againe, the Biſhoppe cauſed william to bee brought into a chamber, where he begã to reaſon with him in this maner: I vnderſtãd william Hunter (quoth he) by M. Brownes letter, how that you haue had certaine communication with the vicare of wielde, about the bleſſed ſacramẽt of the aultar, & how that ye could not agree, whervpon M. Browne ſent for thee to bring thee to the Catholicke faith, from the which he ſayth, that thou art gon. Howbeit, if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou ſhalt haue no harme, for any thing that thou haſt ſaid or done in this matter.

Boners wordes to W. Hunter.

william aunſweared, ſaying: I am not fallen from the Catholicke faith of Chriſt, I am ſure, but do beleue it, and confeſſe it with all my heart.

Talke betweene W. Hunter and the Biſh. about the Sacrament.

why, quoth the Byſhop, how ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar? wilt thou not recant thy ſaying, which thou confeſſedſt before maiſter Browne, howe that Chriſtes bodye is not in the Sacrament of the aultare, the ſame that was borne of the virgine Marie?

To the which william anſwered, ſaying: my Lorde I vnderſtande, ẏ M. Browne hath certified you of the talke, which he and I had together, and thereby ye knowe what I ſaide to him, the which I wil not recant by Gods helpe. Then ſaid the Biſhop, I thinke thou art aſhamed to beare a fagot and recant openly, but if thou wilt recante thy ſayinges, I will promiſe thee, that thou ſhalt not be putte to open ſhame: but ſpeake the worde here nowe betwene me and thee, and I wil promiſe thee, it ſhal go no further, and thou ſhalt goe home againe without any hurt.

Boner fayre pro- miſe to W. Hunter.

william anſweared and ſayd, my Lord: if you wil lette me alone and leaue me to my conſcience, I will goe to my father and dwell with him, or els with my maiſter againe, and ſo if no body will diſquiet nor trouble my conſcience, I will keepe my conſcience to my ſelfe.

W. Hun- not ſuff- to haue h- conſcience free.

Then ſayd the Byſhop, I am content, ſo that thou wilt goe to the Church and receiue and be ſhriuen, and ſo continue a good Catholicke Chriſtian. No, quoth william, I will not do ſo for all the good in the world.

Then, quoth the Byſhop, if you will not do ſo, I will make you ſure enough, I warrant you. wel, quoth william, you can doe no more then God will permitte you. wel quoth the biſhop, wilt thou not recant in decde by no meanes? No, quoth williã, neuer while I liue, God willing.

W. Hun- denyeth to recant.

Then the Biſhop (this talke ended) commaunded hys men to put william in the ſtockes in his gatehouſe, where he ſate two daies and nights, onely with a cruſt of browne bread and a cuppe of water.

Boner com- maundeth W. Hun- to the ſtocks.

At the two daies end the biſhop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the cruſt of bread ſtil by him vpon the ſtocks, ſayd to his men: take hym oute of the ſtocks, and let him breake his faſt with you. Then they lette hym forth of the ſtockes, but would not ſuffer hym to eate wyth them, but called him hereticke. And he ſaid he was as lothe to be in their companie, as they were, to be in his.

W. Hun- 2. dayes & 2. nigh- the ſtocks with a cru- of bread, a cuppe of water.

After breakefaſte the Biſhop ſent for william, and demaunded whether he woulde recante or no. But william made him aunſweare, howe that he woulde neuer recante that which he had confeſſed before men, as concerning hys faith in Chriſt.

Hunter ſ- gayne- feth to ſ- his fayth Chriſt.

Then the B. ſayd that he wys no Chriſtian, but denied the faith in which he was Baptiſed. But w. aunſweared: I was baptiſed in the faith of the holy Trinitie, the which I will not goe from, God aſſiſting me with his grace.

Then the Biſhop ſent hym to the conuicte priſone, and commaunded the keeper to lay yrons on him as manye as he coulde beare, and moreouer aſked him, how old he was: and william ſayd, that he was 19. yeare olde.

W. Hun- layd in the conuict pri- ſon with as many yr- as he could beare.

well ſayd the Biſhop, you wilbe burned ere you be 20. yere old, if you will not yeld your ſelfe better then you haue done yet. william aunſweared, God ſtrengthen me in his truth: and then he parted, the Biſhop allowing him a halfpenie a day to liue on in bread, or drinke.

Hunter al- lowed a halfpeny a day to liue on.

Thus he continued in priſon 3. quarters of a yeare. In the which time he had beene before the biſhop 5. times, beſides the time when he was condemned in the Conſiſtorie in Paules, the 9. day of Februarie: at the which time I hys brother Robert Hunter was preſent, when and where I heard the biſhop condemne him, and fiue other more.

Theſe fiue were Tom- kins, Pigo- Knight, Haukes, & Laurence.

And then the Biſhop calling william, aſked him if hee would not recant, and ſo red to hym his examination and confeſſion, as is aboue rehearſed, and then rehearſed howe that william confeſſed that he did beleeue that he receaued Chriſtes body ſpiritually, when he did receiue the communion. Doeſt thou meane, quoth the Byſhop, that the bread is Chriſtes body ſpiritually?

william anſwered: I meane not ſo, but rather when I receiue the holy Communion rightly and worthely, I do feede vppon Chriſt ſpiritually throughe faith in my ſoule, and made partaker of all the benefites which Chriſt hathe brought vnto all faithfull beleeuers through hys precious death, paſſion, and reſurrection, and not that the breade is his body, either ſpiritually or corporally.

The bread is Chriſt- body nei- ther ſpiri- tually nor bodely, b- in receiuin- the Com- munion w- feede on Chriſt ſp- ritually in our ſoule.

Then ſaid the Biſh. to william, doeſt thou not thinke (holding vp his cap) that for example heere of my cap, thou mayeſt ſee the ſquarenes and colour of it, and yet not to be the ſubſtance, which thou iudgeſt by the accidences.

william aunſwered: if you can ſeparate the accidences from the ſubſtaunce, and ſhewe me the ſubſtaunce wythout the accidences, I could beleue. Then ſaid the Biſhop: thou wilt not beleue that God can do any thing aboue mannes capacitie. Yes, ſaid william, I muſt needes beleue that: for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainely: but our queſtion is not what God can doe, but what hee will haue vs to learne in his holy Supper.

The queſti- on is not what God can doe, b- what he would haue vs to beleue in his holy Supper.

Then the Biſhop ſaide, I alwaies haue founde thee at this poynt, & I ſee no hope in thee to reclaim thee vnto the Catholicke faith, but thou wilt cõtinue a corrupt member, & then pronounced ſentence vpon him, how that he ſhould goe from that place to newgate for a time, & ſo from thence to Burntwood, where, ſayd he, thou ſhalt be burned.

A Sentence pronounc- agaynſt W. Hunter.

Then the Byſhop called for an other, and ſo when hee had condemned them al, he called for william Hunter, and

The large offers of B. Boner to W. Hunter. Anno 1555. February.

perſwaded with him, ſaying: if thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the Citie, & geue thee 40. pound in good money to ſette vp thine occupation withall: or I will make thee Steward of my houſe and ſet thee in office, for I like thee well, thou haſt witte inough, and I will preferre thee, if thou recant.

W. Hunter refuſeth to come from Chriſt for the loue of the world.

But William aunſwered, I thanke you for your great offers: notwithſtanding, my Lorde, ſayd he, if you can not perſwade my conſcience with Scriptures, I can not finde in my hart to turne from God for the loue of the worlde: for I count all things worldly, but loſſe and donge, in reſpect of the loue of Chriſt.

Then ſayd the Byſhop, if thou dieſt in this minde, thou art condemned for euer. William aunſweared: God iudgeth rightcouſly, and iuſtifieth them whom man condemneth vniuſtly.

William Hunter ſent downe to Burntwood to be burnt.

Thus William and the Byſhoppe departed, William and the reſt to Newgate, where they remained aboute a moneth, which afterwarde were ſent downe, William to Burntwode, and the others into diuers places of ẏ countrey. Now, when Williã was come downe to Burntwood which was the Saterdaye before the Annunciation of the virgin Mary that folowed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tueſday after, becauſe they woulde not put him to death, then for the holineſſe of the day.

His father and mother come to cõfort him.

In the meane time Williams father and mother came to him, and deſired hartly of God that he might continue to the ende in that good way which God had begon, and hys mother ſayd to him, that ſhe was glad that euer ſhe was ſo happy to beare ſuch a childe, which could finde in his heart to loſe his life for Chriſtes names ſake.

His father & mother exhort him to be conſtant.

Then William ſayde to his mother: for my little paine which I ſhall ſuffer, whych is but a ſhorte brayde, Chriſte hath promiſed me, mother ſayd he, a crown of ioy: may you not be glad of that mother? with that, hys mother kneeled downe on her knees, ſaying: I pray God ſtrengthen thee my ſonne, to the ende. Yea, I thinke thee as wel beſtowed as any childe that euer I bare.

At the which wordes maiſter Higbed tooke her in hys armes, ſaying: I reioyce (and ſo ſayd the others) to ſee you in thys minde, and you haue a good cauſe to reioyce. And his father and mother both ſaid, that they were neuer of other minde, but praied for him, that as he had begon to confeſſe Chriſt before men, he likewiſe might ſo continue to the ende. Williams father ſaide: I was afraide of nothing, but that my ſonne ſhould haue ben killed in the priſon for hunger and cold, the Biſhop was ſo hard to him. But William confeſſed, after a moneth that his father was charged wyth his borde, that he lacked nothing, but had meat & clothing inough, yea euẽ out of ẏ court, both money, meat, cloathes, woode and coales, and all things neceſſary.

Marke here whether Boner did nothing but by the law.

Thus they continued in their Inne, beinge the Swan in Burntwode, in a Parlor, whether reſorted many people of the countrey to ſee thoſe good men which were there: and many of Williams acquaintaunce came to hym, and reaſoned with hym, and hee with them, exhorting them to come away from the abhomination of Popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatrie.

A notable thing concerning W. Hunters dreame.

Thus paſſing away ſaterday, Sonday, and Monday, on monday at night it hapned that William had a dreame about 2. of the clocke in the morning, which was this: how ẏ he was at the place where the ſtake was pight, where he ſhuld be burned, which (as he thought in his dreame) was at the townes ende where the buts ſtoode: which was ſo in deede. And alſo he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the ſtake, and alſo that there was a prieſt at the ſtake, which went about to haue him recant.

To whom he ſayd (as he thought in his dreame) howe that he bad him away falſe prophet, and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and ſuch as he was: which things came to paſſe in deede. It happened that William made a noiſe to hym ſelfe in his dreame, which cauſed M. Higbed and the others to awake hym out of his ſleepe, to knowe what he lacked. When he awaked, he told them his dreame in order, as is ſayd.

W. Hunter led to the place of Martirdome. The Shriffes ſonne geueth comfortable wordes to W. Hunter.

Nowe when it was day, the ſhiriffe M. Brocket called on to ſet forward to the burning of William Hũter. Then came the Sheriffes ſonne to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right arme, ſaying: William, be not afraid of theſe men which are here preſent with bowes, bils, & weapons ready prepared to bring you to the place where you ſhall be burned. To whom William aunſwered: I thanke God I am not afraide, for I haue caſt my coumpt what it wil coſt me already. Then the ſheriffes ſonne could ſpeake no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked vp his gowne, & ſtepped ouer the Parlour grounſel, and went forward cheareſully, the ſheriffes ſeruaunt taking him by the arme, and I his brother by an other, and thus going in the way, met wi his father according to his dreame, & he ſpake to his ſonne, weeping and ſaying, God be with thee ſonne William, and William ſayd, God be with you father, & be of a good comfort, for I hope we ſhall meete againe when we ſhalbe mery. His father ſaid, I hope ſo William and ſo departed. So W. went to the place where the ſtake ſtoode, euen according to hys dreame, whereas all thinges were very vnready. Then William tooke a wet broome fagot, & kneeled downe thereon, and red the 51. Pſalme, till he came to theſe words, the ſacrifice of God is a contrite ſpirite, a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe.

W. Hunters dreame verefied.

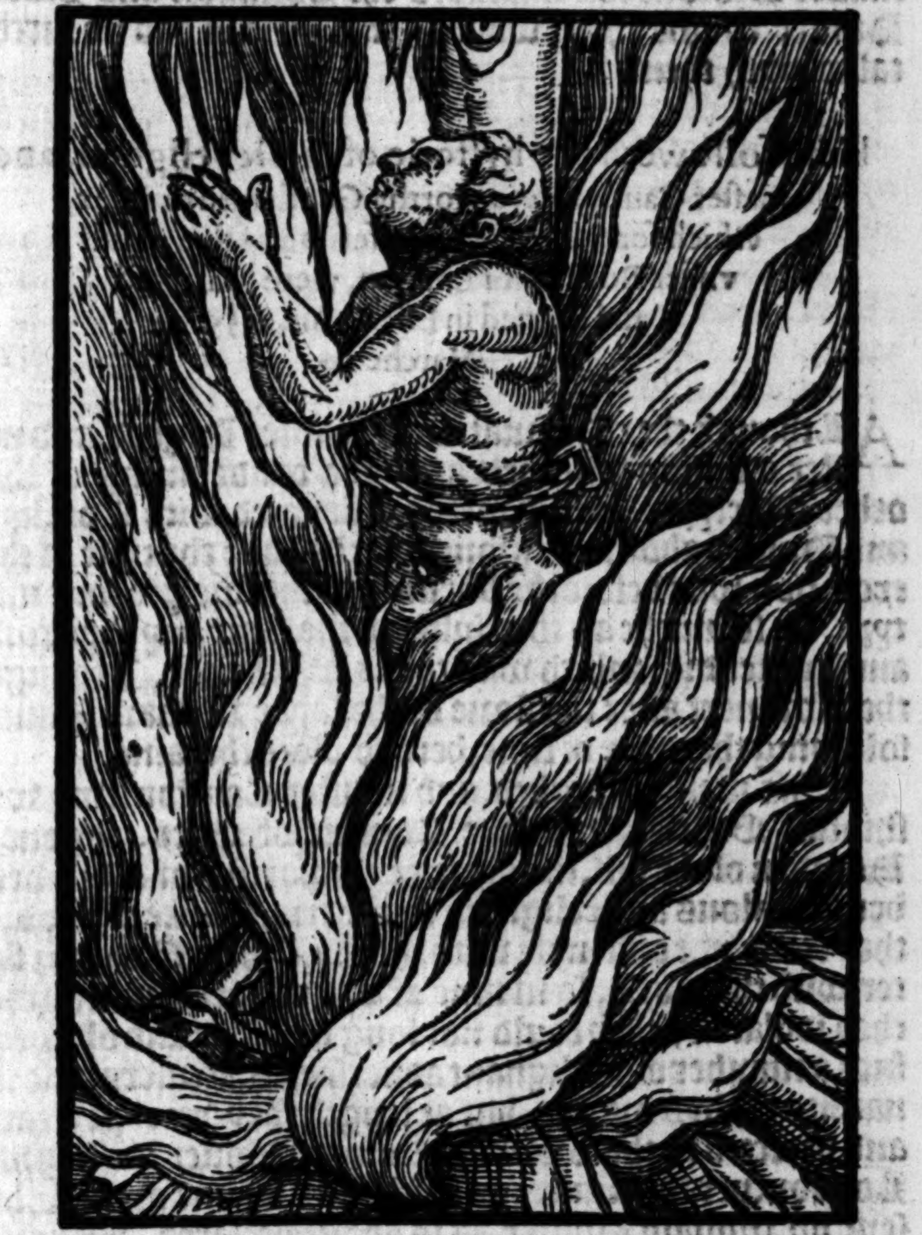
His wordes to his father.

M. William Tyrell of the Beaches carpeth where he hath no cauſe.

Then ſayd M. Tirrel of the Braches, called W. Tirel, thou lyeſt (ſayd he) thou readeſt falſe, for the wordes are an humble ſpirit. But W. ſaid, the tranſlation ſayth a contrite heart. Yea, quoth M. Tirel, the tranſlation is falſ, ye tranſlate bokes as ye liſt your ſelues, like hereticks. Wel, quoth William, there is no great difference in thoſe words. Then ſayd the ſheriffe, heere is a letter from the Queene. If thou wilt recant thou ſhalt liue, if not thou ſhalt be burned. No, quoth W. I will not recante, God willing. Then W. roaſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtoode vpright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde a Bailiffe, and made faſt the chaine about William.

W. Hunter refuſeth the Quenes pardon.

The burning of William Hunter Martyr.



The end and martirdome of W. Hunter. Anno. 1555. March. 26.

Then ſayde M. Browne, here is not woode enough to burne a legge of him. Then said William: good people pray for me: and make ſpeede and diſpatch quickly: and pray for me while ye ſee me aliue, good people, and I praye for you likewiſe.

A dogged ſaying of M. Browne.

Now quoth M. Browne, pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee, then I wil pray for a dogge. To whom William aunſweared M. Browne: now you haue that whych you ſought for, & I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the laſt day: howbeit I forgeue you. Then ſayde maiſter Browne, I aſke no forgeuenes of thee. Wel ſayd William, if God forgeue you not, I ſhall require my bloude at your handes.

An externall ſhew of Chriſts fauour vpon W. Hunter.

Then ſayd William: Sonne of God ſhine vppon mee, and immediately the ſunne in the element ſhone oute of a darke cloude, ſo full in his face, that he was conſtrayned to looke an other way: whereat the people muſed, becauſe it was ſo darke a little time afore. Then William tooke vppe a fagot of broome, and embraced it in his armes.

Williams dreame verified.

Then this Prieſt which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popiſh booke to carye to William, that he might recant, which booke his brother woulde not meddle withall.

Hunters wordes to a Popiſh Prieſt.

Then William ſeeing the prieſt, and perceiuing how he woulde haue ſhewed hym the booke, ſayd: away, thou falſe prophet. Beware of them good people, & come awaye from their abominatiõs, leſt ẏ you be partakers of their plagues. Then, quoth the Prieſt, looke howe thou burneſt heere, ſo ſhalt thou burne in hel. William anſwered, thou lieſt, thou falſe prophet: away thou falſe prophet, away.

Anno. 1555. February.

Hunter comforted by his brother Robert.

Then was there a Gentleman whiche ſayde, I praye God haue mercy vpon his ſoule. The people ſayd: Amen, Amen, Immediatly fire was made.

Then William caſt his Pſalter right into his brothers hande, who ſayde: William thinke on the holy Paſſion of Chriſt, and be not afraid of death.

And William aunſweared: I am not afraid. Then liſte he vp his handes to heauen, and ſayd, Lorde, Lorde, Lord, receiue my ſpirit, and caſting downe hys head againe into the ſmothering ſmoke, he yeelded vp his life for the truthe, ſealing it with hys bloud, to the praiſe of God.

Rob. Hunter ſet in the ſtocks.

Rob. Hunter had before M. Browne.

Nowe, by and by after, M. Browne commaunded one old Hunt to take his brother Robert Hunter, & lay him in the ſtockes till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Hornden on the hill, the ſame day. Which thing olde Hunt did. Then maiſter Browne (when Robert Hunter came before him) aſked if he would doe as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter anſwered: if I do as my brother hath done, I ſhall haue as he hath had. Mary (quoth M. Browne) thou mayeſt be ſure of it.

Rob. Hunter by Gods prouidēce deliuered.

Then M. Browne ſayde, I marueil, that thy brother ſtode ſo to hys tackling: and moreouer, aſked Robert if Williams Maiſter of London were not at hys burnynge. But Roberte ſayde that hee was not there: but Mayſter Browne bare hym in hande that his maſter was there, and howe that he did ſee him there, but Robert denied it. Then maſter Browne commaunded the Conſtable and Robert Hunter to goe theyr wayes home, and ſo had no further talke wyth them.

Here followeth the hyſtorie of maſter Higbed, and maſter Cauſton, two worthy Gentlemen of Eſſex, which for the ſyncere confeſsion of theyr faith vnder Boner B. of London, were Martyred and burned in Eſſex. An. 1555. Marche 26.

Marke. 26.

The ſtory of M. Higbed and M. Cauſton Martirs.

Although the cōdemnation of maiſter Higbed, and maſter Cauſton followed after the condemning of thoſe other Martyrs, which were condemned with Tomkyns and Hunter aboue mentioned, yet becauſe the time of their execution was before the burning of the foreſaid four martyrs, for ſo muche as they ſuffered the ſame day that William Hunter did, which was the 26. of Marche, I thoughte therefore next after the ſtorie of the ſayde William Hunter, folowing the order of time, here to place the ſame.

M. Higbed and M. Cauſton detected to Boner.

This maiſter Higbed, and maiſter Cauſton, two worſhipfull Gentlemen in the Countie of Eſſex, the one at Hornden of the hill, the other of the pariſhe of Thunderſt, being zealous and religious in the true ſeruice of God, as they could not diſſemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, ſo in time of blind ſuperſtition & wretched idolatrie, they could not long lie hidde and obſcure in ſuch a number of malignant aduerſaries, accuſers, and ſeruaunts of thys worlde, but at length they were perceaued and detected to the foreſayde Edmund Boner Biſhoppe of London, peraduenture not without the ſame organ which ſent vp William Hunter, as is aboue declared. By reaſon whereof, by commaundement they were committed to the officers of Colcheſter to be ſafely kept, and with them alſo a ſeruant of Thomas Cauſton, who in this praiſe of Chriſtian godlines, was nothing inferior to his maiſter.

B. Boner commeth himſelfe to Colcheſter.

Boner the forſayd Byſhop, perceiuing theſe 2. Gentlemen to be of worſhipful eſtate, & of great eſtimation in that countrey, leaſt any tumult ſhoulde thereby ariſe, came thether himſelfe, accompanied with M. Fecknam and certaine other, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and faſhion: ſo that great labour & diligence was taken therein, as wel by terrors and threatnings, as by large promiſes and flatteringe, and all faire meanes, to reduce them againe to the vnitie (as they termed it) of the mother church.

M. Higbed and M. Cauſton caryed to London.

In fine, when nothing coulde preuaile to make them aſſent to theyr doings, at length they came to thys poynte, that they required certaine reſpite to conſulte with themſelues what were beſt to doe. Whych time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining ſtill conſtant and vnremoueable in their profeſſed doctrine, and ſetting oute alſo their confeſſion in wryting, the biſhop ſeeing no good to be done in tarying any longer there, departed thence & caried them bothe with hym to London, and wyth them certaine other priſonners alſo, which about the ſame time in thoſe quarters were apprehended.

the firſt dayes Seſsion.

It was not long after thys, but theſe priſonners being at London committed to ſtrait priſon, and there attempted ſundrye wiſe by the Biſhop and his Chapleines to reuoke their opiniōs: at length, when no perſuaſions wold ſerue, they were brought forth to open examination at the Conſiſtorie in Paules, the 17. daye of Februarie. An. 1555. Where they were demaunded aſwell by the ſaid biſhop, as alſo by the Biſhop of Bathe & others, whether they would recant their errors & peruerſe doctrine (as they termed it,) and ſo come to yͤ vnitie of the Popiſh Church. Which when they refuſed to doe, the Byſhop aſſigned them likewiſe the next day to appeare againe, being the 18. of Februarie.

The ſecond dayes Seſsion.

On the whych daye, among many other thinges there ſayd and paſſed, he read vnto them ſeuerally certaine Articles, and gaue them reſpite vntill the next day, to aunſwer vnto the ſame, & ſo committed them againe to priſone. The copie of which Articles here vnder foloweth.

Articles obiected and miniſtred by Boner B. of London, ſeuerally againſt Tho. Cauſton, & Thomas Higbed of Eſſex.

Articles laid by B. Boner to M. Higbed and Cauſton.

First, that thou Thomas Cauſton (or Thomas Higbed) haſt bene and arte of the Dioceſſe of London, and alſo of the iuriſdiction now of me Edmund Biſhop of London.

Item, that thou was in time paſt, according to the order of the Church of England, baptiſed and chriſtened.

Item, that thou haddeſt Godfathers and Godmother, according to the ſaid order.

Item, that the ſaid Godfathers and Godmothers did thē promiſe for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion, that then was vſed in the realme of England.

Item, that that faith and Religion, which they did profeſſe, & make for thee, was accompted and taken to be the faith and Religion of the Churche, and of the Chriſtian people: and ſo was it in very deede.

Item, thou comming to the age of diſcretion, that is to ſaye, to the age of xiiij. yeares, diddeſt not miſlike nor diſallowe that faith, that Religion, or promiſe then vſed and approued, and promiſed by the ſaid Godfathers and Godmother, but for a time diddeſt continue in it, as other (taking themſelues for Chriſten people) did likewiſe.

The reall preſence.

Item, that at that time, and alſo before, it was taken for a doctrine of the Churche, Catholicke and true, and euerye where in Chriſtendom then allowed for Catholicke and true, and to be the profeſsion of a Chriſten man, to beleeue that in the Sacrament of the aultare, vnder the formes of breade and wine, after the conſecration, there was and is, by the omnipotent power and will of almighty God, and his woorde, without any ſubſtance of breade and wine there remaining, the true and naturall body and bloude of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, which was borne of the virgine Marie, and ſuffered vppon the Croſſe, really, truely, and in very deede.

Item, that at that time thy father and mother, all thine aunceſtors, all thy kindred, acquaintance and frends, and thy ſayd Godfathers and Godmother did then ſo beleeue, and thinke in all the ſame, as the ſayd Church did therein beleeue.

Item, that thy ſelfe haſt had no iuſt cauſe or lawfull grounde, to departe or ſwarue from the ſayde Religion or faith, nor no occaſion at all, except thou wilt followe and beleeue the erroneous opinion or beliefe, that hath ben againſt the common order of the Church, brought in by certaine diſordred perſons of late, and at the vttermoſt within theſe 30. or 40. yeares laſt paſt.

Alſo ſir Edmund Boner prieſt before the death of Cromwell, ſeemed to be of the opinion and was ſworne twiſe agaynſt the Pope.

Item, that thou doeſt knowe, or credibly haſt heard and doeſt beleue that D. Robert Barnes, Iohn Frith, Tho. Garrerd, Hierome, Laſſels, Anne Askew, Iohn Hooper, late Biſhop of Glouceſter, ſir Laurence Saunders Prieſt, Iohn Bradford, ſir Iohn Rogers Prieſt, ſir Rowland Taylour Prieſt, ſir Iohn Laurence Prieſt, William Pygot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkyns, & Thomas Hawkes haue bene heretofore reputed, taken, and accompted as heretickes, and alſo condemned as heretickes, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly: ſpecially in holding & beleuing certaine damnable opinions, againſt the veritie of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, & all the ſame perſons, ſauing Iohn Bradford, ſir Iohn Laurence, William Pygot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, haue ſuffered paines of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of their ſaid opinions and misbeliefe.

Verity taken for hereſy of miſbeleuing heretickes.

Item, that thou doeſt knowe, or credibly haſt heard and doeſt beleeue that Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himſelfe Biſhop of London, Robert Ferrar late Biſhop of S. Dauies, and Hugh Latimer, ſometime Biſhop of Worceſter, haue bene, and are at this preſent reputed, accompted and taken as heretickes, and misbeleeuers in maintaining and holding certaine damnable opinions, againſt the verity of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Item, that thou haſt commended and praiſed all the ſayd perſons, ſo erring and beleuing (or at the leaſt wiſe ſome of them) ſecretely, and alſo openly, taking and beleeuing them to be faithfull and Catholicke people, and their ſayde opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt & vttermoſt of thy power thou haſt allowed, maintained, and defended at ſundrie times.

Item, that thou, hauing hearde, knowen, and vnderſtanded all the premiſſes, thus to be as is aforeſayde, haſte not regarded al or

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any part thereof, but contrary to the ſame and euery part thereof, haſt attempted and done, condemning, tranſgreſsing, and breaking that promiſe, faith, religion, order, and cuſtome aforeſayd: and haſt becommen, and art an hereticke and misbeleeuer in the premiſſes, denying the veritie of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, and obſtinately affirming, that the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wine are there remaining, and that the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud taken of the virgine Mary, are not there in the ſayd Sacrament, really and truely being.

The ſecond dayes Seſsion.

Item, that all the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and manifeſt, and that vpon all the ſame, there haue and be amongſt the ſad and good people of the Citie of London, and Dioces of the ſame in great multitude, commonly and publickely, a common and publicke fame and opinion, and alſo in all places where thou haſt bene, within the ſayd Dioces of London.

Articles laid by B. Boner to M. Higbed and Cauſton.

☞ Theſe Articles being geuen to them in writing by the Byſhop, the next day folowing was aſsigned to them to geue vp and to exhibite their aunſweres vnto the ſame.

* The third dayes Seſsion vpon the examination of M. Cauſton and M. Higbed.

The third dayes Seſsion.

Vpon the which day being the firſt day of March, the ſaid Thomas Cauſton, and Thomas Higbed Gentlemen being brought before the Byſhop in the Conſiſtory, there exhibited their aunſweres to the Articles aforeſayd: the tenour of which aunſweres here followeth.

¶ The aunſweres of Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, ſeuerally made to the foreſaid Articles obiected, as before.

The aunſweres of the Martyrs to the Articles.

To the firſt, they aunſwere and confeſſe the ſame to be true.

To the ſecond, they anſwere and beleeue the ſame to be true.

To the third, they aunſwere and beleeue the ſame to be true.

To the fourth, they aunſwere and thinke the ſame to be true.

To the fift, vnto this clauſe (and ſo was it in very deede) they aunſwere and beleeue the ſame to be true. And vnto that clauſe (and ſo was it in very deede) they aunſwere negatiuely, and beleeue that it was not in very deede.

To the ſixt, ſeuenth, and eyght, they aunſwere and beleeue the ſame to be true.

To the ninth they aunſwere and ſay, that they thinke they haue a iuſt and lawfull cauſe and ground to ſwarue and go from the ſayd fayth and Religion, becauſe they haue now read more of Scripture, then either themſelues, or their Parents and kinsfolke, Godfathers or Godmothers haue read or ſeene heeretofore in that behalfe.

To the tenth, they aunſwere, ſay, and beleeue, that the ſayd perſons articulate, haue bene named, taken, and counted for heretickes, and ſo condemned for heretickes: yet about three yeares paſt, they were taken for good Chriſtian perſons. And for ſomuch as theſe Reſpondents did neuer heare them preach cõcerning the Sacrament of the aultar, they ſay that they preached well, in that they ſayd and preached that Chriſt is not preſent really and truly in the ſayd Sacrament, but that there is remayning the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Tranſubſtantiõ denyed.

To the eleuenth, they aunſwere and ſay, that howſoeuer other folkes do repute and take the ſayde perſons articulate, yet theſe Reſpondents them ſelues did neuer, nor yet do ſo accompt and take them. And further they ſay, that in caſe the ſayd perſons articulate named in this article haue preached that in the Sacrament of the altar is very materiall wine, and not the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, then they preached well and truly, and theſe reſpondents themſelues do ſo beleeue.

To the twelfth they aunſwere and ſay, that where other folke haue diſprayſed the ſayd perſons articulate, and diſalowed theyr opinions, theſe Reſpondents (for ought that they at any tyme haue heard) did like and allow the ſayd perſons, and theyr ſayings.

To the thirteenth they aunſwere and ſay, that they haue not broken or condemned any promiſe made by their Godfathers, and Godmothers for them at their baptiſme, and that they are no heretickes nor misbeleeuers, in that they beleeue that there remayneth only bread and wine in the ſacrament of the aultar, and that Chriſtes naturall body is not there, but in heauen, for they ſay that the ſcriptures ſo teach them.

To the foureteenth they anſwere and beleeue that the premiſſes before by them confeſſed be true, notorious and manifeſt.

A copy of Catholicke charitie ſhewed.

After theſe anſweres exhibited and peruſed, then the B. ſpeaking vnto thē after this ſort, beginneth firſt (as he did euer before) with Thomas Cauſton. Becauſe ye ſhall not be ſodenly trapped, and that men ſhall not ſay that I go about to ſeke ſnares to put you away, I haue hitherto reſpited you, that you ſhould way & cõſider with your ſelf, your ſtate and cõdition, and that you ſhould, while ye haue time and ſpace, acknowledge the truth, and returne to the vnity of the catholicke churche. Then the biſhop reading theyr former articles and aunſweres to the ſame, aſked them if they would recant, which when they denyed, they were againe diſmiſſed and commaunded to appeare the wenſday next after, at two of the clocke at after noone, there to receaue their definitiue ſentence agaynſt them: which thinge (as it ſeemeth) was yet differred.

¶ An other examination of M. Cauſton and Maiſter Higbed.

An other examination.

This Stempe is now Warden of the Colledge in Wincheſter.

M. Cauſton denyeth to recant.

The next Friday, being the eight day of March, the ſayd Thomas Cauſtõ was firſt called to examinatiõ before the biſhop, Fecknam and D. Stempe, in his Pallace, and there had read vnto hym his foreſayd articles with hys anſweres therunto, & after certain exhortations to recant his former profeſsion, & to be conformable to the vnitie of their church, they promiſed him (ſo doing) willingly to receaue him agayn therunto. To whõ he anſwered, you goe about to catch vs in ſnares & ginnes: But marke by what meaſure ye meaſure vs, looke you to be meaſured with the ſame agayne at Gods hands. The biſhop ſtill perſwaded with him to recant: To whom he anſwered no, I will not abiure. Ye ſayd that the biſhops that were lately burned, be Heretickes: But I pray God make me ſuche an Hereticke as they were.

M. Higbed called forth denyeth to abiure.

The biſhop then leauing M. Cauſton, calleth forth M. Higbed: vſing with hym the like perſwaſiõs, that they did with the other: But he anſwered, I wil not abiure. For I haue bene of this minde and opinion that I am now, theſe 16. yeares, and doe what ye can, ye ſhall doe no more then God will permitte you to doe, and with what meaſure ye meaſure vs looke for the ſame agayne at Gods hands.

M. Fecknam ſtill buſie with matter of the ſacrament.

Then Fecknam aſked him his opinion in the ſacramẽt of the altar. To whom he anſwered: I do not beleeue that Chriſt is in the ſacrament as ye will haue him, which is of mans making.

Both their anſweres thus ſeuerally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, & to appeare the next day in the conſiſtory at Paules, betweene the houres of one and three of the clocke at after noone.

The laſt appearaunce of M. Cauſton, and M. Higbed before Boner.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed appeare agayne before the biſhop.

At which day and houre, being the ninth day of march, they were both brought thether: where the Biſhoppe cauſed M. Thomas Cauſtons articles and anſweres firſt to be read openly, and after perſwaded with him to recant and abiure his heretical opinions, and to come home now at the laſt to their mother the catholicke Church, and ſaue hymſelfe.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed do exhibite a confeſsion of their fayth.

But M. Thomas Cauſton anſwered agayn and ſaid: No, I wil not abiure. For I came not hither for that purpoſe: and therwithall did exhibite in writing vnto the Biſhop (as well in his owne name, as alſo in Thom. Higbeds name) a confeſsion of theyr fayth, to the whiche they would ſtand: and required leaue to read the ſame, whiche (after great ſuite) was obteined, and ſo he read it openlye in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

☞ The confeſsion and fayth of Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Hygbed, which they deliuered to the Biſhop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffes, and in the preſence of all the people their aſſembled. Anno. 1555. the 9. of March, & were condemned for the ſame in the ſayde Conſiſtory in Paules Church, the yeare and day abouesayd.

The confeſsion of M. Cauſton.

1 First, we beleue and profeſſe in Baptiſme, to forſake the Deuill and his workes and pompes, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the ſinfull luſtes of the fleſhe.

Abrenouncing of the world.

The Articles of the Creede.

The commaundementes.

The Lordes prayer.

The Catholick Church.

2. We beleue all the articles of our Chriſtian fayth.

3. We beleue that wee are bound to keepe Gods holye will and commaundementes, and to walke in the ſame all the dayes of our lyfe.

4. We beleue that there is contayned in the Lords praier all thinges neceſſary both for bodye and ſoule, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heauenly father, and to none other ſaint or angell.

5. We beleue that there is a catholicke Church, euen the Communion of Saintes, Built vppon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles (as S. Paule ſayth) Chriſt being the head corner ſtone For the which Church Chriſt gaue himſelfe, to make it to himſelfe a glorious congregation, without faulte in his ſight.

6. We beleue, that this churche, of her ſelfe, and by her

The Church of it ſelfe is ſinfull by imputation righteous.

Anno 1555. February.

owne merites is ſinfull, and muſt needes ſay: Father, forgeue vs our ſinnes: but through Chriſte and his merites, ſhee is freely forgeuen: For he in his owne perſon (ſayth ſaint Paule) hath purged her ſinnes, and made her faultles in hys ſight. Beſides whome, there is no Saueour (ſayeth the Prophete) neyther is there ſaluation (ſayth Sainct Peter) in any other name.

Chriſt onely our mediatour.

7 We beleeue, as he is our onely Sauiour, ſo is he our onely Mediatour. For the holy Apoſtle S. Paule ſayeth: There is one God, one Mediatour betweene God and man, euen the man Ieſus Chriſt. Wherefore ſeeing none hath this name, God and man, but Ieſus Chriſt, therefore there is no mediator, but Ieſus Chriſt.

The condition of the Church to be perſecuted.

8 We beleeue that this Church of Chriſt is and hath bene perſecuted by the wordes of Chriſte, ſaying: As they haue perſecuted me, ſo ſhall they perſecute you: For the diſciple is not aboue his maiſter. For it is not onely geuen vnto you to beleeue in Chriſt (ſayeth Sainct Paule) but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. For all that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.

The Churche onely is directed by Gods worde neither adding nor taking fro.

9 Wee beleeue that the Churche of Chriſte teacheth the worde of God truely and ſincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing fro: and alſo doth miniſter the Sacraments according to the Primitiue Church.

The true church forbiddeth none to read the ſcriptures.

10 We beleeue that this Churche of Chriſt ſuffereth all men to reade the Scriptures, according to Chriſtes commaundement, ſaying: Search the Scriptures: for they teſtifie of me. We reade alſo out of the Actes, that when Sainct Paule preached, the audience dayly ſearched the Scriptures, whether he preached truely or no. Alſo the Prophet Dauid teacheth all men to pray with vnderſtanding: For how ſhall the vnlearned (ſaith S. Paule) ſay, Amen, at the geuing of thankes, when they vnderſtand not what is ſayde? And what is more allowed, then true faith, which S. Paule ſaith, commeth by hearing of the word of God?

God onely to be worſhipped after his word.

11 Wee beleeue, that the Churche of Chriſte teacheth that God ought to be worſhipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men: For in vayne (ſayth Chriſt) ye worſhip me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men.

Gods preceptes to be followed and not the conſtitutions of men.

Alſo we are commaunded of God by hys Prophet, ſaying: Walke not in the traditions and preceptes of your Elders: but walke (ſayth he) in my precepts: do that I commaund you: put nothing thereunto, neyther take any thing from it. Likewiſe (ſaith Chriſt) you ſhall forſake father and mother, and follow me. Whereby we learne, that if our Elders teach otherwiſe then God commaunded, in that point we muſt forſake them.

The Lordes ſupper is not to be chaunged from the inſtitution of Chriſt.

12 We beleeue that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and chaunged, for as much as Chriſt himſelfe being the wiſedome of the father, did inſtitute it. For it is written: Curſed is he that chaungeth my ordinaunces, and departeth from my Commaundements, or taketh any thing from them.

The Lordes ſupper how many wayes it is abuſed.

Now, we finde by the ſcriptures, that this holy ſupper is ſore abuſed.

Firſt, in that it is geuen in one kind, where Chriſt gaue it in both.

The ſecond abuſe.

Secondly, in that it is made a priuate Maſſe, where Chriſt made it a Communion: for he gaue it not to one alone, but to all the Apoſtles, in the name of the whole Church.

The third abuſe.

Thirdly, in that it is made a ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead, wheras Chriſt ordeined it for a remembraunce of the euerlaſting ſacrifice, which was his owne body offered vpon the aultar of the Croſſe once for all, as the holy Apoſtle ſayth: Euen the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remiſsion of ſinne (ſaith he) there is no more ſacrifice for ſinne.

The 4. abuſe.

Fourthly, in that it is worſhipped contrary to the commaundement, ſaying: Thou ſhalt worſhip nothing that is made with hands.

The 5. abuſe.

Fiftly, in that it is geuen in an vnknowne tongue, whereby the people are ignoraunt of the right vſe thereof, how Chriſt died for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our iuſtification, by whome we be ſet at peace with God, and receaued to his fauour and mercy by his promiſe, whereof this ſacrament is a ſure ſeale and witnes.

The 6. abuſe.

Beſides this, it is hanged vp and ſhut in a boxe: yea many times ſo long, that wormes breedeth in it, and ſo it putrifyeth: whereby the rude people haue an occaſion to ſpeake vnreuerently thereof, which otherwiſe woulde ſpeake reuerently.

Thereof they that thus abuſe it, bring vp the ſclaunder and not we, whiche pray dayly to God to reſtore it to the right vſe, according to Chriſtes inſtitution.

Nowe, concerning Chriſtes wordes: Thys is my body, we deny thẽ not, but we ſay, that ẏ mind of Chriſt in them muſt be ſearched out by other open ſcriptures, wherby we may come to the ſpirituall vnderſtanding of them, whiche ſhall be moſt to the glory of God. For as the holy Apoſtle ſayth: There is no ſcripture that hath any priuate interpretation. Beſides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figuratiue ſpeaches: as for example, Chriſt ſayeth: This cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud. The rocke is Chriſt (ſayeth Saint Paule.) Who ſoeuer receyueth a child in my name (ſayth our ſaueour Ieſus Chriſt) receyueth me.

Chriſtes wordes h... eſt corpus meum not denyed but expounded. The phraſes of Scripture expounded by other phraſes.

Which ſentences muſt not be vnderſtand after the letter, leſt we do erre, as the Capernaites did, which thought that Chriſtes body ſhould haue ben eaten with their teeth, when he ſpake of the eating thereof. Unto whome Chriſt ſayd: Such a fleſhly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the ſpirit (ſayeth our Saueour Ieſus Chriſt) that quickeneth: the fleſhe profyteth nothyng: for my woordes are ſpirite and lyfe.

The wordes of the Sacrament ought to be taken ſpiritually, and not literally. Chriſt is to be eaten ſpiritually.

Thus wee ſee that Chriſtes woordes muſt be vnderſtanded ſpiritually, and not literally. Therefore he ẏ commeth to this worthy ſupper of the Lord, muſt not prepare his iawe, but his hart: neyther tooth nor belly: but beleeue (ſayth S. Auguſtine) and thou haſt eaten it: ſo that we muſt bring with vs a ſpiritual hunger. And as the Apoſtle ſaith: Trie and examine our ſelues, whether our conſcience doo teſtifie vnto vs, that we do truly beleeue in Chriſt, according to the Scriptures: whereof if we be truly certified, being new borne from our old conuerſation in hart, minde, will, and deede, then may we boldly with this mariage garment of faith come to the feaſt.

The ſubſtaunce of bread not chaunged.

In conſideration whereof, we haue inuincible Scriptures, as of Chriſt himſelfe: This do in the remembraunce of me. And S. Paule: As often (ſaith he) as ye eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall remember the Lords death vntill he come. Heere is no chaunge, but bread ſtill. And Sainct Luke affirmeth the ſame. Alſo Chriſt hath made a iuſt promiſe ſaying: Me you ſhall not haue alwayes with you. I leaue the world, and go to my father: for if I ſhould not depart, the comforter which I will ſend, can not come vnto you. So according to his promiſe he is aſcended: as the Euangeliſtes teſtifie. Alſo Saint Peter ſayth: That heauen ſhall keepe him vntill the laſt day alſo.

Chriſts body but in one place at once.

Now, as touching his omnipotent power, we confeſſe and ſay with S. Auguſtine, that Chriſt is both God and man. In that he is God, he is euery where: but in that he is man, he is in heauen, and can occupy but one place: whereunto the Scriptures doth agree. For his body was not in all places at once, when he was heere: for it was not in the graue when the women ſought it, as the Angell ſaith: neither was it at Bethania where Lazarus died, by Chriſtes owne words, ſaying: I am glad I was not there. And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Chriſt is in his holy Supper ſacramentally and ſpiritually in all them that worthily receiue it, and corporally in heauen, both God and man.

Their proteſtation.

And further, we make heere our proteſtation before God (whome we call to record in this matter) that this whiche we haue ſayd, is neither of ſtubbornnes, nor wilfull mind) as ſome iudge of vs: but euen of very conſcience, truely (we truſt) grounded in Gods holy word. For before wee tooke this matter in hand, we beſought God from the bottome of our hartes, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and bleſſed word. And in that he hath thus ſhewed his power in our weakenes, we can not worthely prayſe him: vnto whome we geue harty thankes, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed conſtant to death in their confeſſion.

When he had thus deliuered and read their confeſſion, the Biſhop ſtil perſiſting ſometime in faire promiſes, ſomtime threatning to pronounce iudgemẽt, aſked them whether they would ſtand to this their confeſſion and other anſweares? To whome Cauſton ſaid, Yea, we will ſtande to our anſweares written with our hands, and to our beliefe therein conteined. After which anſweare, the Byſhop began to pronounce ſentence againſt him.

M. Cauſton appealeth to the Cardinall.

Then he ſaid, that it was much raſhnes, and without all loue and mercy, to geue iudgement without anſwering to their confeſſion by the truth of Gods word, whereunto they ſubmitted themſelues moſt willingly. And therefore I, quoth Cauſton (becauſe I can not haue iuſtice at your hand, but that ye will thus raſhly condemne me) doo appeale from you to my Lord Cardinall.

D. Smith ready to anſwere their confeſſion, but could not be ſuffered.

Then D. Smith ſayde, that he woulde anſweare their confeſſion. But the Biſhop (not ſuffering him to ſpeake) willed Harpsfield to ſay his minde, for the ſtay of the people: who taking their confeſſion in his hand, neither touched nor anſwered one ſentence thereof.

Which done, the Biſhop pronounced ſentence, firſt againſt the ſaid Thomas Cauſton, and then calling Thomas Higbed, cauſed his articles and anſweres likewiſe to be

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Sentence pronounced agaynſt M. Cauſton & M. Higbed.

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M. Cauſton and M. Higbed condẽned and ſẽt to Newgate.

M. Cauſton and Maiſter Higbed brought frõ Newgate into Eſſex.

March 26.

The conſtãt Martirdome of M. Thomas Cauſtõ, and Maiſter Higbed Martyrs.

William Pigot, St

and Iohn Laurance,
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March. 28.

W. Pigot, Ste. Knight, Iohn Laurence, Martyrs.

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❧ Articles or interrogatories
biſhop of London, to William
Kight, and John Lauren
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Articles obiected to W. Pigot & his felowes.

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Ann. 1555. March.

be read. In the reading whereof Higbed ſayd: Ye ſpeake blaſphemie againſt Chriſtes paſſion, and ye goe aboute to trap vs with your ſubtilties and ſnares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinſfolke, did beleeue as you ſay, yet they were deceiued in ſo beleeuing.

Sentence pronounced agaynſt M. Cauſton & M. Higbed.

And further, where you ſay, that my Lord, named Cranmer (late Archbiſhop of Canterbury) and other ſpecified in the ſaid articles be heretikes: I do wiſhe that I were ſuch an hereticke as they were and be. Then the Byſhop aſked him againe, whether he would turne from his errour, and come to the vnitie of their Church? To whome he ſayde, No, I would ye ſhould recant, for I am in the truth, and you in errour.

Well, quoth the Byſhop, if ye will returne, I will gladly receiue you.

No, ſayd Higbed, I will not returne as you wyll haue me, to beleeue in the ſacrament of the altar your God.

M. Cauſton & M. Higbed condēned and ſēt to Newgate.

Whereupon the Byſhop proceeded, and gaue iudgement vpon him, as he had done before vpon Tho. Cauſton. When all this was thus ended, they were both deliuered to the Sheriffes, and ſo by them ſent to Newgate, where they remained by the ſpace of xiiij. dayes, prayſed be God, not ſo much in afflictions, as in conſolations.

For the encreaſe whereof, they earneſtly deſired all their good brethren and ſiſterne in Chriſt to pray, that God for his ſonnes ſake would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begon in them, ſo that they might perſeuere vnto the ende, to the prayſe of the eternall God, and comfort of all their brethren.

M. Cauſton and Maiſter Higbed brought frō Newgate into Eſſex.

March 26.

The conſtāt Martirdome of M. Thomas Cauſtō, and Maiſter Higbed Martyrs.

Theſe xiiij. dayes (after their condemnation) once expired, they were the xxiij. day of this moneth of March, fetched from Newgate at foure of the clocke in the morning, and ſo led through the Citie vnto Algate, where they were deliuered vnto the Sheriffe of Eſſex, and there beeing faſt bound in a cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeuerall appointed places of burning: that is to ſaye, Thomas Higbed to Horneden on the hill, and Thomas Cauſton to Rayly (both in the Countrey of Eſſex) where they did moſt conſtantly, the xxvj. day of the ſame moneth, ſeale this their faith with ſhedding of their bloud by moſt cruell fire, to the glory of God, and great reioyſing of the godly.

At the burning of whiche, Mayſter Higbed, Iuſtice Browne was alſo preſent, as is aboue ſpecified, and diuers Gentlemen in the ſhiere were commaunded to be preſent, for feare belike, leaſt they ſhould be taken from them. And thus much touching the apprehenſion, examination, confeſſion, condemnation, and burnyng of theſe two godly and conſtant Martyrs of God.

William Pigot, Steuen Knight,

and Iohn Laurance, with their examination and conſtant martirdome.

March. 28.

W. Pigot, Ste. Knight, Iohn Laurance, Martyrs.

In the Story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellowes, mention was made of ſixe, whiche were examined, and condemned together, by biſhop Boner, the ninth day of February. Of the which ſixe condemned perſons, two, which were Tomkins, and William Hunter, (as ye heard) were executed, the one vppon the 26. of February, and the other vppon the 26. day of March. Other three, to witte, William Pigot and Steuen Knight ſuffered vpon the eight and twenty day, and Iohn Laurence the nine and twenty of the ſayd month of march.

Touching the which three Martyrs, now ſomething to ſay of their examinations, it was firſt demaunded of them, what their opiniō was of the ſacrament of the Aultar. Whereunto they ſeuerally anſwered, and alſo ſubſcribed, that in the ſacrament of the aultar, vnder formes of bread and wine there is not the very ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, but a ſpecial partaking of the body and bloud of Chriſt: the very body and bloud of Chriſt being onely in heauen, and no where els. This anſwere thus made, the biſhop cauſed certayne articles to be read vnto them, tending to the ſame effect as did the articles before of Tomkins and of M. Cauſton. The tenour whereof here followeth.

⁂ Articles or interrogatories obiected by the biſhop of London, to William Pigot, Steuen Kight, and Iohn Laurence, the 8. of February. 1555.

Articles obiected to W. Pigot & his felowes.

Whether do you thinke and ſteadfaſtly beleeue that it is a catholicke, faithfull, chriſtian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach and ſay, that in the ſacramentes of the aultar, vnder yͤ formes of bread & wine, there is wͭout any ſubſtance of bread & wine there remaynyng, by yͤ omnipotent power of almightye God, & his holy worde, really, truely, and in very deede the true and natural body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, the ſelfe ſame in ſubſtaunce (though not in outward forme and appearaunce) whiche was borne of the Virgine Mary, and ſuffered vppon the croſſe, yea, or nay?

Beliefe of their forelders.

Whether doe you thinke, and ſteadfaſtly beleeue that your Parentes, kinſfolke, frendes, and acquaintance, here in this realm of England, before your birth a great while and alſo after your Birth, profeſſing and beleuing the ſaid doctrine and fayth, concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, had a true chriſtian fayth, and were faythfull and true chriſten people, or no?

Beliefe of their godfathers and godmothers.

Whether do you think and ſteadfaſtly beleue that your Godfathers and Godmother, profeſſing and beleuing the ſaid Doctrine and faith, concerning the ſayde Sacrament of the aultar, had a true chriſten fayth, and were faythfull and true chriſten people or no?

Beliefe of their young age.

Whether do you think and ſteadfaſtly beleue that your own ſelf, in times paſt, being of the age of 14. yeares, and aboue, did thinke and beleue concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the aulter in all poyntes, as your ſayde parentes; kinſfolke, friendes, acquaintaunce, godfathers, and godmother did then thinke and beleue them, or no?

Whether doe you thinke, and ſteadfaſtly beleeue that oure Soueraignes the king, and the Queene of thys Realme of England, and all the Nobilitie, Clergie, and Laitie of this Realm, profeſſing and beleuing the ſaid doctrine and fayth, as other chriſtian Realmes doe, concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the altar, haue a true chriſtian fayth, and beleeue as the Catholicke and true Churche of Chriſt hath alwayes beleued, preached, and taught or no?

Beliefe of the king, and Queene, & the Nobilitie.

Whether do ye thinke and ſteadfaſtly beleeue that our ſauiour Chriſt and his holy ſpirite hath bene, is, and ſhalbe with his Catholicke churche, euen to the worldes end, gouerning and ruling the ſame in all thinges, eſpecially in the neceſſary poyntes of Chriſtian Religion, not ſuffering the ſame to erre or to be deceiued therein?

Beliefe of the pretenſed Catholicke church.

Whether it is true that you, being ſuſpected, or infamed to be culpable, and faultie in ſpeaking agaynſt the ſacrament of the Aultare, and agaynſt the very true preſence of Chriſtes naturall body, and the ſubſtaunce thereof in yͤ ſayd ſacrament, and thereupon called before mee vppon complaynt made to me agaynſt you, haue not bene a good ſpace in my houſe, hauing freely meate and drinke, and alſo diuers times inſtructed and informed, as well by one being our Ordinary, as alſo by my chaplaines and dyuers other learned men, ſome whereof were biſhops, ſome Deanes, and ſome Archdeacons, and euery one of them learned in diuinitie, and minding well vnto you, and deſiring the ſafegard of your ſoule, and that you ſhould folow and beleue the doctrine of the Catholicke church as afore, concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, and whether you did not at al times ſince your ſayd comming to me, vtterly refuſe to follow and beleue the ſayd doctrine, concerning the ſayd ſacrament?

The reall preſence and tranſubſtantiation.

Whether can you nowe finde in your hart and conſcience to conforme your ſelfe in all poyntes to the ſaid fayth and catholicke church concerning the ſayde Sacrament of the aultar, faythfully, truely, and playnely, without anye diſſimulation, beleeuing therein as our ſayd ſoueraignes, with the Nobilitie, Clergie, and Laytie, of this Realme, and other Chriſtian realmes: and other perſons aforeſaid, and alſo the ſayd Catholicke Church haue, and do beleue in that behalfe?

In caſe you ſo cānot, what ground haue you to mayntaine your opinion, and who is of the ſame opinion wyth you, and what conference haue you had therein with any, what comfort and what reliefe haue you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and ſurnames, and their dwelling place?

Their aunſweres to theſe articles were not much diſcrepant from Tomkins, and other like Martirs aboue mentioned, as here followeth to be ſeene.

¶ The aunſwere of Steuen Knight, and William Pigot, to the aforeſayd Articles.

Anſweres to the Articles aforeſayd.

To the firſt article, they beleue that the contentes of this article, is not agreable to ſcripture.

To the ſecond, they anſwere and beleue, that their parentes and other expreſſed in the ſayd article, ſo beleuyng, as is contayned in the ſame, were deceiued.

To the thyrd, they aunſwere, that they ſo beleued: but they were deceiued therein, as they now beleue.

To

Anno 1555. March.

To the fourth, they ſay, that they haue heretofore beleued as is conteined in the ſaid article, but now they do not ſo beleue.

To the fiſt, they ſay, that if they ſo beleue, they are deceiued.

To the ſixt, they beleue the ſame to be true.

To the ſeuenth, they anſwere and beleue the contents of the ſame to be true.

To the eight, they aunſwere, that they can no whyt conforme themſelues to the faythe and doctrine contayned and ſpecified in this article, vntill it be proued by Scripture.

To the ninth, they ſay, that they haue no grounde to mainteine their ſayd opinions, but ŷ truth, which (as they ſay) hath bene perſwaded by learned men, as D. Taylour of Hadley, and ſuch other.

These aunſweres being made and exhibited, they were commaunded to appeare agayne the next daye, at eight of the clocke in the morning, and in the meane while to bethinke themſelues what they would do.

An other appearaunce of the ſayd priſoners before Boner.

An other appearaunce.

The next daye in the morning, being the 9. daye of February, before their open appearaunce, the Biſhop ſent for William Pigot, and Stephen Knight, into his great chamber in his Pallace, where he perſwaded with them to recant: and deny their former profeſſion.

Who anſwered, that they were not perſwaded in their conſciences to returne and abiure theyr opinions, whereunto they had ſubſcribed. Within a while after, they were all three) with Thomas Tomkins, and William Hunter afore named) brought openly into the Conſiſtorye, the ix. day of February aforeſayd, and there had the ſame articles propoũded vnto them, which were before propoũded vnto the foreſayde Thomas Tomkins (as appeareth in the diſcourſe of his hiſtorye) and therto alſo ſubſcribed theſe wordes: I do ſo beleue.

Talke betweene Boner and Iohn Laurence Prieſt. Iohn Laurence ſometymes a Fryer.

The Biſhop alſo vſed certayne talke vnto John Laurence onely. Whereunto he aunſwered in this manner: That hee was a Prieſt, and was conſecrated and made a Prieſt about eightene yeares paſt, and that he was ſometime a Blacke Fryer profeſſed: that alſo hee was aſſured vnto a mayd, whome he intended to haue maryed.

And being agayne demaunded his opinion vppon the Sacrament, he ſaid, that it was a remembraunce of Chryſtes body, and that many haue bene deceiued in the beleeuing the true body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Aultar, and that all ſuch as doe not beleue as he doth, doe erre. After this talke and other fayre wordes and threatninges, they were all of thē commaunded to appeare again at after noone.

The third and laſt appearaunce.

The third and laſt appearaunce.

At the which houre they came thyther agayne, & there after the accuſtomed manner, were exhorted to recant and reuoke their doctrine, and receiue the faythe. To the whiche they conſtantly aunſwered, they woulde not, but would ſticke to that fayth that they had declared and ſubſcribed vnto, for that they did beleeue ŷ it was no errour whiche they beleued: but that the contrary therof was very hereſy.

Steuen Knight, William Pigot, & Iohn Laurēce condemned. Iohn Laurence diſgraded. Steuen Knight burned at Mauldon, W. Pigot at Braintree. March. 28.

When the Biſhop ſawe that neither his fayre flatteringes, nor yet his cruell threatnings would preuayle, he gaue them ſeuerally their iudgementes. And becauſe Joh. Laurence had bene one of theyr annoynted prieſtes, hee was by the biſhop there (according to their order) ſolemnly diſgraded, the maner whereof you may ſee in the hiſtory of Maiſter Hooper afore paſſed, pag. 1435.

Their ſentence of condemnation, & this degradation once ended, they were committed vnto the cuſtodye of the Sheriffes of London, who ſent thē vnto Newgate, where they remayned with ioy together, vntill they were caryed downe into Eſſex, and there the 28. daye of March, the ſayd William Pigot was burned at Brayntree: and Stephen Knight at Mauldon, who at the ſtake kneeling vpon the ground, ſayd this prayer which here followeth.

The Prayer that Stephen Knight ſayd at hys death vpon his knees, being at the ſtake, at Mauldon.

O Lord Ieſu Chriſte, for whoſe loue I leaue willingly this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of his Croſſe with the loſſe of all earthly thinges, then to abide the blaſphemye of thy moſte holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holye Commaundement: thou ſeeſt O Lorde, that where I might liue in worldlye wealth to worſhip a falſe God, and honour thine enemy, I choſe rather the torment of the body, and the loſſe of this my lyfe, and haue counted all thinges but vile, duſte, and dounge, that I might winne thee: whiche death is dearer vnto me, then thouſandes of gold and ſiluer. Such loue, O Lord, haſt thou layd vp in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deere that is wounded deſireth the ſoyle. Send thy holy comforter O Lord, to ayd, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weake peece of earth, whiche is emptye of all ſtrength of it ſelfe: Thou remembreſt O Lorde, that I am but duſt, and able to do nothing that is good. Therfore, O Lord, as of thine accuſtomed goodnes and loue, thou haſt bidden mee to this banket, and accompted mee worthye to drinke of thyne owne cup amongſt thine elect: euen ſo geue me ſtrength O Lord againſt this thine element: which as to my ſight is moſt irkeſome and terrible: ſo to my minde it may at thy commaundement (as on obedient ſeruaunt) be ſweete and pleaſaunt, that through the ſtrength of thy holy ſpirite, I may paſſe through the rage of thys fire into thy boſome, according to thy promiſe: and for thys mortall, receiue an immortal, and for this corruptible, put on incorruption: Accept this burnt ſacrifice and offeryng, O Lorde, not for the ſacrifice, but for thy deare ſonnes ſake, my ſauiour, for whoſe teſtimonye I offer this free will offering with all my hart, and with all my ſoule. O heauenly father forgeue me my ſinnes, as I forgeue all the worlde. O ſweete ſonne of God my Sauioure, ſpread thy winges ouer me. O bleſſed and holy Ghoſt, through whoſe mercifull inſpiration I am come hither, conduct mee into euerlaſting life. Lorde into thy handes I commend my ſpirite. Amen.

A godly prayer of Ste. Knight at his Martyrdome.

Pſal. 42.

Marke the ſpirit of this prayer, and compare it with the prayer of the Papiſtes at the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The death and martyrdome of Iohn Laurence Prieſt.

The next day being the 29. day of this moneth, the ſayd John Laurence was brought to Colcheſter, and there being not able to go, (for that as wel his legges were ſore worne with heauie irons in the priſon, as alſo hys bodye weakened with euill keeping) was borne to the fire in a chayre, and ſo ſitting, was in hys conſtant faith conſumed with fire.

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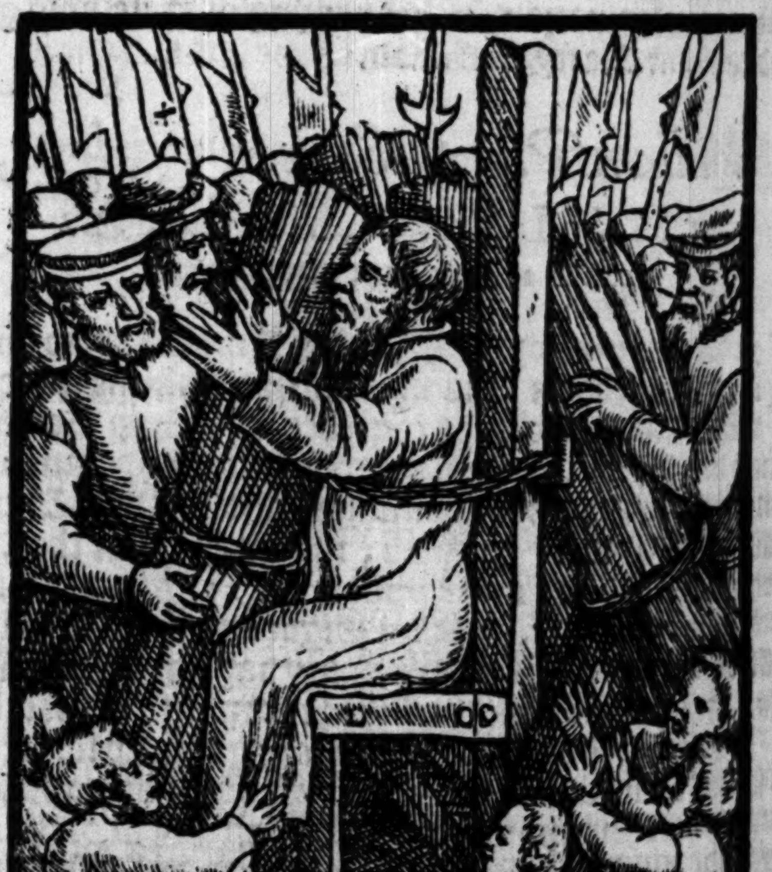
The cruell burning of Iohn Laurence Martir.



The Martyrdome of Iohn Laurence Prieſt at Colcheſter, Anno. 1555.

At the burning of this Laurence, hee ſitting in the fire the young children came about the fire, and cryed, (as wel as young children could ſpeake) ſaying: Lorde ſtrengthen thy ſeruaunt, and keepe thy promiſe, Lord ſtrengthen thy ſeruaunt, and keepe thy promiſe:: which thing, as it is rare ſo it is no ſmall manifeſtation of the glory of God, whiche wrought thys in the harts of theſe little ones: nor yet a little commendation to their parentes, whiche from theyr youth brought them vp in the knowledge of God and his trueth.

Ex ore infantium.

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To the fourth, they ſay, that they haue heretofore beleued as is conteined in the ſaid article, but now they do not ſo beleue.

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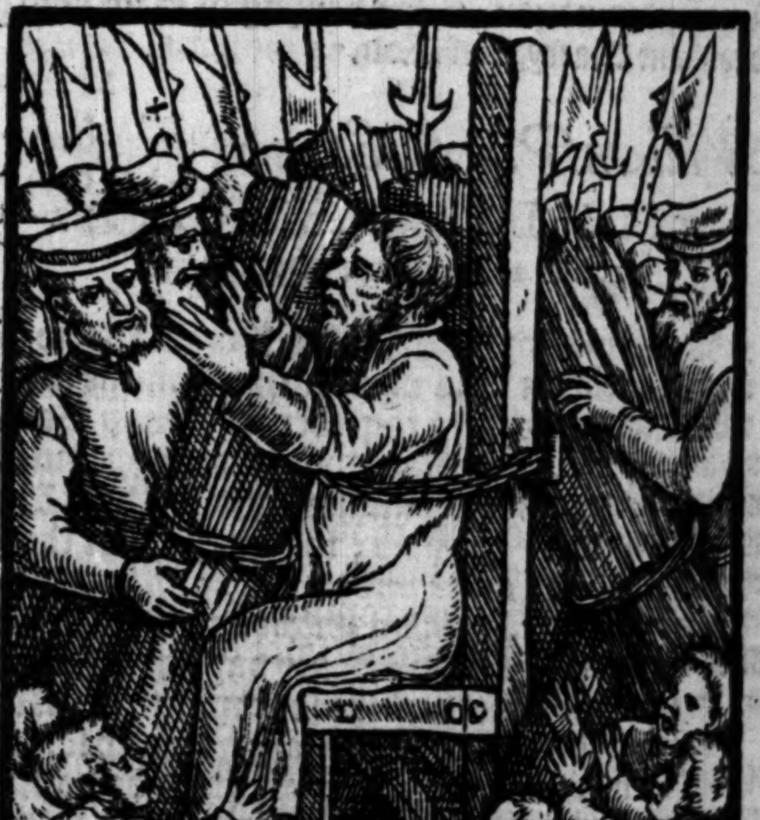

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Ex ore infantium.

The

The hiſtory of Doctor Robert Farrar, Biſhop of S. Dauids in Wales, who moſt conſtantly gaue his life for the teſtimonye of the truth, March. 30. an. 1555.

The next day after, whiche was the xxx. day of the ſayde moneth of march, followed the worthy & cõſtãt martirdome of the biſhop of S. Dauids in wales, called Robert Farrar, who was the next biſhop in this Catalogue of Chriſtian Martirs, that ſuffered after mayſter Hoper. This foreſayd Farrar, by the fauour and good will of the Lord protectour, was firſt called and promoted to that dignitie. This man I may well call twiſe a martyr, not onely for the cruell death of the fire, which he ſuffered moſt conſtantly in the dayes of Queene Mary, vnto the ſhedding of his bloud: but alſo for diuers other iniuries & moleſtations in king Edwardes time, which he no leſſe firmly, then vnworthily ſuſteined at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerſet. Of theſe his vexatiõs and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations layd agaynſt him, to the number of fifty and fiue, & of the malice conceiued agaynſt him by certayn couetous Canons of the Churche of Carmarthen, & what were the proceedinges of both partes, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty aduerſaries, & what were their names in theyr articles agaynſt him, in order here followeth.

The principall articles agaynſt Biſhop Farrar.

George Conſtantine, Dauid walter his ſeruant, Thomas Young chanter of the Cathedrall Churche, who was afterward Archbiſhop of Yorke, Rowland Merick, doct. of law, who was afterward Biſh. of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins. &c.

Through the procurement and inſtance of theſe his aduerſaries, ioyning and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins prieſt, and Thomas Lee brother in lawe to the ſayd George Conſtantine, did exhibite to the kinges moſt honourable counſell certaine articles and informations, conceiued and deuiſed by the perſons before named, to the intent to blemiſh the biſhops credit, and vtterly (as they thought and made their boaſt) to pull him from hys biſhopricke, and to bring him in a premunire. The copye of whiche articles, we thought here good to expreſſe, and ſo after them to ſet his anſweres to the ſame.

Articles and informations to the kings honorable counſell, put vp and exhibited by Hugh Raulins, and Tho. Lee, agaynſt the bleſſed man of God, Mayſter Farrar, byſhop of ſainct Dauids.

¶ Abuſe of the authoritie to him committed.

1. In primis when the ſayde biſhop firſt came to his dyoceſſe, he appoynted his chauncellour by his letters of commiſſion, omitting the kings maieſties ſtile and authoritie, and grounded his ſayd commiſſion vppon forrein vſurped lawes and authoritie: by force of whiche authoritie his ſayd Chauncellour did viſite certayne deanryes of hys ſayd dioceſſe, and moniſhed the Chauntor and chaptre of the cathedrall Churche of S. Dauids aforeſayd, agaynſt a certaine day and place, for like intent and purpoſe, contrary to the kinges highnes lawes and ſtatutes, and in derogation of his highnes ſupremacy.

Item, that the ſayde Chauntour and chaptre, perceyuing the faultes of the ſayd commiſſion, tooke the ſame frõ the Regiſtre into their cuſtodye, refuſing to appeare by vertue thereof, and by ſecrete and charitable wayes and meanes did admoniſhe the ſayde Byſhop of the vnlawfulneſſe and faultes of the ſayde commiſſion and of the daunger that he had incurred for graunting and executyng the ſame: opening alſo vnto hym the effecte of the ſtatute made in the xxviii. yeare of oure late Soueraigne Lorde Henry the eight: whiche monitions notwithſtanding, the ſayd Biſhop neglecting the ſame, and continuing in hys malicious doyng or inexcuſable ignoraunce, about the xx. daye of Auguſte in the fourthe yeare of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lorde that nowe is dyd conferre vnto one John Euans the Vicarage of Pembrin, inſtituting him by authoritie of the old forreigne vſurped lawe, making no mention of the kinges highnes authoritie, in contempt and derogation of the ſame.

3. Item, wheras the Chauncellour and Vicar generall to the ſayde Byſhop, did vppon a lawfull title, and by the kinges highnes ſupreme authoritie admit and inſtitute one John Gough into the rectory of Haſkard with thappurtenaunces, and gaue out in yͤ kings name vnder his highnes ſeale eccleſiaſticall appoynted for that office with the (teſte) of the ſaid biſhop and ſubſcription of the ſaid chauncellour, a mãdate to inducte accordingly: by vertue whereof the ſaid John Gough was inducted by the official there into reall poſſeſſion of the ſame rectory, with the rightes and appurtenaunces to the ſame belonging: whereupon the regiſter of the ſayd dioces, at the requeſt of the foreſayd chauncellour did ſignifie the premiſſes, with all the circumſtances, before diuers perſons to the forenamed Byſhop, who notwithſtanding, did inſtitute and cauſe to be inducted one Harry Goddart vnto the ſame perſonage, making no mention of the kinges maieſties authority nor ſupremacie: in contempt and derogation of the ſame hys hignes crowne and dignitie, and in extolling the forreine vſurped autthoritye, contrary to the fourme of the ſtatute &c.

Item, the ſayde Biſhop immediately after the vnlawfull inſtitution and induction of Goddart aforeſayde, moleſted the ſayd J. Gough lawfully inſtituted inducted as before, citing him frõ place to place, obiecting no matter vnto him of long ſeaſon, till at the length hee articled. Emong which Articles was contayned. Item Interrogatur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haskard. So taking vppon him the cognition of the title of the hole fruites and patronage, in contempte of the kinges highneſſe regall crowne and dignitie, and in derogation of the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme. 4.

Item, hee hath commonly made his collations, and inſtitutions, as hee did his firſt commiſſion in hys owne name and authoritie, without expreſſing the kinges ſupremacie. 5.

Item, hee hath made vnder his ſeale one collation, two inſtitutions, and three mandates, inducte in one vocation of one benefice, to three ſeuerall perſons, wythout order of law, or reuocation of anye of them, geuing to euery one like authoritye, title and right. Whereby, except good foreſight aſwell of Juſtices of the peace, as of the frendes had not bene, there had enſued much inconuenience amonges the partakers of the intituled incumbentes in that behalfe. 6.

Item, the ſayde Biſhop decreeing Caueates to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, inſtituted, and cauſeth to be inducted without tryall of anye title or due order of lawe. 7.

Item, hee directeth hys mandates of induction vnto priuate men, and not to Tharchdeacons nor theyr Officialles: contrary to the lawe and cuſtome vſed in that behalfe. Notwithſtanding he hath bene counſayled to the contrary, of men that be learned. 8.

Item, hauing no maner of knowledge nor practiſe in the lawe, he ſitteth euery day, in harueſt and other times, vpon cauſes without aſſiſtaunce of learned in the law, hauing with him onely an vnlearned boy, which is no Notary, to his ſcribe, neither obſeruing the law, nor yet reaſonable order. And therefore doth no good, but tryfeleth the time, as may appeare by his actes, if he haue them to be ſhewed. 9.

Item, hee and his officers, by his knowledge, vſeth to diſpenſe with mariages, to be ſolemnized without banes, contrarye to the lawes and ordinaunces in that behalfe. 10.

Item, where as one Thomas Prycharde a Chapleine of his, ſolempnized matrimony in a priuate houſe wythout banes, & that betwixt a prieſt, and a ſiſter of hers, that was appointed to be maryed with the ſaid prieſt that day: hee alſo being a parſon, and leauing his cure vnſerued that day being ſondaye: notwithſtanding, that one of the kinges counſell in the marches of wales: enformed the ſayd biſhop of the ſame miſdemeanours, requiring due reformation therof, he hath done nothing therein, but put the ſame Chapleine in office, and made him his Commiſſary generall ſince that tyme, bearyng a ſpeciall fauour to the reſt of the offendours. 11.

Item, where as one Meredith ap Thomas, his houſholde ſeruaunt, was accuſed of one Sage Hugh, for to haue bene father of her chylde, the ſayde Byſhop wythout purgation of his ſeruaunt, cauſed hym to ſue the parentes of the ſayde Sage of infamie, firſt in hys principall conſiſtory, and from thence before a commiſſary of hys, being his houſholde Chaplaine, and at the laſt tooke the matter before hymſelfe, ſo rayling agaynſt all his officers, becauſe they proceeded not after hys parciall affection, and agaynſt the lawe, that honeſt men of Carmarthẽ, where 12.

he then ſatte vppon the cauſe, iudged him to be, or at the leaſt to haue bene diſtracte of his witte: and by his partial handling, the cauſe remayneth vnfiniſhed, and the childe without father.

13. Item, wheras one Ienkin Ph. accuſed William Chābers a ſeruaunt of the Biſhoppes, that founde this William in adulterouſe maner with his wife, by reaſon wherof the Byſhop expelled the wife out of his houſe, and the ſaid infamie not purged, the parties haue bene both agayn in the Biſhops houſe, and ſeruice, ſince that time, to the euill example of other.

14. Item, by his vnlawfull ſequeſtration of the fruites of the benefices of Langattocke, and Lamphangell, by the vndiſcreete handling of the ſame, there were rayſed the number of foure hundred people or more, which bickered ſondry times together, to the great daunger of thinhabitauntes thereabout, had it not bene pacified by the diſcreete meanes of ſyr Roger Vaughan Knight.

15. Item, by his like vnlawfull collation of the Prebend of Lambiſter, to one Stephen Grene a Chaplayne of his by couenaunt and promiſe to mayntayne the ſute, by whoſe crafty and vndiſcreete handling of the ſame, there was rayſed in the countie of Radner the 19. day of Auguſt laſt paſt, about three or foure hundreth men to like daunger, but that the matter was ſtayed by Iohn Bradſhaw, Rice ap Glin, and Stephen ap Rice, Iuſtices of the ſame countie. who with great daunger to them ſelues and theirs, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offendours to warde.

16. Item, ſuch as he oweth diſpleaſure vnto, he citeth from place to place, and daye to daye, onely for their vexation, laying no matter agaynſt them: and being diuers tymes required the copye of his proceedinges agaynſt them, to thintent they might aunſwere accordingly, and be at their lawfull defence: he denyeth to all ſuch perſons, the copies of his proceedinges.

17. Item, he and his officers winke at the manifeſt and open crimes of his fautours and adherentes, to the euil example of the whole Dioces, and abuſeth the cenſures of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, making it an inſtrument of reuenging agaynſt ſuch, as they do not fauour.

18. Item, hauing receiued payment of the kinges maieſties ſubſidie, due in October, the fourth yeare of his graces reigne, of the foreſayde Chaunter of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Dauids, and Rowland Meyrike, two of the Reſidentaries there, before Chriſtmas laſt, he vniuſtly of a prepenſed minde and purpoſe, afterward certified them for recuſantes, to their vndoyng, if they had not bene admoniſhed of his cruell purpoſe, and prouided lawfull defence for the ſame.

19. Item, the ſayd Biſhop celebrating matrimony in his owne perſon, diſpenſed contrarye to the booke of ordynaunce, with the parties maryed, for not receauing the holy communion: the parties both being young, and luſty perſones, hauing no reaſonable cauſe wherefore they ſhould abſtayne. At whiche celebration, the Byſhoppe communicated not himſelfe. And further, the communion was celebrated by a Chapleyne of hys, with ſuperſtitious blowynges, kneelynges, and knockinges, both of the Chaplayne that miniſtred, & of all the company, onely one other Prieſt communicating for the maner.

✱ Mayntenaunce of ſuperſtition contrary to the kinges ordinaunce and Iniunctions.

20. Item, where the Officiall of Tharchedeacon of Carmarthen, in his viſitation within Carmarthen, founde contrary vnto the ſayde ordinaunce, an Aultar ſet vppe in the bodye of the Churche, for celebration of the communion, and cauſed the ſayd Aultar to be taken away, and a table to be ſet in the middle of the Churche: the Byſhop after the ſame, commaunded the Vicar of Carmarthen, to ſet the table without the chauncell agayne for the miniſtration of the communion.

21. Item, he being often in Carmarthen, and other places in the chauncell at yͤ time of holy communion, not onely taryed there hym ſelfe, neyther cõmunicating nor miniſtring bareheaded and vncoyffid, reuerently kneelyng, but alſo permitteth the people there to continue the chauncell and quire full, kneeling and knockyng their breaſtes. whiche manner is yet vſed in all the dyoceſſe without any reformation or gaynſay of hym or any of his officers.

22. Item, whereas ſuperſtious praying vppon beades is not onely vngodly, but reproued in the Kynges Maieſties iniunctions: the ſayde Byſhoppe meeting many with beades in their handes, neuer rebuked anye of them.

23. Item, the ſayde Byſhoppe beyng in the Pulpyt, and ſeeyng corſes there within the Churche, wyth a great number of lightes vppon them, neuer ſpake againſt any of them.

24. Item, where as thordinaunce will, that no children be baptiſed but vppon the Sondaye, or holy day (onely cauſe of neceſſitie excepted) he hauyng two children himſelfe borne wythout daunger, cauſed one of them to be baptiſed vppon the worke day. And by hys example, wythout anye contradiction or motion of reformation, it is vſed as it hath bene accuſtomed, in all the dyoceſſe commonly, contrary vnto the booke of ordinaunce in that behalfe.

¶ Couetouſnes.

25. Item, from his firſt comming into the dyoceſſe, hee hath hadde and yet hathe hys onelye ſtudye, labour, and practiſe, to ſuruey landes, and to looke for mines &c. neglecting his owne bounden duety to applye his booke and preaching.

26. Item, he keepeth no maner hoſpitalitie, but hath hys ſeruaunts table in one parlour with him, leaſt any ſtranger ſhoulde approche, hys ſeruauntes being at theyr meate.

27. Item, he is commonly talking, not of any godlynes but of worldlye matters, as baking brewing, encloſing, plowing, mining of milſtones, diſcharging of tenaunts, and ſuche like, not onely at his table, but alſo moſt commonly at other places.

28. Item, he hath warned diuers tenauntes out of theyr landes, whiche they and theyr elders haue enioyed for their rentes, theſe hundred yeares, and more: and occupyed with tillage, whiche he ſayth he will encloſe, and beyng ſued to, of poore men, becauſe of quietnes, he anſwered: the crowes ſhall eate the corne, rather then ye ſhall haue any profite thereof.

29. Item, when the Vicars Chorall of S. Dauids for reliefe of their hoſpitalitie, had an Iland of hys, called the biſhops Iſle, for xl.s. rent: he hath ſet it to a chapleyn of his for v.li. by yeare. And wher at the ſute of the ſayd Vicars, it was graunted by the biſhop in the whole chapiter, that the Vicares ſhould haue it for yeares at xl.s. rent, and pay xx.li. entrie: he now couetouſly and agaynſt his promyſe openly made, denyeth the ſame, except the Vicars would geue l. li.

30. Item, he cauſed the Curate of S. Dauids, to warne their tenauntes out of theyr ſayde landes in the pulpit, to the great offence of the people, which were wont to haue Gods word preached there: and ſo they ſayd to the Curate at that tyme.

31. Item, to the plowing of a paſture not aboue x. dayes worke, in Lent. An. 1549. he had 32. ploughes in one day, and thoſe ploughes the prieſt bad in the Church, contrary to the ſtatute of Gomortha in that behalfe prouided, and to the euill example of gentlemen in that country.

32. Item, where the kinges maieſties of godly remembraunce, Henry theight, appointed at Brekenock a ſcholemaiſter, vſher, Reader of diuinitie, a Miniſter, & certain ſcholers, and for the mayntenaunce thereof, appoynted li. and xij. li. of the penſions and reuenues of Brekenocke: the Biſhop finding it ſo furniſhed, hath neither Reader nor Miniſter there, couetouſly conuerting their ſtipends to his owne vſe.

33. Item, the Biſh. was twiſe in one day preſented in the great court holden in the towne of Carmarthen, for encloſing and couetous encroching of the kinges hye way.

34. Item, he couetouſly occupyeth purchaſing of landes, bying of cattell, marchaundiſe, and other thinges beyng indetted a notable ſumme to the kinges Maieſtie, as may by his accomptes in the courte of tenthes, and firſt fruites appeare.

35. Item, wheras one Lewis Iohn Thomas boole, putting from hym hys lawfull wedded wife, vppon Chriſtmas euen laſt paſt, without banes had mariage ſolemnizate with a concubine of hys in a Churche within 3. myles of the Byſhoppes abode at that time: The Biſhop ſince knowing the premiſſes hath not onely of a couetous mind entred familiaritye with the ſayde Lewis, and bought a peece of land of him, but alſo euer ſince hath (for to haue hys landes good chepe) left both the parties and prieſt vnpuniſhed, vſing hym to familiarly, that whereas a Somner cited the parties to appeare among other criminals for the ſame facte: the Byſhoppe commaunded the ſayde

Sommer to lette hym alone, and ſo they all remaine vnpuniſhed.

36. Item, where as the whole Chapiter of Saint Dauids (as it was thought) was in aſſured amitie wyth the Byſhoppe, they all being his Officers or Chaplaines, he procured them to be impleaded wyth Wryt of Quo warranto in the kings Bench, keeping the Wryt with hym ſecretely, at the leaſt three monethes, not deliuering it, but onely tenne dayes before the day of their apparance, the parties beyng ſeuen dayes iourney diſtant from London.

37. Item, he is a wilfull wrong doer, and troubler of men in theyr rightes, entring vppon their lawfull poſſeſſions, ſtirring thereby much contention, and ſo notably knowen, to the offence of the countrey.

Wilfull negligence.

38. Item, whereas the Byſhop aforeſayde, was appoynted in Auguſt, An. 1547. and conſecrated in September folowing, hee neuer came into the Dioceſſe himſelfe, nor ſent or appoynted any Officer there before the moneth of April. An. 1548. to the great diſorder of the kings Maieſties ſubiects, lacke of reformation, and miniſtration of iuſtice.

39. Item, during his viſitation, the ſayde Biſhop did not endeuor himſelfe to ſee reformation, but roade ſurueying of landes, appoynting vaine encloſures, and ſuche other things, which are no parte of the office to him committed, nor yet conuenient, namely, at that time.

40. Item, the viſitation finiſhed, he neither appoynted his Officers to examine the cleargie of the places of Scripture to them appoynted to be ſtudied in the ſame viſitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinaunces of this realme.

41. Item, the Byſhoppe ſince his comming to the dioceſſe, neuer miniſtred the Communion, ſauing onely at two times, that he ordred certaine Deacons: but in euery thing (but that he other whiles preacheth excepted) ordreth himſelfe like no miniſter, nor man of his vocation.

42. Item, he hath ſo alienated himſelfe from ſtudie, that he preacheth vndiſcretely, diſcrediting the office, not only vntruely reporting the Scriptures, but alſo preaching the ten commaundements in one place in declaration of the eight of them, for lacke of ſtuffe, the pithe of his matter, was matrimonie of prieſtes.

43. Item, the thirteene day of September laſt, he ordained certaine Deacons, and making hys exhortation, he taught that a man was not bounden to forgeue, but hym that aſketh forgeueneſſe, and being admoniſhed frendly by a letter to better declare the ſame, becauſe that diuers were offended wyth that doctrine: hee hath hetherto deferred ſo to doe, to the maintenaunce of malitious hearts in theſe parties.

44. Item, ſince the firſt day of Auguſt. Anno 1549. vnto the feaſt of Candlemaſſe laſt, he hath preached but two or three Sermons, of which one was preached at Aberguilly vpon S. Stephens day laſt, to a great audience that vnderſtode no Engliſh, being but a mile from Carmarthen, an Engliſh towne, and the chiefe of his Dioceſſe.

45. Item, ſince his ordinary viſitation, which was finiſhed in Iulie. An. 1548. hee hath neither preached nor cauſed to be preached in the townes of Tinby, Pembroche, nor Hauerforde being Engliſh townes, nor muche diſtance from the place of his moſt continuaunce.

46. Item, the Churches appropriate to the Biſhop haue no Paraphraſes in Engliſh, and fewe of them Bibles.

47. Item, the Churches of the dioceſſe for the moſte parte, and the cleargie almoſt euery one lacke Paraphraſes, notwythſtanding there hath bene theſe two yeares, and yet be a great nomber of them to be ſolde in the Dioceſſe.

Follie.

48. Item, to declare his follie in riding, he vſeth bridle wyth white ſtuds & ſnaffle, white Scottiſh ſtirrops, white ſpurres, a Scottiſh padde wyth a little ſtaffe of three quarters long, which he hath not only vſed ſuperſtitiouſly theſe foure or fiue yeares in communication, oftimes boaſting what Countreys hee hath compaſſed and meaſured wyth the ſame ſtaffe.

49. Item, he hath made a vowe, that hee will neuer weare a cappe: for hee ſayeth, it is comely wearing of a hatte, and ſo commeth in his long gowne and hat, bothe into the Cathedrall churche, and to the beſt Towne of his dioceſſe, ſitting in that ſorte in the kings greate Seſſions, and in hys conſiſtorie, making himſelfe a mocke to the people.

50. Item, he ſayde that he would go to the Parliament on foote. And to his frendes that diſſuaded him, alleaging that it is not meete for a man in his place: he anſweared, I care not for that, it is no ſinne.

51. Item, hauing a ſonne, hee went before the midwife to the Church, preſenting the childe to the Prieſt, and geuyng hys name Samuel, wyth a ſolemne interpretation of the name, appoynting alſo two Godfathers and two Godmothers, contrary to the ordinaunce, making hys ſonne a monſter, and hymſelfe a laughing ſtocke throughout al the countrey.

52. Item, he daily vſeth whiſteling of hys childe, and ſayth that hee vnderſtode his whiſtle, when hee was but three dayes olde. And being aduertiſed of hys frendes, that men laughed at his follie: he anſweared: they whiſtle their horſes and dogges, and I am contented, they myghte alſo be contented that I whiſtle my childe, and ſo whiſtleth hym daily, all frendly admonition neglected.

53. Item, in hys Ordinarie viſitation among other hys ſurueys, hee ſurueyed Milforde hauen, where hee eſpyed a Seale fiſh tombling. And he crept down to the water ſide, and continued there, whiſtling by the ſpace of an houre, perſwading the companie that laughed faſt at him, that by his whiſtling he made the fiſh to tarie there.

54. Item, ſpeaking of ſcarcitie of herrings, hee layeth the fault to the couetouſneſſe of fiſhers, who in time of plentie, toke ſo many, that they deſtroyed the breeders.

55. Item, ſpeaking of the alteration of the coyn, he wiſhed that what metall ſo euer it were of, the penie ſhoulde be in weight worthe a penie of the ſame metall.

56. For a concluſion, the ſayde Byſhoppe in all his doings ſince he came to his Dioceſſe, hath behaued hymſelfe moſte vnmeete for a man of hys vocation, being for a miniſter of Iuſtice, an abuſer of the authoritie to him committed, for a teacher of the truthe, and reformer of ſuperſtition, a mainteiner of ſuperſtition wythoute any doctrine of reformation, for a liberal, and hoſpital, an vnſatiable couetous man: for a diligent ouerſeer, wilfull and negligent: for an example of godly wiſedome, geuen wholely to follie: for a mercifull, a cruell reuenger. And further, for a peace maker, a ſower of diſcorde. And ſo in all his behauiour a diſcreditor and ſlaunderer of hys vocation, and a deceiuer of all men, that had hope that he ſhould do any reformatiō. For he yet hath neither brought into his dioceſſe, nor hath belonging vnto hym any learned preacher. But ſuch lerned preachers as he founde in the dioceſſe at his entrie, hee ſo vexeth and diſquieteth, that they cannot attende to applye theyr preaching, for the defence of their liuings, againſte hys quarellous inuentions and vniuſt certificates.

After theſe wrangling Articles and informations were geuen vppe, then was the Byſhop called for to aunſwere, the hearing whereof was committed vnto D. Wotton, and Sir Iohn Maſon knight, who likewiſe receiued the Byſhops aunſweares to the foreſayde articles, the copie and effect of which anſweares hereafter followe.

D. Wotton and Syr Iohn Maſon Commiſſioners for the hearing of the Biſhops matter.

The anſwere of Robert, Biſhop of S. Dauids, to the Articles miniſtred vnto hym.

To the firſt Article he ſayeth, that after lawful monition in the kings Maieſties name & autoritie, from the ſayd B. (being then at London) geuen to the Chanter & chapter of S. Dauids, for viſitation at a certaine daye there to be entred: the ſayd Byſhop himſelfe, for ſuch purpoſe comming into the Dioceſſe, knowing alſo that the Chaunter, and one of the Canons of that Churche, & late before commiſſaries in that Dioceſſe, had not onely by their owne euill example and winking at the faultes of other, or neglecting to correct the ſame, left there among prieſtes and others, much deteſtable whoredome: but hadde alſo ſpoyled the Cathedrall churche of Croſſes, Chalices and Cenſers, wyth other plate, iewels, and ornaments of the Church to the value of 5. C. markes or more, for their owne priuate lucre, (the Church remaining euen yet very vile & in great decay:) and hadde alſo made further vnder theyr Chapiter ſeale many blankes to the number of twelue or moe, Sede vacante, wythout the kings licence or knowledge: Therefore he brought wyth him one Edmunde Farlee, Bachelor of lawe, by D. Tong and D. Meuinſon, to hym commended as a man ſufficient in faithfull truthe, and learning, to be hys Chauncellour. To whome hee graunted and Sealed a Commiſſion for that purpoſe, geuing credite to hym in hys facultie, concerning the draught and fourme therof. But the kinges Maieſties ſtile of Supremacie was fullye ſette forth in the ſame commiſſion. Whether there were anye defaulte of formall wordes in ſetting forthe of the kings authoritie therein, hee is not certaine. For hee committed the doing thereof to hys Chauncelloure, who was commended to hym for a learned manne. And the Byſhop

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ſayeth, that he did neuer grounde the Commiſſion vppon any forraine vſurped lawes or authoritie. Neither did hys ſayde Chauncellour by force of ſuche authoritie, viſite anye Deanrie of the ſayde Dioceſſe, nor gaue anye monition to the Chauntour and Chapiter there, by force of that Commiſſion, for any like intent or purpoſe, but onely offered in ẏ kings Maieſties name, and authoritie (to the ſaid Byſh. committed) for to enter viſitation of the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedrall Churche, at an other daye to be executed by the Byſhoppe himſelfe, for reformation of the Chapiter Churche, and Miniſters there, accordinge to the kings gracious ordinaunces and Iniunctions in that behalfe. But the aforeſayd Chanter and Canon of the church, before the ſight of any Commiſſion, ſtubbornely anſweared the ſayde Chauncellour, that they woulde not receyue him, nor any other to viſit them, except he were one of their Chapter. And further deſiring to ſee his Commiſſion, deliuered the ſame into their handes, and would not deliuer it him again. And ſo it may appeare that he did nothing by force of that Commiſſion.

2. To the ſeconde Article hee ſayeth, that they opened not vnto hym the danger of any ſtatute to hys knowledge and remembraunce. Neuertheleſſe, hee not knowing anye defaulte in the ſayde Commiſſion, and certainely minedynge wyth all diligence the faithfull execution of hys Office of preachinge, and viſitinge the whole Dioceſſe in hys owne perſone, by the kings Maieſties authoritie, for the conſeruation of Gods peace, and the kings, in that daungerous time of rebellion, then beginning to ariſe in other places, did neglect and lay apart the ſtubborne behauiour and vngodly doings of the ſayde Chaunter and Canon, and agreed wyth them, omitting all contemptes and reproches towardes him and his ſayde Chauncellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing els that through theyr vnquietneſſe, ſome tumult mighte haue riſen amonges the people there, and did alſo make the ſayd Chanter his Chãcellour, and Canon hys Commiſſarie, according to theyr ambitious deſires, to appeaſe their malice in that daungerous time. And further, he ſayeth that he made a Collation to ſyr Ioh. Euans of the Vicarage of Pembrin, what day or time he remembreth not, not by any olde forraine vſurped authoritie, but by the kinges authoritie onely, making full mention of the kinges ſtile and authoritie in the ſame Collation.

3. & 4. To the thirde and fourth hee ſayeth, that whereas hee hadde graunted to George Conſtantine the office of a Regiſter, who brought vnto hym a Commiſſion for the Chãcellourſhippe to be ſealed, and deliuered to the foreſayde Chaunter of Saint Dauids, deſiring the ſayde Byſhoppe to Seale it, hee vtterlye refuſed ſo to doe, becauſe the ſayde George hadde put therein a clauſe of admitting Clearkes into benefices: the which authority the ſaid Biſhop would not in any wiſe graunte, reſeruing the examination and admiſſion of Clearkes, onely to hymſelfe, for the auoiding of wicked briberie and parcialitie. Whereuppon the ſayde George and the Chaunter promiſed the ſaid Byſhoppe by their faith and trouthe, afore three or foure honeſt witneſſes, not to execute that clauſe of Inſtitution into benefices, but onely to thoſe Clearkes whome the Biſhop did firſte examine and admitte, and ſend vnto them for to be inſtituted and inducted, vppon whych promiſe the Byſhop ſealed the ſayde Commiſſion. And after that time, the parſonage of Haſkarde being voyde, and by the reaſon of laps deuolued to the Byſhoppes gifte for that time, hee conferred it to one Sir Henrie Godherd wyth a Collation or Inſtitution by the kings authoritie, not extolling any forreine vſurped authoritie. In the which collation or inſtitution is fully mentioned the renuntiation of the Byſhop of Rome, and all forreine powers and authoritie, wyth the full ſtile of hys Maieſties ſupremacie. And this collation of the Churche of Haſkarde he gaue, before he vnderſtoode or knewe that hys Chauncellour had geuen oute the lyke, and hee ſurely thinketh, his Collation was the firſte. That notwythſtanding the ſayde George Conſtantine, and the ſayde Chaunter hauing a vowſon determined by reaſon of laps, admitted and inſtituted one Iohn Gough, to the ſayde perſonnage of Haſkarde by vertue of their expired vowſon and ſealed hys inſtitution wyth a wronge Seale, becauſe they hadde not the right ſeale of office to that purpoſe) contrary to theyr former earneſt promeſſe, and the Biſhoppes ryghte, and wythout any manner of warning or foreknowledge thereof to hym geuen, whych thynge by them vntruely done, the ſayd George Conſtantine neuertheleſſe came to the Byſhoppes houſe, and there did wryte wyth hys owne hand the letters of Induction for the ſaid Sir Henrye Godherd Prieſte, compriſing in the ſame the whole ſumme of the Inſtitution or Collation, whyche the ſayde Byſhoppe hadde made, and the ſame George did ſeale the ſayde letters of induction wyth his owne hande, fineding no maner of fault therein, nor making any wordes or mention of hys and the Chauntours former wrong doings, but ſo departed for that time. And afterward he came againe, and ſhewed the Byſhoppe, what they hadde done before, concerning the Parſonage aforeſayde. And further, the ſayde Defendant ſayeth, that he did not moleſt the ſayd Iohn Gough, but lawfully did call him in the kings Maieſties name, not for any title of Patronage, but to knowe, whether he were Parſon of Haſkarde, and howe hee was thereto admitted and inſtituted, and inducted, and by what authoritie he preſumed to preach there, wythout the kings Maieſties licence, wyth other like lawfull demaundes, whereunto he ſturdely refuſed to geue anſwere: and ſayeth that the Article contained in hys accuſation, ſayinge thus. Item interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haskarde, was not miniſtred vnto the partie in that ſorte, ſo farre as hee knoweth, but in theſe wordes or lyke. Quomodo intrauit in Rectoriam. &c.

5. To the fifth he ſayth, that all be it George Conſtantine Regiſter, did wilfully wythdrawe hys bounden ſeruice due to the Kings highneſſe, and to the ſayde defendaunt in the Kings name, refuſing to attende either by hymſelfe, or hys ſufficient Deputie for wryting of Recordes and other Inſtruments, yet the ſayd Defendant made his Collatiõs and Inſtitutions in hys owne name, not by his owne authoritie, nor by any others, ſaue onely the Kings authoritie, according as hee hath declared in hys aunſweare to the firſt Article, expreſſing in them the kings ſupremacie, with the Byſhops owne name and ſeale of office, as hee oughte to doe, according to the prouiſion of the kinges Statute in ſuche a caſe.

6. To the ſixth he ſayeth, that the Vicarie of Pembrin being voyde, he as righte patrone thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to Iohn Euans Clearke, wyth letters of inſtitution and induction: and after when the kings preſentation came to him for one Dauid Ieinkin clearke, he deſired fourtene daies reſpite at that time, either to ſhew auncient recorde for hys right, and then the matter to ſtande to the determination of the lawe, or elles if hee ſhewed not, bothe he and hys clarke, to geue place to the kings Clarke, whych condition was by Syr Thomas Ioanes Knight, Doctour M. and the ſayde Dauid Ieinkin receyued, and an Inſtitution, wyth an Induction was made conditionally to be putte into the handes of Sir Thomas Ioanes Knighte, for ſafe cuſtodie for the kings Clearkes behalfe, after the fourteene dayes to be executed at the hands of the ſayde Defendaunt, if he failed to ſhewe. Wythin whyche time the ſayde Defendaunt did ſhewe an olde auncient recorde, declaring the full righte of Patronage, on the ſayde Defendauntes behalfe, and ſo that Inſtitution and Induction was neuer by the ſayde Defendaunt putte in execution. Neuertheleſſe, the ſayde Dauid Ieinkin (contrary to hys promeſſe and othe, geuing thereuppon his righte hande to the ſayde Syr Thomas Ioanes Knight) toke aduauntage by the ſayde wryting, wythout knowledge of the ſayde Defendaunt. After whych time the Lord Chauncellour by hys letters wrytten to the ſayde Defendaunt, aduertiſed hym, to admitte one Iohn Appowell clearke, preſented by vertue of a vowſon which the L. Chancellor iudged to be good, and ſo to be admitted, notwythſtanding his former preſentation, whereby he would not abarre the other mannes right. And ſo thys Defendaunt made one Collation, two Inſtitutions and three Mandates, doyng no wrong thereby to hys knowledge. And further he ſayeth, that there was no buſineſſe nor vnquietneſſe aboute the poſſeſſion of the ſayde Vicarage, but this Defendaunt geuing place, was content to looſe hys right for that time.

7. To the ſeuenth he ſayth, that as he nowe remembreth, hee neuer decreed anye Caueates to be made in benefices, neither did inſtitute nor cauſe to be inducted, any into benefices, being knowne to hym litigious.

8. To the eight he ſayeth, that becauſe the Archdeacons be abſent from theyr Offices, and haue not had faithfull diligent Officials, he hathe directed his Mandates to them or their Officials, or to other lawfull perſons in that behalfe, ſo farre as he knoweth.

9. & 10. To the ninthe and tenthe Articles, he denieth as verye vntrue.

11. To the xi. he ſayth, that whereas Syr Thomas Ioans Knighte aduertiſed hym, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated Matrimonie in a priuate houſe, betwixte a certaine Prieſt, and a woman whoſe ſiſter hadde refuſed the ſame, the ſayde Pricharde leauing his owne cure vnſerued on that Sonday, this defendant did put the ſame Thomas Prychard to penance for ſo doing, marying them without banes.

haues. And wheras he made the ſaid Thomas Aprichard, who is a Bachelor of law, his Commiſſary: it was for the reſpect of learning in the law, thereby faythfully to execute his office according to Juſtice. And the ſayde Defendaunt dyd neuer fauour nor beare with any man wittinglye in his wrong doinges. He confeſſeth that the Matrimonye was ſolemnized in a priuate church, and that the cure was that day vnſerued.

11. To the 12. he ſayth, that it is ſlaunderous and vtterlye vntrue. And that one ſyr John Hughs Prieſt, made Sage Hughs (daughter to his Steppemother) an harlot at 11. yeares of age, and after maryed openly to an other man, being Miniſter thereof himſelfe. After whiche doyng, he toke her away from her Huſband agayne, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the ſayde John Hughs was lawfully conuicted before the ſayde Byſhop, in open Court at Carmarthen of that his abhominable adultery, clayming the kinges pardon thereof, yet the ſayde Sage confeſſed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearaunce. Whiche latter crime he denyed. Neuertheleſſe, ſhe proued with childe, affirming both before the byrth and after, the childe to be his, the Midwife and other being witneſſes thereof. Yet notwithſtandinge George Conſtantine as a wicked Bolſterer of the ſayde Prieſt in hys naughtye doinges, with the helpe of the aforeſayd Chaunter, fyrſt vttered that Meredith Thomas was Father of the ſayd childe, which matter was ordered in the Eccleſiaſticall Court, according to Juſtice without any parciall affection of the ſayd Biſhop, or of any other to his knowledge.

13. To the 13. hee ſayth, it is vtterly falſe ſo farre as he knoweth.

14. To the 14. he ſayth, that by lawfull ſequeſtration in the Kinges Maieſties name, he committed the cuſtody of the fruites of Langatnok, and Lanuihangell to two honeſtmen, for the behouſe of the Kynges firſt fruites and tenthes, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor miniſter any cauſe of vnquietneſſe in that behalfe.

15. To the 15. he ſayth, that he made a collation, lawfull as he ſuppoſeth, of the prebend of Lanbiſter, to Stephen Greene his Chapleine without any couenaunt or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalfe.

16. To the 16. he ſayth, all is vntrue as farre as he knoweth.

17. To the 17. he ſayth, it is all vntrue for his owne part, & for his officers, as farre as he knoweth.

18. To the 18. he ſayth, it is vntrue as farre as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recuſants iuſtly, as he thinketh, becauſe they refuſed wilfully to paye the Kynges whole Subſidye, of theyr whole diuideneſſe, as it ſtandeth in the Kinges booke, perteyning to the Canons reſident.

19. To the 19. he ſayth, that after trauayle of fourtene Miles, beyng not able faſtyng to Celebrate Communion, in a Chappell within the houſe of Syr Thomas Joanes Knyght, one of the Kinges Maieſties honourable Counſayle of the Marches of wales: this Defendaunte celebrated Matrimony without the receyuing the Communion for the cauſes aboueſayd, betwixt Mayſter Griffith Ryce, and the Daughter of the ſayde Syr Thomas Joanes, accordynge to the kinges ordinaunces. And Thomas Vpricharde Prieſte adminiſtred the holy Communion there, without any ſuperſtition, to this defendauntes knowledge, and the maryed perſons not diſpoſed to receiue the holy Communion, he coulde not compell them agaynſt theyr conſciences, and ſayeth that hee didde not diſpenſe with them as it is contayned in the article.

¶ To the ſlaunderous and vntrue title of mayntenance of ſuperſtition. &c. he ſayeth, that he did not maynteyne any ſuperſtition, contrary to the kinges ordinaunces and iniunctions, but abhorring in his hart all ſuperſtition, hath trauelled and doth trauell to aboliſh the ſame by true doctrine and doyng, as much as he can, with the kinges peace amongſt his people there.

20. To the 20. he ſayth, that George Conſtantine in the third yeare of the kinges Maieſtyes reigne, not regarding the daungerous time of rebellion in other places, raſhly cauſed to be pulled downe without any authoritye knowne to this defendaunt, the communion altar in Carmarthen Church, by his owne preſumptuous mynde appointing the vſe thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the Biſhop fearing tumult, cōmaunded the vicar to ſet vp the communiō table (for the time) nere to the place where it was before,

To the 21. he ſayth that he hath bene diuers tymes in the quere of Carmarthen, and hath taried there in the communion time not communicating himſelfe, and that in euery Church where he commeth on the holy day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the quere bareheaded, as well at Matines before the Communion, as at Euenſong after without any ſuperſtition: he thinketh it not neceſſary for the Communions ſake to leaue kneeling to Chriſt. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneele nor knocke to the viſible ſhew, or externall ſhewe of the Sacrament. And the queres of Carmarthen and other places there, are not cloſe at the ſides, ſo that the people may come in and forth at theyr pleaſure. Moreouer the Kinges ordinaunces doth not authoriſe him to rebuke the people for knocking on theyr breſts in token of repentaunce of theyr ſinnes nor for kneeling in token of ſubmiſſion to God for mercye in Chriſt. 21.

To the 22. he ſayth, that in time of rebellion in Deuon, and Cornewall, threatening to come into wales, he teaching the people the true fourme of prayer, accordinge to Gods holy word, and declaring the prayer vpon beades to be vayne and ſuperſtitious, yet durſte not for feare of tumulte, forceably take from any man his beades without authority. And touching the not reproouing of ſuche as hee ſhoulde meete, wearing beades, hee remembreth not that he hath ſo done, vnleſſe it were in the rebellion tyme, at whiche time he durſte not rebuke ſuche Offenders. 22.

To the 23. he ſayth, that he beyng in the Pulpitte, hys face towardes the people, did not ſee the lightes, if anye were ſet vp about the corpes behinde his backe, till after that he came downe from the Pulpitte. But he with George Conſtantine and the aforeſayde Chauntour, ſittyng in the Church in Carmarthen, to heare cauſes, and ſeeing the Vicare with other Prieſtes, with ſong and lights bringyng a corpes vppe to the Church, called forthwyth the Vicare and Prieſtes, and rebuked them in open court as cormorantes and Rauens flying about the dead carcaſe for lucre ſake. 23.

To the 24. he ſayeth, that he cauſed the one childe beyng borne with great perill of death to the Mother, and it ſelfe lying for dead a certayne ſpace after, to be chriſtened on the workyngday: the other childe was Chriſtened on the workingday, becauſe both Father and Mother, and al other people there, were in perill of death, by reaſon of the ſodayne ſweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the reſt of the accuſatiō which is, that by that example, it is vſed after the olde accuſtomed faſhion, he knoweth no ſuch thing. 24.

¶ To the tytle of Couetouſneſſe he ſayth: that hys doynges prooue the contrarye as his neighbours knoweth.

And to the 25. Article he vtterly denyeth. 25.

To the 26. he ſayth, that his Hall at Abergwilly being ruinous, he vſeth for his Hall a greate Chamber adioyning, for his ſelfe and his ſeruauntes, and all manner of ſtraungers, and beſides twenty perſons in houſe daylye. What other hoſpitality he keepeth, honeſt neighbours can teſtify. 26

To the 27. he ſayth, that his talke is accordyng to his hearers, that is to ſay reuerently and truely of fayth, loue, and honeſt lyfe, according to the Scriptures to like Auditours, and to other vnreuerent and raſh Turmoylers of Scriptures and holye doctrine he doeth talke of honeſt worldly thinges with Godly intent: and that he doeth not moſte commonlye talke of ſuche thinges as are expreſſed in this Article, but when hee hath honeſt occation ſo to doe. 27.

The 28. he ſayth is vntrue, and that hee hath warned no manne out of theyr landes: but where he is deſtitute of neceſſary prouiſion, and woulde haue part of his owne demayne from certayne free holdes, hauing it onelye from yeare to yeare, of pleaſure, hee cannot obteyne it without brawlyng. Wherefore he ſuffereth them to keepe it euen yet ſtill, agaynſt right reaſon. And touching the reſt, that he had rather the Crowes ſhould eat it. &c. he neuer ſpake any ſuch word. 28.

To the 29. he ſayth that whereas hys Predeceſſour Byſhop Barloe did let to farme the Iſle of Ramſay, to one William Browne, after whoſe handes this Defendaunt receiued it into his owne poſſeſſion, the Vicars of Saynt Dauids being diſpoſſeſſed of it long before, he letted it ouer to Stephen Greene for 40. ſhillings the groūd, as it was before, and three poundes more for ſeales, connies and foules there: & he knoweth of no right ẏ Vicars Chorall had therein, who did refuſe when this defendant 29.

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did diligently vpon reaſonable conditions offer the ſame vnto them: and this defendant made no promiſe vnto thẽ, as is conteined in the Article.

30. To the 30. he ſayth he knoweth not, but that he aduertiſed his Bayliffe to warne the freeholdes and other hauing his demayne to rent during pleaſure, to leaue it at a lawfull day, to this Defendantes neceſſary vſe, and dyd not cauſe the Curate to do as is conteined in the Article to his remembraunce.

31. To the 31. he ſayth, that he knoweth not what ẏ prieſt had in the Churche, nor howe many plowes there came, vndeſired of this Defendaunt. But he knoweth certeinly, that he deſired no mans labour but for his mony.

32. To the 32. he ſayth, that he knoweth not any ſuch appoyntment of Schooles and reuenewes there but he foūd there (after the departyng of Byſhop Barloe) a Schoolemayſter, an Vſher being a Prieſt, and 20. Scholers, which he hath hitherto maynteined better then he founde it, to his knowledge: he did neuer conuert anye pennye therof to his owne vſe, albeit he might lawfully haue done the ſame.

33. The 33. he ſayeth is all vntrue, ſo farre as hee knoweth.

34. To the 34. Article he ſayth, he neuer purchaſed more then three percels, whereof one was 2. ſhillinges 8. pence by yeare, the ſecond, three ſhillinges foure pence, and the third 26. ſhillinges 8. pence or there about by yeare: the reſt he denyeth.

35. To the 35. he ſayeth, that he neuer bought of Lewes Iohn Thomas his land good cheape, but after forty yeres purchaſe, not knowing at that time any ſuche thinge as is contayned in the article, agaynſt the ſayd Lewes Iohn. Neither badde he the Somner to lette him alone, but as ſoone as he hearde any thing of it, commaunded the Somner to cyte him, and ſo he was cyted in this Defendantes houſe, occaſionyng him to breake his bargayne, to the which Lewes this Defendaunt ſayde theſe wordes. If you would geue me your land with an houſe full of golde, I cannot, nor will not ſuffer you to keepe a Lemman. Then the ſayde Lewes affirming the latter woman to bee his wife, and the firſte vnknowne to this Defendaunt, hee cauſed the ſayde Lewes to bee called to the conſiſtorye for tryall, where it hangeth yet: And alſo by lawfull proceſſe excommunicated the firſte woman, for that ſhee would not by any meanes appeare in the Court to claime or to confeſſe marryage with the ſayde Lewes and ſo ſhe ſtandeth this day, at the poynt of ſignificauit.

36. To the 56. he ſayth, that whereas the Chauntour and R. M. with other Chanons there, would not obey the Kynges Godlye Iniunctions, concerning the fyndyng a Schoole for poore mennes Chyldren, a Lectur of Diuinitye, Sermons on the Sondayes, repayring of their Church and Manſion houſes, decent order and miniſtration there, but ſtubbornely counted themſelues (with the Chauntour) to be a bodye politicke, without regarde of the Byſhoppe and his lawefull monitions, beyng hymſelfe named in theyr Shyre Statutes, Decanus, & quaſi Decanus, hauing alſo theyr Deanes ſtall in the quere, wyth a Prebende thereunto annexed, and the chiefe place in the Chapter houſe with a key of theyr Chapter Seale, beyng alſo by the Kynges Maieſtyes Commiſſion appoynted theyr Ordinary: yet woulde they not in anye wiſe deliuer vnto him a Booke of theyr Statutes, for the better knowledge of his and theyr duetyes, nor ſhewe vnto him their Recordes and Monumentes, for declaration of the kings right and his. For which cauſe, this Defendaunt by writ of quo warranto, lawefully called them to aunſwere, which yet lyeth a ſleepe, to the loſſe of the Kinges Maieſtyes right. The tyme of deliuery of the ſayd writte, he remembreth not.

37. The 37. he ſayeth is all falſe, as farre as hee knoweth.

¶ To the title of wilfull negligence: he ſayeth that hee hath vſed, to his power willing diligence.

38. TO the 38. he ſayth, that he being attendant (according to his bounden duetye) to ſerue the Kinges highneſſe during the time of the parliament, from the firſt, vnto the laſt day, and then immediately after repayred into his Dioces, and he might not truſt R. M. the Chauntour, and George Conſtantine to execute faythfully the iuriſdiction, becauſe they had before (through theyr ſlaundrous life and not puniſhing miſdoers) left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredome. And ſayth farther, that one cauſe why he appoynted not an Officer. &c. was for that he lacked his letters of authority of Iuriſdiction.

39.40. The 39, and 40, he ſayth are vntrue.

41. To the 41. he ſayth, that how often he did miniſter the Communion he doth not remember, but in all other thinges ſo farre as he knoweth, he hath ſtudied to order hymſelfe according to his vocation, as farre as he beleueth, hee goeth like a Miniſter.

42. To the 42. he ſayeth, that hee hath not alienated hymſelfe from ſtudye, neyther preached vndiſcreetly, nor reported the Scriptures vntruely to his knowledge: (but he hath bene very much hindered both from ſtudy & preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and contentious behauiour of the forenamed perſons.) And that he did ſet forth the doctrine of honeſt maryage, as well of all other matter, as of Prieſtes, euen as the Scripture then rehearſed did miniſter occaſion.

43. To the 43. he ſayth, that reciting the wordes of Luke, if thy brother haue offended agaynſt thee, blame him, and if he repent, forgeue hym, and if he haue offended agaynſt thee ſeuen tymes in one day, and ſeuen times in the daye be conuerted vnto thee, ſaying: I am ſory, forgeue him: He ſayd farther theſe wordes in effect: it appeareth by this place of ſcripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgeue him, but we are bound to pray to God to forgeue him, and to geue him grace to repent, that wee may forgeue him.

44. To the 44. he ſayth, that he hath preached right often at Carmarthen, as well as at other places, and hee ſayeth that a great number at Aberguilly do vnderſtand engliſh very well.

45. To the 45. he ſayth, that after he had preached fyrſte at Brecknocke, Carmarthen, Swanzy Laugharne, Tinby, Pembroche, Hereforde, Saynt Dauids, Cardigan, with other notable Townes, he hath ſince that time preached to a greate manye other poore Churches, but not in Tinby nor Pembroche: but for Hereforde he ſtandeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the firſt, a learned Preacher, of Godly life, the vngodly ſtubburne behauiour of the perſons before named, weryed him away. And wheras he had waged an other learned man, to come into his Dioces to preache, George Conſtantine by hys diſcouragement aduertiſed him from this Defendaunt.

46. To the 46. he ſayth, that in all his Churches appropriated, there is both Bible and Paraphraſes ſo farre as he knoweth: and if the Prieſtes there woulde not ſhewe him the lacke thereof, yet ſhould the Officialles declare it vnto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47. To the 47. he ſayth, that George Conſtantine contouſly ingroſſed into his handes a great number of Paraphraſes, & wher as this Defendaunt hath admoniſhed the Clergy to buy, euery one, for his diſcharge: and if the ſayd George being Officiall of two Archdeaconries, and other Officials in theyr Office woulde declare vnto him, what Churches do lack Bibles or Paraphraſes, he would cauſe it to be amended as much as in him lyeth.

¶ To the title of Folly, he ſayth that his deſire is in true ſimple maner of his wordes, deedes, and other honeſt behauiour through Gods grace to ſhew Godly wiſedome.

48. TO the 48. he ſayth, that he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or faſhion with honeſt vſe of Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops, Staffe, and other like neceſſary or conuenient things, and ſayth that he vſeth a Saddle made after the Scottiſh faſhion, with ſtirrops of iron vnuarniſhed & like ſpurs: and blacke bridle without ſtuddes, the bit and ſnaffle white as other mens be.

49. To the 49. he ſayth, that whē he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat to beare of rayne and ſnow, & in ſommer, to ſhadow him from the Sunne, without any vowe of ſuperſtition or offence of the people.

50. To the 50. he ſayth, that all is one to him, to ride or go, as cauſe requireth, and whether he ſayd as is conteyned in the article or not, he remembreth not. Howbeit he doth vſe to go a foote.

51. To the 51. he ſayth, that after lawfull prayer, it pleaſed God to geue him a ſonne begottē and borne in honeſt mariage: whome he therefore cauſed to be named Samuell, preſenting him to the miniſter to be receiued into Chriſtes Church as a poore member of Chriſt: by the holy Sacrament of baptiſme was this done openly in the Cathedrall Church, with earneſt grauity, and without offending any man: and alſo 2. wiues being before at variaunce, deſired both to be Godmothers, whiche were both receiued to make vnity betweene them, not knowing any lawe to the contrary, nor none offence therby conceiued of the people.

52. To the 52. he ſayth, that he doth vſe with grauity, all honeſt louing enterteinement of his Chylde, to encourage him hereafter, willinglye at hys Fathers mouth, to re-

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did diligently vpon reaſonable conditions offer the ſame vnto them: and this defendant made no promiſe vnto thē, as is conteined in the Article.

30. To the 30. he ſayth he knoweth not, but that he aduertiſed his Bayliffe to warne the freeholders and other hauing his demayne to rent during pleaſure, to leaue it at a lawfull day, to this Defendantes neceſſary vſe, and dyd not cauſe the Curate to do as is conteined in the Article to his remembraunce.

31. To the 31. he ſayth, that he knoweth not what ẏ prieſt bad in the Churche, nor howe many plowes there came, vndeſired of this Defendaunt. But he knoweth certeinly, that he deſired no mans labour but for his mony.

32. To the 32. he ſayth, that he knoweth not any ſuch appoyntment of Schooles and reuenewes there but he found there (after the departyng of Byſhop Barloe) a Schoolemayſter, an Vſher being a Prieſt, and 20. Scholers, which he hath hitherto maynteined better then he founde it, to his knowledge: he did neuer conuert anye pennye therof to his owne vſe, albeit he might lawfully haue done the ſame.

33. The 33. he ſayeth is all vntrue, ſo farre as hee knoweth.

34. To the 34. Article he ſayth, he neuer purchaſed more then three percels, whereof one was 2. ſhillinges 8. pence by yeare, the ſecond, three ſhillinges foure pence, and the third 26. ſhillinges 8. pence or there about by yeare: the reſt he denyeth.

35. To the 35. he ſayeth, that he neuer bought of Lewes John Thomas his land good cheape, but after forty yeres purchaſe, not knowing at that time any ſuche thinge as is contayned in the article, agaynſt the ſayd Lewes John. Neither badde he the Somner to lette him alone, but as ſoone as he hearde any thing of it, commaunded the Somner to cyte him, and ſo he was cyted in this Defendantes houſe, occaſionyng him to breake his bargayne, to the which Lewes this Defendaunt ſayde theſe wordes. If you would geue me your land with an houſe full of golde, I cannot, nor will not ſuffer you to keepe a Lemman. Then the ſayde Lewes affirming the latter woman to bee his wife, and the firſte vnknowne to this Defendaunt, hee cauſed the ſayde Lewes to bee called to the conſiſtorye for tryall, where it hangeth yet: And alſo by lawfull proceſſe excommunicated the firſte woman, for that ſhee would not by any meanes appeare in the Court to claime or to confeſſe marryage with the ſayde Lewes and ſo ſhe ſtandeth this day, at the poynt of ſignificauit.

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37. The 37. he ſayeth is all falſe, as farre as hee knoweth.

¶ To the title of wilfull negligence: he ſayeth that hee hath vſed, to his power willing diligence.

38. TO the 38. he ſayth, that he being attendant (according to his bounden ductye) to ſerue the Kinges highneſſe during the time of the parliament, from the firſt, vnto the laſt day, and then immediately after repayred into his Dioces, and he might not truſt R. M. the Chauntour, and George Conſtantine to execute faythfully the iuriſdiction, becauſe they had before (through theyr ſlaundrous life and not puniſhing miſdoers) left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredome. And ſayth farther, that one cauſe why he appoynted not an Officer. &c. was for that he lacked his letters of authority of Juriſdiction.

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42. To the 42. he ſayeth, that hee hath not alienated hymſelfe from ſtudye, neyther preached vndiſcreetly, nor reported the Scriptures vntruely to his knowledge: (but he hath bene very much hindered both from ſtudy & preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and couetous behauiour of the forenamed perſons.) And that he did ſet forth the doctrine of honeſt maryage, as well of all other men, as of Prieſtes, euen as the Scripture then rehearſed did miniſter occaſion.

43. To the 43. he ſayth, that reciting the wordes of Luke, if thy brother haue offended agaynſt thee, blame him, and if he repent, forgeue hym, and if he haue offended agaynſt thee ſeuen tymes in one day, and ſeuen times in the daye be conuerted vnto thee, ſaying: I am ſory, forgeue him: He ſayd farther theſe wordes in effect: it appeareth by this place of ſcripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgeue him, but we are bound to pray to God to forgeue him, and to geue him grace to repent, that we may forgeue him.

44. To the 44. he ſayth, that he hath preached right often at Carmarthen, as well as at other places, and hee ſayeth that a great number at Abergully do vnderſtand engliſh very well.

45. To the 45. he ſayth, that after he had preached fyrſt at Brecknocke, Carmarthen, Swanzy Laugharne, Tinby, Pembroche, Herefordе, Saynt Dauids, Cardigan, with other notable Townes, he hath ſince that time preached to a greate manye other poore Churches, but not in Tinby nor Pembroche: but for Herefordе he ſtandeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the firſt, a learned Preacher, of Godly life, the vngodly ſtubborne behauiour of the perſons before named, weryed him away. And wheras he had waged an other learned man, to come into his Dioces to preache, George Conſtantine by hys diſcouragement aduertiſed him from this Defendaunt.

46. To the 46. he ſayth, that in all his Churches appropriated, there is both Bible and Paraphraſes ſo farre as he knoweth: and if the Prieſtes there woulde not ſhewe hym the lacke thereof, yet ſhould the Officialles declare it vnto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47. To the 47. he ſayth, that George Conſtantine contemptuouſly ingroſſed into his handes a great number of Paraphraſes, & wher as this Defendaunt hath admoniſhed the Clergy to buy, euery one, for his diſcharge: and if the ſayd George being Officiall of two Archdeaconries, and other Officials in theyr Office woulde declare vnto him, what Churches do lack Bibles or Paraphraſes, he would cauſe it to be amended as much as in him lyeth.

¶ To the title of Folly, he ſayth that his deſire is in true ſimple maner of his wordes, deedes, and other honeſt behauiour through Gods grace to ſhew Godly wiſedome.

48. TO the 48. he ſayth, that he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or faſhion with honeſt vſe of Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops, Staffe, and other like neceſſary or conuenient things, and ſayth that he vſeth a Saddle made after the Scottiſh faſhion, with ſtirrops of iron vnuarniſhed & like ſpurs: and blacke bridle without ſtuddes, the bit and ſnaffle white as other mens be.

49. To the 49. he ſayth, that whē he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat to beare of rayne and ſnow, & in ſommer, to ſhadow him from the Sunne, without any vowe of ſuperſtition or offence of the people.

50. To the 50. he ſayth, that all is one to him, to ride or go, as cauſe requireth, and whether he ſayd as is conteyned in the article or not, he remembreth not. Howbeit he doth vſe to go a foote.

51. To the 51. he ſayth, that after lawfull prayer, it pleaſed God to geue him a ſonne begottē and borne in honeſt mariage: whome he therefore cauſed to be named Samuell, preſenting him to the miniſter to be receiued into Chriſtes Church as a poore member of Chriſt: by the holy Sacrament of baptiſme was this done openly in the Cathedrall Church, with earneſt grauity, and without offending any man: and alſo 2. wiues being before at variaunce, deſired both to be Godmothers, whiche were both receiued to make vnity betweene them, not knowing any lawe to the contrary, nor none offence therby conceiued of the people.

52. To the 52. he ſayth, that he doth vſe with grauity, all honeſt louing enterteinement of his Chylde, to encourage him hereafter, willinglye at hys Fathers month, to receiue

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ceiue wholeſome doctrine of the true feare & loue of God, and ſayeth that he hath whiſtled to hys Chylde, but ſayde not, that the Chylde vnderſtode it, and that he aunſwered to one that founde fault with it, as is conteyned in the article.

To the 53. he ſayeth, that hee was neuer Surueyor, but went to ſee Milforde Hauen for honeſt purpoſe, and not to ſurucy it: and for that hee at the ſighte of a Seale whiſtled in his fiſt, ſuch as meaned folly, might turne it to theyr purpoſe. And it is not true that he ſtode whiſtlynge an houre to the Seale, nor that anye faulte was founde with it, nor any ſuch aunſwere made by him to his knowledge.

To the 54. he ſayth, that if he did ſay, the deſtroying of the Frie, letteth plenty of Fiſh, he thinketh the ſame not agaynſt reaſon: but he remembreth not to haue ſayd, as is conteined in the article.

To the 55. he ſaith, that he remembreth not that euer he ſayd as they alledge.

To the ſlaunderous, vntrue, and vngodly concluſion, he ſaith that George Conſtantine with other his aduerſaries before named, and theyr adherents, not regarding the feare of God, and theyr bounden duety, of louing obediẽce towards God and the king, and his true Miniſters, haue to much ſlaunderouſly with falſe tongues, contumelious wordes, and ſpitefull deedes, labored by all meanes to diſcredite and deface the kinges gracious authority, to hym committed, who euer ſithe he came to the Dioces, hath endeuored himſelfe to ſhew his faythfull miniſterye, by his true honeſt doinges, and to vſe his authority according to his vocation, to Gods glory, and the kinges honour. And that he hath bene diligent in teaching of trueth, reforming of ſuperſtition, free of hoſpitality, diligent in ouerſeeing with Godly wiſedome, peace and mercifulneſſe, as he truſteth in God, may be truely approued. And he is able iuſtly to charge his aduerſaries with all the faultes herein by them moſt vniuſtlye and ſlaunderouſly agaynſt hym obiected. And he doth maruell greatly, that George Conſtantine with other his adherentes are not aſhamed, maliciouſly to obiect for the intent to ſclaunder hym, with moleſting of preachers founden there. For trueth it is that he hath moleſted none, but hath iuſtly brought vnder ſignificauit one Morice a Preacher, liuing lewdly for his ſtubborne behauiour and malicious contemptes, euen yet continuing in his wilfull contempt and irregularity. And he hath (to his knowledge) iuſtlye certified Hugh Raulyns Parſon of Tynby, for his wilfull recuſancy of two other Perſonages, ſhamefully deceiuing the Kynges maieſtye by coulour of Commiſſion, as appeareth by the ſame. And as for the rayling, contemptuous preaching of R. M. and the vnlearned arrogant preaching of the Chauntoure he referreth to diſcreete Hearers, whiche were offended thereat, as they ſhewed this Defendaunt. And this Deponent brought into his Dioces, both learned Preachers, and learned men in the lawe, to his verye great charges, which men George Cõſtantine with his adherentes hath weried away.

¶ After theſe aunſweres thus exhibited by the vertuous and Godly Byſhop agaynſt the quarrelling and friuolous articles of his foreſayd aduerſaryes, to wit Hugh Raulins, and Thomas Lee, then came in for witnes vpon the ſayd articles and informations, George Conſtantine, and the Chauntour of S. Dauids, agaynſt whom the Byſhop layde firſt exceptions, then alſo exhibited matter iuſtificatory, the tenor and proceſſe whereof here foloweth in order to be ſene, firſt concerning the exceptions, and after the matter iuſtificatory.

* Exceptions generall, layd and purpoſed on the behalfe of Robert, Byſhop of S. Dauids, agaynſt all and ſingular the pretenſed Witneſſes producted on the behalfe of Hugh Raulins Clerke, and Thomas Lee vpon theyr vntrue ſurmiſed Articles, by them exhibited vnto and before the kinges moſt honorable Counſel, by the deuiſe and procurement of the Chaunter, and George Conſtantine, with R. M. Clerke, agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop.

First the ſayd Byſhop ſayth and alledgeth that by law, there ought no fayth or credence to bee geuen vnto the depoſitions and ſayinges of the ſayde witneſſes, nor anye part thereof, becauſe they are infamous, falſe, periured, and in ſome part of theyr depoſitions diſcording, parciall, conducted, ſubornate, inſtructed, and for fauour of the informers, & theyr bolſterers, haue depoſed of malice, more then the articles wherupon they were producted doth cõteine, and beſide, and without the compaſſe of the ſame articles, and in diuers other partes of theyr depoſitions, they depoſe vnum & eundem præmeditatum ſermonem, as by theyr ſayd depoſitions doth appeare, vnto the which the ſayd Biſhop referreth himſelfe as much as it ſhalbe expedient for him, and none otherwiſe. And further, for other cauſes particularly and ſpecially, as is declared in ẏ booke of exceptions.

¶ Exceptions agaynſt the vnlawfull proceedinges of Hugh Raulins Clerke, and Thomas Lee, Promoters of the foreſayd vntrue Articles, in executing of theyr commiſsion, for proofe of the ſame.

Item, the ſayd Thomas Lee for himſelfe and the other Promotour dyd, contrary to iuſtice at the execution of theyr Commiſſion, examine certayne of the wytneſſes himſelfe, in the houſe of his Brother in law George Conſtantine and the ſayde Lee: and Dauid walter the Byſhoppes mortall enemy, and ſeruaunt to the ſayd George Conſtantine, did write theſe Depoſitions vpon the Articles at theyr owne pleaſures, and alſo after the deuiſe of the ſayd George Conſtantine and the Chauntour and R. M. the Byſhoppes mortall enemies, and the very Deuiſers and Procurers of the informations and bolſterers and bearers of the Promotours in the ſuite thereof. Theſe are the names of the wytneſſes ſo examined, whyche are already knowne. Dauid ap Syr Richarde of Gettus a periured and an adoulterous perſon, ſtandinge in the number for two wytneſſes, written in two places of the booke. Item, ap Ruddr of Kemarthe, Griffeth ap Howell, Guyne of Kennarthe, Lewes Dauid Clerke, Dauid ap Haruye Clerke, Syr Goghe alias Morgon. &c.

Item, one Iohn Draper of Carmarthen and adherent of the foreſayd aduerſaryes, and enemies to the ſayd Biſhoppe, did alſo contrary to the tenour of theyr Commiſſion, examine certayne wytneſſes, and hadde to hys Clerke one william Dauids, ſeruaunt in Liuery vnto the foreſayd Griffith Donne, the Biſhoppes vtter enemy, by whiche ſhamefull parciallity, they haue written more matter, moe wordes, other termes and ſentences, then ſome of the Deponentes hath depoſed or coulde depoſe. Humphery Toye the fift Deponent, Rice Goughe the 14. Deponent, william ap Ienkins the 5. Deponent, Iohn Benguy the lxviij. Deponent, Richard Parſon. 39. which are already knowne, what maner of men the Promoters are.

Item, the ſayd Hugh Raulins was not preſent at the Biſhops ſermon, whereof his information maketh mention, neither yet at there cutting of the Commiſſion for proofe therof: for the foreſayd aduerſaries did deuiſe ẏ ſame & gaue it vnto the ſayd Raulins to promote, choſing him for the ſame purpoſe, knowing him to be a man willing (& ſetting his whole delight) to worke miſchiefe, both wyth word and deede, who abuſeth his toung moſt ſhamefully, with moſt vnſetting wordes, euer rayling vpon the ſayde Biſhop, to euery man that will heare him without eyther reſpect, or reuerence of the kinges Maieſties authoritye to the ſayd Biſhop committed. And the ſaid Raulins hath 4. or 5. Benefices aboue the vallure of 200. Markes a yeare, and is reſident vppon none of them, but ſpendeth his liuing to the hinderaunce of other men, going aboute here and there, wandring to and fro, without either man or boye wayting on him, more like a light perſon, then a man of ſuch liuelode and of his vocatiõ, being a preacher. And in deede he is taken for a lewd felow of all that know his behauiour, in ſo muche that when a certayne man obiected vnto the aduerſaries that it was ill done to putte ſo lewd a felow as Raulins to promote theyr cauſe, they anſwered and reported his honeſty with theſe wordes: wee know Raulins to be a very knaue, and ſo meet for no purpoſe as he is to ſet forward ſuch a matter: of which reporte there is ſufficient witneſſe. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his ſpitefull toung: for he ſpeaketh as boldly in this ſurmiſed matter to al the Cõſel, as though it were true, and much for the kinges profit.

Item, the other Promoter Thomas Lee is a Marchaunt, who hath ſold his ware and ſpent his money, and now for want of other buſineſſe, is become a Promoter of the foreſayd articles, hauing his coſtes and charges borne by the ſayd principall aduerſaries, as it is alledged in the Biſhops exceptions, which ſhalbe proued if commiſſion might be awarded for the purpoſe.

¶ And thus much concerning the exceptions agaynſt his pretenſed accuſers: next foloweth the matter iuſtificatory exhibited by the ſayde Biſhop, in defence of his owne cauſe, as by the effect here appeareth.

Anno 1555. March.

✻ Certayne Articles miniſtred by Robert Byſhop of S Dauids, agaynſt a ſurmiſed information exhibited by Thomas Lee, to the Kinges Maieſtie his moſt honorable Counſell, agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop.

IN primis. viz: That there ought none aduauntage to be taken agaynſt the ſayde Byſhoppe, of the contentes of the ſayd pretenſed information, for the cauſes particularly folowing. And firſt, where as it is obiected agaynſt the ſayde Byſhoppe, in the Fyrſte, Seconde, and Fyſt articles of the ſame information, and that hee contrarye to the Kynges Highneſſe Lawes and Statutes, and in the derogation of hys Hyghneſſe Supremacy, paſſed a certayne Commiſſion, Inſtitutions, and Collacions to benefices, in his owne name, making no mention of the Kynges Highneſſe authority, where as of trueth the ſayd Byſhop if he had paſſed out the Commiſſion, Inſtitutions, and Collacions in his owne name, and without the Kynges Maieſtie hys Style, as is ſurmiſed (as hee did not) yet had he not offended neither Lawes nor Statutes of this Realme therein, as doth and may appeare euidently by the ſame ſtatutes and Lawes to the which he referreth himſelfe.

Proued by the ſtatute.

Item, whereas it is deduced in the Thyrde Article of the ſayd pretenſed information, that the Chauncellour of the ſayde Byſhop dyd admitte and inſtitute John Gough into the Rectorye of Haſkarde, and gaue a Mandate for the induction of the ſayd John, vnder the Kynges Maieſtyes Seale Eccleſiaſticall, for the Dioceſſe of Sayncte Dauids with the Teſte of the ſayd Byſhoppe, and Subſcription of the ſayd Chauncellour, which thing ſo deduced, if it be true, yet the ſayd Byſhoppe cannot be worthely blamed therof. But the Chauntour, then his Chauncellour vnworthy, ſhewed himſelfe therein verye ignoraunt of the Kynges Statutes of Parliament, wherein it is expreſſely prouided, that in ſuche caſes the Ordinarye ought to paſſe all ſuche Inſtitutions and Inductions in his owne name, and vnder his owne Seale, and not in the Kynges Maieſtyes name, nor vnder his Seale. And further of very trueth the ſayd Chauncellour in admitting and inſtituting the ſayd Clerke to the ſayd benefice, without the knowledge and conſent of the ſayd Byſhop, dyd exceed his Commiſſion, forasmuch as the ſayd Byſhop at the graunting of his Commiſſion of his Chauncellourſhyppe vnto the ſayd Chauntour, had reſtrayned him expreſſely from the admitting and inſtituting of any Clerke to any Benefice within the ſayde Dioceſſe, except the ſame Clerke were firſt examined, found worthy, and admitted by the ſayd Byſhop himſelfe to the ſame benefice.

Proued by the ſtatute.

Itē, wheras in the 4. Article of the ſayd information it is conteined, that the ſayd Biſhop, after the admitting and inſtituting of the ſayd John Gough, as is aforeſayd, obiected articles agaynſt him, amongeſt the which it was conteined in effect.

Act. ad duci poſſunt.

Item, interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haskarde: True it is that the ſayde Byſhop, without moleſtation of the ſayd Gough, otherwiſe then Law did permitte, and without takyng vppon hym the cognition of tytle of the ſayd fruites and patronage of the ſayd benefice, in contēpt of the Kinges Maieſties regall Crowne and dignity, and without any derogation of the Kinges Maieſties lawes and ſtatutes of this realme, did interrogate the ſayd John Gough, how he held the ſayd Benefice, being admitted and inſtituted to the ſame, without his knowledge or conſent, as he might lawfully do, and as it is meet euery Ordinary ſhould know how Paſtours are admitted to anye cure within theyr Dioces.

Item, touching the contentes of the Sixt article of the ſayd information, the ſayd Byſhop aleadgeth that the vicaredge of Pembrin, in the Dioces of Saynt Dauids being voyde, he as Patrone thereof to hys knowledge conferred it to John Euans Clarke, wyth Letters of inſtitution and induction, and after when the Kynges preſentation came to him for one Dauid Jenken Clerke, he deſired xiiij. dayes reſpite at that day, eyther to ſhewe auncient recorde for his right, and then the matter to ſtand to the determination of the Lawe, or els if hee ſhewed not, both he and his Clerke to geue place to the Kynges clerk: which condition was by Syr Thomas Joanes Knyght, Doctour Merike, and the ſayd Dauid Jenkin receyued, and an inſtitution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the handes of Syr Thomas Joanes Knyght, for ſafe cuſtodye for the Kinges Clerke his behoue, after the xiiij. dayes to be executed at the handes of the ſayd Byſhoppe if he fayled to ſhewe, within whyche tyme the ſayde Byſhoppe did ſhewe an olde auncient recorde, declaring the full right of Patronage on the ſayde Byſhoppes behalfe, and ſo that inſtitution and induction was neuer put in execution by the ſayde Byſhop. Nevertheleſſe the ſayd Dauid Jenkin (contrarye to his promiſe and othe, geuyng thereupon his right hand to Syr Thomas Joanes Knyght) tooke aduauntage by the ſaid writing without knowledge of the ſayde Byſhoppe, after whiche time the Lorde Chauncellour by hys Letters written to the ſayde Byſhoppe, aduertiſed hym to admit one John ap Howell Clerke, pretenſed by vertue of a vowſon whiche the Lorde Chauncellour iudged to bee good, and ſo to be admitted, notwithſtanding his former preſentation whereby hee woulde not abarre the other mannes right: And ſo the ſayd Byſhoppe made one collation, two inſtitutions and three Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to hys knowledge. And further there was no buſineſſe nor vnquietneſſe about the poſſeſſion of the ſayd Vicarage. But the ſayd biſhop geuing place, was content to loſe his right for that time.

Item, whereas Syr Thomas Joanes aduertiſed the ſayd Byſhop that Thomas Prichard Clarke, had celebrated Matrimony in a priuate houſe, betwixt a certayne Prieſte and a woman whoſe Syſter had refuſed the ſame (as it is deduced in the xi. Article of the ſurmiſed Articles layd in agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop) the ſayde Prichard leauing his owne cure vnſerued, that Sonday, he did putte the ſayd Thomas Prichard to penaunce for ſuche his miſdoinges, and the ſayde Pricharde did ſuche penaunce as was enioyned him to doe. And whereas the ſayd Byſhop made the ſame Thomas Prichard (who is Bachelour of law) his commiſſary, it was for the reſpect of his learning in the law, therby faythfully to execute his office according to iuſtice, and none otherwiſe.

Item, in the xiiij. Article of the ſayde ſurmiſed Information it is vntruely declared that through the vnlawfull ſequeſtration of the fruites of the Benefices of Langarok and Lanuihangell Cundy, and the vndiſcreete handlyng of the ſayd Byſhoppe, there were rayſed a great number of people, to the great daunger of the Inhabitantes thereaboutes. Trueth it is that the ſayd Byſhoppe vpon good and Lawefull conſiderations, and ſpecially for that the Kynges Maieſtye ſhould be truely aunſwered of his firſt fruites, and Tenthes of the ſayd Benefices, he did lawfully (and as he was bounde to doe) ſequeſter the ſayde fruites in the Kinges Maieſtyes name, and by his authority, and committed the cuſtodye thereof for a time vnto two honeſt men, to the effect aforeſaid, and none otherwiſe without any occaſion of tumult or gathering of the people through his default or folly.

Item, whereas it is alleadged in the xix. article of the information, that the Byſhop did celebrate Matrimonye in his owne perſon, without receiuing or Miniſtryng the Communion to the perſons maryed, it is true, for that the ſayd Byſhop had trauayled xiiij. long wealche myles, and not able to celebrate the holye Communion faſting, and for other reaſonable and lawefull cauſes him mouing, did in a Chappell within the houſe of Syr Thomas Joanes Knighte (one of the Kinges honourable Counſell of the Marches of wales) ſolemniſe Matrimony betwixt Mayſter Griffith Ryce, and the Daughter of the ſayd Syr Thomas Joanes, without either receiuing the holy Communion hymſelfe or Miniſtring the ſame to the perſons maried, being as then not diſpoſed ſo to do it, lawfully and godly without any ſuch ſuperſtitious knockinges or bleſſinges or other vncomely geſtures as is deduced in that article.

Item, touching the contentes of the reſidue of all the ſayd articles, conteined in the ſayde information, the ſayde Biſhop, partly for the auoyding of tediouſnes, and partly for that ſome of them be vntrue and mere falſe, ſome other generall, obſcure, friuolous, vayne, and of none effect, but of malice and euill will, contrary to truth conceaued, leaueth them particularly vnaunſwered vnto.

Item, the ſayd Biſhop alledgeth that he hath not by all the time that he hath bene Byſhop vſed any ſuperſtitious or Papiſtry as it is vntruelye ſurmiſed agaynſt him, but hath and doth to the vttermoſt of his power, witte, and cunning, ſet forth, maynteine, preach, and teache the true doctrine of the Goſpell, and ſuch laudable doctrine as hee ought to do by the kinges Lawes, Iniunctions and proceedinges, and for ſuch a teacher he hath bene and is commonly knowne, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriouſly.

And where the ſayde Chauntour and George perceyued theyr depoſitions to be inſufficient, they required, and hadde Commiſſion into the Countrey to examine further witneſſes, which they executed very parcially, and vnlawfully, as is alleadged in the Byſhops exceptions, aboue mentioned. And whereas to the ſayd Raulins & Lee were awarded two ſeuerall Commiſſions, they by fauour of the officers, and for ſparing of coſtes, conioyned both in one, and had iij. monthes to make returne, as appeareth by the copy of their commiſsion, which hereafter followeth.

Anno 1555. March.

¶ A copy of the Commiſsion awarded downe into the Countrey, for the examination of Witneſſes.

EDwardus ſextus dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ rex, fidei defenſor, & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanę & Hyberniæ ſupremum caput, dilectis & fidelibus ſuis Georgio Harbert militi, Thomæ Iones militi, & Iohanni Wogan militi, ac dilectis ſibi Dauid Vaughan, & Owino ap Owen armigeris ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitatibus, & prouidis circumſpectionibus veſtris plurimum fidentes, aſſignauimus vos, quatuor, tres, ac duos veſtrum, ac tenore præſentium damus vobis quatuor, tribus, vel duobus veſtrum plenam poteſtatem, & autoritatem capiendi & recipiendi depoſitiones & examinationes quorumcunque teſtium ex parte Hugonis Rawlins Clerici, & Thomę Leghe, de & ſuper quibuſdam articulis per ipſos Hugonem, & Thomam Leghe conſilio noſtro exhibitis, & præſentibus incluſis. Necnon depoſitiones & examinationes in ſcriptis redigendas. Et nos de huiuſmodi examinationibus, & depoſitionibus cum ſic per vos, quatuor, tres vel duos veſtrum captæ fuerint, in Cancellariam noſtram in craſtino Aſcēſionis domini proxime futuræ, vbicunque tūc fuerit ſub ſigillis veſtris, quatuor, trium vel duorum veſtrum clauſis certificandum remittentes nobis tunc articulos prædictos vna cum hoc breui. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa præmiſſa diligenter intendatis cum effectu. Teſte me ipſo apud Weſtmon. 9. die Martij. Anno regni noſtri ſexto.

Marten.

DUryng all this tyme of the examination of the witneſſes, the ſayd Biſhop was ſtayed at London, vpon the allegation of the ſayd aduerſaries, which was: that if the ſayd B. ſhould depart into his dioces, he would let them of their prowes.

And at the returne of their commiſsion, it was ſignified vnto the Counſail what a great number of witneſſes they had examined, viz. ſixe ſcore and vij. which ſounded very haynous in the counſailes eares.

And about three weekes after, Publication of theyr witneſſes was graunted, and after that, it was a fortnight or the B. could get a copy written of their depoſitions, becauſe the booke therof is ſo huge and monſtrous.

Then the Biſhop deſired tyme: Firſt, to enquire of what condition the perſones were that had witneſſed agaynſt hym, and to make exceptions, and matters to iuſtifie direct contrary, and to haue a commiſsion for the proofe thereof, which was then graunted. And now it is obiected that the Biſhop was appoynted ſo to trauell with the expedition of hys matter, that he ſhould haue ſued out his Commiſsion, and haue made returne therof at Alhallowtide laſt paſt, but there was no ſuch decree put in wrytyng. And it was not poſsible for the Biſhop to doe it in ſo ſhort a time, theſe cauſes conſidered which he would not auoid, as followeth.

Firſt, it was the latter end of Iuly, ere he came home to S. Dauids, where he began his viſitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, he was by force of law conſtrained to aunſwer at the barre daily, during all the tyme the great Seſsions at Carmarthen, in defence of hys iuſt cauſe agaynſt the pretenſed matter of premunire, which his aduerſaries of meere malice hath procured agaynſt hym.

Thirdly, the ſaid aduerſaries to moleſt hym further, did priuily packe a queſt of ignorant perſons of no reputation, and indited hym vpon the words of Raulins information, as appeareth by a copy of the inditement, entending thereby to make the matter ſound more haynous, notwithſtanding ye the ſame cauſe dependeth before the kings high counſaile vndetermined.

Fourthly, hee was appointed by the Commiſsioners before his departure from London, to pay two hundreth pound (which was arrerages) into the court of firſt fruits and tenths, at Bartlemew day then next folowing, which payment he made accordingly, notwithſtanding, that hys aduerſaries wrought meanes to haue made hym breake hys day: namely, one Edward Harbard Gentleman, who hath a perſonage of his to Farme, kept backe his rent to the very laſt day, becauſe that money ſhould not helpe to ſerue his turne: and ſo by crafty cauillation deteyneth it ſtill in his hand with a yeres rent and a halfe more: for the ſayd Edward Harbert is an adherent of the ſayd Biſhops aduerſaries.

Fiftly, the booke of their depoſitions is ſo great, that it asketh a long tyme to peruſe. And alſo the greateſt part of their witneſſes were vtterly vnknowen of the biſhop and all his. And alſo dwellyng in ſo many ſondry places of the Dioces among the mountaines and els where, ſcarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, another great Seſsions holden at Carmarthen in the moneth of October laſt, during which tyme he was attendant there as is aforeſayd. All which cauſes conſidered, beyng alſo in the tyme of his ordinary viſitatiō, which he did execute himſelfe, he could not make redy his exceptions in ſhorter tyme.

The ſayd Biſhop diſpatched his man towards London, the 23. day of October, who euer ſithens hath bene and is attendaunt in the ſame ſute, for the obtaynyng of the Commiſsion, for proofe of his matter agaynſt hys aduerſaries.

¶ A copy of a certaine letter written by the Biſh. of S. Dauids.

MOſt humbly ſheweth vnto your honour, your poore Orator Robert Biſhop of Saint Dauies, that where as one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of T. Y. and R. M. beyng both Canons of Saint Dauies, & George Conſtantine Regiſter to the ſayd Biſhop) hath exhibited vnto your honour agaynſt him certayne articles, in the which are mentioned many triflyng things, vnworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and alſo theyr pretenſed weighty articles (as they haue alledged there) are vtterly vntrue: for proofe whereof the ſayd Thomas Lee hath had Commiſsions into the countrey: Therefore it may pleaſe your honour of your fauourable goodnes, to graunt vnto your ſayd Oratour a lyke Commiſsion for the examination of witneſſe, in defence of his truth and honeſty againſt the ſayd Thomas Lee, George Conſtantine and the aforenamed Rowland Merike, and all other perſons with theyr iniuſt articles, atteſtations, and ſayings, which hath depoſed againſt hym. And in tender conſideration that your ſayd Orator ſtandeth bounden, and ſureties with hym, in the ſumme of a thouſand markes, to appeare before the Kings Iuſtice, in the Seſsions at Carmarthen, in Iuly next commyng, to aunſwer to a forged matter of premunire, by the procurement and counſaile of his forenamed aduerſaries, maliciouſly ſurmiſed agaynſt hym to his vtter vndoyng. And furthermore, your Orator beyng in debt to the Kings Maieſty, by reaſon of the malicious vexation of his foreſayd aduerſaries, cannot (if hee remayne here) ſatiſfie the ſame: for where as there be rerages to a great ſumme (as well of the Kings money as of his owne rentes) he can receiue none thereof, hys aduerſaries hath made ſuch ill report to his diſcredite, bearyng the people in hand, that he ſhall come no more thether. By reaſon of which brute, neither his owne tenants will pay theyr rentes and rerages, nor the prieſts their rerages due to the Kyngs Maieſty, as well for anno ſecundo, and tertio, as for quarto and quinto. In conſideration of all which thyngs, it may pleaſe your honourable goodnes to licence your ſayd Orator to depart into the Dioceſſe, for theſe affayres and other. And hee is ready at all tymes at your honourable commaundement, and pleaſure, to repayre agayne, and euer to pray to the Lorde Ieſu for the perpetuall conſeruation of your honour, to his glory.

¶ Another letter written by the Biſhop of S. Dauies.

RIght honourable, and my very eſpeciall good Lorde, with humble ſeruice and harty thanks to God: and to you for your godly fauour towardes me at all tymes, as right playnly appeareth by your fatherly letters, moſt louingly admoniſhing me to enclyne vnto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable concorde and vnitie: This is furtherly to beſiche your Lordſhip for the Lordes ſake not to be grieued, but benignly to heare, and grauely to ponder that weighty matter, which appearing (to other) but a light griefe to me, is in very deede a right grieuous offence to God, with no little hinderaunce of his holy word, and diſturbance of the Kings godly proceedyngs, & may be a great occaſion of much inobedience, and diſorder of good lyfe. wherefore I am ſtraightly bounden for the true zeale that I (ought to) beare vnto Gods worde of lyfe, Chriſtian religion, the Kings Maieſties honour, and the godly quiet ſtate of hys people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redreſſe to bee ſought at his Maieſties handes by the godly wiſedome of hys moſt honourable and vpright Counſaile, but with harty affection to beare it vp againſt thoſe high mynded, arrogant, ſtubburne, ambitious, coueтous canons, truſting in their biting tonges, with crafty preuention, and vtterly vntrue ſurmiſes, to

Anno 1555. March.

ſtoppe the light that their vngodly miſdoings in darknes ſhal either not be ſeene, or at the leſt may ſeeme to appeare in colourable appearaunce of right. In ſo much that I doe not a little maruell at theſe qualities in M. Chaunter, the Canon, and the Deane of Worceſter, whoſe vngentle and vntrue behauiour I haue not only knowen, but expertly proued, and ſenſibly feeled in two of the firſt to my great loſſes whereof I make no complaynt. But I wonder in my mynd and lament in my heart the ſtraunge alteration and wilfull goyng backeward of myne old faithfull brother George Conſtantine, the whiche (knowing them all three to haue bene in tymes paſt eyther obſtinate enemies to the true bearers of the Croſſe of Chriſt, or at the leaſt priuye lurkers vnder pretence of fauour towardes the Goſpell, to ſting the poore followers thereof, ſeekyng but their owne lucre and pleaſure in all their doinges) would ſo earneſtly cleaue vnto them in their wrõg deeds, as to betray me with his tong, become vntrue of his promiſe, and a bearer of filthy ſinne for lucres ſake, euen yet ſtifly perſiſting in the ſame (namely) in thyngs manifeſtly known vnto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited. And as for their premunire, both George and they at my firſt commyng, vngetly deteining from M. Ferlee hys commiſſion for the Chauncellorſhip, would haue faced mee downe with premunire, becauſe it was written in my owne name accordyng to the ſtatute: yet was I fayne for the zeale of vnitie, not to ſee their vncurteous deedes, departing with M. Farlee for the anoydyng of their malice and enuy, and gaue that office for the amitie of George, vnto M. Chaunter his ſonne in lawe, and to D. Merike the office of Cardigan. But ſeyng afterward their couetous reſpect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of ſinne and ſpecially of ſhameles whoredome, I was compelled to remoue thẽ, ſore agaynſt their wyls: and where as I deſired many and ſondry tymes charitable redreſſe of their wrong doyngs in the vacation time, I obtained many faire words, and nothyng in deede. Alſo deſiring to haue ſight of the booke of Statutes of the church, for the knowledge of my duety and theirs, I could not obtayne. Deſiring to haue a key of yͤ Chapter ſeale, as my L. of Bathe had, they would not deliuer it but vpon conditions: yet was I content to be brideled, receiuyng it, as pleaſed them to geue it. And further requiring the ſight of neceſſary euidences, for the declaration of diuers thyngs in trauers of my right, they would in no wyſe graunt it. And thereupon conſideryng their vngentlenes, I moued the quo warranto, knowyng right well that if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantiall grant vnder the kings ſeale for their corporation, it muſt therein appeare the Biſh. to be the hed, and euer hath bene vnder the kyng: for other they neuer haue, nor had, except they would returne to Rome againe, as I truſt they will not. And yet perceiuyng afterward that they had no ſpeciall graunt to ſhew, or els ſuch as they would not ſhew. I my ſelfe for the reſpect of vnitie, wrote my letters to the kings Attorney, by reaſon whereof the quo warranto was ſtayed, and ſo yet remaineth. But touching the certificate, yͤ kings ſubſidie beyng due at Michaelmas laſt, and forborne tyll after Chriſtmas, and lawfully demaunded afore, they dyd vtterly refuſe to pay, both to my Vicecollector and to my ſelfe, except I would take it of thẽ in portions, not knowing where to aſke the reſt, and it is committed vnto me in the Kings roll, a whole ſumme in groſſe to be receyued of the Canons Reſidentiaries for their diuidẽt, who becauſe they cannot agree in deuiding, would haue the kings maieſtie to tary for hys money till they can agree to make diuiſion. And I cannot demaund it of any perticular perſon nor at any perticular place. Wherfore I moſt humbly beſeech your fatherly goodnes for the Lordes ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good Lord and friend, vnto ſuch tyme as ye fynd me eyther deſiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willyng to put the iudgement of my right cauſe into your hands. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters touchyng them and their vngentle, vntrue, and vngodly doyngs is too long, and I haue moleſted you too much with this my tedious letter, I ſhall now ſurceaſe: humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldneſſe, proceedyng of neceſſitie, and to pardon it for the loue of our Lorde Ieſu, who ſaue and keepe you in health, comfort, and honor, long to endure for thaduancement of his glory. Written at Aburguily this ix. of March.

Your Lordſhips to command during lyfe. R. F.

And thus you haue heard the firſt trouble of this bleſſed Martyr of the Lord, in King Edwards dayes, wyth the whole diſcourſe thereof. Which we thought the rather here to expreſſe, to geue other good biſhops warning to be more circumſpect, whom they ſhould truſt and haue about them. Briefly, in few wordes to conclude this proceſſe, B. Farrer, partly vpon the importunate ſute of his aduerſaries, partly vppon the ſiniſter and infortunate fall of the good Duke of Somerſet, by whom he had bene before promoted and maynteined, hauyng but ſmall fauour ſhewed, was deteined in priſon, till the death of king Edward, and the commyng in of Queene Mary and popiſh religion, whereby a new trouble roſe vpon hym being now accuſed and examined for his fayth and doctrine. The proceſſe of which his trouble here likewyſe followeth.

After that the foreſayd M. Farrer Biſhop of S. Dauids had bene long deteined in cuſtody vnder ſureties, in the raigne of king Edward, not for any iuſt cauſe of hys part deſerued, but by reaſon that he had bene promoted by the D. of Somerſet, and now after his fall he found fewer friends to ſupport him agaynſt ſuch as hunted after his Biſhoprike, at length after the deceaſe of king Edward, by the commyng in of Queene Mary, the ſtate of religion began to be chaunged and altered. Whereby a new trouble roſe vpon hym, beyng now accuſed and examined, not for any matter of Premunire, but for his fayth and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the Biſh. of Wincheſter, with M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Bradford, M. Saunders and others aforeſayde, the 4. of February. On the which day hee ſhould alſo with them haue bene condemned: but becauſe laiſure or liſt did not ſo well then ſerue the Biſh. his condemnation was deferred, and he ſent to priſon agayne, where he continued tyll the 14. day of the ſayd moneth of February. What his examinations & aunſwers were before the ſaid B. of Wincheſter, ſo much as remayned and came to our handes, I haue here annexed in maner as followeth.

The ſe
trouble of
B. Farra
the tyme
Q. Mary.

¶ The anſwer of Rob. Farrer B. of S. Dauids, before Wincheſter and others.

At his firſt commyng and kneelyng before my Lorde Chauncellour, the Biſhop of Dureſme, and the Biſh. of Worceſter, who ſate at the table, and Maiſter Rocheſter Maiſter Southwell, Maiſter Bourne and other ſtanding at the tables end, the Lord Chauncellor ſaid vnto hym on this ſort.

The talke
of R. Farra
before the
B. of Win
cheſter a
other Co
miſſioners.

Wincheſter. Now ſir, you haue heard how the world goeth here.

Farrer. If it like your honor I know not.

Winch. What ſay you? Doe not you know things abroad, notwithſtanding you are a priſoner?

Farrer. No my L. I know not.

Wincheſt. Lo, what a froward fellow is this?

Farrer. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip, how ſhould I know any thyng abroad, beyng a priſoner?

Winch. Haue ye not heard of the commyng in of the Lord Cardinal?

Farrer. I know not my L. Cardinall, but I heard that a Cardinall was come in, but I did not beleue it, and I beleue it not yet.

Worceſt. I pray your Lordſhip (ſaid the B. of Worceſter) tell hym your ſelfe, that he may know what is done.

Winch. The Queenes Maieſty and the Parliament, hath reſtored religion into the ſame ſtate it was in at the begynnyng of the raigne of K. Henry the 8. Ye are in yͤ Queens debt, and her maieſty will be good vnto you, if you will returne to the catholike church.

B. Farrar
charged
with the
Queenes
debt.

Farrer. In what ſtate I am concernyng my debtes to the Queenes Maieſtie in the Court of Exchequer, my Lorde Treaſurer knoweth: and the laſt tyme that I was before your honor, & the firſt tyme alſo, I ſhewed you that I had made an othe neuer to conſent nor agree, that the Biſh. of Rome ſhould haue any power or iuriſdiction within this Realme: and further, I need not to reherſe to your Lordſhip, you know it well enough.

B. Farra
refuſeth
Pope.

Bourne. You wer once abiured for hereſie (ſaid M. Bourn) in Oxford.

M. Bour
layeth t
Farrar
to hau
iured a
Oxfor

Farrer. That was I not.

Bourne. You were.

Farrer. I was neuer, it is not true.

Bourne. You went from S. Dauids to Scotland.

Farrer. That did I not.

Bourne. You did.

Farrer. That did I neuer, but I went from Yorke into Scotland.

Bourne. Ah ſo ſaid I: you went with Barlow.

Farrer. That is true, but neuer from S. Dauids.

Bourne. You caried bookes out of Oxford, to the Archb. of Yorke, L. Lee, Farrer. That did I not.

Bourne. You did.

Farrer. I did not, but I caried old bookes from S. Oſwalds to the B. of Yorke.

Bourne. You ſupplanted your maiſter.

Farrer. That did I neuer in my lyfe.

Bourne. By my faith you did.

Farrer. Forſooth I did not, neuer in my life, but I did ſhield and ſaue my Maiſter from danger, and that I obteined of King Henry the eight, for my true ſeruice, I thanke God therefore.

Bourne. My L. (ſaid M. Bourne to my L. Chauncellor) he hath an ill name in Wales, as euer had any.

Farrer. That is not ſo. whoſoeuer ſayth ſo, they ſhall neuer be able to proue it.

Bourne. He hath deceyued the Queene in diuers ſummes of money.

Farrer. That is vtterly vntrue. I neuer deceiued king nor Queene, of one peny in my life, and you ſhall neuer be able to proue that you ſay.

Wincheſt. Thou art a falſe knaue.

Farrer. Then Farrer ſtood vp vnbidden (for all that whyle he kneeled) and ſayd: No my Lord, I am a true man, I thanke God for it. I was borne vnder King Henry the ſeuenth, I ſerued King Henry the eight, and K. Edward the ſixt truely, and haue ſerued the Queenes Maieſtie that now is, truely with my poore heart and word: more I could not do, and I was neuer falſe, nor ſhall be by the grace of God.

Winch. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou be reformable?

Farrer. My L. if it like your honor, I haue made an othe to God and to K. Henry the 8. and alſo to K. Edward, and in that to the Queenes Maieſtie, the which I can neuer breake while I liue, to dye for it.

Dureſme. You haue made another oth before.

Farrer. No my Lord, I neuer made another oth before.

Dureſme. You made a vow.

Farrer. That did I not.

Winch. You made a profeſſion to lyue without a wyfe.

Farrer. No, my Lorde, if it lyke your honour, that did I neuer, I made a profeſſion to lyue chaſte, not without a wyfe.

Worceſt. You were ſworne to him that was M. of your houſe.

Farrer. That was I neuer.

Wincheſt. Well, you are a froward knaue: we wil haue no more to do with you, ſeing that you will not come, we wil be ſhort with you, & that you ſhall know within this ſeuennight.

Farrer. I am as it pleaſeth your honour to call me, but I cannot breake my othe which your Lordſhip your ſelfe made before me, and gaue in example: the which confirmed my conſcience. Then I can neuer breake that othe whileſt I lyue to dye for it.

Dureſme. Well, ſayeth he, he ſtandeth vpon his othe: call an other.

My L. Chauncellor then did ring a little bell, and M. Farrer ſaid: I pray God ſaue the King & Queenes maieſties, long to cōtinue in honor to gods glory, & their comfortes, and the comfort of the whole Realme, and I pray God ſaue all your honors, and ſo he departed.

After theſe examinations thus ended, B. Farrer ſo remayned in priſon vncondemned, till the xiiii. day (as is aforeſaid) of February, & then was ſent down into Wales, there to receiue ſentence of condemnation. Who then vpō the 26. of February, in the Church of Carmarthen, beyng brought by Griffith Leyſon Eſquire, ſhirife of the Countie of Carmarthen, was there perſonally preſented before Henry Biſh. of S. Dauids, and Conſtantine the publike Notarie: which Henry, there and then diſcharged the ſaid Shiriffe, and receyued hym into his owne cuſtodie, further committing hym to the keping of Owen Iones, and thereupon declared vnto the ſayd M. Farrer, the great mercy and clemency that the King and Queenes highnes pleaſure was to be offered vnto him, which he there dyd offer vnto the ſayd M. Farrer: that is to ſay, that if hee would ſubmit himſelfe to the lawes of this Realme, and conforme hymſelfe to the vnitie of the vniuerſall catholike church, he ſhould be receiued and pardoned: and after that ſeeyng the ſayd M. Farrer to geue no aunſwer to the premiſſes, the ſayd B. miniſtred vnto hym theſe Articles followyng.

¶ Articles deuiſed againſt B. Farrer.

1 FIrſt, whether he beleeueth the mariage of prieſts to be lawfull by the lawes of God & holy church, or no?

2 Item, whether he beleeueth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration duely pronounced by the prieſt, the very body & bloud of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially conteined, without the ſubſtāce of bread and wyne.

Articles obiected agaynſt B. Farrar.

Vnto the which articles the ſaid B. required the ſayd M. Farrer to anſwer vpon his allegeance.

To which he ſaid, he would aunſwer when he ſawe a lawfull commiſſion, and would make no further anſwer at that tyme. Whereupon the ſayd B. taking no aduauntage vpon the ſame aunſwer, committed him to the ſayde keeper, to be kept in priſon vntill a new inquition, and in the meane tyme to deliberate with himſelfe for his further anſwer to the premiſſes.

The anſwere of B. Farrar.

¶ Another examination of the Biſh of S. Dauids,
before Henry Morgan the pretenſed Biſhop of S. Dauids, George Conſtantine his Regiſter, and others, the laſt of February.
Ann. 1555.

THis day and place, Morgan the pretenſed Byſhop of S. Dauids, ſittyng as Iudge, miniſtred vnto Biſhop Farrer there perſonally preſent before hym certaine Articles and Interrogatories in writing, which beyng openly read and miniſtred vnto hym, the ſayd B. Farrer refuſed to aunſwere, vntill he might ſee his lawfull Commiſſion and authoritie. Whereupon the foreſayd pretenſed Biſhop of S. Dauids, did pronounce him as Contumax, and for the puniſhment of this his contumacie, to be counted Pro confeſſo, and ſo did pronounce him in writyng: which beyng done, he committed the ſayd Biſh. to the cuſtody of Owen Ihones, vntill Monday next, beyng the 4. day of March, then to be brought agayne into the ſame place, betweene one and two.

An other examination of B. Farrar.

Another appearance of the ſaid B. Farrer, before Morgan the pretenſed Biſhop of S. Dauids.

ITem, the day and place appointed, the ſaid Biſh. appearing agayne before the pretenſed B. humbly ſubmittyng hymſelfe as ready to aunſwer to the articles and poſitions aboue mentioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent terme to be aſſigned vnto hym to anſwer for hymſelfe: which beyng graunted vnto hym, & Thurſday next beyng aſſigned vnto hym betweene one and thre, to anſwer preciſely and fully, ſo he was committed againe to cuſtody, as aboue.

An other appearaunce of B. Farrar.

Another appearance of the ſaid Biſhop.

ON Thurſday as was appointed, which was the 7. of March, the ſaid B. perſonally again appeared, where he exhibited a certaine bill in writing, conteinyng in it his anſwer vnto certaine articles obiected and miniſtred vnto him before. Then after Henry the pretenſed B. of S. Dauids offred him agayne the ſayd articles as before: the tenor whereof tended to this effect.

An other appearaunce of the ſayd Biſhop.

Firſt, that he willed him beyng a prieſt, to abrenounce matrimony.

Secondly, to graunt the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Thirdly, that the Maſſe is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

Fourthly, that general Councels lawfully congregated, neuer did, nor can erre.

Fiftly, that men are not iuſtified before God by fayth only, but that hope and charity is alſo neceſſarily required to iuſtification.

Sixtly, that the catholike church which onely hath authority to expound ſcriptures, and to define controuerſies of religion, and to ordeine things appertaining to publike diſcipline, is viſible, and like vnto a citie ſet vpon a mountayne for all men to vnderſtand.

Articles agaynſt miniſtred againſt B. Farrar.

To theſe articles thus obiected to hym, hee refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that they were inuented and excogitated by man, and pertaine nothing to the Catholike fayth. After this the Biſh. abouenamed, deliuered vnto him the copy of the articles, aſſigning him Monday next followyng, to aunſwer and ſubſcribe to the ſame, either affirmatiuely, or negatiuely.

B. Farrar denyeth to ſubſcribe to the Articles.

Another appearance of Biſh. Farrer.

VPon the which Monday, being the xi. day of March, he appearing agayne before the Biſh. and the foreſayd Nota-

An other appearaunce or examination of B. Farrar.

Notary George Conſtantine, exhibited in a written paper, his mynd & anſwer to the foreſayd Articles, which the Biſhop had twiſe now obiected agaynſt hym before. To the which Articles and aunſweres, he dyd ſo ſubſcribe, addyng theſe wordes, as tenens ſe de æquitate & iuſtitia eſſe Epiſcopum Meneuenſem, that the Biſhop aſſigned the next Wedneſday in the fore noone, to heare his finall and definitiue ſentence.

¶ The laſt appearance of Biſhop Farrar.

The laſt appearaunce and examination of the bleſſed biſhop M. Farrar.

The which day and place the ſaid B. and true ſeruaunt of God M. Farrer, perſonally there appearyng, was demaunded of Henry the pretenſed B. of S. Dauids, whether he would renounce and recant his hereſies, ſchiſmes, and errours (as hee called them) which hitherto hee had mainteined, and if he would ſubſcribe to the catholike articles, otherwiſe then he had done before.

After this the ſayd godly M. Farrer did exhibite a certayne ſchedule written in Engliſh, and remaynyng in the Actes, appealyng withall by expreſſe word of mouth from the Biſhop, as from an incompetent Iudge, to Cardinall Poole, &c.

B. Farrar appealeth from the B. of S. Dauids to the Cardinall. Sentence pronounced against B. Farrar.

All which notwithſtandyng, the ſayd B. proceeding in hys rage, pronounced the definitiue ſentence agaynſt him, conteyned in writyng, and there left in the Actes: by the which ſentence he pronounced hym as an heretike excommunicate, & to be geuen vp forthwith to the ſecular power, namely to the Shiriffe of the towne of Carmarthen, M. Leyſon. The tenour of which ſentence, as well of hys condemnation, as of his degradation here followeth.

¶ The ſentence of condemnation agaynſt Biſhop Farrar.

IN Dei nomine. Amen. Nos Henricus permiſsione diuina Meneuen. epiſcopus iudicialiter, & pro tribunali ſedentes, in quodam inquiſitionis & hæreticę prauitatis, negotio, contra te Robertum Ferrar præsbyterum, coram nobis in iudicio perſonaliter comparentem, & nobis ſuper hæretica prauitate traditum, ac fama, & notorietate facti delatum, ac in ea parte legitime procedendo auditis, viſis, & intellectis, rimatis, ac matura deliberatione diſcuſſis, & ponderatis dicti negotij meritis & circumſtantijs, ſeruatiſque in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de iure ſeruandis, ac quomodolibet requiſitis, Chriſti nomine inuocato, ac ipſum ſolum deum præ oculis noſtris habentes: Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, confeſſata & ex parte tua coram nobis in eodem negotio, ſæpius recognita, aſſerta, & confirmata, comperimus te, tum per confeſſiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas iudiciales, coram nobis iudicialiter factas, errores, hæreſes, & falſas opiniones ſubſcriptas, iure diuino, ac Catholicæ vniuerſalis & Apoſtolicæ eccleſiæ determinationi obuiantes, contrarias, & repugnantes tenuiſſe, credidiſſe, affirmaſſe, prædicaſſe, & dogmatizaſſe infra diœceſem noſtram Meneuen. Viz. Quod licet cuicumque religioſo etiam expreſſe profeſſo & præsbytero poſt ſuſceptam profeſſionem, & poſt ſuſceptum præsbyteratus ordinem, ducere vxorem, ac cum eadem tanquam cum vxore legitima conuerſari. Item ſacras religiones ab eccleſia catholica inſtitutas cum ſcandalo damnaſſe, & reprobaſſe. Item, quod in Euchariſtia, ſiue altaris ſacramento vna cum corpore & ſanguine Chriſti remanet ſubſtantia panis & vini. Item, quod Miſſa non eſt ſacrificium noui teſtamēti, propitiatorium pro vinis atque defunctis. Et Sacramentum altaris non eſſe in altari miniſtrandum eleuandum, vel aliquo modo adorandum. Item, quod homo ſola fide iuſtificatur. Quos quidem errores, hęreſes, & falſas opiniones iure diuino ac Catholicæ vniuerſalis & Apoſtolicæ eccleſiæ determinationi obuiantes, &c.

¶ Here followeth the copy of his degradation.

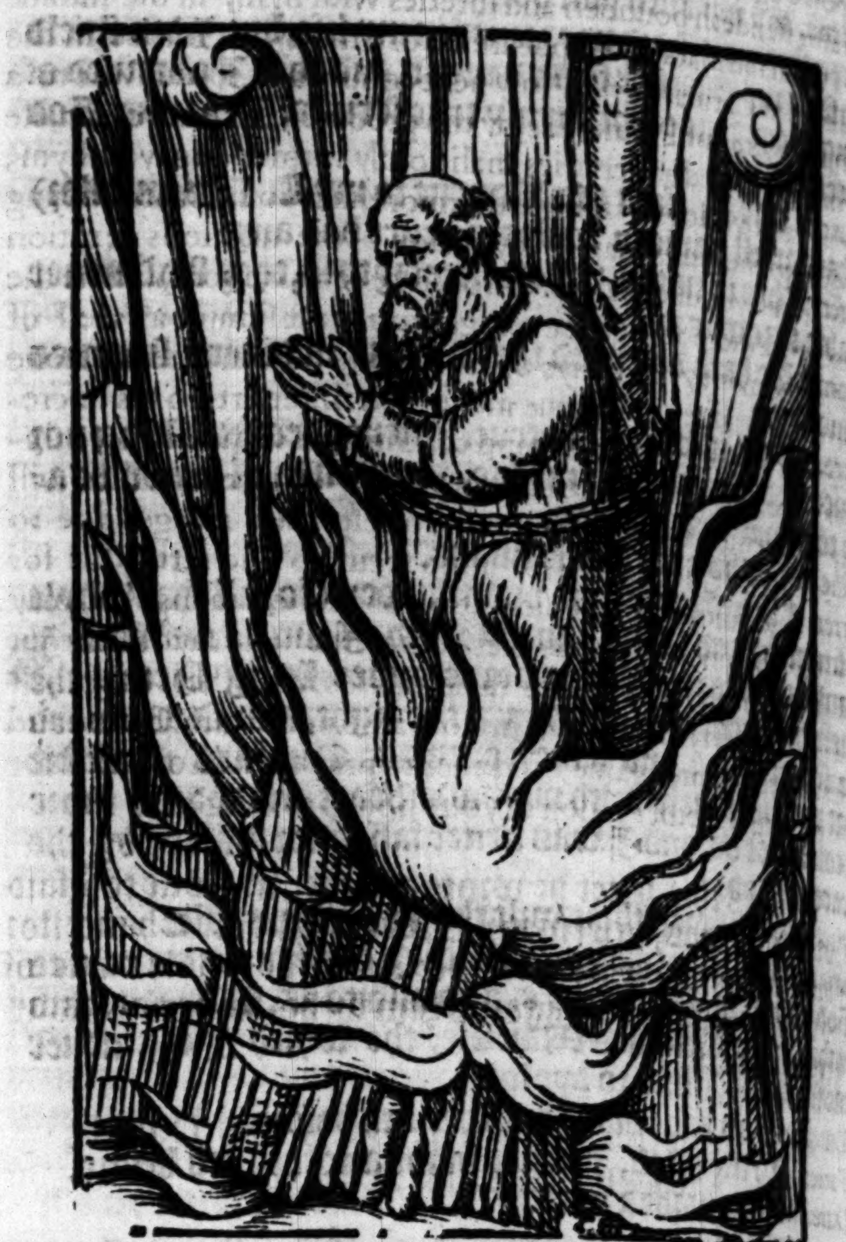
The ſentence of degradation againſt B. Farrar.

IN nomine patris, ✠ & filij, ✠ ſpiritus ſancti, ✠ Amen. Quia nos Henricus permiſſione diuina Meneuen. epiſc. per viam inquiſitionis in negotio hereticæ prauitatis cognoſcentes te Robertum Ferrar clericum propter tuam manifeſtam contumaciam & obſtinatiam per nos nunciatum fuiſſe & eſſe in illud deteſtabile crimen hæreſis multipliciter incidiſſe & commiſiſſe quod cum non ſolum grande, ſed etiam damnabile & damnoſum ſit, & adeo enorme, quod exinde non tantum diuina maieſtas offenſa, ſed & vniuerſa diœceſis Mēeuenſis cōmota eſt, & ab hoc indignus officio ſacerdotali & eccleſiaſtico ſis redditus. Idcirco nos autoritate dei patris omnipotentis, & filij, & ſpirirus ſancti, & noſtra te ab omni huiuſmodi officio ſententialiter perpetuo priuamus in hijs ſcriptis, teque ab illis verbo deponimus realiter, & actualiter ſecundum traditionem Canonum deponendum, & degradādum, prout in ordinario & pontificali continetur degradamus, prout ſequitur. In primus amouemus a te. &c.

Thus this godly biſhop being condemned and diſgraded, was committed to the ſecular power: who not long after, was brought to the place of executiō in the towne of Carmarthen, where he in the market place in the Southſide of the market croſſe, the xxx. day of March, beyng Saterday next before Paſſion ſonday, moſt conſtantly ſuſteyned the torments and paſſion of the fire.

B. Farra brought the pla executio

¶ The cruell burnyng of Maiſter Farrar, Martyr.



The Martyrdome D. Rob Farrar B. and Mar at Carm then, An 1555. Ma 31.

Touchyng the which conſtancie of this bleſſed Martyr, this is moreouer to be added and noted: that one named Richard Iones, a Knights ſonne, comming to maiſter Farrar a little before his death, ſeemed to lament the payneſulneſſe of the death he had to ſuffer. Unto whome the Biſhop aunſwered agayne to this effect, ſaying: that if he ſaw hym once to ſtirre in the paynes of his burnyng, he ſhould then geue no credite to his doctrine. And as hee ſayd, ſo he right well performed the ſame, for ſo paciently he ſtoode, that he neuer moued, but euen as he ſtoode holdyng vp his ſtumpes, ſo ſtill he continued, till one Rich. Grauell with a ſtaffe daſhed hym vppon the head, and ſo ſtroke hym downe.

A memo ble exam- ple of con- ſtancie in this bleſſed B. & Mar- tyr.

¶ Letters.

As touching the letters of M. Farrer, we do not finde many that he did write. And peraduēture in Queene Maries tyme his impriſonment was ſo ſtrait, that at no time it was permitted to hym to write. Albeit in his other troubles in kyng Edwards tyme, certayne letters he wrote to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and to the Erle of Warwike, which letters although they might be well referred to the firſt edition of this ſtory, yet becauſe in the ſayd letters is conteyned briefly and in fewe lynes, the whole diſcourſe of hys vniuſt vexation at that tyme wrought by his aduerſaries, I thought good not to paſſe them ouer, but to communicate them vnto the Reader, for the better vnderſtanding both of the innocencie of ÿ bleſſed B. and of the crafty iniquitie of his conſpired enemies: as in the ſayd letters here folowing to the indifferent reader may eaſily appeare.

¶ The copy of a certaine letter of the Biſhop of S. Dauids, written belike to the L. Chancellor Doct. Goodrike Biſhop of Ely.

MOſt humbly ſheweth vnto your honor, your poore orator Rob. Biſh. of S. Dauids, that where as one Tho. Lee (by the procurement of Tho. Yong, Rowland Mericke beyng both Canons of S. Dauids, and George Conſtantine Regiſter to the ſayd biſhop) hath exhibited vnto your honor agaynſt him certaine articles, in the which are mentioned many triflyng thyngs vnworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and alſo theyr pretenſed weighty articles, (as they haue alledged there) are vtterly vntrue, for proofe whereof, the ſay d Thomas Lee hath had Com-

Anno 1555. March.

Commiſſions into the countrey: therfore it may pleaſe your honour of your fauourable goodneſſe, to graunt vnto your ſaid Oratour a like Commiſſion for the examination of witneſſes in defence of his truth and honeſty, againſt the aforenamed Thomas Lee, George Conſtantine, Tho. Yong, Rowland Mericke, and all other perſons with their vniuſt articles, atteſtations, and ſayings depoſed agaynſt hym. And in tender conſideration that your ſaid Orator ſtandeth bounden and ſureties with hym, in the ſumme of a thouſand markes, to appeare before the kyngs Iuſtice in the Seſſions at Carmarthen, in Iuly next commyng, to aunſwer to a forged matter of Premunire, by the procurement and counſaile of his forenamed aduerſaries malitiouſly ſurmiſed agaynſt hym, to his vtter vndoyng: and furthermore, that your Orator beyng in debt to the kings maieſty, by reaſon of the malitious vexation of his foreſayd aduerſaries, cannot (if he remaine here) ſatiſfie the ſame (for where as there be rerages to a great ſumme as well of the kyngs money, as of hys owne rentes, he can receyue none thereof, his aduerſaries haue made ſuch ill report, to his diſcredite, bearyng the people in hand that he ſhall come no more thither, by reaſon of which bruite, neyther hys owne tenaunts will pay their rentes and rerages, nor the prieſts their rerages due to the Kings Maieſtie, as well for anno ſecundo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto.) In conſideration of all theſe thyngs, it may pleaſe your honourable goodnes to licence your ſayd Oratour to depart into the Dioces for theſe affaires and other: & he ſhall be ready at all tymes at your honourable commaundement and pleaſure to repaire againe, and euer to pray to the Lord Ieſu for the perpetuall conſeruation of your honor to his glory.

B. Farrar bound with his ſureties a thouſand markes to appeare in a matter of Premunire.

Beſides this letter he wrote another likewiſe to yͤ ſaid Lord (who was, as ſeemeth, D. Goodricke L. Chauncellor afore mentioned) wherein he declareth the whole cauſe of his trouble, how it roſe againſt him by his aduerſaries, as here followeth.

¶ Another letter written by the B. of S. Dauids, to the L. Chancellor aforeſayd.

An other letter of B. Farrar to the Lord Chauncellor.

Right honourable, and my very eſpeciall good Lorde, with humble ſeruice and hearty thankes to God, and to you for your godly fauour towardes me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, moſt louingly admoniſhing me to incline vnto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable concord and vnity. This is further to beſeeche your Lordſhip for the Lordes ſake, not to be grieued, but benignly to heare and grauely to ponder that weighty matter, which appearing to other but a light griefe, to me is in very deede a right grieuous offence to Godward, with no little hinderaunce of his holy worde, and diſturbaunce of the Kings godly proceedyngs, and may be great occaſion of much inobedience, and diſorder of good lyfe.

Wherfore I am ſtraitly bounden for the true zeale that I ought to beare vnto the word of lyfe, Chriſtian religion the kings maieſties honor, and the godly quiet ſtate of his people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redres to be ſought at his maieſties hands by the godly wiſdome of his moſt honourable and vpright Counſayle, but with hearty affection to beare it vp agaynſt thoſe high mynded, arrogant, ſtubborne, ambitious, couetous Canons, truſting in their biting tongues, with crafty preuention and vtterly vntrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop the lyght, that theyr vngodly miſdoyngs in darkeneſſe ſhal eyther not be ſeene, or at the leaſt may haue a coulourable appearaunce of right. In ſo much that I do not a little meruayle at theſe qualities in Maiſter Chaunter, the Canon and the Deane of Worceſter, whoſe vngentle and vntrue behauiour I haue not onely knowen, but expertly prooued, and ſenſibly felte in two of the firſt, to my great loſſes, whereof I make no complaint.

The vnkind dealing of George Conſtantine, againſt B. Farrar.

But I wonder in my mynde and lament in my heart, the ſtrange alteration & wilfull goyng backward of myne old faithful brother George Conſtātine, the which knowyng them all three to haue bene in tymes paſt, either obſtinate enemies to the true bearers of the croſſe of Chriſt, or (at the leaſt) priuy lurkers vnder pretence of fauour towards the Goſpell, to ſting the poore followers therof, ſeking but their own lucre and pleaſure in all their doings) would ſo earneſtly cleaue vnto them in their wrong deeds as to betray me with his tong, become vntrue of his promiſe, and a bearer of filthy ſinne for lucres ſake, euen yet ſtiffly perſiſting in the ſame, namely, in thyngs manifeſtly knowen vnto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

M. Ferlee Chauncellour to B. Farrar.

And as for their Premunire, both George & they, at my firſt commyng, vngently deteinyng from M. Ferlee hys commiſſion of the Chauncellorſhip, would haue faced me down with the Premunire, becauſe it was written in myne owne name according to the ſtatute: yet was I faine for the zeale of vnitie, not to ſee their vncurteous dedes, departing with M. Ferlee, for the auoyding of theyr malice and enuy, and gaue that office for the amitie of George, vnto M. Chaunter his ſonne in lawe, and to D. Mericke the office of Cardigan. But ſeeyng afterward theyr couetous reſpect to their owne glory and lucre, not regardyng the reformatiō of ſinne, and eſpecially of ſhameles whoredome, I was compelled to remoue them, ſore agaynſt their wylles: and whereas I deſired many and ſundry tymes charitable redreſſe of their wrong doings in the vacation tyme, I obteyned many fayre wordes, and nothing in deede.

This Chaunter was D. Yong.

D. Yong and D. Mericke remoued by B. Farrar frō their offices.

And deſiring to haue ſight of the booke of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duetie and theyrs, I could not obteine. Deſiring to haue a key of the Chapter houſe ſeale, as my L. of Bath had, they would not deliuer it, but vpon conditions: yet was I contented to be brideled, receiuyng it as it pleaſed them to geue it. And further, requiring the ſight of neceſſary euidences for the declaration of diuers thyngs, in trauers of my right, they would in no wyſe graunt it. And thereupon conſideryng theyr vngentleneſſe, I moued the Quo warranto, knowyng right well that if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantiall graunt vnder the kings ſeale for their corporation, it muſt therin appeare, the B. to be the head, and euer hath bene vnder the king: for other they neyther haue, nor had, except they would returne to Rome againe, as I truſt they will not. And yet perceiuyng afterward, that they had no ſpeciall graunt to ſhew, or els ſuch as they would not ſhew, I my ſelf for the reſpect of vnitie, wrote my letters to the Kyngs Attorney, by reaſon wherof the Quo warranto was ſtayed, and ſo yet remayneth.

The wronges which B. Farrar receiued by Thomas Yong and D. Mericke.

But as touching the certificate, the kings ſubſidie beyng due at Michaelmas laſt, and forborne til after Chriſtmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did vtterly refuſe to pay, both to my Vicecollector and to my ſelfe, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowyng where to aſke the reſt, and it is committed vnto me in the kings roll a whole ſumme in groſſe, to be receyued of the Canons reſidentaries for their Diuident: who becauſe they cannot agree in diuiding, would haue the kings maieſty to tary for his money, till they can agree to make diuiſion: and I connot demand it of any perticular perſon, nor at any perticular place.

Wherfore I moſt humbly beſeech your fatherly goodnes for the Lordes ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good Lord and friend, vnto ſuch time as ye finde me either deſiring to be defended in my wrōg, or not willyng to put the iudgemēt of my right cauſe into your hands. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters touching them and their vngētle, vntrue, and vngodly doyngs is too long, and I haue moleſted you too much with this my tedious letter, I ſhal now ſurceaſe: humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldnes proceding of neceſſity, and to pardon it for the loue of our Lord Ieſu: who ſaue and keep you in helth, comfort, and honor, long to endure, for the aduauncement of his glory. Written at Agurguily this ix. of March.

Your Lordſhips to command
during lyfe. R. F.

¶ The hiſtory of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiffe in Wales, about the moneth of March, for the teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell, reported by Iohn Dane beyng yet alyue, who was almoſt continually with hym duryng his trouble, vnto hys death.

Rawlins White Martyr, burned at Cardiffe in Wales.

Forſo much as we haue here paſſed the hiſtory of Maiſter Farrer, burned at the town of Carmardē in Wales I thought to adioyne and accompany with the ſame, the hiſtory alſo of one Rawlins White, a Fiſherman, whiche both in the like cauſe, and in the ſame countrey of Wales, & alſo about the ſame moneth of March, and yere aforeſayd, gaue his life like a valiāt souldior of Ieſus Chriſt, to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiffe: the proces of whoſe ſtory here followeth expreſſed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a Fiſherman, liuing & continuing in the ſaid trade by the ſpace of xx. yeres at the leaſt, in the town of Cardiffe, beyng (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, & well accompted amongſt hys neighbours. As touchyng his religion at the firſt, it can not otherwyſe be knowen, but that he was a great partaker of the ſuperſtitiō and Idolatry that then was vſed, I meane in the raigne of K. Henry the 8. But after that God of his mercy had rayſed

{ Anno 1555. } March.

vp the light of his Goſpell, thorough the bleſſed gouernment of K. Edward the vj. here in this Realme of England, this Rawlins began partly to miſlike that which before hee had embraced, and to haue ſome good opinion of that which before by the iniquitie of the tyme had ben concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpoſe and intent of his to paſſe, he began to be a diligẽt hearer, and a great ſearcher out of the truth.

The deſirous minde of Rawlins to ſearch for truth.

The godly intẽt of Rawlins in ſetting his ſõne to ſchoole.

But becauſe the good man was altogether vnlearned, and withall very ſimple, he knew no ready way how hee might ſatiſfie his great deſire: At length it came in hys mynde to take a ſpeciall remedy to ſupply hys neceſſite, which was this: He had a little boy which was his own ſonne, which childe he ſet to ſchoole to learne to read Engliſh. Now after the little boy could read indifferently wel, his father euery night after ſupper, ſommer and winter, would haue the boy to read a piece of the holy ſcripture, & now and then of ſome other good booke. In which kind of vertuous exerciſe, the olde man had ſuch a delight & pleaſure, that as it ſemed, he rather practiſed himſelf in the ſtudy of Scripture, then in the trade or ſcience which before tyme he had vſed: ſo that Rawlins within few yeares in the ſaid tyme of K. Edward, through the help of his little ſonne, as a ſpecial miniſter appointed by god (no dout) for that purpoſe, & through much conſcience beſides, profited & went forward in ſuch ſort, that he was able not onely to reſolue himſelfe touching his owne former blindnes & ignorãce, but was alſo able to admoniſh and inſtruct other: and therfore when occaſion ſerued, he would go from one place to an other, viſiting ſuch as he had beſt hope in. By which his doyng, he became in that countrey both a notable and open profeſſor of the truth, beyng at all tymes and in all ſuch places, not without yͤ company of his litle boy, whom (as I haue ſaid) he vſed as an aſſiſtance to this hys good purpoſe. And to this his great induſtry and indeuor in holy ſcripture, God did alſo adde in him a ſingular gyft of memory, ſo that by the benefite therof he would & could do that in vouching and reherſing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowlege, by their notes and other helpes of memory, could very hardly accompliſh. In ſo much that he vpon the alledging of ſcripture, very often would cite the booke, the leafe, yea and the very ſentence: ſuch was the wonderfull working of God in this ſimple and vnlearned father.

The meanes whereby Rawlins firſt came to knowledge.

Rawlins by the meanes of his yong ſõne came to the knowledge of the Scripture.

The gift of memory in Rawlins.

Nowe when he had thus continued in his profeſſion the ſpace of fiue yeares, K. Edward died, vpon whoſe deceaſe Queene Mary ſucceeded, and with her all kynde of ſuperſtition and Papiſtrie crepte in. Which thing beyng once perceyued, Rawlins did not altogether vſe open inſtruction and admonition (as before he was wont) and therfore oftẽtimes in ſome priuate place or other, he would call his truſty friends together, & with earneſt prayer and great lamentation paſſe away the time, ſo that by his vertuous inſtructions, being without any blemiſh of errour, he conuerted a great number, which number (no doubt) had greatly encreaſed, had not the cruel ſtorme of perſecution bene.

The extremitie and force whereof, at the laſt ſo purſued this good father Rawlins, that hee looked euery houre to goe to priſon: whereupon many of thoſe which had receyued comfort by his inſtructions, did reſort vnto hym, and by all meanes poſſible began to perſwade him to ſhift for hymſelfe, and to diſpoſe hys goods by ſome reaſonable order to the vſe of his wyfe and children, & by that meanes he ſhould eſcape that daunger which was imminent ouer his head.

Rawlins exhorted to ſhifte for himſelfe.

But Rawlins nothyng abaſhed for hys owne part, through the iniquity of the tyme, & at all nothyng mooued with theſe their fleſhly perſwaſions, thanked them moſt hartily for their good will, and told them plainely, that hee had learned one good leſſon touching the confeſſing & denial of Chriſt, aduertiſing them, that if he vpon their perſuaſions ſhould preſume to deny his maiſter Chriſt, Chriſt in the laſt day would deny and vtterly condemne hym: and therfore (quoth he) I will by hys fauourable grace confes and beare witnes of him before men, that I may find him in euerlaſtyng lyfe.

Rawlins promiſeth to be conſtant to the death.

Notwithſtandyng which aunſwer, his friends were very importunate with hym. Howbeit, father Rawlins continued ſtill in his good purpoſe, ſo long till at the laſt he was taken by the Officers of the towne, as a man ſuſpected of hereſie: vpon which apprehenſion he was conuented before the B. of Landaffe that then was, the ſayd B. lying then at hys houſe beſides Chepſtow: by whome, after diuers combates and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to priſon in Chepſtow. But this hys kepyng, whether it were by the Biſhops meanes, becauſe he would rid hys handes of hym, or through the fauour of hys keeper, was not ſo ſeuere and extreme, but that (if he had ſo liſted) hee myght haue eſcaped oftentymes.

Rawlins apprehended and conuented before the B. of Landaffe named Anthony Kechin.

Rawlin
might h
cape and
would n
Rawlins
whole
yeare in
priſon.

But that notwithſtandyng, hee continued ſtill, in ſo much, that at the laſt he by the aforenamed Biſhop was remooued from Chepſtow to the caſtle of Cardiffe, where he continued by the ſpace of one whole yeare. Duryng which tyme, this reporter reſorted to him very often, with money and other reliefe from this reporters mother (who was a great fauourer of thoſe that were in affliction in thoſe dayes) and other of hys friends: which he receyued not without great thanks and prayſes geuen to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and impriſoned, as ye haue heard, to hys owne vndoyng in this world, and to the vtter decay of his poore wyfe & children: yet was hys heart ſo ſet to the inſtruction and furtherance of other in the way of ſaluation, that he was neuer in quiet, but when he was perſwading or exhorting ſuch of hys familiar frends as commonly came vnto him. In ſo much that on the Sondayes and other tymes of laiſure, when his friends came to viſite hym, hee would paſſe away the tyme in prayer and exhortations, admoniſhyng them alwayes to beware of falſe Prophets which come in ſheeps clothyng.

A godly
woman
ſhewed
to releue
Rawlins.

Exho
of R
to his
friendes.

Now when hee had continued in Cardiffe Caſtle by the ſpace of one whole yeare (as I haue ſayde) the tyme of hys further triall was at hand. Whereupon, the aforenamed Biſhop of Landaffe cauſed him to be broughte agayne from the caſtle of Cardiffe vnto his owne houſe beſides Chepſtow, & whileſt he continued there, yͤ Biſhoppe aſſayed many wayes howe to reduce him to ſome conformitie. But when all meanes eyther by theyr threatning wordes or flattering promiſes were to no purpoſe: the Byſhoppe willed him to aduiſe and be at a full poynte with hymſelfe, eyther to recant hys opinions, or els to abide the rigor of the lawe, and thereupon gaue him a day of determination.

Rawlins b
no meane
could be
duced to
turne to
Popery.

Which day beyng come, the Biſhop with hys Chaplaynes went into his chappell, not without a great number of other by dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doyngs. When the Biſhop with his retinue were placed in order, poore Rawlins was brought before them. The Biſhop after great deliberation in addreſſyng hymſelfe (as it ſeemed) and ſilence forewarned to the reſt that were there preſent, vſed a long kynd of talke to him, declaring the cauſe of hys ſendyng for, which was, for that hee was a man well knowen to hold hereticall opinions, and that through his inſtruction many were led into blynd errour. In the end he exhorted hym to conſider hys owne eſtate wherein he ſtood: for (ſaid the B.) Rawlins, you haue bene oftentymes ſince your firſt trouble, both here in my houſe, and els where bene trauailed withal touching your opinions, and that notwithſtandyng ye ſeeme altogether obſtinate and wilfull.

Rawlins
brought
before the
B. of Lan
daffe in op
iudgeme

The word
of the B. t
Rawlins.

Now hereupon we thought good to ſende for you, to ſee if there were any conformity in you: ſo that the matter is come to this poynt, that if you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe repentant for that which you haue done both agaynſt God and the princes law, we are ready to vſe fauour towards you: but if by no meanes we can perſwade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to miniſter the law vnto you, and therfore aduiſe your ſelf what you will do.

When the B. had made an ende of his long tale, this good father Rawlins ſpake very boldly to him, and ſayd: My Lord. I thanke God I am a chriſtian mã, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God, & if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the worde of God, as a chriſtian mã ought to be: many mo words in like ſort wer betwene the B. & Rawlins, which this reporter doth not wel remẽber. But in the end when Rawlins would in no wyſe recant his opinions, the B. told him plainly, yͭ he muſt proceed againſt him by yͤ law, & condemn him as an heretike.

Rawlins
aunſwe
to the B
ſhop.

Proceed in your law a Gods name ſaid Rawlins, but for an heretike you ſhal neuer condemn me while yͤ world ſtandeth. But (ſaid the B. to his company) before we proceed any further with hym, let vs pray vnto God that he would ſend ſome ſparke of grace vppon him, (meanyng Rawlins) & it may ſo chance that God through our prayer will here turne and conuert his heart. When Rawlins heard the B. ſay ſo, Ah my Lord, quoth he, now you deale well and like a godly Biſh. and I thanke you moſt hartily for your great charity and gentlenes. Chriſt ſaith: where as two or three be gathered in my name, I will be in the middeſt of them, and there be moe then two or three of you. Now if it be ſo that your requeſt be godly and lawfull, and that you pray as ye ſhould pray, without doubt God will heare you. And therefore my Lord goe to, doe you praye

The B. o
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Anno 1555. Aprill.

to your God, and I wil pray to my God, I know that my God will both heare my prayer, and performe my deſire.

By and by the B. with his company fell to praier. And Rawlins turning himſelfe to a pew that ſtood ſomewhat neare him, fell downe vpon his knees couering hys face with his handes: and when they had praied a while, the B. with his company aroſe from prayer. And then alſo aroſe Rawlins, and came before the Biſhop.

he Biſhop prayeth to s God, & Rawlins to his.

Then ſaid the B. Now Rawlins, how is it with thee? wilt thou reuoke thy opinions, or no? Surely (ſaid Rawlins) my Lorde, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you finde me, and by Gods grace Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had bene iuſt and lawfull, God woulde haue hearde them: but you honor a falſe God and pray not as ye ſhould pray, and therfore hath not God graunted your deſire: But I am one poore ſimple man as you ſee, and God hath heard my complaint, and I truſt he will ſtrengthen me in his owne cauſe.

Rawlins confirmed in the doctrine. Popiſh Biſhops pray to a falſe god & therefore are not heard.

The Biſhop when he perceiued that this hipocriſye of theirs tooke none effect, then with hot wordes he reproued him, and forthwith was ready to read the ſentence. Howbeit vppon ſome aduiſe geuen to him by his Chapleynes that were there preſent, hee thought beſt firſte to haue a maſſe, thinking that in deed by ſo doing, ſome wonderfull worke ſhould be wrought in Rawlins, and thereuppon a prieſt began Maſſe.

A Maſſe ſayd for conuerſion of Rawlins.

In the meane tyme poore Rawlins betooke himſelfe to prayer in a ſecret place therby, vntill ſuch time as the prieſt came to the Sacring (as they terme it) whiche is a principall poynt of their Idolatry. When Rawlins hearde the Sacring bell ring (as the vſe was) he roſe out of hys place and came to the Quiere doore, and there ſtanding a while, turned himſelfe to the people, ſpeaking theſe wordes: good people, if there be any Brethren amongeſt you, or at the leaſt if there be but one Brother amongeſt you, the ſame one beare witneſſe at the daye of iudgement, that I bowe not to this Idoll, meaning the Hoſt that the Prieſt held ouer his head.

The wordes of Rawlins to the people at the ſacring time.

The Maſſe being ended, Rawlins eftſoones was called for agayne. To whom the Biſhop vſed many perſwaſions: but the bleſſed man continued ſtedfaſt in his former profeſſion, that the Biſhops talke was altogether in vayne, and to no purpoſe. Wherupon the Biſhop cauſed the definitiue ſentẽce to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was diſmiſſed, and from thence he was by the biſhops commaundement caried agayn to Cardiffe, there to be put into the priſon of ỹ towne, called Cockmarell, a very darck lothſome, and moſt vile priſon.

Rawlins ſtill conſtãt in the profeſſion of Gods truth. Sentence read agaynſt Rawlins. Rawlins ſent to priſõ to Cardiffe caſtle.

Rawlins in the meane while paſſed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in ſinging of Pſalmes: which kynde of godly exerciſes he alwayes vſed, both at Cardiffe Caſtle & in all other places.

Nowe, after hee hadde thus continued as Priſoner in Cockmarell Priſon at Cardiffe (as is aforeſayde) a good ſpace, about three weekes before the daye wherein hee ſuffered, the head Officers of the Towne that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burne hym, becauſe they woulde be ſooner ryd of hym: hauing not in deede a writ of executiõ awarded, as by the law they ſhould haue.

The officers intending to burne Rawlins without a writte.

Whereuppon one Henrye Lewes the Recorder of the Towne that then was, ſeeyng that they wente aboute to burne hym without any warrant by Writ, came to them, and told them, that if they did burne hym before they had the writte De hæreticis comburendis, the wyfe of the ſayde Rawlins would vpon iuſt cauſe by law, call their doings into queſtion.

Immediatly vppon this aduertiſement, they ſent to London for the writ aboue named: vpon the receipt wherof they made ſome ſpeede to the execution of the ſayd Raulins. Nowe when the daye was come, wherein the good father ſhould performe and accompliſh the laſt Act of thys his worthy conflict, he was the night before wylled to prepare himſelfe.

The writte awarded for burning of Rawlins.

Now, when he perceiued his time no leſſe neare then it was reported vnto hym, he ſent forthwith to hys wyfe, and willed her by the meſſẽger that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make readye, and ſend vnto him his wedding Garment, meaning a Shyrt, whiche afterwarde hee was burned in. Which requeſt or rather commaundement of his, his wife with great ſorow and griefe of hart did performe, and early in the morninge did ſend it him, whiche he receiued moſte gladly and ioyfully.

Rawlins wedding garment.

Nowe whẽ the houre of his execution was come, this good and conſtant father Raulins was brought out of priſon, hauing on his body the long Shyrt, whiche (as you heard before) he called his wedding garment, and an olde Ruſſet coate whiche he was wont to weare. Beſides this, he had vpon his legges an olde payre of leather Buſkins which he had vſed long afore. And thus being brought out of the priſon (as I haue ſayd) he was accompanyed or rather garded with a great company of Billes and gleaues: which ſight when he behelde: Alas (quoth he) what meaneth all this? All this needed not. By Gods grace I wyll not ſtart away: but I with all my hart & minde geue vnto God moſt harty thankes that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy names ſake.

Rawlins goin to the place of execution.

So he came to a place in his waye where as his poore wife and children ſtoode weeping and makyng greate lamentation: the ſuddein ſight of whom ſo pierced his hart, that the very teares trickeled downe his face. But he ſoone after, as though he had miſliked this infirmity of his fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himſelfe: In ſo muche that in ſtriking his breſt with his hand, he vſed theſe wordes: Ah fleſh, ſtayeſt thou me ſo? wouldeſt thou fayne preuayle? well, I tell thee doe what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not, by Gods grace, haue the victory. By this tyme this poore innocent came to ỹ very altar of his ſacrifice (I meane the place appoynted for his death) and there foũd a ſtake ready ſet vp, with ſome wood toward the making of the fire. Which when he behelde, he ſette forward hymſelfe very boldly: but in going toward ỹ ſtake he fell down vpõ his knees and kiſſed the groũd, & in riſing agayn, the earth a litle ſticking on his noſe, he ſaid theſe wordes: Earth vnto earth, and duſt vnto duſt, thou art my mother, and vnto thee I ſhall returne. Then went he chearfully & very ioyfully, and ſet his backe cloſe vnto the ſtake, & when he had ſtood there a while, he caſt his eye vpon this Reporter, & called him vnto him, and ſayd: I feele a great fighting betwene the fleſh and the ſpirit, & the fleſh would very fayne haue his ſwinge, and therfore I pray you when you ſee me any thing tempted, hold your finger vp to me, and I truſt I ſhall remember my ſelfe.

Rawlins ſomewhat moued at the ſight of his wyfe and children.

Rawlins wraſtleth agaynſt his fleſhe.

The agony and fight of this Chriſtian warriour.

As he was thus ſtanding with his back cloſe vnto the ſtake, a Smith came with a great chayne of yron: whom when he ſaw, he caſt vp his hand with a loude voice, and gaue God great thankes. Then the Smith caſt the chayne about him, and as he was making it faſt on the other ſyde, Rawlins ſayde vnto him, I pray you good frend knocke in the chayne faſt, for it may be that the fleſhe would ſtriue mightely: but God of thy great mercy geue me ſtrength & pacience to abide the extremity.

Rawlins faſtened to the ſtake.

Nowe when the Smyth had made hym ſure to the ſtake, the officers beganne to lay on more woode, with a litle ſtrawe and Reede: wherein the good old man was no leſſe occupied then the beſt: for as far as he could reach his handes, he would plucke the ſtrawe and Reede, and lay it about hym in places moſte conuenient for his ſpeedy diſpatche. Which thing he did with ſuche a chearefull countenance and familiar geſture, that al men there preſent were in a maner aſtonyed.

The chearfulnes of father Rawlins at his death.

Thus when all thynges were readye, ſo that there lacked nothyng but the putting to of the fire, directly ouer against the ſtake in the face of Rawlins, there was a ſtanding erected, whereon ſtept vp a Prieſt addreſſing hym ſelfe to ſpeake to the people, which were many in number, becauſe it was market day. Whẽ Rawlins perceiued him, and conſidered the cauſe of his comming, he reached a litle ſtraw vnto him, and made two litle ſtayes, & ſet them vnder his elbowes. Then went the prieſt forward in his ſermon, wherin he ſpake of many thinges touching ỹ authoritie of the church of Rome. In the meane time Rawlins gaue ſuch good eare and intention, that he ſeemed nothing at all moued or diſquieted. At the laſt the prieſt came to the ſacrament of the altar, and there he began to inuey againſt Rawlins opinions: in which his inuection he cited the common place of Scripture, and therupon made a Clerkelye interpretation.

A Popiſhe ſermon preached at Rawlins Martyrdome.

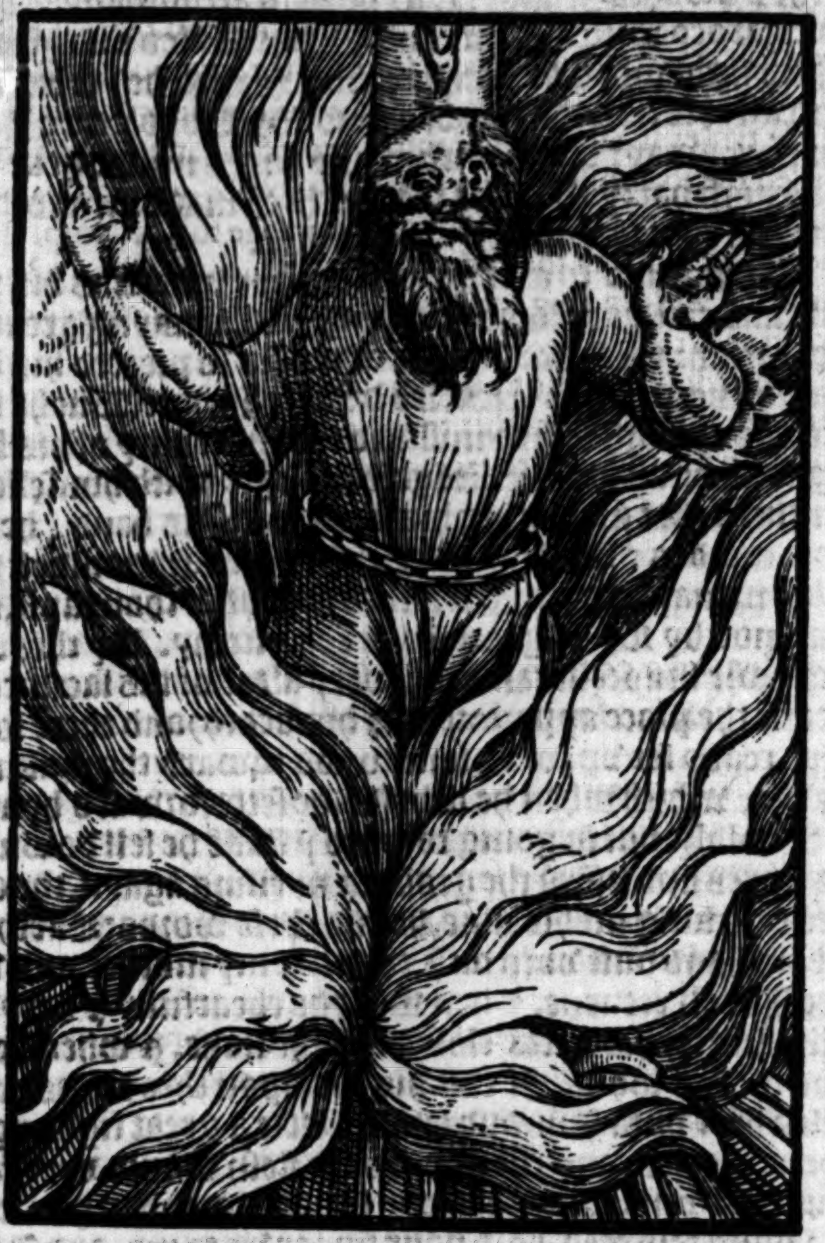
Now when Rawlins perceyued that he went aboute not onely to preach and teach the people falſe doctrine, but alſo to confirme it by Scripture, he ſuddenly ſtarte vp, and beckened his hands to the people, ſaying twiſe: Come hither good people, & heare not a falſe prophet preaching: and then ſayd vnto the preacher: Ah thou naughty hypocrite, doeſt thou preſume to proue thy falſe doctrine by Scripture? Looke in the text what foloweth: dyd not Chriſt ſay: Doo this in the remembraunce of me. After which wordes the Prieſt being rather amazed then interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Rawlins wordes to the falſe Prophet.

Then ſome that ſtood by cryed out, Put fire, ſet to fire: which being ſet to, the ſtrawe and Reede by and by caſte vp both a great and ſuddaine flame. In the which flame this good & bleſſed man bathed his handes ſo long, vntill ſuch time as the ſinewes ſhronke, and the fatte dropped away, ſauing that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. Al this while, which was ſomewhat long, he cryed with a loude voyce: O Lorde receiue my ſoule: O

Anno 1555. March.

¶ The burning of Raulins, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of Rawlins Whyte, a Fiſherman, at Cardiffe. Anno 1555. March.

Lord receiue my ſpirit, vntill he could not opē his mouth. At the laſte the extremitye of the fire was ſo vehement agaynſt his legges, that they were conſumed almoſt before the reſt of his body was burned: whiche made the whole body fall ouer the chayne into the fire ſooner then it would haue done. During which tyme of his burning it can not be ſayd, that he ſuffered or felt any great paine, conſidering that not without his perfect memory he aboad both quietly and paciently, euen vnto the departing of his life. Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins for the teſtimony of Gods truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, wͭ the crown of euerlaſting life.

The conſtant patience of Rawlins at his burning.

It is recorded furthermore of the ſayd good father Raulins by this Reporter, that as he was going to his death, and ſtanding at the ſtake, he ſeemed in a maner to be altered in nature. For wheras before he was wont to go ſtoping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, hauing a ſad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withall very ſoft in ſpeech and geſture.

A ſodayne alteration of nature marueilous in Rawlins before his death.

Now he went and ſtretched vppe himſelfe, not onelye bolt vpright, but alſo bare withall a moſt pleaſant and cōfortable countenaunce, not without great courage and audacity both in ſpeache and behauiour. He had (of whiche thing I ſhoulde haue ſpoken before) about his head a kerchiefe. The heares of his head (ſomewhat appearing beneath his kerchiefe) and alſo of his beard were more inclined to white then to gray: whiche gaue ſuch a ſhewe and countenaunce to his whole perſon, that he ſemed to be altogether angelicall.

It is alſo ſayd by this Reporter, that a litle before the fire flaſhed vp to his body (as ye haue heard) many of his frendes came to him, and tooke him by the hand, amongeſt whome, the Reporter of this ſtory held him ſo long by the hand, till the flame of the fire roſe, and forced them to ſunder. In the meane time the prieſt of whome I ſpake afore, cryed out, and ſayd, that it was not lawfull for any man to take him by the hand, becauſe he was an hereticke, and cōdemned by the Churche. The chiefe cauſe of his trouble, was his opinion touching the ſacrament of the aultar. He was at the time of his death, of the age of threeſcore yeares or thereaboutes.

The reporter of this ſtory one M. Dane.

❧ The ſumme of the wordes ſpoken by Queene Mary to certayne of her Counſellers. March. 28. an. 1555. touching the reſtitution of Abbey landes.

Before I paſſe ouer this moneth of Marche, I can not but leaue a litle memorandum of the wordes or conſultation of Queene Mary, vſed to certayne of the Counſel, the eight and twenty day of the ſayd month of March, touching the reſtoring agayne of the Abbey landes. Who after ſhe had called vnto her preſence foure of her priuye Counſell, the day and Moneth aforeſayd: the names of whiche Counſellers were theſe:

1 William Lord Marques of Wincheſter high treaſurer of England.
2 Syr Robert Rocheſter knight, the queenes Controller.
3 Syr William Peter knight, Secretary.
4 Syr Fraunces Inglefielde knighte, Mayſter of Wardes.

The na of the Q ſellers ca led befo Q. Ma

The ſayde Queene Mary inferred theſe wordes: the principall effecte and ſumme whereof here foloweth. You are here of our Counſell, and we haue willed you to be called vnto vs, to the entent ye might heare of me my conſcience, and the reſolution of my mind, cōcerning the lands & poſſeſſions as well of Monaſteries, as other Churches whatſoeuer being now preſently in my poſſeſſion.

The of Q. Ma ryes w touching Abbay Landes t reſtored.

Firſte, I doe conſider, that the ſayd landes were taken awaye from the Churches aforeſayde, in time of ſchiſme, and that by vnlawfull meanes, ſuche as are contrary both to the law of God and of the Church. For the which cauſe my conſcience doeth not ſuffer mee to deteyne them: and therefore I here expreſſely refuſe eyther to clayme or to retayne the ſayde landes for mine, but with all my hart, freely, and willingly without all paction or condition, here and before God I doe ſurrender and relinquiſhe the ſayde landes and poſſeſſions or inheritaunces what ſo euer, and doe renounce the ſame with this minde and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition thereof may be taken, as ſhall ſeeme beſt liking to our moſt holy Lord the Pope, or els his Legate the Lord Cardinall, to the honour of God and wealth of this our Realme.

The Q. keth a co ſcience in keeping Abbay Landes.

The Q rendreth from her ſelf the po ſeſſion of Abbay Landes.

And albeit you may obiect to me agayne, that conſidering the ſtate of my kingdome, the dignity thereof, and my Crowne Imperiall can not be honorably mainteined and furniſhed without the poſſeſſions aforſayde: yet notwythſtanding I ſet more by the ſaluation of my ſoule, then by x. kingdomes, and therefore the ſayd poſſeſſions I vtterly refuſe here to hold after that ſort and title, and geue moſt harty thankes to almighty God, which hath geuen me an huſband likewiſe minded, with no leſſe good affection in thys behalfe, then I am my ſelfe,

Wherefore I charge and commaund, that my Chauncellour (with whom I haue conferred my minde in thys matter before) and you foure, to morow together do reſort to the moſt reuerend Lord Legate, and doe ſignify to him the premiſes in my name, and geue your attendaunce vpon him for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my kingdome, and of the foreſayd poſſeſſions accordinglye, as you your ſelues do vnderſtand the matter, and can inform him in the ſame.

Promiſe for reſtitution of Abbay landes.

This Intimation being geuen by the Queene, firſte vnto the Counſellours, and then comming to the Cardinals hand, he drawing out a copy therof in Latine, ſēt the ſame to the Pope: which copy drawne into Latine, & comming afterwarde to my hand, I haue thus tranſlated into Engliſh, as ye haue heard.

Furthermore here by the way is to be vnderſtand, that in the moneth before, which was February, and in the xx. day of the ſayd moneth, the Biſhop of Ely, with the Lorde Mountacute, and ſeuen ſcore horſe, were ſent as ambaſſadours from the king and Queene vnto Rome. For what cauſe, in ſtory it is not expreſſed, but by coniecture it maye be wel ſuppoſed to be for the ſame cauſe of Abbey lands, as by the ſequele therof may probably appeare.

Ambaſſadours ſent from England to Rome. February

For it was not long after, but the Pope did ſette forth in Print a Bull of Excommunication for all maner ſuche perſons, without exception, as kept any of the Churche or Abbey landes: by vertue of which Bull, the Pope excommunicated as well all ſuch as had any of the Churche or Abbey lands, as alſo all ſuch Princes, Biſhops, & noble men. Iuſtices of peace, and other in office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the ſame Bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet to this day was neuer put in practiſe.

The Popes Bull for reſtitution of Abbay landes.

Wherein agayne is to be obſerued an other Catholick fetch, not vnworthy perchaunce of marking. For where this kinde of Catholickes by rigour and force may ouermayſter, they ſpare for no coſte, but laye on loade enough. This well appeared, & ſtill doeth appeare in burnyng the poore pacient chriſtiās, whō becauſe they ſee to be deſtitute of power and ſtrength to reſiſte them, and contente wyth pacience to receiue what ſo euer is put vnto them, there they play the Lions, and make no end of burning and perſecutinge. But where they ſpye themſelues to bee ouermatched, or feare to receiue a foyle in preſuming too farre, there they keepe in, and can ſtay the executiō of their lawes and Bulles, be they neuer ſo Apoſtolicall, tyll they ſpye their time cōuenient for theyr purpoſe, as in this caſe is euident

Note the nature of the Papiſtes where they can ouercome, they are Lions where they are ouermatched, they play the Foxes.

uident for all the world to ſee.

Anno 1555. Aprill.

For notwithſtanding that the Popes Bull commyng downe with full authority for reſtitution of Abbey landes, did ſo thunder out moſt terrible excõmunication, not only agaynſt them which deteined any ſuch landes, but alſo agaynſt all other that did not ſee the Popes commaundement to be executed, yet neyther Wincheſter nor any of all the Popes Clergye woulde greatlye ſtyrre in that matter, perceiuing the Nobility to be too ſtrong for them to match withall, and therefore were contented to let the caſe fall, or at leaſt to ſtaye for a time, while time might better ſerue them.

and good will in the Biſhops but as yet did not them,

alſe diſſembling in the Popes Catholicke Church.

M. Feckenams ballet of Caueat Emptor.

Yea, and moreouer vnder a crafty pretenſe, that the nobility and men of landes at the firſt commyng out of the Bull, ſhould not be exaſperate too much againſt them, they ſubtlely abuſed the Pulpites, and diſſembled with the people, affirming that the ſayde Popes late Bull ſette forth in Print for reſtitution of Abbey landes, was not meant for England, but for other forreigne countries where in very deed the meaning of that Bull was onely for England, & no country els, as both by this intimatiõ of Queene Mary here mentioned, and by many other coniectures, and alſo by Maiſter Fecknams Ballet of Caueat emptor, may appeare: whereby it is eaſye for all men to vnderſtand what the purpoſe of thoſe men was to doe, if tyme, which they obſerued, might haue ſerued theyr deuotiõ. But to let this matter paſſe of the Popes Bull, the time nowe ſerueth to entreat of Pope Iulius death, for ſo much as he made hys end about the latter end of this forſayd moneth of March. *Concerning the deedes and acts of which Pope, to make a full declaratiõ, it were not ſo much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. *Vnder this Iulius floriſhed the Archb. of Beneuentanus, a Florentine, named Iohannes a Caſa, Deane of the Popes Chamber, & chiefe Legate to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that ſylthy See, ſo farre forgat both honeſty and nature, that hee ſhamed not onely to play the filthie Sodomite himſelfe, & to boaſt openly of the ſame: but alſo tooke vpon hym moſt impudently in Italian metre, to al mens eares, to ſet forth the prayſe & commendation of that beaſtly iniquity, ſaying that he himſelfe neuer vſed other: & this booke was prynted at Venice, by one Troianus Nauus: & yet the Pope could ſuffer this ſo great iniquity and ſhameles beaſtlines, euen vnder his noſe in his owne chãber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Chriſt in Chriſtian bookes.

*Read more of this in a booke called a warning to England.

The death of Pope Iulius. 3.

*Vide ſcriptum Pauli Vergerij contra hunc Archiepiſcopum.

Note here what an holy Catholicke Church this is.

Amonges other prankes and deedes of this foreſayde Pope, in his Iubilee, and in the Sinode of Trent, and in cõfirming of the Idole of Lauretane, this is alſo reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in Porkefleſhe and Peacockes. Vpon a tyme when he was admoniſhed of his Phiſition to abſtayne from all Swynes fleſhe, for that it was noyſome for his Goute, and yet would not follow his counſell: the Phiſition afterward gaue warnyng to his ſteward or orderer of his diet, that he ſhoulde ſet no more Porkefleſh before hym.

A Porkiſhe Pope.

Monſtrous blaſphemy in the Pope.

Wherupon when the Pope perceyued the ſayd Porkefleſh to be lacking in his accuſtomed ſeruice: where (ſayde he) is my Porke? And when his Steward had aunſwered that his Phiſition had forbidden anye Porke to be ſerued: thẽ the Pope burſting out in great rage, ſaid in theſe wordes: Bring me, ſayd he, my Porkefleſhe Al diſpetto di Dio: That is to to ſay in Engliſh, In the deſpight of Cod.

Pope Iulius blaſphemeth God for a Peacocke.

O Vocem Antichriſto dignam.

At an other time, he ſitting at dinner, poynting to a Peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched, keepe ſayd he, this colde Peacocke for me agaynſt ſupper, and let me ſup in the gardẽ, for I ſhall haue gueſtes. So whẽ ſupper came, and amongeſt other hot Peacockes, he ſawe not his colde Peacocke brought to his table: yͤ Pope after hys wonted maner, moſt horribly blaſpheming God, fell into an extreme rage, &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals ſitting by, deſired him ſaying: Let not your holineſſe, I pray you, be ſo moued with a matter of ſo ſmall weight. Then this Iulius the Pope anſwering agayne: what, ſayd he, if God was ſo angrye for one apple, that he caſt our firſt parents out of Paradiſe for the ſame, why may not I beyng his vicar, be angry thẽ for a Peacocke, ſithens a Peacocke is a greater matter then an apple? Beholde here good reader, by this Pope, the holines of that blaſphemous See: and yet thou ſhalt ſee here, what affectiõ was borne vnto this Pope here in England, by the Diriges, Hearſes, and Funerals cõmaunded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the Queene and her Counſell, as may appeare by the copy of theyr letters here folowing.

¶ A Letter from the Byſhop of Wincheſter (being Lord Chauncellour) vnto Boner Byſhop of London, touching the celebrating of the Popes Funeralles.

Aprill. 20. Wincheſters letter to Boner for the Popes funerall.

AFter my harty commendations to your good Lordſhip: The king and Queenes Maieſties hauing certayne knowledge of the death of the Popes holineſſe, thought good there ſhould be as well ſolemne Obſequies ſayd for him throughout the Realme, as alſo theſe prayers (whiche I ſende you herein encloſed) vſed at Maſſe tymes in all places at this tyme of vacation, and therfore willed me to ſignifye theyr pleaſures vnto you in this behalfe: that thereupon ye might proceede to the full accompliſhmente thereof by putting the ſame in due execution within your owne Dioceſſe, and ſending worde to the reſt of the Byſhops to do the like in theyrs.

Thus doubting not but that your Lordſhip will vſe ſuch diligence in this matter at this time, as ſhall be neceſſary, I bid your Lordſhip hartily well to fare. From my houſe at Aſſher, the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your aſſured frend and brother,
Stephanus Winton. Chancel.

¶ Prayers commaunded to be vſed in the funerall Maſſes for the Pope, Apoſtolica ſede vacante.

A Collect for the Pope.

SVpplici te domine humilitate depoſcimus, vt tua immenſa pietas ſacroſanctæ Romanę eccleſię concedat pontificem illum, qui & pro in nos ſtudio ſemper tibi gratus, & tuo populo pro ſalubri regimine ſit aſſiduè ad gloriam tui nominis venerãdus, per dominum noſtrum.

Secreta.

TVæ nobis domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, vt gratum maieſtati tuæ pontificem ſanctę matris Eccleſię regimini prę-eſſe gaudeamus per dominum noſtrum.

Poſt Communionem.

Another prayer for chuſing of the Pope.

PReciosi corporis & ſanguinis tui domine ſacramẽto refectos, mirifica tuæ maieſtatis gratia de illius ſummi pontificis aſſumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus inſtruat, & fidelium mentes, ſpiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per dominum noſtrum.

A woman of S. Magnes Pariſh impriſoned for not praying for the Pope.

Vpon this commaundement, on wedneſday in Eaſter weeke there were Hearſes ſet vp, & Diriges ſong for the ſayd Iulius in diuers places. At which time it chaunced a woman to come into S. Magnus church at the bridgefoot in Londõ, & there ſeing an Hearſe & other preparation, asked what it meant: and other that ſtood by, ſaid, that it was for the Pope, and that ſhee muſt pray for him. Nay (quoth ſhee) that will I not, for he needeth not my prayer: and ſeing he coulde forgeue vs all our ſinnes, I am ſure hee is cleane himſelfe: therefore I neede not to pray for him. She was heard ſpeake theſe wordes of certayne that ſtoode by: which by & by caried her vnto the Cage at Londõ bridge, and bade her coole her ſelfe there.

¶ A ſpectacle for all Chriſtians to beholde and to take heed of the Popes blaſphemous Doctrine.

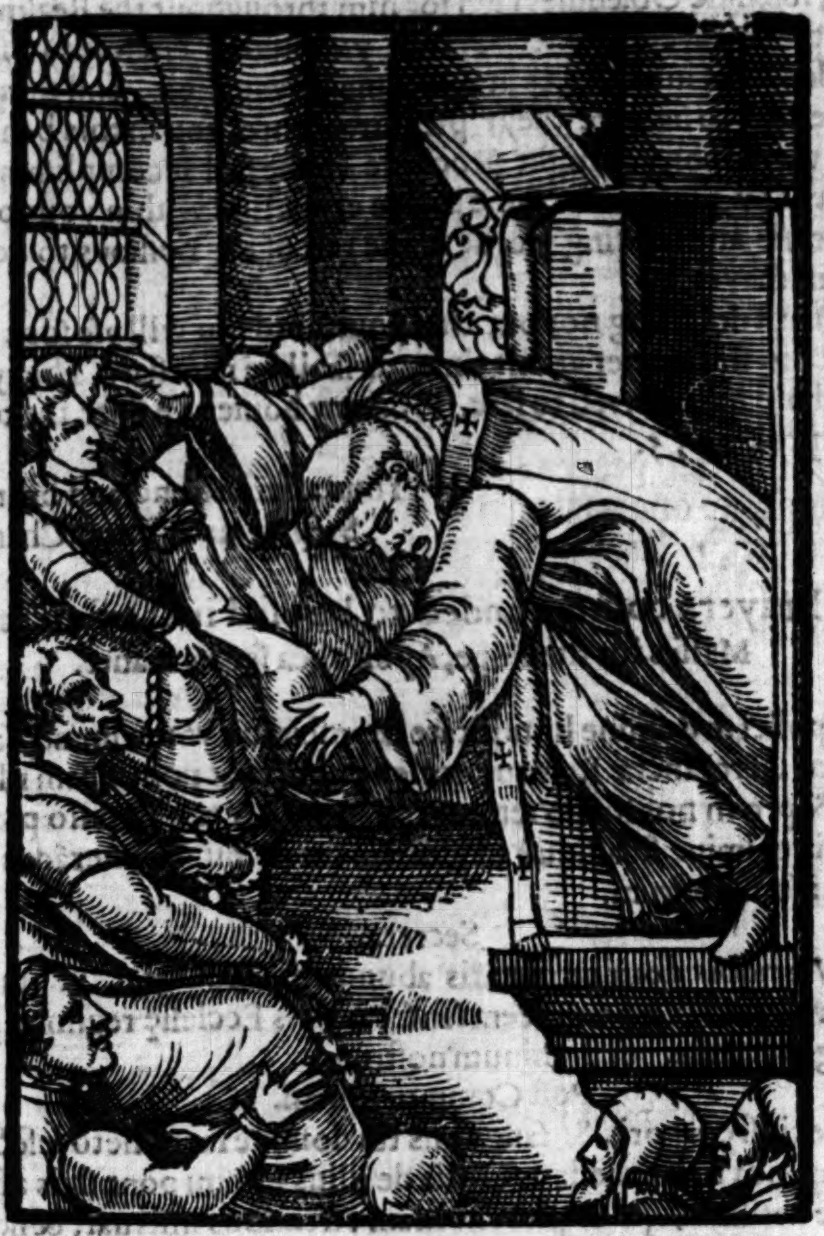
A Popiſh Parſõ preaching to his Pariſhioners.

BY many and ſundry wayes almighty God hath admoniſhed men of all nations in theſe our latter yeares to embrace, and not violently to repugne agaynſt the light of his Goſpell, as firſt by preaching of his word, ſecondly, by the bloud of the Martyrs, and thirdlye, by terrible examples ſhewed from time to time vppon his Aduerſaryes. In the number of whom commeth here to be remembred the notable workyng of Goddes hand vppon a certayne Prieſt in Kent named Nightingall, Parſon of Crondall beſides Caunterbury: who vpon Shroueſonday, whych was about the third day of the ſayde Moneth of Marche, and yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, reioycing belike not a litle at this alteration of Religion, beganne to make a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, taking his Theame out of the wordes of S. Iohn: He that ſayth, he hath no ſinne, is a lyer, and the trueth is not in hym. &c. And ſo vpon the ſame verye impertinently declared to them all ſuche Articles as were ſet forth by the Popes authority, and by the commaundement of the Byſhoppes of this Realme; ſaying moreouer vnto the people in this wiſe: Now Mayſters and neighbors reioyce and be mery, for the prodigall ſonne is come home. For I knowe that the moſt part of you be as I am: for I know your hartes well enough. And I ſhall tell you what hath happened in this weeke paſt. I was before my Lord Cardinall Pooles grace, & he hath made me as clean from ſinne, as I was at the fontſtone: & on Thurſday laſt being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the ſame vnto you. And I wyll tell you what it is. And ſo reading the Popes Bull of pardon that was ſent into Englande, he ſayde, he thanked God that euer he had liued to ſee that day: adding moreouer that he beleeued, that by the vertue of that Bull he was as cleane from ſinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediately

A terrible example of Gods ſeuere puniſhment vpon Nightingall Parſon of Crõdall in Kent.

Blaſphemy to Chriſts Goſpell puniſhed.

Anno 1555. Aprill.



✻ The Deſcription of a Popiſh Prieſt, who when he had taken away the glory and office of Chriſt, fell downe ſodenly, and dyed.

The ſodayne death of one Nightingall Parſon of Crondall in Kent, who was made by the Cardinalls authority chiefe Penitentiary of that Deanry.

vpon the ſame fel ſodenly down out of the Pulpit, and neuer ſtirred hand nor foote, and ſo lay he. Teſtified by Rob. Auſten of Cartham, which both heard and ſaw the ſame, & is witneſſed alſo by the whole country round about.

¶ Iohn Awcocke.

Aprill. 2. Iohn Awcocke, Martyr.

IN the Moneth of Aprill, and the ſecond day of the ſame Moneth, dyed in priſon Iohn Awcocke, who after was buried in the fieldes, as the maner of the Papiſtes was to deny theyr chriſtian buriall to ſuch as dyed out of their popiſh Antichriſtian Church.

Now forasmuch as hauing paſſed the month of March, we are entred into the month of Aprill, ſo ſet downe in order out of publicke Recordes, what happened in the ſayde Moneth, here followeth to be noted: That the 1. day of Aprill Ann. 1555. A Letter was ſent to the Shiriffe of Kent to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching ſecretly, and to ſend them vp to the Counſel.

The 7. day of the ſayde Moneth an other Letter to the ſayd Shiriffe for the apprehenſion of one Harwiche who went about with a boy with him preaching from place to place.

The 15. of Aprill, a letter was directed to Syr Nicholas Hare, and Syr Thomas Cornewallis, willing them to examine M. Flower alias Braunche what he meant to weare about his neck written, Deum time, Idolum fuge, and whõ els he knew to weare the like praying alſo to ſpeake to Boner Byſhop of London ſpeedely to proceed agaynſt him for his Religion according to the lawes: and that the Iuſtices of Peace of Middleſex ſhould likewiſe proceed agaynſt him for ſhedding of bloud in the Church according to the ſtatute, ſo as if he continue his opinion he might be executed at the fartheſt by the latter end of this weeke, and that his right hand be the day before his execution, or the ſame day ſtriken off.

The 22. of Aprill there was a like letter ſent to the Iuſtices of peace of Middleſex, with a writ for the executiõ of the ſayd Flower, commaunding them to ſee his hand ſtriken of before his burning.

The 29. of Aprill M. Robert Hornebey ſeruant then to the Lady Elizabeth was conuented before the Counſell for his religion: and ſtanding conſtantly to the trueth, notwithſtanding theyr threates and other perſwaſions, was therfore commited to the Marſhalſea.

¶ A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marſh, who ſuffered moſt conſtant Martyrdome for the profeſſion of the Goſpell of Chriſt, at Wincheſter, the 24. day of Aprill. Ann. 1555.

Aprill. 24. George Marſh Martyr.

THe ſayd George Marſhe was borne in the Pariſhe of Deane, in the Countye of Lancaſter, and was well brought vp in learning and honeſt trade of liuing by hys Parentes, who afterwardes about the xxv. yeare of hys age, tooke to wife an honeſt mayden of the countrey, wyth whom he continued, earning theyr liuing vpon a Farme, hauing children betweene them lawefully begotten: and then God takinge his wyfe out of thys worlde, he beyng moſt deſirous of godly ſtudyes, (leauing his houſhold and children in good order) went vnto the Vniuerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudyed, and much encreaſed in learning and godly vertues, & was a miniſter of Gods holy worde and Sacramentes, and for a while was Curate to Laurence Saunders, as he himſelfe reporteth. In whiche condition of life, he continued for a ſpace, earneſtly ſetting forth Gods true Religion, to the defacing of Antechriſtes falſe doctrine, by his Godly Readinges and Sermons, as well there and in the Pariſhe of Deane, or els where in Lanckeſhyre.

G. Marſh firſt a farmer.

George Marſh made Miniſter.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certayne aduerſaries he was apprehẽded, & kept in cloſe priſon by George Cotes then Byſhoppe of Cheſter, in ſtraight Priſon in Cheſter, within the precincte of the Byſhoppes houſe, about the ſpace of foure Monethes, being not permitted to haue reliefe and comfort of his frendes: but charge beynge geuen vnto the Porter, to marke who they were that aſked for him, and to ſignify theyr names vnto the Byſhop, as by the particular deſcriptiõ of his ſtory, teſtified and recorded with his own pen, more euidently may appeare in the proceſſe hereunder folowing.

D. Cotes Biſhop of Cheſter, a perſecutor. George Marſh detected.

¶ The handling, entreating, and examination of George Marſh, being ſent firſt by the Earle of Derby to Doctor Cotes Byſhop of Cheſter.

The examination of George Marſh, written with his owne hand. M. Barton Gentleman, and perſecutour.

ON the monday before Palme Sonday, which was the xij. day of March, it was told me at my mothers houſe that Rog. Wrinſtone, with other of M. Bartõs ſeruants did make diligent ſearch for me in Bolton, and when they perceiued that I was not there, they gaue ſtrait charge to Roger Ward and Rob. Marſh, to finde & bring me to M. Barton the day next folowing, with others, to be brought before the honourable Earle of Darby, to be examined in matters of Religion. &c.

George Marſh aduertiſed by his frendes to flye.

I knowing by this relatiõ of diuers of my frends, was diuerſly affected, my mother, and other my frendes aduertiſing me to flee and to auoid the perill, which thing I had intended afore after a weeke then nexte enſuing, if thys in the meane while had not chaunced, ſeeing, that if I were takẽ, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrengthening and aſſiſting me with his holy ſpirit I neuer wyll) it woulde not onely haue put thẽ to great ſorow, heauines, & loſſes, with coſtes and charges, to theyr ſhame & rebuke in this world, but alſo mine owne ſelfe after troubles and paynfull priſonment, vnto ſhamefull death.

G. Marſh in a perplexitye whether to flye or to tarry.

This conſidered, they aduiſed me & coũſelled me to depart & flie yͤ coũtry, as I had entended to haue done, if this had not happened. To whoſe coũſel my weak fleſh would gladly haue cõſented, but my ſpirit did not fully agree: thinking and ſaying thus to my ſelfe, that if I fled ſo away, it would be thought, reported, and ſayd, that I did not onely flie the countrey and my neareſt and deareſt frendes: but much rather from Chriſtes holy worde, according as theſe yeares paſt I had with my hart, or at leaſt with mine outward liuing profeſſed, and with my mouth & word taught, according to the ſmall talent geuen me of the Lord. I being thus with theyr aduiſe & coũſell, and the cogitations & counſelles of mine owne minde drawne, as it were diuers wayes, went from my mothers houſe, ſaying, I woulde come agayne at euening.

In the meane time I ceaſed not by earneſt prayer to aſke and ſeeke counſell of God (who is the geuer of al good gyftes) and of other my frendes, whoſe godly iudgemẽtes and knowledge I much truſted vnto. After this, I mette with one of my ſayd frends on Deane Moore, about ſunne goyng downe: and after we had conſulted together of my buſines, not without harty prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed, I not fully determinyng what to doe, but taking my leaue with my frende ſayde I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and truſt was) would geue me ſuch wiſedome and counſell, as ſhould be moſt to hys honor and glory, the profite of my neighbors and brethren in the worlde, and obteining of mine eternall ſaluation by Chriſt in heauen.

G. Marſh conſulte with G

This done, I returned to my mothers houſe agayne, where had bene diuers of M. Bartons ſeruantes ſeekyng after me: who when they could not finde me, ſtraitly charged my brother and William Marſh to ſeek me that night, and to bring me to Smethehilles the next day: who beyng

ſo

Anno 1555.

ſo charged were gone to ſeeke me in Adderton, or elſwhere I know not. Thus intending afore to haue bene all night with my mother, but thē cōſidering that my tarying there would diſquiet her with her houſeholde, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane Church, and there taried all night with an old frend of mine, taking ill reſt, and conſulting much with my ſelfe of my trouble.

So at my firſt awaking, one came to me from a faythfull frend of mine with letters, which I neuer read, nor yet looked on, who ſayd this: My frendes aduiſe was that I ſhould in no wiſe flie, but abide & boldly confeſſe the fayth of Jeſus Chriſt. At whoſe wordes I was ſo confirmed & eſtabliſhed in my conſcience, that from thenceforth I conſulted no more, whether was better to flie or to tarye, but was at a poynt with my ſelfe, that I woulde not flye, but go to maiſter Barton, who did ſeeke for me, and there preſent my ſelfe, and paciently beare ſuche croſſe, as it ſhoulde pleaſe God to lay vpon my ſhoulders. Wherupō my mind and conſcience afore being much vnquieted and troubled, was now mery and in quiet eſtate.

So betimes in the morning I aroſe, and after I had ſayd the Engliſh Letany (as my cuſtome was) with other prayers kneeling on my knees by my frendes beddeſide, I prepared my ſelfe to goe towarde Smethehilles: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houſes of Harry widdowes, of my mother in law, of Raſe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardſonne, deſiring them to pray for me, and haue me commended to all my frendes, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my litle children, for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my face any more, before ye laſt day: & ſo tooke my leaue of thē not without teares ſhed on both parties, and came to Smethehilles about 9. of the clocke, & preſented my ſelfe afore M. Barton: who ſhewed me a letter from the Earle of Darby, wherin he was commaunded to ſend me with others to Lathum.

G. Marſh tooke his leaue of his frendes,

G. Marſh of his owne voluntary minde offereth himſelf to his enemies.

Wherupon he charged my brother and William Marſh, to bring and deliuer me the next day, by x. of the clocke before the ſayd Earle or his Counſell. I made earneſt ſute with other ſpeciall frendes, which I had there at the ſame time, to M. Barton, that he woulde take ſome one of them or them all bound by recogniſaunce or otherwiſe for mine appearing before the ſayd Earle or his ſayd Counſell, that my brother & William Marſh might be at home, becauſe it was the chiefeſt time of ſeding, & their ploughes could not go if they wer not at home: but nothing could be obteined.

So we went to my mothers, and there I dyned & ſhifted part of my clothes, and ſo praying, took my leaue of my mother, the wife of Richard Marſh, and both theyr houſeholdes, they and I both weping, & ſo departed from them, and went toward Lathum, and were al night a mile and a halfe on this ſide Lathum. So the next daye whiche was Wedneſday, we aroſe, prayd, & came to Lathum betimes, and taryed there till foure of the clocke at afternoone.

G. Marſh taketh his leaue of his mother

Thē was I called by Roger Mekinſon, to come to my Lord and his counſell, & ſo I was brought into the chamber of preſence, where was preſent Syr William Nores, Syr Pierce Alee, Mayſter Shereburne the Parſon of Grapenhall, mayſter More, with others. Where when I had taryed a litle while, my Lord turned him toward me, and aſked what was my name. I aunſwered Marſh.

G. Marſh brought before the Earle of Darby.

Then he aſked whether I was one of thoſe that ſowed euill ſeed and diſſention amongeſt the people. Which thing I denied, deſiring to know mine accuſers, and what could be layd agaynſt me: but that I could not know.

Then ſayd he, he would with his counſell examine me themſelues, & aſked me whether I was a prieſt. I ſayd no. Then he aſked me, what had bene my liuing? I aunſwered, I was a Miniſter, ſerued a Cure, and taught a ſchole. Then ſayd my Lord to his Counſell, this is a wonderfull thing. Afore he ſayd he was no Prieſt, and now he confeſſeth himſelfe to be one. I aunſwered, by the lawes now vſed in this Realme (as farre as I do know) I am none.

G. Marſh examined before the Earle of Darby.

Then they aſked me who gaue me orders, or whether I had taken any at all? I aunſwered, I receiued orders of the Biſhops of London and Lincolne.

Then ſayd they one to an other, thoſe be of theſe new herretickes, and aſked me what acquayntaunce I had with them? I aunſwered, I neuer ſawe them, but at the tyme when I receiued orders.

They aſked me how long I had bene Curate, & whether I had miniſtred with a good conſcience? I aunſwered I had bene Curate but one yere, and had miniſtred with a good conſcience, I thanked God, and if the Lawes of the Realme, would haue ſuffered me, I would haue miniſtred ſtill: & if the lawes at any time hereafter woulde ſuffer me to miniſter after that ſort, I would miniſter agayne.

Whereat they murmured: and the perſon of Grapnall ſayd: this laſt Communion was the moſt deuiliſhe thing that euer was deuiſed. Then they aſked me what my beliefe was.

I anſwered, I beleued in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghoſt, according as the Scriptures of the olde and new teſtament do teach and according as the 4. Symboles, or Creedes, that is to wit, the Creed commonly called Apoſtolorum, the Creed of Nice Councell, of Athanaſius and of Auſten, and Ambroſe do teach.

And after a few wordes, the parſon of Grapnall ſayd: but what is thy beliefe in the Sacrament of the aultar?

I aunſwered, I beleued that whoſoeuer, according to Chriſtes inſtitution, dyd receyue the holye Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, did eate and drinke Chriſtes body and bloud with all the benefites of his death and reſurrection to their eternall ſaluation: for Chriſt (ſayd I) is euer preſent with his ſacrament.

G. Marſhes beliefe in the Sacrament.

Then aſked they me, whether the bread and wyne, by the vertue of the wordes pronounced of the Prieſt, were chaunged into the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, and that the ſacrament, whether it were receiued or reſerued, was the very body of Chriſt?

Wherunto I made aunſwere, I knew no further then I had ſhewed already. For my knowledge is vnperfecte (ſayd I:) deſiring thē not to aſke me, ſuch hard & vnprofitable queſtions, whereby to bring my body into daūger of death, & to ſucke my bloud. Whereat they were not a little offended, ſaying they were no bloudſuccours, and intēded nothing to me but to make me a good Chriſtian man.

G. Marſh loth to aunſwere to the queſtion of tranſubſtantiation.

So after many other queſtions, whiche I auoyded as well as I could, remembring the ſaying of Paule: Fooliſhe and vnlearned queſtions auoide, knowing they do but ingender ſtrife: my Lord commaunded me to come to the bord, and gaue me pen and incke in my hand and commaunded me to write mine aunſweres to the queſtions of the Sacrament aboue named: & I wrote as I had anſwered before. Wherat he being much offended, cōmaunded me to write a more direct anſwere, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it.

G. Marſh commaunded by the Earle of Darby to write his anſweres.

Then I tooke the pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat hee being ſore greued, after many threatnings, ſayd I ſhould be put to ſhamefull death like a traitor, with ſuch other like words, and ſometimes geuing me fayre wordes, if I would turne and be conformable as other were, how glad he would be.

In concluſion, after much adoe, he commaunded me to ward in a cold windy ſtone houſe, where was little roome where I lay two nightes without any bed, ſauing a fewe great canuaſſe tentclothes, and that done, I had a payre of ſheetes, but no wollen clothes, & ſo cōtinued till Palmſonday, occupying my ſelfe aſwel as I could in meditatiō, prayer, & ſtudy, for no man could be ſuffered to come to me but my keeper twiſe a day when he brought me meat and drinke.

The Earle of Darby cōmaundeth G. Marſh into priſon.

¶ An other examination of G. Marſh before the Earle of Darby.

On Palme ſonday at after dinner I was ſent for to my Lord and his counſell (ſauing Syr William Nores, & Syr Pierce Alee were not then preſent in place) amongeſt whō was Syr John Beram, & the Vicar of Preſcot. So they examined me yet once agayne of the ſacramēt. And after I had communed aparte with the Vicare of Preſcot a good ſpace cōcerning that matter, he returned to my Lorde and his Counſell with me, ſaying: that aunſwere which I had made before, and then did make (as it is aboue writtē) was ſufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profeſſe a perfect knowledge in that matter, vntil ſuch time as I had learned further. Wherewith the Earle was very well pleaſed, ſaying hee doubted not, but by the meanes & help of the vicar of Preſcot I would be conformable in other thinges. So after many fayre wordes he commaunded I ſhould haue a bed, with fire, and libertye to goe amongeſt his ſeruantes, ſo that I would do no harme with my communication amongeſt them.

Marſh agayne examined about the Sacrament.

Marſh yet kepeth himſelfe cloſe in the Sacrament.

And ſo after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my ſpirit then afore, becauſe I had not with more boldnes confeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch ſort, as mine aduerſaries therby thought they ſhould preuayle agaynſt me: wherat I was much greued: For hytherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid my ſelf out of their handes, if by any meanes, without open denying of Chriſt and his word that could be done.

Marſh troubled in his conſciēce for being no more bolde touching the Sacrament.

This conſidered, I cried more earneſtly vnto God by prayer, deſiring him to ſtrengthen me with his holy ſpirit, with boldnes to confeſſe him: and to deliuer me from their inticing words, and that I were not ſpoyled through their Philoſophy & deceitfull vanity after the traditions of men and ordinaunces of the world, and not after Chriſt.

Marſh prayeth for more boldenes.

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Marſh agayne examined before the Biſhops Chaplens.
Talke about the Maſſe.
Allegations againſt the Maſſe.

And ſo after a day or two I was ſent for to yͤ Vicar of Preſcot, and the Parſon of Grapnall: where our moſt cõmunication was concerning the maſſe: and he aſked what offended me in the Maſſe. I aunſwered the whole Maſſe did offend me, firſt becauſe it was in a ſtraunge language, wherby the people were not edified, cõtrary to S. Paules doctrine. 1. Cor. 14. and becauſe of the manifold and intolerable abuſes & errors cõteined therin, contrary to Chriſts Prieſthood and ſacrifice.

Then they aſked me in what place therof, and I named certayne places: which places they went about with gẽtle and farre ſought interpretations to mitigate, ſaying thoſe places were vnderſtood farre otherwiſe then the wordes did purport, or then I did take them.

I anſwered, I did vnderſtand thẽ as they did purport, & as theyr owne bookes do comment and gloſe vpon them.

Sacrificiũ Miſſæ quid ſit.

They ſayd, Sacrificium or Oblatio did not in the Maſſe ſignify any thing els, then either a Sacrifice of prayſe and thankeſgeuing, or els a memoriall of a ſacrifice or oblatiõ. So they cauſed a Maſſe booke to be ſent for, and ſhewed me where in ſome places of the Maſſe was written, Sacrificium laudis. whereto I aunſwered, that it folowed not therfore that in all places it ſignified a ſacrifice or oblation of prayſe or thankeſgeuing: and although it did, yet was not a ſacrifice of prayſe or thankeſgeuing to bee offered for the ſinnes of the people, for that did Chriſt by his owne Paſſion once offer on the Croſſe: where the wordes of the Maſſe were that the Prieſt did offer an oblation and ſacrifice for the ſinnes and offences both of himſelfe and of the people: for them that were dead, and for the ſaluatiõ of the liuing: and that the commixion of the body and bloud of Chriſt was health both of body and ſoule.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe, expounded by the Papiſtes to be nothing els but the Sacrifice only of thankeſgeuing.

The Vicare aunſwered, that was to be vnderſtanded of the commixtion of Chriſtes bodye and bloude with hys Church or people. So after much exhortatiõ vnto me that I ſhoulde be conformable to the true Catholicke Churche (which as they ment, was the Romiſh Church) I departed, not conſenting vnto them.

The Articles of D. Cromes recantation brought to G. Marſh.

So within a day or twayne came to me Maiſter More bringing with him certayne Articles, whereunto Doctor Crome had conſented and ſubſcribed in the preſence of certayne witneſſes in the dayes of king Henrye the eight and willed me to read thẽ ouer, & aſked me whether I woulde conſent and ſubſcribe vnto thoſe Articles: and after cõmunication had of one or two of the ſayd Articles, I confeſſed playnly I would in no wiſe conſent and ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles, for then I did againſt mine owne conſcience: and ſo he departed.

So within a ſhort ſpace after, which was on ſherethurſday, the ſayd Parſon and Vicar ſent for me agayn, ſaying, my lord would be at a ſhort poynt with me: for if I would not conſent and ſubſcribe vnto 4. Articles drawne out of the articles aforeſayd, I muſt go to priſon ſtrait wayes.

4. Popiſh Articles for Marſh to ſubſcribe vnto.
1. Maſſe.
2. Tranſubſtantiation.
3. Receiuing in one kinde.
4. Confeſſion.

The firſt was, whether the Maſſe nowe vſed in the church of England, was according to Chriſtes inſtitution, & with faith, reuerence and deuotion to be heard and ſene?

The ſecond whether the almighty by the wordes pronounced by the Prieſt, did chaunge the bread and wyne after the wordes of conſecration, into the body and bloud of Chriſt, whether it were receiued or reſerued?

Thirdly, whether the laye people ought to receiue but vnder the forme of bread onely, and that the one kind was ſufficient for them?

Fourthly, whether cõfeſſion to the Prieſt nowe vſed in England were godly and neceſſary?

G. Marſh denieth the Articles.

These foure queſtions or articles they deliuered me in writing, and bad me goe to my chamber and ſubſcribe my aunſweres with mine owne hand, and come agayne. So within one halfe houre, I came to them agayn, and deliuered them the queſtions with mine aunſweres. The firſt I denyed. The ſecond I aunſwered, as I did to my Lord afore, & as is aboue written. To the third I aunſwered that the lay people by Chriſtes inſtitution ought to receiue vnder both kindes, & that it ſufficeth not them to receiue vnder the one kinde onely. Fourthly, that though confeſſion auricular were a commodious meane to inſtruct the rude people, yet was it not neceſſary nor commaunded of God.

G. Marſh exhorteth to the Catholicke Church.

They much exhorted me then to leaue mine opinions, ſaying I was much deceiued, vnderſtanding the Scriptures amiſſe, and much councelled me to folow the Catholicke Church of Chriſt, and to doe as other did. I aunſwered, my fayth in Chriſt conceiued by his holy word I neyther could nor would deny, alter or chaũge, for any liuing creature whatſoeuer hee were, deſiring them to ſpeake to my Lord that during my life and impriſonment, my poore frendes might be ſuffred to relieue me with neceſſary thinges according to theyr powers, and ſo after much exhortation of them to do & beleue as the Catholicke Church did, we departed: I from thẽceforth continuing in the Porters ward not comming forth of my chamber ſauing at noone and night while I dined and ſupped.

M. She… burne a… M. Mor… examin… of Geor… Marſh.

Upon one of the Eaſter holydaies maiſter Shereburn and M. More ſent for me perſwading me muche to leaue mine opinions: ſaying all the bringers vp and fauorers of that Religion had euill lucke, and were either put to death or in priſon, and in daunger of life. Agayne, the fauorers of the Religion now vſed had wondrous good lucke, & proſperity in al thinges: with many other worldly reaſons of mans wiſedome, for as for the ſcriptures, Maiſter Shereburne confeſſed himſelfe ignoraunt.

Gods… is not to… eſteemed by proſp… rity or ad… uerſity.

I aunſwered that I beleued and leaned onelye to the Scriptures, not iudging thinges by proſperity or aduerſity: but they earneſtly aduiſed me to refuſe mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly ſhame.

I aunſwered that that whiche I dyd, I did not for the auoyding of any worldly ſhame, ſaying: my ſoule and lyfe were dearer to me thẽ the auoiding of any worldly ſhame: neither yet did I it for any vayn prayſe of the world, but in the reuerent feare of God.

Chriſt… breaking… bread, L… 24 pro… not the re… ceiuing v… der one kinde.

Then Maiſter More queſtioned with me of receiuing the Sacrament vnder the one kinde. I ſayd Chriſtes inſtitution was playne that all men ſhoulde drinke of the cup. Then he tolde me of the 24. of Luke, and the 20. of the Actes, where was but mention of breaking of bread onely: wherof he gathered, that they receiued the Sacrament but vnder one kinde.

That I denyed, ſaying: thoſe places either did not ſpeak of the celebration of the Lordes Supper, or els vnder the name of breaking bread, was ſignified and ment the receiuing of the Sacrament, both of the body & bloud of Chriſt, according to his inſtitution. So after much communicatiõ of that matter, M. Shereburne ſayd it was great pity that I being a welfauored yoũg man, and one that might haue good liuing and do good, would ſo fooliſhly caſt my ſelfe away, ſticking ſo hard to ſuch fooliſh opinions.

G. Marſh forſaketh kindred an… al together to… Chriſt.

I aunſwered as afore I had done to my Lorde and to his counſell, that my life, mother, children, brethren, ſiſters, and frendes, with other delightes of life, were as deare & ſweet vnto me as vnto any other man, and that I would be as loth to loſe them, as an other would, if I might hold them with good conſcience, and without the ignominy of Chriſt: and ſeeing I could not doe that, my truſt was that God would ſtrenthen me with his holy ſpirit to loſe them all for his ſake: for I take my ſelfe (ſayd I) for a ſheepe appoynted to be ſlayne, paciently to ſuffer what croſſe ſo euer it ſhal pleaſe my merciful father to lay on me. And ſo after I had deſired them that if I were committed to priſon my frendes might be ſuffered to relieue me, they departed.

Alphonſus booke brought to G. Marſh.

Mayſter More afore this brought vnto me a booke of one Alphonſus a Spaniſh Frier, of all hereſies wherwith the church of Rome, which he called Chriſtes true church, had bene troubled ſince Chriſtes time, willing me to read and take Counſell of that booke: & appoynted me a place, where this author did write agaynſt them that ſay, the lay people ought to receiue vnder both kindes.

This Authour I perceiued did vehementlye write agaynſt Luther, Melancthon, Pellicã & other Germaynes of this our time, in all pointes defẽding yͤ blaſphemous abuſes and enormities of the Romiſh Church, condẽning as deteſtable hereſies, whatſoeuer was written, taught, or beleued contrary to the ſame, vſing for his ſtrõgeſt and ſureſt argumentes, the conſent, agrement, and determinatiõ of the Romiſh Church. So within a fewe dayes Mayſter More came to me againe, aſking me how I liked the booke. I ſayd the authour of the booke did in all poyntes beyng a Papiſt, allow the rites and abuſes of the Romiſh church, and ſhewed him further, that this author without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures & olde Doctors, did condemn for hereſy, the lay people receiuing of this Sacrament vnder both kindes, where as this Authour witneſſeth his owne ſelfe, that Chriſtes church 900. yeares after Chriſt vſed the contrary.

Marſhes iudgement of Alphon… ſus booke.

So in concluſion he rebuketh me, ſaying I was vnlearned, & erred from the Catholicke fayth, ſtubburne, and ſtoode altogether in mine owne conceite. I aunſwered, for my learning, I knowledge my ſelfe to know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt, euen him that was crucified, and that my fayth was grounded vpon Gods holy word onely, & ſuch as I doubted not, pleaſed God, and as I would ſtand in vntill the laſt day, God aſſiſting me: and that I did not ſay or do any thing, either of ſtubbernes, ſelfe wilfulnes, vayn glory, or any other worldly purpoſe, but with good conſcience, and in the feare of God: and deſired him to ſpeake to my Lord and his Counſell, that I might finde ſome gẽtlenes and mercy at theyr handes. He made me but ſhort anſwere. Then I ſayd, I commit my cauſe vnto God, who

hath

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hath numbred the hayres of my head, and appoynted the dayes of my life ſaying: I am ſure God which is a righteous Iudge, would make inquiſition for my bloude, according as he hath promiſed. Then he tooke his booke frō me, and departed.

G. Marſh caryed to Lancaſter Caſt. II.

I continued ſtill in ward vntill Low ſonday, and after dinner my keeper Richard Scot came to mee into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to cary me to Lancaſter, and ſo deliuered me vnto them, a great company both of my Lordes ſeruauntes and others accompanying and bringing mee on the way, vnto Rich. Addertons and ſomewhat further, counſelling and perſwading like as is aforeſayd.

To whome I made playne aunſwere, that in matters of faith, I would geue place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and ſayd ẏ they wer ſory for me, ſaying: if I knew mine opinion to be good, I did wel, and ſo they departed, willing my bringers to entreate me honeſtly.

My bringers by the way ſhewed me they were willed & aduiſed to binde me, and that they deſired firſt to ſee me: and after they had looked on me, ſitting at dinner, they anſwered they would take charge of me beyng looſe, for they ſayd I ſeemed to be an honeſt man.

The firſt night we were all night at Broughton, and the ſecond day we came to Lācaſter betimes at after noone and ſo they kept me all night with them of their gētlenes, and on the morow deliuered me to ẏ Iaylor, who brought me into the higheſt priſon, where I do remaine.

G. Marſh cauſed to hold vp his handes at Lancaſter amongeſt other malefactours.

After that, the ſayd George came to Lancaſter Caſtle, & there being brought with other priſoners vnto the Seſſions, was made to hold vp his hāds wt other malefactors. The Earle of Darby had this communication with him, as here followeth.

Communication betweene George Marſh and the Earle of Darby.

Talke betweene G. Marſh and the Earle of Darby.

I Sayd vnto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the countrey theſe three or foure yeares paſt, and came home but lately to viſite my mother, children, and other my friends, and to haue departed out of the country before Eaſter the next, & to haue gone out of the realme, wherfore I truſted, ſeing nothing could be layd againſt me, wherein I had offended agaynſt the lawes of this realme, his Lordſhip would not with captious queſtions examine me to bring my body into daunger of death, to the great diſcomfort of my mother but ſuffer me to auoyd peaceably, ſeeing I might haue fled out of the country, and yet of mine owne will came to hys Lordſhip.

He ſayd to his Counſell, he had heard tell of me aboue at London: and intended to make ſearch for me, and take me either in Lancaſhyre or aboue at London, and aſked me into what land I would haue gone.

The Earle of Darby chargeth the realme of Denmarke of hereſie.

I aunſwered, I would haue gone either into Almain or els into Denmarke. He ſayd to his Counſell: in Denmarke they vſed ſuche hereſie as they haue done in England: but as for Almayne hee ſayde the Emperour had deſtroyed them.

So after ſuch like wordes I ſayde vnto him, my truſt was that his Lordſhip being of the honourable Counſell of the late king Edward, conſenting and agreeing to acts concerning fayth toward God and religion vnder great payne, woulde not ſo ſoone after conſent to put poore men to ſhamefull death, as he had threatned me, for embraſing the ſame with ſo good a conſcience.

The Earle of Darby, L. Windſor, and Lord Dacres in K. Edwardes time agreed vnto the Actes of Religion.

He aunſwered that he, with the Lord Windſor, & Lord Dacars, with one moe, whoſe name I haue forgotten, did not conſent to thoſe Actes, and that the nay of them foure would be to be ſeene as long, as ẏ Parliamēt houſe ſtode. Then my Lord did rehearſe the euill luck of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke with others, becauſe they fauored not the true religion, and agayn the good hap and proſperitie of the Queenes highnes, becauſe ſhee fauored the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good and of God, and the other to be wicked and of the deuill, & ſaid that the Duke of Northumberland confeſſed ſo playnely.

¶ George Marſh to the Reader.

George Marſh writeth his owne examinations.

FOr aſmuch as not onely when I was at Latham, but alſo ſince I departed thence, I heare that there be diuers and ſondry reportes, and opinions of the cauſe of mine impriſonment, as wel at Latham as at Lācaſter (as by credible perſons I am informed) ſome ſaying it was onely becauſe I would not do open penance, and ſome becauſe I could not agree with my Lord and his councell concerning the ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, and the maner of Chriſtes preſence there: ſome becauſe I woulde not graunt it ſufficient and according to Chriſtes inſtitution the lay people to receaue the ſayd ſacrament vnder the one kinde onely I thought it good, dearely beloued in Chriſte, and my bounden duetie, to certifie you by mine owne hand writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the trueth as neare as I could, to quyet your minde in this behalfe, and therfore I haue here written with myne owne hand the certaynty of thoſe thinges as neare as I could, here aboue expreſſed, not omitting any thing at al concerning Religion, wherof they did examine me: howbeit I perceiue in ſome thinges, I keepe not the ſame order in writing that thing which was aſked by them, and anſwered by me afore or after, as it was in very deed in al points ſauing this, telling the truth as neare as I can, deſiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bondes, that God would aſſiſt vs with hys holy ſpirite, that wee may with boldnes confeſſe his holye name: and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodyes, that wee may ſtand full and perfect in all the will of God: to whome be all honor and glory world without end. Amen.

And thus you haue heard all the whole trouble which George Marſh ſuſteyned both at Lathum, & alſo at Lancaſter, teſtified and written with hys owne hand wherto he addeth moreouer and ſayth.

While I was (ſayth he) in ward at Lathum, diuers at ſundry times came vnto me. Some ſayd vnto me that all my fellowes had recanted and were gone home, where as in deede that was not ſo, for I ſaw diuers of them dyuers times after. Other ſayd that it was reported amongeſt my Lordes houſhold, that I had conſented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his counſell.

Peters counſell to Chriſt, to ſaue himſelfe.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaſter, at this Seſſiō time many came to me to talke with me, ſome of good will towardes me, but without knowledge gaue mee ſuch like counſel as Peter gaue Chriſt as he went vp to Ieruſalem when he tooke hym aſide and began to rebuke him: ſaying maiſter fauour thy ſelfe: this thing ſhall not be vnto thee. But I anſwered with Chriſtes ſharpe anſwere vnto Peter agayne: who turned about, and ſayd vnto Peter, come after me Sathan, and perceiuing that they were an hinderaunce vnto mee, and that they fauoured not the thinges which are of God, but the thinges that are of men, I made them playne anſwere, that I neither could ne would follow their counſell, but that by Gods grace I woulde both liue and dye with a pure conſcience and according as hetherto I had beleeued and profeſſed. For wee ought in no wiſe to flatter and beare with them, though they loue vs neuer ſo well, which go about to pluck vs away from the obedience that wee owe vnto God and to hys worde, but after Chriſtes example ſharpely to rebuke them for theyr counſell.

G. Marſh followeth Chriſtes aunſwere to Peter.

Some others, yea euen ſtraungers alſo, came to mee far vnlike to theſe, who after ſober communication hadde, conſented with mee in all thinges, lamenting muche my troublous eſtate, geuing me comfortable wordes, & ſome money to, and reſorted to me often tymes, for the ſpace of two three or foure, dayes. There came alſo many Prieſtes to me by 2.3.4.5.or 6. at once, whoſe mouthes it was a thing eaſy enough to ſtopp, for the Prieſts (which is much to be lamēted) be not alwayes greateſt clarkes & beſt learned in ẏ lawe of God. At theyr departing they eyther conſented wt me, or els had nothing to ſay agaynſt me, ſaying they could finde no fault with my wordes. My communication with them was about the Sacrament. There came alſo into ẏ priſon to me mayſter Weſtby, Mayſter Aſhton of Hyll, M. Aſhton of Charerd, & many moe both gentlemen and others to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occaſion to vtter a great parte of my conſcience: for God ſo ſtrengthen me with his ſpirite of boldnes, according to my humble requeſt and prayer before (euerlaſtyng thankes be geuen him therfore) that I was nothing afraid to ſpeake to any that came to me, no not euen to Iudges, themſelues, before whome I was thriſe arraygned at the barre amongeſt the theeues wyth yrons on my feete, and put vp my hād as other did, but yet with boldnes I ſpake vnto them ſo long as they would ſuffer me.

Prieſtes not alwayes the greateſt Clarkes.

G. Marſh ſtrengthened in priſon with the boldnes of Gods ſpirite.

They alſo ſent for me the fourth tyme into their chamber, where amongeſt other thinges they layd it ſtraitly to my charge, ẏ I had reported that I knewe an whole meſſe of good gentlemen in Lancaſhyre of myne opinion, and ſtraightly charged me vppon payne of allegiaunce to the Queenes grace, to ſhew who they were. But I denyed that I had ſpoken any ſuche thinge (as it was in deede a falſe forged lye of ſome wicked wretches.) After that, they threatned and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the priſon, as they called it, and for my praying and reading ſo loud, that the people in the ſtreets might heare. The truth is, I and my priſon fellow Warbarton, euerye day kneeling on our knees did read morning and euening

Warbarton felow priſoner with Marſh.

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G. Marſh reproued for his loud praying & reading in priſō.

prayer, with the engliſh Letany euery day twiſe, both before noone and after, with other praiers moe, & alſo read euery day certain chapters of the Bible, cōmonly towards night: and we read all theſe thinges with ſo high & loude a voyce, yͤ the people without in the ſtreetes, might heare vs, and would often times, namely in yͤ eueninges, come and ſit down in our ſightes vnder the windowes & heare vs read, wherwith others being offended, complayned.

All this while George Marſhe was not yet brought before the biſhop, whoſe name was Doctour Cotes, placed the ſame time in the Biſhopricke of Cheſter. Of whoſe comming then vnto Lancaſter, the ſayde George Marſhe reporteth himſelfe as followeth.

❊ How the Biſhop came to Lancaſter and of his doynges there.

D. Cotes biſhop of Cheſter.

The Biſhops comming to Lancaſter, and ſetting vp Idolatry.

THe biſhop being at Lancaſter, there ſet vp and confirmed all blaſphemous Idolatry, as holy water caſting proceſſion gadding, Mattins mumbling, children confirming, Maſſe hearyng, Idols vp ſetting, with ſuch hetheniſhe rites forbidden by God: but no Goſpell preachyng, which Chriſt Gods ſonne ſo earneſtly cōmanded. He was informed of mee, and willed to ſend for me & examine me. Which thinge he refuſed to doe, ſaying he woulde haue nothing to do wͭ heretickes ſo haſtely: So haſty in iudgement and calling men heretickes are our biſhops in their Lordly dignities, afore yͤ heare or ſee, what is to be amended or condēned, contrary to the expreſſe commandemēt of gods word, which ſayth: Condemne no man before thou haſt tryed out the truth of the matter, and when thou haſt made inquiſition then reforme righteouſlye. Geue no ſentence before thou haſt heard the cauſe, but firſt let men tell out their tale, and hee that geueth ſentence in a matter before he heare it, is a foole & worthy to be confounded.

The B. iudgeth Marſh to be an hereticke, before he heareth him.

Haſty iudgemēt of Byſhops reproued by Gods word.

The vnmercifull ſtraitenes of the Byſhop toward G. Marſh in priſon.

And in ſtead of his liberalitie towardes me poore priſoner, he ſēt for the Iaylor and rebuked him becauſe he ſuffered mee to fare ſo well, willing to haue me more ſtraitly kept and dieted: but if his Lordſhip were tabled but one weeke with me, I do thinke he would iudge our fare but ſlender enough.

The ſchoolemaſter of Lancaſter rebuked for comming to George Marſh in priſon.

Popiſh Byſhops declare themſelues by their fruites to be very enemies to Gods worde.

Alſo, he and his Chapleines and Chancellour did finde fault with the Scholemaiſter and others, for ſpeaking to one as to a moſt heinous hereticke, and alſo with yͤ Iaylor for ſuffering them. Such is the mercy that theſe religious fathers ſhewe to the friendles and comfortles in their aduerſities. If we may knowe the tree by the fruites (as Chriſt ſaith, no man can iudge ſuch for any other but for very enemies to Chriſt and his true religion. God laye it neuer to their charges, but forgeue them and turne their hard hartes, if it be his will.

No new thing for Byſhops to be perſecutors.

Examples of perſecuting Biſhops in the old tyme.

But it is no new thing for the biſhops to perſecute the truth and the Prophetes of the Lorde, for their conſtancie in preachng of the true fayth, for ſo did their Phariſaicall forefathers, if ye marke well the hiſtories of the holye Bible. Phaſher was the head Biſhop of the Temple, the ringleader of falſe Prophetes, the chiefe hereticke taker, that is as much to ſaye, the outthruſter of true godlineſſe. After that the dignitie of Prieſthood was geuen vnto hym he abuſed it. For he taught not neither reprooued by the word, but feared the godly with crueltie. Hee not onely ſtrocke, but alſo impriſoned the holye Prophet Ieremye, though he withſtoode him not, but preſently looked for the helpe of God, ſteadfaſtly preaching the truth of God.

Byſhop Iaſan.

B. Annas and Cayphas.

What miſchiefe the vngracious biſhop Iaſō wrought among the Iewes, deſtroying all godlines and ſetting vp abhominable Idolatrous lawes, ye may reade in the iiij. chapter of the 2. of Machabees. How the execrable & blind Byſhops Annas and Caiphas, which neuer ſpake yͤ truth of God themſelues, vnleſſe it were agaynſt their willes, vnwittingly to their vtter deſtruction, howe (I ſay) they preſſed the truth in Chriſte and his Apoſtles, is ſo well knowne that I neede not to rehearſe it.

And thus much hitherto concerning the priſonment of George Marſh & his examinatiōs before the Erle of Darby & his deputies aboue named. Now proceeding further in the troubleſome perſecution of this bleſſed man, let vs likewiſe conſider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed vnder the biſhop of that ſame Dioces, which was Doctor Cotes: the effect whereof being drawne out of his own writing, here briefly is to be ſeene as followeth.

¶ The troubles and examination of G. Marſhe vnder Doct. Cotes Biſhop of Cheſter.

G. Marſh appeareth before the Biſhop.

YE heard before how G. Marſh being firſt impryſoned at Lathum, and afterward tranſlated vnto Lancaſter, was troubled by the Earle. Agayne, within few dayes after, the ſaid Marſh was remoued from Lancaſter, & comming to Cheſter, was ſent for Doct. Cotes then B. to appeare before him in his Hal, no body being preſēt but they twayne: and then he aſked hym certayn queſtions concerning yͤ ſacrament: who made ſuch aunſweres as the Biſh. ſeemed therwith to be content, ſauing yͤ he vtterly denyed tranſubſtantiation, and allowed not the abuſe of yͤ Maſſe nor that the lay people ſhuld receiue vnder one kind onely contrary to Chriſtes inſtitution: in which poynt the byſh. went about to perſwade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vayne. Much other talke he had with hym, to moue him to ſubmit himſelfe to the vniuerſall church of Rome: and when he ſaw he could not preuayle, he ſent him to priſon again: and after being there, came to him diuers times one Maſſy, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the Schoolemaiſter, one Henſham the Byſhops Chaplayne, and the Archdeacon, with many moe: who with all probabilitie of words, and Philoſophy or worldly wiſedom, and deceitfull vanity after the tradition of men and the beggarly ordinaunces and lawes of the world, but not after Chriſt (as it were all ſinging one ſong) went about to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelfe to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interprete yͤ ſcriptures none otherwiſe then that churche did: with manye ſuch like argumentes & perſwaſions of fleſhly wiſedome.

Great labour to make G. Marſh to recant.

To whom the ſayd George Marſh anſwered, that he did acknowledge and beleue (though much euill be withall annexed) one holy catholicke and apoſtolicke Churche, without which there is no ſaluation, and that this church is but one, becauſe it euer hath, doth, and ſhall confeſſe and beleeue, one onely god, and him onely worſhip, and one onely Meſſiah, and in him onely truſt for ſaluation: which church alſo is ruled and led by one ſpirite, one worde, and one fayth and that this church is vniuerſal and catholicke, becauſe it euer hath bene ſince yͤ worlds beginning, is, and ſhall endure to the worldes end, and comprehending within it all natiōs, kinreds, and languages, degrees, ſtates, & conditions of men: and that this church is builded onelye vpon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe being the head corner ſtone, & not vpon the Romiſhe lawes and decrees, the Biſhop of Rome being the ſupreme head.

The church Apoſtolick.

The church how it is one.

The nature, condition, and notes of the true Church.

And where they ſayd, the Church did ſtand in ordinary ſucceſſion of biſhops, being ruled by generall Councels holy fathers, and the lawes of holy Churche, and ſo had continued by the ſpace of fiftene hundreth yeares & more: he made annſwere that the holy church, which is the body of Chriſt, and therfore moſt worthy to be called holy, was before any ſucceſſion of Biſhoppes, generall Councels, or Romiſh decrees, neither yet was bound to anye time, or place, ordinary ſucceſſion, generall councels, or traditions of Fathers, eyther had any ſupremacy ouer Empyres and kingdomes: but yͭ it was a little poore ſely flock, diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, as ſheep without a ſhepheard in the middeſt of wolues, or as a flocke of Orphanes or fatherles children: and that this Churche was led and ruled by the onely lawes, councels, and word of chriſt, he being the ſupreme head of this church, and aſſiſting, ſuccoring, and defending her from all aſſaultes, errours, troubles, and perſecutions wherewith ſhe is euer compaſſed about,

The nature, condition, and notes of the falſe Church.

Confutatiō of the falſe church falſly defined.

He ſhewed and proued vnto them alſo, by the flood of Noah, the deſtruction of Sodome, the Iſraelites departing out of Egypt, by the parables of the ſower, of yͤ kings ſonnes mariage, of the great ſupper, and by other playne ſentences of ſcripture, that this Church was of none eſtimation, & little in compariſon of the church of hipocrites and wicked worldlinges.

Examples declaring the true Church.

He was thruſt at withall violence of craft and ſubtilty but yet the Lord vpheld him and deliuered him. Euerlaſting thanks be to that mercifull and faythful Lord, which ſuffereth vs not to be tempted aboue our might, but in the middeſt of our troubles ſtrengtheneth vs with hys holye ſpirit of comfort and pacience, geueth vs a mouth & wiſedome how and what to ſpeake: where agaynſt all his aduerſaryes were not able to reſiſt.

The falſe Church euer greater in number.

❊ An other appearaunce of George Marſh before the Byſhop.

G. Marſh agayne brought before the Biſhop and his Colleagues.

NOw, after that the ſayd biſhop had taken his pleaſure in puniſhing this his priſoner and often reuilyng him, geuing tauntes, & odious names of hereticke. &c. hee cauſed him to be brought forth into a Chappell in the Cathedrall church of Cheſter, called our Ladye Chappell before him the ſayd B. at two of the clocke in the after noone, who was there placed in a Chayre for that purpoſe, and Fulke Dutton Maior of the ſayd Cittye, Doctour Walle,

and

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…Biſhop …h his …lleagues …ing vpon G. Marſh. …Marſh …warne to …were …fore the …ſhop.

and other prieſtes aſſiſting him, placed not farre from the ſayd Biſhop, but ſomewhat lower, George wenſlow chācellour, and one Iohn Chetham Regiſter, ſat directly ouer agaynſt the ſayd Biſhop.

Then they cauſed the ſayd George Marſhe to take an othe vpon a booke, to anſwere truely vnto ſuche articles as ſhould be obiected agaynſt him. Upon whiche othe taken, the Chauncellour layde vnto his charge, that hee had preached and openly publiſhed moſt heretically and blaſphemouſly within the Pariſhe of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other pariſhes within the Byſhoppes Dioces, in the monthes of Ianuary, February, or ſome other time of yͤ yeare laſt proceding directly againſt yͤ popes authoritie and Catholicke Churche of Rome, the bleſſed Maſſe, the ſacrament of the aultar, and many other Articles. Unto all which in ſumme he aunſwered, that he neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or ſpake agaynſt any of the ſayd articles, but ſimply and truely, as occaſion ſerued, and (as it were therunto forced in conſcience) mayntayned the truth touching the ſame articles, as (ſayd he) all you now preſent did acknowledge the ſame in the time of the late king Edward the vi.

…Marſh …geth …ſelfe.

The By… …ops cle… …y more a… …le to exa… …ine then …diſpute.

Then they examined him ſeuerally of euery Article, & bad him aunſwere directly yea or nay, without circumſtance: for they were come to examine, and not to diſpute at that preſent.

Then he aunſwered them vnto euery article very modeſtly, according to the doctrine by publicke authoritie receiued, and taught in this Realme at the death of the ſayd king Edward: whoſe aunſweres were euerye one noted and written by the Regiſter, to the vttermoſt that coulde make againſt him, which cannot at this preſent be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake vpp, and hee was returned to his priſon agayne.

¶ The laſt and finall appearaunce of George Marſh before the Biſhop.

The laſt appearance of G. Marſh before the Byſhop. The Chaūcellours oration.

WIthin three weekes after this, or thereabontes, in yͤ ſayd Chappell and in like ſort as before, the ſaid Biſhop and others before named there being aſſembled, the ſayd George Marſhe was brought by the keeper and others with bils and diuers weapons, before them, where firſt the ſayd Chauncellour by way of an Oration declared vnto the people preſent, the ſayde Byſhoppes charge and burning charitie, who euen like as a good ſhepheard doth ſee to his flocke, that none of his ſheepe hath the ſcabbe or other diſeaſe for infecting other cleane ſheepe, but wyll ſaue & cure the ſaid ſcabbed ſheep: ſo his Lordſhip had ſent for the ſayd George Marſhe there preſent, as a ſcabbed ſheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in ſhewing his charitable diſpoſition towards yͤ ſayd Marſh, to reduce him frō his naughty hereſies: but all that he could do, would not help: ſo that he was now determined, if the ſayd Marſh would not relent & abiure, to pronounce and geue ſentence definitiue agaynſt him. Wherfore he bad the ſayd George Marſhe to be now well aduiſed, what he would do: for it ſtode vpon his life: and if he would not at that preſent forſake his heretical opinions, it would be after the Sentence geuen, to late, though he would neuer ſo gladly deſire it.

Interrogatoryes put to George Marſh.

Then the ſayd Chauncellour firſt aſked him whether he were not one of the Biſhoppes Dioces? To the whiche he aunſwered, that he knewe not how large his Dioceſſe was, for his continuaunce was at Cambridge. But then they replyed and aſked, whether he had not lately bene at Deane Pariſh in Lancaſhyre, and there abode? And he anſwered yea.

Note here the great …ſſe of G. Marſh. Argument. Linus and Anacletus were good men. Ergo the Pope is the ſupreame head of all Churches. Neither the place nor …ſon of the Pope …ſpoken agaynſt, but …ely his doctrine.

Then the Chauncellour read all his former anſweres that he made in that place at his former examination, & at euery one he aſked him whether he would ſticke to yͤ ſame opinions? To the which he anſwered agayne, yea, yea,

How ſay you then to this, quoth the Chauncellor? In your laſt examinatiō, amōgſt many other dānable & ſchiſmaticall hereſies, you ſayd, that the Church and doctrine taugh and ſet forth in king Edwardes time, was the true Church, & the doctrine, the doctrine of the true Churche & that the Church of Rome is not yͤ true & catholick church.

I ſo ſayd in deede, quoth Marſhe, and I beleeue it to be true. Here alſo others tooke occaſion to aſke hym (for that he denyed the Byſhop of Romes authoritie in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were Byſhops of Rome, were not good men; and he anſwered yes, and diuers others: but (ſayd he) they claimed no more authoritie in England, then the Byſhop of Caunterbury doth at Rome: and I ſtriue not, (quoth he) with the place neyther ſpeake I agaynſt the perſon of the Byſhop, but agaynſt his doctrine, which in moſt poyntes is repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt.

Thou art an arrogant fellow in dede then, ſayde the Byſhop. In what article is the doctrine of the Churche of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt?

Wherein the doctrine of the Church of Rome erreth.

To whome George Marſhe anſwered & ſayd: Oh my Lord: I pray you iudge not ſo of me: I ſtand nowe vppon the point of my life and death: & a man in my caſe hathe no cauſe to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the diſagreement of yͤ doctrine, among many other things the Church of Rome erreth in the Sacrament. For where Chriſt in yͤ inſtitution therof, did as well deliuer the cup, as the bread: ſaying Drinke ye all of this, & Marke reporteth that they did drinke of it: in like manner S. Paul deliuered it vnto the Corinthians. And in yͤ ſame ſort alſo was it vſed in the primitiue church by the ſpace of many hundreth yeares. Now the Churche of Rome doth taketh away one parte of the Sacrament from the Laity. Wherefore, if I coulde be perſwaded in my conſcience by Gods worde, that it were well done, I could gladly yeld in thys poynt.

So ſayth the Turke in his Alcaron that no man muſt diſpute of his lawe.

Then ſayd the Biſhop. Non diſputandum eſt cum hæretico That is, There is no diſputing with an heretick. And therfore when all his anſweres were read, hee aſked hym whether he would ſtand to the ſame, beyng as they were (ſayd he) full of hereſie, or els forſake them and come vnto the catholicke Churche?

G. Marſh cleareth himſelfe of hereſie.

To whom he made this full aunſwere, and ſayde: that he held no hereticall opinion, but vtterly abhorred al kynd of hereſie, although they moſt vntruely ſo did ſclaunder him. And hee deſired all the people preſent to beare hym witneſſe (if hereafter anye would ſclaunder him and ſay yͭ he held any greuous hereſie) that in all Articles of Religion, he he held none other opinion, then was by law moſt godly eſtabliſhed and publickely taught in England at the death of king Edward the vi. and in the ſame pure Religion and doctrine he would (by Gods grace) ſtand, liue, & dye. And here the Chācellour ſpake to one Leache, which ſtode neare vnto Marſhe, and bad him ſtand farther from him, for hys preſence did him no good.

Leach bidde to ſtand from Marſh.

Sentence of condemnation read agaynſt Marſh.

This being done, the Biſhop tooke out a writing of his boſome, & begā to read the ſentence of condēnatiō: but when the biſhop had read almoſt halfe therof, the Chauncellour called to him and ſayd: good my Lord, ſtay, ſtay, for if ye procede any further, it will be to late to call it agayne and ſo the B. ſtayed. Then his popiſh Prieſtes and many other of the ignorant people called vpon Marſh, with many earneſt wordes to recant, and amongſt other one Pulleyn a Shomaker ſayd to hym: for ſhame man remember thy ſelfe and recant. They bad him kneele downe and pray and they would pray for him: So they kneeled down, and he deſired them to pray for him, and he would pray for thē.

The Biſhop ſtayeth in his ſentence.

Gods mercy preferred before the Queenes mercy.

The Biſhoppe then aſked hym agayne, whether hee would not haue the Queenes mercy in time: and he anſwered hee did gladly deſire the ſame, & did loue her grace as faythfully as any of them: but yet he durſt not deny his Sauiour Chriſt, for looſing his mercy euerlaſting, and ſo winne euerlaſting death.

The B. proceedeth in his ſentence.

Then the Biſhop put his ſpectacles agayne vpon his noſe, & read forward his ſentēce, about v. or vi. lynes, and there againe the Chauncellour with a glauering and ſmiling countenance, called to the B. and ſayde: Yet good my Lord once againe ſtay, for if that word be ſpoken, al is paſt no relentyng will then ſerue: and the Byſhop (pulling of his ſpectacles) ſayd: I would ſtay and if it would be.

An other ſtay in reading the ſentence.

How ſayſt thou (quoth he) wilt thou recant? Many of the Prieſtes and ignoraunt people bad him ſo do, and call to God for grace: and pulled him by yͤ ſleeue and bad him recant and ſaue his life. To whom he anſwered: I would as fayne to liue as you, if in ſo doyng, I ſhoulde not deny my mayſter Chriſt, and agayne he ſhould denye me before his father in heauen.

G. Marſh. exhorted to recāt but could not be turned.
The B. readeth out the ſentence.
A dogged ſaying of the Biſhop.
G. Marſh deliuered to the Shiriffes.
The ſtrayt keeping of Marſh in priſon.

So the biſhop read out hys ſentence vnto the end and ſtraight after ſayd vnto him. Nowe will I no more praye for thee, then I will for a dogge. And Marſhe anſwered, yͭ notwithſtanding, he would pray for his Lordſhip: & after this the biſhop deliuered him vnto the Sheriffes of the citty. Then hys late keeper bad him fare well good George, wͭ weeping teares, whiche cauſed yͤ officers to cary him to a priſō at the Northgate, where he was very ſtraitly kept vntill the tyme he went to hys death, during which tyme he had ſmall comfort or reliefe of any worldly creature.

For being in yͤ dongeon or darke priſon, none yͭ would hym good, could ſpeake to hym, or at leaſt durſt enterpriſe ſo to doe for feare of accuſation: and ſome of the Cittizens which loued him in God for the goſpell ſake (whereof there were but a fewe) although they were neuer acquaynted with him, would ſometime in the euening at a hoale vpon the wall of the City (that went into the ſayd darcke priſō)

call

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call to him, and aſke him how he did. He would anſwere them moſt chearefully, that he did well, and thanked God moſt highly that he woulde vouchſafe of his mercy to appoynt him to be a witnes of his truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame, wherein he did moſt reioyce, beſeeching him that he would geue him grace not to faynt vnder the Croſſe, but patiently beare the ſame to his glorye and comfort of hys Churche: with many other like godly ſayinges at ſondrye tymes, as one that moſt deſired to be with Chriſt. Once or twiſe he had money caſt him in at the ſame hole, about ten pence at one tyme, & 2. ſhillings at an other tyme: for which he gaue God thankes, and vſed the ſame to his neceſſitie.

The brotherly zeale of good men in comforting G. Marſh.

When the time and day appointed came that he ſhould ſuffer: the Sheriffes of yͤ Cittie (whoſe names were Amry & Couper) with their Officers and a great nūber of pore ſimple Barbers, with rouſty Billes & Polaxes, went to the Northgate, & there tooke out the ſaid George Marſh, who came with them moſt humbly & meekly, with a lock vpon his feete. And as he came vpon the waye towardes yͤ place of execution, ſome folkes profered him money, & loked that he ſhould haue gone with a litle purſe in his hand (as the maner of felons was, accuſtomed in that Cittye in times paſt, at their goyng to execution) to yͤ end to gather money to geue vnto a prieſt to ſay Trentals of Maſſes for thē after their death, wherby they might (as they thought) be ſaued: but Marſh ſayd he would not as thē be troubled wͭ medling with mony, but willed ſome good man to take the mony, if yͤ people were diſpoſed to geue any, & to geue it vnto the priſoners or poore people. So hee went all the way vnto his death, wͭ his booke in his hand, looking vpō the ſame, & many of yͤ people ſayd: this mā goeth not vnto his death as a theefe, or as one that deſerueth to dye.

Amry, & Couper Shiriffes of Cheſter.

Marſh led to his Martyrdōe.

The old vſe in Lancaſhyre to geue money to bye Trentalls.

G. Marſh refuſeth to receaue money going to his death.

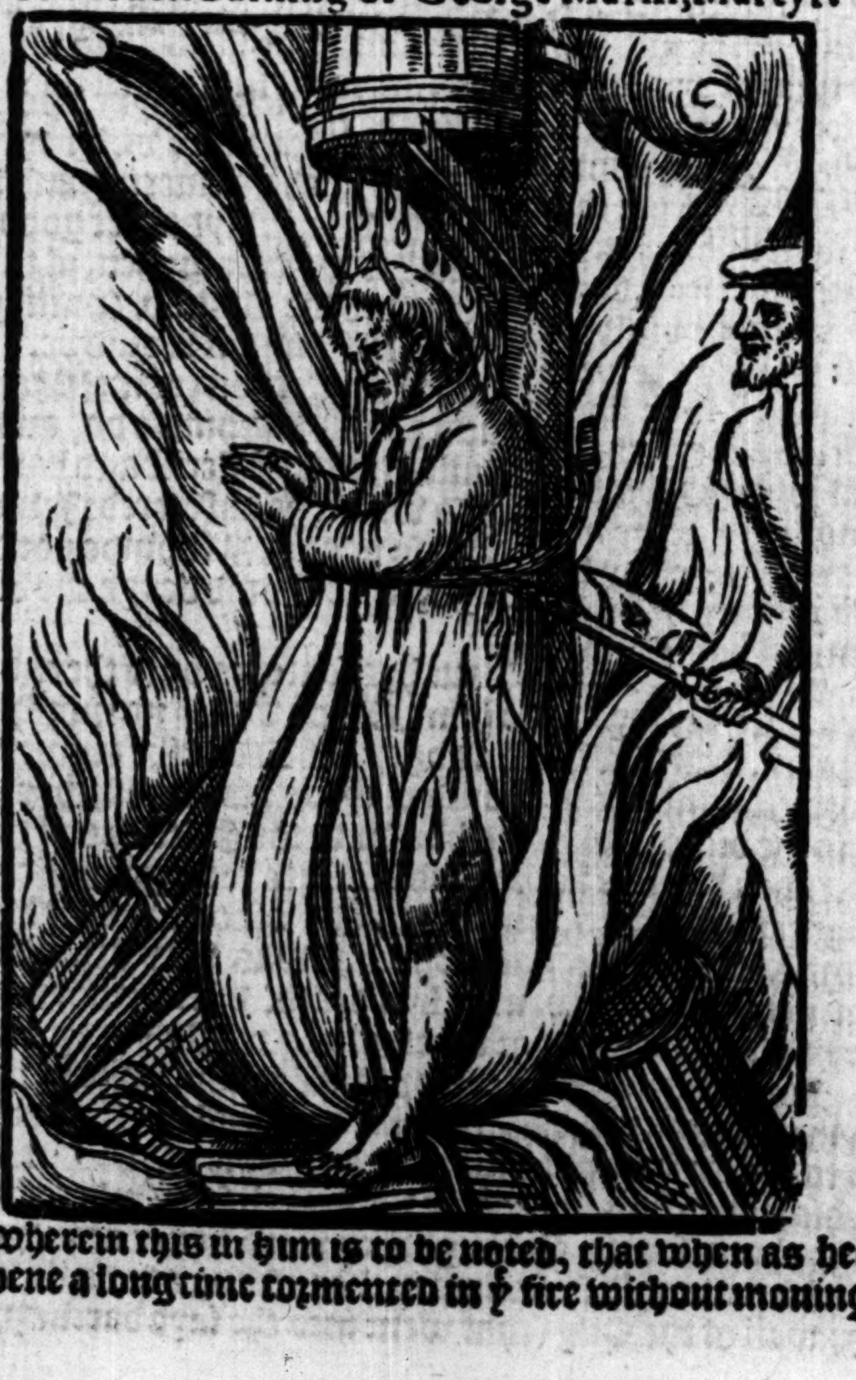
Now when he came to the place of execution wͭout the Citie, neare vnto Spittle boughton, one Vawdrey, being then deputie chamberleine of Cheſter, ſhewed Marſhe a writyng vnder a great ſeale, ſaying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Wherat Marſh anſwered, that he would gladly accept the ſame (and ſayd farther, that he loued the Queene) but for aſmuch as it tended to plucke him frō God, he would not receiue it vpon that condition.

G. Marſh refuſeth the Quenes pardon.

After that, hee began to ſpeake to the people ſhewing the cauſe of his death, and woulde haue exhorted them to ſticke vnto Chriſt. Whereupon one of the Sheriffes ſayd: George Marſhe, we muſt haue no ſermoning nowe. To whom he ſayd, Mayſter, I cry you mercy: and ſo kneeling downe made his prayers, and then put of his clothes vnto his ſhirt, and then was he chayned vnto the poſt, hauyng a number of Fagottes vnder him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tarre in the ſame ouer his head: & by reaſon the fire was vnſkilfully made, and that the winde dyd dryue the flame to and fro, he ſuffered great extremitie in his death, whiche notwithſtanding he abode very patiently.

G. Marſh not ſuffred to ſpeake to the people.

¶ The cruell burning of George Marſh, Martyr.



The Martyrdōe of G. Marſh, at Weſtcheſter. Anno. 1555. Aprill. 24.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when as hee had bene a long time tormented in yͤ fire without moning hauing his fleſhe ſo broyled and puft vp that they whiche ſtoode before him vnneth could ſee the chayne wherewith he was faſtened, and therfore ſuppoſed no leſſe but he had bene dead, notwithſtanding ſodenly he ſpread abroad hys armes, ſaying: father of heauen haue mercy vpon me, & ſo yelded his ſpirite into the handes of the Lord.

Upon this, many of yͤ people ſayd that he was a martyr, and died maruelous patiently and godly. Which thing cauſed the Biſhop ſhortly after to make a Sermon in the Cathedrall Church, and therein affirmed, that the ſayde Marſhe was an hereticke, burnt like an hereticke, & was a firebrand in hell.

In recompence of this hys good and charitable ſermō within ſhort time after, the iuſt iudgement of God appeared vppon the ſayde Byſhop: recompenſing hym in ſuche wiſe, that not long after he turned vp his heeles and dyed. Upon what cauſe his death was gendred, I haue not here preciſely to pronounce, becauſe the rumour and voyce of yͤ people is not alwayes to be followed. Notwithſtanding ſuch a report went in all mens mouthes, that he was burned of an harlot. Whereupon whether he dyed or no, I am not certayne, neyther dare leane to much vppon publicke ſpeach. Albeit this is certayn, that whē he was afterward ſearched being dead, by ſome of hys ſecret frends & certain Aldermen for ſtoppyng the rumour of yͤ people, this maydenly Prieſt and Byſhop was foūd not to be free frō certayne appearaunce, which declared but ſmall virginitie in him, & that the rumour was not rayſed vp altogether vpō naught, amongeſt the people. But of this I will ſtay, and proceed no further, not becauſe more cā not be ſaid, but becauſe I will not be ſo vncharitable in defacing theſe men, as they are cruel in condemning Gods ſeruants to death.

Letters of George Marſhe.

This good mā wrote diuers and ſondry letters out of priſon beſides his examinations, as before ye haue heard. Touching the which hys examinations, this letter firſt he ſendeth to his frendes, the copy wherof here followeth.

¶ A letter of George Marſh to the reader, touching the matter of his examination.

Here haue ye dearely beloued frendes in Chriſt, the chiefe & principal Articles of Chriſtian doctrine briefly touched, whiche heretofore I haue both beleeued, profeſſed, and taught, and as yet do beleue, profeſſe, and teach, and am ſurely purpoſed by Gods grace, to continue in the ſame vntill the laſt day. I do wāt both time and oportunitie to write out at large the probations, cauſes, partes, effectes, and contraries or erroures of theſe Articles, which who ſo deſireth to know, let them read ouer the cōmon places of the godly learned men: Philippe Melancthon, and Eraſmus Sarcerius, whoſe iudgement in theſe matters of Religion I do chiefly follow and leane vnto. The Lorde geue vs vnderſtanding in all thinges, and deliuer vs from this preſent euill world, according to his will and pleaſure, and bryng vs agayn out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleaſed the mercifull Lord to throw vs downe: and deliuer vs out of the mouth of the Lyon and from all euill doing, and keepe vs vnto his heauenly and euerlaſting kingdome. Amen.

A letter of G. Marſh to the reader.

Though Sathan be ſuffered, as wheate to ſift vs for a tyme, yet fayleth not our fayth through Chriſtes ayde, but that we are at all tymes able and readye to confirme the fayth of our weake brethren, and alwayes ready to geue an aunſwere to euerye man that asketh vs a reaſon of the hope that is in vs, and that wyth meekenes and reuerence, hauing a good conſcience, that when as they backbyte vs as euill doers, they may be aſhamed, for aſmuch as they haue falſely accuſed our good cōuerſatiō in chriſt. I thought my ſelfe nowe of late yeares, for the cares of this lyfe well ſetteled with my louing and faithfull wife and children, and alſo well quieted in the peaceable poſſeſsion of that pleaſaunt Euphrates, I do confeſſe it: but the Lord who worketh all thyngs for the beſt to them that loue him, would not there leaue me, but did take my deare and beloued wife from me: whoſe death was a paynefull croſſe to my fleſh.

1. Pet. 3.

Alſo I thought my ſelfe nowe of late well placed vnder my moſt louing and moſt gentle mayſter Laurence Saunders in the cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his great mercy woulde not ſuffer me there long to continue (although for the ſmall tyme I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workman) But he hath prouided me (I perceiue it) to taſte of a farre other cuppe, for by violence hath he yet once agayne driuen me out of that glorious Babilon, that I ſhould not taſte to much of her wanton pleaſures but wyth his moſt dearely beloued Diſciples to haue my inward reioyſing in the Croſſe of his ſonne Ieſus Chriſte: the glorye of whoſe Church I ſee it well, ſtandeth not in the harmonious ſoūd of Bells and Organes, nor yet in the gliſtring of Mitors & Copes neither in the ſhining of gilte Images and lightes (as the blyndē

G. Marſh Curate to Laurence Saunders.

The glory of the Church ſtandeth not in outward ſhewes.

Papiſtes

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Papiſtes do iudge it) but in continuall labours and dayly afflictions for his names ſake.

God at this preſent here in Englande hath his fanne in hys hand, and after hys great harueſt, whereinto theſe yeares paſt he hath ſent his labourers, is now ſifting the corne frō the chaffe and purging his floore, and ready to gather the wheate into hys garnar and to burne the chaffe with vnquenchable fire.

Take heede and beware of the leuen of the ſcribes and of the Saduces, I meane the erroneous doctrine of the papiſtes, whiche with their gloſes depraue the Scriptures. For as the Apoſtle S. Peter doth teach vs: There ſhalbe falſe teachers amongſt vs, whiche priuily ſhall bring in damnable ſectes: And ſayth that many ſhall follow theyr damnable wayes, by whom the way of trueth ſhall be euill ſpoken of: and that through couetouſnes they ſhall with fayned wordes make marchaundiſe of vs. And Chriſt earneſtly warneth vs, to beware of falſe Prophetes, which come to vs in ſheepes clothing, but inwardly are rauening Wolues: by their fruites ye ſhall know them. The fruites of the Prophetes is theyr doctrine, In this place are we Chriſtians taught that wee ſhould try the preachers, & other that come vnder colour to ſet forth true Religion vnto vs, according to the ſaying of S. Paule: Try all thinges and choſe that whiche is good. Alſo the Euangeliſt S. Iohn ſayth: Beleue not euery ſpirite, but proue the ſpirites whether they be of God or not, for many falſe Prophetes (ſayth he) are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt knowe the true Prophetes frō the falſe, try theyr doctrine at the true touchſtone, which is the worde of God: and as the godly Theſſalonians did, ſearch ye the ſcriptures, whether thoſe thinges which be preached vnto you be euē ſo or not: for els by the outward conuerſatiō of thē ye may eaſely be deceiued. Deſūt fortaſsis aliqua.

¶ A letter exhortatory of George Marſhe to the faythfull profeſſours of Langhton.

A letter of G. Marſh to men of Langhton.

Grace be vnto you, and peace be multiplied in yͤ knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

I thought it my duety to write vnto you, my beloued in yͤ Lord at Langhton, to ſtirre vp your mindes, & to call to your remēbrance the wordes which haue bene told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man & full of yͤ holy Ghoſt Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpoſe of hart ye continually cleaue vnto the Lord, & that ye ſtād faſt, and be not moued away from the hope of the Goſpel, whereof (God be thāked) ye haue had plenteous preaching vnto you by your late paſtor M. Saunders, & other faithfull miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, which now, when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of yͤ word, do not fall away like ſhrinking children, and forſake the truth, being aſhamed of the Goſpell whereof they haue bene preachers, but are willing and ready for your ſakes (which are Chriſtes miſticall body) to forſake not onely the chiefe and principall delites of this lyfe (I do meane theyr natiue countryes, frendes, lyuinges. &c. but alſo to fulfill theyr miniſtery vnto yͤ vtmoſt that is to witte, with their painefull impriſonmentes and bloudſheddinges (if need ſhall require) to confirme & ſeale Chriſtes Goſpell, whereof they haue bene Miniſters: and (as S. Paul ſayth) they are ready not onely to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to be killed for the name of the Lord Ieſu.

Actes. 11.

Whether theſe, being that good ſalt of the earth, that is true miniſters of Gods worde, by whoſe doctrine (beyng receiued through fayth) men are made ſauory vnto God, & which themſelues loſe not theyr saltnes, now when they be prooued with the boyſterous ſtormes of aduerſity and perſecutiō: or others being that vnſauery ſalt which hath loſt his ſaltnes, that is to witte, thoſe vngodly miniſters, which do fall from the word of God into the dreames and traditions of Antichriſt: whether of theſe, I ſay, be more to be credited and beleued, let all men iudge.

Wherfore my dearely beloued, receiue yͤ word of God with meekenes, yͭ is graffed in you, whiche is able to ſaue your ſoules: And ſee that ye be not forgetfull hearers, deceiuing your ſelues with ſophiſtry, but doers of the word whom Chriſt doth liken to a wiſe mā, which buildeth his houſe on a rocke, that when the great rayn diſcendeth, and the flouddes come and beate vpon the houſe, it fel not, becauſe it was grounded vpon a rocke: this is to witte, that when Sathan, with all his legion of deuils with all theyr ſubtill ſuggeſtions, and the world with all yͤ mighty princes therof, with their crafty counſels doe furiouſly rage agaynſt vs, we faint not, but abide conſtant in the truth, being grounded vpon a moſt ſure rock which is Chriſt, and the doctrine of the Goſpell, againſt which the gates of hel (that is, the power of Sathan) cannot preuayle.

And be ye followers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and receaue the word in much affliction (as the godly Theſſalonians did): for the true followers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, be they which receiue the word of God. They onely receiue the word of god, which both beleue it, & alſo frame their liues after it, & be ready to ſuffer all maner of aduerſitie for the name of the Lord, as Chriſt & all yͤ Apoſtles did and as all that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt doe: for there is none other way into the kingdome of heauen, but through much tribulation. And if we ſuffer any thing for yͤ kingdome of heauens ſake, and for righteouſnes ſake, we haue the Prophetes, Chriſt, the Apoſtles and Martyrs for an enſample to comfort vs: for they did all enter into the kingdome of heauē at the ſtrait gate and narow way that leadeth vnto life, which few do find. And vnles we will be content to deny our owne ſelues, and take vp the croſſe of Chriſt and hys ſayntes, it is an euident argument, that we ſhall neuer raigne with him.

2. Tim. 3. Actes. 14. Math. 5. Math. 7. Mark. 8.

Mortification & bearing of the Croſſe, neceſſary for all them that will raygne with Chriſt.

And agayne, if we can finde in our hartes paciently to ſuffer perſecutions and tribulations, it is a ſure token of yͤ righteous iudgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we alſo ſuffer. It is verily (ſayth the Apoſtle) a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble vs, and reſt to vs that be troubled. For after this lfe, yͤ godly being deliuered from theyr tribulations and paynes ſhall haue a moſt quiet and ioyfull reſt, where as the wicked and vngodly, contrariwyſe ſhal be tormented for euermore with intollerable and vnſpeakable paines, as Chriſt by the parable of the rich glutton & wretched Lazarus, doth playnly declare and teache These ought we to haue before our eyes alwayes, that in tyme of aduerſitie and perſecution (wherof al that wil be the children of God, ſhalbe partakers, and wherewith it hath pleaſed God to put ſome of vs in vre all ready) we may ſtand ſteadfaſt in the Lord, and endure euen vnto the end, that we may be ſaued. For vnleſſe we like good warriours of Ieſus Chriſt, will endeuour our ſelues to pleaſe him who hath choſen vs to be ſouldiours, and fight yͤ good fight of fayth euen vnto the end, we ſhall not obtayne that crowne of righteouſnes, which the Lorde that is a righteous iudge, ſhall geue to all them that loue his comming.

2. Theſ. 1. Luke. 16. Heb. 12. 1. Tim. 2.

Let vs therfore receiue with meekenes the word that is graffed in vs, which is able to ſaue our ſoules, and groūd our ſelues on the ſure rocke Chriſt. For (as the Apoſtle ſayth) other foundation can no man lay, beſides that whiche is layd already, which is Ieſus Chriſt. If any man build on this foūdation, gold, ſiluer, precious ſtones, timber, haye, ſtubble, euerye mans worke ſhall appeare, for the day ſhal declare it, and it ſhalbe ſhewed in the fire. And the fire ſhall try euery mans work what it is. If any mans worke that he hath builded vpon abide, hee ſhall receiue a reward: if any mans work burne, he ſhall ſuffer loſſe, but he ſhalbe ſafe himſelfe: neuertheleſſe yet as it were through fire.

Iohn. 2. 1. Cor. 3.

By fire here doth the Apoſtle vnderſtand perſecution & trouble, for they which do truely preach & profeſſe yͤ word of God, which is called the word of the croſſe, ſhalbe rayled vpon, and abhorred, hated, thruſt out of the companye, perſecuted and tryed in the fornace of aduerſitie, as golde and ſiluer are tryed in the fire.

Fier in ſcripture, what it ſignifieth.

By gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones, he vnderſtandeth them yͭ in the mids of perſecution abide ſteadfaſt in word. By tymber, hay, and ſtubble, are ment ſuch, as in tyme of perſecution do fall away from the truth. And when Chriſt doth purge his floore with the winde of aduerſitie, theſe ſcatter away from the face of the earth like light chaffe whiche ſhall be burned with vnquencheable fire. If they then which do beleue, do in tyme of perſecution ſtand ſteadfaſtly in yͤ truth the builder (I do meane yͤ preacher of the word) ſhall receaue a reward, and the work ſhalbe preſerued and ſaued: but if ſo be that they go back and ſwarue, when perſecution ariſeth, the builder ſhall ſuffer loſſe, that is to ſaye ſhall loſe his labour and coſt: but yet he ſhalbe ſaued, if hee being tryed in the fire of perſecutiō, do abide faſt in yͤ faith.

1. Cor. 3. Math. 5. Luke. 6. Math. 3. Pſalme. 1.

The place of S. Paule. 1. Cor. 3. expounded.

Wherefore (my beloued) geue dilligent heed, that ye as liuing ſtones be builded vpon this ſure rocke, & be made a ſpirituall houſe and a holy Prieſthoode for to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices, acceptable vnto God by Ieſus Chriſt. For we are the true temple of God, and the ſpirite of God dwelleth in vs, if ſo be that we continue in the doctrine of the Goſpell. We are alſo an holy and royall Prieſthode, for to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices & oblations, for the ſacrifices of the new Teſtament are ſpirituall & of three maners.

1. Pet. 2. 1. Cor. 3. 1. Pet. 2.

The firſt is, the ſacrifice of prayſe and thankeſgeuing, which S. Paule doth call the fruites of thoſe lippes which confeſſe the name of God.

Three ſortes of Sacrifices of the new teſtament.

The ſecond is, mercy towardes our neighbours, as yͤ Prophet Oſee ſayth: I will haue mercy and not ſacrifice. Read the xxv. chapter of Mathew.

Heb. 13. Oſee. 6.

The thyrd is, whē we make our body a quick ſacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God, that is, whē we mortifie & kill our fleſhly concupiſcences & carnall luſtes, & ſo bryng our fleſh thorough the helpe of the ſpirite, vnder yͤ obedēce of Gods holy lawe. This is a ſacrifice to God moſt accep-

Rom. 12.

table

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Epheſ.3.

Math.12.

Exhortation to perſiſt in the word of God, & not to abuſe it.

2.Pet.2.

table, whiche the Apoſtle calleth Our reaſonable ſeruing of God And let vs be ſure, that vnleſſe we do now at this preſent take better heed to our ſelues, and vſe thankfully the grace of God offered to vs by the Goſpell preaching theſe yeares paſt, wherby we are induced & brought to ỹ knowledge of ỹ truth: vnles, I ſay, we keep Chriſt and his holy word, dwelling by fayth in ỹ houſe & temple of our harts, the ſame thing that chriſt threatneth vnto the Iewes, ſhal happen vnto vs: ỹ is to witte, the vncleane ſpirite of ignorance, ſuperſtitiō, idolatry, and infidelitie or vnbeliefe, the mother & head of all vices, which by the grace of God was caſt out of vs, bringing with him 7. other ſpirites worſe then himſelf, ſhall to our vtter deſtruction, returne again into vs: and ſo ſhall we be in worſe caſe thā euer we were before. For if we, after we haue eſcaped from the filthines of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, be yet tangled therin agayn and ouercome, then is the latter ende worſe then the beginning: and it had bene better for vs not to haue knowne the way of righteouſnes, then after we haue known it, to turne frō the holy commaundement geuen vnto vs.

Pro.26.

Math.13.

Heb.6.

The place of the Heb 6. expounded.

For it is then happened vnto vs according to the true prouerbe: the dogge is turned to his vomit agayn, and the ſowe that was waſhed, to wallowing in the myre. And thus to continue & perſeuer in infidelitie, & to kick againſt the manifeſt and knowne truth, and ſo to dye without repentaunce and with a diſpayre of the mercy of God in Ieſus Chriſt, is to ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſhall not be forgeuē, neither in this world, neither the world to come. For it is not poſſible (ſayth ſ. Paule) that they which were once lighted, and haue taſted of the heauēly gift: and haſt taſted of the good word of God, and of the power of ỹ world to come: if they fall away, ſhould be renued agayne by repentaunce, for as muche as they haue (as concerning themſelues) crucified the ſonne of God agayne, making a mocking of him. S. Paules meaning in this place is: that they that beleue truely and vnfaynedly gods word, do cōtinue and abide ſteadfaſt in the knowne trueth.

Math.26. Falling from Chriſt.

To crucifie Chriſt a new what it is.

Iohn.2.

Heb.10.

If any therfore fall away from Chriſt and his word, it is a playne token, that they were but diſſēbling hipocrites for all theyr fayre faces outwardly, & neuer beleued truely: as Iudas, Symon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the knowē veritie, and made a mocke of Chriſt: which S. Paule doth call here, to crucifie Chriſt a newe, becauſe that they turning to their olde vomit agayne, did moſt blaſphemouſlye tread ỹ benefits of Chriſts death & paſſiō vnder their feet. They that are ſuche, can in no wiſe be renued by repentaunce: for their repentaunce is fleſhly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, & Iudas was, which being without godly comfort, breadeth deſperation vnto death. Theſe are not of ỹ number of the elect: & as S. Iohn doth ſay: They went out from vs, but they were not of vs, for if they had bene of vs they woulde haue remayned with vs vnto the end. Alſo the Apoſtle ſaith in an other place If we ſinne willingly after wee haue receaued the knowledge of the truth, there remayneth no more ſacrifice for ſinne, but a fearfull looking for iudgement and violent fire, which ſhall deuoure the aduerſaries.

Rom.1.

Wilfull kicking agaynſt the opē knowen truth.

Sinne vnto death.

1.Iohn 5.

They ſinne willingly, whiche of a ſet malice & purpoſe do withhold the truth in vnrighteouſnes & lying, kicking agaynſt the manifeſt & opē known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other ſacrifice for ſinne, but onely that omniſufficient ſacrifice of Chriſtes death: yet notwithſtanding, they will not commit themſelues wholly vnto it: but rather deſpiſe it, allowing other ſacrifices for ſinne, inuented by the immagination of man (as we ſee by dayly experience) vnto whō if they abide ſtill in their wickednes, & ſinne, remayneth a moſt horrible & dreadful iudgement. This is ỹ ſinne vnto death for which ſ. Iohn would not that a man ſhuld pray.

1.Cor.10.

Apoca.12. Math.24.

Rom.1.

Iohn.8. Phil.2.

Math.3.

The fruiteles figtree. Luke.13. Math.18.

Wherfore my dearly beloued in Chriſt, let vs, (on whō the endes of the world are come) taking dilligent heed vnto our ſelues, ỹ now in theſe laſt and perilous times, in ỹ which the deuill is come downe, and hath great wrath becauſe he knoweth his time is but ſhort, & wherof the Prophetes, Chriſt & the Apoſtles haue ſo much ſpoken & geuē vs ſo earneſt forewarning: we withold not ỹ truth in vnrighteouſnes, beleuing, doyng, or ſpeaking anye thing agaynſt our knowledge & conſcience, or without fayth. For if we do ſo, for what ſoeuer cauſe it be, it is a wilfull & obſtinate infidelitie, & a ſinne vnto death: And as our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: if ye beleue not: ye ſhall dye in your own ſins. For vnles we hold faſt the word of life, both beleuing it & alſo bringing forth fruite worthy of repentaunce, we ſhal with the vnprofitable figge tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut downe, and our talent taken from vs and geuen vnto an other that ſhall put it to a better vſe: & wee through our owne vnthankfulnes put from the mercy of God, ſhall euer be able to pay our debts: that is to ſay, we ſhall altogether be loſt & vndone. For the earth that drinketh in rayne that commeth oft vppon it, & bringeth forth herbes meete for them ỹ dreſſe it, receiueth bleſſing of god. But that ground that beareth thornes & breers, is reproued and is nigh vnto curſing, whoſe end is to be burned.

Heb.6.

The good ground.

Luke.8.

Mark.4.

Math.13.

The moſt part of the hearers of Gods word are but hipocrites.

Neuertheles deare frends, we truſt to ſee better of you and thinges whiche accompany ſaluation, and that ye being ỹ good ground, watred with the moyſtnes of Gods word plenteouſly preached amongſt you, will with a good hart heare the word of God & keep it, bringing forth fruite with pacience. And be none of thoſe forgetful and hipocritiſh hearers, which although they heare the worde yet the Deuill commeth, and catcheth away that which was ſowē in the hart: either hauing no roote in themſelues, endure but a ſeaſon, and as ſoone as tribulation or perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, by and by they are offended: other with the cares of this world & deceitfulnes of riches choke the word, and ſo are vnfruitful. Read the parable of the ſower, & among other thinges note and marke, that ỹ moſt part of the hearers of Gods word are but hipocrites and heare the word without any fruit or profite, yea onely to theyr greater condemnation: for onely the fourth part of ỹ ſeede doth bring forth fruite. Therfore let not vs that be Miniſters, or profeſſours, & followers of Gods worde, be diſcouraged, though that very few do geue credit, & follow the doctrine of the Goſpell, and be ſaued.

To him that hath, ſhalbe geuen, and how.

Example of Gods dealing with ſtubburne children.

Who ſoeuer therfore hath eares to heare, let him heare: for whoſoeuer hath, to him ſhal be geuen, and he ſhal haue aboundance: but who ſoeuer hath not frō him ſhalbe taken away euen that he hath: that is to ſay, they that haue a deſire of righteouſnes and of the truth, ſhall be more & more illuminated of God, on the contrary part, they that do not couet after righteouſnes and truth, are more hardend and blynded, though they ſeeme vnto them ſelues moſt wiſe. For God doth here follow an example of a louing father, which when he ſeeth that fatherly loue and correction doth not helpe towardes his children, vſeth an other way. He ceaſeth to be beneficiall vnto them, & to miniſter vnto the fatherly correction: he geueth them ouer vnto them ſelues, ſufferyng them to lyue as they luſt them ſelues.

Heb.6. Math.8.

Actes.14. 1.Tim.4. 2.Tim.4.

Actes.18. The more preaching with leſſe following draweth greater vengeaunce of Gods hand.

But we truſt to ſee better of you (my dearely beloued) and that ye lyke very Gadarenites, for feare to loſe your worldly ſubſtance or other delites of this lif, wil not baniſh away Chriſt & his goſpell from amongeſt you: but that ye with al diligence of mind wil receiue ỹ word of god, taught you by ſuch miniſters, as now when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of ỹ word, are not aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lorde Ieſus, but are content to ſuffer aduerſitie with the Goſpel, & therein to ſuffer trouble as euil doers, euen vnto bondes. And if ye refuſe thus to do, your owne blood wil be vpon your owne heades. And as ye haue had plenteous preaching of the Goſpel, more then other haue had: ſo ſhall ye be ſure if ye repent not, and bring forth fruites worthy of repentāce, to be ſorer plagued, & to receiue greater vengeaunce at Gods hand, then others, and the kyngdome of God ſhalbe taken from you, and be geuen to an other nation, which will bring forth the fruites thereof.

Iames.1. Galat.5. Tit.3. Rom.13. Actes.5.

Wherfore my dearely beloued in Chriſt, take good heede to your ſelues, & ponder well in your mindes, how fearefull and horrible a thing it is to fal into the hādes of the liuing God. And ſee that ye receiue not the worde of God in vaine, but continually labour in fayth, and declare your fayth by your good workes, which are infallible witneſſes of ỹ true iuſtifying fayth, which is neuer idle, but worketh by charitie. And ſee that ye continually geue your ſelues vnto all maner of good workes: amongeſt the which, the chiefeſt are to be obedient to the Magiſtrates, ſith they are the ordinaunce of God, whether they be good or euil, vnles they commaunde Idolatry and vngodlines, that is to ſay, thinges contrary vnto true Religion. For then ought we to ſay with Peter: We ought more to obey God then man. But in any wyſe we muſt beware of tumult, inſurrection, rebellion, or reſiſtaunce.

Ephes.6.

Iohn.18. Iob.34. Rom.13.

The weapon of a Chriſtian in this matter, ought to be the ſword of the ſpirite, which is Gods word and prayer, coupled with humilitie and due ſubmiſſion, and with readynes of hart, rather to dye then to do any vngodlyneſſe. Chriſt alſo doth teach vs, that al power is of God, yea euē the power of the wicked, which God cauſeth often tymes to raigne for our ſinnes, & diſobedience towards him and his word. Whoſoeuer then doth reſiſt any power, doth reſiſt the ordinaunce of God, and ſo purchaſe to him ſelfe vtter deſtruction and vndoyng.

1.Pet.2. Ephes.6. 1.Tim.2.

We muſt alſo by al meanes, be promoters of vnity, peace and concorde. We muſt honour and reuerence Princes, and all that be in authoritie, and pray for them, and be diligent to ſet forth their profite and commoditie.

Secondly,

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Secondly, we muſt obey our parents, or them that be in their rowmes, & be careful for our houſholds, that they be prouided for & fed, not onely wͭ bodely fode, but muche rather with ſpirituall fode, which is the word of God.

Thirdly, we muſt ſerue our neighbors by all meanes we can, remembring well the ſaying of Chriſt: Whatſoeuer ye woulde that men ſhoulde doe vnto you, doe ye likewiſe vnto them, for this is the lawe and the Prophets.

Math.7. 1.Tim.1.

Fourthly, we muſt diligently exerciſe the neceſſarye worke of prayer for all eſtates: knowing that God therefore hath ſo much commaunded it, and hath made ſo great promiſes vnto it, and doeth ſo well accept it. After theſe workes we muſt learne to know the Croſſe, & what affection and minde we muſt beare towardes our aduerſaries and enemies, what ſo euer they be, to ſuffer all aduerſities and euils paciently, to pray for them that hurt, perſecute, and trouble vs: and by thus vſing our ſelues, we ſhal obtaine an hope & certaintie of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

Praying for all eſtates. Math.5. Forbearing our aduerſaryes. Patience in ſuffering aduerſity & trouble. 2.Pet.1. Actes.20.

And thus, I commende you brethren vnto God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to builde further, & geue you an inheritaunce among al thē, which are ſanctified: beſeechyng you to helpe M. Saũders & me your late Paſtours, and all them that be in bondes for the Goſpels ſake, with your praiers to God for vs, that we may be deliuered from all them that beleue not, and frō vnreaſonable and froward mē, and that this our impriſonment & afflictiō may be to the glory and profit of our Chriſtian brethren in the world, & that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by lyfe, Amen.

This letter was written the yeare before in the moneth of Iune. Rom.15. Coloſ.4. Philip.1.

Salute from me all the faythfull brethren: & becauſe I write not ſeuerall Letters to them, let them either reade or heare theſe my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amē. The xxviii. of Iune, by the vnprofitable ſeruaũt of Ieſus Chriſt, and now alſo his priſoner. George Marſh.

Saue your ſelues from this vntoward generation.
Pray, pray, pray. Neuer more neede.

Actes.2.

An other Letter of the ſayd George Marſh, to certaine of his dearely beloued frendes at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire.

Grace be with you, and peace from God out Father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Amen.

After ſalutations in Chriſte to you, with thankes for youre frendly remembraunces of mee, deſiring and wiſhing vnto you, not onely in my letters, but alſo in my daily praiers, ſuch conſolation in ſpirite, and taſte of heauenly treaſures, that ye may therby continually worke in faith, labour in loue, perſeuer in hope, and be pacient in all your tribulations and perſecutions, euen vnto the ende and glorious comming of Chriſt: theſe ſhalbe earneſtly to exhort and beſeeche you in Chriſt, as ye haue receyued the Lord Ieſus, euen ſo to walke, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terrour of your aduerſaries, be they neuer ſo manye and mighty, and you on the other ſide neuer ſo fewe and weake: for the battell is the Lordes. And as in times paſt, God was with Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, Dauid the Machabees and other, & fought for them, and deliuered all their ennemies into their handes, euen ſo hath he promiſed to be with vs alſo, vnto the worlds end, and ſo to aſsiſt, ſtrengthen, aud helpe vs, that no man ſhalbe able to withſtande vs. For as I was with Moſes, ſo will I be with thee (ſayth God) and wil neuer leaue thee nor forſake thee. Be ſtrong and bolde: neither feare nor dread: for the Lord thy God is wyth thee, whether ſoeuer thou goeſt. Nowe if God be on oure ſide, who can be againſt vs?

An other godly letter of G.Marſh to them of Mancheſter. Coloſ.2. Philip.1. 1.Pet.3. Math.10. Luke.11. Aduerſaries not to be feared. Gods helpe alwayes ready with his ſeruantes. Ioſua.1. Rom.8.

In this our ſpirituall warfare, is no man ouercome, vnles he traiterouſly leaue and forſake his captaine, either cowardly caſt away his weapons, or willingly yelde himſelfe to his ennemies, either fearefully turne his backe and flie. Be ſtrong therefore in the Lord (deare brethren) and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt the craftie aſſaults of the deuill.

Spirituall cowardlynes. Ephe.6. 2.Cor.11. 12. Actes.21.

Now, what weapons ye muſt fight withall, learne of S. Paul, a champion both much exerciſed, and alſo moſt valiaunt and inuincible. For we muſt thinke none other, but that the life of man is a perpetuall warfare vppon earth, as the examples of all godly men, throughout all ages to declare. The valiant warrior S. Paul, being deliuered from the handes of the vngodly, and that ſo many times, and alſo from ſo many extreme pearils and dangers of death (as he his owne ſelfe doth witnes) is faine to commit him ſelfe in the ende to the rough waters of the ſea: where he was in great pearil and ieoperdie of his owne life: yet was God alwaies (to the great comfort of all that heare of it) moſt ready to comfort and ſuccour him, and glorioully deliuered him out of all his troubles: ſo that no manne that inuaded him, could doe him any harme, and in the ende he was compelled to ſaye: I haue finiſhed my courſe: the time of my departing is at hand: I long to be looſed, and to be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all, moſt heartely deſiring death.

A Chriſtian mans lyfe is a perpetuall warfare. The manifolde deliuerances of S. Paule, be examples for our comfort. Actes.28. 2.Tim.4. Phil.1.

Theſe things be written for our learning and comforte, and be to vs a ſure obligation, that if we ſubmit our ſelues to Cod & his holy word, no man ſhalbe able to hurt vs, and that he will deliuer vs from all troubles, yea from death alſo, vntil ſuch time as we couet and deſire to die. Let vs therefore runne with patience vnto the battaile that is ſet before vs, and looke vnto Ieſus the Captaine and finiſher of our faith, and after his example, for the rewardes ſake that is ſet out vnto vs, patiently beare the croſſe and deſpiſe the ſhame. For all that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.

Rom.15. Heb.12. Perſecution foloweth Chriſtian godlines. 2.Tim.3.

Chriſt was no ſooner baptiſed and declared to the world to be the ſonne of God, but Sathan was by and by ready to tempte hym: which thing we muſt looke for alſo: yea, the more we ſhall encreaſe in faith and vertuous liuing, the more ſtrongly will Sathan aſſault vs: whom we muſt learne after the example of Chriſt, to fight againſte, and ouercome with the holy and ſacred Scriptures and worde of God (which are our heauenly armour) and ſword of the ſpirite. And let the faſting of Chriſt, while hee was tempted in the wildernes, be vnto vs an example of ſober liuing, not for the ſpace of 40. daies (as the Papiſts doe fondly fanſie of their owne braines) but as long as wee are in the wilderneſſe of this wretched life, aſſaulted of Sathan, who like a roaring Lyon walketh about, and ceaſeth not, ſeeking our vtter deſtruction.

Math.3.4. Where Chriſt is Sathan there is alwayes ready. Ephe.6. Math.4. The faſt of Chriſt is to vs Example of ſober liuing. 1.Pet.5.

Neither can the ſeruaunts of God at any time come & ſtand before God, that is, leade a godly life, and walke innocently before God. But Sathan commeth alſo among them, that is, he daily accuſeth, findeth fault, vexeth, perſecuteth and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and propertie of the deuill alwayes to hurt, and do miſchiefe, vnleſſe he be forbidden of God: for vnleſſe God do permit him, he can do nothing at all, not ſo much as enter into a filthy hogge: but we are more of price then many hogs before God, if we cleaue vnto his ſonne by faith.

Iob.1.2. When the ſeruantes of God ſtand before him Sathan commeth alſo. Math.8.

Let vs therefore knowing Sathans deceits and rancor, walke the more warely, and take vnto vs the ſhield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and ouercome all the fiery and deadly dartes of the wicked. Let vs take to vs the helmet of ſaluation, & ſworde of the ſpirit, which is the word of God, and learne to vſe the ſame according to the example of oure graunde Captayne Chriſt. Let vs faſt and pray continually. For this frantike kinde of deuils goeth not out otherwiſe (as Chriſt doeth teach vs) but by faithfull praier and faſting, whiche is true abſtinence and ſoberneſſe of liuing, if we vſe the ſame according to the doctrin of the goſpell and worde of God. Faſting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocriſie, that is to ſay: if we vſe it to this entent, that thereby this mortall body and diſobedient carcaſe maye be tamed and brought vnder the ſubiection of the ſpirite: and againe, if we faſt to this intent, that we maye ſpare wherewyth to helpe and ſuccour our poore needie brethren.

Ephe.6. The ſhield of fayth. The helmet of ſaluation. The ſword of the ſpirite. Math.4. Math.17. Prayer and faſting. True faſt what it is. How to faſt without hipocriſie.

This faſt do the true Chriſtians vſe all the dayes of their life, although among the common ſort of people remaineth yet ſtill that ſuperſtitious kinde of faſting, which God ſo earneſtly reprooueth by his Prophet Eſay. For as for true chaſtening of the body, and abſtaining from vice, with ſhewing mercye towardes our needy neighbours, we wil neither vnderſtand nor heare of, but ſtill thinke with the Iewes, that we doe God a great pleaſure when we faſt, and that we then faſt, when we abſtaine from one thing, and fil our bellies with an other. And verely in this poynt doth our ſuperſtition much excede the ſuperſtitiō of the Iewes: for we neuer reade that they euer tooke it for a faſt, to abſtaine from fleſh, and to eate either fiſh or white meat, as they call it.

Abuſe of faſting among Chriſtians. Eſay.58. The Iewiſh maner of faſting reproued. The Chriſtians in ſuperſtitious faſting excede the Iewes.

To faſting and praier muſt be ioyned almes, and mercye towardes the poore and needie: and that our almes may be acceptable vnto God, three things are chiefly required.

Mercy to the poore.

Firſt, that we geue with a chearefull and ioyfull heart: For the Lord loueth a chearefull geuer.

Secondly, that we geue liberally, putting aſide al nigardſhip, knowing that he that ſoweth little, ſhall reape little, and hee that ſoweth plenteouſlye, ſhall reape plenteouſlye. Lette euerye manne therefore doe accordinge as hee is able. The pooreſt caitiffe in the world may geue as great and acceptable an almes in the ſight of God, as the richeſt man in the worlde can doe. The poore widowe that did offer but two mites, whiche make a farthing, did highly pleaſe Chriſt: In ſo much that he affirmed with an othe, That ſhee of her penurie, had added more to the offrings of God, then all the rich men, which of their ſuperfluitie had caſt in very muche. For if there be firſt a willing minde (as S. Paule ſayth) it is accepted, according to that a mā hath, and not according that a man hath not.

2.Cor.9. In almes three things required. Marke.18. 2. Cor.8.

Thirdly, we muſt geue wythout hypocriſie and oſtentation, not ſeeking the praiſe of men, or our own glorie of profite. And althoughe the Scriptures in ſome places make mention of a rewarde to oure almes and other good woorkes, yet ought we not to thinke that wee doe merite or deſerue any thynge: but rather wee oughte to acknowledge, that God of his mere mercy rewardeth in vs hys owne giftes. For what hathe hee that geueth almes, that hee hathe not receiued, hee then that geueth vnto a poore man anye manner of thing, geueth not of his owne, but of thoſe goodes whych he hath receiued of God. What haſte thou

Almes without oſtentation. Workes of mercy doe not merite with God touching our ſaluation, any thing. 1. Cor.4.

(ſaith the apoſtle)that thou haſt not receiued?If thou haſt receiued it,why reioyceſt thou,as though thou hadſt not receiued it?

This ſentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we haue nothing, but that which wee haue receiued, what can we deſerue? or what neede we to diſpute and reaſon of our owne merites? It commeth of the free gift of God,that we liue, that we loue God, that we walke in his feare. Where is our deſeruing then?We muſt alſo in this our ſpiritual warfare arme our ſelues with continuall praier,a very neceſſary,ſtrong,and inuincible weapon,and after the example of Chriſt and al other godly men, crie heartily vnto God in faith, in all our diſtreſſes and anguiſhes.Let vs goe boldly to the ſeate of grace, where we ſhall be ſure to receiue mercie,and finde grace to helpe in time of neede. For now is pride and perſecution encreaſed; nowe is the time of deſtruction and wrathfull diſpleaſure.

Math 26.
Heb. 4.
1.Mach.4.
Continuall prayer.

Wherfore my deare brethren, be ye feruēt in the law of God, and ieoperd ye your liues if neede ſhall ſo require, for the teſtament of the fathers,and ſo ſhall yee receiue great honour,and an euerlaſting name.Remember Abraham: Was not he found faithfull in temptation, and it was reckened vnto him for righteouſnes?Ioſeph in time of his trouble kept the commaundement,and was made a Lord of Egypt.Phinees was ſo feruent for the honor of God, that he obtained the couenaunt of an euerlaſting Prieſthode.Ioſua for the fulfilling the word of God,was made the captaine of Iſrael. Caleb bare recorde before the Congregation,and receiued an heritage. Dauid alſo in his mercifull kindneſſe obtained the throne of an euerlaſting kingdome. Elias being zealous and feruent in the law,was taken vp into heauen. Ananias, Azarias, and Miſael remained ſtedfaſt in the faith, and were deliuered out of the fire. In like maner Daniel being vnguiltie, was ſaued from the mouth of the Lions.

To be faythfull in temptation.
Gene.22.
Gene. 41.
Num 25.
Ioſua 1.
Num.14.
1.Reg.24.
4. Reg 2.
Dan.3.
Dan.6.

And thus ye may cōſider throughout al ages ſince the world began, that who ſoeuer putte their truſt in God, were not ouercome. Feare not ye then the wordes of vngodly men: for their glory is but dong and wormes:to day are they ſet vp,and to morowe are they gone: For they are tourned into earth,and theyr memorial commeth to naught.Wherſore let vs take good hearts vnto vs,and quite our ſelues like men in the lawe: for if we doe the things that are commaunded vs in the law of the Lorde our God,we ſhall obtaine great honour therein.

Pſal.38.
He exhorteth to zeale and courage.

Beloued in Chriſt,let vs not faint becauſe of affliction,wherwith God trieth all them that are ſealed vnto life euerlaſting:for the onely way into the kingdome of God, is through muche tribulation. For the kingdome of heauen(as God teacheth by hys Prophet Eſdras)is like a Citie builded and ſet vpon a broad field, and full of all good thinges, but the entraunce is narrowe and ſodaine,[full of ſorrow and trauaile,pearils and labours] Like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deepe water at the left, and as it were one ſtraight path betwene them both,ſo ſmal,that there could but one man goe there.If this Citie now were geuen to an heire, and he neuer went through the pearillous way, how would he receiue his inheritaunce? Wherefore ſeeing we are in this narrowe and ſtraight way, which leadeth vnto the moſt ioyful and pleaſaunt Citie of euerlaſting life: let vs not ſtagger, eyther turne backe,being afraide of the daungerous and pearillous way, but followe our Captaine Ieſus Chriſt in the narrowe and ſtraight way, and be afraide of nothing, no not euen of death it ſelfe:for it is he that muſt lead vs to our iourneys ende, and open vs the doore vnto euerlaſting life.

Actes 14.
4. Eſdras.7.
Straite is the way which the elect muſt walke in.
Death is a dore to lyfe.

Conſider alſo the courſe of thys world, howe many there be which for their maiſters ſake,or for a litle promotions ſake,wold aduenture their liues in worldly affaires, as cōmonly in warres, & yet is their reward but light & tranſitory,& ours is vnſpeakable,great and euerlaſting. They ſuffer paines to be made Lordes on earth for a ſhort ſeaſon:howe much more ought we to endure like paines (yea peraduenture much leſſe) to be made kinges in heauen for euermore? Conſider alſo the wicked of this worlde, which for a litle pleaſures ſake, or to be auenged on their ennemies, will fight with ſworde and weapons, and put them ſelues in daunger of impriſonment and hanging. So much as vertue is better then vice,& God mightier then the deuil, ſo much ought we to excell them in this our ſpirituall battaile.

If worldly men ieopard ſo much for earthly thinges, how much more ought we to ieopard for euerlaſting thinges?

And ſeeing brethren,it hath pleaſed God to ſet me, and that moſt worthy miniſter of Chriſt, Iohn Bradforde,your countreymen in the forefront of this battaile,where (for the time) is moſt daunger,I beſeeche you all in the bowels of Chriſte to helpe vs and all other our felowſouldiors ſtanding in like perillous place, with your praiers to God for vs, that we maye quite our ſelues like men in the Lord, and geue ſome example of boldnes & conſtancie, mingled with pacience in the feare of God, that yee and others our brethren,thorough oure example, may be ſo encouraged and ſtrengthned to folow vs, that ye alſo may leaue example to your weake brethren in the world, to followe you.Amen.

Conſider what I ſay: the Lorde geue vs vnderſtanding in all things. Brethren the time is ſhort: it remaineth that yee vſe thys world as though ye vſed it not: for the faſhion of this worlde vaniſheth away. See that ye loue not the world,neither the things that are in the world: but ſet your affection on heauenly things, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Be meeke,& long ſuffering, ſerue and edifie one other, with the gift that God hath geuen you.Beware of ſtrange doctrine: lay aſide the old conuerſation of greedy luſtes,and walke in a new life. Beware of all vncleannes,couetouſnes,fooliſh talking,falſe doctrine & dronkennes:Reioyce & be thankful towardes God,& ſubmit your ſelues one to an other. Ceaſe from ſinne,ſpend no more time in vice,be ſober and apt to pray,be pacient in trouble,loue each other,and let the glory of God and profite of your neighbor, be the onely marke ye ſhoote at in all your doings.Repent ye of the life that is paſt,and take better heede to your doings hereafter. And aboue all things cleaue yee faſt to him,who was deliuered to death for our ſins, & roſe againe for our iuſtification.To whome with the father & the holy ghoſt be al honor & rule for euermore.Amen.

2.Tim.2.
1. Cor.7.
1 Iohn
Coloſſ.3.
Doctrine of good workes.

Salute from me in Chriſte all others, which loue vs in the faith,and at your diſcretiō make them partakers of theſe letters: and pray ye all for me and other in bondes for the Goſpell, that the ſame God (which by his grace hathe called vs from wicked papiſtrie,vnto true Chriſtianitie,and now of loue prooueth our patience by perſecution,wil of his mercy and fauour in the end glorioully deliuer vs,either by death,or by life,to his glory,Amē. At Lancaſter the 30.of Auguſt.1554.

By me an vnprofitable ſeruant of
Chriſt,George Marſh.

To his welbeloued in Chriſt Ienkin Crampton, Iames Leiuer, Elice Fogge, Rafe Bradſhaw, the wife of Richard Bradſhaw, Elice Crampton, and to euery one of them be theſe deliuered from Lancaſter. G.Marſh.

The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, & the loue of God, & the felowſhip of the holy Ghoſt be w you al. Amen. After ſalutations in Chriſt, and harty thanks for your frendly tokens, and your other remembraunces towards me, beſeeching God yͭ ye may encreaſe in faith, feare, loue, and all good gifts, & grow vp into a perfit man in Chriſt: theſe be earneſtly to exhort you, yea & to beſeech you in the tender mercy of Chriſte, that w purpoſe of heart ye continually cleaue vnto the Lorde, and that ye worſhip & ſerue him in ſpirite, in the goſpel of his ſonne. For God wil not be worſhipped after the commandements & traditions of men, neither yet by any other meanes appoynted, preſcribed, and taught vs, but by his holy word. And though all men for the moſt parte defile them ſelues with the wicked traditions of men & ordinaunces after yͤ world, and not after Chriſt: yet doe ye after the enſample of Tobie, Daniel & his 3. companions, Mathathias and his 5. ſonnes, be at a poynt with your ſelues that ye wil not be defiled wyth yͤ vncleane meates of the heathen, I do meane the filthineſſe of Idolatrie, and the very Heatheniſh ceremonyes of the Papiſtes: but as true worſhippers, ſerue ye God in ſpirite and verity, according to his ſacred Scriptures: which I would wiſh and will you aboue all things continually and reuerently (as both S. Paule and Chriſt commaund you) to ſearche and read, with the wholeſome monitions of the ſame: to teach, exhort, comfort & edifie one an other, and your brethren & neighbours, now in time of thys our miſerable captiuitie, and great famiſhment of ſoules, for want of the foode of Gods worde. And doubt not, but that the mercifull Lord, who hath promiſed to be with vs euen vnto the worldes end, and that whenſoeuer 2. or 3. be gathered together in his name, hee will be in the middeſt of them, will aſſiſt you, and teach you the right meanings of the ſacred Scriptures, will keepe you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promiſed.

1. Cor. 13.
An other letter of G. Marſh to certaine of his frendes.
Ephes.4.
Act.11.
Rom.1.
Coloſſ.1.
Toby 1.
Daniel 1.
1.Macha.1.
Iohn.4.
Iohn.5.
Tymo.3.
Math.18.
Math.28.

And though ye thinke your ſelues vnable to teach, yet at the cōmaundement of Chriſt now in time of famine, the hungry people being in wildernes farre frō any townes, which if they be ſent away faſting, are ſure to faint & periſh by the way, employ and beſtow thoſe fiue loaues and two fiſhes that ye haue, vpon that hungrie multitude, although ye thinke it nothing among ſo many. And yͭ he increaſed the v. loaues and the ij. fiſhes to feede v. M. men, beſides women and children, ſhall alſo augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Chriſt, but alſo to an exceding great increaſe of your knowledge in God & his holy word. And feare not your aduerſaries: for either according to his accuſtomed maner God ſhal blind their eies that they ſhal not eſpie you, either get you fauour in their ſight, either els graciouſly deliuer you out of their handes by one meanes or other.

Iohn.6.
Math.14.
Phil.1.

Obey with reuerence al your ſuperiours, vnleſſe they commaund idolatrie or vngodlineſſe. Make prouiſion for your houſholds, chiefly that they be inſtructed and taught in the law of God. Loue your wiues euen as your owne ſelues, & as Chriſt loued the congregatiō. Loue your children, but rate thē not, leſt they be of a deſperate mind: and bring

Leſſons of Chriſten maners.

bring them vp in the nurture & information of the Lorde, and teache them euen as the godly parents of Tobie the younger, and Suſanna did teach their children, euen from their infancy to reuerence God according to his lawe, & to abſtaine from ſin, prouiding ỹ in no wiſe they be brought vp in idlenes & wantonnes, ſeing ỹ ye recken your ſelues to be the children of God, and looke for the life whych God ſhall geue to them that neuer tourne their beliefe from him. See that ye euer feare God, and keepe his commaundements: and though the plague of God chance vnto you, yet remaine yee ſtedfaſt in the faith and feare of God, and thanke him and ſerue hym in ſuch holines and righteouſnes as are acceptable before him all the dayes of your life. Comfort your ſelues in all your aduerſities, & ſtay your ſelues in him, who hath promiſed not to leaue you as fatherles and motherles children without any comfort, but ỹ he wil come to you like a moſt gentle & merciful Lorde. He will continually ſtand by you in all your troubles, aſsiſting, helping and ſuccoring you at all times. I wil be with you (ſayth he) vnto the ende of the world. And cleaue you faſt vnto him, which was incarnate, liued, wrought, taught, & died for your ſinnes: yea roſe againe from death, aſcended into heauen for your iuſtification. Repent ye of the life that is paſt, and ceaſe from ſinne, and from hence forward liue as much time as remaineth in the fleſh, not after the luſts of men, but after the will of God. To do good & diſtribute, forget not. Faſt and pray buſily, & as euery man hath receiued the gift, miniſter the ſame one to an other as good miniſters of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be gloriſied through Ieſus Chriſt, to whome be praiſe and dominion for euer, and while the world ſtandeth, Amen.

Yours George Marſh.

An other Letter.

The ſame grace and peace (dearely beloued in Chriſte) doe I intirely deſire and wiſh vnto you, which the Apoſtle S. Paule wiſheth to all them, vnto whome he did write and ſend hys Epiſtles, then which 2. things no better can be wiſhed and deſired of God. Grace is throughout all the Epiſtles of Paule, taken for the free mercy and fauour of God, wherby he ſaueth vs freely, without any deſeruings or workes of the lawe. In like maner peace is taken for the quietnes and tranquillitie of the conſcience, being throughly perſwaded that through the only merits of Chriſtes death and bloudſhedding, there is an attonement and peace made betweene God and vs, ſo that God will no more impute our ſinnes vnto vs, nor yet condemne vs.

Dearely beloued, I wil not be negligent to put you alwaies in remembraunce of things, though that yee knowe them your ſelues, and be alſo eſtabliſhed in the preſent truthe: notwithſtanding, I thinke it mete (as long as I am in this tabernacle) to ſtirre you vp, by putting you in remembraunce. Wherefore I beſeeche you brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Ieſus, that ye encreaſe more and more, euē as ye haue receiued how ye ought to walke and to pleaſe God. And as Barnabas that good man, & full of the holy ghoſt, exhorted the Antiochiās, with purpoſe of hart, cleaue ye continually vnto the Lord. And ſtand faſt, & be not moued frō the hope of the Goſpell, whereof (God be thanked) ye haue had plenteous preaching vnto you theſe yeares paſt, by the faithfull Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, Leiuer, Pilkenton, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the worde, doe not fall away like ſhrinking children and forſake the truthe, but are preſt and ready for your ſakes, which are hys myſticall body, to forſake the chiefe & principall delites of this life, and ſome of them in geuing place to the outragious tyrannie of the world, to forſake their liuings, frends, natiue land, and other chiefe pleaſures of this life, and to commit themſelues to painefull exile, that if it pleaſe God, Chriſt may come againe out of Egypt. And other ſome are ready to fulfil their miniſterie vnto the vtmoſt: that is to witte, with their painfull impriſonmentes and bloudſhedding (if neede ſhall ſo require) to confirme and ſeale Chriſtes Goſpell, whereof they haue bene miniſters: and as S. Paul ſayth: not onely to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to die for the name of the Lord Ieſus.

Be ye not therefore aſhamed of the teſtimonie of our Lorde Ieſus, neither be yee aſhamed of vs which are his priſonners, but ſuffer ye aduerſitie with the goſpel, for which worde we ſuffer as euil doers, euen vnto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with vs. Therefore we ſuffer all things for the elect ſake, that they alſo may obtaine the ſaluation which is in Chriſt Ieſu, with eternall glory: wherefore ſtand ye faſt in the faith, and be not moued from the hope of the Goſpell, and ſo ſhall ye make vs euen wyth ioy to ſuffer for your ſakes, and as the Apoſtle ſayeth. To fulfill that which is behinde of the paſsions of Chriſt in our fleſh, for his bodies ſake, which is the congregation. Saint Paul doth not here meane, that there wanteth any thinge in the paſsion of Chriſte, which may be ſupplied by man, for the paſsion of Chriſt (as touching his owne perſon) is that moſt perfecte and omniſufficient ſacrifice, wherby we are all made perfect, as many as are ſanctified in his bloud: but theſe his words ought to be vnderſtande of the elect and choſen, in whome Chriſt is and ſhall be perſecuted vnto the worldes ende. The paſsion of Chriſt then, as touching his myſticall body which is the Church, ſhall not be perfecte till they haue all ſuffered, whome God hath appoynted to ſuffer for his ſonnes ſake. Wherefore ſtabliſh your ſelues and be of good comfort, & be not mooued in theſe afflictions, knowing that we are appoynted therunto. For on your partes nothing cā be greater conſolation & inwarde ioy vnto vs in our aduerſitie, then to heare of your faith and loue, and that yee haue a good remembrance of vs alwaies, praying for vs as we doe for you, as the Apoſtle wryteth of the Theſſalonians, ſaying: Nowe are we aliue if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lorde: for good ſhepheardes doe alwayes count the welfare and proſperous eſtate of Chriſtes flocke to be their owne: for while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth wel with them alſo in whatſoeuer affliction or aduerſity they be: but when they ſee the churche in any pearill or weakeneſſe, then be they wearie of their owne liues, then can they haue no reſt nor ioy. Who is weake, ſayeth S. Paule, and I am not weake? Who is offended and I do not burne? But this affection is not in them that ſeeke their owne luker and glory.

The condition of a true Paſtor.

And for aſmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare vpon earth, let vs run with ioy vnto the battell that is ſet before vs, & like good warriours of Ieſus Chriſt, pleaſe him, who hath choſen vs to be ſoldiors, & not like ſhrinking children faint and fall away from the truth nowe in time of aduerſitie and tribulation, wherewith all that wil liuely godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt be tried, euen as golde & ſiluer is prooued in the fire, and whereof all the ſcriptures haue geuen vs ſo much forewarning. For God is wōt for the moſt part, to warne his electe and choſen what affliction and trouble ſhal happen vnto them for his ſake, not to the entent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their mindes againſt the boiſtrous ſtormes of perſecution. As we haue a notable exāple in the Apoſtle S Paule, vnto whome God ſent Agabus, who prophecied vnto him of the impriſonment and bandes, that hee ſhould ſuffer at Ieruſalem: In whom we haue alſo a good example of conſtancie & ſtedfaſtnes, which regarding nothing the teares of his familiar frēds, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire & water go on ſtil to ſet forth the glory of God; and he being deliuered frō the hands of his vngodly & bloudthirſty enmies, & that ſo many times, is in cōcluſion fain to commit himſelf to the rough waters of the ſea, where he was a long ſeaſon in great peril & ieoperdy of his own life. But God was alwais (to the great cōfort of all that ſhal heare of it) moſt ready to help & ſuccor hym. Firſt he did ſend him a moſt frendly and ſwete cōpanye, I meane Ariſtarchus and Lucas, ſo ruling the heart of the vnder captaine Iulius, that he courteouſly intreated him, & gaue him liberty to go to his frendes, and to refreſh him ſelfe, and he was beneficiall vnto him at all times. In like manner was God with Ioſeph, and deliuered him from all his aduerſities, and gaue him fauoure and wiſedom in the ſight of Pharao king of Egypt, in ſo much that he made him Gouernour ouer all Egypt, and ouer all his houſhold. In like manner was hee with Ieremie, and Daniel in theyr great troubles, and appoynted men for them in their moſt troubles, to relieue, ſuccour, and helpe them to their ſingular comfort.

A chriſtian mans lyfe is a warfare vpon earth.

The Church is euer forewarned before afflictions.

Actes.27.

Alſo when Peter was in Herodes priſon, ſleeping betwene 2. ſoldiours, bound with 2 chaines, and the kepers before the dore keeping the priſone, the ſame night that Herode had intended to haue brought him out vnto the people the day following, and to haue put him vnto death to pleaſe the Iewes withal, as a litle before he had killed Iames the brother of Iohn with the ſword: god ſent his angel, and the chaines fell off from Peters hands, and the yron gate opened vnto him by his owne accorde, and ſo was Peter wonderfully deliuered by God. For it is the true liuing God that looſeth al bandes, and deliuereth out of priſon, and not that fained God S. Leonard. On that true God did S. Peter call: vnto him did he aſcribe the glory of his deliuerance, ſaying: Nowe I know of a truth that God hath ſent his Angel. &c.

Peter deliuered out of priſon.

Theſe things are written for our learning, that we through patience and comforte of the ſcriptures might haue hope. The God of patience and comfort, grāt that we be like minded one towardes an other, after the enſample of Chriſte Ieſu, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorifie God the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

A poore priſoner for Chriſt, George Marſh.

An other letter of George Marſhe
to Robert Langley.

The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, & the loue of God, and the fellowſhip of the holy Ghoſt be with you good brother in Chriſte, Robert Langley, & with all them that loue the Lord Ieſus vnfainedly. Amen.

An other letter of G. Marſh to Robert Langely, and others.

After harty commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did viſite me a priſoner in Chriſt, & vnacquainted with you, to your coſtes, this ſhal be to let you knowe, that yee ſhall receiue from me mine examination and handling at

Anno. 1555. Aprill.

Lathum, and the cauſe of mine impriſonmēt, according as I did promiſe you: and this ye ſhal receiue by my brother or ſome one of the Bradſhawes of Bolton win this ſeuen night, willing you to ſhew the ſame to ſuch faithfull mē about Mancheſter or els where, as you do take to be fauorers of true religion, and Chriſtes holy word, and then to deliuer it againe. And wheras you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing neceſſary vnto thys life, you with ſome others, would be bearers with me in this my coſtly and paineful affliction. I geue you moſt hearty thankes, and reioyce greatly in the Lord, who ſtirreth vp the hearts of others to be carefull for me in this my great neceſſitie. I thanke God, as yet I doe want nothing, and intende to be as little chargeable vnto others (ſauing my mother) as I can. If I do want, I wil be bolde wyth you and others, to ſend for your reliefe and helpe in my neceſſitie: deſiring you in the meane while to pray for mee, and all others in the bondes of Chriſt: that God woulde performe the thing which he hath begon in vs, that we maye with boldneſſe confeſſe Ieſus Chriſte, and fighte the good fight of faith.

Yours George Marſh.

A letter of George Marſhe to a certaine godly frende.

An other letter of G Marſh to to his frend.

GRace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God and Ieſus the Lord.

After hearty commendations and thankes to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your louing letters, ful of conſolation to me as touching my perſon to you vnknowen: theſe ſhall be to certifie you that I reioyce greatly in the Lorde, when I do perceiue how my ſweete ſauiour Chriſt doth ſtirre vp the mindes, not only of my familiar frends in times paſt, but alſo of ſondry and diuers heeretofore vnto me vnknowne and vnacquainted, to beare part with me in this my painfull & coſtly impriſonment, ſending me things not onely neceſſary for thys preſent life, but alſo comfortable letters, incouraging & exhorting me to continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the faith, and not to be moued away from the hope of the Goſpell, wherof, according to my ſmall talent I haue bene a miniſter: and daily I call and crie vnto the Lord, in whom is al my truſt, and wythout whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begon a good worke in me, wold vouchſafe to go forth with it vntill the day of Ieſus Chriſt, being ſurely certified in my conſcience of this, that he will ſo doe, for as much as he hath geuen me, that not only I ſhoulde beleeue on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. The Lord ſtrengthen me with hys holy ſpirite, that I maye be one of the number of thoſe bleſſed, which enduring to the ende, ſhalbe ſaued.

And whereas you ſay that my ſuffering of perſecution wyth Chriſt, is a thing to you moſt comfortable, I make anſwere that in all mine aduerſitye and neceſitye, nothing on your behalfe is greater conſolation vnto me, then to heare of the faith and loue of others, and how they haue good remembrance of vs alwayes, euen as the Apoſtle reporteth by the Theſſalonians, ſaying: Now are ye aliue if ye ſtande ſtedfaſt in the Lorde. For my truſt in the Lord is, that this my buſineſſe ſhall happen to the furtherance of the goſpel, and that you will be none of thoſe forgetfull and hypocritiſh hearers, whereof ſome being but wayſide hearers, the deuil commeth and taketh away the woord out of their heartes, leaſt they ſhoulde beleeue and be ſaued (but lette praier be made without ceaſsing by the congregation vnto God for them) and (no doubt) God will to your conſolation, glorioușly deliuer by one meanes or other his oppreſſed. Onely tary ye the Lords leiſure: be ſtrong, let your heart be of good comfort, and waite yee ſtill for the Lorde. He tarieth not, that will come, looke for hym therefore and faint not, and he will neuer faile you.

Wayſide hearers of the worde.

Yours George Marſh.

A letter of a godly brother one Iames Bradſhaw, ſent to George Marſh in priſone.

A letter of Iames Bradſhaw to George Marſh.

What good affliction worketh in the godly.

GRace and peace from God the father, and the Lord Ieſu Chriſt be with you alway. Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great cōfort vnto vs, to ſee you take the croſſe ſo thankefully. Trouble & affliction doth proue, try, inſtructe, confirme & ſtrengthen the faith, prouoke and ſtirre vp prayer, driue and force vs to amendement of life, to the feare of God, to meekenes, to patience, to conſtancie, to gentleneſſe, to ſoberneſſe, temperancie, and to all maner of vertues, and are the occaſion of exceeding much good, as wel tranſitorie as eternal, in this world as in the world to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor vngodly, but hee hathe one croſſe or other. And although ſome there be that can ſhift for a while, and make prouiſion for thēſelues for a time, by craft or ſubtilty and diſſimulatiō, or by ſome faſhion in fellowſhip (as they call it) yet they bring them ſelues at length into the higheſt danger, confuſion and ſhame, both in this world, & in the world to come. And ſeing that all the troubles and aduerſity in this world, are a thouſand times more light & eaſy, yea nothing in cōpariſon of the eternal fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the vnfaithfull and wicked enemies of God: all faithfull and godly perſons ought to beare and ſuffer their tranſitorye affliction and aduerſitie the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully: conſidering and remembring all the dearely beloued frendes of God, which were wonderfully vexed & plaged of their enemies, Abraham of the Caldeis, Lot, of the Sodomites, Iſaac, of Iſmael, Iacob of Eſau, Moſes of his people, Dauid of Sayle and of his owne ſonnes. As for Iob, he had not a drop of bloud in hys body. Iohn Baptiſt the holyeſt that euer was borne of a woman, was without any law, right or reaſon, beheaded in priſon, as thoughe God had knowen nothing at all of hym.

We haue many thouſand fellow martyrs and companions of our miſerie and aduerſitie, in reſpecte of whoſe impriſonment, racking, chaines, fire, wilde beaſtes, and other meanes, wherwith they were tormented, al that we ſuffer is but a blaſt of winde. Therefore nowe who ſoeuer is aſhamed of the croſſe of Chriſt, and agreeth therewith, the ſame is aſhamed to haue Chriſt for his fellow & companion, and therefore ſhal the Lord Ieſus Chriſt be aſhamed of him againe at the latter day.

Thus I leaue for this time, beſeeching you to lette me haue your aduiſe, because I do not outwardly ſpeake that with my tong, that I do thinke in my heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beſeeche the holy Ghoſt haue you in hys keeping alway. Amen.

By your frend Iames Bradſhaw.

A prayer of George Marſh, which he vſed daily to ſay.

OH Lord Ieſu Chriſt, which art the onely phiſition of woūded conſciences, wee miſerable ſinners truſting in thy gratious goodnes, doe briefly open to thee the euil tree of our heart, with all the rootes, boughes, leaues and fruits, & withal the crookes, knots and knoures, all which thou knoweſt: for thou throughly perceiueſt as wel the inwarde luſtes, doubtings, and denying thy prouidēce, as theſe groſſe outward ſinnes which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherfore we beſeeche thee, according to the litle meaſure of our infirmitie, althoughe we be farre vnable and vnapt to pray, that thou wouldeſt mercifully circumciſe our ſtonie hearts, and for theſe old hearts, create new within vs, and repleniſh vs with a new ſpirite, and water vs and moyſten vs wyth the iuyce of heauenly grace, and welles of ſpiritual waters, wherby the inwarde venome and noyſome iuyce of the fleſh may be dried vp, and cuſtome of the olde man changed, and our heart alwaies bringing forth thornes and briers to be burned with fire, from hence foorth may beare ſpiritual fruites in righteouſnes & holineſſe, vnto life euerlaſting. Amen.

Beloued, amonge other exerciſes, I doe daily on my knees vſe this confeſſion of ſinnes, willing and exhorting you to do the ſame, & daily to acknowledge vnfainedly to God your vnbelief, vnthākfulnes, & diſobedience againſt him. This ſhal ye do if ye wil diligently conſider and loke your ſelues firſt in the pure glaſſe of Gods commaundements, and there ſee our outward filthines and vncleanes, and ſo learne to vanquiſh the ſame, that is to wit, to fall in hearty diſpleaſure againſt ſinne, & therby be prouoked to long after Chriſt. For we truely are ſinners: but he is iuſt, and the iuſtifier of all them that beleue on him. We are poore, but he is rich in mercy towarde all them that call vpon him. If we hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſſe, let vs reſort vnto his table, for he is a moſt liberall feaſt maker. He wil ſet before vs his owne holy body, which was geuē for vs to be our meat, and hys precious bloud which was ſhed for vs, and for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes, to be our drinke. He biddeth, willeth, & calleth for geaſts, which hunger and thirſt. Come (ſayeth he) all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refreſh you, coole and eaſe you, and you ſhall finde reſt vnto your ſoules.

The life and hiſtorie of W. Flower, who for ſtriking of a prieſt, was apprehended, firſt hauing hys hande cut off, and after martyred for his conſtant ſtanding to the truth.

WIlliam Flower, otherwiſe named Branch, firſt concerning his trade of life & bringing vp, he was borne at Snowhil in the County of Cambridge, where he went to ſchoole certaine yeares, and then came to the Abbey of Ely: where after hee hadde remained a while, hee was a profeſſed Monke, according to the order and rule of the ſame houſe, wherein hee remained, vſing and bearing the habite of a Monke, and obſeruing the rules and orders of the ſame houſe, vntill he came to 21. yeres of age, or thereabout: and before hee came to that age, and being a profeſſed Monke, hee was made a prieſt alſo in the ſame houſe, and there did celebrate and ſinge Maſſe a good ſpace together. After that, by reaſon of a viſitation, and certaine Iniunctions geuen in the ſame time by the authoritie of king Henry the eight, he forſooke the ſame houſe, and caſting frõ him the ſayd Monkes habite and religion aforeſayde, tooke vpon him and vſed the habite of a ſecular prieſt, and returned to Snowhill, where hee was borne, and there hee did celebrate and ſing Maſſe, and taught childrẽ their Primer and Accidence, about halfe a yeare together.

Then he went from thence to Ludgate in Suffolke, & there ſerued as a ſeculare prieſt about a quarter of a yeare: and from thence he then went to Stonyland, where he taried and ſerued as a ſecular prieſt alſo, vntill the comming out of the ſixe Articles: and then hee departed from thence, and went into Glouceſter ſhiere, where after he had made his aboade in the countrey a while, at lengthe in Tewkeſbury according to Gods holy ordinance, he maried a wife, with whom he euer after faithfully and honeſtly cõtinued: and after his marriage, he taried in Tewkeſbury about 2. yeares together: and then from thence he went vnto Broſley, where he taried three quarters of a yere, and practiſed Phiſicke and Surgerie, and from thence hee remooued to Northampton ſhier, where vnder a Gentleman he taught children their primers, and to wryte and read, a good ſpace. And ſo departing from thoſe parties, hee came to London, and there remained for a certain ſpace. After that being deſirous to ſee his countrey, he returned to Snowhil where hee was borne: from thence to Branckſtrey in Eſſex, then to Coxal, where he taught children a ſpace: and ſo came to Lambeth beſide London, where he hired a houſe, and placed his wife, where he and his wife did euer ſince dwell together till this time: howbeit for the moſt part he was alwayes abroade, and very ſeldome at home, except once or twiſe in a moneth, to viſite and ſee his wife: where hee being at home vpon Eaſter day about 10. and a 11. a clocke in the forenoone of the ſame daye, came ouer the water from Lambeth into Sainte Margaretes Churche at weſtminſter, where he finding & ſeeing a Prieſte called Iohn Cheltam, miniſtring and geuing the ſacrament of the aultare to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his cõſcience with the Prieſte for the ſame his doing (for that hee iudged hym not to be a Catholike Miniſter) neyther hys act to be catholike and laudable, according to Gods word, did ſtrike and wounde him vpon the head, and alſo vppon the arme and hande with his woodknife, the Prieſt hauing the ſame time in his hande a Chalice, with certaine conſecrated hoſtes therin, which were ſprinkeled with the bloud of the ſayde prieſt.

In the whych ſo doing, as in deede he did not well, or Euangelically, ſo afterward being examined before biſhop Boner, did no leſſe confeſſe his not well doing in the ſame, ſubmitting therefore hym ſelfe willingly to puniſhmente, when it ſhould come. Howbeit touching his beliefe in the ſacrament, and the popiſh miniſtration, he neither woulde nor did ſubmit him ſelfe.

Whereupon the foreſaid Wil. Flower, being firſt apprehended & laid in the Gate houſe at weſtminſter (where hee had geuen two groates ẏ ſame day a litle before to the priſoners, ſaying, he would ſhortly after come to them) wyth as many yrons as he could beare: afterward was conuented before Boner his Ordinarie. April 19. anno 1555. where the B. after he had ſworne hym vpon a booke (according to his ordinarye maner) miniſtred articles & interrogatories to him. But before I ſpeake of the articles, firſte we haue here to ſet forth what cõmunication paſſed betwixt him & Rob. Smith being then alſo there priſoner wͭ hym in newgate, concerning his facte done at weſtminſter, the tenor & effect of which communication here foloweth.

A communication or debating betweene Robert Smith priſoner in Newgate, and W. Flower, concerning his ſtriking of the prieſt at Weſtminſter.

Robert Smith.

FRend, for as much as I do vnderſtand that you do profeſſe the Goſpell, and alſo haue ſo done a long ſeaſon, I am bolde to come vnto you, and in the way of communication to demaunde and learne a truth at your owne mouth, of certaine thyngs by you committed, to the aſtoniſhynge not onely of mee, but of diuers other that alſo profeſſe the veritie.

Flower. I praiſe God for hys great goodneſſe, in ſhewing me the light of hys holy worde: and I geue you heartie thankes for your viſitation: intending by Gods grace to declare all the truth that ye ſhal demaunde lawfully of me, in all things.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhewe me the truthe of your deede, committed on Iohn Cheltam prieſt, in the Church, as nere as you can, that I may heare of your owne mouth howe it was.

Flo. I came from my houſe at Lambeth, ouer the water, and entring into ſaint Margaretes Church (ſo called) and there ſeeing the people falling down before a moſt ſhamefull and deteſtable Idoll, being moued with extreeme zeale for my God, whome I ſaw before my face diſhonoured, I drewe forth my Hanger, and ſtrake the prieſt which miniſtred the ſame vnto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended: and this is moſt true, as the acte is manifeſt.

The zeale of W. Flower in ſeeing the Lordes honour defaced.

Smith. Did ye not know the perſon that ye ſtrake, or were ye not zelous vpon him for any euil wil, or hatred betwene you at any time.

Flo. No verily, I neuer to my knowledge ſawe the perſon before that preſent, neither ought him or any man aliue euil wil, or malice: for if he had not had it, an other ſhoulde, if I hadde any time come where the like occaſion had bene miniſtred, if God had permitted me to doe it.

Smith. Doe ye thinke that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the Goſpell.

Flo I do confeſſe all fleſh to be ſubiect to the power of almighty God, whom he maketh his miniſters to do his wil and pleaſure: as in example, Moſes, Aaron, Phinees, Ioſua, Zimrie, Ihehie, Iudith, Mathathiah, wyth many other, not only chaunging degrees, but alſo planting zeales to hys honour, againſt all order and reſpect of fleſh and bloude. For, as ſayeth S. Paule, Hys workes are paſt fineding out: by whoſe ſpirite I haue alſo geuen my fleſhe at thys preſent vnto ſuche order, as it ſhall pleaſe the good will of God to appoynt, in death, which before the act committed, I looked for.

Extraordinary zeales are no generall rules to be followed.

Smith. Thinke you it conuenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

Flo. No verily: neither do I know if it were to do againe, whether I coulde doe it againe, or no: for I was vp verye early at Paules church (ſo called) vpon Chriſtes day in the morning, to haue done it in my ielouſie: but when I came in place, I was no more able to doe it, then nowe to vndoe that is don: and yet now being compelled by the ſpirit, not onely to come ouer the water, and to enter the churche, but being in minde fully content to die for the Lord, gaue ouer my fleſh willingly without all feare, I praiſe God: wherfore I can not learne you to doe the like. Firſte, becauſe I knowe not what is in you. Secondly, becauſe the rules of the Goſpell commaundeth vs to ſuffer wyth pacience all wrongs & iniuries: yet neuertheleſſe, if he make you worthy, ẏ hath made me zealous, ye ſhall not be letted, iudged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people hys vnſpeakable workes in all ages, which no man can cõprehend: I humbly beſeech you to iudge the beſt of the ſpirit, and cõdemne not Gods doings: for I can not expreſſe wyth my mouthe the great mercies ẏ God hath ſhewed on me in thys thing, which I repent not.

W. Flower intending at Paules to haue done the lyke.

Smith. Are ye not aſſured to haue death miniſtred vnto you for the ſame act committed, and euen with extremitie?

Flo. I did before the deede committed, adiudge my bodye to dye for the ſame: whereuppon I caryed aboute mee in wryting, mine opinion of God and the holy Scriptures: that if it had pleaſed God to haue geuẽ them leaue to haue killed my body in the church, they might in the ſayde wryting haue ſeene my hope, which (I praiſe God) is layde vp ſafe within my breſt, notwithſtanding any death that may be miniſtred vnto my body in thys worlde: being aſcertained of euerlaſting life throughe Ieſus Chriſte our Lorde, and being moſt heartily ſorie for al mine offences committed in this fleſh, and truſting ſhortly through hys mercye, to ceaſe from the ſame.

W. Flower prepared himſelfe to death before the fact committed.

Smith. It is no neede to examine or commune with you of the hope that yee haue any further: for I perceiue (God be praiſed) ye are in good eſtate, & therefore I beſeeche God for his mercies, ſpreade his wings ouer you, ẏ as for his loue you haue ben zelous, euen to the loſſe of this life, ſo he may geue you his holy ſpirite to conduct you out of thys death, into a better life, which I thinke wil be ſhortly.

Flo. I hunger for the ſame (deare frend) being fully aſcertained that they can kill but the bodye, which I am aſſured ſhall receiue life againe euerlaſting, and ſee no more death: entirely deſiring you, and all that feare the Lorde, to praye wyth me to almightye God, to performe the ſame in mee ſhortly. And thus Robert Smith departed, leauing him in the dungeon, and went againe to hys warde. And thys (gentle Reader) is the truthe, as neare as the ſaide Smyth coulde reporte it.

Anno. 1555. Aprill.

And thus muche concerninge the talke betweene hym and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning hys facte in ſtriking the Prieſt. Nowe to returne againe to the matter of his examination, where we leaſt, we ſhewed before how thys William Flower, after hys ſtriking the Prieſte, firſte was layde in the Gatehouſe: then being examined before Boner, had articles miniſtred againſt him: the copy wherof heere followeth.

Articles obiected and miniſtred by Boner, againſt William Branch, alias Flower, late of Lambeth, in the Countie of Surrie.

Articles obiected agaynſt W. Flower by B. Boner.

First, that thou being of lawful age and diſcretion, at the leaſt of 17. yeare old, waſt profeſſed a Monke in the late Abbey of Ely, wherin after thy profeſſion thou remainedſt vntill the age of 21. yeares, vſing all the meane tyme, the habit and religion of the ſame houſe, and waſt reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a perſon.

In the latter dayes certayne ſhall depart frō the fayth, forbidding mariage and eating of meates. 1. Tim, 4.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou waſt ordered and made prieſte, according to the laudable cuſtome of the Catholike Church, and afterward thou didſt execute and miniſter as a prieſt, and was commonly reputed, named, and taken for a prieſt.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou forgetting God, thy conſcience, honeſtie, and the laudable order of the Catholike church, diddeſt contrary to thy profeſſion and vow, take as vnto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the pariſh churche of Tewkeſbury, in the Dioces of Glouceſter, with whom thou haddeſt mutuall cohabitation and carnall copulation, as man and wife, and begateſt of her two children.

A great hereſie.

Item, that thou being a religious man and a Prieſt, diddeſt contrary to the order of the eccleſiaſtical lawes, take vpon thee to practiſe in diuers places within the dioces of London, Phiſicke and Surgerie, when thou waſt not admitted, expert, nor learned.

Item, that vpon Eaſter day laſt paſt, that is to witte, the 14. day of thys preſent moneth of Aprill, within the pariſh Church of S. Margarets at Weſtminſter, wythin the Countie of Middleſex and Dioceſſe of London, thou dydſt maliciouſly, outragiouſly, and violently pul out thy weapon, that is to wit, thy woodknife or hanger. And wheras the prieſt and miniſter there called ſir Iohn Cheltam, was executing his cure and charge, eſpecially in doing hys ſeruice, and miniſtring the ſacramēt of the aultar to the communicants, then didſt thou wickedly & abhominably ſmite with thy ſaid weapon the ſaid prieſt, firſt vpō the head very ſore, & afterwards vpon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing bloud abundantly vpon him: the ſayd prieſt then holding the ſayd ſacramēt in his hand, and geuing no occaſion why thou ſhouldeſt ſo hurte him: the people greeuouſly being offended therwith, and the ſaid church polluted thereby, ſo that the inhabitantes were compelled to repaire to an other Churche to communicate, and to receyue the ſayde ſacrament.

Item, that by reaſon of the premiſſes, thou waſt and art by the eccleſiaſtical lawes of the churche, amongſt other penalties, excommunicate and accurſed, *ipſo facto*, and not to be companied withal, neither in church, nor otherwhere but in ſpeciall caſes.

Item, that thou concerning the verity of Chriſtes naturall body and bloude in the ſacrament of the aultar, haſte ben by the ſpace of theſe yeares. 20. 19. 18. 17. 16. 15. 14. 13. 12. 11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. and 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this preſent of the opinion: that is to ſay, that in the ſayd ſacrament of the aultare, after the wordes of conſecration, there is not really, truely, and in very dede, contained (vnder the formes of bread) the very true and naturall body of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

His fayth in the Sacrament.

Item, that thou for the hatred and diſdaine that thou hadſt & didſt beare againſt the ſaid ſacrament, and the vertue thereof, and againſt the ſaid prieſt miniſtring the ſame, (as before) did ſmite, wound, and hurte him in maner and forme as before is declared.

Item, that thou ouer and beſides the paynes due vnto thee for the doing of the cruell facte, art alſo by the order of the eccleſiaſticall lawes of the churche, and the laudable cuſtome & ordinaunce of the ſame, to be reputed, taken, & iudged (as thou arte in deede) a very heritike, and to be punyſhed by and with the pains due for hereſie, by reaſon of thy ſayd hereſie and damnable opinion.

Item, that al the premiſſes be true, manifeſt, and notorious and famous, and that vpon the ſame, and euery part thereof, there was and is wythin the ſayd pariſh of Saint Margaretes and other places thereabout, a publike voice and fame

The anſweare of William Flower, made to the articles aforeſayde.

To the firſt article, he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof, except that he ſayth and confeſſeth that he neuer conſented and agreed in hys heart to be a Monke.

To the ſecond article he anſweareth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part therof. Howbeit he ſaith, that he neuer did, nor yet doth eſteme yͤ ſaid order of prieſthode, according to the ſaid order of the Catholike church, becauſe he was offended therewith in his conſcience.

To the thirde article he anſweareth, and confeſſeth that he intending to liue in godly matrimonie, & not forgetting God, did mary with the ſaide Alice Pulton named in thys article, wherein he beleueth that he did well, and according to Gods lawes. Further, confeſſing and beleeuing, that al the time when he was profeſſed Monke, and made prieſt, he did therby vtterly forget God: but when he did ſo mary the ſayd Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her, did beget three children, he did remember God, as he ſayeth, and beleeueth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he anſweareth, and beleeueth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof.

To the fifth article hee anſweareth, and confeſſeth that hys cōſcience being greatly offended with the ſaid ſir Iohn Cheltam prieſt, for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time ſpecified in this article, he did ſmite and ſtrike the ſame prieſt wyth hys hanger or woodknife, as wel vpon his head, as vpon other partes & places of his body, which he remembreth not, whereby the bloud ran out, and was ſhed in the ſaide Church, as he beleueth, hauing, as he ſayth, none other cauſe or matter ſo to doe, but onely that his conſcience was offended and greeued, in that the ſame Prieſt did ſo geue and miniſter the ſayd Sacrament to the people: which people he beleeueth was greatly abaſhed and offended with his ſaide facte and doyng, and were enforced and compelled to goe out of the Churche, and to repaire to an other to receiue the ſayde ſacrament. And further, being then demaunded and examined, whether he did then minde and intende to haue killed the ſaid prieſt, or not? he ſaid he would not anſweare thereunto. And being further examined whether he did well or euil in ſtriking the ſayd prieſt? he would make no anſwere thereunto, as he ſayd.

To the ſixt he anſwereth & ſaith, that whether he be ſo excommunicate or accurſed, as is conteined in this article, he referreth him ſelfe herein to the Eccleſiaſticall lawes.

To the ſeuenth he aunſweareth and ſayeth, that by the ſpace of ſixe and twentie yeares now paſt, he hath alwaies bene, and yet is of this opinion touching the ſaide Sacrament of the aultare, as followeth: videlicet, that in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the words of conſecration, there is not really, truely, and in very dede contained vnder the forme of breade, the very true naturall body of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

To the eight he anſweareth, and beleeueth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof.

To the ninth he anſweareth, & herein he referreth hym ſelfe to the ſaid lawes, cuſtome, and ordinaunce ſpecified in this article, that is to ſay, the Canonicall lawes.

To the laſt he anſweareth & beleueth, that thoſe things before by him confeſſed be true, and thoſe which he hath denied, be vntrue: and that the ſaid common voyce and fame, hath and doth only labor and go vpon thoſe things by him before confeſſed.

By me William Flower, alias Branch.

After this examination done, the biſhop began after the beſt ſort of his fine Diuinitie to inſtruct him, and to exhort him to returne againe to the vnitie of his mother the Catholike church, with ſuch reaſons as he is commonly wont to vſe to others, promiſing many faire things if he woulde ſo do, beſides the remitting of that was paſt.

To this William Flower anſwearing againe, thanked him for hys offer: and where it was in his power to kill or not to kil his body, he ſtode therwith contented, let him do therein what he thought: yet ouer his ſoule he had no ſuche power, whych being once ſeparated from the bodye, is in the handes of no man, but onely of God, eyther to ſaue or ſpill. As concerning his opinion of the ſacrament, he ſayd, he would neuer goe from yͤ he had ſpoken, do he wyth him what he would.

Then the B. aſſigned him againe to appeare in yͤ ſame place at after noone, betwixte 3. or 4. In the meane time to aduiſe himſelfe of his former anſweres, whether he would ſtand to the ſame his opinions or no? which if hee ſo did, he would further proceede againſt him, &c.

At after noone the ſayd William Flower appeared agayne before the ſayd B. the houre and place appoynted. To whome the B. ſittyng in his Conſiſtorie, ſpake theſe wordes. Branch, ye were this forenoone here before me, and made aunſwer to certaine articles: and thereupon I reſpited you till now, to the intent you ſhoulde conſider and weigh with your ſelfe your ſtate, and to remember while you haue tyme, both your abhominable act, and alſo that euill opinion which ye haue conceyued touchyng the veritie of Chriſtes true natural body in the ſacrament of the aultar.

To whom the ſayd Branch anſwered agayne, and ſaid as followeth: That which I haue ſayd, I will ſtand too: and therefore I require that the lawe may proceed agaynſt me. Wherupon the Biſh. commanded his Notary (Harward by name) to read to him agayne his articles, as before. Which beyng read, the ſaid W. Flower perſiſtyng in his godly ſentence, anſwered to all partes of the articles, as in the forenoone before, ſaue onely that he requeſted the B. concernyng the fift article, he might alter ſomthing his anſwer therein, after this tenor and maner of wordes: to wit. And moreouer confeſſeth and ſayth, that where as he ſtrake the prieſt on Eaſter day laſt paſt, in S. Margarets church in Weſtminſter, he hath ſince that tyme, & yet doth miſlike hymſelfe in that doyng, and doth now iudge and beleue that the ſame his act was euill and naught. Howbeit he ſaith and beleueth, that as for the matter and cauſe wherfore he ſo ſtroke the ſaid prieſt (which was for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the aultar, which he taketh and iudgeth abhominable) he did nor doth not miſlike hymſelf at all therein.

Moreouer, he deſireth of the ſaid B. licence to be graunted him, to alter and take out ſomewhat of the ix. Article, & in place therof, theſe wordes to be placed: to wit, Herein he referreth himſelfe to the lawes, cuſtome and ordinance ſpecified in this article, &c. At which requeſt, Boner graunted to the altering of both the articles according as he deſired, and ſo put in the actes.

After this, the B. turning agayne to his old maner of exhorting, went about with wordes (and wordes onely) to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelfe to the Catholike church, and to the faith therof. Which all his perſwaſiōs notwithſtanding, Wil. remained ſtil in the conſtancy of his ſentēce, ſaying, that he would not be remoued from that hee had ſpoken, to die therfore. Whereupon the Biſh. aſſigned him the next day (being the xx. day of Aprill) to appeare in the ſame day and place, betwene the houres of 8. and 9. before noone, there and then to heare the ſentence pronounced, in caſe he would not relent, &c.

¶ The laſt appearance of William Flower, before Biſhop Boner.

IN the which day, houre, and place, the ſaid Wil. Flower as he was appoynted, was brought by his keeper, belonging to the Warden of the Fleete, before Boner, who after his wonted maner of perſwaſion, goyng about to reduce hym to his catholike church and the vnitie thereof, that is, from Chriſt to Antichriſt: ſometimes with fayre promiſes alluring, ſometyme with manaſſes and terrors, fearing hym, &c. To this Wil. anſwering, ſaid on this wiſe Do what ye will, I am at a point: for the heauens ſhal as ſone fall, as I will forſake myne opinion, &c. Wherupon the B. after he had commaunded theſe wordes to be regiſtred, called for the depoſitions of certaine witneſſes, producted for the better information of this matter, ỹ names of which witneſſes were theſe: Wil. Genings, I. Bray, Rob. Graunt, Richard Dodde, William Pampion, Rob. Smalwood, the pariſh Prieſt of S. Margarets at Weſtminſter. The ſumme and effect of whoſe depoſitions here inſueth.

¶ The depoſitions or atteſtations producted vpon the aunſwers of Wil. Flower.

ROBERT Grant of Weſtminſter, examined vpon the ſaid anſwers of Wil. Flower, ſayth and depoſeth: That he did heare and ſee the ſayd Flower, acknowledge & recogniſe the ſayd anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with hys own hand, and alſo was preſent in the church of S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, when the ſayd Wil. Flower dyd ſmite and wound the Prieſt, when (as he ſayth) hee was miniſtryng the Sacrament: and how this examinate amongſt other, preaſed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby vpō his chin, & after he was takē, this examinate holp to conduct him to the gatehouſe at Weſtminſter.

RICHARD Dod of Weſtminſter, examined vpon the ſayd anſwers, ſayth and depoſeth: that he did heare and ſee the ſayd Flower acknowlege and recogniſe the ſaid anſwers, & ſubſcribe to the ſame with his owne hand: & alſo did ſee & was preſent, when the ſayd Flower vpō Eaſter day laſt paſt, drew his woodknife and ſtrake the prieſt vpon ỹ hed, hand, and arme: who beyng wounded therwith, and hauyng a chalice with conſecrated hoſtes therin in his hand, ſprinkled with the ſayd prieſts bloud, was holpen & reſcued by this examinate, and the ſayde Flower caried to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, and his woodknife takē away by this Examinate.

WILLIAM Pampion, one of the churchwardens of the ſayd pariſh church of S. Margaretes in Weſtminſter, examined vpon the ſaid anſwers of the ſayd Flower, ſayth and depoſeth, that the ſame anſwers be true, & in hys ſight were ſubſcribed with the hande of the ſayde Flower. And that vpon Eaſter day laſt paſt, about xi. of the clocke in the forenoone, in the pariſh church at S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, among a great number of the people ready to be houſeled, the prieſts backe beyng turned toward the ſayd Flower, he the ſayd Flower ſodenly drewe forth hys woodknife, and ſtrake ſir Iohn Cheltham the prieſt, both vpon his head, hand, and arme, whereby he was wounded, and bled aboundantly, and the chalice with conſecrated hoſts beyng in his hand, were ſprinkled wͭ hys bloud, and the people in great feare cried out lamentably, and thought they ſhould preſently haue bene killed.

ROBERT Smalwood of Weſtminſter, examined vpon the ſaid anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth: that he did heare and ſee the ſayd Flower acknowledge and recogniſe the ſayde anſwers, and ſubſcribe the ſame with his owne hand, and ſayth further, touching the ſtriking and woundyng the prieſt in S. Margarets church in Weſtminſter, vpon Eaſter day laſt, this examinate ſayth, he was not there when ỹ fact was done, but immediately after, he came to church, and found ſir Iohn hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arme, by the ſayd Flower, and the people in great heuines by reaſon therof. Alſo the people did report (as this examinate ſaith) that Flower did the deed, as the prieſt had the chalice in his hande, miniſtring the Sacrament to the people.

WILLIAM Ienings of Weſtminſter, beyng examined vpon the anſwers of the ſayd Wil. Flower, ſayth & depoſeth by vertue of his oth: that he did heare and ſee the ſayd Flower, acknowledge and recogniſe the ſayde aunſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his owne hande in the conſiſtory place: and further depoſeth, that he (vppon Eaſter day laſt paſt) was preſent in the church of S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, where Flower ſtrake the ſayd Sir Iohn Cheltham prieſt, firſt vpon the head, and afterward vpon his arme two ſore ſtrokes, whereby the ſayd prieſt is lyke to loſe his hand. Alſo this Iurate depoſed, that the ſayd ſir Iohn Cheltham had a chalice with certaine conſecrated hoſts therein (in his hand) which were ſprinckled with the bloud of the ſayd prieſt, and after the ſayd Flower was apprehended by this examinate and others, they caried hym immediately to the gatehouſe in Weſtminſter.

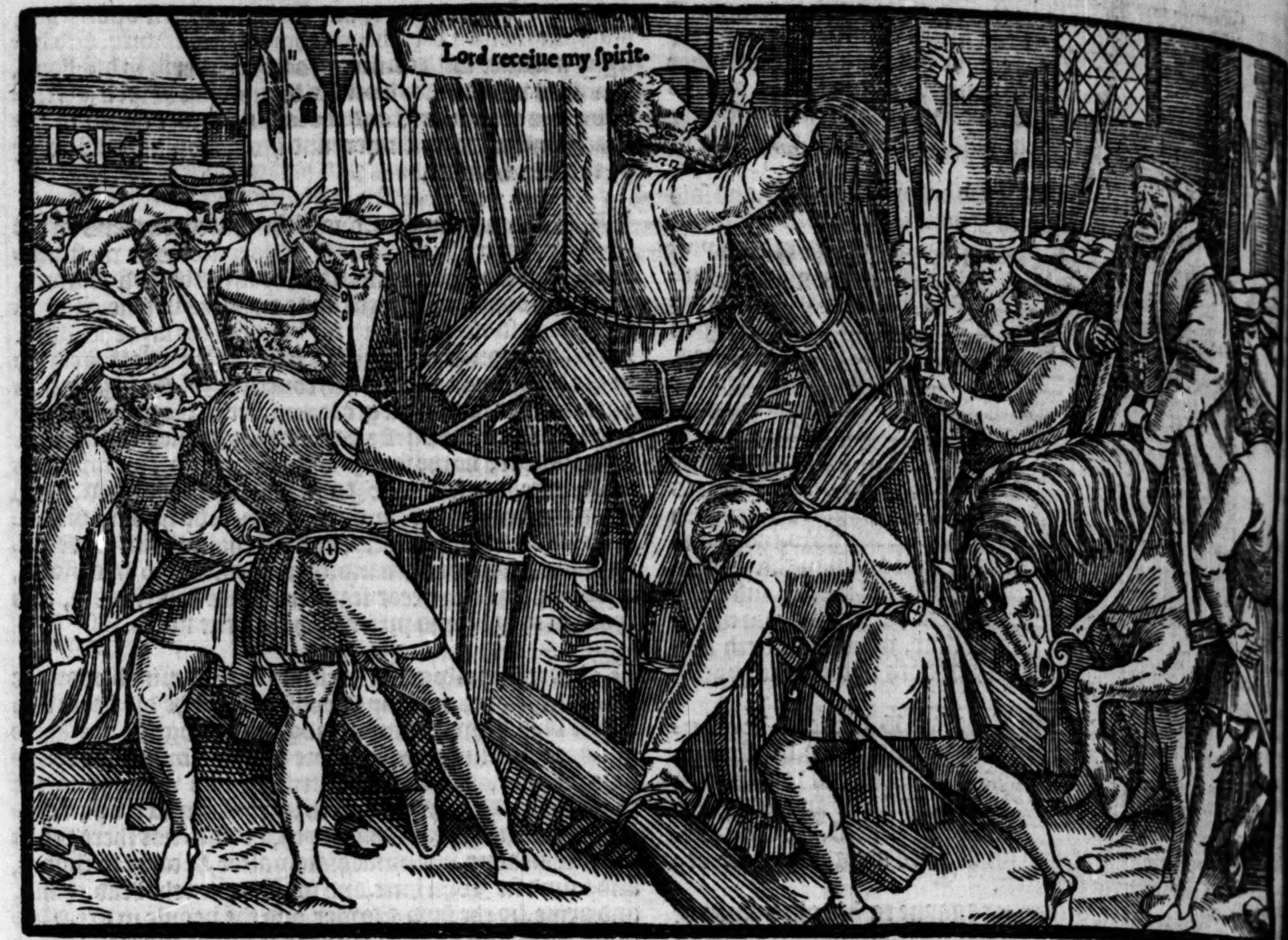
IOHN Bray one of the churchwardēs of the pariſh church of S. Margarets in Weſtminſter, ſworne and examined vpon the ſayd aunſweres, ſayth and depoſeth, that he did heare and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recogniſe the ſayd anſwers, & alſo ſubſcribe vnto the ſame. And further depoſeth of Flowers ſtrikyng the prieſt, in effect, as the reſt of the examinates doe, and that this ſayd Iurate was preſent there at the deed doyng.

After the depoſitions of theſe foreſayd witneſſes being taken, publiſhed, and denounced, the ſayd B. ſpeakyng to Wil. Flower, aſked hym if he knew any matter or cauſe why his ſentence ſhould not be red, and he to be pronounced as an heretike. Whereunto the martyr of God anſwereth agayne as followeth: I haue nothyng at all to ſay, for I haue already ſayd vnto you all that I haue to ſay, & that I haue ſaid, I will not go from, and therfore do what you wyll, &c.

Sentence of cōdemnation and degradation pronounced agaynſt William Flower.

Which when he had ſpoken, the Biſh. proceeded to the ſentence, condemnyng and excommunicating hym for an heretike, & after pronounced hym alſo to be diſgraded, and ſo committed hym to the ſecular power. Vpon the 24. day of the foreſayd moneth of Aprill, which was S. Markes euen, he was brought to the place of martyrdome, whiche was in S. Margarets churchyard at Weſtminſter, where the fact was committed, and there commyng to the ſtake

The burning of William Flower at Weſtminſter, the 24. of Aprill. An. 1555.


Lord receiue my ſpirit.

where he ſhould be burned, firſt he maketh his prayer to almighty God, with a confeſſion of his Chriſtian faythe, in maner as followeth.

¶ A prayer and confeſſion of W. Flower.

Flowers prayer.

OH eternall God, moſt mighty and mercifull father, who haſt ſent downe thy ſonne vpon the earth, to ſaue me & all mankynd, who aſcended vp into heauen agayne, and left hys bloud here vpon the earth behynd hym, for the redemption of our ſins, haue mercy vpon me, haue mercy vppon me, for thy deare ſonne our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, in whom I confeſſe onely to bee all ſaluation and iuſtification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holynes, in which, or by which any man can be ſaued in this world. This is my fayth, which I beſeech all men here to beare witneſſe of.

Then he ſayd the Lords prayer, and ſo made an end.

Talke betweene W. Flower and M. Cholmely.

Then M. Cholmley came to him, willyng hym to recant his hereſie, whereby he might do good to the people, or els he would be damned.

Flower anſwered as followeth. Sir, I beſeech you for Gods ſake be contented: for that I haue ſayd, I haue ſaid, and I haue bene of this fayth from the beginnyng: and I truſt to the liuyng God hee will geue me his holy ſpirite to continue to the ende. Then he deſired all the world to forgeue hym whome he had offended, as he forgaue all the world.

This done, firſt his hand beyng held vp agaynſt the ſtake, was ſtroken of, his left hand beyng ſtayed behynde hym. At the which ſtriking of his hand, certaine that were preſent beholders of the matter, and purpoſely obſeruyng the ſame, credibly enformed vs, that he in no part of hys body did once ſhrinke at the ſtrikyng therof, but once a little he ſtirred his ſhoulders.

And thus fire was ſet vnto hym, who burning therein cried with a loud voyce: Oh the ſonne of God haue mercye vpon me, Oh the ſonne of God receyue my ſoule, three tymes, and ſo his ſpech beyng taken from hym, he ſpake no more, liftyng vp notwithſtandyng his ſtumpe with hys other arme, as long as he could.

And thus endured this conſtant witnes and faythfull ſeruaunt of God, the extremitie of the fire, beyng therein cruelly handled, by reaſon that to his burning little wood was brought, ſo that for lacke of fagots there not ſufficient to burne hym, they were fayne to ſtrike hym downe into the fire. Where he lying along (which was dolefull to behold) vpon the ground, hys nether part was conſumed in the fire, whileſt hys vpper part was cleane without the fire, hys tongue in all mens ſight ſtill mouyng in hys mouth.

May. 1555.

The 3. of May a letter was ſent to George Colte and Thom. Daniell, to make ſearch for, and apprehend John Bernard and John Walſhe, who vſed to repaire to Sudbury, and carying about with them the bones of Pigotte that was burned, do ſhew them to the people, perſuading them to be conſtant in his religion, and vpon examination to commit them to further orderyng accordyng to the lawes.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the litle eaſe in the Tower, there to remayne two or three dayes, vntill further examination.

The 12. day M. Thomas Roſſe preacher, was by the counſailes letters deliuered from the Tower to the Shiriffe of Northfolke, to be conueyed and deliuered to the B. of Norwich, and he eyther to reduce hym to recant, or els proceed agaynſt hym according to the law.

The 16. a letter was ſent to the L. Treaſurer, ſignifiyng what the L. had done for Roſſe, and that order ſhould be geuen according to his L. requeſt, for letters to the Biſhops, & as Appes (whom the Lieuetenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad) his L. perceiuyng the ſame to be true ſhould commit hym to Bedlem, there to remayne vntill their further order.

The 26. a letter was ſent to the L. Treaſurer, to conferre with the B. of London, and the Juſtices of Peace of that Countie, wherein they are to be executed, that are already condemned for religion, & vpon agrement of places, to geue order for their execution accordingly.

The 28. a letter was ſent to the L. Treaſurer, to cauſe ſpeedie preparation to be made of ſuch mony as was appoynted for ſuch perſons as ſhould cary the ioyful tidings of Queene Maries good delivery of chyld, to diuers princes: ſo as they be not compelled to ſtay when tyme ſhall come. The Embaſſadors were to the Emperour, the L. Admirall, to the French King the L. Fitzwaters, to the kyng of Romains Sir Henry Sidney, to the K. of Portingall, Rich. Shelley, whoſe free paſſage through Fraunce M. Doctor Wotton was willed to procure by letters the 24. of June.

The 29. was a letter directed to Sir Frances Inglefield,

field to make ſearch for one Iohn D. at Londõ, and to apprehend him and ſend him to the Counſaile, and to make ſearch for ſuch papers & bookes as may thinke may touch the ſame D. or one Benger.

¶ The burning and Martyrdome of *Iohn Cardmaker, & Iohn Warne Vpholſter, which* ſuffered both together in Smithfield.

An. 1555. May. 30.

VPon the 30. day of May ſuffred together in Smithfield Iohn Cardmaker, otherwiſe called Tailour, Prebendarie of the church of Wels: & Ioh. Warne Vpholſter, of the pariſh of S. Iohn in Walbroke. Of whome it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning firſt with M. Cardmaker, who firſt was an obſeruant Frier before the diſſolution of the Abbeys: then after was a maried Miniſter, and in king Edwards time appointed to be Reader in Paules, where the Papiſtes were ſo much agrieued with hym for his doctrines ſake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gowne with their kniues. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginnyng of Queene Maries raigne, with M. Barlowe Biſhop of Bathe, was brought to London: and layde in priſon in the Fleete, king Edwards lawes yet beyng in force. But after the Parliament was ended, in which the Pope was againe admitted as ſupreme hed of the church, and the Byſhops had alſo gotten power and authoritie, Ex officio, to exerciſe their tyranny: theſe two were both brought before Winchester Chauncellour, and others appointed by Commiſſion (as before is mentioned) to examine the fayth of ſuch as were then priſoners, and as vnto others before, ſo now vnto them, the Chancellor offred the Queenes mercy, if they would agree and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made ſuch an anſwer, as the Chancellor with his fellow Commiſſioners allowed them for catholike. Whether they of weakenes ſo anſwered, or he of ſubtletie would ſo vnderſtand their anſwer, that he might haue ſome forged example of a ſhrinking brother, to lay in the diſh of the reſt, which were to be examined, it may eaſily be perceiued by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he obiected the example of Barlow & Cardmaker, commending their ſobernes, diſcretion & lerning. But whatſoeuer their anſwer was, yet notwithſtandyng Barlow was led againe to the Fleete, from whence he afterward beyng deliuered, did by exile conſtantly beare witnes to the truth of Chriſtes goſpell. Cardmaker was conueyed to the Counter in Breadſtreete, the B. of London procuring it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be deliuered, after that he had ſubſcribed to Tranſubſtantiation and certaine other articles.

To the ſame priſon where Cardmaker was, Laurẽce Sanders was brought (after the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced againſt hym) where theſe two priſoners had ſuch chriſtian conference, that whatſoeuer the breath of the biſhops bluſtred, & the tickle eares of the people too lightly beleued, in yͤ end they both ſhewed themſelues conſtant confeſſors and worthy martyrs of Chriſt: as of Laurence Sanders it is already written. After whoſe departure Cardmaker remayned there priſoner, to be baited of the Papiſtes, which would needes ſeeme to haue a certayne hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continuall and great conference diuers of them had with hym, with reaſonyngs, perſwadyngs, threatnyngs, and all to none effect. To the end that their doyngs might appeare, hee required them to put their reaſons in writyng, and promiſed by writyng to anſwer them.

Doctor Martin who bare alſo a part in thoſe pageants, toke vppon hym to be the chiefe doer by writyng, whoſe long vnſauery letters and ſimple reaſons for Trãſubſtantiation, and ſuch papiſticall traſh, this Cardmaker anſwered largely, learnedly, & ſubſtantially, confuting the ſame, openyng the falſehood of his arguments, and deliueryng the ſentences of the Fathers which Martin abuſed for his purpoſe) to their true vnderſtanding: which his anſwers I would had come to our hands. Thus conſtantly aboade this man of God all the enemies doyngs, as he did alſo the death which he ſuffred in Smithfield in London. whereof ye ſhall heare more anone, but firſt we will ſuruey the matter and maner of his articles obiected againſt him by B. Boner, with his anſwers annexed to the ſame, as conſequently here vnder followeth.

* *

¶ Articles obiected by Boner againſt Ioh. Taylor, aliâs Cardmaker, with hys aunſwers vnto the ſame.

May. 24.
Articles miniſtred agaynſt Iohn Cardmaker, by the B. of London.

FIrſt, I Edmund B. of London, obiect againſt thee Sir Iohn Taylor aliâs Cardmaker, that thou waſt and art of the citie and Dioces of London, and ſo of the iuriſdiction of me Edmund B. of London.

John Cardmaker firſt an obſeruant Fryer.

Item, that thou in tymes paſt diddeſt profeſſe the rule of S. Fraunces, and diddeſt by vow promiſe to keepe pouertie, chaſtitie, and obedience, according to the rule of S. Frances.

Item, that thou in tymes paſt didſt receyue all the orders of the church then vſed, to wit, tam maiores, quam minores.

Iohn Cardmaker maryed.

Item, that thou after thy ſaid entrie into religion and profeſſion and orders aforeſaid, didſt take to wife a widow and with her hadſt carnal copulation, and didſt get of her a woman child, breaking therby thy vow and order, & alſo the ordinance of the church.

The beliefe of the Popes Catholicke church.

Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and ſo doeſt beleue that in the ſacrament of the aultar vnder the viſible ſignes there: that is to ſay, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, there is really and truly the true and very naturall body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

To ſpeake naturally of the naturall body of Chriſt, theſe two cannot ſtãd together at one tyme, vnles we graunt Chriſt to haue 2. bodyes.

Item, that the beliefe of the catholike church is, that in hauing the body and bloud of Chriſt really and truly conteined in the ſacrament of the altar, is to haue (by the omnipotent power of almighty God) the body and bloud of Chriſt there inuiſibly and really preſent vnder the ſaid ſacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a newe Chriſt, or a new body of Chriſt.

Item, that it may ſtand wel together, & ſo is the fayth of the Catholike church: that the body of Chriſt is viſibly and truely aſcended into heauen, and there is in the viſible forme of his humanitie: and yet the ſame body in ſubſtãce is inuiſibly and truely conteyned in the ſayde Sacrament of the aulter.

Item, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper takyng bread into his hands, bleſſing it, breakyng it, geuyng it to his apoſtles, and ſaying: Take, eate, this is my body, did inſtitute a Sacrament there, * willyng that his body really and truly ſhould be conteyned in the ſayd ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wyne there remainyng, but onely the accidents thereof.

* That Chriſt neuer willed, neyther can the Scriptures beare it.

¶ Aunſwers of Cardmaker, to the articles aforeſayd.

Iohn Cardmaker aunſwereth to the articles.

TO the firſt article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part therof.

To the 2. article he aunſwereth and confeſſeth, that he beyng vnder age, did profeſſe the ſaid order and religion, & afterward by the autoritie of K. Henry the 8. he was diſpenſed with for the ſame religion.

To the 3. he aunſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to bee true in euery part thereof.

To the 4. he aunſwereth, and confeſſeth the firſt part therof to be true: and to the ſecond part of the ſame article he anſwereth and ſaith, that in mariage he brake no vow, becauſe he was ſet at liberty to mary, both by the lawes of this realme, and alſo by the lawes and ordinaunces of the Church of the ſame.

To the 5. he anſwereth & confeſſeth, that he hath beleeued & taught, as it is conteined in this article, but he doth not now ſo beleue nor teach.

To the 6. he anſwereth, that he doth not beleue yͤ ſame to be true in any part therof.

To the 7. he aunſwereth, that he doth not beleeue the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

The firſt parte of this article is true: the ſecond is falſe.

To the 8. he anſwereth and doth beleeue, videlicet, that it is true: that is to ſay, that Chriſt takyng breade at hys laſt ſupper into hys handes, bleſſyng it, breakyng it, geuyng it to his diſciples, and ſaying: Take, eate, this is my body, did inſtitute a ſacrament there. And to the other part of this article, videlicet, (willyng that his body really and truely ſhould be conteyned in the ſayd ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wyne there remayning, but onely the accidents thereof) he anſwereth, that he doth not beleeue the ſame to be true.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

M. Cardmaker calling to mynd afterwards the redy cauillings of the papiſts, and thinking himſelf not to haue fully and according to his true meaning anſwered the latter part of the laſt eight article, did the next day after the foreſaid anſwers, exhibite vnto the Biſh. in a ſchedule this here after followyng.

Anno. 1555. May.

A more full anſwere to the ſecond part of the eight article.

where in my anſwer to your articles I deny the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, I meane not his ſacramentall preſence, for that I confeſſe, but my deniall is of his carnall preſence in the ſame. But yet further, becauſe this word is oftentymes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wyne, but alſo for the whole adminiſtration and receiuyng of the ſame, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution: ſo I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually too, and in all them which worthily receiueth the Sacrament: ſo that my deniall is ſtill of the reall, carnall, and corporall preſence in the ſacrament, and not of the ſacramentall nor ſpirituall preſence.

Sacramentall preſence in the Sacrament. Carnal preſence in the Sacramēt denyed.

This haue I thought good to adde to my former aunſwer, becauſe no man ſhould miſunderſtand it.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

Next to theſe articles of M. Cardmaker, I thought beſt to inſerte the articles and anſwers likewiſe of Iohn warne his martyr fellow, in maner as followeth.

¶ Articles miniſtred agaynſt Iohn VVarne Vpholſter, of the pariſh of S. Iohn in Walbrooke, with his anſwers to the ſame.

Articles agaynſt Iohn Warne vpholſter in Walbroke.

FIrſt, that thou Iohn warne, beyng of the age of xxix. yeres, & of the pariſh of S. Iohn of walbrooke in London, haſt beleeued, and doeſt beleeue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that in the Sacrament commonly called the Sacramēt of the aultar, there is not the very true and naturall body of our Sauiour Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Item, that thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue, that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there is not (as the church of England doth beleue and teach) the body of Chriſt: but that there doth only remayne the ſubſtance of material bread, as it is before the conſecration, or ſpeaking of the wordes of conſecration: and that the ſayd bread is in no wyſe altered or changed.

Agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Item, that thou haſt ſayd and doeſt beleeue, that if the Catholike church do beleue and teach, that there is in the maſſe (now vſed in England and in other places of Chriſtendome) a ſacrifice wherein there is a ſacrament conteinyng the body and bloud of Chriſt really and truly: then that beliefe and fayth of the church is naught, and agaynſt Gods truth and the ſcripture.

Hereſye for laughing at a Spaniell ſhorne on the head.

Item, that thou haſt ſaid, that where about a twelue moneths agone & more, a great rough water Spaniell of thyne, was ſhorne in the hed, & had a crowne like a Prieſt made in the ſame, thou diddeſt laugh at it & like it, though thou didſt it not thy ſelfe, nor knoweſt who did it.

Item, that thou, neither this Lent laſt paſt, nor at any tyme ſince the Queenes Maieſties raigne, haſt come into the church, or heard maſſe, or bene confeſſed, or receiued the ſacrament of the aultar: and haſt ſaid, that thou art not ſory that thou haſt ſo done, but thou art glad, becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy conſciēce, which otherwiſe thou ſhouldeſt ſo haue done.

Upon all which articles Iohn warne being examined by the ſaid Boner, in preſence of diuers witneſſes, the 23. of May, ann. 1555. did confeſſe and beleue the ſame, & ſubſcribe hereunto his name with his owne hand.

By me Iohn Warne.

Alſo it was obiected againſt the ſaid Iohn warne, by the B. aforeſayd, as followeth.

A nother addition of Articles.

Item, that thou Iohn warne waſt in tyme paſt here in the city of London, conuented in the Guildhal for hereſie againſt the ſacrament of the aultar, according to the order of the lawes of this Realme of England in the time of king Henry the 8. and when Alderman Barnes was ſhirife, & the Thurſday after that Anne Aſkew was burnt in Smithfield, and therupon thou waſt ſent as a priſoner to Newgate, to whom Edmond B. of London did repayre with his chaplens, to inſtruct thee in ẏ true faith of Chriſt, touchyng the ſaid Sacrament of the aultar, & to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the Sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Chriſt, nor any corporal preſence of Chriſtes body & bloud, vnder the formes of bread & wyne: but that in the ſayd ſacrament there is onely materiall bread & wyne, without any ſubſtance of Chriſts body and bloud at all, & becauſe thou wouldſt not leaue & forſake thy ſayd hereſie therin, but perſiſt & abide obſtinately and wilfully therein, thou wert according to ẏ ſaid lawes condemned to death, & to be burnt: and thereupon labour beyng made for thee to the king and other in the Courte, thou hadſt a pardon of king Henry the 8, and ſo thereby didſt ſaue thy lyfe. Neuertheleſſe, in thy heart, conſcience, and mynd, thou didſt both then and alſo afore, beleeue no otherwyſe then at this preſent thou doeſt beleeue: that is to ſay, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is neyther the very true body or bloud of Chriſt, nor no other ſubſtāce but the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and wyne, and to receiue the ſayd materiall bread and wyne, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it among the people, onely is the true receiuyng of Chriſtes body, and no otherwiſe: ſo that thy fayth and beliefe is, that in the ſayd ſacrament there is no ſubſtance of Chriſtes material body and bloud: but all the thyng that is there, is materiall bread, and the receiuyng thereof as afore: and that the ſubſtance of the naturall and true body of Chriſt borne of the Virgine Mary, is onely in heauen, and not in the ſacrament of the aultare. In which thine opinion, thou haſt euer hitherto ſince continued, and ſo doeſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſing all this to be true, and in witnes therof, ſubſcribing thy name thereunto as followeth.

Iohn Warne pardoned by K. Henry. 8.

By me Iohn Warne.

Iohn warne beyng examined vpon theſe foreſaid articles by the Biſh. before certaine witneſſes, whoſe names were Iohn Boſwel, Iohn Heywood, Robert Rauens, the xxiij. of May, did aunſwere to the ſame, confeſſing and graunting the articles and the contentes thereof to bee true, accordyng as they were obiected in euery part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame with hys hand. Such ſtrength and fortitude gods holy ſpirit wrought in hym, to ſtand ſtoutly and confidently to the defence of the ſincere doctrine of hys ſonne.

Whereupon the B. exhorting him with many wordes to leaue his hereſies (as he called them) and to returne to the boſom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appeare agayne the next day, being the xxiiij. of the ſame moneth.

Who ſo doyng (and aunſwering as he did before) was willed to come thither agayne at after noone, & ſo hee dyd: where and at what tyme he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſayd Biſh. to recant his opinions. To whom he aunſwered, that he would not depart from his receyued profeſſion, vnleſſe he were thereunto throughly perſwaded by the holy ſcriptures.

Upon which aunſwer he was willed to come agayne the next day, beyng the 25. day of the ſame moneth, at one of the clocke in the after noone. At which day and houre, the B. examined him agayne vpon all his former articles before obiected, to the which he moſt conſtantly did ſticke, with his further aunſwer thereunto added: I am perſuaded, quoth he, to be in the right opinion, and that I ſee no cauſe to repent, for all filthines & Idolatry is in the church of Rome.

The B. then ſeyng that notwithſtandyng all his faire promiſes & terrible threatnyngs (whereof he vſed ſtore) he could not any thing preuaile: finiſhed this examination with the definitiue ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid Iohn warne, and ſo charged the Shiriffs of London with him, vnder whoſe cuſtody he remained in the priſon of Newgate, vntil the 30. day of the ſame month of May.

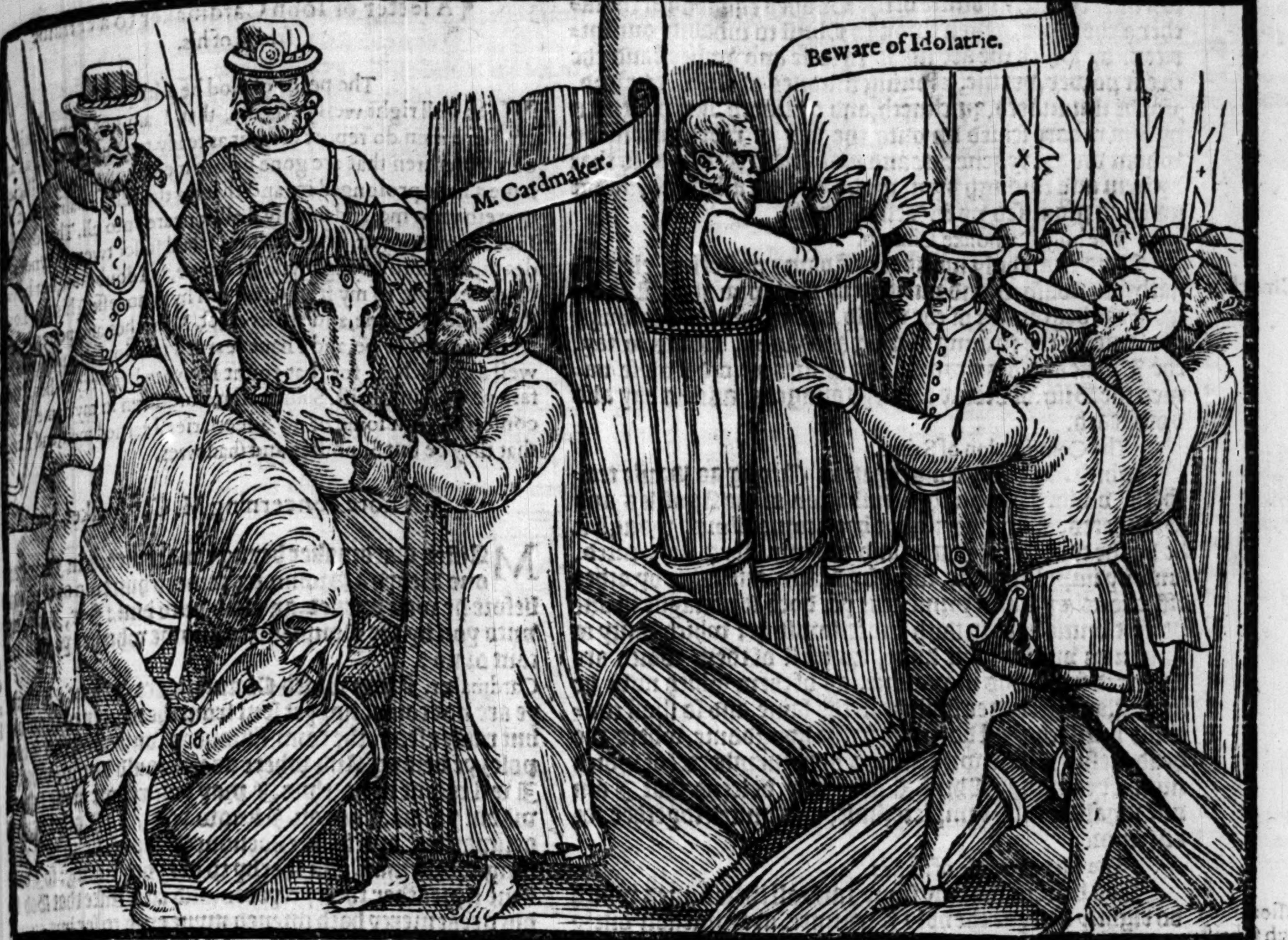
Upon the which 30. of May, being the day appoynted for their execution, Iohn Cardmaker with the ſayd Iohn warne, were brought by the ſhiriffes to the place where they ſhould ſuffer. Who beyng come to the ſtake, firſt the Shiriffes called Cardmaker aſide, and talked with hym ſecretly, ſo long, that in the meane tyme warne had made hys prayers, was chayned to the ſtake, and had wood and reede ſet about hym, ſo that nothyng wanted, but the firyng: but ſtyll aboade Cardmaker talkyng with the ſhiriffes.

The people whiche before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this maner of doing, were in a meruailous dumpe and ſadnes, thinkyng in deede that Cardmaker ſhould now recant at the burning of warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the Shiriffes, and came towards the ſtake, and (in his garments as he was) kneeled downe & made a long prayer in ſilence to himſelf: yet the people cōfirmed themſelues in their fantaſie of his recanting, ſeyng him in his garments praying ſecretly, & no ſemblance of any burning.

His prayers being ended, he roſe vp, put of his cloths vnto his ſhirt, went with bolde courage to the ſtake, and kiſſed it ſweetly: he toke warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily, & ſo gaue himſelfe to be alſo bound to the ſtake moſt gladly. The people ſeyng this ſo ſodenly done, contrary to their fearefull expectation, as mē deliuered out of a great doubt, cried out for ioy (with ſo great a ſhout as hath not lightly ben heard a greater) ſaieng: God be praiſed

The Martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker, and Iohn Warne,

Vpholſter. An. 1555. May. 30.


Beware of Idolatrie.
M. Cardmaker.

ſed, the Lord ſtrengthen thee Cardmaker, the Lord Ieſus receiue thy ſpirite. And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both paſſed thorough the fire to the bleſſed reſt and peace among Gods holy ſaints and martyrs, to enioy the crowne of triumph and victory prepared for the elect ſouldiors and warriours of Chriſt Ieſus in his bleſſed kingdome. To whome be glory and maieſty for euer, Amen.

The confeſſion of the ſayth of Iohn Warne Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30. day of May. 1555.

I beleeue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth.

A Father, becauſe hee is the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who is the euerlaſting word, whome before all worldes he hath begotten of himſelfe, which worde was made fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be his ſonne: in whom he hath adopted vs to be his children, the inheritors of his kyngdom, and therfore he is our father: An almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created all things viſible and inuiſible, both in heauen and in earth, euen all creatures conteyned therin, and gouerneth them.

And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely ſonne our Lord.

The eternall word, perfect God with his father of equal power in all things, of the ſame ſubſtance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and haue life, & without whom nothing liueth: he was made alſo perfect mã, and ſo being very God, and very man in one perſon, is the onely Sauiour, Redeemer, and Ranſomer of them which were loſt in Adam our forefather. He is the onely meane of our deliuerance, the hope of our health, the ſuretie of our ſaluation.

Which was conceyued by the holy Ghoſt, borne of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Fathers moſt mercifull promiſe, this eternal ſonne of God, forſaking the heauenly glory, humbled himſelfe to take fleſh of a virgin, according to yͤ ſcriptures, uniting the ſubſtance of the Godhed, to the ſubſtãce of the manhoode, which he tooke of the ſubſtaunce of that bleſſed virgin Mary, in one perſon, to become therein the very Maſſiah, the annointed king and prieſt, for euer appointed to pacifie the fathers wrath, which was iuſtlye gone out agaynſt vs all for our ſinne.

Suffred vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into hell.

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Iewrie, and ſo vniuſtly accuſed of many crimes, that the Ruler iudged him innocent, and ſought meanes to deliuer him: but contrary to knowen iuſtice, he did let go Barrabas which had deſerued death, and deliuered Chriſt to bee crucified, who deſerued no death: which doth declare vnto vs manifeſtly, that he ſuffred for our ſinnes, & was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witnes: thereby to haue it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. Therefore ſufferyng for our ſinnes, he receiued and did beare our deſerued condemnation, the paines of death, the taſt of abiection, the very terror of hell, yelding his ſpirit to his father, his body to be buried in earth.

The third day he roſe againe from death to lyfe.

To make full and perfect the whole worke of our redemption and iuſtification, the ſame crucified body which was layd in the graue, was raiſed vp againe the third day from death, by the power of hys Father, and glory of hys Godhead: he became the firſt fruits of the reſurrection, & got the victory of death, that all by him might be raiſed vp from death. Thorough whome all true penitent ſinners may now boldly come vnto the father, and haue remiſſion of their ſinnes.

He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty.

After that in his death and reſurrectiõ he had conquered ſinne, death, and the deuil, and had bene conuerſant 40. days in the earth being ſeene of the Apoſtles, & more then v. hundred brethren at once, in the ſame body in which he wrought the worke of our ſaluation, he aſcended into heauen with eternal triumph, for the victory ouer death, ſinne and hel, leauing the paſſage open, by which all true beleeuers may and ſhal enter into his kingdom, where he now ſitteth at his fathers right hand, that is to ſay, in power & glory equall, in maieſty coeternall.

The triumph & victory ouer death.

From thence he ſhal come to iudge the quicke & the dead.

He ſhal appeare againe in great glory to receiue his elect vnto himſelfe, & to put his enemies vnder his feete, chaunging all liuyng men in a moment, and raiſing vp al that be dead, that all may be brought to his iudgement. In this ſhall he geue ech man according to his deedes. They which haue folowed him in regeneratiõ, which haue their ſinnes waſhed away in hys bloud, & are clothed with hys righteouſnes, ſhall receiue the euerlaſting kingdome, and raigne with him for euer: and they which after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam haue followed fleſhe and

bloud

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bloud, ſhall receiue euerlaſting damnation with the deuill and hys angels.

I beleeue in the holy ghoſt.

I do beleue that the holy ghoſt is God, the third perſon in Trinitie, in vnitie of the Godhed equal with the father & the ſonne, geuen through Chriſt to inhabite our ſpirites, by which we are made to feele and vnderſtand the great power, vertue, & louing kindnes of Chriſt our lord. For he illumineth, quickneth, and certifieth our ſpirit, that by him we are ſealed vp vnto the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new cretures, ſo that by hym and through hym, we do receyue all the aboundãt goodnes promiſed vs in Ieſus Chriſt.

The holy Catholike Church.

The Church.

This is an holy number of Adams poſteritie, elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the bloud of the Lambe from the beginning of the world, and is diſperſed through the ſame, by the tiranny of Gog & Magog, that is to ſay, the Turke and his tiranny, and Antichriſt, otherwyſe named the Biſh. of Rome and hys aungels, as this day alſo doth teach.

The Communion of Saints.

Which moſt holy congregation (beyng as Paule teacheth, builded vppon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, Chriſt beyng the head corner ſtone) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his miniſters perſecuted, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by death, and ſome by other afflictions & painful torments: yet doth it remayne in one perfect vnitie both in faith and fellowſhip: which vnity is knit in an vnſpeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be liuyng, and hereafter ſhall be in the ſame, and ſo ſhall continue vntill they all do meete in the kyngdome, where the head Ieſus Chriſt, with all hys holy members (of which number thorough Chriſt I aſſuredly beleeue that I am one) ſhall be fully complete, knit, and vnited together for euermore.

The forgeueneſſe of ſinnes.

Remiſſion only through Chriſt.

I do beleeue that my ſinnes and all their ſinnes which do rightly beleeue the holy Scripture, are forgeuen onely thorough that Ieſus Chriſt, of whom onely I do profeſſe that I haue my whole and full ſaluation and redemption, which S. Paule ſaith, commeth not through our workes and deſeruyngs, but freely by grace, leſt any ſhould boaſt hymſelfe. Thorough the bloud of his Croſſe all thyngs in heauen and earth are reconciled, and ſet at peace wyth the Father, without him no heauenly lyfe is geuen, nor ſinne forgeuen.

The reſurrection of the body.

Reſurrection.

I do beleue, that by the ſame my ſauiour Chriſt, I, and all men ſhall riſe againe from death: for he, as Paul ſayth, is riſen agayne frõ the dead, and is become the firſt fruits of them which ſleepe. For by a man came death, and by a man commeth the reſurrection from death. This man is Chriſt, through the power of whoſe reſurrection, I beleue that we all ſhall riſe agayne in theſe our bodyes: the elect clothed with immortalitie to liue with Chriſt for euer: the reprobate alſo ſhall riſe immortall to liue with the deuill and his angels in death euerlaſting.

And the life euerlaſting.

Iohn.3.

Life and Saluation onely by fayth in Chriſt.

Through the ſame Ieſus & by none other, I am ſure to haue life euerlaſting. He onely is the way and entrance into the kingdome of heauen. For ſo God loued the world, that he did geue his onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, to the ende that ſo many as do beleue in him, might haue euerlaſting lyfe. The which I am ſure to poſſeſſe ſo ſoone as I am diſſolued, & departed out of this tabernacle, & in the laſt day ſhall both body and ſoule poſſeſſe the ſame for euer: to the which God graunt all men to come,

Two ſacraments of the new Teſtament.

I beleue that the ſacramentes, that is to ſay, of Baptiſme and of the Lordes ſupper are ſeales of Gods moſte mercyfull promiſes towardes mankind. In Baptiſme, as by the outward creature of water I am waſhed from the filthines which hangeth on my fleſh: ſo do I aſſuredly beleue, ÿ I am by Chriſtes bloud waſhed cleane frõ my ſins, through which I haue ſure confidence of my certaine ſaluation. In the partaking of the Lordes ſupper, as I receyue the ſubſtance of bread & wyne (the nature of which is to ſtrengthen the body,) ſo do I by faith receyue the redemption wrought in Chriſtes body broken on the croſſe, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſumme, all that euer Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſaluation, to the ſtrengthening of my faith in the ſame. And I beleeue that God hath appointed the eatyng & drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy ſupper according to his word, to moue and to ſtirre vp my mynd to beleue theſe articles aboue written.

This is my faith: this I do beleue, and I am content by Gods grace to confirme and ſeale the truth of the ſame with my bloud.

By me Iohn Warne.

¶ A letter of Iohn Cardmaker to a certaine friend of his.

The peace of God be with you.

YOu ſhall right well perceiue, that I am not gone backe as ſome men do report me, but as ready to geue my lyfe, as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although by a pollicie I haue a little prolonged it, and that for the beſt, as already it appeareth vnto me, and ſhortly ſhall appeare vnto all. That day that I recant any poynt of doctrine, I ſhall ſuffer twenty kyndes of death, the Lord beyng myne aſſiſtance, as I doubt not, but he wil. Commend me to my friend, and tell hym no leſſe. This the Lorde ſtrengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and pouertie is as it was woont to be, and I haue learned to reioyce in pouertie, as well as in riches, for that count I now to bee very riches. Thus fare ye well in Chriſt. Salute all my brethren in my name. I haue conferred with ſome of my aduerſaries, learned men, and I finde that they be but Sophiſtes and ſhadowes.

¶ A note concerning M. Cardmaker.

MAiſter Cardmaker beyng condemned, & in Newgate one Beard a Promoter came to him two or three dais before he was burned, and ſaid vnto him: Sir, I am ſent vnto you by the Counſaile, to knowe whether ye will recant or no?

Cardmaker. From which Counſaile are ye come? I thinke ye are not come, nor yet ſent from the Queenes counſaile, but rather from the commiſſioners, vnto whõ (as I ſuppoſe) ye belong. And where as ye would know, whether I wil recant or no, thus, I pray you, report of me to thoſe whom ye ſaid, ſent you. I know you are a Tailor by your occupation, and haue endeuoured your ſelfe to be a cunning workeman, and therby to get your liuing: ſo I haue bene a preacher theſe xx. yeres, and euer ſince that God by his great mercy hath opened myne eyes to ſee hys eternal truth, I haue by his grace endeuoured my ſelfe to call vpõ him, to geue me the true vnderſtanding of his holy word, and I thanke hym for his great mercy, I hope I haue diſcharged my conſcience in the ſettyng forth of the ſame, to that little talent that I haue receiued.

Beard. Yea ſir, but what ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar?

Card. I ſay and marke it well, that Chriſt the nyght before hys bitter paſſion, ordeyned the holy and bleſſed Communion, & hath geuen commaundement, that his death ſhould be preached before the receiuyng therof, in the remẽbrance of his body broken, and his precious bloud ſhed for the forgeuenes of our ſinnes, to as many as faithfully beleeue and truſt in hym.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly wyth hym, he aſked of him, whether the Sacrament he ſpake of, had a beginnyng, or no? Whereunto when he had graunted and affirmed the ſame to be, then maiſter Cardmaker againe thus inferred thereupon: If the Sacrament (ſaid he) as you confeſſe, haue a beginning, and an ending, then it cannot bee God: for God hath no beginnyng nor endyng, and ſo willyng hym well to note the ſame, he departed from hym.

Iune. An. 1555.

The 5. day M. Secretary Bourne, the M. of the Roles Sir Frances Englefield, Sir Richard Read and Doctor Hughes, authoriſing them or two or three of them at the leaſt, to proceed to further examination of Benger, Cary, D. and Field, vppon ſuch poynts as they ſhall gather out of their former confeſſions, touchyng their lewd & vayne practiſes of calculing or coniuryng, preſently ſent vnto the with the ſayd letters.

The 7. day there was another letter to ſir Iohn Tregonwel, willing hym to ioyne in commiſſion with the ſaid L. North, and others abouenamed, about the examination of the ſaid parties & others, for coniuring & witchcraft. And the 29. of Auguſt Cary and D. were ſet at liberty vpon bands for their good abearyng vntil Chriſtmas after.

The 12. day a letter was ſent to the L. Treaſurer, to cauſe writs to be made to the Shirife of Suſſex, for ÿ burnyng and executing of Dirike a Brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stainings, the other at Chicheſter.

The 23. of Iune a letter was ſent to Boner, to examine a report geuen to the counſail of 4. pariſhes within ÿ Soken of Eſſex, that ſhould ſtill vſe the Engliſh ſeruice, and to puniſh the offenders if any ſuch be.

¶ The ſtory of Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon of the Pariſh of Wigborow the great, in Eſſex.

Anno 1555.

The ſtory of Iohn Sim... & Iohn Ardeley...

WIth Mayſter Cardmaker and Iohn Warne, vpon the ſame day, & in the ſame company, & for the ſame cauſe was alſo condemned Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon, which was the 25. day of Maye. But before we come to the ſtory of them, firſt here is to be noted the copy of the King and Queenes letter, directed frō the Court the ſame day, and ſent by a Poſte early in the morning to the biſhop in tenor and forme as foloweth.

¶ To the right reuerend Father in God, our right truſty and welbeloued, the Biſhop of London.

The King & Queenes letter to B. Boner.

RIght reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greet you well. And where of late we addreſſed our letters to the Iuſtices of peace within euerye of the Countyes of this our Realme, wherby amongeſt other inſtructions geuen them for the good order and quiet gouernement of the Country about them, they are willed to haue a ſpeciall regard vnto ſuch diſordred perſons, as forgetting theyr duetyes towardes God and vs, do leane to any erroneous and hereticall opinions, refuſing to ſhew them ſelues conformable to the Catholick Religiō of Chriſtes church: wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fayre meanes reforme them, they are willed to deliuer them to the Ordinarye, to be by him charitably trauelled withall, and remoued (if it may be) from their noughty opinions, or els if they cōtinue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the lawes prouided in that behalfe: vnderſtanding nowe, to our no little maruell, that diuers of the ſayd diſordered perſons, being by the Iuſtices of peace for theyr contempt and obſtinacy, brought to the Ordinaryes to be vſed, as is aforeſayd, are either refuſed to be receiued at theyr hands, or if they be receiued, are neither ſo trauelled with, as chriſtian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withall according to the order of Iuſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in theyr errors, to the diſhonor of almighty God, and daungerous exemple of others: like as we finde this matter very ſtraunge, ſo haue thought conueniēt, both to ſignify our knowledge & therwith alſo to admoniſh you to haue in this behalfe ſuch regard hencefoorth to the office of a good paſtor and Biſhop, as whē any ſuch offenders ſhalbe by the ſayd Officers or Iuſtices of peace brought vnto you, you to vſe your good wiſedom & diſcretiō in procuring to remoue thē frō theyr errours, if it may be, or els in proceeding agaynſt them (if they ſhall cōtinue obſtinate) according to the order of the lawes: ſo as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may bee better aduaunced, and the common wealth more quietly gouerned. Yeuen vnder our ſignet, at our honour of Hampton Courte, the 24. of May, the 1. and 2. yeares of our reignes.

Q. Mary ſtirreth Boner to ſhedde innocent bloud.

This letter thus comming from the Court to the Biſhop, made him the more earneſt and haſty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of theſe men, of whom now we haue preſently to entreat, of Iohn Symſon, I meane and Iohn Ardeley. Whyche both beyng of one countrey, and of one Towne together, and of one trade, that is, beyng both huſbandmen in the town of Wigborow in Eſſex, and alſo almoſt both of one age, ſaue that Symſon was of the age of 34. the other of 30. were brought vp both together, by the vnder Shyriffe of Eſſex, to Boner Biſhop of London, vpō the accuſation (as in that time it was called) of hereſy.

Iohn Ardeley & Iohn Symſon both huſbandmen in the towne of Wigborow.

As touching the order & maner of theyr examinations before the biſhop, as the articles miniſtred againſt them, were much like: ſo theyr aunſweres agayne vnto the ſame were not much diſcrepant in maner & forme, as out of the Biſhops owne Regiſters here foloweth expreſſed.

¶ Articles obiected agaynſt Iohn Symſon, and Iohn Ardeley, of the Pariſh of Wigborow the great in Eſſex, huſbandmen, by Boner Biſhop of London, at Fulham. 22. of May. 1555.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt Iohn Symſon, and Iohn Ardeley.

1. FIrſt, that thou Ioh. Symſon (or Ioh. Ardeley) huſbandman, of the age of 34. yeres, or thereabout, waſt and art of the pariſh of great Wigborow, within the dioces of Londō, and thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that there is here in earth one Catholicke and vniuerſal whole Church, which doth hold and beleue all the fayth & religiō of Chriſt and all the neceſſary articles and ſacramentes of the ſame.

2. Item, that thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that thou art neceſſarily bounden vnder the payne of damnation of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayd Catholique and vniuerſall Church, and to the Religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary poyntes of the ſayd fayth and Religion, without wauering or doubting in the ſayde fayth and Religion, or in any part therof.

3. Item, that thou haſt not beleeued, nor doeſt beleue, that that fayth and Religion: whiche both the Churche of Rome, Italy, Spayn, England, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, being true members and partes of the ſayd Catholick & vniuerſall church do beleue and teach, is both agreeing with the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Church, and the fayth and Religion, of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true fayth & Religion, which all Chriſten people ought to beleue, obſerue, folow & keep, but contrariwiſe thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue, that that fayth and Religion, which the ſayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd haue heretofore beleued, and do nowe beleue, is falſe, erroneous and nought, & in no wiſe ought to be beleued, obſerued, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian man.

The Church of Rome, Italy, Spayne, and other forrayne countreys in Europe.

4. Item, that albeit it bee true, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is in ſubſtance the very body and bloud of Chriſt vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and albeit, that it be ſo beleued, taught & preached vndoubtedly in the ſayd Churche of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd, yet thou haſt not ſo beleued, nor doeſt ſo beleeue, but contrariwiſe thou haſt & doeſt beleue firmely, & ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, vnder the ſayd formes of breade and wine, the very ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtaunce of material and common bread and wine, with the formes therof: and that the ſayd materiall & commō bread and wine are onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſts body and bloud, and by fayth to be recieued, onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion & death, without any ſuch ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

Subſtance of Chriſtes body vnder formes of bread & wyne.

5. Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power maynteined and defended, and ſo doeſt beleue, thinke, maynteyn and defend, that the very true receiuing and eating of Chriſtes body & bloud, is onely to take materiall and commō bread, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it amongeſt the people, remembring therby the paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

6. Item, that thou haſt likewiſe beleued, taught, and ſpoken, that the Maſſe now vſed in this Realme of England, and others the churches aforeſayd, is abhominable & naught and full of Idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the Pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, & hath no goodnes in it, ſauing the gloria in excelſis, and the Epiſtle and the Goſpell, & that therefore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come and be preſent at the Maſſe, nor receiue the Sacrament of the aultar, or any other Sacrament of the Church as they are now vſed in this Realme of Englande, and other the Churches aforeſayd.

The Maſſe abominable.

7. Item, that thou haſt in tymes paſt beleued preciſely, and obſtinately affirmed and ſayd, & ſo doeſt now beleue & thinke that auricular confeſſion is not needfull to be made vnto the Prieſte, but it is a thing ſuperfluous and vayne, and ought onely to be made to God & to none other perſō: and likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vayne, and vnprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the ſeruice of the ſame, & haſt ſayd that no ſeruice in the church ought to be ſayd, but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe ſayd, it is vnlawfull and nought.

¶ The aunſweres of Iohn Symſon and alſo of Iohn Ardeley, to the foreſayd Articles.

TO the firſte, they beleue, that here in earth there is one Catholicke and vniuerſall holy Churche, which doeth hold and beleue as is conteined in the firſt article, and that this Church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroad throughout the whole world.

Their aunſweres to the articles.

To the ſecond, they beleue, that they be bound to geue fayth and credence vnto it, as is conteyned in the ſecond Article.

To the third, as concerning the fayth and Religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spaine, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and other Churches in Europa, they ſay, they haue nothing to doe with that fayth and Religion, but as concerning the fayth and Religion of England, that if the ſayde Churche of England be ruled and Gouerned by the word of life, then the Church of England hath the fayth & Religion of the Catholicke Church, and not otherwiſe: & doe ſay alſo, that if the Churche of England were ruled by the word of life, it woulde not go about to condemne them and others of this hereſy.

To the fourth they aunſwere, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the aultar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered nor chaunged in ſubſtaunce in anye wiſe, and that hee that receiueth the ſayde bread and wyne, doth ſpiritually and by fayth only receiue the

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

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the body and bloud of Chriſt, but not the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, vnder the formes of bread and wine.

To the fift they ſay, they haue aunſwered aunſwering to the ſayde fourth article, and yet neuertheleſſe they ſaye, that they haue beleued, and doe beleue, that in the ſacramēt of the Aultar there is not the verye ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud, but onely the ſubſtaunce of naturall bread and wine.

The Maſſe deteſted.

To the ſixt they ſay, that they beleue, that the Maſſe is of the Pope, and not of Chriſt, and therefore it is not good, nor hauing in it any goodnes, ſauing the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, the Creed, and the Pater noſter: & for this cauſe they ſay, they haue not, nor will not come and heare Maſſe.

To the ſeuenth, Iohn Ardeley aunſwereth, and ſayth, that he beleueth the contentes of the ſame to bee true: but Iohn Symſon doth anſwere, that he is not as yet fully reſolued with himſelfe, what aunſwere to make therunto, & further ſayth, that as touching the common and dayly ſeruice ſayd & vſed in the church, he ſayth, that he neuer ſayd, that ſeruice in the Churche ought to be ſayd but in the Engliſhe tongue, nor yet he neuer ſayd, that if it be otherwiſe ſayd and vſed then in Engliſh, it is vnlawful and nought.

Iohn Ardeley, and Iohn Symſon.

An other appearance of Simſon and Iohn Ardeley before the Byſhop.

Thus theſe articles being to them obiected, and their aunſweres made vnto the ſame, as before, the Biſhop according to the old trade of his Conſiſtorie Court, reſpited them to the after noone, biddyng them to make their appearaunce the ſayd day and place, betweene the houres of two and three. At what tyme the ſayd Byſhop repeatyng agayne the ſayd articles vnto them, and beginnyng with Iohn Ardeley did vrge and ſolicitate, according to his maner of wordes, to recant.

The wordes of Iohn Ardeley to Boner

To whom Iohn Ardely againe conſtantly ſtandyng to his profeſſed Religion, gaue anſwere in wordes, as foloweth: My Lord (quoth he) neyther you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the Catholique Church, for you be of a falſe fayth: and I doubt not but you ſhall be deceyued at length, beare as good a face as ye can. You will ſhedde the innocent bloud, and you haue killed many, and yet goe about to kyll more. &c.

And added further, ſaying: If euery heare of my head were a man, I would ſuffer death in the opinion and fayth that I am now in. Theſe with many other wordes he ſpake. Then the Byſhop yet demaunding if he woulde relinquiſh his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and be reduced againe to the vnitie of ẏ Church, he anſweared, as foloweth: No, God forſhield that I ſhould ſo do: for then I ſhould looſe my ſoule.

Iohn Ardeley & Iohn Simſon condemned.

After this, the ſayd Byſhop aſking Iohn Ardeley (after his formall manner) if he knewe any cauſe why hee ſhoulde not haue ſentence condemnatorie agaynſt hym, ſo read the condemnation, as he alſo did againſt Iohn Symſon, ſtandyng lykewyſe in the ſame cauſe and conſtancie with Iohn Ardeley: which was done the xxv. day of May, and ſo were they both committed to the ſecular power, that is, to the handes of the Sheriffes, to be conueyed to the place where they ſhould be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be paſſed a thing not vnworthy the looking vpon, which happened in the cloſing vp of the examination of theſe two innocent martyrs of God, which is this.

A Note.

A note of the ſodaine feare of Boner

At the tyme of the examination of this Symſon and Iohn Ardeley aforeſaid, there was aſſembled ſuch a great multitude of people, that becauſe the Conſiſtorie was not able to hold them, they were fayne to ſtand in the Church, neare about the ſayd Conſiſtorie, wayting to ſee the priſoners, when they ſhould depart. It happened in the meane time that the Biſhop being ſet in heate with the ſtoute and bolde aunſweares of the ſayd two priſoners (eſpecially of Iohn Symſon) burſt out in his loud and angry voice, and ſayd: Haue him away, haue him away.

Now the people in the Church hearing theſe wordes, and thinking (becauſe the daye was farre ſpent) that the priſoners had their iudgement, they beyng deſirous to ſee the priſoners had to Newgate, ſeuered them ſelues, one runnyng one way, an other an other way, whiche cauſed ſuch a noyſe in the Church, that they in ẏ Conſiſtorie were all amaſed, and marueiled what it ſhould meane: wherfore the Byſhop alſo being ſomewhat afrayde of this ſodayne ſtyrre, aſked what there was to do. The ſtanders by anſweryng, ſayd, that there was like to be ſome tumult, for they were together by the eares.

The ridiculous feare of Boner and his Doctours.

When the Biſhop heard this, by & by his hart was in his heeles, & leauing his ſeat, he with the reſt of that court betooke them to their legges, haſtening with all ſpeed poſſible to recouer the doore that went into the biſhops houſe: but the reſt being ſomewhat lighter of foot then my Lorde, did ſooner recouer the dore, and thronging haſtily to gette in kept the biſhop ſtill out, and cryed: Saue my Lord, ſaue my Lord, but meaning yet firſt to ſaue themſelues, if any daunger ſhould come, whereby they gaue the ſtanders by good matter to laugh at: reſēbling in ſome part a ſpectacle not much vnlike to the old ſtagers at Oxford, worſe feared then hurt, when as the Church there was noyſed to be on fire, wherof ye may read before. pag. 1180. But of this matter enough.

Now Iohn Symſon and Iohn Ardeley being deliuered (as is aforeſayd) to the Shiriffes, were ſhortly after ſent downe from Londō to Eſſex, where both they on one day (which was about the 10. daye of Iune) were put to death, albeit in ſeuerall places: for Iohn Sympſō ſuffered at Rochford, Iohn Ardeley the ſame day was had to Railey, where he finiſhed his martyrdome moſt quietly in the quarrell of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Iohn Sim ſon & Io Ardeley into Eſſe be exe ted. The Martyrdome of Simſon & Ardeley. Iune.

✻ A note of Iohn Ardeley.

FOr the better conſideration of the rigorous crueltye of theſe Catholick dayes, this is furthermore not vnworthy of all men to be noted and knowen to all poſteritie, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company: how that they being brought before the Commiſſioners were by them greatly charged of ſtubbornes and vayne glory. Vnto whom they aunſwered in defence of their owne ſimplicitie, that they were content willingly to yeelde to the Queene all their goodes and landes, ſo that they might be ſuffered to liue vnder her, in keepyng their conſcience free from all Idolatrie and papiſticall Religion. Yet this would not be graunted, although they had offered all to their hart bloud: ſo greedy and ſo thirſty be theſe perſecutors of Chriſtian bloud. The Lord geue them repentaunce if it be his wil, and kepe from them the iuſt reward of ſuch cruel dealing. Amen.

The ridiculous handling and proceedyng of Byſhop Boner and his mates againſt Iohn Tooly, firſt ſuſpected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his graue, and geuen to the ſecular power, and ſo burned for an heretike.

The ſtory of Iohn Tooly.

ABout the ſame time of the burning of theſe two aforeſayd, in the beginning of the ſayd moneth of Iune, fell out a ſoleme proceſſe & much ado was made by the Popes ſpiritualty agaynſt Iohn Tooly, in a caſe of herely. The ſtory is this. There was about the tyme that the Spaniardes began firſt to keepe a ſtur in Englād, one Io. Tooly, a citizen & Pulter in London, who conſpired with certain other of his ſociety, to rob a Spaniard at ſ. Iames: & although the deed wer heinous & wicked of it ſelf, yet was it aggrauated & made greater then it was by other, beyng cōmitted agaynſt ſuch a perſon, & agaynſt ſuch a countrey. which both the queene & her whole court did highly fauor. The robbery being knowen, & brought into iudgemēt, this Tooly was found guilty, and iudged to be hāged, wheras notwithſtanding in this Realme there are many mo theftes committed, then theeues executed.

The foreſayd Tooly, being lead to the gallowes, (whiche ſtood faſt by Charing Croſſe a litle before he dyed, ſtanding vpon the Carte, readde a certayne prayer in a printed booke, and two other prayers written in two ſeuerall papers, who then hauing the haltar about his necke, deſired the people there preſent to pray for him, and to beare hym witnes that he dyed a true Chriſtian man, and that he truſted to be ſaued onely by the merites of Chriſtes paſſion, & ſhedding of his precious bloud, and not by any maſſes, or Trentalles, Images, or Saintes, which were (as he ſaid) mere Idolatry and ſuperſtition, and deuiſed by the biſhop of Rome: and as he the ſame Tooly, and two other his felowes, which were there hanged with him, did ſteale and robbe for couetouſnes, ſo the biſhop of Rome did ſell hys Maſſes and Trentalles, with ſuch other peltrye for couetouſnes, and there being in a great anger (as appeared) agaynſt the biſhop of Rome, ſpake with a loud voyce theſe wordes folowing: From the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities: From falſe doctrine and hereſy, and from the contempt of the word and commaundement, good Lord deliuer vs.

Iohn To dyed a Chriſtian man. The Chr ſtian co feſſion of Tooly. The cou touſnes of the Pope.

And then adding further to the ſame, he ſpake vnto the people: All you that be true Chriſtian men, ſaye with me, Amen. And immediately therupon three hundred perſons and more to the iudgement & eſtimatiō of thoſe that were there preſent, anſwered and ſayd. Amen, three tymes together

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ther at the leaſt.

After this it happened, that when Toolye had readde the Byll the fyrſte tyme, it fell from him: and a certayne young man (who was thought to be a Prentiſe) ſtouped downe and tooke vp the Byll, and clymed vp by the Cart, and deliuered it vnto Tooly agayne, which he agayne did reade to the people. That done, he deliuered vnto one of the Marſhialles Officers the booke aforeſayd, and wylled hym to deliuer it to one Haukes, ſaying that it was hys. Furthermore, hee deliuered one of the Prayers Booke, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley Sergeaunt, which deſired to haue it of him. Vpon the toppe of whiche Byll was written a line, conteyning theſe wordes: Beware of Antichriſt: and ſubſcribed vnderneath: Per me Thomam Harold pryſoner in the Marſhalſea, enemy to Antechriſte. For the Byll aforeſayde Robert Bromley was brought afterward Coram nobis, and was faine to aſke pardon of the biſhop, and to deteſt all the wordes of Tooly, and glad ſo to eſcape.

Thus while Tooly had made his prayers, as is aboue ſayd, to be diliuered from the Popes tyranny, by the ſame prayer he fel into great tyranny. For ſo ſoon as the brute of this fact came vnto the eares of the Prieſts & Mitred prelates, they were not a litle mad therat, thinking it not tolerable that ſo great a reproch ſhould be done agaynſt the holy father. Calling therfore a coūſell together, as though it had bene a matter of great importance, Toolyes talke at his death was debated among themſelues.

A Coun= ell called gaynſt ooly.

At the laſt, (after much Pro and Contra) they all conſented to thoſe mens iudgements, which thought it meet that the vyolating of the Popes holynes ſhoulde be reuenged with fire and fagot. And I do eaſely beleue, that Cardinal Poole was no ſmall doer in this ſentence: for as Wincheſter and Boner did alwayes thirſt after the bloud of the liuing, ſo Pooles lightning was for the moſt part kindled agaynſt the dead: and he reſerued this charge onely to hymſelfe, I knowe not for what purpoſe, except peraduenture being loth to be ſo cruel as the other, he thought neuertheleſſe by this meanes to diſcharge his ductye towarde the Pope. By the ſame Cardinalles like lightening and fierye fiſt, the bones of Martine Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, which had lyen almoſt two yeares in theyr graues, were taken vp and burned at Cambridge, as Toolyes carkaſe was here at London. And beſides this, becauſe he woulde ſhew ſome token of his diligence in both Vniuerſities, he cauſed Peter Martirs wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the Churchyarde, and to be buryed on the dunghill. Of theſe two prodigious actes, ye ſhal heare more hereafter. But now to our purpoſe of Tooly, which hauinge ended his prayer, was hanged, and put into hys graue, out of the which he was digged agayne; by the cōmaundement of the Biſhops, and becauſe he was ſo bolde to derogate the authority of the Biſhop of Rome at ỳ time of his death, it pleaſed them to iudge and cōdemne him as an hereticke, vpon the commaundement of the Counſelles letter, as here appeareth.

Cardinall Poole a great doer in burning dead mens bones

M. Bucer Paulus Phagius, Peter Martyrs wyfe, Iohn Toolv, burned for hereticks after their death.

¶ A Letter ſent vnto Boner Byſhop of London, from the Counſell.

The Coun- ls letter B. Boner cerning Tooly.

After our very harty commendations to your Lordſhip vnderſtanding that of late amongeſt others that haue ſuffered about London for theyr offences, one leude perſon that was condemned for felony, dyed very obſtinately, profeſſing at the tyme of his death ſundry hereticall and erronious opinions: like as we thinke it not conuenient that ſuch a matter ſhould be ouerpaſſed without ſome example to the world, ſo we thought good to pray your Lordſhyppe, to cauſe further enquirye to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceede to the making out of ſuch proceſſe as by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes is prouided in that behalfe. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip hartily well to fare. From Hamptō Courte, the 28. of April. 1555.

Your Lordſhips louing frendes.

Ste. Winton. Cancel.	R. Rocheſter.
F. Shrewſ bury.	William Peter.
Iohn Gage.	Rich Southwell.
Thomas Cheney.	

Anon after, a Citation was ſet vpon Paules Church dore vnder the Biſhop of Londons great ſeale: the tenor wherof here enſueth.

¶ The writ or Mandate of Boner B. of London, ſet vp at Charing Croſſe, on Paules Church doore, and at S. Martins in the field, for the citeyng and further inquiring out of the caſe of John Tooly.

A Citation ſet vp by Boner & that in Latin, commaunding his kinne and kinſfolkes to lay for him what they could, before the ſentence geuen, or els to hold their peace for euer.

Edmond by the ſufferaunce of God, Biſhop of London, to all and ſingular Parſons, Vicares, Curates, and others, Clerks and learned men, being within our Dioces of London, and ſpecially vnto Richard Clony our ſworn Sumner, greeting, ſalutation, & benediction. For ſo much as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of ſundry credible perſons, that one John Tooly late Citizen and Pulter of London, the ſonne of perdition and iniquity, comming to the profundity of malice, in the ſelfe ſame time in the which he ſhould go to hanging, according to the lawes of the Realme, for the greate thefte by him lately committed, at whiche time chiefly he ſhoulde haue cared for the wealth of his ſoule, and to haue dyed in the vnity of the Catholique Churche, did vtter diuers and ſundry, damnable, blaſphemous, and hereticall opinions, & errors, vtterly contrary & repugnant to the verity of the Catholicke fayth & vnity of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtyrre vp, and encourage the people there ſtanding in great multitude, to hold & defend the ſame errors and opinions: And moreouer, certain of the people there ſtanding, as it did appeare, infected with errours and hereſies, as fautours and defenders of the ſayd John, did confirme and geue expreſſe cōnſent to the foreſayd wordes, propoſitions, and affirmations: which thing we doe vtter with ſorrow and bytterneſſe of hart.

Note how Boner here pretendeth conſcience in proſecuting this matter. when onely he was commaunded vnto it by the Counſells letters.

We therfore the foreſayd Edmond & biſhop abouesayd, not being able, nor daring paſſe ouer in ſilence, or winke at the forſaid hainous act, leaſt by our negligence and ſlacknes, ỳ bloud of thē might be required at our handes, at the moſt terrible day of iudgement, deſiring to be certified and enformed, whether ỳ premiſes declared vnto vs be of truth & leaſt that any ſcabbed ſheep, lurking amongſt the ſimple flocke of our Lord do infect them with peſtiferous hereſy, to you, therfore, we ſtraitly charge and commaūd, that you cite, or cauſe to be cited al and ſinguler, hauing or knowing the truth of the premiſſes, by ſetting vp this Citation vpon the Church doore of Saint Martines in the field, being within our Dioces of London, and alſo vpon the Cathedrall Church doore of S. Paules in London, leauing there the copy hereof, or by other meanes or wayes, the beſt you can, that this Citation and Monition may come to theyr knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenor of theſe preſentes, we cite and admoniſhe that they appeare, and euery one of them do appeare before vs or our Vicar generall, or Commiſſary, whatſoeuer he be in that behalfe, in our cathedrall Church of S. Paul in London, in the Conſiſtory place vpon thurſday the ſecond day of May, now next enſuing, betwixt the houres of 9. & 10. of the clocke in the forenoone the ſame day, to beare witnes to the truth in this behalfe, and to depoſe and declare faythfully the trueth that they know or haue heard of the premiſſes: and moreouer, to do and receiue, that law and reaſon doth require.

The wyfe children & kindred of Iohn Tooly cited.

Further, we commit vnto you, as before, and ſtraytlye enioyning you do cōmaund, that ye will generally cite the wife of the ſayd Tooly that is dead & his children, his kynred by father and mother, his frendes, and his familiars in eſpeciall, and all other and euery of thē, if there be any perhaps that deſire to defend and purge the remembraunce of the perſon in the premiſſes, and that ye admoniſh them after the maner and forme aforeſayd, whō we likewiſe by the tenor of theſe preſentes, do in ſuch ſort cite and moniſh that they appeare all, & that euery one of thē do appeare (vnder pain to be cōpelled to keep ſilence for euer hereafter in this behalfe) before vs, or our Vicar generall in ſpirituall matters, or ſuch our Commiſſary at the day, houre, and place aforeſayd, to defende the good name and remembraunce of him that is dead, and to ſay, alledge, & propoſe in due forme of law, a cauſe reaſonable, if they haue any or can tel of any why the ſayd John Tooly that is dead, ought not to be determined and declared for ſuch an heretick and excommunicate perſon, and his remembrance condemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo heynous a deed and crime, & his body or carkas to lacke Church buriall, as a rottē member cut of from the church, and the ſame to be committed to the arme & power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter for euer to hold theyr peace.

The carcas of Tooly cut of from Chriſtian buryall.

And furthermore, to do, receiue, & to ſuffer, as law and reaſon will, and as the quality of ſuche matter, and the nature of themſelues do conſtrayne and require: and moreouer, that you cite and moniſh after the maner aforeſayd, all and euery of the receiuers, fautours, and creditours of the ſayd John Tooly that is dead, eſpecially if any of them doe accline and geue conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitions, and rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſayd thurſday, they returne and ſubmit themſelues vnto vs, and to the lap of the mother holy Church: which thing if they doe, we truſting vpon the mercye of al-

The Biſhop layeth his bayte to catch whom he may trouble.

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mighty God, do promiſe that we will receiue them beyng penitent for ſuch theyr errors & faultes, with thankes, benignity, mercy and fauor, to the comfort and health of their owne ſoules, and in that behalfe ſaue their honeſties to the vttermoſt of our power: otherwiſe if they wil not prouide thus to come of theyr owne accord, but to abide ẏ ordinary proceſſe of the law, let thoſe mẽ know that we will puniſh more ſeuerely this offẽce, according to the vttermoſt of the law, and as farre as the law will beare it: & what you ſhal do in the premiſſes, let him among you which ſhall execute this our preſent Mandate, certify vs, or our vicar general in ſpirituall matters, eyther by his owne perſon, or by his letters patents, together with theſe autẽtically ſealed. Dated at London vnder our ſeale, the laſt day ſaue one of April. 1555. and of our Tranſlation the 16.

Tooly ſuſpended and excommunicated.

When the tyme of this Citation was expired, and thys Tooly being cited, dyd not appeare: next in order of lawe came the ſuſpenſion (where as one ſuſpenſion had bene enough for him) and after that commeth the Excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eat or drinke with him, or if any mette him by the way, he ſhoulde not bidde hym good morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould be excluded from the Communion of the Churche. Theſe thynges beyng prepared in ſuch maner, as in ſuch caſes ful wiſely they vſe to do, at length one ſtood out for the nonce, that made aunſwere to certayne articles, rehearſed in iudgement openly, and that in the behalfe of the dead manne. But when the poore dead man could neyther ſpeake for himſelfe, nor did, (as they ſayd) ſufficiently aunſwere them by the other, to auoyde the name of an hereticke: firſt witneſſes were producted agaynſt him, whoſe names were Hẽry Clarke Eſquire, Thom. Way keeper of the Marſhalſey, Philip Andrew Vndermarſhal, William Holingworth Fiſhmõger, William Gellard, William Walton Chaundler, Richarde Longman Marchaunt Taylour, Philip Britten, Iohn Burton Brewer, Thomas Smyth Sergeant. Then hee was for an hereticke condemned, aand ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the Shiriffes of London, which with like diligence went aboute to execute their charge. Therfore receiuing the man being ſuſpẽded, excommunicated, condemned as an hereticke, and beſides that beyng dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, for a continuall remembrance therof. This was done the fourth day of Iune.

Witnes agaynſt Iohn Tooly.

Tooly geuen to the ſecular power.

✻ Here foloweth the hiſtory and Martyrdome of the worthy ſeruaunt of Chriſt, Thomas Haukes Gentleman, with his examinations and aunſweres had with B. Boner, recorded and penned with his owne hand.

The ſtory of M. Tho. Haukes Martyr.

IMmediatly after the ſtory of D. Taylor. pag. 1456. mention before was made of ſixe men brought & conuicted before Biſhop Boner vpon the eight day of February. The names of which martyrs were Steuen Knight, William Pigot, Tho. Tomkins, Ioh Laurence, Wil. Hunter. In which number was alſo Tho. Haukes, & cõdemned likewiſe with thẽ the 9. day of the foreſaid month of February. But becauſe his execution did not ſo ſhortly followe wyth theirs, but was prolonged to this preſent x. day of the moneth of Iune, wherwith we are nowe in hand, it foloweth therfore now conſequẽtly to enter tractation thereof, firſt, beginning briefly with his godly cõuerſation & inſtitution of life, then ſhewing of his troubles, alſo of his examinations and conflictes with the biſhop and other aduerſaries according as the order of his ſtory doth require.

The lyfe and conuerſation of Tho. Haukes.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, firſt hee was of the countrey of Eſſex, borne of an honeſt ſtocke, in calling and profeſſion a Courtier, brought vppe daintely from his childhoode, and like a Gentleman. Beſides that, he was of ſuch comlines and ſtature, ſo well endued with excellẽt qualities, that he might ſeme on euery ſide a man (as it were) made for the purpoſe. But hys gentle behauiour toward other, and eſpecially his feruent ſtudy and ſinguler loue vnto true Religion and godlines did ſurmount all the reſt. Wherein as God did ſingularly adorne him: euen ſo he being ſuche a valiaunt Martyr of God, may ſeeme to nobilitate the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright ſtarre, to make the Churche of God and his trueth, of themſelues bright and cleare, more gloriouſly to ſhine by his example.

The victory of Martyrs, is the triumph of Chriſt. Ambroſe.

For if the conqueſtes of martyrs are the triumphes of Chriſt (as Saynt Ambroſe doth notably and truely write) vndoubtedly Chriſt in few mẽ hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriouſly, then in this young man: he ſtood ſo wiſely in his cauſe, ſo godly in his life, and ſo conſtantly in his death.

Thomas Haukes firſt in ſeruice with the Earle of Oxford.

But to the declaration of the matter: firſt this Haukes folowing the guiſe of the Court, as he grew in yeares, entred ſeruice with the Lord of Oxford, where he remained a good ſpace, being there right well eſtemed & loued of all the houſhold, ſo long as Edward the ſixt liued. But he dying, all things begã to go backward, religiõ to decay, godlines not only to waxe cold, but alſo to be in daũger euery where and chiefly in the houſes of great men. Haukes miſlikyng the ſtate of thinges, and eſpecially in ſuch mens houſes rather thẽ he would chaunge the profeſſion of true godlines which he had taſted, thought to chaunge the place: and ſo forſaking ẏ Noble mans houſe, departed home to his own home, where more freely he might geue himſelfe to God, & vſe his owne conſcience.

Haukes compelled to leaue the Earle of Oxfordes houſe.

But what place in this worlde ſhall a man finde ſo ſecret for himſelfe, whether that old wicked Serpent cannot creep, wherby he may haue ſome matter to ouerthrow the quietneſſe of the Godly? Nowe in the meane ſeaſon (as it happened) Haukes keeping his houſe at home, had borne vnto him a young ſonne, whoſe baptiſme was deferred to the third weeke, for that he would not ſuffer him to be baptiſed after the papiſtical maner, which thing the aduerſaries not able to ſuffer, laying handes vpon him, did bryng him to the Earle of Oxforde, there to be reaſoned with, as not ſound in religion, in that he ſemed to contemne the ſacramentes of the Church.

Haukes childe three weekes vnchriſtened.

Haukes brought before the Earle.

The Earle eyther intending not to trouble hymſelfe in ſuch matters, or elſe ſeeyng hymſelfe not able to weigh with him in ſuche caſes of Religion, ſent him vp to London with a meſſenger and letters, and ſo willing to cleare his owne handes, put him in the handes of Boner biſhop of London: the contẽtes of which his letter ſent to Boner, be theſe.

Haukes ſent vp by the Earle to B. Boner.

¶ A Letter of the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

The Earles letter to Boner.

MOſt reuerend father in God, be it knowne vnto you, that I haue ſent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the County of Eſſex, who hath a child that hath remayned vnchriſtened more then three weekes, who being vpon the ſame examined, hath denied to haue it baptiſed, as it is now vſed in the Church: whereupon I haue ſent him to your good Lordſhip, to vſe as ye thinke beſt, by your good diſcretion.

When the biſhop had peruſed this letter, and afterward read it to M. Haukes, he hearing the ſame, thought with himſelfe, that he ſhould not be very wel vſed, ſeing he was put to his diſcretion. Then wrote the biſhop a letter agayn to him that ſent the priſoner, with many great thankes for his diligence in ſetting forth the Queenes procedynges. Then began the biſhop to enter communication with M. Haukes, firſt aſking what ſhould moue him to leaue hys child vnchriſtened ſo long? To whom M. Haukes aunſwered thus agayne as foloweth.

Priuate talke or conference betwene M. Haukes and B. Boner.

Haukes. Becauſe we be bound to do nothing contrarye to the word of God.

Boner. Why? Baptiſme is commaunded by the worde of God.

Haukes. His inſtitution therin I do not deny.

Boner. What deny ye then?

Haukes. I deny all things inuented and deuiſed by man.

Boner. What thinges be thoſe that be deuiſed by man, that ye be ſo offended withall?

Haukes. Your Oyle, Creame, Salt, Spettle, Candle, and coniuring of water. &c.

Mans inuentions added to Baptiſme. The founders thereof.

Boner. Will ye deny that which all the whole worlde, and your father hath bene contented withall?

Haukes. What my father & all the whole world hath done, I haue nothing to do withall: but what God hath commaunded me to do, to that ſtand I.

Boner. The Catholicke Church hath taught it.

The Catholick church.

Haukes. What is the Catholicke Church?

Boner. It is the faythfull congregation, where ſo euer it be diſperſed throughout the whole world.

Haukes. Who is the head therof?

Boner. Chriſt is the head therof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Chriſt, or in the Church now?

Boner. Haue ye not reade in the eyght of Iohn, where hee ſayd, he would ſend his comforter which ſhould teach you all thinges?

Haukes. I graunt you it is ſo, that he woulde ſende hys comforter, but to what ende? forſooth to this ende, that hee ſhould lead you into all truth and verity, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

Boner. A Syr, ye are a right ſcripture man. For ye wyll haue nothing but the ſcripture. There is a great number of

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of your countrey men of your opinion. Doe ye not knowe one Knight and Pigot?

Haukes. Knight I know, but Pigot I do not know.

Boner. I thought ye were acquaynted with him: it ſemeth ſo by your iudgement. What Preachers doe ye knowe in Eſſex.

Haukes. I know none.

Boner. Do ye not know one Baget there?

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I know him.

Boner. What maner a man is he?

Haukes. An honeſt man, ſo farre as I know.

Boner. Do you know him if you ſee him?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Then ſayd he to one of his ſeruantes, go call me Baget hither. And then he ſayde to me: Ye ſeme to be a very proud man & a ſtubburn. He that broght me vp, ſtood all this while by.

Haukes. What ſhould moue your Lordſhip ſo to ſay?

Boner. Becauſe I ſee in a man that came with you muche humility and lowlineſſe.

ner looc
to be
uted.

Haukes. It ſemeth your Lordſhip ſpeaketh that to me, becauſe I make no more curteſy to you: and with that came Baget. Then the Biſhop ſayd to Baget: How ſay ye Syr, know ye this man?

Baget. Yea forſooth my Lord: with that Baget and I ſhook handes. Then ſayd the Biſhop to Baget: Syr, this man hath a child, which hath lien 3. weekes vnchriſtened (as I haue letters to ſhew) who refuſeth to haue it baptiſed, as it is now vſed in the church: how ſay you thereto?

Baget brought to the ſight of Thomas Haukes.

Baget. Forſooth my Lord I ſay nothing thereto (with low curteſy to the hard ground.)

Boner. Say ye nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequẽted and vſed in the Church, or not.

Baget. I beſeeche your Lordſhip to pardon me, he is olde enough, let him aunſwere for himſelfe.

Boner. Ah ſir knaue, are ye at that poynt with me? Go call me the Porter, ſayd he, to one of his men. Thou ſhalt ſit in the ſtockes, & haue nothing but bread & water. I perceyue I haue kept you to well. Haue I made thus much of you, and haue I you at this poynt? Then came the Byſhoppes man, and ſayd: The Porter is gone to London. Then ſaid the Biſhop to Baget: Come with me, and he went awaye with him, and commaunded me away, and bade one of his Gentlemẽ to talke with me (who was one of his own teaching:) who deſired amongeſt all other things, to know of me, with whom I was acquaynted in Eſſex, and what mẽ they were that were my teachers.

Boner chaſeth at Bagets aunſwere.

Boner taketh Baget with him aſide to conuert him.

Haukes. When I ſee your cõmiſſion, I will make you anſwere. And then immediatly came the Biſhop agayne: but ere he came, his man and I had much talke. Then the byſhop ſate down vnder a vine in his orchyard, & called Baget to him, whom he caried away, & brought againe, & called me alſo, and ſayd to Baget: How ſay you now ſir vnto Baptiſme? Say whether it be to be frequented and vſed in the Church, as it is now, or no?

Baget. Forſooth my Lord, I ſay it is good.

Boner. I beſwle your hart, could ye not haue ſaid ſo before? Ye haue wounded this mans conſcience. Then the biſhop turned to me, and ſays: How ſay ye now ſir, this man is turned and conuerted.

Baget
ught to
y after
Boner.

Haukes. I builde my fayth neither vpon this man, neither vpon you, but onely vpon Chriſt Ieſus, who as Paule ſayth is the founder and author of all mens fayth.

Thomas
Haukes
builded his
fayth vpon
no man.

Boner. I perceiue ye are a ſtubburn felow. I muſt be glad to worke an other way with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatſoeuer ye doe, I am ready to ſuffer it: for I am in your handes to abide it.

Boner. Well, ye are ſo: come on your wayes, ye ſhall go in and I will vſe you Chriſtianlike. You ſhall haue meate and drinke, ſuche as I haue in my houſe: but in any wyſe talke not.

Thomas
Haukes forbidden to
talke in the
Byſhops
houſe.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talke nothing but the worde of God and truth.

Boner. I will haue no hereſy talked on in my houſe.

Haukes. Why is the trueth become hereſy? God hath commaunded that wee ſhoulde haue none other talke in our houſes, in our beddes, at our meat, and by the way, but all trueth.

Boner. If ye will haue my fauor, be ruled by my counſell.

Haukes. Then I truſt you will graunt me my requeſt.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. That your Doctours and Seruauntes geue me none occaſion: for if they doe, I wyll ſurely vtter my conſcience. Then commaunded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talke together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the Stewardes table.

Thomas
Haukes and
Baget ſepe
rated aſon

After dynner, hys Chaplaynes and his men began to talke with me. But amongſt all other, there was one Darbyſhyre principall of Brodgates in Oxford, & the Biſhops kinſmã, who ſayd to me, that I was to curious: for ye wil haue (ſayd he) nothing but your litle prety Gods booke.

Talke betweene Darbyſhire and Tho. Haukes.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my ſaluation? Yes (ſayd he) it is ſufficient for our ſaluation, but not for our inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the ſaluation, and you the inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned, came the Byſhop, who ſayd vnto me: I gaue you a commaundement that you ſhoulde not talke.

Saluation. Inſtruction.

Haukes. And I deſired you, that your Doctours and Seruauntes ſhould geue me none occaſiõ. Then went we into his Orchyard agayne he and his Doctors and I.

Talke betweene M. Haukes and Boner.

Boner. Would not ye be contented to haue, that your childe ſhoulde bee Chriſtened after the booke that was ſet out by king Edward?

Baptiſme after King Edwardes booke.

Haukes. Yes, with a good will: it is the thing that I deſire.

Boner. I thought ſo: ye would haue the ſame thing. The principal is in the name of the father, the ſonne, & of the holy ghoſt, and in neceſſity it may ſerue.

Haukes. Chriſt did vſe it without any ſuch neceſſitye: and yet we lacke the chiefeſt poynt.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. Go teach all nations, baptiſing them. &c.

Borner. Thou ſpeakeſt that becauſe I am no Preacher.

Boner no Preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeake the texte: I doe not meane you. Then ſpake all his Doctours, & his men that were with hym: he ſpeaketh it of you my Lorde (with a greate noyſe that they made.)

Boner. Will ye be content to tary here, and your child ſhall be Baptiſed, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. And if I would ſo haue done, I neded not to haue come to you: for I had the ſame counſell geuen before.

Boner. You ſeeme to be a luſtye young man: you will not geue your head for the waſhing. You will ſtand in the defence of it for the honour of your Countrey. Doe ye thinke that the Queene and I can not commaund it to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

Haukes. What the Queene & you can do, I will not ſtand in it: but ye get my conſcience neuer the ſooner.

Boner. Well, you are a ſtubburne young man. I perceyue I muſt worke on other way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the handes of God, and ſo am I.

M. Haukes will not conſent to haue his childe chriſtened after the Popiſh order.

Boner. What ſo euer you thinke, I woulde not haue you ſpeake ſuch wordes vnto me. And ſo we departed vntyll Euenſong tyme: and ere Euenſong was begon, my Lord called for me to come to him into the Chappell, and ſayde: Haukes: thou art a proper young man, & God hath done his part vnto thee. I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy Paſtour, and one that ſhould aunſwere for thee. If I woulde not teach thee well, I ſhoulde aunſwere for thy ſoule.

Haukes. That I haue ſayd, I will ſtand to it God willing: there is no way to remoue it.

Boner. Nay, nay Haukes, thou ſhalt not be ſo wilfull. Remember Chriſt bad two go into his vineyard? the one ſaid he would & went not, the other ſayd he would not & went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Boner. Doe thou likewiſe, and I will talke frendly wyth thee: howe ſayeſt thou? It is in the ſixt of S. Iohn: I am the bread of life: and the bread that I will geue, is my fleſh, which I will geue for the life of the worlde. And who ſo euer eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath euerlaſting life. My fleſh is very meat in deede, and my bloud is very drinke in deed. And hee that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye beleue this?

Boner entereth talke of the ſacrament.

Haukes. Yea, I muſt needes beleue the Scriptures.

Boner. Why? then I truſt that ye be ſound in the bleſſed ſacrament.

Haukes. I beſeech your Lordſhip to feele my conſcience no farther then in that, that I was accuſed in vnto you.

Boner. Well, well, let vs go vnto Euenſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my backe to goe out of the Chappell.

Boner. Why, will you not tary Euenſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Boner. And why?

Haukes. For I will not.

Boner. And why will you not?

Haukes. For becauſe I haue no edifiyng thereby, for I vnderſtand no Latine.

Thomas Haukes refuſeth to heare Boners Euenſong.

Boner. Why? you maye pray by your ſelfe. What bookes haue ye?

Haukes. I haue the new Teſtament, the bookes of Salomon, and the Pſalter.

Bo. Why, I pray you tary here, & pray you on your pſalter.

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Haukes. I will not pray in this place, nor in none ſuch. Thẽ ſayd one of his chapleins: let him go my Lord, and he ſhal be no partaker with vs in our prayers.

Haukes. I thinke my ſelfe beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you: And ſo the Byſhop went to Euenſong, and I came downe and walked betwene the Hall and the Chappell in the Court, & taryed there till Euenſong was done, and within an houre after that Euenſong was done, the Biſhop ſent for me into his chamber where he lay himſelf, & when I came, there was he, and three of his Chapleins.

Thomas Haukes ca'led for againe by Boner.

Boner. Ye know of the talke that was betwene you & me, as cõcerning the ſacramẽt. You would not haue your conſcience ſought any farther, then in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought you would not be both mine accuſer & Iudge.

Boner. Well, ye ſhall aunſwere me to the Sacrament of the aultar, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, the Sacramẽt of Penance, and the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of theſe, but I dare ſpeake my conſcience in them.

Thomas Haukes knoweth no ſacrament of the aultar.

Boner. The ſacrament of the aultar ye ſeme to be ſound in.

Haukes. In the Sacrament of the aultar? why Syr, I do not know it.

Boner. Well, we will make you to know it, and beleue it too, ere euer we haue done with you.

Haukes. No, that ſhall ye neuer do.

Boner. Yes, a Fagot will make you do it.

Hauk. No, no, a poynt for your fagot. What God thinketh meete to be done, that ſhall ye do, and more ſhall ye not do.

The matter and ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

Boner. Do ye not beleue that there remaineth in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken, no more bread, but the very body and bloud of Chriſt? and at that word he put of his cap.

Haukes. I do beleue as Chriſt hath taught me.

Boner. Why? did not Chriſt ſay: Take: eate, this is my body?

Haukes. Chriſt ſayd ſo: but therefore it foloweth not, that the Sacrament of the aultar is ſo as you teach, neither did Chriſt euer teach it ſo to be.

Boner. Why? the Catholicke Church taught it ſo, and they were of Chriſtes Church.

Haukes. How proue ye it? The Apoſtles neuer taught it ſo. Read the Actes, the ſecond, and the twenty. Neither Peter nor Paule euer taught it, neither inſtituted it ſo.

Boner. Ah Syr? ye will haue no more then the Scripture teacheth, but euen as Chriſt hath left it bare.

Haukes. Hee that teacheth me any otherwiſe, I wyll not beleue him.

Touching the neceſſary poynts of doctrine and Sacramentes, onely the word is to be folowed.

Boner. Why, then ye muſt eate a Lambe, if ye will haue but Chriſtes inſtitution onely.

Haukes. Nay, that is not ſo. Before that Chriſt did inſtitute the Sacrament, that ceremony ceaſed, and then begã the Sacrament.

Boner. Alas, you know not how it begon, neither of the inſtitution therof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learne.

Boner. Mary, we will teach you: but you are ſo ſtubburn that ye will not learne.

A falſe conceiued opinion of Boner agaynſt the Proteſtants.

Haukes. Except ye learne me by the word of God, I wyll neuer credite you nor beleue you: and thus we concluded. Then the Biſhop and his Chapleines laughed, and ſayd: Ieſu, Ieſu, what a ſtubberneſſe and arrogantneſſe is this? and this was in his Chamber where he laye? Then ſayde the Biſhop to me, go ye downe and drinke, for it is faſting day: it is Midſommer euen, but I thinke ye loue neither faſting nor praying.

Haukes. I will neuer deny faſting neither praying, ſo that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hipocriſy or vayne glory.

Faſting & praying no man denyeth.

Boner. I lyke you the better for that: and ſo wee lefte for that night.

The next day the Biſhop went to London: For Feckenam was made Deane that day, & I taried ſtill at Fulhã. Then did the Biſhops mẽ deſire me to come to Maſſe, but I did vtterly refuſe it, anſwering thẽ as I did theyr mayſter. That night the Biſhop came home to Fulham agayn.

Boner returneth from London.

✻ Talke betwene Harpſfield and Thomas Haukes.

Talke betweene Thomas Haukes and Harpſfield.

Then vpon the Monday Morning very earely the Byſhop dyd call for me. There was with him Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, to whom the Biſhop ſayd: this is the man that I told you of, who would not haue his child Chriſtened, nor will haue any ceremonies.

Harpſ. Chriſt vſed ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and tooke ſpettle, & made the blind man to ſee?

Haukes. I wotte well that, but Chriſt did neuer vſe it in Baptiſme. If ye will needes haue it, put it to the vſe that Chriſt put it vnto.

But Ch… neuer … any … nance … cuſtome of that … mony.

Harpſ. I admit your child die vnchriſtened: what a heauy caſe ſtand you in?

Haukes. I admit that if it do, what then?

Harpſ. Mary then are ye damned, and your child both.

Hauk. Iudge you no farther thẽ ye may by the ſcriptures.

Harpſ. Do ye not know that your childe is borne in originall ſinne?

Haukes. Yes that I do.

The … children … ing w… Baptiſme.

Harpſ. How is originall ſinne waſhed away?

Haukes. By true fayth and beliefe in Chriſt Ieſus.

Harpſ. How can your childe being an infant beleue.

Haukes. The deliuerance of it from ſinne, ſtandeth in the fayth of his parentes.

Harpſ. How proue you that?

Haukes. By S. Paule in the 7. and the firſt to the Corinthians, ſaying: The vnbeleuing manne is ſanctified by the beleuing woman, and the vnbeleuing woman is ſanctified by the beleuing man, or els were your children vncleane.

The bele… uing p… ſanctifie … childe.

Harpſ. I will proue that they whom thou putteſt thy truſt in, will be agaynſt thee in this opinion.

Haukes. Who be thoſe?

Harpſ. Your great learned men in Oxford.

Haukes. If they do it by the Scriptures, I will beleue thẽ.

Boner. Recant, recant: do ye not know that Chriſt ſayd, except ye be Baptiſed, ye can not be ſaued?

Haukes. Doth Chriſtianity ſtand in outward ceremonyes or no?

Chriſti… ſtandeth … in outwa… ceremo…

Boner. Partly it doth: what ſay you to that?

Haukes. I ſay as S. Peter ſayth: Not the waſhing of water purgeth the filthineſſe of the fleſh, but a good conſcience conſenting vnto God.

Harpſ. Beware of pride brother, beware of pride.

Haukes. It is written: Pride ſerueth not for men, nor yet for the ſonnes of men.

Sirach. 10.

Boner. Let vs make an end here. How ſay you to ÿ Maſſe Syrha?

Haukes. I ſay it is deteſtable, abhominable, and profitable for nothing.

Boner co… meth in with his Maſſe. Maſſe pro… table for nothing.

Boner. What (nothing profitable in it? what ſay you to the Epiſtle and Goſpell?

Haukes. It is good, if it be vſed as Chriſt left it to be vſed.

Boner. Well, I am glad that ye ſomewhat recãt: recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I haue recanted nothing, nor will do.

Bonor. How ſay you to Confiteor?

Haukes. I ſay it is abhominable & deteſtable, ye and a blaſphemy agaynſt God and his ſonne Chriſt, to call vpõ any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſaue only to Chriſt Ieſus.

Confiteor in the Ma… a thyng de… teſtable.

Boner. To truſt to any, we bid you not: but to call vppon thẽ, and to pray to them we bid you. Do ye not know whẽ ye come into the Courte ye can not ſpeake with the king & Queene, vnleſſe ye call to ſome of the priuy chãber that are next to the king and Queene?

Boners ſimilitude to proue praying to Saintes.

Haukes. They that liſt receiue your doctrine. You teach me that I ſhould not beleue nor truſt in any, but to cal on thẽ: and S. Paule ſayth: How ſhould I call vpon him, on whome I beleue not?

We ought not to beleue in Saintes, Ergo, we ought not to call vp… them.

Boner. Wyll you haue no body to pray for you, when you be dead?

Praying f… the dead.

Haukes. No ſurelye excepte you canne proue it by the Scriptures. Then the Biſhoppe pointed vnto Harpſfield and ſayd vnto me: Is it not wel done to deſire this man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes ſurely, ſo long as we liue, prayer is auaylable of the righteous man: but this mans prayers, you beyng dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Boner. Will ye graunt the prayer of the righteous man to preuayle?

Haukes. I graunt it doth for the liuing, but not for the dead.

Boner. Not for the dead?

Haukes. No forſooth, for Dauid ſayth: No man can deliuer his brother from death, nor make agreement vnto God for him: for it coſt more to redeeme theyr ſoules, ſo that ye muſt let that alone for euer.

Pſal. 49.

Alſo Ezechiell ſayth: Though Noe, Daniell, or Iob dwelt amongeſt them, yet can they in theyr righteouſneſſe exceede no farther then themſelues. Then the Biſhop ſaid to Harpſfield: Syr, ye ſee this man hath no need of our Ladye, neither of any of the bleſſed Saynctes. Well, I will trouble you no longer: I did call you, hoping that you ſhoulde doe ſome good on him, but it will not be. And he ſaid to me: Syr, it is tyme to begin with you: we will rid you awaye and then we ſhall haue one hereticke leſſe.

Ezech. 14.

Boner … he can not … ouercome … by doct… goeth … to oppre… by autho… ritie.

Harpſ. What bookes haue you?

Haukes. The new Teſtament, Salomons bookes and the Pſalter.

Harpſ. Will you read any other bookes?

Haukes. Yea, if you will geue me ſuche bookes, as I will require.

Harpſ. What bookes will you require?

Haukes. Latimers bookes, my Lorde of Caunterburyes booke, Bradfords Sermons, Ridleyes bookes.

Boner. Away, away, he will haue no bookes but ſuche as maynteyne his hereſies: and ſo they departed, for Harpſfield was booted to ride vnto Oxforde, and I went to the Porters lodge agayne.

¶ The nextdayes talke.

The next dayes talke. This Byſhops name was Byrd, Biſhop ſome tyme of Cheſter, and Suffraganne before of Couentrie, of whom read before.

The next day came thither an old Byſhoppe, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him to my Lord a diſh of apples, & a bottle of wine. For he had loſt his lyuing, becauſe hee had a wife. Then the Biſhop called me agayne into the Orchard, and ſayd to the old Biſhop: this young man hath a childe, and will not haue it chriſtened.

Haukes. I deny not Baptiſme.

B. Boner reproued for his anger.

Boner. Thou art a foole, thou canſt not tell what yͤ wouldeſt haue, and that he ſpake with much anger.

Haukes. A biſhop muſt be blameleſſe or faultles, ſober, diſcreete, no chider, not geuen to anger.

Boner. Thou iudgeſt me to be angry: no by my fayth am I not, and ſtroke himſelfe vpon the breſt.

Then ſayd the old Biſhop: Alas good yõg man, you muſt be taught by yͤ church, and by your auncients, and do as your forefathers haue done before you.

Boner. No, no, he will haue nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot he doth not vnderſtād them. He will haue no ceremonies in the Church, no not one, what ſay you to holy water?

Haukes. I ſay to it, as to the reſt, and to all that be of hys making that made them.

Boner. Why, the ſcriptures doth allow it.

Haukes. Where proue you that?

Boner. In the booke of kinges, where Eliſeus threw ſalt into the water.

See how Boner proueth holy water by the ſcripture. Elizeus put ſalt in the water, not to waſhe away ſinne, but onely to make the water ſweete.

Haukes. Ye ſay truth, it is ſo written in the fourth booke of Kinges, the ſecond chapter: the children of the Prophetes came to Elizeus, ſaying: The dwelling of the city is pleaſant, but the waters be corrupted. This was the cauſe that Elizeus threw ſalt into the water, and it became ſweete & good and ſo when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of ſalte make them ſweete, cleare, and wholeſome, wee will the better beleue your ceremonies.

Boner. How ſay ye to holy bread?

Haukes. Euen as I ſayde to the others. What Scripture haue you to defend it?

Boner proueth holy bread by the 5. loaues and 5. fiſhes.

Boner. Haue ye not read where Chriſt fedde fiue thouſand men with fiue loaues, and three fiſhes?

Haukes. Will ye make that holy bread? There Chriſt dealt fiſh with his holy bread.

Boner. Looke I pray you, how captious this man is.

Haukes. Chriſt did not this miracle, or other, becauſe wee ſhould doe the like miracle, but becauſe we ſhould beleeue and credite his doctrine thereby.

Boner. Ye beleue no doctrine, but that whiche is wrought by miracles.

Marke.16.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Chriſt ſayth: These tokens ſhall follow them that beleue in me: they ſhall ſpeake with new tongues they ſhall caſt out Deuils, and if they drinke any deadly poyſon, it ſhall not hurt them.

Boner. With what newe tongues doe ye ſpeake?

How conuerted Chriſtians do ſpeake with tongues.

Haukes. Forſooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of Gods word, I was a foule blaſphemer and filthy talker, ſince I came to the knowledge thereof, I haue lauded God, prayſed God, and geuen thankes vnto God euē with the ſame tongue: and is not this a new tongue?

Boner. How do ye caſt out Deuils?

Haukes. Chriſt did caſt them out by hys word, and he hath left the ſame word, that whoſoeuer doth credite and beleue it, ſhall caſt out deuils.

Boner. Did you euer drinke any deadly poyſon?

Haukes. Ye forſooth that I haue: for I haue dronken of yͤ peſtilent traditions and ceremonies of the Byſhoppe of Rome.

B. Boner an hereticke by his owne definition.

Boner. Now you ſhew your ſelfe to be a right hereticke.

Haukes. I pray you what is hereſie?

Boner. All thinges that are contrary to Gods word.

Haukes. If I ſtand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy ſo to be called.

Boner. Thou art one, and thou ſhalt be burned, if yͧ ſtand and continue in this opinion. Ye thinke we are afrayd to put one of you to death: yes, yes there is a brotherhead of you, but I will breake it, I warrant you.

Haukes. Where proue you that Chriſt or his Apoſtles dyd kill any man for his fayth?

Boner. Did not Paule excommunicate?

The Papiſtes doe be ſides Gods booke in burning men for their fayth.

Haukes. Yes my Lorde, but there is a great difference betweene excommunicating and burning.

Boner. Haue ye not read of the man and the woman in the Actes of the Apoſtles, whome Peter deſtroyed?

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I haue read of one Ananias, & Saphira his wife, which were deſtroied for lying agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſerueth nothing your purpoſe.

Boner. Well you will graunt one yet.

This Biſhop here forgetteth his leſſon, Benedicite perſequētibus vos.

Haukes. Well if you will haue vs to graunt you be of god, then ſhew mercy for that God requireth.

Boner. We will ſhew ſuch mercy vnto you, as ye ſhewed vnto vs: for my benefice or biſhopricke was taken awaye from me, ſo that I had not one penny to liue vpon.

Haukes. I pray you my Lord, what do ye geue him nowe that was in the biſhopricke or benefice before that ye came agayne to it? Whereunto he aunſwered me neuer a word: for he turned his backe vnto me, & talked with other men, ſaying that he was very ſory for me, but he truſted that I would turne with S. Paul, becauſe I was ſo earneſt: and ſo he departed and went to dinner, and I to the Porters lodge agayne.

Thomas Haukes afterward called for agayne to talke with the old Biſhop.

After dinner I was called into the Hall agayne, and the Biſhop deſired the old biſhop to take me into his chamber for I would be glad (ſayd he) if ye could conuert him. So he took me into his chamber, & ſate him down in a chayre, and ſayde to me: I woulde to God I coulde doe you ſome good. Ye are a young man, and I woulde not wiſhe you to go to farre, but learn of your elders to beare ſomewhat.

Haukes. I will beare with nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked that the olde Biſhop ſhoulde haue made me an aunſwere, and he was faſt a ſleepe.

Then I departed out of yͤ chamber alone and went to the Porters lodge againe, and there ſaw I the old Biſhop laſt: I ſuppoſe he is not yet awake.

Talke betweene Fecknam and Hawkes.

The next dayes talke with Fecknam.

The next day came Fecknam vnto me and ſaid: are ye he that will haue no ceremonies?

Haukes. What meane you by that?

Fecknam. Ye will not haue your childe chriſtened, but in Engliſh, and you will haue no ceremonies.

Haukes. What ſoeuer the ſcripture cōmaundeth to be done I refuſe not.

Fecknams reaſō lyeth in Paules Breches.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be vſed by the ſcriptures.

Haukes. Which be thoſe?

Fecknam. How ſay you by Paules breeches?

Haukes. I haue read no ſuch thing.

Fecknam. Haue yee not read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, how thinges went from Paules body, and they receaued health thereby?

Actes.19.

Haukes. I haue read in the xix. of the Acts, how there went partlets and napkins from Paules bodye. Is it that that ye meane?

Feck. Yea the ſame is it: what ſay you to thoſe ceremonies?

Fecknam maketh euery act ſpoken of in the new Teſtament to be a ceremony.

Haukes. I ſay nothing to yͤ ceremonies. For the text ſayth, that God did ſo worke by the handes of Paule, that there went partlets & napkins frō him. &c. So that it ſeemed by yͤ text, that it was God that wrought & not yͤ ceremonies.

Marke.5. Luke.8.

Feck. How ſay ye to the woman that came behinde Chriſt and touched the hemme of his veſture? did not her diſeaſe depart from her by that ceremony?

Fecknam taken ſhorte in his owne tale.

Haukes. No forſooth: For Chriſt turned back and ſayde to Peter: Who is it that touched me? and Peter ſayd: Thou ſeeſt the people thruſt thee: and aſkeſt thou who touched me? Some body hath touched me (ſayth Chriſt) for vertue hath gone out of me. I praye you, whether was it the vertue that healed this woman, or his veſture?

Fecknam driuē in a ſtraite, driueth him to the Sacrament.

Fecknam. Both.

Haukes. Then is not Chriſt true: for he ſayd, Go thy waye, thy fayth hath made thee whole.

Boner. Away, away to the ſacrament, for theſe are but trifles to that.

It is his ſacramentall body, or the Sacramēt of his body, but not his true body.

Fecknam. How ſay ye Syrha: Chriſt tooke bread, & brake it, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body?

Haukes. I graunt Chriſt ſayd ſo.

Fecknam. And is it not ſo?

Haukes. No forſooth, I do not vnderſtand it ſo.

Fecknam. Why, then is Chriſt a lyer?

Haukes. I thinke ye will ſo proue him.

The wordes of Chriſt are to be vnderſtand, not as he ſpake, but as he ment thē.

Fecknam. Will I? why, I haue ſpoken the wordes that Chriſt ſpake.

Haukes. Is euery worde to be vnderſtand as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid: I am a dore, a vyne, I am a king, a way. &c.

Feck. Chriſt ſpake theſe wordes in parables.

Hau. And why ſpeaketh he this in parables, when hee ſayd: I am a dore a vyne, a king, a way, &c. more then thys

Anno 1555. Iune.

when he ſayd: This is my body? For after the ſame phraſe of ſpeache, as hee ſayth: This is my body: ſo ſayth hee: I am a doore, a vine, a king, a way, he ſayth not I am like a dore, lyke a vyne. &c.

Then Fecknam ſtode vp and ſayd: I had ſuch a one before me this other day. Alas, theſe places ſerue nothyng for your purpoſes. But I perceiue ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

Haukes. What meane you by that?

Fecknam. I meane Latymer, Cranmer, and Rydley.

Haukes. I know nothyng els by thẽ, but that they be both godly and learned.

Fecknam falleth out of his matter to rayling.

Fecknam. Wilt thou truſt to ſuch doltes? One of them hath written a booke, wherein he affirmeth a reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Haukes. What hee hath done, I know not, but what hee doth I know.

Fecknam. Ridley hath preached at Paules Croſſe openly, that the deuill beleueth better then you: for he beleueth that Chriſt is able of ſtones to make bread, and ye will not beleue that Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament, and yet thou buildeſt thy fayth vpon them.

Tho. Haukes buildeth his fayth vpon no man.

Haukes. I build my fayth vppon no man, and that ſhall ye well know: for if thoſe men, and as many mo as they bee, ſhould recant, and deny that they haue ſayde or done, yet will I ſtand to it, and by this ſhall ye knowe that I build my fayth vpon no man.

Boner. If any of thoſe recant, what will ye ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you aunſwere.

Boner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doeſt now for all that.

Haukes. Yea in deede will I, & that truſt to it, by gods grace

B. Boner iudgeth other men by his own ſore.

Boner. I dare ſay Cranmer would recant, ſo that he might haue his lyuyng. And ſo the Byſhop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, & I went agayne to the Porters lodge.

¶ Talke betwene Haukes and Chadſey.

An other dayes talke with D. Chadſey.

The next day came Doct. Chadſey to the Byſhop, and him. The Byſhop declared vnto him that I hadde ſtande ſtubbornely in my defenſe agaynſt the Chriſtenyng of my childe, and againſt the ceremonies of the Church, and that I would not haue it Chriſtened, but in Engliſh.

Then ſayd Doct. Chadſey: then hee denyeth the order of the Catholicke Church.

Boner. Yea, hee thinketh that there is no Churche but in England, and in Germany.

Haukes. And yee thinke that there is no Churche but the Church of Rome.

Chad. What ſay ye to the Church of Rome.

The Church of Rome. The Biſhop of Rome.

Haukes. I ſay it is a church of a ſort of vicious Cardinals. Prieſtes, Monkes and Fryers, whiche I will neuer credite nor beleue.

Chad. How ſay ye to the biſhop of Rome?

Chad. From him and all his deteſtable enormities good Lorde deliuer vs.

Chad. Mary ſo may wee ſaye from king Henry the eight, and all his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs.

Haukes. Where were ye whiles that he liued, that ye would not ſay ſo?

Chad. I was not farre.

Haukes. Where were ye in his ſonnes dayes.

Chad. In priſon.

Haukes It was for your well doing.

Boner. He will by no meanes come within my Chappell nor here Maſſe: for neither the Maſſe, neither the Sacrament of the aulter can hee abide, neither will he haue anye ſeruice but in Engliſh.

Chadſeyes argument. Chriſt neuer ſpake Engliſhe: Ergo we muſt not pray in Engliſhe. An inſtance geuen agaynſt Chadſey.

Chad. Chriſt neuer ſpake in Engliſh.

Haukes. Neither ſpake he euer anye latine, but alwayes in ſuch a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paule ſayth, that tongues profite vs nothing. He maketh a ſimilitude betweene the pipe and the harpe, and except it be vnderſtanded what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himſelfe to the battell: ſo if I heare the tongue which I do not vnderſtand, what profite haue I therby? no more then hee hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

Chad. If ye vnderſtand Paules ſaying, he ſpeaketh it vnder a prophecie. If we prophecie to you in tongues. &c.

Haukes. Forſooth Paule ſpeaketh playnly of tongues: for tongues ſerue not for them that beleue.

Chad. I tell you Paul ſpeaketh altogether vpõ prophecy.

Haukes. Paule maketh a diſtinction betweene prophecying & tongues, ſaying, That if anye man ſpeake with tongues, let it be by two or three at the moſt, & let an other interprete it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keepe ſilence in the congregation, and let himſelfe pray vnto God: and then let the Prophetes ſpeake two or three, and that by courſe, and let the other iudge: and if any reuelatiõ be made to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt holde his peace: ſo that it ſeemeth that Paule maketh a diſtinction betweene tongues and Prophecying.

1. Cor. 14.

Latin ſe... uice.

Boner. The order was taken in the Catholicke Churche that ỷ Latin tongue ſhuld ſerue through the whole world, becauſe that they ſhould pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to auoyd all contention and ſtrife, and to haue one vniuerſall order through the whole worlde.

Haukes, This did your Counſels of Rome conclude.

Boner. Vnderſtande yee what the generall Councels of Rome ment?

The ge... Councels... Rome.

Haukes. In deede all your generall Councels of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Engliſh man: therefore I haue nothing to do with them.

Chad. Ye are to blame, being an vnlearned man to reproue all the Councels throughout all the whole world.

Haukes. I reproue them not, but Paule rebuketh them, ſaying: If any man preach any other doctrine then that whiche I haue taught, do you hold him accurſed.

Chad. Hath any man preached any other doctrine to you?

Other do... trine taught in the Church of Rome th... euer Paule taught.

Haukes. Yea, I haue bene taught an other Goſpel ſince I came into this houſe.

Chad. What Goſpell haue ye bene taught?

Haukes. Praying to Ṡayntes, and to our Lady, and truſt in the Maſſe, holy bread, and holy water, and in Idols.

Chad. He that teacheth you ſo, teacheth not amiſſe.

Haukes. Curſed be hee that teacheth me ſo: for I will not truſt him, nor beleue him.

Idoles.

Boner. You ſpeake of Idols, and yee knowe not what they meane.

Haukes. God hath taught vs what they be: for whatſoeuer is made, grauen, or deuiſed by mans hand, contrarye to Gods word, that ſame is an Idoll. What ſay you to that?

Chad. What be thoſe that ye are ſo offended withall?

The Croſſe.

Haukes. The croſſe of wood, ſiluer, copper, or gold, &c.

Boner. What ſay ye to that?

Haukes. I ſay it is an Idoll. What ſay you to it?

Images.

Bone. I ſay euery Idoll is an image, but euery image is not an Idoll.

Haukes. I ſay, what difference is there betweene an Idol and an Image?

Note here Boners definition of an Idoll.

Boner. If it be a falſe God: & an Image made of him, that is an Idoll: but if an Image be made of God himſelfe, it is no Idoll, but an Image, becauſe he is a true God.

Haukes. Lay your Image of your true God and of your falſe God together, and ye ſhall ſee the differẽce. Haue not your Images feete and goe not, eyes and ſee not, eares & heare not, handes and feele not, mouthes and ſpeake not: and euen ſo haue your Idols.

Note here how prophanely Chadſey vnderſtandeth the wordes of S. Paule.

Chad. God forbid, ſayth S. Paule, That I ſhould reioyce in any thing els, but in the Croſſe of Chriſt Ieſus.

Haukes. Do ye vnderſtand Paule ſo? Doe ye vnderſtand Paule? Vnto the which he aunſwered me neuer a word.

Boner. Where can wee haue a godlyer remẽbraunce when we ride by the way: then to ſee the Croſſe.

Haukes. If the Croſſe were ſuch profite vnto vs, why did not Chriſtes Diſciples take it vp: and ſet it on a pole, and cary it in proceſſion with Salue feſta dies?

Chad. It was taken vp.

The people ſeduced by falſe pre... of the holy Croſſe.

Haukes. Who tooke it vp? Helene, as ye ſay: for ſhee ſent a peece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with ỷ viſiters when that houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the peece of the holy croſſe (which the religious had in ſuch eſtimatiõ, and had robbed many a ſoule, committing idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proued, and all come to all, it was but a peece of a lath couered ouer with copper, double gilted as it had bene cleane gold.

Boner. Fie, fie. I dare ſay thou ſlaundereſt it.

Haukes. I know it to be true, & do not beleue the cõtrary. And thus did the Biſhop & the Doctour depart in a great fume: & Chadſay ſaid vnto me, as he was about to depart: it is pitie ỷ thou ſhouldeſt liue, or any ſuch as thou art. I anſwered: in this caſe I deſire not to liue, but rather to die

Note here diſcretely the ſpirit... Chadſey.

Chad. Ye dye boldly, becauſe ye would glory in your death as Ioane Butcher did.

Haukes. What Ioan Butcher did, I haue nothing to doe withall: but I would my part might be to morow. GOD make you in a better minde, ſayde they both, & ſo they departed, and I went to the Porters lodge with my keeper.

The next day Doct. Chedſey preached in the Biſhops Chappell, & did not begin his ſermon vntill all the ſeruice was done: and then came the porter for me, and ſayd: my Lord would haue you come to the ſermon, and ſo I went to the chappell dore, and ſtode without the dore.

Boner. Is not this fellow come?

Haukes. Yes I am here.

Boner. Come in man.

Haukes. No that I will not. He called againe, and aunſwered: I will come no nearer, and ſo I ſtode at the doꝛe. Then ſaid the Biſhop, go to your ſermon.

Then Doctour Chadſey put the ſtole about his neck, and caried the holy water ſpꝛinckle vnto the Biſhop, who bleſſed him, and gaue him holye water, and ſo hee went to his ſermon. The text that he entreated on, was the xvi. of Mathew. Whome do men ſay that I the ſonne of man am? Peter ſayd: ſome ſay that thou art Helias, ſome ſaye that thou art Iohn Baptiſt, ſome ſay thou art one of the Prophetes. But whom ſay ye that I am? Then ſayd Peter, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the euerliuyng God. Then left he the text there, & ſayd: Whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer ye binde: are boūd: which authoꝛitie (ſayd he) is left to the heades of the Church: as my Loꝛd here is one, and ſo vnto all the reſt that be vnderneath him. But the Church hath bene much kicked at ſith the beginning: yet kicke the herétickes, ſpurne the heretickes neuer ſo much, the church doth ſtand and floꝛiſhe. And then he went ſtraight way to the ſacrament, and ſayd his minde on it, exalting it aboue the heauen, (as the moſt of thē doe) and ſo returned to hys place agayne, ſaying: whoſe ſinnes ye do remit, are remitted and forgeuen: and ſo he applyed it to the byſhops & pꝛieſtes to foꝛgeue ſinnes, and ſayd, all that be of the Churche will come and receiue the ſame. And this he proued by S. Ioh. in the xi. chapter, ſaying that Chꝛiſt came to rayſe Lazarus which when he was riſen, was bound in bands: then ſayd Chꝛiſt to them that were in authoꝛitie (who were his diſciples:) go ye and loſe him, loſe him you. And this was ẏ effect of his Sermon, applying all to them that they haue the ſame authoꝛitie that chꝛiſt ſpake of to his Apoſtles, and ſo ended his ſermon, and they went to dinner.

An other communication betweene Thomas Haukes, and the Byſhop.

AND after dinner I was called into the chappel, where as were certayne of the Queenes ſeruaunts and other ſtraungers, whom I did know.

Boner. Haukes how like you the ſermon?

Haukes. As I like all the reſt of his doctrine?

Boner. What? are ye not edified therby.

Haukes. No ſurely.

Boner. It was made onely becauſe of you.

Haukes. Why? then am I ſoꝛy that ye had no mo heretickes here, as ye call them, I am ſoꝛy, that ye haue beſtowed ſo much labour on one, and ſo little regarded.

Boner. Well, I will leaue you here, foꝛ I haue buſines. I pray you talke with him: foꝛ if ye could do him good (ſayd he) I would be glad.

This the Biſhop ſpake to the Queenes men, who ſaid vnto me: Alas what meane you to trouble your ſelf about ſuch matters, againſt the Queenes pꝛoceedinges.

Haukes. Thoſe matters haue I aunſwered befoꝛe thē that be in authoꝛitie: and vnles I ſee you haue a further commiſſion, I will aunſwere you nothing at all. Then ſayd ẏ biſhops men (which were many) my Loꝛd hath commaūded you to talke with them.

Haukes. If my Loꝛde will talke with me himſelfe, I will anſwere him. They cryed fagottes, burne him, hang him, to priſon with him: it is pitie that he liueth, lay Irons vpon him: and with a great noyſe they ſpake theſe woꝛdes. Then in the middeſt of all the rage, I departed from them, and went to the poꝛters lodge againe.

The next dayes talke.

THe next day, the Biſhop called me into his chamber, & ſayd: ye haue bene with mee a great while: & ye are neuer the better but woꝛſe and woꝛſe: and therefoꝛe I will delay the time no longer, but ſend you to Newgate.

Haukes. My Loꝛd you can do me no better pleaſure.

Boner. Why? would ye ſo fayne go to priſon?

Haukes. Truely I did looke foꝛ none other, when I came to your handes.

Boner. Come on your wayes: ye ſhall ſee what I haue written. Then did he ſhew me certaine articles, and theſe are the contentes of them.

Whether the Catholicke Church do teach and beleeue ẏ Chꝛiſtes reall pꝛeſence doth remaine in the Sacrament oꝛ no, after the woꝛdes of conſecration: accoꝛding to ẏ woꝛds of S. Paule, which are theſe: Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Chriſt, and the cup which we bleſſe, the partaking of the blood of Chriſt? whiche if it were not ſo, Paule would neuer haue ſayd it.

Haukes. What your Church doth, I cannot tell: but I am ſure that the holy Catholicke Church doth neither ſo take it, noꝛ beleue it.

Boner. Whether doth the Catholicke Church teach and beleue the Baptiſme that now is vſed in the Church, oꝛ no?

Haukes. I aunſwered to it, as I did to ẏ other queſtion befoꝛe. Then did the Byſhop with much flattery counſell me to be perſwaded, & to keepe me out of pꝛiſon, which I vtterly refuſed, and ſo we departed. And I ſuppoſed that the next day I ſhould haue gone to pꝛiſon, and ſo I had, ſaue foꝛ the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whoſe name is Harpſfield, whome the biſhop had deſired to talke with me, and began to perſwade me concerning the Sacrament, & the ceremonies: and after much talke he ſayd that the Sacrament of the aultar was the ſame body that was boꝛne of ẏ virgine Mary, which did hang vpon the Croſſe.

Aunſwere of Haukes to the firſt article.
Aunſwere to the 2. article.
Talke betweene Haukes and D. Harpſfield Archdeacon of Cant.

Haukes. He was vpon the croſſe both aliue & dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

Harpſ. The Archdeacon aunſwered, aliue.

Haukes. How pꝛoue you that?

Harpſ. Ye muſt beleue. Doth not S. Iohn ſay: He is already condemned, that beleueth not?

A queſtion put to Harpſfield.

Haukes. S. Iohn ſayth: He that beleeueth not in the ſonne of God, is already condemned: but he ſayth not, he that beleueth not in the ſacrament, is already condemned.

Harpſ. There is no talke with you: foꝛ ye are both without fayth and learning, and therefoꝛe I will talke no moꝛe with you in ſcripture.

Haukes. Thē ij. that ſtode by, bad me enter further in talke with him, and then ſaid I vnto him: why is the Roodeloft ſet betwixt the body of the Church, and the Chauncel?

An other queſtion put to Harpſfield why the Roodeloft is ſet betwene the Church and the Chauncell.

Harpſ. I cannot tell: foꝛ ye haue aſked a queſtion, which ye cannot aſſoyle your ſelſe.

Haukes. Yes that I can: foꝛ this ſayth one of your owne Doctours: that the body of the Church doth repꝛeſent the Church militant: and the Chauncell the Churche triumphant: and ſo becauſe we cannot go from the Church militant to the Church triumphant, but that we muſt beare the croſſe of Chꝛiſt, this is the cauſe of the Roodeloft being betweene the body of the Church and the Chauncell.

Harpſ. This is well and clarkely concluded.

Haukes. As all the reſt of your doctrine is: & ſo with many perſwaſiōs on his part we ended, and ſo departed: and I to the Poꝛters lodge agayne.

¶ An other dayes talke.

THe next day in the moꝛning, which was the firſt day of Iuly, the Biſhop did call mee himſelfe from the Poꝛters lodge, commaunding me to make me ready to goe to pꝛiſon, and to take ſuch things with me, as I had of mine owne. And I ſayd, I do neither intend to bꝛibe, neither to ſteale, God willing. Then he did wꝛite my warrant to the Keeper of the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, and deliuered it to Harpſfield, who with his owne man and one of the byſhops mē bꝛought me to pꝛiſon, & deliuered the warrant & me both to ẏ Keeper: & this was contayned in ẏ warrant.

Haukes ſent to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter with the biſhops warrant.

I will and commaund you, that you receaue him who commeth named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a ſafe pꝛiſoner, and that no man ſpeake with him, and that ye deliuer him to no man, except it be to the Councell, oꝛ to a Iuſtice: Foꝛ he is a Sacramentary, and one that ſpeaketh agaynſt Baptiſme, a ſeditious man, a perilous man to be abꝛoad in theſe perilous dayes.

The Biſhops warrant.

And thus was I receiued, & they departed. And there I remayned. viij. dayes, & then the biſhop ſent two of his mē vnto me, ſaying: My Loꝛd would be glad to know how ye do. I aunſwered them, I doe like a poore pꝛiſoner. They ſayd: My Loꝛd would know whether ye be the ſame man that ye were when ye departed? I ſayd, I am no chaungeling. They ſayd, my Loꝛd would be glad that ye ſhould do well. I ſayd: If my Loꝛd will me any good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my frendes to come to me. So they ſayde they would ſpeake foꝛ me, but I heard no moꝛe of them.

The Biſhops men ſent to Haukes in the Gatehouſe.

This is the firſt examination of me Thomas Haukes being examined by Edmund Boner, then Biſhop of Lōdon, and by his Chaplaines and Doctours at Fulham 4. miles from London, where I lay till I came to pꝛiſon to Weſtminſter: and after his two men had bene with me, I heard no moꝛe of hym, till the thyꝛd day of September.

¶ Here followeth the ſecond tyme of mine examination, the whiche was the thyrd day of September for the Biſhop did ſend his men for me, to come to hys Pallace to London, and ſo my keeper and his men brought me to his place the ſame day.

THe Biſhop of Wincheſter, then beyng Chauncellour, pꝛeached that day at Paules croſſe, and the Byſhop of London ſayd to my Keeper, I thinke your man will not go to the ſermon to day.

The ſecond time of Haukes his examination.

Haukes. Yes my Loꝛd, I pray you let me go: and that that

is

Anno 1555. Iune.

is good, I will receiue, and yͤ reſt I will leaue behind me, and ſo I went. And when the ſermon was done, I & my Keeper came to the Biſhops houſe, and there we remayned till dinner was done: and after dinner the Biſhop called for mee, and aſked me if I were the ſame man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no chaungeling nor none will be.

Boner. Ye ſhall finde no chaungeling neither. And ſo hee returned into his chamber, and there he did write the ſide of a ſheete of paper, and all that while I ſtood in the great chāber, & as many with me as might wel ſtand in the chāber. And as I ſtode, Doctour Smith came vnto me (who once recanted, as it appeared in Print) ſaying yͭ he woulde be glad to talke brotherly with me. I aſked him what he was. Then ſayd they that ſtode by, he is D. Smith. Then ſayd I: are you he that did recant? And he ſayd, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

D. Smith commeth to Haukes. D. Smithes recantation.

Haukes. Ye were beſt to term it wel, for your own honeſty.

D. Smith. Shall I terme it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To be ſhort with you, I will knowe whether ye wil recant anye more or no, before that I talk wͭ you, credite you or beleue you: and ſo I departed from him to the other ſide of yͤ chāber. Then ſayd the Biſhops men & hys Chaplaynes, that my Lord commaunded me to talke with him. Then they that ſtoode by, cryed with a great noyſe: hang him, burne him: it is pittie that hee liueth, that diſobeyeth my Lordes commaundement.

Myles Huggardes wordes to Tho. Haukes. Miles Huggard.

Then ſayd one Miles Huggard: where proue you yͤ infantes were baptiſed?

Haukes. Go teach all nations, baptiſing them in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Syr here is none excepted.

M. Hug. What ſhall we go to teach children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you: it might be left out full well: it is to much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?

M Hug. So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a Hoſier, and dwell in pudding lane?

M. Hug. Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes. It would ſeeme ſo, for ye can better ſkill to eate a pudding and make a hoſe then in Scripture eyther to anſwere or oppoſe. With that hee was in great rage, and dyd chafe vp and downe. Then I deſired that ſome mā would take ſome payne to walke the Gentleman, hee did fret ſo for anger. Then one that ſtode by mee, (who is parſon of Hornechurch and Rumford in Eſſex) ſayd: alas what doe you meane? a young man to be ſo ſtubburne? there ſemeth to much pride in you.

Huggard more meete to eate a pudding, then to diſpute of ſcripture.

Haukes. Are not ye the parſon of Hornechurch?

Parſon. Yes that I am.

Haukes. Did ye not ſet ſuch a prieſt in your benefice?

Parſon. Yes for a ſhift.

Haukes. Like will to like: ſuch maiſter, ſuche man. For I know the Prieſt to be a very vile man, as any could be. I aſked the Parſon what kinne he was to the weather cock of Paules? and he fell in a great laughter, with the reſt of his companions. He ſayd that I did rayle.

Parſon of Hornchurch compared to the Wethercocke of Paules.

Then ſayd an other that ſtode by vnto me: what booke haue you here? I aunſwered the new teſtament. May I looke in it, ſayd he? Yea that ye may ſayd I. And ſo he looked in my booke, and ſayde it was corrupt I aunſwered him if the things contayned in it be true, then are ye all falſe Prophetes. He ſaid yͭ he would appoſe me in the firſt word of yͤ Teſtament, ſaying: here is a generatiō of chriſt. And Eſay ſayth, no man can tell his generation.

Friuolous queſtions. Eſay. 53.

Haukes. What meaneth Eſay by that?

I would learne of you (ſayd he.)

Haukes. Ye would be angry if the ſcholler ſhould teach the mayſter: but if ye will haue me to teach you, I will tel you Eſayas meaning.

Then ſayd he, no man can tell the generation betwene the father and the ſonne: but you (I dare ſaye) did knowe it before.

Haukes. Why then Eſay denieth not the generation.

Then ſayd he, why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is a Meſſias.

Then ſaid he, why is he called a Meſſias?

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo prophecied by the Prophetes.

Then ſaid he: why is your booke called a booke?

Haukes. Theſe wordes do breede more ſtrife, then godly edifying.

Beware ſayd he, that ye do not decline from the church for if ye do, you will proue your ſelfe an hereticke.

Haukes. Euen as ye do call vs heretickes, that do encline to Chriſtes Church, from your Churche: ſo are ye all falſe Prophetes, that do decline from Chriſtes church, to your owne Churche. And by this ſhall all men knowe you to be falſe Prophetes, if ye ſay, this ſayth the Church, and wil not ſay, this ſayth our Lord. And ſo he went his waye, as though he had a flea in his eare.

Difference betweene the true Prophets and the falſe.

The fal Prophe ſay: Eccleſia thus ſai the Ch The tr prophe dicit Do nus: th ſayth th Lord.

Then came an other and ſayd vnto me, he would talk with me, for he perceiued (as he ſayde) that I was angry and out of pacience.

Haukes. I will ſee your commiſſion, or euer I talke wyth you, or with any man more. For I wiſt not how to be ryd of them: they came ſo thicke about me. For I ſayde that I came to talke with my Lord, and not with any of them.

The Bi wryteth Hauke feſſion.

With that came the Biſhoppe, bringing a letter in hys hand the which he had written in my name, & read it vnto me after this maner: I Tho. Haukes, do here confeſſe and declare before my ſaid Ordinary Edmund Biſhop of Lōdon, that the Maſſe is abhominable and deteſtable, & full of all ſuperſtition, and alſo as concerning the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt (commonly called the ſacrament of yͤ aultar) that Chriſt is in no part therof, but onely in heauen: this I haue beleued, & this I do beleue &c.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: what I haue beleued, what haue you to doe withall? But what I doe beleeue, to that ſtand I, and will.

Then he tooke his penne, & ſaid that he would ſcrape it out for my pleaſure, and ſo did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and ſayde: I Thomas Haukes haue talked with my ſayd Ordinary, & with certayne good, godly, and learned men. Notwithſtāding I ſtand ſtill in myne opinion.

Haukes. Shall I graunt you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet graunt my ſelfe to ſtand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not graunt you to be good, godly and learned men.

Boner. Ye will graunt that ye haue talked with vs: the other I will put out for your pleaſure. Then ſaide al his Doctours, if your Lordſhip be ruled by him, he will cauſe you to put out altogether: and then he read more vnto me. Here vnto this bill haue I ſet to my hand: and then he offered me the bill & his pene, and bad me ſet my hand to it.

Thomas Hauke de nyeth to his hand Boners writing.

Haukes. Ye get not my hand to any thing of your makyng or deuiſing.

Boner. Wilt not thou ſet to thy hande? It ſhalbe to thy ſhame for the denying of it.

And then he called al his Doctours, and ſayd he would haue euery mans hand to it that was in the chamber, & ſo he had of their hands to it, and ſaid: he that wil not ſet his hand to it, I would he were hanged, and ſo ſaide all hys Chaplaines and Doctors with a great noyſe.

Then the biſhop thruſt me on the breaſt with great anger, and ſayd he would be euen with me and with all ſuch proud knaues in Eſſex.

Boner in a fume with Thomas Haukes.

Haukes. Ye ſhall do no more thē God ſhal geue you leaue.

Boner. This geare ſhall not be vnpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Haukes. As for your curſinges, raylinges, and blaſphiminges, I care not for them: for I knowe the mothes and wormes ſhall eat you, as they eate cloth or wooll.

Byſhop. I will be euen with you, when time ſhall come.

Haukes. Ye may in your malice deſtroy a man: but when ye haue done, ye can not do ſo much as make a finger, and ye be meetly euen with ſome of vs already.

Boner. If I do thee any wrong, take the lawe of me.

Haukes. Salomon ſaith: Go not to lawe with a Iudge. For hee will iudge according to hys owne honour.

Boner. Salomon ſayth: Geue not a foole an aunſwere.

Haukes. What: do ye count me a foole?

Boner. Yea be my trouth do I, and ſo doeſt thou me to: but God forgeue thee,* and ſo do I.

* And now ye ſ you wo be euen with him.

Haukes. Thought is free my Lord. Then tooke Boner the bill and read it agayne, and when he ſaw that he could not haue my hand to it, then he woulde haue had me to take it into my hand, and to geue it him agayne.

Haukes. What needeth that ceremonye? Neither ſhall it come into my hand, hart, nor minde. Then he wrapt it vp, and put it in his boſome, and in a great anger went hys way, & called for his horſe and went to horſebacke, for the ſame day hee rode in viſitatiō into Eſſex: and ſo went I to priſon, from whence I came, with my Keeper. And thys was the ſecond time of my examination. Written by mee Thomas Haukes, who deſireth all faithfull men and brethren, to pray vnto God to ſtrengthen me in his truth vnto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren pray.

The publicke examination of Thomas Haukes.

AFter all theſe priuate conferences, perſwaſions, & long debatings had with Thomas Haukes in the byſhops houſe, as hetherto haue bene declared, the Biſhop ſeing no hope to winne him to his wicked wayes, was fully ſet to procede openly agaynſt him after the ordinary courſe of his papiſh law: wherupon T. Haukes ſhortly after was cited with the reſt of his other fellowes, aboue ſpecified, to witte,

Thomas Hauke ted to the Byſhops Conſi

witte, Thom. Tomkins. Ste. Knight, W. Pygot, John Laurence, and W. Hunter, to appeare in the biſhops Cōſiſtory, the 8. day of February, this preſent yeare, videl. 1555. Upon which appearaunce was laid againſt him, in lyke order, as to the other, firſt the bill of his confeſſion, written with Boners hand, to the whiche bill ye heard before how the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God denyed to ſubſcribe.

After which bill of confeſſion being read, and hee conſtantly ſtanding to the ſaid confeſſion, the Biſhop then aſſigned him with the other v. the next day folowing, which was the ix. of February, to appeare before him againe, to geue a reſolute aunſwere what they woulde ſticke vnto. Which day being come, and theſe foreſaid vi. priſoners being ſeuerally called before the Biſhop, at the comming of Thomas Haukes, the Biſhop willed him to remember what was ſayd to him yeſterday, and nowe while he had time and ſpace, to aduiſe with himſelfe, what he would aunſwere: for he ſtode vpon life and death. Well, quoth maiſter Haukes againe, I will willingly receaue what ſoeuer ſhal be put vnto me.

Then were certayn other Interrogatories or Articles commenſed agaynſt him by the ſaid Biſhop (in like maner as to the other) to the number of foure: with an other bill alſo, which Boner brought out of his boſome contaynyng priuate matters againſt the ſayd Thomas Haukes, which the biſhop called hereſies and errours, but we may better call them Chriſtian verities. To the whiche matter being read, the ſaid Haukes anſwered openly againe ſaying that it was true, and that he was glad it was ſo true, as it was: with moe woordes to the like effect. And this was on the forenoone, the ix. day of February.

In the after noone agayn the ſayd Haukes appearing and hearing the foreſaid bill of his confeſſion, with the Articles and Interrogatories read vto him, with like conſtancie in anſwering againe to the biſhop: My Lord (ſaide he) as you being my frend haue cauſed theſe my ſayinges to be writtē, ſo do you cauſe them to be read: and yet I will neuer go from them.

And then being exhorted by the Byſhoppe with many fayre wordes, to returne againe to the boſome of the mother Church: No my Lord (ſayd he) that will I not: for if I had an hundreth bodies, I woulde ſuffer them all to be torne in peeces, rather then I will abiure or recant. And ſo continuing ſtill in the ſame ſong, notwithſtanding that the Doctors and Lawyers were euer calling vppon him to come again to the vnitie of the Church he euer kept them of with this aunſwere, that he would neuer go from the beliefe he was in, ſo long as he liued. Whereupon Boner, at laſt read the ſentence of death vppon him, & ſo was he cōdemned the ſame day with the reſidue of his felowes which was the 9. of February.

Thomas Haukes condemned by Biſhop Boner.

Neuertheles his execution was prolonged, and he remained in priſon till the 10. day of Iune.

The death of Haukes differred.

Then was he committed to the handes and charge of the Lord Rich, who being aſſiſted with power ſufficiēt of ẏ worſhipfull of the ſhyre, had the foreſayd Tho. Haukes downe into Eſſex, with vi. other fellow priſoners (whoſe ſtories hereafter folow) there to ſuffer martirdōe, Haukes at Coxehall, the other ſeuerally in other ſeuerall places.

Thomas Haukes brought downe to Eſſex by the Lord Rich.

Thomas Haukes by the way vſed much exhortation to his frendes, and when ſoeuer opportunitie ſerued to talk with them, he would familiarly admoniſh them.

A little before his death certayne there were of his familiar acquayntaunce and frendes, who frequenting hys company more familiarly, which ſeemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his conſtancie, & by hys talke: yet notwithſtanding the ſame agayne being feared with the ſharpenes of the puniſhment, which he was going to, priuely deſired that in the middeſt of the flame hee would ſhewe them ſome token if he coulde, whereby they might be more certayn whether the payne of ſuch burning were ſo greate, that a man might not therein keepe hys minde quiet and pacient. Which thing he promiſed them to do, and ſo ſecretly betwene them it was agreed, that if the rage of the payne were tollerable and might be ſuffered, then he ſhould lift vp his handes aboue his head toward heauen before he gaue vp the ghoſt.

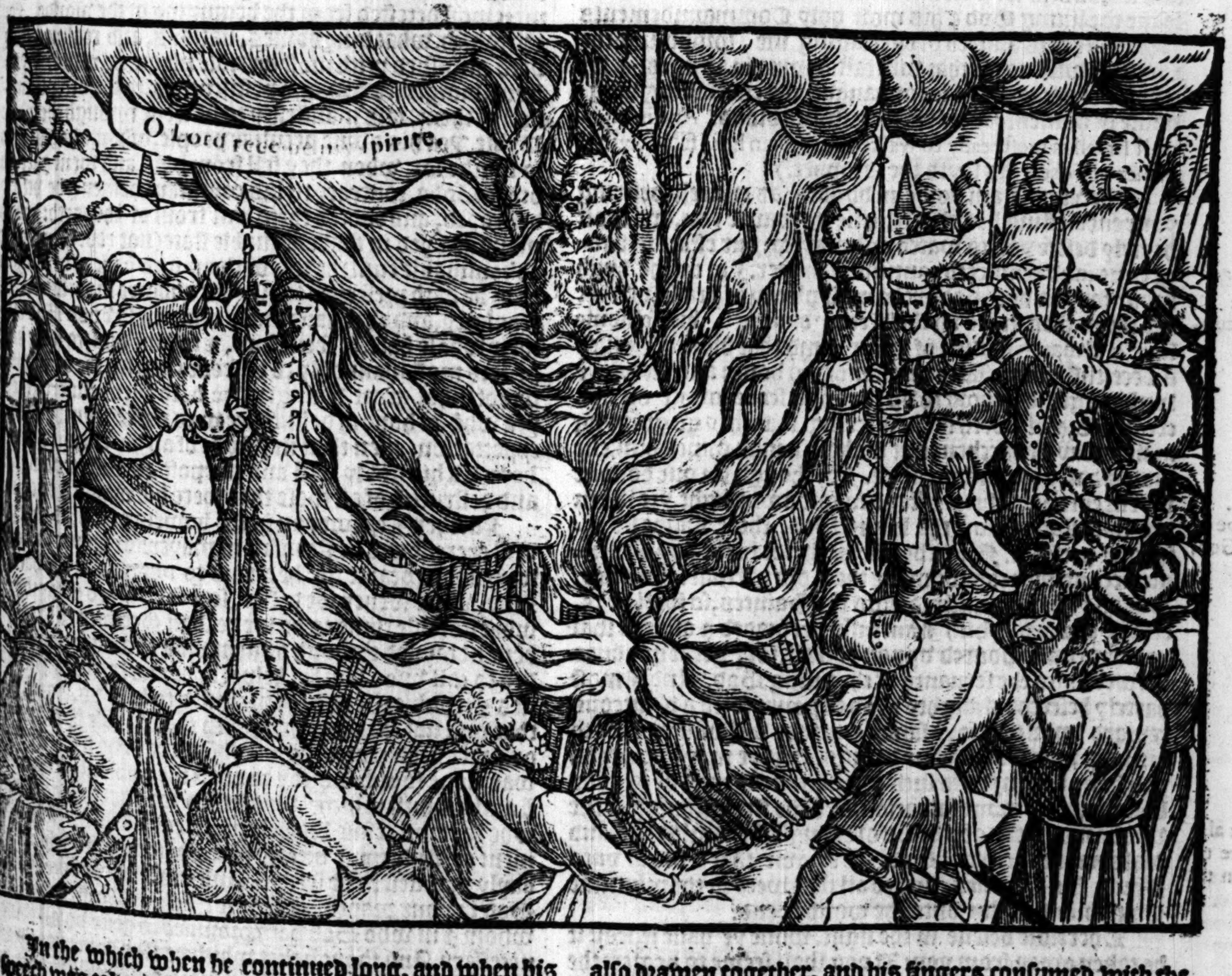
Agreed betweene Thomas Haukes and his frendes to geue them a token in the fire, whether the payne of burning were ſo greeuous as it ſeemeth or no.

Not long after, when the houre was come Thomas Haukes was leade awaye to the place apoynted for the ſlaughter, by the Lorde Rich & his aſſiſtaunce, who beyng now come vnto the ſtake, there mildly & patiently addreſſed himſelfe to the fire, hauing a ſtraite chayne caſt about his middle, with no ſmal multitude of people on euery ſide compaſſing him about. Unto whome after he had ſpoken many thinges, but eſpecially vnto the Lorde Rich, reaſoning with him of the innocent bloud of Saynctes, at lēgth after his feruent prayers firſt made, and poured out vnto god, the fire was ſet vnto him.

Thomas Haukes caryed to the place of execution.

Thomas Haukes ſtanding at the ſtake reaſoneth with the Lord Rich.

¶ The Martirdome of Thomas Haukes in Eſſex, at a Towne called Coxehall. Anno. 1555. Iune. 10.


O Lord receiue my ſpirite.

In the which when he continued long, and when his ſpeech was taken away by violence of the flame, his ſkin alſo drawen together, and his fingers conſumed with the fire, ſo that now all men thought certainely he had bene gone

Anno 1555. Iune.

A token geuen in the fire that burning is not ſo intollerable a payne as it was thought.

gone, ſodainely and contrary to all expectation, the bleſſed ſeruaunt of GOD, beyng myndefull of his promiſe afore made, reached vp his hands burning on a light fier (which was marueilous to behold) ouer his head to yͤ liuing God, and with great reioyſing, as ſeemed, ſtroke or clapped thē three tymes together. At the ſight whereof there followed ſuch applauſe & outcry of the people, and eſpecially of them which vnderſtode the matter, that yͤ like hath not cōmonly bene heard: And ſo the bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, ſtraight way ſinckyng downe into the fire, gaue vp his ſpirite. An. 1555. Iune. 10. And thus haue you playnely and expreſly deſcribed vnto you the whole ſtory, as well of the lyfe, as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a moſt conſtant & faythfull witnes of Chriſtes holy Goſpell.

The end and Martyrdome of Thomas Haukes at Coxhall.

¶ Letters.

¶ An Epiſtle to the Congregation
by Thomas Haukes.

A letter of Thomas Haukes to the congregation.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſuſt Chriſt, bee alway with you all (my deare brethren and ſiſterne in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt) for euer: and his holy Spirite conduct and leade you all in all your doynges, that you may alwayes direct your deedes according to his holy word, that when he ſhall appeare to reward euery man according to their woorkes: ye may as obedient children be found watching, ready to enter into his euerlaſting kingdome with your lamps burning, and when the Bridegrome ſhall ſhew himſelfe, ye neede not to be aſhamed of this life that God hath lent you, whiche is but trāſitory, vaine, and like vnto a vapour, that for a ſeaſon appeareth and vaniſheth away: ſo ſoone paſſeth away all our terreſtriall honour, glory, and felicitie. For all fleſhe (ſayth the Prophet) is graſſe, and all his glory, as the floure of the fielde, which for a ſeaſon ſheweth her beautie, and as ſoone as the Lord bloweth vpon it, it withereth awaye, and departeth. For in this tranſitory and daungerous wildernes, we are as Pilgrimes and ſtraungers, following the footeſteps of Moſes, among many vnſpeakeable daungers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vaine vanities, and vexation of mind: ſubiect to hunger, colde, nakedneſſe, bondes, ſickenes, loſſe, labours, baniſhment, in daunger of that dreadfull dragon, and his ſinnefull ſeede, to be deuoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaſeth not behind euery buſh to lay a baite, when we walke awry to haue his pleaſure vpō vs, caſting abroad his apples in al places, times, and ſeaſons, to ſee if Adam will be allured and entiſed to leaue the liuing God & his moſt holy Commaundements whereby hee is aſſured of euerlaſting life, promiſing the world at will, to all that will fall downe in all ages, & for a meſſe of potage, ſel & ſet at naught, the euerlaſting kingdome of heauen. So frayle is fleſh and bloud: And in eſpeciall Iſraell is moſt ready to walke awry, when he is filled wyth al maner of riches ((as ſayth the Prophet.)

The manifolde daungers which a true Chriſtian hath to paſſe thorow in this world.

Therefore I am bolde in bondes (as entirely deſiring your euerlaſting health & felicitie) to warne you, and moſt hartely deſire you to watch and pray: for our eſtate is daungerous, and requireth continuall prayer. For on the hygh mountaynes doth not grow moſt plenty of graſſe, neither are the higheſt trees fartheſt from daunger, but ſeldome ſure, & alwaies ſhaken of euery wind that bloweth. Such a deceitfull thing (ſaith our ſauior) is honor and riches, yͭ without grace it choketh vp the good ſeede ſowne on hys creatures, & blindeth ſo their ſeeing, that they go gropyng at none day in darckenes: it maketh a man thinck himſelfe ſomewhat, yͭ is nothing at all. For though for our honour we eſteeme our ſelues & ſtand in our owne light, yet when we ſhall ſtand before the liuing God, there ſhalbe no reſpect of perſons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeance: neither can we make the Lord partiall for money. But as ye haue miniſtred vnto the Saintes, ſo ſhall ye receiue yͤ reward, which I am fully perſwaded & aſſured ſhal be plenteouſly poured vppon you all, for yͤ great goodnes ſhewed vnto the ſeruants of the liuing God. And I moſt hartely beſeeche almighty God to poure forth a plenteous reward vpon you for yͤ ſame, & that he wil aſſiſt you wyth his holy ſpirite in al your doings, that ye may growe (as you haue begon) vnto ſuch a perfection as may be to gods honour, your owne ſaluation, and the ſtrengthning of the weake members of chriſt. For though the world rage, and blaſpheme the elect of God, ye knowe that it did ſo vnto Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and to all that were in the primitiue Church, and ſhalbe vnto the worldes end.

The higher in dignity, the nearer to daunger.

Prouerb. 11. Riches helpe not before God.

Gods elect alwayes beare the ſclaunder in this worlde.

Therefore beleue in the light, while ye haue it, leaſt it be taken away from you: If you ſhall ſeeme to neglect the great mercy of God that hath bene opened vnto you, and your harts cōſented vnto it yͭ it is the very and onely truth pronoūced by Gods onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, by the good will of our heauenly father. Therfore I ſay in the bowels of my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſticke faſt vnto it: let it neuer depart out of your harts and conuerſation, that you with vs and we with you, at the great day being one flocke, as we haue one ſhepheard, may riſe to the life immortall, through Ieſus Chriſt our onely Sauiour, Amen.

¶ Yours in him that liueth for euer.
Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth an other letter of Tho. Haukes ſent to his wife after his condemnation, being priſoner in Newgate: the copy whereof is this.

¶ The copy of Thomas Haukes letter to his wife.

A le
Tho. H
vnto hi
wyfe.

Grace be with you, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which gaue himſelfe for our ſinnes, to deliuer vs from this preſent euill worlde, through the good will of God our father, to whō be praiſe for euer and euer. Amen.

My deare Yokefellow in the Lord, for as much as the Lord hath not onely called me to worke in his vineyarde but hath alſo fulfilled his good worke in me (I truſt to his glory, & to the comfort of al thoſe yͭ looke for his comming) I thought it my duety (deare yokefellowe) to write vnto you ſome leſſons out of Gods booke: and if you will direct your ſelfe therafter, doubt not of it, but God, who refuſeth none that will come to him with theyr whole hart, will aſſiſt you with his holy ſpirit, and direct you in al his wayes, to his honour, and glory, who graūt it for his mercies ſake. Amen.

I eſſons
inſtructio
to his wyf

Firſt I exhort you to feare God, to ſerue and honor his holye name, loue hym with all your hart, ſoule, and minde to beleue faithfully al his promiſes, to lay ſure hold vpon them, that in al your troubles what ſo euer they are, ye may runne ſtraight to the great mercye of God, and hee will bring you forth of them, keepe you within hys wings then ſhall ye be ſure that neither deuill, fleſh, nor hell ſhall be able to hurt you.

He exho
teth her to
beware of
Idolatry.

Idolatry
puniſhed
God.

But take heede: If ye wil not keepe his holy precepts and lawes, and to the vttermoſt of your power, cal for the help of God to walke in the ſame, but will leaue them and runne to all abhominations with the wicked world, & doe as they do, then be ſure to haue your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that neuer ſhall bee quenched. Therefore beware of Idolatrye, whiche doth moſt of all ſtincke before the face of almighty God, and was of al good men moſt deteſted from the beginning of the worlde. For the which, what kingdomes, nations, and realmes God hath puniſhed with moſt terrible plagues, wͭ fire, brymſtone, hunger, ſword, and peſtilence, &c. to the vtter ſubuerſion of them, it is manifeſtly to be ſeene through the whole Byble. Yea his owne peculiar people, whome he had done ſo muche for, when they fell from him, and went & ſerued other Gods, contrary to his commaundement, he vtterly deſtroyed, and rooted them out from of the earth: and as many as dyed in that damnable ſtate (not repenting their abhominable euill) he threw them into yͤ pit of hell. Againe how he hath preſerued thoſe that abhorre ſuperſtition and Idolatry, and that haue onely taken hold vpon God with their whole hart, to ſerue him, & to loue him, to feare him, &c. it is moſt manifeſtly to be ſeene euen frō the beginning, out of what great daungers he hath euer deliuered them: yea whē al hope of deliuerāce was paſt as touchyng their expectation, euen then in yͤ ſight of all his enemies would he work his godly will and purpoſe, to the vtter amazing and deſtructiō of all thoſe that were his manifeſt enemies.

Exhort
to praye.

Praying
God & n
to creat

Further I exhort you in the bowels of Chriſt, that you will exerciſe and be ſteadfaſt in prayer: for prayer is yͤ onely meane to pearce the heauens to obtayne at the hand of God, what ſoeuer we deſire, ſo yͭ it be aſked in fayth. Oh what notable thinges do we read in Scriptures that hath bene obtayned through feruent praier? we are commaunded to call vpon him for helpe, ayde and ſuccour in neceſſities & troubles, & he hath promiſed to help vs. Againe they that will not cal vpon him, with their whole hart, but vpon other dead creatures, in whō there is no help (for there was none found worthy to open the booke, but onely the Lambe Chriſt whiche was killed for our ſinnes) I ſaye who that wil refuſe his help, muſt euen by yͤ terrible iudgment of God, come vtterly to confuſion: as it hath, and is dayly manifeſt to be ſeene. And whatſoeuer you deſire of God in your prayer, aſke it for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, for whom & in whō God hath promiſed to geue vs all things neceſſary. And though that which ye aſke, come not by and by at yͤ firſt and ſecond calling, yet continue ſtill knocking and hee will at the length open his traſures of mercye, ſo that

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Anno 1555. Iune.

that ye ſhalbe ſure to obtaine: for he hath ſo promiſed if ye continue in faith, hoping ſurely in him. Theſe former leſſons, w all ſuch inſtructiōs as I haue told you by mouth, I do wiſh that ye would moſt earneſtly learne: and then I doubt not, but God, who is the geuer of all grace, wyll aſſiſt you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdome, which is prepared through Chriſt.

Care for his children. He meaneth M. Clement Throgmorton, who is deſired to ſee the bringing vp of his child.

Further, where it hath pleaſed God to ſend vs childrē, my deſire is that they may bee brought vp in the feare of God, and in his lawes. And this is to certifie you, that ye deliuer in any wiſe my eldeſt ſonne vnto M. Throgmorton, who vpō his good wil hath promiſed me to bring him vp according to my deſire, and (I truſt) as God hath put into his hart. See therfore that ye deliuer him in any wyſe without delay: and as for the other, if ye ſhall ſeeme to be burdened with him (which I thinke nature will not ſuffer) my deſire is that it be brought vp in the feare of God to the vttermoſt of your endeuour, with ſome honeſt man that hath the feare of God before his eies, and let vs geue thanks vnto God which hath giuen them vs, beſeechyng hym that they may be counted worthy to be of that flocke that ſhall ſtand on the right hand of the Maieſtie of God, when he ſhall iudge the world. Amen.

Yet once againe I warne you, that ye continue in feruent prayer, as I ſayd before: then ſhall ye be ſure, ꝙ God euen of his owne mercy, according as he hath promyſed, will be an huſband vnto you, & prouide better for you thē I was euer able to do: yea, he wil cauſe all men that feare him, to pitie you, to helpe you, ſuccour you in all your neceſſities, ſo that if any will do you wrong, he wil be aduenged on hym. Moreouer, I wiſh you to keepe company w thoſe, of whome yee may learne to come to a more perfect knowlege in God, and I doubt not but God will prouide that ſuch will bee glad to receiue you, if you ſhall profeſſe and go forward in his truth.

Keeping of good company.

Finally, and to make an end, I deſire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple your ſelfe. See that he be a mā that feareth God, loueth his lawes, and will walke in the ſame to the vttermoſt of hys power: ſuch a one as can be content to loue you & to care for you. Take heede he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked perſon, not giuen to filthines, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy perſon, but chuſe you ſuch a one as God may be glorified in both your liues. And again on your part, loue him, ſerue him, obey him in all godlines, as long as God ſhall giue you life in this world. Then ſhall ye both be ſure to obtaine that kingdome which God the father hath prepared, and Ieſus Chriſt obtayned for you, that neuer ſhall haue end, where I truſt to abide your comming. Amen.

Exhortation to take heede whō ſhee maryeth, & that ſhee mary in the Lord.

By your huſband Tho. Haukes.

Ye heard before in the letter of Tho. Haukes written to his wyfe, mention made concerning his eldeſt ſonne to be ſent to M. Throgmorton. Now what he writeth hymſelfe to the ſaid M. Throgmorton touching the ſame matter, by this his letter to the ſaid party here vnder enſuyng, may appeare.

¶ A letter of Thomas Haukes to M. Clement Throgmorton.

Another letter of Thomas Haukes written to M. Clement Throgmorton.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be with you, & aſſiſt you in al your thoghts words, and works, that he in all things as moſt woorthy, may be glorified, and that the bleſſing of Abraham may be poured plenteouſly on you and all your poſteritie.

Where as the loue of God hath mooued you to require my ſonne to be brought vp before your eyes, & the ſelfe ſame loue hath alſo mooued me in like caſe to leaue hym in your hands, as vnto a father in myne abſence, I ſhall require you in Gods behalfe according to your promiſe, that ye will ſee hym brought vp in the feare of the Lord, and inſtructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learne to leaue the euill and know the good, and alwayes be pricked forward with fatherly inſtructions to folow my footſteps, that as almighty God hath made me worthy through his ſpeciall grace to worke his will in obedience, he may learne to followe me his father in the like, to gods honor and prayſe: And this I require you in Gods behalfe to fulfill or cauſe to be fulfilled, as ye before the liuing God will make aunſwer for the ſame. I haue left for the child certaine bookes which ſhall be deliuered vnto you, wherein his inſtruction and ſaluation lieth, if he learne and practiſe the ſame. And thus, moſt humbly beſeeching you once agayne, to be as good vnto him as your promiſe was to me, that is, to be a father, & a wall of defence vnto hym in all troubles, I leaue him in your hand through the Lord Ieſu, and deſire him to bleſſe both him & you according to his good promiſe; & all that good which ye ſhal do vnto him, I ſhal moſt hartily deſire the euerlaſting God to recompence vnto you in hys kingdome, where I hope to meete both him and you among all Gods elect. To which God be all praiſe, honor and glory. Amen.

Yours and all mens in Chriſt Ieſu, Tho. Haukes.

¶ The hiſtory of Thomas VVattes, examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the Goſpell.

Iune. 10. The ſtory of Thomas Wattes Martyr.

THomas Wattes of Billerica, within the county of Eſſex, and of the Dioces of London, was by his occupation a linnen Draper, who before he was apprehēded, had ſold and made away his cloth in his ſhop, and diſpoſed his things being ſet in order to his wyfe and children, & gaue away much of his cloth vnto the poore: For he looked always to be taken by gods aduerſaries and his, as ſhortly after came in deed to paſſe: ſo that vpon the 26. day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the L. Rich, and other Commiſſioners at Chelmesford, and there beyng accuſed for not commyng to the church, was vpon the ſame examined before the L. Rich, Henry Tyrel, Sir Anthony Browne, Edmund Tyrell, Tho. Mildman, Iohn Wiſeman, Rog. Appleton, Rich. Weſton, Iuſtice Gaudy. &c. The ſumme and principall effect of which examination here vnder followeth briefly expreſſed.

Thomas Wattes diſpoſeth his goodes before he ſhould be apprehended.

¶ The examination of Tho. VVattes, before the Lord Rich and others.

The examinatiō of Thomas Wattes before the Lord Rich and other the Queenes commiſſioners. The wordes of the Lord Rich to Tho. Wattes.

WHen this Tho. Wattes came before the L. Rich and other the Iuſtices, whoſe names are ſpecified in the letter followyng (which they ſent vnto the B. of London agaynſt hym) at the ſeſſions at Chelmesford, the Lord Rich ſayd theſe words or the lyke in effect vnto hym.

Wattes, ye be brought hither (as I vnderſtand) becauſe of diſobedience to the Kyng and Queens lawes. Ye will not come to the Church, ye will not heare Maſſe, &c. but haue your conuenticles a ſort of you in corners, contrary to the K. and Queenes proceedings. Unto whiche hys words Wattes anſwered and ſayd.

Wattes wordes to the L. Rich.

My L. if I haue offended a lawe, I am ſubiect here to the lawe. Then Anth. Browne Iuſtice, ſayd vnto hym: Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath bene thy ſchoolemaiſter, to teach thee this geare, or where didſt thou firſt learn this religion? Forſooth (quoth Wattes) euen of you Sir: you taught it me, and none more then you. For in K. Edwards dayes in open ſeſſions you ſpake againſt this Religion now vſed, no preacher more. You then ſayd, ꝙ maſſe was abhominable, & all their trumpery beſides, wiſhing and earneſtly exhorting that none ſhould beleeue therin, & that our beliefe ſhould be onely in Chriſt: and you ſaid the whoſoeuer ſhould bryng in any ſtrange natiō to rule here it were treaſon, and not to be ſuffred.

Syr Anthony Browne a Goſpeller in K. Edwardes dayes & a perſecuter in Queene Maryes dayes.

Then ſaid Browne to my Lord Rich, he belies me my Lord. What a knaue is this? he wil ſoone belye me behind my backe, when he doth it before my face, and my L. Rich ſayd againe, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

After theſe wordes, Wattes tooke occaſion to ſpeake ſomewhat of King Phillip and of hys commyng in, but what it was, I could not iuſtly learne. But this muche was heard, that after thoſe wordes ſpoken, the Benche among themſelues ſtood vp, and ſayd one to another: treaſon, ſauyng one good man called Iuſtice Gawdy, who a little before was about to ſpeake: but when he heard them cry treaſon, he helde downe his head as one grieued and troubled at their doyngs.

Iuſtice Gaudy a good man.

In concluſion, the Commiſſioners being wery of him or els not willing to meddle further in ſuch high matters, ſent him vp to the B. of London, with their letter withal, importing the cauſe of his ſending vp as by the contentes thereof here vnder followeth to be ſeene.

¶ A letter ſent by certaine Iuſtices in Eſſex to Bonet B. of London.

A letter of the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrell & other Iuſtices to Boner.

AFter our moſt harty cōmendations to your good lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to aduertiſe you, that at our Seſſions of Oyer & Terminer holden at Chelmesford the 25. day of April laſt paſt, there came before vs in open Court one Thomas Wattes of Billerica within your dioces, by ordinary proces, and then and there being examined why he refuſed to come to his pariſh Church, and there to receiue the ſacrament of the aultar and heare diuine ſeruice, according to the inſtitution of holy church, he openly there anſwered generally that like as the ſeruice of the Churche ſet out in the dayes of late King Edward the 6. was ſayd by vs now to be abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, & all naught, ſo he ſayd that all that is nowe vſed & done in the Church is abhominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all naught, with diuers other erroneous & arrogant wordes: and therefore we haue thought good to ſend hym to your

Tho Wattes ſent vp by the Iuſtices of Eſſex to Byſhop Boner.

Anno. 1555. Iune.

Lordſhip, to be further examined by you of his perticular opinions, as to your paſtorall office ſhall ſeeme conuenient, certifieng you further, that in our opinion he is one of the moſt arrogant heretikes that hath bene heard ſpeake, or euer came before you, & not meet to be kept here in any Gaole, as well for feare of corrupting others, as for diuers & ſundry other ſpeciall cauſes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leauing to moleſt your good Lordſhip, we commit you to the holy ghoſt. Geuen at Chelmeſford the 27. of Aprill. An. 1555.

Your good Lordſhips moſt aſſured,

R. Rich.	T. Myldman.
Henry Tirrell.	Iohn Wiſeman.
Anthony Browne.	Rog. Appleton.
Edmund Tirrell.	Rich. Weſton.

The names of the Iuſtices.

Now when the B. had receiued him, how he vſed him it is eaſie (by his common practiſes with others) to iudge. What his priuate conferēces were, I know not, but what was publikely done in the Conſiſtory at Paules (the common ſtage for theſe tragedies) you ſhall here ſee.

The firſt appearance of Thomas Wattes in the biſhops Conſiſtorie.

The firſt appearance of Thomas Wattes in the Biſhops Conſiſtory.

First vppon Thurſday, beyng the ſecond day of May, Thomas Wattes was brought thether before the Biſhop of London, & there being examined vpon his wordes had before the L. Rich and others (as is conteined in their letters) he did earneſtly affirme the ſame to be true. Whervpon the Biſhop obiected, and examined him vpon theſe Articles following, to the which he aunſwered, as vnder may appeare.

¶ Articles obiected agaynſt Thomas VVattes of Byllerica in the Countie of Eſſex, within the Dioceſſe of London, by Boner Biſh. there, as enſueth.

Articles agaynſt Tho. Wattes.

1. First that the ſaid Tho. Wattes was of Billerica, & ſo of the iuriſdiction of the B. of London.

The Sacraments of the Church of Rome.

2. Item, that he beleeued not in the Sacraments of the the holy and Catholike church, as the Catholike church of Rome, and all other Churches members of the ſame, euer hetherto hath beleued, & is taught of al good & faithful people, nor hath allowed the ſaid ſacraments, rites, vſages, or ceremonies of the ſaid church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

The ſubſtance of the ſacramēt.

3. Item, that he beleeueth, & alſo hath taught others, that the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and wyne do remaine in the Sacrament of the aultar after the conſecration, & that the ſayd materiall bread and wyne are the ſignes & tokens of Chriſtes body hanged vpon the croſſe, and of hys bloud there ſhed, and that in the ſayd Sacrament there is only a memory or remembraunce of Chriſtes body & bloud, and nothyng els.

The preſence in the ſacrament.

4. Item, that he beleueth, and doth preciſely affirme, that the very true preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in ſubſtaunce, is not in the Sacrament of the aultar, but only in heauen, and no where els.

The Maſſe abhominable.

5. Item, that he beleeueth, affirmeth, and ſayth, that the Maſſe now vſed in the church of Rome here in England, and other places is full of Idolatry, abhomination & wickednes, and that Chriſt did neuer inſtitute it, nor ordayne it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thyng to be vſed in his Church.

Confeſſion to God.

6. Item, that he beleeueth and affirmeth that auricular confeſſion to be made vnto the Prieſt, is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous: and that it is enough for a man to beleeue onely, & to confeſſe hymſelfe vnto God, without any prieſt or miniſter at any tyme, though he may haue the Prieſt to confeſſe hym vnto.

Defence of Martyrs.

7. Item, that he beleueth that Luther, Wickliffe, Doctor Barnes, and all others that haue holden againſt the Sacrament of the aultar, & ſuffred death by fire or otherwiſe, for the maintenaunce of the ſaid opinion, were good men, and faithfull ſeruaunts and Martyrs of Chriſt, in ſo beleeuyng and dieng.

Faſting, praying, & almes deedes.

8. Item, that he hath and doth beleue, that to faſt, pray, or to do almes deeds, is a thyng vtterly vnprofitable: for if a man ſhal be ſaued, he ſhalbe ſaued without doing of them: and if he ſhall be damned, they ſhall not helpe him, or doe hym any good at all.

Q. Maryes ſeruice reproued,

9. Item, that the ſaid Wattes of late comming into open Court at the Seſſions before the Lord Riche, Sir Henry Tirell Knight, Anthony Browne Eſquier, and others, & beyng then and there examined, did openly confeſſe, that hee had refuſed to come to the Church, and to heare there the diuine ſeruice, and to receiue the ſacrament of the aultar, according to the order of the Church: becauſe that like as the ſeruice of the Church ſet out in the dayes of the late king Edward the 6. was ſaid and alledged to be abhominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all naught: ſo her the ſaid Thomas Wattes thē and there ſaid openly before the ſaid Commiſſioners, that all that is now vſed and done in the Church, is abhominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and altogether naught: And that he did alſo then vtter before the ſayd Commiſſioners, other erroneous and arrogant wordes, to the hurt of his ſoule, and to the euill example of the people there preſent.

10 Item, that he the ſaid Thomas by reaſon of the premiſſes, was and is to be takē, had, reputed, and iudged as a manifeſt & open heretike, and for the ſame, by the order of eccleſiaſticall lawes is to be declared, accurſed: and beyng obſtinate and incorrigible, is to be deliuered to the ſecular power, there to be puniſhed as an heretike.

11 Item, that he ouer and beſides all theſe offences, and treſpaſſes aforeſaid, had alſo added this treſpaſſe, that is to wit: that he has beleued and deliberately ſpoken, that the Church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, Sacramentes, conſtitutions, and traditions, is the Synagoge of Satan, and therefore that he had conſented and agreed in opinion & beliefe, with one Iohn Tooly, of late hanged at Charing croſſe, who at the tyme of his executing, deſired the people to pray, to be deliuered from the tiranny of the Biſhop of Rome, with all his enormities: as who ſhould ſay, that his authoritie and doings were tiranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12 Item, that the premiſſes and euery part thereof, bee true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken, & talked of amongſt the honeſt & credible perſons in great multitude, and that of all & ſingular the ſame within Billerica aforeſayd, and other places there about, beyng of the dioceſſe of London, there is a common voyce and fame thereof.

¶ The aunſwer of the ſayd Thomas VVattes to the foreſayd Articles.

To the firſt he ſayd and confeſſed the ſame to bee true in euery part thereof.

To the 2. Article he anſwered that he beleueth in al the Sacraments according to Chriſtes inſtitution, & the Catholike church: but not according to the Biſh. of Romes church: and further ſaid, that he doth not beleeue now as he had done in tymes paſt: for in tyme paſt he beleeued as the church then beleeued, but now he doth not ſo beleeue: for the church of Rome had deceiued vs, and therefore hee ſayd he did not beleue as the church of Rome beleueth, but as Chriſt hath taught him: And further ſaid, that hee was ſo taught to beleue by preachyng of one M. Aluey, & other whoſe names he remembred not: which Aluey he ſaid did preach the word of God truly and ſincerely.

To the 3. he aunſwered, that he hath and doth beleeue, that Chriſtes body is in heauen, and no where els: & further, that he will neuer beleue that Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament.

To the 4. he aunſwered, confeſſing and firmely beleeuing the ſame to be true.

To the 5. that he did beleue, that the Maſſe is abhominable, and that he will not go one iot from that his belief.

To the 6. that he neither did, nor yet doth beleeue that the prieſt can abſolue him of his ſinnes: howbeit, he denieth not but it is good to aſke councell at the prieſts mouth.

To the 7. he ſayd, that he knoweth not what the opinions of the ſayd perſons named in the ſayd article were: and in caſe the ſaid perſones did beleeue that the body and bloud of Chriſt were reall and in very deed in the Sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in caſe they did beleue that the body & bloud of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the aultar really and truely, then he beleued that they were good chriſtian men.

To the 8. that he had not ſpokē as is conteined in this article, but ſaid, that he hath and doth beleue that faſtyng, prayers and almes deeds be workes of a liuely faith.

To the 9. he confeſſed, that he did vtter and ſpeake, as in this article is conteyned, and further deſired God that he might dye in that fayth and beliefe, wherein he now is.

To the x. he anſwered and ſaid, that he will ſubmit him ſelfe herein to the order of the law: and further ſaid that he truſteth that with God he ſhall be bleſſed, although wyth men he be accurſed.

To the xi. he ſayd, that he beleued that the B. of Rome is a mortall enemy to Chriſt and hys Church. And as for Tooly he ſayd, he dyd neuer ſee or know hym: but in caſe the ſayd Tooly dyd wiſh and pray as is conteyned in the Article, then he dyd likewyſe wiſh and conſent with hym therein.

To the 12. he anſwered, that al which before he confeſſed to be true, is alſo true: and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth againe to be true, and beleueth the ſame to be according to ſuch things as he hath confeſſed.

By me Tho. Wattes.

An other appearance of Thomas Wattes in the Conſiſtorie.

These Articles thus propounded and anſweared, the biſhop commaunded him to appeare again in the ſame place at 3. of the clocke in the after noone, vppon the ſame day. At which houre being brought thither by his keeper, the Biſhop beganne with him in this wiſe: Wattes, you know what I ſaid vnto you to day, and what I appoynted vnto you at this time. The time is nowe come: waigh and conſider with your ſelfe, that you are but a man: and albeit that yee will wilfully caſt away your body, yet caſt not ſo away your ſoule, but while yee haue time, retourne and confeſſe the truth.

Whereunto Thomas Wattes anſwered and ſayde: I am weary to liue in ſuch idolatry as ye would haue me to liue in. Upon which aunſwere the biſhop cauſed his articles againe to be read. He thereto anſwered as before, and farther ſubſcribed the ſame with his owne hand.

An other appearance before D. Harpſfield.

The biſhop, after many perſwaſions to cauſe him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come againe on Saterday at 8. of the clocke in the morning. Where (the Biſhop being abſent) D. Nicholas Harpeſfielde, as then being his deputie, did ſit and earneſtly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whome in the ende he anſweared.

Wel, ye haue a law to condemne me, and I ſubmit my ſelfe to the law: but not to the lawes of the Church (as you call it.) And farther I doe affirme, and will ſtande to mine anſweres that I haue made.

Wherupon D. Harpſfield willed him to appeare there againe vpon friday, being the 10. day of the ſame month of May. Uppon which day the biſhop priuately ſent for the ſayd Thomas Wattes into his chamber, and there wyth many faire promiſes, tempted and tried him, whether hee would reuoke hys errours (as he then termed them.) But Wattes aunſweared hym in this ſorte: I will not beleeue your Church, neither the Romiſh Churche, and therefore you doe but labour in vaine thus to trauaile with me. He was here vpon againe diſmiſſed for that time, vntil friday the 17. day of May, and then commaunded to appeare in the Conſiſtorie: whych commandement he obeyed, & hauing the accuſtomed former Articles miniſtred vnto him, made then ſuch anſweres as before.

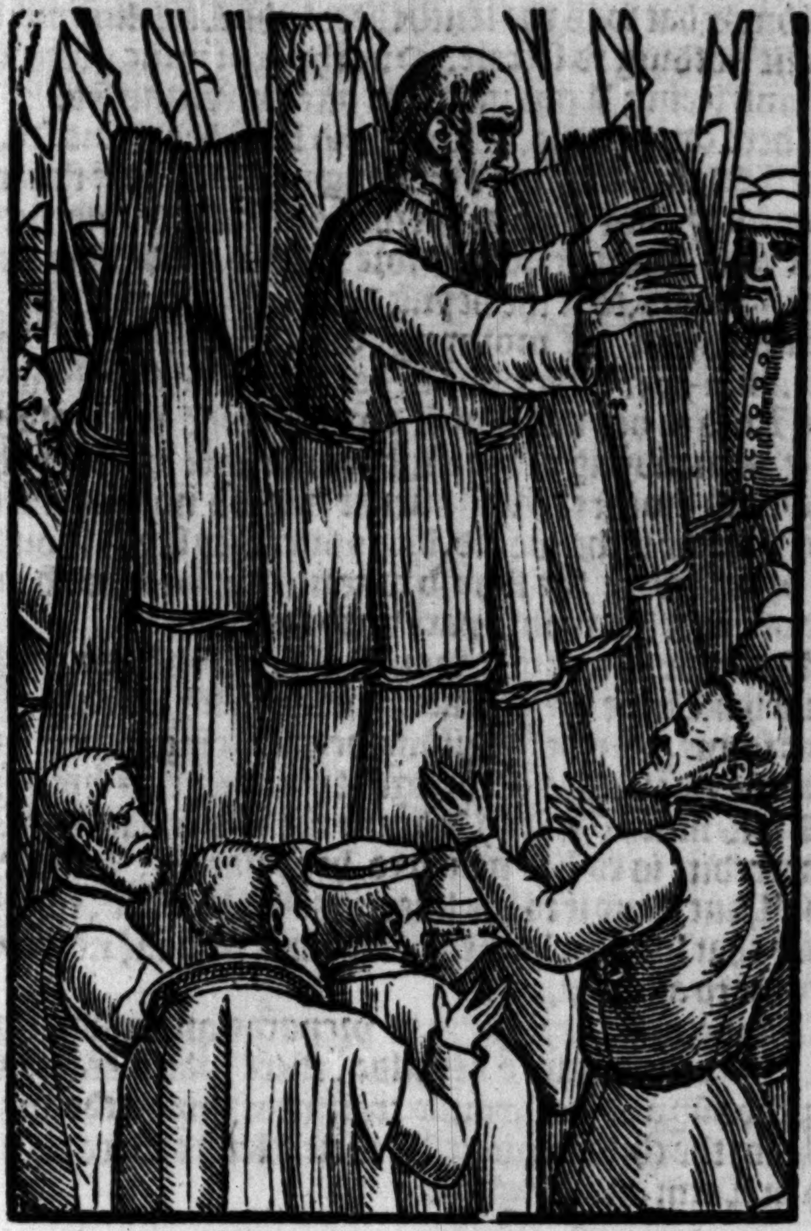
Thomas Wattes brought againe to the conſiſtorie.

Thus being toſt to and fro, from day to day, and houre to houre: he was at the laſt, the 18. day of the month of May, brought into the conſiſtorie, where firſte was made a briefe recitall of all the former proceſſe: and there the ſayd Wattes being (by the byſhop and others) willed to deny his profeſſion, made this final anſwer: God kepe me from the doctrine that ye wold haue me to come vnto, which ye haue now declared. And I beſeech God ẏͭ I may perſeuer in that that I haue done, for I wil ſtand to mine anſwers.

The Byſhop perceiuing his faire flattering promiſes nothing to preuaile (& hauing no great ſtore of other reaſons to perſwade with) put forth his laſt and ſtrongeſt argument of condemnation. Which being ended, he was deliuered to the ſheriffes of London, & by them was ſent to Newgate, where he remained vntil the 9. day of Iune, or as ſome record, to the 22. of May: at what time he was caried vnto Chelmeſforde, and there was brought to Scots houſe, keeping then an Inne at Chelmeſforde, where, as they were eating meat with Hauks and the reſt that came downe to their burning, they prayed together both afore and after their meate.

Then Wats went and praied priuately to himſelf, and afterward came to his wife and his 6. childrē being there, and ſaid theſe words in effect: Wife, and my good children, I muſt now depart from you. Therfore hence forth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath geuen you vnto me, ſo I geue you againe vnto the Lord, whom I charge you ſee you do obey, and feare him: and beware yee turne not to this abbominable papiſtrie, againſt the which I ſhall anone (by Gods grace) geue my bloude. Let not the murthering of Gods Saintes cauſe you to relent, but take occaſion thereby to be the ſtronger in the Lords quarel, and I doubt not but he wil be a mercifull father vnto you. All theſe and ſuche like wordes ſpake he vnto them, and they vnto him, of whome two (as it is ſayd) offered to be burnt wyth him. In the ende he badde them farewell, and kiſſed them all, and was caried to the fire.

The burning of Thomas Wattes, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of Tho. Wattes, at Chelmſford. Anno. 1555. Iune. 10.

At the ſtake, after he had kiſſed it, he ſpake to my Lord Rich, theſe or the like words: My Lord ſayth he, beware, beware, for you doe againſt your owne conſcience herein, and without you repent, the Lord wil reuenge it: For you are the cauſe of this my death.

The wordes of Thomas Wattes to the L. Rich.

Concerning the childebed of Queene Mary, as it was rumoured among the people.

The Childbirth of Q. Mary.

Long perſwaſion had bene in England with great expectation, for the ſpace of halfe a yeare or more, that the Queene was conceiued wͭ childe. This report was made by the Queenes Phiſitions, & other nie about the Court: ſo that diuers were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary. And commaundement was geuen, that in all churches ſupplication and prayers ſhould be made for the Queenes good deliuerie: the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the Counſel ſent to Boner, pag. 1405. And alſo the ſame moreouer may appeare by prouiſion made before in the Act of Parliament for the childe, pag. 1410.

Rockers and Nurſes prouided for Queene Maryes childe.

And now forſomuch as in ẏ beginning of this month of Iune about Whitſontide, the time was thought to be nie, that this young Maiſter ſhould come into the world, and that midwiues, rockers, nurſes, with the cradle & all, were prepared and in a readines, ſodēly vpon what cauſe or occaſion it is vncertaine, a certaine vaine rumour was blowne in London of the proſperous deliuerance of the Queene, and the birth of the childe: In ſo muche that the Bels were rong, Bonfiers and proceſſions made, not only in the Citie of London, and in moſt other partes of the realme, but alſo in the towne of Antwarpe, gunnes were ſhot off vppon the riuer, by the Engliſh ſhippes, and the Mariners thereof rewarded wyth an hundred piſtolettes or Italian crownes by the Ladie Regent, who was the Queene of Hungarie. Such great reioyſing and triumph was for the Queenes deliuerie, & that there was a Prince borne. Yea, diuers Preachers, namely one, the Parſon of S. Anne within Aldergate, after Proceſſion and Te Deum ſong, tooke vpon him to deſcribe the proportion of ẏ child, how faire, howe beautifull, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not bene ſeene.

Proceſſions and bonfiers in Londō for ioy of the young Prince.

Triumph at Antwarpe for the ſame.

In the middeſt of this great adoe, there was a ſimple man (this I ſpeake but vppon information) dwelling wͭin 4. miles of Barwicke, that neuer had bene before halfe way to London, whiche ſayde concerning the Bonfiers made for Queene Maries childe: Here is a ioyful triūph, but at length al wil not proue worth a meſſe of potage, as in dede it came to paſſe: For in ẏ end al proued clean cōtrary, & the ioy and expectations of mē were much deceiued. For the people were certified, ẏ the Queene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue any child.

Q. Maryes childe would not come.

Anno 1555. Iune.

What became of Q. Maryes childe no man can tell.

At thys time many talked diuerſly: ſome ſayd thys rumour of the Queenes conception was ſpread for a policie: ſome other affirmed that ſhee was deceiued by a Tympanie or ſome other like diſeaſe, to thinke her ſelfe with child, and was not: ſome thought ſhe was with childe, and that it did by ſome chaunce miſcarie, or els that ſhe was bewitched: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is ſecrete. One thing of mine owne hearing, and ſeeing I can not paſſe ouer vnwitneſſed.

There came to me, whom I did both heare and ſee, one Iſabell Malt, a woman dwellyng in Alderſgate ſtreete in Horne alley, not farre from the houſe where this preſent booke was Printed, who before witnes made this declaration vnto vs, that ſhe beyng deliuered of a mãchild vpõ whitſonday in the mornyng, whiche was the xi. day of Iune. an. 1555. there came to her the Lord North, and an other Lord to her vnknowẽ, dwellyng thẽ about old Fiſh ſtreete, demaũdyng of her if ſhe would part with her child, and would ſweare that ſhe neuer knewe nor had no ſuch child. whiche if ſhe would, her ſonne (they ſayd) ſhould be well prouided for, ſhe ſhould take no care for it, with many fayre offers if ſhe would part with the child.

After that came other womẽ alſo, of whõ one ſhe ſayd ſhould haue bene the Rocker, but ſhe in no wiſe would let go her ſonne, who at ẏ writyng hereof being aliue & called Timothe Malt, was of the age of xiij. yeares & vpward.

Ex teſtimonio eiuſdam puerperæ Londinenſis.

Thus much (I ſay) I heard of the woman her ſelfe. what credite is to bee geuen to her relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the Reader, to beleue it they that liſt: to them that liſt not, I haue no further warrant to aſſure them.

The young Princes cradle.

Among many other great preparations made for the Queenes deliueraunce of childe, there was a cradle very ſumptuouſly and gorgeouſly trimmed, vppon the whiche cradle for the child appointed, these Verſes were written, both in Latin and Engliſh.

Quam Mariæ ſobolem Deus optime ſumme dediſti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

Verſes vpon the Cradle.

The Child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might haſt ſend.
To Englandes ioy in health preſerue, keepe and defend.

About this tyme there came ouer into England a certaine Engliſh booke, geuing warnyng to Engliſh men of the Spanyardes, and diſcloſing certaine cloſe practiſes for recouery of Abbay landes, which booke was called A warnyng for England. whereof ye ſhall vnderſtand more (God willyng) when we come to the Spaniſh Inquiſition. So that by the occaſion of this booke, vppon the xiij. day of this moneth came out a certaine Proclamation, ſet forth in the name of the Kyng and Queene, repealyng & diſanullyng all maner of bookes writtẽ or Printed, whatſoeuer ſhould touche any thyng the impayryng of the Popes dignitie, whereby not onely much godly edification was hyndred: but alſo great perill grew among the people. The copy of which Proclamation here foloweth.

A Proclamation ſet out by the King and Queene for the reſtraining of all bookes and wrytings tending againg the doctrine of the Pope and his Churche.

WHere as by the Statute made in the ſeconde yeare of king Henrie the fourth concerning the repreſsing of hereſies, there is ordained and prouided a great puniſhment, not only for the authours, makers, and wryters of bookes containing wicked doctrine and erroneous and hereticall opinions contrary to the Catholicke faith, and determination of the holy Church, & likewiſe for their fautors & ſupporters, but alſo for ſuch as ſhal haue or keepe any ſuche bookes or wrytings, and not make deliuerie of them to the Ordinarie of the Dioceſſe or his Miniſters, wyth in a certaine time limited in the ſayd Statute, which Acte or Statute being by authoritie of Parliament of late reuiued, was alſo openly proclaimed, to the intent the ſubiectes of the realme vpon ſuch Proclamation ſhould the rather eſchew the danger and penaltie of the ſayde Statute, and as yet neuertheleſſe, in moſte partes of the Realme the ſame is neglected, and little regarded: The King and Queene our ſoueraigne Lord and Ladie, therefore. &c. ſtraightly charge and commaunde, that no perſone or perſones, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he or they be, from hencefoorth preſume to bring or conuey, or cauſe to bee brought or conueied into this Realme, any bookes, wrytings or woorkes heereafter mentioned: that is to ſaye, anye booke or bookes, wrytings or woorkes made or ſette foorth, by, or in the name of Martine Luther, or any booke or bookes, wrytings or woorkes made or ſette forth, by, or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, Iohn Caluine, Pomerane, Iohn Alaſco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus Ochinus, Eraſmus Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latymer, Robert Barnes, otherwyſe called Frier Barnes, Iohn Bale, otherwiſe called Frier Bale, Iuſtus Ionas, Iohn Hoper, Myles Couerdal, William Tyndal, Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterburie, William Turner, Theodore Baſill, otherwiſe called Thomas Beacon, Ihon Frith, Roy, and the booke commonly called Halles Chronicle, or anye of them, in the Latine toung, Dutch toung, Engliſh toung, Italian toung, or French toung, or any other like booke, paper, wryting, or woorke, made, printed, or ſette foorthe, by any other perſone or perſones, containing falſe doctrine contrarie, and againſt the Catholicke faith, and the doctrine of the Catholicke Churche: And alſo that no perſon or perſons preſume to write, printe, vtter, ſell, reade, or kepe anye, or cauſe to bee wrytten, printed, vttered, or kept, anye of the ſayde bookes, papers, woorkes or wrytings, or any booke or bookes wrytten or printed in the Latine or Engliſh toung, concerning the common ſeruice and adminiſtration ſette foorth in Engliſh to be vſed in the Churches of this Realme, in the time of king Edwarde the ſixth, commonly called the Communion booke or booke of common ſeruice and ordering of Miniſters, otherwiſe called The booke ſette foorth by authoritie of Parliament, for common prayer & adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, or to be vſed in the mother tounge wythin the Church of England, but ſhall wythin the ſpace of fifteene dayes nexte after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliuer, or cauſe the ſayde bookes, wrytinges, and woorkes, and euerye of them remaining in their cuſtodies and keeping, to be broughte and deliuered to the Ordinarie of the Dioceſſe, where ſuche bookes, woorkes, or wrytinges be or remaine: or to his Chauncellour or Commiſſaries, without fraud, coulour, or deceite, at the ſayde Ordinaries will and diſpoſition, to be burnt, or otherwiſe to be vſed or ordered by the ſayde Ordinaries, as by the Canons or ſpiritual lawes it is in that caſe limitted and appoynted, vppon paine that euerye offender contrary to this Proclamation, ſhal incurre the daunger and penalties contained in the ſayde Statute, and as they will auoide theyr Maieſties high indignation and diſpleaſure, and further anſwere at their vttermoſt pearils.

Of this Acte or ſtatute, read before Pag. 507.

Aſtiterunt reges terræ, & principes conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus Dominum & Chriſtum eius. Pſal. 2.

Good bookes
hibited.

A gaynſt
Halles
Cronicle.

What
is here
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Chriſt
his Goſpel,
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And their Maieſties by this Proclamation geue full power and authoritie to all Byſhops and Ordinaries, and all Iuſtices of peace, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes of Cities and Townes corporate, and other head Officers wythin this Realme and the dominions thereof, and expreſly commaundeth and willeth the ſame and euery of them, that they and euerye of them within their ſeuerall limites and iuriſdictions, ſhall in the default & negligence of the ſayde Subiectes, after the ſayde fifteene dayes expired, enquire and ſearche out the ſayde bookes, wrytings and woorkes, and for this purpoſe enter into the houſe or houſes, cloſets, and ſecreate places of euery perſone, of what ſo euer degree, beynge negligent in thys behalfe, and ſuſpected to keepe any ſuch boke, wryting, or woorkes, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the ſayde Iuſtices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, and other heade Officers aboue ſpecified, and euery of them wythin theyr ſayde limites and iuriſdictions, fineding any of the ſayde ſubiectes negligent and faultie in this behalfe, ſhall commit euery ſuch offender to Warde, there to remaine without baile or mainpriſe, till the ſame offender or offenders haue receiued ſuch puniſhment, as the ſayde Statute doeth limite and appoynte in this behalfe. Geuen vnder our Signes Manuel, at oure Honour of Hampton Courte, the thirteene day of Iune, the firſt and ſecond yeares of our raignes.

The po
of this
world
gaynſt
Chriſt,

Imprinted by Iohn Cawood.
Anno. 1555.

Articles to be enquired vppon by the wardones of euery, companie, touching ſeditious bookes, eſpecially touching the booke called A Warning for England.

1 WHether they haue ſeene any of the forſaid bookes.

2 whether they haue hearde of anye of the ſayde bookes.

3 where they were, and in what place they haue ſeene them.

4 whome they know to haue lately come from beyonde the ſea, eſpecially from Zurik, Straſbrough, Frankford, wezel, Emden, and Duburge.

5 whome they knowe, or vehemently ſuſpect to be common cariers of letters or money thether from hence.

6 That they bring to my Lord Maior all ſuche ſeditious bookes as they haue, or ſhall haue found hereafter.

This
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In this proclamation thou haſt hearde (Chriſtian reader) the profounde and learned Cenſure of the Catholike Churche of Englande, what bookes they miſlike and reiect as heretical, ſchiſmatical, and pernicious. Againſt the which Catholicke cenſure of theſe learned fathers, I haue not

Anno 1555.

not at this time to inferre: neither doeth my laiſure ſerue now to wryte Apologies in defence of theſe Authors here condemned. Onely ſo much leaue it may pleaſe the reader to graũt me to ſet before him here a pair of balance, where in to waigh the bookes on the one ſide condemned, wyth ỹ bookes on the other ſide allowed, to the end that we waying the one with the other, may diſcern the better betwene them, which part wayeth beſt with Gods holy trueth and true catholicke church againſt manifeſt idolatrie and palpable abomination. And nowe therefore, as they haue in this preſent proclamation geuen their condemnation vpon theſe bookes aboue recited, ſo I deſire thee to geue thy cenſure vpon their bookes by them allowed, and vpon the matter in them contained, and marke wel what good ſtuff it is.

And firſt to begin with the Primer in Engliſh for children after the vſe of Saliſburye, Imprinted wyth Priuiledge according vnto the Kinge and Queenes Maieſties letters patentes in the raigne of Queene Mary. Lette vs repeate and ſuruey ſome part of the ſaid Primer (for to expreſſe all it were to long) beginning wyth the firſte leſſon of our Ladye, in theſe wordes:

Holye Marye, mother moſt pure of virgines all, mother and daughter of the king celeſtiall: So comfort vs in our deſolation, That by thy prayer and ſpecial meditation, we enioy the reward of the heauenly raigne. &c.

Conferre this with the Scriptures, good reader, and iudge vprightly whether this doctrine be tollerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the ſecond Leſſon.

Holy Mary of all godly the godlieſt,
Pray for vs of all holy the holieſt,
That he our praiers accept may in good wiſe,
which of thee was borne and raigneth aboue the skies. &c.

In the third leſſon.

Thy ſonne beſeeche with humble interceſsion,
To purge vs cleane of our tranſgreſsion,
That ſo being redeemed we may the place aſcende,
Where thou dwelleſt with him world without ende.

The Verſicle.

Pray for the people, entreat for the Clergie, make enterceſsion for the deuout womankinde, let al feele thy helpe that worthely ſolemniſe thy memoriall. &c.

An other Verſicle.

Holy Mother of God make thy petition, that wee maye deſerue Chriſtes promiſsion. &c.

And in the Antheme after Benedictus, thus it followeth.

We beſeech thee of thy pitie to haue vs in remembraunce, & to make meanes for vs vnto Chriſt, that we being ſupported by thy helpe, may deſerue to attaine the kingdome of heauen.

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth.

And graunte that through the gracious interceſsion of the virgine thy mother, wee may be deliuered from this preſent heauineſſe, and haue the fruition of eternall gladneſſe.

It followeth moreouer in the ſayde Primer thus, concerning the materiall Croſſe.

O God which haſte aſcended thy moſt holy Croſſe, and haſt geuen light to the darkeneſſe of the world, vouchſafe by the vertue of thy Croſſe to illumine, viſite, and comfort both our hearts and bodies. &c.

Moreouer, in the name of S. Iohn Baptiſte thus it prayeth.

O Lord defend vs alway through the continuall ſuccours of S. Iohn Baptiſt. For the more fraile we be, the more nede we haue to be relieued with neceſſary prayers. &c.

In which wordes note (good reader) not only the abſurditie of doctrine, but alſo the ſtolidity of the reaſon. For where their doctrine pretendeth that ſaint Iohn Baptiſte ſhould pray for vs, here we pray to God for ſ. Iohn Baptiſt, that he wil heare his praier praying for vs. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul.

Heare vs mercifully, and graunt that through the merites of them both, we may obtaine the glory euerlaſting. &c.

And of S. Andrew.

So lette hym (O Lorde) be a continuall petitioner for vs to thee. &c.

Of S. Laurence thus.

S. Laurence the Deacon did worke a good worke. For by the vertue of the holy croſſe he gaue ſight to the blinde. &c.

And howe can this be true, when the holy Croſſe was not yet found in the time of ſ. Laurence. For Helen whych firſt found the croſſe (as they ſaye) came after S. Laurence more then 40. yeares.

To Tho. Becket Archbiſhop of Canterburye.

By the bloud of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpende,
Make vs Chriſt to clime, whether Thomas did aſcende.

Of S. Nicholas.

O God which haſt glorified bleſſed Nicholas thy holy Biſhop with innumerable myracles graunt we beſeeche thee, that by his merites & prayers we may be deliuered from the fire of hell.

False merites.

Of Mary Magdalen.

Graunt we beſeeche thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchaſe for vs the bliſſe euerlaſting. &c.

An other prayer of our Ladie.

The dolorous compaſsion of Gods ſweete mother,
Bring vs to the bliſſe of almighty God the father. &c.

An other prayer in the ſayd Primer to our Lady.

Eſtabliſh vs in peace and tranquillitie,
And chaunge the name of ſinfull Eua:
Looſe thy priſoners from captiuitie,
Vnto the blinde geue ſight againe.
Deliuer vs from malignitie,
To the ende we may ſome grace attaine.
Shewe thy ſelfe to be a mother:
So that he accept our petition.
Deliuer vs from bondage of ſinne. &c.

The office of Chriſt genen to our Lady.

Item.

Holy mother ſuccour the miſerable, comfort the weake ſpirited, geue courage to the deſperate, praye for the people, make interceſsion for the Cleargy, and be a meane for the deuout womankinde. &c.

An other blaſphemous prayer.

O thou meeke mother haue mercy therefore,
On wretches, for whom thou haddeſt theſe paines all,
Seeing thy ſonne that vine cluſter preſſed ſore,
And from the peſtilence of death eternall,
Keepe vs by voiding the feende infernall,
And ioyne vs with them which rewarded be,
With eternall life, ſeeing the Deitie.

Blaſphemy.

An other blaſphemie in the ſayde Primer.

Haile Queene mother of mercy, our life, our ſweetnes, oure hope. Vnto thee do we crie and ſigh, weeping and wailing. Come of therefore our Patroneſſe, caſt vpon vs thy pitiful eyes, and after this oure baniſhmente, ſhewe to vs the bleſſed fruite of thy wombe. O gate of glory be for vs a reconciliation vnto the father and the ſonne. From the wretched their faultes expell: wype the ſpots of ſinnes vncleane. &c.

Idolatrye.

Item to our Lady.

The fruite of thy wombe euerlaſting,
We may behold through thy deſeruing &c.

Item.

Graunt we beſeeche thee, that by her merites and praiers we may attaine to that vnſpeakeable ioy, wheras ſhe being aſſumpt, doth now enioy with thee in heauen for euer.

If Maryes merites might helpe vs, then Chriſt dyed in vayne.

And thus much hitherto of this catholike Primer, called our Ladies mattens. wherunto if it were not tedious for the Reader, we would alſo adioyne our Ladies Pſalter, to the intent that all indifferent Readers, as they haue ſeene what bookes theſe Catholike fathers haue condemned and do cõdemne for hereticall: ſo the ſame may alſo ſee & iudge what bokes on ỹ other ſide they approue as lawfull and Catholike. And for as muche as it is not knowen peraduenture to all men, what our Ladies Pſalter is, or what it meaneth: yea, and ſome peraduenture will denie any ſuch booke of our ladies pſalter to be writtẽ or approued, here therfore we wil firſt produce the name of the author, who was Bonauenture a Seraphical doctor, biſhop alſo & Cardinall, canoniſed moreouer by Pope Sixtus 4. an. 1482. for a ſaint in the Calẽdar, who in his boke thus entituled in Latine: Incipit Pſalterium beatę virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonauenturam Epiſcopum Albanenſem, necnon ſanctæ Romanę Eccleſię Præsbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis. &c. Fol. 84. in the ſecond part of his whole workes (which were imprinted at Argentine. An. 1495.) to ſhewe him ſelfe a deuout ſeruant to his Ladie, hath taken euery Pſalme of Dauids Pſalter (which he peculiarly made and referred to almighty God) and hath in diuers of the ſayde Pſalmes and verſes putte out the name of the Lorde, and hath placed in the name of our Ladye. This being done through the whole Pſalmes & euery one of them, it is now called our Ladies Pſalter, vſed to be ſong & ſaide in the praiſe and ſeruice of our Lady. A briefe taſt wherof for examples ſake (for to ſhewe all it were to long) we thought here to exhibite vnto the reader, in order as foloweth.

Like Primer like Pſalter.

Bonauenture compiler of our Ladyes Pſalter.

This Bonauenture liued. an. 1170. and was Canoniſed. an. 1482.

The title in Engliſh of this Pſalter.

☞ Here beginneth the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgine, made by the Seraphicall Doctoure S. Bonauenture, the Biſhop of Albane, and Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome. &c.

The title of the booke called our Ladyes Pſalter.

1 Beatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum Maria virgo, gratia tua animam eius confortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irriga-

Anno 1555. Iune.

The booke called our Ladyes Pſalter. Ex 2. parte operum S Bonauenturæ.

irrigatum vberrimum in eo fructum iuſticię propagabis.&c. Vniuerſas enim fœminas vineis pulchritudine carnis: ſuperas Angelos & Archangelos excellentia ſanctitatis Miſericordia tua & gratia vbique prædicatur. &c. Gloria patri. That is to ſay.

Bleſſed is the man which vnderſtandeth thy name, O virgine Marie, thy grace ſhall comforte hys ſoule. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him the moſt plentiful fruite of iuſtice, being watered as it were, wyth fountaines of water. All women thou paſſeſt in the beautie of thy body, all Angels and Archaungels in the excellencie of thy holineſſe. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified euery where. &c. Glorie be to the father. &c.

Our Ladyes beautye.

2 Quare fremuerunt inimici noſtri & aduerſum nos meditati ſunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua Mater Dei vt acies terribiliter confundens & deſtruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis & tribulati eſtis, & dabit refrigerium animabus veſtris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus veſtris, & ſtabiliet vos ſerenitas vultus eius Benedicite illam in toto corde veſtro, miſericordia enim illius plena eſt terra.&c. Gloria patri.&c.

Treaſon agaynſt Chriſtes perſon and dignitye.

Why doe our enemies freat and imagine vaine things againſt vs? Let thy right hand defend vs o mother of god, terribly cōfounding & deſtroying them as a ſword. Come vnto her all ye yͭ labor and are troubled, and ſhee wil geue reſt vnto your ſoules. Come vnto her in your temptations, and her louing countenaunce ſhall ſtabliſh & comfort you. Bleſſe her with all your heart: for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the father. &c.

3 Domina quid multiplicati ſunt qui tribulant me? In tempeſtate tua perſequeris & diſſipabis eos. Diſſolue colligationes impietatis noſtræ: tolle faſciculos peccatorum noſtrorum. Miſerere mei Domina & ſana infirmitatem meam: tolle dolorem & anguſtiam cordis mei Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, & in die mortis meę comforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum ſalutis, & ſpiritum meum redde factori meo.

Blaſphemous, Idolatrye.

Why are they ſo many O Lady that trouble mee? In thy furye thou ſhalt perſecute and deſtroy them. Looſe the bondes of our impietie, and take away the burden of our ſinnes. Haue mercy vpon me, O lady, and heale my infirmitie. Take away my ſorow and the anguiſh of my heart. Deliuer me not into the handes of mine enemies, & in the day of my death comfort my ſoule. Bring me vnto the hauen of ſaluation, and reſtore my ſpirit vnto my maker and creator. Glory be to the. &c.

4 Cum inuocarem, exaudiſti me Domina, & è ſublimi ſolio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad eſcam & de manibus quęrentium me liberabit gratia tua. Quoniam benigna eſt miſericordia & pietas tua in omnes, qui inuocant nomen ſanctum tuum. Benedicta ſis Domina in æternum, & maieſtas tua in ſeculum. Glorificate eum omnes gentes.&c.

False fayth.

When I called to thee, thou heardeſt me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didſt vouchſafe to thinke vppon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themſelues to deuoure me, & out of the handes of ſuch as ſeeke after my life, thy grace ſhall deliuer me: Becauſe thy mercy and thy pitie are great towardes all them that call vppon thy holy name. Bleſſed be thou O Lady for euer, and thy maieſtie for euer and euer. Glorifie her all nations of the earth. &c.

5 Verba mea auribus percipe Domina.&c. Conuerte luctum noſtrum in gaudium, & tribulationem noſtram in iubilationem. Corruant ante pedes noſtros inimici noſtri: virtute tua eorum capita conterantur.&c.

Heare my wordes O Lady. &c. Turne our mourning into gladneſſe, and our trouble into reioyſing. Let our enemies fall before our feete, & with thy power daſh their heads in peeces.

Derogation of the Croſſe of Chriſt.

6 Domina ne in furore dei ſinas corripi me, neque in ira eius iudicari.&c. De porta inferi & de ventre abyſſi tuis ſanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis ianuę ſempiternæ, vt enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua. Quia non mortui, neque qui in inferno ſunt, laudabunt te domina, ſed qui tua gratia vitam æternam obtinebunt.

O lady ſuffer me not to be rebuked in gods anger, nor to be chaſtened in his heauie diſpleaſure. &c. From yͤ gate and deepe pit of hel, with thy holy prayers deliuer vs. Let the euerlaſting gates be opened, that we may ſhew forth thy marueilous workes for euer. Becauſe the deade: nor they that be in hell, ſhall not praiſe thee O Ladie, but they ſhall obtaine by thy grace life euerlaſting.

7 Domina mea in te ſperaui, de inimicis meis libera me Domina: Conclude ora Leonis, & labia perſequentium conſtringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis miſericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat ſuper nos, vt ſeruetur conſcientia noſtra apud altiſſimum. Si perſequitur inimicus animam meam Domina, adiutorio tuo comforter, ne vibret gladiū ſuum contra me.

Vayne truſt.

O my Ladye, in thee doe I put my truſt: deliuer mee from mine enemies o Lady. Stoppe the mouth of the Lion, and binde the lippes of the perſecutors, make no tarying for thy names ſake, to ſhew thy mercy vppon me. Let the brightnes of thy countenance ſhine vpon vs, that our conſcience may be ſaued before the moſt higheſt. If the enemy doe perſecute my ſoule O Lady, helpe me that he deſtroy me not.

9 Confitebor tibi Domina in toto corde meo, & narrabo in populis laudem & gloriam tuam.&c Inueniant gratiam per te inuentricem gratiæ & ſalutis: Reſpirant ad indulgētiam humiles pœnitentes: ſana contritiones cordis eorum.&c.

I wil geue thankes to thee O Lady with my * whole heart, and wil ſhewe forth amongſt the nations thy praiſe and glory. &c. They ſhall finde grace through thee, the finder out of grace and ſaluation, the humble and penytent grone for pardon and forgeueneſſe, heale thou the ſores of their heart. &c.

11 In Domina confido.&c. Exquirite illam a iuuentute veſtra & glorificabit vos.&c. Miſericordia illius noſtrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, & fœcūditatem nobis conferat meritorum.&c.

In thee O lady do I put my truſt. &c. Seeke her euen from your youth: and ſhee ſhall glorify you. &c. Her mercy take from vs the multitude of our ſinnes, and geue vnto vs plenteouſneſſe of merites. &c.

12 Saluum me fac mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clemenciæ. &c. Gyrum terræ ſola circuis, vt ſubuenias inuocantibus te.&c.

Saue me O mother of Loue, & fountaine of mercy. &c. Thou thy ſelfe alone haſte gone about the compaſſe of the earth, to helpe them that call vpon thee, &c.

13 Vſquequo domina obliuiſceris me, & non liberas me in die tribulationis? vſquequo exaltabitur inimicus meus ſuper me? potentia virtutis tuę contere ipſum.&c. Magnificamus te gratiæ inuentricem, per quam ſæcula reparantur.&c.

How long doeſt thou forget me O Lady, and doſt not deliuer me in the day of my trouble? Howe long ſhal mine enemy triumph ouer me? with thy mighty power deſtroy him. &c. We magnifie thee the finder & the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired. &c.

16 Conſerua me domina, quoniam ſperaui in te.&c. Benedicta ſint vbera tua, quibus * lacte deifico ſaluatorem enutriſti.&c.

Preſerue me O Lady, for in thee haue I put my truſt. &c. Bleſſed be thy breaſtes, which with thy deifying milke diddeſt nouriſh the Sauiour. &c.

18 Diligam te domina cœli & terrę: in gentibus nomen tuum inuocabo. Confitemini illi tribulati corde, & roborabit vos contra inimicos veſtros.&c. Religioſi omnes honorate illam, quia ipſa eſt adiutrix veſtra & ſpecialis aduocata. Eſto refrigerium noſtrum glorioſa mater Chriſti, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum.

I will loue thee O Lady of heauen and earth: I will call vppon thy name among the nations. Confeſſe your ſelues vnto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and ſhe ſhal ſtrengthen you againſt your enemies. &c. Al ye cloiſterers honoure her, for ſhee is your helper and ſpeciall aduocate. Be thou our refreſhing and reſt, for thou arte the marueilous foundation of all religion.

20. Exaudi nos Domina in die tribulationis.&c. Ne proijcias nos in tempore mortis noſtrę, ſed ſuccurre animæ, cum deſeruerit corpus ſuum. Mitte Angelum in occurſum eius per quem ab hoſtibus defendatur &c. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum, & concede ei locum inter electos Dei.

Here vs O Lady in the day of trouble, &c. Caſt vs not away in the time of our death, but ſuccour our ſoule when it forſaketh the body. Sende an Angell to meete it, that it may be defended from the enemies. &c. In torments and paines let it feele thy comforte, and graunt to it a place among the elects of God.

25 Ad te Domina leuaui animam.&c. Nō pręualeant aduerſum me laquei mortis.&c. Ductrix mea eſto ad patriam, & me cœtui angelorum digneris aggregare:

To thee O Lady do I lift vp my ſoule. &c. Let not the ſnares of death preuaile againſt me. &c. Be thou my guide to the heauenly reſt, and to the company of Angels aſſociate me.

26 Iudica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digreſſus ſum: ſed quia ſperaui in te, non infirmabor.&c.

*Iudge thou me, O Ladye, for I am fallen from mine innocencie: but becauſe I put my truſt in thee, therefore I ſhall not fall. &c.

27 Domina illuminatio mea ſit ſplendor faciei tuæ.&c. ſerenitas gratię tuę refulgeat menti meę.&c.

O Lady let the brightneſſe of thy face be my light, and let the cleareneſſe of thy grace ſhine vnto my minde. &c.

28 Ad te Domina clamabo.&c. Miſerere mei in die anguſtiæ meę, & in luce veritatis tuę libera me.

To thee O Ladie. &c. Haue mercy vpon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliuer me. &c.

31 In te Domina ſperaui, non confundar in æternum, in gloria tua ſuſcipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea & refugium meum: conſolatio mea & protectio mea. &c. Educas me de laqueo, quem abſcōderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adiutrix mea. In manus tuas Domina commendo ſpiritum meum.

In thee O Lady do I put my truſt, let me not be confounded for euer, in thy glory receyue me. Thou art my ſtrength & my refuge, my conſolation and protection, &c. Deliuer me from the ſnare that they haue layd for mee, becauſe thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, &c.

34 Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore. &c. In periculis, in rebus dubijs inuocate eam, & in neceſſitatibus inuenietis auxilium, &c. Sumite exemplum conuerſationis eius & emulamini ſtudia humilitatis eius. Quia ergo Domina humillima fuiſti, verbum increatum ex te carnem ſuſcipere coegiſti.

I will alwayes prayſe our Lady, &c. In perils, in aduerſitie call vpon her, and in tyme of neede ye ſhall fynde ſuccor. Let her conuerſation be an example vnto you, and follow the vertue of her humilitie. Becauſe therefore, O Lady thou waſt humbly and lowly, thou didſt compel the word increate to take fleſh of thee.

36 Dixit iniuſtus. &c. A malo propoſito diſcedat mater Dei. Inclina vultum Dei ſuper nos: Coge illum peccatoribus misereri, &c. Benedictum ſit imperium tuum ſuper cœlos: benedicta ſit magnificentia tua ſuper terram.

The wicked man ſayd, &c. Let hym depart from hys euill purpoſe, O mother of God turne the countenance of God toward vs: * Compell him to be merciful vnto ſinners. Bleſſed be thy Imperie and dominion in heauen, & bleſſed be thy magnificence vpon the earth.

45 Eructauit cor meum verbum bonum Domina, &c. Per tuam ſanctitatem peccata mea purgentur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur, &c.

My hart is inditing a new matter O Lady. &c. By thy holynes let my ſinnes be purged, by thy integritie let me obtayne incorruption. &c.

47 Omnes gentes plaudite manibus. &c. Quoniā ipſa eſt porta vitæ, ianua ſalutis, & vitæ noſtræ reconciliatrix: ſpes pœnitentium, ſolamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atque ſalus. Miſerere mei Domina, miſerere mei, quia tu es lux & ſpes omnium cōfidentium in te. &c.

Clap your hands all ye people. &c. For ſhe is the gate of life, the dore of ſaluation, the reconciler of our lyfe: the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the ſorrowful, the bleſſed peace of hearts, and ſaluation. Haue mercy vppon me O Lady, haue mercy vpō me, for thou art the light & hope of all that put their truſt in thee.

51 Miſerere mei Domina, quæ mater miſericordiæ nuncuparis. Et ſecundum viſcera miſerationum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. &c.

Haue mercy vppon me O Lady, which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compaſſion clenſe me from mine iniquities.

54 Domina in Nomine tuo ſaluum me fac, & ab iniuſticijs meis libera me. &c.

O Lady in thy name ſaue me, and from myne vnrighteouſnes deliuer me. &c.

70 Domina in adiutorium meum intende. &c. Miſererere ſeruorum tuorum ſuper quos inuocatum eſt nomen tuum; &c.

Make haſt O Lady to help me. &c. Haue mercy on thy ſeruants, vpon whom thy name is inuocated. &c.

71 In te Domina ſperaui, non confundar in æternum, in tua miſericordia libera me. &c.

In thee Lady haue I put my truſt: let me not confounded for euer, in thy mercy deliuer me, &c.

79 Domina venerunt gentes in hæreditatem Dei quas tu meritis tuis Chriſto confederaſti &c.

O Ladye, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou diddeſt ioyne vnto Chriſt by thy merites, &c.

89 Qui regis Iſraell, &c. Odor vitæ de illa progreditur & omnis ſalus de corde illius ſcaturizat.

Thou that ruleſt Iſrael, &c. The ſauiour of life cōmeth from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, &c.

91 Qui habitat in adiutorio matris Dei in protectione ipſius commorabitur. &c. Clamate ad illam in periculis veſtris & flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo veſtro. Fructus gratiæ inueniet qui ſperauerit in illa, porta paradiſi reſerabitur ei.

Who ſo dwelleth in the helpe of the Mother of God, ſhall dwell in the ſhadow of her protection. &c. Cry vnto her in your daungers, and the ſcourge ſhall not come nere your tabernacle. The fruite of Grace ſhall be to hym who ſo truſteth in her, and the gate of Paradiſe ſhall be open to hym.

95 Venite exultemus Dominæ noſtræ. &c. Suſcipe in fine animas noſtras, & introduc nos in requiem æternam. &c.

Come, let vs reioyce to our Ladye, &c. Receyue our ſoules at our laſt ende, and bryng them into euerlaſtyng reſt, &c.

105 Confitemini Dominæ noſtræ, & inuocate nomen eius, &c. Salus ſempiterna in manu tua, Domina. &c.

Abhominable blaſphemy.

Prayſe our Lady and call vpon her name. &c. Euerlaſting ſaluation is in thy hand O Lady, &c.

110 Dixit Dominus Dominæ noſtræ, ſede mater mea a dextris meis &c.

The Lord ſayd vnto our Lady: ſit here my mother on my right hand. &c.

The Deuill and the Pope ſayth ſo and not God.

114 In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domina & ſuſcipe eam &c. Eſto illi ſcala ad regnum cœlorum & iter rectum ad paradiſum Dei. &c.

In the paſſing of my ſoule out of this world, come and meete it O Lady, and receyue it, &c. Be to it a ladder vnto the kingdome of heauen, and a right way to the Paradiſe of God, &c.

119 Miſerationibus tuis plena eſt terra, ideo viam iuſtificationum tuarum exquiſiui. &c. Concupiſcam in æternum laudare te Domina cum docueris me * iuſtificationes tuas. &c.

* Blaſphemy.

The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therfore I will ſearch out the way of thy iuſtifications. &c. I will couet for euer to praiſe thee O Lady, when thou ſhalt teache me thy iuſtifications. &c.

125 Qui confidunt in te mater Dei, non timebunt à facie inimici. &c.

Blaſphemy.

They that put their truſt in thee O mother of God, ſhal not be afraid of the face of their enemy. &c.

127 * Niſi Domina ædificauerit domum cordis noſtri, non permanebit ædificium eius.

* Blaſphemy.

Except our Lady ſhall build the houſe of our hart, the building therof ſhall not continue, &c.

128 Beati omnes qui timent Dominam noſtram, & beati omnes qui ſciunt facere voluntatem tuam. &c.

Bleſſed is euery one that feareth our Lady, and bleſſed be all they which know to do her will. &c.

130 De profundis clamaui ad te Domina, Domina exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuæ intendentes, &c.

* Idolatrous inuocation.

Out of the deepe I haue called vnto thee O Ladye, O Lady heare my voyce, &c.

132 Memento Domina Dauid & omnium inuocantium nomen tuum. &c.

O Lady remember Dauid and all them that call vpon thy name. &c.

134 Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam omnes qui * ſperatis in nomine ſancto eius. &c.

* Falſe truſt.

Behold and bleſſe now our Lady, all ye that put your truſt in her holy name.

136 Super flumina Babylonis. &c. Non inuenietur propitiatio ſine illa. &c.

Blaſphemy.

At the flouds of Babylon, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her. &c.

140 Eripe me Domina ab omni malo, & ab hoſte inferni defende me. &c.

Gods office appoynted to our Ladye.

Deliuer me O Lady from all euill, and from the infernall enemy defend me. &c.

145 Oculi noſtri ſperant in te Domina. Mitte nobis cibum & eſcam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquitur lingua mea & benedicam te in ſeculum ſeculi.

Our eyes looke vp and truſt in thee, do thou ſende vs meate and food conuenient. &c. My toung ſhall ſpeake thy prayſe, and ſhall bleſſe thee for euer.

148 Lauda Hieruſalem Dominam, glorifica illam etiam ô Sion. Ipſa enim conſtruit muros tuos & filios tuos benedicit. Gratia ſua te impinguat, pacemq; donat terminis tuis.

Prayſe thou our Lady O Hieruſalem, and glorify her alſo O thou Sion, for ſhe buildeth vp thy wals, and bleſſeth thy children, her grace maketh thee fat, & geueth peace vnto thy coaſtes. &c.

Idolatrye.

I could alſo recite other things moe of like blaſphemy following immediately after this Pſalter of our Lady, in the Seraphicall doctor aforeſayd, as theſe.

Ecce Domina Saluatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te, & non timebo. &c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu. &c. Et facta es mihi in ſalutem. i. **Behold O Lady my Sauiour, I will be bolde in thee, and will not feare. &c. Becauſe thou art my ſtrength, &c. And art become my ſaluation. &c.**

Horrible Blaſphemye.

Exulta totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi mediatricem dominus Deus tuus. i. **Reioyce O all mankynde, becauſe the Lord thy God hath geuen vnto thee ſuch a Mediatrix. &c.**

Blaſphemye.

Confitebor tibi domina, quia abſcondiſti hæc à ſapientibus, & reuelaſti ea paruulis. i. **I will confeſſe to thee O Lady, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wyſe, and haſt reuealed them to the little ones. &c.**

The ſcripture abuſed.

Generatio praua atque peruerſa agnoſce Dominam noſtram ſalutricem tuā. Nunquid ipſa eſt mater tua quę poſſidet te, & in fi-

Anno. 1555. Iune.

de generauit te? i. O thou wicked and peeuiſh generation, knowledge our Lady thy ſauiour. Is not ſhe the mother that hath poſſeſſed thee, and in fayth hath begotten thee?

Cursed blaſphemye.

O benedicta in manibus tuis repoſita eſt noſtra ſalus. i. O thou bleſſed, in thy hands is layd vp our ſaluation, &c.

I nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, cœleſtium. &c. In thy name let euery knee bend, in heauen and earth, and in hell.

Quemadmodum infans ſine nutrice non poteſt viuere: ita nec ſine Domina noſtra poſſes habere ſalutem. i. Like as the infant cannot lyue without the nurſe, ſo neither canſt thou haue ſaluation without our Lady.

Quicunque vult ſaluus eſſe ante omnia opus eſt vt teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam niſi quiſque in integram inuiolatamque ſeruauerit, abſque dubio in æternum peribit. i. Who ſo will be ſaued, before all thyngs he muſt needes hold his beliefe of our Lady, which beliefe, vnles euery one ſhal hold perfect and ſound, ſhall periſh without doubt for euer.

Blaſphemye. The Roſary or Garland of our Lady called Corona beatæ Mariæ.

Mary made a commaunder of Chriſt.

Moreouer, after theſe ſo horrible things & vntolerable to be heard, conſequently in the next tractation followeth the roſary or garland of our Lady, compiled by the ſaid S. Bonauenture: wherein theſe words are to be red as followeth: O Mediatrix betweene God and man, the Lorde hath worthily magnified thee, that thou onely ſhouldſt conceyue hys ſonne &c. Wherefore O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of Grace, and mother of Mercy. &c. And moreouer within fewe lynes it followeth in theſe wordes: Therefore O our Empreſſe and Lady moſt bountifull, by the authoritie of a Mother commaund, commaund (I ſay) thy welbeloued ſonne, that he wil ſtirre vp our myndes from the loue of worldly thyngs, to heuenly deſires. &c.

Item, O the Aduocate of the miſerable, the eyes of thy ſeruants be directed to thee. &c.

To theſe premiſſes, I might alſo adioyne the horrible and moſt blaſphemous wordes of the ſaid Bonauenture in the ſaid booke, Fol. 100. pag. 2. col. 1. which I beſech thee to read and note. Quæ maior bonitas quam quod Chriſtus. i. what greater goodnes can be, then that Chriſt is content to be captiue vpon the aultar.

Chriſt made a captiue and a priſoner in the Popes Church.

Whereupon he ſpeaketh in the perſon of Ieremy, ſaying. Behold, I am in your hands, do with me as you ſee good. &c. Where note (ſayth he) that when any Duke or prince is taken priſoner for hys ſubiectes, he is not let goe, before he paye ſome great ſumme of mony for hys ranſome. Euen ſo neither we ought to let Chriſt go out of our hands beyng our priſoner and captiue except he graunt vnto vs remiſſion of our ſinnes and his heauenly kingdome. The prieſt therfore lifteth vp the body of Chriſt vpon the aultar: as though he ſayd thus: behold hym whome the whole world is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our captiue, wherfore let vs hold hym faſt and not let hym go before we obtayne of hym our requeſts. &c.

Notes.

The Church of Rome examined

Is not here good Catholike ſtuffe (chriſten Readers) trow you? Conferre I beſeech you this doctrine wyth the doctrine of the Apoſtles, which teach vs that we are fullye complet in Chriſt, and I wil referre me to no better iudge then to your own conſcience. And now therfore, if any mā haue bene in doubt in tymes paſt of the doctrine and proceedings of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blynd errors, with blaſphemy intollerable, & Idolatry abominable or not, here now may he be fully certified & reſolued. For where was euer idolatry or blaſphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Mattins & Pſalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an idoll to bee worſhipped as God, which is no God, what doe we here but make an idoll of our Lady (as we call her) to be worſhipped with no leſſe dignity, glory, authority, reuerence, and ſeruice, then is the Lord God himſelfe. As he is called our Lord, ſo ſhe is called our lady. And if he be kyng, yet ſhe is the queene of heauē. And though he haue the name of god, yet ſhe beareth ſo the title of the mother of God, that as mothers haue authority ouer their children, ſo ſhe is willed to ſhew her ſelfe to be his mother, to cauſe him to grāt our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet is ſhe our patroneſſe. The commandement ſaith: Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and hym only ſhalt thou ſerue. And what worſhip or ſeruice can we geue to God, more then we doe aſcribe vnto her? Or what benefit is to be aſked at ye hands of Chriſt our Sauiour, which is not equally aſked of her? To ſaue our ſoules, to geue vs peace, to graunt grace, to comfort the deſperate, to looſe our captiuity, to releaſe our ſinnes, to deliuer from the fiend, to bryng to heauen. &c. to her we pray, we cry, we creepe, we ſigh, we grone, wee knock and kneele, to her we truſt, and if we beleue not alſo in our Lady, we be heretikes ipſo facto.

The Church of Rome conuict of manifeſt idolatry.

Our Lady made equall with God in the Church Rome.

The doctrine of the Romiſh Church directly againſt the firſt commaundemēt of God.

To truſt and beleeue in our Lady.

Our Lady hath her Church as well as Chriſt.

Furthermore, as Chriſt our onely Lord and Sauiour hath his Church and Congregation which profeſſeth hys name, of whom we are called Chriſtians: ſo neither is ſhe likewiſe without her chapels, her cloiſters, her Chapiters, fraternities and brotherhoods, which profeſſing her name in like ſort, are called our Ladies brethren, or white friers, beſides an innumerable ſort of other patrons of churches, of whom euery one hath his peculiar church and religion by himſelfe, yet all theſe together be included vnder the generall deuotion of our Lady their ſupreme patroneſſe and gouerneſſe.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commaundement, which ſayeth: Him onely ſhalt thou ſerue: what ſeruice hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady alſo iointly with him hath the lyke? Her Maſſe, her Mattins, her Euenſong, her Houres and Complin, her Roſaries, her Anthems, her Collects, her Primer, her Pſalter, her holydaies likewyſe, yea fiue to one. Finally, as ye Lord hath his prayer called the Lordes prayer, ſo hath ſhee her Aue Maries, yea x. Aues to one Pater noſter: yea, & read further in the ſaid Bonauenture, and ye ſhal ſee her alſo to haue her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat, and alſo her Quicunque vult.

10. A to one P ter noſt

If the Lorde our God had not expreſſed vnto vs hys own will by playne worde, limiting vnto vs by expreſſe iniunction, what to beleue, what to folow, & how to worſhip and ſerue him, & how to receiue from him our ſaluation, but had left vs to the imagination of our owne inuētions, euery man to ſhift for himſelf after his own pollicy, then peraduenture this way taken by the Popes Church, to make frends & mediators betwene God and vs, for reconciliation, remiſſion & ſaluation, might haue ſome ryme or reaſon: but now gods word doth bynde vs, doth preſcribe and limite vs preciſely in euery point touching ſaluation, what to beleue, & what to do, ſhewing vs plainly, that we cannot be ſaued, but by the bloud of hys ſonne only, neither cā be iuſtified but by faith only in ye ſame Chriſt his ſonne. Wherfore not to beleue that which he hath promiſed is infidelitie, and to follow any other beliefe then he hath ſet vs, is plaine idolatry. The which ij. ſpecial errors moſt commonly doe followe the doctrine of the Romiſh church, as not only in this primer and pſalter of our Lady aforeſaid, but alſo in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings beſides, may well appeare. For where the ſcripture perfectly doth promiſe and pronounce vs to bee iuſtified through our fayth in Chriſt, & willeth vs to ſeeke our ſaluation no where els, but onely in the merits of Ieſus: the inſtitution of the church of Rome neyther wyll receiue that God hath freely geuen (wherein ſtandeth infidelity) neither yet will ſeek the ſame there where as they ſhould, but in the merites and prayers of our Lady, of S. Iohn Baptiſt, ſ. Peter and Paule, ſ. Andrew, ſ. Nicholas, ſ. Thomas of Canterbury, & by the worthines of the materiall croſſe, and ſuch other vnlawfull meanes, wherein ſtandeth plaine idolatry. And yet ſuch bookes as theſe can be ſuffered among the Catholikes to be currant, as good, wholeſome and lawfull bookes, where as the other which lead vs the true way from infidelitie and blynd idolatry, to true chriſtianitie in no wiſe can be ſufferable. But of this to complaine, it is vaine. Wherfore to paſſe from this proclamation, let vs proceede (God willing) in the courſe of our hiſtory.

Infidelitye. Idolatrye.

The ch of Rome charged with Inf delitye an Idolatrye. The chu of Rome neyther re keth that which G doth geue, neyther doth ſeeke for that which would haue, by Lawfull meanes.

¶ The ſtory of Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne Martyrs.

Mention was made before in the ſtorye of Thomas Haukes, of ſixe priſoners beſides, whiche were ſente downe with hym to Eſſex the ſame tyme as hee wente to execution. Of which ſixe priſoners, three were ſent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to doe penaunce: of whome it followeth next in ſtory nowe to intreate. The names of which ſixe were theſe, Thomas Oſmund Fuller, William Bamford, alias Butler, weauer, Thomas Oſborne Fuller, Nicholas Chamberlaine weauer, Thomas Brodehill weauer, Richard Webbe weauer: beyng all of the towne of Coxehall. All which ſixe Coxehall men nexte after the Examinations of Thomas Haukes and Thomas Wattes, were ſent vp to Boner to bee examined by the Earle of Oxford and ſir Phillip Paris knight, with a letter with them alſo ſent, the copy whereof here followeth.

Thomas Oſmund, William Bamford, Thomas Oſburne, Martyrs. Read be pag. 1

¶ A letter ſent from the Erle of Oxford to Boner B. of London.

A letter from the Earle of Oxford B. Bo

After our harty commendations vnto your good Lordſhip, this ſhalbe to aduertiſe the ſame ye the Conſtables of Coxehall within your Dioces, haue brought before vs this day 6. perſons dwelling in the town of Coxhal, aforeſayd,

ſayd, whoſe names hereafter do folow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlaine weauer, John waller Fuller, Tho. Brodby weauer, Rich. web weauer, William Bamford alias Butler, weauer, and Tho. Oſborne Fuller, for that they at the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt, haue not obeyed to the order of the holy catholike Church in receiuyng of the ſacraments: but obſtinately refuſing the ſame, beſides the holdyng of diuers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the ſaid church. wherfore we haue thought it good to ſend the ſame perſons vnto your good lordſhip, further to be ordered, as in ſuch caſe ſhal appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordſhip to the keping of almighty God. From Hedingham the 1. of May. 1555.

Your Lordſhips aſſuredly.
Oxford.
Phillip Paris.

Thus the ſaid priſoners beyng ſent vp the firſt day of May, were brought before the ſayd Biſhop the xvij. of the ſayd moneth to be examined, vpon diuers and ſundry Articles miniſtred & obiected agaynſt them: whereunto they were compelled to aunſwer and to put theyr hands to the ſame: the copy of which their Articles and aunſwers, beyng all one in forme and effect (if the Regiſter ſay true) here followeth.

¶ The copy of the Articles obiected againſt Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlayne of Coxehall.

1. Firſt that thou Thomas Oſmund Fuller, waſt and art of the Pariſh of Coxehall, within the Dioces of London, and thou haſt not beleeued nor doeſt beleeue that there is here in the earth one Catholike & vniuerſal whole Church, which doth hold and beleue all the fayth & Religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary Articles & ſacraments of the ſame.

2. Item, that thou haſt not beleeued nor doeſt beleue that thou art neceſſarily bounden vnder the payne of damnation, of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto yͤ ſayd Catholike and vniuerſall Church, and to the faith and religion of the ſame in all neceſſary poyntes of the ſayd fayth and religion, without doubting or wauering in the ſayde fayth and religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, that thou haſt not beleued that the faith and religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spayne, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, beyng true members and partes of the ſayd Catholike and vniuerſall Church do beleeue & teach, is both agreeyng with the faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion, which all chriſtian people ought to beleeue, obſerue, follow, and keepe: but contrarywiſe, thou haſt beleeued, and doeſt beleeue, that that fayth and religion, which the ſayd church of Rome, & all the other Churches aforeſayd, haue heretofore beleued, and do beleue is falſe, erroneous, and naught, & in no wiſe ought to be beleeued, obſerued, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian perſon.

4. Item, that albeit it be true that in the ſacrament of the altar, there is in ſubſtance the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Chriſt vnder the formes of bread and wyne: & albeit that it be ſo beleued, taught and preached vndoubtedly in the ſaid church of Rome and all other churches aforeſayd, yet thou haſt not ſo beleued, nor doeſt ſo beleeue, but contrarywiſe thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid ſacrament of the aulter, vnder the ſayd formes of bread and wyne, the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is only the ſubſtance of materiall and common bread and wine, with the formes thereof, and that the ſaid material & common bread and wyne are onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and are by fayth to be receyued onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

5. Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and haſt openly ſpoken and defended, and ſo doeſt beleue, thinke, maintaine and defend, that the very true receiuing and eatyng of Chriſtes body and bloud, is onely to take materiall and common bread, and to breake it, and diſtribute it amongſt the people, remembring thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

6. Item, that thou haſt likewyſe beleeued, thought, and ſpoken, that the maſſe now vſed in this realm of England and other the churches aforeſaid, is abominable & naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the Pope & not of the inſtitution of Chriſt: and hath no goodnes in it ſauyng the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, and therfore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come and be preſent at maſſe, nor receiue the ſacrament of the altar, nor any other ſacramẽt of the church, as they are now vſed in this realm of England. &c.

7. Item, that thou haſt in tymes paſt beleued, & yet doeſt now beleeue, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made vnto the prieſt: but is a thing ſuperfluous, voyd, and naught, only to be made to God, & to none other perſon. And likewyſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vayne and vnprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the ſeruice of the ſame, and haſt ſayd that no ſeruice in the church ought to be ſayd but in the Engliſh tong, and if it be otherwiſe, it is vnlawfull and naught.

Againſt auricular confeſſion, & Church ſeruice.

8. Item, that thou beyng notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an heretike, and a perſon culpable in the premiſſes, was of late called and cõuented before the Erle of Oxford, and M. Phillip Paris, and there was charged with the ſaid hereſies, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of the altar. And becauſe thou didſt maintaine and ſtand to thy ſaid hereſies, and wouldſt not come to the church and be confeſſed and receiue the ſaid ſacrament as other chriſtian people did, but vtterly didſt refuſe to doe the ſame, thou waſt by the ſaid Earle of Oxford, and M. Phillip Paris ſet vp by a Conſtable vnto me Biſhoppe of London, and was by them denounced, detected, and put vp to me as an heretike and miſbeleuyng perſon.

The Earle of Oxford. M. Phillip Paris.

9. Item, that thou haſt knowen and beleeued, thou doeſt know and beleeue, or at the leaſt thou haſt credibly heard reported, ſpoken, and ſaid, that all and all maner perſons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concernyng the ſacraments of the Church, or any the articles of the fayth, otherwiſe then is found already diſcuſſed and determined by the mother the holy church, or doth call into doubte or queſtion that thyng which is already decided or determined by the Church, or that willingly and wittingly do vtter openly or priuily, any ſlaunderous or blaſphemous wordes concernyng the ſayd Sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keepe any ſect or kynd of hereſie agaynſt the wholeſome doctrine of the church, & doe wittingly, willingly, or obſtinately defend the ſaid ſect or kind of hereſie, are by the Canons of the whole and vniuerſall Catholike Church, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes of this Church of England by their ſo doing, accurſed with that curſe, which doth ſeparate them from the entry into the Church, from the receiuing of the Sacramentes, and from the company of faythfull people, and are (in continuyng in this ſayd ſect and hereſie) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretikes, and to be deliuered to the ſecular power, and by the lawes temporall of this realme of England, and the cuſtome of the ſame, to be by the ſayde ſecular power put to death and burnt for this ſayd ſect and hereſie.

10 Item, that thou by reaſon of the premiſſes waſt & art to be pronounced, take, had, reputed, and iudged for a manifeſt and open, wilfull and obſtinate heretike, for a wycked and curſed perſon, and to bee puniſhed accordingly for the ſame, accordyng to the ſaid Canon lawes, vſages, and cuſtomes.

⁂ The aunſweres whiche the ſayd Thomas Oſmund William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlaine ſeuerally made vnto theſe Articles.

To the firſt they aunſwered and confeſſed the ſame to be true, except that they do beleue yͭ there is here in earth one Catholicke & whole Church, and that the ſame church doth hold and beleue as is conteined in this Article.

The aunſweres of the three priſoners to the articles agreeing all in one.

To the ſecond they aunſwere, & beleue the ſayd Article not to be true: for they ſay that they haue & doe beleue that they are neceſſarily bounden vnder payne of damnatiõ of their ſoule, to geue full fayth and credẽce vnto the ſaid Catholicke Church & to the fayth and religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſame fayth and religiõ, without waueryng or doubtyng in any part therof.

To the third they aũſwere, that the Church of Rome, & other Churches mentioned in this Article, bee not true mẽbers & partes (as they be vſed in fayth & religion) of the Catholicke Church of Chriſt, & that the fayth and religion vſed in the ſayd Churches, is not agreable with yͤ Church of Chriſt, but are falſe and erroneous.

The Church of Rome not to be beleeued.

To the fourth they aunſwere and ſay that how ſo euer the ſayd Churches of Rome and others of Chriſtendome haue and do beleue touchyng the Sacramẽt of the aulter, yet they do beleue, that in the Sacramẽt vnder the formes of bread & wine, there is not the very ſubſtãce of Chriſtes body & bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtãce of materiall bread and wine, & that the ſame materiall bread & wyne be onely the ſignes and tokẽs of Chriſtes body and

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blound, and are to be receiued onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion and death, without any ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and blound at all.

The true eating of Chriſts body.

To the fift Article they aunſwere, that the true receiuyng and eatyng of Chriſtes body, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, is to take, diſtribute and eate materiall bread, and thereby to remember the paſſion and death of Chriſt, and ſo receiue by fayth (as they beleue) Chriſtes body and blound and not otherwiſe.

To the ſixt they aunſwere the ſame to bee true in euery part therof, except that ouer and beſides the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, which they beleue to bee good they beleue the Pater noſter and Creede vſe in the Maſſe be alſo good.

Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary. Ceremonyes idle in the Church.

To the ſeuenth they aunſwere and confeſſe, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to the Prieſt: neuertheleſſe they thincke that it is neceſſary to goe to ſuch a Prieſt, as is able to geue good counſell. And that for counſell only, and not otherwiſe. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they anſwer the ſame to be vayne & vnprofitable. No ſeruice in the Church ought to be ſayde, but onely in the Engliſh tong.

To the eight they anſwer and beleeue the ſame to bee true in euery part thereof, except that they doe not beleeue that they be heretikes, or ſuſpected of hereſie.

To the ninth, Oſmund and Bamford aunſwered, that they referred themſelues to the ſayd lawes, mentioned in that article, but Chamberlaine made no aunſwer at all to this article.

To the tenth, the ſayd Oſmond and Bamford anſwered and ſayd, that by reaſon of their beliefe afore by them confeſſed, they are not to bee reputed, taken or iudged for wilfull and obſtinate heretikes, nor to be puniſhed therefore, as is declared in that article. The other aunſwered nothyng.

¶ Scholies vpon the foreſayd articles.

Notes or Scholies vpon the Articles vſed to be miniſtred to the poore Chriſtians, by the Popes Church.

THeſe articles in the ſame forme & maner of words are commonly obiected to all other that follow after, with the ſame aunſweres alſo thereto annexed. In which articles thou mayeſt note (Reader) the crafty and ſubtile handlyng of theſe Lawyers and Regiſters, who ſo deceitfully frame theyr articles and poſitions, that vnleſſe a man doe aduiſedly conſider them, it is hard for a ſimple man to aunſwer to them, but he ſhall be ſnared and intangled So they paynt their Churche with ſuch a viſage of vniuerſall, whole, holy, catholike, as who ſhould ſaye: Hee that denieth Rome, denieth the holye Churche of Chriſt here in earth. Likewyſe in examinyng them, and ſpecially the ſimple ſorte in the matter of the Sacrament, to the materiall breade in the Sacrament, they put this worde (onely) very captiouſly and fraudulently, to take them at the worſt auauntage, makyng the people beleeue that they take the holy Sacrament to bee no better then onely common bread: when they doe not ſo, but make a difference betweene the ſame, both in the vſe, honour, & name thereof.

The crafty and captious dealing of the Papiſtes in propounding their articles.

Agayne, when the Examinates hold but only agaynſt the erroneous poyntes of Romiſh Religion, theſe biſhops in theyr Interrogatories geue out the matter ſo generally as thogh the ſaid Examinates in generally ſpake againſt all the articles of fayth taught in Rome, Spayne, England, Fraunce, Scotland. &c.

Moreouer, concernyng Latin ſeruice, in ſuch crafty forme of words, they propound their article, that it might appeare to the people, theſe men do deny any ſeruice to be lawfull in any place, countrey, or language, but onely in Engliſh.

And as theſe articles are crafty, captiouſly and deceitfully in forme of words deuiſed by the biſhops and their Notaries, ſo the aunſwers agayne to the ſame, be no leſſe ſubtilly framed, & after the moſt odious manner put downe in the name of the Examinates, which beyng read vnto them, thus without further aduiſe they were conſtrayned vpon a ſodaine to ſubſcribe the ſame with their hands. Wherby if any word eſcaped their hand, peraduenture not conſiderately ſubſcribed: there the Papiſts take their aduantage agaynſt them, to defame them and to bryng them into hatred with the people.

Sentence againſt Oſmund, Chamberlayne, Bamford. Iune. 14. Iune. 15.

Theſe Articles thus propounded and aunſwered, they were vntil the after none diſmiſſed. At what tyme they did agayne appeare, and there were examined and trauayled with by fayre and flattering ſpeaches, as well of the Biſh. as of others his aſſiſtance, to recant and reuoke their opinions, who notwithſtandyng remayned conſtant & firme, and therefore after the common vſage of their Eccleſiaſticall lawes, were ſent away agayne vntill the next day beyng Saterday, and the xviij. day of May. Then in the fore noone the Biſhop vſing his accuſtomed maner of proceedyng: which he hath vſed before as well with them as to others, did likewyſe diſmiſſe them, and at laſt in the after noone condemned them as heretikes, and ſo deliuered the to the Shiriffes, in whoſe cuſtodye they remayned vntil they were deliuered to the ſhiriffe of Eſſex, & by hym were executed, Chamberlayne at Colcheſter, the 14. of June, Thomas Oſmund at Maningtree, the 15. of June, & William Bamford, aliâs Butler, at Harwich, the ſame 15. day in the month of June.

The Ma tyrdome Thomas Oſmund, Cham layne, and William Bamford.

¶ The hiſtory of the worthy Martyr and ſeruaunt of God, M. Iohn Bradford, with his lyfe and actes, and ſundry conflicts, with his aduerſaries, and Martyrdome, at length moſt conſtantly ſuffered for the teſtimony of Chriſt and hys truth.

Iuly 1. The hi of M. Io Bradford Martyr.

AS touching firſt the country and education of John Bradford, he was borne at Mancheſter in Lancaſterſhire. His parents did bring hym vp in learnyng from his infancie, vntil he attained ſuch knowledge in the Latin tong, and ſkill in writing, that he was able to gaine his own liuyng in ſome honeſt condition. Then he became ſeruaunt to ſir John Harington knight, who in the great affaires of K. Henry the 8. and K. Edward the 6. which he had in hand when he was Treaſurer of the kings campes & buildyng, at diuers times in Bullonois, had ſuch experiēce of Bradfords actiuity in writyng, of expertnes in the arte of Auditors, and alſo of his faythfull truſtines, that not onely in thoſe affaires, but in many other of his priuate buſines he truſted Bradford, in ſuch ſort that aboue all other he vſed his faythfull ſeruice.

Syr Iohn Haring Knight.

The truſty ſeruice of Iohn Bradford vnder M. Harington.

Thus continued Bradford certayne yeares in a right honeſt and good trade of life, after the courſe of this world, lyke to come forward (as they ſay) if his mynde could ſo haue liked, or had ben giuē to the world as many other be. But the Lord which had elected him vnto a better function, and preordeined him to preach the goſpell of Chriſt in that houre of grace which in his ſecret counſell he had appointed, called this his choſen chyld to the vnderſtandyng and pertakyng of the ſame Goſpell of lyfe. In which call, he was ſo truely taught, that forthwith his effectuall call was perceyued by the fruites. For then Bradford did forſake his worldly affaires & forwardnes in worldly welth, and after the iuſt accompt geuen to his Maiſter of all hys doyngs, he departed from hym, and with meruailous fauour to further the kyngdome of God by the miniſtery of his holy word, he gaue himſelfe wholy to the ſtudye of the holy ſcriptures. The which his purpoſe to accompliſh the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporall law is ſtudied, and went to the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, to learne by Gods law how to further the building of the Lordes Temple. In Cambridge his diligence in ſtudy, his profiting in knowledge and godly conuerſation ſo pleaſed all men, that within one whole yeare after that he had bene there, the Vniuerſitie did geue hym the degree of a M. of Arte.

Bradford call'd to the Goſpell.

Bradford geueth himſelfe to the ſtudy of Scripture.

Immediatly after the Maiſter and fellowes of Pembroke hal did geue him a felowſhip in their Colledge with them: yea that man of God Martin Bucer ſo lyked him, that he had him not onely moſt deare vnto him, but alſo often tymes exhorted him to beſtow his talent in preaching. Vnto which Bradford aunſwered alwayes, that he was vnable to ſerue in that office through want of learnyng. To the whiche Bucer was wont to reply, ſaying: If thou haue not fine manchet bread yet geue the poore people barly bread, or whatſoeuer els the Lord hath committed vnto thee. And whiles Bradford was thus perſuaded to enter into the miniſtry, Doctour Ridley that worthy Byſhop of Lōdon and glorious Martyr of Chriſt, accordyng to the order that then was in the Churche of England called hym to take the degree of Deacon. Which order becauſe it was not without ſome ſuch abuſe as to the whiche Bradford would not conſent, the Byſhop yet perceauyng that Bradford was willing to enter into ẏ miniſtery, was content to order him Deacon without any abuſe, euen as he deſired. This beyng done, he obteyned for him a licence to preache, and did geue him a Prebend in his Cathedrall Church of Saint Paules.

Bradford M. of art fellow in Pembrook Hall.

M. Bucer ſaying.

Iohn Bradford made Deacon by Biſhop Ridley without any ſuperſtitious abuſe.

Iohn Bradford made Prebend in Paules licenſed to preach.

In this preaching office by the ſpace of three yeares, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he labored, many partes of England can teſtify. Sharply he opened and reproued ſinne, ſweetely he preached Chriſt crucified, pithily he impugned hereſies and errours, earneſtly he perſuaded to godly life. After the death of bleſſed yong King Edward the ſixt, when Queene Mary had gotten the crowne, ſtill continued Bradford diligent in preaching vntil vntill he was vniuſtly depriued both of his office & libertie by the Queene and her Councell. To the doyng whereof, becauſe they had no iuſt cauſe, they tooke occaſiõ to do this iniurie for ſuch an acte, as among Turkes and Infidels would haue bene with thankfulnes rewarded, and with great fauour accepted, as in deed it did no leſſe deſerue.

The fact was this. The xiij. day of Auguſt, in the firſt yere of the raigne of Queene Mary, M. Bourne then B. of Bath, made a ſeditious ſermon at Paules croſſe in Lõdon, as partly is declared before, pag.   to ſet popery abroch, in ſuch ſort that it moued the people to no ſmall indignation, beyng almoſt ready to pull hym out of the pulpit. Neither could the reuerence of the place, nor the preſence of the B. Boner, who then was his maiſter, nor yet the commaundement of the Maior of London, whõ the people ought to haue obeied, ſtay their rage: but the more they ſpake, the more the people were incẽſed. At length Bourn ſeyng the people in ſuch a moode, and himſelfe in ſuch peril (whereof he was ſufficiently warned by the hurlyng of a drawen dagger at hym as he ſtoode in the pulpit) and that he was put from endyng his ſermon, fearing leaſt againſt his will, hee ſhould there ende his wretched lyfe, deſired Bradford who ſtood in yͤ pulpit behynd him, to come forth and to ſtande in his place and ſpeake to the people. Good Bradford at his requeſt was content, and there ſpake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whome as ſoone as the people ſaw to beginne to ſpeake vnto them, ſo glad they were to heare him, that they cried with a great ſhout: Bradford, Bradford, God ſaue thy life Bradford: well declaring not only what affectiõ they bare vnto him, but alſo what regard they gaue to his words. For after that he had entred a little to preach vnto them, and to exhort them to quiet & pacience, eftſoones all the raging ceaſed, and they in the end quietly departed ech man to his houſe. Yet in the meane ſeaſon (for it was a long tyme before that ſo great a multitude could all depart) Bourne thought (and truely) himſelfe not yet full ſure of his lyfe till he were ſafely houſed, notwithſtanding, that the Maior & Shirifes of London were there at hand to helpe him. Wherfore he deſired Bradford not to depart from him till hee were in ſafetie: which Bradford according to his promiſe performed. For while the Maior and Shiriffes did leade Bourne to the Scholemaiſters houſe, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his backe, ſhadowyng him from the people with his gowne, and ſo to ſet him ſafe.

Let the Reader now conſider the peril of Bourne, the charitie of Bradford, and the headines of the multitude, & alſo the grudging mynds of certaine, which yet ſtill there remayned behind, greeued not a little theyr mindes, to ſee that ſo good a man ſhould ſaue yͤ life of ſuch a popiſh prieſt, ſo impudently and openly rayling againſt K. Edward. Among whõ, one gentlemã ſayd theſe words: Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou ſaueſt him yͭ wil help to burne thee. I geue thee his life: if it were not for thee, I would (I aſſure thee) run him through with my ſword. Thus Bourne for that tyme, through Bradfordes meanes eſcaped bodily death: but God hath his iudgement to be ſhewed in the tyme appoynted.

The ſame ſonday in the after noone Bradford preached at the Bow church in Cheapſide, and reproued the people ſharply for theyr ſeditious miſdemeanor. After this he did abide ſtill in London with an innocent conſcience, to try what ſhould become of his iuſt doing.

Within three daies after he was ſent for to the Tower of London, where the Queene then was, to appeare there before the counſell. There was he charged with this act of ſauing of Bourne, which act they there called ſeditious, & alſo obiected agaynſt him for preaching, and ſo by them he was cõmitted firſt to the Tower, then vnto other priſons, out of the which neither his innocency, godlines, nor charitable dealing could purchaſe him liberty of body, till by death (which he ſuffred for Chriſtes cauſe) he obteyned the heauenly liberty, of which neither Pope nor papiſt ſhall euer depriue him. From the Tower he came to the kinges Benche in Southwarke: and after his condemnation, he was ſent to the Counter in the Poultry in London: in the which two places for the time he did remayne priſoner, he preached twiſe a day continually, vnleſſe ſicknes hindered him: where alſo the ſacrament was often miniſtred, & through his meanes (the keepers ſo well did beare with him) ſuch reſort of good folkes was dayly to his lecture, and to the miniſtration of the ſacrament, that commonly his chãber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading & praying was all his whole life. He did not eate aboue one meale a day: which was but very little when he took it: & his continuall ſtudy was vpon his knees. In the middeſt of dinner he vſed often to muſe with himſelfe, hauyng his hat ouer his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of teares dropping on his trencher. Very gentle hee was to man and childe, and in ſo good credite with his keeper, yͭ at his deſire, in an euening (beyng priſoner in the kinges Bench in Southwarke) he had licence vpõ hys promiſe to returne agayne that night, to go into London without any keeper, to viſite one that was ſicke, lying by the Stilyard. Neither did he fayle his promiſe, but returned vnto his priſon againe, rather preuenting his houre, then breaking his fidelitie: ſo conſtant was he in word in deede.

Bradford came into London without his keeper, and returned that night to priſon agayne.

Of perſonage he was ſomewhat tall and ſlẽder, ſpare of body, of a faint ſanguine colour, wͭ an Awburne beard. He ſlept not commonly aboue foure houres in the night: & in his bedde till ſleep came, his booke went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other paſtime, but onely in honeſt company, & comely talke, wherin he would ſpend a little time after dinner at the bourde, and ſo to prayer and his booke agayne. He counted that houre not well ſpent, wherin he did not ſome good, either with his pen, ſtudy, or in exhorting of others. &c. He was no niggard of his purſe, but would liberally participate yͭ he had to hys fellowe priſoners. And commonly once a weeke he viſited the theeues, pickpurſes, and ſuch others that were with him in the priſon where he lay, on the other ſide: vnto whõ he would geue godly exhortation to learne the amendment of their liues by their troubles, and after that ſo done, diſtribute among them ſome portion of money to theyr comfort.

The deſcription of Bradford.

Bradford content with a little ſleepe.

Bradfordes recreation.

The holy lyfe of Bradford.

Bradford viſited the theeues, pickpurſes, &c.

By the way this I thought not to conceale. While he was in the kinges Bench, and Mayſter Saunders in the Marſhalſey, both priſoners, on the backſide of thoſe two priſons they mette many times, and conferred together when they would: ſo mercifully did the Lorde worke for them, euen in the middeſt of theyr troubles: and the ſayde Bradford was ſo truſted with his keeper, and had ſuch libertie in the backeſide, that there was no day but that he might haue eaſily eſcaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had an other worke to doe for him. In the ſommer tyme while he was in the ſayd Kinges Benche, he had libertie of his keeper, to ryde into Oxfordſhyre, to a Marchauntes houſe of his acquayntaunce, and horſe and all thinges prepared for him for that iourney, and the partie in a readines that ſhould ride with him: but God preuented him by ſicknes that he went not at all.

The meetīg & conference betwene Laurence Saunders and Iohn Bradford.

Bradford refuſing to eſcape out of priſon, though he mighte.

One of his old friends and acquaintaunce came vnto him whileſt he was priſoner, and aſked hym, if he ſued to get hym out, what then he would do, or whether he would go? Unto whom he made anſwer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he ſaid hee would marry, and abyde ſtill in England ſecretly, teaching the people as the tyme would ſuffer him, and occupy himſelfe that way. He was had in ſo great reuerence and admiration wyth all good men, that a multitude which neuer knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number alſo of the Papiſtes themſelues, wiſhed hartily hys lyfe. There were fewe dayes in which he was thought not to ſpend ſome tears before he went to bed, neyther was there euer any priſoner with hym, but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witnes, and haue confeſſed of hym no leſſe, to the glory of God, whoſe ſocietie he frequented, as among many, one ſpeciall thyng I thought to note, which is this.

Bradford would not flye out of England though he mighte.

Bradford beloued.

Bradfordes teares.

Biſhop Farrer beyng in the kynges Bench priſoner, as before you haue hard, was trauailed withall of the Papiſts in the end of Lent, to receiue the ſacrament at Eaſter in one kind, who after much perſwading, yelded to them, and promiſed ſo to do. Then (ſo it happened by gods prouidence) the Eaſter euen, the day before hee ſhould haue done it, was Bradford brought to the Kings Benche priſoner, where the Lord making him his inſtrument, Bradford only was the meane that the ſaid B. Farrer reuoked his promiſe and word, and would neuer after yeeld to bee ſpotted with that papiſticall pitch: ſo effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy ſeruaunt of his. Such an inſtrument was he in gods church, that few or none there were that knew him, but eſtemed him as a precious iewell and Gods true meſſenger.

Byſhop Farrar confirmed in the truth, by Iohn Bradford.

The night before he was had to Newgate, which was the saterday night, he was ſore troubled diuers tymes in his ſleepe by dreams, how the chaine for his burning was brought to the Counter gate, and how the next day beyng Sonday, he ſhould be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as in deed it came to paſſe accordingly, which hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed. Now he beyng vexed ſo often tymes in this ſort with theſe dreames, about 3. of the clocke in the morning, hee waked hym that lay with hym, and told him his vnquiet ſleepe, & what he was troubled withall. Then after a little talke, Maiſter Bradford roſe out of the bed, and gaue hymſelfe to his olde

Bradford dreameth of his burning according as it came to paſſe.

Anno 1555. June.

exerciſe of readyng and prayer, as alwayes he had vſed before: and at dinner according to his accuſtomed maner, he did eat his meat, and was very mery, no body being with hym from mornyng till night, but he that lay with hym, with whom he had many tymes on that day communication of death, of the kingdome of heauen, and of the ripenes of ſinne in that tyme.

Bradford hath word of his burning.

In the after noone they two walking together in the keepers chamber, ſodainly the keepers wife came vp, as one halfe amazed, & ſeeming much troubled, beyng almoſt wyndles ſaid: Oh M. Bradford, I come to bring you heauy newes. What is that ſaid he? Marry quoth ſhe, to morow you muſt be burned, & your chaine is now a buying, & ſoone you muſt go to Newgate. With that M. Bradford put of his cap, and lifting vp his eyes to heauen, ſayd: I thanke God for it: I haue looked for the ſame a long time, and therfore it commeth not now to me ſodainly, but as a thing waited for euery day and houre, the Lord make me worthy therof: & ſo thanking her for her gentlenes, departed vp into his chamber, and called his friend with hym, who when he came thither, he went ſecretly himſelfe alone a long tyme and prayed. Which done, he came agayne to him that was in his chamber, and tooke him diuers writings and papers, & ſhewed him his mind in thoſe things what he would haue done, and after they had ſpent the after noone till night in many and ſundry ſuch things, at laſt came to him halfe a doſen of his friends more, with whom all the euening he ſpent the tyme in prayer and other good exerciſes, ſo wonderfully, that it was meruailous to heare and ſee his doyngs.

Bradford maketh his prayer taking his farewell at the Counter.

A little before he went out of the Counter, hee made a notable prayer of his farewell, with ſuch plenty of teares, and aboundant ſpirit of praier, that it rauiſhed the mynds of the hearers. Alſo, when he ſhifted himſelf with a cleane ſhirt that was made for his burning (by one M. Walter Marlars wyfe, who was a good nurſe vnto him, & his very good friend) he made ſuch a prayer of the wedding garment, that ſome of thoſe that were preſent, were in ſuche great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on hym, as their eares gaue place to heare his prayer.

Bradfordes going from the Counter.

At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewyſe a prayer, and gaue money to euery ſeruaunt and officer of the houſe, with exhortation to them to feare and ſerue God, continually labouring to eſchew all maner of euill. That done, he turned him to the wall and praied vehemently, that his words might not be ſpoken in vayne, but that the Lord would worke the ſame in them effectually, for his Chriſtes ſake. Then beyng beneath in the Court, all the priſoners cried out to him and bid him farewell, as the reſt of the houſe had done before with weping teares.

The priſoners take their leaue of Bradford with teares.

Bradford was caryed to Newgate at midnight.

The people in Cheapſide bad Bradford farewell.

The time they caried him to Newgate, was about xi. or xij. a clocke in the night, when it was thought none would be ſtirring abroad: and yet contrary to their expectation in that behalfe, was there in Chepeſide & other places (betweene the Counter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to ſee him, which moſt gently bade him farewell, praying for him with moſt lamentable and pitifull teares, and he againe as gently bade them farewel, praying moſt hartily for them & their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandement from the Queene and her counſaile, or from Boner and his adherentes, or whether it were merily deuiſed of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, & Shiriffes of London, or no, I cannot tell: but a great noyſe there was ouer night about the city by diuers, that Bradford ſhould be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by 4. of the clocke in the mornyng, before it ſhould be greatly knowen to any. In which rumor many heads had diuers myndes: ſome thinking the feare of the people to bee the cauſe thereof. Other thought nay, that it was rather becauſe the Papiſts iudged, his death would conuert many to the truth, and geue a great ouerthrowe to their kingdō. So ſome thought one thyng, and ſome another, that no iuſt coniecture of the cauſe could bee knowen that euer I heard yet.

A noyſe of Bradfords early burning.

But this was certayne, the people preuented the deuiſe ſuſpected: for the next day, at the ſaid hower of 4. a clocke in the mornyng, there was in Smithfield ſuch a multitude of men and women, that many beyng in admiration thereof, thought it was not poſſible that they could haue warning of his death, being ſo great a number in ſo ſhort tyme, vnleſſe it were by the ſingular prouidence of almighty God.

A multitude in Smithfield by 4. a clocke.

Well, this tooke not effect as the people thought: for that mornyng it was ix. a clocke of the day, before Maiſter Bradford was brought into Smithfield: which in goyng thorow Newgate thitherward, ſpied a friend of his whō he loued, ſtandyng on the one ſide the way to the Keepers houſeward, vnto whom he reached his hand ouer the people, and pluckt him to hym, and deliuered to him from his hed, his veluet night cap, and alſo his handkerchief, with other things beſides. Which after a little ſecret talke with hym, and ech of them parting frō other, immediatly came to him a brother in lawe of hys, called Roger Beſwike, which as ſoone as he had taken the ſayde Bradford by the hand, one of the Shiriffes of London called Woodroſe, came with his ſtaffe and brake the ſayd Rogers head, that the bloud ran about his ſhoulders. Which ſight Bradford beholdyng with griefe, bade his brother farewell, willyng to commend hym to his mother, and the reſt of his frends and to get hym to ſome Surgeon betymes: and ſo they departing, had little or no talke at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct hym thither, as the lyke was not ſeene at no mans burning: for in euery corner of Smithfield there were ſome, beſides thoſe which ſtood about the ſtake. Bradford then beyng come to the place, fell flatte to the ground, ſecretly making his prayers to almighty god. Then riſing agayne, and putting of his clothes vnto hys ſhirt, he went to the ſtake, and there ſuffered with a young man of xx. yeares of age, ioyfully and conſtantly, whoſe name was Iohn Leafe. Touchyng the order and maner of whoſe burnyng, more ſhal be ſayd (God willyng) hereafter. In the meane tyme, we will now ſhewe forth the ſundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences betwene hym and other hys aduerſaries, duryng the tyme of his impriſonment, which was in all, two yeares lacking one moneth and a halfe. Which examinations here follow to be declared.

Bradford going to Smithfield.

It was before a little aboue declared, that Ioh. Bradford within three dayes after the Sermon of M. Bourne, was by the Counſaile committed to the Tower, where he remayned from the moneth of Auguſt, an. 1553. to the 22. day of January, an. 1555. Vpon which day he was called out to examination before Ste. Wincheſter and other of the Commiſſioners. The effect of which examination and communication which paſſed betwene him & them, proceded in maner as followeth.

¶ The effect of the communication betweene Iohn Bradford and the Lord Chauncellour, and other in Commiſſion with him, the xxij. of Ianuary. Anno. 1555.

After the L. Chancellor and the reſidue of the Queens Counſaile in Commiſſion with him, had ended their talke with M. Farrer late Biſh. of S. Dauids, the vnder marſhall of the kings Bench was commaunded to bring in Iohn Bradford: who beyng come into the preſence of the counſaile ſittyng at a table, kneeled down on his knee, but immediately by the L. Chancellor was bidden to ſtād vp, and ſo he did.

When he was riſen, the L. Chauncellor earneſtly looked vpon him, to haue (belike) ouerfaced him: but he gaue no place, that is, he ceaſed not in like maner to looke on the L. Chauncellor ſtill continually, ſaue that once he caſt vp his eyes to heauenward, ſighing for gods grace, and ſo ouerfaced hym.

L.Chauncellor. Then the L. Chauncellor as it were amaſed, and ſomething troubled, ſpake thus to him in effect: that of long tyme he had bene impriſoned iuſtly for his ſeditious behauiour at Paules croſſe, the xiij. of Auguſt, an. 1553. for his falſe preachyng and arrogancie, takyng vpon hym to preache without authoritie. But now (quoth he) the tyme of mercy is come, and therefore the Queenes highneſſe myndyng to offer vnto you mercye, hath by vs ſent for you, to declare and geue the ſame, if ſo be you wyll with vs returne: and if you wil do as we haue done, you ſhall find as we haue found, I warraunt you. This was the ſumme of his wordes, and in maner the ſame wordes which he ſpake.

Brad. To theſe wordes Iohn Bradford ſpake (after reuerend obeiſance made) in this maner. My Lord & Lordes all, I confeſſe that I haue bene long impriſoned, & (wyth humble reuerence be it ſpokē) vniuſtly, for that I dyd nothing ſeditiouſly, falſly, or arrogantly, in worde or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe, but rather ſought truth, peace, and all godly quietnes, as an obedient & faythfull ſubiect, both in goyng about to ſaue the Biſh. of Bathe now, then M. Bourne, the preacher at the Croſſe, and in preachyng for quietnes accordingly.

L.Chaunc. At theſe words, or rather before he had fully finiſhed, the ſayd L. Chauncellor ſomethyng ſnuffed, and ſpake with an admiration, that there was a loud lye: for (quoth he) the fact was ſeditious, as you my L. of London can beare witnes,

Anno 1555.

Boner. You ſay true my Lord: I ſaw him with mine own eyes, when he toke vpon him to rule and leade the people malapartly, thereby declaring that he was the authour of the ſedition.

Brad. My Lordes, notwithſtanding my Lord Byſhope ſeing and ſaying, yet the truth I haue told, as one day my Lord God almighty ſhall reueale to al the world, whē we ſhall all come & appeare before him: In the meane ſeaſon, becauſe I can not be beleued of you, I muſt and am ready to ſuffer, as now your ſayinges be, what ſo euer God ſhall licence you to do vnto me.

Chaunc. I know thou haſt a glorious tongue, and goodly ſhewes thou makeſt: but all is lyes thou ſpeakeſt. And agayne, I haue not forgotten howe ſtubborne thou waſt when thou waſt before vs in the Tower, wherupon thou waſt committed to priſon concerning religion, I haue not forgotten thy behauiour and talke, wherthrough worthelye thou haſt bene kept in priſon, as one that woulde haue done more hurt then I will ſpeake of.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid, I ſay again, that I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, and one day we ſhall all ſtand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now you will not ſo take it. Yea my Lord, I dare ſay, that my Lord of Bath M. Bourne will witneſſe with me, that I ſought his ſafegarde with the perill of mine owne life, I thanke God therfore.

Boner. That is not true: for I my ſelfe did ſee thee take vpon thee too much,

Brad. No, I toke nothing vpon me vndeſired, and that of Mayſter Bourne himſelfe, as if he were here preſent, I dare ſay he would affirme. For he deſired me both to helpe him to pacifye the people, and alſo not to leaue him tyll he was in ſafety. And as for my behauiour in the Tower, and talke before your honours, if I did or ſayde any thing that did not beſeeme me, if your Lordſhips would tell me wherin it was, I ſhould and would ſhortly make you anſwere.

Chaunc. Well, to leaue this matter: how ſayeſt thou now? wilt thou returne againe, and do as we haue done, & thou ſhalt receiue the Queenes mercy and pardon?

Brad. My Lorde, I deſire mercye with Gods mercy, but mercy with Gods wrath, God keepe me from: Although (I thanke God therfore) my cōſcience doth not accuſe me, that I did ſpeake any thing wherfore I ſhould need to receiue the Queenes mercy or pardon. For all that euer I did or ſpake, was both agreyng to Gods Lawes, amd the lawes of the Realme at that preſent, and did make muche to quietnes.

Chaunc. Well, if thou make this badling, rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant & vainglorious, and wilt not receiue mercy offered to thee, know for truth that the Queene is minded to make a *purgation of all ſuch as thou art.

Brad. The Lorde before whom I ſtand, as well as before you, knoweth what vaynglory I haue ſought, and ſeek in this behalfe: his mercy I deſire, and alſo would be glad of the Queenes fauour, to liue as a ſubiecte without clog of conſcience. But otherwiſe the Lordes mercye is better to me then life, And I know to whom I haue committed my life, euen into his hands which will keep it, ſo that no man may take it away before it bee his pleaſure. There are xij. houres in the day, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhal no man haue power theron. Therfore his good will be done: life in his diſpleaſure is worſe then death, and death in his true fauor, is true life.

Chaunc. I know well enough that we ſhal haue glorious talke enough of thee: be ſure therfore, that as thou haſt deceiued the people with falſe and deuiliſhe doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receiue.

Brad. I haue not deceiued the people, nor taughte any other doctrine, then by Gods grace I am, and hope ſhall be ready to confirme with my life. And as for the deuiliſhnes and falſenes in the doctrine, I would be ſory you coulde ſo proue it.

Dureſ. Why, tell me what you ſay by the miniſtration of yͤ Communion, as now you know it is?

Brad. My Lord, here I muſt deſire of your Lordſhip and of all your honours a queſtion, before I dare make you an anſwere to any interrogatory or queſtion, wherewith you now beginne. I haue bene ſixe times ſworne that I ſhall in no caſe conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction, or any authoritye on the Biſhoppe of Romes behalfe within this Realme of Englande. Nowe before God I humblye pray your honours to tell me whether you aſke me thys queſtion by his authority, or no? If you doe, I dare not, nor may aunſwere you any thing in his authority, whiche you ſhall demaund of me, except I woulde be forſworne, which God forbid.

Sec. Bourn. Haſt thou bene ſworne ſixe times? what office haſt thou borne?

Secretary Bourne ſpeaketh.

Brad. For ſooth I was thriſe ſworne in Cambridge, when I was admitted Mayſter of Arte, when I was admitted felow of Penbroke hall, & when I was there, the Viſitors came thither, and ſware the Vniuerſitye. Agayne, I was ſworne when I entred into the Miniſterye, when I had a Prebend geuen me, and when I was ſworne to ſerue the king a litle before his death.

Bradford ſixe tymes ſworne againſt the Pope.

Chaunc. Tuſh, Herodes othes a man ſhould make no cōſcience at.

Herodes oth quoth Wincheſter.

Brad. But my Lord, theſe were no Herodes othes no vnlawfull othes, but othes according to Gods word, as you your ſelfe haue well affirmed in your booke De vera obedientia.

Wincheſt. De vera obedientia.

M. Roch. My Lordes (quoth an other of the Counſell that ſtode by the table, Mayſter Rocheſter I weene) I neuer knew wherfore this man was in priſon before now: but I ſee well that it had not bene good that this man had bene abroad,) what the cauſe was that he was put in priſon, I know not: but I now wel know that not without a cauſe he was and is to be kept in priſon.

M. Rocheſter ſpeaketh.

Bourne. Yea it was reported this Parliament time by the Earle of Darbye, that he hath done more hurt by Letters, and exhorting thoſe that haue come to him, in Religion, then euer he did whē he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curſeth all that teach any falſe doctrine (for ſo he calleth that whiche is not according to that he taught) and moſt hartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue ſtyll in that they haue receyued by hym, and ſuche lyke as he is. All which wordes diuers of the Coūſell affirmed. Wherunto the ſayde M. Bourne added, ſaying: how ſaye you ſir, haue you not thus ſeditiouſly writtē and exhorted the people?

The Earle of Darbyes complaynt agaynſt Bradford.

This letter was written to his mother, brethrē and ſiſters, and followeth hereafter.

M, Bradford falſely charged with ſedition.

Brad. I haue not written, nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly neither (I thanke God therfore) haue I admitted any ſeditious cogitation, nor I truſt neuer ſhall do.

Bourne. Yea, but thou haſt written letters.

Chaunc. Why ſpeakeſt thou not? Haſt thou not written as he ſayth?

Brad. That I haue written, I haue written.

South. Lord God, what an arrogant and ſtubborne boy is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallyingly behaueth himſelfe before the Queenes Counſel? wherat one looked vpon an other with diſdaynfull countenaunces.

Syr Richard Southwell ſpeaketh.

Brad. My Lordes and Mayſters, the Lord God which is, and will be iudge to vs all, knoweth, that as I am certain I ſtand now before his maieſty: ſo with reuerence in hys ſight I ſtand before you, & vnto you accordingly in wordes and geſture I deſire to behaue my ſelfe. Yf you otherwyſe take it, I doubt not but God in his time wil reueale it. In the meane ſeaſon I ſhall ſuffer with all due obediēce your ſayinges and doynges too, I hope.

Chaunc. Theſe be gay glorious wordes of reuerence: but as in all other thinges, ſo herein alſo thou doeſt nothyng but lye.

All is lyes that pleaſeth not Wincheſter.

Brad. Well, I would God the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes would pull my tong out of my head before you all, and ſhew a terrible iudgement on me here preſent, if I haue purpoſed, or do purpoſe to lie before you, whatſoeuer you ſhall aſke me.

Chaunc. Why thē doeſt thou not anſwere? Haſt thou written ſuch letters as here is obiected agaynſt thee?

Brad. As I ſayde, my Lorde, that I haue written, I haue written, I ſtand now before you, which eyther can lay my Letters to my charge or no: if you laye anye thing to my charge that I haue written, if I deny it, I am then a lyer.

Wincheſter holden at a bay.

Chaunc. We ſhall neuer haue done with thee, I perceiue now: be ſhort, be ſhort, wilt thou haue mercy?

Brad. I pray God geue me his mercy, and if therwith you will extende yours, I will not refuſe it, but otherwiſe I will none.

Here now was much adoe, one ſpeaking this, and an other that of his arrogancy, in refuſing the Queenes pardon, whiche ſhee ſo louingly did offer vnto him: whereto Bradford anſwered thus.

Brad. My Lordes, if I may liue as a quiet Subiect without clog of conſcience, I ſhall hartily thanke you for your pardon: if otherwiſe I behaue my ſelfe, then I am in daunger of the law: in the meane ſeaſon I aſke no more, but the benefite of a Subiect, till I be conuinced of tranſgreſſion. If I can not haue this, as hitherto I haue not had, Gods good will be done.

M. Bradford deſireth to liue, that he may haue lyfe without clogge of conſcience.

Chaunc. Vppon theſe wordes my Lorde Chauncellour begaune a long proceſſe of the falſe doctrine wherwith the people were deceiued in the dayes of Kyng Edwarde, and ſo turned the ende of his talke to Bradford, ſaying: Howe ſayeſt thou?

Wincheſter ſpeaketh agaynſt the doctrine taught in K. Edwardes tyme.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

M. Bradford ſtandeth in defence of the doctrine taught in K. Edwardes tyme.

Brad. My Lorde, the doctrine taught in king Edwardes dayes, was Gods pure Religion, the which as I then beleued, ſo do I now more beleue it then euer I did, & therin I am more confirmed and readye to declare it by Gods grace, euen as he will, to the worlde, then I was when I firſt came into priſon.

Dureſ. What religion meane you in king Edwards daies? what yeare of his raigne?

Brad. Forſooth euen the ſame yeare (my Lord) that the king dyed, & I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wote not what.

The reaſon of Winchester wherewith he diſproueth the doctrine of K. Edwardes dayes.

Chaunc. Nowe after a litle pauſing, my Lorde Chauncellour beginneth agayne to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edwardes dayes, was hereſy, vſing for probation & demonſtration thereof, no ſcripture nor reaſon, but this: that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that (quoth he) the very end were enough to improue that doctrine to bee nought.

Brad. Ah my Lord, that you could enter into Gods Sanctuary, and marke the end of this preſẽt doctrine that you now ſo magnify.

Chaunc. What meaneſt thou by that? I weene wee ſhall haue a ſnatch of rebellion euen now.

Brad. My Lord, I meane no ſuch ende as you woulde gather: I meane an end which no man ſeeth, but ſuch as enter into Gods Sanctuary. If a man looke on preſent thinges, he will ſoone deceiue himſelfe.

The Queenes mercy agayne offered to M. Bradford.

Here nowe did my Lorde Chauncellour offer agayne mercy, and Bradforde aunſwered, as before: Mercy wyth Gods mercy ſhould be welcome, but otherwiſe he woulde none. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour did ryng a litle bell, belike to call in ſome body, for there was preſent none in maner, but onely thoſe before named, and the Byſhoppe of Worceſter. Nowe when one was come in: it is beſt (quoth Mayſter Secretary Bourne) that you geue the keper a charge of this fellowe. So was the vnder Marſhall called in.

M. Bradford returned agayne into priſon.

Chaunc. Ye ſhall take this man to you, and keep him cloſe without conferẽce with any man, but by your knowledge, and ſuffer him not to write any Letters. &c. for he is of an other maner of charge vnto you now, then he was before. And ſo they departed, Bradforde looking as chearefully as any mã coulde doe, declaring thereby euen a deſire to geue his life for confirmation of that he hadde taught and written.

¶ The effect of the ſecond examination of Iohn Bradford in S. Mary Oueries Church, before the Lord Chauncellour, and diuers other Biſhops, the 29. of Ianuary. 1555.

The ſecond examination of M. Bradford before the B. of Wincheſter and others.

After the excommunication of Iohn Rogers, Ioh. Bradford was called in, and ſtanding before the Lord Chaũcellor & other Biſhops ſet with him, the ſaid Lord Chauncellor ſpake thus in effect.

L. Chaunc. Where before the xxij. of Ianuarye, the ſayde Bradford was called before them (ſaid he) and they offered vnto him the Queenes pardon, although he had contẽned the ſame, and further ſayd, that he would ſtiffely and ſtoutly maintein & defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the dayes of K. Edward the ſixt: yet in conſideration that the Queenes highnes was wõderfull mercifull, they thought good eftſoones to offer the ſame mercy agayn, before it were too late: therefore aduiſe you well (ſayd he) there is yet ſpace and grace before we ſo proceed, that you be committed to yͤ ſecular power: as we muſt do and will doe, if you will not folow the example of mayſter Barloe and mayſter Cardmaker, whome he there commended, adding Oratoriouſly amplifications to moue the ſayd Bradford to yeld to the religion preſently ſet forth.

Example of M. Barlow and Cardmaker layd agaynſt M. Bradford.

Brad. After the Lord Chauncellours long talke, Bradford began on this ſort to ſpeake: My Lord, and my Lordes all as now I ſtand in your ſight before you, ſo I humbly beſeech your honours to conſider, that you ſit in the ſeate of the Lord, who (as Dauid doth witneſſe) is in the congregations of Iudges, and ſitteth in the middeſt of them iudging: and as you would your place to be now of vs taken as Gods place, ſo demonſtrate your ſelues to folowe hym in your ſitting, that is, ſeeke no guiltleſſe bloud, nor hunt not by queſtions to bring into the ſnare, thẽ which are out of the ſame. At this preſent I ſtand before you gilty or giltles: if gilty, then proceed and geue ſentence accordingly: if giltles, thẽ geue me the benefit of a ſubiect, which hytherto I could not haue.

Si illum obiurges, vitæ qui auxilium tulit: quid facies illi qui dederit damnum aut Malum.

Chaunc. Here the Lord Chauncellour replyed, and ſayde, that the ſayde Bradford began with a true ſentence: Deus ſtetit in Synagoga. &c. But (quoth he) this and al thy geſture declareth but hypocriſy and vayne glory. And further hee made much ado to purge hymſelfe, that he ſought no guiltles bloud, and ſo beganne a long proceſſe how that Bradfordes fact at Paules Croſſe was preſumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking vpon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much diſquietnes, in that thou (ſpeaking to Bradford) waſt ſo preſtract and ſtout in religion at that preſent. For the which, as thou waſt then committed to priſon, ſo hitherto thou haſt bene kept in priſon, where thou haſt written letters to no little hurte to the Queenes people, as by the report of the Earle of Darby in the Parliament houſe was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the ſayd Bradford did ſtubbernely behaue himſelfe the laſt time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demaund of thee (quoth he) but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

The W of the E Darby agaynſt M. Bradford.

Brad. My Lord where you accuſe me of hypocriſie & vaine glory, I muſt, and will leaue it to the Lordes declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth, and heartie meanings: in the meane ſeaſon I will content my ſelfe with the teſtimonie of myne owne conſcience, which if it yeld to hypocriſie, could not but haue God to be my foe alſo: and ſo both God and man were againſt me. As for my fact at Paules Croſſe, and behauiour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reueale it to my comfort. For if euer I did thyng, which God vſed to publike benefite, I thinke that my deed was one, and yet for it I haue bene and am kept of long tyme in priſon. And as for letters and religion, I aunſwer, as I did the laſt tyme I was before you.

M. Brad defendeth his fact at Paules Croſſe.

Chaunc. There diddeſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldſt manly maintaine the erroneous doctrine in K. Edwards dayes.

The wor of M. Brad ford miſre ported.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid the laſt time I was before you, that I had ſixe times taken an oth that I ſhould neuer conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction on the Biſh. of Romes behalfe, and therefore durſt I not aunſwere to any thyng that ſhould be demaunded ſo, leaſt I ſhould be forſworne, which God forbid. Howbeit, ſauyng myne othe, I ſayde that I was more confirmed in the doctrine ſet forth publikely in the dayes of K. Edward, then euer I was before I was put in priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould bee, and thinke yet ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to geue my life as God will, for the confirmation of the ſame.

M. Brad more con med in his doctrine af ter his im priſonm then be

Chaunc. I remember well that thou madeſt ſuch adoe about needles matter, as though the othe againſt the Biſh. of Rome were ſo great a matter. So others haue done before thee, but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done, for thou pretendeſt a conſciẽce in it, which is nothyng els but meere hypocriſie.

Wincheſte maketh b a ſmall m ter of an othe.

Brad. My conſcience is knowne to the Lord: and whether I deale herein hipocritically, or no, he knoweth. As I ſaid therfore then my Lord, ſo ſay I agayne now: that for feare leſt I ſhould be periured, I dare not make anſwere to any thing you ſhal demaund of me, if my anſwering ſhould cõſent to the confirming or practiſing of any iuriſdiction for the Biſhop of Rome here in England.

L. Chaunc. Why, diddeſt thou beginne to tell that wee are Dij and ſit in Gods place, and now wilt thou not make vs an aunſwere?

Brad. My Lord, I ſayd, you would haue your place taken of vs now, as Gods place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of ſcripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to folow God and his wayes at this preſent, who ſeeth vs all, and well perceiueth, whether of cõſcience I pretend this matter of the oth, or no.

Bradford ſtandeth ſtill to his othe.

L. Chaunc. No, all men may well ſee thine hopocriſy, for if for thine othes ſake thou diddeſt not anſwere, then wouldeſt thou not haue ſpokẽ as thou diddeſt, & haue anſwered me at the firſt: but now men well perceiue, that this is but a ſtarting hole to hide thy ſelfe in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwere, & ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blinding the ſimple peoples eies, as though of conſcience you did all you do.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt, was not a replication or an anſwere to that you ſpake to me: and therefore I needed not to laye for me mine othe. For I thoughte you woulde haue more wayed what I dyd ſpeake, then you did: but when I perceiued you didde not conſider it, but came to aſke matter, whereto by anſwering I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of Iuriſdiction on the Byſhoppe of Romes behalfe here in Englande, and ſo bee forſworne: then of conſcience and ſimplicitye I ſpake as I doe yet agayne ſpeake, that I dare not for conſcience ſake anſwere you. And therefore I ſeeke no ſtarting hoales, nor goe about to blinde the people as God knoweth. For if you of your honours ſhall tell me that you doe not aſke me anye thing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the Byſhoppe of Romes Iuriſdiction, aſke mee wherein you will, and you ſhall here that I wyll anſwere

Anno 1555. Iuly.

M. Bradford ſtandeth in defence of the doctrine taught in K. Edwardes tyme.

Brad. My Lorde, the doctrine taught in king Edwardes dayes, was Gods pure Religion, the which as I then beleued, ſo do I now more beleue it then euer I did, & therin I am more confirmed and readye to declare it by Gods grace, euen as he will, to the worlde, then I was when I firſt came into priſon.

Dureſ. What religion meane you in king Edwards daies? what yeare of his raigne?

Brad. Forſooth euen the ſame yeare (my Lord) that the king dyed, & I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wote not what.

The reaſon of Winchester wherewith he diſproueth the doctrine of K. Edwardes dayes.

Chaunc. Nowe after a litle pauſing, my Lorde Chauncellour beginneth agayne to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edwardes dayes, was hereſy, vſing for probation & demonſtration thereof, no ſcripture nor reaſon, but this: that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that (quoth he) the very end were enough to improue that doctrine to bee nought.

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Chaunc. What meaneſt thou by that? I weene wee ſhall haue a ſnatch of rebellion euen now.

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The Queenes mercy agayne offered to M. Bradford.

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M. Bradford returned agayne into priſon.

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Si illum obiurges, vitæ qui auxilium tulit: quid facies illi qui dederit damnum aut Malum.

Chaunc. Here the Lord Chauncellour replyed, and ſayde, that the ſayde Bradford began with a true ſentence: Deus ſtetit in Synagoga. &c But (quoth he) this and al thy geſture declareth but hypocriſy and vayne glory. And further hee made much ado to purge hymſelfe, that he ſought no guiltles bloud, and ſo beganne a long proceſſe how that Bradfordes fact at Paules Croſſe was preſumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking vpon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much diſquietnes, in that thou (ſpeaking to Bradford) waſt ſo pretract and ſtout in religion at that preſent. For the which, as thou waſt then committed to priſon, ſo hitherto thou haſt bene kept in priſon, where thou haſt written letters to no little hurte to the Queenes people, as by the report of the Earle of Darby in the Parliament houſe was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the ſayd Bradford did ſtubbernely behaue himſelfe the laſt time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demaund of thee (quoth he) but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

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agaynſt
Bradford.

Brad. My Lord where you accuſe me of hypocriſie & vaine glory, I muſt, and will leaue it to the Lordes declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth, and heartie meanings: in the meane ſeaſon I will content my ſelfe with the teſtimonie of myne owne conſcience, which if it yeld to hypocriſie, could not but haue God to be my foe alſo: and ſo both God and man were againſt me. As for my fact at Paules Croſſe, and behauiour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reueale it to my comfort. For if euer I did thyng, which God vſed to publike benefite, I thinke that my deed was one, and yet for it I haue bene and am kept of long tyme in priſon. And as for letters and religion, I aunſwer, as I did the laſt tyme I was before you.

M. Brad
defendeth
his fact at
Paules
Croſſe.

Chaunc. There diddeſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldſt manly maintaine the erroneous doctrine in K. Edwards dayes.

The word
of M. Br
ford miſre
ported.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid the laſt time I was before you, that I had ſixe times taken an oth that I ſhould neuer conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction on the Biſh. of Romes behalfe, and therefore durſt I not aunſwere to any thyng that ſhould be demaunded ſo, leaſt I ſhould be forſworne, which God forbid. Howbeit, ſauyng myne othe, I ſayde that I was more confirmed in the doctrine ſet forth publikely in the dayes of K. Edward, then euer I was before I was put in priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould bee, and thinke yet ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to geue my life as God will, for the confirmation of the ſame.

M. Brad
more co
med in hi
doctrine
ter his
priſonm
then be

Chaunc. I remember well that thou madeſt ſuch adoe about needles matter, as though the othe againſt the Biſh. of Rome were ſo great a matter. So others haue done before thee, but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done, for thou pretendeſt a conſciẽce in it, which is nothyng els but meere hypocriſie.

Winche
maketh b
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ter of an
othe.

Brad. My conſcience is knowne to the Lord: and whether I deale herein hipocritically, or no, he knoweth. As I ſaid therfore then my Lord, ſo ſay I agayne now: that for feare leſt I ſhould be periured, I dare not make anſwere to any thing you ſhal demaund of me, if my anſwering ſhould cõſent to the confirming or practiſing of any iuriſdiction for the Biſhop of Rome here in England.

L. Chaunc. Why, diddeſt thou beginne to tell that wee are Dij and ſit in Gods place, and now wilt thou not make vs an aunſwere?

Brad. My Lord, I ſayd, you would haue your place taken of vs now, as Gods place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of ſcripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to folow God and his wayes at this preſent, who ſeeth vs all, and well perceiueth, whether of cõſcience I pretend this matter of the oth, or no.

Bradford
ſtandeth
ſtill to hi
othe.

L. Chaunc. No, all men may well ſee thine hopocriſy, for if for thine othes ſake thou diddeſt not anſwere, then wouldeſt thou not haue ſpokẽ as thou diddeſt, & haue anſwered me at the firſt: but now men well perceiue, that this is but a ſtarting hole to hide thy ſelfe in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwere, & ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blinding the ſimple peoples eies, as though of conſcience you did all you do.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt, was not a replication or an anſwere to that you ſpake to me: and therefore I needed not to laye for me mine othe. For I thought you woulde haue more wayed what I dyd ſpeake, then you did: but when I perceiued you didde not conſider it, but came to aſke matter, whereto by anſwering I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of Iuriſdiction on the Byſhoppe of Romes behalfe here in Englande, and ſo bee forſworne: then of conſcience and ſimplicitye I ſpake as I doe yet agayne ſpeake, that I dare not for conſcience ſake anſwere you. And therefore I ſeeke no ſtarting hoales, nor goe about to blinde the people as God knoweth. For if you of your honours ſhall tell me that you doe not aſke me anye thing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the Byſhoppe of Romes Iuriſdiction, aſke mee wherein you will, and you ſhall here that I wyll anſwere

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Anno 1555.

ſweare you as flatlye as euer any did that came before you. I am not afrayd of death, I thanke God: for I looke and haue looked for nothing els at your handes of lōg time, but I am afrayd when death commeth, I ſhould haue matter to trouble my conſcience by the guiltines of periury, & therfore do I anſwere as I do.

L. Chanc. Theſe be gay glorious wordes, full of hypocriſy and vayne glory, and yet doeſt thou not know that I ſit here as Biſhop of Wincheſter in mine owne Dioces, and therfore may do this which I do, and more too?

Brad. My Lord, geue me leaue to aſke you this queſtion, that my cōſcience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here Coram Deo, before God, all this audience beyng witnes, that you demaunde of me nothing whereby mine aunſwering ſhould conſent to and confirme the practiſe of Iuriſdiction for the Biſhop of Rome here in England, & your honour ſhall heare me geue you as flat and as playn anſweres briefly, to what ſo euer you ſhall demaūd me, as euer any did.

Bradford ready to anſwere vnder proteſtatiō.

L. Chanc. Here the Lord Chauncellour was wonderfully offended, and ſpake much, how that the Biſhop of Romes authority needed no confirmation of Bradfordes aunſwering, nor no ſuche as he was, and turned his talke to the people, how that Bradford folowed crafty couetous Marchauntes, which becauſe they would lend no mony to their neighbors when they were in neede, woulde ſay that they had ſworne oft that they woulde neuer lend any more mony, becauſe theyr detters had ſo oft deceiued them. Euen ſo thou (quoth he to Bradford) doeſt at this preſent, to caſt a myſt in the peoples eyes, to bleare them with an hereſye (which is greater and more hurtfull to the cōmō wealth then the other is) pretend thine othe, whereby the people might make a conſcience, whereas they ſhoulde not. Why ſpakeſt thou not?

Brad. My Lord, as I ſayd, I ſay agayne: I dare not aunſwere you for feare of periury, from which God defēd me: or els I could tell you that there is a difference betwene othes: Some be according to fayth and charity, as the othe agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſome be agaynſt fayth & charity: as this: to deny by othe my helpe &c. my brother in his neede.

Difference of othes: ſome with fayth and charity: ſome againſt it.

L. Chaunc. Here my Lord Chancellor agayne was muche offended, ſtill ſaying, that Bradford durſt not anſwere and further made much ado to proue the othe agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome, that it was agaynſt charity.

Brad. But Bradford aunſwered, that how ſo euer his honor tooke him, yet was he aſſured of his meaning, that no feare but the feare of periury made him vnwilling to aunſwere. For as for my death my lord (quoth he) as I know there at 12. houres in the day, ſo with the Lord my time is appoynted. And when it ſhalbe his good time, then ſhall I depart hence: but in the meane ſeaſon I am ſafe enough, though all the people had ſworne my death. Into his handes I haue cōmitted it, and do: his good will be done. And ſauing mine oth, I will aunſwere you in this behalfe that the oth agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome was not, nor is not agaynſt charity.

L. Chan. How proue you that.

Brad. Forſooth, I proue it thus.

¶ Argument.

The othe agaynſt the B. of Rome, is not agaynſt charitie.

Fe- Nothing is agaynſt charity, whiche is with Goddes word, and not agaynſt it.

ſti- The othe agaynſt the Biſhop of Romes authoritye in England, is with Gods word, and not agaynſt it:

no. Ergo, the othe againſt the Biſhop of Romes authority in England is not agaynſt charity.

L. Chanc. Is it not agaynſt Goddes worde that a manne ſhould take a king to be ſupreme head of the church in his Realme?

Brad. No ſauing ſtill myne othe, it is not agaynſt Gods word, but with it, being taken in ſuche ſenſe, as it may bee well takē: that is, attributing to the kinges power the ſoueraignty in all his dominion.

A king how he may be taken for ſupreme head of the Church in his owne dominion.

L. Chanc. I pray you, where finde you that?

Brad. I finde it in manye places, but ſpecially in the 13. to the Romanes, where S. Paule writeth: Euery ſoule to bee ſubiect to the ſuperior power, but what power? Quæ gladium geſtat: The power verily which beareth the ſword, which is not the ſpirituall, but the the temporall power. As Chryſoſt. full well noteth vpon the ſame place, which your honour knoweth better then I. He (Chryſoſtome I meane) there playnely ſheweth that Biſhops, Prophets, and Apoſtles are obedient to the temporall Magiſtrates.

Rom. 13. Biſhops, Prophets, & Apoſtles ſubiect to temporall Magiſtrates.

L. Chaunc. Here yet more the Lorde Chauncelloure was ſtyrred, and ſayd, how that Bradforde went about to deny all obedience to the Queene for his othe: and ſo (quoth he) this man would make Gods word a warrant of diſobedience, for he will anſwere the queene on this ſort, that whē ſhe ſayth, now ſweare to the Biſhop of Rome, or obey his authority: No (will he ſay) for I am forſworne, & ſo make the Queene no Queene.

Brad. No, I goe not about to denye all obedience to the Queenes highneſſe, but denying obedience in this part, if ſhe ſhould demaunde it. For I was ſworne to Kyng Edward, not ſimply, that is, not onely concerning his owne perſon, but alſo concerning his ſucceſſors, & therfore in denying to do the queenes requeſt herein, I deny not her authority, nor become diſobedient.

Refuſing of the Popes obediēce, being ſworne agaynſt him, is no denying of obedience to the Queene.

L. Chanc. Yes that thou doeſt: and ſo he began to tel a long tale, how if a man ſhould make an oth to pay to me an hūdred poundes by ſuch a day, and the man to whom it was due would forgeue the debt, the debter would ſay. No, you can not do it, for I am forſworne then.

The prepoſterous iudgement of Wincheſter, to care ſo little for an othe to God, and ſo much for his vowe to the Pope.

Brad. Here Bradford deſired my Lord Chancellour not to trifle it, ſaying, that he wondred his honour would make ſolemne othes made to God, trifles in that ſort: and make ſo great a matter concerning vowes (as they call it) made to the Biſhop for Mariage of Prieſtes.

L. Chaunc. At theſe wordes the Lorde Chauncellour was much offended, and ſayd, he dyd not trifle: but (quoth hee) thou goeſt about to deny obedience to the Queene, which now requireth obedience to the Biſhop of Rome.

Brad. No, my Lorde, I doe not denye obedience to the queene, if you would diſcerne betwene Genus and Species. Becauſe I may not obey in this: Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reaſon. As if a man let or ſell a piece of his inheritaunce, yet this notwithſtādyng, all his inheritāce is not let or ſold: & ſo in this caſe all obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny obedience in this branch.

Argument. A ſpecie ad genus negatiue non valet.

L. Chaunc. I will none of theſe ſimilitudes.

Brad. I would not vſe them, if that you went not about to perſwade the people, that I meane that whiche I neuer meant: for I my ſelfe not onely meane obedience, but wyll geue enſample of all moſt humble obedience, to yͤ queenes highneſſe, ſo long as ſhe requireth not obedience agaynſt God.

L. Chaunc. No, no, all men may ſee your meaning well enough. There is no man though he be ſworne to the king that doth therefore breake his othe, if he afterwardes bee ſworne to the French king and to the Emperor.

Brad. It is true my lord: but the caſes be not like. For here is an exception: thou ſhalt not ſweare to yͤ biſhop of Rome at any time. If in like maner we were ſworne: thou ſhalt not ſerue the Emperor. &c. you ſee there were ſome alteratiō and more doubt. But I beſeech your honor remember what ye your ſelfe haue written, anſwering the obiections here agaynſt in your booke De vera obedientia: Vincat modo diuini verbi veritas. i. Let Gods word and the reaſon therof beare the bell away.

L. Chaunc. Here the Lorde Chauncelloure was throughly moued, and ſayd ſtill, how that Bradford had written ſeditious letters, and peruerted the people therby, & did ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defēd the erronious doctrine in king Edwardes tyme, againſt all men: and now (quoth he) he ſayth, he dare not aunſwere.

Wincheſter pretendeth as though Bradford for feare durſt not aunſwere.

Brad. I haue written no ſeditious letters. I haue not peruerted the people, but that which I haue writtē & ſpoken, that will I neuer deny, by Gods grace. And where your Lordſhippe ſayth, that I dare not aunſwere you: that all men may know I am not afrayd, ſauing myne othe, aſke me what you will, and I will playnely make you anſwere by Gods grace, although I now ſee my life lyeth thereon. But Oh Lord, into thy handes I committe it: come what come wyll, onely ſanctify thy name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace. Amen. Nowe aſke what you will, and you ſhall ſee I am not afrayd, by Gods grace flatly to anſwere.

Bradford ready to render a reaſon of his fayth.

L. Chaunc. Well then, how ſay you to the bleſſed ſacramēt? Doe you not beleue there Chriſt to be preſent concernyng his naturall body?

Brad. My Lord, I do beleue that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due adminiſtration of the ſacrament. By this word (corporally) I meane that Chriſt is there preſēt corporally vnto fayth.

Christ preſent corporally in the Sacrament to fayth.

L. Chaunc. Unto fayth? we muſt haue many mo wordes to make it more playne.

Brad. You ſhall ſo: but firſt geue me leaue to ſpeake two wordes.

L. Chaunc. Speake on.

Brad. I haue bene now a yeare and almoſt three quarters in Priſon, and of all this tyme you neuer queſtioned with me hereabout, when I might haue ſpoken my conſcience franckly without perill: but now haue you a law to hang vp and put to death, if a man anſwere freely, & not to your

Note well the Popes way to bring men to fayth.

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appetite: and ſo now you come to demaund this queſtion. Ah my Lorde, Chriſt vſed not this way to bring men to fayth. No more did the Prophetes or Apoſtles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the pope: Apoſtolos lego ſtetiſſe iudicandos, ſediſſe iudicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit. &c. that is, I read, that the Apoſtles ſtoode to be iudged, but I read not, that they ſate to iudge. This ſhall be: that was. &c.

The Popes iudging & condemning men for their fayth reproued by Bernard.

L. Chaunc. Here the Lord Chauncellour was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſayde moſt gently, that hee vſed not thys meanes. It was not my doyng (quoth he) although ſome there be, that thinke this to be the beſt way. For I for my part haue bene chalenged for being too gentle oftentimes. Which thing the Biſhop of London confirmed, and ſo did almoſt all the audience, that he had bene euer too milde and too gentle.

Winchester blamed without a cauſe, as he ſaith.

Brad. At which wordes Bradford ſpake thus. My Lorde, I pray you ſtretch out your gentlenes, that I may feele it, for hitherto I neuer felt it.

L. Chaunc. As ſoone as euer he had ſpoken thus, the Lorde chauncelor, belike, thinking that Bradford would haue had mercy and pardon, ſaid, that with all his hart, not only he, but the Queenes highnes would ſtretch out mercy, if with them he would returne.

Brad. Returne my Lord? God ſaue me from that goyng backe: I meane it not ſo, but I meane, that I was three quarters of a yeare in the Tower: you forbad me paper, pen, and ynke, and neuer in all that time, nor ſithens did I feele any gentleneſſe from you. I haue rather hytherto found, as I looked for extremitye. And I thanke God that I perceiue nowe ye haue kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter you had, but for matter you woulde haue. Gods good will be done.

Bradford three quarters of a yeare in the Tower kept from pen and inke.

M. Bradford impriſoned not for matter they had, but for matter they would haue agaynſt him.

Here was now diuers telling my Lord it was dinner tyme. And ſo he roſe vp, leauing Bradford ſpeaking, and ſaying that in the after noone they would ſpeak more with hym. And ſo was he had into the Veſtry, and was there al that day till darcke night, and ſo was conueyed agayne to priſon.

Bradford kept in the Veſtrey till darke night.

In the meane tyme, about iiij. of the clocke the ſame after noone, a gentleman called Mayſter Thomas Huſſey of Lincolneſhyre, which was once an Officer in the Duke of Northfolkes houſe, did come into the Reueſtrye to enquire for one Stoning: and when it was aunſwered hym by the vndermarſhals officers of the Kinges Benche, that there was none ſuch, hee entred into the houſe, and tooke acquayntance of Iohn Bradford ſaying, that he would cōmon and ſpeake with him the nexte morning for olde acquayntance.

Thomas Huſſey commeth to Bradford.

The next morning about 7. of the clocke, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein Iohn Bradford dyd lye, and being with him, hee began a long Oration, how that of loue & olde acquayntāce he came vnto him to ſpeak that whiche he woulde further vtter. You did (ſayd he) ſo wonderfully behaue your ſelfe before the Lord Chauncellour and other Biſhops yeſterday, that euen the verieſt enemyes you haue, did ſee that they haue no matter agaynſt you: & therefore I aduiſe you ſpeaking (as though it came of his owne good will without making any other man priuy, or any other procuring hym, as he ſayd) this day (for anone you ſhall be called before them again) to deſire a time and men to conferre withal, ſo ſhall all men thinke a wonderfull wiſedom, grauity and godlines in you: and by this meanes you ſhall eſcape preſent daūger, which els is nearer then you beware of. To this Iohn Bradford aunſwered: I neither can nor will make any ſuch requeſt. For thē ſhall I geue occaſion to the people & to all other to thinke that I doubt of the Doctrine which I confeſſe: the whiche thing I do not for therof I am moſt aſſured, and therefore I will geue no ſuch offence.

Counſell of M. Huſſey geuen to Bradford.

Bradford refuſeth to require reſpite.

As they were thus talking, the chamber doore was vnlocked and Doctour Seton came in, who when hee ſawe Mayſter Huſſey: what Syr (quoth he) are you come before me? O Lord ſayd Bradforde in his hart to God, goeth the matter thus? This man tolde me, no man knew of his comming: Lorde geue me grace to remember thy Leſſon, Cauete ab hominibus illis. Beware of thoſe men. &c. Caſte not your pearles before dogges: for I ſee theſe menne be come to hunt for matter, that the one may beare witnes with the other.

D. Seton commeth to Mayſter Bradford.

Huſſey taken with a lye.

Seton. Doctour Seton after ſome by talke of Bradfordes age, of his country & ſuch like, began a gay and long ſermō of my Lord of Canterbury, M. Latimer, and M. Ridley, and howe they at Oxforde were not able to aunſwere any thing at all: and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury deſired to confer with the Biſhop of Dureſme and others: al which talke tended to this end that Iohn Bradford ſhould make the like ſute, being in nothing to be cōpared in learning to my Lord of Canterbury.

Counſell of D. Seton geuen to M. Bradford.

Brad. To this, Iohn Bradford briefly anſwered as he did before to Mayſter Huſſey.

Seton. With this aunſwere neither the Doctour nor Gentleman being cōtented, after many perſwaſions, M. Doctour ſayd: I haue heard much good talke of you, and euen yeſternight a Gentleman made report of you at the Lorde Chācellors table, that ye were able to perſwade as much as any that he knewe. And I (though I neuer hearde you preach, & to my knowledge neuer did I ſee you before yeſterday) yet me thought your modeſty was ſuch, your behauior and talke ſo without malice and impacience, that I would be ſory ye ſhould do worſe then my ſelfe. And I tell you further, I do perceiue my Lorde Chauncellour hath a fantaſy towardes you: wherfore be not ſo obſtinate but deſire reſpite, and ſome learned man to conferre withall. &c.

The flattering commendation of D. Se to Mayſt Bradford.

Brad. But Iohn Bradforde kept ſtill one aunſwere: I can not, nor I will not ſo offende the people. I doubt not, but am moſt certayne of the doctrine I haue taught.

M. Bradford refuſeth to aſke reſpite to conferre vpon his doctrine.

Seton. Here Mayſter Doctoure waxed hoate, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vaynegloriouſ, and ſpake like a Prelate.

Brad. But Bradforde aunſweared, beware of iudgyng, leaſt ye condemne your ſelfe. But ſtyll Mayſter Doctour Seton vrged him, ſhewing hym how mercifull my Lorde Chauncellour was, and how charitably they entreteyned hym.

Brad. I neuer ſawe any iuſtice, muche leſſe loue, I ſpeake for my part (quoth Bradford) in my Lorde Chauncellor. Long haue I bene vniuſtly impriſoned, and handled in the ſame vncharitably, & now my Lord hath no iuſt matter agaynſt me.

Litle iuſ leſſe loue appeareth in the Biſhop of wincheſter.

This talke ſerued not the Doctors purpoſe: wherefore he went frō matter to matter, frō this point to that poynt. Bradford ſtill gaue him the hearing, and aunſwered not: for he perceiued that they both did come but to fiſh for ſom ſuch thinges as might make a ſhew that my Lord Chācellor had iuſtly kept him in priſon.

When all theyr talke tooke no ſuch effect as they would or looked for. Mayſter Huſſey aſked Bradford: will ye not admit conference, if my Lord Chauncellour ſhould offer it publickely?

Brad. Conference, if it had bene offered before the law had bene made, or if it were offered, ſo that I might be at liberty to conferre, and as ſure, as he with whom I ſhould conferre, then it were ſomething: but els I ſee not to what other purpoſe conference ſhould be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may geue more offēce, then do good. Howbeit, if my Lord ſhall make ſuch an offer of his owne motion, I will not refuſe to conferre with whom ſo euer he ſhall appoynt.

M. Bradford refuſeth to admit conference but vpon conditions.

Mayſter Doctour hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatſoeuer pleaſed him.

D. Seton rayleth agaynſt M. Bradford.

Then Bradford perceiuing by them, that he ſhoulde ſhortly be called for, beſought them both to geue him leaue to talke with God, and to beg wiſedome and grace of him: for (quoth he) otherwiſe I am helpeleſſe: and ſo they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God & made his prayers, whiche the Lorde of his goodneſſe dyd graciouſly accept in his need, praiſed therfore be his holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Bradforde was lead to the foreſayd church, and there taryed vncalled for, till eleuen of the clocke, that is, till Mayſter Saunders was excommunicated.

✤ The effect and ſumme of the laſt examination of Iohn Bradford in the Church of S. Mary Oueryes.

After the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, Iohn Bradford was called in, & beyng brought in before the Lord Chauncellour and other the Biſhops there ſitting, the Lord Chauncellour began to ſpeake thus in effect: that Bradford being now eftſoones come before them would anſwere with modeſty and humility, and conforme himſelfe to the Catholicke Churche with them and ſo yet he might finde mercy, becauſe they would be loth to vſe extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

The laſt examination of M. Bradford.

The effect of Wincheſters talke with M. Bradford.

After the Lorde Chauncellor had ended his long Oration, Bradforde began to ſpeake thus: As yeſterday I beſought your honours to ſet in your ſight the Maieſty and preſence of God to followe him, which ſeeketh not to ſubuert the ſimple by ſubtle queſtions: ſo I humbly beſeech euery one of you to do this day: for that you know well enough that guilteles bloud wil cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordſhips to do as one that taketh vpon me to condemne you vtterly herein, but that ye might bee more admoniſhed to do that which none doth ſo muche as he

M. Bradfordes aunſwere to Winche

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he ſhould doe: For our nature is ſo much corrupt, that wee are very obliuious and forgetfull of God. Agayne, as yeſterday I pretended mine othe and othes agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome, that I ſhoulde neuer conſent to the practyſing of anye iuriſdiction for him or on his behalfe in the realme of England: ſo do I agayn this day, leaſt I ſhould be periured. And laſt of all, as yeſterday the aunſweres I made were by proteſtation and ſauing mine othe, ſo I would your honors ſhould knowe that mine aunſweres ſhall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) ſhall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltines of periury.

Wincheſter ſophyſteth agaynſt Bradford and that falſe.

L. Chaunc. At which wordes the Lord Chauncellour was wroth, and ſayd, that they had geuen him reſpite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errours of the bleſſed Sacrament, which yeſterday (quoth he) before vs you vttered.

Brad. My Lord you gaue me no time of any ſuch deliberation, neither did I ſpeake anye thing of the Sacrament which you did diſalow. For when I had declared a preſẽce of Chriſt to be there to fayth, you went frõ that matter to purge your ſelfe that you were not cruell, and ſo went to dynner.

The othe agaynſt the B. of Rome, whether it be lawfull or vnlawful.

L. Chaunc. What? I perceiue we muſt beginne all agayne with thee. Did not I yeſterday tell thee playnely that thou madeſt a cõſcience where none ſhould be? Did not I make it playne that the oth againſt the Biſhop of Rome was an vnlawfull oth?

Brad. No in deed my Lord: You ſayd ſo, but you proued it not yet, nor neuer can do.

Wincheſters ſimilitude in no poynt like.

L. Chaunc Oh Lord God, what a felowe art thou? Thou wouldeſt go about to bring into the peoples heades, that we, all the Lordes of the parliament houſe, the Knyghtes and Burgeſſes, and all the whole realme be periured. Oh what an hereſy is this? here good people you may ſee what a ſenceles heretick this fellow is. If I ſhould make an oth I would neuer help my brother nor lend him mony in his need, were this a good aunſwere to tell my neighbour deſiring my helpe, that I had made an oth to the contrary, O that I could not do it?

Wincheſters ſimilitude refuted.

Brad. Oh my Lord, diſcerne betwixt othes, that be againſt charity and fayth, and othes that be according to fayth and charity, as this is agaynſt the byſhop of Rome.

Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellor made much ado, and a long time was ſpẽt about othes, which were good & which were euill, he captiouſly aſking often of Bradford a direct aunſwere concerning othes: which Bradford woulde not geue ſimply, but with a diſtinction. Wherat the Chauncellor was much offended: but Bradforde ſtill kept him at the bay, that the oth agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome was a lawful oth, vſing thereto the Lord Chauncellors owne booke, de vera Obedientia, for confirmation.

Gods word iudge onely of othes, whether they be made lawfull agaynſt the ſupremacie of the Pope or no.

At the length they came to this iſſue, who ſhoulde bee Iudge of the lawfulnes of the othe: and Bradford ſayd the word of God, according to Chriſts word. Ioh. 12. My word ſhall iudge, and according to the teſtimony of Eſay and Miche, that Goddes worde comming out of Ieruſalem, ſhall geue ſentence among the Gentiles. By this word (quoth Bradford) my Lord, I will proue the othe agaynſt the byſhop of Romes authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawfull othe. So that the Lord Chauncellor left his holde, and as the other day he pretended a deniall of the queenes authority and obedience to her highnes, ſo did he now.

Wincheſter leaueth his holde.

* One ſpeciall caſe of obedience denyed by conſcience, maketh no generall deniall of obedience in caſes lawfull.

But Bradford, as the day before, proued that obediẽce in this poynt to the Queenes highneſſe, if ſhe ſhould demaund an othe to the Biſhop of Rome, being denied, was not a * generall deniall of her authority and of obedience to her: no more (quoth he) thẽ the ſale, gift, or leaſe of a piece of a mans inheritaunce proueth it a ſale, gift or leaſe of the whole inheritaunce.

Wincheſter dallying in vowes made to men and ſkipping ouer ſolemne othes made to God.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: The Lord Chauncellour talking much and vſing many examples of debt, of going out of the Towne to morow by oth, and yet tarying till Friday and ſuche like. Whiche trifling talke Bradford did touch ſaying: that it was a wonder his honor weyed conſcience no more in this, and would be ſo earneſt in vowes of Prieſtes Mariages made to biſhops, and be carcles for ſolemne othes made to God, & to Princes. Summa, this was the end. The Lord Chauncellor ſayd, the Queene might diſpenſe with it, and didde ſo to all the whole Realme. But Bradford ſayd, that the queenes highnes could do no more but remitte her right: as for the othe made to God, ſhe could neuer remit, foraſmuch as it was made vnto God.

Wincheſter in a pelting chafe.

L. Chaunc. At which wordes the Lord Chauncellour chafed wonderfully, and ſayd that in playne ſence I ſclaundered the Realme of periury: And therefore (quoth he to the people) you may ſee how thys felow taketh vpon him, to haue more knowledge and conſcience, then all the wiſe mẽ of England, and yet he hath no conſcience at all.

M. Bradford impriſoned without a cauſe.

Brad. Well my Lorde, let all the ſtanders by ſee who hath conſcience. I haue bene a yere and an halfe in priſon. Now before al this people, declare wherfore I was impriſoned, or what cauſe you had to puniſh me. You ſayd ẏ other day in your owne houſe, my Lord of London witneſſing with you, that I tooke vpon me to ſpeake to the people vndeſired. There he ſitteth by you, I meane my Lorde of Bathe, which deſired me himſelfe for the paſſiõ of Chriſt, I would ſpeake to the people. Vpon whoſe words, I commyng into the Pulpite, had like to haue bene ſlayne with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I thinke) for it touched my ſleeue. He then prayd me I would not leaue him, & I promiſed him as lõg as I liued, I would take hurt before him that day, and ſo went out of the pulpit, and entreated with the people, & at length brought him my ſelfe into an houſe.

M. Bradford neare ſlayne in the pulpit, with the dagger throwen agaynſt M. Bourne.

M. Bradford ieoparded his lyfe for M. Bourne.

Beſides this, in the afternoone I preached in Bowe church, and there going vp into the Pulpit, one willed me not to reproue ẏ people, for (quoth he) you ſhal neuer come downe aliue, if you doe it. And yet notwithſtanding I dyd in that Sermon reproue theyr fact, and called it ſedition at the leaſt twenty times. For all which my doyng, I haue receiued this recompence, priſon a yeare and an halfe and more, and death now which you go about. Let all men be iudge where conſcience is.

In ſpeaking of theſe wordes, there was endeuour to haue letted it: but Bradford ſtill ſpake on, & gaue no place till he had made an end, ſpeake what they would. And thẽ the Lord Chauncellour ſayd, that for all that fayre tale, his fact at the Croſſe was nought.

Wincheſter proued double in his own words.

Brad. No, my facte was good, as you your ſelfe did beare witneſſe with me. For when I was at the firſt before you in the Tower, you your ſelfe dydde ſay that my facte was good, but (quoth you) thy mind was euill. Well (quoth I) then my Lord, in that you alow the fact and condemne my minde, for as muche as otherwiſe I canne not declare my minde to man, but by ſaying and doing, God one daye I truſt will open it, to my comfort, what my mind was, and what yours is.

Wincheſter driuen to eate his owne wordes.

L. Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellour was offended, and ſayd, that he neuer ſayd ſo. I (quoth he) had not ſo litle wit I trow, as not to diſcerne betwixt meaning & doing: And ſo brought forth litle to ẏ purpoſe, many exãples to proue that men conſtrue thinges by the meaning of men and not by theyr doinges. But when this woulde not ſerue, then commeth he to an other matter, & ſayd that Bradford was put in priſon at the firſt, becauſe he would not yeld nor be conformable to the Queenes Religion.

Brad. Why my Lord, your honor knoweth, that you would not thẽ reaſon with me in religion, but ſayd, a time ſhould afterwards be found out, whẽ I ſhould be talked withall. But if it were as your Lordſhip ſayeth, that I was put in priſon for religion? in that my religiõ was then authoriſed by publick lawes of the realme, could cõſcience puniſh me or caſt me in priſon therfore? wherfore let all men be iudge in whom conſcience wanteth.

M. Chamberlayne of Woodſtocke agaynſt M. Bradford.

M. Cham. Here came forth M. Chamberleyne of Woodſtocke and ſpake to my Lord Chauncellor how that Bradford had bene a ſeruing man and was with Maiſter Harrington.

L. Chaunc. True, and did deceyue his Mayſter of ſeuen ſcore pounds, and becauſe of this he went to be a Goſpeller and a Preacher (good people) and yet you ſee howe hee pretendeth conſcience.

Brad. My Lord, I ſette my foote by his whoſoeuer he be, that can come forth and iuſtly vouche to my face that euer I deceiued my Mayſter. And as you are chiefe iuſticer by office in England, I deſire iuſtice vpon them that ſo ſlaunder me, becauſe they can not proue it.

Wincheſter agayne driuen from his hold.

L. Chaunc. Here my Lorde Chauncellour and M. Chamberleyne were ſmitten blanck, and ſayd they heard it. But quoth my Lord Chauncellour we haue an other maner of matter then this agaynſt you: for you are an hereticke.

Boner agayne commeth in with an other vntruth.

Lond. Yea quoth the Biſhop of London, he did wryte letters to M. Pendleton which knoweth his hande as well as his owne, your honour did ſee the letters.

Brad. That is not true, I neuer did wryte to Pendleton ſithens I came to priſon, and therefore I am not iuſtly ſpoken of.

Lond. Yea, but you indited it.

Brad. I did not, nor know not what you meane, and this I offer to proue.

A Clerke of the Counſell, thought to be M. Alien.

Here came in an other, I trow they call him, Maiſter Allen one of the Clerkes of the Councell, putting ẏ Lord Chauncelor in remembrance of letters written vnto Lankyſhire.

L. Chaun. You ſay true: for we haue his hand to ſhew.

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Brad. I denye that you haue my hand to ſhewe of Letters ſent into Lankyſhyre, otherwiſe then before you all I wil ſtand to, and proue them to be good and lawfull.

Here was all anſwered, and then the Lord Chauncellour began a new matter. Syr (quoth he) in my houſe the other day you did moſt cõtemptuouſly contẽne ỹ queenes mercy, and further ſayd, that you would mainteine the erroneous doctrine in king Edwards dayes againſt all mẽ, And this you did moſt ſtoutly.

Wincheſt er brought to a playne foyle.

Brad. Well, I am glad that all men ſee now you haue had no matter to impriſõ me afore that day iuſtly. Now ſay I, that I did not contemptuouſlye contemne the Queenes mercy, but would haue had it (though if iuſtice might take place I neede it not) ſo ỹ I might haue had it with Gods mercy, that is, without doing or ſaying any thing agaynſt God and his truth. And as for maintenaunce of doctryne, becauſe I cã not tell how you wil ſtretch this word maintenance, I will repeat agayne that which I ſpake, I ſayd I was more confirmed in the Religion ſet forth in Kyng Edwardes dayes then euer I was: and if God ſo would, I truſt I ſhoulde declare it by geuing my life for the confirmation and teſtification thereof. So I ſayd then, and ſo I ſay now. As for otherwiſe to mainteine it, then perteineth to a priuate perſon by confeſſion, I thought not, nor thinke not.

Wincheſters captious quarell aunſwered.

An other vntruth in Wincheſter.

L. Chaunc. Well, yeſterday thou didſt mainteine falſe hereſy concerning the bleſſed Sacramẽt, and therfore we gaue thee reſpite till this day to deliberate.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſayde at the firſt, I ſpake nothing of the Sacrament but that which you allowed, and therefore reproued it not, nor gaue me any time to deliberate.

L. Chaunc. Why? diddeſt thou not deny Chriſtes preſence in the Sacrament?

Brad. No, I neuer denyed, nor taught, but that to fayth whole Chriſt, body and bloud was as preſẽt as bread and wine to the due receiuer.

L. Chan. Yea, but doeſt thou not beleue ỹ Chriſtes body naturally & really is there, vnder the formes of bread & wine?

Brad. My Lord, I beleue Chriſt is preſent there to ỹ fayth of the due receiuer: as for tranſubſtantiation I playnely & flatly tell you, I beleue it not.

Bleſſed ar you when they ſhall reuile you, and ſpeake all that is naught againſt you for my names ſake. Math. 5.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a ſlaunderer, for we aſke no queſtion (quoth my Lord Chauncellor) of tranſubſtantiation, but of Chriſtes preſence.

Brad. I denye not his preſence to the fayth of the receiuer, but denye that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is tranſubſtantiate.

B. Worceſt. If he be not included, how is he then preſent?

Brad. Forſooth though my fayth can tell how, yet my toũg can not expreſſe it, nor you, otherwiſe then by fayth heare it, or vnderſtand it.

Chriſtes body preſent to fayth. Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

Here was much adoe, now one Doctour ſtandyng vp and ſpeaking thus, and others ſpeaking that, & the Lorde Chauncellour talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius: but ſtill Bradford kept him at this poynt, that Chriſt is preſent to fayth: and that there is no tranſubſtantiation nor including of Chriſt in the breade: but all thys would not ſerue them.

The wicked receiue not the body of Chriſt.

Therfore an other biſhop aſked this queſtion, whether the wicked man receiued Chriſtes very bodye or no? And Bradford anſwered playnly no. Wherat the Lord Chauncellour made a long Oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except that the euill man receyued it. But Bradford put away all his Oration in fewe wordes, that grace was at that preſent offered to his Lordſhyp, although he receiued it not: So that (quoth he) the receiuing maketh not the preſence, as your Lordſhippe woulde inferre, but Gods grace, truth, and power is the cauſe of the preſence, whiche grace the wicked that lacke fayth can not receiue. And here Bradford prayd my Lord, not to diuorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled al theſe together: Take, eate, this is my body: he ſayth not: See, peepe, this is my body: but take eate. So that it appeareth this is a promiſe depending vpon condition, if we take & eate.

Receiuing maketh not the preſence of the body, but Grace.

The Popes Church diuorceth that the Lord in the Sacrament hath coupled.

L. Chaunc. Here the Lord Chauncellour and the other byſhops made a great ado, that Bradford had foũd out a toy that no man els euer did, of the conditiõ, & the Lord Chaũcellour made many wordes to the people there about.

The Sacrament hath both a commaundement and a promiſe and how?

Brad. But Bradford ſayd thus: My Lord, are not theſe wordes, Take, eate, a commaundement? And are not theſe wordes, This is my body, a promiſe? If you will challenge the promiſe, and do not the commaundemẽt, may you not deceiue your ſelfe?

L. Chaunc. Here the Lord Chauncellour denyed Chriſt to haue commaunded the Sacrament, and the vſe of it.

Bradford teacheth Wincheſter his grammer.

Brad. Why my Lord I pray you tell the people what mood Accipite, Mãducate is: Is it not playne to children, ỹ Chriſt in ſo ſaying commaundeth?

L. Chaunc. At theſe wordes the Lord Chauncellour made a great toying and trifling at the imparatiue mood and fel to pareſing or examining, as he ſhould teach a childe: & ſo concluded that it was no cõmaundemẽt: but ſuch a phraſe as this, I pray you geue me drinke, which (quoth he) is no commaundement I trow.

Winche / denyeth / these w / Take ea / to be a / comman / dement.

Brad. But Bradforde prayed him to leaue toying and trifling, and ſayd thus: My Lord, if it be not a commaundement of Chriſt to take and eate the Sacrament, why dare any take vpon them to commaund and make that of neceſſity, which God leaueth free? as you do in making it a neceſſary commaundement, once a yeare for all that be of diſcretion to receiue the Sacrament.

L. Chaunc. Here the Lord Chauncellour called him agayn *Diabolus or Calumniator, and began out of theſe wordes: Let a man proue himſelfe, and ſo eate of the breade, (yea breade quoth Bradforde) and drinke of the cuppe, to proue that it was no commaundement to receiue the Sacrament. For then (quoth he) if it were a cõmaundement, it ſhould bind all men in all places, and at all times.

* Diabo / is as much / to ſay in / Greke, as / ſlaunderer / or cauiller.

Brad. O my Lord, diſcerne betwene commaundementes: ſome be ſo generall, as the ten commaundemẽts: that they binde alwayes, in all places, and all perſons: ſome be not ſo generall: as this is of the Supper, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, of the thriſe appearing before the Lord yearely at Ieruſalem, of Abraham offering of Iſaac. &c.

Differe / betwene / comman / dementes.

Here my Lord Chauncellour denied the cup to be cõmaunded of Chriſt, for then (quoth he) we ſhould haue eleuen commaundementes.

Brad. In deed I thinke you thinke as you ſpeake, for els would you not take the cup from the people, in that Chriſt ſayeth: Drinke ye of it all. But howe ſaye you my Lordes: Chriſt ſayth to you Biſhops eſpecially: Ite prædicate Euangelium. i. Go and preach the Goſpell: Feede Chriſtes flocke. &c. Is this a commaundement or no?

L. Chaun. Here was my Lord Chauncellour in a chafe, and ſaid as pleaſed him.

Wynche / in a chafe. / B. Tonſta / queſtion.

Dureſme. An other, the Biſhop of Dureſme I weene aſked Bradford when Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament? whether before the receiuer receiued it, or no?

Brad. Bradford aunſwered, that the queſtion was curious and not neceſſary: and further ſayd, that as the cuppe was the newe Teſtament, ſo the breade was Chriſtes bodye to hym that receiueth it duely, but yet ſo that the breade is bread. For (quoth he) in all the Scripture, you ſhall not finde this propoſition, Non eſt panis, there is no bread. And ſo he brought forth Chriſoſtome: Si in corpore eſſemus. Homel. 83. in Mat. 34. Summa, much ado was hereaboutes, they calling Bradford hereticke, and hee deſiring them to proceede on in Gods name, he looked for that which God had appoynted for them to do.

As the c / is the te / ment ſo / bread i / body. / Chriſo / Mat. Hom / 83.

L. Chaunc. This fellow is now in an other hereſy of fatall neceſſity, as though all thinges were ſo tied together, that of mere neceſſity all muſt come to paſſe.

Brad. But Bradford prayd him to take thinges as they be ſpoken, and not wraſt them into a contrarye ſence. Your Lordſhip (quoth he) doth diſcerne betwixt God and man. Thinges are not by fortune to God at any tyme, though to man they ſeeme ſo ſometimes. I ſpeake but as the Apoſtles ſayd: Lord (quoth they) ſee how Herode and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelates are gathered together agaynſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy hand and counſell hath before ordeyned for them to do.

To God no / thing is by / fortune, to / man it may / ſometymes / ſo bee. / Actes. 4. / Wyncheſte / readeth the / Sentence o / curſe agai / M. Brad

L. Chaun. Here began the Lord Chauncellour to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of Iohn Bradford Laicus, lay man: why (quoth he) art thou no Prieſt?

Brad. No, nor neuer was, either Prieſte, either beneficed, either maryed, either any Preacher, afore publicke authority had eſtabliſhed Religion, or Preacher after publicke authority had altered Religiõ, and yet I am thus handled at your handes: but God, I doubt not, will geue his bleſſing where you curſe. And ſo he fell downe on his knees, and hartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his ſake. And ſo praying God to geue him repẽtance, and a good minde, after the excommunication was read, he was deliuered to the Shyriffe of London, & ſo had to the Clincke, and after to the Counter in the Poultry in the ſame City of London, this being then purpoſed of his murtherers, that he ſhould be deliuered from thẽce to the Earle of Darby, to be cõueyed into Lankeſhyre, and there to be burned in the towne of Mancheſter, where he was borne: but theyr purpoſe concerning the place was afterward altered: for they burned him in London.

M. Brad / deliuered / the Shi / M. Brad / ſent to the / Counter i / the poul

After the condemnation of M. Bradford, which was the laſt day of Ianuary, M. Bradford being ſent into priſon, dyd there remayne vntill the fyrſt day of Iuly, during all

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all which time, diuers other conferences and conflictes he ſuſteineth with ſondry aduerſaries, whiche repayred vnto him in the priſon. Of whom firſt byſhop Boner comming to the Counter to diſgrade D. Taylor, the 4. daye of Febriuary entred talk with ẏ ſaid M. Bradford: ẏ effect wherof here enſueth.

¶ Priuate talke had with Iohn Bradford, by ſuch as the Prelates ſent vnto him, after the time of condemnation, by his own writing.

VPpon the 4. of February, that is, the ſame day M. Rogers was burned, Bonor biſhop of London came to ẏ Counter in the Poultry to diſgrade M. Doctor Taylor about one of ẏ clocke at after noone. But before he ſpake to M. Taylor, he called for Iohn Bradford which was priſoner there whome when he ſaw, he put of his cap and gaue him his hand, ſaying: becauſe I perceaue that ye are deſirous to conferre with ſome learned men, therefore I haue brought M. Archdeacon Harpſfield to you. And I tel you you doe like a wiſe man. But I pray you goe roundly to worke: for the time is but ſhort.

Bradford. My Lorde as roundly as I can I will goe to worke with you: I neuer deſired to conferre with any mā, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will haue one to talke with me, I am ready.

Boner. What (quoth the Byſhop in a fume to the keeper) did you not tell me that this man deſired conference?

Keeper. No my Lord, I told you that he would not refuſe to conferre with any: but I did not ſay that it is his deſire.

Boner. Wel, M. Bradford, you are welbeloued, I pray you conſider your ſelfe, & refuſe not charitie when it is offered.

Bradford. In deede my Lord, this is ſmall charitie, to condemne a man as you haue condemned me, whiche neuer brake your lawes. In turky a man may haue charitie, but in England I could not yet finde it. I was condemned for my fayth, ſo ſoon as I vttered it at your requeſts, before I had committed any thing agaynſt the lawes. And as for conference I am not afrayd to talke with whom you will. But to ſay that I deſire to conferre, that do I not.

Boner. Well, well. And ſo he called for M. Taylour and Bradford went his way.

An other priuate matter of talke betweene M. Bradford and Willerton, Creſwel, Harding Harpſfield, and other moe.

VPon an other day of February one, M. Willerton, a Chapleine of the biſhop of London, did come to conſer with Bradford: but when he perceaued that Bradford deſired not his comming, and therfore wiſhed rather his departing them abiding, well maiſter Bradford (quoth hee) yet I pray you let vs conferre a litle: perchaunce you may do me good, If I can doe you none: Upon which wordes Bradford was content, and ſo they began to talke. Willerton ſpake much of the Doctours, the fathers, of the bread in the 6. chapter of Saint Iohn. &c. labouring to proue tranſubſtantiation, and that wicked men doe receaue Chriſt.

But Bradford on the contrary part improued hys authorities, ſo that they came to this iſſue, that Willerton ſhould draw out of the ſcriptures and Doctours hys reaſons, and Bradford woulde peruſe them: and if hee coulde not anſwere them, then he would geue place. Likewyſe ſhould Bradford draw out his reaſons out of the ſcriptures and Doctours, to which Willerton ſhoulde anſwere if he could: and ſo for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton ſet halfe a ſheete of paper written on both ſides, contaynyng no reaſons howe he gathered his doctrine, but onely bare ſentēces: Panis quem ego dabo. &c. The bread which I wil geue is my fleſhe: And the places in the 26. of Mathewe 14. of Marke. 22. of Luke, and the 10. and 11. to the Corinthians, with ſome ſentences of the Doctours: All whiche made as much agaynſt hym, as with hym.

In the after noone he came himſelf, and there they had a long talke to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the Church, ſaying that Bradford ſwerued from the Church.

Brad. No, that I do not, but ye doe. For the * Churche is Chriſtes ſpouſe, and Chriſtes obedient ſpouſe, which your Church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lords cup, and of ſeruice in the Engliſh tongue.

Willerton. Why? it is not profitable to haue the ſeruice in Engliſh: for it is written: Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt legem. The lips of the Prieſt ſhould keepe the law, and out of his mouth man muſt looke for knowledge.

Bradford. Soulde not the people then haue the ſcriptures? Wherefore ſerueth this ſaying of Chriſt: Searche the Scriptures?

Willerton. This was not ſpoken to the people, but to the Scribes and learned men.

Brad. Then the people muſt not haue the ſcriptures.

Willerton. No, for it was written: Erunt docti a Deo: They ſhalbe all taught of God.

Argument Erunt docti a Deo Ergo the people muſt not haue the Scriptures.

Brad. And muſt we learne all at the prieſtes?

Willerton. Yea.

Brad. Then I ſee you would bring the people to hang vp Chriſt and let Barrabas goe: as the prieſtes did then perſwade the people. At whiche wordes, Mayſter Willerton was ſo offended that he had no luſt to talke any more. In the end Bradford gaue him the reaſons which he had gathered agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, & prayed him to frame his into the forme of reaſons, and then, quoth Bradford, I will aunſwere them.

M. Bradfordes reaſon agaynſt tranſubſtantiation not anſwerēd.

Willer. Well I will do ſo. But firſt I wil anſwere yours. The which thing vntill this day he hath not done.

Upon the 12. of February there came one of the Earle of Darbies ſeruantes to Bradford, ſaying: My Lord hath ſent me to you: he willeth you to tender your ſelfe, and he would be good Lord vnto you.

The Earle of Darbyes ſeruant.

Bradford. I thanke his Lordſhip for his good will toward me: but in this caſe I can not tender my ſelfe more then Gods honour.

Seruaunt. Ah M. Bradford, conſider your mother, ſiſters, frendes, kinſfolke, and country, what a great diſcomfort it wilbe vnto them to ſee you dye as an hereticke.

Brad. I haue learned to forſake father, mother, brother ſiſter, friend, and all that euer I haue, yea euen mine owne ſelfe, for els I cannot be Chriſtes Diſciple.

M. Bradford preferreth Chriſt before all his kynne and kynred.

Seruaunt. If my Lord ſhuld obtayne for you that ye might depart the Realme, would ye not be content to be at the Queenes appoyntment, where ſhee would appoynt you beyond the ſea?

Bradford. No, I had rather be burned in England then be burned beyond the ſeas. For I know that if ſhe ſhould ſēd me to Paris, Louaine, or ſome ſuch place, forthwith they would burne me.

Bradford contented to be burned in England, rather then to be ſent ouer the ſea to popiſh places.

Talke betweene Maiſter Bradford and one Perceuall Creſwell, and after that with Doctour Harding.

VPon the 14. of February, Perciuall Creſwell, an olde acquayntaunce of Bradfordes came to him, bryngyng with him a kinſman of Mayſter Fecknams, who after many wordes ſayd.

Perciuall Creſwell talketh with Bradford.

Creſwell. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Bradford. You may do what ye will.

Creſwell. But tell me what ſute I ſhould make for you.

Brad. Forſooth that ye wil do, do it not at my requeſt, for I deſire nothing at your handes. If the Queene will geue me life, I will thanke her. If ſhe will baniſhe me, I will thanke her. If ſhee will burne me, I will thanke her: If ſhe will condemne me to perpetuall priſonment. I wyll thanke her.

Creſwell offereth to make ſute for Bradford.

Hereupon Creſwell went away, and about a xi. of the clocke he and the other man came againe, & brought a book of Mores making, deſiring Bradford to read it ouer.

Mores booke brought to Bradford.

Bradford: taking the booke, ſayde: Good Perciuall, I am ſetled for being moued in this article.

Creſwell. Oh, if euer ye loued me, do one thing for me.

Bradford. What is it.

Creſwell. Deſire and name what learned man or men yee will haue to come vnto you. My Lord to York, my Lord of Lincolne, my Lorde of Bath, & others will gladly come vnto you.

Brad. No, neuer will I deſire them or anye other to come to conferre with me, for I am as certayne of my doctrine as I am of any thing, But for your pleaſure, and alſo that all men may knowe I am not aſhamed to haue my fayth ſifted and tryed, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them, So they went their way.

About 3. of the clocke in the after noone Mayſter Doctor Harding, who was then the B. of Lincolns Chaplayn came to Bradford, and after a great and ſolemne proteſtation, ſhewing how ẏ he had prayed to God before he came to turne his talke to Bradfords good, hee began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford, and ſpent the time in ſuch tratling, ſo that their talke was to little purpoſe: ſaue that Bradford praied him to conſider from whence he was fallen, and not to folow the world, nor to loue it: For the loue of God is not where the world is.

D. Harding commeth to M. Bradford.

Harding. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable

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eſtate, as one being out of the church, & therfore willed him to take heede of his ſoule, & not to dye in ſuch an opinion.

Brad. What M. Harding, quoth Bradford: I haue heard you with theſe eares maintaine this that I ſtand in.

D. Harding inueyeth agaynſt Peter Martyr Bucer, & Luther.

Harding. I graunt that I haue taught that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was a ſubtill doctrine, but otherwiſe I neuer taught it. And ſo he enueying againſt mariages of Prieſtes, and namely againſt Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and ſuch, which for breaking theyr vowes were iuſtly geuen vp into hereſies (as he ſayd) Bradford ſeyng him altogether geuen vp to Popery, after admoniſhment therof, bad him farewell.

Talke betweene D. Harpſfield Archdeacon, and Mayſter Bradford.

D. Harpſfield talketh with M. Bradford.

Vpon the xxv. of February Perciuall Creſwell came to M. Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, and a ſeruaunt wayting vppon him. After formall ſalutations, he made a long Oration, of which this is a ſhort ſumme: That al mē euen the infidels, Turkes, Iewes, Anabaptiſtes, and Libertines deſire felicitie as well as the Chriſtians, and how that euery one thinketh they ſhall attayne to it by their religion. To which Bradford anſwered briefly, that he ſpake not farre amiſſe.

Felicitie coueted of all men, but the way to felicitie not knowen to all men.

Harpſ. Then ſayd Harpſfield, but the way thither is not al alike. For the infidels by Iupiter, Iuno, the Turke by hys Alcoran: the Iew by his Thalmod, doe beleeue to come to heauen, For ſo may I ſpeake of ſuche as beleue the inmortalitie of the ſoule.

Brad. You ſpeake truely.

Harpſ. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to this heauen.

The true way to felicitie.

Brad. We may not inuent any manner of wayes. There is but one way, & that is Ieſus Chriſt, as he himſelfe doth witneſſe: I am the way.

Harpſ. It is true that you ſay, and falſe alſo. I ſuppoſe that you meane by Chriſt, beleuing in Chriſt.

Brad. I haue learned to diſcerne betwixt fayth & Chriſt, Albeit I confeſſe, that who ſo beleueth in Chriſt, the ſame ſhall be ſaued.

Harpſ. No not all that beleue in Chriſt: for ſome ſhall ſay Lord, Lord, haue not we caſt out deuils. &c. But Chriſt wil anſwere in the day of Iudgement to theſe: Depart from me, I know you not.

Note the difference betweene beleeuing and ſaying I beleue.

Brad. You muſt make a difference betwixt beleuing, and ſaying I beleue, As for example: if one ſhuld ſay & ſweare hee loueth you, for all his ſaying yee will not beleue hym when you ſee he goeth about to vtter and do al the euill againſt you that he can.

Harpſ. Well, this is not muche materiall. There is but one way Chriſt. How come we to know him? where ſhal we ſeeke to finde him?

Brad Forſooth, we muſt ſeeke him by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

The way to come to Chriſt is by the worde: for by the word commeth fayth by fayth we come to Chriſt. Baptiſme an outward ſeale whereby we are knowen to be Chriſtians. Children which dye without Baptiſme.

Harpſfield. Very good, but tell me now how firſt we came into the companye of them that coulde tell vs this, but by Baptiſme?

Brad. Baptiſme is the ſacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Chriſt: I ſay outwardly, becauſe I dare not exclude from Chriſt all that dye without Baptiſme. I will not tye God, where he is not bound. Some Infantes dye, whoſe Parentes deſire Baptiſme for them, and can not haue it.

Harpſ. To thoſe we may thinke perchaunce that God will ſhew mercy.

Brad. Yea, the children whoſe parentes do contemne baptiſme, will not I condemne, becauſe the childe ſhall not beare the fathers offence.

The Church is our mother.

Harpſfield. Well, we agree that by Baptiſme then wee are brought, and, as a man would ſay, begotten to Chriſt. For Chriſt is our father, and the churche his ſpouſe is our mother. As all men naturally haue Adam for their father, and and Eua for their mother: ſo all ſpirituall men haue chriſt for their father, and the Church for their mother. And as Eua was taken out of Adams ſide, ſo was the Church taken out of Chriſtes ſide: whereout flowed bloud for the ſatiſfaction and purgation of our ſinnes.

Brad. All this is truely ſpoken.

Deſcent of the Church, The Church of Chriſt is viſible euen as Chriſt was, that is, not by exteriour pompe or ſhew, but by the inwarde eye.

Harpſ. Now, then tell me whether this Churche of Chriſt hath not bene alwayes?

Brad. Yea, ſithens the creatiō of man, and ſhall be for euer.

Harpſ. Very good. But yet tel me whether this Church is a viſible Church, or no?

Bradford. It is no otherwiſe viſible, then Chriſt was here on earth: that is, by no exteriour pompe or ſhewe that ſetteth her forth commonly, and therefore to ſee her wee muſt put on ſuch eyes, as good men put on to ſee & know chriſt when hee walked here on earth: for as Eue was of yͤ ſame ſubſtaunce that Adam was of, ſo was the Churche of the ſame ſubſtaunce that Chriſt was of, fleſh of his fleſh, & bone of his bones, as Paule ſayth, Epheſ 5. Looke therfore how Chriſt was viſibly knowne to be Chriſt when he was on earth, that is, by conſidering hym after the word of GOD ſo is the Church knowne.

Harpſ. I do not come to reaſon at this preſent, & therfore I will goe on forwarde. Is not this Churche a multitude?

Brad, Yes that it is. Howbeit, latet anguis in herba, as the Prouerbe is. For in your queſtion is a ſubtilitie. What viſible multitude was there in Helias tyme, or whē Moſes was on the Mount, Aaron and all Iſraell worſhipping the Calfe?

Harpſ. Ye diuert from the matter.

Brad. No, nothing at all. For I doe preuent you, knowing well where about you go. And therfore fewer wordes might well ſerue if that you ſo would.

Harpſfield. Well, I perceaue you haue knowledge, and by a litle perceiue I the more. Tel me yet more, whither this multitude haue not the Miniſtery or preachyng of Gods worde?

Bradford. Syr, ye goe about the buſhe. If ye vnderſtande Preaching for confeſſing the Goſpel, I will go with you: for els if you will, you may knowe that perſecution often letteth preaching.

Harpſ. Well, I meane it ſo. Tell mee yet more: hath it not the Sacramentes adminiſtred?

Brad. It hath the ſacramentes, howbeit the adminiſtratiō of them is often letted. But I wil put you from your purpoſe, becauſe I ſee where about you goe. If heretickes haue Baptiſme and doe Baptiſe, as they did in S. Cyprians tyme, you knowe this Baptiſme is Baptiſme, & not to be reiterate. This Bradford did ſpeake, that the ſtanders by might ſee, that though the Papiſtes Church haue baptiſme which we haue receiued of them, yet therfore it is not the true Church, neither neede we to be baptiſed againe.

Harpſ. You goe farre from the matter, and I perceiue you haue more errours then one.

Brad. So you ſay: but that is not enough til you proue the.

Harpſ. Well, this Churche is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the Goſpell, & the miniſtration of the Sacraments? & yet more: hath it not the power of Iuriſdiction?

Bradford. What iuriſdiction is exerciſed in perſecution and affliction?

Harpſ. I meane by iuriſdiction admoniſhing one an other and ſo forth.

Brad. Well, go to: what then?

Harpſ. It hath alſo ſucceſſion of Byſhoppes. And here he made ſuch a doe to proue yͭ this was an eſſentiall poynt.

Bradford. You ſay as you woulde haue it: for if this parte fayle you, all the Church yͭ you go about to ſet vp will fall down. You ſhall not finde in all yͤ ſcripture this your eſſentiall parte of ſucceſſion of Byſhops. In Chriſtes Churche Antichriſt will ſit. And Peter telleth vs, as it went in the old Church afore Chriſtes cōming, ſo will it be in the new church ſithen Chriſtes cōming: that is, as there were falſe Prophets, & ſuch as bare rule were aduerſaries to the true Prophets: ſo ſhall there be (ſayth he (falſe teachers, euen of ſuch as are Byſhops, and beare rule amongeſt the people.

Harpſ. You go alwayes out of the matter: but I will proue further the ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

Bradford. Do ſo.

Harpſ. Tell me, were not the Apoſtles Byſhops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a Byſhop, that is, geue him no certayne place.

Harpſ. In deede, the Apoſtles office was not the Byſhops office: for it was vniuerſall, but yet Chriſt inſtituted Byſhops in his church as Paule ſaith: he hath geuē Paſtors, Prophetes. &c. ſo that I trow it be proued by the Scriptures the ſucceſſion of Byſhops to be an eſſentiall poynt.

Brad. The Miniſterie of Gods worde, and Miniſters, be an eſſentiall poynt. But to tranſlate this to the Byſhops and their ſucceſſion, is a plaine ſubtilitie: And therfore that it may be playne, I will aſke you a queſtion. Tel me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference betwene Byſhops and Miniſters, which ye call Prieſtes?

Harpſ. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forewardes, and let vs ſee what ye ſhal get now by the ſucceſſion of Byſhops, that is, of Miniſters, which can not be vnderſtand of ſuch Byſhops as Miniſter not, but Lord it.

Harpſ I perceiue that you are farre out of the way. By your doctrine you can neuer ſhew in your Church, a multitude which miniſtreth Gods word & his Sacramentes, which hath iuriſdiction and ſucceſſion of Byſhops, which hath from tyme to tyme beleued as you beleue, beginning now and ſo going vpwardes as I will do of our doctrine and therfore are ye out of the church, & ſo cannot be ſaued. Perchaunce you will bring me downwardes a ſhewe to bleare peoples eyes: but to go vpwardes, that you can neuer do, and this is the true tryall.

Brad. Yee muſt and will, I am aſſured, geue me leaue to follow the ſcriptures and examples of good men.

Harpſ. Yea.

Brad. Well then, Stephen was accuſed and condemned as I am, that he had taught newe and falſe doctrine before the fathers of the Church then as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improoueth their accuſation. But how? doth he it by going vpwardes? no, but by cōming downwardes, beginning at Abrahā, and continuing ſtill till Eſayas tyme, and the peoples captiuitie. From whence he maketh a great leape vntill ỹ time he was in, whiche was (I thinke) vpon a 400. yeares, & called them by their right names helhoundes, rather then heauen houndes. On this ſort will I proue my fayth, & that can you neuer do yours.

Harpſfield. Yea ſir, if we did knowe that you had the holye Ghoſt, then could we beleue you. Here Bradford woulde haue anſwered, that Steuens enemies would not beleue he had the holy Ghoſt, and therefore they did as they dyd: but as he was in ſpeaking, M. Harpſ. aroſe vp, & the keeper and others that ſtode by, began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heede to that maiſter Archdeacon ſpake, who ſtill ſayd that Bradford was out of the church.

Bradford. Syr I am moſt certaine, that I am in Chriſtes Church, and I can ſhew a demonſtration of my Religion from time to time continually.

God our father, for the name and bloud of his Chriſt be merciful vnto vs and vnto al his people, and deliuer them from falſe teachers, and blinde guydes, through whome (alas) I feare mee, much hurt will come to this realme of England. God our Father bleſſe vs, and keepe vs in hys truth and poore Churche for euer. Amen.

Then the Archdeacon departed, ſaying that he would come againe the next morning.

¶The next dayes talke betweene Doctour Harpſfield and Maiſter Bradford.

Vpon the xvi. of February in the morning the Archdeacon and the other two with him came again, and after a few by wordes ſpoken, they ſate downe.

Harpſ. Maiſter Archdeacon began a very long Oration, firſt repeting what they had ſaid, and how farre they had gone ouer night, and therw̄ did begin to proue vpwardes ſucceſſion of Biſhops here in England for 800. yeares in Fraunce at Lyons for 1200. yeares: in Spayne at Hiſpalen for 800. yeares. In Italy at Milan for 1200. yeares, labouring by this to proue his Church. He vſed alſo ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the Eaſt Church for the more confirmation of his wordes, and ſo concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church: the interrogatiō, whether Bradford could ſhew any ſuch ſucceſſion for the demonſtratiō of his Church (for ſo he called it) which followed.

Bradford. Unto this his long Oration Bradford made this ſhort anſwere: my memory is euill, ſo that I cannot aunſwere particularly your Oration.

Therfore I wil generally do it, thinking, becauſe your Oration is rather to perſwade then to proue, that a ſmall aunſwere will ſerue. If Chriſt or his Apoſtles being here on earth had bene required by the Prelates of the churche then to haue made a demonſtration of that churche by ſucceſſion of ſuch high Prieſtes as had approued the doctrine which he taught, I think that Chriſt would haue done as I do: that is, haue alledged ỹ which vpholdeth the church euen, the veritie, ỹ word of God taught & beleeued, not by the high Prieſts, which of long time had perſecuted it, but by the Prophetes and other good ſimple men, which perchaunce were counted for heretickes of the Church: which Church was not tied to ſucceſſion, but to the word of god. And this to thinke, S. Peter geueth me occaſion, when he ſayth that as it went in the Churche before Chriſtes comming, ſo ſhall it go in the Church after his comming: but then the pillers of the church were perſecutors of the true Church: therfore the like we muſt looke for now.

Harpſ. I can gather and proue ſucceſſion in Ieruſalem of the high Prieſtes from Aarons tyme.

Bradford. I graunt, but not ſuch ſucceſſion as allowed the trueth.

Harpſ. Why did they not allow Moſes law?

Bradford. Yes, and keepe it, as touchyng the bookes therof, as you doe the Bible, and holye Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you haue done & doe, and therfore the perſecution which they ſtirred vpp againſt the Prophetes and Chriſt, was not for the lawe, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we muſt fetch the interpretation of the ſcriptures at your handes. But to make an end death I looke dayly for, yea hourely, and I think my time be but very ſhort. Therfore I had need to ſpend as much tyme with God as I can whileſt I haue it, for his helpe & comfort, and therfore I pray you beare with me that I do not now particularly and in moe wordes aunſwere your lōg talk. If I ſaw death not ſo neare me as it is, I would then weigh euerye peece of your Oration, if you woulde geue me the ſumme of it, and I would anſwere accordingly: but becauſe I dare not, nor I will not leaue of looking & preparing for that which is at hand, I ſhal deſire you to hold me excuſed, becauſe I do as I do, and hartely thanke you for youre gentle good will. I ſhall hartily praye God our father to geue you the ſame light and life I do wiſh to my ſelfe: & ſo Bradford began to ariſe vp.

The Iewes corrupt the law, as the Papiſts doe the Scriptures.

A compariſon betweene the old Phariſeys & our new Papiſtes.

Harpſ. But then began Maiſter Archdeacon to tell hym that he was in very perilous caſe, and that he was ſory to ſee him ſo ſetled. As for death, whether it be nigh or farre of I know not, neither forceth it, ſo that you did die well.

Brad. I doubt not in this caſe, but ỹ I ſhall dye well: for as I hope and am certaine my death ſhall pleaſe the Lord ſo I truſt I ſhall dye chearfully to ỹ comfort of his childrē.

Bolde confidēce and hope of Gods word and promiſe, ſemeth ſtrange among them which are not exerciſed in mortification.

Harpſ. But what if you be deceiued?

Bradford. What if you ſhoulde ſay the ſunne did not ſhyne now? (and the Sunne did ſhine through the windowe where they ſat.)

Harpſ. Well I am ſory to ſee you ſo ſecure and carleſſe.

Bradford. In deed I am more carnally ſecure and careleſſe then I ſhuld be: God make me more vigilant. But in this caſe I cannot be ſo ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured I am in ỹ trueth.

Harpſfield. That are ye not: for you are out of the Catholicke Church.

Bradford. No, though you haue excommunicate me out of your Church, yet am I in the Catholicke Churche of chriſt and am, and by Gods grace ſhalbe a childe & an obedient childe of it for euer. I hope Chriſt will haue no leſſe care for me, then he had for the blinde man excommunicated of the Synagoge: and further I am ſure that the neceſſary Articles of the fayth, I meane the twelue Articles of the Creede, I confeſſe and beleue with that which you call the holy church, ſo that euen your church hath taken ſomthing to much vpon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the teſtimonye of my Lorde of Dureſme in the booke of the ſacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred yeare after Chriſt, to beleue or not beleue.

Tranſubſtantiation to beleeue or not to beleue many hundreth yeares after Chriſt.

Harpſ. What is that?

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpſ. Why? ye are not condemned therfore onely.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receiue Chriſtes body.

Harpſfield. You agree not with vs in the preſence, nor in any thing els.

Bradford. How you beleue you know: for my part I cōfeſſe a preſence of whole Chriſt God and man, to the fayth of the receauer.

Harpſfield. Nay, you muſt beleue a reall preſence in the ſacrament.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not ſhut him in, nor tye him to it otherwiſe then faith ſeeth and perceiueth. If I ſhould include Chriſt really preſent in the ſacrament or tye hym to it otherwiſe then to the faith of the receiuer, then the wicked men ſhould receiue him, which I doe not, nor will by Gods grace, beleue.

Chriſt not included really in the Sacrament.

Harpſfield. More pitty: But a man may eaſely perceaue, you make no preſence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with vs.

Brad. I confeſſe a preſence, and a true preſence, but to the fayth of the receauer.

Chriſtes body preſent to the fayth of the receauer.

What (quoth one that ſtoode by) of Chriſtes very bodye which dyed for vs.

Brad. Yea euen of whole Chriſt God & man to feed the fayth of hym that receiueth it.

Harpſ. Why? this is nothing els but to exclude ỹ omnipotency of God, and all kinde of miracle in the ſacrament.

Brad. I do not exclude his omnipotencie, but you doe it rather: for I beleue that Chriſt can accōpliſh hys promiſe, the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne being there, as well as the accidents, which you beleue not. When we come to the Sacrament, we come not to feede our bodies, and therfore we haue but a little peece of bread, but we come to feed our ſoules with Chriſt by fayth, whiche the wicked doe want, and therefore they receiue nothing but Panem domini as Iudas did, & not Panem Dominum, as ỹ other Apoſtles did.

None denyeth omipotencye more then the Papiſtes which ſay, that Chriſtes body cannot be in the ſacrament vnleſſe the ſubſtance of bread be away.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

Argument who ſo receaue the body of Chriſt do receiue the fruite and grace of lyfe: no wicked do receiue fruite and grace of lyfe. Ergo, no wicked men receiue the body of Chriſt.

Harpſ. The wicked do receaue the very body of Chriſt, but not the grace of his body.

Brad. They receiue not the body. For Chriſtes bodye is no dead carcaſe: he that receaueth it, receaueth the ſpirite, which is not without grace I trow.

Maſſe in S. Ambroſe tyme.

Harpſ, Well, you haue many erroures. You count the Maſſe for abhomination, and yet S. Ambroſe ſayd Maſſe: and ſo he read out of a book written a ſentence of S. Ambroſe to proue it.

Brad. Why ſir, the maſſe as it is nowe, was nothing ſo in S. Ambroſe time. was not ẏ moſt part of the Canon made ſithen by Gregory and Scolaſticus?

That is falſe, for Scolaſticus was not before S. Ambroſe tyme.

Harpſ. In deede a great peece of it was made, as ye ſay, by Gregory: but Scolaſticus was before Saint Ambroſe tyme.

Brad. I weene not: howbeit I will not contend. S. Gregory ſayth, that the Apoſtles ſayd Maſſe without the Canon, onely with the Lordes prayer.

The chiefe parts of the Popiſh Maſſe.

Harpſ. You ſay true: for the Canon is not the greateſt part of the Maſſe, the greateſt part is the ſacrifice, eleuation, tranſubſtantiation, and adoration.

Brad. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harpſ. No, I thinke the ſame: but yet Hoc facite, telleth plainely the ſacrifice of the Church.

Sacrifice of the Church. Sacrifice for the Church.

Brad. You confound Sacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the ſacrifice of the Church, and for the Church. The ſacrifice of the Church is no propiciatory ſacrifice, but a gratulatory ſacrifice. And as for Hoc facite, is not referred to any ſacrifiſing, but to the whole action of takyng, eatyng, &c.

Note this doctrine good reader.

Harpſ. You ſpeake not learnedly now: for Chriſt made his ſupper onely to the twelue Apoſtles, not admittyng his mother or any of the ſeuenty Diſciples to it. Nowe the Apoſtles do ſignifie the Prieſtes.

Brad. I thinke that you ſpeake as you would men ſhould vnderſtand it: for els you would not keepe the cup away from the Laitie. Wee haue great cauſe to thanke you, that you will geue vs of your bread. For I perceiue you order the matter ſo, as though Chriſt had not commanded it to his whole Church.

Harpſ. Then Harpſfield would haue proued Elenation by a place of Baſilius.

Eleuation was not brought in indeede before the time of pope Honorius. 3.

Brad. I haue read ẏ place which ſeemeth to make nothing for eleuation: but be it as it is, this is no tyme for me to ſcan the doubtfull places of the doctors with you. I haue bene in priſon long without bookes and al neceſſaries for ſtudy, and now death draweth nye, and I by your leaue muſt now leaue of, to prepare for him.

Harpſ. If I could do you good. I would be right glad eyther in ſoule or body. For you are in a perillous caſe both wayes.

Brad. Syr I thanke you for your good will. My caſe is as it is. I thanke God it was neuer ſo well wt me: for deathe to me ſhalbe life.

Creſwel. It were beſt for you to deſire maiſter Archedeacon that he woulde make ſute for you, that you might haue a time to conferre.

Harpſ. I will do the beſt I can, for I pittie his caſe.

Bradford. Sir, I will not deſire anye body to ſue for tyme for me. I am not wauering, neither woulde I that anye body ſhould thinke I were ſo. But if you haue the charity and loue you pretend towardes me, and thereto do thinke that I am in an errour, I thinke the ſame ſhuld moue you to do as ye would be done to. As ye thinke of me, ſo doe I of you, that you are farre out of the way, and I do not only thinke it, but alſo am thereof moſt aſſured. And in thys and ſuch like gentle talke they departed.

¶ The talke of Doctor Heth Archbiſhop of Yorke, and day Byſhop of Chicheſter, with Maiſter Bradford.

The xxiii. of the ſame moneth, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter came to the Counter to ſpeake with Bradford. When hee was come before them, they both, and eſpecially the Biſhop of York, vſed him very gently: they would haue him to ſit downe, and becauſe he would not, they alſo would not ſit. So they all ſtode: & whether he woulde or not, they would needes he ſhoulde put on, not only his night cap but his vpper cap alſo, ſaying vnto him, that obedience was better then ſacrifice.

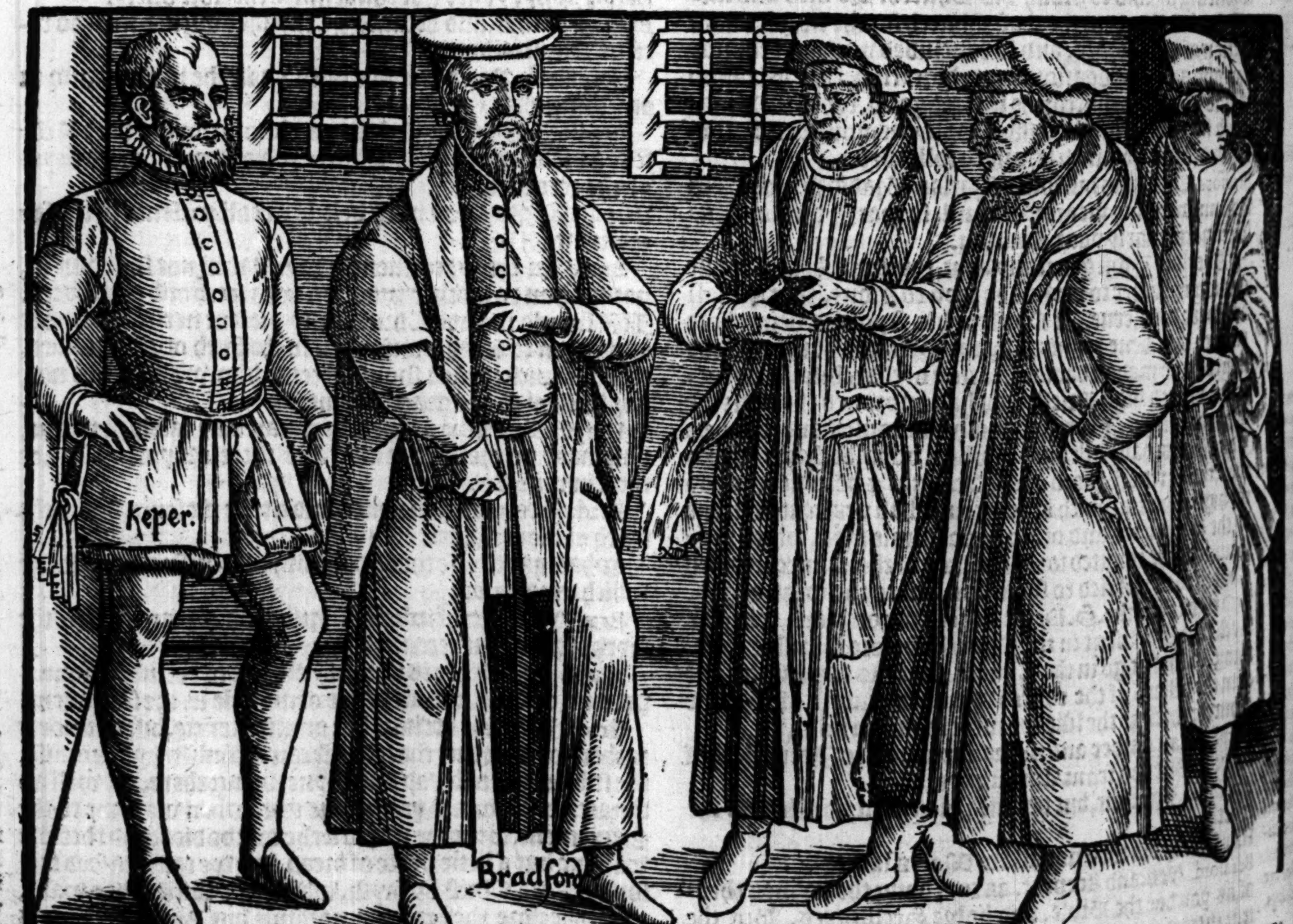
Now thus ſtanding together, my Lord of Yorke, began to tell Bradford howe that they were not ſent to him, but of loue & charitie they came to him: and he, for that acquayntance alſo whiche he had with Bradford, more then the Biſhoppe of Chicheſter had: then after commending Bradfordes godly life, he concluded wt this queſtion: how he was certaine of ſaluation and of his Religion.

Brad. After thankes for theyr good will. Bradford anſwered: by the word of God, euen by the Scriptures I am certayne of ſaluation, and Religion.

Yorke. Very well ſayd: but how do ye know the worde of God and the ſcriptures, but by the Church?

Bradford. In deede my Lorde, the Churche was and is a meane to bring a man more ſpeedely to knowe the Scriptures and the worde of God, as was the woman of Samaria a meane that the Samaritans knewe Chriſt: but

Certayne Biſhops talking with Maiſter Bradford in priſon.



as when they had heard him ſpeake, they ſayde: nowe we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy wordes but becauſe wee our ſelues haue heard him; ſo after we came to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures ſhewed vnto vs and diſcerned by the Church, we doe beleue them, and knowe them as Chriſtes ſheepe, not becauſe yͤ Church ſaith they are the Scriptures, but becauſe they be ſo being thereof aſſured by the ſame ſpirite whiche wrote and ſpake them.

Yorke. You knowe: in the Apoſtles time at the firſt the word was not written.

Bradford. True, if you meane it for ſome bookes of the new Teſtament: but els for the old Teſtament Peter telleth vs: Firmiorem ſermonem propheticum habemus: We haue a more ſure worde of prophecie: not that it is ſimply ſo, but in reſpect of the Apoſtles, which being aliue and compaſſed with infirmitie, attributed to the worde written more firmitie, as wherewith no fault coulde be found, where as for the infirmitie of their perſons men perchaunce might haue found ſome faulte at their preaching: albeit in very deede no leſſe obedience and fayth ought to haue bene geuen to the one, then to the other: for all proceedeth foorth of one ſpirite of truth.

Yorke. That place of Peter is not ſo to be vnderſtand of the word written.

Brad. Yea ſyr, that it is, and of none other.

Chic. Yea, in deede Maiſter Bradford doth tell you truely in that poynt.

Yorke. Well, you know that Irenæus and others doe magnifie much and alleage the Church agaynſt the heretickes, and not the ſcripture.

Bradford. True, for they had to do with ſuch heretickes as did deny the ſcriptures, and yet did magniſie the Apoſtles ſo that they were inforced to vſe the authoritie of thoſe Churches wherein the Apoſtles had taught, and whiche had ſtill retayned the ſame doctrine.

Chic. You ſpeake the very truth: for the heretickes dyd refuſe all ſcriptures, except it were a peece of Lukes Goſpel.

Brad. Then the alledgyng of the Church cannot be principally vſed agaynſt me, whiche am ſo farre from denying of the Scriptures that I appeale vnto them vtterly, as to the onely iudge.

Yorke. A pretty matter, that you will take vppon you to iudge the Churche, I pray you where hath your Churche bene hetherto? For the church of Chriſt is Catholicke and viſible hetherto.

Brad. My Lord, I doe not iudge the Church, when I diſcerne it from that congregation, & thoſe whiche be not the Church, & I neuer denyed the Church to be Catholicke & viſible althought at ſome times it is more viſible then at ſome.

Chic. I pray you tell me where the Church which allowed your doctrine, was theſe foure hundreth yeares?

Brad. I will tell you my Lord, or rather you ſhal tell your ſelfe, if you will tell me this one thing, where the Churche was in Helias his time, when Helias ſayde that hee was left alone?

Chic. That is no aunſwere.

Bradford. I am ſory that you ſay ſo: but this will I tell your Lordſhip, that if you had the ſame eyes wherwith a man might haue eſpied the Churche then, you woulde not ſay it were no anſwere. The fault why the Church is not ſeene of you, is not becauſe the Churche is not viſible, but becauſe your eyes are not cleare inough to ſee it.

Chic. You are much deceaued in making this collation betwixt the Church then and now.

Yorke. Very well ſpoken my Lord, for Chriſt ſayde ædificabo Eccleſiam, I will build my Church and not I doe, or haue built it, but I will build it.

Bradford. My Lordes, Peter teacheth me to make thys collation, ſaying: as in yͤ people there were falſe Prophetes, which were moſt in eſtimation afore Chriſtes comming, ſo ſhall there be falſe teachers amongeſt the people after Chriſtes comming and very many ſhall follow them And as for your future tenſe, I hope your grace will not therby conclude chriſtes Church not to haue bene before, but rather that there is no building in the Church but by Chriſtes worke onely: for Paule and Apollo be but watterers.

Chicheſter. In good fayth I am ſory to ſee you ſo light in iudging the Church.

Yorke. He taketh vpon him as they all doe, to iudge the Church. A man ſhall neuer come to certaintie that doth as they do.

Brad. My Lordes, I ſpeake ſimply what I thinke, & deſire reaſon to aunſwere my obiections. Your affections & ſorrowes can not be my rules. If that you conſider yͤ order and caſe of my condemnation, I can not thinke but yͤ it ſhould ſomethyng moue your honours. You knowe it well enough (for you heard it) no matter was layd againſt me, but what was gathered vpon mine owne confeſſion. Becauſe I did denye Tranſubſtantiation and the wicked to receaue Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excõmunicate, but not of the churche although the pillers of the church (as they be taken) did it.

Chicheſter. No: I heard ſay the cauſe of your impriſonmẽt was, for that you exhorted the people to take the ſword in the one hand, and the mattocke in the other.

False ſurmiſe agaynſt Bradford.

Brad. My Lord, I neuer ment any ſuch thing, nor ſpake any thing in that ſort.

Yorke. Yea, and you behaued your ſelfe before the Counſel ſo ſtoutly at the firſt, that you would defend the Religion then: and therfore worthely were you priſoned.

Bradford impriſoned for that, for which he had the lawes on his ſide.

Brad. Your grace did heare me anſwere my Lord Chauncellour to that poynt. But put caſe I had bene ſo ſtout as they and your Grace make it: were not the lawes of the Realme on my ſide then? wherefore vniuſtly was I priſoned: onely that which my Lord Chauncellour propounded, was my confeſſion of Chriſtes trueth agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of that whiche the wicked do receaue, as I ſayd.

Yorke. You deny the preſence.

Brad. I do not, to the fayth of the worthy receiuers.

The preſence of Chriſtes body to the fayth of the worthy receauer.

Yorke. Why? what is that to ſay other, then that Chriſt lyeth not on the aultar?

Brad. My Lord, I beleue no ſuch preſence.

Chicheſt. It ſeemeth that you haue not read Chriſoſtome for he prooueth it.

Brad. Hetherto I haue bene kept well inough without bookes: howbeit this I doe remember of Chriſoſtome, that he ſayth that Chriſt lyeth vpon the aultar, as the Seraphines with their tongues touche our lippes with the coales of the aultar in heauen, which is an hyperbolicall loquution, of whiche you know Chriſoſtome is full.

Hiperbolicall phraſe of Chriſoſtome.

Yorke. It is euident that you are to farre gone: but let vs come then to the Church, out of the whiche ye are excommunicate.

Brad. I am not excommunicate out of Chriſtes Churche my Lord, although they which ſeeme to be in the Church and of the Church haue excommunicated me, as the poore blinde man was, Iohn. 9. I am ſure Chriſt receiueth me.

Bradford excommunicated with the poore blind man. Iohn 9.

Yorke. You do deceiue your ſelfe.

Here, after much talke of excommunication, at length Bradford ſayd.

Brad. Aſſuredly, as I thinke you did well to departe from the Romiſh church, ſo I thinke ye haue done wickedly to couple your ſelues to it againe, for you can neuer prooue it, which you call the mother church, to be Chriſtes Church.

Chicheſt. Ah M. Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a yong man, and then comming frõ the Vniuerſitie, I went with the world, but I tell you it was alwayes againſt my conſcience.

Brad. I was but a child then: howbeit as I tolde you, I thinke you haue done euill. For ye are come & haue broght others to that wicked man which ſitteth in the Temple of God, that is in the church: for it cannot be vnderſtand of Mahomet, or any out of the Church, but of ſuch as beare rule in the Church.

The Pope prooued to be Antichriſt by Scripture.

Yorke. See how you build your fayth vpon ſuch places of Scripture as are moſt obſcure to deceyue your ſelfe, as though ye were in the Church where you are not.

Brad. Well my Lord, though I might by fruites iudge of you and others: yet will I not vtterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your caſe, I would not condemne him vtterly, that is of my faith in the Sacrament: knowyng as you know, that at the leaſt 800. yeares after Chriſt, as my L. of Dureſme writeth, it was free to beleue or not to beleeue tranſubſtantiation.

What B. Tonſtall writeth of Tranſubſtantiation.

Yorke. This is a toy that you haue found out of your own braine: as though a man not beleuing as the church doth, that is tranſubſtantiation, were of the church.

Chicheſt. He is an heretike, and ſo none of the Church that doth hold any doctrine againſt the definitiõ of the church: as a man to hold againſt tranſubſtantiatiõ. Cyprian was no heretike though he beleued rebaptiſing of them which were baptiſed of heretikes, becauſe hee helde it before the church had defined it, whereas if he had holden it after, thẽ had he bene an heretike.

Note how theſe Biſhops themſelues do graunt, that the time was, when tranſubſtantiation was not defined by the Church. Tonſtall ſayth it was more then 800. yeares after Chriſt.

Brad. Oh my Lord, wil ye condemne to the deuill any man that beleeueth truely the xij. Articles of the fayth (wherein I take the vnitie of Chriſtes Church to conſiſt) although in ſome points he beleeue not the definition of that which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmely the Articles of our beliefe, though in other thyngs he diſſent from your definitions, yet he ſhalbe ſaued.

Yorke. Chicheſter. Yea, ſayde both the Byſhops: this is your Diuinitie.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

Brad. No, it is Paules, which ſayth, that if they holde the foundation Chriſt, though they build vpon him ſtraw and ſtubble, yet they ſhall be ſaued.

Yorke. Lord God, how you delite to leane to ſo hard and darke places of the Scriptures.

Chic. I will ſhewe you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, and ſo he read a place of Luther making for his purpoſe.

M. Bradford hangeth not of Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius & yet he accompteth them good men.

Brad. My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you muche paſſe not, no more do I in this caſe. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius is this poynt: and in deede to tel you truely, I neuer read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think aſſuredly that they were, and are Gods Children and Saynctes with hym.

Yorke. Well, you are out of yͤ Communion of the Church.

Brad. I am not: for it conſiſteth and is in fayth.

Yorke. Loe, how make you your Church inuiſible: for you would haue the Communion of it to conſiſt in fayth.

Communion of the Church conſiſteth in fayth, and not in viſible ceremonyes. Diſagreeing in rites breaketh no agreement in fayth. Ireneus.

Brad. For to haue Communion with the Churche needeth no viſibleneſſe of it: for Communion conſiſteth, as I ſayd, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paule, which would haue one fayth, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the obſeruation of Eaſter, ſaying that diſagreeing of faſtyng ſhoulde not breake the agreeyng of fayth.

Chicheſter. The ſame place hath often euen wounded my conſcience, becauſe we diſſeuered our ſelues from the Sea of Rome.

Bradford. Well, God forgeue you: for you haue done euill to bryng England thether agayne.

Aug. contra Epiſt fundament.

Yorke. Here my Lord of Yorke tooke a booke of paper of common places, and read a peece of Saint Auſten contra Epiſtolam Fundamenti, how that there were many thinges that did holde S. Auguſtine in the boſome of the Churche conſent of people and nations, authoritie confirmed wyth myracles, nouriſhed with hope, encreaſed with charitie, eſtabliſhed with antiquitie: beſides this, there holdeth me in the Church, ſayth S. Auguſtine, the ſucceſſion of prieſts from Peters ſeate vntill this preſent Biſhop. Laſt of all the very name of Catholicke doth hould me. &c. Lo (quoth he) how ſay you to this of Saint Auguſtine? paynt me out your Church thus.

Conſent of people. Authority confirmed with miracles: nouriſhed with hope: encreaſed with charity: eſtabliſhed with antiquitye Succeſſion of Prieſtes. The name Catholicke.

Bradford. My Lord theſe wordes of S. Auguſtine make as muche for me as for you: although I might aunſwere, that all this, if they had bene ſo firme as you make them, might haue bene alledged againſt Chriſt and his apoſtles. For there was the lawe and the ceremonies conſented on by the whole people, confirmed with myracles, antiquitie and continuall ſucceſſion of Byſhops from Aarons tyme vntill that preſent.

All this might be obiected agaynſt Chriſte & his Apoſtles. by the Scribes & Phariſeys.

Chich. In good fayth M. Bradford, you make to much of the ſtate of the Church before Chriſtes comming.

Brad. Therein I doe but as Peter teacheth. 2. Pet. 2. and Paule very often. You would gladly haue your Churche here very glorious, and as a moſt pleaſant Lady. But as Chriſt ſayde: Beatus eſt quicunque non fuerit offenſus per me: So may his Churche ſay: Bleſſed are they that are not offended at me.

Yorke. Yea, you thinke that none is of the Churche but ſuch as ſuffer perſecution.

The Church commonly not glorious in this world, but poore and perſecuted.

Brad. What I thinke, God knoweth. I pray your Grace iudge mee by my woordes and ſpeaking, and marke that Paule ſayth: Omnes qui. &c. All that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt ſuffer perſecution. Sometimes Chriſtes Churche hath reſt here: but commonly it is not ſo, and ſpecially towardes the end her forme will be more vnſeemely.

Yorke. But what ſay you to Saint Auguſtine? where is your Church that hath the conſent of people and nations?

Conſent of the Godly.

Bradford. Euen all people and nations that be Gods people haue conſented with me, and I with them in yͤ doctrine of fayth.

Yorke. Lo, ye go about to ſhift off all thinges.

Bradford. No my Lorde: I meane ſimply, and ſo ſpeake, God knoweth.

Succeſſion from Peter.

Yorke. Sainct Auſten doth here talke of ſucceſſion euen frō Peters ſeate.

Brad. Yea, that ſeate then was nothing ſo muche corrupte as it is now.

Yorke. Well, you alwayes iudge the church.

Chriſtes people may diſcerne the Church, though they iudge not the Church. The Church of of Rome ſwarueth from the voyce of Chriſt, and wherein.

Bradford. No my Lord, Chriſtes ſheepe diſcerne Chriſtes voyce, but they iudge it not: ſo they diſcerne the Churche, but iudge her not.

Yorke. Yes, that you do.

Bradford. No, and it like your grace: and yet full well may one not onely doubt, but iudge alſo of the Romiſh church: for ſhe obeyeth not chriſtes voyce, as Chriſtes true church doth.

Yorke. Wherein.

Brad. In latin ſeruice, and robbing the Laitie of Chriſtes cup in the ſacrament and in many other thinges, in which it committeth moſt horrible ſacrilege.

Chic. Why? Latin ſeruice was in England when the pope was gone.

Brad. True: the tyme was in England whē the pope was away, but not all popery: as in king Henries dayes.

Latin ſe- uice de- ded.

Yorke. Latin ſeruice was appointed to be ſong and had in the Queere, where onely were Clerici, that is, ſuch as vnderſtode latin, the people ſitting in the body of the Church praying theyr owne priuate prayers: and this may wel be yet ſeene by making of the Chauncell and Queere, ſo as yͤ people could not come in, or heare them.

A gayn I ... true.

Brad. Yea, but in Chriſoſtomes time, and alſo in the latin church in Saint Ieromes tyme, all the Church (ſayth he) reboat. Amen. That is, aunſwereth agayn mightely, Amen. Whereby we may ſee that the prayers were made ſo, that both the people heard them, and vnderſtoode them.

Chic. Ye are to blame to ſay that the Churche robbeth the people of the cup.

The peo- robbed o the cuppe.

Bradford. Well my Lorde, terme it as it pleaſe you: all men knowe that laytie hath none of it.

Chic. In deede I would wiſh the Church would define agayne, that they might haue it, for my part.

Brad. If God make it free, who cā define to make it bond?

Yorke. Well mayſter Bradford, we leeſe our labour, for ye ſeeke to put away all thinges which are tolde you to your good: your Church no man can know.

Brad. Yes, that ye may well.

Yorke. I pray you whereby?

The Ch knowen o ly by the Scriptures. Chriſoſt. oper. imper fect. Lyra ſup. Math.

Brad. Forſooth Chriſoſtome ſayth: Tantummodo per Scripturas, alonely by the Scriptures: and this ſpeaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know.

Yorke. In deede that is of Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, whiche may be doubted of. The thing whereby the Church may be knowne beſt, is ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

Bradford. No my Lorde: Lyra full well writeth vppon Mathew, that Eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus ratione poteſtatis ſecularis aut Eccleſiaſticæ, ſed in hominibus in quibus eſt notitia vera, & confeſſio fidei & veritatis, That is: The church conſiſteth not in men by reaſon either of ſecular or temporall power: but in men indued with true knowledge, and confeſſion of fayth, and of veritie.

Hilarius Auxen

And in Hylarius tyme, you knowe he wryteth to Auxentius, that the Church did rather deliteſcere in cauernis, then eminere in primarijs ſedibus, That is, was hidden rather in caues and holes, then did gliſter and ſhyne in thrones of preeminence.

Then came one of the ſeruauntes and tolde them that my Lord of Dureſme taryed for them at Mayſter Yorkes houſe: and this was after that they had taryed three houres with Bradford. And after that their man was come, they put vp theyr written bookes of common places, and ſayde that they lamented his caſe: they willed him to read ouer a booke, which did Doct. Crome good: & ſo wiſhyng hym good in woordes, they went their waye, and poore Bradford to his priſon.

The coming of 2. Spaniſh fri- ers to M. Bradford.

After this communication with the Biſhops ended, within two dayes following came into the Counter two Spaniſh Friers to talke with maiſter Bradford, ſent (as they ſayd) by the Earle of Darby, Of whome the one was yͤ kinges Confeſſor: yͤ other was Alphonſus, who had before written a popiſh booke agaynſt hereſies, the effect of which their reaſoning here likewiſe followeth.

Talke betweene mayſter Bradford and two Spaniſhe Fryers.

The talke betweene certayne friers and M. Bradfo

Vpon the 25. day of February, about 8. of the clock in the morning, two Spaniſh Fryers came to the Counter where Bradford was priſoner: to whō Bradford was called. Then the one Fryer, which was the kinges Confeſſor, aſked in Latin (for all their talke was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not ſeene nor heard of one Alphonſus that had written agaynſt hereſies?

Brad. I do not know him.

This Alphonſus had writ a booke before in Latin, agaynſt hereſies.

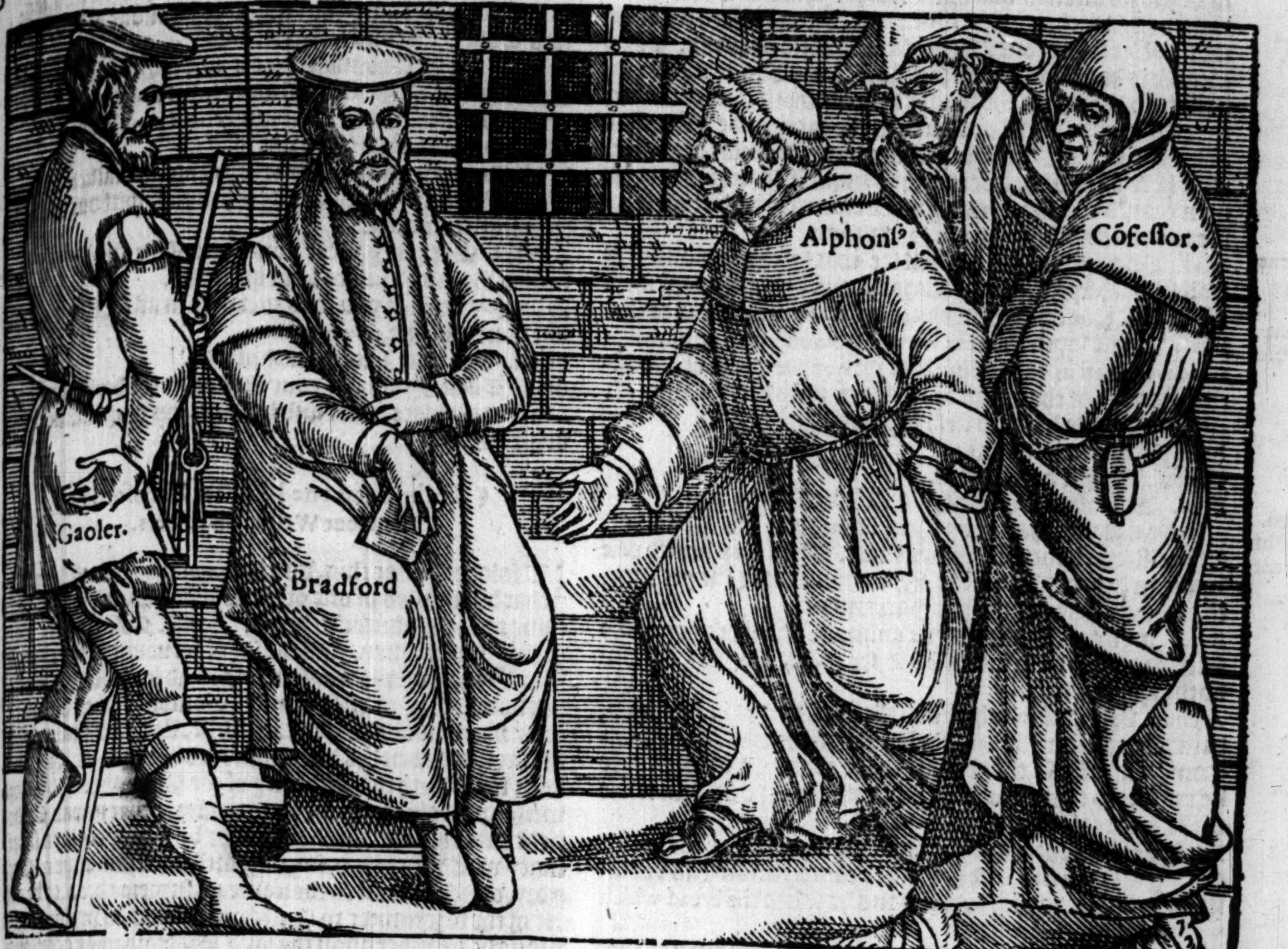
Confeſ. Well this man (poynting to Alphonſus) is he. We are come to you of loue and charitie, by the meanes of the Earle of Darby, becauſe you deſired to conferre with vs.

Brad. I neuer deſired your comming, nor to conferre with you, or any other. But ſeeing you are come of charitie, as you ſay, I cannot but thanke you: and as touchyng conference, though I deſire it not, yet I wil not refuſe to talk with you, if you will.

Alphon. It were requiſite that you did praye vnto God, that ye might follow the direction of Gods ſpirite, that he woulde inſpire you ſo that ye be not addict to your owne ſelfe will or wyt.

Brad.

The talke betwene M. Bradford, and two Spaniſh Fryers.



Brad. Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and beſought God to direct all theyr willes, wordes, and works, as the wils, wordes, and workes of his children for euer.

Alph. Yea, you muſt pray with your hart. For if you ſpeak but with toung onely, God will not geue you his grace.

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Brad. Syr my ſentence, if you meane it for Religion, muſt not be in a doubting or vncertain, as I thanke God I am certayne in that for which I am condẽned: I haue no cauſe to doubt of it, but rather to be moſt certayne of it, and therfore I praye God to confirme mee more in it. For it is his trueth, and becauſe it is ſo certayne and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to haue it looked on, and conferre it with you, or any man: in reſpect wherof I am both glad of your comming, and thanke you for it.

Alph. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

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Alph. Let vs looke a little on the firſte. Doe you not beleue that Chriſt is preſent really, and corporally in the forme of bread?

Brad. No, I do beleue that Chriſt is preſent to the fayth of the worthy receiuer, as there is preſent bread and wyne to the ſences and outward man: as for any ſuch preſẽce of including and placing Chriſt, I beleue not, nor dare beleue.

Alph. I am ſure you beleue Chriſtes naturall body is circumſcriptible. And here he made much ado of the 2. natures of Chriſt, how that the one is euery where, & the other is in his proper place, demaũding ſuch queſtions, as no wiſe man would haue ſpent any time about. At length, becauſe the Frier had forgotten to conclude, Bradforde put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded: how that becauſe Chriſtes bodye was circumſcriptible concernyng the humayne nature in heauen, therefore it was ſo in the bread.

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Alph. To the fayth? how is that?

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Argument.
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Brad. Very good, and ſo it is in the Supper of the Lord: no

longer

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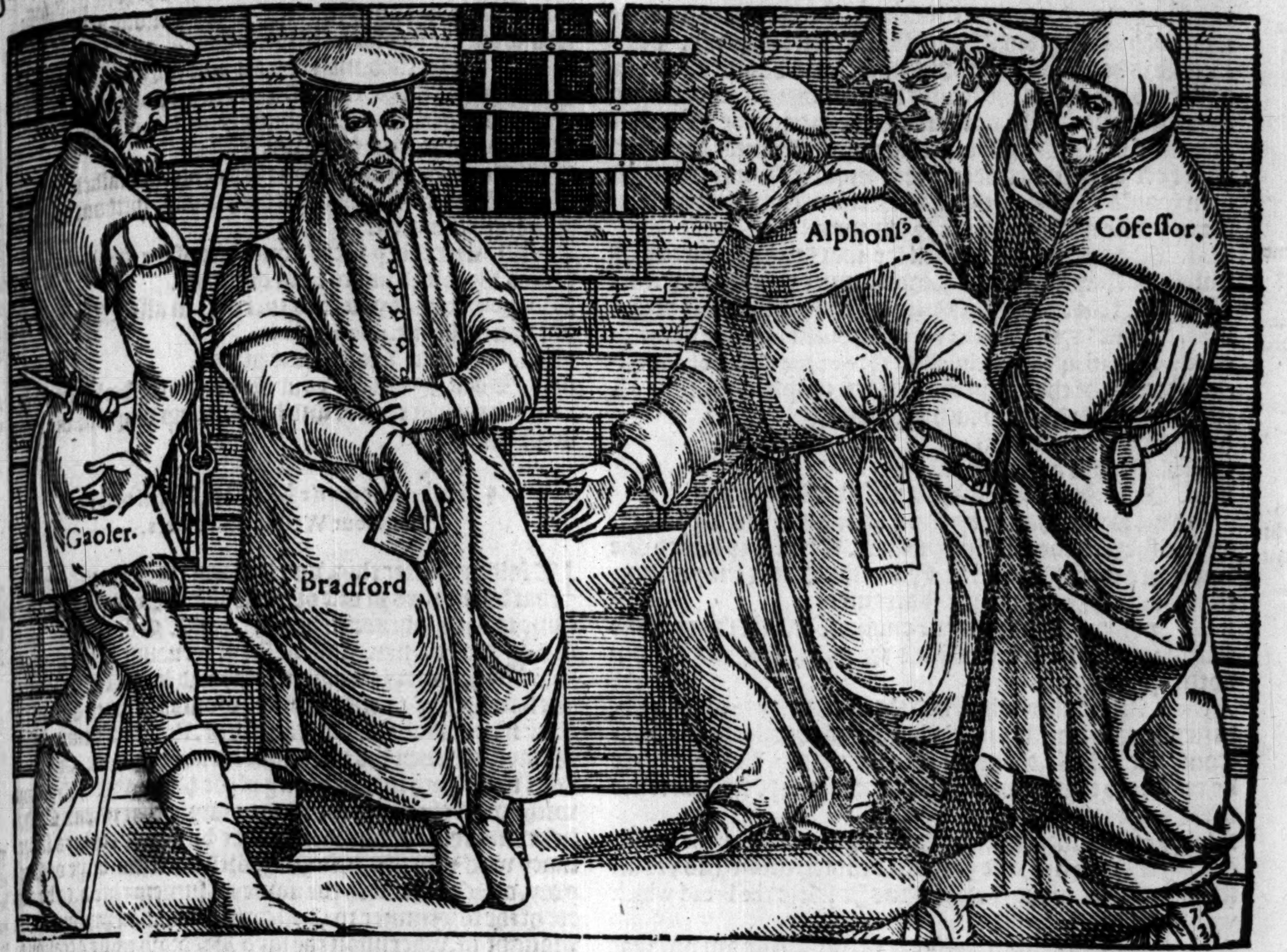

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Brad. Very good, and ſo it is in the Supper of the Lord: no

Anno 1555.
Iuly.

The Frier in a chafe.

longer then it is in vſe, is it Chriſtes Sacrament.

Here was the Fryer in a wonderfull rage, and ſpake ſo high (as often he had done before) that the whole houſe rang agayne, chafing with om and cho. Hee hath a greate name of learning, but ſurely hee hath little pacience. For if Bradford had bene any thing hote, one houſe coulde not haue held them. At the length hee commeth to this poynt, that Bradford coulde not finde in the Scripture Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper to beare any ſimilitude together. And here he triūphed before the conqueſt, ſaying that theſe men would receiue nothing but ſcripture, and yet were able to proue nothing by the Scripture.

The Sacrament of the Lordes table compared with baptiſme in the ſcripture. 1. Cor. 12.

Brad. Be pacient, & you ſhall ſee that by the Scripture I will finde Baptiſme & the Lords ſupper coupled together.
Alph. No, that canſt thou neuer do. Let me ſee a text of it.
Brad. Paule ſayth: That as we are Baptiſed into one bodye: ſo were we potati in vno ſpiritu: that is: we haue dronk of one ſpirit, meaning of the cup in the Lordes Supper.
Alphon. Paule hath no ſuch wordes.
Brad. Yes that he hath.
Confeſ. I trow he hath not.
Brad. Geue me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

The Fryer proued a lyer in his owne teſtament.

So a Prieſt that ſat by them, gaue him his Teſtamēt, and he ſhewed them the playne text. Then they looked one vpon an other. In fine the Friers found this ſimple ſhift, that Paule ſpake not of the Sacrament.

Brad. Well the texte is playne enough, and there are of the fathers which do ſo vnderſtand the place: For Chriſoſtom doth expound it ſo.
Alphon. Alphonſus which had the Teſtament in his hand, deſirous to ſuppreſſe this foyle, turned the leaues of yͤ book from leafe to leafe, till he came to the place. 1. Cor. 11. & there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lordes body.

1. Cor. 11.

1. Cor. 10.

Brad. Yea, but therewith he ſayth: He that eateth of the bread: calling it bread ſtill, and that after conſecration (as ye call it) as in the 10. to the Corinthians he ſaith: The bread which we breake. &c.

Conuerſion is mentioned in turning Moyſes rod, ſo is it not in the Sacramēt.

Alphon. Oh how ignoraunt are ye, which know not that thinges after theyr conuerſion doe reteine the ſame names which they had before, as Moſes rod: and calling for a byble, after he had found the place, he began to triumph: But Bradford cooled him quickely, ſaying:

Moyſes rod was ſeene to be turned ſo is not the Sacrament.

Brad. Syr, there is menſion made of the conuerſiō, as wel, as that the ſame appeared to the ſence. But here ye can not finde it ſo. Find me one word how the bread is cōuerted, & I will then ſay, ye bring ſome matter that maketh for you
Alph. At theſe wordes the Frier was troubled, & at length he ſayd, how that Bradford hanged on his owne ſence.
Brad. No, that do I not: for I will bring you forth the Fathers of the Church 800. yeares after Chriſt, to confyrme this which I ſpeake.
Alph. No you haue the Church agaynſt you.
Brad. I haue not Chriſtes Church agaynſt me.
Alph. Yes that you haue. What is the Church?
Brad. Chriſtes wife, the chayre and ſeat of verity.
Alph. Is ſhe viſible?
Brad. Yea that ſhe is to them that will put on the ſpectacles of Gods word to looke on her.

The Church is viſible, but to them that haue ſpirituall eyes.

Alph. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will proue by all the good Fathers from Chriſtes Aſcenſiō euen for 800. yeares at the leaſt continually.
Brad. What will you ſo proue? Tranſubſtantiation?
Alph. Yea, that the bread is turned into Chriſtes body.
Brad. You ſpeake more then you can do.
Alph. That do I not.
Brad. Then will I geue place.
Alph. Will you beleue?
Brad. Beliefe is Gods gift: therfore can not I promiſe: but I tell you that I will geue place: and I hope I ſhal beleue his truth alwayes, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my ſauior.

The Papiſtes holde that the acte of beleuing is in mans power.

Alph. Here the Frier founde a great faulte with Bradford that he made no difference betwixte habitus, and actus: as though actus which he called credelity, had bene in our power. But this he let paſſe, & came agayne aſking Bradford if he could proue it as he ſaid, whether he would geue place.
Brad. Yea that I will. Then called he for paper, pen & inke, to write, and then ſayd I: what and if that I proue by the teſtimony of the Fathers, that continually for viij. hundreth yeres after Chriſt at the leaſt, they did beleue that the ſubſtance of bread doth remayne in the Sacrament? what will you do?
Alph. I will geue place.
Brad. Then write you here that you will geue place if I ſo proue, & I will write that I wil geue place if you ſo proue: becauſe ye are the auncient, ye ſhall haue the preheminence.

The Fryer refuſeth to abide tryall with Bradford.

Here the Frier fumed maruellouſly, and ſayde: I came not to learne at thee, Are not here witneſſes? (meaning the two Prieſtes) be not they ſufficient? But the man was ſo chafed, that if Bradford had not paſſed ouer this matter of writing, the Frier would haue fallen to playne ſcolding.
Confeſ. At the length the kinges Confeſſour aſked Bradford what the ſecond queſtion was?
Brad. That wicked men receiue not Chriſtes bodye in the Sacrament, as S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of Iudas, that hee receiued Panem Domini, but not Panem Dominum.
Alph. S. Auguſtine ſayth not ſo.
Brad. Yes that doth he. So they aroſe and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without byddyng Bradford farewell.

The Fry agaynſt ued a ly The Fry depart i heate M. Bradford.

A Prieſt. After they were gone, one of the Prieſtes came, & willed Bradford not to be ſo obſtinate.
Brad. Syr, be not you ſo wauering: in all the ſcripture can not you finde me, non eſt panis.
Prieſt. Yes that I can in fiue places.
Brad. Then I will eat your booke. So the booke was opened, but no place foūd: and he went his way ſmiling. God helpe vs.

A prieſt to a foyle.

¶ Talke betwene Mayſter Bradford and Doctour Weſton, and others.

Confe betwe Bradford D. We

IT folowed after this, vpō the 21. of the moneth of march, that by meanes of one of the Earle of Darbyes mē, there came to the Counter to dyner one M. Collier, once warden of Mancheſter, and the ſayde ſeruaunt of the Earle of Darby, of whom Mayſter Bradford learned that Doctor Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter woulde be with him in the after noone about two of the clocke. At dynner time, when the ſayd Warden did diſcommend king Edward, & went about to ſet forth the authority of the Pope, which Bradford withſtood, defending the kinges ſayth, that it was Catholicke, and that the authority of the biſhop of Romes ſupremacy was vſurped, bringing forth the teſtimonye of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of ſupreme head, to be a title of the forerunner to Antichriſt: a woman pryſoner was brought in, wherupon the ſayd Bradford tooke occaſion to riſe from the table, and ſo wēt to his priſon chamber to beg of God grace, and helpe therin continuing there ſtill vntill he was called down to ſpeak with mayſter Weſton, which was then come in.

The name of ſupream head is th forerunn to Antichriſt. Gregor.

Mayſter Bradford then being called downe, ſo ſoone as he was entred into the Hall, M. Weſton very gentlye tooke him by the hand, & aſked how he did, with ſuch other talke. At length he willed auoydaunce of the chamber: So they all went out, ſaue Mayſter Weſton himſelfe, M. Colliar, the Earle of Darbyes ſeruant, the Subdeane of Weſtminſter, the Keeper, Mayſter Clayden, and the Parſon of the Church where the Counter is.

D. We commeth M. Bradford.

Now thē he began with M. Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to haue come vnto him, beyng therto deſired of the Earle of Darby: and (quoth he) after that I perceiued by his man, that you could be contēted rather to ſpeake with me, then any others: I coulde not come but to do you good, if I can, for hurt you be ſure I will not.
Bradford Syr quoth Mayſter Bradford when I perceyued by the report of my Lords ſeruant: that you did beare me good will, more (as he ſayd) then any other of your ſort, I tolde him then, that therfore I could be better content & more willing to talke with you, if you ſhoulde come vnto me. This did I ſay quoth he, otherwiſe I deſired not your comming.
Weſt. Wel quoth he: now I am come to talk with you: but before we ſhall enter into any talke, certayn principles we muſt agree vpon, which ſhall be this dayes worke.

D. We leſſons as bef uer fol himſel Vain g

Firſt (quoth he) I ſhall deſire you to put away all vain glory, and not hold any thing for the prayſe of the world.
Brad. Syr S. Auguſtine maketh that in deed a piece of the definitiō of an heretick, which if I cannot put away cleane (for I thinke there will a ſpice of it remaine in vs, as long as this fleſh liueth) yet I promiſe you by the grace of God that I purpoſe not to yeld to it. God I hope wil neuer ſuffer it to beare rule in them that ſtriue there againſt, & deſire all the dregges of it vtterly to be driuen out of vs.
Weſton. I am glad to heare you ſay ſo, although in deed I thinke you do not ſo much eſteme it as others do.

Singul

Secondly, I would deſire you that you wil put away ſingularity in your iudgement and opinions.
Brad. Syr God forbid that I ſhould ſticke to any ſingularity or priuate iudgement in Gods Religion. Hytherto I haue not deſired it, neyther doe, nor mynde at any tyme to hold any other doctrine then is publick and catholick, vnderſtanding catholicke as good men do: according to Gods word.
Weſt. Very well: this is a good dayes worke, I hope to do you good: & therfore now thirdly I ſhall pray you to write me

me Capita of thoſe thinges, wherupon you ſtand in the ſacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and Wedneſday next: vntill which time, yea vntil I come to you again be aſſured that you are without all perill of death. Of my infidelity, warrant you I, therfore away with all dubitations. &c.

Brad. Syr, I will write to you the groundes I leane to in this matter. As for death, if it come welcome bee it, this which you require of me: ſhall be no great let to me therin.

West. You know that S. Auguſtine was a Manichean yet was he cõuerted at the length: ſo haue I good hope of you.

Brad. Syr becauſe I will not flatter you: I would you ſhould flatly know, that I am euen ſetled, in the Religion wherfore I am condemned.

West. Yea, but if it be not the truth, & you ſee euident matter to the contrary, will you not then geue place.

Brad. God forbid but that I ſhould alwayes geue place to the truth.

West. I would haue you to pray ſo.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirme me in it, as I thanke God he hath done and doth.

West. Yea but pray with a condition, if you be in it.

Brad. No Syr, I cannot pray ſo, becauſe I am ſetled and aſſured of his truth.

Well quoth Weſton, as the learned Biſhop aunſwered S. Auguſtines mother, that though ſhe was obſtinate, yet the teares of ſuch a mother could not but winne her ſonne: ſo (quoth he) I hope your prayers (for then Bradfordes eyes dyd ſhewe that hee hadde wept in prayer) canne not but be heard of God, though not as you would yet, as beſt ſhall pleaſe God. Do you not, quoth he, remember the hyſtory thereof?

Brad. Yea Syr (quoth Bradford) I thinke it be of Saynt Ambroſe.

West. No, that it is not. And here Weſtõ would haue laid a wager, and begã to triumph, ſaying to Bradford: as you are ouerſene herein, ſo are you in the other thinges.

Brad. Well Syr, I will not contẽd with you for the name. This (I remember) Saynt Auguſtine writeth in his confeſſions.

After this talke Weſton beginne to tell M. Bradforde howe the people were by him procured to withſtande the Queene.

M. Bradford wrongfully charged with ſedition.

Whereunto Bradforde aunſwering agayne, bade him hang him vp as a traytour, and a theefe, if euer he encouraged any to rebellion: whiche thing his Keeper and others that were there of the Prieſts, affirmed on his behalfe. So much talke there was to litle purpoſe at that time. Doctor Weſton declared moreouer howe he had ſaued men going in the cart to be hanged, and ſuch like.

The end was this, that Bradford ſhould ſend vnto him, capita doctrinę of the ſupper, & after Wedneſ day he woulde come vnto him agayne, and thus departed he after that he had dronken to him in beare and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of bookes of Germane writers, of the feare of death and ſuch other talke which are to no purpoſe.

* An other diſputation or talke betwene Mayſter Bradford and Doctour Pendleton.

An other diſputatiõ or talke betwene M. Bradford & D. Pendleton.

In the meane time, whẽ Mayſter Bradford had written his reaſons and argumentes, & had ſent them to Doctor Weſton: in ſhort ſpace after about the 28. of Marche, there came to the Counter Doctour Pendleton, and with hym the foreſayd M. Collier, ſometime Warden of Mancheſter and Steuen Bech. After ſalutations Mayſter Pendleton began to ſpeak to Bradford, that he was ſory for his trouble. And further (quoth he) after that I didde knowe you would be content to talke with me, I made the more ſpeed, being as ready to doe thee good and pleaſure thee that I can, as ye would wiſh.

Brad. Syr, the maner how I was content to ſpeake wyth you, was on this ſorte: Mayſter Bech was often in hande with me whom he ſhoulde bring vnto me, and named you amongeſt other: and I ſayd that I had rather ſpeake with you then with any of all the other. Nowe the cauſe why I ſo would, I will briefly tell you. I remẽber that once you were (as farre as a man might iudge) of the Religion that I am of at this preſent, and I remember that you haue ſet forth the ſame earneſtly. Gladly therfore would I learn of you what thing it was that moued your conſcience to alter, and gladly would I ſee what thing it is that you haue ſene ſithen, which you ſaw not before.

Pendleton. Maiſter Bradford, I doe not know wherefore you are condemned.

Bradford. Tranſubſtantiation is the cauſe wherfore I am condemned, and becauſe I denye that wicked men receyue Chriſtes body: wherein I woulde deſire you to ſhewe me what reaſons, which before you knew not, did moue your conſcience now to alter. For once (as I ſayd) you were as I am in Religion.

Here mayſter Pendleton halfe amazed, began to excuſe himſelfe if it would haue bene, as though he had not denied fully tranſubſtantiation in deede, although I ſayde (quoth he) that the word was not in Scripture, and ſo hee made an endleſſe tale of the thing that moued hym to alter: but (ſayd he) I wil gather to you the places which moued me, and ſend you them. And here he deſired Bradforde that hee might haue a copye of that whiche he had ſent to Mayſter Weſton: the which Bradford did promiſe him.

Pendleton belike would ſtudy out the reaſons that moued him to alter, for he had none ready to ſhew.

Syme reaſoning alſo they had, whether euill men dyd receiue Chriſtes body, Bradford denying and Pendleton affirming. Bradford ſayd that they receiued not the ſpirit: Ergo, not the body: for it is no dead carkas. Hereto Bradford brought alſo S. Auguſtine, how Iudas receiued Panem Domini, and not Panem Dominum, & how that he muſte be in Chriſts body, which muſt receiue the body of Chriſt. But Pendleton went about to put it away with idem, and not ad idem, and how that in Corpore Chriſti was to be vnderſtand of all that be in the viſible Church with Gods elect. Bradforde denyed this to be Saynt Auguſtines meaning, and ſayd alſo that the allegation of idem, and not ad idem, could not make for that purpoſe. They talked more of Tranſubſtantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian: Panis natura mutatur. &c. And Bradforde ſayde that in that place natura did not ſignify ſubſtaunce. As the nature of an herbe is not the ſubſtaunce of it: ſo the breade chaunged in nature is not to be taken for chaunged in ſubſtaunce: For now it is ordeined not for the foode of the body ſimply, but rather for the ſoule. Here alſo Bradford alleadged the ſentence of Gelaſius. Pendleton ſayde, that he was a Pope. Yea ſayd Bradford, but his faith is my fayth in the Sacrament, if ye would receiue it.

Euill men receiue not Chriſtes body. He muſt be in Chriſtes body that muſt receiue Chriſtes body.

The place of S. Cyprian expounded how the nature of bread is chaunged.

Cyprian expounded by Gelaſius.

They reaſoned alſo whether accidentia were res or no. If they be properly res, ſayde Bradford, then are they ſubſtaunces: and if they be ſubſtances they are earthly, & then are there earthly ſubſtaunces in the Sacramen as Irenæus ſayth, which muſt needes be bread. But Pendleton ſayde that the colour was the earthly thing, and called it an accidentall ſubſtaunce.

Pendleton driuen to ſay that accidences be ſubſtance.

I omitte the talke they had of my Lord of Canterbury of Peter Martyrs booke, of Pendletons Letter layde to Bradfordes charge when he was condemned, with other talke more of the Church: whether Dic Eccleſiæ was ſpoke of the vniuerſall Church, or of a particular (which Pedleton at the length graunted to bee ſpoken of a particulare Church) alſo of vayne glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of, and ſuch like talke: A litle before his departing Bradford ſayd thus: Maiſter Doctor, as I ſaid to M. Weſton the laſt day, ſo ſaye I vnto you agayne, that I am the ſame man in Religion agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation ſtyll, which I was whẽ I came into priſon: for hitherto I haue ſene nothing in any poynt to infirme me. At which wordes Pendleton was ſomething moued, and ſaid that it was no Catholicke doctrine. Yes, quoth Bradford, and that wil I proue euen by the teſtimony of the Catholicke fathers vntill Concilium Lateranenſe, or thereabout. Thus Pendleton wẽt his way, ſaying that he would come oftener to Bradford. God our father be with vs all, and geue vs the ſpirite of his truth for euer. Amen.

Bradford could heare no reaſon of the Papiſtes to infirme his opinion agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

The ſame day in the afternoone, about fiue of the clock, came Mayſter Weſton to Bradford: and after gentle ſalutations, he deſired the company euery man to depart, & ſo they two ſat downe. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing vnto him, he pulled out of his boſome the ſame writing, which Bradford had ſent him. The writing is this that foloweth.

⁂ Certayne reaſons agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation gathered by Iohn Bradford, and geuen to Doctour Weſton and others.

1. That which is former (ſayth Tertullian) is true: that whiche is latter is falſe. But the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Councel of Laterane, about 1215. yeares after Chriſtes comming, vnder Pope Innocentius the thyrd of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to beleue it or not beleue it: as the Biſhop of Dureſme doth witneſſe in his booke of the preſence of Chriſt in his Supper lately put forth: Ergo the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is falſe.

Tranſubſtantiatiõ not brought into the church before the yeare 1215. by Pope Innocentius. 3.

2. That the words of Chriſtes ſupper be figuratiue, the circũſtãces of the ſcripture, the Analogy or proportiõ of the ſacramẽtes, & the ſentẽces of all the holy fathers, which were & did write for the ſpace 1000. yeares after Chriſtes Aſcenſion, do teach: whereupon it foloweth, that there is no tranſubſtantiation.

Three reaſons prouing the wordes of the Lordes ſupper to be figuratiue.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

1. Circumſtances of Scripture.
2. Proportion of Sacramentes.
3. Teſtimony of olde Doctours.

3. That the Lord gaue to his Diſciples bread and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witneſſe. For he gaue that & called it his body which he tooke in his handes, wheron he gaue thankes, which alſo he brake, & gaue to his Diſciples, that is to ſay, bread, as the fathers, Ireneus, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, and all the reſidue which are of antiquity, doe affirme: but in as much as the ſubſtaunce of breade and wine is an other thing then the ſubſtance of the body & bloud of Chriſt, it plainely appeareth that there is no tranſubſtantiation.

The wine is not tranſubſtantiate: Ergo neyther the bread.

4. The bread is no more tranſubſtantiate then the wine: but that the wine is not trāſubſtātiate, S. Mathew & S. Mark do teach vs: for they witnes that Chriſt ſayd that he would drinke no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not bloud but wine: and therfore it foloweth, that there is no tranſubſtantiation. Chryſoſtome vpō Mathew and S. Cyprian do affirme this reaſon.

The ſame ſpirit which ſayeth: This is my body: ſayth alſo: We many are one bread and one body. &c.

5. As the bread in the Lordes Supper is Chriſtes naturall bodye, ſo is it his myſticall body: for the ſame ſpirit that ſpake of it: This is my body, did ſay alſo: for we many are one bread, one body. &c. but now it is not the myſticall body by tranſubſtantiation, and therfore it is not his naturall body by tranſubſtantiation.

The words doe not tranſubſtātiate the cup into the new teſtament: Ergo neyther the bread into the body.

6. The wordes ſpoken ouer the cup in S. Luke and Paule, are not ſo mighty and effectuall as to tranſubſtantiate it: For then it or that which is in it ſhould be tranſubſtantiate into the new Teſtament: therfore the wordes ſpoken ouer the bread are not ſo mighty as to make tranſubſtantiation.

The doctrine of the Church of Rome for tranſubſtantiatiō agreeth not with the Apoſtles Church, nor with the Greke Churches, nor with the olde Romain church.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with thoſe Churches whiche be Apoſtolicke, mother Churches, or originall churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which theſe Churches receiued of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of G O D. But it is manifeſt that the doctrine taughte at this preſent of the church of Rome, concerning tranſubſtantiation, doth not agree with the Apoſtolicke and mother Churches in Grece of Corinthus, of Philippos, Coloſſia, Theſſalonica, Epheſus, which neuer taught tranſubſtantiation: yea it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Churche of Rome taught in times paſt. For Gelaſius the Pope ſetting forth the doctrine which that ſea did thē hold, doth manifeſtly confute the error of tranſubſtantiation, and reproueth them of the ſacriledge which deuide the miſtery, and keepe from the Laity the cup. Therefore the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the truth.

This was the writing which Weſton pulled out of his boſome: & yet before he began to read it, he ſhewed Bradford that he aſked of his conuerſatiō at Cābridge ſithen his laſt being with him: and (quoth he) Mayſter Bradford, becauſe you are a man not geuen to the glory of the world, I will ſpeake it before your face: Your life I haue learned was ſuch there alwayes, as all men, euen the greateſt enemyes you haue, can not but prayſe it, and therefore I loue you much better then euer I did: but now I will reade ouer your argumentes, and ſo we will conferre them. Such they are, that a man may well perceiue you ſtand on cōſcience, & therfore I am the more redy & glad to pity you. So he began to read the firſt: to the which he ſayd, that though the word tranſubſtantiatiō began but lately: yet the thyng alwayes was, and hath bene ſithen Chriſtes inſtitution.

Brad. I do not contend or hang vpon the worde onely, but vpon the thing which is as new as the word.

The wordes of Auſten guilefully wraſted by Weſton.

Weſt. Then went he to the ſeconde, and there brought out S. Auguſtine, how that if an euill man goyng to the deuill did make his will, his ſonne & heyre would not ſay his father did lye in it, or ſpeak tropically: much more Chriſt going to God, did neuer lye or vſe any figuratiue ſpech in his laſt wil and teſtament. Do you not remember this place of S. Auguſtine, ſayd he?

Brad. Yes Syr, but I remember not that S. Auguſtine hath thoſe wordes tropicè or figuratiue, as you rehearſe thē: for any man may ſpeak a thing figuratiuely, and lye not: & ſo Chriſt did in his laſt Supper.

Weſt. After this he went to the thyrd, and brought foorth Cyprian, howe that the nature of the bread is turned into fleſh. Here (ſayth he) my Lord of Caunterbury expoundeth nature for quality, by Gelaſius: the which interpretatiō ſerueth for the anſwere of your third argument, ỳ Chriſt called bread his body: that is, the quality, forme, & apperance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the ſame names whiche they had before, as Symon the Leaper: he was not ſo preſetly, but becauſe he had bene ſo.

Simon though he were called the leper, yet he was ſeene to be no leper. But bread is ſeene ſtill to be bread: and therfore hath his name not of that it was, but of that it is. Cyprian expounded by Gelaſius.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before Gelaſius: therefore Cyprian muſt not expoūd Gelaſius, but Gelaſius, Cyprian: and ſo they both teach that bread remaineth ſtil. As for things hauing ſtill the names they had, is no aunſweare, except you could ſhew that this nowe were not breade, as eaſily as a man might haue known & ſene then Symon to haue bene healed and cleare from his Leproſye.

Weſt. After this he went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he did not fully read, but digreſſed into a long talke of Cyprians Epiſtle De Aquarijs: alſo of S. Auguſtine, expounding the breaking of breade by Chriſt to his two Diſciples going to Emaus, to be the Sacrament, with ſuch other talk to no certaine purpoſe: and therfore Bradford prayed him, that in as much as he had written the reaſons that ſtabliſhed his fayth agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo hee woulde likewiſe doe to him, that is, aunſwere him by writing, and ſhew him moe reaſons in writing to confirme Tranſubſtantiation. Which Doctor Weſton promiſed to do, & ſayde that he would ſend or bring it to Bradford agayne within three dayes.

Weſ...

Thus when he had ouer read the argumentes, & here and there ſpokē litle to the purpoſe for the auoiding of thē, and Bradford had prayed him to geue him in writing his aunſweres: then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford neded not to feare any reproch or ſclaunder he ſhould ſuffer, meaning belike, to haue Bradford ſecretly come to thē, as Grimoald did: for he ſubſcribed.

Grim... ſubſcri...

Brad. Maiſter Deane I would not gladly that you ſhould conceiue of me that I paſſe of ſhame of men ſimply in thys matter: I rather would haue you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I haue not ſene nor heard any thing to infirme my fayth agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo I am no leſſe ſetled in it, then I was at my cōming hither. I loue to be playne with you, and to tell you at the firſt, as you ſhall finde at the laſt.

M. Brad... playne ... firme in confeſſi... the truth.

Weſt. In good fayth maiſter Bradford, I loue you the better for your playnnes: & do not think otherwiſe of me, but that you ſhall finde me playne in all my talke with you.

Here Weſton began to aſke Bradford of his impriſonment and condemnation: and ſo Bradford told him altogether: how he had bene handled. Whereat Weſton ſeemed to wonder: yea in playne wordes he ſayd, that Bradford had bene handled otherwiſe thē he had geuē cauſe, & ſo ſhewed Bradford how that my Lord of Bath reported that he had deſerued a Benefite at the Queenes hande, and at all the Counſell.

In this kinde of talke they ſpent an houre almoſt, and ſo as one weery, Bradford aroſe vp, and Weſton called to the Keeper, and before him he bad Bradford be of good cōfort, and ſayd that he was out of all perill of death.

Keeper. Syr (quoth the keeper) but it is in euery mannes mouth that he ſhall dye to morow.

The va... promiſe... Weſton.

Weſt. Whereat Weſton ſeemed halfe amazed, and ſayde hee would go ſay Euēſong before the Queene, & ſpeake to her in his behalfe. But it is to be thought, that the queene had almoſt ſupped at that preſēt: for it was paſt 6, of the clocke.

Brad. Before the Keeper, Bradforde tolde Weſton agayne that ſtill he was one man: and euen as he was at the firſt, and till he ſhould ſee matter to teach his conſcience the cōtrary, he ſayd he muſt needes ſo continue.

Keeper. The keeper deſired Bradford to harken to maiſter Doctors counſell, and prayd M. Doctour to be good vnto him: and ſo after they had dronke together, M. Doct, with moſt gentle wordes tooke his leaue for 3. dayes.

Now when he was gone, the Keeper tolde Bradford, that Mayſter Doctour ſpake openly, how that he ſawe no cauſe why they ſhould burne him. Whiche ſentence for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him ſomewhat ſory leaſt he had behaued himſelfe in any thing, wherin he had gathered any conformableneſ to them in theyr doctrine whyche God knoweth, ſayeth Bradforde, I neuer as yet did. God our father bleſſe vs, as his children, and keepe vs from all euill for euer. Amen.

¶ An other talke or conference betwene M. Bradford, and Doctour Weſton.

An other talke or confere... betwee... M. Brad... & Do... Weſton. D. Weſ... withſta... deth the Monkes comming into We... minſter.

Vpon the fifth day of April came M. Doctor Weſton to the Counter about two of the clocke in the afternoone, who excuſed himſelfe for being ſo long abſent: partlye by ſicknes, partly for that Doctour Pendleton tolde him that he would come vnto him, and partly for that (quoth he) I withſtood certayne Monkes, whiche woulde haue come agayne into Weſtminſter telling him moreouer howe that the Pope was dead, & alſo declared vnto him how he had ſpoken to the Queene in his behalfe, and howe that death was not neare vnto him.

Weſton. Laſt of all, he excuſed himſelfe for not aunſwering his argumentes agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation: becauſe my comming to day (quoth he) was more by fortune then of purpoſe.

Bradf... argum... not au... ſwered.

Brad. I woulde gladly M. Doctor if it pleaſe you, ſee your aunſweres to my argumentes.

Weſt. Why you haue remēbred ſome thing what I ſpake to you when I was laſt with you.

Brad. No Syr. I neuer called them in maner to mynde, ſythen that tyme, as well becauſe I hoped you woulde

haue

Anno 1555. July.

haue written them: as alſo for that they ſeemed not to be ſo materiall.

West. In good fayth I can not ſee any other or better way for you, then for to ſubmit your ſelf to the iudgement of the Church.

Brad. Mary ſo will I Syr, if it ſo be by the church you vnderſtand Chriſtes Church.

West. Lo, you take vpon you to iudge the Church.

Brad No ſir that do I not: in taking vpon me to diſcerne I do not iudge the Church.

The Papists will not haue the church iudged.

West. Yes that you do, and make it inuiſible.

Brad. I do neither.

West. Why, who can ſee your Church.

Brad. Thoſe Syr, that haue ſpirituall eies, wherwith they might haue diſcerned Chriſtes viſible conuerſation here vpon earth.

The churche is viſible but onely to ſpirituall eyes.

West. Nay: Chriſtes Church hath three tokens, that all mē may looke well vpon: namely, vnity, antiquity, & conſent.

Brad. Theſe three, may be as wel in euil as in good, as wel in ſin as in vertue, as well in the deuils church as in gods church: As for enſample, Idolatry amongſt the Iſraelites had all thoſe three. Chryſoſtome telleth plainely, as you well know, that the church is well known, Tantūmodo per ſcripturas, alonely by the ſcriptures.

Vnity, Antiquitye, Conſent. Vnity, Antiquitye, Conſent, as well common to the deuils Church, as to Chriſtes Church.

West. In good fayth, you make your Church inuiſible whē you will haue it knowne alonely by the ſcriptures.

Brad. No Sir the Scriptures doe playnely ſet forth to vs the church, that all mē may well enough therby know her, if they liſt to looke.

West. The Church is like a Tower or towne vpon a hill, that all men may ſee.

Brad. True Syr, all menne that be not blinde. Viſible enough is the church, but mens blindnes is great. Impute not therfore to the Church, that which is to be imputed to mens blindnes.

Why the Church is not ſeene.

West. Where was your Churche fourtye yeares agoe? or where is it now? except in a corner of Germany?

Weſton ouermatcheth in agayne with his Antiquitye.

Brad. Forſoothe Syr, the Churche of Chriſt is diſperſed, and not tyed to this or that place, but to the word of God: ſo that where it is, there is Gods Churche, if it be truely taught.

The church is tyed to no place but to the word.

West. Loe, is not this to make the church inuiſible? poynt me out a Realme a hundred yeres paſt, which mainteined your doctrine?

Brad. Syr, if you will, or would wel marke the ſtate of the Church before Chriſtes cōming, with it now (as S. Paule and Peter willeth vs) I thinke you woulde not looke for ſuch ſhewes of the Churche to be made, as to poynt it by Realmes. You know that in Helias time both in Iſraeli, and els where, Gods Church was not poyntable: & therfore cryed he out that he was left alone.

The church is not alwayes to be poynted out by realmes & countries. The Church in Helias tyme was not poyntable.

West. No mary, did not God ſay, that there was 7000. whiche had not bowed theyr knees to Baal? Loe then 7000. ſhew me ſeuen thowſande a hundred yeares agoe of your Religion.

Brad. Syr, theſe 7000. were not knowne to men, for then Helias would not haue ſayde, that he had bene left alone. And it is plain enough by that, which the text hath, namely that God ſaith, Reliqui mihi, I haue reſerued to me. 7000. Marke that it ſayth, God had reſerued to hymſelfe, to his owne knowledge, as I doubt not but a hundreth yeres agoe God had his 7000. in his proper places, though men knew not therof.

God ſaw the Church in Helias, although Helias himſelfe did not ſee it: & ſo is it now.

West. Well, Mayſter Bradford, I will not make your caſe worſe, then for tranſubſtantiation, although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it your ſelfe not worſe. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no Prince, & therefore I cannot promiſe you life, except you will ſubmit your ſelfe to the definition of the Church.

Brad. Syr, ſo that you will define me your church, that vnder it you bring not in a falſe Church: you ſhall not ſee but that we ſhall ſoone be at a poynt.

West. In good fayth M. Bradforde, I ſee no good will be done, & therefore I will wiſh you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or ſend to you again, and ſo he ſent for M. Weaſe, and departed.

Nowe after his departing, came the keeper M. Claydon, and Steuen Bech, and they were very hote with maſter Bradford, & ſpake vnto him in ſuch ſort that he ſhould not looke but to haue them vtter enemies vnto him, notwithſtanding the frendſhippe they both had hytherto pretended. God be with vs, and what matter is it who be agaynſt vs.

Among diuers which came to Mayſter Bradforde in Priſon, ſome to diſpute and conferre, ſome to geue counſell, ſome to take comforte, and ſome to viſite him, there was a certayne Gentlewomans ſeruaunt, whiche Gentlewoman had bene cruelly afflicted and miſerably handled by her father and mother and all her kindred, in her fathers houſe, for not comming to the Maſſe, and like at length to haue bene purſued to death, had not the Lorde deliuered her out of her fathers houſe, beyng put from all that euer ſhe had. This Gentlewomans ſeruaunt therefore being ſent to Maiſter Bradford with recommendations, had this talke with him, which I thought here not to ouerſlyp.

This Gentlewoman is yet aliue to whom M. Bradford wr[o]te a letter which hereafter followeth.

¶ A Colloquy betwene M. Bradford and a Gentlewomans ſeruaunt, being ſent to viſite him in priſon.

THis ſeruant or meſſenger of the foreſayd Gentlewomā comming to M. Bradford, and taking him by the hand ſayd: God be thanked for you. How do you?

Talke betweene Bradford and a certaine Gentlewomans ſeruant.

Brad. Mayſter Bradford anſwered: well, I thanke God. For as men in ſayling, which be neare to the ſhore or hauē where they would be, would be nearer: euen ſo the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Seruant. Sir, I haue neuer ſene you ſo ſtrong & healthſom of body, as me thinke you be now, God be thanked for it.

Brad. Why, quoth he, I haue geuen ouer all care & ſtudy, and onely doe I couet to bee talking with him, whome I haue alwayes ſtudyed to be withall.

Seru. Wel, God hath done much for you, ſince the time that I firſt knew you, and hath wrought wonderouſly in you to his glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath dealt fauourably with me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my ſinnes, but hath ſuffered me to liue, that I might ſeeke repentance.

Seru. Truly we heare ſay, there is a rod made ſo greuous, out of the which I thinke no man ſhall plucke his head.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Chriſtes flocke, arme thēſelues to ſuffer, for I thinke verely, God will not haue one of hys to eſcape vntouched, if hee loue him, let them ſeeke what meanes or wayes they can.

Seru. Well ſir, there goeth a talke of a Fryer that ſhoulde preach before the king, & ſhould tell him, that he ſhould be guilty of the innocent blood that hath bene ſhed of late.

By this Frier he meaneth Alphonſus mentioned before.

Brad. Verely, quoth Bradford, I had a booke within theſe two dayes of his writing, & therein he ſayth, that it is not meet nor conuenient that the heretickes ſhould liue: & therfore I haue maruell how that talke ſhould riſe, for I haue heard of it alſo, and I haue alſo talked with this Fryer (he is named Fryer Fonſe) and with diuers other, & I prayſe God, they haue confirmed me: for they haue nothing to ſay but that which is moſt vayne.

Alphonſus otherwiſe called in the vulgare ſpeache Fryer Fonſe.

Seru. Syr, Father Cardmaker hath him commended vnto you.

Brad. How doth he, how doth he?

Seru. Well God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad therof: for in deed for my lord Chancellour did caſt him in my teeth, but as Dauid ſayth, God hath diſappoynted him.

Seru. Forſooth, Gods name be prayſed, he is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt, ſo are we. What els? our quarel is moſt iuſt: therfore let vs not be afrayd.

Seru. My mayſtres hath her recommended vnto you.

Brad. How doth ſhe?

Seru. Well, God be prayſed, but ſhe hath bene ſorer afflicted with her owne father and mother, then euer you were with your impriſonment, and yet God hath preſerued her, I truſt, to his glory.

Brad. I pray you tell her, I read this day a godly hiſtorye, written by Baſilius magnus, of a vertuous woman whiche was a widdow, and was named Iuleddo. She had great landes, and many childrē, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, which for her vertuouſnes, & godly lyuing had great indignitiō at her, & of very malice he tooke away her lands, ſo that ſhe was cōſtrained to go to the law with him: & in concluſion the matter came to the triall before the Iudge, who demaunded of this Tyrant why he wrongfully withheld theſe lands frō this woman. He made anſwere & ſaid: he might ſo do, for (ſayth he) this womā is diſobedient to ẏ kings procedings: for ſhe wil in no wiſe worſhip his gods nor offer ſacrifice vnto thē. Then the Iudge hearing that, ſayd vnto her: womā, if this be true, thou art not only like to looſe thy land, but alſo thy life, vnles that thou worſhip our gods, and do ſacrifice vnto them. This godly woman hearing that, ſtept me forth to the Iudge, & ſayd: Is there no remedy, but either to worſhip your falſe gods, or els to looſe my landes & life? then farewell life, farewell landes, farewel childrē, farewel frendes, yea & farewel life too: and in reſpect of ẏ true honor of the euerliuing God, farewell all. And with that ſaying did the Iudge cōmit her to priſon

A ſtory of a faythfull woman and Martyr in the primatiue Church called Iuleddo Ex Baſilio.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

Example of Iuleddo Martyr.

ſon, and afterward ſhe ſuffred moſt cruel death: and being brought to the place of execution, ſhe exhorted all womē to be ſtrong and conſtant. For (ſayth ſhe) ye were redeemed with as deare a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you alſo of his fleſh: ſo that alſo in the caſe & triall of your fayth towards God, ye ought to be as ſtrong. And thus dyed ſhee conſtantly, not fearyng death. I pray you tell your Maiſtreſſe of this hiſtory.

Seru. That ſhall I ſir by Gods grace: for ſhe told me that ſhee was with you and M. Saunders, and receiued your gentle counſell.

Brad. We neuer gaue her other counſell but the trueth, & in witnes therof we haue & wil ſeale it with our blouds. For I thought this night that I had bene ſent for, becauſe at a 11. of the clocke there was ſuch rapping at the dore.

Then anſwered a mayd, and ſayd: why thē I perceiue you were afrayd.

M. Bradford nothing afrayd of death.

Brad. Ye ſhall heare how fearefull I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was a ſleepe, theſe men came into the next chamber, and ſang, as it was tolde me, and yet for all my fearefulnes I heard thē not: therfore belike I was not afrayd, that ſlept ſo faſt.

Seru. Do you lacke any thing toward your neceſſity?

Brad. Nothing but your prayers, & I truſt I haue them, and you mine.

Seru. I ſaw a prieſt come to you to day in the morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a letter from a Fryer, and I am writing an anſwere.

Seru. Then we let you, therefore the liuing God be wyth you.

Brad. And with you alſo, and bleſſe you.

Seru. Amen, ſayd we, and gaue him thankes, & departed.

M. Bradford had from the Counter to Newgate by night.

THus ſtill in priſon continued Bradford, vntill the moneth of Iuly, in ſuch labors & ſufferings as he before alwayes had ſuſteyned in priſon. But when the time of hys determined death was come, he was ſodēly conueyed out of the Counter where he was priſoner, in the night ſeaſon to Newgate, as afore is declared, & frō thence he was caried the next morning to Smithfield, where he conſtantly abiding in the ſame truth of God, which before he had confeſſed, earneſtly exhorting the people to repent & to return to Chriſt, & ſweetly comforting the godly yong ſpringall of 19. or 20. yeares old, which was burned with him, chearefully he ended his paynefull life, to liue with Chriſt.

¶ Iohn Leafe burnt with M. Bradford.

Iohn Leafe fellow Martyr with M. Bradford.

WIth whō alſo was burnt one Iohn Leafe an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy Tallow Chaundlor, of the pariſh of Chriſts church in London, of the age of 19. yeres and aboue, borne at Kirkeby Moreſide, in the Countye of Yorke: who vpō the friday next before Palme ſonday was cōmitted to the Counter in Breadſtreete, by an Alderman of London, who had rule & charge of that warde or part of the City, where the ſayd Leafe did dwell. After he cōmyng to examination before Boner, gaue a firme & Chriſtian teſtimony of his doctrine & profeſſion, anſwering to ſuch articles as were obiected to him by the ſayd Biſhop.

Iohn Leafe of the pariſh of Chriſtchurch, by the Alderman of that warde committed to priſon.

Iohn Leafe examined before B. Boner.

The aunſweres of Iohn Leafe concerning his fayth in the Sacrament.

Firſt, as touching his beliefe & fayth in the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, he anſwered, that after ẏ words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt ouer the bread & wine, there was not the very true & naturall body & bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance: and further did hold and beleue, that the ſayd ſacramēt of the aultar, as it is now called, vſed, & beleued in this realme of Englād, is idolatrous & abhominable: & alſo ſayd further, that he beleued, that after the words of cōſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt ouer the material bread and wine, there is not the ſelfe ſame ſubſtance of Chriſtes body & bloud there cōteined, but bread & wine, as it was before: and further ſayd, that he beleued, that when the prieſt deliuereth the ſaid material bread & wine to the cōmunicants, he deliuereth but onely* material bread and wyne, and the communicants do receiue the ſame in remēbrance of Chriſtes death and paſſion, and ſpiritually in fayth they receiue Chriſts body and bloud, but not vnder the formes of bread and wine: and alſo affirmed that he beleued auricular confeſſion not to be neceſſary to be made vnto a prieſt, for it is no poynt of ſoule health, neither that the Prieſt hath anye authority geuen him by the Scripture, to abſolue and remit any ſinne.

* Onely as touching the ſubſtance but not as concerning the effect thereof.

Auricular confeſſion.

He meaneth after the Popiſh maner of remitting. &c.

Upon theſe his anſweres and teſtimony of his fayth, he at that time being diſmiſſed, was bid the Monday next, being the x. of Iune, to appere again in the ſaid place, there and then to heare the ſentence of his condemnatiō: who ſo did. At what time the foreſayd Biſhop propounding the ſayd articles again to him, as before, aſſaying by al maner of wayes, to reuoke him to his owne trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithſtanding all his perſwaſiōs, threates and promiſes, found him the ſame man ſtill, ſo planted vpon the ſure rocke of truth, that no wordes nor deedes of men could remoue him.

Then the biſhop after many wordes to and fro, at laſt aſked him, if he had bene M. Rogers ſcholler? To whō the foreſayd Iohn Leafe anſwered agayne, graunting him ſo to be: and that he the ſame Iohn did beleue in the doctrine of the ſayd Rogers, and in the doctrine of Biſhop Hoper, Cardmaker, and other of their opinion, which of late were burned for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and that he would dye in that doctrine that they dyed for: And after other replications agayne of the Biſhop, mouing him to returne to the vnity of the Church, he with a great courage of ſpirite anſwered agayne in theſe words: My Lord quoth he, you cal mine opiniō hereſy: it is the true light of the word of God: and agayne repeating the ſame, he profeſſed that he would neuer forſake his ſtayed & well grounded opinion, while ẏ breath ſhould be in his body. Wherupon the Biſhop being too weake, eyther to refute his ſentence, or to remoue hys conſtancy, proceeded conſequently to read the Popiſh ſentence of cruell condemnatiō, wherby this godly & conſtant young man being cōmitted to the ſecular power of the ſhiriffes there preſent, was thē adiudged, & not long after ſuffered the ſame day with M. Bradford, confirming to hys death that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in his life.

Iohn Leafe M. Rogers ſcholler.

Sentence read agaynſt Iohn Leafe.

It is reported of the ſaid Iohn Leafe, by one that was in the Counter the ſame time, and ſaw the thing, that after his examinations before the Biſhop, when two bils were ſent vnto him in the Coūter in Bredſtreet, the one conteyning a recantation, the other his confeſſions, to know to which of them he would put to his hand, firſt hearyng the Byll of recantation read vnto him (becauſe he coulde not read nor write hymſelfe) that he refuſed. And when the other was read vnto him, which he well liked of, in ſtead of a pen he tooke a pinne, and ſo pricking his hand, ſprinckled the bloud vpon the ſayd bill, willing the reader thereof, to ſhew the Biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame Bill with his bloud already.

Iohn Leafe ſealed the bill of his confeſſion with his bloud.

✻ The behauyour of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and the young man that ſuffered with him in Smithfield, named Iohn Leafe, a Prentiſe, which both ſuffered for the teſtimony of Chriſt.

FIrſt, when they came to the ſtake in Smithfielde to bee burned, M. Bradford lying proſtrate on the one ſide of the ſtake, and the yoūg man Iohn Leafe on the other ſide, they lay flat on theyr faces, praying to thēſelues the ſpace of a minute of an houre. Then one of the Sheriffes ſayde to M. Bradford: Ariſe and make an end: for the preaſe of the people is great.

Bradford & Iohn Leafe at the ſtake how they behaued themſelues.

At that word they both ſtoode vp vpon their feete: and then M. Bradford tooke a fagot in his hand, and kiſſed it, and ſo likewiſe the ſtake. And when he had ſo done, he deſired of the Sheriffes that his ſeruant might haue his rayment. For (ſayde he) I haue nothing els to geue him: and beſides that, he is a poore man. And the Shiriffe ſayde, hee ſhould haue it. And ſo forthwith M. Bradford did put off his rayment, and went to the ſtake: and holding vp hys handes and caſting his countenaunce to heauen, he ſayde thus: O England, England, repent thee of thy ſinnes, repēt thee of thy ſinnes. Beware of Idolatrye, beware of falſe Antichriſtes take heede they do not deceiue you. And as he was ſpeaking theſe wordes, the Sheriffe bade tye his hands, if he would not be quiet. O M. Sheriffe (ſayd M. Bradford) I am quiet: God forgeue you this, Mayſter Sheriffe. And one of the officers wich made the fire, hearing Mayſter Bradford ſo ſpeaking to the Shiriffe, ſayde: If you haue no better learninge then that, you are but a foole, and were beſt to hold your peace. To the which wordes M. Bradford gaue no anſwere: but aſked all the world forgeueneſſe, and forgaue all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned hys head vnto the young man that ſuffered with him, and ſayd: Bee of good comfort Brother, for we ſhall haue a mery ſupper with the Lorde thys night: and ſo ſpake no more wordes that any man did heare, but imbracing the Reedes, ſayd thus: Strayt is the way, and narrow is the Gate that leadeth to eternall ſaluation, and fewe there bee that finde it.

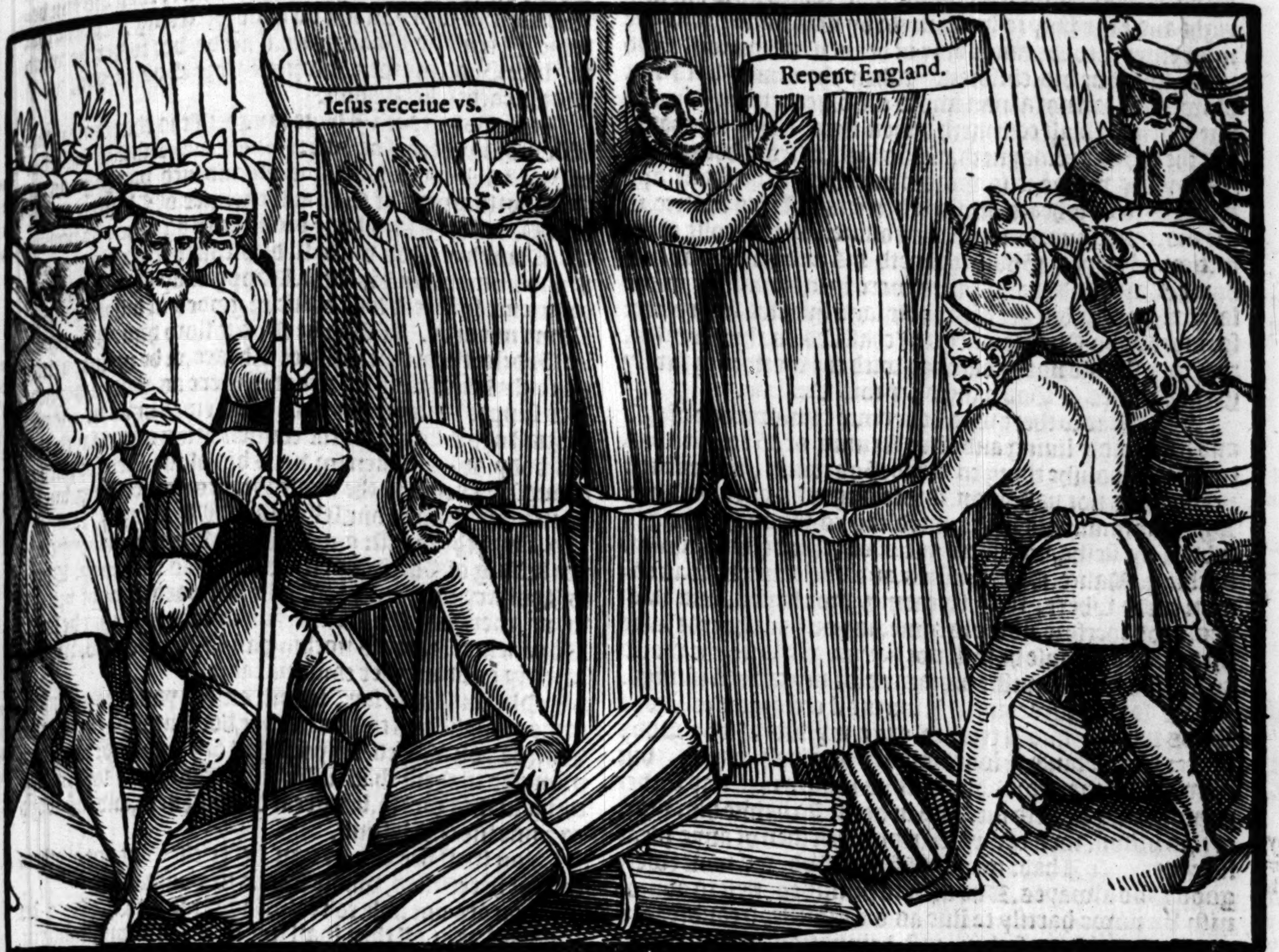
The wordes of M. Bradford to England.

The ſaying of M. Bradford at his death.

And thus they both ended theyr mortall liues, moſte likeſt two Lambes, without any alteration of their countenaunce, beyng voyde of all feare, hoping to obteine the price of the game that they had long runne at: to the which I beſeeche Almightye God happily to conducte vs, thorow the merites of Ieſus Chriſte our Lorde and Sauior. Amen.

Tou=

The deſcription of the burning of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and Iohn Leafe a Prentiſe.


Ieſus receiue vs.
Repent England.

A notable example of Gods hand vpon M. Woodroffe.

Touching M. Wodroffe the Sheriffe, mention is made a little before, how churliſhly here hee aunſwered M. Bradford at the ſtake, not ſuffering him to ſpeake, but cōmaunding his handes to be tyed. &c. The like extremity or worſe, he vſed alſo before to M. Rogers: whereof ye haue heard before.

Syr William Cheſter commended.

Difference betweene 2. Sheriffes, M. Cheſter and M. Woodroffe.

The ſayd Wodroffe Sheriffe aboue mentioned, was ioyned in office with an other, called Syr William Cheſter, for the yeare 1555. Betweene theſe two Sheriffes ſuch difference there was of iudgement and Religion, that the one, that is, Maiſter Wodroffe, was woont commonly to laugh, ẏ other to ſhedde teares at the death of Chriſts people. And where as the other was woont to reſtrayne and to beate the people, whiche were deſirous to take them by the handes that ſhould be burned: the other Sheriffe contrariwiſe agayne with muche ſorrow and mildneſſe behaued himſelfe, which I wiſh here to be ſpoken & known to the commendation of him, although I doe not greatly know the partie.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the ſeuere puniſhmēt of Gods hand agaynſt the ſayde Wodroffe, as agaynſt all other ſuch cruell perſecutours, ſo it happened, that within halfe a yeare after the burning of this bleſſed Martyr, the ſayde Sheriffe was ſo ſtriken on the right ſide with ſuch a pauliſie, or ſtroke of Gods hand whatſoeuer it was, that for the ſpace of eight yeares after, till hys dying day, hee was not able to turne himſelfe in his bed, but as two men with a ſheete were fayn to ſtirre him: and withall ſuch an inſaciable deuouring came vpon him, that it was monſtrous to ſee. And thus continued he the ſpace of eight yeares together.

¶ In mortem Iohannis Bradfordi *conſtantiſſimi Martyris.*

Epitaphium in Ioan. Bradfordum per Ioan. [illegible]

Diſcipulo nulli ſupra licet eſſe magiſtrum:
  Quique Deo ſeruit, triſtia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem:
  Ad cœlum ſtricta eſt difficiliſque via.
Has Bradforde tuo dum condis pictore voces:
  Non hominum rigidas terribileſque minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
  Tradis & accenſæ membra cremanda pyrę.

Here follow the letters of M. Bradford.

The letters of M. Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heauenly martyr, duryng the tyme of his impriſonment, wrote ſondrye comfortable Treatiſes, and many godly Letters, of whiche, ſome hee wrote to the Citty of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lankeſhyre and Cheſſhyre, & diuers to his other priuate friendes. By the which forſayd Letters, to the intent it may appeare how godly this man occupyed hys time being priſoner, what ſpeciall zeale he bare to the ſtate of chriſtes Church, what care he had to performe his office, how earneſtly he admoniſhed all men, howe tenderly he comforted the heauy harted: how fruitfully he confirmed thē whom he had taught, I thought here good to place ẏ ſame although to exhibite here all the letters that he wrote, (being in number ſo many, that they are able to fill a booke) it cannot well be compaſſed, yet neuertheleſſe we mynde to excerpt the principal of them, referring the reader for the reſidue, to the booke of Letters of the martyrs, where they may be found.

Read the booke of letters of the Martyrs.

The copy of M. Bradfordes letter whereof the Earle of Darby complayned in in the Parliament.

And firſt, for ſo much as yee heard in the ſtorye before, how the Earle of Darby complayned in the Parliament houſe, of certayne Letters written of Iohn Bradford out of priſon, to Lancaſhyre, and alſo howe hee was charged both of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and of M. Allen wyth the ſame letters, to the intent the Reader more perfectly may vnderſtand what letters they were, being written in deede to his mother, brethren, and ſiſters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we wil beginne firſt with the ſame letters: the copy with the contentes wherof is thys, as followeth.

¶ A comfortable letter of M. Bradford to hys Mother, a godly matrone, dwelling in Mancheſter, and to hys brethren and ſiſters, and other of his frendes there.

A letter of M. Bradford to his mother, brethren and ſiſters.

Our deare and ſweete Sauioure Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe priſoner at this preſent (prayſed be his name therfore) I am, preſerue and keepe you my good mother, wyth my brothers and ſiſters, my Father Iohn Traues, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and Iames Bradſhawe, with theyr wiues and familyes. &c. now and for euer. Amen.

I am at this preſent in priſon ſure enough for ſtarting, to confirme that I haue preached vnto you: as I am ready (I thanke God) with my lyfe and bloud to ſeale the ſame, if god vouch me worthy of that honor. For good mother and brethren, it is a moſt ſpeciall benefite of God, to

Anno 1555. Iuly.

ſuffer for his names ſake and goſpel, as now I doe: I hartily thanke him for it, and am ſure that with him I ſhal be partaker of his glory, as Paule ſayth: If we ſuffer with hym we ſhall raygne with him. Therfore be not faynt harted, but rather reioyce, at the leaſt for my ſake which now am in yͤ right and high way to heauen: for by many afflictions we muſt enter into the kingdome of heauen. Now will God make knowne his children. When the winde doth not blow, then can not a man know the wheate from yͤ chaffe: but when the blaſt commeth, then flyeth away the chaffe, but the wheate remayneth, and is ſo farre from being hurt that by the winde it is more clenſed from the chaffe and knowne to be wheate. Gold when it is caſt into the fire, is the more precious: ſo are Gods children by the croſſe of affliction. Alwayes God beginneth his iudgement at hys houſe. Chriſt and the Apoſtles were in moſt miſerie in the land of Iewry, but yet the whole land ſmarted for it after: ſo now Gods Children are firſt chaſtiſed in this worlde, that they ſhould not be damned with the world: for ſurely great plagues of God hang ouer this Realme.

2. Tim. 2.

Actes. 14.

God beginneth his iudgement with his owne houſe.

Ye all know there was neuer more knowledge of god and leſſe godly liuing and true ſeruing of God. It was counted a fooliſhe thing to ſerue God truely, and earneſt prayer was not paſt vpon. Preaching was but a paſtime. The Communion was counted too common. Faſting to ſubdue the fleſhe, was farre out of vſe. Almes was almoſt nothing. Malice, Couetouſnes, and vncleannes, was cõmon euery where, with ſwearing, dronkenes, and idlenes. God therfore nowe is come, as you haue hearde mee preach, and becauſe he will not damne vs with the world he beginneth to puniſhe vs: as me for my carnall liuinge. For as for my preaching, I am moſt certaine it is & was Gods trueth, and I truſt to geue my life for it by Gods grace: But becauſe I loued not the Goſpell truely, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus puniſh me: nay rather in puniſhing bleſſeth me. And in deede I thanke him more of this priſon, then of any Parlour, yea then of anye pleaſure that euer I had: for in it I finde God my moſt ſweet good God alwayes. The fleſh is puniſhed, firſt to admoniſh vs nowe hartily to liue as we profeſſe, ſecondlye, to terrifie the wicked of their iuſt damnation, if they repent not.

Complaynt of the Carnall and wicked lyfe among the Goſpellers.

The cauſe why God firſt puniſheth his in this world.

Perchaunce you are weakened in that whiche I haue preached, becauſe God doth not defend it (as you thinke) but ſuffereth the popiſh doctrine to come agayne and preuayle: but you muſt know, good mother, that God by this doth proue and try his children & people whether they wil vnfaynedly and ſimply hang on him & his worde. So dyd he to the Iſraelites, bringing thẽ into a Deſert after theyr comming out of Egypt, where (I meane the wildernes) was want of all thinges in compariſon of that which they had in Egipt. Chriſt, whẽ he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietnes with him, but rather war. The world (ſayth he) ſhall reioyce, but ye ſhall mourne & weepe, but your weeping ſhalbe turned into ioy: and therefore happye are they that mourne and weep, for they ſhalbe comforted. They are marked then with Gods marke in their foreheades, and not with the beaſtes marke, I meane the popes ſhauen crowne, who now with his ſhauelinges reioyce: but woe vnto them, for they ſhalbe caſt down, they ſhal weep and mourne. The rich glutton had here his ioye and Lazarus ſorowe, but afterwardes the time was chaunged. The end of carnall ioy is ſorrow. Now let the whoremõger ioy with the dronkarde, ſwearer, couetous, malicious and blinde buſſarde ſyr Iohn: for the Maſſe will not byte them, neither make them to bluſhe, as preaching woulde. Nowe may they doe what they will, come deuils to the Churche and goe deuils home, for no man muſt find fault. And they are glad of this: now haue they their hartes deſire, as the Sodomites had when Lothe was gone, but what followed? Forſooth when they cried peace, al ſhalbe wel, then came Gods vengeance, fire & brymſtone frõ heauen, and burnt vp euery mothers child: euen ſo deare mother will it do to our papiſtes.

God vſeth to proue and try his children.

Iohn. 16.

Of this place the Earle of Darby ſeemeth to take hold, complayning that he curſeth them that teacheth any falſe doctrine, &c. Page 1523.

The Maſſe rebuketh no ſinne nor ſhameth conſciences, as preaching doth.

Wherefore feare God: ſticke to his word though all the world would ſwarue from it. Dye you muſt once, & when or how, can you not tell. Dye therfore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſeruing him truely and after his word: for ſure may we be that of all deathes it is moſt to be deſired to die for gods ſake. This is the moſt ſafe kynde of dying: wee can not doubt but that wee ſhall goe to heauen, if wee dye for hys names ſake. And that you ſhall dye for his names ſake Gods word will warrant you, if you ſticke to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhal ſee that I ſpeake as I thinke: for by Gods grace I will drincke before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

The beſt death of all deathes, is to dye for Gods ſake.

I doubt not but God wil geue me his grace, & ſtrengthen me thereunto: pray that he woulde, and that I refuſe it not. I am at a poynt euen when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, Priſon nor pleaſure (I truſt in God) ſhalbe able to ſeperate me from my Lorde God & his Goſpell. In peace when no perſecution was, then were you content and glad to heare mee, then did you beleue me and will you not do ſo nowe, ſeeing I ſpeake that which I truſt by Gods grace, if neede bee to verifie wyth my life? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I haue preached before him.

It is Gods truth I haue taught: It is that ſame infallible word whereof he ſayd: Heauen and earth ſhall paſſe: but my word ſhall not paſſe. The maſſe and ſuch baggage as the falſe worſhippers of God and enemies of Chriſtes Croſſe (the Papiſtes I ſay) haue brought in agayne, to poyſon the Church of God withall, diſpleaſeth God highly, and is abhominable in his ſight. Happy may he be whiche of conſcience ſuffereth loſſe of life or goodes in diſalowing it. Come not at it. If God be God follow him: If yͤ Maſſe be God: let them that will, ſee it, heare, or be preſent at it, & go to the deuill with it. What is there as God ordayned? His ſupper was ordayned to be receiued of vs in the memoriall of his death, for the confirmation of our fayth, that his body was broken for vs, & his bloud ſhed for pardon of our ſinnes: but in the maſſe there is no receiuing, but the prieſt keepeth all to himſelfe alone. Chriſt ſayth, Take eate: No, ſayth the Prieſt: gape, peepe. There is a ſacrificing, yea killing of Chriſt agayne as much as they may. There is Idolatry in worſhipping the outward ſigne of bread & wyne, there is all in Latine, you cannot tell what he ſaith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordeyned. Wherefore my good mother come not at it.

The Maſſe is a poyſon to the Church.

Compariſon betweene the Lordes ſupper, and the Maſſe.

Oh, will ſome ſay, it will hinder you, if you refuſe to come to maſſe and to do as other do. But God wil further you, (be you aſſured) as you ſhall one day find: who hath promiſed to them that ſuffer hinderaunce or loſſe of anye thing in this world, his great bleſſing here, and in yͤ world to come life euerlaſting.

Doubtes & obiections anſwered. Math. 19.

You ſhall bee counted an hereticke: but not of others then of heretickes, whoſe prayſe is a diſprayſe.

You are not able to reaſon agaynſt the Prieſtes: but God wil, that all they ſhall not be able to withſtand you.

No body wil do ſo but you onely: In deede no matter, for if we enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to ſaluation. Howbeit, you ſhall haue with you (I doubt not) Father Traues and other my brothers and ſiſters to go with you therein: but if they will not, I your ſonne in God (I truſt) ſhall not leaue you an inche, but go before you: pray that I may, & geue thankes for me. Reioyce in my ſuffering, for it is for your ſakes to confirme the truth I haue taught. How ſoeuer you do, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traues his handes: for if it ſhould be knowne that I haue pen and inke in the priſon, then would it be worſe with me. Therfore to your ſelues keep this letter, commending me to God & his mercy in Chriſt Ieſus, who make me worthy for his names ſake, to geue my life for his Goſpel and Church ſake. Out of the Tower of London, the ſixt day of October. 1553.

For all this cautel, yet this letter came to the Earle of Darbyes knowledge.

My name I write not for cauſes, you know it well enough: Like the letter neuer the worſe. Commend me to all our good brethren and ſiſters in the Lord. Howſoeuer you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is no point either in hand or tongue rebell, but rather if they cõmaund that which with good conſcience you cãnot obey, lay your head on the blocke, and ſuffer what ſoeuer they ſhall do or ſay. By pacience poſſeſſe your ſoules.

After the time that M. Bradford, was condemned, and ſent to the Counter, it was purpoſed of his aduerſaryes, as ye heard before, that hee ſhoulde be had to Mancheſter where he was borne, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the Cittye of London, thinking to take his laſt Vale of them in this letter.

¶ To the Citie of London.

TO all that profeſſe the Goſpell and true doctrine of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt in the Cittie of London, Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of yͤ Lord now not onely in priſon, but alſo excommunicated & condemned to be burned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth mercy, grace, & peace with increaſe of al godly knowledge and pietie, from God the father of mercy, through the merites of oure alone and omniſufficient Redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, by the operation of the holy ſpirite for euer. Amen.

A fruitefull letter of M. Bradford to the citye of London.

My dearely beloued brethren in our Sauiour Chriſt, although the tyme, I haue to liue is very little (for hourly I looke when I ſhoulde be had hence to be conueyed into Lankeſhyre, there to be burned, and to render my lyfe by the

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the prouidence of God, where I firſt receaued it by yͤ ſame prouidence, and although the charge is great to keepe me from all things wherby I might ſignifie any thing to the world of my ſtate: yet hauing, as now I haue, pen & inke, through Gods working, maugre the head of Satan and his ſouldiours, I thought good to write a ſhorte confeſſion of my fayth, and thereto ioyne a little exhortation vnto you all, to liue according to your profeſſion.

Firſt, for my fayth, I do confeſſe and pray all the whole Congregation of Chriſt to beare witneſſe with me of the ſame, that I do beleue conſtantly through the gift & goodnes of God, (for fayth is Gods onely gifte) all the 12. articles of the Symbole or Creede, commonly attributed to the collection of the Apoſtles. This my faythe I woulde gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the ſimple: but alas, by ſtarts & ſtealth I write in maner that I write, and therfore I ſhall deſire you all to take this breuitie in good part. And this fayth I holde, not becauſe of the Creede it ſelfe, but becauſe of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth euery Article accordingly. This worde of God written by the Prophetes and Apoſtles, left and contayned in the Canonicall bookes of the whole Bible, I do beleue to containe plentifully all thinges neceſſary to ſaluation, ſo that nothing (as neceſſary to ſaluation) ought to be added thereto: and therfore the Church of Chriſt, nor none of his congregation ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, the which hereout hath his foundation and ground. In teſtimony of this fayth, I render and geue my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſtes vicar generall and ſupreme head of his Catholicke and vniuerſall Church here or els where vppon earth: as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and Chriſtes reall, corporall, and carnall preſence in his ſupper, vnder the formes and accidences of bread and wine.

Antichriſt of Rome not to be Chriſtes generall vicar.

Tranſubſtantiation a doctrine of Idolatry.

The Sacrament of the aultar quite ouerthroweth the Lordes ſupper.

Chriſt who is preſent to the fayth of the receauer.

To beleeue Chriſt our Sauiour to be the head of hys Churche, and kinges in their Realmes to be the ſupreme powers, to whom euery ſoule oweth obedience, and to beleue that in the ſupper of Chriſt (which the Sacramente of the aultar, as the Papiſts call it, and vſe it, doth vtterly ouerthrow) is a true and very preſẽce of whole Chriſt God and man to the fayth of the receiuer, but not to the ſtander by & looker vpon as it is a true & very preſence of bread & wine to the ſences of men: to beleue this (I ſaye) will not ſerue, and therfore as an hereticke I am condemned, and ſhalbe burned: whereof I aſke God hartily mercy that I do no more reioyce then I do, hauing ſo great cauſe as to be an inſtrument wherein it may pleaſe my deare Lorde God and Sauiour to ſuffer.

God puniſheth his people for one thing: but men perſecute them for another.

For albeit mo manifold ſinnes, euen ſithen I came into priſon, haue deſerued at the handes of God, not onely this tẽporal, but alſo eternall fire in hell, much more then my former ſinful life, which yͤ Lord pardõ, for his Chriſtes ſake, as I knowe he of his mercy hath done, & neuer will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condẽnation, ſo great is his goodnes (praiſed therfore be his holy name) althogh (I ſay) my manifold and greeuous late ſinnes haue deſerued moſt iuſtly all the tyranny that mã or deuill can do vnto me, and therfore I confeſſe that the Lorde is iuſt: & that his iudgements be true and deſerued on my behalfe: yet yͤ Biſhoppes and Prelates do not perſecute them in me, but Chriſt himſelfe, his worde, his trueth, and Religion. And therfore I haue great cauſe, yea moſt great cauſe to reioice that euer I was borne, and hetherto kept of the Lord: that by my death, which is deſerued for my ſinnes, it pleaſeth yͤ heauenly father to glorifie his name, to teſtifie hys truth, to confirme his veritie, to repugne his aduerſaries. Oh good God and mercifull father, forgeue my great vnthãkfulnes, eſpecially herein.

Bradford ſory that he doth not more reioyce dying in ſo good a quarell.

And you my dearely beloued, for the Lord Ieſu Chriſtes ſake, I humbly and hartily in his bowels & bloude do now for my laſt Vale and farewell in this preſent lyfe, beſeeche you and euerye of you, that you will conſider this worke of the Lord accordingly: Firſt, by me to be admoniſhed to beware of hipocriſie and carnall ſecuritie: profeſſe not the Goſpell with tongue and lippes onely, but in hart & veritie: frame and faſhion your liues accordingly: beware Gods name be not euill ſpoken of, and the Goſpell leſſe regarded by your conuerſation. God forgeue me that I haue not ſo hartily profeſſed it as I ſhoulde haue done, but haue ſought much my ſelfe therein. The Goſpell is a new doctrine to the old man: it is new wyne, and therfore cannot be put in old bottels, without more great hurt thẽ good wine to the bottels. If we will talke with yͤ Lorde, we muſt put of our ſhoes and carnall affections: if wee will heare the voyce of the Lorde, we muſt waſh our garmentes and be holy: if we will be Chriſtes diſciples, wee muſt deny our ſelues, take vp our croſſe and follow Chriſt: we cannot ſerue two mayſters. If we ſeeke Chriſts kingdome, we muſt alſo ſeeke for the righteouſnes thereof. To this petition (Let thy kingdome come) we muſt ioyne, Thy will be done, done, on earth as it is in heauen. If wee will not be doers of the worde, but hearers of it onely, we ſore deceiue our ſelues. If wee heare the goſpell, and loue it not, we declare our ſelues to be but fooles, and builders vpon the ſand. The Lordes ſpirite hateth fayning: deceitfulnes the Lord abhorreth: if we come to him, wee muſt beware that we come not with a double hart: for then may chance that God will aunſwere vs according to the blocke which is in our heart, and ſo we ſhall deceiue our ſelues and others.

A leſſon agaynſt carnall ſecurity.

The Goſpel is a new doctrine to the olde man.

Chriſtian profeſſion requireth Chriſtian conuerſation.

Fayth would be coupled euer with a good conſcience.

To fayth ſee yͭ we couple a good conſcience, leaſt wee make a ſhipwracke. To the Lord we muſt come with feare and reuerence. If we will be goſpellers, we muſt be Chriſtes: if we be Chriſtes, we muſt crucifie our fleſh with the luſtes and concupiſcences therof: if we will be vnder grace ſinne muſt not beare rule in vs. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leaue our hartes els where, leaſt the Lordes wrath waxe hot, and he take from vs the good remayning. In no caſe can yͤ kingdome of Chriſt approch to them that repent not. Therfore my dearely beloued, let vs repent and be hartily ſory yͭ we haue ſo carnally, ſo hipocritically, ſo couetouſly, ſo vaynegloriouſly profeſſed the goſpell. For all theſe I confeſſe my ſelfe to the glory of God, that he may couer mine offences in the day of iudgement. Let the anger & plagues of God, moſt iuſtly fallen vpon vs, be applyed to euery one of our deſertes, that from the bottome of our hartes euery of vs may ſay: It is I Lord that haue ſinned agaynſt thee: it is my hipocriſie, my vaynglory, my couetouſnes, vncleãnes, carnalitie, ſecuritie, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, ſelfeloue, and ſuch like, which haue deſerued the taking away of our good king, of thy word and true religion, of thy good miniſters by exile, priſonmẽt, and death: it is my wickednes that cauſeth ſucceſſe and increaſe of authoritie and peace to thine enemies. Oh be mercifull, be mercifull vnto vs. Turne to vs agayne, O Lorde of hoſtes, & turne vs vnto thee: correct vs, but not in thy furie, leaſt we be conſumed in thyne anger: chaſtice vs not in thy wrathful diſpleaſure: reproue vs not, but in the middeſt of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou marke what is done amiſſe, who ſhall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulnes, that thou mighteſt be worſhipped. Oh then be mercifull vnto vs, yͭ we might truely worſhip thee. Helpe vs, for the glorye of thy name: be mercifull vnto our ſinnes, for they are great: O heale vs, and help vs for thine honor. Let not the wicked people ſay, where is their God. &c.

He exhorteth to repentance.

Our ſinnes prouoke perſecutiõ.

He exhorteth to pray, & how to pray with repentance.

On this ſort my right dearely beloued, let vs hartilye bewayle our ſinnes, repent vs of our former euil life, hartily and earneſtly purpoſe to amẽd our lyues in all things continually watch in prayer, diligently and reuerently attend, heare, and reade the holy ſcriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let vs reproue the workes of darckenes. Let vs flee frõ al Idolatrye. Let vs abhorre the Antichriſtiã and romiſh rotten ſeruice, deteſt the popiſhe Maſſe, abrenounce their Romiſhe God, prepare our ſelues to the croſſe, be obedient to all that be in authoritie in all thinges that be not agaynſt God and his word for then aunſwere with the Apoſtles: It is more meete to obey God then man. Howbeit neuer for any thinge reſiſte, or riſe agaynſt the magiſtrates. Auenge not your ſelues, but commit your cauſe to the Lord, to whome vengeance pertayneth, and he in his tyme will reward it. If you feele in your ſelues an hope and truſt in God, that he will neuer tempt you aboue that he will make you able to beare, be aſſured the Lord will be true to you: and you ſhall be able to beare all bruntes. But if you want this hope, flee and get you hence rather then by your tarying Gods name ſhould be diſhonored.

Praying, hearing & reading the holy ſcriptures.

Obedience to magiſtrates in all that is not agaynſt Gods word.

Patience.

In ſumme, caſt your care on the Lorde, knowing for moſt certayne, that he is carefull for you: with him are all the heares of your head numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his good pleaſure and wille: muche more thẽ, nothing ſhal happẽ to your bodies, which ſhall not be profitable, how ſoeuer for a time it ſeeme otherwiſe to your ſences. Hang on the prouidence of God, not onely when you haue meanes to helpe you, but alſo when you haue no meanes, yea when all meanes be agaynſt you. Geue him this honour, which of all other thinges he moſt chiefly requireth at your handes: namely beleeue that you are his children through Chriſt, that he is your father and God through him, yͭ he loueth you, pardoneth you al your offences, he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for euer. When you fall, he will put vnder his hande, you ſhall not lye ſtill: before you cal vpon him, he heareth you:

We ought to depend vpon Gods prouidence alwayes.

but

Anno 1555. July.

out of euill hee will finally bryng you, and deliuer you to his eternall ioy. Doubt not my dearly beloued hereof, doubt not (I ſay) this will God your father do for you in reſpect, not of your ſelues, but in reſpect of Chriſt your Captayne your Paſtor, your keeper, out of whoſe handes none ſhalbe able to catch you, in him be quiet, & ofte cõſider your dignitie, namely how that ye be Gods children, the ſaintes of God, citizens of heauen, temples of the holy Ghoſt, the thrones of God, members of Chriſt, and Lordes ouer all.

All our hope is only in Chriſt & for his ſake to be receaued.

Therfore be aſhamed to think, ſpeake, or do any thing that ſhould be vnſeemely for Gods children, Gods ſayntes Chriſtes members. &c. Marueile not though the deuil and the worlde hate you, though ye be perſecuted here: for the ſeruaunt is not aboue his mayſter. Couet not earthly ryches, feare not the power of man, loue not this world, nor thinges that be in this world: but long for the Lord Ieſus his comming, at whiche time youre bodies ſhall be made like vnto his glorious body, when he appeareth you ſhall be like vnto him: when your lyfe ſhall thus be reuealed, then ſhall ye appeare with him in glory.

To beare the Croſſe.

Mortification.

In the meane ſeaſon liue in hope hereof. Let the lyfe you lead be in the faith of the ſonne of God: For the iuſt doth liue by fayth, which fayth fleeth from al euill, & foloweth ẏ word of God as a Lanterne to her feete and a light to her ſteppes: her eyes be aboue where Chriſt is, ſhee beholdeth not the thinges preſent, but rather thinges to come: ſhe glorieth in affliction, ſhe knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory whiche God will reueale to vs, and in vs. Of this glory GOD graunt vs here a liuely taſte: then ſhall wee runne after the ſent it ſendeth forth. It wil make vs valiaunt men to take to vs the kingdome of God: whyther the Lorde of mercy bryng vs in hys good tyme, through Chryſte oure Lorde, to whome with the father and the holy ghoſt, three perſõs and one God, be al honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

We muſt liue in the fayth of Chriſt.
The property of fayth.

My dearly beloued, I woulde gladly haue geuen here my body to haue bene burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I haue taught here vnto you. But that my Countrey muſt haue. Therefore I pray you take in good part this ſignification of my good will towardes euery of you. Impute the want herein to tyme and trouble. Pardon me mine offenſiue and negligent behauiour when I was amongeſt you. With me repent, & labour to amend. Continue in the trueth whiche I haue truely taught vnto you by preaching in al places where I haue come, Gods name therefore be prayſed. Confeſſe Chriſt when you be called, whatſoeuer commeth therof, and the God of peace be with vs all. Amen. This xi. of Februar. an. 1555.

Your brother in bondes for the
Lordes ſake, Iohn Bradford.

To the vniuerſitie and towne of Cambridge.

An other letter of M. Bradford to the vniuerſity of Cambridge.

TO all that loue the Lorde Ieſus and his true doctrine, being in the vniuerſitie and towne of Cambridge, Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lord, nowe not onely priſoned, but alſo condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth, grace peace, and mercye, with increaſe of all godlines from God the father of all mercy, through the bloudy paſſion of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, by the liuely working of the holy ſpirite for euer. Amen.

Although I looke hourely when I ſhould be had to the ſtake (my right dearely beloued in the Lord, and although the charge ouer me is great and ſtrayt: yet hauing by the prouidẽce of God ſecretly pen and an ynke, I could not but ſomething ſignifie vnto you my ſolicitude which I haue for you and euerye of you in the Lord, though not as I woulde, yet as I may. You haue often and openly heard the truth, (ſpeciallye in this matter wherein I am condemned) diſputed and preached, that it is needeles to do any more but onely to put you in remembraunce of the ſame: but hitherto haue you not heard it confirmed, and, as it were, ſealed vp, as now you doe and ſhall heare by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I haue deſerued (through my vncleannes, hypocriſie, auarice, vainglory, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, and carnalitie, wherof I accuſe my ſelfe, to my confuſion before the world, that before God through Chriſt I might, as my aſſured hope is I ſhall, find mercy) eternall death, and hell fire, much more then this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearly beloued, it is not theſe, or any of theſe thinges, wherfore the prelates do perſecute me, but Gods verity and truth: yea euen chriſt him ſelfe is the onely cauſe and thing wherefore I nowe am condemned, and ſhalbe burned as an hereticke, for becauſe I will not graunt the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſtes vicar generall and ſupreme head of his churche here, and euery where vppon earth, by Gods ordinaunce, and becauſe I will not graunt ſuche corporall, reall, and carnall preſence of Chriſtes body & bloud in the ſacrament, as doth tranſubſtanciate the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, and is receiued of the wicked, yea of dogges & ſwine. Alſo I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Chriſtes Church, as a rotten braunche, and therefore ſhall be caſt into the fire.

The Martyrs perſecuted of the prelates not for their ſinnes, but onely for Chriſt.

The cauſe of his con- demna declar

Therefore ye ought hartily to reioyce with me, and to geue thankes for me, that God the eternall father hath vouchedſafe our mother to bring vp any childe in whom it would pleaſe him to magnifie his holy name as hee doth, and I hope for his mercye and truthes ſake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what ſuch benefite vppon earth can it be, as that that which deſerued deathe by reaſon of my ſinnes, ſhould be deliuered to a demonſtration, a teſtification, and confirmation of Gods veritie and trueth? Thou my mother the Vniuerſitie haſt not onely had the truth of gods word playnely manifeſted vnto thee by reading, diſputinge and preaching publickely and priuately; but now to make thee altogether excuſeleſſe, and as it were, almoſt to ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, if thou put to thy helpyng hand with the romyſh route to ſuppreſſe the veritie, and ſet out the contrary, thou haſt my lyfe and bloud as a zeale to confirme thee: if thou wilt be confirmed, or els to confound thee and beare witnes agaynſt thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and Clergye, which nowe fill vp the meaſure of their fathers which ſlew the Prophetes and Apoſtles, that all righteous bloud from Abell to Bradforde ſhed vpon the earth, may be required at theyr handes.

A great mercy of God to turne the death of ſaintes ly deſ to ſerue a confirma tion of his owne glo

Cantabrigienſes bene mociti.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as tyme and libertie woulde ſuffer me (for loue and duetye I beare vnto thee) to admoniſhe thee good mother, and my ſiſter the Towne, that you would call to minde from whence you are fallen, and ſtudy to do the firſt workes. You know (if you wil theſe matters of the * Romiſh ſupremacy, and the Antichriſtian tranſubſtantiation, whereby Chriſtes ſupper is ouerthrowne, his prieſthoode euacuate, his ſacrifice fruſtrate, the miniſtery of his word vnplaced, repentaunce repelled, fayth faynted, godlines extinguiſhed, the Maſſe mayntayned, idolatry ſupported, and all impietie cheriſhed: you know I ſay (if you will) that theſe opinions are not onely beſides Gods word, but euen directly agaynſt it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part agaynſt God, agaynſt whome you cannot preuayle.

Read before the letter of Cambridge to K. Henry 8. pag. 1104.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Chriſt, in his bowels and bloud I beſeeche you, to take Chriſtes collyrium and eye ſalue to annoynt your eyes, that you may ſee what you doe and haue done in admitting (as I heare you haue admitted, yea alas authoriſed, and by conſent confirmed) the Romiſh rotten rags, whiche once you vtterly expelled. Oh be not canis reuerſus ad vomitum, be not * Sus lota reuerſa ad volutabrum cœni, Beware leaſt Satan enter in with ſeuen other ſpirites, and then poſtrema ſhalbe worſe then the firſt. It had bene better yee had neuer knowne the truth, then after knowledge to runne from it. Ah, woe to this world and the thinges therein, which hath nowe ſo wrought with you. Oh that euer this dirt of the deuill ſhoulde daube vpp the eye of the Realme. For thou oh mother art as it were the eye of the Realme. If thou be light and geue ſhyne all the body ſhall fare the better: But if thou the light be darcknes, alas how great will the darckenes be? What is man whoſe breath is in his noſtrels, that thou ſhouldeſt thus be afrayde of him?

* The dog returned to his owne vomite,

* The ſow that was waſhed returned to her wallowing in the mire.

1. Pet. 1.

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glorye in this worlde, but ſhame? Why art thou afrayde to carrye Chriſtes Croſſe? Wilt thou come into hys kingdome, and not drynke of his cup? Doeſt thou not know Rome to be Babilõ? doeſt thou not know that as the olde Babilon had the children of Iuda in captiuitie, ſo hath this Rome the true Iuda, that is the confeſſours of Chriſt? Doeſt thou not know, that as deſtruction happened vnto it, ſo ſhall it do vnto this? And troweſt thou that God will not deliuer his people now when the time is come, as hee did then? Hath not God commaunded hys people to come out from her? and wilt thou geue enſample to the whole Realme to runne vnto her? Haſt thou forgotten the woe that Chriſt threatneth to offence geuers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a Mylſtone were hanged about thy necke, and thou throwẽ into the ſea, then that thou ſhouldeſt offend the little ones?

The glory of this world is a vaine thing. Babylon hath Iuda in captiuity.

And alas, how haſt thou offended? yea and howe doeſt thou ſtill offend? Wilt thou conſider thinges according to the outward ſhew? Was not the Synagogue more ſeemely and like to be the true Church, then the ſimple flocke of Chriſtes Diſciples? Hath not the whore of Babilon more coſtly aray, and rich apparell externally to ſet forth her ſelfe, then the homely houſewyfe of Chriſt? Where is the beautie of the kinges daughter the Churche of Chriſt? without or within? Doth not Dauid ſaye wythin? Oh remẽber that as they are happy which are not offended at chriſt ſo are they happy whiche are not offended at hys poore church. Can the Pope and his prelates meane honeſtly whiche make ſo much of the wife, and ſo little of the huſband? The Churche they magnifie, but Chriſt they contemne. If this Church were an honeſt woman (that is, Chriſtes wife) except they woulde make much of her huſband Chriſt and his worde, ſhee woulde not be made much of them.

The church ſtandeth not in the outward ſhew.

When Chriſt and hys Apoſtles were vppon earth, who was more like to be the true Church, they, or the Prelates, Byſhops, & Synagogue? If a man ſhould haue followed cuſtome vnitie, antiquitie, or the more part, ſhoulde not Chriſt and his companye haue bene caſt out of the dores? Therfore bade Chriſt: Search the ſcriptures. And, good mother, ſhall the ſeruaunt be aboue his maſter? ſhall we looke for other entertaynment at the handes of the world, then Chriſt and his deare Diſciples found? who was taken in Noes tyme for the Church? Poore Noe and his familie, or others? Who was taken for Gods Churche in Sodom? Lot, or others? And doth not Chriſt ſay: As it was than, ſo ſhall it goe now towardes the comming of the ſonne of man? What meaneth Chriſt when he ſayth: Iniquitie ſhall haue the vpper hand? doth not he tell, that charitie ſhall waxe colde? And who ſeeth not a wonderfull great lacke of charitie in thoſe, whiche woulde nowe be taken for Chriſtes Church: All that feare GOD in thys Realme truely, can tell more of this then I can write.

Therfore deare mother, receiue ſome admonition of one of thy poore children, nowe goyng to be burned for the teſtimonye of Ieſus. Come agayne to Gods truth: come out of Babilon: confeſſe Chriſt and his true doctrine: repent that whiche is paſt: make amendes by declaryng thy repentaunce by the fruites. Remember the readings and preachinges of Gods Prophet and true Preacher M Bucer. Call to minde the threatninges of God, nowe ſomething ſeene by the children Leauer and others. Let the exile of Leauer, Pilkinton, Grindall, Haddon, Horne, Scorye Ponet. &c. ſomething awake thee. Let the impriſonmẽt of thy deare ſonnes, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer moue thee. Conſider the Martyrdome of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And nowe caſt not awaye the poore admonition of me goyng to be burned alſo, and to receiue the like crowne of glorye with my fellowes. Take to harte Gods calling by vs. Be not as Pharao was: for then will it happen vnto thee as it did vnto hym. What is that hardnes of hart. And what then? deſtructiõ eternally both of body and ſoule. Ah therefore good mother awake, awake, repent, repent, buſkle thy ſelfe, and make haſt to turne to the Lord. For els it ſhalbe more eaſie for Sodome and Gomorra in the daye of iudgement then for thee. Oh harden not your hartes: Oh ſtop not your eares to day in hearyng Gods voyce, though it be by me a moſt vnworthy meſſenger. Oh feare the Lord, for his anger is begon to kindle. Euen now the axe is layd to the roote of the tree.

Bradford prophecied before the Sweat time what would follow of carnall Goſpelling, if repentance did not come.

You know I prophecied truely to you before the Sweate came, what would come, if you repẽted not your carnall Goſpelling. And now I tel you before I depart hence, that the eares of men will tingle to heare of the vengeaunce of God that will fall vpon you all, both Towne and Vniuerſitie, if you repent, not, if you leaue not your Idolatrie, if you turne not ſpeedely to the Lord, if you ſtill be aſhamed of Chriſtes truth which you know.

Oh Perne repent, Oh Thomſon repent, Oh you Doctors, Bachelers, & Maiſters repent, Oh Maior, Aldermen, & Towne dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may eſcape the nere vengeaunce of the Lord. Rent your hartes, & come apace, calling on the Lord. Let vs all ſay, Peccauimus, we haue all ſinned, we haue done wickedly, we haue not hearkned to thy voyce O Lord. Deale not with vs after our deſertes, but be mercifull to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh pardon our offenſes. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turne vs vnto thee, O Lord God of hoſtes, for the glory of thy names ſake. Spare vs, and be mercifull vnto vs. Let not the wicked people ſay: where is now their God: Oh for thine owne ſake, for thy names ſake, deale mercifully with vs. Turne thy ſelfe vnto vs, and vs vnto thee, and we ſhall prayſe thy name for euer.

Gods mercy promiſed to Cambridge if it repent.

If in this ſort (my dearely beloued) in hart and mouth we come vnto our father, & proſtrate our ſelues before the throne of his grace, then ſurely ſurely we ſhall finde mercie. Then ſhall the Lord loke merely vpon vs, for his mercy ſake in Chriſt: then ſhall we heare him ſpeake peace vnto his people. For he is gracious & mercifull, of great pitie, & compaſſion: he can not be chiding for euer: his anger can not laſt long to the penitent. Though we weepe in the morning, yet at night we ſhall haue our ſorow to ceaſe. For he is exorable, and hath no pleaſure in the death of a ſinner: he rather would our conuerſion and turning.

Cambridge threatned if no repentance.

Oh turne you now, and conuert yet once agayne I humbly beſech you, and then the kingdome of heauen ſhall draw nigh. The eye hath not ſeane, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man is able to conceiue the ioyes prepared for vs if we repent, amende our liues, and hartely turne to the Lord. But if we repent not, but be as you were, and goe on forwardes with the wicked, following the faſhion of the world, the Lord will leade you on with wicked doers, you ſhall periſh in your wickednes, your bloud will be vpon your owne heades, your part ſhalbe with hypocrites, where ſhalbe weepyng & gnaſhyng of teeth, ye ſhalbe caſt from the face of the Lord for euer and euer, eternall ſhame, ſorrow, wo, and miſerie ſhalbe both in body and ſoule to you world without end. Oh therefore right deare to me in the Lord, turne you turne you, repent you, repent you, amende, amende your liues, depart from euill, do good, follow peace and purſue it. Come out from Babilon, caſt of the workes of darkeneſſe, put on Chriſt, confeſſe his truth, be not aſhamed of his Goſpell, prepare your ſelues to the Croſſe, drinke of Gods cup before it come to the dregges: and then ſhall I with you and for you, reioyce in the day of Iudgement, which is at hand, and therefore prepare your ſelues thereto, I hartely beſeche you. And thus I take my vale in æternum with you in this preſent life, myne owne deare hartes in the Lord. The Lord of mercie be with vs all, and geue vs a ioyfull and ſure meetyng in his kyngdome. Amen. Amen. Out of priſon the 11. of Februarie. Anno. 1555.

Your owne in the Lorde
for euer, Iohn Bradford.

¶To Lankeſhire and Cheſhire.

An other letter of M. Bradford to Lankeſhire, Cheſhire, and ſpecially to Mancheſter.

TO all thoſe that profeſſe his name and true Religion of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt in Lankeſhyre and Cheſhyre, and ſpecially abiding in Mancheſter and therabout Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lorde, now not onely in boundes, but alſo condemned for yͤ ſame true religion, wiſheth mercy and grace, peace and increaſe of all godlines from God the father of all pitty, through yͤ deſertes of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, by the working of the moſt mighty and liuely ſpirite the comforter for euer. Amen.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearely beloued in the Lord, that my heauenly father hath thought it good to prouide, that as I haue preached his true doctrine and Goſpell amongeſt you by worde: ſo I ſhall teſtifie & confirme the ſame by deede: That is, I ſhall with you leaue my life, whiche by hys prouidence I firſt receaued there (for in Mancheſter was I borne) for a ſeale to the doctrine I haue taught with you, and amongeſt you ſo: ſo that if from henceforth you wauer in the ſame, you haue none excuſe at all. I know the enemies of Chriſt, whiche exerciſe this crueltie vpon me (I ſpeake in reſpect of myne offence which is none to themwardes) thinke by killing of me amongeſt you, to affray you and others, leaſt they ſhoulde attempt to teach Chriſt truely, or beleue his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heauenly father will be my death, more confirme you in his truth for euer. And therefore I greatly reioyce to ſee ſathan and his ſouldiours, ſupplanted in their owne ſapience, which is playne fooliſhnes amongeſt the wiſe indeede, that is, amongeſt ſuch as haue heard Gods worde, and doe followe it: for they onely are counted wiſe of the wiſedome of God our Sauiour.

He confeſſeth his ſinnes before God.

In deede if I ſhould ſimply conſider my life with that whiche it ought to haue bene, and as God in his lawe requireth, then could I not but cry as I do. Iuſtus es domine & omnia iudicia tua vera. i. Righteous art thou O Lord, and all thy iudgemẽts are true. For I haue much greeued thee, and tranſgreſſed thy holy preceptes not onely before my profeſſing the Goſpell, but ſithen alſo: yea euen ſithen my comming into priſon. I do not excuſe, but accuſe my ſelfe before God and al his Church, that I haue greeuouſly offended my Lord God, I haue not loued his Goſpell as I ſhould haue done, I haue ſought my ſelfe and not ſimply, and onely his glory and my brethrens commoditie, I haue bene to vnthankefull, ſecure, carnall, hipocriticall, vaynglorious. &c. All which my euils the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Chriſtes ſake, as I hope and certaynly beleeue he hath done for his great mercy in Chriſt oure redeemer.

The Papiſtes condemne not Bradford but Chriſt.

But when I conſider the cauſe of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I doe no more reioyce then I doe. For it is Gods veritie and trueth: So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford ſimply: but rather a condemnation of Chriſt and his trueth. Bradford is nothing els but an inſtrument, in whome Chriſte and his doctrine is condemned. And therefore my dearely beloued, reioyce, reioyce and geue thankes with me and for me, that euer God did vouchſafe ſo great a benefite to our countrey, as to chooſe the moſt vnworthye (I meane my ſelfe) to be one, in whome it would pleaſe him to ſuffer any kinde of affliction: muche more this violent kinde of death, whiche I perceiue is prepared for me with you for his ſake. All glory and prayſe be geuen vnto God our father, for his great exceeding mercy towardes me, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

But perchaunce you will ſaye vnto me: what is the cauſe for the whiche you are condemned, we heare ſay that ye denye all preſence of Chriſt in his holy Supper, and ſo make it a bare ſigne and common bread, and nothyng els. My dearly beloued, what is ſayde of me, and what will

be

Anno 1555. Iuly.

D. Pendleton recanted firſt in K. Edwardes tyme, and now agayne in Q. Maryes tyme.

be, I cannot tell. It is tolde me that Pendleton is gone downe to Preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all knowe hee hath preached contrary to that hee was wont to preach afore I came amongest you) but to recant that which he hath recanted. Howe hee will ſpeake of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I muche paſſe not, for he that is ſo vncertayne, and wil ſpeake ſo often agaynſt him ſelfe, I can not thinke hee will ſpeake well of me, except it make for hys purpoſe and profite: but of this inough.

The cauſes why M. Bradford was cõdemned.

Tranſubſtantiation the deuills darling, and daughter of Antichriſt.

In deede the chiefe thing, which I am condemned for as an hereticke, is becauſe I deny in the ſacrament of the aultar (whiche is not Chriſtes ſupper, but a playne peruerting of it, being vſed as the papiſtes now vſe it) to be a reall, naturall, and corporall preſence of Chriſtes bodye and bloud, vnder the formes and accidences of bread and wine, that is, becauſe I deny tranſubſtantiation, whiche is the dearling of the Deuill, and daughter and heyre to Antichriſtes religion, whereby the Maſſe is mayntayned Chriſtes ſupper peruerted, his ſacrifice and Croſſe imperfited, hys Prieſthood deſtroyed, the miniſtery taken away repentaunce repelled, and all true godlynes abandoned. In the ſupper of our Lord or ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, I confeſſe and beleeue, that there is a true, and very preſence of whole Chriſt God and man, to the fayth of the receiuer (but not of the ſtander by and looker on) as there is a verye true preſence of bread and wine to the ſences of him that is partaker thereof. This fayth, this doctrine, whiche conſenteth with the worde of God, and with the true teſtimony of Chriſtes Church (whiche the Popiſhe Churche doth perſecute will I not forſake, and therefore am I condemned as an hereticke, and ſhall be burned. But my dearely beloued, this trueth (whiche I haue taught, and you haue receiued, I beleued, and do beleue, and therein geue my life) I hope in God, ſhall neuer be burned, bound, nor ouercome: but ſhall triumphe haue victorye, and be at libertye, maugre the head of all Gods aduerſaries. For there is no counſayle agaynſt the Lord, nor no deuiſe of man can be able to defeate the veritie in anye other, then ſuche as be children of vnbeliefe, whiche haue no loue to the truth, and therefore are geuen vp to beleue lyes. Frõ which plague the Lord of mercies deliuer you and all the realme, my deare harts in the Lord I humblie beſeeche his mercy. Amen.

M. Bradfordes farewell to the countrey of Lankeſhire.

And to the ende you might be deliuered from thys plague (right deare to me in the Lorde I ſhall for my farewell with you for euer in this preſent lyfe, hartely deſire you all in the bowels and bloud of our moſt mercifull Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, to attend vnto theſe things which I now ſhall ſhortly write vnto you, out of the holy ſcriptures of the Lord.

Gods manifold plagues vpon England in Q. Maryes dayes.

The cauſe of Gods plagues is our iniquities, and not knowing the tyme of Gods viſitation.

You knowe an heauy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen vpon vs, in takyng away our good Kyng, Gods true Religion, Gods true Prophetes and Miniſters, &c. And ſetting ouer vs, ſuch as ſeeke not the Lorde after knowledge: whoſe endeuours GOD proſpereth wonderfully, to the tryall of many, that his people may bothe better knowe themſelues, and be knowen. Nowe the cauſe hereof is our iniquities and greeuous ſinnes. We did not know the tyme of our viſitation: we were vnthankefull vnto God: we contemned the Goſpell, & carnally abuſed it, to ſerue our hipocriſie, our vaynglory our viciouſnes, auarice, idlenes, ſecuritie. &c. Long did yͤ Lord linger, and tary to haue ſhewed mercy vppon vs, but we were euer longer the worſe. Therefore moſt iuſtly hath God dealt with vs, and dealeth with vs: yea yet we may ſee, that his iuſtice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let vs attribute that we are not vtterly conſumed. For if the Lord ſhould deale with vs after our deſertes, alas, howe coulde we abide it? In his anger therfore, ſeeyng hee doeth remember his mercye vndeſerued (yea vndeſired on our behalfe) let vs take occaſion the more ſpeedily to goe out to meete him, not with force of armes (for we are not ſo able to withſtand hym, muche leſſe to preuayle agaynſt him) but to beſeeche hym to mercifull vnto vs, and according to his wonted mercye to deale wyth vs.

Riſing with Dauid.

Suing with the Centurion.

Repenting with the Publican.

Let vs ariſe with Dauid and ſaye: Ne intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo, &c. i. Enter not into iudgement O Lorde with thy ſeruaunt, for in thy ſight no fleſhe liuyng ſhalbe iuſtified. Let vs ſend Embaſſadours with the Senturion, and ſaye: Lorde we are not worthye to come our ſelues vnto thee, ſpeake the word and we ſhall haue peace. Let vs penitently with the Publicane loke downe on the earth, knocke our hard hartes to burſt them, and crye out: Oh GOD be mercifull vnto vs wretched ſinners. Let vs with the loſt Sonne returne and ſaye: O Father, we haue ſinned agaynſt heauen and earth, and before thee we are vnworthy to be called thy children. Let vs I ſay do on this ſorte, yͭ is hartily repent vs of our former euill lyfe, & vnthankfull goſpelling paſt, conuert and turne to God wͭ our whole hartes, hoping in his great mercy thorough Chriſt, and hartily calling vppon his holy name, and then vndoubtedly we ſhall finde and feele otherwyſe then yet we feele, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we ſhall feele peace of conſience betweene God and vs whiche peace paſſeth all vnderſtanding, and outwardlye we ſhall feele muche mittigation of theſe miſeries, if not an vtter taking them away.

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Therefore my dearely beloued in the Lorde, I youre pooreſt brother now departing to the Lord, for my vale in æternum for this preſent lyfe, praye you beſeeche you, and euen from the verye bottome of my harte, for all the mercies of God in Chriſt ſhewed vnto you, moſt earneſtly begge and craue of you out of priſon (as often out of your Pulpits I haue done) that you wil repent you, leaue your wicked and euill life, be ſorye for your offences, and turne to the Lorde, whoſe armes are wide open to receaue and embrace you, whoſe ſtretched out hande to ſtrike to death, ſtayeth that he may ſhew mercy vpon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comforte, hee will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that yee ſhoulde returne, conuert and amend. He hath no pleaſure in the deſtruction of men: his long ſufferyng draweth to repentaunce before the tyme of vengeance, and the day of wrath which is at hand, doth come.

The day of
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Wanton
Goſpeller
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ſtians.

Now is the axe layd to the roote of the tree, vtterly to deſtroy the impenitente. Nowe is the fire gone out before the face of the Lorde, and who is able to quenche it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to haue liued as we haue done. It is inough to haue pleaſed the wanton Goſpellers, the proude Proteſtantes, Hypocriticall and falſe Chryſtians, as alas, wee haue done. Now the Lorde ſpeaketh to vs in mercy and grace: Oh turne before hee ſpeaketh in wrathe. Yet is there mercye with the Lorde, and plenteous redemption: yet hee hath not forgotten to ſhewe mercye to them that call vpon him. Oh then call vpon him, while he may be found. For hee is riche in mercy, and plentifull to all them that call vpon hym. So that hee that calleth on the name of the Lorde ſhalbe ſaued. If your ſinnes be as redde as ſcarlet, the Lord ſayeth, he will make them as white as ſnow. He hath ſworne, and neuer will repent hym thereof, that he will neuer remember our iniquities, but as hee is good, faithfull and true, ſo will he be our God, and wee ſhall be his people: his law will he write in our hartes, & engraffe in our myndes, and neuer will he haue in mynde our vnrighteouſneſſe.

Bradford
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Therefore my deare heartes in the Lorde, turne you, turne you to yͤ Lord your Father, to the Lord your Sauiour, to the Lord your comforter. Oh why doe you ſtoppe your eares, and harden your harts to day, whẽ you heare hys voyce by me your pooreſt brother? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath ſhewed hymſelfe true and me hys true preacher, by bryngyng to paſſe theſe plagues which at my mouth you ofte heard before they came to paſſe, ſpecially when I entreated of Noes floud, and when I preached of the 22. chapter of Saint Mathewes Goſpell, on S. Steuens day the laſt tyme that I was with you. And nowe by me the Lord ſendeth you worde (deare countrey men) that if you will go on forwards in your impenitency, carnalitie, hypocriſie, idolatry, couetouſneſſe, ſwearing, gluttony, dronkenneſſe, whoredome, &c. (wherewith alas, alas our countrey floweth): if (I ſay) you will not turne and leaue of ſeyng me now burned amongſt you, to aſſure you on all ſides how God ſeeketh you, and is ſory to doe you hurt, to plague you, to deſtroy you, to take vengeance vpon you, oh your bloud wil be vpon your owne heades: you haue bene warned, and warned againe by me in preaching, by me in burning.

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Preceptes of lyfe.

As I ſayd therefore, I ſay agayne, my deare harts and dearlings in the Lord, turne you, turne you, repent you, repent you, ceaſe from doyng euill, ſtudy to do well, away with idolatry, flye the Romiſh God and ſeruice, leaue of from ſwearing, cut of carnalitie, abandon auarice, driue away dronkenneſſe, flie from fornication and flattery, murther and malice, deſtroy deceiptfulneſſe, and caſt away all the works of darkenes. Put on pitie and godlines, ſerue God after his word, and not after cuſtome, vſe your tongs to glorifie God by prayer, thankeſgeuing and confeſſion of his truth, &c. be ſpirituall, and by the ſpirit mortifie carnall affections, be ſober, holy, true, louyng, gentle, mercyfull, and then ſhall the Lordes wrath ceaſe, not for this our doyngs ſake, but for his mercies ſake. Goe to therefore

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Anno 1555.

(good country men) take this counſell of the Lorde, by mee nowe ſente vnto you, as the Lordes counſell, and not as mine, that in the daye of iudgement I maye reioyce wyth you, and for you: the which thing I hartely deſire, and not to be a witnes agaynſt you. My bloud will crye for vengeaunce, as agaynſt the Papiſtes Gods enemies (whome I beſeech God if it be his will, hartely to forgeue, yea euen them which put me to death, and are the cauſers therof, for they know not what they do) ſo will my bloud cry for vengeaunce agaynſt you (my dearely beloued in the Lord) if ye repent not, amend not, and turne vnto the Lord.

Turne vnto the Lord yet once more, I hartely beſech thee thou Mancheſter, thou Aſhton vnderline, thou Bolton, Bury, wigine, Lierpoole, Mottrine, Stepport, winſley, Eccles, Prieſtwich, Middleton, Radcliefe, and thou City of weſtcheſter, where I haue truely taught and preached the worde of GOD. Turne, I ſaye vnto you all, and to all the inhabitours there aboutes vnto the Lord our God and hee will turne vnto you, he will ſaye vnto his Aungell: It is enough, put vppe the ſworde. The which thing that he will doe, I humblye beſeeche his goodneſſe, for the pretious bloudes ſake of hys deare Sonne our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. Ah good brethren take in good parte theſe my laſt wordes vnto euery one of you. Pardon me myne offences and negligences in behauiour amongeſt you. The Lorde of mercye pardon vs all our offences, for our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, Amen. Out of Priſon readye to come to you the eleuenth of February. Ann. 1555.

¶ To the Towne of Walden.

TO the faythfull and ſuch as profeſſe the true doctrine of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, dwelling at Walden and thereaboutes, Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lorde, nowe in bandes, and condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wyſheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the encreaſe of all godlyneſſe in knowledge and liuing, from GOD the Father of all comforte, through the deſertes of our alone and full redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, by the mighty working of the moſt holy ſpirit, the comforter for euer. Amen.

When I remember how that by the prouidence and grace of God, I haue bene a man, by whome it hath pleaſed him through my miniſtery to call you to repentaunce, and amendment of life, ſomething effectually, as it ſeemed, and to ſowe amongeſt you his true doctrine and religion, leaſt that by my affliction, & ſtormes now ariſen to trye the faythfull, and to conforme them lyke to the Image of the ſonne of GOD, into whoſe companye wee are called, you might be faint harted: I could not but out of priſon ſecretly (for my keepers may not know that I haue penne & ynke) write vnto you a ſignification of the deſire I haue, that you ſhould not only be more cōfirmed in the doctrine I haue taught amongeſt you, which I take on my death, as I ſhall anſwere at the day of dome, I am perſwaded to be Gods aſſured, infallible, and playne trueth: but alſo ſhould after your vocation auow the ſame by confeſsion, profeſsion and liuing. I haue not taught you (my dearely beloued in the Lord) fables, tales, or vntruthe, but I haue taught you the verity, as now by my bloud gladlye (prayſed bee God therfore) I do ſeale the ſame.

In deed to confeſſe the truth vnto you, and to all the Churche of Chriſt, I doe not thinke of my ſelfe, but that I haue moſte iuſtly deſerued, not onely this kinde but alſo all kindes of death, and that eternally, for myne hypocriſy, vayneglory, vncleanneſſe, ſelfe loue, couetouſneſſe, idleneſſe, vnthankefulneſſe, and carnall profeſsing of Gods holy Goſpell, liuing therein not ſo purely, louyngly, and paynefully as I ſhould haue done. The Lord of mercy for the bloud ſake of Chriſt pardon me, as I hope, yea I certainely beleue he hath done for his holy names ſake thorowe Chriſte. But my dearely beloued, you and all the whole world may ſee, and eaſely perceiue, that the Prelates perſecute in me an other thing then mine iniquities, euen Chriſt himſelfe, Chriſtes verity and trueth, becauſe I canne not, dare not, nor wyll not confeſſe Tranſubſtantiation, and howe that wicked menne, ye Miſe and Dogges eating the Sacrament, which they terme of the aultar, thereby ouerthrowing Chriſtes holy Supper vtterly, do eate Chriſtes naturall and reall body borne of the virgine Mary.

To beleue, and confeſſe as Gods worde teacheth, the primatiue Church beleued, and all the Catholicke and good holy Fathers taught fiue hundreth yeares at the leaſt after Chriſt, that in the Supper of the Lord (which the Maſſe ouerthroweth, as it doth Chriſtes Prieſthoode, ſacrifice, death and paſsion, the miniſterye of his word, true fayth repentance, and all godlines) whole Chriſt God and man is preſent by grace, to the fayth of the receiuers, but not of the ſtanders by, and lookers on, as bread and wyne is to theyr ſences, will not ſerue: and therefore I am condemned & ſhall be burned out of hand as an hereticke. Wherefore I hartelye thanke my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an inſtrument, in whome he himſelfe doeth ſuffer. For you ſee my affliction and death is not ſimply, becauſe I haue deſerued no leſſe, but muche more at his handes and iuſtice: but rather becauſe I confeſſe his verity and trueth, and am not affrayd through his gift that to do, that you alſo might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore my dearely beloued. I hartely do pray you, and ſo many as vnfaynedly loue mee in God, to geue with mee and for mee moſt harty thankes to our heauenly Father, through our ſweete Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, for this his exceeding great mercy towardes me and you alſo, that your fayth wauer not from the doctrine I haue taught, and ye haue receiued. For what can you deſire more to aſſure your cōſciences, of the verity taught by your preachers, then theyr owne liues?

M. Bradford perſecuted for confeſſing the truth.

Goe to therefore my deare hartes in the Lord, wauer not in Chriſtes religion truely taught you, and ſet forth in king Edwardes dayes. Neuer ſhall the enemies be able to burne it, to priſon it, and keepe it in bondes. Vs they may priſon, they may bynde and burne, as they doe, and will doe, ſo long as ſhall pleaſe the Lord: but our cauſe, religion, and doctrine which we confeſſe, they ſhall neuer be able to vanquiſh and put away. Theyr Idolatry and Popiſh religion, ſhall neuer bee builte in the conſciences of menne that loue Gods trueth. As for thoſe that loue not Gods truth, that haue no pleaſure to walke in the wayes of the Lord, in thoſe I ſay the Deuill ſhall preuayle: For God will geue them ſtrong illuſion to beleue lyes. Therefore deare brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, I humbly beſeech you, and pray you in the bowelles and bloud of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, now goyng to the death for the teſtimony of Ieſus, as oftētimes I haue done before this preſent out of your Pulpitte, that you woulde loue the Lordes trueth: loue (I ſaye) to loue it, and frame your liues thereafter. Alas, you know the cauſe of all theſe plagues fallen vp vs, and of the ſucceſſe which Gods aduerſaryes haue dayly, is for our not louing Gods word.

Gods truth can neuer be kepte vnder by the aduerſaryes.

He exhorteth them to loue Gods truth and to liue therafter.

You knowe how that we were but Goſpellers in lippes, and not in life. We were carnall, concupiſcentious, idle, vnthankfull, vncleane, couetous, arrogant, diſſemblers, crafty, ſubtle, malicious, falſe, backebiters. &c. and euen glutted with Gods word, yea, we lothed it, as did the Iſraelites the Manna in the wildernes: and therefore as to them the Lordes wrath waxed hoat, ſo doth it vnto vs. So that there is no remedye, but that (for it is better late to turne, then neuer to turne) wee confeſſe our faultes, euen from the bottome of our hartes, & with harty repentaunce (which God worke in vs all for his mercyes ſake) we runne vnto the Lord our God, which is exorable, mercifull, & ſory for the euil poured out vpon vs, and crie out vnto him with Daniel ſaying: we haue ſinned, we haue ſinned grieuouſly oh lord God, agaynſt thy maieſty, we haue heaped iniquitye vpon iniquity: the meaſure of our tranſgreſsions floweth ouer, ſo that iuſt is thy vengeaunce and wrath fallen vpon vs. For wee are very miſerable, we haue contemned thy longe ſuffering; wee haue not harkened to thy voyce. When thou haſt called vs by Preachers, we hardened our hartes, and therefore now deſerue that they ſend thy curſe hereupon to harden our hartes alſo, that we ſhould henceforth haue eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not, hartes and vnderſtand not, leaſte wee ſhoulde conuert and be ſaued. Oh be mercifull vnto vs: ſpare vs good Lord and all thy people, whom thou haſt dearely bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and alwayes agaynſt thee, for then will they be puft vppe. Looke downe and beholde the pittyfull complayntes of the poore: let the ſorowefull ſighing of the ſimple come in thy ſighte, and bee not angry with vs for euer. Turne vs oh Lorde GOD of hoſtes vnto thee, and turne thee vnto vs, that thou mayeſt be iuſtified in thy ſweete ſentences, and ouercome whē thou art iudged, as now thou art of our aduerſaryes. For they ſay, where is theyr God? Can God deliuer them now? Canne theyr Goſpell ſerue them? Oh Lord howe long? for the glorye of thy name, and for thy honors ſake, in the bowels and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, we humbly beſeech thee, come and help vs, for we are very miſerable.

Gods Goſpell abuſed.

Gods Goſpell lothed.

He exhorteth to repentaunce and prayer, and to bewayle our ſinnes before the Lord our God.

On this ſort I ſay dearely beloued, let vs publickely and priuately bewayle our ſinnes: but ſo that hereto we ioyne, ceaſing from wilfulneſſe & ſinne of purpoſe, for els the Lord heareth not our prayers, as Dauid ſayth. And in S. Iohn it is written: The impenitent ſinners God heareth not. Nowe, impenitent are they which purpoſe not to amend theyr liues: As for example: not only ſuch which folow ſtill theyr pleaſures, vncleannes, carnality: but thoſe alſo which for feare or fauor of men, doe agaynſt theyr conſcience to conſent to the Romiſh ragges, and reſort to the rotten Religion, communicating in Seruice & ceremonies wyth the Papiſtes, thereby declaring themſelues to loue more the worlde then God, to feare man more then Chriſt, to dread more the loſſe of temporall things, then of ſpirituall: in whom it is euident, the loue of God abideth not. For he that loueth the world, hath not Gods loue abiding in him ſayth Saynt Iohn: therefore my deare hartes, and deare agayne in the Lord remember what you haue profeſſed, Chriſtes Religion and name, and the renouncyng of

The prayers of ſinners be not hearde.

Romiſh rages & rotten religion.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

the Deuill, Sinne and the world.

The A. B. C. of the Chiſtians beginneth with Chriſtes Croſſe.

Remember that before yee learned A. B. C. your leſſon was Chriſtes croſſe. Forgette not that Chriſt will haue no Diſciples, but ſuch as will promiſe to deny thẽſelues, & take vp their croſſe (marke, take it vppe) and folowe him: and not the multitude, cuſtome. &c. Conſider for Gods ſake, that if wee gather not with Chriſte, wee ſcatter abroade. What ſhould it profite a man to winne the whole worlde, and looſe his owne ſoule? We muſt not forget that this life is a wilderneſſe, and not a Paradiſe: here is not our home, we are now in warrefare: we muſt needes fight, or els be taken priſoners. Of all thinges we haue in this life, we ſhall cary nothing with vs. If Chriſt be our Captayne, we muſt follow him as ſouldiours. If we keepe company with him in affliction, we ſhalbe ſure of his ſociety in glory. If we forſake not him, he will neuer forſake vs. If we confeſſe him, he will confeſſe vs: but if we deny him, he will deny vs. If we be aſhamed of him he will bee aſhamed of vs. Wherefore as he forſooke his father, and heauen, & all thinges to come to vs, ſo let vs forſake all thinges and come to him, being ſure and moſt certayne, that we ſhall not loſe thereby. Your children ſhall finde and feele it double, yea treble, whatſoeuer you looſe for the Lordes ſake: and you ſhall finde and feele peace of conſcience, and frẽdſhip with God which is more worth then all the goodes of the world.

They neuer loſe that follow Chriſt.

My dearely be loued, therefore for the Lordes ſake, conſider theſe thinges which now I write vnto you of loue, for my Vale, & laſt farewell for euer in this preſent life. Turne to the Lord: repent you your euill and vnthankefull life, declare repentaunce by the fruites: take time while you haue it: come to the Lord whiles he calleth you: run into his lappe whiles his armes be open to embrace you: ſeeke him whiles he may be found: call vpon him whiles time is conuenient: forſake and flie from all euill, both in religion, and in the reſt of your life and conuerſation. Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they maye ſee your woorkes, and prayſe God in the day of his viſitation. Oh come agayne, come agayne you ſtraunge children, and I will receiue you ſayeth the Lorde. Conuert and turne to me, and I will turne vnto you. Why? wyll ye needes periſh? As ſure as I liue (ſweareth the Lorde) I will not your death: turne therefore vnto me. Can a woman forgette the childe of her wombe? If ſhe ſhould, yet will I not forget you, ſaith the Lod your God. I am he, I am he which put away your ſinnes for mine owne ſake.

He exhorteth to amendement in religion, and conuuerſation.

The Lord watcheth to performe his worde doublewiſe.

O then deare frendes, turne I ſaye vnto your deareſt father. Caſt not theſe his ſweete and louing wordes to the grounde, and at your tayle, for the Lord watcheth on his word to performe it: which is in two ſortes: to them that lay it vp in theyr hartes, and beleue it, will he pay all, and eternall ioy and comfort. But to thẽ that caſt it at theyr backes, and will forget it, to them (I ſay) will he poure out indignation and eternall ſhame. Wherefore I hartely yet once more beſeech and pray you, and euery of you, not to contemne this poore and ſimple exhortation, which nowe out of priſon I make vnto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be a witneſſe agaynſt you in the laſt day: as of truth I muſt be, if ye repent not, if ye loue not Gods Goſpell, yea, if ye loue it not.

Bradford muſt be a witnes in the laſt day to them that reiect his couſaile.

Therefore to conclude, repent, loue Gods Goſpell, liue in it all your conuerſation ſo ſhall Gods name be prayſed, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies aſhamed. Graũt all this thou gracious lord god to euery one of vs for thy deare ſonnes ſake, our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt: To whome with thee and the holy Ghoſt, be eternal glory for euer and euer. Amen. The 12. of February, 1555.

By the bondman of the Lord, and
your afflicted poore brother,
Iohn Bradford.

❧ To my louing brethren B. C. &c. their Wiues and whole families, I. Bradford.

An other letter of M. Bradford to certayne frendes of his, whom for danger of that time he would not name.

I Beſeech the euerliuing God, to graunt you all, my good brethren and ſiſters, the comfort of the holy ſpirit, and the continuall ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt our Lord, now and for euer amen.

Gods anger and mercy both together vpon his Church.

The contempt of God and his Goſpell puniſhed.

The world my brethren ſemeth to haue the vpper hand, iniquity ouerfloweth, the trueth and verity ſeemeth to bee ſuppreſſed, and they which take parte therewith, are vniuſtly entreated: as they which loue the trueth lament to ſee and heare, as they doe. The cauſe of all this is Gods anger, and mercy: his anger, becauſe we haue greuouſly ſinned agaynſt him: his mercy, becauſe he here puniſheth vs, and as a Father nourtereth vs. Wee haue beene vnthankefull for his word: we haue contemned his kyndeneſſe: wee haue bene negligent in prayer: we haue bene ſo carnall, couetous, licentious. &c. we haue not haſtened to heauenwarde, but rather to hellwarde. We were fallen almoſt into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinaunces: ſo that of his iuſtice he coulde no longer forbeare, but make vs feele his anger: as now he hath done, in taking his worde and true ſeruice from vs, and permitted Sathan to ſerue vs with Antichriſtian religion, and that in ſuch ſort, that if we will not yelde to it, and ſeeme to allow in deede an outwarde facte, our bodyes are like to be layed in priſon, and our goodes geuen we can not tell to whom.

Exho[illegible] to re[illegible]

This ſhould we looke vpon as a ſigne of Gods anger, procured by our ſinnes: which my good brethren, euery of vs ſhould now call to our memories oftentymes, ſo particularly as we can, that wee might hartely lament them, repent them, hate them, aſke earneſtly mercy for them, and ſubmit our ſelues to beare in this lite any kinde of puniſhment, which God will lay vpon vs for them. This ſhould we do, in conſideration of Gods anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is ſeene, and ſhould be ſeene in vs my dearely beloued, in this, that God doth vouchſafe to puniſh vs in this preſent life. If he ſhould not haue puniſhed vs, do not you thinke that we would haue continued in the euilles we were in? Yes verely, we woulde haue bene worſe, and haue gone forwardes in hardenyng our hartes by impenitency, and negligence of Gods true godlines. And then if death had come, ſhould not we haue periſhed both ſoule and body into eternall fire and perdition? Alas, what miſery ſhoulde we haue fallen into, if God ſhoulde haue ſuffered vs to haue gone on forwarde in our euils? No greater ſigne of damnatiõ there is, then to lie in euill and ſinne vnpuniſhed of God, as now the Papiſtes (my dearely beloued) are caſt into Iezabels bed of ſecurity which of all plagues is the grieuouſeſt plague that can be. They are baſtards and not ſonnes, for they are not vnder Gods rod of correction.

Iesabels bed of [illegible]rity.

A great mercy it is therefore that GOD doth puniſh vs: For if he loued vs not, he would not puniſh vs. Now doth he chaſtice vs, that we ſhoulde not be damned with the worlde. Nowe doeth he nourtour vs, becauſe he fauoureth vs. Now may we thinke our ſelues Gods houſe and children, becauſe he beginneth his chaſtiſing at vs: Now calleth he vs to remember our ſinnes paſt. Wherefore? that we might repent and aſke mercy. And why? That he might forgeue vs, pardon vs, iuſtifye vs, and make vs his children, and ſo begin to make vs here lyke vnto Chriſt, that we might be lyke vnto hym elſwhere, euen in heauen where already wee are ſette by fayth with Chriſt, and at his comming in very deede, we ſhall then moſt ioyfully enioy, when our ſinnefull and vile bodyes ſhall be made like to Chriſtes glorious body, accordyng to the power whereby he is able to make all thinges ſubiect to himſelfe.

Therefore my brethren, let vs in reſpect hereof not lament, but laud God, not to be ſory, but be mery, not weep, but reioyce and be gladde, that God doth vochſafe to offer vs his Croſſe, thereby to come to him to endleſſe ioyes and comfortes. For if we ſuffer, we ſhall raigne, if we confeſſe him before men, he will confeſſe vs before his father in heauen: if we be not aſhamed of his Goſpell now, he wyll not be aſhamed of vs in the laſt day, but will be gloriſyed in vs, crowning vs with crownes of glorye and endleſſe felicitye: For bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake, for theyrs is the kingdome of heauen: Be glad (ſayth Peter) for the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. After that you are a litle afflicted, God will comforte, ſtrengthen, and confirme you. And therefore my good brethren, be not diſcouraged for Croſſe, for priſon, or loſſe of goodes, for confeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell and truth, which ye haue beleued, and liuely was taught amongeſt you in the dayes of our late good Kyng, and moſt holy Prince Kyng Edward. This is moſt certayne, if you loſe any thing for Chriſtes ſake, and for contemning the Antichriſtian ſeruice, ſet vppe agayne amongſt vs: as you for your partes, euen in priſon ſhall finde Gods great and riche mercy, farre paſſing all worldly wealth: ſo ſhall your wiues and children in this preſent lyfe, finde and feele Gods prouidence, more plentifully then tongue can tell. For he will ſhew mercifull kindeneſſe on thouſands of them that loue hym. The good mannes ſeed ſhall not goe a begging his bread. You are good men, ſo many as ſuffer for Chriſtes ſake.

I truſte you all, my dearelye beloued, wyll conſyder this geare with your ſelues, & in the croſſe ſee Gods mercy, which is more ſweete, and to be ſet by, then life it ſelfe, muche more then anye Mucke or Pelfe of this worlde. This mercy of God ſhoulde make you merye and chearefull: for the afflictions of this life, are not to bee compared to the ioyes of the lyfe prepared for you. You know the way to heauen is not the wide way of the worlde, which windeth to the deuill, but it is a ſtrayte waye which fewe walke in. For fewe liue Godlye in Chriſt Ieſu, fewe regarde the lyfe to come, fewe remember the daye of iudgement

ment, few remember howe Chriſt will denye them before his father, that do deny him here, few conſider that Chriſt will be aſhamed of them in the laſt day, whiche are aſhamed of his truth and true ſeruice, few caſt their accountes, what wil be layed to theyr charge in the day of vengeance, few regard the condemnation of theyr owne conſciences, in doing that which inwardly they diſalow, few loue god better then theyr goodes.

But I truſt yet you are of this fewe, my dearely beloued, I truſt you be of that little flocke, which ſhall enherite the kingdome of heauē, I truſt you are the mourners and lamenters, which ſhalbe comforted with comfort, whyche neuer ſhall be taken from you, if you nowe repent your former euilles, if nowe you ſtriue agaynſt the euilles that are in you, if now you continue to call vpon God, if nowe you defile not your bodyes with any Idolatrous ſeruice, vſed in the Antichriſtian Churches, if you moleſt not the good ſpirite of God, which is geuen you as a gage of eternall redemption, a counſeller and Mayſter to lead you into all trueth, whiche good ſpirite I beſeeche the Father of mercye to geue to vs all, for his deare ſonnes ſake Ieſus Chriſt our Lorde: to whome I commend you all, and to the worde of his grace, which is able to helpe you all, and ſaue you all that beleue it folow it, and ſerue GOD thereafter.

And of this I would ye were all certayne, that all the heares of your heads are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſhe, neither ſhall any man or deuill be able to attempt any thing, much leſſe to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heauenly father, which loueth you moſt tenderly, ſhall geue them leaue: and when he hath geuen them leaue, they ſhall go no further then he will, nor keepe you in trouble any longer then he will. Therefore caſt on him all your care, for he is carefull for you. Onely ſtudy to pleaſe hym, and to keepe your conſciences cleane, & your bodyes pure from the Idolatrous ſeruice, whiche now euery where is vſed, and GOD will marueillouſlye and mercifully defend and comfort you: which thing he doe for his holy names ſake in Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

* To his dearely beloued in Chriſt, Erkinalde Rawlins, and his wife.

GOd our deare and moſte mercyfull Father thorough Chriſt, be with you my good Brother and Siſter, as with his children for euer, and in all thinges ſo guide you with his holy ſpirite, the leader of his people, as may bee to his glory, and your owne euerlaſting ioy and comfort in him. Amen. Becauſe I haue oftentimes receiued from either of you, comfort corporall (for the which I beſeeche the Lorde, as to make me thankefull, ſo to recompence you both now & eternally) I can not but goe about (Lord help hereto for thy mercyes ſake) to write ſome thing for your comfort ſpiritually.

My dearely beloued, looke not vppon theſe dayes and the afflictions of the ſame here with vs, ſimplye as they ſeeme vnto you, that is, as diſmall dayes, and dayes of Gods vengeaunce, but rather as lucky dayes, and dayes of Gods fatherlye kindeneſſe towardes you, and ſuche as you be, that is, toward ſuch as repent theyr ſinnes, and euill life paſte, and earneſtly purpoſe to amende, walking not after the will of the world, and moſt part of men, for the preſeruation of theyr pelfe, whiche will they nill they, they ſhall leaue ſooner or later, and to whome or howe it ſhall be vſed, they know not. In deede to ſuche as walke in theyr wickedneſſe, and winde on with the worlde, this tyme is a tyme of wrath and vengeaunce, and theyr beginning of ſorrowe is but nowe, becauſe they contemne the Phiſicke of theyr father, whiche by this purging time and cleanſing dayes, would worke theyr weale, whiche they will not: and becauſe they will not haue Gods bleſſing, which both wayes he hath offered vnto them by proſperity and aduerſity: therefore it ſhall be kepte farre enough from them. As when the ſicke man will no kinde of Phiſicke at the handes of the Phiſition, he is lefte alone, and ſo the malady encreaſeth, and deſtroyeth him at the length. To ſuch men in deed, theſe dayes are and ſhould be dolefull dayes, dayes of woe and weeping, becauſe theyr damnation draweth nigh.

But vnto ſuch as be penitent, and are deſirous to liue after the Lordes wil (among whom I do not onely count you, but as far as a man may iudge, I know ye are) vnto ſuch I ſay, this time is and ſhould be comfortable. For firſt now your father chaſtiſeth you and me for our ſinnes: for the which if he would haue deſtroyed vs, then woulde hee haue letten vs alone, and left vs to our ſelues, in nothyng to take to hart his fatherly viſitation, which here it pleaſeth him to worke preſently, becauſe elſe where he wyll not remember our tranſgreſſions, as Paule writeth: He chaſtiſeth vs in this world, leaſt with the world we ſhould periſhe. Therefore my deare hartes, call to minde your ſinnes to lament them, and to aſke mercye for them in hys ſight, and withall vndoubtedly beleue to obteyne pardon and aſſured forgeueneſſe of the ſame, for twiſe the Lord puniſheth not for one thing.

God puniſheth not twiſe for one thing.

So that I ſaye, firſt wee haue cauſe to reioyce for theſe dayes, becauſe our father ſuffereth vs not to lye in Ieſabels bed, ſleeping in our owne ſinnes and ſecurity, but as mindefull on vs, doth correct vs as his children. Whereby we may be certayne, that we be no baſtardes, but children: for he chaſtiſeth euery childe whom he receiueth. So that they which are not partakers of his chaſtiſing, or that contemne it, declare themſelues to be baſtardes, and not children: as I know ye are, which as ye are chaſtiſed, ſo do ye take it to hart accordingly. And therefore be glad my deare hartes and folkes, knowing certaynelye euen by theſe viſitatiōs of the Lord, that ye are his deare elect children, whoſe faultes your father doth viſite with the rodde of correction, but his mercy will he neuer take away from vs. Amen.

Difference betweene baſtards and children.

Secondly, ye haue cauſe to reioyce for theſe dayes, becauſe they are dayes of triall, wherein not onely ye your ſelues, but alſo the worlde ſhall knowe that ye be none of his, but the Lords dearlinges. Before theſe dayes came, Lord God, how many thought of them ſelues, they hadde bene in Gods boſome, and ſo were takē, and would be taken of the world? But now we ſee whoſe they are. For to whome we obey, his ſeruauntes we are. If wee obey the world (which god forbid, and hitherto ye haue not done it) then are we the worldes: but if we obey God, then are we Gods. Which thing (I mean that ye are Gods) theſe dayes haue declared both to you, to me, & to all other that know you, better then euer we knew it. Therefore ye haue no cauſe to ſorrow, but rather to ſing, in ſeing your ſelues to be Gods babes, and in ſeyng that all Gods children do ſo count you.

Trouble tryeth who be of God, & who be not.

What though the world repine thereat? what though he kicke? what though he ſeek to trouble and moleſt you? My deare hartes, he doth but his kinde, he cannot loue the Lord, which liueth not in the Lorde, he can not brooke the childe, that hateth the Father, he canne not mind the ſeruaunt, that careth not for the Mayſter. If ye were of the world, the world woulde loue you, ye ſhould dwell quietly, there woulde be no griefe, no moleſtation. If the Deuill dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid) he would not ſtirre vp his knightes to beſiege your houſe, to ſnatch your goodes, or ſuffer his freendes to enter into your Hogges. But becauſe Chriſt dwelleth in you (as he doth by fayth) therefore ſtyrreth he vp his firſt begotten ſonne the worlde, to ſeeke how to diſquiet you, to robbe you, to ſpoyle you, to deſtroy you: and perchaunce your deare Father, to trye, and to make knowne vnto you, and to the world, that ye are deſtinate to an other dwelling then here on earth, to an other Citty then mannes eyes haue ſeene at any tyme: hath geuen, or will geue power to Sathan, and to the world, to take from you the thinges, whiche he hath lent you, and by taking them awaye, to trye your fidelitye, obedience, and loue towardes hym (for ye may not loue them aboue hym) as by geuyng that ye haue, and keeping it, he hath declared his loue towardes you.

A true louer of the world is declared by his lyfe.

The deuill neuer entereth into his owne hogges.

The Lord geueth power to Sathan ſometymes ouer his Seruantes, and to what ende. God vſeth to try his.

Sathan perchaunce telleth GOD (as he did of Iob) that ye loue GOD for your goodes ſake. What now then, if the Lord do try you with Iob, ſhall geue him power on your goodes and body accordingly, ſhould ye be diſmaied? ſhould ye diſpayre? ſhoulde ye be faynt harted? ſhoulde ye not rather reioyce, as did the Apoſtles, that they were coūted worthy, to ſuffer any thing for the Lordes ſake? Oh forget not the end that happened to Iob: for as it happened to him, ſo ſhall it happen vnto you. For GOD is the ſame God, and can not long forget to ſhew mercy, to them that looke and long for it, as I know ye do, and I pray you ſo to do ſtill. For the Lord loueth you, and neuer canne nor will forget to ſhewe, and poure out his mercy vpon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted & tryed you (ſayth Peter) hee will viſite, comfort and confirme you. As to Iacob wraſtling with the Aungell, at the length morning came, and the ſonne aroſe: ſo deare hartes, doubtleſſe it will happen vnto you. Howbeit do ye as Iob and Iacob did, that is (order and diſpoſe your thinges that God hath lent you, as ye may and whiles ye haue time. Who knoweth whether God hath geuen you power this long euen to that end.

Iacob muſt teach vs to wraſtle.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

This Erkinald and his wyfe folowing this counſayle, did flie both beyond ſea.

Go to therefore, diſpoſe your goodes, prepare your ſelues to tryall, that eyther ye maye ſtande to it like Goddes Champions, or els if ye feele ſuch infirmitye in your ſelues, that ye bee not able, geue place to violence, and goe where ye may with free and ſafe conſcience ſerue the Lord. Thinke not this counſell to come by chaunce, or fortune, but to come from the Lorde. Other Oracles wee may not looke for now. As God told Ioſeph in a dreame by an Angell, that he ſhould flye: ſo if you fele ſuch infirmity in your ſelues, as ſhould turne to Gods diſhonor and your owne deſtruction withall: knowe that at this preſent I am as Gods Aungell, to admoniſh you to take tyme whyles yee haue it, and to ſee that in no caſe Gods name by you might be diſhonored. Ioſeph might haue obiected the omiſſion of his vocation, as perchaunce ye will do. But deare hartes, lette vocations and all thinges elſe geue place to Goddes name, and the ſanctifying thereof.

This I ſpeake, not as though I would not haue you rather to tary, and to ſtand to it: but I ſpeake it in reſpecte of your infirmity, whiche if you feele to be ſo greate in you that ye are not certayne of this hope, that God will neuer tempt you aboue your ability: flye and get you hence, and know that thereby GOD will haue you tryed to your ſelues, and to others. For by it you ſhall know howe to take this world, and your home here is no home, but that ye looke for an other, and ſo geue occaſion to others leſſe to loue this worlde, and perchaunce to ſome to doubte of theyr Religion. Wherin though they be earneſt, yet would they not looſe ſo much, as ye do for your Religion, which ye do confirme to me and others, by your geuing place to violence.

Tribulation doth conforme vs to the Image of Chriſt.

Laſt of al, ye haue cauſe to reioyce ouer theſe our daies, becauſe they bee the dayes of conformation, in the whiche and by whiche, GOD our heauenly Father maketh vs like vnto Chriſtes Image here, that we may be like vnto him elſwhere. For if that we ſuffer with him, then we ſhal reigne alſo with him: if we be buryed with him, then wee ſhall riſe with him agayne, if that we company with hym in all troubles and afflictions, then we ſhall reioyce wyth him in glory: if we now ſow with him in teares, we ſhall reape with him in gladnes: if we confeſſe him before men, he will confeſſe vs before his father in heauen: if wee take his parte, he will take ours: if wee looſe ought for his names ſake, he will geue vs all thynges for his truthes ſake. So that we ought to reioyce and be glad: for it is not geuen to euery one, to ſuffer loſſe of countrey, life, goodes, houſe. &c. for the Lordes ſake. What can God the father do more vnto vs, thē to call vs into the camp with his ſonne? What may Chriſt our Sauior do more for vs, thē to make vs his warriours? What can the holy Ghoſt do to vs aboue this, to marke vs with the cogniſaunce of the Lorde of hoſtes?

The Lordes cogniſaunce ſtandeth not in forked caps. &c. but in ſuffering for the Lordes ſake.

This cogniſaunce of the Lorde, ſtandeth not in forked cappes, typettes, ſhauen crownes, or ſuch other baggage and Antichriſtian pelfe, but in ſuffering for the Lordes ſake. The world ſhall hate you, ſayth Chriſt. Loe, here is the Cogniſaunce and Badge of Goddes children: The world ſhall hate you. Reioyce therefore my dearely beloued, reioyce, that God doth thus vouchſafe to beginne to conforme you, and make you like to Chriſt. By the tryall of theſe dayes yee are occaſioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemne this world, more to deſire life euerlaſting, more to be holy (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict vs) and ſo to come to Gods companye. Whych thing becauſe we can not doe, as long as this body is as it is, therfore by the dore of death we muſt enter with Chriſt into eternall life, and immortality of ſoule and body: whiche God of his mercy ſend ſhortly for our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake. Amen.

¶ To Mayſtres A. Worcup.

Another letter of M. Bradford to Miſtres Warcup.

THe euerlaſting peace of Chriſt be more and more liuely felte in our hartes, by the operation of the holy ghoſt, now and for euer. Amen.

Although I knowe it bee more then needeth to write anye thing vnto you (good Siſter) being, as I doubt not you be, diligently exerciſed in readinge of the Scriptures in meditating of the ſame, and in harty prayer to GOD, for the helpe of his holy Spirite, to haue the ſenſe and feeling, eſpecially of the comfortes you reade in Gods ſweete booke: yet hauinge ſuch oportunity, and knowing not whether hereafter, I ſhall euer haue the like (as this bringer can declare) I thought good in few wordes to take my farewell in writinge, becauſe otherwiſe I canne not. And nowe me thinkes I haue doone it. For what elſe canne I, or ſhoulde I ſaye vnto you (my dearely beloued in the Lorde) but farewell? Farewell deare Siſter, farewell: howbeit in the Lorde, our Lord (I ſay) farewell. In him ſhall you farewell, & ſo much the better, by howe muche in your ſelfe you fare euill, and ſhall fare euill.

Bradfo
farewell
Maiſtres
Warcup.

When I ſpeake of your ſelfe, I meane alſo this worlde, this life, and all thinges properly perteining to this life. In them, as you looke not for your welfare, ſo be not diſmayed, when accordingly you ſhall not feele it. To the Lord our GOD, to the Lambe our Chriſt, which hath borne our ſinnes on his backe, & is our Mediatour for euer, do I ſend you. In him looke for welfare, and that without all wauering: becauſe of his owne goodneſſe and truth, which our euilles and vntrueth can not take away: Not that therefore I would haue you to flatter your ſelfe in any euill or vnbeliefe, but that I woulde comfort you, that they ſhould not diſmay you. Yours is our Chriſt wholy, yours I ſay he is, with all that euer he hath. Is not this welfare trow you? Mountaynes ſhall moue, and the earth ſhall fall before you finde it otherwiſe, ſay that liar Sathan what he liſt.

Chriſt is wholy
with all
that euer
hath.

Therefore good Siſter farewell, and be mery in the Lorde bee mery I ſay, for you haue good cauſe. If your welfare, ioy, and ſaluation hanged vpon any other thing then onely Gods mercy & truth, then might you well be ſad, heauy, and ſtand in a doubt: but in that it hangeth onely vpon theſe two, tel Sathan he lyeth, whē he would you to ſtand in a mammering, by cauſing you to caſte your eyes (which onely in this caſe ſhould be ſet on Chriſt your ſweet Sauior) on your ſelfe. In ſome part in deede looke on your ſelfe, on your fayth, on your loue, obedience. &c. to wake you vp from ſecurity, to ſtirre you vp to diligence, in doing the thinges apperteyning to your vocation: but when you would bé at peace with God, and haue true conſolation in your conſcience, altogether looke vpon the goodnes of God in Chriſt. Thinke on this commaundement which precedeth all other: that you muſt haue no other Gods but the Lord Iehouah, which is your Lord & God: the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your ſinnes in very deede. Remember that Chriſt commaundeth you to call him father for the ſame intent. And hereto call to minde all the benefites of God, hitherto ſhewed vpon you: and ſo ſhall you fele in very deede, that which I wiſh vnto you now, and pray you to wiſh vnto me. Farewell, or welfare in the Lord Ieſus, with whom he graunt vs ſhortlye to meete as his children, for his name and mercies ſake, to our eternall welfare. Amen.

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¶ To mine owne deare brother M. Laurence Saunders, priſoner in the Marſhalſee.

A letter of
M. Bradfo
to M. Saun
ders.

MY good brother, I beſeech our good and gracious Father, alwayes to cōtinue his gracious fauor & loue towards vs, & by vs, as by inſtruments of his grace, to work his glory &, the cōfuſion of his aduerſaryes. Ex ore infantium & lactentium fundet laudem ad deſtruendum inimicum. &c. Amen. i. Out of the mouth of infantes and babes, he will ſhew forth his prayſe to deſtroy the enemy. &c.

I haue peruſed your letters to my ſelfe, and haue read them to others. For aunſwere whereof, if I ſhould write what Doctor Taylor, and Mayſter Philpot doe thinke, then muſt I ſay that they thinke, the Salt ſent vnto vs by your * frende is vnſeaſonable. And in deede I thinke they both will declare it hartely, if they ſhoulde come before them. As for me, if you woulde knowe what I thinke (my good and moſt deare brother Laurence) becauſe I am ſo ſinnefull and ſo conſpurcate (the Lord knoweth I lye not) with many greuous ſinnes (which I hope are waſhed away Sanguine Chriſti noſtri) I neither canne nor woulde bee conſulted withall, but as a ſypher in Agrime. How be it, to tell you how and what I minde, take this for a ſumme: I pray GOD in no caſe I may ſeeke my ſelfe, and in deede (I thanke GOD therefore) I purpoſe it not. Quod reliquum eſt Domino Deo meo committo, & ſpero in illum, quod ipſe faciet iuxta hoc: Iacta in Dominum curam. &c. Omnis cura veſtra coniecta ſit in illum. &c. Reuela Domino viam tuam & ſpera. &c. Sperantem in Domino miſericordia circundabit. i. That which remayneth, I commit to my Lord God: and I truſt in him, that he will doe according to this: Caſt thy care on the Lord. &c Caſt all your care vpon him. &c. Reueale vnto the Lord thy way, and truſt. &c. Who that truſteth in the Lord, mercy ſhall compaſſe him about. I didde not, nor do not knowe, but by your Letters, quod cras wee ſhall come, coram nobis. Mine owne heart, ſtick ſtill to dabitur vobis. Fidelis enim eſt Dominus, dabit in tentatione euentum quo poſſumus ſufferre. Nouit Dominus pios é tentatione eripere. &c. O vtinam pius ego eſſem. Nouit Dominus in die tribulationis ſperantes in ſe. &c. i. It ſhall be geuen you &c. For the Lorde is faythfull. He will in tentation make away that ye may be able to beare it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of tentation the godly. &c. O woulde God I were godly. The Lord knoweth howe to deliuer out of tentation ſuche as truſt in him. &c. I canne not thinke that they will offer any kinde of indifferent, or meane conditiōs: for if we wil not adorare beſtiā, we neuer ſhalbe deliuered, but agaynſt theyr will, thinke I, God our father & gracious Lord, make perfecte the good he hath begunne in vs. Faciet mi frater, charisſime

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Pſalm.
Pſalm.
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1. Cor
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Nahum.

charisſime frater, quem in intimis viſceribus habeo ad conuiuendum & commoriendum. O ſi tecum eſſem. Hee will doe it my brother, my deare brother, whom I haue in my inward bowels to liue and dye with. O if I were with you. Pray for me mine owne hart roote in the Lord.

For euer your owne,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ An other Letter to Mayſter Laurence Saunders.

GOds ſweete peace in Chriſt be with you, my good brother in the Lord Ieſus, and with al your concaptiues. Amen.

I was letted this morning from muſing on that, whiche I was purpoſed to haue thought on by reaſon of you, agaynſt whome I ſaw my ſelfe guilty of negligence, euen in this poynt that I would not write, I ſhould ſay, that I had not written vnto you as yet: therefore out of hande in maner I prepared my ſelfe, to purge my ſelfe hereof, not that I will go about to excuſe my faulte (for that were more to loade me) but by aſking both GOD and you pardon, to get it no more layed to my charge. Now then as I was thus purpoſing, and partly doyng, commeth there one with a letter from you, for the which as I haue cauſe to thanke GOD and you (howbeit not ſo that you ſhould thinke, I geue not the whole to God) ſo I ſee my ſelfe more blame worthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit good brother, in this I haue geuen a demonſtration to you, to behold my negligence in all other thinges, and eſpecially in praying for you, and for the Churche of GOD, which for my ſinnes and hypocriſy (hypocriſye in deede euen in this writing, GOD deliuer me from it) haue deſerued to be puniſhed. Iuſt is God, for we haue deſerued all kindes of plagues at his handes: but yet mercifull is he that will on thys wyſe chaſtiſe vs wyth this world, ne cum mundo condemnemur. i. That we ſhould not be condemned with the worlde. He might otherwyſe haue puniſhed vs, I meane, he might haue for other cauſes caſt vs in priſon, me eſpecially, then for his Goſpell and wordes ſake. Prayſed therefore be his name, whiche voucheth vs worthye this honour. Ah good GOD forgeue vs our ſinnes, and worke by this thy fatherly correction on vs, on me eſpecially, affectually to loue thee and thy Chriſt: and with ioyfulneſſe vnto the end, to carry thy Croſſe through thicke and thinne. Alwayes ſet before our eyes, not this gallowes on earth, if we will ſticke to thee, but the gallowes in Hell if wee denye thee, and ſwarue from that we haue profeſſed.

Ah good Brother, if I could alwaies haue GOD, his Maieſtye, mercy, heauen, hell. &c. before mine eyes then ſhould I obdurare, as Paul writeth of Moſes. Heb. 11. Obdurauit inquit, perinde quaſi vidiſſet eum qui eſt inuiſibilis. i. He endured (ſayth he) as he that ſaw him which is inuiſible. Pray for me, as I know you doe, and geue thankes alſo, for In Domino ſpero: non nutabo Si ambulauero per vallem vmbræ mortis, non timebo quia tu Domine mecum es. &c. Amen. i. In the Lord I truſt: I ſhall not wauer. If I walk by the valley of the ſhadowe of death, I will not feare, for thou art with me O Lorde. I thinke we ſhall be ſhortly called forth, for now legem habent, & ſecundum legem. &c. otherwiſe will they not reaſon with vs: and I thinke theyr ſhotanker will be, to haue vs to ſubſcribe. The which thing if we doe though with this condition: (ſo farre as the thing ſubſcribed to, repugneth not agaynſt Gods worde) yet thys will be offenſiue. Therefore let vs vadere planè and ſo ſanè, I meane, let vs all confeſſe that we are no chaungelings, but reipſa are the ſame we were in religion, and therefore can not ſubſcribe, except we wil diſſemble both with God, our ſelues and the world. Hæc tibi ſcribo frater mi chariſsime in Domino. Iam legam tuam Epiſtolã. i. Theſe things I write to you deare brother in the Lord. Now I will read your Epiſtle. Ah brother that I had practicam tecum ſcientiam in vite illa quam pingis: roga Dominum vt ita verè ſentiam. Amen. i. The practical vnderſtanding with you in that vine whiche you deſcribe. Pray the Lorde that I may ſo thinke in deed. God make me thankefull for you. Salutant te omnes concaptiui & gratias Domino pro te agunt: idem tu facies pro nobis & ores. vt. &c. i. All our felow priſoners ſalute you, & geue thankes to God for you. The ſame do you for vs, & pray that. &c.

Your brother in the Lord Ieſus,
to liue and dye with you,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To my deare Fathers, D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer.

An other letter of M. Bradford to D. Cranmer, D. Ridley and D. Latimer.

IEſus Emanuell: My deare fathers in the Lord, I beſeech GOD our ſweete Father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good hee hath begunne in vs all. Amen.

I had thought that euery of your ſtaues had ſtande nexte the dore, but now it is otherwiſe perceiued. Our deare Brother Rogers hath broken the iſe valiauntly, and as this day (I thinke) or to morow at the vttermoſt, harty Hooper, ſincere Saunders, and truſty Taylour end theyr courſe, and receiue theyr crowne. The nexte am I, whiche hourely looke for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the deſired reſt. GOD forgeue me mine vnthankefulneſſe for this exceeding great mercy, that amongeſt ſo many thowſandes, it pleaſeth his mercy to chooſe me to be one, in whome he will ſuffer. For although it be moſte true, that iuſté patior. i. I iuſtly ſuffer (for I haue bene a great hypocrite, and a greeuous ſynner, the Lorde pardon me, yea hee hath done it, he hath done it in deede) yet, hic autem quid mali fecit? i. What euill hath he done? Chriſt, whome the Prelates perſecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no euill, nor deſerueth death. Therefore ought I moſt hartely to reioyce of this dignationand tender kyndneſſe of the Lord towardes me, which vſeth the remedy for my ſinne as a teſtimoniall of hys Teſtament, to his glory, to my euerlaſting comfort, to the edefying of his Church, and to the ouerthrowing of Antichriſt and hys kingdome. O what am I Lorde, that thou ſhouldeſt thus magnifye me ſo vile a man and miſer, as alwayes I haue bene? Is this thy wont to ſende for ſuche a wretche and an hypocrite as I haue bene, in a fiery Charyot, as thou diddeſt for Helias? Oh deare Fathers, be thankefull for me, and pray for me, that I ſtyll may be found worthy in whom the Lord would ſanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you readye, for we are but your gentlemen huſhers. Nuptiæ agni paratæ ſunt, venite ad nuptias. i. The mariage of the Lambe is prepared, come vnto the mariage. I now go to leaue my fleſh there, where I receiued it. I ſhall be cõueied thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, to Leopardis: by whoſe euill I hope to bee made better. God graunt, if it be his will that I aske, it may make them better by me. Amen.

This is a ſingular mercy of God, to haue death, which is a due puniſhment for ſinne, turned into a demonſtration, & teſtification, of the Lordes truthe. 4. Reg. 2.

He meaneth that he ſhould be conueyed by the Queenes Garde into Lankeſhire to be burnte, as the aduerſaryes had once determined: lyke as Ignatius was by a company of ſoldiours conueyed to Rome and caſt to the Leopardes.

For my farewell therfore, I write and ſend this vnto you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall neuer be ſeparated. In the meane ſeaſon I will not ceaſe, as I haue done, to commende you to our father of heauen. And that you would ſo do by me, I moſt hartely praye euerye one of you. You knowe nowe I haue moſte neede. But fidelis Deus, qui nunquam ſinet nos tentari ſupra id quòd poſſumus. i. Faythfull is God, which will not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our ſtrength. He neuer didde it hytherto, nor now, I am aſſured, he will neuer do. Amen. A dextris eſt mihi, non mouebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me ſanctum ſuum per gratiam in Chriſto, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectens omni momento carnificem. i. He is on my righte hand, therefore I ſhall not fall. Wherefore my hart ſhall reioyce, for he ſhall not leaue my ſoule in hell, neither ſhall ſuffer me his holy one by his grace in Chriſt, to ſee corruption. Out of priſon in haſte, looking for the Tormentour. The 8. of February. Ann. 1555.

Pſalme. 16.

Iohn Bradford.

✻ To the honourable Lord Ruſſell, now Earle of Bedford, being then in trouble for the verity of Gods Goſpell.

A letter of M. Bradford to the Lord Ruſſell, now Earle of Bedford.

THe euerlaſting and moſt gracious God and Father of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, bleſſe your good Lordſhippe with all maner of heauenlye bleſſinges in the ſame Chryſt our onely comfort and hope. Amen.

Prayſed be God our Father which hath vouched you worthye, as of fayth in his Chriſt, ſo of his Croſſe for the ſame. Magnifyed be his holy name, who as he hath deliuered you from one croſſe, ſo he hath made you willing (I truſt) and ready to beare another whẽ he ſhall ſee his time to lay it vpon you: for theſe are the moſt ſingular giftes of God geuen as to few, ſo to none els but to theſe few whiche are moſte deare in his ſight. Fayth is reckoned, and worthely, among the greateſt gyftes of GOD, yea it is the greateſt it ſelfe that we enioy, for by it, as we be iuſtified and made Gods childrẽ, ſo are we temples and poſſeſſours of the holy ſpirite, yea of Chriſt alſo. Eph. 4. And of the Father hymſelfe: Iohn. 14. By fayth we driue the Deuill away: 1. Peter. 5. We ouercome the world. 1. Ioh. And are already Citizens of heauen and fellowes wyth Goddes deare Sayntes: But who is able to reckon the riches that this fayth bringeth with her vnto the ſoule ſhe ſitteth vpon? No man or Aungell. And therefore (as I ſayd) of all Gods giftes, ſhe may be ſet in the top and haue the vpmoſt ſeate. The which thing if men conſidered (in that ſhe commeth alonely from Goddes owne mercy ſeat, by the hearing, not of Maſſe or Mattyns, Dyriges or ſuch draſſe, but of the worde of God in ſuch a toung as we canne and doe vnderſtand) as they would be diligent and

The excellencye of fayth, and what it worketh.

Fayth commeth by hearing the word and not by hearing Maſſe.

take greate heede for doyng or ſeeyng any thyng whiche might caſt her downe (for then they fal alſo) ſo would they with no leſſe care read and heare Goddes holy word, ioyning therto moſt earneſt and often prayer, aſwell for the more and better vnderſtanding, as for the louing, liuyng and confeſſing of the ſame, mauger the head of the deuill, the worlde, our fleſhe, reaſon, goodes, poſſeſſions, carnall frendes, wife, children, and very life here: if they ſhould pull vs backe to harken to the voyce and counſell, for more quiet, ſure, and longer vſe of them.

Philip. 1.

Now, notwithſtanding this excellency of fayth in that we read the Apoſtle to matche therewith, yea (as it were) to preferre ſuffering perſecution for Chriſtes ſake, I trowe no man will be ſo fond as to thinke otherwiſe, but that I and all Goddes children haue cauſe to glorify and prayſe God, whiche hath vouched you worthye ſo greate a bleſſing. For though the reaſon or wiſedome of the worlde thinke of the Croſſe according to theyr reach and according to theyr preſent ſence, and therefore flyeth from it as from a moſt great ignominye and ſhame: Yet Gods Scholers haue learned otherwiſe to thinke of the Croſſe, that is the frame houſe in the which God frameth his children lyke to his ſonne Chriſt: the Fornace that fineth Gods golde: the high way to Heauen: the Sute and Liuery that Gods ſeruauntes are ſerued withall: the earneſt and beginning of all conſolation and glory. For they (I meane Gods ſcholers, as your Lordſhyp is, I truſt) doe enter into Goddes ſanctuary, leaſt theyr feete ſlippe. They looke not as beaſtes do, on thinges preſent onely, but on thinges to come, and ſo haue they as preſent to fayth, the iudgemente and glorious comming of Chriſt, like as the wicked haue now theyr worldly wealth wherein they wallow and will wallowe till they tumble headlong into Hell, where are tormentes too terrible and endleſſe. Nowe they followe the Feende as the Beare doth the trayne of Honye and the Sowe the ſwillinges, till they be brought into the ſlaughter houſe, and then they know that theyr proſperitye hath brought them to perdition. Then crye they woe, woe. We went the wrong way: wee counted theſe men (I meane ſuch as you bee that ſuffer for Goddes ſake loſſe of goodes, frendes and life, whome they ſhall ſee endued with riche robes of righteouſneſſe, crownes of moſt pure precious golde, and Palmes of conqueſt in the goodly glorious palace of the Lambe, where is eternall ioy, felicity. &c.) wee counted (will they then ſay) theſe men but fooles and mad men, we tooke theyr conditions to be but curioſity. &c. But then will it be to late, then the time will be turned, laughing ſhal be turned into weeping, and weeping into reioyſing, Read Sapien. 2.3.4.5.

The efficacy of the croſſe, and what it worketh in Gods children.

Pſalme. 72.

The ende of proſperitye.

Sapience. 5.

Therefore (as before I haue ſayd) great cauſe haue I to thanke God whiche hath vouched you worthy of thys moſt bountifull bleſſing: muche more then you haue cauſe (my good Lord) ſo to be, I meane thankefull. For looke vpon your vocation I pray you, and tell me how many noble menne, Earles ſonnes, Lordes, Knightes, and menne of eſtimation hath God in this Realme of England dealt thus withall? I dare ſay you thinke not that you haue deſerued this. Only Gods mercy in his Chriſt hath wrought this on you, as he did in Ieremyes tyme on Abimelech, in Achabs time on Abdias, in Chriſtes tyme on Ioſeph of Arimathia, in the Apoſtles tyme on Sergius Paulus, and the Queene of Candaces Chamberlayne. Onely now be thankefull and continue, continue, continue (my good Lorde) continue to confeſſe Chriſt. Bee not aſhamed of hym before men, for then will not he bee aſhamed of you. Nowe will he trye you: ſticke faſt vnto him and he wyll ſticke faſt by you: he will be with you in trouble and deliuer you. But then muſt you cry vnto him, for ſo it proceedeth: He cried vnto me and I heard him: I was with him in trouble. &c.

Few noble men called to Chriſtes kingdome.

Pſalme. 91.

Remember Lottes wyfe whiche looked backe. Remember Fraunces Spira. Remember that none is crowned but he that ſtriueth lawfully. Remēber that all you haue, is at Chriſtes commaundement. Remember he loſt more for you then you canne loſe for him. Remember you loſe not that which is loſt for his ſake, for you ſhall finde much more here and elſewhere. Remember you ſhall dye, and when, where, and howe, ye can not tell. Remember the death of ſinners is moſt terrible. Remember the death of Gods Sayntes is precious in his ſight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide waye whiche windeth to woe. Remember that the ſtraight gate which leadeth to glorye hath but few trauellers. Remember, Chriſt biddeth you ſtriue to enter in thereat. Remember, he that truſteth in the Lord ſhall receiue ſtrength to ſtand agaynſt all the aſſaultes of his enemies. Be certayn all the hearers of your head are numbred. Be certayne your good Father hath poynted boundes ouer the which the deuill dare not looke. Commit your ſelfe to him: he is, hath bene, and will bee your Keeper. Caſt your care on hym and he will care for you. Let Chriſt be your ſcope and marke to pricke at: let hym be your patron to worke by: let him be your enſample to folow: geue him as your hart ſo your hand, as your minde ſo your toung, as your fayth ſo your feete, and let his word be your candle to go before you in all matters of Religion. Bleſſed is he that walketh not to theſe Popiſh prayers, nor ſtandeth at them nor ſitteth at them: glorifye God in both ſoule and body. He that gathereth not wyth Chriſt: ſcattereth abroad. Vſe prayer, looke for Gods help, which is at hand to them that aſke and hope thereafter aſſuredly. In which prayer I hartely deſire your Lordſhyp to remember vs, who as we are goyng with you ryght gladly (God therefore be prayſed) ſo we looke to go before you, hoping that you will folow, if God ſo will, according to your dayly prayer: Thy will be done on earth. &c. The good ſpirite of God alwayes guide your Lordſhippe vnto the end. Amen.

Godly remembrances.

Chriſt ... muſt haue both hart and hand.

Pſalme. 1. 2. Cor. 6.

Your Lordſhips owne for euer,
Iohn Bradford.

✠ To M. Warcup and his Wyfe, Maiſtres Wilkenſon and others of his godly frendes with theyr familyes.

THe ſame peace our Sauiour Chriſt left with his people, which is not without warre with the world, almighty God woorke plentifully in your hartes now and for euer, Amen.

A pithy and effectuall letter of M. Bradford to M. Warcup and Maiſtres Wilkinſon.

The tyme I perceiue is come, wherein the Lordes grounde will be knowne, I meane it will now ſhortly appeare who haue receiued Goddes Goſpell into theyr hartes in deede, to the taking of good roote therein, for ſuch will not for a litle heate or ſunburning, wither, but ſtiffely will ſtand and grow on maugre the malice of all burning ſhowers and tempeſtes. And for as much as (my beloued in the Lorde) I am perſwaded of you, that ye be in deede the children of GOD, Gods good ground, whiche groweth and will grow on (by Goddes grace) bringyng foorth fruite to Goddes glory after your vocations, as occaſion ſhall bee offered (burne the Sunne neuer ſo hoate) therefore I can not but ſo ſignify vnto you, and hartely pray you and euery one of you, accordinglye to goe on forwardes after your Mayſter Chriſt, not ſticking at the foule waye and ſtormye weather, whiche you are come into and are like ſo to doe, of this beyng moſt certayne, that the ende of your iourney ſhall be pleaſaunt and ioy full in ſuche a perpetuall reſt and bliſſefulneſſe as can not but ſwallow vppe the ſhowers that ye nowe feele and are ſouſſed in, if ye often ſette it before your eyes after Paules counſell in the latter ende of the 4. and beginning of the 5. chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians. Read it I pray you, and remember it often, as a Reſtoratiue to refreſhe you, leaſte ye faynt in the way.

And beſides this, ſet before you alſo, that though the weather be foule and ſtormes grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and ſiſters pad the ſame path, as Saynt Peter telleth vs, and therefore company ſhoulde cauſe you to be the more couragious and cheerefull. But if ye had no company at all to go preſently with you, I pray you tell me, if euen from the beginning the beſt of Goddes frendes haue founde any fayrer weather and way to the place whether ye are goyng (I meane heauen) then ye nowe finde and are like to doe, excepte ye wyll with the worldlinges, which haue theyr portion in this life, tarye ſtill by the way til the ſtormes be ouerpaſt, and then eyther night will ſo approch that ye can not trauell, eyther the doores will be ſparred before ye come, and ſo ye ſhall lodge without in wonderfull euill lodginges. Read Apocal. 22. Begin at Abel, & come from him to Noe, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Ioſeph, the Patriarches, Moſes, Dauid, Daniell, and all the Payntes in the olde teſtament, and tell me whether euer any of them found any fayrer way then ye now finde.

Foule way and foule weather to the kingdome of heauen.

If the olde Teſtament will not ſerue, I praye you come to the new, and beginne with Mary and Ioſeph, and come from them to Zachary, Elizabeth, Iohn Baptiſt, and euery one of the Apoſtles and Euangeliſtes, and ſearch whether they all founde anye other way into the Citty we trauayle towardes, then by many tribulations. Beſides theſe, if ye ſhoulde call to remembraunce the primatiue Churche, Lord GOD, ye ſhoulde ſee many to haue geuen cheerefully theyr bodyes to moſt greuous tormentes, rather then they woulde be ſtopped in theyr iourney, that there is no day in the yeare, but (I dare ſay) a thowſand was the feweſt that with great ioy loſt theyr homes here, but in the Cittye they went vnto, haue found other maner of homes then mans minde is able to conceiue. But if none of all theſe were, if ye had no compan ynow to go with you, as ye haue me your poore brother and bondman of the Lord, with many other, I truſt in GOD: if ye had none other of the Fathers, Patriarches, Kynges, Prophettes, Apoſtles

The pa... of all Go... Sainctes both in ... olde and new teſta... ment, ha... bene tho... rough af... fliction.

Read the ſtory of the primatiue Church... boue deſcribed.

Apoſtles Euangeliſtes, Martyrs, and ot
dren of God, that in their iourney to h
now finde and are lyke to finde if ye go
will: yet ye haue your Mayſter and your
the deare dearlyng and onely begotte
God, in whome was all the fathers pl
ye haue him to goe before you, no fay
ler, into this ou em.
rehearſe what ou
and till ye com na
and ſtryde of his tto
yours is now.

Wherſore (my dearely beloued in t
tie as to looke for that at Gods handes y
the Fathers, Patriarckes, Prophetes,
Martyrs, Sainctes. and his owne ſonn
finde. Hetherto we haue had fayre way
ther alſo: now becauſe we haue loytere
made the ſpeede we ſhoulde haue done
ſweete father hath ouercaſt the weather
and tempeſtes, tha nore
before night co e ſ
deth now at eue Ci
world crying vn ge
the ſtormes be ou wo
the ſkinne, but that the tyme might ou
deſtruction. Therfore beware of his enti
eyes on thinges that be preſent, how t
that man doth: But caſt your eyes on th
els ye will loſe the game. Ye know that h
gleue, doth not looke on other that ſtan
or that way, but altogether hee looketh
them that runne with him, that thoſe w
take hym not, and take
euen ſo ſhoulde w yn
not runne the ra t
with vs, and caſt o
that goe before vs ta
which come after v prouo
ſter after.

Hee that ſhooteth, will not caſt his e
them that ſtand by, or ryde by the wayes
the marke he ſhooteth at, for els he we
wrong way: Euen ſo my dearely beloue
the marke ye ſhoote at, euen Chriſt Ieſ
before hym, did ioyfully cary his Croſſe,
and therefore he now ſitteth on the right
God. Let vs follow e
faynthearted. For e
him, we ſhall vnd h
him, ſurely he wi is
Chriſt) and of my C thle
aſhamed of him before the Angels of Go
heauy a ſentence is this to all ſuche as k
an abhominable idoll, full of idolatrye.
ledge agaynſt God and his Chriſt (as vnd
for feare of men, for loſſe of lyfe or goode
tage and gayne, will honeſt it with theyr
both with God and manne, as their owne
doth accuſe them? Better it were that ſuc
truth, then thus wi e fe
whoſe breath is in ſer
deede it is) to de is
their beginning. S he
places to the Hebre ten
ſo doyng they fall therein. Let them bewa
begile themſelues, as ſome doe, I feare me
and becauſe they worſhip not, nor kneele
as others doe, but ſit ſtill in theyr pues, the
rather do good to others then hurte.

But (alas) if theſe men woulde loooke
ſciences, there ſhoulde they ſee they are ve
ſeeking to deceiue others (for by this me
thinke them of theyr e th
at the eleuation tym a
marke howe they d h
goyng to Maſſe, do r
if there were in thoſe en
loue to God, or to theyr brethren, then wo
or bothe, openly take Gods part, and admo
their idolatry. They feare man more then hy
er to caſt both ſoule and bodye to hell fire:
knees: they ſerue two mayſters. God haue
and open theyr eyes with his eye ſalue, tha
they which take no part with God, are agay
they whiche gather not wyth Chriſt, doe
that they woulde read th,
fearefull. The couns Ch

...all Gods ...dren af... ...ted.

...e muſt ...be ſo ...ntye to ...oke for ...yrer wea... ...er then Chriſt him... ...lfe went ...rough.

...hilip. 3. ...he deuills ...tiſements ...t to be ...ſted.

...o looke to ...e marke.

...eb. 11. ...om. 8. ...Tim. 3. ...ath. 12.

...hat daun... ...r it is to ...e to the ...laſphe... ...ous maſſe.

...ay 2. ...Pet 2. ...eb. 6. 10.

Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes, Martyrs, and other holy ſainctes and children of God, that in their iourney to heauenward, found as ye now finde and are lyke to finde if ye go on forwarde as I truſt ye will: yet ye haue your Mayſter and your Captayne Ieſus Chryſt, the deare dearlyng and onely begotten and beloued ſonne of God, in whome was all the fathers pleaſure, ioy, & delectation ye haue him to goe before you, no fayrer waye but muche fouler, into this our Cittye of Ieruſalem. I neede not (I truſt) to rehearſe what manner of waye he found. Beginne at his birth, and till ye come at his buriall, yee ſhall finde that euery foote and ſtryde of his iourney, was no better, but much worſe then yours is now.

Wherfore (my dearely beloued in the Lorde) be not ſo deintie as to looke for that at Gods handes your deare father, which the Fathers, Patriarckes, Prophetes, Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes, Martyrs, Sainctes, and his owne ſonne Ieſus Chriſt dyd not finde. Hetherto we haue had fayre way (I trow) and fayre weather alſo: now becauſe we haue loytered by the waye, and not made the ſpeede we ſhoulde haue done, our louing Lorde and ſweete father hath ouercaſt the weather, and ſtyrred vp ſtormes and tempeſtes, that we might with more haſt runne out our race before night come, and the doores be ſparred. The Deuill ſtandeth now at euery Inne doore in his Citie and Countrey of this world crying vnto vs to tary and lodge in this or that place tyll the ſtormes be ouerpaſt: not that he woulde not haue vs wet to the skinne, but that the tyme might ouer paſſe vs to oure vtter deſtruction. Therfore beware of his entiſementes. Caſt not your eyes on thinges that be preſent, how this man doth, and howe that man doth: But caſt your eyes on the gleue ye runne at, or els ye will loſe the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleue, doth not looke on other that ſtande by, and go this waye or that way, but altogether hee looketh on the gleue, and on them that runne with him, that thoſe which be behynde ouertake hym not, and that he may ouertake them which be before: euen ſo ſhoulde we doe, leaue of lookyng on thoſe which will not runne the race to heauen bliſſe by the pathe of perſecution with vs, and caſt our eyes on the ende of our race, and on them that goe before vs, that wee may ouertake them, and on them which come after vs, that we may prouoke them to come the faſter after.

Hee that ſhooteth, will not caſt his eyes in his ſhootyng on them that ſtand by, or ryde by the wayes (I trowe) but rather at the marke he ſhooteth at, for els he were lyke to wynne the wrong way: Euen ſo my dearely beloued let your eyes be ſet on the marke ye ſhoote at, euen Chriſt Ieſus, who for the ioye ſet before hym, did ioyfully cary his Croſſe, contemning the ſhame, and therefore he now ſitteth on the right hande of the throne of God. Let vs follow him, for this did he that wee ſhoulde not be fayntharted. For we may be moſt aſſured, that if we ſuffer wyth him, we ſhall vndoubtedly raygne with hym, but if wee denye him, ſurely he will deny vs: for he that is aſhamed of me (ſayth Chriſt) and of my Goſpell, in this faythles generation, I wyll be aſhamed of him before the Angels of God in heaven. Oh howe heauy a ſentence is this to all ſuche as knowe the Maſſe to bee an abhominable idoll, full of idolatrye, blaſphemye, and ſacriledge agaynſt God and his Chriſt (as vndoubtedly it is) and yet for feare of men, for loſſe of lyfe or goodes, yea, ſome for aduauntage and gayne, will honeſt it with theyr preſence, diſſemblyng both with God and manne, as their owne harte and conſcience doth accuſe them? Better it were that ſuch had neuer known the truth, then thus wittingly, and for the feare or fauoure of man, whoſe breath is in his noſethrels, to diſſemble it, or rather (as in deede it is) to deny it. The end of ſuch is like to be worſe then their beginning. Such had neede to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrewes in the ſixt and tenth Chapiters, leaſt by ſo doyng they fall therein. Let them beware they playe not wily begile themſelues, as ſome doe, I feare me, whiche go to Maſſe, and becauſe they worſhip not, nor kneele not, nor knocke not as others doe, but ſit ſtill in theyr pues, therefore they think they rather do good to others then hurte.

But (alas) if theſe men woulde loooke into their owne conſciences, there ſhoulde they ſee they are very diſſemblers and in ſeeking to deceiue others (for by this meanes the Magiſtrates thinke them of theyr ſorte) they deceiue themſelues. They think at the eleuation tyme, all mennes eyes are ſet vppon them, to marke howe they doe. They thinke others hearyng of ſuche men goyng to Maſſe, do ſee, or enquire of theyr behauiour there. Oh if there were in thoſe men that are ſo preſent at the Maſſe, eyther loue to God, or to theyr brethren, then woulde they for the one or bothe, openly take Gods part, and admoniſh theyr people of their idolatry. They feare man more then hym, which hath power to caſt both ſoule and bodye to hell fire: they halte on bothe knees: they ſerue two mayſters. God haue mercy vppon ſuche and open theyr eyes with his eye ſalue, that they may ſee, that they which take no part with God, are agaynſt God, and that they whiche gather not wyth Chriſt, doe ſcatter abroade. Oh that they woulde read what S. Iohn ſayth, will be done to the fearefull. The counſayle geuen to the Churche of Laodicea, is good counſaile for ſuche.

But to returne to you agayne (dearely beloued) be not yee aſhamed of Gods Goſpell, It is the power of God to ſaluation, to all thoſe that doe beleue it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God ſhal make you able, knowyng for certayne, that he will neuer tempt you farther then hee will make you able to beare: and thinke it no ſmall grace of God to ſuffer perſecution for Gods truth, for the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you, and ye are happie, as one day yee ſhall ſee. Read 2. Theſſ. 1. Heb. 12. As the fire hurteth not gold but maketh it finer, ſo ſhall yee be more pure by ſuffering with Chriſt. 1. Pet 1. The flayle and wind hurteth not the wheat, but clenſeth it frō the chaffe. And ye dearly beloued are Gods wheate: feare not therefore the flayle, feare not the fanning winde, feare not the milſtone, feare not the ouen, for all theſe make you more meete for the Lordes owne toothe. Sope, though it be blacke, ſoyleth not the clothe, but rather at the length maketh it more cleane: ſo doth the blacke Croſſe helpe vs to more whitenes, if God ſtrike with his battledore. Becauſe ye are Gods ſheepe, prepare your ſelues to the ſlaughter, alwayes knowing that in the ſight of the Lord, our death ſhall be precious. The ſoules vnder the aulter looke for vs to fil vp their number: happy are we if God haue ſo appoynted vs. How ſoeuer it be (dearely beloued) caſt your ſelues wholly vpon the Lord with whome all the heares of your heades are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we nill we, we muſt drinke Gods cuppe, if he haue appoynted it for vs. Drinke it willingly then, and at the firſt when it is full, leaſt peraduenture if we linger, we ſhall drinke at the length of the dregges with the wicked, if at the beginning we drinke not with his children: for with thē his iudgement beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Syon, then will he viſite the nations round about.

2. Timothy. 1.
Romans. 1.

1. Corinth. 10.
Philip. 1.
1. Peter. 3.
Math. 5.

Perſecution compared to the flayle which hurteth not but clenſeth the wheat.

Romans. 8.
1. Peter. 5.
Mathew. 10.

Pſalme 75.
1. Pet. 4.

Submit your ſelues therefore vnder the mighty hande of the Lorde. No man ſhall touche you without his knowledge. When they touch you therfore, know it is your weale. God therby will worke to make you like vnto Chriſt here, that yee may be alſo like vnto him els where. Acknowledge your vnthankfulnes and ſinne, and bleſſe God that correcteth you in the world, becauſe ye ſhall not be damned with the world. Otherwiſe might he correct vs, then in making vs to ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake: but this he doth becauſe we are not of the world. Call vppon his name through Chriſt for his helpe, as hee commaundeth vs. Beleeue that he is mercifull to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliuer him, ſayth hee. Knowe that God hath appoynted boundes ouer the whiche the Deuill, and all the worlde ſhall not paſſe. If all thinges ſeeme to be agaynſt you, yet ſay with Iob: If he will kill me, I will hope in hym. Read the 91. Pſalme, and pray for me your poore brother, and fellow ſufferer for Gods Goſpelles ſake: his name therefore be prayſed, and of his mercy he make me & you worthy to ſuffer with good conſcience, for his names ſake. Die once we muſt, and when we knowe not: happy are they whome God geueth to pay Natures debte: I meane to dye for his ſake.

1. Peter. 5.
Romans. 8.

1. Cor. 11.

Pſalme. 50.
Pſalme. 21.

Here is not our home, therefore let vs accordingly conſider thinges, alwayes hauing before our eyes the heauenly Ieruſalem Heb. 12. Apoc. 21 22 the way thether to be by perſecutions: the deare frendes of God, howe they haue gone it after the example of our Sauioure Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe footeſteppes let vs followe euen to the gallowes, if God ſo will, not doubting but that as he within three dayes roſe agayne immortall: euen ſo wee ſhall doe in our tyme: that is, when the trumpe ſhall blow, and the Angell ſhall ſhoote, and the ſonne of man ſhall appeare in the cloudes, with innumerable ſainctes and Aungels in maieſtie and greate glory: then ſhall the dead ariſe, and we ſhall be caught vp into the cloudes to meete the Lorde, and ſo be alwayes with hym. Comfort your ſelues with theſe wordes, and praye for me for Gods ſake. E carcere. 19. Nouemb. 1553.

Happy is that death which ſeeing once it muſt needes be payd, is beſtowed vpon the Lord.

John Bradford.

✻ To ſir Iames Hales Knight, then priſoner in the Counter in Bredſtreate.

The God of mercy and father of all comfort, plentifully poure out vpon you and in you his mercye, and wyth his conſolations comforte and ſtrengthen you to the end, for his and our Chriſtes ſake, Amen.

Although, right worſhipfull ſir, many cauſes myght moue me to be content, with crying for you to your God and my God, that he woulde geue you grace to perſeuere well, as he hath right notably begunne to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all ſuche as feare him, as lacke of learning, of familiaritie, yea, acquayntance (for I think I am vnknowen to you, both by face and name) and other ſuch like thinges: yet I cannot content my ſelfe, but preſuming ſomething to ſcribile vnto you, not that I thynke my ſcribling can do you good, but that I might declare my συμπαθείαν and compaſſion, loue, and effection I beare towardes your maiſterſhip, which is contented, yea deſi-

Another letter of M. Bradford to Syr Iames Hales Knight.

How God gleaneth out his people.

The worlde, people, and wordly wiſedome are euill iudges of things ſpirituall.

Heb. 12.

Prayſe of the Croſſe.

rons with vs poore miſers, and to confeſſe Chriſtes Goſpell, in theſe perilous times and dayes of tryall. Oh Lord God how good art thou, which doeſt thus gleane out grapes, I meane children for thy ſelf, and brethren for Chriſt: Looke good M. Hales on your vocation: not many Iudges, not many knightes, not myny landed men, not many riche men: and wealthye to liue as you are, hath God choſen to ſuffer for his ſake, as hee hath nowe done you. Certainely I dare ſay you thinke not ſo of your ſelfe, as though God were bound to preſerue you, or had neede of you: but rather attribute this, as all good thinges, vnto his free mercy in Chriſt. Agayne, I dare ſay, that you being a wiſe man, doe iudge of thinges wiſely, that is, concerning this your Croſſe, you iudge of it not after yͤ world and people, which is magnus erroris magiſter, nor after the iudgement of reaſon and worldly wiſedome, which is fooliſhneſſe to faythe, nor after the preſent ſenſe, to the which non videtur gaudij ſed moleſtiæ, i. it ſeemeth not to bee ioyous but greeuous, as Paule writeth: but after the worde of God, which teacheth youre Croſſe to be, in reſpecte of your ſelfe betweene God and you, Gods chaſtiſing and your fathers correction, nurture, ſchoole, tryall, patheway to heauen, glory and felicitie, and the furnace to cōſume the droſſe, and mortify the relikes of old Adam whiche yet remayne, yea euen the framehouſe to faſhyon you like to the deareſt ſayntes of God here, yea Chriſt to the Sonne of GOD, that elſwhere you might be like vnto him.

The Croſſe maketh vs witneſſes to God, wherein and in what thinges.

1. Cor. 4.

Subſcribing to K. Edwardes will.

Pſalm. 119.

Aba. 2.
Pſalm. 30.

Eſay. 26.

Eſay. 26.

Now, concerning your croſſe in reſpecte of the worlde betweene the world and you, Gods word teacheth it to be a teſtimonial of Gods truth, of hys prouidence, of his power, of his iuſtice, of his wiſedome, of his anger agaynſt ſinne, of his goodnes, of his iudgement, of your faith and religion: ſo that by it you are to the world, a witnes of god one of his teſtes that hee is true, he ruleth all thinges, hee is iuſte, wiſe, and at the length will iudge the worlde, and caſt the wicked into perdition, but the godly he wil take & receiue into his eternall habitation. I know you iudge of thinges after faythes ſetche, and the effectes or endes of thinges, and ſo you ſee æternum pondus gloriæ. i. An eter- weight of glorye, whiche this Croſſe ſhall bryng vnto you dum non ſpectas ea quæ videntur, ſed ea quæ non videntur. i. while you looke not on thinges which are ſeene, but on the thinges which are not ſeene. Let the worldlinges way thinges, and looke vpon the affayres of men with theyr worldly and corporall eyes, as did many in ſubſcription of the kinges laſt will, and therefore they did that, for the whiche, they beſhrewed themſelues: but let vs looke on thinges with other maner of eyes, as God be prayſed you did, in not doyng that which you were deſired, and driuē at to haue done. You then beholde thinges not as a man, but as a man of God, and ſo you do now in Religion, at yͤ leaſt hetherto you haue done, and that you might do ſo ſtil, I humbly beſeeche and pray you, ſay with Dauid: Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum, quando conſolaberis me? i. Myne eyes fayle for thy word, ſaying: when wilt thou cōfort me? Though you be as vter in fumo. i. like a bottell in the ſmoke: (for I heare you want health) yet ne obliuiſcaris iuſtificationes Dei. i. Do not forget the ſtatutes of yͤ Lord: but cry out, quot ſunt dies ſerui tui? quando facies de perſequētibus me iudicium? i. Howe many are the dayes of thy ſeruaunt? when wilt thou execute iudgement on them that perſecute me? And bee certayne quòd Dominus veniens veniet & non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum. i. The Lord will ſurely come, and not ſtay: though he tary, wayt for him: for he is but ad momentum in ira ſua, & vita in voluntate eius, Ad veſperam demorabitur fletus, & ad matutinum lætitia. i. He is but a while in his anger, but in his fauour is life, weepyng may abide at euening, but ioye commeth in yͤ morning, Follow therfore Eſayes counſayl: Abſcondere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertranſeat indignatio eius, i. Hide thy ſelfe for a very little while, vntil the indignation paſſe ouer, which is not indignatio in deede, but to our ſenſe, and therfore in the 26. chapiter of Eſay God ſaith of his Churche and people, that as hee keepeth night and day, ſo non eſt indignatio mihi. i. There is no anger in me, (ſayth he.)

Gods loue in our corrections.

Eſay. 49.

Pſalm.

Pſalm.

Pſalm.

Pſalm.

Eſay. 40.

The mother ſometime beateth the childe, but yet her hart melteth vppon it euen in the very beating, and therefore ſhe caſteth the rodde into the fire, and culleth the child geueth it an apple, and dandleth it moſt motherly. And to ſay the trueth, the loue of mothers to their children is but a trace to trayne vs to beholde the loue of God towardes vs, and therefore ſayth he: can a mother forget the chylde of her wombe? As who ſay, no: but if ſhe ſhould ſo do, yet will not I forget thee, ſayth the Lorde of hoſtes. Ah comfortable ſaying: I will not forget thee, ſayth the Lord. In deede the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry: Ne abſcondas faciem tuam à me. &c. i. Hide not thy face from me. &c. Ne derelinquas me Domine. &c. i. Leaue me not O Lorde. &c. whereas in very trueth it is not ſo but to their preſent ſenſe, and therefore Dauid ſayd: Ego dixi in exceſſu meo, proiectus ſum à facie tua. i. I ſayd in my agony, I was cleane caſt away from thy face. But was it ſo? Naye verely. Reade his Pſalme and you ſhall ſee. So writeth he alſo in other places very often, eſpecially in the perſon of Chriſt, as when he ſayth: Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquiſti me. i. My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? he ſayth not, vt quid derelinquis? i. why doeſt thou forſake me? or, derelinques? i. Why wilt thou forſake me? but, vt quid dereliquiſti? why haſt thou forſaken me? where in deede God had not lefte hym but that it was ſo to hys ſenſe, & that thys Pſalme telleth full well: which Pſalme I pray you now and then reade, it is the 22. and thereto ioyne the 30. and the 116. with diuers other. The ſame we read in the Prophet Eſay in his 40. chapiter, where hee reproueth Iſraell for ſaying, God had forgotten them. Nunquid neſcis (ſayth hee?) i. Knoweſt thou not? An non audiuiſti? &c. i. Haſt thou not heard? &c. Qui ſperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinē. i. They that truſt in the Lord ſhall renue theyr ſtrength. And in his 54. chapiter: Noli timere. &c. Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te & in miſerationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis obſcondi faciem meam parumper â te, & in miſerecordia ſempiterna miſertus ſum tui, dixit redemptor tuus dominus. Nam iſtud erit mihi ſicut aquæ Noe. Vt enim iuraui ne porro aquæ Noe pertranſirent terram, ſic iuraui vt non iraſcar tibi & non increpem te. Montes enim comouebuntur & colles contremiſcent, miſerecordia autem mea non recedet à te, & fœdus pacis meæ non mouebitur, dixit miſerator tuus Dominus. i. Feare not. &c. For a little while I haue forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hyd my face from thee, for a little ſeaſon: but in euerlaſtyng mercy haue I had compaſſion on thee, ſayth the Lorde thy redeemer. For this is vnto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I haue ſworne that the waters of Noe ſhould no more goe ouer the earth, ſo haue I ſworne that I would not be angry wͭ thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountaynes ſhal remoue, and hilles ſhall fall downe, but my mercye ſhall not departe from thee, neyther ſhall the couenaunte of my peace fall awaye, ſayth the Lorde, that hath compaſſion on thee.

Math. 2.

1. Cor.
Pſalm.

But the ſcriptures are full of ſuche ſweete places to them that will portare iram domini & expectare ſalutem & auxilium eius. i. Beare the wrathe of the Lorde, and wayt for his health and helpe. As of all temptations this is the greateſt, that God hathe forgotten, or will not helpe vs through the pykes, as they ſay: ſo of all ſeruices of God, this liketh hym yͤ beſt, to hope aſſuredly on him & for hys helpe alwayes, whiche is adiutor in tribulationibus. i. An helper in tribulations, and doth more gloriouſly ſhew his power by ſuche as be weake, and feele themſelues ſo. For quo infirmiores ſumus, eo ſumus in illo robuſtiores. Sic oculi domini. i. The weaker we are, the more ſtronge we are in hym. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and feare. Voluntatem eorum faciet: i. hee will accompliſhe their deſire: he is with them in their trouble, hee will deliuer them. Antequam clamauerint exaudit eos. i. before they cry, he heareth them, as all the ſcriptures teach vs. To the reading whereof and hartye prayer, I hartily commend you, beſeechyng almighty God, that of his eternall mercies hee woulde make perfecte the good hee hathe begunne in you, and ſtrengthen you to the ende, that you might haue no leſſe hope, but much more, of hys helpe to your comforte nowe agaynſt your enemies, then already he hathe geuen you agaynſt. N. for not ſubſcrybing to the kinges will.

Be certayne, be certayne good M. Hales, that all the heares of your head your deare father hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhall not peariſhe: your name is written in the booke of lyfe. Therefore vpon God caſt all your care, whiche will comforte you with his eternall conſolations, and make you able to goe through the fire (if neede bee) whiche is nothing to be compared to the fire where into our enemies ſhall fall and lye for euer: from the whiche the Lorde deliuer vs, though it be through temporall fire, which muſt be conſtrued according to the ende and profite that commeth after it: ſo ſhall it then not muche feare vs to ſuffer it for our mayſter Chriſtes cauſe, the whiche the Lord graunt for his mercies ſake. Amen. From the kings Bench.

Your humble Iohn Bradford.

❧ To my very friend in the Lord Doctor Hyll Phiſition.

Anno 1555.

THe God of mercy and father of all comforte, at this preſent and for euer engraffe in your harte the ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt, and for the continuaunce of hys conſolation, whiche cannot but enable you to carrye wyth ioye, whatſoeuer croſſe he ſhall lay vpon you, Amen.

Hetherto I coulde haue no ſuche libertye as to wryte vnto you, as I thynke you knowe: but nowe in that throughe Gods prouidence I haue no ſuche reſtraynte, I cannot but ſomthing write, as well to purge me of this ſuſpicion of vnthankfulnes towardes you, as alſo to ſignifie my carefulnes for you in theſe perilous dayes, leaſt you ſhould waxe colde in Gods cauſe (whiche God forbid) or ſuffer the light of the Lord once kindled in your harte, to be quenched, and ſo become as you were before, after the example of the worlde and of many othere, whiche woulde haue bene accompted otherwiſe in our dayes, and yet ſtill beguile themſelues, ſtill would be ſo accompted, although by their outward lyfe they declare the contrary, in that they thinke it inough to keepe the harte pure, notwythſtandynge that the outward man doth curry fauour.

In whiche doyng, as they deny God to be ielous, and therefore requireth, the whole man as well body as ſoule, being bothe create, as to immortalitie and ſocietye wyth hym, ſo redeemed by the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, and now ſanctified by the holy ſpirite to be the temple of GOD, and member of hys ſonne, as (I ſay) by their parting ſtake to geue God the harte, and the world the body, they deny God to be ielous (for els they woulde geue hym both, as the wyfe would doe to her huſband whether he be ielous or noe, if ſhee bee honeſt,) ſo they playe the diſſemblers with the Churche of GOD by theyr facte, offendyng the godlye, whome eyther they prouoke to fall wyth them, or make more careleſſe and conſcienceleſſe if they be fallen, and occaſionyng the wicked and obſtinate to tryumphe againſt God, and the more vehemently to proſecute theyr malyce agaynſt ſuche as will not defile themſelues in bodye or ſoule with the Romyſhe ragges now reuiued amongeſt vs. Becauſe of thys, I meane leaſt you my deare Mayſter and brother in the Lorde, ſhoulde doe as many of our Goſpellers doe for feare of man, whoſe breathe is in hys noſtrels, and hathe power but of the body, not fearyng the Lord which hath power both of ſoule and body, and that not onely temporallye, but alſo eternally: I could not but write ſomething vnto you, aſwell becauſe duety deſerueth it (for many benefites I haue receiued of God by your handes, for the whiche hee rewarde you, for I cannot, as alſo becauſe charitie and loue compelleth me: not that I thinke you haue anye neede (for as I may rather learne of you, ſo I doubt not but you haue hetherto kept your ſelfe vpright from haltyng) but that I might both quyet my conſcience callyng vppon me hereabout, and ſignifie vnto you by ſome thynge my carefulnes for your ſoule, as payneful and often you haue done for my body.

Therefore I praye you call to minde that there bee but two mayſters, two kindes of people, two wayes, and two manſion places. The mayſters by Chriſte and Satan: the people be ſeruitures to eyther of theſe, the wayes be ſtrayte and wyde: the manſions be Heauen and Hell, Agayne, conſider that thys worlde is the place of tryall of Gods people and the deuils ſeruauntes: for as the one will follow hys mayſter what ſoeuer commeth of it, ſo will the other. For a tyme it is hard to diſcerne who pertayneth to God and who to the Deuill: as in the calme and peace, who is a good ſhipman and warriour, and who is not. But as when the ſtorme aryſeth, the expert mariner is knowne, and as in warre the good ſouldiour is ſeene, ſo in affliction and the Croſſe, eaſily Gods children are knowne from Sathans ſeruaunntes: for then as the good ſeruaunt will followe his mayſter, ſo will the godly followe theyr captayne, come what come will, where as the wicked and hipocrites will bid adewe, and deſire leſſe of Chryſtes acquayntaunce. For whiche cauſe the Croſſe is called a probation and tryall, becauſe it tryeth who will goe wyth God and who will forſake hym. And nowe in Englande wee ſee howe ſmall a companye Chriſte hath in comparriſon of Sathans Souldioures. Let no manne deceiue hymſelfe, for hee that gathereth not wyth Chryſte, ſcattereth abroade. No man canne ſerue two mayſters: the Lorde abhorreth double heartes: the luke warme, that is, ſuch as are both hote and colde, hee ſpitteth out of hys mouthe. None that halte on bothe knees doth GOD take for hys ſeruauntes. The way of Chryſte is the ſtrayte waye, and ſo ſtraite, that as a few finde it and few walke in it, ſo no man can halte in it but muſt needs goe vpright: for as the ſtraytnes will ſuffer no reeling to this ſide or that ſide: ſo if anye man halte, he is lyke to fall of the bridge into the pit of eternall perdition.

Striue therefore good mayſter Doctour, nowe you haue founde it, to enter into it: and if you ſhoulde be called or pulled backe, looke not on this ſide or that ſide, or behynde you as Lots wyfe did: but ſtrait forwardes on the end which is ſet before you (though it bee to come) as euen nowe preſent: lyke as you doe and will your pacientes to doe in purgations and other your miniſtrations, to conſider the effecte that will enſue, where through the bitterneſſe and lothſomneſſe of the purgation is ſo ouercome, and the paynefulnes in abiding the woorkyng of that is minyſtred, is ſo eaſed, that it maketh the pacient willyngly and ioyfullye to receaue that is to be receiued, althoughe it be neuer ſo vnpleaſaunt: ſo (I ſaye) ſette before you the ende of thys ſtrayte waye, and then doubtleſſe, as Paule ſayth, æternum pondus gloriæ pariet. i. It ſhall bryng with it an eternall weight of glory, whileſt we looke not on the thinge whiche is ſeene, for that is temporall, but on the thynge whiche is not ſeene, whiche is eternall. So dothe the huſbandman in plowing and tillyng, ſet before hym the harueſt tyme: ſo doth the fiſher conſider the draught of hys nette, rather then the caſtyng in: ſo dothe the Marchaunt the returne of hys marchaundiſe: and ſo ſhoulde we in theſe ſtormye dayes ſet before vs not the loſſe of our goodes, libertye and verye lyfe, but the reapyng tyme, the commyng of oure Saufoure Chriſt to iudgement, the fire that ſhall burne the wicked and diſobedient to GODS Goſpell, the blaſte of the Trumpe, the exceeding glory prepared for vs in heauen eternally, ſuch as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man can conceaue. The more we loſe here, the greater ioye ſhall we haue there. The more we ſuffer, the greater triumphe. For corruptible droſſe, wee ſhall finde incorruptible treaſures: for golde, glorye: for ſiluer, ſolace without ende: for riches, robes royall: for earthly houſes, eternall pallaces: myrthe without meaſure, pleaſure without payne, felicitie endles: Summa we ſhall haue God the father, the ſonne and the holye Ghoſt.

A wiſe man will euer conſider the ende.

The glorious recompence of ſuch as ſuffer for the Lord.

Oh happye place, oh that thys daye woulde come. Then ſhall the ende of the wicked be lamentable, then ſhall they receaue the iuſt rewarde of Gods vengeaunce, then ſhall they crye woe, woe, that euer they dyd as they haue done. Reade Sapien. 2. 3. 4. 5. Read Mathew. 25. Read 1 Corinthians 15. 2. Corrinthians 5. and by faythe (which GOD increaſe in vs) conſider the thing there ſette foorthe. And for youre comforte, reade Hebrewes 11. to ſee what fayth hath done, alwayes conſideryng the way to heauen to be by many trybulations, and that all they which wyll lyue godlye in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution. You knowe thys is oure Alphabet: He that will be my Diſciple, ſayth Chryſt muſt denye himſelfe, and take vp hys Croſſe and followe me not thys Byſhop, nor that Doctour, not this Emperoure, nor that Kynge, but me, ſayth Chriſt: For he that loueth father, mother, wyfe, children, or very life bettter then me, is not worthye of me. Remember that the ſame Lorde ſaythe: Hee that will ſaue hys lyfe ſhall loſe it. Comforte your ſelfe with thys, that as the Deuils had no power ouer the Porkets or ouer Iobs goodes without Gods leaue, ſo ſhall they haue man ouer you. Remember alſo that all the heares of your head are numbred with God. The Deuill may make one beleeue he will drowne hym, as the Sea in hys ſurges threatneth to the land: but as the Lorde hath appoynted boundes for the one, ouer the whiche hee can not paſſe: ſo hath he done for the other.

The way to heauen is by tribulations.

Math. 8.

On God therefore caſt your care, loue hym, ſerue hym after hys worde, feare hym, truſt in hym, hope at hys hand for all helpe, and alwayes praye, lookyng for the Croſſe, and whenſoeuer it commeth, be aſſured the Lorde, as he is faythfull, ſo he will neuer tempte you further then hee will make you able, to beare, but in the middeſt of the temptation will make ſuche an euaſion, as ſhall be moſt to his glorye, and your eternall comforte. GOD for hys mercye in Chriſte with hys holye ſpirite endue you, comfort you, vnder the winges of hys mercye ſhadowe you, and as hys deare childe gyyde you for euermore. To whoſe mercfull tuition, as I doe with my harty prayer commit you: ſo I doubt not but you pray for me alſo, & ſo I beſeech you to doe ſtill. My brother P. telleth me you woulde haue the laſt part of S. Hieromes woorkes, to haue the vſe thereof for a fortenight. I cannot for theſe three dayes well forbeare it, but yet on Thurſday next I will ſend it you if God let me not, and vſe me and that I haue, as your owne. The LORD for hys mercye in Chryſte directe our wayes to hys glorye.

Out of priſon by yours to commaund Iohn Bradford.

¶ To Miſtres M. H a godly gentlewoman, comfortyng her in that common heauineſſe and godly ſorrowe which the feelyng and ſenſe of ſinne worketh in Gods children.

I Humbly and hartily praye the euerlaſting good God and

An other ghoſtly letter of M. Bradford to Miſtres M. H.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

and Father of mercy, to bleſſe and keepe your harte and minde in the knowledge and loue of his truthe, and of his Chriſt, through the inſpiration and working of the holye ſpirite, Amen.

Although I haue no doubt, but that you proſper and goe forwardes dayly in the way of godlineſſe, more and more drawing towardes perfection, and haue no neede of anye thinge that I can write, yet becauſe my deſire is that you might be more feruent and perſeuer to the ende, I coulde not but write ſomething vnto you, beſeechinge you both often and diligently to call vnto your minde, as a meane to ſtirre you hereunto, yea as a thing which God moſt ſtraitly requireth you to beleeue, that you are beloued of God, and that he is your deare father, in, through, and for Chriſt and his deathes ſake. This loue and tender kindnes of God towardes vs in Chriſte, is aboundantly herein declared, and that he hath to yͤ Godly worke of creation of this world, made vs after his image, redeemed vs being loſt, called vs into his Churche, ſealed vs with his marke and ſigne manuell of Baptiſme, kept and conſerued vs all the dayes of our lyfe, fed, nouriſhed, defended and moſt fatherly chaſtiſed vs, and now hath kindled in our hartes the ſparcles of his feare, fayth, loue, and knowledge of his Chriſt and truthe, and therefore wee lament becauſe we lament no more our vnthankfulnes, our fraylnes, our diffidence and wauering in thinges, wherein we ſhould be moſt certayne.

Gods benefites to be declared.

All theſe thinges wee ſhoulde vſe as meanes to confirme our fayth of this, that God is our God and father & to aſſure vs that he loueth vs as our father in Chriſt: to this end (I ſay) we ſhould vſe the thinges before touched eſpecially in that of all thinges GOD requireth thys faythe and fatherly perſwaſion of his fatherly goodneſſe, as his chiefeſt ſeruice. For before he aſke anye thing of vs, he ſayth: I am the Lorde thy God, geuing himſelfe, and then all he hath to vs to be our owne. And this he doth in reſpect of himſelfe, of his owne mercy and and truthe, and not in reſpect of vs, for then were grace no grace. In conſideration whereof, when he ſayth: Thou ſhalt haue none other Gods but me, thou ſhalt loue me with all thy harte. &c. though of duetie we are bound to accompliſhe all that he requireth, and are culpable and giltie, if we doe not the ſame, yet he requireth not theſe thinges further of vs, then to make vs more in loue and more certayne of this his couenaunt, that he is our Lord and GOD. In certayntye wherof, as he hath geuē this whole world to ſerue to our neede and commoditie: ſo hath he geuen his ſonne Chryſt Ieſus, and in Chriſte, hymſelfe to be a pledge and gage: wherof the holy Ghoſt doth now and then geue vs ſome taſte and ſweete ſmell to our our eternall ioy.

The chiefeſt ſeruice of God is to thinke well of his fatherly goodnes in Chriſt.

Therefore (as I ſayde) becauſe God is your father in Chriſt, and requireth of you ſtraitly to beleue it, geue your ſelfe to obedience, although you doe it not with ſuche feelyng as you deſire. Firſt muſt faithe goe before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frayltie, and many euils ſhoulde be occaſions whereby Sathan woulde haue vs to doubte, as muche as we canne, let vs abhorre that ſuggeſtion, as of all others moſt pernicious: for ſo in deede it is. For when we ſtande in a doubte, whether God be oure Father, we cannot be thankefull to God, we can not hartily pray or thinke anye thyng wee doe acceptable to God, we can not loue our neighboures and geue ouer our ſelues to care for them, and doe for them as we ſhould do, and therefore Sathan is moſt ſubtile hereaboutes, knowing full well that if we doubt of Gods eternal mercies towardes vs through Chriſt, we cannot pleaſe God, or do any thing as we ſhould do to man. Continually caſteth he into our memories our imperfectiō, frayltie, falles and offences, that we ſhould doubte of Gods mercie, and fauour towardes vs.

Where feeling fayleth: yet obedience is required.

Let no ſuggeſtion make vs doubte of Gods fauour in Chriſt.

Therefore my good ſiſter, wee muſt not be ſluggiſhe herein, but as Sathan laboureth to looſen our faythe: ſo muſt we labour to faſten it by thinking on the promyſes and couenaunce of God in Chriſtes bloude, namely that God is our God with all that euer hee hath: whiche couenaunte dependeth and hangeth vppon Gods own goodnes, mercy and trueth onely, and not on our obedience or worthines in any poynt, for then ſhould we neuer be certayne. In deede God requireth of vs obedience and worthines, but not that thereby we might be his children and he our father, but becauſe he is our father and we his children through his owne goodnes in Chriſte, therefore requireth he fayth and obedience. Now if we want this obedience & worthines which he requireth, ſhuld we doubt whether he be our father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthines the cauſe, and ſo to put Chriſt out of place, for whoſe ſake God is our father: But rather becauſe he is our father, and we feel our ſelues to want ſuch things as he requireth, we ſhuld be ſtyrred vp to a ſhamefaſtnes and bluſhing, becauſe we are not as we ſhould be: and thereupon ſhould we take occaſion to go to our father in prayer on this maner:

To ſtay vpon Gods promiſe to chriſts bloud.

Obedience geueth not to vs to be Gods children. but Gods children geueth obedience.

Deare father, thou of thyne owne mercye in Ieſus Chryſt haſt choſen me to be thy childe, and therefore thou wouldeſt I ſhould be brought into thy Churche and faythfull companye of thy children: wherein thou haſt kept me hetherto, thy name therfore be prayſed. Now I ſee my ſelf to want fayth, hope, loue. &c. whiche thy children haue and thou requireſt of me, wherthrough the deuill would haue me to doubt, yea vtterly to diſpayre of thy fatherly goodnes, fauour and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my mercifull father through thy deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and pray thee to helpe me good Lorde: helpe me, and geue me fayth hope, loue, &c. and graunt that thy holy ſpirite may be with me for euer, and more and more to aſſure me that thou art my father: that this mercifull couenaunt that thou madeſt with me in reſpect of thy grace in Chriſt, and for Chriſt and not in reſpecte of any my worthines, is alwayes to me. &c.

How a ma should p whē feeli of Gods comfort lacketh.

On this ſort (I ſay) you muſt pray and vſe your cogitations, when Satan would haue you to doubte of ſaluation. He doth all he can to preuayle herein. Do you al you can to preuayle herein agaynſt hym. Though you feel not as you wold, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did. For alwayes (as I ſayd) goeth fayth before feelyng. As certayne as God is almighty, as certayne as God is mercifull, as certayne as God is true, as certayn as Ieſus Chriſte was crucified, is riſen, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father, as certayne as this is GODS commaundement: I am the Lord thy God. &c. ſo certayne ought you to be that God is your father. As you are boūd to haue no other Gods but hym, ſo are ye no leſſe bound to beleue that God is your God. what profite ſhoulde it be to you to beleue this to be true: I am the Lord thy God, to others, if you ſhoulde not beleue that this is true to youre ſelfe? The deuill beleeueth on this ſorte. And whatſoeuer it be that woulde moue you to doubte of this, whether God be your God through Chriſt, that ſame cōmeth vndoubtedly of the deuill. wherefore did God make you, but becauſe he loued you? Might not he haue made you blind dumbe, deafe, lame, frantike. &c. Might not hee haue made you a Iew, a Turke, a Papiſt. &c? And why hath hee not done ſo? verily becauſe hee loued youe? And why dyd hee loue you? what was ther in you to moue him to loue you? Surely nothing moued him to loue you, and therefore to make you, and ſo hitherto to keep you, but his own goodnes in Chriſt. Nowe then in that his goodnes in Chryſte ſtill remayneth as much as it was, that is, euen as great as hymſelf, for it cannot be leſſoned: how ſhuld it be but yͭ he is your God and father? Beleue this, beleeue this, my good ſiſter, for God is no chaungeling: them whome hee loueth, he loueth to the end.

Hope beyond hope. Faith go before feeling.

Doubting commeth of the deuill.

Eccle.1.

Caſt therefore your ſelfe wholly vpon him, and think without all wauering, that you are Gods child, that you are a citizen of heauen, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the holy Ghoſt. &c. If hereof you be aſſured as you ought to be, then ſhall your conſcience be quieted, then ſhall you lament more & more that you want manye thinges which God loueth: then ſhal you labour to be holy in ſoule and bodye: then ſhall you go about that Gods glory may ſhyne in all your wordes and works: then ſhal you not be afrayd what man can doe vnto you: then ſhall you haue ſuch wiſedome to anſwere your aduerſaries, as ſhall ſerue to their ſhame, and your comfort: then ſhal you be certayn yͭ no man can touch one heare of your head further then ſhall pleaſe your good father, to your euerlaſting ioye: then ſhall you be moſte certayne, that God as youre good father, will be more carefull for your Children, and make better prouiſion for them, if all you haue were gone then you can: then ſhall you (being aſſured I ſay of gods fauour towardes you) geue ouer your ſelfe wholy to help and care for others that be in neede: then ſhall you contemne this life, and deſire to be at home with youre good and ſweete father, then ſhall you laboure to mortifie all thinges that would ſpot eyther ſoule or bodye. All theſe thinges ſpryng out of thys certaine perſwaſion and faith, that God is our father, and we are his children by Chriſt Ieſus. All thinges ſhould help our fayth herein: but Sathan goeth about in all thinges to hinder vs.

Fayth & aſſured hope of Gods fauour, is the fountayne of all well doing.

Therefore let vs vſe earneſt and hartye prayer: let vs often remember thys couenaunt: I am the Lord thy God: let vs looke vpon Chriſt and hys precious bloud ſhed for the obſignation and confirmation of his couenaunt: let vs remember all the free promiſes of the Goſpell: let vs ſet before vs Gods benefites generally in making this worlde, in ruling it, in gouerning it, in callyng and keepyng hys Churche. &c. let vs ſet before vs Gods benefites particularly, howe hee hath made his creatures after his image, how

Conſideration of Gods promiſes and benefites.

Anno 1555. July.

how hee made vs of perfecte lymmes, forme, beautye, memory, &c. how he hath made vs as Chriſtians, and geuen vs a right iudgement in his religion: how he hath euer ſithen we were borne, bleſſed, kept, nouriſhed, and defended vs: how he hath often beaten, chaſtiſed, and fatherly corrected vs: how he hath ſpared vs & doth now ſpare vs, geuing vs tyme, ſpace, place, grace. This if you doe & vſe earneſt prayer, and ſo flee from al things which might wound your conſcience, geuing your ſelfe to dilligence in your vocation, you ſhall finde at the length that (whiche God graunt to me with you) a ſure certayntie of ſaluation, without all ſuche doubte as may trouble the peace of conſcience, to your eternall ioye, and comforte. Amen. Amen.

Yours to vſe in Chriſt, Iohn Bradford.

¶ An other letter full of Godly comfort, written to the ſame perſon.

Another like letter of comfort to M. H.

THe good ſpirite of God whiche guideth hys children, be with you my good ſiſter in the Lorde, for euer. Amen.

Although, as I to you, ſo you vnto me in perſon are vnknowen, yet to hym whome we deſire to pleaſe, wee are not onelye in perſons, but alſo in hartes knowne and thorowly ſeene: and therefore as for hys ſake you woulde by that you ſent, of me bee perceiued how that in God you beare to me a good will: ſo, that I to you might be ſeene in God to beare you the lyke, I ſed to you theſe fewe wordes in writing, wiſhing that in all your doinges and ſpeache, yea euen in your very thoughtes, you woulde labour to feele that they are all preſent and open before the ſight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind and prayer made to God for the working of his ſpirite, therby, as a meane, you ſhall at the length feele more comforte and commoditie, then any man can knowe, but ſuch as be exerciſed therin. Howbeit, this is to be added, that in thinking youre ſelfe, & all that you haue and doe, to be in the ſight of God: this (I ſay) is to be added, that you thinke hys ſight is the ſight, not onely of a Lorde, but rather of a father, which tendereth more your infirmities, then you can tender the infirmities of any your Children. Yea when in your ſelf you ſee a motherly affection to your little one that is weake, let the ſame be vnto you a trace to trayn you to ſee the vnſpeakable kinde affection of God your father towardes you.

Conſideration of Gods tender affection to vs in Chriſt his ſonne.

And therfore vpon the conſideration of your infirmities and naturall euils, which continually cleaue vnto vs, take occaſion to goe to God, as your father through Chriſte, and before hys mercifull harte, laye open your infirmities and euilles, with deſire of pardon and helpe, after hys good will and pleaſure, but in hys time, and not when you will, and by what meanes he will, not by that waye you woulde: in the meane ſeaſon hange on hope of his fatherly goodnes, and ſurely you ſhall neuer be aſhamed. For if a woman that is naturall, cannot finally forget the Childe of her wombe, be ſure God whiche is a father ſupernaturall, cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea if a woman coulde be ſo forgetfull, yet God hymſelfe ſayth, he will not be ſo.

No tyme nor meanes to be preſcribed to God.

Esay.49.

This opinion, yea rather certayne perſwaſion of God our father through Chriſte, ſee that you cheriſhe and by all meanes, as well by dilligent conſideration of his benefites, as of his louing corrections, whether they be inward or outwarde, ſee that you nouriſhe: knowyng for certayne, that as the deuill goeth about nothing ſo muche as to bring you in a doubte whether yee be Gods childe, or no: ſo what ſoeuer ſhall moue you to admitte that dubitation, be aſſured the ſame to come from the Deuill. If you feele in your ſelfe not onely the want of good thinges, but alſo plentye of euill, do not therefore doubte whether you be Gods childe in Chriſt, or no.

The practiſe of the deuill to bring a man in doubt, whether he be Gods childe or no.

For if for your goodnes or ilneſſe ſake, which you feel or feele not, ye ſhould beleue or doubte, then ſhoulde you make Chriſte Ieſus for whoſe ſake onely God is your father, either nothyng, or els but halfe Chriſt.

We ought to meaſure Gods fauor neyther by our goodnes, nor ilnes, but onely by our fayth in Chriſt.

But rather take occaſion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in euill, to goe to God as to your father, and to praye to him, that in aſmuch as he commaundeth you to beleue that he is your God and father: ſo he would geue you his good ſpirite, that you might feele the ſame, and liue as hys childe, to hys glorye: and ceaſe not vpon ſuch prayers to look for comfort Gods good tyme, ſtill hoping the beſt, and reiecting all dubitation, and ſo all euill workes, words and cogitations, as the Lord ſhal enable you by hys good ſpirite and grace, which I beſeeche hym to geue vnto you, my good ſiſter, for euer. And further I pray you, that as hee hath made you to be an helper vnto your husband, ſo you would endeuour your ſelfe therein to ſhewe the ſame as well in ſoule as body: and begge grace of God, that your indeuour may be effectual to both your comfortes in Chriſt. Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

To my welbeloued in the Lord, VV. P.

A letter of M. Bradford to W.P.

GRace and peace from God the father, through our Lorde Ieſus Chryſte. Amen.

Deare brother, God moſt iuſtly hath caſt me downe into a dungeon, but much better then I deſerue: wherein I ſee no man but my keeper, nor can ſee any except they come to me. Som ething in the earth my lodgyng is: which as an example and memoriall of my earthly affections (which God I truſt will mortifie) and of my ſepulchre, whereunto I truſt my Lord God will bryng me in peace in hys good time. In the meane ſeaſon hee geue me pacience, liuely hope, and his good ſpirite. I pray you praye for me, for the prayer of the godly, if it be effectuall, worketh muche with God. I thanke God my common diſeaſe doth leſſe trouble me, then when I was abroad, which doth teache me the mercifull prouidence of God towardes me. Vſe true and harty prayer, and you ſhall perceiue GOD at length will declare himſelfe to ſee, where now many thinke he ſleepeth.

This diſeaſe was a rewme with a feblenes of ſtomacke, wherewith he was much troubled whiles he was at libertye.

Out of the Tower, by the Lordes
priſoner, Iohn Bradford.

A letter whiche he wrote to a faythfull woman in her heauines and trouble: moſt comfortable for all thoſe to read that are afflicted and broken harted for their ſinnes.

A letter of M. Bradford to a faythfull womã inwardly afflicted.

GOd oure good father for hys mercies ſake in Chriſte with his eternall conſolation ſo comforte you, as I deſire to be comforted of him in my moſte neede: Yea, he will comfort you, my deare ſiſter, onely caſte your care vppon hym, and he neuer can nor will forſake you. For his calling and giftes be ſuche, that he can neuer repente hym of them. Whome he loueth, he loueth to the end: none of his choſen can periſhe. Of whiche number I knowe you are my dearely beloued ſiſter: God increaſe the fayth thereof dayly more and more in you, hee geue vnto you to hange wholy on hym and on his prouidence and protection. For who ſo dwelleth vnder * that ſecret thing, and help of the Lord, he ſhall be cocke ſure for euermore. He that dwelleth I ſay: for if we be flitters and not dwellers: as was Loth a flitter from Segor, where God promiſed hym protection, if hee had dwelled there ſtill, wee ſhall remoue to oure loſſe, as he did into the mountaynes.

Romans.11.

* Gods prouidence and protection.

Pſalm.31.90.

Gene.19.

Dwell therefore, that is, truſte, and that finally vnto the ende, in the Lorde (my deare ſiſter) and you ſhalbe as Mount Syon. As Mountaynes compaſſe Ieruſalem: ſo dooth the Lorde all hys people. How then can hee forget you, whiche are as ỹ apple of hys eye, for his dear ſonnes ſake. Ah deare heart, that I were now but one half houre with you, to be a Symon to helpe to cary your croſſe with you. God ſende you ſome good Symon to bee with you, and helpe you.

You complayne in your letters of the blyndeneſſe of your minde, and the troubles you feele. My dearely beloued, God make you thankefull for that whiche God hathe geuen vnto you: he open your eyes to ſee what and howe great benefites you haue receiued, that you may be leſſe couetous, or rather impaciente, for ſo (I feare me) it ſhould be called, and more thankefull. Haue not you receiued at his handes, ſight to ſee your blindneſſe, and thereto a deſirous and ſeeking heart to ſee where he lyeth in the myddaye, as his deare Spouſe ſpeaketh of her ſelfe in the Canticles? Oh Ioyce, my good Ioyce, what a gifte is thys? Many haue ſome ſight, but none this ſobbing and ſighing none this ſeeking whiche you haue, I knowe, but ſuch as he hath marryed vnto hym in his mercies. You are not content to kiſſe hys feete with the Magdalen, but you would be kiſſed euen with the kiſſe of his mouthe. Cant.1. You would ſee his face with Moſes, forgetting how he biddeth vs ſeeke hys face, Pſalme.27. yea, and that for euer. pſalm 105. which ſignifieth no ſuch ſight as you deſire, to bee in this preſent life, which would ſee God nowe face to face, where as he cannot be ſeene, but couered vnder ſomething yea ſometyme in that whiche is (as you would ſay) cleane contrary to God: as to ſee his mercye in hys anger. In bringing vs to hell, fayth ſeethe hym bryng vs to heauen: in darkeneſſe it beholdeth brightneſſe: in hidyng hys face from vs, it beholdeth hys mery countenaunce. How dyd Iob ſee God, but as (you woulde ſaye) vnder Sathans clok? For who caſt the fire frõ heauen vpon hys goodes? who ouerthrow hys houſe, and ſtyrred vp men to take away his cattell, but Sathan? And yet Iob pearced through all theſe, and ſaw Gods worke ſaying: The Lorde hath geuen, the Lord hath taken away. &c.

God cannot be ſeene but couered vnder ſomething.

How faith ſeeth God, where fleſh ſeeth hell.

In reading of the Pſalmes, how often doe you ſee that Dauid in the ſhadowe of death, ſawe Gods ſweete loue? And ſo (my dearely beloued) I ſee that you in your darknes and dimneſſe, by fayth do ſee claritie and brightneſſe: by fayth (I ſay) becauſe fayth is of things abſent, of thinges hoped for, of thinges which I appeale to your conſcience, whether you deſire not. And can you deſire anye thinge

whiche

Anno. 1555. Iuly.

The ſtate of Gods children deſcribed.

Math. 5.

The way to heauen is to goe through hell.

which you know not? And is there of heauenly things any other true knowledge then by fayth?

Therefore, my deare hearte, be thankfull, for (before God I write it) you haue great cauſe. Ah my Ioyce, how happy is the ſtate wherein you are? Verily you are euen in the bleſſed ſtate of Gods children: for they mourne, and doe not you ſo? And that not for worldly weale, but for ſpirituall riches, fayth, hope, charitie. &c. Do you not hunger and thirſt for righteouſnes? And I pray you ſayth not Chriſt, who cannot lye, that happy are ſuche? How ſhuld God wipe away the teares from your eyes in heauen, if now on earth ye ſhed no teares? How coulde heauen be a place of reſt, if on earth you did finde it? Howe coulde you deſire to be at home, if in your iourney ye found no griefe? How could you ſo often call vppon God, and talke wyth him, as I knowe you doe, if your enemy ſhould ſleepe all day long? How ſhoulde you elſwhere bee made like vnto Chriſt, I meane in ioye, if in ſorrow you ſobbed not with him? If you will haue ioy & felicitie, you muſt firſt needes feele ſorrow and miſerye. If you will goe to heauen, you muſt ſayle by hell. If you will embrace Chriſt in his robes you muſt not thinke ſcorne of him in his ragges. If you will ſit at Chriſtes table in hys kingdome, you muſt firſt abide with him in his temptations. If you will drinke of his cup of glory, forſake not his cup of ignominye.

Threttes of the fleſh.

Romans. 6.

Can the head corner ſtone bee reiected, and the other more baſe ſtones in gods building be in this world ſet by? You are one of his liuely ſtones: be content therefore to be hewen and ſnagged at, that you might bee made more meete to be ioyned to your fellowes which ſuffer with you Satans ſnatches, the worldes woundes, contempte of conſcience, and freattes of the fleſhe, where through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are, who ſhal deliuer vs? You are of Gods corne, feare not therefore the Flayle, the Fanne, Milſtone, nor Ouen. You are one of Chriſtes Lambes, looke therefore to be fleeced, hayled at, and euen ſlayne.

Gods ſheepe muſt feede on the bare common: where the deuills cattell are ſtalfed.

Iohn. 21.

Romans. 8.

Math. 8.

If you were a market ſheepe, you ſhould go in more fatte and graſſy paſture. If you were for the Fayre, you ſhould be ſtalled and want no weale: but becauſe you are for Gods owne occupying, therefore you muſt paſture on the bare Common, abiding the ſtormes and tempeſts that will fall. Happy and twiſe happy are you (my deare ſiſter) that God now hayleth you whither you woulde not, that you might come whither you woulde. Suffer a little and be ſtill. Let Satan rage agaynſt you, let the worlde crye out, let your conſcience accuſe you, let the lawe loade you preſſe you downe, yet ſhall they not preuayle, for Chriſt is Emanuell, that is, God with vs. If God be with vs, who can be agaynſt vs? The Lorde is wyth you, youre Father cannot forgette you, your Spouſe loueth you. If the waues and ſurges ariſe, crye with Peter: Lorde I peariſhe, and he will put out his hande and helpe you. Caſt out youre anker of hope, and it will not ceaſe for all the ſtormye ſurges, till it take holde on the rocke of Gods trueth and mercy.

Philip. 1.

Deſire of ſpirituall comfort, though it be lacking, is a great gifte of God.

Thinke not that he whiche hath geuen you ſo manye thinges corporallye, as inductions of ſpirituall and heauenly mercies, and that without your deſertes or deſire, can deny you any ſpirituall comforte deſiring it. For if hee geue to deſire, he will geue you to haue and enioy ỹ thing deſired. The deſire to haue, and the goyng about to aſke, ought to certifie youre conſcience, that they be hys earneſt of the thing whiche you aſking he will geue you, yea before you aſke, and whileſt you are about to aſke hee will graunt the ſame (as Eſay ſayth) to hys glorye and your eternall conſolation. Hee that ſpared not his owne ſonne for you will not nor cannot thinke anye thinge to good for you, my hartily beloued.

Romans. 8.

Exerciſe of temtations a great token of electiõ.

If he had not choſen you, (as moſt certainely he hath) he would not haue ſo called you: he would neuer haue iuſtified you: he would neuer haue ſo glorified you with hys gracious giftes, which I know, prayſed be his name therfore: he would neuer haue ſo exerciſed your fayth with temptations, as he hath done and doth: if (I ſaye) hee had not choſen you. If he haue choſen you (as doubtleſſe deare heart, he hath done in Chriſte, for in you I haue ſeene hys earneſt, and before me and to me you coulde not deny it, I knowe both where and when) if I ſay, he haue choſen you then neither can you, nor euer ſhall you peariſhe. For if you fall, he putteth vnder his hand: you ſhall not lye ſtill: ſo carefull is Chriſt your keeper ouer you. Neuer was mother ſo mindefull ouer her chylde, as hee is ouer you. And hath not he alwayes bene ſo?

Romans. 11.

Speake woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he now trow you in your moſt neede doe otherwiſe, you calling vpon him, and deſiring to pleaſe hym? Ah my Ioyce, thinke you God to be mutable? Is he a chaungeling? Doth not he loue to the ende them whom he loueth? Are not his giftes and calling ſuche, that he cannot repent him of them, for els were he no God. If you ſhould periſh, then wanted he power: for I am certayne his will towardes you, is not to be doubted of. Hath not the ſpirite which is the ſpirite of trueth, tolde you ſo? And will you now harken with Eue to the lying ſpirite which woulde haue you now to deſpayre, (no he goeth more craftilye to worke, howbeit to that ende, if you ſhould geue eare vnto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and ſtand in a mammering, and ſo ſhoulde you neuer truely loue God, but ſerue him of a ſeruile feare, leaſt he ſhoulde caſt you off for your vnworthines and vnthankefulnes: as though your thankfulnes or worthines were anye cauſes with God, why he hath choſen you, or will finally keepe you.

Euery b ſpirite to be h and vain

Sathan ſee keth to bring conſcien to doub but Gods promiſe i Chriſt deth ſure for euer.

Ah myne owne deare harte, Chriſt onely, Chriſt onely, and his mercy & truth. In him is the cauſe of your election. This Chriſt, this mercy, this truth of God remayneth for euer, is certayne for euer, I ſaye for euer. If an Aungel from heauen ſhould tell you contrary, accurſed be he. Your thankfulnes and worthines are fruites and effectes of your election, they are no cauſes. Theſe fruites and effectes ſhalbe ſo much more fruitfull and effectual, by how much you wauer not.

All our e lection is and for Chriſt only

Pſalm.

Pſalm. 23.

Pſalm. 90.

Pſal. 125.

Therefore (my dearely beloued) ariſe, and remember from whence you are fallen. You haue a ſhepheard which neither ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth: No man nor deuill can pull you out of his handes. Night and day he commaundeth his Aungels to keepe you. Haue you forgotten what I read to you out of the Pſalme: The Lorde is my ſhepheard I can want nothing? Do you not know that god ſparred Noe in the Arke on the out ſide, ſo that hee coulde not get out? So hath he done to you my good ſiſter, ſo hath he done to you. Ten thouſande ſhall fall on youre right hande, and twenty thouſand on your left hand, yet no euill ſhal touch you. Say boldly therefore: Many a tyme from my youth vpp they haue fought agaynſt me, but they haue not preuayled, no, nor neuer ſhall preuayle, for the Lord is round about hys people. And who are the people of God, but ſuch as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lorde: and you are one of thoſe, my deare heart, for I am aſſured you haue hoped in the Lord: I haue your woordes to ſhewe moſt manifeſtly, and I knowe they were written vnfaynedly. I neede not to ſay, that euen before God you haue ſimply confeſſed to me, and ỹ oftentimes, no leſſe. And once if you had this hope, as you doubtleſſe had it, though now you feele it not, yet ſhall you feele it agayne: for the anger of the Lorde laſteth but a moment, but his mercy laſteth for euer. Tel me my deare heart, who hath ſo weakned you? Surely not a perſwaſion which came from him that called you. For why ſhould ye wauer? why ſhoulde ye wauer, and be ſo heauy harted? whome looke you on? On youre ſelfe? on your worthines? on your thankfulnes? on that whiche God requireth of you, as fayth, hope, loue, feare, ioy. &c. Thẽ can you not but wauer in deed: for what haue you as God requireth? Beleue you, hope you, loue you &c. as muche as ye ſhoulde doe? No, no, nor neuer can in this life. Ah my dearly beloued, haue you ſo ſoone forgotten ỹ which euer ſhould be had in memory? namely, that when you would & ſhoulde be certayne and quiet in conſcience, then ſhould your fayth burſt throughout al things not onely that you haue in you, or els are in heauẽ, earth, or hell, vntill it come to Chriſt crucified, and the eternall ſweete mercies and goodnes of God in Chriſt? Here here is the reſting place, here is your Spouſes bed: creepe into it, and in your armes of fayth embrace him, bewayle your weakenes, your vnworthines, your diffidẽce. &c. and you ſhall ſee he will turne to you. what ſayde I, you ſhall ſee? Nay I ſhould haue ſayd, You ſhall feele hee will turne to you. You know that Moſes, when he went to the mounte to talke with God, he entred into a darck cloude, and Helias had his face couered when God paſſed by. Both theſe deare frendes of God, heard God, but they ſawe him not, but you woulde be preferred before them. See nowe my deare hart, how couetous you are. Ah bee thankefull, bee thankefull. But God be prayſed youre couetouſneſſe is Moyſes couetouſnes. Well, with him you ſhalbe ſatiſfied. But when? Forſooth, when he ſhall appeare. Here is not the time of ſeeing, but as it were in a glaſſe. Iſaac was deceiued becauſe he was not content with hearing onely.

Though feeling fayle, yet hope hold faſt.

The eye of fayth muſt looke vpon nothing els but onely Chriſt cr cified.

Pſalm. 16.

Therfore to make an end of theſe many wordes, wherwith I feare me I doe but trouble you from better exerciſes: in aſmuch as you are in deede the childe of God elect in Chriſt before the beginning of all times: in as much as you are geuẽ to the cuſtody of Chriſt, as one of Gods moſt precious iewels: in as much as Chriſt is faythfull, & hytherto hath all power, ſo ỹ you ſhall neuer periſh, no, one heare of your head ſhall not be loſt: I beſeeche you, I pray you, I deſire you, I craue at your hands with all my very heart, I aſke of you with hand, penne, tongue, and minde, in Chriſt, through Chriſt, for Chriſt, for his name, bloude, mercies, power, and truthes ſake (my moſt entirely beloued ſiſter) that you admit no doubting of Gods final mercies towardes you, howe ſo euer you feele your ſelfe: but complaine to God, and craue of him as of your tender and deare father, al things, and in that time which ſhalbe moſt opportune, you ſhall finde and feele farre aboue that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceiue, to your eternall ioy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good ſpirit of God alwaies kepe vs as hys deare children: he comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted (my hearty beloued) for euermore. Amen.

I breake vp thus abruptly, becauſe our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Chriſte dwell in both our hearts for euer, Amen.

As for the reporte of W. Po. if it be as you heare, you muſt prepare to beare it. It is wrytten on heauens doore Do wel, and heare euil. Be content therfore to heare what ſoeuer the enemie ſhall imagine to blot you withall. Gods holy ſpirite alwaies comfort and keepe you. Amen, Amen. This 8. of Auguſt, by him that in the Lord deſireth to you as well and as much felicitie, as to his owne heart.

Iohn Bradford.

Heere followeth an other letter of hys, wrytten to the good Lady Vane, wherein he reſolueth certaine queſtions which ſhee demaunded. This Lady Vane was a ſpeciall Nourſe, and a great ſupporter, to her power, of the godly Saints, which were impriſoned in Queene Maries time. Unto whom, diuers Letters I haue both of M. Philpot, Careleſſe, Traherne, Thomas Roſe, and of other moe, wherein they render vnto her moſte gratefull thankes for her exceeding goodnes extended towarde them, with theyr ſingulare commendation and teſtimonie alſo of her Chriſtian zeale towarde Gods afflicted priſonners, and to the veritie of his Goſpell. Shee departed of late at Holburne. Anno 1568. whoſe ende was more like a ſleepe, then anye death: ſo quietly and meekely ſhee deceaſed and departed hence in the Lord.

Amongeſt other which wrote vnto her, M. Bradforde alſo ſent theſe letters to the ſaid Lady: the tenour wherof heere followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

The true ſenſe and ſweete feeling of Gods eternal mercies in Chriſte Ieſus, be euer more and more liuely wrought in your heart by the holy Ghoſt. Amen.

I moſte heartily thanke you (good Madame) for your comfortable Letters: and whereas you woulde be aduertiſed what were beſt to be done on your behalfe, concerning your three queſtions: the truth is, that the queſtions are neuer wel ſeene nor anſweared, vntill the thing wherof they ariſe, be well conſidered, I meane, vntill it be ſeene howe great an euill the thing is. If it be once in deede in your heart perceiued vpon probable & pithy places gathered out of Gods booke, that there was neuer thing vppon the earthe ſo greate, and ſo muche an aduerſarie to Gods true Seruice, to Chriſtes Death, Paſſion, Prieſthood, Sacrifice, and kingdome, to the Miniſterie of Gods worde and ſacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godlines of life, as that is wherof the queſtions ariſe (as moſte aſſuredly it is in deede) then can not a Chriſtian heart, but ſo muche the more abhorre it, and all thyngs that in any poynt might ſeeme to allowe it, or any thing pertaining to ẏ ſame, by how much it hath the name of Gods ſeruice.

Againe, your Ladiſhip doth knowe, that as all is to be diſcommended and auoided, which is folowed or fled from in reſpecte of oure ſelues, in reſpecte of auoiding Chriſtes Croſſe: ſo the ende of all oure doings ſhoulde be to Godwards, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example, wherof none can be geuen in allowing any of the three queſtiõs by you propounded. But becauſe this which I write nowe is briefe, and needeth the more conſideration or explication: as I doubte not of the one in you, ſo from me by Gods grace, you ſhall receiue ẏ other ſhortly. For I haue already wrytten a little booke of it, whiche I will ſende vnto you, in the whiche you ſhall haue youre queſtions fully anſweared and ſatiſfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereaboutes preſently: beſeeching God our good Father to guide you as his deare childe to his ſpirite of wiſedome, power, and comfort vnto eternall lyfe, that you may be ſtrong, and reioyce in hym and wyth his Church, to carie Chriſtes croſſe, if hee ſhall ſo thinke it nede. 1. Peter 1. which is a thing to be deſired, wiſhed, and imbraced, if wee looked on thinges after the iudgement of Gods word, and tried them by that touchſtone.

If you be accuſtomed to thinke on the breuitie, vanitie, and miſerye of this life, and on the eternitye, truth, and felicity of euerlaſting life: if you looke on things after their endes, and not after their preſent appearance onely: if you vſe your ſelfe to ſet Gods preſence, power, and mercy alwaies before your eies, to ſee them as God by euery creature woulde you ſhoulde: I doubt not but you ſhall finde ſuche ſtrength and comforte in the Lorde, as you ſhall not be ſhaken with all the power of Satan. Gods mercye in Chriſt be with you, and his good ſpirit guide you for euer. Amen.

An other letter to the Lady Vane.

An other letter of M. Bradford to the foreſayd Lady Vane.

As to mine owne ſoule, I wiſhe to your Ladiſhippe, grace and mercy from God our deare father in Chriſte oure Lorde and Sauiour.

I thanke God that ſomething he hath eaſed you, and mitigated hys fatherly correction in vs both: I woulde to God hee had done ſo muche in the behalfe of the griefe of the body to you, as he hath done to mee. For as for the ſoule, I truſte you feele that which I pray God increaſe in you, I meane his fatherly loue, and graunt that I may with you feele the ſame in ſuche degree as may pleaſe him: I will not ſay, as you feele, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to aske too much at one time. God doeth often much more plentifully viſite with the ſenſe of his mercy, them that humble them ſelues vnder his mighty hande, and are ſore exerciſed (as you long haue bene) then others, whiche to the face of the worlde haue a more ſhewe and appearance.

Therefore I wiſh as I doe, and that not onely for mine owne commoditie, but alſo that I might occaſion you to the conſideration of the goodneſſe of God, whiche I by your letters doe well eſpie, whych is in deede the hye waye, whereby as God encreaſeth his giftes, ſo ſheweth he more liuely his ſaluation. Pſalme. 50. 107. I haue receiued Gods bleſsing from you, the whiche I haue partly diſtributed vnto my three felowe priſonners, Maiſter Farrar, Maiſter Tailour, Maiſter Philpot, and the reſidue I will beſtowe vppon foure poore ſoules whiche are impriſonned in the common Gayle, for Religion alſo. As for mine owne parte, if I hadde neede, I woulde haue ſerued my tourne alſo. But becauſe I hadde not, nor (I thanke God) haue not, I haue bene and wil be your Almner in ſuch ſorte as I haue already aduertiſed you. God rewarde you, and geue you to finde it ſpiritually and corporally. Becauſe otherwiſe I canne not talke with you, therefore on thys ſort, as occaſion and opportunitie will ſerue, I am ready to ſhewe my good will and deſire of youre helpe and furtheraunce in the Lorde to euerlaſting life, whereunto God bringe vs ſhortly, for his mercies ſake. Amen.

Good Madame bee thankefull to God, as I hope you be: bee earneſt in prayer, continue in reading and hearing Gods worde, and if Gods further Croſſe come, as therein God doeth ſerue hys prouidence (for els it ſhall not come vnto you) ſo be certaine the ſame ſhall turne to your eternall ioy and comfort. Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

To my deare friendes and brethren,
R. and E. with their wiues and families.

An other letter of M. Bradford to 2. faythfull frends of his, one Royden, and Elling.

The comforte of Chriſte fealt commonly of his children in their Croſſe for his ſake, the euerlaſting God worke in both your heartes, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yokefelows, eſpecially of good Mary my good ſiſter in the Lord. Amen.

If I had not ſomthing heard of the hazard which you are in for the Goſpels ſake, if you continue the profeſſion & confeſſion therof, as I truſt you do & wil do, and that vnto the ende, God enabling you, as hee will doubtleſſe for hys mercies ſake, if you hope in him (for this bindeth hym, as Dauid in Chriſtes perſon witneſſeth: Our Fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliueredſt them. &c. Pſal. 22.) yet by cõiectures I coulde not but ſuppoſe, (thoughe not ſo certainely) the time of your ſuffering and probation to be at hande. For now is the power of darknes fully come vpon this realme moſt iuſtly for our ſinnes, and abuſing the light lent vs of the Lorde, to the ſetting forthe of oure ſelues more then of Gods glory, ẏ as wel we might be brought into the better knowledge of our euils, and ſo heartily repẽt (which God graunt vs to doe) as alſo we might haue more feeling and ſenſe of our ſweete ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, by the humbling and deiecting of vs, thereby to make vs, as more deſirous of him, ſo him more ſweet and pleaſant vnto vs: the which thing the good ſpirite of God worke ſenſibly in all oure hearts, for Gods holy names ſake.

For this cauſe I thoughte it my duetie, beynge nowe where I haue ſome libertye to write (the Lord be praiſed) and hearing of you as I heare: to doe that which I ſhould haue done, if I had heard nothing at all: that is, to deſire you to be of good cheare and comfort in the Lord (although in the worlde you ſee cauſe rather to the contrarye) and to goe on forewardes in the way of God whereinto you are entred, conſidering that the ſame cannot but ſo much more and more waxe ſtrait to the outward man, by howe muche you drawe nearer to the ende of it: Euen as in the trauaile of a woman, the nearer ſhee draweth to her deliuerie, the more her paines encreaſe: ſo it goeth with vs in ẏ Lordes way, the nearer we drawe to our deliueraunce by death to eternall felicitie.

The nearer we come to our iourneyes end, trauayling to heauen, the ſtrayter is the way.

Example whereof we haue, I will not ſay, in the holy Prophetes and Apoſtles of God, which when they were young, girded them ſelues, and went in manner whether they would, but when they waxed olde, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning ẏ outward man: but rather and moſte liuely in our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe life & way was much more painfull to hym towardes the ende, then it was at the beginning. And no maruelle, for Satan cane ſomething abide a man to begin wel & ſet forewards, but rather then he ſhould go on to the ende, he wil vomite his gorge, and caſt floudes to ouerflow him, before he wil ſuffer that to come to paſſe.

Example of the trauell of a woman.
Iohn 21.

Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Therefore as we ſhould not be diſmaide nowe at thys world, as though ſome ſtrange thyng were happened vnto vs, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the Deuill declareth him ſelfe after his olde wont, in that we haue profeſſed no leſſe but to forſake the world and the deuil as Gods very enemie, in that we learned no leſſe at the firſt when we came to Gods ſchole, then to deny our ſelues, and take vp our croſſe and folow our maſter, which leadeth vs none other way then he him ſelfe hath gone before vs: as (I ſay) we ſhould not be diſmaid: ſo we ſhould with patience and ioy go forewardes, if we ſet before vs as preſent, the time to come, like as the wife in her trauaile, doeth the deliuerance of her child, and as the ſaints of God did, but eſpecially our ſauiour and paterne Jeſus Chriſte: for the Apoſtle ſayeth: He ſet before him the ioye and glorye to come, and therfore contemned the ſhame & ſorow of the croſſe: ſo if we did, we ſhoulde finde at the length as they founde. For whome would it greeue which hath a long iourney to go, to go through a peece of foule way, if he knewe that after that the way ſhould be moſte pleaſaunt, yea the iourney ſhoulde be ended, and he at his reſting place moſt happie? who will be afeard, or lothe to leaue a litle pelfe for a little time, if he knewe he ſhould ſhortly after receiue moſt plentifull riches? who will be vnwilling for a little while to forſake his wife, children, or frends. &c. when he knoweth he ſhall ſhortly after be aſſociated vnto them inſeparably, euen after his owne hearts deſire? who wil be ſory to forſake this life, which can not but be moſte certaine of eternall life? who loueth the ſhadowe better then the bodye? who can loue this life, but they that regarde not the life to come? who can deſire the droſſe of this worlde but ſuch as be ignoraunt of the treaſures of the euerlaſting ioy in heauen? I meane, who is afeard to die, but ſuche as hope not to liue eternally? Chriſt hath promiſed pleaſures, richeſſe, ioye, felicitie, and all good things to them that for hys ſake loſe any thing, or ſuffer any ſorrowe. And is he not true? Howe can hee but be true, for guile was neuer founde in his mouth.

The malice of the deuill no new thing.

Heb. 12.

Godly counſell ſtirring vs to the contempt of this tranſitory lyfe.

Mathew. 19.

1. Peter. 2.

Alas then, why are we ſo ſlacke and ſlow, yea harde of heart to beleue him, promiſing vs thus plentifully eternal bliſſfulnes, and are ſo ready to beleue the worlde promiſing vs many things, and paying vs nothing? If we will currie fauour nowe and halte on bothe partes, then it promiſeth vs peace, quietneſſe, and many thinges els. But howe doeth it pay this geare? or if it pay it, with what quietneſſe of conſcience? Or if ſo: howe long I pray you? Doe not we ſee before our eyes men to die ſhamefully, I meane, as Rebelles and other malefactours, which refuſe to dye for Gods cauſe? what way is ſo ſure a way to heauen, as to ſuffer in Chriſtes cauſe? If there be anye waye on horſebacke to heauen, ſurely this is the way: By manye troubles (ſayeth the Apoſtle) wee muſt enter into heauen. All that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution. For the world can not loue them that are of God: the deuill can not loue hys enemies: the worlde will loue none but hys owne: you are Chriſtes, therefore looke for no loue heere. Should we looke for fire to quenche our thirſte? And as ſoone ſhall Gods true ſeruants finde peace and fauour in Antichriſts regiment.

The flattering promiſes of this world ill fauoredly performed.

Actes. 14.

2. Timothy. 3.

Therfore my dearly beloued, be ſtout in the Lorde, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour: ſtande in the libertie of Chriſte which you haue learned: reioyce that you may be counted worthy to ſuffer any thyng for Gods cauſe: to all men thys is not geuen. Your rewarde is great in heauen, though in earth you find nothing. The iourney is almoſt paſt: you are almoſt in the hauen: hale on a pace I beſeeche you, and merily hoiſe vp your ſailes. Caſt you ſelues on Chriſt, who careth for you. Kepe company with him now ſtil to the ende: he is faithfull and wil neuer leaue you, nor tempt you further then hee will make you able to beare: yea in the middeſt of the temptation hee will make an outſcape. Nowe pray vnto him heartely, be thankefull of his indignation, reioyce in hope of the health you ſhall receiue, and be mindefull of vs whych are in the vawarde, and by Gods grace truſt in Chriſt to be made able to breake the Iſe before you, that you followynge, may finde the way more eaſie, God graunte it may ſo be, Amen, Amen.

Out of priſon by your brother
in Chriſt, Iohn Bradford.

To Maiſtreſſe Wilkenſon.

ALmighty God our moſt louing father increaſe in your heart (my good mother & deare maiſtreſſe in the Lord) his true knowledge and loue in Chriſte, to ẏ encouraging and comforting of your faith in theſe ſtormy dayes: as neceſſary vnto vs, ſo profitable if we perſiſte vnto the ende, which thing God graunt to vs. Amen.

My righte dearely beloued, I knowe not what other thing to wryte vnto you, then to deſire you to be thankfull vnto the Lord, in that amongſt thee not many of your calling and ſtate, it pleaſeth him to geue you his rare bleſſing, I meane to keepe you from all the filthe wherewyth oure Countrey is horribly defiled. Thys bleſſing aſſuredly is rare, as you ſee. But nowe if he ſhall bleſſe you with another bleſſing which is more rare, I meane to cal you forth as a Martyr, and a witneſſe againſt this filth, I hope you will become double thankefull. For a greater token commonly we haue not to iudge of our election and ſaluation, next to Chriſte and faith in him, then the croſſe, eſpecially when it is ſo glorious, as on this ſorte to ſuffer any thing, but chiefly loſſe of this life, which in deede is neuer founde til it be ſo loſt: except the graine of wheate fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitleſſe.

You know how that he which was rapt into the third heauen, and did knowe what he wrote, doeth ſay: That as the corne liueth not except it be dead, and caſt into the earth, ſo truely oure bodies. And therefore the croſſe ſhoulde ſo little feare vs, that euen death it ſelfe ſhoulde altogether be deſired of vs, as the Tailour which putteth off oure ragges, and araieth vs with the Royall Roabes of immortalitie, incorruption, and glory. Great ſhame it ſhoulde be for vs, that all the whole creatures of God ſhoulde deſire, yea, grone in their kinde for our libertie, and wee our ſelues to loath it: as doubtleſſe we doe, if for the croſſe, yea for death it ſelfe, we with ioy ſwallow not vp all ſorrow that might let vs from following the Lordes calling, and obtaining the Lordes prouidence: whereby doubtles all croſſes, and death it ſelfe doth come, and not by hap or chance. In conſideration whereof (right deare Mother) that this prouidence ſtretcheth it ſelfe ſo vnto vs, and for vs, that euē the hair of our heads are numbred with God, not one of them to fall to our hurte: ſurely we declare our ſelues very faint in faith, if we receiue not ſuch comfort, that we can willingly offer our ſelues to the Lord, and caſt our whole care vpon his backe, honouring him with this honour, that he is and euer will be carefull for vs, and all we haue, as for hys deare children. Be therfore of good cheare euen in the middeſt of theſe miſeries, be thankful to the Lord, and prepare your ſelfe for a further triall, which if God ſende you, as I hope, ſo do you beleeue, that God therein wil help & comfort you, and make you able to bear whatſoeuer ſhall happen. And thus much, hauing this opportunitie, I thoughte good to wryte, praying God our father to recompence into your boſome, all the good that euer you haue done, to mee eſpecially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and alwaies heeretofore.

Your owne in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

An other letter wrytten to certaine godly perſons, encouraging them to prepare them ſelues with pacience to the croſſe.

GRatious God and moſte mercifull Father, for Jeſus Chriſtes ſake thy dearely beloued ſonne, graunte vs thy mercy, grace, wiſedome, and holy ſpirite, to counſaile, comforte, and guide vs in al our cogitations, wordes, and workes, to thy glorye, and our euerlaſting ioy and peace for euer, Amen.

In my laſt letter you might perceiue my coniecturing to be no leſſe towards you, then now I haue learned. But (my dearely beloued) I haue learned none other thyng, then before I haue told you would come to paſſe, if ye caſt not away that which ye haue learned. I do appeale to both your conſciences, whether herein I ſpeake trueth, as well of my telling (though not ſo often as I might and ſhould, God forgeue mee) as alſo of your learning. Nowe God will trie you, to make others to learne by you, that whych ye haue learned by others: and by them which ſuffred thys day ye might learne, (if already yee had not learned) that life and honour is not to be ſet by more then Gods commaundement. They in no poynt for all yͤ euer their ghoſtly fathers could do, hauing doctour Death to take their part, would conſent or ſeeme to conſent to the popiſh maſſe and papiſticall God, otherwiſe then in yͤ daies of our late king they had receiued. And this their faith they haue confeſſed with their deathes, to their great glorye, and all our comfortes, if we follow them: but to our confuſion, if we ſtarte backe from the ſame. Wherfore I beſeeche you to conſider it, as well to praiſe God for them, as to goe the ſame way with them, if God ſo will.

Conſider not the things of this life, whyche is a verye priſon to all Gods children: but the things of euerlaſting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of thys geare, ye muſt open the eyes of your mind, of faith I ſhuld haue ſayde, as Moſes did, which ſet more by trouble wyth Gods people, then by the riches of Egypt, and Pharaos Court. Your houſe, home and goodes, yea life and all that euer yee haue, God hath geuen you as loue tokens, to admoniſh you of his loue, & to win your loue to him againe. Nowe will he trie your loue, whether ye ſet more by hym then by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokẽs ſake, that is, for your home, houſe, goods, yea life, will goe wͭ the world, leaſt ye ſhould looſe them, then be aſſured your loue, as hee can not but eſpie it to be a ſtrumpets loue, ſo will he caſt it away with the world. Remember that he which will ſaue his life, ſhall looſe it, if Chriſt be true: but he which aduentureth, yea looſeth his life for the Goſpels ſake, the ſame ſhalbe ſure to finde it eternally. Do not ye knowe that the way to ſaluation is not the broade way, which manye run in, but the ſtraight way, which fewe now walke in.

Before perſecution came, men might partly haue ſtand in a doubt by the outward eſtate of the world with vs (although by Gods worde it was plaine) whether was the high way, (for there was as many that pretended the goſpell, as poperie) but nowe the ſunne is riſen, & the winde bloweth, ſo that the corne which hathe not taken faſt roote, can not nor will not abide: and therefore eaſily yee may ſee the ſtraight way by the ſmal number that paſſeth thorowe it, who will now aduenture their goods and life for Chriſtes ſake, whiche yet gaue his life for our ſakes? Wee are now become Gergeſites, that would rather looſe Chriſte, then our Porkets. A faithfull wife is neuer tried ſo to be, but when ſhee reiecteth and withſtandeth woers. A faithfull Chriſtian is then founde ſo to be, when hys faith is aſſaulted.

If wee be not able, I meane, if wee will not forſake this world for Gods glory and Goſpels ſake, trow ye that God will make vs able, or geue vs a will to forſake it for natures ſake? Die ye muſt once, and leaue al ye haue (God knoweth how ſoone and when) will ye, or will ye not, and ſeeing perforce ye muſt do this, will ye not willingly now doe it for Gods ſake?

If ye goe to Maſſe, and do as the moſt part doeth, then may ye liue at reſt & quietly: but if ye deny to goe to it, then ſhall ye goe to priſon, loſe your goodes, leaue your children comfortles, yea loſe your life alſo. But my dearly beloued, open the eyes of your faith, & ſee how ſhort a thing this life is, euen a very ſhadow and ſmoke. Againe, ſee how intollerable the puniſhment of hel fire is, and that endles. Laſt of all, looke on the ioyes incomprehẽſible, which God hath prepared for all them worlde without ende, which looſe eyther landes or goodes for his names ſake. And then doe ye reaſon thus: If we goe to Maſſe, the greateſt enemie that Chriſte hath, though for a little time we ſhall liue in quiet, and leaue to our children that they may liue heereafter, yet ſhall we diſpleaſe God, fall into his handes (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazarde of falling from eternal ioy into eternal miſery, firſt of ſoul, and then of body, with the Deuil and all Idolaters.

Againe, we ſhall wante peace of conſcience, which ſurmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will viſite our Idolatrie on them in this life: yea our houſe and goods are in danger of loſing, as our liues be, through many caſualties, & when God is angry with vs, he can ſend alwaies when he will, one meane or an other to take all from vs for our ſinnes, and to caſt vs into care for our owne ſakes, which wil not come into ſome litle trouble for his ſake.

On this ſort reaſon with your ſelues, and then doubtleſſe God will worke otherwiſe with you and in you, then ye are ware of. Where nowe ye thinke your ſelues vnable to abide perſecutiõ, be moſt aſſured, if ſo be ye purpoſe not to forſake God, that God will make you ſo able to beare his Croſſe, that therein you ſhall reioyce. Faithful is God, (ſayth Paul) which wil not tempt you further then he wil make you able to beare, yea hee will geue you an outſcape in the Croſſe, which ſhalbe to your comfort. Thinke howe great a benefite it is, if God will vouche you worthy thys honour, to ſuffer loſſe of any thing for his ſake. He myghte iuſtly caſt moſt greeuous plagues vpon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod wherby you ſhalbe made like to his Chriſte, that for euer ye may raigne wyth him. Suffer your ſelues therfore now to be made like to Chriſt, for els yee ſhall neuer be made like vnto him. The Deuill woulde gladly haue you nowe to ouerthrowe that which godly ye haue of long time profeſſed. Oh howe woulde he triumph, if he could winne his purpoſe? Oh howe would the Papiſtes triumph againſt Gods goſpell in you? Oh howe would you confirme them in their wicked Poperie? Oh how would the poore children of God be diſcomforted, if now ye ſhould go to maſſe and other idolatrous ſeruice, and doe as the world doth?

1. Cor. 10. God will geue ability, not onely to beare his Croſſe but alſo to reioyce in bearing.

Hath God deliuered you from yͤ Sweate to ſerue hym ſo? Hath God myraculouſly reſtored you to healthe from your greeuous Agewes for ſuche a purpoſe? Hath God geuen you ſuch bleſſings in this world and good things al the daies of your life hitherto, and nowe of equitie will ye not receiue at his hands, and for his ſake, ſome euill? God forbid: I hope better of you. Vſe prayer, and caſt your care vpon God: commit your children into his hands: geue to God your goods, bodies, and liues as he hath geuen them or rather ſent them vnto you. Say wyth Iob: God hathe geuen, and God hathe taken away, hys name be praiſed for euer. Caſte your care vppon hym (I ſaye) for hee is carefull for you: and take it amongeſt the greateſt bleſſings of God to ſuffer for his ſake. I truſt he hath kept you hitherto to that ende.

A great bleſſing of God to ſuffer for his ſake.

And I beſeeche thee, O mercifull Father for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, that thou wouldeſt be mercifull vnto vs, comforte vs wyth thy grace, and ſtrengthen vs in thy trueth, that in heart we may beleeue, and in tongue boldly confeſſe thy Goſpell, to thy glorye, and our eternall ſaluation. Amen. Pray for me, and I by Gods grace will doe the ſame for you.

Iohn Bradford.

An admonition to certaine profeſſours of the Goſpell, to beware they fall not from it in conſenting to the Romiſh religion, by the example of other halting and double faced Goſpellers.

The peace of Chriſte whiche is the true effecte of Gods Goſpell beleued (my dearly beloued) be more and more plentifully perceiued of you, through the grace of our dere father, by the mighty working of the holy ſpirite our comforter. Amen.

An other letter or admonition of M. Bradford to certayne godly profeſſors of Gods truth.

Thoughe I haue many lettes preſently to hinder mee from wryting vnto you, yet being deſired, I could not but ſomething ſignifie my ready good will in this behalfe, ſo much as I may, when I can not ſo much as I would.

You heare and ſee howe Sathan beſtirreth hym, raging as a roaring Lyon to deuoure vs. You ſee and feele partly what ſtormes he hath raiſed vp to drowne the poore Boate of Chriſte, I meane hys Churche. You ſee howe terribly he traineth his ſouldiers to geue a fierce onſet on vowarde of Gods battaile. You ſee how he hath receyued power of God, to moleſt Gods children, and to beginne at hys houſe. By reaſon whereof conſider two thinges: one, the cauſe on our behalfe: the other, what will be the ſequele on ſtraungers.

For the firſt, if we be not blind, we can not but wel ſee that our ſinnes are the cauſe of all this miſerie: our ſinnes I ſay, which I would that euery one of vs would applye to our ſelues after the example of Ionas and Dauid, turning ouer the wallet, that other mens offences myght lie behinde, and our owne before. Not that I woulde excuſe other men, whyche exteriourly haue walked muche more groſſely then manye of you haue done: but that I woulde prouoke you all as my ſelfe to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let vs more and more encreaſe to knowe and lament our doubting of God, of his preſence, power, anger, mercy, &c.

2. Thinges to be conſidered in the perſecution of gods people.

Anno 1555. July.

Earneſt repentance maketh the Croſſe more pleaſaunt.

Let vs better feele and hate our ſelflouе, ſecuritie, negligence, vnthankfulnes, vnbelief, vnpacience. &c. and then doubtleſſe the croſſe ſhall be leſſe careful, yea it ſhalbe comfortable, and Chriſt moſte deare and pleaſaunt: death then ſhalbe deſired, as the diſpatcher of vs out of al miſerie, and entrance into eternall felicitie and ioye vnſpeakeable: the whych is ſo much the more longed for, by howe muche we feele in dede the ſerpents bits wherwith he woundeth our heeles, that is, our outward Adam and ſenſes. If we had, I ſay, a liuely and true feeling of his poyſon, we could not but as reioyce ouer oure captaine yͤ hath bruiſed hys head, ſo be deſirous to followe his example, that is, to geue our liues with him and for him, and ſo to fill vp his paſſions, that he might conquere and ouercome in vs and by vs, to his glory and comfort of his children.

Coloſſ. 1.

If Gods iudgementes be ſo ſharpe to his children, what will it be to his enemyes.

Nowe the ſeconde (I meane the ſequele, or that whych will followe on the ſtraungers) my dearely beloued, let vs well looke vpon. For if ſo be that God iuſtly doe thus geue to ſathan and his ſeede, to vexe and moleſt Chriſte and hys penitent people: Oh what and how iuſtly may he and wil he geue to Sathan to intreate the rechleſſe and impenitent ſinners? If iudgement beginne thus at Gods houſe, what will followe on them that be wythout, if they repent not? Certainely for them is reſerued the dregs of Gods cuppe, that is, brimſtone, fire, and tempeſt intollerable. Now are they vnwillinge to drinke of Gods cuppe of afflictions which he offereth commend with his ſonne Chriſt our Lord, leaſt they ſhoulde loſe their pigges with the Gergeſites. They are vnwilling to come into the waye that bryngeth to heauen, euen afflictions: they in their hearts crie, Let vs caſt his yoke from vs: they walke two wayes, that is, they ſeeke to ſerue God & Mammon, which is vnpoſſible, they will not come nigh the ſtraight way that bringeth to life: they open their eyes to beholde preſent things onely: they iudge of Religion after reaſon, and not after Gods word: they folowe the more part, and not the better: they profeſſe God wyth their mouthes, but in their hearts they denye him, or els they would ſanctifie him by ſeruing hym more then men: they parte ſtake with God, which woulde haue all, geuing part to the world, to the Romiſh rout, and Antichriſtian Idolatrie now ſet abroad amongſt vs publikely: they will haue Chriſt, but none of his croſſe, which will not be: they will be counted to liue godly in Chriſt, but yet they wil ſuffer no perſecution: they loue this world, wherthrough the loue of God is driuen forth of them: they ſauour of thoſe things that be of menne, and not that bee of God: Summa, they loue God in theyr lippes, but in theyr hearts, yea and in their deedes deny hym, as well by not repenting their euils paſt, as by continuing in euill ſtil, by doing as the world, the fleſh and the deuil willeth, and yet ſtill perchaunce they will pray or rather prate: Thy will be done in earth, which is generallye that euery one ſhoulde take vp his croſſe and follow Chriſte. But thys is a harde ſaying: who is able to abide it? Therefore Chriſt muſt be praied to depart, leaſt al their pigges be drowned. The deuill ſhall haue his dwelling againe in themſelues, rather then in their pigges, and therefore to the Deuill ſhall they go, and dwel with him in eternall perdition and damnation, euen in hell fire a torment endleſſe, and aboue all cogitations incomprehenſible, if they repent not.

Math. 8.

The doinges & wayes of the wicked deſcribed, and what is the end thereof.

Wherefore by them (my dearely beloued) be admonyſhed to remember your profeſſion, howe that in Baptiſme you made a ſolempne vowe to forſake the Deuill, the world. &c. You promiſed to fight vnder Chriſtes ſtandard. You learned Chriſtes Croſſe afore you begunne wyth A. B. C. Goe to then, pay your vowe to the Lorde: fighte lyke mende, and valiant menne vnder Chriſtes ſtandarde: take vp your Croſſe and follow your maiſter, as your brethren M. Hoper, Rogers, Tailor, and Sanders haue done, and as nowe your brethren M. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Haukes. &c. be ready to doe. The Iſe is broken before you, therefore be not afraide, but be content to die for the Lorde. You haue no cauſe to wauer or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the bloud of the paſtours. Remember that Chriſt ſayeth: He that will ſaue his life, ſhall loſe it. And what ſhould it profite you to winne the whole worlde, muche leſſe a little quietneſſe, your goodes. &c. and to loſe your owne ſoules? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by ſuch meanes as he would haue you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Chriſtes diſciples muſt deny themſelues, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wiſdome. Haue in mind, that as it is no ſmall mercy to beleeue in the Lorde, ſo it is no ſmall kindneſſe of God towardes you to ſuffer any thing, much more deathe for the Lorde. If they be bleſſed that die in the Lord, howe ſhall they be that die for the Lorde? Oh what a bleſſing is it to haue death due for our ſinnes, diuerted into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lordes trueth? Oh that we had a little of Moiſes faith to looke vppon the ende of the Croſſe, to looke vpon the rewarde, to ſee continually wyth Chriſte and hys people, greater richeſſe then the richeſſe of Egypt. Oh let vs pray that God would open our eyes to ſee his hid Manna, heauenly Ieruſalem, the congregation of the firſt borne, the melodie of the Saintes the tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then ſhuld we runne and become violent men, and ſo take the kingdome of heauen as it were by force. God our father geue vs for hys Chriſtes ſake, to ſee a litle, what and howe great ioy he hath prepared for vs, he hath called vs vnto, & moſt aſſuredly geueth vs for his owne goodnes and truthes ſake. Amen.

He doth embolden them to take vp Chriſtes Croſſe and to follow him

Bleſſed be they that dye in the Lord: but more bleſſed be they that dye for the Lord.

My dearely beloued, repent, be ſober and watche in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations ſhewe your obedience to the higher powers in all thinges that are not againſt Gods word, therein acknowledging yͤ ſoueraigne power of the Lorde: howbeit, ſo that ye be no rebels or rebellers for no cauſe: but becauſe wyth good conſcience you cannot obey, be pacient ſufferers, and the glorye and good ſpirit of God ſhall dwel vppon vs. I pray you remember vs your afflicted brethren, being in the Lordes bondes for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, and abiding the gracious houre of our deare and moſt merciful father. The Lord for Chriſtes ſake, geue vs merry hearts to drinke luſtely of his ſweete cuppe, which daily we grone and ſigh for, lamenting that the tyme is thus prolonged. The Lorde Ieſus geue vs grace to be thankeful, and to abide paciently the prouident houre of his moſt gracious good will. Amen. Amen.

From the Counter in the
Poultrie. Yours in Chriſt
Iohn Bradford.

To my good brother Iohn Careles, priſoner in the kings Benche.

THe father of mercie and God of all comfort, viſite vs with his eternall conſolation, according to his great mercies in Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour. Amen.

My very deare brother, if I ſhall reporte the truthe vnto you, I can not but ſignifie that ſithen I came into priſone, I neuer receaued ſo much conſolation as I did by your laſt letter, the name of God be moſt heartely praiſed therefore. But if I ſhall reporte the trueth vnto you, and as I haue begonne, ſpeake ſtill the veritie, I muſt confeſſe that for mine vnthankefulnes to you wardes, and to God eſpecially, I haue more neede of Gods mercifull tidinges, then I hadde euer heeretofore. Ah that Sathan enuieth vs ſo greatly. Ah that our Lorde woulde treade his head vnder our feete ſhortly. Ah that I mighte for euer, both my ſelfe beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware of vnthankefulneſſe. Good brother Careles, we hadde more neede to take heede after a lightening, of a foile then before. God therefore is to be praiſed euen when he hideth, and that not of long, a cheareful countenaunce from vs, leaſt we being not expert howe to vſe it as we ſhoulde doe, doe hurt more oure ſelues thereby, ſo great is our ignoraunce and corruption. This my good brother & ryght deare to my very heart, I wryte vnto you as to one whom in the Lorde I embrace, and I thanke God that you doe me in like manner. God our father more and more geue vs both his good ſpirit, that as by faith we may fele our ſelues vnited vnto him in Chriſt, ſo by loue we may feele our ſelues linked in the ſame Chriſt one to an other, I to you, and you to me, we to al the children of God, and all the children of God to vs, Amen. Amen.

Commende me to our good brother Skelthrop, for whome I heartely praiſe my God, which hath geuen him to ſee hys trueth at the length, and to geue place to it. I doubt not, but that he will be ſo heedie in all his conuerſation, that hys olde acquaintaunce may euer thereby thinke them ſelues aſtray. Woe and woe againe ſhoulde be vnto vs, if we by our example ſhould make menne to ſtumble at the trueth. Forgette not ſalutations in Chriſte, as you ſhall thinke good to Trewe, and hys fellowes. The Lorde hath his time (I hope) for them alſo, although we perchance thinke otherwiſe. A drop maketh the ſtone hollowe, not with once, but wyth often dropping: ſo if with hearty praier for them and good example, you ſtil and drop vppon them as you can, you ſhall ſee Gods worke at the length. I beſeeche God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in vs all, Amen. I deſire you all to pray for me the moſt vnworthy priſoner of the Lorde.

Your brother Iohn Bradford.

To M. Iohn Hall and his wife, priſoners in Newgate for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell.

ALmightye God oure heauenly Father through Ieſus Chriſt, be wͭ you both my dearely beloued, as with hys deare children for euer, & ſo he bleſſe you with his holy ſpirite, that you may in thys your croſſe (for his cauſe doubtles) reioyce, and gladly take it vp to beare it ſo long as hee ſhall thinke good. I haue heard (my good brother & ſiſter) how that god hath brought you both into his ſcholehouſe, (whereas you were bothe purpoſed by his leaue to haue plaied the trewands) that thereby you might ſee his carefulnes & loue towarde you. For if it be a token of a louing and careful father for his children, to preuent the purpoſe, and diſappoynt the intent of his children, purpoſing to depart a while from the ſchoole for feare of beating, (whych thing they woulde not doe if they did as much conſider the commodity of learning which there they might get): how ſhould you take this worke of the Lorde preuenting your purpoſe, but as an euident ſigne of loue and fatherly carefulnes that he beareth towardes you? If he ſhoulde haue winked at your willes, then would you haue eſcaped beating: I meane the croſſe, but then ſhould you haue loſt the commoditie of learning, which your father will now haue you to learne and feele, and therfore hath he ſent to you his croſſe. Hee I ſay, hath brought you where you be: and though your reaſon and wit wil tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwiſe, yet (my dearely beloued) knowe for certaine that what ſo euer was the meane, God your father was the worker heereof, and that for your weale, although otherwiſe your old Adam doth tel you, & you feele: yet I ſay of truth that your duty is to thinke of this croſſe, that as it is of Gods ſending, and commeth from him: ſo although your deſerts be otherwiſe, it is of loue & fatherly affection for your weale and commodities ſake.

What commodity is hereby, you wil perchance obiect. You are now kept in cloſe priſon you wil ſay: your family and children be without good ouerſeers: your ſubſtance diminiſheth by theſe meanes: pouertie will approche: and perchance more perils alſo, yea and loſſe of life too. Theſe are no commodities but diſcommodities, and that no ſmal ones: ſo that iuſtly you would be glad to know what commoditie can come to you by this croſſe, whereby commeth ſo great diſcommodities.

To theſe things I anſwer, that in deede it is true you ſay of your bodies, families, children, ſubſtance, pouertie, life, &c. which things, if you would conſider a while wyth inwarde eyes, as you beholde them with outwarde, then perhaps you ſhould finde more eaſe. Doe not you now by the inward ſenſe perceiue that you muſt part frõ all theſe and all other commodities in the worlde? Tell me then, haue not you this commoditie by your croſſe, to learne to loath and leaue the worlde, and to long for and deſire an other world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to haue (according to your profeſſion in baptiſme) forſaken the worlde and all earthly things, vſing the world, as though you vſed it not, Your hart only ſette vpon your hourde in heauen, or els you coulde neuer be Chriſtes true diſciples, that is be ſaued, and be where he is. And trowe you (my good heartes in the Lorde) trowe you I ſay, that this is no commoditie, by this croſſe to be compelled hereto, that you might aſſuredly enioy with the Lord endles glory? Howe now doth God (as it were) fatherly pull you by the eares to remẽber your former offences concerning theſe things & al other things, that repentance and remiſſion might enſue? Howe doth God nowe compell you to call vpon him, and to be earneſt in prayer? Are theſe no commodities? Doth not the ſcripture ſay, that God doth correct vs in the worlde becauſe we ſhall not be damned with the worlde? That God chaſteneth euery one whome he loueth? that the ende of this correction ſhall be ioy and holineſſe? Doeth not the Scripture ſaye, That they are happie that ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake, as you nowe doe, that the glory and ſpirite of God is vpon them? that, as you are nowe made like vnto Chriſt in ſuffering, ſo ſhall you be made like him in raigning? Doeth not the Scripture ſay that you are nowe going the high and right way to heauen? that your ſuffering is Chriſtes ſuffering? My dearly beloued, what greater commodities then theſe, can a godly heart deſire?

Therefore ye are commaunded to reioyce and be glad when ye ſuffer, as now ye doe: for through the goodneſſe of God, great ſhalbe your reward: where? Forſooth on earth firſt for your children: for now they are in Gods mere and immediate protection. Neuer was father ſo careful for his children, as Gods is for yours preſently. Gods bleſſing which is more worth then all the world, you leaue in dede to your children. Though all your prouidence for thẽ ſhuld be pulled away: yet God is not poore, he hath promiſed to prouide for them moſte fatherly. Caſt thy burthen vppon me (ſayth he) and I will beare it. Do you therfore caſt them and commend them vnto God your father, and doubt not that he will die in your dette. He neuer yet was found vnfaithfull, and he wil not nowe begin with you. The good mans ſeede ſhal not go a begging his bread: for he wil ſhew mercy vpon thouſands of the poſterity of them that feare him. Therfore as I ſayd, Gods reward firſt vpon earth ſhalbe felt by your children euen corporally, and ſo alſo vpon you if God ſee it more for your cõmoditie, at the leaſt inwardly you ſhal feele it by quietnes and comfort of conſcience: and ſecondly after this life, you ſhal find it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not hard, the heart cannot conceiue how great & glorious Gods reward wil be vpon your bodies, much more vpon your ſoules. God open our eies to ſee and feele this in deede. Then ſhall we thinke the croſſe which is a meane hereto, to be commodious. Then ſhal we thanke God that he would chaſtice vs. Then ſhal we ſay with Dauid: Happie am I that thou haſt puniſhed me, for before I went aſtray, but nowe I keepe thy lawes.

Care of children to be left to Gods prouidence.

This that we may doe in deede my dearely beloued, let vs firſt know ỹ our croſſe commeth from God: Secondly, that it cõmeth from God as a father, that is, to our weale and good. Therefore let vs thirdly cal to minde our ſinnes and aſke pardone. Whereto let vs fourthly looke for helpe certainly at Gods hand in his good time: helpe I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our ſoules & bodies eternally. This if we certainely conceiue, then will there iſſue out of vs heartie thankes geuing, which God requireth as a moſt precious ſacrifice. That we may all through Chriſt offer this, let vs vſe earneſt prayer to our God and deare father, who bleſſe vs, keepe vs, and comforte vs vnder his ſweete croſſe for euer. Amen. Amen.

4 Thinges to be conſidered of all men that be vnder the croſſe.

My deare hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure therof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cannot as I would. Oh ỹ it would pleaſe our deare father ſhortly to bring vs where we ſhoulde neuer depart, but enioy continually the bleſſed fruition of his heauenly preſence: pray, pray, that it maye ſpeedely come to paſſe, pray. To morrow I will ſend vnto you to know your eſtate, ſend me word what are the chiefeſt things they charge you withall. From the Counter.

By your brother in the Lord,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To Maiſtreſſe Hall priſoner in Newgate and readye to make aunſwer before her aduerſaries.

OVr moſt mercifull God and father through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord and Sauiour, be merciful vnto vs, and make perfect the good he hath begon in vs vnto the end. Amen.

An other letter of M. Bradford to Miſtres Hall.

Math. 5.

My deare Siſter reioyce in the Lord, reioyce: be glad (I ſay) be mery and thankefull, not onely becauſe Chriſt ſo commaundeth vs, but alſo becauſe our ſtate wherein we are preſently, requireth no leſſe, for we are the Lordes witneſſes. God the father hath vouched ſafe to choſe vs amongſt many, to witneſſe and teſtifie, that Chriſt his ſonne is kyng, & that his word is true. Chriſt our Sauiour for his loues ſake towards vs, will haue vs to beare record that he is no vſurper nor deceiuer of the people, but gods Embaſſadour, Prophet, and Meſſias: ſo that of all dignities vpon earth, this is the higheſt. Greater honor had not his Prophets, Apoſtles, nor deareſt friends then to beare witneſſe with Chriſt as we now do. The world followyng the counſaile of their Sire Sathan, would gladly condemne Chriſt and his veritie: but lo the Lord hath choſen vs to be his champions to let this. As ſtout ſoldiours therefore let vs ſtand to our maiſter, who is with vs and ſtandeth on our right hand that we ſhall not be much mooued, if we hope and hang on his mercy: he is ſo faythfull and true, that he wil neuer tempt vs further then he wil make vs able to beare.

The bloud of Martyrs ſtandeth for the veritie of Chriſt agaynſt the world & Sathã, who would ſuppreſſe the ſame.

Therfore be not carefull (for I heare ſay this day you ſhall be called forth) what you ſhall aunſwer. The Lord which is true and cannot lye, hath promiſed and will neuer faile nor forget it, that you ſhall haue both what and how to aunſwer, ſo as ſhal make hys ſhameles aduerſaries aſhamed. Hang therefore on this promiſe of God, who is an helper at a pinch and a moſt preſent remedy to them that hope in him. Neuer was it heard of or ſhall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foile.

The Lord promiſeth and will geue them that ſtand in his defence, how and what to aunſwere.

Therfore as I ſayd, I ſay agayne, Deare Siſter be not only not carefull for your anſweryng, but alſo be ioyfull for your cauſe. Confeſſe Chriſt and be not aſhamed, and he will confeſſe you & neuer bee aſhamed of you. Though loſſe of goodes and lyfe bee like here to enſue. Yet if Chriſt be true (as hee is moſt true) it is otherwyſe in deede: For he that looſeth his lyfe (ſayth he) winneth it, but he that ſaueth it, looſeth it. Our ſinnes haue deſerued many deathes. Nowe if God ſo deale with vs that hee wyll make our deſerued death a demonſtration of his grace, a teſtimoniall of hys veritie, a confirmation of hys people, and ouerthrowe of hys aduerſaries: What great cauſe haue wee to bee thankefull? Be thankefull therefore good Siſter, bee thankefull. Reioyce and be mery in the Lord, be ſtoute in his cauſe & quarell, be not faynt harted, but runne out your race, and ſet your captaine Chriſt before your eyes. Beholde howe great your

A bleſſed thing ſeeing a man muſt needes dye, to dye for the Lord.

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But be it ſo that Peter had as much geuen to him as they do affirme: Who yet will graunt that Peter had a patrimony geuen for his heires? He hath left (ſay the Papiſts) to his ſucceſſors the ſelfe ſame right which he receyued. Oh Lord God, then muſt hys ſucceſſor be a Sathan: for hee receyued that title of Chriſt hymſelfe. I would gladly haue the Papiſtes to ſhew me one place of ſucceſſion mentioned in the Scriptures I am ſure that whẽ Paule purpoſely painteth out the whole adminiſtration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable Primacie, & yet he is altogether in commendation of vnitie. After he hath made mention of one God the father, of one Chriſt, of one ſpirit, of one body of the Church, of one fayth, and of one Baptiſme, then hee deſcribeth the meane and manet how vnitie is to be kept: namely, becauſe vnto euery paſtour is grace geuen after the meaſure wherwith Chriſt hath endued them Where I pray you is now any title of Plenitudinis poteſtatis, of fulneſſe of power? When he calleth home euery one vnto a certayne meaſure, why did he not forthwith ſay one Pope? Which thing he could not haue forgotten, if the thyng had bene as the Papiſts make it.

But let vs graunt that perpetuitie of the Primacye in the church was eſtabliſhed in Peter: I would gladly learne why the ſeat of the Primacy ſhould be rather at Rome then elſwhere. Mary ſay they, becauſe Peters chaire was at Rome. This is euen lyke to this, that becauſe Moſes the greateſt Prophet, and Aaron the firſt Prieſt exerciſed their offices vnto their death in the deſerte, therfore the principalleſt place of the Iewiſh Church, ſhould bee in the wilderneſſe. But graunt them their reaſon that it is good. What ſhould Antioch claime? For Peters chaire was there alſo, wherin Paule gaue hym a checke, which was vnſeemely and vnmanerly done of Paule, that would not geue place to his Preſident and better.

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But I will not ſtirre vp coles in this matter. If Rome bee the chiefe ſeate becauſe Peter died there, why ſhould not Antioch be the ſecond? Why ſhould not Iames & Iohn which were taken with Peter to be as pillers Why (I ſay) ſhoulde not their ſeates haue honor next to Peters ſeate? Is not this geare prepoſterous, that Alexandria where Marke (which was but one of the diſciples) was biſhop, ſhould be preferred before Epheſus where Iohn the Euangeliſt taught and was biſhop, and before Ieruſalẽ, where not only Iames taught and died biſhop, but alſo Chriſt Ieſus our Lord & high prieſt for euer, by whom beyng Maiſter (I hope) honour ſhould be geuen to his chaire, more thẽ to the chaire of his Chaplaines.

I need to ſpeake nothyng how that Paule telleth Peters Apoſtleſhip to concerne rather circumciſion or the Iewes, & therfore properly pertaineth not to vs. Neither do I need to bring in Gregorius the firſt biſhop of Rome, which was about the yere of our Lord. 600. who plainly in his works doth write, that this title of Primacy, & to be head ouer all churches vnder Chriſt, is a title meete and agreyng only to Antichriſt, and therfore he calleth it a prophane, a miſchieuous and an horrible title. Whome ſhould we beleeue now, if we will neyther beleeue Apoſtle nor Pope.

If I ſhould go about to tel how this name was firſt gotten by Phocas, I ſhould be too long. I purpoſe God willing to ſet it forth at large in a worke which I haue begun of Antichriſt, if God for his mercies ſake geue me life to finiſh it. For this preſent therefore I ſhall deſire your Ladyſhip to take this in good part. If they wil needs haue the B. of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the Church, then will I vrge them that they ſhall geue vs a biſhop. But they obtrude vnto vs a butcher rather, or a biteſheepe, then a Biſhop. They brag of Peters ſucceſſion, of Chriſtes vicare, this is alwayes in theyr mouth. But alas, how can we call hym Chriſtes Vicare that reſiſteth Chriſt, oppugneth his veritie, perſecuteth hys people, and lyke a Prelate preferreth himſelfe aboue God and man? How, or wherein doth the Pope and Chriſt agree? How ſupplieth hee Peters miniſtery, that boaſteth of hys ſucceſſion?

Therfore to beginne withall, which I will vſe preſently for a concluſion, if the Papiſts will haue the B. of Rome ſupreme head of the Churche of Chriſt in earth, they muſt afore they attayne this, geue vs a Biſhop in deed, and not in name. For whoſoeuer he be that will make this the bond of vnitie, whatſoeuer the Biſhop of Rome be, ſurely this muſt needes folow, that they do nothyng els but teach a moſt wicked defection, and departing from Chriſt.

The Biſhop of Rome ſeemeth in deede rather a Butcher then a Biſhop.

But of this (if God lend me lyfe) I purpoſe to ſpeake more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyſhip vnto the tuition of God our father, and Chriſt our onely head paſtour & keeper, to whom ſee that you cleaue by true fayth which dependeth onely vpon the word of God, which if you doe follow as a lanterne to your feete, and a light to your ſteps, you ſhall thẽ auoyd darkenes, and the daungerous deepes whereinto the Papiſts are fallen by the iuſt iudgement of God, and ſeeke to bryng vs into the ſame dungeon with them, that the blynd following the blind they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliuer them accordyng to hys good will, and preſerue vs for his names ſake, that we beyng in his lyght, may continue therein, and walke in it whileſt it is day: ſo ſhall the night neuer ouerpreſſe vs, wee goyng from lyght to lyght, from vertue to vertue, from fayth to fayth, from glory to glory, by the gouernaunce of Gods good ſpirite, which God our father geue vnto vs all for euer and euer. Amen.

Your brother in bondes for
the teſtimonye of Ieſus
Chriſt, Ioh. Bradford.

Here followeth another letter of M. Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, ſhiriffe ſometimes of Couentry, & yet beyng (as I heare ſay) alyue. This Hopkins whom M. Bradford commendeth ſo much in this letter, duryng the tyme of his ſhirifealtie, was detected and accuſed by certaine malignant aduerſaries, of matter pertaing to religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, vnles it were for ſending and lendyng vnto a theefe being then in priſon ready to be hanged, a certain Engliſh booke of ſcripture for his ſpirituall comfort.

He wrote alſo an other fruitefull letter to this Richard Hopkins. which you may read in the booke of letters of the Martyrs.

Whereupon, or els vpon ſome ſuch like matter, he being maliciouſly accuſed, was ſent for and committed to the Fleete, and there endured a ſufficient tyme, not wythout great perill of lyfe. Notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Hopkins beyng at length deliuered out of priſon, followyng thys counſaile of M. Bradford, and mindyng to keepe his conſcience pure from Idolatry, was driuen with his wife and 8. yong children, to auoyde the realme, and ſo leauyng all other worldly reſpects, with his great loſſe and dammage went into high Germany, where he contiued in the Citie of Baſill, till the death of Queene Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a frendly helper, and a comfortable relieuer of other Engliſhe exiles there about him: Gods holy bleſſing ſo working with hym therefore, that in thoſe far countries, neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his houſhold, during all that tyme there miſcaried, but ſo many as he brought out, ſo many he recaried home againe, yea & that with aduantage, and gods plenty withall vpon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by M. Bradford, is this.

¶ A Letter to Maiſter Richard Hopkins, then Shiriffe of Couentry, and priſoner in the Fleete, for the faythfull and conſtant confeſſing of Gods holy Goſpell.

A letter of M. Bradford to Richard Hopkins priſoner the ſame tyme for his conſcience.

Dearely beloued in the Lord, I wiſh vnto you, as vnto myne owne brother, yea as to myne owne hart roote, Gods mercy & the feelyng of the ſame plentifully in Chriſt our ſweete ſauiour, who gaue himſelfe a raunſome for our ſinnes, and price for our redemption, prayſed therefore bee his holy name for euer and euer. Amen.

I will not go about to excuſe my ſelfe for not ſendyng vnto you hetherto, ſuffring for the Lordes ſake as you do, to the comfort of mee and of all that loue you in the truth: but rather accuſe my ſelfe both before God and you, deſiring you of forgiueneſſe, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my vnkind forgetting you, and al other my ſinnes, which I beſeech the Lord in his mercy, to do away for his Chriſtes ſake. Amen.

Now to make amends to you ward, I would be glad if I could, but becauſe I cannot, I ſhall hartily deſire you to accept that will, and this which I ſhal now write vnto you, there after: I meane, after my will and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this preſent my deare hart in the Lord, you are in a bleſſed ſtate, although it ſeem otherwiſe to you, or rather vnto your olde Adam, the which I

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Here followeth another letter of M. Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, ſhiriffe ſometymes of Couentry, & yet beyng (as I heare ſay) alyue. This Hopkins whom M. Bradford commendeth ſo much in this letter, duryng the tyme of his ſhiriffealtie, was detected and accuſed by certaine malignant aduerſaries, of matter pertaing to religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, vnles it were for ſending and lendyng vnto a theefe being then in priſon ready to be hanged, a certain Engliſh booke of ſcripture for his ſpirituall comfort.

He wrote alſo an other fruitefull letter to this Richard Hopkins. which you may read in the booke of letters of the Martyrs.

Whereupon, or els vpon ſome ſuch like matter, he being maliciouſly accuſed, was ſent for and committed to the Fleete, and there endured a ſufficient tyme, not wythout great perill of lyfe. Notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Hopkins beyng at length deliuered out of priſon, followyng thys counſaile of M. Bradford, and mindyng to keepe his conſcience pure from Idolatry, was driuen with his wife and 8. yong children, to auoyde the realme, and ſo leauyng all other worldly reſpects, with his great loſſe and dammage went into high Germany, where he contiued in the Citie of Baſill, till the death of Queene Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a frendly helper, and a comfortable reliefer of other Engliſhe exiles there about him: Gods holy bleſſing ſo working with hym therefore, that in thoſe far countries, neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his houſhold, during all that tyme there miſcaried, but ſo many as he brought out, ſo many he recaried home againe, yea & that with aduantage, and gods plẽty withall vpon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by M. Bradford, is this.

¶ A Letter to Maiſter Richard Hopkins, then Shiriffe of Couentry, and priſoner in the Fleete, for the faythfull and conſtant confeſſing of Gods holy Goſpell.

Dearely beloued in the Lord, I wiſh vnto you, as vnto myne owne brother, yea as to myne owne hart roote, Gods mercy & the feelyng of the ſame plentifully in Chriſt our ſweete ſauiour, who gaue himſelfe a raunſome for our ſinnes, and price for our redemption, prayſed therefore bee his holy name for euer and euer. Amen.

A letter of M. Bradford to Richard Hopkins priſoner the ſame tyme for his conſcience.

I will not go about to excuſe my ſelfe for not ſendyng vnto you hetherto, ſuffring for the Lordes ſake as you do, to the comfort of mee and of all that loue you in the truth: but rather accuſe my ſelfe both before God and you, deſiring you of forgiueneſſe, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my vnkind forgetting you, and al other my ſinnes, which I beſeech the Lord in his mercy, to do away for his Chriſtes ſake. Amen.

Now to make amends to you ward, I would be glad if I could, but becauſe I cannot, I ſhall hartily deſire you to accept that will, and this which I ſhal now write vnto you, there after: I meane, after my will and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this preſent my deare hart in the Lord, you are in a bleſſed ſtate, although it ſeem otherwiſe to you, or rather vnto your olde Adam, the which I

dare now be ſo bold as to diſcerne from you, becauſe you would haue him not onely diſcerned, but alſo vtterly deſtroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

Nowe his worde pronounceth of your ſtate that it is happy, therefore it muſt needes bee ſo. To proue this I thinke it need not: for you know that the holy ghoſt ſaith, That they are happy which ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake, and that Gods glory and ſpirit reſteth on them which ſuffer for conſciēce to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your ſuffering is for righteouſneſſe ſake, and for conſcience to Godwards, for els you might be out of trouble euē out of hand. I know in very deed that you haue felt and do feele your vnthankfulneſſe to God and other ſinnes, to witnes to you, that you haue deſerued this priſonment and lacke of libertie, betwixt God and your ſelfe, and I would you ſo would confeſſe vnto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thanks geuing, for his correctyng you here. But you know that the Magiſtrates doe not perſecute in you your ſinnes, your vnthankfulneſſe. &c. But they perſecute in you Chriſt hymſelfe, his righteouſneſſe, his veritie, and therefore happy be you that haue founde ſuch fauor with God your father, as to accompt you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake in the ſight of man: ſurely you ſhall reioyce therfore one day with a ioy vnſpeakeable, in the ſight of man alſo.

Martyrs perſecuted not for their ſinnes, but for Chriſt onely & the Goſpell.

You may thinke your ſelfe borne in a bleſſed time, that haue found this grace with God, to be a veſſell of honour to ſuffer with his Saints, yea with his ſonne. My beloued, God hath not done ſo with many. The Apoſtle ſaith: Not many noble, not many riche, not many wiſe in the world, hath the Lord God choſen. Oh then what cauſe haue you to reioyce, that amongſt the not many, he hath choſen you to be one? For that cauſe hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more ſee his ſpeciall dignation and loue towards you. It had not bene ſo great a thyng for M. Hopkins to haue ſuffred as M. Hopkins, as it is for M. Hopkins alſo to ſuffer as M. Shiriffe. Oh happy day that you were made ſhiriffe, by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, ſo by ſuffering in this roome he hath exalted you in heauen, and in the ſight of his church & children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read, that a ſhiriffe of a citie hath ſuffred for the Lordes ſake? where read we of any Shiriffe that hath bene caſt in priſon for conſcience to Godward? How could God haue delt more louingly with you, then herein he hath done? To the end of the worlde it ſhall be written for a memoriall to your prayſe, that Rich. Hopkins ſhiriffe of Couentry, for conſcience to do his office before God, was caſt in the Fleete, and there kept priſoner a long tyme. Happy, & twiſe happy are you, if herefore you may geue your life. Neuer could you haue attayned to this promotion on this ſort out of that office. How do you preach now, not onely to all men, but ſpecially to magiſtrates in this realme? who would euer haue thoght that you ſhould haue bene the firſt magiſtrate that for Chriſtes ſake ſhould haue loſt any thing? As I ſayd before, therfore I ſay againe, that your ſtate is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth vnto you, my conſcience bearing me witnes, that you are in a moſt happy ſtate with the Lord, and before his ſight.

1. Cor. 1.

R. Hopkins the firſt Magiſtrate that ſuffered for his conſcience.

Be thankfull therefore, reioyce in your trouble, pray for pacience, perſeuere to the ende, let paciēce haue her perfect worke. If you want this wiſedome and power, aſke it of God, who will geue it to you in his good tyme. Hope ſtill in him, yea if he ſhould ſlay you, yet truſt in hym wyth Iob, and you ſhall perceiue that the ende will be to finde him mercyfull & full of compaſſion: for he will not breake promiſe with you, which hitherto did neuer ſo with any. He is with you in trouble, he heareth you callyng vppon hym, yea before you cal, your deſires are not only knowen, but accepted through Chriſt. If now and then he hide hys face from you, it is but to prouoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is moſt true: He is a comming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a tyme he ſeeme to tary, yet ſtand you ſtill, and you ſhall ſee the wonderfull workes of the Lord. Oh beloued, wherefore ſhould you be heauy? Is not Chriſt Emanuell, God with vs? Shall you not find that as he is true in ſaying: In the world you ſhall haue trouble: ſo is he in ſaying: In mee you ſhall haue comfort? He doth not ſweare only that trouble will come, but with all he ſweareth that comfort ſhall enſue. And what comfort? ſuch a comfort as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man can conceiue. Oh great comfort: who ſhall haue this? Forſooth they that ſuffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea verily are you. Then (as I ſaid) happy, happy, and happy againe are you my dearely beloued in the Lord. You now ſuffer with the Lord, ſurely you ſhall bee glorified with him. Call vpon God therfore in your trouble, and he will heare you, yea deliuer you in ſuch ſort, as moſt ſhall make both to his & your glory alſo. And in this calling, I hartily pray you to pray for me your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high way to heauen, for by many afflictiōs muſt we enter in thether, whether God bring vs for his mercies ſake, Amen, Amen.

Iacob. 1.

1. Cor. 1.

Your fellow in affliction,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To my good Siſter Maiſtreſſe Elizabeth Browne.

GOod ſiſter, God our Father make perfect the good hee hath begun in you vnto the end.

I am afrayde to write vnto you becauſe you ſo ouercharge your ſelfe at all tymes, euen when ſo euer I doe but ſend to you commendations. I would bee more bold on you then many others, and therfore you might ſuſpend ſo great tokens til I ſhould write vnto you of my need: which thyng doubtleſſe I would do if it vrged me. Deare ſiſter, I ſee your vnfained loue to me wardes in God, and haue done of long time, the which I do recompence with the like, and will do by gods grace ſo long as I liue, & therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poore prayers to haue you in remembraunce, as I hope you haue me. Otherwyſe I can do you no ſeruice, except it bee now and then by my writyng to let you from better exerciſe, where yet the end of my writyng is to excite and ſtir vp your hart more earneſtly to go on forwards in your well begon enterpriſe. For you know none ſhalbe crowned, but ſuch as ſtriue lawfully, & none receiueth the gleue, but thoſe that runne to the appointed marke. None ſhall be ſaued but ſuch as perſiſt and continue to the very end.

A lette M. Bra to Miſt Browne now ca Miſtres Ruſh- brough.

2. Tim.

Heb.

Therfore (deare Siſter) remember that we haue neede of patience, that when we haue done the good will of God, wee may receiue the promiſe. Patience and perſeueraunce bee the proper notes whereby Gods children are knowne from counterfaites. They that perſeuere not, were alwayes but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea their progreſſe ſeemeth meruailous but yet after in the end they fayle. Theſe were neuer of vs ſayth S. Iohn: for if they had bene of vs, they would haue continued vnto the very end.

Go to now therfore myne own beloued in the Lord: as you haue well begun, and well gone forward, ſo well perſiſt and happily end, and then all is yours. Though this be ſharpe and ſower, yet it is not tedious or long. Do all that euer you doe, ſimply for God, and as to God, ſo ſhall neuer vnkyndneſſe nor any other thyng make you to leaue of from well doyng, ſo long as you may do well. Accuſtome your ſelfe now to ſee God continually, that he may be all in all vnto you. In good thyngs behold his mercy, and apply it vnto your ſelfe. In euill thyngs and plagues behold hys iudgements, where through learne to feare hym. Beware of ſinne, as the ſerpent of the ſoule which ſpoileth vs of all our ornature and ſeemely apparel in Gods ſight. Let Chriſt crucified be your booke to ſtudy on, and that both night and day. Marke your vocation, and be diligent in the workes thereof. Vſe harty & earneſt prayer, and that in ſpirit. In all thyngs geue thanks to God our father through Chriſt. Labour to haue here lyfe euerlaſtyng begun in you: for els it will not be elſewhere enioyed. Set Gods iudgement often before your eyes, that nowe examinyng your ſelfe, you may make diligent ſute, and obtaine neuer to come into iudgement. Vncouer your euils to God, that he may couer thē. Beware of this Antichriſtian traſh: defile not your ſelfe in ſoule or body therewith, but accompliſh holynes in the feare of God, & beare no yoke with vnbeleeuers. Looke for the commyng of the Lord which is at hand: by earneſt prayer and godly lyfe haſten it. God our father accompliſh his good worke in you. Amē. Commend me to my good mother maiſtres Wilkinſon, & to my very deare ſiſter maiſtreſſe Warcuppe. I ſhall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the lyke for me.

Wholſo leſſons o lyfe.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To a friend of his, inſtructing hym how he ſhould aunſwer his aduerſaries.

MY good brother, our mercifull God and deare Father through chriſt, opē your eyes effectually to ſee, & your heart ardently to deſire the euerlaſting ioy which he hath prepared for his ſlaughter ſheep, that is, for ſuch as ſhrinke not from his truth for any ſuch ſtormes ſake. Amen.

An ot letter o Brad his fri with in ſtructi how t ſwere h aduerſa

When you ſhall come before the Magiſtrates to geue an aunſwer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reuerence and ſimplicity. And becauſe you may be ſomthing afrayd by the power of the Maieſtrates & cruelty which they will threaten againſt you, I would you ſet before you the good father Moſes to follow his example: for hee ſet the inuiſible God before his eyes of fayth, and with them looked vpon God and his glorious Maieſtie and power, as with his corporal eies he ſaw Pharao and all his fearefull

Exa Moyſes ſwering fare kin Pharao

full terrors. So doe you my dearely beloued: let your inward eies geue ſuch light vnto you, that as you know you are before the magiſtrates, ſo and much more, you & they alſo are preſent before the face of God, which will geue ſuch wiſedome to you, fearing hym and ſeeking his prayſe, as the enemies ſhall wonder at, and further, he will ſo order their harts and doyngs, that they ſhall, will they, nill they, ſerue Gods prouidence towards you (which you can not auoyd though you would) as ſhall be moſt to his glory, and your euerlaſting comfort.

Therefore my good brother, let your whole ſtudy bee onely to pleaſe God: put hym alwayes before your eies, for he is on your right hand leſt you ſhould be moued, he is faithfull, and neuer will ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that hee will make you able to beare. Yea euery haire of your hed he hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhal not periſh without his good will, which cannot be, but hee good vnto you, in that he is become your father through Chriſt, and therfore as he hath geuen you to beleue in hym (God increaſe this beliefe in vs all) ſo doth hee now graciouſly geue vnto you to ſuffer for his names ſake: the which you ought with all thankefulneſſe to receiue, in that you are made worthy to drinke of the ſelf ſame cup, which not onely the very ſonnes of God haue dronke of before you, but euen the very natural ſonne of God himſelf hath brought you good lucke. Oh he of his mercy make vs thankefull to pledge him agayne. Amen.

Becauſe the chiefeſt matter they will trouble you and go about to deceiue you withall, is the Sacrament, not of Chriſtes body and bloud, but of the aulter (as they call it) thereby deſtroieng the Sacrament which Chriſt inſtituted: I would you noted theſe two things: Firſt, that the Sacrament of the aulter which the Prieſt offereth in the Maſſe, and eateth priuately with himſelfe, is not the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud inſtituted by him, as Chriſtes inſtitution plainely written and ſet forth in the ſcriptures, beyng compared to their vſing of it, playnely doth declare.

Againe, if they talke with you of Chriſtes Sacrament inſtituted by him, whether it be Chriſtes body or no: anſwer them, that as to the eyes of your reaſon, to your taſt and corporall ſenſes it is bread and wyne, and therfore the Scripture calleth it after the conſecration ſo: euẽ ſo to the eyes, taſte, and ſenſes of your faith, which aſcendeth to the right hand of God in heauen, where Chriſt ſitteth, it is in very deed Chriſts body and bloud, which ſpiritually your ſoule feedeth on to euerlaſting life in faith and by faith, euẽ as your body preſently feedeth on the ſacramentall bread and ſacramentall wyne.

By this meanes as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantiation, nor none of their popiſh opinions: ſo ſhal you declare the Sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reaſon, as the Papiſtes make it. For they deny Gods omnipotencie, in that they ſay Chriſt is not there, if bread bee there: but fayth looketh on the omnipotencie of God, ioyned with this promiſe, and doubteth not but that Chriſt is able to geue that he promiſeth vs ſpiritually by fayth, the bread ſtill remaining in ſubſtãce, as wel as if the ſubſtance of bread were takẽ away: for Chriſt ſaith not in any place this is no bread. But of this geare God ſhal inſtruct you, if you hang on his promiſe, and pray for the power & wiſdome of his ſpirit, which vndoubtedly as you are bounde to looke for, praying for it, ſo he hath bound himſelfe by his promiſe to geue it: the which thing graunt vnto vs both, and to all his people, for his names ſake, thorough Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To certaine godly men, whome he exhorteth to bee pacient vnder the croſſe, and conſtant in the true doctrine which they had profeſſed.

My dearely beloued in the Lord, as in him I wiſh you well to fare, ſo I pray God I and you may continue in his true ſeruice, that perpetually we may enioy the ſame welfare, as here in hope, ſo in heauen in deed, and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage & place wherein God trieth hys children, and therfore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you: ſo I truſt you know not it, that is, you allow it not, nor in any poynt will ſeeme ſo to doe, although by many you be occaſioned thereto. For this hote ſunne which now ſhineth, burneth ſo ſore, that the corne which is ſowen vppon ſande and ſtony ground, beginneth to wither: that is, many which before tymes were taken for harty Goſpellers, begin now for the feare of afflictions to relent, yea to turn to their vomite agayne, thereby declaryng that though they goe from amongſt vs, yet were they neuer of vs: for els they would haue ſtil taried with vs, and neyther for gayne nor loſſe, haue left vs either in word or deed. As for their hart (which vndoubtedly is double and therfore in danger to Gods curſe) we haue as much with vs, as the Papiſts haue with them, and more too by their own iudgement. For they playing wily beguile theſe ues, thinke it enough inwardly to fauour the truth, though outwardly they curry fauour. What though with my body (ſay they) I doe this or that? God knoweth my hart is whole with hym.

Backſliding of Goſpellers.

Ah brother, if thy hart be whole with God, why doeſt not thou confeſſe & declare thy ſelfe accordingly by word and fact? Either that which thou ſayeſt thou beleeueſt in thy heart is good or no. If it be good, why art thou aſhamed of it? If it be euill, why doeſt thou keepe it in thy hart? Is not God able to defend thee, aduenturyng thy ſelfe for hys cauſe? Or will hee not defend hys worſhippers? Doth not the Scripture ſay that the eyes of the Lorde are on them that feare hym, and truſt in his mercy? And whereto? Forſooth to deliuer their ſoules from death, and to feed them in the tyme of hunger.

Miſtruſters of God.
Paul.33.

If this be true (as it is moſt true) why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliuer vs, or would not, contrary to his promiſe? Why are we afrayd of the loſſe of our goods, as though God would leaue them that feare hym, deſtitute of all good thyngs, and ſo do agaynſt his moſt ample promiſes? Ah faith, faith, how few feele thee now a daye? Full truely ſayd Chriſt, that hee ſhould ſcarſly finde fayth when he came, on earth. For if men beleued theſe promiſes, they would neuer do any thyng outwardly, which inwardly they diſallow. No example of men, how many ſoeuer they bee, or how learned ſoeuer they be, can preuaile in this behalfe: for the paterne which wee muſt follow, is Chriſt himſelfe, and not the more company or cuſtome. His word is the lanterne to lighten our ſteppes, and not learned men. Company and cuſtome are to be conſidered accordyng to the thyng they allow. Learned men are to be liſtened to and followed according to Gods lore and law, for els the more part goeth to the deuill. As cuſtome cauſeth error and blindnes, ſo learnyng, if it be not accordyng to the light of Gods word, is poiſon, and learned men moſt pernicious. The Deuill is called Dæmon for his cunnyng, and the children of this world are much wyſer then the children of light in their generation: and I knowe the Deuill and his dearlyngs haue alwayes for the moſt part, more helpes in this lyfe then Chriſtes Church and her children. They (the deuill and his Synagogue I meane) haue cuſtome, multitude vnitie, antiquitie, learnyng, power, riches, honour, dignity & promotions plenty, as alwayes they haue had, and ſhal haue cõmonly and for the moſt part, vntill Chriſtes commyng, muche more then the true church hath preſently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter ſhall haue. For her glory, riches, and honour is not here, her triall, croſſe, and warrefare is here.

Luke 18.
Lacke of fayth.

Pſal. 118.

Learning to be followed, ſo farre as it concurreth with Gods word.

Luke 16.

The Sinagogue of the deuill more furniſhed with wordly helpes then the Church of Chriſt.

And therefore (my deare hartes in the Lord) conſider theſe thyngs accordingly. Conſider what you be, not worldlyngs, but Gods children. Conſider where you be, not at home, but in a ſtrange countrey. Conſider among whom ye are conuerſant, euen in the middeſt of your enemies, and of a wicked generation, and then I truſt you will not much muſe at affliction. Which you cannot be without, beyng as you be, Gods children, in a ſtrange country, and in the middeſt of your enemies, except you would leaue your captaine Chriſt, and follow Sathan for the mucke of this mould, reſt, and quietnes, which he may promiſe you, & you in deed thinke you ſhall receiue it by doyng as hee would haue you to do (my ſweete hartes) hee is not able to pay that he promiſeth. Peace and warre come from God, riches and pouertie, welth & wo. The Deuil hath no power but by Gods permiſſion. If then God permit hym a little on your goods, body or lyfe, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you (as Peter ſayth) you beyng followers of godlines? Thinke you that God will not remember you in his tyme, as moſt ſhall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the chyld of her wombe? And if ſhe ſhould, yet will not I forget thee (ſayth the Lord.) Looke vpon Abraham in hys exile & miſery, looke vpon Iacob, Ioſeph, Moſes, Dauid, the Prophets, Apoſtles, and all the godly from the beginning: and my good brethren, is not God the ſame God? Is he a chaungeling? You haue heard of the pacience of Iob, (ſayth S Iames) and you haue ſeene the end how that God is mercifull, pacient and long ſuffering: euen ſo I ſay vnto you that you ſhall find accordingly, if ſo be you be pacient, that is, if ſo be you feare hym, ſet his word before you, ſerue him thereafter, and if he lay his croſſe on you, you beare it with pacience: the which you ſhall do when you conſider it not according to the preſent ſenſe, but accordyng to the end. Heb. 12. 2. Cor. 4.

What we be.
Where we be.
Amongeſt who we be.

Affliction no ſtraunge thing amongeſt Gods children.

1. Pet. 3.

Eſay 49.

Examples of Patriarchs and Prophets afflicted in this world.

Iacob. 5.

Therfore I hartily beſech you, & out of my bonds which I ſuffer for your ſake, pray you (myne owne ſweete harts in the Lord) that you would cleaue in hart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many other my brethren. For wee haue taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our owne fantaſies, but the very word of GOD, which we are ready with our lyues (God ſo inhabling vs, as we truſt he will) to confirme, and by the ſheading of our bloudes in all patience and humble obedience to the ſuperior powers, to teſtifie and ſeale vp, as well that you might be more certaine of the doctrine, as that you myght

be

Anno. 1555. July.

be ready to confeſſe the ſame before this wicked world, knowyng that if we confeſſe Chriſt and his truth before men, hee will confeſſe vs before his father in heauen: if ſo be we bee aſhamed hereof for loſſe of lyfe, friends or goods, he wil be aſhamed of vs before his father, and his holy Angels in heauen.

He exhorteth to come from the Maſſe.

Therfore take heede, for the Lordes ſake take heed, take heed, and defile not your bodies or ſoules with this Romiſh and Antichriſtian religion ſet vp amongeſt vs agayne: but come away, come away, as the Angell crieth from amongſt them in their idolatrous ſeruice, leſt you be partakers of their iniquitie. Harken to your preachers as the Theſſalonians did to Paule: that is, conferre their ſayings with the ſcriptures, & if they ſound not thereafter, the morning light ſhall not ſhyne vpon them.

Apoca. 18.

Eſay. 8.

Vſe much and hearty prayer for the ſpirite of wiſedome, knowledge, humblenes, meekenes, ſobrietie, and repentaunce: which we haue great need of, becauſe our ſinnes haue thus prouoked the Lordes anger againſt vs: but let vs beare his anger, and acknowledge our faultes with bitter teares, and ſorowfull ſighes, and doubtles he will be mercifull to vs after his wonted mercy. The which thyng he vouchſafe to do for his holy names ſake, in Chriſt Ieſu our Lord, to whome with the father and the holy ghoſt, be all honour, glory, prayſe, and euerlaſtyng thankes from this tyme forth for euermore. Amen.

Out of priſon by yours in the
Lord to commaund.
Iohn Bradford.

¶ A letter to M. George Eaton.

A letter af M. Bradford to M. George Eaton.

Almighty God our heauenly Father, recompence aboundantly into your boſome (my dearely beloued) here and eternally, the good which frõ him by you I haue continually receiued ſithen my comming into priſon. Otherwyſe can I neuer be able to requite your louing kindneſſe here then by praying for you, and after this lyfe, by witneſſing your fayth declared to me by your fruits, whẽ we ſhall come and appeare together before the throne of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whether (I thanke God) I am euen now a goyng, euer looking when officers wyll come, & ſatiſfie the precept of the Prelates, wherof though I can not complayne, becauſe I haue iuſtly deſerued an hundreth thouſand deaths at gods hands by reaſon of my ſinnes, yet I may and muſt reioyce, becauſe the Prelates do not perſecute in me myne iniquities, but Chriſt Ieſus & his veritie: ſo that they perſecute not me, they hate not me, but they perſecute Chriſt, they hate Chriſt.

The Prelates perſecute and hate the Martirs not for their Iniquities, but for hatred of Chriſt & of his veritye in them.

And becauſe they can do hym no hurt (for he ſitteth in heauen, and laugheth them and their deuiſes to ſcorne, as one day they ſhall feele, therfore they turne their rage vpõ his poore ſheepe, as Herode their father did vpon the infants. Math. 2. Great cauſe therefore haue I to reioyce, that my dere Sauiour Chriſt wil vouchſafe amongſt many, to chuſe me to be a veſſel of grace to ſuffer in me (which haue deſerued ſo often & iuſtly to ſuffer for my ſinnes) that I might be moſt aſſured I ſhall be a veſſell of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therfore (my right deare brother in the Lord) reioice with me, geue thankes for me, and ceaſe not to pray, that God for his mercies ſake would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I haue profeſſed and preached, I do confeſſe vnto you in writing, as to the whole world I ſhortly ſhall by gods grace in ſuffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, of his Church, of his Prophets, Apoſtles and all good men: ſo that if an Angell ſhould come from heauen and preach otherwiſe, the ſame were accurſed.

Iohn Bradford geueth teſtimony of his doctrine.

Therefore wauer not (deare hart in the Lord) but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, whẽ God ſo will, confeſſe it, though it be perillous ſo to do. The end ſhall euidently ſhew an other maner of pleaſure for ſo doyng, then tong can tell. Bee diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Uſe reuerent readyng of Gods worde. Set the ſhortneſſe of this tyme before your eyes, and let not the eternitie that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practiſe in doing that you learne, by reading and hearing. Decline from euill, and purſue good. Remember them that be in bondes, eſpecially for the Lordes cauſe, as members of your body, and fellow heires of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Syon, and the oppreſſion of Ieruſalem: and God our Father ſhall geue you hys continuall bleſſyng thorough Chriſt our Lorde, who guide vs as hys deare children for euer, Amen. And thus I take my Vale and farewell with you (deare brother) for euer in this preſent lyfe, till wee ſhall meete in eternall bliſſe: whether our good God and Father bryng vs ſhortly, Amen. God bleſſe all your babes for euer, Amen. Out of pryſon this viij. of February. Your afflicted brother for the Lordes cauſe.

Iohh Bradford.

¶ An other Letter to Maiſtreſſe Anne Warcuppe.

An o letter Miſtre Anne cup.

Almighty God our heauenly father for his Chriſtes ſake, encreaſe in vs fayth, by which we may more & more ſee what glory and honour is repoſed and ſafely kept in heauen, for all the that beleeue with the hart, and confeſſe Chriſt & his truth wyth the mouth. Amen.

My dearely beloued, I remember that once heretofore I wrote vnto you a Vale or a farewell vpon coniecture: but now I write my farewel to you in this lyfe in deed, vpon certaine knowledge. My ſtaffe ſtandeth at the dore, I continually looke for the ſhiriffe to come for me, and I thanke God I am ready for him. Now goe I to practiſe that which I haue preached. Now am I climing vp the hill, it wil cauſe me to puffe and blow before I come to the cliffe. The hill is ſteepe and high, my breath is ſhort, and my ſtrength is feeble: pray therfore to the Lord for me, that as I haue now thorough his goodnes, euen almoſt come to the toppe, I may by his grace, be ſtrengthened, not to reſt till I come where I ſhould bee. Oh louing Lord, put out thy hand, and drawe me vnto thee: for no man commeth, but he whõ the father draweth. See (my derely beloued) Gods louing mercy: he knoweth my ſhort breath & great weakenes. As he ſent for Helias in a firy chariot, ſo ſendeth he for me: for by fire, my droſſe muſt be purified, that I may bee fine gold in his ſight. Oh vnthankfull wretch that I am: Lord do thou forgeue me myne vnthankfulnes. In deed I confeſſe (right deare to me in the Lord) that my ſinnes haue deſerued hell fire, much more then this fire. But loe, ſo louyng is my Lord, that he conuerteth the remedy for my ſins, the puniſhment for my tranſgreſſions, into a teſtimoniall of his truth, and a teſtification of his veritie, which the Prelates do perſecute in me, & not my ſinnes: therfore they perſecute not me but Chriſt in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part vnto the very end. Amen.

God neth the ferred death of to a glo ous teſti niall of truth.

Oh that I had ſo open an hart, as could ſo receiue as I ſhould do, this great benefite and vnſpeakeable dignitie, which God my father offreth to me. Now, pray for me, my dearely beloued: pray for me that I neuer ſhrinke. I ſhall neuer ſhrinke I hope, I truſt in the Lord I ſhall neuer ſhrinke: for he that alwayes hath taken my part, I am aſſured will not leaue me when I haue moſt neede, for his truth and mercies ſake. Oh Lord help me: Into thy handes I commend me wholy. In the Lord is my truſt, I care not what mã can do vnto me. Amen. My dearely beloued, ſay you Amen alſo, and come after if ſo God call you. Bee not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, but keepe company with him ſtill. He wyll neuer leaue you, but in the midſt of temptation will geue you an outſcape, to make you able to beare the brunt. Vſe hearty prayer, reuerently read and heare Gods word, put it in practiſe, looke for the croſſe, lift vp your heads, for your redemption draweth nye: know that the death of Gods ſaints is precious in his ſight: Bee mery in the Lord, pray for the mitigation of Gods heauy diſpleaſure vppon our countrey. God keepe vs for euer, God bleſſe vs with his ſpirituall bleſſings in Chriſt. And thus I bid you farewel for euer in this preſent lyfe. Pray for me, pray for me, for Gods ſake, pray for me. God make perfect his good worke begun in me. Amen. Out of priſon this vij. of February.

Yours in the Lord.
Iohn Bradford.

In the ſtory of M. Bradford it was aboue rehearſed, how a certaine Gentlewoman beyng in trouble by her father and mother for not comming to Maſſe, ſent her ſeruant to viſite M. Bradford in priſon, who tenderyng the wofull caſe of the Gentlewoman, to the entent partly to confirme her with counſaile, partly to relieue her oppreſſed mynd with ſome comfort, directed this letter vnto her: the contents whereof are theſe.

¶ To a certaine godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her friends, for not comming to the Maſſe.

An other letter of Bradford a godly tlewoma Rom. 1.

I wiſh vnto you right worſhipfull, and my dearely beloued ſiſter in the Lord, as to my ſelfe, the continual grace and comfort of Chriſt and of his holy word through the operation of the holy ſpirit, who ſtrengthen your inward man with the ſtrength of God, that you may continue to the end, in the faithful obedience of Gods goſpel, whereto you are called, Amen.

I perceiued by your ſelfe the laſt day when you were with me, how that you are in the Scholehouſe, and triall parlour of the Lord, which to me is (at the leaſt it ſhould be) a great comfort, to ſee the number of gods elect by you encreaſed, which is in that ſtate wherof God hath not called many, as Paule ſaith. And as it is a comfort to mee, ſo ſhould it be a confirmation vnto me, that the Lord for his faithfulnes ſake, will make perfect and finiſh the good hee hath begun in you to the end.

1. Cor. 1.

1. Cor. 1. and 10.

If then your croſſe be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of Gods continuall fauour (my dearely beloued): how much more ought it to bee ſo vnto you? Unto whom he hath not onely geuen to beleue but alſo to come into the trace of ſuffering for his ſake, and that not commonly of common enemies, but euen of your owne father, mother, and all your friends, I meane kinſfolks as you told me. By which I ſee Chriſtes wordes to be true: How that he came to geue his childrē ſuch a peace with him, as the Deuill might not, nor may abide, & therfore ſtirreth vp father and mother, ſiſter and brother, rather then it ſhould continue. But (my deare ſiſter) if you cry with Dauid to the Lord, and complaine to him: how that for conſcience to him, your father and mother haue forſaken you, you ſhal heare him ſpeake in your heart, that he hath receiued you, and by this would haue you to ſee, how that he maketh you here lyke to Chriſt, that elſwhere in heauen you might be like vnto him whereof you ought to be moſt aſſured, knowing that in time, euen whē Chriſt ſhall appeare, you ſhalbe lyke vnto hym. For he wil make your body which now you defile not with Idolatrical ſeruice in goyng to Maſſe, lyke vnto his owne glorious and immortall body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all thyngs. He wil confeſſe you before his father, which doe not deny his veritie in worde nor deede before your father: he wil make you to raign with him, that now ſuffer for him and with him: he wil not leaue you comfortles, that ſeeke no comfort but at his hand, though for a litle tyme you be afflicted, yet therein will hee comfort and ſtrength you, and at the length make you to be mery with hym, in ſuch ioy as is infinite and endleſſe. He wil wipe al the teares from your eyes: he will embrace you as your deare huſband: he will after he hath prooued you, crowne you with a crowne of glory and immortalitie, ſuch as the hart of man ſhall neuer be able to conceiue in ſuch ſorte as the thyng is. He now beholdeth your ſtedfaſtnes, and ſtriuyng to doe his good will: and ſhortly will hee ſhew you how ſtedfaſt he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you haue fully reſigned it to his will.

Pledge him in his cup of the croſſe, & you ſhall pledge him in the cuppe of his glory. Deſire to drinke it before it come to the dregs, whereof the wicked ſhall drinke, and all thoſe that for feare of the croſſe and pledging the Lord, doe walke with the wicked in betraying in fact and deed, that which their hart embraceth for veritie. The which thyng if you ſhould do (which God forbid) then my deare Miſtres and Siſter in the Lord, you ſhould not onely looſe all that I haue before ſpoken, and much more infinitely of eternall ioy and glory, but alſo be a caſt away, and partaker of gods moſt heauy diſpleaſure in hell fire eternally: and for a little eaſe, which you cannot tell how long it wyll laſt, to looſe for euer and euer, all eaſe and comfort. For hee that gathereth not with me (ſayth Chriſt, as no Maſſe Goſpeller doth) ſcattereth abroad. According to that we do in this body, we ſhall receyue, be it good or badde. If of our words we ſhall be iudged to condemnation or ſaluation: much more then of our factes and deedes. You cannot be partaker of Gods religion and Antichriſts ſeruice, wherof the Maſſe is moſt principall. You cannot be a member of Chriſtes Church, and a member of the Papes Church. You muſt glorifie God not onely in ſoule and hart, but alſo in body and deede. You may not thinke that God requireth leſſe of you his wyfe now, then your huſband dyd of you. If both hart and body your huſband would haue, ſhall Chriſt haue leſſe (trow you) which hath ſo bitterly & dearely bought it? If your huſband could not admitte an excuſe how your hart is his onely if he ſhould haue taken your body in bed with another: do you thinke that Chriſt will allow your body at Maſſe, although your heart conſent not to it?

God eſteemeth his children, not onely of their hartes, but of their pure hands and workes, and therfore in Helias tyme, he counted none to be his ſeruants and people, but ſuch as had not bowed their knees to Baall: as now he doth not in England accompt any other to be his derlings, which know the truth in hart, and deny it in theyr deeds, as do our Maſſe Goſpellers.

We ought to deſire aboue all thyngs the ſanctifieng of Gods holy name, and the commyng of his kingdom, and ſhall we then ſee his name blaſphemed ſo horribly as it is at Maſſe, by making it a ſacrifice propitiatorie, and ſetting forth a falſe Chriſt of the Prieſts and bakers makyng, to be worſhipped as GOD, and ſay nothing? The Iewes rent their clothes aſunder in ſeeyng or hearing any thyng blaſphemouſly done or ſpoken againſt God, and ſhall we yet come to Church where Maſſe is, and be mute? Paule and Barnabas rent their clothes to ſee the people of Lycaonia to offer ſacrifice vnto them, and ſhall we ſee ſacrifice and gods ſeruice done to an inanimate creature and be mumme? What thing helpeth more or ſo much Antichriſts kingdom as doth the Maſſe? And what deſtroyeth preachyng and the kyngdome of Chriſt vpon earth more then it doth? And how can we then ſay: Let thy kyngdome come, and go to Maſſe? How can we pray before God: Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our owne will, and the will of our father or friendes? How pray we: Deliuer vs from euill: which knowyng the Maſſe to be euill, do come to it?

The Maſſe deſtroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Chriſt.

But what goe I about to light a candle in the Noone day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to Maſſe, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprooue it, in that all men in ſo doyng, do but diſſemble both with God and man? And is diſſembling now to be allowed? How lōg will men yet halt on both knees (ſaith God)? Halting (ſayeth Paule) bringeth out of the way, that is to ſay, out of Chriſt, which is the way: ſo that he which is not in him ſhal wither away, and be caſt into hell fire. For Chriſt will be aſhamed of them before his father, which be now aſhamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

He diſſuadeth her from the Maſſe.

Therfore my good maiſtreſſe take good heed: for it had bene better for you neuer to haue knowen the truth, and there through to haue eſcaped from papiſticall vncleanes, then now to returne to it, making eftſoones your mēbers, beyng members of righteouſneſſe, members of vnrighteouſneſſe, as you do, if you do but goe to the Church where Maſſe is. Be pure therfore, and keepe your ſelfe from all filth of the ſpirit, and of the fleſh. Abſtaine not onely from all euil, but from all appearance of euill.

And ſo the God of peace ſhall be with you, the glory of God ſhall gouerne you, the ſpirite of God ſhall ſanctifie you, and be with you for euer, to keepe you from all euill, and to comfort you in all your diſtreſſe and trouble, which is but ſhort if you conſider the eternitie you ſhall enioy in glory and felicitie in the Lorde, which vndoubtedly you ſhall not fayle but inherite for euer, if ſo be you, as the elect chylde of God, put your truſt in hys mercy, call vpon hys name vnfainedly, and yeld not ouer to the wicked world, but ſticke ſtill agaynſt it vnto the ende. God for his holy names ſake, which is properly the God of the widowes, be your good and deare Father for euer, and helpe you alwayes as I my ſelfe would bee holpen at hys handes in all thynges, and eſpecially in this hys owne cauſe, Amen, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To one by whome he had receyued much comfort and reliefe in his trouble and impriſonment.

A letter of thankes to a good benefactour of his.

The mercy of God in Chriſt peculiar to hys children, be euermore felt of you, my derely beloued in the Lord, Amen.

When I conſider with my ſelfe the benefites whiche God hath ſhewed vnto me by your meanes, if I had ſo good and thankfull a hart as I would I had, I could not with dry eies geue him thanks: for certainly they are very many and great. And now beyng yet ſtill the Lords priſoner, I perceiue from him mo benefits by you. For yͭ which I thinke my ſelfe ſo much bounde to you my good brother (although you were but the inſtrument by whome God wrought and bleſſed me) that I looke not to come out of your debt by any pleaſure or ſeruice that I ſhall euer be able to do you in this lyfe. I ſhall hartily praye vnto God therefore to requite you the good you haue done to me for hys ſake: for I know that which you haue done, you haue done it ſimply in reſpect of God & his word. He therefore geue you daily more and more to be cōfirmed in his truth and word, and ſo plentifully poure vpon you the riches of his holy ſpirit and heauenly treaſures layd vp in ſtore for you, that your corporall and earthly riches may be vſed of you as Sacraments and ſignifications thereof: the more to deſire the one, that is, the heauenly, & the leſſe to eſteeme the other, that is, the earthly. For Sathans ſollicitation is, ſo to ſet before you the earthly, that therein and therby you ſhould not haue acceſſe to the conſideration of the heauenly, but as one bewitched ſhould vtterly forget them, & altogether become a louer and worſhipper of the earthlye Mammon, and ſo to fall to couetouſnes, and a deſire to be rich, by that meanes to bring you into many noiſome and hurtfull luſtes: as now a dayes I heare of many whiche haue vtterly forſaken God and all his heauenly riches, for Antichriſts pleaſure, and the preſeruing of theyr worldly pelfe, which they imagine to leaue to their poſterity, wherof they are vncertaine, as they may be moſt certaine they leaue to them Gods wrath and vengeance, in his tyme to be ſent by viſitation, if they in tyme hartily repent not, & preuent not the ſame by earneſt prayer. Wherein my good bro-

Chriſt forſaken of many for the preſeruing of worldly pelfe.

Anno. 1555. Iuly.

brother, if you be diligent, harty, and perſeuere, I am ſure God will preſerue you from euill, and from yelding your ſelfe to do as the world now doth, by allowyng in bodily fact in the Romiſh ſeruice, that which the inward cogitation and mynd doth diſallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into conſideration of earthly & preſent things ſimply, then ſhall you fall into faithleſſe follies and woundyng of your conſcience: from which God euermore preſerue you with your good wife, and your babe Leonard & all your familie, to the which I wiſh the bleſſing of God now and for euer, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

I pray you geue thanks for me to your old bedfellow for his great friendſhip for your ſake ſhewed to me when I was in the Tower.

John Bradford.

¶ To a faithfull friend of his, and his wyfe, reſoluing their doubt why they ought not to come to auricular confeſſion.

An other letter of M. Bradford diſprouing auricular confeſſion.

THe mercifull God, and father of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, which loueth vs as a moſt deare Father, and hath put vppon hym towards vs the affection of a moſt tender mother towardes her children, ſo that he can no leſſe thinke vpon vs (although of our ſelues we be moſt vnworthy, and deſerue nothyng leſſe) then ſhe can thinke on her onely begotten chyld in his diſtreſſe, yea if ſhe ſhould forget her childe, as ſome vnnaturall mother will do, yet will he neuer forget vs, although for a tyme he ſeme to ſleepe that we might be occaſioned to call loud and awake hym: thys good God keepe you, my deare brother * Nathanaell, and your good yokefellow, my hartily beloued Siſter in the Lorde, in all thyngs now and for euer, to his glory and your eternal comfort: and alſo of his goodnes he graunt you both the feelyng of that hope, which vndoubtedly he hath layd vp in ſtore for you both, farre paſſing the ſtore and prouiſion, not onely which you haue made, but all the world is able to make, as I truſt already he hath wrought it in you, but I beſech him to encreaſe it more & more and kindle in you a harty longyng for the enioying of the ſame, the which once felt & had in deed, then the meanes by the which we come thereto, cannot be ſo greatly dread, as moſt men doe dread them, becauſe either they want this feeling (I meane it of altogether) or els becauſe the ſenſe of this preſent tyme & things therein, are as a miſt to the hidyng of thoſe thyngs frō our ſight, leaſt we ſhould run and embrace them by harty prayer: the ſpirit wherof God graunt vs, and in deed we ſhould attaine enough in this behalfe, if we continued therein.

* Note that this Nathanaell was not his proper name, but was ſo called for his vnfayned ſimplicity & truth.

For auricular confeſſion, wherein you deſire my aduiſe for your good yokefellow and family (my moſt deare brother) I am as ready to geue it, as you to deſire it, yea more glad, for as much as halfe a ſuſpicion was in me (at the leaſt touching my deare ſiſter your wyfe) of a lothyng of my aduiſe, that to much had bene geuen, where in deed I ſhould lament my too little feedyng you ſpiritually, as both you out of priſon and in priſon haue fed me corporally. But as I alwayes thought of her, ſo I yet thinke that ſhe is the chyld of God, whom God dearely loueth, and wil in his good tyme to her eternall comfort, geue her her hartes deſire in ſure feelyng and ſenſible beleuyng of this, which I would ſhe had often in her mynd: namely, that hee is her God & father through Chriſt Ieſus our deare Lord and Sauiour. A greater ſeruice to God ſhe cannot geue, then to beleue this. If Sathan ſay ſhe beleeueth not, to anſwer, not hym but the Lord, and to ſay, yea Lorde helpe my vnbeliefe, and encreaſe my poore fayth, which Sathan ſayth is no fayth: make him a lyer Lord, as alwayes he hath bene, is, and ſhall be. Vndoubtedly, ſooner or later God will graciouſly heare her grones, and keepe all her teares in his bottell, yea write them in his countyng booke, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleaſure in the death of his creature: he loueth mercy, he wil returne and ſhew her his mercy: he will caſt all her ſinnes and iniquities into the botome of the ſea: and the longer that he tarieth (as he doth it but to prooue her) ſo the more liberally will he recompence her long lookyng, which no leſſe pleaſeth hym, then it grieueth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof, God vſeth this croſſe, and therfore if ſhe deſire to beare the ſame, doubtles God will make her able to beare it: & in preſumption of his goodnes and ſtrength, let her caſt her ſelfe wholy vpon him: for he is faithfull, and will aſſuredly confirme, and bring to a happy end that good which graciouſly he hath begun in her. The which thyng I deſire hym to do for his owne glory & names ſake. Amen. Amen.

What to do if Sathan charge our conſcience with vnbeliefe.

The Lord the longer he taryeth, the more liberally he recompenſeth at his comming.

And now to the matter. Confeſſion auricular, as it was firſt vſed and inſtituted (which was by the way of counſaile askyng) I take to be amongſt thoſe traditions which are indifferent, that is, neyther vnlawfull, nor neceſſarily byndyng vs, except the offence of the weake could not be auoyded. But to conſider it, as it is now vſed (I write to you but as I thinke, and what my mynd is, the which follow no further, then good men by Gods worde do allow it) to conſider it I ſay, as it is now vſed, me thinkes, it is plainly vnlawfull and wicked, and that for theſe cauſes.

Confeſſion auricular to what end it was firſt inſtituted.

Auricular confeſſion, as it is abuſed, is to be reiected, as vnlawfull & wicked for 8. cauſes.

Firſt, becauſe they make it a ſeruice of God & a thing which pleaſeth God of it ſelfe, I will not ſay meritorious, this bringer my brother can tell you at large how great euill this is.

Secondly, becauſe they make it of neceſſitie, ſo that he or ſhe that vſeth it not, is not taken for a good Chriſtian.

Thirdly, becauſe it requireth of it ſelfe an impoſſibilitie, that is, the numbryng and tellyng of all our ſinnes, which no man perceiueth, much leſſe can vtter.

Fourthly, becauſe it eſtabliſheth and confirmeth, at the leaſt alloweth praying to Saints, Precor Sanctam Mariam: you muſt ſay or the Prieſt for you.

Fifthly, becauſe it is very iniurious to the liberty of the Goſpell, the which to affirme in example and fact, I take to be a good worke, and deare in Gods ſight.

Sixtly, becauſe (as it is vſed) it is a note, yea a very ſinow of the Popiſh church: and therefore we ſhould be ſo farre from allowyng the ſame, that we ſhould thinke our ſelues happy to loſe any thing in bearyng witnes there agaynſt.

Seuenthly, becauſe in ſtead of counſaile, thereat you ſhould receiue poiſon, or if you refuſe it vnder ſir Iohns Benedicite, you ſhould no leſſe there be wound in the briers.

Eightly, becauſe the end and purpoſe why we go thether, is for the auoidyng of the croſſe, that is, for our owne cauſe, and not for Chriſtes cauſe, or for our brethrens commoditie. For in that they make it ſo neceſſary a thyng, and a worſhippyng of God, it cannot but be agaynſt Chriſt, and the freedome of hys Goſpell: and the ſame thyng teacheth vs, that it is agaynſt the commoditie of our brethren, which eyther be weake, eyther be ſtrong, eyther be ignorant, either be obſtinate. If they be weake by your reſortyng to it, they be made more weake. If they be ſtrong, you do what you can to infirme their ſtrength If they be ignorant, therein you helpe to keepe them by your facte. If they bee obſtinate, your reſortyng to it cannot but rocke them a ſleepe in their obſtinate errour of the neceſſitie of this rite and ceremony. Theſe cauſes recited doe ſhew you what I thinke in this: but my thinkyng muſt no further bynd you then a mans thought ſhould do, except the ſame be grounded vpon Gods worde which byndeth in deede, as I thinke they doe. I doubt not but you waying theſe cauſes, and eſpecially two of the firſt and the laſt, if you pray to God for his ſpirite to direct you, and thereto aſke the aduiſe of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I ſay) but you ſhould be guided to do that which is beſt in gods ſight, although in the ſight of the world perhaps you ſhould bee counted fooliſh and preciſe. But bee at a poynt with your ſelues as the diſciples of Chriſt, which had forſaken themſelues, to follow not your will, but Gods will, as you daily pray in the Lordes prayer.

The croſſe of Chriſt bee willyng to cary, leaſt you cary the croſſe of the world, the fleſh or the deuill. One of theſe 4. croſſes you muſt cary. Three of them bringeth to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heauen, but few go that way, as wel becauſe the way is ſtraite, as alſo becauſe few walke in it. Howbeit, though it bee ſtraite, it is but ſhort, and the few are many, if you conſider the godly, as the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors and Chriſt Ieſus, with all his gard and trayne. Thinke not ſcorne to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whoſe number I truſt I am apointed to be one, and I beſeech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our ſinnes deſerue plagues, priſon, and the loſſe of all that euer wee haue: therefore if God remooue our ſinnes out of ſight, and ſende vs priſon, or loſſe of goods and liuyng for his names ſake, Oh how happy are we? My deare hearts in the Lord, conſider this geare and bee aſſured that he which looſeth any thyng for Chriſtes ſake, the ſame in his poſteritie ſhall finde it here, and in heauen elſewhere. As for vnablenes to aunſwer for your fayth: it ſhall be enough to will them to diſpute with your teachers. Faith ſtandeth not in diſputyng. I thinke few, if it came to diſputing, could defend the godhead of Chriſt and many other articles: I ſpeake it for the ſimple ſorte. Pray for me. Lacke of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B. and my good ſiſter his wyfe. I pray them to pray for me. I truſt by this bearer to heare how you do.

4. Cros
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John Bradford.

¶ Another letter to N. and his wyfe.

Anoth
letter o
Bradf
a dear
friend
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GOds mercy in Chriſt I wiſh you to feele, my dere brother, with my faithfull ſiſter your wyfe, now and for euer, Amen.

Hauing this occaſion, I could not but write ſomething as wel to put my ſelfe in remembrance of my duty to godwards for you both, in thankefulnes and praier, as to put you in remembrance of me and your duety towards God for me, in praying for me: for I dare not ſay in thankfulnes for me: nor that I would haue you to geue no thanks to God for his wonderfull great and ſweete mercies towards me, and vpon me in Chriſt his ſonne: but becauſe

I

I haue not deſerued it at either of your handes. For ye both know right wel, at leaſt my cōſcience doth accuſe me, how that I haue not onely not exhorted & taught you, (as both my vocation and your deſerts required) to walke worthy of that vocation which god hath made you worthy of, and with trēbling and feare to worke out your ſaluation, that is, in the feare of God to geue your ſelues to great vigilācie in praier for the encreaſe of faith, and to a wary circumſpection in all your conuerſation, not onely in workes and wordes, but alſo in thoughts, becauſe God is a ſearcher of the heart, and out of the heart it commeth, that defileth vs in Gods ſight: I haue (I ſay) not onely not done thys, but alſo haue geuen you example of negligence in praier, watching, faſting, talking and doing, ſo that woe to me for geuing ſuche offence. Partly for this cauſe deare brother and ſiſter, God hath caſt me heere that I might repent me and turne to him, and that ye might alſo by this correction vpon me, be more diligent to redreſſe theſe things and others if they in your conſcience doe accuſe you.

My dearly beloued, heauy is Gods anger fallen vpon vs all: doulefull is this day. Nowe hath Antichriſt all his power again. Now is Chriſtes goſpel troden vnder fote. Now is Gods people a deriſion and pray for the wicked. Now is the greateſt plague of al plagues fallen, the want of Gods word: and al theſe we haue, yea I alone haue iuſtly deſerued. Oh that as I wryte (I alone) I could wᵗ Dauid, 1. Par. 21. and with Ionas in heart ſay ſo. But I doe not, I do not I ſee not howe greeuouſly I haue ſinned, & howe great a miſery is fallen for mine vnthankefulnes for Gods worde, for mine hypocriſie in profeſſing, preaching, hearing, and ſpeaking of Gods word, for my not praying to God for the cōtinuance of it, for my not louing of it thoroughly as it requireth. &c. I will ſpeake nothing of my manifeſt euils, for they are knowen to you wel enough.

Deare brother and ſiſter, wyth me ſay yee the lyke for your owne partes, and with me ioyne your hearts, and let vs go to our heauenly father, and for his Chriſtes ſake beſeche him to be mercifull vnto vs, and to pardon vs: Oh good father it is we that haue deſerued the taking away of thy worde, it is we that haue deſerued theſe thy iuſt plagues fallen vpon vs, we haue done amiſſe, we haue dealt vniuſtly wyth thy Goſpell, we haue procured thy wrathe, and therfore iuſt art thou in puniſhing vs, iuſt art thou in plaging vs, for we are very miſerable. But good Lord and deare father of mercy, whoſe iuſtice is ſuch, that thou wilt not puniſh the poore ſoules of thys realme, which yet haue not thus ſinned againſt thee, as wee haue done (for manye yet neuer heard thy worde) for oure treſpaſſes, and whoſe mercy is ſo great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembraunce for thy Chriſtes ſake, if we repent and beleue: graunt vs we beſeech thee, true repentance & faith, that we hauing obtained pardon for our ſinnes, may thorough thy Chriſt get deliuerance from the tirannie of Antichriſt now oppreſſing vs.

Oh good Father, whych haſte ſayde that the Scepter of the wicked ſhould not long lie vpon and ouer the iuſt, leaſt they put foorth their handes to iniquitie alſo: make vs iuſt, we pray thee in Chriſtes name, and cut a ſunder the cordes of them that hate Sion: let not the wicked people ſay, wher is their God? Thou our God art in heauen, and doeſt whatſoeuer it pleaſeth thee vpon earth.

Oh that thou wouldeſt in the meane whiles, before thou doe deliuer vs, that (I ſay) thou wouldeſt open our eyes to ſee all theſe plagues to come from thee, & all other that ſhall come, what ſo euer they be, publicke or priuate, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come euen from thy hande, and that iuſtly and mercifully: iuſtly becauſe we haue & doe deſerue them, not only by our birth poyſone ſtill ſticking and working in vs, but alſo by our former euill life paſt, whiche by thys puniſhment and all other puniſhmentes, thou wouldeſt haue vs to call to our remembraunce and to ſet before vs, that thou mighteſt put them from before thee, where as they ſtand ſo long as they are not in oure remembraunce, to put them awaye by repentaunce. Mercifully oh Lord God doeſt thou puniſh, in that thou doeſt not correct to kill, but to amend, that we might repent our ſinnes, aſke mercye, obtaine it freely in Chriſte, and beginne to ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake: to be part of thy houſe, whereat thy iudgement beginneth: to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church, and thy Chriſt, that wee might be partakers of the glorye of the ſame: to weepe here, that we might reioyce elſe where: to be iudged in this world, that we might with thy Saintes iudge here after yͤ worlde: to ſuffer with Chriſt, that we might raigne with him: to be like to Chriſte in ſhame, that we might be like to hym in glory: to receiue our euils here, yͤ we might with poore Lazarus finde reſt elſe where: reſt (I ſaye) and ſuch a reſt as the eye hath not ſene, the eare hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceiue.

Oh that our eyes were open to ſee thys, that the croſſe commeth from thee to declare thy iuſtice & thy mercye, and hereto, that we might ſee howe ſhort a time the time of ſuffering is: how long a time the time of reioyſing is to them that ſuffer heere: but to them that will not, how longe and miſerable a time is appoynted and prepared: a time without time in eternall woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought vpon. From the which keepe vs deare father, and geue more ſight in ſoule to ſee thys geare, and how that all thy deareſt children haue caried the croſſe of greeuous affliction in this life: in whoſe cōpany do thou place vs, and ſuch a croſſe lay vpō vs as thou wilt make vs able to bear to thy glory and our ſaluation in Chriſt, for whoſe ſake we pray thee to ſhorten the dayes of this our great miſery fallen vppon vs moſt iuſtly, and in the meane ſeaſon geue vs patience, repentaunce, faith, and thy eternall conſolation. Amen. Amen. Amen.

The Croſſe ſet from God, and to what ende.

And thus deare heartes I haue talked (me thinkes) a litle while wᵗ you, or rather we haue all talked wyth God. Oh that God would geue vs his ſpirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloued, pray for it, as for your ſelues, ſo for me, and that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy to ſuffer with a good conſcience for his names ſake. Pray for me, and I ſhall do the like for you. This 20. of December, by him whome by this bringer ye ſhal learne. I praye you geue me commendations to all that loue me in the Lorde. Be mery in Chriſte, for one daye in heauen we ſhall meete and reioyce together for euermore. Amen.

To my good brother Auguſtine Barneher.

Mine owne good Auguſtine, the Lorde of mercye bleſſe thee my deare brother for euer. I haue good hope that if you come late at night, I ſhall ſpeake with you, but come as ſecretely as you can: Howbeit, in the meane ſeaſon if you can, and as you can, learne what maiſter G. hath ſpoken to Doctor Storie and others. The cauſe of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is ſaid that I ſhalbe burned in Smithfield, and that ſhortly. Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me. i. The Lordes will be done. Behold here I am Lord, ſend me. Ah mine owne ſweete frend, I am now alone, leaſte I ſhoulde make you and others worſe. If I ſhould liue, I would more warely vſe the companye of Gods children, then euer I haue done. Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccaui ei. i. I wil bear the Lords anger, becauſe I haue ſinned againſt him. Commēd me to my moſt deare Siſter, for whome my heart bledeth, the Lorde comfort her, and ſtrengthen her vnto the ende. I thinke I haue taken my leaue of her for euer in thys life, but in eternall life we ſhall moſt ſurely mete and praiſe the Lord continually. I haue now takē a more certaine aunſwere of death, then euer I did: and yet not ſo certaine as I thinke I ſhoulde doe. I am nowe as a ſheepe appoynted to the ſlaughter. Ah my God, the houre is come, glorifie thy moſt vnworthy childe, I haue glorified thee, ſayeth this my ſweete father, and I will glorifie thee, Amen. Ah mine owne bowels, praiſe God for me, and pray for mee: for I am his I hope: I hope hee will neuer forſake me, though I haue aboue all other moſte deſerued it. I am the moſt ſingular example of his mercye: praiſed be hys name therefore for euer. Cauſe Miſtres Perpoint to learne of the Sheriffe Maſter Cheſter, what they purpoſe to doe with mee, and knowe if you cā, whether there be any wryt foorth for me. Factus ſum ſicut nicticorax in domicilio, & paſſer ſolitarius in tecto. i. I am like to an Owle in the houſe, and as a ſparrowe alone in the houſe toppe Ah my Auguſtine, howe long ſhall Gods enemies thus triumphe? I haue ſent you this of the Baptiſme of children to wryte out: when this is done, you ſhall haue other things. Pray, pray mine owne deare heart, on whome I am bolde. The keeper telleth me that it is death for any to ſpeake with me, but yet I truſt that I ſhall ſpeake wyth you.

Iohn Bradford.

This Auſten being a Dutchman, was Latimers ſeruant, & a faythfull miniſter in the time of K. Edwarde, and in Q. Maryes time a dilligent attendant vpon the Lordes priſoners.

Mich. 6.

Pſal. 101.

To theſe letters of M. Bradforde aboue ſpecified, here is alſo adioyned an other Letter of the ſayde Bradforde, wrytten to certaine of his faithfull friendes, worthy of all Chriſtians to be read: wherein is deſcribed a liuely compariſon betweene the Olde man and the Newe: Alſo betweene the Law and the Goſpell, containing much frutefull matter of diuinitie, neceſſary for Chriſtian conſciences to read and vnderſtand.

A letter of M. Bradford, deſcribing a compariſon betweene the olde man and the newe. &c.

A Man that is regenerate and borne of God (the whiche thing that euery one of vs be, our baptiſme the Sacrament of regeneration doth require vnder paine of damnation, and therefore lette euery one of vs wyth the virgine Mary ſay: be it vnto me O Lord, according to thy word, accor-

A compariſon betweene the olde man, and the new, by M. Bradford.

ding to thy Sacrament of baptiſme, wherein thou haſt declared our adoption: and let vs lament the doubting hereof in vs, ſtriuing againſte it, as we ſhalbe made able of the Lorde): a man, I ſay, that is regenerate, conſiſteth of two men (as a man may ſay) namely of the olde man, and of the newe man. The olde man is like to a mighty Giaunt, ſuche a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfecte. But the newe man is like vnto a little childe, ſuch a one as was Dauid, for his birth is not perfect vntill the day of hys generall reſurrection.

The old man. The new man.

The old man therfore is more ſtronger, luſty, and ſtirring then is the newe man, becauſe the birth of the newe man is but begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the olde man is more ſtirring, luſtye and ſtronger then the newe man: ſo is the nature of him cleane contrary to the nature of the newe man, as being earthly and corrupt with Sathans ſeede, the nature of the newe man being heauenly and bleſſed with the celeſtiall ſeede of God. So that one man, in as muche as he is corrupte wyth the ſeede of the Serpent, is an olde man: and in as muche as he is bleſſed with the ſeede of God from aboue, he is a new man. And as, in as much as he is an old mã, he is a ſinner and an enemy to God: ſo in as much as he is regenerat, he is righteous & holy, and a frend to God, the ſeede of God preſeruing him from ſinne, ſo that hee cannot ſinne, as the ſeede of the Serpent, wherewith hee is corrupt euen from his conception, inclineth hym, yea enforceth him to ſinne, and nothing els but to ſinne: So that the beſt part in man before regeneration in Gods ſight, is not onely an enemy but enmitie it ſelfe.

Why the olde man is ſtronger then the new.

In what reſpect one man is both an old man and alſo a new man.

One man therefore, which is regenerate, well may be called alwayes iuſt, and alwaies ſinneful: iuſt in reſpect of Gods ſeede, and hys regeneration: ſinnefull in reſpecte of Sathans ſeede and his firſt birth. Betwixt theſe two men therfore, there is cõtinual conflict, and warre moſt deadly. The fleſh and olde man by reaſon of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time, preuaile againſte the newe man (being but a child in compariſon) and that in ſuch ſorte, as not onely other, but euen the children of God them ſelues thinke that they be nothing els but old, and that the ſpirite & ſeede of God is loſt and gone away, where yet notwithſtanding, the truth is otherwiſe, the ſpirite and the ſeede of God at the length appearing againe, and diſpelling away the clouds which couer the ſonne of Gods ſeede from ſhyning as the cloudes in the aire do the corporall Sunne: ſo that ſometimes a man cannot tel by any ſenſe, that ther is any Sunne, the cloudes and windes ſo hiding it from our ſight: Euen ſo our cecitie or blindnes, and corrupte affections do often ſhadow the ſight of Gods ſede in Gods children, as though they were plaine reprobates. Whereof it cõmeth, that they praying according to their ſenſe, but not according to the truthe, deſire of God to giue them agayne his ſpirite, as thoughe they had loſt it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God nor dothe in deede, although hee make vs to thinke ſo for a time: for alwayes hee holdeth hys hand vnder his children in their falles, that they lye not ſtill as other doe whych are not regenerate. And thys is the differẽce betwixte Gods children which are generate and elect before all times in Chriſte, and the wicked caſt awayes, that the elect lie not ſtil continually in theyr ſinne, as doe the wicked, but at the length doe returne agayne by reaſon of Gods ſeede, which is in them hid as a ſparkle of fire in the aſhes: as we maye ſee in Peter, Dauid, Paule, Mary Magdalene, and others. For theſe (I meane Gods children) God hathe made all thinges in Chriſte Ieſu, to whom he hath geuen this dignitie, that they ſhould be hys inheritaunce and ſpouſes.

How one man may be called alwayes ſinfull, and alwayes iuſt.

Why the olde man oftentymes preuayleth agaynſt the new man.

The old man ſo mightely preuayleth ſometymes agaynſt the new in the children of God that the ſpirite & ſeede of God ſeemeth to be vtterly taken from them: whereas in deede, it is not ſo, as afterwards to their great comfort, they finde and feele.

Thys our inheritour Chriſte Ieſus, God wyth God, light of lyght, coeternall and conſubſtantiall wyth the Father and wyth the holy Ghoſte, to the ende that he myghte become our huſbande (becauſe the huſbande and the wyfe muſt be one body and fleſh) hath taken our nature vppon him, communicating with it and by it in his owne perſon, to vs all his children, his diuine maieſtie (as Peter ſayth) and ſo is become fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of oure bones ſubſtantially: as we are become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones ſpiritually, al that euer we haue perteining to him, yea euẽ our ſinnes: as al that euer he hath, pertaineth vnto vs, euen his whole glory. So that if Sathan ſhould ſommon vs to aunſwere for oure dettes or ſinnes, in that the wife is no ſutable perſon but the huſbãd, we may well bid him enter his action againſt our huſband Chriſte, and he will make him a ſufficient aunſwere.

1. Peter. 1.

As the wyfe is no ſutable perſon, but the huſband: ſo Chriſte being our huſband, let him enter the Action for our ſinnes.

For this ende (I meane that we might be coupled and maried thus to Chriſte, and ſo be certaine of ſaluation, and at godly peace with God in our cõſciences) God hath geuen his holy worde, which hath two partes (as nowe the children of God do conſiſt of two men): one part of Gods word being proper to the old man, & the other part of gods word being proper to ỹ new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man, is the lawe: the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the Goſpell.

The lawe is a doctrine whych commaundeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and auoiding. Vnder it therefore are contained all precepts, threatnings, promiſes vppon conditions of our doing and auoiding. &c. The Goſpell is a doctrine which alwayes offereth and geueth, requiryng on our behalfe, not as of worthineſſe or as a cauſe, but as a certificate vnto vs, and therefore vnder it are contained al the free and ſweete promiſes of God: as, I am the Lorde thy God. &c.

In thoſe that bee of yeares of diſcretion, it requyreth faith, not as a cauſe, but as an inſtrument wherby we our ſelues may be certaine of our good huſbande Chriſt and of hys glory: and therefore when the conſcience feeleth it ſelfe diſquieted for feare of Gods iudgement againſt ſinne, ſhe may in no wiſe looke vpon the doctrine pertaining to the olde man, but on the doctrine onely that pertaineth to the new man, in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is faith, becauſe we neuer beleeue as we ſhoulde: but onely on it which it offereth, and whych it geueth, that is, on Gods grace and eternall mercye and peace in Chriſte. So ſhall ſhe be in quiet, when ſhe looketh for it altogether oute of her ſelfe, in Gods mercy in Chriſt Ieſu: in whoſe lappe if ſhee lay her head wyth S. Iohn, then is ſhe happy, and ſhall finde quietneſſe in deede. When ſhee feeleth her ſelfe quiet, then (in Gods name) let her looke on the lawe, and vppon ſuche things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keepe downe the olde Adam, to ſlaye that Goliath: from whom ſhe muſt needes keepe the ſweete promiſes, beyng the bed wherein her ſpouſe and ſhe meete and lie together. For as the wife will keepe her bed onely for her huſbande, although in other things ſhe is contented to haue felowſhippe wyth others, as to ſpeake, ſitte, eate, drinke, goe, &c. ſo our conſciences, which are Chriſtes wiues, muſt needes keepe the bed, that is, Gods ſweete promiſes, alonely for our ſelues and oure huſbande, there to meete together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be ioyfull together. If ſinne, the lawe, the Deuill, or any thing would creepe into the bedde and lye there, then complaine to thy huſbande Chriſte, and forthwyth thou ſhalt ſee him play Phinees part. Thus my dearely beloued, I haue geuen you in few wordes, a ſumme of all the Diuinitie whyche a Chriſtian conſcience can not want.

A letter wrytten to his Mother, as a farewell, when he thought he ſhould haue ſuffered ſhortly after.

THe Lord of life and ſauiour of the world Ieſus Chriſte, bleſſe you and comfort you, my good and deare mother, with his heauenly comforte, conſolation, grace and ſpirite, nowe and for euer. Amen.

If I thought that daily, yea almoſt hourly you did not cry vpon God the father thorough Ieſus Chriſt, that he would geue me his bleſſing, euen the bleſſing of his children: then wold I wryte more hereabouts. But for as much as herein I am certain you are diligent, and ſo I beſeech you good Mother to continue: I thinke it good to wryte ſomething, whereby this your crying mighte be furthered. Furthered it will be, if thoſe things which hinder it, be taken away. Among the which, in that I thinke my impriſonment is the greateſt and chiefeſt, I will there about ſpende thys Letter, and that briefly leſt it might encreaſe the let, as my good brother this bringer can tel you. You ſhall know therefore good mother, that for my body, though it be in an houſe, out of the whych I cã not come when I will, yet in that I haue cõformed my wil to gods will, I finde herein liberty enough, I thanke God. And for my lodging, bedding, meate, drinke, godly and learned company, bookes and all other neceſſaries for mine eaſe, comfort, and commoditie, I am in much better caſe then I could wiſh, & Gods merciful prouidence heere is farre aboue my worthines. Worthines, quoth I? Alas I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

But beſides all this, for my ſoule I finde muche more commoditie. For God is my Father, I now perceaue: thorough Chriſt: therefore in priſonning me for his Goſpell, he maketh mee like to the Image of his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt here, that when he commeth to iudgement, I might then be like vnto him, as my truſte & hope is I ſhalbe. Nowe maketh he me like to his frendes the Prophetes, Apoſtles, the holy Martyrs and Confeſſours. Which of them did not ſuffer, at the leaſt, impriſonment or baniſhment for hys Goſpell and worde?

Nowe Mother, howe farre am I vnmeete to bee compared to them? I (I ſaye) whiche alwayes haue bene, and am ſo vile an hypocrite and greeuous a ſinner? God myghte haue cauſed mee long before this time to haue bene caſt into priſone as a theefe, a blaſphemer, an vncleane liuer, and an hainous offender of the lawes of the Realme, but deare Mother, his mercy is ſo great vpon both you and all that loue me, that I ſhould be caſt into priſon as none of theſe, or for anye ſuche vices: but onely for his Chriſtes ſake, for hys Goſpelles ſake, for his Churches ſake, that heereby, as I might learne to lament and bewail my ingratitude & ſinnes: ſo I might reioyce in his mercye, be thankefull, looke for eternall ioy with Chriſt, for whoſe ſake (praiſed be his name for it) I now ſuffer, aud therefore ſhould be mery and glad. And in deede good mother, ſo I am, as euer I was, yea neuer ſo mery and glad was I, as now I ſhoulde be, if I coulde gette you to be mery wyth me, to thanke God for me, & to pray on this ſort. Ah good father which doſt vouchſafe that my ſonne being a greuous ſinner in thy ſight, ſhoulde finde this fauour with thee, to be one of thy ſonnes captaines and men of warre to fight and ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, I thanke thee and pray thee in Chriſtes name that thou wouldeſt forgeue him his ſinnes and vnthankefulneſſe, and make perfecte in him that good which thou haſt begon: yea Lorde I praye thee make him worthy to ſuffer, not onely impriſonement, but euen very death for thy truth, religion, and Goſpels ſake. As Anna did applye and geue her firſt childe Samuel vnto thee. ſo doe I deare father, beſeeching thee for Chriſtes ſake, to accept this my gifte, and geue my ſonne Iohn Bradforde grace alwaies truely to ſerue thee and thy people, as Samuel did. Amen. Amen.

If on this ſort good Mother, from your heart you wold pray, as I ſhoulde be the moſte merieſt man that euer was: ſo am I certaine the lettes of your praier for my impriſonmẽt, would be taken away. Good Mother, therefore marke what I haue wrytten, and learne this Prayer by heart, to ſay it daily, and then I ſhall be merye, and you ſhall reioyce if that you continue, as I truſte you doe, in Gods true Religion, euen the ſame I haue taught you, and my father Traues (I truſt) wil putte you in remembraunce of: my brother Roger alſo I truſt doeth ſo daily. Goe to therefore and learne apace. Although the deuill caſt diuers lettes in the waye, God, in whome you truſte, will caſt them awaye for hys Chriſtes ſake, if you will call vppon him: and neuer will he ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that he will make you able to beare. But howe you ſhoulde doe heerein, the other Letter which I haue wrytten herewith, ſhall teache you, which I woulde none ſhould reade till my father Traues haue read it, & he wil geue you by Gods grace, ſome inſtructions.

Nowe therefore will I make an ende, praying you good Mother, to looke for no mo Letters: for if it were knowen that I haue penne and inke, and did wryte, then ſhould I want all the foreſayd commodities I haue ſpoken of concerning my body, and be caſt into ſome dungeon in fetters of yron: which thing I know would greue you, and therefore for Gods ſake, ſee that theſe be burned when this little prayer in it, is copied out by my brother Roger: for perchaunce your houſe may be ſearched for ſuch geare, when you thinke little of it, and looke for no moe, ſweete Mother, till eyther God ſhall deliuer mee and ſende mee oute, eyther you and I ſhall meete together in heauen, where we ſhall neuer part aſunder. Amen.

I require you Elizabeth and Margarete my ſiſters, that you will feare God, vſe Prayer, loue your husbandes, be obedient vnto them, as God willeth you: bring vppe youre children in Gods feare: and be good houſewiues, God bleſſe you both, wyth both your husbandes, my good brethren, whome to doe good, becauſe I nowe can not, I will pray for them and you. Commende me to my ſiſter Anne, mother Pike, T. Sorrocolde and his wife, R. Shalcroſſe & his wife, R Bolton, I. Wild, M. Vicare, the Parſon of Mottrom, Syr Laurence Hall, with all that loue, & (I truſt) liue in the Goſpel: and God turne Syr Thomas his heart, Amen. I will daily pray for him. I nede not to ſet my name, you know it wel inough.

Becauſe you ſhoulde geue my Letters to my father Traues to bee burned, I haue wrytten heere a Prayer for you to learne to pray for me good mother, and an other for all your houſe in your euening Prayer to pray with my brother. Theſe Praiers are written wyth mine owne hande: keepe them ſtill, but the letters geue to father Traues to burne, and geue father Traues a copie of the latter Prayer.

An other Letter to his Mother, as hys laſt farewell vnto her in this world, a litle before he was burned.

Gods mercy and peace in Chriſt, be more and more perceiued of vs, Amen.

My moſte deare Mother, in the bowelles of Chriſte I heartely pray and beſeeche you to be thankefull for me vnto God, which thus nowe taketh me vnto hymſelfe, I dye not, my good mother, as a theefe, a murderer, an adulterer, &c. but I die as a witneſſe of Chriſte, hys Goſpell and veritie, which hetherto I haue confeſſed (I thanke God) as well by preaching, as by priſonement, and now euen preſently I ſhall moſte willingly confirme the ſame by fire. I knowledge that God moſte iuſtly mighte take mee hence ſimply for my ſinnes (which are many, great, & grieuous: but the Lorde for his mercy in Chriſt, hath pardoned them all I hope): but nowe deare Mother, he taketh mee hence by this death, as a Confeſſour and witneſſe, that the Religion taughte by Chriſte Ieſu, the Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, is Gods truth. The Prelates doe perſecute in me Chriſt whome they hate, and hys trueth which they maye not abide, becauſe theyr workes are euill, and maye not abide the truth and light, leaſt men ſhoulde ſee theyr darkeneſſe. Therefore my good and moſte deare Mother, geue thankes for me to God, that hee hathe made the fruite of your wombe to be a witneſſe of hys glory, & attend to the truthe (which I thanke God for it) I haue truely taughte out of the Pulpit of Mancheſter. Uſe often and continuall Prayer to God the Father through Chriſte. Hearken, as you may, to the ſcriptures: ſerue God after his word, and not after cuſtome: beware of the Romiſh religion in England, defile not your ſelfe with it: carye Chriſtes Croſſe as he ſhall lay it vppon your backe: forgeue them that kil me: pray for them, for they knowe not what they doe: commit my cauſe to God our father: be mindefull of bothe youre daughters to helpe them as you can.

Bradford perſecuted of the prelates not for his ſinnes but for the truth of Chriſt.

I ſend all my wrytings to you by my brother Roger, do with them as you will, becauſe I cannot as I woulde, he can tell you more of my minde. I haue nothing to geue you, or to leaue behinde me for you: onely I pray God my father for his Chriſtes ſake, to bleſſe you and keepe you frõ euil. He geue you pacience, he make you thankefull, as for me, ſo for your ſelfe, that wil take the fruit of your wombe to witneſſe hys veritie: wherein I confeſſe to the whole world I die and depart thys life in hope of a much better: which I looke for at the hands of God my father thorough the merites of hys deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt.

Thus my deare Mother, I take my laſt farewell of you in this life, beſeeching the almighty and eternal father by Chriſt, to graunt vs to meete in the life to come, where we ſhall geue him continuall thankes and praiſe for euer and euer, Amen.

Out of priſon the 24. of Iune. 1555.

Your ſonne in the Lord,
Iohn Bradford.

A letter ſent wyth a ſupplication to Queene Mary, her Counſell, and the whole Parlament.

IN moſte humble wiſe complaineth vnto your Maieſtie and honours, a poore ſubiecte perſecuted for the confeſsion of Chriſtes veritie: the which veritie deſerueth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing, by the whiche you raigne and haue your honour and authorities. Althoughe we that be profeſſours, and thorough the grace of God, the conſtante confeſſours of the ſame, are (as it were) the outſweepings of the worlde: yet (I ſay) the veritie it ſelfe is a thing not vnwoorthy for your eares to heare, for your eyes to ſee, and for youre handes to handle, help, & ſuccor, according to that the Lorde hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the ſame purpoſe. Your highneſſe and honours ought to knowe, that there is no innocencie in woordes or deedes, where it is enoughe and ſuffiſeth onely to accuſe. It behoueth Kinges, Queenes, and all that be in authoritie, to knowe that in the adminiſtration of their kingdomes, they are Gods Miniſters. It behoueth them to knowe, that they are no Kinges but plaine Tyrannes, which raigne not to thys ende, that they may ſerue and ſet foorth Gods glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they woulde be wiſe, and ſuffer them ſelues to be taughte, to ſubmit them ſelues to the Lords diſcipline, and to kiſſe their Soueraigne, leaſt they peariſh: as all thoſe Potentates with their principalities and dominions can not long proſper but peariſh in deede, if they and their kingdomes be not ruled with the Scepter of God, that is, wyth hys worde: which, who ſo honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lorde, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the lengthe take hys owne cauſe, whiche hee hath moſte chieflye committed vnto them to care for, into hys owne handes, and ſo ouerthrowe them, and ſet vp his trueth glorioully: the people alſo peariſhinge wyth the Princes, where the worde of Prophecie is wanting, muche more is ſuppreſſed, as it is now in this Realme of Englande: ouer which the eyes of the Lorde are ſette to deſtroy it, your highneſſe and al your honours, if in time you looke not better to youre office and dueties herein, and not ſuffer your ſelues to be ſlaues & hangmen to Antichriſte and his Prelates, which haue broughte your highneſſe and honours already to let Barrabas loſe, and to hange vp Chriſt: as by the grace and helpe of God I ſhall make apparante, if firſt it would pleaſe your excellent maieſtie and al your honors, to take to heart Gods doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Phariſies, I meane the Biſhoppes and Prelates, then youre

A letter of M. Bradford ioyned with a ſupplication, ſent to Q. Mary her Counſayle, and the Parlament.

Difference betweene kinges and Tyrantes.

Good warning to Q. Mary.

Princes made ſlaues to Antichriſt.

Anno 1555. July.

Chriſt ordeyned to beare dominion ouer all

conſciences, is oppreſſed: and not for our contemptible and execrable ſtate in the ſight of the world, to paſſe the leſſe of it. For it (the doctrine I meane) is higher and of more honour and Maieſtie, then all the whole worlde. It ſtandeth inuincible aboue all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the euerliuing God and of his Chriſt, whom the father hath ordained king, to haue dominion from ſea to ſea, and from the riuer vnto the endes of the worlde. And truely ſo doth he and will he raigne, that hee will ſhake all the whole earth with his yron and braſen power, with his golden and ſiluerie brightneſſe, onely by the rod of hys mouth, to ſhiuers, in ſuch ſorte, as though they were pottes of claie, according to that which the Prophetes doe wryte of the magnificence of hys kingdome. And thus much for the thynge, I meane the doctrine, and your dueties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the ſame.

Chriſtes Martirs falſely belyed of the prelates for heretickes, and Schiſmatickes.

But nowe will our aduerſaries mainely crie out againſte vs, becauſe no man maye be admitted once to whiſt againſte them, that wee pretende falſely the doctrine and worde of God, calling vs the moſt wicked contemners of it, and heretikes, Schiſmatikes traytours &c. All which their ſayings, howe malicious and falſe they are, though I might make report to that which is written by thoſe men whoſe workes they haue condemned, and all that retaine any of them, publikely by proclamation: yet here will I occaſion your maieſtie and honours by this my wryting, to ſee that it is farre otherwiſe then they report of vs. God our father, for his holy names ſake, direct my penne to be his inſtrument to put into your eyes, eares, and hearts, that which moſt may make to hys glory, to the ſauegarde of your ſoules and bodies, and preſeruation of the whole Realme. Amen.

John Bradford.

To certaine his frendes, N.S. and R.C.

A letter of M. Bradford to certayne perſons being at that tyme not throughly inſtructed in the doctrine of Gods election.

I wiſh to you my good brethren, the ſame grace of God in Chriſte, which I wiſhe and pray the father of mercies to geue me for his holy names ſake. Amen.

Your letter thoughe I haue not read my ſelfe, becauſe I would not alienate my minde from conceiued things to wryte to others, yet I haue hearde the ſumme of it, that it is of Gods election: wherein I will briefely wryte to you my faith, and howe I thinke it good and meete for a Chriſtian man to wade in it. I beleeue, that man made after the Image of God, dyd fall from that bleſſed ſtate, to the condemnation of him ſelfe and all hys poſteritie. I beleue that Chriſt for man being thus fallen, did oppoſe him ſelfe to the iuſtice of God a Mediatour, paying the raunſome and price of redemption for Adame and his whole poſteritie that refuſe it not finally. I beleeue that all that beleue in Chriſt, I ſpeake of ſuch as be of yeares of diſcretion, are partakers of Chriſte and all hys merites. I beleue that faith, and to beleue in Chriſt (I ſpeake not nowe of Faith that men haue by reaſon of myracles. John 2. 11. Actes 8. or by reaſon of earthly commoditie. Mathew 13. cuſtome and authoritie of men, which is commonly ſeene, the hearts of them that ſo beleue, being not right and ſimple before God: but I ſpeake of that faith which in deede is the true faith, the iuſtifying and regenerating faith:) I beleeue, I ſay, that this faith and beliefe in Chriſte, is the worke and gift of God, geuen to none other then to thoſe whych be the children of God, that is, to thoſe whom God the Father before the beginning of the worlde hath predeſtinate in Chriſt vnto eternall life.

True fayth. Exod. 14.

* M.B. For the certainty of this fayth ſearch your hartes. If you haue it, prayſe the Lord: for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally periſhe: for then happines were not happines, if it could be loſt. Whē you fall the Lorde will put vnder his hand that you ſhall not lye ſtill. But if ye feele not this fayth, then know that predeſtination is to high a matter for you to be diſputers of, vntill you haue beene better ſcholers in the ſchoolehouſe of repentance & iuſtification, which is the Grammer ſchoole wherein we muſt be conuerſant and learned, before we goe to the vniuerſitye of Gods moſt holy predeſtination and prouidence.

Thus doe I wade in Predeſtination, in ſuche ſorte as God hath patified and opened it. Thoughe in God it be the firſte, yet to vs it is laſt opened. And therefore I begin wyth creation, from whence I come to redemption, ſo to iuſtification, and ſo to election. On thys ſorte I am ſure, that warely and wiſely a man maye walke in it eaſely by the light of Gods ſpirite, in and by his worde, ſeeing this Faith not to be geuen to all men. 2. Theſ. 3. but to ſuche as are borne of God, Predeſtinate before ẏ world was made, after the purpoſe and good wil of God: which wil we may not call into diſputation, but in trembling and feare ſubmit our ſelues to it as to that whych can will none otherwiſe then that whych is holy, righte and good, howe farre ſoeuer otherwiſe it ſeeme to the iudgemēt of reaſon, which muſt needes be beaten downe to be more careful for Gods glory, then for mannes ſaluation, whyche dependeth onely thereon, as all Gods children full well ſee: for they ſeeke not the glory whych commeth of men, but the glory which commeth of God. Jeremie 9. Jhon 5. They knowe God to be a God whych doeth on earthe, not onely mercye, but alſo iudgement, which is hys Juſtice and moſte Juſtice, althoughe oure fooliſhe reaſon cannot ſee it. And in thys knowledge they glory and reioice, though others through vaine curioſitie, grudge & murmure there againſte. Thus brieflye I haue ſente you my minde and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you ſhal haue (I thinke) your letter particularly anſweared by M. Philpot: as alſo if I haue time, and ſo you require it, I will doe.

Of this matter he writeth more at large in the booke of letters of the Martyrs. Fol. 391.

John Bradford.

Notes vpon the ſame Epiſtle, and to the matter of election appertaining.

Notes this ep added.

As touching the doctrine of Election (whereof thys letter of M. Bradforde, and manye other his letters moe doe much intreate) three thinges muſt be conſidered.

1 Firſte, what Gods election is, and what is the cauſe thereof.

2 Secondly, howe Gods election proceedeth in woorking our ſaluation.

3 Thirdly, to whome Gods election pertaineth, and howe a man may be certaine thereof.

Differen betwee predeſti- nation a Electio

Betweene Predeſtination and Election, thys difference there is. Predeſtination is as well to the reprobate, as to the Elect. Election onely pertaineth to them that be ſaued.

Predeſtination, in that it reſpecteth the Reprobate, is called Reprobation: in that it reſpecteth the ſaued, is called Election, and is thus defined.

Definiti of pre de nation.

Predeſtination is the eternal decreement of God, purpoſed before in him ſelfe, what ſhall befall on all men, eyther to ſaluation, or damnation.

Election defined.

Election is the free mercy & grace of God in his owne wil, through faith in Chriſt his ſonne, chuſing and preferring to life, ſuch as pleaſeth him.

In thys definition of Election, firſte goeth before (the mercy and grace of God) as the cauſes therof, whereby are excluded al workes of the lawe and merites of deſeruing, whether they goe before faith, or come after. So was Jacob choſen, and Eſau refuſed, before either of them began to worke. &c.

The par of the de nition ex mined. Mercy a grace.

Free me and grac

Secondly, in that thys mercy and grace of God in this definition is ſaid to be (free) thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounde to any ordinarie place, or to any ſucceſſion of chaire, nor to ſtate and dignitie of perſone, nor to worthineſſe of bloude. &c. but all goeth by the meere wil of his owne purpoſe, as it is written: Spiritus vbi vult, ſpirat. &c. And thus was the outward race and ſtocke of Abraham after fleſh refuſed (whych ſeemed to haue the preeminence) and an other ſeede after the ſpirite raiſed vp to Abraham of the ſtones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outwarde Temple of Hieruſalem and chaire of Moſes, whyche ſeemed to be of price, forſaken, and Gods chaire aduanced in other nations. So was tall Saule refuſed, and little Dauid accepted: the riche, the proude, the wyſe of this worlde reiected, and the worde of ſaluation daily opened to the poore and miſerable abiects: the hie mountaines caſte vnder, and the lowe valleys exalted. &c.

The free mercy grace of God in h owne w Rom. 9.

Thirdly, where it is added (in his owne will) by thys falleth downe the free will & purpoſe of man, with all hys actions, counſels, & ſtrength of nature: according as it is written: Non eſt volentis, neq; currentis, ſed miſerentis Dei. &c. i. It is not in hym that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy. So we ſee how Iſrael rā long, & yet got nothing. The Gentiles vnneth begā to ſet out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the firſt houre did labor more, & yet they which came laſt, were rewarded with the firſt. Math. 20. The working will of the Phariſie ſeemed better: but yet the Lords will was rather to iuſtifie the Publicane. Luke 18. The elder ſonne had a better wil to tary by his father, and ſo did in dede: and yet ẏ fat Calfe was geuen to the yonger ſonne that ran away. Luk. 15. wherby we haue to vnderſtand, howe the matter goeth not by the will of man, but by the will of God, as it pleaſeth hym to accept, according as it is wrytten: Non ex voluntate carnis, neq; ex voluntate viri, ſed ex Deo nati ſunt &c. i. which are borne, not of the wil of the fleſh, nor yet of the wil of man, but of God. Furthermore, as al then goeth by the will of God onely, and not by the wil of man: ſo againe here is to be noted, that this wil of God neuer goeth without faith in Chriſt Jeſus his ſonne.

Math. 20 Luke. 18 Luke. 15 Iohn. 1.

Gods m cy in the elec net inc deth th conditio fayth in Chriſt.

And therefore fourthly is this clauſe added in the definition (through faith in Chriſte his ſonne.) whych faith in Chriſt to vs ward maketh altogether. For firſt it certifieth vs of Gods election. As this Epiſtle of M. Bradforde doth wel expreſſe. For whoſoeuer wil be certaine of hys election in God, let him firſt begin with his faith in Chriſt: which if he finde in him to ſtande firme, he may be ſure and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of Gods elect.

The fr mercy grace God in owne will t rough in Ch his ſo our L elect. Secondly, the ſaid faith and nothing els, is the onely condition and meanes wherupon Gods mercy, grace, election, vocation, and al Gods promiſes to ſaluation do ſtay, according to the wordes of S. Paule: Si permanſeritis in fide. &c. If ye abide in the faith. Coloſ. 1. Thirdly, this faith alſo is the immediate and next cauſe of oure Iuſtification ſimply, wythout any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent cauſes doe ſaue and iuſtifie vs vppon condition, if we beleue in Chriſt: ſo this faith onely in Chriſte wythout condition, is the next and immediate cauſe which by Gods promiſe worketh oure iuſtification: according as it is wrytten: Crede in Dominum Ieſum, & ſaluus eris tu & domus tua. I. Beleeue in the Lorde Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued, thou and thy whole houſe. Actes. 16. And thus muche touching the definition of Election, wyth the cauſes thereof declared, which you ſee nowe to be no merites nor workes of man, whether they go before, or come after faith, but onely the meere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be borne of Adam, doe taſte of his malediction, though they taſted not his apple: ſo al they that be borne of Chriſt, (which is by faith) take part of the obedience of Chriſt, although they neuer did that obedience them ſelues, whych was in hym. Rom. 5.

Nowe to the ſecond conſideration: let vs ſee likewiſe, how, and in what order this election of God proceedeth in chuſing and electing them which hee ordaineth to ſaluation: which order is this. In them that be choſen to life, firſt Gods mercy and free grace bringeth forth election: Election worketh vocation or Gods holy calling, which vocation, thorowe hearing bringeth knowledge and faith of Chriſt. Faith through promiſe obtaineth iuſtification, Iuſtification thorow hope waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith commeth in time. Iuſtification and glorification is wythout ende.

Election depending vppon Gods free grace and will, excludeth all mannes will, blinde fortune, chaunce, and all peraduentures.

Vocation ſtanding vpon Gods election, excludeth all mans wiſedome, cunning, learning, inuention, power and preſumption.

Faith in Chriſt proceding by ye gift of the holy Ghoſte, and freely iuſtifying man by Gods promiſe, excludeth all other merites of men, all condition of deſeruing, and all works of the law, both Gods law and mans law, with all other outward meanes what ſoeuer.

Iuſtification comming freely by Faith, ſtandeth ſure by promiſe, without doubt, feare, or wauering in this lyfe.

Glorification pertaining onely to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preuenteth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiueth the word, whereby commeth faith.

Faith iuſtifieth.

Iuſtification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cauſe of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of Gods ſpirit by the word) is the immediate and next cauſe of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cauſe of iuſtification.

And this order and connexion of cauſes is diligetly to be obſerued, becauſe of the Papiſtes, which haue miſerably confounded and inuerted this doctrine, thus teaching, that almighty God ſo farre forth as he foreſeeth mans merites before to come, ſo doeth he diſpenſe his election. Dominus pro vt cuiuſque merita fore pręuidet, ita diſpenſat electionis gratiam. And againe, Nullis pręcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere: That is, That the Lorde recompenſeth the grace of election, not to any merites preceeding: but yet graunteth the ſame to the merites which follow after: As though we had our election by our holineſſe that followeth after, & not rather haue our holineſſe by Gods election going before.

But we folowing the ſcripture, ſay otherwiſe, that the cauſe onely of Gods election, is hys owne free mercy: and the cauſe only of our iuſtification is our faith in Chriſt, and nothing els. As for example: firſt, concerning Election, if the queſtion be aſked why was Abraham choſen, and not Nachor? why was Iacob choſen, & not Eſau? why was Moſes elected, and Pharao hardened? why Dauid accepted, and Saule refuſed? why fewe be choſen, and the moſte forſaken? It can not be anſweared otherwiſe, but thus: becauſe it was ſo the good will of God.

In like maner touching vocation and alſo faith, if the queſtion be aſked, why this vocation & gifte of faith was geuen to Cornelius the Gentil, and not to Tertullius the Iewe? whye to the poore, to the babes, and little ones of this world, (of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh: I thanke thee Father, which haſte hidde this from the wiſe. &c. Mathew 11. Whye to the vnwiſe, the ſimple abiectes and outcaſtes in thys worlde? Of whome ſpeaketh S. Paule. 1. Cor. 1. Yee ſee your calling, my brethren, howe not many of you. &c. Why to the ſinners, and not to the iuſt? why the beggers by the hye wayes were called, and the bidden geſtes excluded? We can goe to no other cauſe, but to Gods purpoſe & election, and ſaye wyth Chriſte our Sauiour: Quia pater ſic complacitum eſt ante te. i. Yea father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight. Luke 18.

Vocation bringeth fayth.

And ſo for Iuſtification likewiſe, if the queſtion be aſked why the Publicane was iuſtified, and not the Phariſey? Luke 18. Why Marie the ſinner, and not Symon the inuiter? Luke 11. Why harlottes and Publicanes goe before the Scribes and Phariſees in the kingdom? Mat. 21. Why the ſonne of the free woman was receiued, and the bondwomans ſonne being hys elder, reiected? Geneſ. 21. Why Iſrael whych ſo long ſought for righteouſnes, found it not: and the Gentiles whych ſought not for it, found it? Rom. 9. Wee haue no other cauſe hereof to render, but to ſay wyth S. Paule, becauſe they ſoughte for it by workes of the Lawe, and not by Faith: which faith as it commeth not by mans will (as the Papiſt falſly pretendeth) but onely by the election and free gift of God: ſo it is only the immediate cauſe whereunto the promiſe of oure ſaluation is annexed, according as we read: And therefore of faith is the inheritaunce geuen, as after grace, that the promiſe might ſtande ſure to euery ſeede. Rom. 4. Item in the ſame chap. Faith beleeuing in him which iuſtifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteouſneſſe.

Iuſtification by fayth onely.

And thus concerning the cauſe of our ſaluation, yee ſee howe faith in Chriſt, onely and immediately without any cõdition doth iuſtifie vs, being ſo linked with Gods mercye and election, that where ſo euer election goeth before, there faith in Chriſt muſt needes folow after. And againe, whoſoeuer beleeueth in Chriſt Ieſu, through the vocation of God, he muſt needes be partaker of Gods election.

How fayth and election are lincked together in the acte of Iuſtifiyng.

Whereuppon reſulteth nowe the thirde note or conſideration: whych is to conſider, whether a man in this life may be certaine of his election. To anſwere to which queſtion, thys firſt is to be vnderſtande: that although oure election and vocation ſimplye in deede be knowen to God onely in hym ſelfe, à priore: yet notwythſtanding it may be knowen to euery particular faithfull man, à poſteriore, that is, by meanes, which meanes is faith in Chriſt Ieſus crucified. For ſo much as by hys faith in Chriſte, a man is iuſtified, and thereby made the childe of ſaluation, reaſon muſt needes lead the ſame to be then the childe of election, choſen of God vnto euerlaſting life. For howe can a man be iuſtified, but he muſt needes be ſaued? and howe can a man be ſaued, but by conſequence it foloweth, that he muſt alſo be elected?

The third conſideration.

Election knowen to God ſimply, Election knowen to man by meanes.

And therefore of Election it is truely ſayd: De electione iudicandum eſt à poſteriore: that is to ſay, wee muſt iudge of election by that which commeth after, that is, by oure faith and beliefe in Chriſt: which faith although in time it followeth after election, yet is it the proper and immediat cauſe aſſigned by the ſcripture, which not onely iuſtifieth vs, but alſo certifieth vs of thys election of God.

Fayth is the meanes wherby we be certified of our Election.

Whereunto likewiſe well agreeth thys preſent letter of M. Bradford, wherein he ſayeth: Election, allbeit in God it be the firſt, yet to vs it is the laſt opened. And therefore beginning firſt (ſayth he) wyth creation, I come frõ thence to the redemption and iuſtification by faith, and ſo to election. Not that faith is the cauſe efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to vs the cauſe certificatory, or the cauſe of our certification, wherby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Chriſte. For all be it that election firſt be certaine in the knowledge of God: yet in our knowledge, Faith onely that wee haue in Chriſte, is the thynge that geueth to vs our certificate and comfort of thys election.

De electione iudicandum eſt a poſteriore. Election firſt knowen to God and laſt opened to man.

Wherefore, who ſoeuer deſireth to be aſſured that he is one of the electe number of God, lette hym not clyme vp to heauen to knowe, but let hym deſcende into hym ſelfe, and there ſearche hys Faith in Chriſte the ſonne of God: whyche if hee finde in hym not fained by the working of Gods holy ſpirite accordingly: thereuppon let hym ſtaye, and ſo wrappe hym ſelfe wholely both body and ſoule vnder Gods generall promiſe, and cumber hys heade wyth no further ſpeculations: knowing thys, that who ſo euer beleueth in him, ſhall not periſh. Ihon. 3. ſhall not be confounded. Ro. 9. ſhal not ſee death. Ih. 8. ſhal not enter into iudgemẽt. Ih. 5. ſhall haue euerlaſting life. Ih. 3. 7. ſhall be ſaued. Mat. 28. Act. 16. ſhal haue remiſſion of al his ſinnes. Act. 10. ſhalbe iuſtified. Rom. 3. Ga. 2. ſhal haue floudes flowing oute of him of water of life. Iohn. 7. ſhall neuer die. Iohn 11. ſhalbe raiſed in the laſt day. Ioh. 6. ſhal finde reſt

Euery man to ſtay himſelfe vpon Gods generall promiſe.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

to hys ſoule, and ſhalbe refreſhed. Math. 11.

What fayth is. Diuers kindes of fayth.

Now then for ſo much as we ſee faith to be the ground wherupon depēdeth the whole cōdition of our iuſtifying, let vs diſcuſſe in like maner what is this faith wherof the ſcripture ſo much ſpeaketh, for the more plaine vnderſtanding of the ſimple. For many kindes there be of faith: as a man maye beleeue euery thing that is true, yet not euery truth doeth ſaue, neither doth the beleeuing of euery truth iuſtifie a man. He yͤ beleueth that God created all things of nought, beleueth truely. He that beleueth that God is a iuſt God, that he is omnipotēt, that he is mercifull, that he is true of promiſe, beleeueth well and holdeth the truthe. So hee that beleeueth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he alſo is one of the ſame electe & predeſtinate, hath a good beliefe, and thinketh wel: but yet this beliefe alone, except it be ſeaſoned with an other thing, wil not ſerue to ſaluation: as it auailed not the olde Iewes, which ſo thought of them ſelues, and yet thinke to this day to be only Gods elect people.

Euery truth hath his fayth, but euery truth iuſtifieth not, no more doth euery fayth.

Fayth the action: Chriſt the obiect of fayth. Fayth & Chriſt correlatiues.

Onely the faithe whiche auaileth to ſaluation is that, whoſe obiect is the body and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſte crucified. So that in the act of iuſtifying theſe two, fayth and Chriſt haue a mutual relation, and muſt alwaies concurre together, faith as the action which apprehendeth: Chriſte as the obiect which is apprehended.

Chriſt without faith ſaueth not. Fayth without Chriſt helpeth not.

For neither doeth the paſſion of Chriſte ſaue wythout faith, neither doeth faith helpe, except it be in Chriſt: As we ſee the body of man ſuſtained by bread & drinke, not except the ſame be receiued and conueied into the ſtomacke: and yet neither doeth yͤ receiuing of euery thing ſuſtaine mans body, except it be meate and drinke, whych haue power to geue nouriſhment. In like ſort it is with faith: for neither doth the beleuing of euery thing ſaue, but onely faith in the bloud of Chriſt: neither again doth yͤ ſame bloud of Chriſt profite vs, except by faith it be receiued. And as the ſunne being the cauſe of all lighte, ſhineth not but to them onely which haue eyes to ſee: nor yet to them neither, vnleſſe they will open their eyes to receiue the light: ſo the Paſſion of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of ſaluation, but faith is the cōdition wherby the ſayd paſſion is to vs effectuall.

Grace, Election, Vocation, Chriſtes death cauſes externe of our ſaluatiō. Fayth the onely interne cauſe of mans ſaluation. Fayth is an action in man, but not of man. Vertues and workes of charitye though they be good giftes of God in man, yet they ſerue not to iuſtification. Fayth taketh his dignitye of his obiect.

And that is the cauſe, why we ſay with the Scripture, that faith only iuſtifieth vs, not excluding thereby al other externe cauſes that goe before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Chriſte. &c. all whiche be externe cauſes working our ſaluation through faith. But when we ſay that faith only iuſtifieth vs, the meaning thereof is thys: that of all internall actions, motions, or operations in man, geuen to him of God, there is none other that contenteth & pleaſeth God, or ſtandeth before hys iudgement, or can helpe any thing to the iuſtifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God.

For although the action of praying, faſting, almes, pacience, charity, repentance, the feare and loue of God be hie giftes in man, and not of man, geuen of God to man, yet be none of al theſe actions in man, imputed of God to ſaluation, but only this one action of faith in mā vpon Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God. Not that the action it ſelfe of beleeuing, as it is a qualitie in man, doeth ſo deſerue, but becauſe it taketh that dignitie of the obiect. For as I ſayde, in the acte of iuſtifying, faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be conſidered alone, but muſt euer go with his obiecte, and taketh his vertue therof. Like as the looking vp of the olde Iſraelites did not of it ſelfe procure any healthe vnto them, but the promiſe made in the obiecte, which was the braſen ſerpent, whereupon they looked, gaue them healthe by their looking vp. Euen ſo after like ſort are we ſaued by our faith and ſpirituall looking vp to the bodye of Chriſte crucified. Which faith to define is this:

Looking vp to the braſen Serpent, and beleeuing vpon the body of Chriſt compared.

To beleeue Ieſus Chriſte to be the ſonne of the liuing God ſent into thys worlde, by hys death to ſatiſfie for oure ſinnes, and ſo to receiue the ſame.

The error of the Papiſtes peruerting the mind of Gods teſtament, how and wherin.

And thus much touching election and Faith, with the order and explication of the cauſes neceſſary to be conſidered in our ſaluation. Wherby may appeare howe farre the pretenſed catholikes do ſwarue from the right mind of the ſcriptures. For where the ſcriptures in declaring the cauſes of ſaluation, do ſend vs only to faith, as the onely condition whereby theſe cauſes haue their working, theſe catholikes do quite leaue out faith, and in ſtead thereof place in other conditions of doings, merites, wilworkes, pardons, maſſes, and eſpecially auricular confeſſion, with penance and ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes. &c.

And beſides theſe letters aboue ſpecified of M. Iohn Bradforde, there hath come to our handes certaine other letters of his not long a goe, ſent by a certaine olde frende of the ſayd Iohn Bradforde vnto vs, which letters beyng written of him in former times, before his trouble, as they haue not bene yet printed nor ſeene abroade, ſo I thought it not amiſſe, to communicate the ſame to the chriſtien reader, for the worthineſſe of the matter, and the goodneſſe of the man, which may redound I truſt, to no ſmall fruite to him, that with godly eyes ſhall aduiſe the ſame.

A letter of M. Bradford, to father Trauers Miniſter of Blackeley.

The aboundant grace and rich mercy of God in Chriſte our only ſauiour and high biſhop, be increaſed in your heart, thorow the liuely worker of all goodneſſe, the holye ſpirite, vntill the day of the Lorde. &c.

I haue receiued youre two letters (good father Trauers) ſithen yͤ I did wryte any vnto you, whereof though honeſty willeth to make an excuſe, yet truth biddeth me otherwiſe, and ſayeth it is better wyth ſhame to confeſſe the fault (for therein is, as a man mighte ſay, halfe a deſeruing of pardon) then without ſhame to lie. I might haue written vnto you twiſe (notwythſtanding in deede ſome buſineſſe, wherein I haue ſome thing bene occupied) but yet I haue not. Nowe the cauſe is, becauſe I woulde not. And why woulde I not? But becauſe I coulde not, I meane becauſe my canning is taken away by ſinne, for my ſinnes doe forbid goodneſſe vnto me. In dede if my ſinning were of infirmitie, there were good hope of recouerie of that, which I haue loſt: But ſeeing, both willing and knowing I haue too much yeelded, and yet doe yeelde to my infirmities, iuſtly I doe deſerue that, becauſe I haue caſt awaye, and reiected the word of the Lord behinde my backe, that the Lord ſhould reiecte me. And becauſe I would not haue bleſſing, I am worthye (as Dauid ſayeth) that it be taken away from me. I haue nowe at length experience, that to bring a man forth of Gods fauour, is ſooner ſeene when a man hath receiued all things aboūdantly, then when nede or the croſſe pincheth. Afore it pleaſed God to worke the reſtitution (you know what I meane) and afore it pleaſed God to prouide for me, as he hath done, ſo that I can ſaye in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was an other maner of man, then nowe I am, and yet Gods deſerts haue otherwiſe bounden me: But the ſcripture is true, I haue aduanced my children, and nouriſhed them, but they haue contemned me, I haue fedde them that they were fatte and groſſe, and they ſpurned agaynſte me. Perchaunce you will aſke me wherein. Oh father Trauers, I warrante you, this my ſtile in carnall, and not in ſpirituall wryting, doeth ſome thing ſhewe vnto you, but as for it, in compariſon of other things is nothynge. For where the life of man is ſuch, that either it paireth or amēdeth, as Paule ſayeth: the outwarde man is corrupted day by day, and therefore except the inwarde man be renewed, the ſhoe goeth awrie: euery building in Chriſt, doth grow to a holy temple, as the wicked, on the contrary parte ſhall procede to worſer. 2. Tim. 3. I haue made a change farre otherwiſe in going backe, than I thinke by letters I can perſwade you: wherein, will you ſay? For the firſt, ſeconde and thirde, and to be brief in all things: As for an example, Gods true feare is flowen away from me, loue to my brethren is exiled from me, faith is vtterly taken awaye. In ſtead wherof is diſtruſt, & doubtfulnes bearing rule. Contempt of Gods honor, & of my brethrē raigning, & in ſtead of true feare, an imagined feare, accordinge to my brayne holding the principalitie. For I extenuate ſinne, and I do not conſider that in ſinne, which a Chriſtian ought to conſider: that ſinne being not forgeuen, is ſuch a thyng, for the which God caſteth his creature away, as exāples not only of Saule, of Iudas, of the Iſraelites (which were beloued in deede, & yet for ſinne are reiected) but alſo of others, on whome lately for my warning, God hathe ſhewed the ſame, do admoniſh me. But it is but my pen which writes this, for the wicked, ſayth Salomon, when they come into the depth of their ſinnes, then they grow in ſecuritye, I am I cānot tel what, I feare, but it is but blindly, or els wold I awake otherwiſe then I do, I feare me I ſay that I am intangled of the deuil, after his deſire. Pray for me that the Lord would geue me repentance, that I may eſcape out of his ſnares. Alas the ſpirite of praier, which before I haue felt plentifully, is taken cleane away from me. The Lorde be mercifull vnto me. I am ſolde vnder ſinne, I am the bondſlaue of ſinne, for whome I obey, his ſeruaunt I am. I am aſhamed to ſpeake ofte, no I ſhame not at all, for I haue forgot to bluſh, I haue geuen ouer to wepe. And truly I obey, I obey I ſay mine owne cōcupiſcences: namely in eating, in drinking, in tangling and idleneſſe, I will not ſpeake of vaine glorie, enuie, diſdaine, hypocriſie, deſire of eſtimation, ſelfeloue, and who can tell all? Is thys the rewarde thou rendereſt to GOD, O Bradforde?

Deu.

2. Tim.

Prouerb.

2. Tim.

It is true, yea to true, thou knowſt it O Lord, for thy mercies ſake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no mans hart, but that conſideryng the ingratitude of this world, this belly cheere (wherein you euen take me by the noſe) &c. his eyes would tumble out great guſhes of teares. The Lord be prayſed which worketh ſo in you, for it is with me, as with them of whõ you complain. In deed it may be ſo again, but oh it is very vnlikely, for my enimies are becom old, & are made by cuſtom more then familiar, for they are as it were conuerted into nature in mee. Yet I am not grieued therefore, although I cannot perſwade my ſelfe that God will helpe mee. O Lord be merciful vnto me for thy Chriſtes ſake. This day I receiued the Lordes ſupper, but how I haue welcomed him, this night (which I haue ſpent in laſciuiouſneſſe, in wantonnes and in prodigalitie, obeying my fleſh and delly) doth ſo declare, that what to ſay or write any more, I know not, ſleepe doth aggrauate myne eyes, and to pray I am altogether vnapt. All this is come through the occaſion of makyng this bringer a Supper in my chamber, the Lord pardon me, I truſt no more to be ſo far ouerſeen. But this I write not that the anger of god which I haue deſerued, ſo ſearcth me, thou knoweſt it O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

For Gods ſake praye for mee good Father Traues, and write vnto mee as you maye by your weakeneſſe, your letters do me good. By this which I haue now written, you may conſider more, touche me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord (I truſt) ſhall, and wil reward you. If God lend me lyfe, of which I am moſt vnworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters thẽ I haue done, but beare with me, I do it not of any euill will, the Lorde I take to iudge, there is none whoſe company and talke I more deſire then yours, I ſpeake it before God. Proue my Mothers mynd how ſhe can beare it, if when I ſhall come downe I ſhal ſhew my ſelfe an other man outwardly, but alas fainedly, then before I haue done. Marrie when my commyng will be, I know not. In deede two thyngs moue me ſore, the one for my mothers cauſe, concernyng her better inſtruction, if the Lord would thereto vſe me his inſtrument, the other is to talke with you, and eftſones to trouble you, as I haue hetherto euer done, but alwayes to my profite. For Gods ſake pray for me, for I had neuer ſo much neede. This Sonday at night, followyng S. Andrewes day, at Pembroke hall.

The moſt miſerable hard harted vnthankfull ſinner.
John Bradford.

¶ An other letter of M. Bradford to Sir Thomas Hall and Father Traues of Blakeley.

The grace of God our moſt mercifull father, kepe your mynd and ſoule in Chriſt Jeſu, who alone is our full ſufficient Sauior, for in hym we be complete, being made through his death and one onely oblation made and offered by himſelfe vppon the croſſe the children of God & fellow heyres with hym of the celeſtiall kingdome which is the free gift of God, and commeth not of merites, but of the meere grace of God geuen to none that putteth any maner of hope or truſt in any other thyng viſible or inuiſible, then in that oblation of ſweete ſauour which Chriſt himſelfe did offer vpon good Friday (as we call it) which oblation is alway recent and new in the ſight of God the father, and maketh interceſſion for vs: vs I mean, which thinke that onely ſacrifice then offered, to be ſufficient as it is, hath bene, and euer ſhall be for all the faythfull, by the which ſacrifice (if we beleeue) we haue free pardon of all our ſinnes. To him therfore which was both the offerer & offering, be all honour and prayſe, with the father and the holy ghoſt, bleſſed for euer, Amen.

Sir Thomas, the occaſion of this my long ſilence, myne old friend John Traues ſhal declare vnto you: vpõ the knowledge whereof, I doubt not of your pardon. I haue ſent vnto you an Engliſh and a Latine Teſtament both in one print and volume, the which though it be not ſo beautifull without as I could haue ſent you, yet no leſſe beautifull within, and more I thinke for your profite, and better for your eyes, your eyes I meane of the body. For vndoubtedly, it giueth light vnto the ſoule, if ſhe bee not dead. whereof, take this for an argument & a true proofe, If your ſoule be not delited in it, if your ſoule do not hunger for it (I meane not the booke, but the doctrine in the booke) ſurely your ſoule is ſore ſicke: for as the body abhorring meate, is not well, euen ſo muſt the ſoule bee, for other meat hath ſhe none, Chriſt whom you muſt beleeue afore all men, affirmeth this to bee true in the 4. of Math. Not onely in bread, but in euery worde of God the ſoule doth lyue. Marke well he ſayth not, one or two words, as an Epiſtle, or a Goſpell, but he ſayth, euery worde. Take heed, beleue Chriſt better then any man be he neuer ſo holy. For he that is of God (Joh. 8.) heareth the worde of God. will you haue a more plaine badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, then this text. Chriſt ſaith, He that is of God, heareth the worde of God, but other word of God haue we none, then in the Canon of the Bible, and all things written therin, are written for our learnyng, (ſayth Paule) whereby he prooueth, ſeyng that it is a learnyng, yea our lerning, that we muſt learne it. Therfore woe bee to all them which either perſwade men, that there is other doctrine of like authoritie, or that diſſwade men from embraſing this word, this word of God, or that thinke this word, eſpecially the new Teſtament, is not abone all other to be loued, to be red, to be chewed. This is the precious ſtone which in the Goſpel Chriſt ſaith: when a man hath found, he ſelleth all that euer he hath, and buyeth it. Marke now how neceſſary and precious Chriſt maketh that which great learned men (nay deuils but no mẽ) thinke not neceſſary God helpe them. Chriſt bade his Diſciples ſell their coates and buy a ſword, which is none other thyng then the word of God: for ſo S. Paule calleth it, the ſword of the ſpirit. Nay, ſay our great learned men, (I lye, they haue ſaid ſo, now they are aſhamed) fetch fire and burne it.

This I ſay Sir Thomas to the intent no vngodly hypocrite ſhould perſwade you or diſſwade you from reding the holy word of God the goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt. Follow you S. Paules leſſon: Attend readyng, and the worde of God dwell in you. How much plentifully ſayth he, and to what end, To feede the flocke of Chriſt euen as much as in you is, ſayth Peter, not once a yeare or once a quarter as a Strawbery, but ſo much as in you is. This worde of God trieth all doctrine, for we ought to haue our conſcience charged with nothyng as touching religion, except the worde of God in the Canon of the Bible ſet it out, I meane not onely in allegories, but euen in playne words. For no other foundation can any man lay, beſides ẏ which is layd. S. Paule ſayth, the groundworke is layd alredy. Euen ſo ſayth he to the Epheſians: we be his workmanſhip to do good workes, which God hath create that wee ſhould walke in them. He ſayth they were not to be made, but they are made already. what ſhall we thinke than in ſuch works as mans wit hath founded, which yet ſeeme moſt holy, let Gods worde be iudge. Read the ſame diligently and reuerently with prayer (I meane not Latine ſeruice not vnderſtoode, but with true hearty prayer) and marke what the law requireth, euen that which we cannot geue, the whole heart and more, if it were poſſible. But to this end, that we ſeyng our abhominable vncleannes and inabilitie, might deſpaire in our ſelues, tremblyng at the iuſtice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and ſo amplect Chriſt, in whome God the father is well pleaſed. which Chriſt is the end of the law to iuſtifie all that beleeueth, and continue not in their popiſh ignorance, iuſtifieng themſelues and treadyng Chriſtes bloud vnder their feete, denieng the Lord that bought them. All ſuch be they neuer ſo well learned, neuer ſo holy, bee nothing but hypocrites, and playne Antichriſts, which may not abide the ſword of Gods mouth. For the trompets of the army (I meane ſtill Gods word) when they blow, the hye wals of Jericho, the figure of hypocriſie falleth down. Embrace therefore Gods holy worde, and be not onely a Reader, but a doer: for your callyng requireth you to be apt to teach ſuch proud hypocriticall arrogant bablers, as I am now (which if I may vſe this terme beſhite Gods word) God forgeue me, and pray you for me, & geue God thanks for me, that ſpareth me thus Luciferlike, not of a true zeale, but of a fooliſh bragging which prate of Gods holy word. I wot not what I do to confeſſe it. So it is. I haue ſent to you other bookes which I pray you read, I haue written your name in them. The holy Ghoſt keepe you with your brother George, his wife and children, and with your brother James, &c. Sir Laurence, &c. This 20. of March.

A very painted hypocrite
John Bradford. Yours
in Chriſt for euer.

Pray for me, pray for me, geue God thanke for me, and take John Traues help to read this letter written in haſt.

If any thing but good bee chaunced to John Traues (which God forbid) I pray you burne my letters out of hande.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

¶ An other letter of Maiſter Bradford, to father Traues.

Gratia miſericordia & pax a Deo patre noſtro, & Domino Ieſu Chriſto Domino noſtro.

IF myne heart were not altogether Adamantine, your kynd letters to me vnkynde maiſter, would cauſe me from the bottome of the ſame, to confeſſe myne ingratitude towards you vpon your behalfe anempſt me ſo much deſerued, but as I am to do, ſo ſhew I my ſelfe to write, and as I am vnable in the one, ſo am I fooliſh in the other, in all thoſe vnkyndneſſes, rudenes, &c. whereof you accuſe your ſelfe. I am enforced to acknowledge my ſelfe moſt iuſtly condemned, not ſo faynedly by me confeſſed, as moſt truly by you experienced. In your letters as in a glaſſe, I may learne by you in deiecting your ſelfe, to eſpy my nakednes which tofore I thought clothed duplici veſtitu, now onelye but with fig leaues hypocritiſhly gilded, of which deiection wrought in you by the holy ghoſt, be not proude: For what haue you that ye haue not receiued? but be thankful to the Lord, not onely therefore, but alſo for thoſe ſurges which you feele now thorough the cares accompanieng marriages, now thorough education and bringing vp of your children and family, now thorough that croſſe of the common accuſtomed trade of liuyng: for Multas tribulationes oportet ingredi regnum Dei. Through many tribulatiōs we muſt enter into the kingdome of heauen, ye they be the cogniſances of Gods election. The letter Thau the inſtruments which worke ſuſpiria æternæ vitæ, & therefore to be embraced. Beleeue me it is ẏ moſte excellent gift of God a man to deiect and humble himſelfe, and to feele the croſſes of Chriſt as croſſes. But I moſt hypocriticall wretch, not worthy that this earth ſhould beare me, am euen a goyng to bed with Ieſabel, and ſuch as commit fornication with her, which is afflictio maxima, Oh Lord helpe me and deliuer me for Ieſus ſake, annoynt myne eyes with ointmēt that I may ſee, oh geue me not ouer into a lewd mind and reprobate ſenſe, but awake my ſleeping ſoule ẏ Chriſt may ſhine in me. You know the croſſe, the fatherly croſſe the louyng Lord hath layd vpon me, but I, but I am little or nothyng moued therewith. I worke therein (yet not I but Gods ſpirit) not of a repentant faythfull mynde, but (I cannot tell how) of a ſlouthfull blynd retchleſſe entent. Oh Lord forgeue me for ſaying ſo (it is thy gift) forgeue me myne vnthankfulnes for Ieſus ſake, and graunt mee as herein I blaſphemed and diſhoneſted thy holy name, ſo do thou by thy holy ſpirit glorifie by me the ſame. So be it, So be it.

Sithens my commyng to London, I was with M. Latymer, whoſe counſaile is as you ſhall heare, which I purpoſe by Gods grace to obey (if it be thy will oh Lord, fiat.) He willed me (as I haue done) to write to my maiſter who is in the countrey, and to ſhew hym that if within a certaine tyme which I appoynted xiiij. dayes, hee doe not go about to make reſtitution, that I will ſubmitte my ſelfe to my L. Protector and the kings maieſties counſaile to confeſſe the fault and aſke pardon. This lyfe is vncertayne and fraile, and when time is it muſt not be deferred. And what ſhould it profite me to win the whole world, & to looſe myne owne ſoule. If as I iuſtly haue deſerued, I be put to death for it, Gods will be done. At the leſt, ſlander, reproch, rebuke, loſſe of worldly frends, loſſe of liuing &c. ſhall enſue. what than? Lord thy will be done, thine I am, if death come, welcome be it, if ſlaunder, &c. Euen as thou wilt Lord. So be it. Onely graunt me a penitent louyng obedient hart, & of meere loue to go forwards herein, and not to ſhrinke, to ſtand and not to fall, ẏ thy name onely be prayſed herein, Amen. Pray, pray for me, cry for me, and when you ſhall heare any thyng, comfort my mother, to whom for that this bringer hath not geuen me an houres warnyng of his departure, I haue not only written nothyng, but alſo haue thus pratled to you, who (as no man elſe would) I thinke you will beare with me. For as God knoweth, to whoſe grace I commit you & your bedfellow with all your children and familye. The ſhortnes of tyme, and this ſayd bringers importaunce is onely the let I neither ſend you ſpectacles, the price of the Paraphraſes, nor thanks for your cheeſe, as by the next that cōmeth, I will God willyng ſend the premiſſes to you, and a goodly Teſtament for Sir Thomas Hall which is at the bindyng. But be not acknowen that I haue now written to you, for ſo I haue prayed this bringer. God be with vs and pray for me, and abhorre not my rude ſcribling, which if it were as well written, as it is ment, woulde deſerue pardon. Thus make I an ende, imputing to the haſtines of this bringer all blame which you may lay vnto me. From the Temple this Sonday, immediately after M. Latimers famous Sermon, whiche this bringer as hee ſayth did heare.

By your pooreſt friend,
Iohn Bradford.

It ſhall not be long God willyng, but you ſhall both haue and heare from me. Keepe with you Melancthons Common places, for I haue an other.

¶ Another letter of Maiſter Bradford, to father Traues.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with encreaſe of all maner godly knowledge and liuing, bee with you and all your houſhold, now and euer, Amen.

To excuſe this my long ſilence, within v. or vj. dayes after my (like fooliſh) letters writtē to you by Ioh. Moſſe it pleaſed God to ſend my M. hither to London, whome (as I lately tofore had aduertiſed by letters) I moued, (you know wherein) and prayed him to diſcharge ẏ ſame, or els I would ſubmit my ſelfe, &c. whereunto he anſwered, that if the bookes would declare it, he would ſatiſfy, &c. The bookes I ſhewed, whereupon he promiſed as much as I could aſke. But beyng herein ſomething more moued then he had cauſe (God be prayſed therefore, which of his meere good pleaſure wrought it) at tymes as I could, I deſired to know how and in what tyme he would diſcharge vs both. He thinking me to be ouer curious herein, was not therewith contented, and hearyng me to alledge the vncertaintie of tyme, and the feare of Gods iuſtice (which oh gracious Lord graunt me to feele in deede as much as thou knoweſt good for me) he aunſwered me to be ſcrupulous and of a ſuperſtitious conſcience (for animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt Dei) and plainely ſayde further that I ſhold not know, nor (by theſe words) haue his head ſo vnder my girdle. And whē I ſhewed him that (God witneſſed with me) I went about no ſuche thyng. He ſayd that there was no godly conſcience, ſeyng he promiſed afore the face of God to diſcharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought ſo to be quieted. And thus at dyuers & ſundry tymes, mouing eftſoones to know of hym the way and tyme of diſcharging the debt, and hauyng none other aunſweres then tofore, I doubting worldly wiſedome, (which vſeth delayes) to raigne in hym with this Mammon (the which oh merciful God eradicate out of his hart mynd, and all others) I was ſomethyng more ſharp, and told hym (non ego tamen ſed gratia tua Domine) I would obey God more then man, the which hee lightly regardyng (as ſeemed) I departed and went to M. Latimer to haue had hym to haue brought me to my L. Protector (whoſe grace than was purpoſed ſhortly to take his iourney to viſite the Ports) M. Latimer I ſay willed me to ſtay vntill his returne, which will be not long tofore Eaſter. In this meane tyme I bade my bedfellow my maiſters ſonne whom my M. had vſed as his inſtrument, to moue mee carnally (for my M. diſcharged him of hys exhibitiō, tellyng hym that he could not be able to keep eyther houſe or chyld, for I purpoſed to vndoe both hym and all hys (vntruly thou knoweſt good Lord) and bade hym to take that as a warnyng, that both he and his brethren ſhould prouide for themſelues as they could) I bade I ſay my ſayde bedfellow to ſhew my M. (as of himſelf) my further purpoſe, which thyng when he knew, ſo moued & feared him, that he began ſomethyng to relent, & then made faire promiſes, that looke what I would deuiſe, that would he do. I deuiſed, but my deuiſes pleaſed hym not. And thus, but not vainly I truſt (as I now do with you, but I knowe your gentlenes which euer hath borne with me) I ſpended the tyme in which I haue bene ſilent to write, nay bable to you. And he departing out of Londō tofore I knew did ſend me word by an other of his ſaid ſonnes, not ſo giuen to the Goſpell, and a lyfe accordyng as my bedfellow, and therefore more to be ſuſpected (for though pietas non eſt ſuſpicioſa, as I ſhould thinke my ſelfe rather impius, yet Chriſt bade vs to be prudētes ſicut ſerpentes) this other brother I ſay told me that my M. would do all thyngs onely his fame and abilitie preſerued (& quid prodeſt totum mundum lucrari animæ vero iacturam facere.) And with the ſayd brother my M. ſent me a little billet alſo, wherein he confeſſed that he was contented within 12. months to deliuer to my hands the whole money, which bill I thinking not ſo good as it might haue bene, haue deuiſed an other, and haue ſent it downe to hym in the countrey, with requeſt that he will ſeale and ſigne it. For thus M. Latymer thinketh ſufficiēt, but as yet I heare not of it, doubting worldly wiſedome, which was the whore that ouercame Sampſon, ẏ moued Dauid to ſlay Vrias, that brought wyſe

Salomon to idolatry, that crucified Chriſt, the which moued mee to perpetrate hoc facinus, the whiche worketh in my maiſters hart, hauyng higher place there than Timor Domini. What ſay I there, ye, ye, with me, it ſitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliuer vs) doubtyng I ſay worldly wiſdome, I remaine in that ſame ſtate now for this matter (though in worſe for my ſoule, which is more lamented, pray therfore I beſeech you, pray with me and for me, that I may do ſo earneſtly) than I was in at my laſt writyng vnto you. And as I than was purpoſed, ſo I doubt not (graunt it Lord) but that I ſhall perſeuere, if in the meane ſeaſon I ſhall not heare from my M. accordingly. Thus I haue (like my ſelfe) foliſhly, but truely declared vnto you in many babling wordes, which wit (if I had it) would haue ſhortly and briefly comprehended. Arrogant, nay Gods working vnthankfull wretch, my workyng in this matter, which is, and was, the onely cauſe (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might aduertiſe you ſome certaintie in this thyng. And though ſilence had bene much better then this fooliſh pratyng, yet your fatherly kyndneſſe euer towardes me in expectyng from you a correction, as I haue herein geuen cauſe, may though not to you, yet to me, be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembraunce of mee a moſt vnkynde wretche to God and you, in your prayers with the almighty mercyfull Lorde, that I maye more regard his will and pleaſure herein, then all honour or ſhame in this lyfe. But I muſt confeſſe vnto you that my working in this matter is not of loue as I ſhould do, nor of feare of Gods iuſtice (mine vnthankefulnes, myne vnthankfulnes, if nothyng elſe were, hath not only deſerued it, but doth deſerue more then euerlaſting damnation, oh Lord bee mercifull to me) I doe not ſo repent it as I ſhould do. Why ſay I So, as though this So were any thyng, oh hypocritical wretch that I am. Alas father Traues (let me ſo call you) I am hard hearted, there was neuer any ſo obſtinate, ſo vnkind, againſt ſo louing, ſo mercifull, ſo gracious, ſo good, ſo beneficiall a Lord, yea a father, as I wretch and moſt miſerable ſinner am. This I ſpeak but not of humilitie, but of hypocriſie, yet I ſpeake truely. I pray thee good father for Chriſtes ſake, I may thinke it truly as I write it, euen of arrogancy, ſo it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be ſuch goodly, godly, and learned Sermons, which theſe vncircumciſed eares of myne heareth at the leſt thriſe a weeke, which were able (yͤ great louyng mercy of God offered to me in them I meane) to burſt any mans hart, to relent, to repent, to beleue, to loue and to feare that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obſtinate, moſt vnkynde, ingrate, vnthankefull hart, hearing my Lord, which is Lord ouer all Lordes, ſo graciouſly, ſo louingly, vouchſafe by ſo many hys inſtrumentes, to ſpeake, to call, to cry vnto me, now by hys law, now by his threats, now by his goſpell, now by hys promiſes, now by all his creatures to come, to come euen to himſelfe, but I hide me with Adam in the garden, I playe not onely Samuell running to Hely, but I play Ionas runnyng to the ſea, and there I ſleepe vppon the hatches tumbling in Ieſabels bed, quod eſt afflicto maxima, vntill it pleaſe God to annoynt myne eyes collyrio, vntill it pleaſe hym to raiſe vp a tempeſt to turne and looke vpon me, as Luke ſayth he did on Peter. For oh Lord it is thy gift, and commeth of thee and of thy mere grace it commeth not of man, it commeth not of works to repent, to beleue, to feare and to loue. Worke thou therfore in me for Ieſus Chriſts ſake which am thy creature and moſt vnthankfull hypocriticall ſeruaunt, not when I will, nor as I wyll, but when thou wilt, euen that which may bee moſt to the glory of thy name, Amen. What ſhould I write, nay why do I not plucke theſe ſame wordes and paper in pieces, for I write altogether of hypocriſie and arrogant preſumption I will confeſſe it, (thou wicked ſpirite the Lord iudge thee) I will confeſſe it, it is moſt true Iohn Traues, I write it but onely, for it is not I, it is hypocriſie. Scientia (if I had it) inflaret, oh Lord graunt me thy grace, & leaue me not to myne owne iudgement and reaſon. Hypocriſie, arrogancy, and obſtinate ſecuritie enuiron me, yet I feele them not, the Lord deliuer me. Pray, pray for me. Geue God thankes for me, Oh Lord, euen tua fiat voluntas, Vnlocke this, myne hart thou which haſt the key of Dauid, which openeſt onely, that I may deſire to haue the deſire of the glory of thy name, of repentaunce, fayth, &c. Pray for me and be thankfull for me, oh father Traues, and wryte to me. Your letters I deſire more to ſee, then any mans liuyng. Let me haue them therfore as you may, but your prayer at all tymes, that God would open myne heart to feede and taſte of theſe comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked) memento Ieſum Chriſtum reſurrexiſſe ex mortuis. This text is a text of moſt comfort (as it is in deed, and when God will, I ſhal feede on it) Did Paul ſend to Tymothie to be his comfort in all places? For our ſaluation (this day of reſurrection) is neerer nowe than when we beleeued. Therefore qui perſeuerauerit ſaluus erit. For conſummabitur præuaricatio (ſayth Daniel) finem accipiet peccatum delebitur iniquitas & adducetur iuſtitia ſempiterna. Deus enim ipſe veniet & ſaluabit nos. Veniens veniet, & non tardabit & quandocunque manifeſtatus fuerit vita noſtra Chriſtus tunc & nos manifeſtabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus eſt vt multorum peccata tolleret rurſus abſque peccato conſpicietur ijs qui illum expectāt in ſalutē. Sic ſemper cum Domino erimus proinde conſolemini vos inuicem mutuò ſermonibus hijs. Oh Lord open myne eyes which ſee nothing of the great comforts in theſe thy moſt riche wordes, open myne eyes good Lord ne nunquā obdormiam in morte, Pray for me, and commend me to your good bedfellow, & omnibus in Chriſto fratribus oſculo ſancto. Thus I make an ende (for it is tyme you may ſay) and I pray you ſtill watter ſir Thomas Hal, vnto whom I haue ſent a faire Teſtament both in Engliſh and Latine, if this bringer will cary it. And I haue herewith ſent you a letter which firſt peruſe and read, and when you haue ſo done, abhorre not me but my wickednes, & pray for me. And as you can ſee a meete tyme, ſeale it, and deliuer it to Sir Nicholas Wolſtoncros by ſuch pollicy as you can thinke by Gods grace through prayer. I confeſſe vnto you, God is my witneſſe, to my knowlege, I neuer in my beyng in the country this winter at any tyme called it to remembrance, the Lord forgeue me. I would by ſome occaſion if any could be had, afore the deliuery of the letter by ſome ſtory or communication that he did know, that abhomination to be ſinne, for I feare me he thinketh it to be no ſinne. The Lord open our eyes and forgeue vs, Amen. The peace of God be with you, Amen. From the Temple this 22. of March. 1547.

Yours in Chriſt, moſt bounden.
Iohn Bradford.

I haue ſent you three payre of good ſpectacles I trow and other ſuch bookes as haue your name writtē in them, which take in good worth and pray for me, & geue thanks for mee.

¶ Another letter of Maiſter Bradford, to father Traues.

Gratia miſericordia, & pax, &c.

My chance is not by this bringer to haue any warning in manner of his farewell, ſo that I am conſtrayned tyme coarcting me, to write not ſo much of thyngs (which I will omitte) as my deſire was. Concernyng the great matter you know of, it hath pleaſed god to bring it to this end, that I haue a bill of my M. hand, wherin he is bound to pay the ſumme afore Candlemas next commyng. This thinks M. Latimer to be ſufficient. Therefore I pray you to geue that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, & thanks vpon it for me a moſt wretched ingrate ſinner, which haue alſo in other thyngs no leſſe cauſe to prayſe Gods name, As for that I haue and ſuſtain my M. ſore diſpleaſure, the which hath brough me (God I ſhould ſay through it) vnto a more contempt of worldly thyngs, through the ſequeſtration of ſuch his buſines, as tofore I had ado withall. I call it a contempt, well, take the word euen as it is, hypocritically and vayne gloriouſly ſpoken: for the whiche fault amongſt my others innumerable, I truſt you remēber in your prayers, whereof I haue (I would I knew) how much neede. There is yet another thyng whereof I will aduertiſe you euen to this ende, that you might pray if it be Gods will, that as I truſt ſhortly to beginne, ſo he may vouchſafe to confirme that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceyued) I beleeue it is his workyng. If the thyng ſeeme by Gods ſprite in you that I preſume, then for the Lords ſake aduertiſe me: for I am much geuen to that diſeaſe, the Lord deliuer me. I haue moued my M. therein already by letters, to ſee if I ſhall haue any liuyng of hym as hitherto I haue had, but I haue thereof no anſwer, nor as our naturall ſpeech is any likelyhood of any grant. Yet that I haue alredy I truſt, be able for me for 3. yeres, you looke what my purpoſe meaneth, I am ſo long afore I come to it. Therefore I doe it, becauſe my long bablyng ſhould be leſſe tedious. Now ſhall you haue it. If Gods will be (whereunto pray I may be obedient) I am mynded afore Midſomer to leaue London to goe to my booke at Cambridge, and if God ſhall geue me grace, to be a miniſter of his worde. Thus you haue of a flie an Elephant. Well, take it in good part though you ſee my etiam non, and not etiam, etiam. A tumblyng ſtone gathereth no moſſe, ſo therfore pray for me, Perchaunce I do fooliſhly to forſake ſo good a liuyng as I haue. I will ſay no more hereof, but pray for me. I truſt as I ſaid, for three yeres ſtudy, I haue ſufficient, if my Maiſter take all from me: and when this is ſpent, God wil ſend more. I do not write this that you ſhould thinke me to be in need of worldly helpe. And therfore as Friers were woont ſecretly to beg. No in ẏ Lords name I require you not to take it ſo: for I had rather neuer ſend letter, afore I ſhould be herein a croſſe to you, for ſufficit ſua diei afflictio, we are more ſet by then many ſparowes. But if my Mother, or Sir Thomas Hall murmure at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counſaile. Howbeit, as yet I will not write to them of it, vntill ſuch tyme as I bee goyng. I am ſomethyng fickle mynded and vnconſtant, therefore praye for me, that my hande beyng put to the plough (preſumptuouſly ſpoken) I looke not backe. You may gather by my wordes in this letter the Herodicall heart whiche lyeth in mee.

I haue ſent you a booke of Bucer agaynſt Wincheſter in Engliſh, lately tranſlated, which I neuer red, therefore I cannot prayſe it. And as I call to remembraunce, I did ſend you with the other bookes moe then you receyued, at the leaſt one of them I remember, which is called, The Common places or the Declaration of the fayth by Vrbanus Rhegius. Aſke for it, or ſend me worde in whome the default is, you haue it not. Hereafter, and that ſhortly by God grace, I will ſend you primitiæ laborum meorum, a worke or two which I haue tranſlated into Engliſh, ſo ſoone as they bee printed, which will bee afore Whitſontide. Pray for me good father Traues, and God ſend you health of ſoule and body, as I would myne owne or any mans liuyng. But yet to warne you of that you knowe not in writyng your letters to me, you hit me home, and geue mee that I looke for. You are deceyued and ſo is all that knoweth me, I neuer came to any poynt of mortification, therefore a little ticklyng ſets me a flote, God help me, and geue God thankes for me, as all men bee moſt bounden. Thus when I ones beginne to write to you, I run as the Prieſt ſayth Mattins, for I thinke I may bee bold on you. The holy Ghoſt preſerue you, your wife and family, and perſeuere his grace in you vnto the ende. I pray you pray for me a moſt (what ſhould I call me) miſerable and blaſphemous ſinner. The peace of God bee with vs. From the Temple this xij. of May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall hath deceyued mee, but hymſelfe moſt. I deſire to ſpeake with hym, as this winter it may chaunce if I diſcharge not my ſelf of myne office to ſee him. Pray for hym and for me.

A very hypocrite,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ An other letter of Maiſter Bradford, to father Traues.

THe perſeuerance of Gods grace, with the knowledge of his good will, encreaſe with you vnto the ende. To declare my ſelfe as I am a carnall man which vnderſtandeth not the thyngs that be of the ſpirit. Theſe my letters though I counterfeit and meddle amongeſt them the ſpirituall wordes as the Deuill did in hys temptations to Chriſt, will declare no leſſe. For I beginne with carnall thyngs in effect, and no meruaile if I ſo ende, for how can a man gather figs of bryers. Theſe wordes as they ſeeme ſo they are ſpoken for a cloke to make you thynke otherwyſe, but father Traues you can not thinke ſo euil of me, as I am to the matter. This preſent day by Gods grace, I take my iourney towards Cambridge, where I praye God, and ſo earneſtly pray you to pray for me, that I may circumſpectly redeme this tyme which God hath appointed (to me vnknowen) to lend me: for alas, I haue ſpent moſt wickedly the tyme paſt, for the which I muſt account euen for euery haire bredth as they ſay: for God hath not geuen here tyme to ſine. But if I conſidered this as I do nothyng leſſe, cuſtome of ſinne and pleaſing my ſelfe hath ſo hardened my hart) I ſhould then come to the feelyng of my ſelfe, then ſhould I hate ſinne which I now loue, then ſhould I feare Gods wrath, which I now contemne, thē ſhould I cry out and wepe, and continually pray, as now I am as dry as a ſtone, as dumbe as a nayle, as far from praying, as he that neuer knew any taſt of it. Which thing once I felte (thankes to the Lord) but now for myne vnthankfulneſſe I am almoſt (but moſt worthily) depriued. I feare me God will take hys grace from me I am ſo vnthankefull. Alas, why do I lye in ſaying I feare me, nay God grant I may do ſo, for then ſhould I pray and pray, but ſeyng I can not, ſpeake you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compaſſions towards me, for his mercies ſake drawe me, ye compel me to ſerue, to feare, and to loue hym. Thus may you ſee how I preſume, for myne entent was to haue bene a Miniſter of Gods worde, to haue bene hys inſtrument to cal from, as I haue called to ſinne, but you ſee how that God puniſheth myne arrogancy. Alas, what ſhall I doe. I am an vnprofitable and an idle member, I thought I ſhould haue bene therein profitable, but medice cura teipſum. How ſhould I, or what ſhould I doe? I cannot labour wyth my handes. Well, I truſt God will geue mee grace and knowledge to tranſlate nothyng I feare me, yea, I diſtruſt me that I ſhall neuer be miniſter of Gods worde, yea, if arrogancy were not in me, how ſhuld I of all wretches the greateſt, thinke me to looke to the higheſt roume and vocation, that is vppon earth. Therefore eftſoones I deſire you to pray for me, that Gods will may bee done in me whether I lyue or dye, ſo that hys name be honoured. My maiſter which was, hath denied me all his benefiſece, but I haue for this lyfe more then enough thankes bee to God. As this winter I entend by Gods fauor to declare more vnto you. This booke which I haue ſent, take it in good part, it is the firſt, I truſt it ſhall not be the laſt God hath appoynted me to tranſlate. The print is very falſe, I am ſory for it. I pray you be not offended at my babling in the Prologues, &c.

Iohn Bradford.

I will lye God willyng this Sommer at Katherines hall in Cambridge, write to me.

¶ Another letter of Maiſter Bradford, to father Traues.

THe louyng kyndnes and aboundant mercy of God the father, poured plentifully vpon all the faythfull, in the bloud of that meeke Lambe Ieſus Chriſt our onely ſatiſfaction and mediator, thorough the working of the moſt holy ſpirite, be encreaſed and perceiued in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

Becauſe I ſtand both in doubt of the readyng and deliuerie of ſuch letters as I write and ſend vnto you (derely beloued father Traues) I am conſtrained to leaue of ſuch griefes and ſpirituall wantes, as thankes vnto the Lord I vnwillingly feele, for the fleſh as you knowe, loueth nothyng ſo much as ſecuritie of all enemies moſt perillous, and not a little familiar with me, from the which, with vaine glory, hypocriſie, &c. and worldlines, the Lord deliuer me. I had not thought to haue writen thus much, but theſe I cannot keepe, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you ſhould not thinke any ingratitude in me, as alſo that I might geue you occaſion to write to me agayne, as heretofore I haue done, euen ſo doe I enterturbe & trouble you wͭ my babling, but yet hauyng this cōmoditie, that I babble not ſo much as I was woont to do. The cauſe I haue declared, which had almoſt bene the cauſe I had not written at all. I did write vnto you from London when I came hither, ſende mee word what letters you haue receiued, for from you I haue receiued but two, and both by Iohn Moſſe, and in the latter I perceiued that the Lord had viſited you with ſickenes, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his loue vpon you, and that he careth for you vt in tempore ſupremo exultes nunc ad breue tempus afflictus quo exploratio fidei multo præcioſior auro quod perit & tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es vt cum Chriſto patiaris nam & illo glorificaberis. Certus enim ſermo eſt ſi ſufferimus & conregnabimus. You know that Chriſt etſi filius Dei erat tamen ex his quæ paſſus eſt didicit obedientiam. Patientia opus perfectum habeat vt ſitis perfecti, & integri nullaq; in parte diminuti, and dothe not patientia come of probatio, the one then you had, ſo that you were goyng a ſchoole to learne the other, with lerned what want you: the ende of all Gods prouing, is as Paule ſayth, vt impartiat nobis ſanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo patri qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem ſortis ſanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui te parumper afflixit idem inſtauret te fulciet roboret ſtabiliat. And the Lord knoweth how eripere pios è teſtatione, and that in tempore oportuno euen ſhortly, for haud tardat qui promiſit nam modicum tempus & videbitis me veniens enim veniet non tardabit. Itaque qui conſortes eſtis crucis Chriſti gaudete ſayth Peter, vt in reuelatione quoque gloriæ eius gaudeatis exultantes. O how doth my will ouer runne my wit. Why Bradford whom writeſt thou vnto? Thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe. Thus father Traues you may ſee my raſhnes to rable out the ſcriptures without purpoſe, ryme, or reaſon. I will not blot it out as I had thought to haue done, for that hereby you ſhall ſee my neede of your prayer. Well, I looke for a watchword from you. Write for

Gods ſake, and pray for me that I may be in ſomethyng profitable to the Lordes congregation, that I may bee no ſtumbling blocke, vt non confundantur in me qui illum expectant. Send me ſuch counſaile as the Lordes ſpirite ſhall moue you, how to ſtudy. My deſire is in ſomethyng to be profitable if it were the Lordes will, for to be Miniſter verbi. Alas I am vnmeete, and my tyme, my tyme, yea the Lordes tyme, I haue hitherto euill, ye moſt wickedly miſpent it, &c. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you, and your bedfellow, to whom haue me hartily commended, & to all your children and family, the which I beſeeche the Lord to lighten his countenaunce ouer, and graunt you his peace, pray for me. I long for winter to ſpeake wyth you. Reſcribe ora. Pray for mee. This aſſumption daye in Katherines hall in Cambridge.

Yours with all I haue and can.
Iohn Bradford.

¶ Another letter of Maiſter Bradford, to father Traues.

The plentifull grace of God the father, through our onely maiſter and Lord Ieſus Chriſt, encreaſe in vs daily to the glory of his name, Amen.

Foraſmuch as I haue often written to you good father Traues, and yet haue not once heard from you ſithens Pentecoſt. I can not now bee ſo bolde either in writing much or often as I would haue bene: Howbeit, this I ſay, that I much meruaile, that I heare not from you: but not ſo, for I am ſo wretched a ſinner, that the Lordes ſpirite I am certaine doth not moue you to write to me, yet for Gods ſake pray for me, and in the Lordes name I deſire you geue thankes to God for me. And when it maye pleaſe God to moue you write to me, thogh it be but two wordes, and counſaile me how to ſtudy the worde of lyfe, the miniſterie whereof, I deſire if it bee the Lordes pleaſure to profeſſe, and that I may doe it both in liuyng and learnyng, pray for me. Herus meus omnibus rebus ſuis me abdicauit & quæ prius conceſſerat, iam ſoluere renuit, & mihi prorſus factus & inimicus. I know not when I ſhal ſee you in body, therefore let me heare from you. I write not this that you ſhould thinke me in ægeſtate aut anguſtijs eſſe. No father, the Lord geueth me omnia affatim and will doe. I truſt I ſhall ſhortly here haue a fellowſhip, I am ſo promiſed, and therefore I haue taken the degree of maiſter of Arte, which els I could not haue attained. If I get a fellowſhip, I ſhall not need de craſtino ſollicitum eſſe, as here after I ſhal more write to you by Gods grace. I pray you write againe, and often pray for me. In haſt as appeareth, the 22. of October. Ne ſciat mater mea quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.

Miſerrimus peccator.
Iohn Bradford.

Another letter of Maiſter Bradford to father Traues.

The peace and plenteous mercy of God our heauenly father, in his Chriſt our onely Lord and Sauiour, bee euer encreaſed in you by the holy ſpirit, qui efficit omnia in omnibus, Amen.

Father Traues though I might thinke my ſelfe more happy, if you would often write vnto me, yet becauſe I ought to haue reſpect to your paynes, whiche nowe that olde man cannot ſo well ſuſtaine as it might, I had rather loſe my happines in yͤ behalfe, then will your grief, foraſmuch as it can be no happines vnto mee which turneth to your payne, yet becauſe payne is not payneful when it is ioyned with gayne, I therfore deſire you for Gods ſake o pray often for me, for if I ſhall not be worthy of your praier, as the Lord who knoweth all thyngs doth right well ſee it, and ſo my conſcience witneſſeth, yet your good prayer ſhall returne into your owne boſome. And know this, that who ſo conuerteth a ſinner by prayer, whether it bee by prayer, preachyng, or writyng letters, &c. the ſame hath ſaued a ſoule. Vſe therefore, for Gods ſake I aſke it, that paynes whereunto is ioyned profite, I meane prayer to God for me a miſerable and moſt wretched ſinner, and as for the gaynleſſe payne in wrytyng to me, vſe it yet as you may, and ſurely God for whoſe ſake you doe it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, wil in ſome thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did ſee what ſpirituall profite I receyue by your letters, I am certayne you would not thinke all your labour loſt. For Chriſtes ſake therefore begin agayne to write vnto me, and reproue me ſharpely for my horrible vnthankfulneſſe to GOD. You know how that God hath exonerated the loden conſciēce of the great waighty burthen, for ſo I did write to you, yea the Lord hath in maner vnburthened me of the leſſer burthen alſo: for I haue an aſſuraunce of the payment of the ſame by Candlemas. Loe thus you ſee what a good God the Lord is vnto me. Oh father Traues geue thāks for me, and pray God to forgeue me my vnthankfulneſſe. But what ſhould I reherſe the benefite of God towardes me. Alas I cannot, I am to little for all his mercies, yea I am not onely vnthankfull, but I am to farre contumelious agaynſt God. For where you know the Sonne, the Moone, and the ſeuen ſtarres did forſake me, & would not ſhine vpon me, you know what I meane per herum & heriles amicos, yet the Lord hath geuen me here in the Vniuerſitie as good a liuyng as I would haue wiſhed. For I am now a fellow of Pembroke hall, of the whiche I nor any other for me did euer make any ſute: yea there was a contention betwixt the M. of Katherines hall, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who is M. of Pembroke hall, whether ſhould haue me, ſit hoc tibi dictum. Thus you may ſee the Lordes carefulnes for me. My fellowſhip here is worth 7. pound a yere, for I haue allowed me 18. pence a weeke, and as good as xxxiij. ſhillings foure pence a yeare in money, beſides my Chamber, Launder, Barbour, &c. and I am bound to nothing but once or twiſe a yeare to keepe a Probleme. Thus you ſee what a good Lord, God is vnto me. But I pray you what do I now to God for all this, I will not ſpeake of the great mercies he ſheweth vpon my ſoule. Surely father Traues I haue cleane forgottē God, I am all ſecure, idle, proud, hard harted, vtterly voyde of brotherly loue, I am enuious and diſdaine others, I am a very ſtarke hypocrite, not onely in my words and works, but euen in theſe my letters to you. I am all ſenſual without the true feare of God, an other manner of man then I haue bene ſithens my call. Alas father Traues I wryte this to put my ſelfe in remembraunce, but I am wythout all ſence, I do but only write it. For Gods ſake praye for me which am onely in name a chriſtian, in very deed a very worldlyng, & to ſay to you the very truth, a moſt worldling of all other. I pray you exhort my mother now & then with my ſiſter Margaret to feare the Lord, and if my mother had not ſold the Foxe furre which was in my fathers gown, I would ſhe would ſend it me, ſhe muſt haue your counſaile in a piece of cloth.

Yours for euer, I. Bradford.

Another letter of M. Bradford to father Traues.

The ſelfe ſame mercy, grace and peace, which heretofore I haue felt plenteouſly, thogh now through myne vnthankfulnes & wilfull obedience, to the pleaſure of thys outward man, I neither feele, neither can bee perſwaded that I poſſeſſe, yea if I ſhall truly write, I in maner paſſe not vpon the ſame, ſo far am I fallen the Lord helpe me: the ſame mercy, &c. I ſay, I wiſh vnto you as I can with all encreaſe of godlines. Hipocritically with my pen and mouth, beſeeching you in your earneſt prayers to God to be an earneſt ſuter vnto God for me whith am fallen into ſuch a ſecuritie, & euen an hardnes of hart, that neyther I ſorow my ſtate, neither with any griefe or feare of Gods abiection do write this: before the Lorde which knoweth the harts of all men I lye not. Conſider for Chriſtes ſake, therefore good father Traues, my neceſſitie though I my ſelfe do it not, & pray for me, that God caſt me not of as I deſerue moſt iuſtly. For where I ought to haue well proceeded in Gods ſchoole, by reaſon of the tyme, I confeſſe it to my ſhame, I am ſo far gone back, as alas if ſhame were in me I might be aſhamed to write it, but much more to write it, & to thinke it not, ſuch is the reward of vnthankfulnes. For where God wrought the reſtitution of yͤ great thing you know of, the which benefit ſhould bynde me to all obedience. Alas father Traues I am to vnthankful, I find no will in hart (though by my writing it wil be hard to perſwade you either to be thankfull, either to beginne a new life in all things to mortifie this outward man, and hartily to be well content to ſerue the lord in ſpirit & veritie, & withſtand myne affections, & eſpecially my beaſtly ſenſualitie in meat & drinke, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you, but now through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen ſo, that a whole legion of ſpirituum malorum poſſeſſeth me. The Lord whom I only with mouth (my hart ſtil abiding both in hardnes & wilfulnes) call vpon, deliuer me and helpe me. And for Gods ſake geue you hartie thanks for the great benefite of reſtitution Pray to the Lord that at the length I may once returne to the obedience of his good will, Amen. I thanke you for your cheeſe, & ſo doth father Latymer as vnknowen, for I did geue it him, & he ſaith he did neuer eate better cheeſe, and ſo I dare lay he did not. I thanke him I am as familier with him, as with you, yea God ſo moueth hym

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againſt me, that his deſire is to haue me come & dwel with him when ſo euer I will, and welcome. This doe I write yet ones more to occaſion you to be thankfull for mee to yͤ Lord, which by all meanes ſheweth nothyng but moſt high loue to me. And I againe a very obſtinate rebellion. Pray therfore for me in haſt.

The ſinnefull. I. Bradford.

¶ William Minge.

William Minge dyed in priſon.

THe next day after M. Bradford & I. Leafe did ſuffer in Smithfield, wil. Minge prieſt died in priſon, at Maidſtone, being there in bonds for religion, & like to haue ſuffered alſo, if he had continued the fury of his aduerſaries, whoſe nature was to ſpare & fauor none that fauored chriſtes pure goſpel: which w. Minge with as great conſtãcy & boldnes, yelded vp his life in priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to haue called him to ſuffer by the fire, as the oter good and godly men had done at the ſtake, and as hee himſelfe was ready alſo ſo to doe, if it had pleaſed God to haue called him thereunto.

¶ Iames Treuiſam buried in the fields.

The ſtory of Iames Treuiſam, buryed in the fieldes, and ſummoned after his death.

VPon the 3. of Iuly, 1555. died one Iames Treuiſam in the pariſh of ſ. Margaret in Lothbury, vpon a ſonday, who being impotent & lame, kept his bed, for he could not riſe out of it a long time. This Treuiſam had a ſeruãt one I. Smal, which red on the Bible, & as he was in reading, Berd the Promoter came to the houſe, & would needs go vp the ſtaires, where he found 4. perſons beſides him and his wife: to wit, the yong mã that red, & two men & a woman. All which folkes, the ſaid Berd the Promoter there being, apprehended, & caried to the Counter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the frends they coulde make. Moreouer, the ſaid Berd would haue had alſo Ia. the lame man himſelf to Newgate in a cart (& brought the cart to the dore) but for neighbors. Neuertheles the poore man was faine to put in two ſureties for his forth cõming for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotẽt, but alſo very ſick the ſame time. So within a few dais, the ſaid Iames lying in extremes, the perſon of the church named M. Farthing, came to him & had communicatiõ with him, & agreed wel, & ſo departed. It hapned after yͤ prieſt was come down into the ſtreet, there met him one Toller a Founder. Yea ſaith he, be ye agreed? I wil accuſe you, for he denieth the ſacrament of the altar. Vpon that the perſon went to him againe, & then the prieſt & he could not agree. And ſo the parſon went to the B. of London & tolde hym. The B. anſwered, that he ſhould be burnt, and if he were dead, he ſhould be buried in a ditch. And ſo when he dyed, the parſon was againſt his wife as much as he could, neither would let her haue the coffine to put him in, nor any thing els, but was faine to beare him vpõ a table to Morefield, & there was he buried. The ſame night the body was caſt vp aboue the ground, & his ſheet taken from hym, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field ſeyng hym, buried him agayne, & a fortnight after, the Sumner came to his graue, and ſummoned hym to appeare at Paules, before his Ordinary, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhold be layd againſt hym. But what more befel vpon him, I haue not certainly to ſay.

M. Farthing perſon of Saint Margarets in Lothbery, accuſer of Iames.

The hiſtory of M. Iohn Bland,

Preacher, and Martyr, conſtantly ſuffering for the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt.

Iuly. 12. Iohn Bland, Iohn Frankeſh, Martyrs.

THe 12. of Iuly, I. Bland, I. Frankeſh, Nich. Sheterden, & Humfry Middleton, were al 4. burned at Cant. together, for one cauſe, of the which number, Frankeſh & Bland, were miniſters, & preachers of the word of God. The one beyng parſon of Adeſham, the other the vicar of Roluindon. This M. Bland was a man ſo little borne for his owne commoditie, that no part of his life was ſeparated from the common & publike vtilitie of all mẽ. For his firſt doyngs were there imployed to the bringing vp of childrẽ in learnyng & vertue. Vnder whom were trayned diuers towardly yong men, which euen at this preſent do handſomly floriſh. In the number of whõ is D. Sands, a man of ſinguler learning & worthines, as may well beſeeme a ſcholer meet for ſuch a ſcholemaiſter, whom I here gladly name, for his ſinguler gifts of vertue and erudition.

M. Bland ſcholemaſter to D. Sandes ſomtymes B. of Worceter, now Archb. of Yorke.

After this he comming to the miniſtery in the church of god, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed wͭ incredible deſire to profit the congregation, which may appere by this: that where as he was caſt into Cant. priſon for yͤ preaching of the goſpel, & deliuered once or twiſe frõ thẽce at the ſute of his frends: yet would he needs preach the goſpel againe, as ſoone as he was deliuered. Whereupon hee being the third time apprehẽded, when his frends yet once again would haue found the means to haue deliuered him if he would haue promiſed to abſtaine from preachyng: he ſtood in it earneſtly, that he would admit no ſuch conditiõ, notably wel expreſſing vnto vs the maner & exãple which we read in the apoſtle Paule: Who ſhal ſeparate vs from the loue of Chriſt? tribulation, or anguiſh, or hunger, or nakednes, or daunger, or perſecution, or the ſword. &c. But to expreſſe the whole life & doings of this godly Martyr, ſeeing we haue his own teſtimony concerning the ſame: it ſhal be beſt to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole diſcourſe of his troubles, frõ the beginnyng almoſt to the latter ende, in order & maner as ye ſhal heare.

¶ A diſcourſe of the whole proceſſe and doyngs of M. Bland, written and reported by himſelfe to his father in his owne letter as followeth.

DErely beloued father in Chriſt Ieſu, I thank you for your gẽtle letters. And to ſatiſfy your mynd, as cõcernyng the troubles wherof you haue heard, theſe ſhal both declare vnto you all my vexations that haue chaunced me ſince ye were with me, and alſo ſince I receiued your laſt letters. God keepe you euer.

Your ſonne, Iohn Bland.

FIrſt, the 3. of Sept. beyng Sonday, after ſeruice ended, ere I had put of my ſurplice, Iohn Auſten came to the table (commonly called the Lords table) & layed both hys hands vpon it, ſaying: who ſet this here againe? Nowe they ſay they tooke yͤ table downe the ſonday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who ſet it vp again. The Clerke anſwered, that he knew not. Then Auſten ſaid, he is a knaue that ſet it here. I was then goyng downe the church, maruellyng what he ment, and ſaid: Good mã Auſten, the Queenes highnes hath ſet forth a proclamation, that ye may moue no ſedition. And ere I could ſpeake any more, he ſaid, thou art a knaue. And I ſaid, well goodman Auſten, that I haue ſaid, I haue ſaid. By gods ſoule quoth he, thou art a very knaue. Then my clarke ſpake to hym, but what I am not ſure. But he ſaid, ye are both heretike knaues, & haue deceiued vs with this faſhion too long, & if he ſay any ſeruice here againe, I wil lay the table on hys face: & in that rage he with other tooke vp the table & layd it on a cheſt in the Chancel, & ſet the treſtles by it. Wherefore I rode by & by to M. Iſaac, & ſhewed him the cauſe, both how ſediciouſly he had ſpoken, & performed it with a like deed. M. Iſaac directed a warrant to the Conſtable or Borſholder, which was incontinẽtly ſerued, ſo that he was brought before him the ſame night, & was bound by recogniſance, with ſureties, to appeare if he were called. But we agreed ſo well then, that it was neuer called for, the table was brought downe, and I was permitted, as before.

The 26. of Nouember being ſonday, Rich. Auſten and his brother Thomas came to the foreſaid Table after the communion was done, & as I was goyng by them, Richard ſaid vnto me, M. parſon, we haue to ſpeake to you. And I ſaid, what is your wil? And he ſaid, you know that you tooke down the tabernacle or ſeeling wherin the roode did hang, & ſuch other things: we would know what recompence you will make vs. For the Queens proceedings are (as you know) that ſuch muſt vp againe.

Quoth I, I know no ſuch proceedinges as yet: & as for all that I did, I did it by commandement.

No, ſaid Tho. Auſten, ye wil not know the Queenes proceedings.

Yes, ſaid I, I refuſe not to know them.

Then ſaid Rich. ye are againſt the Queenes proceedings: for you ſay, that there are abominable vſes & diueliſhnes in the maſſe.

Goodman Auſten ſaid I, if I ſo ſaid, I wil ſay it again and God willing, ſtand to the proofe of it.

Maiſters all quoth Rich. Auſten, beare record of theſe words, and went his way.

Quoth Tho. Auſten, thou wilt as ſoone eat this booke as ſtand to them. No quoth I, not ſo ſoone. Tell vs quoth he, what that diueliſhnes is, that is in the maſſe.

I haue often preached it vnto you ſaid I, & ye haue not beleued it, nor borne it away, nor wil now neither, though I ſhould tell you.

Thou quoth he haſt told vs alwayes like an heretike, as thou art. Now ye lie goodmã Auſten quoth I, by your leaue. Mary quoth he, thou lieſt. And I ſayd, and you lye: for I haue taught you Chriſt and his truth.

Quoth he, thou art an heretike, and haſt taught vs nothing but hereſie: for thou canſt ſay nothing that is true.

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Yes, goodmā Auſtē, I cā ſay that God is in heauē, & ye will ſay (I trow) yͤ it is true, & ſo haue I taught you truly.

Quoth he, thou haſt taught vs like an hereticke, & haſt ſayd, that there is no deuill in hell.

Well ſayd I, lie on: me think ye can ſay litle truth. Many other tauntes he gaue, too long to write. And at the laſt he ſayd, ye pulled downe the aultar: will ye build it again? No (quoth I) except I be commaunded: for I was commaunded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, ſayde he, then will I. For I am Churchwarden.

I charge you, ſayd I, that you do not, except you haue authority. I will, ſayd he, not let for your charge. For wee will haue a maſſe here on ſonday, and a preacher that ſhall proue thee an hereticke, if thou dare abide his comming.

Yes, quoth I, God willing, I will abide & heare him: for ſure I am, that he can not diſproue any doctrine that I haue preached.

Yes quoth he, and that thou ſhalt heare, if thou run not away ere then.

No, good man Auſten, I will not run away.

Mary, quoth he, I cannot tell: thou art as like, yea, as nay: with many other wordes, we came out of the Church dore, and ſo departed.

When the ſonday came, I looked for our preacher, & at the time of morning prayer I ſayd to the clerke: why do ye not ring: ye forget that we ſhal haue a ſermon to day? No quoth he, M. Mils ſeruant hath bene here this morning, & ſayd, his mayſter hath letters frō my L. Chancelor, that he muſt go to Lōdō, & cā not come. That day I did preach to thē a ſermō in his ſtead. Now haue they ſlaundered me that I had prepared a cōpany from diuers places to haue troubled him: but they agreed not in theyr lye. For ſome ſayd, I had them at Adeſham, & that Richard Auſten had knowledge, & ſent for the kings Conſtable to ſee the peace kept, which is found a lye. Other ſayd, I had thē lying in wayt for him betwene Canterbury & Adeſham: other ſayd I had thē in both places, yͭ if the one miſt, the other ſhould not. God forgeue them all. Now vpon theſe two matters they crake, that they ſent two bils of complaynt to yͤ counſell. wherfore by the counſell of frendes, I made this teſtimony, and ſent it vp by mayſter Wiſeman.

¶The behauiour of Iohn Bland Parſon of Adeſham in the County of Kent, the ſonday, the 3. day of December laſt paſt, conteyning the wordes which he there ſpake vnto the people.

Whereas vpon certaine cōmunication had betwene yͤ ſayd parſon & Rich. Auſten, & Tho. Auſtē in the preſēce of al yͤ pariſh of Adeſhā, the ſōday before S. Andrewes day laſt, the ſaid Auſtē thē declared, that the ſaid parſō had taught there in times paſt great hereſies, which to cōfoūd they would prepare a preacher agaynſt the next ſōday folowing, if ſo be the ſaid parſō would abide, & not run away. Vpon which rumor, diuers & ſundry perſons reſorted out of the cōutry vnto the ſayd pariſh church, at the ſayd ſame day appoynted, there to heare the preacher: and at the time in which yͤ ſermō ought to be made, no mā appereth there to preach. But it was reported vnto yͤ parſon, that yͤ preacher appoynted, had vrgent buſines, & could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the ſame parſon perceiuing that yͤ peoples expectation was defrauded, ſaid: Foraſmuch as you are come willingly to heare ſome good aduertiſement of the preacher, which now can not be preſent, I thinke it not conuenient to permit you to depart w^t^out ſome exhortatiō for your edifiyng. And ſo further declaring that he had no licence to preach, ſaid, that he would not meddle w^t^ any matter in cōtrouerſy. And thē he began the Epiſtle of the day, deſiring his audience to marke three or foure places in yͤ ſame Epiſtle, which touched quietnes & loue one to an other: & there briefly reading the Epiſtle, he noted the ſame places, & ſo making an end thereof, deſired al mē to depart quietly & in peace, as they did, without any maner of diſturbance, or token of euill.

Witneſſes they vnder named, with diuers others.

Edmond Mores.	William Forſtall.
Richard Randall.	Thomas Gooding.
Iohn Hils.	

¶An other matter of trouble wrought agaynſt Iohn Bland, as appeareth by his owne narration.

Vpon the Innocents day, being the 28. day of Decemb. they had procured the prieſt of Stodmarſh to ſay them maſſe: he had nye made an end of mattins, ere I came: and when he had made an end of mattins, he ſayd to me: mayſter parſō, your neighbors haue deſired me to ſay mattēs, and maſſe: I truſt ye will not be agaynſt the queenes proceedings. No, quoth I, I will offend none of the Queenes maieſties lawes, God willing. What ſay ye, quoth he, and made as he had not heard? And I ſpake yͤ ſame wordes to him againe, with an hier voyce: but he woulde not heare, when all in the chaūcell heard: So I cryed the third tyme (that all in the Church heard) that I would not offend the Queenes lawes: and then he went to maſſe: and when he was reading the Epiſtle, I called the clerke vnto me, with the becking of my finger, and ſaid vnto him: I pray you deſire yͤ prieſt, whē the Goſpell is done, to tary a litle: I haue ſomething to ſay to the people: and the Clerke did ſo.

A popiſh Maſſe Prieſte brought to ſay Maſſe at Adeſham.

And the prieſt came downe into the ſtall, where he ſat: & I ſtood vp in the chancell dore, and ſpake to the people of the great goodnes of god, alwaies ſhewd vnto his people, vnto the time of Chriſtes cōming: and in him & his comming, what benefite they paſt, we preſent, & our ſucceſſors haue: and among other benefites, I ſpake of the great and comfortable ſacrament of his body and bloud. And after I had declared briefly the inſtitution, the promiſe of life to the good, & damnation to the wicked, I ſpake of the bread & wine, affirming them to be bread & wine after the conſecration, as yonder Maſſe booke doth, ſaying: Panem ſanctū vitæ æternæ, & calicem ſalutis perpetuæ. &c. Holy bread of eternall life, and the cup of perpetuall ſaluatiō. So that like as our bodely mouthes eat the ſacramental bread & wine, ſo doth the mouth of our ſoules (which is our fayth) eate Chriſtes fleſh and bloud. And when I had made an ende of that, I ſpake of the miſuſe of the ſacrament in the maſſe: ſo that I iudged it in that vſe no ſacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bade vs all eat & drinke: and one onely in the Maſſe eateth & drinketh, & the reſt kneele, knocke, & worſhip: and after theſe thinges ended, as briefely as I coulde, I ſpake of the benefactors of the maſſe, & began to declare what mē made the Maſſe, and recited euery mans name, & the patche that he put to the maſſe: & ere I had rehearſed thē al, the church warden and the Boſholder his ſonne in lawe violentlye came vpon me, and tooke my book from me, and pulled me downe, and thruſt me into the Chaūcell, with an exceeding rore and cry. Some cryed. Thou hereticke: ſome thou traitour: ſome thou rebell: and when euery man had ſayd hys pleaſure, and the rage was ſomething paſt: be quiet good neighbors ſayde I, and let me ſpeake to you quietly. If I haue offended any law, I will make anſwere before thē that are in authority to correct me. But they woulde not heare me, and pulled, one on this ſide, & an other on that, & began agayne.

M. Bland agayne exhorteth the people in his Pariſh Church.

Bland ſpeaketh of the right inſtitution of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

He ſpeaketh of the abuſe of the Sacrament in the Maſſe.

He declareth how the Maſſe was patched & peeced together, and by what Popes

M. Bland violently plucked downe in his Sermon by the Churchwardē.

Then Richard Auſten ſayd: Peace, Mayſters, no more till Maſſe be done: and they ceaſed. Thē ſayd I to yͤ church wardē and the Bolholder, either holding me by the arme: Mayſters, let me go into the Church yard till your Maſſe be done. No, quoth the Churchwarden, thou ſhalt tarye here till Maſſe be done. I will not, quoth I, but agaynſt my wil. And they ſaid: Thou ſhalt tary, for if thou go out, thou wilt run away. Then ſayd I to the Boſholder: Laye me in the ſtocks, & then ye ſhall be ſure of me, & turned my backe to the aultar. By that time Richard Auſten had deuiſed what to do with me, and called to the Boſholder and the Churchwarden, & bad them put me into a ſide Chappell, and ſhut the dore to me, & there they made me tary till maſſe was ended. When the maſſe was ended, they came into the chappel to me, and ſearched what I had about me, and found a dagger, and tooke it from me. Then ſayd Tho. Auſten Churchwarden, after manye brablinges that they made with me: Thou keepeſt a wife here amongeſt vs agaynſt Gods law and the Queenes. Ye lye, good man Auſten, ſayd I: it is not agaynſt Gods law, nor, as I ſuppoſe agaynſt the Queenes.

M. Bland thruſt in a ſide Chappell till the maſſe was done.

M. Blandes dagger taken from him.

Thus they brought me out of the Church, & wythout the dore they rayled on me, without pity or mercy: but and the prieſt came out of the Church, and Ramſy that of late was Clarke, ſayd vnto him: Syr, where dwell you? And therwith Thomas Auſten tooke him by the arme, & ſayde: Come on ſira, you are of his opinion, and took his daggar from him, & ſayd, he ſhould go with him. I am contēt, ſaid he, and a litle mocked them in their enuious talke. By this time there came in at the Churche ſtyle one Iohn Gray of Wingham, ſeruaunt to Iohn Smith, and ſeing them hold Ramſy by the armes, ſaid to him: How now Ramſy, haue you offended the Queenes lawes? No, quoth he, Then there is no tranſgreſſion. Therewith Thomas Auſten tooke him, & ſaid: Ye are one of theyr opinion, ye ſhall go to them for company, and tooke his daggar from him, & then demaunded what he did there? But after (I think) for very ſhame they let him go agayne. But they caried me and Ramſy to Canterbury, with 18. perſōs weaponed. A ſheet of paper will not holde the talke that we had that night to M. Hardes Iuſtice, M. Oxenden, M. Spilman, and M. Tutſam.

Ramſey apprehended by Tho. Auſten.

Iohn Gray of Wingham troubled for a word ſpeaking.

M. Bland and Ramſy caryed to Canterbury.

M. Hardes Iuſtice.
M. Oxenden Iuſtice.
M. Spilman, M. Tutſam gentlemen agaynſt Bland.

Anno 1555. July.

James Chapman and Bartlemew Joyes, Suerties for M. Bland.

Hogeking and Simon Barrat Suertyes for Ramſy

The next day they made a Byll agaynſt me, but it ſerued not theyr purpoſe: which was, that they woulde haue had me to priſon. But Iames Chapman and Bartholmewe Ioyes were bounde in twentye poundes eyther of them for my appearaunce at the next general Seſſions, or in the meane time, to appeare, if I were ſent for before the Queenes Maieſties Counſayle, or any other Camiſſioners ſent by the Queenes authoritye. And Ramſye was bound to the peace, and to be of good behauiour til the next Seſſions. His ſureties were Thomas Hogeking, and Simon Barrat.

M. Bland taken from his Suertyes

Sir Tho. Moyles commaundeth M. Bland to Canterbury caſtle.

Now the 23. or 24. of February, Sir Thomas Finche knight, and M. Hardes ſent for me and my ſureties to M. Finches place, and tooke me from my ſureties, and ſent me to the Caſtle of Caunterbury, by ſir Thomas Moyles cõmaundement (they ſayd) where I lay ten weekes, & then was bailed, and bound to appere at the next Seſſions holden at Canterbury: but after they chaunged it to be at Aſhford on the Thurſday in whitſon weeke, being the xix. of May: but in the meane time the matter was exhibited to the ſpirituall Court.

¶ The firſt examination of M. Iohn Bland in the ſpirituall Court, before D. Harpſfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and M. Collins Commiſſary.

M. Bland brought before M. Harpſfield and M. Collins.

M. Bland M. of Art of Cambridge.

The xviij. day of May, M. Harpſfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, made the Maiors Sergeant to bring me before him and M. Collins Commiſſarye, into Chriſtes Church, & they went with me into a chamber in the Suffragan of Douers houſe. Thẽ the Archdeacõ ſaid: art thou a prieſt? And I ſayd, I was one. And he ſayd: Art thou any graduate of any vniuerſity? And I ſayd, Yea. what degree (ſayd he) haſt thou taken? The degree, quoth I, of a mayſter of Art. The more pity quoth he, that thou ſhouldeſt behaue thy ſelfe as thou haſt done. Thou haſt bene a common preacher licenced, haſt thou not? And I ſayde, I haue bene ſo. Mary, quoth he, ſo I vnderſtand.

What haſt thou preached?

And I ſayd, Gods word, to the edifying (I truſt) of his people.

No, no, quoth he, to the deſtroying of theyr ſoules and thine both, excepte the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what haſt thou preached? tell me.

I told you, quoth I, what I haue preached.

Nay but tell me, quoth he, what one matter haſt thou, preached to the edifying of the people, as thou ſayſt? I will tell you no particular matter: for I perceiue you woulde haue ſome matter agaynſt me.

Note how theſe Papiſtes ſeeke for matter, to ſucke the bloud of poore men.

No by my fayth quoth he, but yͭ onely I would winne thee from hereſies that thou art bewrapt in, and haſt infected other withall. For thou haſt preached, as I am informed, that the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar is not the very body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt after the cõſecration. Tell me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not thys thine opinion?

Syr, quoth I, I perceiue (as I ſaid) that ye ſeeke matter agaynſt me. But ſeing that I am bound in the Seſſiõs to my good behauiour for preaching, which may be broken with wordes, and well I know not with what wordes: and alſo both mine authority to preach, and my liuing are taken from me, I thinke I am not bound to make you an anſwere.

Collins. M. Bland, do you not remember, that S. Peter biddeth you make aunſwere to euery man that aſketh you a reaſon of the fayth that is in you?

A man not bound to aunſwere ſuch as aſke of purpoſe to bring him into trouble.

Bland. I know that, & am content ſo to aunſwere as that text biddeth: but I knowe that mayſter Archdeacon doth not aſke me after that maner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they ſayde, No: ye ſhall not be troubled for any thing that ye ſay here.

M. Bland vpon promiſe talketh with them of the Sacrament.

Bland. I am content for knowledge ſake to common with you in any matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fell in reaſoning more then the ſpace of an houre, of the ſacramẽt, both agaynſt me. At the laſt M. Collins ſayde: M. Bland will ye come, and take in hande to aunſwere ſuche matter on monday next, as ſhalbe layed to you?

Marke what fidelitye is in the promiſe of theſe men.

Bland. Syr, ye ſaid I ſhould not be troubled for any thing that ſhould be ſayd here for learnings ſake. And they ſayd, ye ſhall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland. Syr, I am bound to appeare, as ſome tell me, on Thurſday next, at Aſhforde, I am in doubt whether I am or no: yet I haue purpoſed to be there, & ſo to goe to London to M. Wiſeman, for an Obligatiõ, that he hath, whereby I ſhould receiue certayne mony to pay my debtes withall. Then ſayd M. Archdeacon, I will write to M. Wiſeman, that ye ſhall ſuſteine no loſſe.

Bland. That ſhall not neede: for I canne ſuſteine no great loſſe, if I goe not. But I pray you to let me haue a longer day. No, quoth he.

Bland. Syr, I cannot well come on monday.

Harpſ. Wilt thou not come, when he ſo gently ſpeaketh to thee, where he may commaund thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I deſire a longer day.

Harpſ. * Thou ſhalt haue no other day: I charge thee to come on monday.

Bland. Syr, I perceiue it ſhalbe for this, or like matters, will it pleaſe you, or maiſter Collins, for Gods ſake, to cõferre ſcriptures priuately with me in this matter, ſeing ye ſay ye would ſo gladly win me?

Harpſ. With all my hart will I take the paynes, & I will alſo borowe my Lorde of Douers Library, to haue what bookes thou wilt, and thus they departed.

Now the xvij. of May, at Aſhford I could not be releaſed, although I was called to the ſpirituall Court for yͤ ſame matter, but was bound to appeare at the Seſſions holden at Crambroke, the third day of Iuly.

¶ An other appearaunce of M. Bland before the Archdeacon, and his felowes.

The 21. day of Maye I appeared in the Chapter houſe, wher was a great multitude of people, vnlooked for of me: & M. Archdeacõ ſayd thus to me. Ye are come here, according as ye were appointed: and the cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the Quenes highnes, here to place me, to ſee gods holy word ſet forth, & to reforme thoſe that are here fallẽ into great & heinous errors, to the great diſpleaſure of god, & the decay of Chriſtes ſacramẽts, & cõtrary to the fayth of yͤ catholick church, wherof thou art notably knowne to be one, that is ſore poyſoned with the ſame, & haſt infected & deceiued many with thy euil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce & come home agayn to the catholick church, both I and many other moe would be very glad: and I for my part ſhalbe right glad to ſhew you the fauour that lyeth in me, as I ſayd vnto you when you were appoynted hither, becauſe ye then refuſed to ſatiſfy agayne the people that ye had deceiued. And wheras it is fayned by you, yͭ I ſhould openly diſpute the matter with you this day, although I did neither ſo intẽd nor appoynt, yet I am cõtẽt to diſpute the matter with thee, if thou wylt not without diſputatiõ helpe to heale the ſoules that are brought to helwarde by thee? what ſayſt thou?

Bland. I do proteſt before God & you all that neither is my conſcience guilty of any error or hereſy, neither that I euer taught any error or hereſy willingly. And where your maſtership ſayth, that I haue fayned an open diſputatiõ with you, it is not true, as I can thus approue: vpon ſaterday I was at Vgdens, & there M. Binghã laid it to my charge, that ſuch an opẽ diſputation as ye haue here offred, ſhould be this day betwene you & me: wherat I much marueiled, & ſayd to him, that before that preſent I neuer hearde any ſuch word: neither would I anſwere nor diſpute: & to this can maſter Vaghan, maſter Oxenden, maſter Seth of Oeuerland, and maſter Vgden witnes: and further I ſayd to them, that I neuer ſpake to you of any diſputatiõ, nor you to me. Now if your mayſterſhip haue any thing to ſay to me by the law, I will make anſwere to it.

Harpſ. Heare ye what he ſayth? his conſcience is cleare. I pray thee wheron groundeſt thou thy conſcience: lette me heare what thy fayth is.

Bland. I knowe not why ye ſhould more aſke me a reaſon of my fayth, then any other man in this open audience?

Harpſ. Why thou heretick, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? if it were a chriſtẽ beliefe, thou nedeſt not to be aſhamed of it.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my faith. For I beleue in god the father almighty, maker of heauen & earth, and in Ieſus Chriſt his onely ſonne our Lord. &c. withall the other articles of the Creed: and I do beleue all the holy ſcriptures of God to be moſt certayne and true.

Harpſ. Wilt thou declare no more then this?

Bland. No.

Harpſ. Well, I will tell thee wheron I groũd my fayth, I do beleue & groũd my fayth & cõſcience vpõ all the articles of the Creed, & vpon all the holy ſcriptures, ſacramentes, & holy doctors of the church, & vpon all the generall coũcels that euer were ſince the apoſtles time. Loe hereupõ groũd I my fayth: with many wordes moe, which I well remẽber not. And when he coulde get no other anſwere of me, thẽ I had ſayd before, he called for a Scribe to make an act agaynſt me. And after much cõmunicatiõ I ſayd: by what law and authority wil ye proceed agaynſt me? M. Collins ſayd: By the Canon law.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in ſtrength, or no. Yet I pray you let me haue a Counſeller in the law, and I will make anſwere according to the law.

Harpſ. Why thou hereticke, thou wilt not confeſſe thy fayth to me, that haue authority to demaund it of thee, and yet I haue confeſſed my fayth to thee before all this audience. As cōcerning the bleſſed ſacramēt of yͤ aultar, thou haſt taught that after the conſecration it is bread and wine and not the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. How ſayeſt thou? haſt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Syr, as concerning this matter of the Sacramēt, when I was with you and mayſter Collins, ye ſayd then it was for other matters that I ſhoulde come hither for: and further, that ye would be content, at my deſire, to conferre ſcriptures with me, to ſee if ye coulde winne me: and ye ſayd, ye woulde borowe my Lord of Douers Librarye, that I ſhould haue what booke I would: and now ye require me thus to anſwere, cōtrary to your promiſe, ere any conference be had, & ſeek rather to bring me into trouble, then to winne me.

Harpſ. I will, as God ſhall helpe me, doe the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable: and I truſt to diſſolue al thy doubtes, if thou be willing to heare. And I alſo will deſire theſe two worſhipful men, my Lord of Douer, and mayſter Collins to heare vs.

Bland. No, ye ſhall pardon me of that: there ſhalbe no ſuch witneſſe. But when we agree, ſette to our handes. Hereat made the people a noyſe againſt me, for refuſing yͤ witnes: and here had we many moe wordes, then I can rehearſe. But at the laſt I ſayd: ſir will ye geue me leaue to aſke you one queſtiō? And he ſayd, yea, with all my hart. For in that thou aſkeſt any thing, there is ſome hope that thou mayeſt be wonne.

Bland. Syr, when it pleaſed almighty God to ſend his angell vnto the virgine Mary to ſalute her, & ſayd: Haile ful of grace. &c. came any ſubſtance from God our father into the virgins wombe to become man? whereat as well M. Archdeacon, as my Lord of Douer, and mayſter Collins ſayd. But my Lord ſpake the firſt, and ſayd: the holy ghoſt came to her: and ere he had brought out his ſentence, mayſter Syriac Peters ſayd: Virtus altiſsimi obumbrauit. Truth, ſayd mayſter Archdeacon: it was the power of God, ſent by the holy Ghoſt. They had forgotten, that genitus fuit ex ſubſtantia patris: Or els they perceiued wherunto this queſtion tended: and ſo both I and they left it: by what wordes I can not tell, but I ſayd: ſir, ſhall I aſke one other? And he ſayd, yea. Is there in the ſacrament, after the conſecration, Chriſtes naturall body, with all the qualities of a naturall body, or no.

Harpſ. Harke, ſayd mayſter Archdeacon: heare ye this hereticke: He thinkes it an abſurdity to graunt all the quantities of Chriſtes natural body to be in the ſacrament. But it is no abſurditye. For euen that naturall body that was borne of the virgin Mary, is glorified, and that ſame body is in the Sacrament after the conſecration. But perceyue ye not the arrogancy of this hereticke, that will put me to anſwere him, and he will not aunſwere me? he thought to put me to a pinche with his queſtion: for I tell you it is a learned queſtion.

Bland. Syr, if ye be ſo muche diſcontented with me, I will ſay no more: yet I woulde all men hearde, that ye ſay the glorified body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament, after the conſecration.

Harpſ. I may call thee groſſe ignorant. Thou groſſe ignoraunt, is not the ſame body glorified, that was borne of the virgin Mary? is it then any abſurdity, to graunt that to be in the ſacramēt? And whiles he ſpake many other wordes, I ſayd to mayſter Petit, that the Sacrament was inſtituted, deliuered, and receiued of his apoſtles, before Chriſtes body was crucified: and it was crucified before it was glorified: which ſaying mayſter Petit partly recited to maiſter Archdeacon.

Harpſ. Thou art without all learning. Was not Chriſtes body geuen to his Apoſtles, as in a glorified acte? and yet no incōuenience, although his naturall body was not crucified: for when he was borne of the virgin Mary without payne, was not that the acte of a glorified body? And whē he walked on the water, and when he came into the houſe to his apoſtles, the dores being ſhut faſt, were not theſe actes of a glorified body?

Douer. Then my Lorde of Douer helped him to a better place, and ſayd: when Chriſt was in Mount Thabor, he was there glorified in his apoſtles ſight.

Harpſ. Ye ſay truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the ſight of three of his apoſtles.

Bland. This me thinke is new doctrine.

Harpſ. Well, ſeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and proue theſe matters agaynſt hym. And therewith the Archdeacon brought forth a copy of the Byll of complaint that was put agaynſt me at Chriſtmas: and about that we talked a litle. And then Mayſter Archdeacon roſe vp, and ſaid: ſee ye good people, that know this matter, that ye come in, and proue it agaynſt him. Whereunto aunſwered Thomas Auſten: I pray you (ſayde hee) let vs be no more troubled with him. And thē ſpake Iohn Auſten, and Heath with one eie, and began to accuſe me: but no aunſwere they could haue of me, but do to me what ye can by lawe, and I will aunſwere it. Then ſayde Thomas Auſten, Bland, ye were once abiured.

Thomas Auſten chargeth M. Bland with an other vntruth.

Bland. Ye ſay not truely, goodman Auſten, I was neuer abiured. Either, ſayde he, ye were abiured, or els ye had the kinges pardon. Neither of both: ye ſpeake this of malice: with many other brabling woordes moe. Then M. Archdeacon departed, and lett maiſter Collins to cōmaūd me to appeare the nexte day. Howbeit for certayne other vrgent buſineſſe that I had, I did not appeare, but wrote a letter to M. Cōmiſſary, deſiring him to reſpite the matter till my comming home agayne: and if he would not, I would be content to ſubmitte my ſelfe to the lawe when I came home.

Now about the xxviij. day of Iune I came to mayſter Commiſſary, to ſhewe him of my returne, and offered my ſelfe to ſatiſfy the law, if it were proceeded agaynſt me, before M. Cockes of Sturray, and Markes the Apparitor: but M. Commiſſary ſayd gently, he had done nothyng agaynſt me. And ſo appoynted me to appeare before hym the friday ſeuennight after. Nowe in the meane time was the Seſſions holden at Crambroke, where I was bounde to appeare: and carying ſuretye with me, to bee bounde agayne (for I looked for none other) did appeare the thyrd day of Iuly.

M. Bland appearing at Seſſions in Crambroke.

And ſir Iohn Baker ſayde: Bland ye are, as we heare ſay, a Scot: where were ye borne and brought vp? And I ſayd, I was borne in England. And he ſayd, where? And I ſayd, in Sedber, and brought vp by one Doct. Lupton, Prouoſt of Eton Colledge. Wel, ſaid he, I know him wel. Remayne in your bond till after noone.

Sir Iohn Bakers talke with M. Bland.

M. Bland brought vp by D. Lupton Prouoſt of Eaton Colledge.

Then ſayd ſir Thomas Moyle, Ah Bland, thou art a ſtiffe harted felow. Thou wilt not obey the lawe, nor aunſwere when thou art called. No will, quoth ſir Iohn Baker? Mayſter Shiriffe, take him to your warde: and the Bayliffe ſet me in the ſtockes, with other and woulde not heare me ſpeake one word: & ſo we remayned in the gayle of Maidſton, till a fourtnight before Michaelmas, or therabout: & then we were caried to Rocheſter to Aſſiſe holden there, where we were among the priſoners two dayes: & when we were called, & the Iudges of Aſſiſe aſked our cauſes, when my cauſe was rehearſed, M. Barrow Clarke of peace ſayd, that I was an excommunicate perſon.

Syr Thomas Moyles wordes.

M. Bland layd in Maydſtone Gayle.

M. Bland caryed to the Aſſiſe at Rocheſter.

Then M. Roper of Linſted talked with the Iudges, but what, I am not able to ſay. But the Iudge of Aſſiſe ſayd. Take them to Maidſton agayne, and bring them to the Seſſion that ſhalbe holden nexte at the towne of Maldin: howbeit, the Shiriffe did not ſende for vs, ſo that wee taryed at Maydſtone till the Seſſions holden at Greenewich the xviij. and xix. of Februarye, I and other beyng within the Barre amongſt the felons, and yrons vpō our armes, were called out the latter day by the Gaoler & Bailiffes, and caſed of our yrons, and caryed by them into the towne, to ſir Iohn Baker, maſter Petit, maiſter Webbe, & other two, whom I know not.

M. Bland caryed agayne to Maydſtone Caſtle.

M. Bland appeareth at Seſſions in Greenewich.

¶ An other examination of Mayſter Bland before Syr Iohn Baker.

Baker. Bland, wherfore were ye caſt into priſon?

Bland. I can not well tell. Your mayſterſhip caſt me in.

Baker. Ye, but wherfore were ye in before that time?

Bland. For an vniuſt complaynt put vpon me.

Baker. What was the complaynt?

Band. I told him as truely and briefly as I could.

Baker. Let me ſee thy booke: and I tooke him a Latine Teſtament.

Baker. Will ye go to the Church, and obey and followe the queenes proceedings, and do as an honeſt man ſhould do?

Bland. I truſt in God to do no otherwiſe but as an honeſt man ſhould do.

Baker. Will ye do as I ſayd?

Bland. Will it pleaſe your mayſterſhip to geue me leaue to aſke you a queſtion?

A queſtion propounded to Syr Iohn Baker.

Baker. Yea.

Bland. Syr, may a man doe any thing, that his conſcience is not ſatiſfied in to be good?

Baker. Away, away, and threwe downe the Booke, and ſayd: It is no Teſtament. And I ſayd. Yes. And mayſter Webbe tooke it vp, and ſayde vnto me marueilous gently: mayſter Bland, I knewe you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reforme your ſelf: with better wordes then I will write. And I ſayde: If ye haue

Anno 1555. July.

Haſty iudgemēt of a Iuſtyce.

known me of an other opinion, then I am of now, it was for lacke of knowledge.

Baker. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? by S. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I wil geue ſixe fagots to burne thee withall, or thou ſhouldeſt be vnburned, Hence knaue, hence. And ſo were we repriued into our place agayne, within the Barre. And at night when iudgement of felons, and all was done, we were called, and the Iudge ſayd to the Gaoler. Take thē with you, and deliuer them to the Ordinary, & if they wyll not be reformed, let them be deliuered to vs againe, & they ſhall haue iudgement & execution. And one of our company ſayd: My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Chriſtes ſake, we ſhall liue with him for euer.

M. Bland and his fellowes ſent to the Ordinary by Syr Iohn Baker.

* An other appearaunce of M. Bland in the Spirituall Court.

M. Bland brought agayne to the caſtle of Canterbury. The B. of Douer M. Collins, M. Milles, with others.

Then came we to the Caſtle of Caunterbury, & there we remayned, till the ſecond day of march, at which day we were brought into the Chapterhouſe of Crechurch where were ſet the Suffragane of Canterbury, mayſter Collins, mayſter Mylles, with other: and then went to them mayſter Oxenden, mayſter Petit, and mayſter Webbe, maiſter Hardes Iuſtices. And whē I was called, mayſter Webbe ſayd: Here we preſent this man vnto you, as one vehemently ſuſpect of hereſy.

Bland. And I ſayde: Mayſter Webbe, ye haue no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſye. I haue bene a priſoner this whole yere, and no matter proued agaynſt me. I pray you wherfore I bene ſo long kept in priſon?

The aunſweres of M. Bland firſt to the Iuſtices.

Webbe. Leaue your arrogant aſking of queſtions, & aunſwere to that that is layd to your charge.

Bland. I do ſo: for I ſay you haue no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy.

Webbe. Yes: ye denyed to Sir Iohn Baker, to be conformable to the Queenes proceedinges.

Bland. Is it a iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy, for aſking a queſtion with leaue? So we had moe wordes there then I well remember.

Then ſtood vp mayſter Petit, and ſayd: Ye were caſt in to priſon, becauſe ye fled away from your Ordinary.

Bland. Then haue I had wrong. For I neuer fled, nor diſobeyed mine Ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let thē now ſay of I did: but they ſayd nothing. And when I ſaw they held theyr peace, I ſayd M. Commiſſary haue you bene yͤ cauſe of this mine impriſōmēt? No, quoth he: ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appeare the friday after the Seſſions. Here I was ſuffered to ſpeake no more, but ſhut vp in a corner tyll my companions were likewiſe preſented, and then wee were ſent to Weſtgate into Priſon, and were put in ſeueral cloſe holdes, that neuer one of vs could ſpeake to an other, nor no mā was permitted to come to vs. We were foure times at this appearaunce. But one they diſpatched, by what meanes I can not tell: whoſe name was Cornewall a Tanner.

Cornewall a Tanner diſpatched in ſecret priſon.

And thus hytherto paſſed the talke betweene Blande and the Iuſtices, and certayne Gentlemen of the ſhyre. Now foloweth the order of the reaſoning betwene hym & the Clergy men before whome he was examined. But for as much as the chiefeſt doer and Iudge againſt him was the B. of Douer or Suffragan of Caunterbury called D. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appere what litle trueth or conſtancye is in theſe catholicke perſecuters, I thought here to exhibite by the way a certayne popiſh letter, written of a papiſt vnto him. Wherin is declared what a goſpeller the ſayd Rich. Thornton was in K. Ed. time, which now turning with the world ſheweth himſelfe ſuch a bitter perſecuter agaynſt Gods ſeruants in Q. Maryes tyme. The copy of this letter here foloweth.

* A copy of a popiſh letter written to the Byſhop of Douer by one Thomas Goldwell a prieſt, declaring what a profeſſour he was in king Edwardes tyme.

He meaneth of the ariuall of Cardinall Poole.

Right reuerende and my good Lorde, after my hartye thankes for your good chere at my laſt being with your Lordſhip, this ſhalbe to certify you, that as ſoone as I arriued with my Lords Grace, I gaue him your letters, but I had muche worke to obteyne any thing of him for you. For there hath bene geuen very euill informations of you, and it hath bene ſayd, that you haue concurred with al maner of euill proceedinges, the which hath theſe yeares paſt bene in England, as wel agaynſt the holy ſacrament of the aultar, and agaynſt the ſupreme authority of Chriſts vicar in earth, as with the vſe of the abbominable late Communion, and with the mariage of prieſtes, as well religious as ſecular: and that you haue geuen orders to (I can not tell how many) baſe, vnlearned, & euill diſpoſed people, by reaſon of the which they haue taken vpon them to preach, and to doe much hurt in Kent. So that menne thinke that chaūce, you woulde be as ready to chaunge, as any other. And in deed it maketh me to feare the ſame, by reaſon that notwithſtādiyng it hath pleaſed almighty God to prouide, yͭ your abſolution was ſent vnto you (not looking, I dare ſay, for any ſuch thing) of all manner of matters, paſt, yet your Lordſhip (more regarding yͤ vanity of the world, thē the offēce of God, the which he onely knoweth how much it greeues me, for the due loue I beare vnto you) preſumed to ſing Maſſe in Pontificalibus, the holy dayes immediatelie folowing, and alſo to miniſtrate to childrē the ſacrament of Confirmation, becauſe that one (beyng a mēber of the Deuill) did ſomewhat comfort you ſo to do.

Oh my Lord, what honour ſhould it haue bene both to God and your ſelfe, and alſo edification to all good people, (though all worldly men & hereticks would therfore haue laught you to ſcorne) if you conſidering your great offences towarde God, and his goodneſſe agayne toward you, would like as you haue offēded in the face of the world, to the damnatiō of many, likewiſe haue ſhewed your ſelf penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, & not onely to haue celebrate for vanity Pontificaliter, but alſo for a time to haue abſteined for reuerence totaliter from the aultar, according to the old cuſtome of the Church. The which I haue alſo ſeene obſerued of ſome honeſt men, not being therto enioyned of any man. But that which is paſt can not be called agayne. And I thought it not my part to leaue your Lordſhip mine old frend and maiſter in yͤ mire. Wherfore I ceaſed not to ſolicite your cauſe with my Lordes Grace, till at the laſt I obteined of his Grace for your lordſhip all the faculties, of the whiche I ſend you a copye here incloſed, partly for your owne conſolation, & partlye for other, deſiring your Lordſhip ſo to vſe them to the honor of God, that there come to me therof no rebuke: not publiſhing them to any perſon, but to ſuch that you know will gladly receiue them. For hitherto there is neuer a biſhop in England who hath graunted him ſo great authority concerning thoſe the which be vnder his cure. Onely M. Archdeacon hath the like, & in one thing more greater then be theſe your Lordſhips. Wherfore your Lordſhippe ſhall doe well to remit vnto him all ſuch Prieſtes as haue cure of ſoule, whether they be beneficed men, or pariſh prieſtes. For he hath not onely authority to abſolue them as you haue, but alſo to geue thē authority to abſolue ſuch as be vnderneath theyr cures. And thus I cōmit your Lordſhip to the protectiō of almighty God. Written at Bruſſell the 16. of Iune. 1554.

Your Lordſhips beadman,
Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the Biſhop of Douer, by way of digreſſion. Now to returne agayn to the examinations of M. Bland, let vs heare his own report of his anſweres, as foloweth.

¶ Here foloweth mine aunſwere, as nighe as I can call to remembrance, euery word, and ſentence: yet if any that was preſent can helpe to perfect it, I woulde bee glad. But yet this dare I ſay, that there is neuer one ſentence, but it was openly ſpokē the ninth of march, in the Chapterhouſe of Crechurch, in the preſence of as many as they had choſen, the Maior of the City being called to be aſsiſtance, and all other ſhut out.

¶ The anſwere of Mayſter Bland in his appearaunce before the Commiſſary and other in the ſpirituall Court.

Mayſter Collins ſayd: maiſter Bland, ye know that ye are preſēted vnto vs, as one ſuſpected of hereſy. How ſay ye, be ye contented to reforme your ſelfe to the lawes of this Realme, and of the holy church?

Bland. I denye that I am ſuſpected iuſtly of hereſye, and that ye hearde when I was preſented, that I denyed the ſuſpition to be iuſt, but to defēd the vniuſt puniſhmēt that I haue ſuffered: neither can ye approue that any occaſion hath bene geuē by me, wherby any man ſhould ſuſpect me therein. But if you haue any lawe or authority to proceede agaynſt me for any thing done for an whole yeare ago and more, I wyll aunſwere to it.

Col. Ye were conuented before maiſter Archdeacon & me, and matter of hereſy layd to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and ſayde a whole yeare agoe, and for that I haue bene in priſon this yeare & more. If ye haue any thing agaynſt me by any law, I deſire you to let me know the lawe and the matter, and I will aunſwere according to the lawe.

Then ſayde my Lorde Suffragan: but that I am one of the Iudges, I would ryſe, and ſtande by thee, and accuſe thee to be a Sacramentarye, and bring witneſſe to proue it: yea, and further, that thou haſt called the Maſſe an abominable Idole.

Bland. You (my Lorde) neuer hearde me ſaye ſo: But I hearde you once ſay, that in your conſcience ye had abhorred the Maſſe three yeares. Thou lyeſt (quoth he) I neuer ſayde ſo.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witnes to approue it, with the day, tyme, and place: & I once did heare M. Collins at a viſitation in Wingham ſay, that Chriſt was a full ſatiſfaction for all ſinne preſent, paſt, and to come, contrary to that he ſayth now.

And here we had moe wordes of this matter, which I let paſſe for lacke of good remembrance.

Maiſter Collins ſaid, this is but a drift. You were better aunſwere now: for els you ſhall to priſon agayne, & be called on munday, & haue articles layd to you, & if ye then anſwere not directly, ye ſhalbe condemned pro confeſſo, & that will be worſe for you.

Bland. Syr, I doe not nowe, nor will not then denye to aunſwere to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the lawe: wherefore I truſt ye will let me haue the benefite of the lawe.

Collins. This is the lawe, that if ye be required of your Ordinary, Reddere rationem fidei, then may ye not deny it. And that we doe nowe.

Bland. To that then I will aunſwere. For I beleeue in God the Father Almightye, maker of heauen and earth, and in Ieſus Chriſte his onely ſonne our Lorde, with all the other Articles of the ſame Creede: And I beleeue all the Articles conteyned bothe in the Creede called the Maſſe Creede, & in the Creede of Athanaſius: And I doe beleeue, that all the holy Scriptures, & all thinges therin conteyned, are moſt true.

Collins. This will not ſerue you: ye muſt aunſwere to all ſuche Articles in all theſe as ſhalbe layde to you, or aſked of you.

Bland. Let me know the law that it is in that force (without any iuſte cauſe of ſuſpition proued agaynſt me) and I will aunſwere.

Collins. How ſay ye will ye aunſwere.

Bland. Syr, I haue aunſwered you. Haue him away, ſayd my Lord of Douer: he had better haue aunſwered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to aunſwere, if ye haue any thing agaynſt me by the lawe.

B. Douer. Ye haue preached many hereſyes in Adiſham, where I am Parſon nowe: and therefore yee muſte make aunſwere to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the lawe, & I will aunſwere them, if ye can approue that I am bound to anſwere to yͤ was done a yeare & more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may alſo lay to my charge, & compell me to anſwere to all thinges done in all my lyfe I trowe.

Collins. It is not a yeare agoe ſince you were before M. Archdeacon and me.

Bland. It is truth, it is a yeare and tenne weekes ſince the words were ſpoken: & I haue bene a priſoner euer ſince, and haue bene at fiue Seſſions, and neuer coulde haue any cauſe tryed. Me thinke your charities ſhould thinke it puniſhment enough, if I had bene gilty.

Collins. All this will not ſerue you: you muſte needes aunſwere, and it will be better for you to aunſwere nowe, then an other tyme. Will ye reforme your ſelfe, and goe to the Churche, and worſhippe Chriſte in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar, & be obedient vnto all the Queenes Lawes?

Bland. I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins To anſwere to ſuch thinges as are demaunded of you.

Bland. Syr, I thoughte ye had had ſome matters agaynſt me by the lawe.

Collins. Well, on munday at .ix. of the clocke ye ſhall ſee yͤ law, and haue articles layd vnto you.

Then they had ſpyed Mayſter Coxe the Lawyer, and called him in, and ſayde: Here is a Lawyer can tell you are bound by the lawe to aunſwere: and he ſayde, as they had ſayde.

Collins. Doe ye not beleeue that after the conſecration of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar there remayneth no ſubſtance of bread, but the ſubſtaunce of Ieſus Chriſt both God and man.

Bland. Mayſter Commiſſarye, I knowe not by any lawe why ye ſhould aſke me that queſtion, more then any other man here. And after a little talke, my Lord of Douer aſked me this queſtion: Doeſt thou not beleeue after yͤ conſecration, that it is the body of Chriſt? And I ſayde, No, I doe not ſo beleeue: for the Scriptures do not teach me, yͭ there ſhould remayne the fleſh of Chriſt, to eate as a man ſhould eate mans fleſh?

M. Bland denyeth the realty of Chriſtes preſence in the Sacramente.

Then maiſter Glaſier ſayd, that was the opinion of yͤ Capernaites: there is no man here of that opinion, and ſpake long of cutting of Chriſts body, as men cut fleſh in the ſhambles.

The Capernaites tooke chriſt to ſpeake literally of his body, and ſo doe the Papiſtes, & not the Proteſtants.

Then Mayſter Doctour Faucet ſayde: Mayſter Bland, for as muche as you and I were broughte vp both in one houſe, and borne both in one Pariſh, I would be as glad as any man aliue, to doe you good: but ye may not thus ſtand againſt the Church. For Chriſt ſayth: Ye muſt humble your ſelf, and take vp his Croſſe, and follow him. And to humble your ſelfe in this place, is to be content, and not ſticke to your owne iudgement, but to humble your ſelfe to the holy Church, which hath determined, yͭ after the cõſecration, there remaineth no bread, but the naturall body and bloud of Chriſt.

Bland. Mayſter Doctour, if ye take humbling of our ſelfe in that place, to admitte the determination of the Church, then muſte we knowe by the Scriptures, that the ſame Churche determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I doe not beleeue any ſuch tranſubſtantiation, nor neuer will, god willing. Thẽ (quoth he I haue done with you: I will no more prey for you then for a dogge.

Determination of the Church is to be followed ſo farre as the Church determineth by the Scriptures.

Then ſayde M. Glaſier: how thinke ye? Did Paule when he ſayd: Is not the bread that we breake a partaking of the body of Chriſt? Did he ſay Bakers bread?

Bland. Though he did not meane bakers bread, that doth not proue that hee brake naturall and reall fleſh.

Gla. No by ſaint Mary, we ſay not ſoe, but we ſaye, it is the naturall body glorified, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Bland. Then the apoſtles had it not as we haue: or els his glorified body was crucified for vs.

Argument.
Fes- The glorified body of Chriſt was not crucified.
ti- The Apoſtells did eate the body crucified.
no. Ergo, the Apoſtles did not eate the glorified body of Chriſt.

Gla. Tuſh, ye do not vnderſtande the Scriptures. For Chriſtes body was euer glorified, in that it was ſo maruellouſly vnited to the Godhead: yea, and he ſhewed hys body diuers tymes glorified, as in the Mount Thabor. And when he walked on the water, we ſee he was light, and had no weight in hym. Was not that then a glorified body?

Bland. Then belike Peters body was glorified: walking on the water was the deade of a glorified body: and the yron that Elizeus made to ſwim vpon the water.

Douer. Tuſh, quoth my Lord of Douer, that was done by prayer. But they made ſuch a noyſe with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord ſayd.

Bland. Mayſters, I knowe that it auayleth vs nothyng to reaſon with you, no more then it booted you in the tyme of the Goſpell. For then neyther the reaſon of Eckius, Coclæus, not yet of detection of the Deuilles ſophiſtrye of my Lord Chauncellours doyng, coulde take anye place. And it is knowne to ſome that be here, that ſomethyng I can ſay in them.

It auayleth not to reaſon with the Papiſtes in tyme of their kingdome.

Douer. No, you know Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and ſuch other.

Bland. In deede my Lorde, I haue ſeene parte of theyr doynges.

Douer. That is ſeene by thee to day.

Gla. I was glad when I heard you ſay ye beleeued the catholicke Church: and now goe you from it?

Bland. No that I doe not.

The Church viſible.

Gla. Ye know that Chriſt ſayth: If thy brother haue offended thee, goe and reconcile him, betweene thee and him. If he heare thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, all thinges may be eſtabliſhed. If he heare not then. Dic Eccleſiæ: If he heare not the Church, take him as an heathen. I pray you, where could ye haue found this churche of yours fifty yeares ago?

Bland. Ye knowe that the true church did not at all tymes floriſh, but was wonderfully perſecuted.

Bland commaunded away.

Douer. Then my Lorde cryed: No more, I commaunde you to holde your peace. Haue hym away, and bring in an other.

Collins. Ye ſhall come agayne on Monday, at nyne of the clocke, and in the meane time ye ſhall haue whom ye wyll to conferre withall, your frend D. Faucet, or M. Glaſier, if ye deſire them.

Bland. I will refuſe to talke with no man: as for any con-

Anno 1555. Iuly.

ference of your part, it is but weake lawes, eſtabliſhed as they are. But when there was no lawe, I did deſire conference. And ſo for that time I departed.

The Monday after we were brought forth to the ſame place agayne: And then M. Collins began to ſpeak to me: but after what maner, it is cleane out of my minde: but the end was, that I woulde reforme my ſelfe. But as I did before, I demaunded what they had to lay to my charge, & to ſee the law, which they ſayd before, I ſhould ſee.

* Yea but why then did you priſon him a whole yeare before.

Douer. What needes that? we haue enough agaynſt you. For ye* denyed to me the Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament.

Bland. I did refuſe to aunſweare, till ye promiſed that I ſhould ſee the Law, whereby ye may compell me to aunſwere.

Douer. My Lord tooke the Scribes booke, and read the anſwere that I made to D. Faucets reaſon, which I knewe not that they had written.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no ſuch aunſwere when ye aſked me. I take M. Collins and M. Glaſier to witnes. Then they brought forth a Decretall, a booke of the biſhop of Romes law, to bind me to anſwere, whiche my hart abhorred to looke vpon. The effecte was, that the Ordinarye had authority to examine, and that they ſo examined, muſt needes aunſwere. But I ſayde, that it meaned of ſuche as were iuſtly ſuſpect, as I was not. And here we had muche communication. For I charged them with vniuſt inpriſonment, which they could not auoyd.

The popes Kay.

M. Oxenden helpeth the Catholickes.

But M. Oxenden would haue helped them, and ſaid, the Iuſtices put me in priſon for a ſermon ſediouſly ſpokē, and for troubling a prieſt at maſſe.

Bland. That is not true. For after I had bene 10. weekes in priſon, I was bayled, till I was caſt in agayne, (and as the Iuſtice ſayd) for the diſobeying mine Ordinary, which I neuer did.

Collins. Will ye be content to conferre with ſome? It will be better for you: nowe we offer it you, becauſe ye woulde not deſire it.

M. Bland was tutor to Doct. Faucet.

Bland. As I did not refuſe before, no more will I nowe. But I did not perceyue before, but that one mighte haue come without any leaue aſking, to conferre the ſcriptures: and therfore I looked that D. Faucet would haue come to me without deſiring, if any commodity to me had bene in conferēce: for though I was neuer able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.

Collins. Are ye content to come to his Chamber at after noone?

These 3. belyke were, Bland, Shetterden, and Middleton. Miller a clothier, excommunicate & let go.

Bland. Syr, I am a Priſoner, and therefore it is meete that I obey, and come whyther you will, and ſo departed. At this tyme wee were three. But they tooke an other to appeare before them the Teweſday ſeuennight after. And when he came, I knewe not what was done, but that I heare, they excōmunicated hym, and let him go. His name was Myller, a Clothyer.

¶ Here foloweth a certayne confutation of M. Bland, agaynſt falſe and manifeſt abſurdities, graunted by M. Mylles, prieſt of Chriſtes Church in Caunterbury.

The Popiſh fayth of the Sacrament.

Mylles. We ſay, that Chriſt is in or vnder the ſacramēt really and corporally, which are the formes of bread & wyne, and that there is his body conteined inuiſibly, and the qualities which we do ſee, as whitenes and roūdnes. be there without ſubſtance by Gods power, as quantitye and weight be there alſo by inuiſible meaſure.

* 1. The matter of the Sacramēt is bread and wine.

Bland. This is your owne Diuinity, to make accidences the Sacrament, and Chriſtes reall body inuiſibly conteyned in them, and ſo to deſtroy the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors ſaye: * Materia Sacramenti eſt panis & vinum. And GOD by his power worketh no myracles with Hoc eſt Corpus meum, ſo to chaunge the ſubſtaunce of breade and wine into hys bodye and bloud, in that hee maketh accidences to bee without theyr ſubſtaunce by inuiſible meaſure. I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo deſtroy Chriſtes Sacrament, contrary to your owne Doctours, and trifle ſo with Gods worke.

Mylles. To Chriſte is geuen all power in heauen and in earth, ſo that by his omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he liſteth, and is in the Sacramente really and corporally without occupying of place: for a glorified body occupyeth on place.

* If chriſt be able to be where he liſte & occupy no place: why then is not he able to be aſwell vnder the ſubſtance of bread as vnder the accidences of breade, ſeeing he is omnipotent.

Bland. Marke your owne reaſon. All power is geuen to Chriſt, both in heauen and earth: by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt, Ergo, hee is in the ſacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place, I denye your argument: for it foloweth neyther of your Maior nor Minor. And firſt I woulde learne of you, howe you know that Chriſt liſteth to be preſent at euerye Prieſtes liſt. For if the Prieſt liſt not to ſay your Maſſe, the Chriſt liſteth not to be there.

* Chriſ
be wher
liſte Erg
Chriſt is
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crament
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Antecede
true, and
conſeque
falſe.

Agayne ye ſay, all power is geuen vnto Chriſt both in heauen and in earth; ſo that that is the cauſe by your reaſon, that by the omnipotēt power of his Godhead, he may be where he liſt: and by that reaſon he had not the power of his Godhead, till he had his humayne body, and then he was not equall with the father in diuinity: for all power was not geuen to Chriſte, before the humanitye and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he Filius. Here is more daunger then ye are ware of: if ye would ſtand to it with iuſt Iudges.

Milles. We eate Chriſtes fleſh and bloud ſpiritually when wee receiue it with fayth and charitye. And wee alſo doe eate it corporally in the Sacrament: ane the body that we ſo receiue hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto. which although it be receiued with the body of Chriſt, yet it is not inuiſible after a groſſe ſort, and the fleſh of Chriſte that we receiue is liuely, for it hath the ſpirite of God ioyned to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiuinge of the bloud of Chriſte, for it is contrary to the nature of Chriſtes bloud. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quātities, without ſubſtance of bloud.

Caſe being put, that the
king a great quantity
lice be made dronke, wh
theſe three is it that mak
dronke, the nature of blo
accidences onely of Wine
the true ſubſtance of Wine
reaſonable man iudge.

Bland. I am glad that you are ſo muche agaynſt all men, to ſaye that Chriſtes body is aliue in the Sacramente: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Me thinke it is euill to keepe Chriſtes body aliue in the Pixe, or els muſt ye graunt that he is aliue in receiuing, & dead in the Pixe. And ye ſay truth that it is* not the naturall receiuing of Chriſtes bloud that maketh a man drunken: for it is the nature of wine that doth that, which ye denye not.

Argument.

* Chriſtes blood hath no
quality to make a man dr
Receauing of that in the
lice can make a man dronke.
Ergo that in the Chali
not be the blood of Chriſt.

And a more truth ye confeſſe then ye dyd thinke, when ye ſayd: If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the ſubſtaunce of bloud: for in deede bloud hath no ſuch qualities with it: which is euident that there is no naturall bloud. If a man be drunken with wine conſecrated, it muſt be a myracle, as I thinke you will haue it, that the ſayde accidences ſhould be without theyr naturall ſubſtaunce, and worke all the operations of both ſubſtaunce and accidences; and ſo it foloweth that a man may be drunken by myracle. The body that ye receiue, ye ſay, is aliue, becauſe it is annexed to the Godhead, and the fleſh that ye receiue is liuelye, becauſe it hath the ſpirite of God ioyned to it.

This diuiſion is of your new inuentions to diuide the bodie and the fleſh, the one aliue by the Godhead, the other liuely by Gods ſpirite, and both one Sacrament: ye make of it a thing ſo fantaſticall, that ye imagine a body without fleſh, and fleſh without a body, as ye do qualities & quantities without ſubſtaunce, and a liuing body without qualities and quantities.

Milles. If caſe ſo require, and there be a Godlye intent in the Miniſter to conſecrate, after the conſecration thereof there is preſent the body and bloud of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtaunce, but accidentes without ſubſtaunce to a true beleuer.

Pant
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Bland. Ye graunt three abſurdities, that in a Tunne of wine conſecrate is nothinge but accidences, and to increaſe it withall, ye haue brought in two inconueniences: firſte that it is not the worde of God that doth conſecrate, but the intent of the Prieſt muſt helpe to it: and if that lacke, ye ſeeme to graunt no conſecration, though the Prieſt ſpeake the word: and yet your Doctours ſay, that the wickednes of the Prieſte miniſheth not the ſacrament.

Three inconueniences
ted by the Papiſtes:
1. That a tunne of win
conſecrated, nothing
but accidences: wh
the operation thereof.
2. Where he ſayth th
word of God doth not
without the intent of the
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of the Prieſt miniſheth no
crament.
3. Where he ſayth, th
vnbeleuer it is not the Sa
as the Papiſts ſay, that the
receaue the body.

And to an vnbeleuer ye ſeeme to ſay, that it is not the ſame that it is to the true beleuer: and then muſte the beleuer haue ſome thing to do in the conſecration. Incidit in ſcyllam qui vult vitare charibdim.

Mylles. The ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes bodye doth not fill the Mouſes belly. For although he doth receiue the outward formes of bread and wine, yet hee doeth not receiue the ſubſtaunce inwardly, but without violation. And a Mouſe doth not eate the bodye of Chriſt, to ſpeake properly: for it doth not feede him ſpirituallye or corporallye as it doeth man, becauſe hee doth not receiue it to any inducemente of immortality to the fleſh.

Bland. Yee make not your doctrine playne to be vnderſtand: we muſt know howe a Mouſe can receiue the ſubſtance inwardly and outwardly. Ye ſaye hee doth not receiue the ſubſtaunce inwardly: but without violation: Ergo, with violation he receiueth the ſubſtaunce inwardly. Yee ſaye, that the Mouſe cannot violate Chriſtes bodye. But he violateth the ſubſtaunce that hee eateth. And this your proper ſpeache doth importe as muche, as that the Mouſe ſhould eate the ſacrament to as great effecte; and the ſame thing, as doth the vnworthy receiuer. For if that be the cauſe that ſhee properly eateth not the body of Chriſt, becauſe ſhe doth not feede vppon it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receiueth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye ſay: then it followeth, that the vnbeleuer and the * Mouſe receiueth both one thinge. And yet it cannot be denyed but the * Mouſe will liue with conſecrated bread, & then ye muſt graunt the abſurditie, that a ſubſtaunce is nouriſhed and fed onely with accidences.

Argument. A contrario ſenſu. The mouſe receaueth not the ... inwardly, but without vio... Ergo with violation he recei... the body inwardly. *Argument.* The mouſe violateth not the ... of Chriſt. The mouſe violateth the ſub... which he eateth: Ergo the mouſe eateth no ſub... of Chriſtes body. * The mouſe and the beleeuer ... the bodye of Chriſte ... alyke, by the Papiſtes doc...

* *Argument.* No mouſe canne liue with ... only without ſub... A mouſe may liue with con... hoſtes. Ergo conſecrated hoſtes haue ... accidences but the ſub... of bread.

Milles. Mens bodyes be fedde with Chriſtes body, as with immortall meate, by reaſon of the Godhead annexed to eternal life: but mens bodyes bee corporally nouriſhed with qualities and formes of bread and wine: and we deny, that by the ſacramentall eatyng any groſſe humor turned into bloud, is made myraculouſly in the body.

Bland. Where it can not bee denyed that a man may liue, and naturally be nouriſhed in his naturall body with the Sacramentall bread & wine conſecrated: ye cannot auoyd that: but then yee turne to the ſpirituall worſhipping of of mans bodye, by Chriſtes body and Godhead annexed whiche is nothing to put away the abſurditie, that either a mans naturall body ſhoulde be fedde naturally with accidences, or els to haue them chaunged into groſſe humours. But ye ſay, mens bodyes be corporally noureſhed with quallities and fourmes of bread and wyne: and thē muſt ye needes graunt that qualities and quantities muſt be made ſubſtaunce in man. For ex eiſdem ſunt & nutriuntur mixta, or els is al that is the nutriment in man, accidences and no ſubſtaunce.

Another abſurditye, that mens bodyes be nouriſhed naturally with accidences, and qualityes.

Milles. If the formes of bread & wine be burned, or worms engendred, it is no derogation to the body of Chriſt, becauſe the preſence of his bodye ceaſeth to be there, and no ſubſtaunce commeth agayne,

Bland. Ye graunt here that a ſubſtaunce may be made of accidences, as aſhes or woormes: but I thinke you will haue it by your myracles, and this I count more abſurditie then ẏ other, that Chriſtes body ſhould ceaſe to be there and no ſubſtance to come agayne: for no worde in all the whole Bible ſeemes to ſerue you for the ceaſing of hys preſence, though we graunted you which we doe not, that it were there.

Another abſurditye, that ſubſtance is made of accidences, when aſhes or wormes be made of the formes of bread & wyne.

God almighty open your hart, if it be his will & pleaſure, to ſee the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would aunſwere you to all the reſt, in theſe and all other my doinges.

I ſubmit my ſelfe to our ſaueour Ieſus Chriſte and his holy word, deſiring you in the bowels of Chriſt to do the ſame.

Your Oratour in the Lord,
Iohn Bland.

¶ The laſt appearaunce and examination of Mayſter Bland.

Hitherto you haue heard the troubleſome handelyng of this faythfull and bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, I. Bland, toſſe to and fro, from priſon to priſon, from Seſſion to Seſſion. At laſt he was brought before the Biſhop of Douer, the Commiſſarye, and the Archdeacon at Caunterbury, the thirteenth daye of Iune. The name of this Byſhop was Richard Thorneton. The Commiſſary was Robert Collins: whome the Cardinall by his letters patent had ſubſtitute to his factor, before his comming ouer to Englande. The Archdeacon was Nicholas Harpſfield. Under theſe a great ſorte of innocent Lambes of Chriſt were cruelly entreated and ſlayne at Caunterbury, amongeſt whome this foreſayd Mayſter Bland was one of the firſt: who as it is ſayd, being brought before the ſaid Biſhop and Colleagues, whiche were Iohn Frankeſhe, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker. Umfrey Middleton, william Coker, was examined of articles. To whome it was obiected by the Commiſſarye, whether hee beleue that Chriſt is really in the ſacrament, or no. &c. To this he aunſwered, and ſayd: that hee beleeued that Chriſt is in the ſacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: ſo that he iudged not Chriſt to be really in the ſacrament.

...chard ...ornton ...hop of ...uer.

...e wordes ...M. Bland ...his exa...nation.

Wherupon the day being Monday, he was bid to appeare agayne vpon Wedneſday nexte, and from thence he was deferred agayne to monday following, being the xx. Iune in the ſame Chapterhouſe, then to heare further what ſhould be done, in caſe he would not relent to theyr minde.

Another appearance.

The whiche daye and place, he appearing, as before, was required to ſaye his minde playnely and fully to the foreſayd articles, being agayne repeated to him. Whiche articles commonly and in courſe they vſe to obiect to their Examinates which he wrought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, ſpecially for that Countrey of Kent, to be repeated.

The laſt appearance of M. Bland before the Biſhop of Douer and others.

¶ Articles miniſtred by Richard Byſhop of Douer, to mayſter Bland, and likewiſe to the reſt followyng after him.

Articles of Courſe miniſtred againſt M. Bland.

1. Firſte, that thou arte of the Dioces of Caunterbury, and ſo ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of the Archbyſhop there.
2. Item, that thou art a Chriſten man, and doeſt profeſſe the lawes of God, and fayth of Chriſtes Catholicke Church, and the determination of the ſame.
3. Item, that all Parſons which teach, preache, beleeue, affirme, holde, mayntayne, or ſaye within the Dioces of Caunterburye, otherwiſe then our holy mother ẏ church doth, are excommunicate perſons and heretickes, and as excommunicate and heretickes ought to be named, reputed, and taken.
4. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholicke faith and determination of our mother holy Churche, within the Dioces of Caunterbury, haſt openly ſpokē, mayntayned, holden, affirmed, and beleued, and yet doeſt hold, mayntaine, affirme, and beleeue, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, vnder the fourmes of bread and wyne, there is not the very bodye and bloude of our Sauioure Ieſus Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, but onely a token, ſigne and remembraunce thereof, and that the very body and bloud of chriſt is onely in heauen, and no where els.
5. Item, that thou contrary to the Catholicke faythe, and determination of our mother holye Churche, haſt wythin this Dioces of Caunterbury openly ſpoken, ſayde, maintayned, holden, affirmed, and beleued, and yet doeſt holde, maynteine, affirme, and beleue, that it is agaynſt Gods word, that the ſacrament of Chriſtes Churche ſhoulde be miniſtred in an vnknowne tongue: and that no man ſafely and with a ſafe conſcience, or without perill of ſinne, receiueth any ſacrament miniſtred in any tongue that he vnderſtandeth not.
6. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholicke fayth of our mother holy Church, haſt, and yet doeſt hold opinion, and ſay: that is againſt Gods word, that the ſacrament of the aultar ſhoulde be miniſtred in one kinde: and that no man may with a ſafe conſcience ſo receiue it.
7. Item, that the premiſſes be true, and that there is a common fame vppon them within the Dyoces of Caunterbury.

The aunſweres of Mayſter Bland to the foreſayd Articles.

Aunſwere to the firſt article out of the Regiſter.

1. To theſe articles M. Bland aunſwearing agayne in order as they were obiected to him, ſayth to the firſt graunting the ſame, that he was a prieſt, and of the Dyoces of Caunterbury.
2. To the ſecond alſo he aunſwered affirmatiuely.
3. Item, to thirde hee aunſwereth, that the Article is true, meaning the Catholicke Churche to bee Chryſtes Churche.
4. Item, in the fourth Article, as touching the firſt parte of the Article, he doth confeſſe, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contayned in the ſame. And as touching the ſeconde parte of the article, he doth confeſſe, that he doth nowe alſo hold and ſay, as he preached and taught before.
5. Item, to the fift article he graunteth.
6. To the ſixt, hee hath preached held and doth holde, as it is conteyned in the article.
7. Item, to the laſt article he graunteth the ſame. &c.

The Catholicke Church of Chriſt.

The Catholicke Church of Antichriſt.

This done, and his aunſweres and confeſſion taken, reſpite was geuen hym yet a few dayes to deliberate with himſelfe. So the xxv. day of the ſayde moneth of Iune hee

Anno. 1555. Iuly.

M. Bland denyeth the Pope.
M. Bland condemned.

making his appearing agayne in the ſayd Chapterhouſe, there openly and boldly withſtode the authoritie of the Pope, whereupon his ſentence was read, and ſo he condemned and committed to the ſecular power. Touching the forme and tenor of the ſentence, becauſe all theyr ſentences, of courſe agree in one, read before in yͤ hiſtorye of Maiſter Rogers.

¶ The prayer of Maiſter Bland before his death.

A prayer of M. Bland.

THe Lorde Ieſus, for whoſe loue I doe willingly leaue thys life, and deſire rather the bitter death of this croſſe, wyth the loſſe of all earthly thinges, then to abide the blaſphemye of thy holye name, or els to obey man in breaking thy Commaundements, thou ſeeſt, Oh Lord, that where as I might liue in worldly wealth to worſhip falſe Gods, and honoure thy enemye, I choſe rather the tormentes of this body, and loſſe of this my life, and haue counted al thinges but vile, duſt, and dung, that I might winne thee: Which death is more deare vnto me, then thouſands of gold and ſiluer. Such loue, Oh Lorde haſt thou layde vp in my breſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deere that is wounded deſireth the ſoyle. Send thy holy comfort, O Lorde, to ayd, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weake peece of earth, whiche is voyde of all ſtrength of it ſelfe. Thou remembreſt, O Lorde, that I am but duſt and not able to doe any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lorde as thou of thy accuſtomed goodnes haſt bidden me to this banket, and counted me worthy to drinke of thine owne cup amōgſt thine elect: geue me ſtrength againſt this element, that as it is to my ſight moſt irkeſome and terrible, ſo to my minde it may be at thy commaundement, as an obedient ſeruaunt, ſweete and pleaſaunt: and through the ſtrength of thy holye ſpirite, I may paſſe through the ſtrength of this fire into thy boſome, according vnto thy promiſe, and for this mortalitie, to receaue immortalitie, and for this corruptible, to put on incorruptible. Accept thys burnt offering and ſacrifice, O Lorde, not for the ſacrifice it ſelfe, but for thy deare ſonnes ſake my Sauiour: for whoſe teſtimony I offer this free wil offering with all my hart and with al my ſoule. O heauenly father, forgeue me my ſinnes, as I forgeue the whole world. O ſweete Sauiour, ſpread thy winges ouer me. O God, graunt me thy holy Ghoſt, through whoſe mercifull inſpiration I am come hither. Conducte me vnto euerlaſting lyfe. Lord into thy handes I commend my ſpirite: Lord Ieſus receaue my ſoule. So be it.

¶ The hiſtory of Iohn Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden.

Iuly. 12.
Iohn Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden, Martyrs.

HAuyng now paſſed ouer the examinations of Maiſter Bland, let vs further proceed to the reſt of his felowes concaptiues, being ioyned the ſame time with him both in the like cauſe, and like affliction. The names of whome were Iohn Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker: of whome Thacker onely gaue back. The reſt conſtātly ſtanding to the truth, were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of Caunterburye, the 25. daye of Iune, the yeare aboue expreſſed. Touching whoſe examinations, I ſhall not need long to ſtand, for ſomuche as the articles miniſtred agaynſt them, were all one: ſo in their aunſweres they little or nothyng diſagreed, as hereafter (by the Lordes help) you ſhal heare. In the meane time, becauſe Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talke with the Archdeacon and the Commiſſary, I will firſt beginne with the ſame.

¶ The firſt examination or reaſoning of Nicholas Sheterden with M. Harpſfield Archdeacon, and M. Collins the Commiſſary, for the which they ſent him to priſon.

The talke of Nicholas Sheterden with the Archdeacon & Commiſſary, about the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ.

FIrſt the Archdeacon and Commiſſary affirmed that the very wordes of Chriſt, when he ſayd: This is my bodye, did chaunge the ſubſtaunce, without any other interpretation or ſpirituall meaning of the wordes.

Shet. Then belike when Chriſt ſayd: This cup is my bloud, the ſubſtaunce of his Cup was chaunged into hys bloud, without any other meaning, and ſo the cup was changed, and not the wine.

The Romiſh catholickes cannot deny a figuratiue ſpeach in the cup, & yet will not graunt the ſame in the bread.

Arch. Not ſo: for when Chriſt ſayde: This cup is my bloud, he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Shet. If Chriſt ſpake one thing, and meant an other, then the bare wordes did not chaunge the ſubſtaunce: but there muſt be a meaning ſought as well of the bread, as of the cup.

Arch. There muſt be a meaning ſought of the cup otherwiſe then the words ſtand. But of the bread it muſt be vnderſtand onely as it ſtandeth, without any other meaning.

Shet. Then do ye make one halfe of Chriſtes inſtitution a figure, or borowed ſpeache, and the other halfe a playne ſpeach, and ſo ye deuide Chriſtes ſupper.

Arch. Chriſt meant the wyne, and not the cup, though he ſayd: This cup is my bloud.

Shet. Then ſhew me whether the wordes which the prieſtes doe ſpeake ouer the cup, do chaunge the ſubſtaunce, or whether the minde of the prieſt doth it?

Arch. The minde of the prieſt doth it, and not the wordes.

Shet. If the minde of the prieſte doth it, and not yͤ wordes, if the Prieſt then doe minde hys harlot, or any other vaine thing, that thing ſo minded was there made, and ſo the people doe worſhip the prieſtes harlot in ſtead of Chriſtes bloud: and agayne, none of the people can tell when it is Chriſtes bloud, or when it is not, ſeeing the matter ſtandeth in the minde of the Prieſt. For no man can tell what the prieſt meaneth, but himſelfe: and ſo are they euer in daunger of committing idolatry.

Then was the Archdeacon ſomewhat moued, & ſate hym downe, and ſayde to the Commiſſarye: I pray you maiſter Commiſſary ſpeake you to him an other while, for they are vnreaſonable and peruerſe aunſweres, as euer I heard of. Then ſtode vp the Commiſſary, and ſayd.

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Commiſ. Your argumentes is much agaynſt your ſelfe: for ye graunt that the bread is a figure of Chriſtes body: but the Cup can be no figure of his bloude, nor yet his verye bloud: and therefore Chriſt did not meane the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Shet. My argument is not agaynſt me at all: for I do not ſpeake it to proue that the cup is his bloud, nor the figure of his bloud, but to proue that the bare wordes being ſpoken of the prieſt, do not chaunge the ſubſtaunce no more of the bread then they do chaunge the cup into bloud.

Collins the Commiſſary taketh the matter in hand.

Commiſ. It coulde not be ſpoken of the Cup, when hee ſayde: This Cup is my bloud, but he meant the wyne in the cup.

Shet. Then it remaineth for you to anſwere my queſtion to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the minde of the prieſt when he ſpeaketh ouer the cup, doth chaunge it into bloud or the bare wordes.

Commiſ. Both together doth it, the wordes and yͤ mind of the prieſt together: yea the intent and the wordes together doth it.

Shet. If the wordes and intentes together doe chaunge the ſubſtaunce, yet muſt the cup be his bloud, and not the wyne, for as much as the wordes are, This cup is my bloud, and the intent, ye ſay, was the wyne: or els the words take none effect, but the intent onely.

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After, the Commiſſary in his chamber ſayd, it was the intent of the prieſt before he went to maſſe, wythout the wordes: for the Prieſt did intend to doe as holy Churche had ordayned, then the intent made the ſacrament to take effect.

Shet. If the Sacramentes take effect of the intent of the Prieſt, and not of Gods word, then manye Pariſhes hauing a Prieſt that intendeth not wel, are vtterly deceiued, both in Baptiſing, and alſo worſhipping that thing to be God, whiche is but bread, becauſe for lacke of the prieſtes intente, the wordes doe take none effecte in it: ſo that by this, it is euer doubtfull whether they worſhip Chriſte, or bread, becauſe it is doubtfull what the Prieſtes doe intende.

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Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary would proue to me, that Chriſtes Manhood was in two places at one tyme, by theſe woordes of Chriſt in Ioh. the thyrd Chapiter, where he ſayth, No man aſcendeth vpp to heauen, but hee that came downe from heauen, that is to ſay, the ſonne of man whiche is in heauen. By this he would proue, that Chriſte was then in heauen, and in earth alſo, naturally and bodily.

Chriſtes body whether it ma
be in two places at once.

Shet. This place and other muſt needes be vnderſtand for the vnitie of perſons, in that Chriſte was God & man, and yet the matter muſt be referred to the Godhead, or els ye muſt fall into great errour.

Commiſ. That is not ſo: for it was ſpoken of the manhoode of Chriſt, for as much as he ſayth, the ſonne of man whiche is in heauen.

Shet. If yee will needes vnderſtande it to be ſpoken of Chriſtes manhoode, then muſt ye fall into the error of the Anabaptiſtes, which deny that Chriſt took fleſhe of yͤ virgin Mary: for if there be no bodye aſcended vpp, but that whiche came downe, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body downe with him.

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Commiſ. Loe how ye ſeeke an errour in me, and yet ſee not how ye erre your ſelfe. For it cannot be ſpoken of the Godhead, except ye graunt that God is paſſible, for God cannot come downe becauſe he is not paſſible.

Shet. If that were a good argumente that God could not come down becauſe he is not paſſible: then it might be ſaid by the like argument, that God coulde not ſit, and then heauen is not his ſeate, and then ſay as ſome do, that God hath no right hand for Chriſt to ſit at.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary affirmed playnly, that it was true, God hath no right hand in deede.

Shet. Oh what a ſpoyle of Chriſtes Religion will thys be, that becauſe we cannot tell howe God came downe, therfore we ſhall ſay, that he came not down at all, and becauſe we cannot tell what maner of hand he hathe, to ſaye, that he hath no hand at all: and then he cannot reache the vtmoſt part of the ſea. O miſerie: at length it will come to paſſe, that God cannot ſit, and then howe can heauen bee his ſeate, and if heauen be not his ſeate, then there is no heauen: and then at length I doubt ye wil ſay there is no God, or els no other God, but ſuch as the heathens Gods are, which cannot goe nor feele.

Commiſ. Why, doth not the ſcripture ſaye, that God is a ſpirite, and what hand can a ſpirite haue?

Shet. Truth it is, God is a ſpirit, and therfore is worſhipped in ſpirit and truth, and as he is a ſpirite, ſo hath hee a ſpirituall power, ſo hathe hee a ſpirituall ſeate, a ſpirituall hand, and a ſpirituall ſword: which we ſhall feele if we go this way to worke, as we beginne. Becauſe wee knowe not what hand God hath: therfore if we ſay he hath none then it may as well be ſayd, there is no Chriſt.

Then the Commiſſary ſayd, hee woulde talke no more with me, & ſo departed: and alſo the Commiſſarye was compelled to graunt, that Chriſtes teſtament was broken, and his inſtitution was chaunged from that hee left it: but hee ſayd, they had power ſo to doe.

* My firſt aunſwearing, after their law was ſtabliſhed.

Becauſe I know ye will deſire to heare from mee ſome certaintie of my eſtate, I was called before the Suffragan and ſeuen or eight of the chiefe prieſtes, & examined of certayne Articles, and then I required to ſee theyr Cōmiſſion.

They ſhewed it to me, and ſayde, There it is, and the Kinge and Queenes letters alſo. Then I deſired to haue it read: and ſo in readyng I perceaued, that on ſome notable ſuſpition hee might examine vppon two articles: whether Chryſtes reall preſence were in the Sacrament, and whether the churche of England be of Chriſtes Catholicke Churche.

To that I aunſweared, that I had bene a priſoner 3. quarters of a yeare, and as I thought wrongfully: reaſon would therfore that I ſhould aunſweare to thoſe thinges wherefore I was priſoner.

Suff. The Suffragan ſayd, his Commiſſion was I muſt aunſwere directly, yea or nay.

Shet. This Commiſſion (ſayde I) was not generall to examine whome he will, but on iuſt ſuſpicion.

Suff. He ſayd: I was ſuſpected, and preſented to hym.

Shet. Then I required that the accuſation might be ſhewed.

Suff. He ſayd: he was not bound to ſhew it, but he commaunded me in the king and Queenes name, to aunſwere directly.

Shet. And I as a ſubiect do require of you iuſtice for that I haue done: I aſke no fauour.

Suff. He ſayde I was ſuſpected.

Shet. I bad hym proue that ſuſpicion, or what cauſe he had to ſuſpect.

Suff. Thou was caſt into priſon for that cauſe.

Shet. That was a pretty ſuſpicion, becauſe I had ſuffered impriſonment contrary to Gods law and the realme, that therefore I muſt now for amendes be examined of ſuſpition without cauſe, to hyde all the wrong done to me before. For when I was caſt into priſon, there was no law but I might ſpeake as I did: therefore in that poynte I could be no more ſuſpect, then you which preached yͤ ſame your ſelf not long before.

Suff. That was no matter to thee what I preached.

Shet. Well, yet in the king and Queenes name I muſt aunſwere directly: and therefore I require as a ſubiecte, yͭ ye do not extend beyond your Commiſſion, but proue me ſuſpect, more then you your ſelfe.

Milles. Then ſayd M. Milles, I had written to my mother and he did ſee the letter, wherin I perſwaded my mother to my opinions.

Shet. In that I did but my duetye, to certifie her I was not priſon for any euill. And that was before the lawe alſo, and therefore no more ſuſpicion was in mee, then was in them which taught the like.

Mill. Well, yee are required here to aunſwere directlye, yea, or no.

Shet. Firſt then I require of you to proue this ſuſpicion: and thus we toſſed to and fro. At laſt the byſhop ſayde, hee himſelfe did ſuſpect me. I aſked wherby?

Suff. Will ſayd he, I my ſelfe did ſuſpect thee, and it is no matter wherby.

Shet. But your Commiſſion doth not ſerue you ſo to doe without iuſt ſuſpicion.

Suff. Well, yet did I ſuſpect you.

Shet. It is not meete for you to bee my accuſer, and my Iudge alſo, for that was too much for one man. And thus manye woordes were multiplied, and they were muche greeued.

Milles. If you were a Chriſtian man you would not be aſhamed of your fayth being required.

Vpon this it appeareth the letters were written to the B. of Wincheſter, by whom he was ſente for after and examined.

Shet. I am not aſhamed in deede, I thanke God, & if any man do come to me, either to teache or to learne I would declare it, but for almuch as I perceaue you come neither to teache nor to learne, I holde it beſte to aunſwere you.

Milles. If you will not, then will we certifie the kinges Councell.

Sheter. I am therwith content that you ſhoulde certifie yͭ I had ſuffered thre quarters, priſon wrongfullye, and therfore I deſire to be iuſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuche impriſonment: and then I will not refuſe to aunſwere your articles, though there were a buſhell of them. But to ſay that I woulde aunſwere, whereby you ſhoulde heale all your wrong done to me agaynſt the law of God and the realme, I will not.

Sheterden refuſeth to aunſwere before it be tryed, wherefore he was impriſoned.

Here much adoe there was to proue that hee hadde no wrong, and agayn, yͭ it was not they that did it. But hee ſayde the Commiſſary was one of them, he aunſwereth no it was the Archdeacon. He ſayd, you ſate wyth hym, and he aſked youre counſell in it, and yet if it were hee, it was your Churche, except the archdeacon and you be deuided one from an other. Well ſayd they: will ye now deny that ye ſayd then, and promiſe here to ſubmit your ſelfe henceforth, and ye ſhalbe deliuered?

Sheterden refuſeth to ſubmit himſelfe.

Shet. I am not ſo much bound to you to graunt, any ſuch promiſe: and agayne you ſhall well know that I woulde not promiſe to goe croſſe the ſtreete for you: but if I did at any tyme offend your law, let me haue the puniſhment, I aſke no fauour.

Then ſayd they that it was obſtinacie in hym that hee would not aunſwere, and a token that his faythe was naught, ſeeing he was aſhamed to vtter it.

Shet. Nay ſayd he, ye ſhal wel know I am not aſhamed of my fayth: but becauſe you do ſo greedely ſeeke bloude, I will aunſwere onely to that you haue agaynſt me.

Suffr. Nay, you ſhall aunſwere to the articles, or els bee condemned vpon ſuſpicion.

Shet. I am content with that, yet all men ſhall know that as ye ſuſpect and can proue no cauſe, ſo ſhall ye condemne me without a matter, and then ſhall all men knowe yee ſeeke bloud, and not iuſtice.

Suffr. No we ſeeke not thy bloud, but thy conuerſion.

Shet. That we ſhall ſee. For then ſhal you proue my peruerſion firſt, before you condemne me on your owne ſuſpicion without proofe of the ſame: and by that I ſhal know whether you ſeeke bloud or no. Many other wordes were betweene them.

One Louel a loueles Lawyer.

At laſt ſtept vp one Louels a Lawyer, whiche woulde proue his priſonment not to be wrong, but right, by olde ſtatutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry. &c. but at laſt hee was compelled to forſake thoſe ſtatutes from Michaelmas to Chriſtmas, and then he ſayd it was no wronge.

To this Nicholas ſayde, if he coulde proue that men might wrongfully impriſon before a law, and in yͤ meane while make lawes, and thē vnder that hide the firſt wrōg then he ſayd true, or els not.

Thus hee kepte the Bandogs at ſtaues ende, not as thinking to eſcape them: but that I woulde ſee (ſayde hee) the Foxes leape aboue the ground for my bloud if they can reach it (ſo it be the will of God:) yet we ſhal ſee them gape, and leape for it. From Weſtgate in haſt.

By yours Nicholas Sheterden.

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden agaynſt the falſe worſhippe and oblation of the Sacrament.

The holy ſigne in ſteede of the thing ſignified, is ſeruile ſeruitude as S. Auguſtine termeth it, when the breads in the ſacrament is by common and ſolemne errour worſhipped in ſteade of the fleſhe aſſumpted of the worde of God.

False worſhipping of the Sacrament.

There was no mention of worſhipping the creatures at the feaſt or firſt ſupper that Chriſt did celebrate: therfore the ſaying of Chriſt concerning diuorce, may well be ap-

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plyed to them: it was not ſo from the beginning, noꝛ ſhall be to the end.

Agaynſt Sacramentall oblatiõ. Heb. 9.

The once made oblation of Chꝛiſtes is hereby derogate, when this ſacramentall oblation and offeryng of thankeſgeuing is beleued to be pꝛopiciatoꝛy, and that it purgeth the ſoule, as well of the liuing as of the dead, agaynſt this ſaying to the Hebꝛues: With one onely oblation he hath made perfect for euer thoſe that are ſanctified. Agayne, Where is remiſſion, there is no more oblation for ſinnes, making vs cleane by him.

This woꝛd (by hymſelfe) hath a vehemencye and pyth, that dꝛiueth all Pꝛieſtes frõ authoꝛitie to enterpꝛiſe ſuche oblation, where as what he himſelfe doth by himſelfe, hee leaueth not foꝛ other to do. So ſeemeth our Purgatoꝛye already paſt and done, not to come and remaynyng to be done.

His examination before the Byſhop of Wincheſter then Lord Chauncellour.

A note of the wordes or talke paſſed betwene Nicholas Sheterden, and the B. of Wincheſter.

I was called into a Chamber befoꝛe the L. Chauncellour the Suffragã, and other, Pꝛieſtes I thinke foꝛ the moſte part. He ſtanding to the table called me to him, & becauſe I ſaw the Cardinall was not there, I bowed my ſelfe and ſtoode neare.

Then ſayd hee, I haue ſent foꝛ you, becauſe I heare you are indyted of hereſie: and being called befoꝛe yͤ Cõmiſſioners yee will noꝛ aunſwere not ſubmit your ſelfe.

I ſayd, if it like you, I did not refuſe to aunſwer: but I did playnely aunſwere, that I had bene in pꝛiſon long tyme, and reaſon it was that I ſhoulde be charged oꝛ diſcharged foꝛ yͭ, & not to be examined of articles to hide my wꝛong impꝛiſonment, neither did I know any inditemẽt agaynſt me. If there were any, it could not be iuſte, foꝛ I was not abꝛoad ſince the law was made.

Vniuſt impriſonment of Sheterden.

Wincheſt. Well, yet if ſuche ſuſpition be of you, if you bee a Chꝛiſtian ye will declare that it is not true, and ſo purge your ſelfe.

Shet. I thought it ſufficient to anſwere to myne offences. &c. truſting that they would lay no ſuch burden vpon me, whereby the wꝛong done to me might bee couered, but I would be pꝛoued to haue wꝛong oꝛ right.

Winch. He ſayd, if thou wilt declare thy ſelfe to yͤ Church to be a Chꝛiſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then haue a wꝛitte of wꝛong impꝛiſonment. &c.

Shet. I ſayd I was not minded to ſue nowe, but require to haue right iuſtice: but to make a pꝛomiſe I wil not: but if I offend the law, then puniſh accoꝛdingly. Foꝛ it might be that my conſcience was not perſwaded, noꝛ woulde be in pꝛiſon, ſeeing thoſe things which I haue learned, were by Gods law openly taught and receaued by authoꝛitie of the Realme. And he ſayd, it was neuer receaued that I might ſpeake agaynſt the ſacrament. I ſayd agaynſt ſome opinion of the ſacrament it was openly taught.

Wincheſt, maketh a miracle that there was no lawe in K. Edwardes tyme agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar.

Winch. By no law, and that was notable to conſider, yͭ all that while God pꝛeſerued that, ſo that no lawe coulde paſſe agaynſt it.

Shet. I ſayd their law did not only perſwade me, but this moſt: when they pꝛeached vnto vs, they tooke payne to ſet out the woꝛd of God in our tongue, ſo that we may read & iudge whether they ſay true oꝛ no, but now they take the light from vs, and woulde haue vs beleue it, becauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great perſwaſion.

The Catholicks ſtand vpon the number. The faythfull ſtand vpon the worde.

Winch. It was not a few that coulde be your guide in vnderſtanding, but the Doctoꝛs and all the whole Churche: Now whome wouldeſt thou beleue: either the few, oꝛ the many?

Shet. I did not beleue foꝛ the few, noꝛ foꝛ the manye, but onely foꝛ that he bꝛyngeth the woꝛd, and ſheweth it to me to be ſo accoꝛding to the pꝛoceſſe thereof. &c.

Winch. Well ſayd he, then if the Arian come to thee with ſcripture, thou wilt beleue hym, if he ſhewe this texte: My father is greater then I.

Shet. I annſweared, no my Loꝛde, he muſt bꝛing me alſo the contrarye places and pꝛoue them both true, where hee ſayth: My father and I am one.

Winch. Yea, ſayd he, that is by charitie, as we be one with hym.

Shet. I ſayd, that gloſe would not ſtand with the reſt of the ſcripture, where he ſayd: I am the very ſame, that I ſay to you: He ſayd the truth, and the truth was God. &c. wyth much ſuch lyke. And here he made many woꝛdes (but very gently) of the Sacrament: Likewiſe Chꝛiſt ſayd (quoth he) it was his body: yea that is to ſay) a figure of his body & how men did not conſider the woꝛd was god, and God the woꝛd, and ſo pꝛouoked me with ſuche temptation: but I let hym alone, and ſayd nothing.

Wincheſter defendeth Images.

So after many woꝛdes he came to the Churches faith and comely oꝛders of ceremonies and images. And then I ioyned to him agayne with the Commaundementes.

Winch. He ſayd that was done that no falſe thing ſhoulde be made, as the heathen would woꝛſhip a Cat becauſe ſhe killed Myſe.

Shet. I ſayd that it was playne that the lawe foꝛbad not onely ſuch, but euen to make an image of God to any maner of likenes.

Winch. Where finde ye that?

No lo… of God… be made.

Shet. Foꝛſoothe in the law where God gaue them yͤ commaundementes, foꝛ hee ſayd: Ye ſawe no ſhape, but hearde a voyce onely: and added a reaſon why: leaſt they ſhould after make images and marre themſelues, ſo that God woulde not ſhew his ſhape, becauſe they ſhould haue no image of him which was the true God. &c.

Winch. He ſayd I made a goodly interpꝛetation.

Shet. I ſayd no, it was the text.

Then was the Bible called foꝛ, and when it came, hee bad finde it, and I ſhoulde ſtrayght be confounded with myne owne woꝛdes: ſo that if there were any grace wyth me: I would truſt myne own wit no moꝛe: & when I looked, it was Latin.

Winch. Why ſayd he, ye can ye read no Latin?

Shet. No. then was the Engliſh Bible bꝛought. He bad me finde it: and ſo I read it aloude, and then he ſayde loe here thou mayſt ſee: this is no moꝛe to foꝛbid the image of God, then of any other beaſt, foule oꝛ fiſhe (the place was Deut..4.) I ſaid it did playnly foꝛbid to make any of theſe to the Image of God, becauſe no man might know what ſhape he was of. Therefoꝛe might no man ſay of any Image, which is an image of God,

Deut. 4.

Winch. Well yet by your leaue, ſo much as was ſeene we may, that is of Chꝛiſt, of the holy ghoſt: and the father appeared to Daniel, like an old * man. &c.

* But the… commaun… demẽt… Deut. 4. Thou ſh… make no… image of… God… man or… man. The holy ghoſt… doue in… ſome q… tyes, bu… in ſhape. The qual… ties of th… ſerued… to want… Winche…

Shet. That is no pꝛoofe that wee may make Images contrarye to the commaundement: foꝛ thoughe the holye Ghoſt appeared like a Doue, yet was he not like in ſhape, but in certayne qualities, and therefoꝛe when I ſawe the Doue which is Gods creature, in deede I might remember the ſpirite to be ſimple and louing. &c. And with yͭ he was ſomewhat moued, and ſayd I had learned my leſſon, and aſked who taught me: with many woꝛdes: and he ſaid he would pꝛoue howe good and pꝛofitable Images were to teache the vnlearned. &c.

Shet. At the laſt I ſayd my Loꝛde, although I were able to make neuer ſo good a gloſe vpon the commaundementes yet obedience is better then all our good intentes, & much adoe we had, at laſt he ſaw, he ſayd, what I was, and how he had ſent foꝛ me foꝛ charitie ſake to talke with me, but now he would not medle, and ſayd my wꝛong impꝛiſonment could not excuſe me, but I muſt cleare my ſelfe.

Sheter. I ſayd that was eaſie foꝛ me to doe. Foꝛ I had not offended.

Winch. He ſayd I could not ſcape ſo: there I was deceyued.

Shet. Well, then I am vnder the law &c?

How the Catho… falſly… der the faythfull innocent…

Arch. The archdeacon was there called in foꝛ me, and he layd to me, that with ſuch arrogancy and ſtoutnes as neuer was heard, I behaued my ſelfe befoꝛe him, wheras he was minded with ſuch mercy to warne me &c. and many lyes he laid to me, that I was ſent home til an other time: and I woulde not be contented but went out of yͤ Church with ſuch an outcry as was notable.

Shetter. I declared, that he falſely herein repoꝛted me, yͭ bꝛought in the lawes then in the Realme, and yͤ Queenes Pꝛoclamation, that none of her ſubiectes ſhould be compelled till the law were to compell, and that I rehearſed yͤ ſame in the Court foꝛ me, and I did vſe him then (ſaid I) as I vſe your grace now, and no otherwiſe.

Winch. He ſaid, that I did not vſe my ſelfe very wel now.

Shet. I ſayd, I had offered my ſelfe to be bayled, and to conferre with them, when and where they would.

Winch. He ſayd, I ſhould not conferre, but be obedient. I ſayd let me goe and I will not deſire to conferre neither: & when I offended, let them puniſh me, and ſo departed.

By your brother, Nicholas Sheterden
prisoner for the truthe in Weſtgate.

✱ The laſt examination with the condemnation of Mayſter Bland, Iohn Frankeſh, Nicholas Shetterden Vmfrey Middleton.

The final condemnation of the 4. godly Martyrs. Ex Regist. Cant.

And thus much touching the particular, & ſeuerall examinations of Nicholas Shetterden, & of M. Bland. Now to touch ſomthing alſo of the other Martyrs, which the ſame time were examined, and ſuffered with the together, to witte, Umfrey Middleton of Aſhfoꝛd, and Iohn Frankeſh Uicare of Rolnynden in the Dyoces of Kent abouе

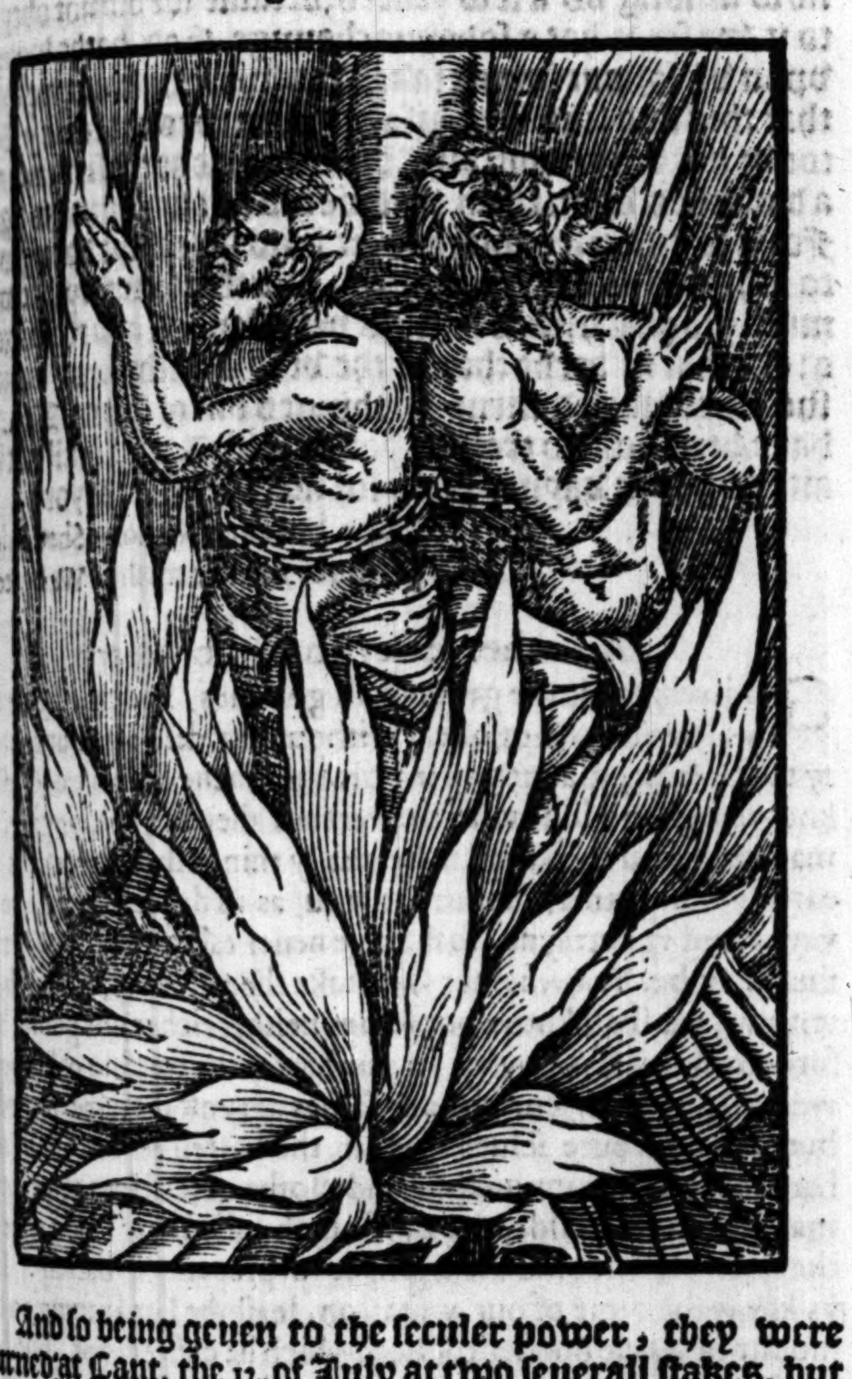
The burning of foure

The prayer of Nichola… before his death

boue mentioned, here firſt would be declared the Articles whiche publickely in their laſt examinations were ioinctly and ſeuerally miniſtred vnto them by the foreſaid Thornton Byſhop of Douer. But forasmuche as theſe articles being ordinary & of courſe, are already expreſſed in the ſtory of M. Bland: as may appeare before. It ſhall not therfore be needefull, to make any new rehearſall thereof.

To theſe ſeuen articles then being propounded to the fiue perſons aboue named, to wit, Iohn Frankeſh, Iohn Bland, Nicholas Shetterden, Vmfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, firſt aunſwered Iohn Frankeſh ſomewhat doubtfully, deſiring further reſpite to be geuen him of 14. dayes to deliberate with himſelfe. whiche was graunted. Maiſter Bland anſwered flattely and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Shetterden, and Vmfrey Middleton anſwered to the firſt, and ſecond articles affirmatiuely. To the third concerning the Catholicke Churche after a ſorte they graunted. To the fourth and fift and ſixt touching the reall preſence, and the ſacramẽt to be miniſtred in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they refuſed vtterly to ſweare Shetterden ſayd he would not aunſwere thereto before the cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtil remayned priſoners, before the lawes of Parliament receiued. &c. Middleton added moreouer and confeſſed, that he beleued in hys owne God, ſaying, my liuyng God, & no dead God. &c. Thacker onely relented and was content to take penaunce. Thus the foreſayd foure vpon theſe aunſweres were condemned by the Byſhop of Douer, the 25. day of Iune. an. 1555.

The burning of foure Martyrs.



And ſo being geuen to the ſeculer power, they were burned at Cant. the 12. of Iuly at two ſeuerall ſtakes, but all in one fire together, where they in the ſight of God and of his Aungels, and before men, like true ſouldiours of Ieſus Chriſt, gaue a conſtant teſtimony to the truth of his holy Goſpell.

The prayer of Nicholas Sheterden,
before his death.

O Lord my God and Sauiour, whiche art Lord in heauen and earth, maker of all things viſible and inuiſible, I am the creature and worke of thy handes: Lord God looke vppon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppreſſed of the worldly minded for thy lawes ſake: Yea lord thy law it ſelf is now trodẽ vnder foote, and mens inuentions exalted aboue it, and for that cauſe do I, and many thy creatures refuſe the glory, prayſe, and commoditie of this life, and do chuſe to ſuffer aduerſitie, and to be baniſhed: yea to be burnt with the bookes of thy worde, for the hopes ſake that it is layd vp in ſtore. For Lorde thou knoweſt if we would but ſeeme to pleaſe men in thinges contrary to thy word, we might by thy permiſſion enioy theſe commodities that other do, as wife children, goodes, and frendes, which al I knowledge to be thy giftes, geuen to the end I ſhould ſerue thee. And now Lord that the worlde will not ſuffer me to enioye them, except I offend thy lawes, behold I geue vnto thee my whole ſpirite ſoule and body, and loe, I leaue here all the pleaſures of this life and doe nowe leaue the vſe of them for the hope ſake of eternall life purchaſed in Chriſtes bloud, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide, and are content to ſuffer with hym for his truth when ſoeuer the world and the deuill ſhall perſecute the ſame.

Sacrifice of obedience to God.

O father I doe not preſume vnto thee: in mine owne righteouſnes: no, but onely in the merites of thy deare ſonne my ſauiour For the whiche excellent gifte of ſaluation I cannot worthily prayſe thee, neither is any ſacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in compariſon of oure bodyes mortified, and obedient vnto thy will, and now Lorde: what ſoeuer rebellion hathe bene, or is found in my members, agaynſt thy will, yet do I here geue vnto thee my body to the death, rather then I will vſe anye ſtraunge worſhipping, whiche I beſeech the accept at my hande for a pure ſacrifice: let this torment be to me the laſt enemye deſtroyed, euen death, the ende of miſery, and the beginning of all ioy, peace, and ſolace: and when the tyme of reſurrection commeth, then let me enioy agayne theſe members then glorified, which now be ſpoyled and conſumed by the fire. O Lord Ieſu receaue my ſpirite into thy handes, Amen.

Sacrifice of thankes for redemption.

Sacrifice of the body.

Letters of Nicholas Shetterden, and firſt
a letter to his mother.

A letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his mother.

AFter my humble and bounden duety remembred, welbeloued Mother, this ſhalbe to wiſhe you increaſe of grace and and godly wiſedome, that yee may ſee and perceiue the craftye bewitching of Sathan our mortal enemy, which as I haue diuers times declared vnto you, doth not openly ſhewe himſelfe in hys owne likenes, but vnder colour of deuotion deceiueth them that keep not a dilligent eye vpon him, but hauing confidence in mans traditions and cuſtomes of the worlde, leauing the commaundementes of God, and Teſtament of his Sonne Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, doe grow more into ſuperſtition & hipocriſie, then into wiſedome and true holyneſſe. For this is moſt true, that Sathan the enemy of ſoules, dothe by his miniſters make many beleue, that thoſe thinges whiche they compell vs vnto for theyr bellyes ſake, haue many godly ſignifications, although they be moſt contrary to Gods will, as doubtleſſe they be, euen as did the ſerpent in Paradiſe to our firſt mother Eue. What (ſayd he) hath God commaunded yee ſhall not eate of all the trees in the Garden? The woman ſayd of the fruites of the trees in the Garden we may eate: but of the tree in the middeſt of the Garden, ſayd God, ſee ye eate not, leaſt ye dye. Euẽ ſo our Miniſters now a dayes ſay: hath God commaunded ye ſhall not make you anye Image or likenes of any thing? Yea forſoothe. Tuſh ſay they, what harme can they doe? May we not remember God the better whẽ we ſee his Image or Picture? For they are good bookes for the lay men: but in deed they be better for the prieſtes, becauſe they receiue the offeringes.

Sathan transformeth himſelfe into an Angell of light.

As the Serpent ſeduced Eue by an Aple: ſo Prieſtes ſeduce the people by Images.

And looke howe truely the promiſe of the ſerpent was kepte with Eue, ſo is the perſwaſion of our Prieſts found true to vs. For as Adam and Eue did become like God in knowing good and euill, ſo are we in remembring God by hys Image. For Adams eyes were ſo open, that he loſt both innocencye and righteouſnes, and was become moſt miſerable of all creatures: and euen ſo we remember Chriſt ſo well by Images, that we forget his commaundements, and count his Teſtament confirmed in his bloud for ſtarke madneſſe or hereſie: ſo miſerably haue wee remembred him, that of all people we are moſt blinde: and this doth followe vpon our preſumption, when wee remember God by breking of hys law, and therefore ſurely except we repent ſhortly, God wil remember vs in his wrath, & reward vs with his plagues: as ſure as there is a God it will come to paſſe.

Images more profitable bookes for Prieſts then for lay men.

Sheterden propheſieth of Gods plagues.

But I know the craftines of them herein (I thanke God) whiche wil ſay: Where went he to ſchoole? Is he wiſer then our great Doctours that ſtudyed all their life? And loe, they ſaye that it is good hay, although we ſmell it muſty our ſelues, yet muſt we beleue it is ſweete, and then pay them well for theyr ſo ſaying, and all is ſafe. But I might ſaye agayne: What ſir, be ye wiſer then Chriſt, and God hys father, or the holy Ghoſt? What wiſer then the Prophetes, and the holy Apoſtles, and all the holye Martyrs? I pray you ſir, where had you your high learning? It is higher thẽ God (being in heauen) is able to teache, or haue ye ſet it lower in hell then euer Chriſt durſt to venter? For it is ſome ſtraunge learning belike, that Chriſt nor his Apoſtles could neuer attaine to the knowledge of it. But vayne men are neuer without ſome ſhift: For peraduenture they will not be aſhamed to ſaye, that Chriſt cõming on his fathers meſſage, did forget half his errãd by the way. For I dare ſay, the greater halfe of theyr ceremonyes were neuer commaunded by Chriſt: Yea I doubt it would bee hard to finde one in the Churche perfectly as hee lefte: ſo Romiſhly hath Antichriſt turned the church vpſidedown for lukers ſake.

Learning againſt or without Gods word, is vayne and to no purpoſe.

Antichriſt hath turned the Church cleare vpſide downe.

Beloued Mother, as I oftentymes ſayde vnto you, euen ſo now I beſeeeche you from my very hart roote in Chriſt, to con-

ſider

Anno. 1555. Iuly.

ſider your owne ſoules health is offered you, doe not caſt it off: we haue not long time here. Why ſhould we deceiue our ſelues either for eaſe of our fleſhe, or for the winning of this worldes treaſure? I know that ſome will ſay to you, why ſhould wee condemne our fathers that liued thus? God forbid that wee ſhoulde condemne any that did according to their knowledge But let vs take heede that they condemne not vs: for if they had hearde the word as we haue, and had bene warned as wee haue, it is to bee thought that they would more thankefully haue receaued it thē we do: yea they were more faythfull in that they knewe, then many now are. Therefore they ſhall be our condemnation, if wee doe not embrace this grace offered vs. And ſurely looke how many of them God will accept and ſaue, thoſe ſhall wee neuer ſee, nor haue any part among them: for our diſobedience is more great then their ignoraunce. Wherefore if we will meete our fathers in bliſſe and ioye, let vs not refuſe his mercye offered more largely to vs, then to them, euen according to Chriſtes promiſe, which ſayd, after ſuch great ignoraunce, as to ſeek hym from country to country, and finde him not: Yet ſhall the Goſpel (ſayth he) be preached in all the world, and then ſhall the ende come.

The fathers that heard no better: are not to be condemned but rather will condemne vs that heare and receaue it not.

And now let vs knowe the time of our viſitation, and not turne backe agayne, ſeeing we are once deliuered: for ſurely God will not beare it at our handes to turne backeward. Oh remember Lots liſe God muſt needes puniſh out of hand our ſhamefull backeſliding, eyther with induration and hardnes of hart, ſo that they ſhall perſecute his Churche and true ſeruauntes, or els reward it with open vengeaunce and plagues. And therefore good mother, accept this my ſimple letter as a fruite of my loue & obedience to you. Would God we might be ſo knitte in fayth & truſt in Gods word and promiſes here in this lyfe, as wee myght together enioye the bliſſe and conſolation of eternall lyfe: which I deſire and ſeeke aboue all worldly treaſure, as ye partly know. If I woulde ſeeke the good will of men contrarye to my conſcience, I could make ſome my frendes, whiche now peraduenture are ielous ouer me amiſſe. But I thanke God, let them waye the matter betweene God and theyr conſciences, and they haue no iuſt cauſe ſo to do: neuertheleſſe I would they would yet refrain and put theyr matter and myne into the euen ballaunce of gods moſt holy worde, there to be wayed by the mynde of the holye Ghoſt, expreſſed vnto vs by the holy Patriarckes, and Prophetes and by Ieſus Chriſt our onely Sauiour and Mediatour, and by his holy Apoſtles; and then I doubt not, but our matter ſhall be ended with peace, and ioyfulnes of hart, whiche God graunt vs for his mercies ſake. Amen.

Gods viſitation not to be refuſed.

Experience how Gods Martyrs ſeeke not the world.

Your owne childe Nicholas Shetterden priſoner for the trueth in Weſtgate. 1555.

A letter to his brother VVater Sheterden,

My vncle hath bene with me & made great promiſes and great threates alſo.

I Wiſhe you healthe in Chriſte, true knowledge of hys word & a faithful obedient hart vnto ẏ ſame. It is ſhewed me my brother, ẏ yee willed me by a letter made to a frend of yours, to perſwade with me, that I ſhoulde be ruled by mine Uncle, which ſaith he wil beſtow his goods very largely vpon me, If I ſhoulde not ſtand to highe in mine own conceipt. But my good brother, I truſt ye doe not iudge ſo euill of me, that I ſhould haue a fayth to ſell for money. For though he or you were able to geue me the treaſure of the whole countrey, yet I thanke my Lorde God, I do iudge it but an heape of dongue, in reſpecte of ẏ treaſure hid win: yet I do eſteme a buckle of your ſhoe, if it come with good wil. And for to be counſelled and ruled by him or you, or any other my frends: I do not, neither haue refuſed it, if they require no more of me then my power, & that which belongeth to mortall men. But if they require of me any thing which pertayneth to God onely, there is neither high nor low, frend nor foe, I truſt in God, ſhall get it of me, nor yet the Aungels in heauen.

For though I be not learned (as the vayne men of the world call learning) yet I thanke my Lorde God, I haue learned out of Gods booke, to know God from his creatures, and to know Chriſt from hys ſacramentes, and to put a difference betweene the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion and hys Supper, & a difference betwene ẏ water of Baptiſme, and the holy Ghoſt, and not to mixe and mingle all thinges confuſely together, ſo that if one aſke me a queſtion or a reaſon of my fayth, I muſt ſay thus, I beleeue as holy Church beleeueth: if he aſke me what is the order of that fayth, I ſhould be ſo ignoraunt that I could not diſcerne God from his creatures, nor Chriſt from his ſacramentes. If I ſhould ſo monſtrouſly vtter my faythe, that I were not able to iudge betweene Chriſtes byrth and his buriall, nor which were firſt, of his mortification, and hys glorification, who would beleue that my faith wer ſound?

So ſhould he haue 2. bodyes at once, one glorified, and an other mortall. No order nor reaſon in the popes doctrine.

For ſome affirme that Chriſt did not geue to his Apoſtles a mortall and a paſſible bodye, but an immortall & glorified body, ſo that he ſhould haue a glorified bodye before his death & ſo his glorification was before hys reſurrection: and that he was riſen before he was crucified, and crucified before hys Baptiſme, and then they may as well ſay, he was Baptiſed before his Byrth, and borne before hee was conceiued, and conceiued before he was promiſed & that were euen right Antichriſt to turne al things backward, & then ſay: Oh ye muſt beleue, for God is almighty he can do all things &c. Truth it is that God is almighty in deede, and yet I may not beleeue thinges contrarye to hys word, that Chriſtes body was glorified before he dyed: for Gods omnipotency doth not ſtand in things contrary to hys will, but in performyng his will at his pleaſure in tyme, Neither doth he require of vs to iudge or beleue of his almighty power, that he hath made the ende of the world to come, before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before ẏ bloſſome, & yet is he neuertheles almightye.

We are bound to beleue what G hath expreſly willed, what he able to

But if peraduenture yee ſhall thinke with youre ſelfe, why, they are learned: it were maruell but they ſhoulde know what is the trueth, as well as other whiche neuer kept no ſuch ſtudy. &c. To that I anſwere, that if they had ſtudied Gods word the author of truth, as they haue done Logicke, and Duns, with the Legend of lyes, they ſhuld haue bene as expert in the truth, as they be now in balde reaſons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promiſe, ẏ ſuche ſhould be deluded with lyes, which would not beleue nor walke in his truth.

He ſpea keth wi Gyn th true vi Logike.

And agayne: this is a good cauſe to make vs thynke ſurely, that thys was the cauſe that God gaue them ouer at the firſt to errour, after the Apoſtles tyme by litle & litle, as they grewe in ſinne. For ſeeing wee had hys trueth now among vs a few yeares, becauſe we did not obey vnto it, we ſee what a ſodayne chaunge God hathe brought vpon vs for our ſinnes ſake. And why ſhuld not we thinke that this and ſuch lyke diſobedience, was the cauſe ẏ God tooke his word from all Chriſtendome at the firſt, and caſt a darkenes vpon them that would not walke in his light. For it is euident enough to ſee how lyke theyr doynges be to Chriſtes and hys Apoſtles, and that ſeene, eyther wee muſt iudge Chriſtes doings very ſlender, and theirs good or els that in deede they be the very Antichriſtes, whiche ſhould come and turne all thinges out of frame. Thus I haue bene bold to trouble you, which I truſt ſhall not be altogether in vayne, Pray for me, as I doe for you.

Why God taketh hi worde fr realmes.

Your brother Nicholas Shetterden, priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

An other letter to hys brother.

An other letter of Nichola Shetterde to his bro ther.

GOd, whiche is the geuer of all goodnes, and that freely for hys loue to vs (not onely without our deſertes, but contrary to the ſame) graunt you my brother ſuche encreaſe of Godlye knowledge and loue vnto the vertues thereunto belonging, as may geue you ſuch a taſt in heauenly things that all treaſures of earthly thinges may ſauoure to you, as in deede they are, moſte vayne and vncertayne, ſo ſhall ye neuer take them for no better then they be. Yea, whether God take them from vs, or geue them vnto vs, we ſhall know our ſelues neither richer nor poorer before God: But if we lay vp in our hartes the treaſure of his word we ſhall not onely enriche our ſelues agaynſt the tyme of neede, but alſo arme oure ſelues agaynſt the battell with weapons and harnes, whiche is inuincible, and clothe oure ſelues agaynſt the maryage: For beholde, the Lorde hath called vs of long tyme to the feaſt, and blowne the trumpet to prepare the battell. Let vs know the tyme of our viſitation, leaſt the Lord ſittyng on his mount bewayle our deſtruction, which he deſireth not, but becauſe he is iuſt to puniſhe ſuch as continue in ſinne, euen as he is mercifull to forgeue the repentaunt that turne in tyme: for ſo is God that cannot deny hymſelfe.

Tyme of Gods viſi tion to be receaued.

Let vs therfore in this day, while it is called to day, heare his voyce, and not harden your hartes by reſiſtance of hys will, leaſt he ſweare in hys wrath, that we ſhall not enter into hys reſt. Let vs count that ſufficient, that wee haue ſpent the tyme paſt (as S. Peter ſayth) after the will of the Gentiles, in eatyng and drynking, chamberyng and wantonneſſe, and in abhominable Idolatrye &c. And nowe let vs aſſay a new lyfe and trade our members in vertue an other while, leaſt peraduenture wee might run paſt any returne in the contrary. But if we now returne and laye hand of his worde in deede and veritie, as wee haue long tyme done in talke and libertie, then wil God heape vpon vs ſuch certificate of conſcience, as ſhall kindle our conſolation in hym, ſo that all treaſure ſhall be dounge, to that excellent knowledge of our Sauiour. Deare brother, my harts deſire and prayer to God is, that we may together enioy the bliſſe of eternall inheritance by one ſpirituall regeneration and new byrth, as we are ioyned by nature. But alacke, the way and meane thereunto hath bene much neglected of me (I will not ſay of you) for I had rather ye ſhould accuſe your ſelfe: for no doubte the beſt of vs both hathe not ſought for wiſedome in Gods worde, as ſome in the worlde

Certifica of conſci

whome

whom we knowe, haue ſought for money: therefore they ſhall be our Iudges, if we do not learne by them; yea the very Emmet, as Salomon ſaith, doth teach vs to prouide for the time to come: for ſhee prouideth in Sommer againſt Winter.

This is the beſt token I haue for you nowe, which thoughe it be ſimple, yet ſhal it declare partly my hearts deſire to you ward, which is euen as mine owne ſoule. Let nothing diſmay you, for my cauſe: but be ye ſure I ſhall haue victorie in the truthe, which truth is ſtronger then kings, wine, or women. For as Zorobabel ſayeth: Wine is vnrighteous, the king is vnrighteous, women are vnrighteous, yea al the children of men are vnrighteous, but the truthe endureth, and is alwaies ſtrong, and conquereth for euer without end: Therfore this is to deſire you & all other my frends that wiſh me good, to pray that God will alwaies keepe me in his truthe as he hath begonne, which prayer if it be of ſuch a minde as laboureth to depart from euill, ſhall be to me the greateſt pleaſure vnder heauen. For I deſire nothing in compariſon of Gods truthe. I thanke him of his mercy, which ſo hath wrought, for I take it as a ſure ſeale of the endleſſe ioy which ſhall hereafter folowe: which God bring vs vnto, when his will and pleaſure is, Amen. From Canterburie.

By yours Nicholas Shetterden.

An other Letter of Nicholas Shetterden to his mother.

O My good mother, whom I loue with reuerence in the Lord, and according to my duety, I deſire your fauourable bleſſing, and forgeuenes of al my miſdedes towards you. Oh my good mother, in fewe wordes I wiſh you the ſame ſalutation, which I hope my ſelfe to feele, and partly taſt of before this come to you to reade: And in the reſurrection, I verely beleeue to haue it more perfectly in body and ſoule ioyned together for euer: and in that daye God graunt you to ſee my face with ioy: but deare mother then beware of that greate Idolatrie and blaſphemous Maſſe. O lette not that be your God, whiche mice and wormes can deuoure. Beholde I call heauen and earth to recorde, that it is no God, yea the fire that conſumeth it, and the moyſteneſſe that cauſeth it to moulde, and I take Chriſtes Teſtament to witneſſe, that it is none of his ordinaunces, but a meere inuention of men, and a ſnare to catche innocents bloud: and now that God hath ſhewed it vnto you, be warned in time: O geue ouer olde cuſtomes, & become new in ȳ truth. What ſtate ſoeuer your fathers be in, leaue that to God: and let vs followe the counſell of his worde. Deare mother, imbrace it with heartye affection, reade it wyth obedience, lette it be your paſtime, but yet caſte of all carnall affections, and loue of worldly things: ſo ſhall we meete in ioy at the laſt day, or els I bid you farewell for euermore: Oh, farewell my friendes and louers all, God graunt me to ſee your faces in ioy. Amen.

From Weſtgate the 11. of Iuly. 1555. Your childe wrytten with his hande, and ſealed with his bloude, Nicholas Shetterden being appoynted to be ſlaine.

The copie of a letter wrytten to his wife.

I wrote vnto you as one ȳ longed more to heare of your healthe, then of all worldly treaſure, willing you to entreate Eſau the elder brother by nature gently, geuing to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droues, and ſay they be Iacobs, and are ſent for a preſent to my Lorde Eſau, but he wil not take it. &c. Now my beloued ye knowe the bleſſing of oure father is, that the elder ſhall ſerue the younger, & wiſedom our mother hath taught vs the ſame, and I know ye do complaine of your * ſeruaunt the fleſh, that he is rebellious, diobedient, and vntoward: vnruely and crokedly ye thinke he doth his ſeruice: but yet behold, how ſhall ye plead your cauſe before an indifferent iudge: for if it be true that his ſeruice be not according to hys duetie, as it is many times found in ſeruaunts: yet (I ſay) can you ſhewe your cauſe to no indifferent iudge, but hee ſhall obiect againſt you that he is not kept like a ſeruant, but he lacketh both meat and drinke, and other neceſſaries meete and due for a ſeruaunt: ſo ſhall ye take more ſhame of your own complaint, then remedy or vantage againſt your ſeruant, and it ſhalbe a cloke for him to hide all his rebellion and vntoward ſeruice, becauſe ye haue miſuſed him.

And therefore my ſentence is, that yee paciently beare with him in ſmall faultes, and amende your owne greate faultes, as oppreſſion, crueltie and couetouſnes, requiring more then a ſeruaunt can do, ſpecially being tired wyth labour, famined wyth hunger, and lamed with ſtripes. And theſe things amended, if hee doe hys ſeruice negligently, (as no doubt ſometime he wil) yet then ye may boldly correct him with diſcretion, & ſometime if he do not hys taske, ye may make hym go to bed ſupperleſſe: but yet beate hym not with durable ſtrokes, neither withholde hys meate in due time, and pinche him not by the belly continually, but * let him haue ſome thing to ioy in: onely watch hym, and keepe him from doing of harm. Though he be but a ſtranger in the life that is in God: yet be good to ſtraungers for we are all ſtraungers in darkeneſſe, and captiues in ſinne, as well ſoule and ſpirite, being in Egypt, as now the fleſh is yet vnbaptiſed with the terrible red Sea of deathe, and remember that one lawe abideth for the ſtranger, I meane one reward abideth both bodye and ſoule in the lande of euerlaſting reſt. And therefore intreat him gently, and deale with him iuſtly now: * for the time will come that the yoke of bondage ſhall be taken from his necke, and he ſhall be a fellow heire with your yonger brother.

* Corporis curam agite, non ad concupiſcentias.

The body of man is redemed as well as the ſoule.

Circumciſe him therefore, but doe not miſuſe hym, nor keepe him from hys owne, but deale mercifully wyth the ſtraunger, that he may ſaye: Oh of what vnderſtanding heart is this people, who hath God? Or where is God ſo nigh as to theſe? God make you wiſe and politike in hart, victorious in fielde of this world, to rule the nations with a rodde: but kill not the Gabaonites wyth whome peace is taken: but lette them drawe water, and hew woode, but geue them their meate and drinke due for labourers, and be glad becauſe your diſeaſe is ſo remedied: for it is better and eaſier for a thirſtie labouring man to drinke, then for a dronken man to tell a ſober tale. Yea, it is a token that yee haue earneſtly followed your labour, and not kepte companie with dronkardes and belly Gods: and therefore be glad I ſay, yea and glad againe: for great is your rewarde in heauen: yea bleſſed ſhall they be, that in this your zeale ſhall meete you, and withdrawe your hande from reuenging your ſelfe vppon that churliſh Naball: which thing I hope to doe nowe with theſe ſweete reaſons, and frailes of Figges, I being of one houſe with your ſeruaunt Naball. I dare ſay to you, that churliſhneſſe is hys name: but reuenge not, for the Lorde ſhal do it in his due time. Farewell mine owne heart.

The Gabaonites though they be but ſtrangers & not to be pampered yet are they not to be caſt out.

Yours in bondes at Weſtgate.
Nicholas Shetterden.

The next day after the condemnation of theſe foreſayd, which was the 26. day of Iulye, were alſo condemned for the ſame Articles W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambroke, Henry Laurence, Richarde Wright of Aſhforde, W. Stere of Aſhforde. But becauſe the execution of theſe Martyrs pertaineth not to thys moneth, more ſhall be ſayde (the Lorde willing) of them, when we come to the moneth folowing of Auguſt.

Nicholas Hall, and Chriſtopher Waide, Martyrs.

THe ſame moneth of Iuly next after the ſuffering of the Kentiſhmen aboue named, followed the death & Martyrdome of Nicholas Hall Bricklayer, and Chriſtopher Waid of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, about the laſt daye of the moneth of Iune. The ſixe Articles miniſtred to them, were of the ſame ordinarie courſe and effecte, wyth the Articles of the other Martyrs before ſpecified, pag. 1582. the brief ſum whereof were theſe.

Iuly. 19. Nic. Hall, and Chriſtopher Wayde, Martyrs.

A briefe ſumme of their Articles.

Articles obiected agaynſt Nic. Hall and Chriſtopher Wayde.

1. FIrſte, that they were Chriſten men, and profeſſed the Catholicke determinations of oure Mother holye Churche.
2. That they which maintein or hold, otherwiſe then our holy mother the Catholicke Church doth, are heretickes.
3. That they haue and mainteine, that in the Sacrament of the aultare, vnder the formes of breade and wine, is not very body and bloude of Chriſte. And that the ſayde verye bodye of Chriſte is verely in heauen onely, and not in the Sacrament.
4. Item, that they haue and do holde and mainteine, that the Maſſe, as it is nowe vſed in the Catholicke Church, is nought and abhominable.
5. Item, that they haue bene and be amongeſt the people of that Iuriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected vppon the premiſſes, and thereupon indicted. &c.

The aunſweres.

TO theſe Articles they aunſwearcd, as commonly other vſed to doe, which ſtand with Chriſt and his truthe againſt theſe pretended Catholickes, and their ſiniſter doctrine.

Their aunſwerer.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

This word mother church, is not found in the ſcripture.

trine. Firſte graunting them ſelues Chriſten men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy Church, that is, of the congregation or bodye of Chriſte: ſaue that Halle denyed to call the Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Churche hys mother, becauſe he founde not this worde (mother) in the Scripture.

Aunſwere of Nicholas Hall.

Aunſwere of Chriſtopher Wayde.

To the ſecond they graunted. To the thirde Article as touching the very bodye and bloude of Chriſte to be vnder the formes of bread and wine in ſubſtance they woulde not graunt, only affirming ẏ very body of him to be in heauen & in the ſacrament to be a token or remẽbrance of Chriſtes death: Nicholas Halle adding moreouer, and ſaying, that wheras before he held the Sacrament to be but only a token or remembraunce of Chriſtes death, now he ſayd, that there is neither token nor remembrance, becauſe it is now miſuſed and cleane tourned from Chriſtes Inſtitution. &c. And cõcerning the maſſe in the 4. article, to be abhominable, Chriſtopher waid with the other anſwered, ẏ as they had confeſſed before, ſo would they now not goe from that they had ſaid. To the 5. article, for ẏ peoples ſuſpition they made no great accompt nor ſticking to graunt to the ſame.

Condemnation of N. Halle and Chriſtopher Wayd, Martyrs.

And thus much concerning the articles and anſweres of theſe good men. which being receiued, immediately ſentence of condemnation was pronounced by the ſaid Maurice the B. againſt them, the copye of which ſentence, as it runneth muche what after the common courſe in condemning all other like ſeruants of Chriſt, ſo the ſame being exemplified before in the ſtory of M. Rogers, pag. 5453. ſhall not greatly neede heere againe to be repeated, but rather may be referred ouer to the place aboue noted. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rocheſter about the 19. day of Iuly.

Ex Regiſtro.

Furthermore, with the foreſayd Hall and waid, in the ſame moneth of Iuly: three other moe were condemned by Maurice biſhop aforenamed, whoſe names were Ioane Beach widow, Ihon Harpoll of Rocheſter and Margery Polley. Of which Margerie Polley, touching her examination and condemnation here foloweth in ſtorie.

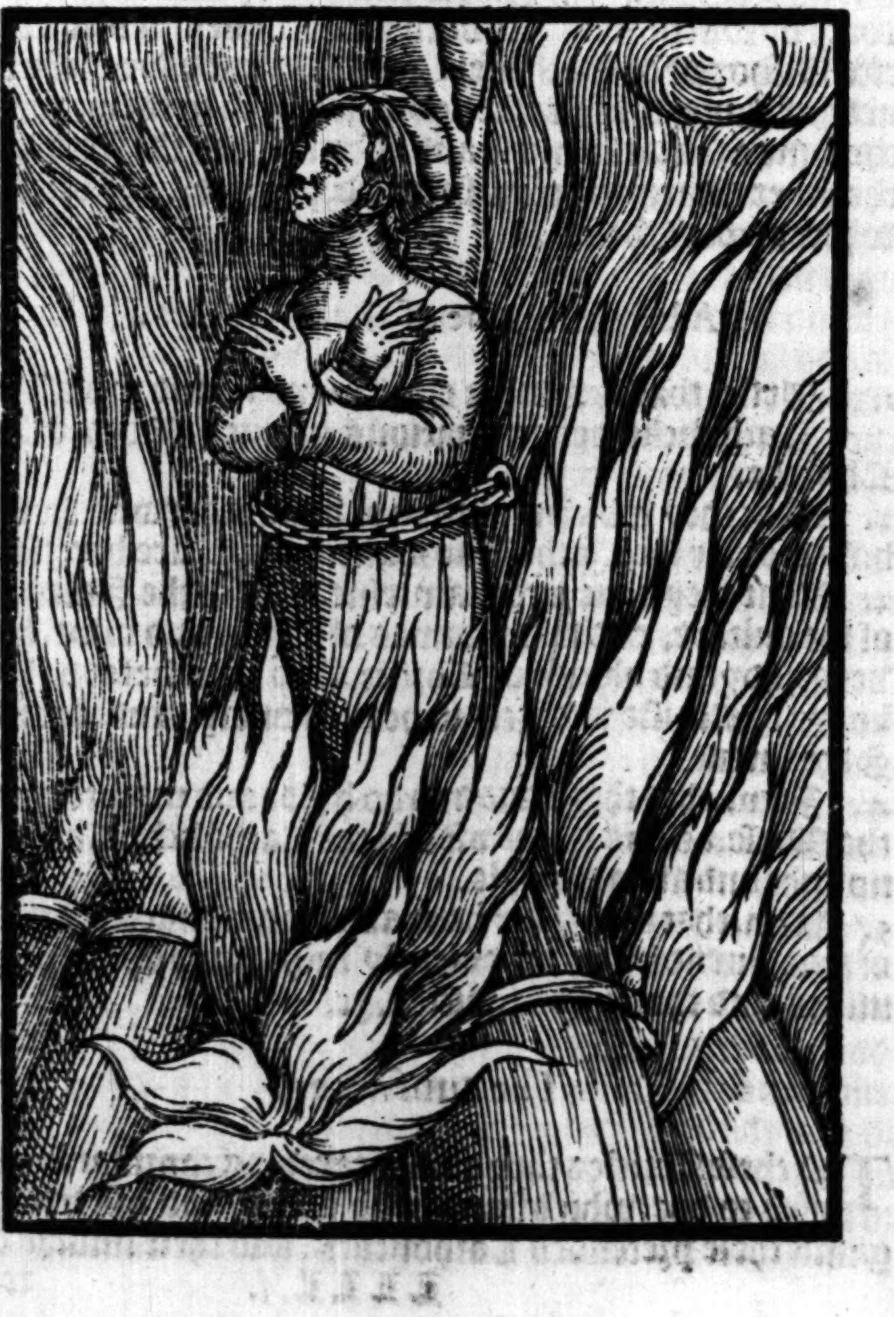
The condemnation and Martyrdome of Margerie Polley.

Ex Regiſtro. Margery Polley Widdow and Martyr.

Margerie Polley widowe, wife ſometime of Richarde Polley of Pepingberie, was accuſed and brought before the ſaid Maurice Biſh. of Rocheſter, about the beginning of the moneth of Iune. which Biſhop according to the Pontificall ſolemnitie of that Church, riſing vp out of the chaire of his maieſtie, in the high ſwelling ſtile after his ordinary faſhion to daſh the ſeely poore woman, beginneth in theſe wordes.

We Maurice by the ſufferance of God biſhop of Rocheſter, proceeding of our meere office in a cauſe of hereſie, againſt thee Margery Polley, of the pariſh of Pepingbery of our Dioceſſe and Iuriſdiction of Rocheſter, do lay and obiect againſt thee all & ſingular theſe articles inſuing. To the which, and to euery parcell of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plaine aunſwere, by vertue of thine othe thereupon to be geuen &c.

The Martyrdome of Margery Polley.



The Martyrdome of Margery Polley, at Tunbridge. An. 1555. Iuly.

Thus the oth firſt being miniſtred, & the articles commenced againſt her, whiche Articles were the ſame miniſtred to Nicholas Hall and waid before, ſhe ſo framed her anſweres againe, eſpecially anſwering to the 3. and 4. Article, that ſhee neither allowed the deitie of theyr Sacrament, nor the abſurdity of their maſſe. For the which, ſentence was read againſt her about the beginning of Iune, and ſhe condemned for the ſame. But becauſe her death folowed not vpon the ſame, we wil therfore defer the tractation therof to the due place and time, firſt ſetting downe in order of hiſtorie, the execution of Chriſtopher waid aboue mentioned.

The condemnation of Margery Polley.

The execution and Martyrdome of Chriſtopher Waide.

Chriſtopher waide of Darford, in the Countie of Kent, Linnen weauer, was condemned by Maurice byſhop of Rocheſter, and appoynted to be burned at Darforde aforeſayde. At the day appoynted for his execution, which was in the moneth of Iuly, there was betimes in the morning carryed oute of the Towne in a Carte, a Stake, and therewith many bundles of Reedes, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the Towne, called the Brymthe, into a Grauell pitte thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither alſo was brought a loade of Broome fagot, with other fagots and talwood. Unto which place reſorted the people of the Countrey in great number, and there taried his comming. In ſo muche that thither came dyuers Fruiterers wyth horſe loades of Cherries, and ſold them. About x. of the clocke commeth riding the Sheriffe, wyth a greate manye of other Gentlemen and their retinue, appoynted to aſſiſt him therein, and with them waide riding pinioned, and by him one Margerie Polly of Tunbridge, both ſinging of a Pſalme: whyche Margerie, as ſoone as ſhe eſpied a farre off the multitude gathered aboute ẏ place where ſhe ſhoulde ſuffer, waiting his comming, ſhe ſayde vnto hym very loude and chearefully: You maye reioyce waide, to ſee ſuche a companie gathered to celebrate youre marriage this day.

And ſo paſſing by the place, whych ioyned harde to the hye way, they were caried ſtreighte downe to the Towne, where ſhee was kepte vntill the Sheriffe returned from waids execution. And waid being made ready, and ſtripped out of his clothes in an Inne, had broughte vnto hym a faire long white Shirte from hys wife, which being put on, and hee pinioned, was led vppe on foote againe to the foreſayde place. And comming ſtraite to the ſtake, toke it in hys armes, embracing it, and kiſſed it, ſetting hys backe vnto it, and ſtanding in a pitche Barrell, which was taken from the Beacon, being hard by: then a Smith brought a hoope of yron, and wyth two ſtaples made him faſt to the ſtake vnder hys armes.

As ſoone as hee was thus ſetteled, hee ſpake wyth hys handes and eyes lifted vp to heauen, wyth a chearefull and loude voyce, the laſte verſe of the lxxxvi. Pſalme: Shewe ſome good token vppon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may ſee it, and be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt helped me, and comforted me. Neare vnto the ſtake was a litle hill, vpon the top wherof were pitched vp foure ſtaues quadrangle wiſe, with a couering round about like a pulpit, into the which place, as wade was thus praying at ẏ ſtake, entred a Frier wyth a booke in his hand, whõ when wade eſpied, he cried earneſtly vnto ẏ people, to take hede of the doctrine of the whore of Babilon, exhorting them to imbrace the doctrine of the goſpel preached in K. Edward his daies. whom the ſheriffe, thus ſpeaking to the people, often interrupted, ſaying, be quiet wade, and die paciẽtly, I am (ſayde hee) I thanke God, quiet, Maiſter Sheriffe, and ſo truſt to die. All this while the Frier ſtoode ſtill looking ouer the couerlet, as though he woulde haue vttered ſomewhat: but wade very mightily admoniſhed ẏ people to beware of that doctrine: whiche when the Frier perceiued, whether he were amaſed, or coulde haue no audience of the people, withdrewe himſelfe oute of the place immediately wythoute ſpeaking anye worde, and went awaye downe to the Towne. Then the Reedes being ſette about hym, he pulled them and imbraced them in his armes, alwayes with his handes (making a hole againſt his face, that his voyce might be heard, which they perceiuing that were hys tormentours, alwaye caſte fagottes at the ſame hole, whych notwythſtanding he ſtill as he coulde put off,

hys

his face, being hurte with the ende of a fagotte caſt thereat. Then fire being putte vnto him, he cried vnto God often, Lorde Jeſus receiue my ſoule: wythout any token or ſigne of impacience in the fire, till at lengthe, after the fire was once throughly kindled, he was hearde no man ſpeake, ſtill holding hys handes vp ouer hys head together towardes heauen, euen when he was dead and altogether roſted, as though they had bene ſtayed vppe wyth a proppe ſtanding vnder them.

Thys ſigne did God ſhewe vppon hym, whereby his very enemies might perceiue, that God had according to hys prayer, ſhewed ſuch a token vppon hym, euen to their ſhame and confuſion. And this was the order of this godly Martyrs execution, thys was his ende. Whereby God ſeemed to confound and ſtrike with the ſpirit of dumbnes, the Frier that Locuſte which was riſen vp to haue ſpoken againſt hym: and alſo no leſſe wonderfully ſuſteined thoſe handes which he lifted vp to him for cōfort in his torment.

Spectatores pręſentes Richardus Fletcher pater, nunc Miniſter Eccleſiæ Crambroke, Richardus Fletcher filius, Miniſter Eccleſiæ Rienſis.

The apprehenſion, examination, condemnation, and burning of Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder, who ſuffered martyrdome for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell.

THe 22. day of this moneth of July, was burned at Lewes, within the Countie of Suſſex, one Diricke Caruer, late of the pariſh of Brighthamſted in the ſame Countie. And the next day (being the 23. day of the ſame moneth) was alſo burned at Stening, an other named Jhon Launder, late of Godſtone, in the Countie of Surrey. Whych 2. men were (wt others) about the ende of the moneth of October. An. 1554. apprehended by Edwarde Gage Gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling houſe of the ſaid Diricke: and by him were ſent vp vnto the Queenes Counſaile. Who, after examination, ſent them as priſoners to Newgate, there to attende the leiſure of Boner Biſhop of London. From whence (vpon the Biſhops receipte of a letter from the Lorde Marques of Wincheſter now Lord Treaſurer) they were brought by the keeper of the priſon, the 8. of June next after, into the biſhops chamber at his houſe in Lōdon: and there (being examined vpon diuers poynts of religion) they made their ſeueral confeſſions, ſubſcribing and ſigning them with theyr owne handes. Which being read, the Biſhop obiected vnto them certaine other Articles, cauſing them to ſweare truely and directly to aunſwere thereunto: whiche Articles they confeſſed to be true, referring them ſelues chiefly to theyr former confeſſions.

This done, after long perſwaſions and faire exhortations, they were demaunded whether they would ſtand to their aunſweres. To whom Launder ſayde: I will neuer goe from theſe anſweres, ſo long as I liue. The other alſo confirmed the ſame, and therfore they were commanded to appeare againe before the Biſhoppe in the Conſiſtorie at Paules, the 10. day of the ſame moneth nexte followynge. Which articles and confeſſions, wyth the afore mencioned letter do here enſue.

A letter ſent from the Marques of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer, vnto Boner B. of London, touching the examination of the ſaid priſoners.

AFter my right harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your liuerie of blacke againſt this time: no more I ſhall maiſter Deane, to whom I wrote to make the ſermon, who muſt now aſſuredly do it: for my L. of Chicheſter cannot attend it. To whom I haue geuen like knowledge by my letter now ſent, and your Lordſhippe muſt commaund the Sextens of youre church to be in readines for ringing in the time of ſeruice. And if ye be not furniſhed with blacke apparell for the aultar, and for the Prieſt, Deacon, and Subdeacon, I muſt haue knowledge therof, that it be taken of the Queenes ſtuffe, whereof I pray you let me be aduertiſed.

And ye haue ſent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of hereſie before you: but as I perceiue ye haue not ſent me a Significauit, and therfore you muſt ſend me one. that I may procede with him, and that ſhal I do, aſſone as I am anſweared of you.

There be diuers like priſonners that came from Suſſex, that be not yet examined before you, lying nowe in Newgate, whych muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to London, and ſo I pray you they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I ſhall doe, thanking your Lordſhip heartely for my Conies, truſting to recōpence your Lordſhip again ſhortly with twiſe as many. From my houſe this 7 of Iune. 1555.

Your louing friend, Wincheſter.

The Confeſsion of Diricke Caruer, before Boner Biſhop of London.

DIricke Caruer bearebrewer of Brighthamſted, in the countie of Suſſex, where he hathe dwelled by the ſpace of 8. or 9. yeares, borne in the village of Dilſon by Stockome in the land of Luke, 40. yeres of age, or thereabout, and nowe priſoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the Counſailes commaundement, ſince Alhollowne day laſt paſt, being examined concerning hys faith and beliefe in the ſacrament of the altar, ſayeth that he hath & doth beleue, that the very ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſt is not in the ſayd Sacrament, & that there is no other ſubſtaunce remaining in the ſaid ſacrament after the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, but onely the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Diricke Caruer his confeſſion.

The materiall ſubſtance of the Sacrament denyed to be the body of Chriſt really.

Item, being examined concerning the Maſſe in Latin now vſed in the church of England, he beleueth that there is no ſacrifice in the ſayde Maſſe, and that there is in it no ſaluation for a chriſtian man, except it ſhould be ſaid in the mother toung, that he might vnderſtand it: and cōcerning the ceremonies of the Church, he ſayth and beleeueth, that they be not profitable to a Chriſtian man.

The vſe and Sacrifice of the Latin Maſſe denyed.

Item, being examined concerning auriculare confeſſion, he anſweareth: that he hath and doth beleeue, that it is neceſſary to goe to a good Prieſt for good counſaile, but the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand vppon any mans head as is nowe vſed, is nothing profitable to a Chriſtian mans ſaluation. And further he ſayth, that he hath not ben confeſſed, nor receiued the ſacrament of the aulter, ſince the coronation of the Queene that now is.

Auricular confeſſion and abſolution of the Prieſt reiected.

Item, concerning the faith & religion, now taught, ſetforth & beleeued in the church of England, he anſweareth and beleueth, that the faith and doctrine nowe taught, ſetforth, and vſed in the ſayd Church of Englande, is not agreable to Gods word. And furthermore he ſayth, that biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, & other of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good chriſtian men, & did preach the true doctrine of Chriſt, as he beleeueth: and ſayth that they did ſhed theyr bloude in the ſame doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he ſayth & beleeueth.

The fayth of the Church of England in Quene Maryes tyme reproued.

And further being examined ſaith, ẏ ſince the Queenes coronation, he hath had the Bible and Pſalter in Engliſh red in his houſe at Brighthamſted diuers times, and likewiſe ſince hys comming into Newgate, but the Keeper hearing thereof, did take them awaye: and ſayeth alſo that about a twelueuoneth now paſt, he had the Engliſh proceſſion ſayd in his houſe, with other Engliſh praiers. And further ſayeth, that Thomas Iueſon, John Launder, and William Veiſey, being priſoners with hym in Newgate, were taken with this examinat in his houſe at Brighthāſted, as they were hearing of the goſpel, then read in Engliſh, a litle before Alhollowne day laſt paſt, and brought to the Court: and being examined thereuppon by the Counſaile, were committed by them to priſon in Newgate.

Iueſon, Launder, and Veiſie, impriſoned for hearing the Goſpell.

The confeſsion of Iohn Launder, before Boner biſhop of London.

IOhn Launder huſbandman, of the Pariſh of Godſtone, in the Countie of Surrey, of the age of xxv. yeres, borne at Godſtone aforeſayde, being examined, doth confeſſe and ſay, that about two dayes next before Alhollontide nowe laſt paſt, this Examinate and one Diricke Caruer, Thomas Iueſon, William Veiſie, with diuers other perſons, to the number of twelue, (being all together in their prayers, and ſaying the ſeruice in Engliſh, ſet forth in the time of King Edwarde the ſixte, in the houſe of the ſayde Diricke, ſituate at Brighthamſted in Suſſex) were apprehended by one maiſter Edwarde Gage, and by him ſent vppe hether to London, to the Kinge and Queenes Counſaile, and by them (vpon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he with his ſaid other felowes hath euer ſince remained in priſon.

Iohn Launder his confeſſion.

And further being examined, he doeth confeſſe and ſay, that the occaſion of his comming to the ſayde Brighthamſted, was vpon certaine buſines there to be ſped for his father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaide Diricke was a man that did much fauour the Goſpel, this Examinate did reſorte to his houſe and companye, whome before that time hee did neuer ſee or know and by reaſon of that hys reſorte, hee was apprehended as before: And further doth confeſſe and beleeue, that there is heere in earth, one whole and vniuerſall Catholicke Churche, whereof the members be diſperſed through the world, and doth beleue alſo, that the ſame Church doeth ſet forth and teache onely two Sacraments: videlicet, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord. And who

The cauſe of the apprehenſiō of Iohn Launder.

Two Sacramentes onely.

Anno 1555. July.

Ceremonyes abhorred.

ſoeuer doth teach or vſe any more Sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not beleeue that they be of the Catholicke Churche, but doth abhorre them from the bottome of his heart: And doth further ſay and beleue, that all the ſeruice, ſacrifices and ceremonies, now vſed in thys Realme of England (yea, & in all other partes of the world, whych ben vſed after the ſame maner) be erroneous and naught, & contrary to Chriſtes inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſtes Catholicke church, whereof he beleeueth, that he him ſelfe is a member.

The reall preſence of Chriſts body vnder the formes of bread and wine denyed.

Alſo hee doeth confeſſe and beleeue, that in the Sacrament, nowe called the ſacrament of the aultar, there is not really, and truly, contained vnder the formes of bread and wine, the very naturall body and bloude of Chriſte in ſubſtaunce: but his beliefe and faith therein is as followeth, Videlicet, that when he doth receiue the material bread and wine, he doeth receiue the ſame in a remembraunce of Chriſtes death and paſſion, and ſo receiuing it, he doth eate and drinke Chriſtes body and bloude by faith, and none other wayes, as he beleeueth.

The Maſſe abhominable.

And moreouer he doth confeſſe, ſay, and beleue, that the Maſſe now vſed in the Realme of Englande, or els where in all Chriſtendome, is nought and abhominable, and directly againſt Gods worde, and his Catholicke Churche: and that there is nothing ſayd or vſed in it good or profitable. For he ſaith, that albeit the gloria in excelſis, the Creede, Sanctus, Pater noſter, Agnus, and other partes of the Maſſe, bene of themſelues good and profitable, yet the ſame being vſed amongeſt other things that be naught and ſuperfluous in the Maſſe, the ſame good things do become nought alſo, as he beleeueth.

Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary.

Alſo he doth beleeue and confeſſe that Auriculare confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any Prieſt, or to anye other creature, but euery perſone oughte to acknowledge & confeſſe hys ſinnes onely to God: and alſo that no perſon hath any authority to abſolue any man frõ his ſinnes: and alſo beleeueth that the right and true way (according to the Scripture) after a man hathe fallen from grace to ſinne, to ariſe to Chriſte againe, is to be ſorie for his offences, & to doe the ſame, or the like no more: and not to make any auricular confeſſion of them to the prieſt, either to take abſolution for them at the Prieſts handes. All whyche hys ſayde opinions, hee hathe beleeued by the ſpace of theſe ſeuen or eight yeares paſt, and in that time, hath diuers and many times openly argued and defendeth the ſame, as hee ſayeth. &c.

Articles obiected by Boner Biſhop of London, againſt Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder.

Articles layd to Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder.

1. FIrſte, I doe obiect againſt you, and euery of you, that yee and euery of you, beinge within the ſayde priſone of Newgate, and within this ſayde Citie of London, are of my iuriſdiction (being Biſhoppe of London) and ſubiecte vnto the ſame, offending and treſpaſſing wythin the ſayd priſon and Citie, in matters of Religion, and concerning the Catholicke faith and beliefe of the Churche in any wiſe.

Sacramentes of pennance and of the aultar.

2. Item, I doe obiect againſt you and euery of you, that yee and euery of you, ſince your firſt comming and entring into the ſayde priſone, and during your abode there, bothe there, and in ſundry places wythin this Citie and Dioces of London, haue holden, maintained, and defended ſundry opinions againſt the Sacraments of the Church, eſpecially againſt the Sacrament of penance, and alſo againſt the Sacrament of the aultar.

Reall preſence.

3. Item, I do likewiſe obiect that yee, and euery of you, in all or in ſome of the ſaid places, haue (as concerning the ſacrament of the aultar) holden, mainteined, and defended, to the beſt of your power, that in the ſayde ſacrament of the aultar there is not the very ſubſtaunce of the body & bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt, but that in the Sacrament there is onely the ſubſtaunce of naturall breade and wine, and no other ſubſtaunce.

The Latin Maſſe.

4. Item, I do likewiſe obiect that you and euery of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places: haue concerning the maſſe in Latine nowe vſed in the Church, and the ſacrifice of the ſame, holden, maintained and likewiſe defended, that the ſayde Maſſe is not good or profitable, and that there is no ſacrifice in the ſame.

Ceremonyes.

5. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that you and euery of you, in all, or ſome of the places, haue concerning ẏ ceremonies of the Church, holden, mainteined, and likewiſe defended, that the ſaide ceremonies are not profitable to a Chriſtian man, but hurtfull and euill.

Auricular confeſſion.

6. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that you and euery of you, in all, or ſome of the ſayd places, haue concerning the Sacrament of penaunce, holden, mainteined, and likewiſe defended, that auricular confeſſion (being a part thereof) albeit it may be made vnto a good Prieſt for counſaile, yet the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying hys hand vpon any mans heade, and doing as is nowe vſually done in the Churche, is nothing profitable to any mans ſaluation, & that therefore yee neither haue bene confeſſed to the Prieſt, after the vſuall maner of the Churche, nor yet receiued the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar ſince the coronation of the Queenes Maieſtie, whyche is more then the ſpace of one yeare and a halfe.

7. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that ye and euery of you in all or ſome of the ſayd places concerning the faith and religion now taught, ſet forth, vſed and beleued in the church of this Realme of Englande, and the doctrine of the ſame, haue holden, beleeued and ſayde, that it is not agreeable to Gods word, but cleane contrary to the ſame.

The fay & doc of the Church Englan

8. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that ye and euery of you, in all, or ſome of the ſayd places, haue beleued, ſpoken, & ſayd, and to your power, vpholden, mainteined & ſayd that byſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of theyr opinion, which of late wythin this realme were burnte for hereſie, were good Chriſtian men, in ſpeaking and holding againſt the ſaid Sacrament of the aultar, and that they did preache nothing, but the true doctrine of Chriſte, ſhedding their bloud for the maintenance of the ſayd doctrine.

Defen of Hoo Cardm Roger

9. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that yee and euerye of you, haue earneſtly laboured and traueiled to the beſt and vttermoſt of your power, to haue vp againe the Engliſh ſeruice, and the Communion in all poyntes, as was vſed in the latter daies of king Edward the ſixt, here in this realm of Englande.

Engliſ uice.

10. Item, I do likewiſe obiecte, that ye, and euery of you haue thought and doe thinke, firmely and ſtedfaſtly, and ſo haue and do beleeue, that the faith, religion, & doctrine, ſet forth in the ſaid time of the foreſaid king Edward, was in all poyntes good and godly, containing in it the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt, in euery part.

Defend the reli vſed in Edwar tyme.

11. Item, I doe likewiſe obiect and ſay, that ye, and euery of you, (for your miſbelief, offence, tranſgreſſion, and miſbehauiour in the premiſſes, and for that alſo that you wold not come to your ſeuerall pariſh churches, and heare your diuine ſeruice there, as other Chriſtian people did, and do: but abſent your ſelfe from the ſame, and haue your priuate ſeruice in your houſes, eſpeciallye in the houſe of Diricke Caruer) were ſent vp vnto the King and Queenes Maieſties priuie counſaile, and by them or ſome of them, ſente afterward vnto the priſon of Newgate aforeſayd, hauing thereby their authoritie, remained as priſoners, during all the time ye haue bene there.

Abſenc from P piſh ſer

12. Item, I do likewiſe obiect and ſay, that I the ſayd byſhop of London, was commaunded by the authority of the ſayd Counſaile, to make proceſſe againſt you, and euery of you, ſo that it was not my procuring or ſearching, that yee ſhould be commaunded or called before me in this matter of hereſie, but partly your owne demerites, and partly the ſayde commandement enforced me to cal and ſend for you, to make aunſweare heerein, and heerof to ſhewe you the ſayde letters.

If their ting to death not la by Go why d you c it? If it w lawfull why d ſo at m comma dement

Their anſweres to the Articles.

Their a ſweres.

VPon Monday, being the ſayd tenth day of Iune, theſe two perſons (with others) were brought by the keper vnto the biſhops Conſiſtorie (as it was before commaunded) at one of the clocke in the after noone, where the Byſhop firſt beginning with the ſayde Diricke Caruer, cauſed his confeſſion with the Articles and Aunſweres, to be openly read vnto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of euery priſonner) aſking hym whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſayd Diricke anſweared, that he would: for your doctrine (quoth hee) is poyſon and Sorcerie. If Chriſte were heere, you would put him to a worſe death, then he was put to before.

You ſay, that you can make a God: ye can make a pudding as well. Your Ceremonies in the Churche be beggery and poyſon. And farther I ſay, that auricular confeſſion is contrary to Gods word, and very poyſon: wyth diuers other ſuch wordes.

The w of Di Car Bone

The Biſhop ſeeing this conſtancie, & that neyther hys accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruell threatnings could once moue this good man to encline to their idolatry, pronounced his vſuall and general bleſſing, as well towards this Diricke, as alſo vppon the ſayde Iohn Launder (although ſeuerally). who (after the like manner of proceſſe vſd with him) remained in the ſame conſtancie, as dyd the other, and therfore were both deliuered vnto the ſheriffes, who were there preſent, but afterwards were conueyed to the places aboue named, & there moſte ioyfully gaue their bodies to bee burned in the fire, and their ſoules into the handes of Almighty God, by Jeſus Chriſt, who hath aſſured them to a better hope of life.

This Diricke was a man, whome the Lorde had bleſſed as well with temporall riches, as with hys ſpirituall treaſures: which riches yet were no clogge or let vnto hys true profeſſing of Chriſte, (the Lord by his grace ſo working in him:) of the which, there was ſuch hauocke made, by the greedye raueners of that time, that hys poore wyfe and children had little or none thereof. During his impriſonment, although he was well ſtricken in yeares (and as it were, paſt the time of learning) yet he ſo ſpente his time, that being at hys firſte apprehenſion vtterly ignoraunt of any letter of the booke, he coulde before his death read perfectly any Printed Engliſh. Whoſe diligence and zeale is worthy no ſmall commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to lette it paſſe ouer in ſilence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

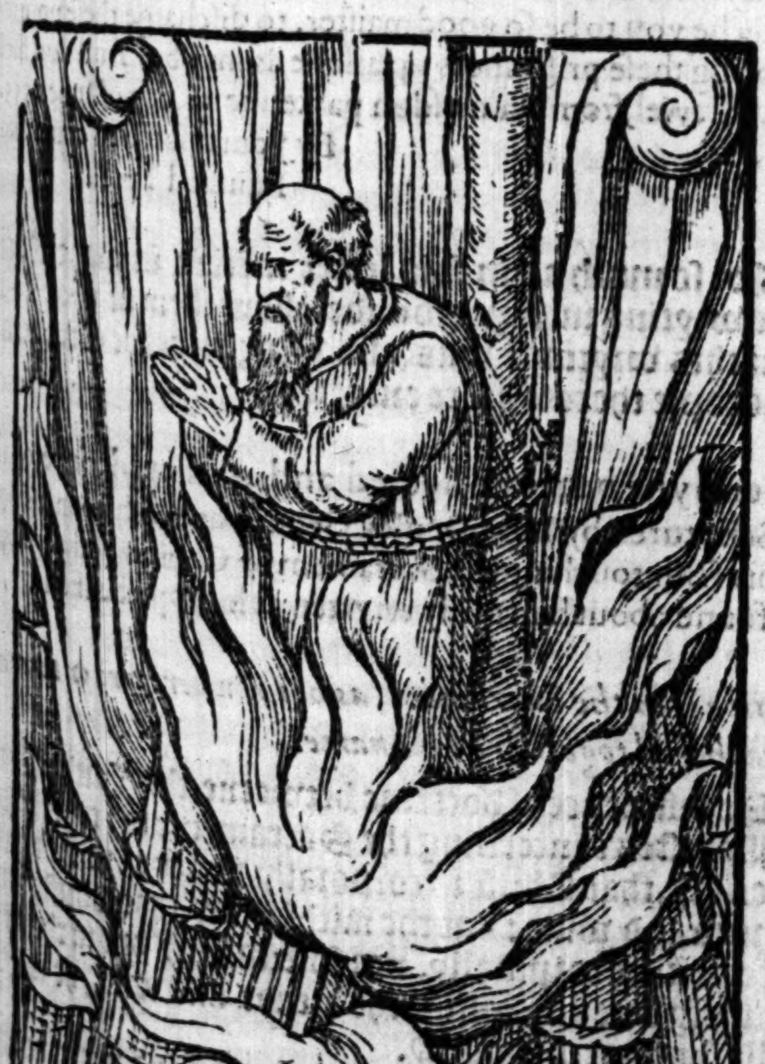
Moreouer, at his comming into the towne of Lewes to be burned, the people called vpon him, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him in the faith of Jeſus Chriſte. Hee thanked them, and prayed vnto God, that of hys mercye hee woulde ſtrengthen them in the lyke Faith. And when hee came to the ſigne of the Starre, the people drew neare vnto hym, where the Sheriffe ſayde that he had founde him a faithfull man in all hys aunſweres. And as he came to the ſtake, hee kneeled downe and made hys prayers, and the Sheriffe made haſte.

Then hys Booke was throwne into the barrell, and when he had ſtript him ſelfe (as a ioyfull member of God) he went into the barrell him ſelfe. And as ſoone as euer hee came in, he tooke vp the booke and threw it among the people, and then the Sheriffe commaunded in the Kynge and Queenes name, in paine of death, to throw in the booke againe. And immediately, that faithful member ſpake with a ioyfull voyce, ſaying:

Deare brethren and ſiſterne, witnes to you all, that I am come to ſeale with my bloude Chriſtes Goſpell, for becauſe I know that it is true: it is not vnknowen vnto all you, but that it hath bene truely preached heere in Lewes, and in all places of Englande, and nowe it is not. And for becauſe that I wil not deny heere Gods Goſpel, and be obedient to mans lawes, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and ſiſterne, as many of you as doe beleeue vpon the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſte, vnto euerlaſting life, ſee you do the workes appertaining to the ſame. And as many of you as doe beleeue vppon the Pope of Rome, or any of his lawes, which he ſets forth in theſe daies, you do beleeue to your vtter condẽnation, and except the great mercy of God, you ſhall burne in hell perpetually.

Immediately the Sheriffe ſpake vnto hym, and ſayde, if thou doeſt not beleue on the Pope thou art damned body and ſoule. And further the Sheriffe ſayde vnto hym: ſpeake to thy God, that he maye deliuer thee nowe, or elſe to ſtrike me downe to the example of thys people: but this faythfull member ſayde, the Lorde forgeue you youre ſayinges.

The Martyrdome of Diricke Caruer.



Horrible prouoking of Gods iudgement.

And then ſpake hee againe to all the people there preſent, with a loude voyce, ſaying: deare brethren, and all you whom I haue offended in wordes or in deede, I aſke you for the Lordes ſake to forgeue mee, and I heartely forgeue all you, which haue offended me in thought, word, or dede. And he ſayd further in his praier, Oh Lord my God, thou haſt wrytten: Hee that wil not forſake wife, children, houſe, and all that euer he hath, and take vp thy croſſe and folow thee, is not woorthy of thee. But thou Lorde knoweſt that I haue forſaken all, to come vnto thee: Lord haue mercy vppon me, for vnto thee I commend my ſpirit: and my ſoule doth reioyce in thee. Theſe were the laſt wordes of that Faythfull member of Chriſte, before the fire was put to hym. And afterward that the fire came to him, he cried: Oh Lorde haue mercy vpon me, and ſpronge vp in the fire, calling vppon the name of Jeſus, and ſo ended.

Dirickes prayer at his death.

Thomas Iueſon, Martyr.

Tho. Iueſon or Euerſon, apprehended with Diricke and other, & ſuffered at Chicheſter.

At Chicheſter, about the ſame moneth was burned one Thomas Iueſon of Godſtone in the Countie of Surrey, Carpenter, whoſe apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation, (for as much as it was at one time, and in one forme with Diricke Caruer, and John Launder) I doe here omit, referring the reader to their hyſtorie & proceſſe before mentioned, ſauing onely this his ſeuerall confeſſion, and priuate anſwers made before B. Boner at hys laſt examination in the Conſiſtorie, I thought not to pretermit: who being examined vppon the foreſayd Articles, anſwered as followeth.

The aunſweres of Thomas Iueſon, to the obiections of Boner biſhop of London, in a chamber at his houſe, in the moneth of Iuly.

Aunſweres of Thomas Iueſon.

1. First, that he beleued, that there is but one Catholike, vniuerſall and whole Church of Chriſt thorough the whole worlde, which hathe and holdeth the true faith, and all the neceſſarye Articles of Chriſten beliefe, & all the Sacraments of Chriſte, with the true vſe and adminiſtration of the ſame.

2. Item, that he is neceſſarily bounden to beleeue & geue credite, in all the ſayd faith, Articles of the beliefe, religion, and the Sacraments of Chriſte, and the adminiſtration of the ſame.

3. Item, that that faithe, religion, and adminiſtration of Sacraments, which now is beleeued, vſed, taught, and ſet forth in this our church of England, is not agreeing wyth the truth and faith of Chriſt, nor with the faith of the ſayde Catholicke and vniuerſall Church of Chriſt.

4. Item, concerning the Sacrament of the aultar, he beloueth, that it is a very Idol, and deteſtable before God, as it is now miniſtred.

5. Item, that the Maſſe is nought, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, but ẏ it is of mans inuention: and demaunded whether any thing vſed in the Maſſe be good, he ſayde that he would anſwere no further.

6. Item, that hee had not receiued the Sacrament of the aultar, ſince it hath ben miniſtred as now it is in England neither was confeſſed at any time within this ſeuen yeres, nor he hath not heard Maſſe by the ſame ſpace.

7. Item, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſarye to be made to a prieſt, for that he cãnot forgeue, nor abſolue him from ſinnes.

8. Item, concernnig the Sacrament of Baptiſme, that it is a ſigne and token of Chriſte, as circumciſion was, and none otherwiſe, and he beleeueth that his ſinnes are * not waſhed away thereby, but his body onely waſhed: for his ſinnes be waſhed away onely by Chriſtes bloud.

* He meaneth not by the mere vertue of the element.

9. Item, that there be in the Catholike Church of Chriſt, onely two Sacraments, that is to ſaye, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and no more, whiche are not rightlye vſed at this preſente time in Englande, and therefore be vnprofitable.

Two Sacramentes.

10. Item, he beleueth, that all the ceremonies, nowe vſed in this Church of England, are vaine, ſuperfluous, ſuperſtitious, and nought.

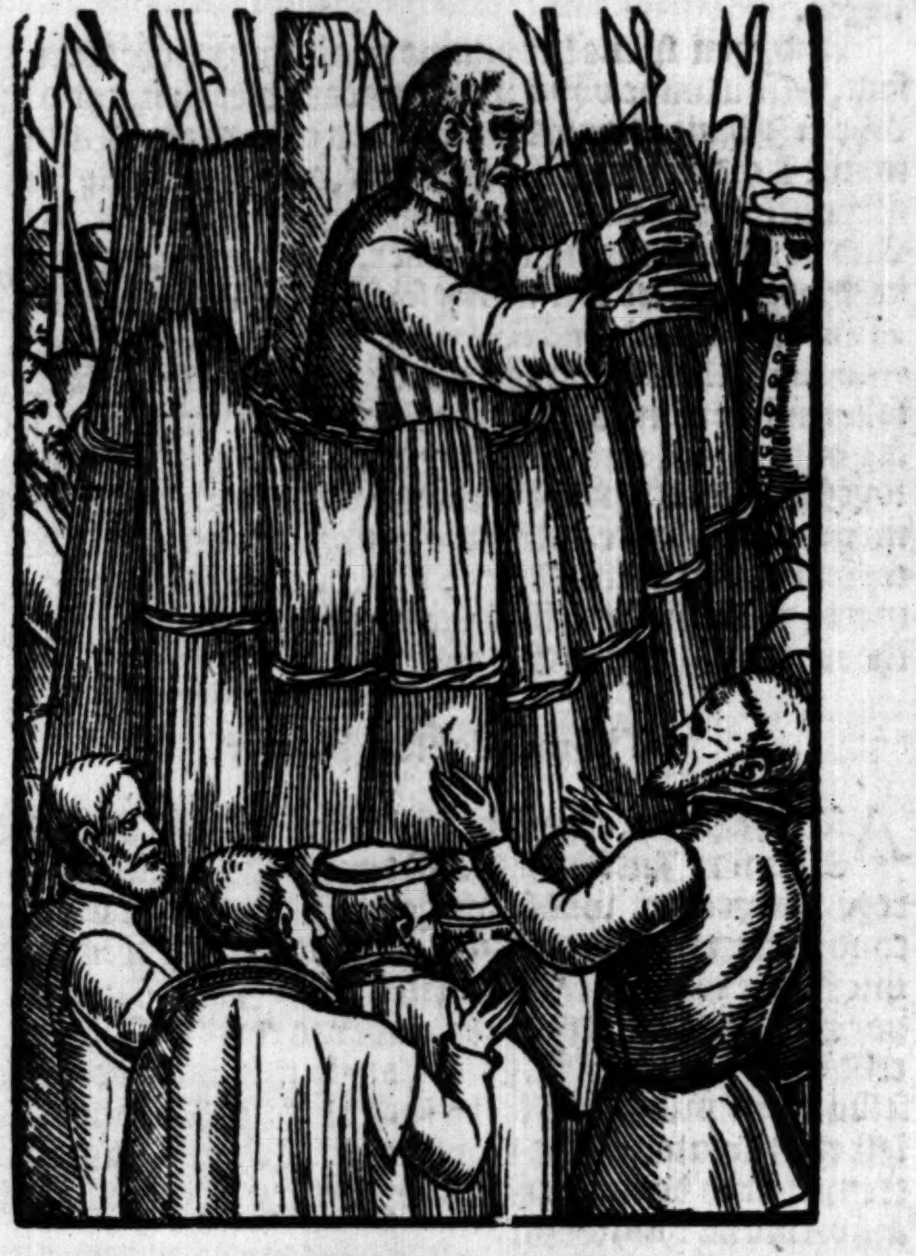
Agaynſt ceremonyes.

Furthermore the ſaide Iueſon being earneſtly trauailed wythall to recant, ſayde in this wiſe: I woulde not recant and forſake my opinion and belief, for all the goods in London. I do appeale to Gods mercy, and wilbe none of your Churche, nor ſubmit my ſelfe to the ſame: and that I haue ſayde, I will ſay againe. And if there came an Aungell from heauen, to teache mee anye other Doctrine then

Thomas Iueſon condemned.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Iueſon.



The Martyrdome of Thomas Iueſon, at Chicheſter. An. 1555. Iuly.

that which I am in now, I would not beleue him. which aunſwere thus made, he was condemned as an hereticke, and wyth the ſame perſons was committed to the ſecular power, (as they terme it) and at the place aboue mentioned was burned: perſeuering ſtil in his conſtant faith vnto the ende.

Iohn Aleworth.

John Aleworth dyed in priſon.

IN the latter ende of thys moneth of Iulye, Iohn Aleworth dyed in priſon, at the Towne of Reading, beyng there in bondes for the cauſe and teſtimonie of the truthe of the Lordes Goſpel. whom although the Catholicke Prelates (according to their vſuall ſolemnitie) did exclude out of their Catholicke buriall, yet we ſee no cauſe why to exclude him out of the number of Chriſtes holy martyrs and heires of his holy kingdome.

Iames Abbes, a Martyr of bleſſed memorie, ſuffering for the true cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpel.

Auguſt. 2.

Iames Abbes Martyr.

AMong many that trauailed in theſe troubleſome daies to keepe a good conſcience, there was one Iames Abbes a young man, whych throughe compulſion of the tyrannie then vſed, was enforced to haue his part wyth hys brethren in wandring and going from place to place, to auoide the pearill of apprehendinge. But when time came that the Lorde had an other worke to doe for hym, he was caught by the handes of wicked men, and broughte before the B. of Norwiche, D. Hopton. who examining him of his Religion, and charging him therewyth very ſore, both with threates and faire ſpeache, at the laſte the ſayde poore Iames did yelde, and relented to their naughty perſwaſions, although hys conſcience conſented not thereto.

Iames Abbes relented.

Nowe when he was diſmiſſed, and ſhoulde goe from the Biſhop, the Biſhop calling hym againe, gaue hym a peece of money, either fourty pence or twentie pence, whether I knowe not: which when the ſayd Iames had receiued, and was gone from the Biſhop, his conſcience began to rob, and inwardly to accuſe hys facte, howe hee had diſpleaſed the Lorde by conſenting to their beaſtly illuſions, In which combate wyth himſelfe (being pitiouſly vexed) he went immediately to the Biſhop againe, & there threw hym his ſayd money which he had receiued at hys hande, and ſayd, it repented him that euer he gaue hys conſent to their wicked perſwaſions, and that he gaue his conſent in taking of hys money.

Money geuen to Iames Abbes by the Biſhop.

A notable example of ſting of conſcience.

Iames Abbes throweth to the Biſhop his money agayne.

Now this being done, the biſhop wyth his chaplains did labour a freſh to winne him againe: but in vayne, for the ſayd Iames Abbes would not yeelde for none of them all, although he had plaid Peter before through infirmitie, but ſtode manfully in hys maſters quarel to the ende, and abode the force of the fire, to the conſuming of his body into aſhes, which tyrannie of burning was done in Berie the 2. day of Auguſt. An. 1555.

Iames Abbes made ſtrong by his infirmity.

A diſcourſe of the apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation of Iohn Denly Gentleman, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pachingham, Martyred for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell.

IN the middeſt of this tempeſtuous rage of malignaunt aduerſaries, perſecuting and deſtroying the poore flocke of Chriſte, many there were, which thoughe they were no ſpirituall mē, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, & as one would ſay, to heape vp mo coales to this furious flame of perſecution, whether of a blind zeale, or of a paraſiticall flattery I knowe not. Amongeſt whiche, one was Edmonde Tyrell Eſquier, and at that time a Iuſtice of peace wythin the Countie of Eſſex, an aſſiſter (as it ſeemeth) to the cruell murtherers of Gods Saintes. who as he came from the burning & death of certaine godly Martyrs, met with M. Iohn Denly gentleman, and one Iohn Newman (both of Maidſtone in Kent) trauailing vppon the way, and goyng to viſite ſuche their godly frendes, as then they had in the ſayde Countie of Eſſex. And vpon the ſight of them as he yet braggeth, first vppon ſuſpition apprehended, and ſearched them: and at laſt, finding the confeſſions of their faith in wryting about thē, ſent thē vp vnto the Queenes Commiſſioners, directinge alſo vnto one of the ſame Commiſſioners, theſe hys fauourable Letters in theyr behalfe. The copie whereof heere may appeare as followeth.

Iohn De
gent. ex
Iohn Ne
man, Pa
tricke P
ching
Martyrs,
Edmund
Tyrel E
quire, p
motor.

A copie of Edmund Tyrels leter, to one of the Queenes Commiſsioners.

SIr, with moſte harty commendations vnto you, theſe ſhal be to aduertiſe you, that I haue receiued a letter from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and other of the King & Queenes Maieſties commiſsioners, by a ſeruaunt of the King and Queenes, called Iohn Failes, for certaine buſineſſe, about S. Oſythes, the which I could not immediately goe about, for that I had receiued a letter from the Counſell, to aſsiſt the Sheriffe for the execution of the heretickes, the one at Raileigh, and the other at Rocheford, the which was done vpon Tueſday laſt.

A letter
detectio
written b
M. Edm
Tyrell
Commi
oner, wh
I geſſe t
Syr Rich
Southw

And as I came homeward, I met wyth two menne: Euen as I ſawe them, I ſuſpected them, and then I did examine them, and ſearch them, and I did finde about them certaine letters, whych I haue ſent you, and alſo a certaine wrytinge in paper, what their faith was. And they confeſſed to mee that they had forſaken and fled out of their country for Religions ſake: and ſithen they haue bene in many countreis, by their confeſsion, whiche I haue ſente you: for the which I thoughte it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more hadde of them, then I yet haue vnderſtand) to ſende them to you, whereby you and others of the King and Queenes Commiſsioners there, might trie them, ſo that their lewdneſſe might be throughly knowen: for I thinke theſe haue cauſed many to trouble their conſciences. So thys hath bene ſome let to me, wherefore I coulde not go about theſe matters expreſſed in your letters: but to morrow noone I entende by Gods grace to accompliſh your letters, with as muche diligence as I may. And this the holy Trinitie haue you euer in his keeping, I beſeeche you to be ſo good maiſter, to diſcharge theſe pore men that bring theſe priſonners vp aſſone as may be. And thus moſte hartly farewel, from Raimeſdon parke, the 12. day of Iune. 1555.

M. De
and Ioh
Newm
the way
mette a
apprehe
ded by M
Edmund
Tyrell

By your aſſured to commaund,
Edmund Tyrel.

For ſo much as in this letter mētion is made of a certaine wryting in paper founde about them of their faith, what this wrytinge was, and what were the contentes of it, the copie thereof heere enſueth.

¶ Certayne notes collected and gathered oute of the Scriptures, by Iohn Denley Gentleman, with a confeſsion of his faith, touching the Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud, found about him ready wrytten, at his apprehenſion.

Chriſte is in the Sacrament, as hee is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

THe difference of doctrine betweene the Faithfull & the Papiſtes concerning the Sacramente is: that the Papiſtes ſay, that Chriſt is corporally vnder or in the formes of bread and wine: but the faithfull ſay, that Chriſte is not there neither corporally, nor ſpiritually: but in them that worthely eate and drinke the breade and wine, he is ſpiritually, but not corporally.

M. De
Nom
ching
ter of
Sacram

For figuratiuely he is in the breade and wine, and ſpiritually hee is in them that worthely eate and drynke the breade and wine: but really, carnally, and corporally he is onely in heauen, from whence hee ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.

Figu
ly, S
ally

¶ My beliefe in the Sacrament of the bleſſed body and bloud of my Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

AS concernyng the Sacrament of the body and bloude of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, my beliefe is this, that the bread and wyne is appointed vnto a Sacrament: and that after thanks be geuen to God the father, then it doth repreſent vnto me the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt: not that the bread is the body, or the wyne the bloud, but that I in faith do ſee that bleſſed body of our ſauiour broken on the croſſe, & his precious bloud plenteouſly ſhed for the redemption of my ſinnes. Alſo in faith I heare hym call vs vnto him, ſaying: Come vnto me all you that labour and are laden, and I wil refreſh you. Eſay. 55. a. b. Mat. 11. &c. In faith I come vnto him, & I am refreſhed, ſo that I beleue that all that do come vnto the table of the Lord in this faith, feare and loue, beyng ſory for their offences, intending earneſtly to lead a godly conuerſatiõ in this vale of miſery, do receiue the fruit of the death of Chriſt, which fruit is our ſaluation.

I do vnderſtand [ſpiritually] that as the outward mã doth eate the material bread which comforteth the body, ſo doth the inward man (thorough fayth) eate the bodye of Chriſt, beleeuyng that as the breade is broken, ſo was Chriſtes body broken on the Croſſe for our ſinnes, which comforteth our ſoules vnto lyfe euerlaſtyng: and ſignifiyng thereby, that euen as that bread was deuided among them, ſo ſhould his body and fruit of hys paſſion be diſtributed vnto as many as beleeued hys wordes. But the bread broken and eaten in the Supper, moniſheth & putteth vs in remembraunce of hys death, and ſo exciteth vs to thankeſgeuyng, to laud and prayſe God for the benefits of our redemption.

And thus we there haue Chriſt preſent, in the inward eye and ſight of our faith we eate his body, and drinke his bloud, that is, we beleeue ſurely that his body was crucified for our ſinnes, and his bloud ſhed for our ſaluation.

Chriſtes body and bloud is not conteyned in the Sacramentall bread and wyne as the papiſts haue ſayd, & as ſome yet doe ſay, as ye read in theſe ſcriptures folowing: firſt read in S. Math. 9. Luk. 5. Math. 24. and 26. Marke 16. Luk. 24. Iohn 13. Luke 23. in the ende, Iohn 14. 15. 16. 17. Acts 1. 3. 7. 9. Rom. 8. Pſalm. 8. 1. Cor. 10. 11. Exod. 12. Col. 1. 3. Ephe. 1. 4. Phil. 2. 1. Theſ. 1. 4. Heb. 1. 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. 1. Pet. 3. Pſal. 11. 47. 103. 10.

Chriſtes materiall body is not in all places, as theſe Scriptures do teſtifie hereafter.

Firſt, reade Saint Mathew the laſt, Marke the laſt, Luke the laſt, Iohn 11. 20. 21. Theſe places of the Scripture do plainly declare, that his body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in mo places then one, & that is in heauen on the right hand of God, and not in the Sacrament, nor in all places, as the Papiſts haue affirmed, and yet do affirme.

Therefore who ſo euer they bee that doe worſhip the creatures of bread and wyne, doe commit Idolatrye, and make abominable Idols of them, and take the glory from God, and geue it to his cretures, which is contrary to the mynd of God, as theſe ſcriptures hereafter do teſtify, firſt in Exodus 20. 22. 23. 24. Leuit. 19. Deut. 4. 6. 32. Pſal. 80. Eſay. 45. Mal. 2. Mathew. 4. Luke 4. Actes, 14. Reuel. 4. Pſalm. 98. 1. Corinth. 8. Epheſ. 4. 1. Tim. 2. 1. Ioh. 5. Reuel. 19. 22.

Iohn Denley.

Now to returne to the Commiſſioners againe, they receiuyng theſe priſoners afore mentioned, after they ſaw they could litle preuaile by their owne perſwaſions, ſent them vnto B. Boner to be handled after his fatherly and charitable diſcretion. which how diſcrete & fauourably it was, as well the hiſtory of others, as alſo the ſequele of this doth manifeſtly declare. For the 28. day of Iune then next folowyng, he cauſed the ſayd Denly & Newmã, with one Patrike Packingham, to bee brought into his chãber within his houſe or pallace, there examinyng them vpon their confeſſions (which Tyrrell had founde about them) obiecting alſo vnto them certayne other Articles of hys owne. The which they all aunſwered in effect one thing, although Denly anſwered more largely then the others, & therfore I thought it enough only to manifeſt his, as ſufficient, & in no part differyng from the others, except that Pachingham had one Article of no great force obiected to hym, which the reſt had not.

This done, the B. vſed with them his accuſtomed perſwaſions, to the which M. Denly ſaid: God ſaue me from your counſaile, & keepe me in the mynde that I am in, for that you count hereſy, I take to be the truth: & thereupon they were commanded to appeare in the biſhops Conſiſtory the 5. of Iuly then next commyng in the after noone, where theſe Articles were obiected againſt them.

The wordes of M. Denly to Biſhop Boner.

¶ The Articles obiected by Edmond Boner, Biſhop of London, againſt Iohn Denley, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pachingham, ioyntly and ſeuerally, the xxviij. of Iune. 1555.

FIrſt, that the ſaid N. now is of the dioces of London, & of the iuriſdiction of the B. of London.

Articles obiected.

Secondly, that the ſayd N. hath not beleeued, nor doth beleeue that there is any Catholike Church of Chriſt here in earth.

Slaunder of vntruth.

Catholicke Church.

Thirdly, that the ſaid N. had not beleued, nor doth beleue, that this church of England is any part or member of the ſaid catholike church.

Fourthly, the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue that the Maſſe now vſed in this Realme of England, is naught, and full of Idolatry and euill, and playne againſt Gods word, and therfore he the ſayd N. hath not heard it nor will not heare it.

Maſſe.

Fiftly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, & doth ſo beleue, that auricular confeſſion vſed now in this realme of England, is not good, but contrary to Gods word.

Auricular confeſſion.

Sixtly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that abſolution giuen by the prieſt hearing confeſſiõ, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but contrary to the ſame.

Popiſh abſolution.

Seuenthly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that chriſtenyng of childrẽn, as it is vſed in ẏ church of England, is not good, nor allowable by Gods worde, but againſt it: likewiſe confirming of children, geuyng of orders, ſaying of Mattens & Euenſong, annoyntyng or enelyng of ſicke perſons, makyng of holy bread and holy water, with the reſt of the Church.

Mattens, Euenſong, Eneling, with other rites of the Popes Church.

2. Sacramentes.

Eightly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that there are but two Sacraments in Chriſtes Catholike church, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, & the Sacrament of the aultar.

Ninthly, that the ſayd N. hath beleeued, & doth ſo beleue, that for as much as Chriſt is aſcended vp into heauẽ, therefore the very body of Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Tenthly, that thou Patrike Pachingham now beyng of the age of 21. at the leaſt, beyng within the houſe of the B. of London at Paules, and by him brought to the great Chappell to heare Maſſe there, the ſayd 23. day of Iune, the yeare of our Lord, 1555. diddeſt vnreuerently ſtande in the ſayd Chappell, hauyng thy cap on thy head all the Maſſe whyle, and diddeſt alſo refuſe to receyue holy water and holy bread at the Prieſtes handes, there contemnyng and deſpiſing both the Maſſe, and the ſaid holy water and holy bread.

This article was onely obiected agaynſt Patrick Pachingham.

¶ The aunſwer of Iohn Denley and the reſt, to the Articles obiected.

TO the firſt Article, I anſwer, it is very true.

Their anſweres.

To the ſecond Article I anſwer, that it is not true: for I beleeue the holy Catholike Church which is builded vpon the foundation of the Prophetes & Apoſtles, Chriſt beyng the head, which holy Church is the Congregation of the faythfull people, diſperſed through the whole world the which Church doth preach Gods worde truely, and doth alſo miniſter the two Sacramentes, that is to ſaye, Baptiſme, and the ſupper of the Lord, accordyng to hys bleſſed word.

The true Catholicke Church not denyed.

A notice of the true Church.

To the third Article I aunſwer, that I do beleue that this Church of England, vſing the fayth & religion which is now vſed, is no part or member of the foreſaid holy Catholike church, but is the church of Antichriſt the Biſh. of Rome beyng the head thereof: for it is playne, that they haue altered the teſtament of God, & ſet vp a teſtament of their own deuiſing, full of blaſphemy & lies: for Chriſtes teſtament is, that he would haue all things done to the edifieng of the people, as it appeareth when hee taught thẽ to pray, Math. 6. & alſo it appeareth by S. Paul, 1. Cor. 14. for he ſayth: That hee that propheſieth, ſpeaketh vnto men, for their edifieng for their exhortation, and for their comfort: hee that ſpeaketh with the tong, profiteth hymſelfe: he that propheſieth, edifieth the congregation.

The Church of England now vſed, is no member of the true Catholicke Church, and the reaſon why?

Alſo he ſayth: Euen ſo likewyſe when ye ſpeak with tongs except ye ſpeake words that haue ſignification, how ſhall it bee vnderſtand what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeake in the aire, that is as much to ſay, in vayne. Alſo he ſayth: Thou verely geueſt thanks well, but the other is not edified, I thanke my God, I

1. Corinth. 14.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

The Popes ſeruice in the tongue which edifieth not the people.

ſpeake with tongs more then ye all, yet had I rather in the congregation to ſpeake fiue words with vnderſtandyng, to the information of other, then ten thouſand words with the tong. Alſo he ſayth: Let all thyngs be done to edification.

Alſo it is written in the Pſalme, 46. For God is kyng of all the earth: O ſing praiſes vnto hym with vnderſtandyng, &c. So it doth appeare that this Church of England now vſed, is not builded vppon Chriſt, if S. Paules wordes be true, and alſo the Pſalmes: therefore this Church is not builded vpon the prophets, apoſtles, nor Chriſt, as I haue declared before.

The Maſſe abominable and Idolatrous.

To this 4. Article I anſwer, and I do beleeue (as I haue aforeſayd) that the maſſe now vſed in this realme of England, is naught and abhominable, idolatry and blaſphemy againſt Gods word: for Chriſt in his holy ſupper inſtituted the Sacramentes of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembraunce of his death till he come, & not to haue them worſhipped, and make an Idoll of them: for GOD will not be worſhipped in his creatures, but wee ought to geue him prayſes for his cretures, which he hath created for vs. For he ſayth in the ſecond commandement: Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen image, nor the lykenes of any thing that is in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneth, thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them. So it appeareth by this commaundement, that wee ought not to worſhip the Sacrament of bread and wyne, for it is playn idolatry, for he ſayth: No ſimilitude, therfore Thou ſhalt not bow downe to them nor worſhip them. I pray you what doe you call kneelyng downe, holdyng vp the handes, knockyng of the breſt, puttyng of the cap, and makyng curteſie, with other like ſuperſtition? You would make men to be ſo blynd, that this is no worſhippyng.

The Maſſe agaynſt Gods commaundement.

Obiection of the Papiſtes remoued.

Peraduenture you will obiect and ſay, you do not worſhip the bread & the wyne, but Chriſtes body whiche was borne of the Virgin Mary, conteyned vnder the forme of bread and wyne. But that is a very lye: for Chriſtes body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, is in heauen, if ſaint Paules words be true, as vndoubtedly they are: for hee ſayth in the x. of the Hebrues: But this man, after hee hath offered one ſacrifice for ſinnes, is ſet down for euer on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarieth till hys foes bee made hys footeſtoole.

Heb. 10.

Heb. 9.

Philip. 3.

1. Theſſ. 1.

Scriptures prouing Chriſt not to be bodyly in the Sacrament.

Ioh 19.

Iohn. 17.

Alſo in the 9. chap. he ſayth: For Chriſt is not entered into holy places that are made with hands, which are ſimilitudes of true thyngs, but is entred into very heauen, for to appeare nowe in the ſight of God for vs, &c. Alſo Phil. 3. But our conuerſation is in heauen, from whence we looke for the Sauiour, euen the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, &c. Theſ. 1. For they themſelues ſhew of you, what maner of entring in we had vnto you, and how ye turned to God from Images, for to ſerue the liuyng God, and for to look for his ſonne from heauen, whom he rayſed from death, euen Ieſus, which deliuered vs from the wrath to come, &c. Alſo Iohn 16. I went out from the father, and came into the world. Again, I leaue the world, and go to the father. &c. Iohn. 17. Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. And theſe places of the Scripture with other mo, proueth plainly to them that haue eares to heare, that Chriſtes body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, is in heauen, and not in the Sacramentall bread and wyne, and therefore it is idolatry to worſhip them, &c.

Agaynſt auricular confeſſion.

Mathew. 11.

Luke 15.

Pſalme. 31.

Iob. 13.

Sirac. 34.

Remiſſion of ſinnes to be ſought onely at the handes of Chriſt.

To this fift Article I aunſwer, that I do beleue as I haue aforeſayd, that auricular confeſſion is not good, as it is now vſed. Touching my ſinnes wherein I haue offended God, I muſt ſeeke to hym for remiſſion therof, for our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth in the xi. of S. Mathew: Come vnto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will eaſe you, &c. The riotous ſonne, Luke. xv. ſayth: I will ariſe and go to my Father and will ſay to him, Father, I haue ſinned agaynſt heauen and before thee, and am no more worthy to bee called thy ſonne, &c. Pſal. 31. I ſayd, I will knowledge myne offences, and accuſe my ſelfe vnto the Lord, and ſo thou forgaueſt me the wickedneſſe of my ſinne. &c. Iob. 13. But I will reproue myne own wayes in hys ſight: He ſhal make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before hym. Syrach. 34. ſayth: Who can be clenſed of the vncleane? And there was but one of the x. Lepers that were clenſed, that came to Chriſt to geue hym thanks. He asked for the other ix. But if I haue offended my neighbour, I muſt reconcile my ſelf to my neighbour: and if I be a notorious ſinner, after the firſt & ſecond admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the Miniſter of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to bee taken as a Heathen perſon, not for a day, or xl. dayes, but vnto ſuch tyme as I do openly in the congregation knowledge my fault, then the miniſter hath power by the word, to preach to me or them the remiſſion of our ſins in the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, as it is written in the 13. of the Acts of the Apoſtles, Math. 18. Other confeſſion I know none.

To this 6. Article, I the ſayd Iohn Denley haue anſwered in the fift, &c.

To this 7. Article I anſwer, that as touchyng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, which is the chriſtenyng of children, as it is altered and chaunged: for S. Iohn Baptiſt vſed nothyng, but the preachyng of the word and the water, as it doth appeare, whē Chriſt required to be baptiſed of him and others alſo which came to Iohn to be baptiſed, as it appeareth Math. 3. Mark. 1. Luke. 3. and Act. 8. the chamberlaine ſayd: See here is water, what letteth me to be baptiſed? It appereth here that Phillip had preached vnto him, for he ſayd, here is water. We do not read that hee asked for any creame, or oile, not for ſpettle, nor coniured water, nor coniured waxe, nor yet cryſome, nor ſalt: for it ſemeth that Phillip had preached no ſuch thyngs to hym, for he would as wel haue asked for them as for water: & the water was not coniured, but euen as it was afore. Alſo Act. x. Thē anſwered Peter: Can any man forbid water that theſe ſhold not be baptiſed? &c. Actes. 16. And Paule and Silas preached vnto hym the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his houſe: & he took them the ſame houre of the night, and waſhed their wounds, & ſo was he baptiſed, and al they of his houſhold ſtraight way. Where ye ſee nothyng but preachyng the word & the water. The lyke alſo is to be ſayd of the reſt of the ceremonies of your Church.

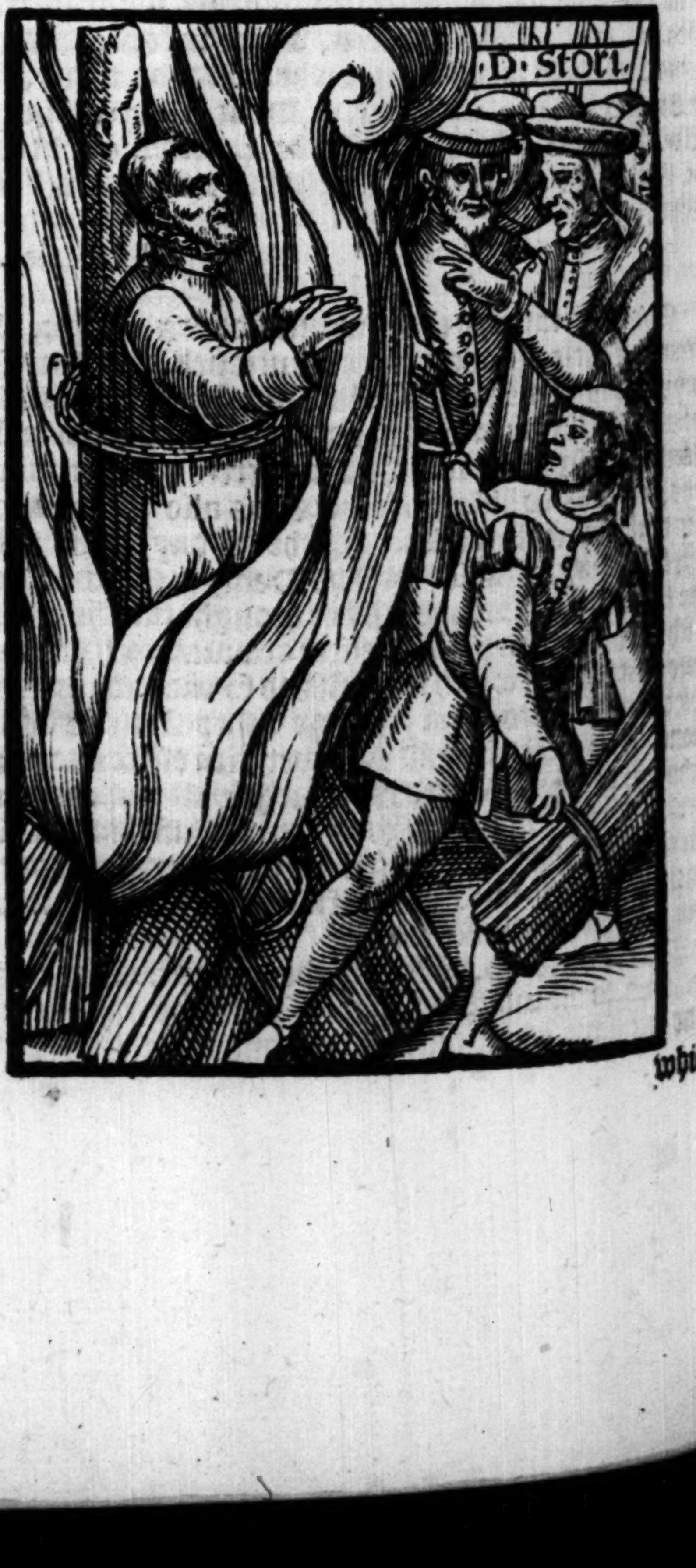
To the 8. Article I anſwer ſhortly, that there bee Sacraments no mo but two, Baptiſme and the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt, except ye will make the rainbow a ſacrament: for there is no ſacramēt but hath a promiſe annexed vnto it.

To the 9. Article I doe aunſwer you, that ye haue my mynd written alredy. For it was found about me whē I was taken, and alſo ye know my mynd in the 4. Article, plainly expreſſed concernyng the bodily preſence: for Chriſtes body is in heauen, & will not be conteyned in ſo ſmall a piece of breade. And as the wordes which Chriſt ſpake are true in deede, ſo muſt they alſo bee vnderſtanded by other of the Scriptures, whiche Chriſt ſpake hymſelfe, and alſo the Apoſtles after hym. And thus I make an ende, &c.

By me Iohn Denley.

The firſt day of the month of Iuly, the ſayd thre priſoners were brought into the Conſiſtory in Paules church, where he proceded againſt them after his vſual forme and maner of law, reading firſt their confeſſions, articles and anſwers, and then tempting them, ſometyme with fayre promiſes, other whiles with threatnyngs, which were alwayes his chiefeſt argumentes and reaſons to perſwade withall. In the end, ſeeyng their vnmoueable conſtancye, vpon the 5. of Iuly he condemned them as heretikes, and gaue them vnto the ſhiriffes of London, as to his commō executioners, who kept them vntill they were commāded by writ to ſend them to their ſeuerall places of ſufferyng:

The Martyrdome of Maiſter Iohn Denley.



which was for M. Denley, Vxbridge: where the 8. day of Auguſt he was burned. And beyng ſet in the fire wyth the burnyng flame about hym, he ſang in it a Pſalme.

Then cruell D. Story beyng there preſent, commaunded one of the tormentors to hurle a fagot at hym, whereupon beyng hurt therewith vpon the face that hee bled agayne, he left his ſingyng and clapt both his hands on his face. Truly, quoth D. Story to him that hurled the fagot, thou haſt mard a good old ſong.

The ſayd Iohn Denley beyng yet ſtill in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and ſang againe, yelding at the laſt his ſpirit into the hands of God through his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt.

After the Martyrdome of M. Denley at Vxbridge, which was the 8. of Auguſt, ſuffered alſo not long after, Patrike Pachingham at the ſame towne of Vxbridge, about the 28. of the ſayd moneth. This Pachingham was charged of Boner (as ye heard in the x. article before) for hys behauiour ſhewed in the Biſhops chappell: who at yͤ maſſe tyme there ſtandyng, would not put of his cap, which was taken for an haynous offence. The ſaid Pachingham alſo beyng much laboured by Boner to recant, proteſted in theſe wordes to the B. that the church which he beleeued, was no catholike church, but was the church of Sathan, & therfore he would neuer turne to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other which was Ioh. Newman Pewterer, dwellyng at Maidſtone in Kent, he was burned the laſt of Auguſt at Saffron walden in the Countie of Eſſex, whoſe examinatiō and confeſſion of his fayth and beliefe, for the which he was cruelly burnt and perſecuted, here vnder followeth.

¶ The examination of Iohn Newman Martyr.

IOhn Newman firſt was apprehended in Kent, dwellyng in the towne of Maidſtone, and there was examined before Doctor Thornton Suffragane, and others, at Tenterden. From thence he was brought to Boner, and there condemned with M. Denley and Pachingham, and burned at Saffron walden, as is before ſtoried. But becauſe his examination and aunſweres before the Suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to beſtow them, rather then they ſhould vtterly bee ſuppreſſed. And firſt what his anſwer was by writyng to the ſaid Suffragan, after his apprehenſion, you ſhal heare by the tenor of hys owne wordes, as follow.

IT may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that for the ſpace of all the tyme of kyng Edwards raigne, we were diligently inſtructed with continuall Sermons made by ſuche men, whoſe fayth, wiſedome, learning & vertuous liuyng, was commended vnto all men, vnder the kyngs hand & ſeale, and vnder the hands of the whole Counſaile. Theſe men taught diligently a long tyme, perſwadyng vs by the allegations of Gods worde, that there was no Tranſubſtantiation, nor corporall preſence in the ſacrament. Their doctrine was not beleeued of vs ſodainly, but by their cōtinuall preachyng, and alſo by our continuall prayer vnto God that we might neuer bee deceiued: but if it were true, that God would encline our heartes vnto it: and if it were not true, that we myght neuer beleeue it. We waied that they laboured with Gods worde, and wee aſked the aduiſe of our friends: neyther could we finde that they preached falſe doctrine. We conſidered alſo, as wee dyd learne, that the Kyngs grace and hys Counſaile, and the moſt part of the whole Realme, beleeued as they taught, becauſe no man preached the contrarye. Alſo wee knowe that the Preachers were commaunded by the Kyng and lawes of the Realme, to preach vnto vs ſuch doctrine, as was to the authority of Gods worde, agreeable and no other. And by their diligent ſettyng forth of it, by the kings commaundement, and the whole conſent of the whole Counſaile, and by the authoritie of the Parliament, wee embraſed it, and receyued it, as a verye infallible truth taught vnto vs for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. Wherefore, vntill ſuch tyme as our conſciences are otherwyſe taught and inſtructed by Gods worde, we cannot with ſafegard of our conſciences, take it, as many ſuppoſe at this tyme. And we truſt in God that the Queenes mercifull hyghneſſe, neither yet her moſt honourable Counſaile will in a matter of fayth vſe compulſion, nor violence, becauſe fayth is the gift of God, and commeth not of man, neither of mans laws, neither at ſuche tyme as men require it, but at ſuch tyme as God geueth it.

⁂

¶ The examination and anſwers of Iohn Newman Martyr, before D. Thornton and others.

The examination and anſweres of Iohn Newman.

FIrſt, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon, or Fauced, or ſome other, whoſe name I. Newman doth not expres, beginneth aſking in this wiſe.

Doctor. How ſay ye to this? This is my body which is geuen for you.

New. It is a figuratiue ſpeach, one thing ſpoken, & another ment, as Chriſt ſayth: I am a vine, I am a dore, I am a ſtone. &c. Is he therfore a material ſtone, a vine, or a dore?

Doct. This is no figuratiue ſpeech. For he ſayth: This is my body which is geuen for you, and ſo ſayth he not of the ſtone, vyne, or dore: but that is a figuratiue ſpeech.

This cup is the new Teſtamēt, is a figuratiue ſpeach.

New. Chriſt ſaith, this cup is the newe Teſtament in my bloud. If ye will haue it ſo ment, then let them take & eat the cup.

Doct. Nay, that is not ſo ment, for it is a common phraſe of ſpeech among our ſelues: we ſay to our friend, drynke a cup of drinke, & yet we ment he ſhould drinke the drinke in the cup.

New. Why if we will haue the one ſo vnderſtand, ye muſt ſo vnderſtand the other.

Doct. Nay, it is a common vſe of ſpeech, to ſay drinke a cup of ale, or beere? And therfore it is no figuratiue ſpeech.

What is a figuratiue ſpeach.

New. The often vſing of a thyng doth not make that thing otherwiſe then it is: but whereſoeuer one thyng is ſpoken, and an other ment, it is a figuratiue ſpeech.

Doct. Well, we will not ſtand here about. How ſay ye by the reall preſence? Is not Chriſts naturall body there that was borne of the Virgin Mary?

New. No, I do not ſo beleeue, neyther can I ſo beleue: for the ſoule of man doth not feed vpon natural things as the body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth he feed?

New. I thinke the ſoule of man doth feed as the angels in heauen, whoſe feedyng is only the pleaſure, ioy, felicity, & delectation that they haue of God: and ſo the ſoule of mā doth feed and eat, through fayth, the body of Chriſt.

Collins reaſoneth with Newman.

Collins. Yea, but if the body doe not feede vppon naturall thyngs, the ſoule cannot continue with the body: therfore the body muſt needs feed vpon naturall things, that both may lyue together.

New. I grant it to be true: but yet the ſoule doth lyue otherwiſe then the body which doth periſh: therfore naturall thyngs do but feede the body onely. I pray you what did Iudas receiue at the Supper?

Coll. Marry, Iudas did receyue the very body of Chriſt, but it was to hys damnation.

New. Why? was the deuill entred into hym before. Thē he had both the deuill and Chriſt in hym at one tyme.

Coll. Nay, the deuil did enter into hym afterward.

Whether Iudas receaued the body of Chriſt, or no?

New. Yea, and before to, what doe ye thinke? Had he but one deuill. Nay I thinke he had rather a legion of deuils at the latter end.

Coll. Well, put caſe it be ſo, what ſay you to that?

New. Mary, if Chriſt and the deuil were both in Iudas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Coll. We grant they were both in Iudas at that tyme: for Chriſt may be where the deuill is, if he will, but the deuill cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

New. Chriſt wil not be in an vncleane perſon that hath the deuill.

D. Thornton reaſoneth with Iohn Newman.

Thorn. Why, will ye not beleue that Chriſt was in hel, and ye will grant that the deuill is there: and ſo might he be in Iudas, and if it pleaſed hym.

New. Chriſt would not ſuffer Mary Magdalene to touch hym, which ſought hym at hys graue, and did loue hym entirely: much leſſe he will ſuffer an vngodly man to receyue hym into his vncleane body.

Thorn. Yes, ſeing God may do all things, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will: And doth not the Pſalm ſay: he is in hell, and in all places. Why ſhould wee then doubt of his beyng there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient to proue that his humanitie is in all places.

Thornt. No, do you not beleue that God is omnipotent, & may do all thyngs?

New. I do beleue that God is almighty, & may do all that he will do.

The omnipotency of Chriſt doth not proue him to be really in the Sacrament.

Thornt. Nay, but and if he be omnipotent, he may doe all thyngs, and there is nothyng vnpoſſible for hym to do.

New. I know God is almighty, and can do all that he wil but he cannot make his ſonne a lyer, he cannot deny himſelf, nor he cannot reſtore virginity once violated & defiled.

Absurdity in the Popes doctrine.

Thornt. What is that to your purpoſe. God doth not defile virginity: we ſpeake but of thyngs that God doth.

New. Why, will ye haue the humanity of Chriſt in all places, as the deitie is?

Thornt.

Anno 1555. Iuly.

Thornt. Yea, he is in all places, as the deitie is, if it pleaſe hym.

New. I wil promiſe you that ſemeth to me a very great heresie: for heauen and earth are not able to containe the diuine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in euery place: & yet ye wil ſay, that whereſoeuer the deitie is, there is alſo the humanitie, and ſo ye wil make him no body, but a fantaſticall body, and not a body in deed.

Thornt. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places as the deitie is, but if it pleaſe him he may be in all places as the deitie.

New. I promiſe you that it ſemeth to me as great an hereſie as euer I heard in my life: and I dare not graunt it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to bee a very man, and that were agaynſt all the ſcriptures.

The humanitye of Chriſt may not be in all places.

Thornt. Tuſh, what ſhall we ſtand reaſoning with him? I dare ſay he doth not beleue, that Chriſt came out of his muther, not openyng the matrice. Do you beleue that Chriſt roſe from death and came through the ſtone?

New. I doe beleue that Chriſt roſe from death: but I doe not beleue that he came through the ſtone, neither doth the Scripture ſo ſay.

Thornt. Loe, how ſay you, hee doth not beleue that Chriſt came through the ſtone: & if he doth not beleue this, howe ſhall he beleue the other? If he could beleeue this, it were eaſie for hym to beleeue the other.

Note the groſſe ignoraunce of this Suffragane.

New. The ſcripture doth not ſay he went through yͤ ſtone, but it ſayth the angels of God came downe and rolled away the ſtone, & for feare of him, the keepers became euen as dead men.

Thornt. A foole, foole, that was becauſe that women ſhould ſee that he was riſen agayne from death.

New. Well, the ſcripture maketh as much for me as it doth for you, and more too.

Thornt. Well, let vs not ſtād any longer about him. Back agayne to the reall preſence. How ſay ye, is the bodye of Chriſt really in the ſacrament, or no?

New. I haue anſwered you already.

Thornt. Wel, do ye not beleue that he is there really?

New. No, I beleeue it not.

Thornt. Well, will ye ſtand to it?

New. I muſt needs ſtand to it, til I be perſwaded by a further truth.

Thornt. Nay, ye will not be perſwaded, but ſtande to your owne opinion.

New. Nay I ſtand not to myne owne opinion, GOD I take to witnes, but only to the Scriptures of God, & that can all thoſe that ſtand here witnes with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witnes, that I do nothing of preſumption, but that that I do, is only my cōſcience, & if there be a further trucht, then I ſee, except it appeare a truth to me, I cannot receiue it as a truth. And ſeing faith is the gift of God, & commeth not of man, for it is not you that can geue me faith, nor no man els, therefore I truſt ye wil beare the more wt me, ſeing it muſt be wroght by God, & when it ſhal pleaſe God to open a further truth to me, I ſhal receiue it with all my hart and embrace it.

¶ Thornton had many other queſtions which I did not beare away: but as I do vnderſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt: as for taunts, fooliſh, & vnlearned, he lacked none. Prayſe God for his gifts, and God increaſe in vs ſtrength.

The Arguments of Iohn Newman.

Arg in the 2. figure.

If the body of Chriſt were really and bodily in the ſacrament, then whoſoeuer receiued the Sacrament, receiued alſo the body.

The wicked receiuyng the Sacrament, receiue not the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not really in the ſacrament.

Argument.

Ca- They which eate the fleſh, and drinke the bloude of Chriſt, dwell in hym, and he in them.

meſ- The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them.

tres. Ergo, the wicked eate not the fleſh, nor drinke yͤ bloud of Chriſt.

Argument.

Ca- They that haue Chriſt dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit. Iohn. 15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in hym, bringeth forth much fruit. &c.

meſ- The wicked bryng forth no fruit of goodnes.

tres. Ergo, they haue not Chriſtes body dwelling in them.

Argument.

Arg in the 3. figure.

Da- Where remembraunce is of a thing, there is imported the abſence thereof.

ti- Remembraunce of Chriſtes body is in the ſacrament: Do this in remembraunce of me &c.

ſi Ergo, Chriſtes body there is imported to be abſent.

Mary they wil ſay, we ſee hym not with our outward eies, but he is commended vnder the forme of bread and wyne, and that that we ſee, is nothing but a qualitie or an accidence. But let them ſhew me a qualitie or an accidence without a ſubſtance, & I wil beleue them. And thus much concernyng Newmans examinations and arguments.

✱ The faith of Iohn Newman dwelling at Maydſtone in Kent, who was by occupation a Peuterer.

The Lord is the protector of my lyfe. The iuſt ſhall lyue by fayth, and if he withdrawe hymſelfe, my ſoule ſhall haue no pleaſure in hym.

Abac. Hebr.

My fayth is, that there is one God which is without beginnyng and without endyng. This God created al things viſible and inuiſible. And after that he had made both heauen and earth with all other creatures, hee made man, & ſet him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden: he gaue to Adam hys commandements & precepts, and ſayd, when ſo euer thou doeſt the thyng which I forbid, thou ſhalt ſurely die yͤ death: yet did man for all this, diſobey God his creator, & after his ſinne he fled from God, hid hymſelfe, & was in a miſerable deſperate caſe. But God ſeeing mā in this miſerable eſtate, becauſe he & all his poſteritie ſhould not continue in deth, promiſed Adā that the womans ſeed ſhold breake the ſerpents head, wherby is ment yͭ the ſon of God ſhold become man, & deſtroy the deuil. Which by his ſubtill perſwaſions had deceiued Adam. Then did Adā by faith take hold of gods promiſe, and became the ſeruāt of righteouſnes through the faith which he had in the promiſe of yͤ womans ſeed. So did Abel, Seth, Henoch, & Noe, with faithful Abraham, Iſaac, & Iacob, and the reſt of the faythfull vntil Chriſtes tyme, as S. Paul ſayth: they did all eate of one ſpirituall meat, & did all drinke of one maner of ſpirituall drinke. They did drinke of that ſpirituall rocke that followed thē, which rocke was Chriſt that ſaueth vs. And when the tyme was ful come, God ſent his ſonne made of a woman, that is, he tooke fleſh of the virgin Mary, & became man, not the ſhadow of a man, nor a fantaſticall mā, as ſome falſly faine, but a very natural man in all points, ſinne onely excepted, which God & man is Chriſt the promiſed womans ſeed. This Chriſt was here conuerſant among men, for the ſpace of 30. yeres & more, and when the tyme was come, that he ſhould goe to hys father, he gaue vnto vs the miſtery of our redemption, that we through fayth ſhould eate his body, and drinke hys bloud, that we myght feed on hym through fayth to the end of the world. After this Chriſt offred vp hys body on the croſſe, to pacify his father, & to deliuer vs from the thraldome of the deuill, in the which we were, through ſinne original & actuall. And with that one ſacrifice of his body once offered on the croſſe, hee hath made perfect for euer all them that are ſanctified. He deſcended into hell, the third day he roſe agayne from death, & was conuerſant at certaine tymes wt his diſciples, for the ſpace of 40. dayes after, he roſe from death. Then in the ſight of all his diſciples he aſcended into heauen, & as hys diſciples ſtood lookyng vpward, & beholding hym how he went into heauen, two men ſtood by them in white apparell, which alſo ſayd: ye men of Galilie, why ſtand ye gaſing vp into heauen? This ſame Ieſus which is taken vp from you into heauen, ſhall ſo come euen as ye haue ſeene hym goe into heauen, S. Peter alſo ſayth, that the heauens muſt receiue hym, vntill the tyme that all thynges which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all hys prophets ſince the world began, be reſtored again, which is the latter day, when he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead. I do beleeue in the holy ghoſt, which is the ſpirite of God, proceedyng from the father and the ſonne, which holy ſpirit is one God with them. I beleeue that there is an holy church, which is the company of the faythfull & elect people of God, diſperſed abrode throughout all the world, which holy church or congregation doth not looke for Chriſt here, nor Chriſt there, neither in the deſert, nor in the ſecret places, whereof Chriſt warneth vs, but as S. Paule ſayth, in heauen: where he ſitteth on the right hand of GOD the father, they ſet their affection on thyngs that are aboue, and not on thyngs which are on earth. For they are dead concernyng the thynges of this world, and their lyfe is hid with Chriſt in God: and when Chriſt which is their lyfe ſhall ſhew hymſelfe, then ſhall they alſo appeare with hym in glory. I beleeue that there is a communion of ſaints, euen yͤ fellowſhip of the faythfull people which are diſperſed abrode throughout all the whole world, and are of one mynde: they followe Chriſt their head, they loue one an other as Chriſt loued them, & are knit together in one, euen in Chriſt, which Church, or con-

Gen. 1.

Gen. 3.

1. Cor. 10.

Gala. 4.

Luke 1.

1. Cor. 11.

Heb. 10.

Actes. 1.

Actes. 3.

Math. 24.

Colos. 3.

congregation hath forgeuenes of ſinnes thorough Chriſt, and ſhall enter without ſpotte before the face of God into his glory. For as Chriſt being their head, hath entred pure and cleane, ſo they entering by hym, ſhall be lyke hym in glory. And I am certaine and ſure that all they which doe dye, ſhall riſe agayne and receiue their bodies. In thē ſhal they ſee Chriſt come in his glory, to iudge the quicke and the dead. At whoſe commyng all men ſhall appeare and geue a reckoning of their doyngs: he ſhall ſeperate ẏ good from the bad, he ſhall ſay to thē which are hys elect: come ye bleſſed of my father, inherite the kingdome prepared for you frō the beginning: but to the other that haue always reſiſted his will, he ſhall ſay: depart from me ye curſed into euerlaſtyng fire, which is prepared for the deuil and his angels.

Thus haue I briefly declared my fayth, which were no fayth at all if I were in doubt of it. This fayth therefore, I deſire God to encreaſe in mee. Prayſe God for his gyftes.

❧ And thus haue you the Martyrdome with the confeſſion of this bleſſed man and witnes of the Lords truth, who for that, gaue his lyfe as is before declared.

¶ Richard Hooke.

Likewiſe Richard Hooke about the ſame ſeaſon, & for the ſame matter gaue his life at Chicheſter.

¶ The examinations, aunſwers, and condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, William Stere, before the Byſhop of Douer, and Harpſfield Archdeacon of Caunterbury.

Mention was made a little before in the ſtory of M. Bland, and Rich. Sheterden, of certaine other Kentiſh men, who beyng the ſame tyme with them called forth and examined by Thornton Biſh. of Douer, N. Harpeſfield, Rich. Faucet, and Rob. Collins: yet notwithſtandyng, becauſe the condemnation and execution of thē was differred a little longer, till the latter end of the moneth of Aug. commyng therfore now to the tyme of their ſuffryng, we will briefly touch ſome part of their examinations and aunſwers, as we find them in the Regiſters. The names of theſe were Wil. Coker, Wil. Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, W. Stere. What the articles obiected to M. Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which Articles they anſwered for themſelues ſeuerally in effect as followeth.

First Wil. Coker ſayd, he would aunſwer no otherwiſe then he had already anſwered: & beyng offered to haue longer reſpite of 6. dayes after, he refuſed to take it. and ſo vpon the ſame ſentēce of condemnation, was read againſt hym, the 11. of Iuly.

Wil. Hopper firſt ſeemed to graunt to the fayth & determination of the Catholike church: after callyng hymſelfe better to mynd, conſtantly ſtickyng to the truth, he was condemned the next weeke after, the 16. of Iuly.

Henry Laurence examined the ſayd 16. of Iuly, & partly differred to the 2. of Auguſt, aunſwered to the Articles obiected againſt hym: firſt, denying auricular confeſſion, and that he had not, nor would receiue the Sacrament, becauſe (ſayth he) the order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the Sacrament.

Moreouer, the ſayd Laurence was charged for not puttyng of his cap when the Suffragan made mention of the Sacrament & did reuerence to the ſame, the ſayd Laurence aunſwering in theſe words: what, ſaid he, ye ſhal not need to put of your cap: for it is not ſo holy that you need to put of your cap thereunto.

Further, beyng apposed concernyng the veritie of the Sacrament geuen to Chriſtes diſciples, he affirmed, that euen as Chriſt gaue his very body to his Diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame, ſo likewyſe Chriſt himſelfe ſayd, he was a dore, &c. addyng moreouer, that as he had ſayde before, ſo he ſayth ſtill, that the Sacrament of the aultar is an Idole, and no remembrance of Chriſtes paſſion, & contrary he knoweth not. At laſt beyng required to put to his hand in ſubſcribing to his anſwers, he wrote theſe wordes vnder the bill of their examinations: Ye are all of Antichriſt and hym ye fol. And here his hand was ſtayed to write any further: Belike hee would haue written out (follow) &c. And ſo vpon the ſame ſentence was read agaynſt hym the 2. of Auguſt.

¶ Rich. Colliar of Aſhford.

Richard Colliar aboue mentioned, hauyng the 16. of Auguſt to appeare, examined of the Sacrament of the popiſh aultar, aunſwered and ſayd, that he did not beleue, that after the Conſecration, there is the reall and ſubſtantiall body of Chriſt, but onely breade and wyne, and that it is moſt abhominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wicked to beleeue otherwyſe, &c. Vppon this the Sentence was read agaynſt hym, and he condemned the 16. of Auguſt. After hys condemnation he ſang a Pſalme. wherefore the Prieſtes and their officers rayled at hym, ſaying, he was out of hys wits.

Richard Colliar.

The wordes of Richard Colliar.

Onely in the ſubſtance he meaneth.

¶ Richard Wright.

Richard Wright the ſame place and day, beyng the 16. of Auguſt, apperyng, and required of the Iudge what he beleeued of the reall preſence in the Sacrament, anſwered agayne, that as touchyng the Sacrament of the aulter and the maſſe, he was aſhamed to ſpeake of it, nor to name it, and that he allowed it not as it was vſed in the church. Agaynſt whom the ſentence alſo was read, the day & place aforeſayd.

Richard Wright.

Richard Wright aſhamed to ſpeake of the Sacramēt of the aultar.

¶ William Stere.

William Stere of the foreſayd pariſh of Aſhford, likewiſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appeare the ſayd 16. day of Auguſt, where he in the ſayd Chapterhouſe of Canterbury, beyng required to make aunſwer to the poſitions layd vnto hym by the Iudge, made aunſwer agayne, that he ſhould commaund hys dogs and not him: and further declared, that Dicke of Douer had no authoritie to ſit agaynſt hym in iudgement, and aſked where his authoritie was. who then ſhewed him certaine Buls and wrytyngs from Rome, as he ſaid. William Stere denying that to be of ſufficient force, the ſayd Dicke ſayd alſo he had authoritie from the Queene. Then the Martyr alledgyng that the B. of Canterbury (who then was in pryſon) was hys Dioceſſan, vrged hym to ſhew hys authoritie from the Archbiſhop, or els he denied his authoritie to be ſufficient. And as touchyng the Sacrament of the aultare, he found it not (he ſayd) in the ſcripture, & therfore he would not anſwer thereunto.

William Stere Martyr.

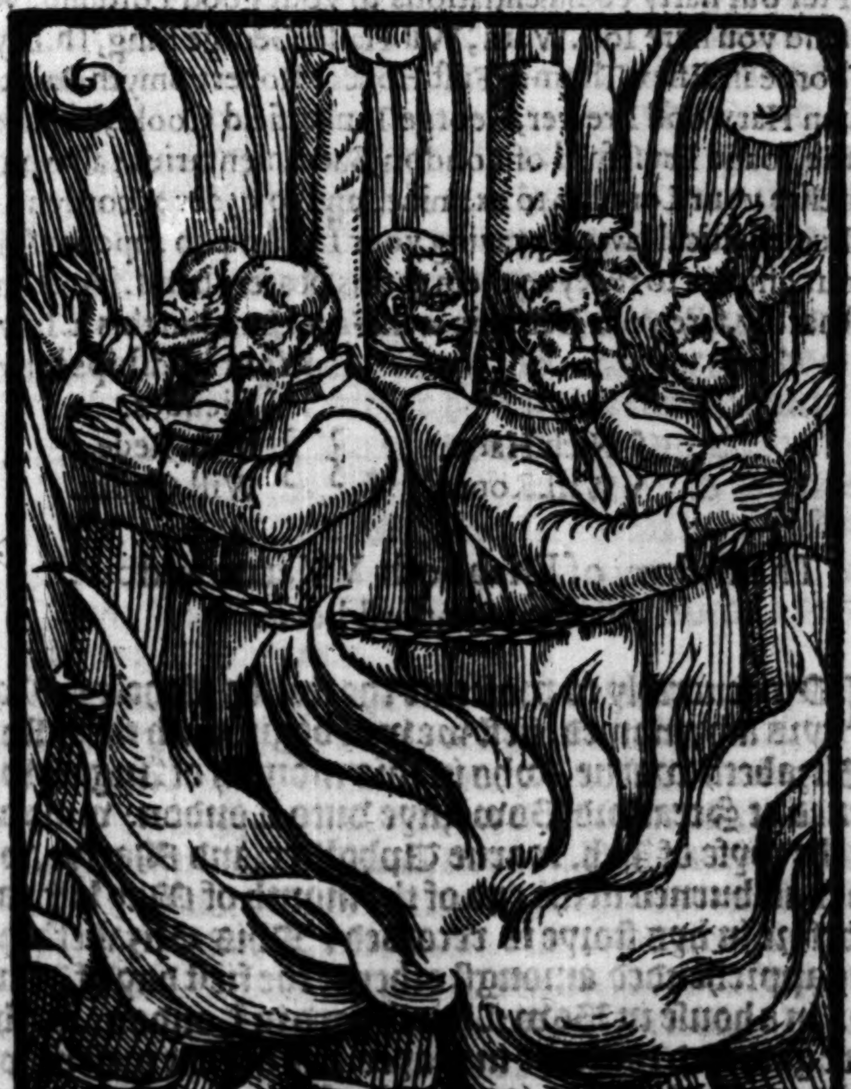
Dicke of Douer, ſo they termed then Richard Thornton B. of Douer.

He meaneth D. Cranmer imprisoned at Oxford.

And moreouer, the Iudge ſpeaking of the Sacrament of the aultare, with reuerence thereof, and putting of his cappe, he ſayd, that he needed not to reuerence that matter ſo highly. And thus ſaying to the Iudge, that hee was a bloudy man, &c. the ſentence was pronounced agaynſt hym: after which ſentence beyng read, he ſayd, that the ſacrament of the aultar, was the moſt blaſphemous Idoll that euer was, &c.

Sentence agaynſt William Stere.

¶ The burnyng of ſixe godly Martyrs in one fire.



The Martyrdome of 6. Martyrs, W. Coker. W. Hoopper, Henry Laurēce, Rich. Colliar, R. Wright, W. Stere, at Cant. Anno. 1555. August.

And

Anno 1555. Iuly.

And thus theſe vj. heauenly Martyrs and witnes bearers to the truth, beyng condemned by the bloudy Suffragan and Archdeacon of Canterbury, M. Collins, and M. Faucet, were burned altogether in the ſame towne of Canterb. at three ſtakes and one fire, about the latter ende of Auguſt.

The copy of their ſentence condemnatorie, you maye find aboue in the ſtory of Iohn Rogers, for the papiſts in all their condemnations follow one maner of ſentence of courſe commonly againſt all that be condemned through their vnmercifull tiranny.

¶ The perſecution of tenne Martyrs together, ſent by certaine of the Counſaile to Boner to be examined.

10. Martyrs ſent vp together to Biſhop Boner

AFter the burning of theſe vj. aboue named: next followeth the perſecution of x. other true ſeruauntes and ſaints of the Lord, not ſuch ſaints as the Pope maketh, or which are mentioned in Legenda ſanctorum, or in vitis patrũ or in the fabulous booke de vita ſanctorum Wallenſium, &c. but ſuch as are ſpoken of in the holy Apocalyps, of whom it is written: Hij ſunt qui ſequuntur Agnum quocunq; ierit, quique lauarunt ſtolas ſuas in ſanguine agni i. Theſe bee they that follow the Lambe whether ſoeuer he goeth, & which haue waſhed their ſtoles in the bloud of the Lambe, &c. Thus theſe ſaints be not of the Popes makyng, or rather to ſay the truth, they are of the Popes making, of ẏ Popes makyng (I ſay) in this reſpect, not that the ſaints of God are made by the Pope, but that the ſaints of God are tried and declared by the Pope: ſo as by afflictions of Sathan Iobs patience was prooued, by Pharao Gods power declared, and by Salmator, Tarentum was won (as Tullie writeth) for except he had loſt it before, Q. Fabius could not haue recouered it: ſo in lyke maner, vnleſſe by Antichriſt good men had bene deſtroyed, otherwyſe they had not bene tryed true Martyrs of Chriſt. The names of theſe were:

Ap. c. 22.

Saintes of the Popes making.

10. Martyrs ſẽt by the commiſſioners.

Elizabeth Warne.
George Tankerfield.
Robert Smith.
Steuen Harwood.
Thomas Fuſt.
William Hale.
Thomas Leyes.
George King.
Iohn Wade.
Ione Layſhford.

The priſons of London beginnyng now to be repleniſhed with gods ſaints, and ſtil mo and mo comming in, the Counſaile & Commiſſioners thinkyng to make ready diſpatch with the poore priſoners, cauſed theſe x. aboue named, to be ſent with their letter directed to Boner Biſh. of London, by hym to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names ſubſcribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

✻ A letter ſent by the Commiſſioners to the B. of of London D. Boner.

The letter of the Commiſſioners to B. Boner.

AFter our harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, wee ſend you here Ioh. Ward, Wil. Haile, George King, Th. Leyes of Thorpe in Eſſex, Thomas Fuſt Hoſier, Robert Smyth Painter, Steuen Harwood Brewer, George Tankerfield Cooke, Elizabeth Warne, Ioane Layſhford of London, Sacramentaries: all whiche we deſire your Lordſhip to examine, and to order accordyng to the Eccleſiaſtical lawes: praying your Lordſhip to appoynt ſome of your officers to receyue them at this bearers hand. And thus moſt hartily, fare your Lordſhip well. From London this 2. Iuly.

Your lordſhips louyng friendes.

Names of the Commiſſioners.

Nich. Hare.
Will. Roper.
Rich. Rede.
Will. Cooke.

The hiſtory of Elizabeth VVarne widow, burnt at Stratford bowe.

Elizabeth Warne Martyr.

NOw ſeuerally to proſecute the ſtories of theſe x. Martyrs aforenamed, firſt we will begin with the hiſtorie of Elizabeth warne, who in this moneth of Auguſt was burned at Stratford Bowe, nye vnto London, widowe, late the wyfe of Ioh. warne Vpholſter, and Martyr, who alſo was burned in the end of the month of May laſt paſt, as before in hys ſtorye is recorded. This Elizabeth had bene apprehended amongſt others, the firſt day of Ianuary, in a houſe in Bow Church yard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that preſent was caried to the Counter (as is alſo aboue ſpecified) where ſhe lay as priſoner vntil the 11. day of Iune. At which time ſhe was brought vnto Newgate, and remayned there in lyke caſe vnto the 2. day of Iuly. Then ſhee was ſent by the Kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners vnto Boner B. of London, who the ſixt day of the ſame moneth, cauſed her with diuers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before hym into hys Pallace, and there examined her vpon ſundry Articles, ſuch as of common order be miniſtred vnto the poore ſaintes & Martyrs of God, as ye may more playnely perceyue by other more large and ample proceſſes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

The chiefeſt obiection that he vſed, eyther towardes her, or the moſt of thoſe, was touchyng the reall and corporall preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aultar, as the chiefeſt ground & profitableſt foundation for their Catholike dignitie. Many other matters he obiected agaynſt them, as for not commyng to the Church, for ſpeakyng agaynſt the maſſe, for deſpiſing their ceremonies and new founde Sacramentes, with dyuers other fonde and triflyng toyes, not worthy any mentionyng.

In the ende, when ſhe had bene diuers tymes brought before hym and other hys adherentes, and there earneſtly exhorted to recant, ſhee ſayde: Doe what ye will. For if Chriſt was in an errour, then am I in an errour. Vpon which aunſwere, ſhe was the xij. day of the ſame moneth of Iuly, adiudged and condemned as an heretyke, and ſo deliuered vnto the ſecular power (as they terme it (to be by them (yet at the Clergies appoyntment) put to death, which thyng was accompliſhed in her the ſame moneth aboue mentioned.

The chiefe procurer of this her death, was D. Story beyng (as it is thought) of ſome aliaunce eyther to her the ſayd Elizabeth, or els to her late huſband. who, though he was at the firſt apprehenſion of his ſayd kinſwoman, a very earneſt ſuiter for her deliueraunce to Doctor Martin, then one of the Kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners in matters of Religion (hymſelfe beyng as yet not made Commiſſioner) and had by his ſute obteyned her deliueraunce for that preſent, as Dock. Martin hymſelfe the authour hereof) hath reported, yet afterwards, vpon what occaſion God onely knoweth, except vpon ſome burning charitie the ſayd Doctor Story, obteyning now the rome of one of the Commiſſioners, cauſed not onely the ſayde Iohn warne, but alſo hys wyfe, & afterwards his daughter to be agayne apprehended, neuer leauyng them, vntyll hee had brought them all to aſhes. Such was the rage of that deuout catholike, and white chyld of ẏ mother church that neyther kinred nor any other conſideratiõ could preuaile with hym, although it dyd (at hys requeſt) wyth others, who in reſpect of hym, were but ſtraungers vnto them. The Lord if it be hys will turne hys hart, or els rid hys poore Church from ſuch an Hidra, as thanked bee the Lord, now he hath.

¶ George Tankerfield a faythfull Martyr and witneſſe of the Goſpell, conſtantly ſuffering for the teſtimonie of the ſame.

GEorge Tankerfield of London Cooke, borne in the Citie of Yorke, about the age of xxvij. or xxviij. yeres, was in king Edwards daies a very papiſt, til the time Queene Mary came in, and then perceiuing the great crueltye vſed of the Popes ſide, was brought into a miſdoubte of theyr doings, and begã (as he ſaid) in his heart to abhorre them. And as concerning the maſſe, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much ſtriuing with him ſelf in that caſe, at length hee fell to prayer, deſiring God in mercye to open to him the truth, that he might be thorowly perſwaded therein, whether it were of God, or no: If not, that he might vtterly hate it in his hearte, and abhorre it: which according to his prayer, the Lorde mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to deteſt and abhorre the ſame: and ſo was moued to read the Teſtament, whereby (as is ſayd) the Lord lightened his minde with the knowledge of the truthe, working liuely faith in him to beleue the ſame, and vtterly to deteſt all papiſtrie, and ſo he came no more to their doings: And not onely that, but alſo thys liuely faith, ſayd he, kindled ſuch a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but vtter it ſelfe by confeſſion therof, reprouing his owne former doings to his friendes, exhorting them likewiſe to conuert and turne to the truth with him, and thus he began to be ſmelled out among them, til at the laſt he was ſent for, as followeth.

It pleaſed God to ſtrike him w ſickneſſe, whereby hee lay long ſicke: and on a certaine day to take the air abroad, he roſe vp and went and walked into the Temple fieldes, to ſee ẏ ſhooters. In the meane ſeaſon came Bearde home to his houſe, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only for to haue hym to come and dreſſe a banquet at the Lord Pagets. The wife becauſe of his apparell (which was very braue) tooke him to be ſome honeſte Gentleman, and with all ſpeede prepared her ſelfe to fetch her huſband, hauing a good hope he ſhould now erne ſome mony: and leaſt this gentleman ſhould not be noyed with tarying, ſhe ſet him a cuſhin to ſet him ſoft, and laid a fayre napkin before him, and ſet breade thereon, and came to her huſband: who whē he heard it, ſayd: a banket woman? In deed it is ſuch a banquet as wil not be very pleaſant to the fleſh: but Gods will be done. And when he came home hee ſaw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceiued, & wherfore he came, like a tall woman, would play Peters part, and in ſted of a ſword took a ſpit, and had runne him thorow, had not the Conſtable which Bearde had ſent for by his man, come in withall, who reſcued him: yet ſhe ſent a brickebatte after him and hit hym on the backe. And ſo Tankerfield was deliuered to yͤ Conſtable, and brought to Newgate about the laſt day of Febryary an. 1555. by the ſayd Bearde Yeoman of the Gard, and Simon Ponder Pewterer, Conſtable of S. Duſtons in the weſt, ſent in by Syr Roger Chomley knight and by Doctor Martin.

Tankerfield thus being brought to priſon by hys aduerſaryes, at lēgth wͭ the other aboue named was brought to his examination before Boner. Who after his accuſtomed maner, ordered his articles and poſitions vnto him: the copy and tenor of which his ordinary Articles ye may read aboue expreſſed. pag. 1585.

To theſe Articles as aboue rehearſed, he aunſwered agayne, conſtantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confeſſion, and alſo the ſacrament of the popiſh alter, and likewiſe of the Maſſe. &c. Firſt that he was not confeſſed to any prieſt 5. yeares paſt, nor to any other but only to God, and further denying that he would hereafter be confeſſed to anye Prieſte, for that hee founde it not in Chriſtes booke, and tooke it onely to be a counſell.

And concerning the ſacrament, commonly called here in England of the aultar, he confeſſed that hee neither had nor did beleue, that in the ſayd ſacrament, there is the reall body and bloud of Chriſt, becauſe that the bodye is aſcended into heauen, and there doth ſit at the right hand of god the father.

And moreouer he ſayd, that the Maſſe now vſed in the Church of England was nought, and ful of Idolatry and abhomination, and agaynſt the word of God, affirming alſo, that there are but two Sacramentes in the Church of Chriſt, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord. &c. And in theſe aſſertions, he ſayd, he would ſtand: and ſo he did to the end.

And when at laſt the Byſhop began to read yͤ ſentence exhorting him before with manye woordes to reuoke hys profeſſed opinion (which they called damnable & heretical) he notwithſtanding, reſiſted all contrary perſwaſions, anſwering the biſhop agayne in this forme of words: I will not (ſayd he) forſake mine opinions, except you (my Lord) can repell thē by ſcriptures, and I care not for your Diuinity: for you condemne al men: and proue nothing againſt them. And after many fayre wordes of exhortation, which Boner then vſed (after his ordinary maner) to conuerte or rather peruert him, he aunſwered boldlye agayne, ſaying moreouer: that the church wherof yͤ pope is ſupreme head, is no part of Chriſtes Catholicke Church: & adding thervnto, and poynting to the Biſhop, ſpake to the people, ſaying: Good people beware of him, and ſuch as he is: for theſe be the people that deceiueth you. &c.

Theſe with other wordes moe, he ſpake: whereupon the Biſhop reading the ſentence of his popiſh condēnatiō gaue him to the ſecular power.

And ſo this bleſſed ſeruaunt of God was had to ſaynct Albons, and there with much pacience and conſtācy ended his life, the xxvi. day of Auguſt, for the defence of the truth, which at length will haue the victory.

✠ Certayne notes concerning George Tankerfielde, after he came to ſuffer martyrdome at Saynt Albons.

IN primis, he was brought vnto S. Albons, by the high Shiriffe of Hereford Shyre, M. Edw. Brocket Eſquire and one Pulter of Hitchen which was vnder Shiriffe.

Item theyr Inne was the croſſe keyes whereas there was great cōcourſe of people to ſee and heare the priſoner, among the which multitude ſome were ſory to ſee ſo godly a man brought to be burned, others praiſed God for his conſtancy and perſeuerance in the trueth. Contrarywyſe ſome there were which ſaid it was pity he did ſtand in ſuch opinions, and others both old womē & men cried againſt him one called him herericke, & ſayd it was pity that he lyued. But George Tankerfield did ſpeake vnto them ſo effectually out of the word of God, in lamenting of theyr ignorance, & proteſting vnto them his vnſpotted conſcience, & that God did mollify theyr hardened hartes inſomuch yͭ ſome of them departed out of the chamber wͭ weping eies.

Item there came vnto him a certayne Scholemayſter (which reteined vnto ſir Tho. Pope knight) this man had certayne cōmunication wͭ G. Tankerfielde the day before he was cōming toward S. Albons, as touching theyr ſacrament of yͤ aultar & other poyntes of papiſticall religiō, but as he vrged Tankerfield wͭ the authority of yͤ doctors, wraſting thē after his own will: ſo on yͤ other ſide Tākerfield aunſwered him mightily by yͤ ſcriptures not wreſted after yͤ mind of any man but being interpreted after yͤ will of the Lord Ieſus. &c. So that as he would not allow ſuch allegatiōs as Tankerfield brought out of the ſcriptures wͭout the opiniōs of yͤ doctors: ſo agayn Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true except he could cōfirme it by the ſcriptures. In yͤ end Tankerfield prayd him that he would not trouble him in ſuch matters, for his conſcience was eſtabliſhed. &c. and ſo he departed from him wiſhing him well & proteſting that he meant him no more hurt the his owne ſoule.

Item when the houre drew on apace yͭ he ſhould ſuffer he deſired the wine drawer that he might haue a pinte of malmeſy & a loafe that he might eat & drinke that in remēbrance of Chriſtes death and paſſion, becauſe he could not haue miniſtred vnto him by others in ſuch maner as chriſt cōmaunded, & thē he kneeled downe making his cōfeſſion vnto the Lord wͭ all thoſe which were in the chāber wyth him, & after yͭ he had prayd earneſtly vnto the Lord, & had read the inſtitution of the holy ſupper by the Lord Ieſus, out of yͤ euangeliſtes & out of S. Paule: he ſayd O Lord yͧ knoweſt it I do not this to derogate authority frō any mā, or in cōtēpt of thoſe which are thy miniſters, but only becauſe I cannot haue it miniſtred according to thy word &c. & when he had ſpoken theſe & ſuch like wordes he receiued it with geuing of Thankes.

Item when ſome of his frends willed him to eat ſome meat, he ſayd he would not eat that which ſhould do other good that had more need, & yͭ had lōger time to liue thē he.

Item he prayd his hoſt to let him haue a good fire in yͤ chāber, he had ſo, & thē he ſitting on a forme before the fire put of his ſhoes & hoſe & ſtretched out his leg to yͤ flame, & whē it had touched his foot, he quickely withdrew his leg ſhewing how yͤ fleſh did perſwade him one way & the ſpirit another way. The fleſh ſayd O thou foole wilt yͧ burne & needeſt not. The ſpirit ſayd be not afrayd, for thys is nothing in reſpect of fire eternall. The fleſh ſayd do not leaue the cōpany of thy frēdes & acquaintance which loue & will let thee lack nothing. The ſpirit ſayd the cōpany of Ieſus Chriſt & his glorious preſence doth exceed al fleſhly frēds. The fleſh ſayd do not ſhortē thy time now for yͧ mayſt liue if thou wilt much lōger. The ſpirit ſaid this life is nothing vnto yͤ life in heauen which laſteth for euer. &c. And all this time the ſhiriffes were at a certayn gētlemans houſe at diner not far frō the towne whither alſo reſorted knightes & many gētlemē out of yͤ coũtry, becauſe his ſonne was maried that day, & vntill they returned from diner the priſoner was lefte wͭ his hoſt to be kept & looked vnto. And G. Tankerfield all yͤ time was kindly & louingly entreated of his hoſt, and conſidering that his time was ſhort his ſaying was, that although the day were neuer ſo long, yet at the laſt it ringeth to Euenſong. &c.

Item about two of yͤ clocke whē the ſhiriffes were returned frō diner they brought G. Tankerfielde out of his Inne vnto yͤ place where he ſhoulde ſuffer which is called Romeland, being a greene place nigh vnto yͤ weſt end of yͤ Abbey church, vnto the which whē he was come he kneled downe by the yͤ ſtake that was ſet vp for him & after he had ended his prayers, he aroſe & with a ioyfull fayth he ſayd yͭ although he had a ſharpe diner, yet he hoped to haue a ioyfull ſupper in heauen.

Item while the fagots were ſet about him there came a prieſt vnto him, & perſwaded him to beleue on yͤ ſacrament of yͤ aulter & he ſhould be ſaued. But G. Tankerfield cried out vehemētly & ſayd, I defye the whore of Babilon, I defie the whore of Babilon, fie of yͤ abhominable Idoll, good people do not beleue him, good people doe not beleue him. And thē yͤ Maior of the towne cōmaunded to ſet fire to the heretique, and ſayd if he had but one loade of fagots in the whole world, he would geue thē to burn him. There was a certayne knight by & went vnto Tankerfield & took him by the hand & ſayd good brother be ſtrōg in Chriſt, this he ſpake ſoftly, and Tankerfield ſayd, O ſyr I thanke you I am ſo I thanke God. Then fire was ſet vnto him, & he deſired the ſhiriffe & all the people that they woulde pray for him, the moſt part did ſo. And ſo embracing the fire he ba-